

# LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST  
NEWSMONTHLY

## queers proud!



500 queers  
of resistance

## QUISP

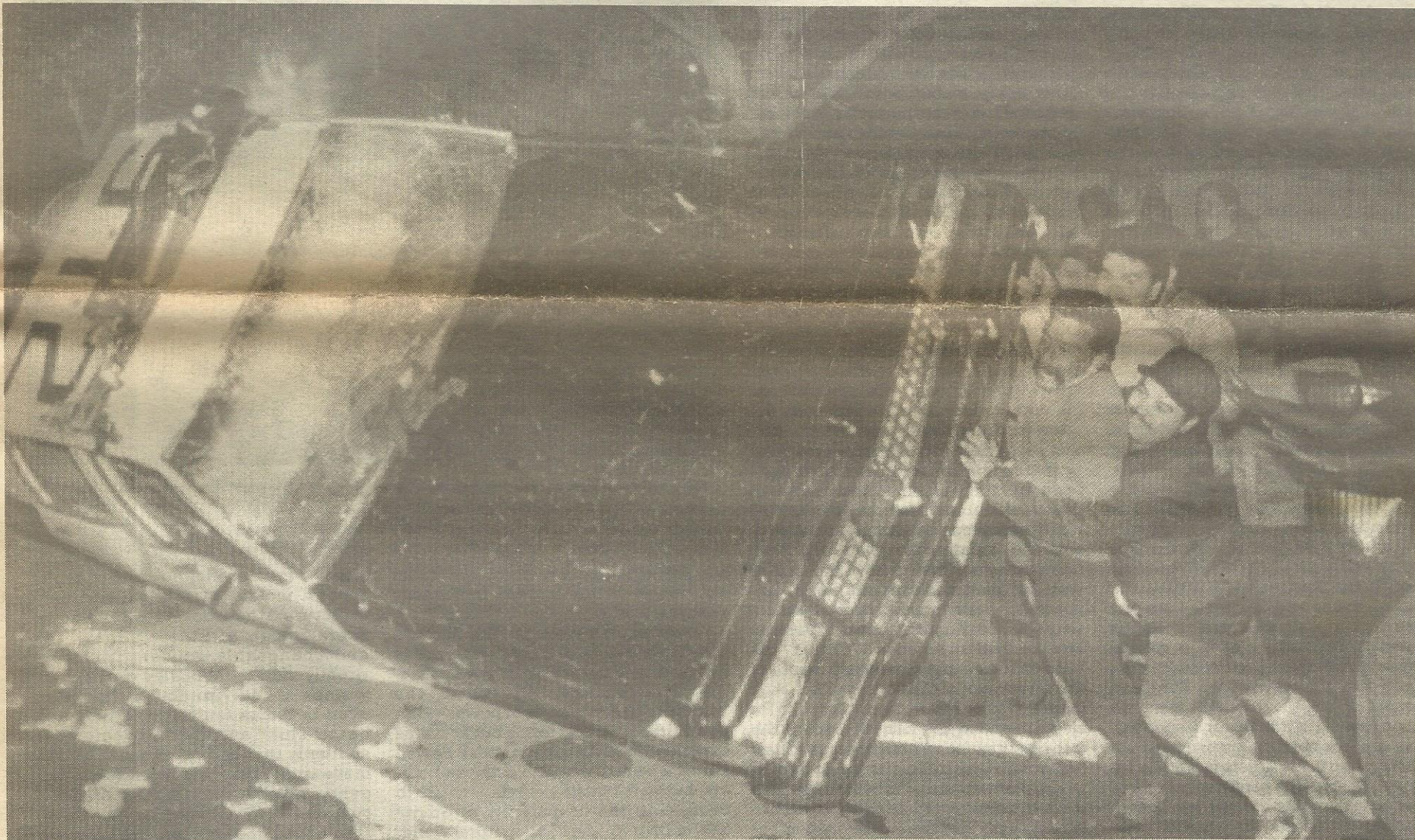
queers do prisoner support

grand jury victory for  
brian coan

BROADSHEET EDITION

# REVOLT:

the choice of a  
new generation



*"Right now the failure of our families is hurting America deeply. When families fail, society falls. The anarchy and lack of structure in our inner cities is testament to how quickly civilization falls apart when the family foundation cracks."*

Dan Quayle

**A**NARCHY!" THAT'S PROBABLY the term most used by the media and the government to describe what happened in Los Angeles and around the world following the Rodney King assault acquittal. Of course, the mainstream media meant it as slander — both of the people in the streets and of anarchy.

While anarchy wasn't achieved in Los Angeles (or anywhere else) some important, though limited and mostly negative, steps towards anarchy were made. Most important, in dozens of cities, over various areas of space and periods of time, the state was powerless: its cops had to run for their lives and the people

took control of the streets — and a little bit of their lives.

*"We came all the way from Santa Ana to get me some free stuff," said a fortyish Chicano, and then, turning directly to reporters, the cameras rolling, he boasted "Mom we didn't get the shoes you wanted but we sure got a lot of good stuff."*

The Village Voice, NYC

The other equally slandered anarchist step was the (temporary) abolition of commodification — the turning of human needs into purchasing needs, and of ordinary things into Products (complete with advertised powers and high prices). With the wave of a bat (or toss of a brick), like magic, goods became freely available to all, according to their needs and desires, with no need to trade one's precious time and abilities to some boss. Products became plain things the people needed again, on some level.

Anarchists should not just support, but should CELEBRATE these aspects of rebellion. By that we don't mean mindless cheerleading — there were certainly lots of problems and enormous shortcomings. Much of what's to be learned are negative lessons. But in the face of attacks from the left and the right on the "mindless violence = anarchy," we stand with the (actually conscious and liberatory) violence, which really is a step towards anarchy.

### THE OLD SOCIETY IN THE SHELL OF THE NEW

We are not so naive as to believe that there was nothing nasty, brutish or wrong in LA. The Los Angeles revolt suggested the possibility of a new society; but it also showed that the people who will make a new society carry with them many of the values of the old. Although it was heavily played up by the

(Continued on page 4)

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# 500 Queers of Resistance

BY LIN L. ELLIOT

**N**INETEEN NINETY-TWO, IN AD-  
dition to being a presidential  
election year with all the atten-  
dant bread and circuses, is also the  
500th anniversary of the "discovery" of  
the Americas by Christopher Columbus.  
The US Government has formed a Jubi-  
lee Committee to promote and coordi-  
nate nationwide celebrations. Museum  
exhibits are already touring the country,  
complete with mocked-up ships on  
which school children are encouraged to  
"play conquistador." And Spain is pre-  
paring authentic replicas of the Niña, the  
Pinta, and the Santa Maria to recreate  
Columbus' voyage.

But the celebrants are not the only  
ones organizing. When Columbus ar-  
rived in the "new world" (very confused  
about where he was), he found a hemi-  
sphere which was neither unknown nor  
uninhabited. The descendants of those  
indigenous peoples (the ones who sur-  
vived — many tribes and cultures did  
not) have a different perspective on that  
"first contact"; to them, it was not dis-  
covery, but an invasion. Columbus wrote  
to his royal patrons that "there is not in  
the world a better nation. They love their  
neighbors as themselves...and though it  
is true that they are naked, yet their  
manners are decorous and praisewor-  
thy." But he went on to suggest that the  
indigenous people be "made to work,  
sow and do all that is necessary to adopt  
our ways." Columbus began shipping  
members of the Taino tribe back to  
Spain, converting them to Christianity,  
and generally introducing them to the  
benefits of civilization. The Spaniards  
looted and burned villages; they kid-  
napped hundreds of men, women and  
children and shipped them to Europe to  
be sold as slaves...Whole tribes were  
destroyed, hundreds of thousands of  
people in less than a decade after Co-  
lumbus set foot on the beach of San  
Salvatore, October 12, 1492.

This is the event we are preparing to  
commemorate. It was really only the  
beginning.

The American Indian Movement, the  
Chicano Movement, the Committee for  
American Indian History and many other  
group have started organizing counter-  
quintennial protests, attempting to  
bring these issues into the public forum  
and expose the "big lie" of officially sanc-  
tioned history. At least one national news-  
letter, *Indigenous Thought*, formed to  
coordinate activists' efforts. Hopefully,  
many progressive groups will lend their  
support, and, no doubt, there will be many  
Queers in the front ranks. As usual.

But all dykes and faggots — not just  
those like myself who are of Native  
American descent — have a special  
stake in this anniversary. Expanding the  
myopic common view of the European  
conquest of the "new world" is not an  
"Indian issue"; it's a Queer issue, too.  
These are not obscure historical events  
dredged up to make others feel guilty for  
the past. Despite the persistent efforts of  
our enemies, neither Indians nor Queers  
have disappeared, and the war against us  
hasn't ended either. Some very important  
things need to be said about the historical  
connections between racism, sexism, and  
homophobia. And 1992 will be an excel-  
lent time to say them.

As Queers, we need to come to grips  
with and understand the role that sex-  
ism and homophobia have played in the

war against indigenous cultures. This is  
part of our history — and the world's —  
which must be confronted, so that we  
can grieve and recover; and so that the  
bigots, by pretending that such things  
never happened in the past, cannot con-  
tinue to hide them in the present. But  
beyond that, there are vital lessons for  
us to learn, both as individuals and as an  
evolving community, today.

In 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella suc-  
ceeded in driving the last of the "hea-  
then" Moors (north African Muslims  
who had ruled large portions of what is  
of Spain for hundreds of years) from  
Spain. Throughout most of Europe, and  
especially in Italy and Spain, the Inquisi-  
tion was hard at work "purifying the  
body of Christ" by destroying in large  
numbers the real and imagined enemies  
of the Church, a disproportionate num-  
ber of whom seem to have been women  
or Queers (usually referred to as witches  
or heretics).

When Europeans came to the "new  
world," they brought not only their ra-  
cism and religious intolerance, but  
their sexism and homophobia as well.  
Genocide was only a small step for a  
culture already engaged in gynocide and  
homo-cide.

Lesbian and Gay male figures in  
American Indian society were early tar-  
gets of European oppression. An en-  
graving survives that shows Spanish  
soldiers setting dogs on a native ber-  
dache (Indian transvestite) during the  
conquest of Central America, and an-  
other conquistador boasted of having  
destroyed homoerotic art in Colombia.  
Missionaries, both Catholic and Protes-  
tant, were horrified to find Queer people  
holding positions of honor and respect  
among Native American tribes. Alvar  
Núñez Cabeza De Aca, an "explorer"  
who claimed to have been held captive  
among the Indians of Florida between  
1528 and 1533, reported: "I saw a devil-  
ish thing, and it is that I saw one man  
married to another, and these are impo-  
tent, effeminate men..." A Franciscan  
missionary, Francisco De Pareja, served  
as a missionary to the Timucuan Indians,  
in the area between what is now Geor-  
gia and Florida, from 1595 to 1616. He  
wrote a confessional containing ques-  
tions for priests to ask their penitents,  
including explicit queries about both  
male and female homosexual behavior.  
Father Zenobius Membre, recounting  
his observances in Illinois in 1680-81,  
said the Indians "are lewd, and even  
unnaturally so, having boys dressed as  
women, destined for infamous pur-  
poses." In relation to "special friend-  
ships among young men," Joseph  
Francois Lafitau noted in 1717 that "the  
Missionaries suppressed attachments of  
this on account of the abuses which they  
feared would result from them..." He  
also contended the following about the  
transvestites found among some tribes:  
"Although the religious spirit which  
made them embrace this state causes  
them to be regarded as exceptional hu-  
man beings, they are never-the-less re-  
ally fallen...into the contempt into which  
the priests of Venus, Urania and Cybele

were held of old..." He was unsure  
whether this was caused by their  
"shameful passions" or "because of the  
ignorance of the Europeans..."

It is interesting to note how often ho-  
mophobic sentiments are linked to sex-  
ist ones. Male transvestites and  
berdache are repeatedly described as  
"degrading themselves" by assuming  
women's clothing and work and status,  
and it is sometimes even seen as a pun-  
ishment for homosexual behavior. Such  
interpretations are as likely projections  
of European ideology as a legitimate re-  
flection of tribal beliefs. Edwin T. Denig,  
writing about a "Woman Chief" of the  
Crow, offers this insight: "It has always  
been the custom with these wandering  
people to regard females in an inferior  
light in every way. They have no voice in  
council, or anything to say in assemblies  
founded by men..." While it is impossible  
to generalize about "all Native Ameri-  
cans," we know that in many tribes  
women held great influence and power,  
that it was primarily at white insistence  
that Indian women were excluded from  
treaty-making councils, and that many  
Indian leaders expressed astonishment  
that white women were excluded from  
the decision-making process. Without

tribal power, can never be reconciled  
with patriarchal conceptions of power. It  
can never be effectively expressed  
through existing political and economic  
institutions, which is why political lob-  
bying and legal actions to protect our  
rights, while certainly necessary, can  
never truly accomplish the goals of lib-  
eration. At this unique, self-conscious  
juncture in history, we can and must  
create our own channels and institu-  
tions for the exploration of Queer mys-  
teries and the expression of Queer  
energy.

## CLOWNS, TRICKSTERS, ACTIVISTS

To a certain extent, the new activism  
of the 80s and 90s has already shown us  
the way. ACT UP and, more recently,  
Queer Nation, embody an unmistakably  
Queer perspective; non-hierarchical,  
even anarchical, they combine serious-  
ness with humor, politics with play.  
They can be seen as collective expres-  
sions of powerful and pervasive Queer  
archetypes — Tricksters and Sacred  
Clowns.

The Trickster is a figure common to  
nearly every human culture, but espe-  
cially visible in American Indian sto-



Part of the history of queer resistance — protestors trash a cop car during the "White Knight" riots after the murder of Harvey Milk.

the participation of women, how could  
any people be in balance or in harmony  
with the world?

Queer figures were targets because  
they were visible, and they were visible  
because, in many cases, they were lead-  
ers. The berdache, the winkte, the  
koskalaka held positions of power — not  
power in patriarchal terms but as it was  
experienced in the tribal context. Power,  
not as a control over the actions of oth-  
ers, but as a function of relationship: to  
oneself, to the community, to Spirits  
and/or Divinity and to the natural world.

This is what we need to understand.  
Queer power, like women's power and

ries, "a creature who exists to break  
taboos, violate categories, and defy  
structure...the Trickster...libidinous,  
scatological, of indeterminate sex  
and changeable gender. Tricksters  
ritually violate taboos by dressing as  
women (the Winnebago Trickster  
even becomes female for a time and  
bears children, only to remember  
suddenly that he is also a man and to  
move on.) They demonstrate contin-  
gency of order, the fragility of social  
custom...Disorder defines the Trick-  
ster, but so does power. The Trickster

(Continued on next page)

## Broadsheet?

Like it says to the right in the mast-  
head, when we're really broke we pub-  
lish a "broadsheet" edition — 8 pages  
instead of 16 — rather than having to  
skip a month.

*Love and Rage* is paid for by anarchist  
activists, and we depend on your support.  
Please contribute now or pledge on a  
regular basis. We need your help to  
publish on a monthly basis.

Stuff we had planned to print in the 8  
pages which aren't here this month will  
appear next month.

*Love and Rage* is created by the  
Love and Rage Network, a group of  
supporters who are in general agree-  
ment 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 (consis-  
tent with decisions of the conference)  
are made by a Network Council of peo-  
ple 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 Net-  
work 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 publish-  
ed. 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 col-  
lective. 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 internation-  
ally, 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  
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to our joint effort, you can become  
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**Coordinating Group**  
Audrey, Minneapolis, MN  
Brian, Williamstown, MA  
Dan, Brooklyn, NY  
Gustavo, Miami, FL  
Jacynthe, Vanier, Ontario  
Johnnie, Atlanta, GA  
Kieran, St. Paul, MN  
Laurie, Chicago, IL  
Liz, Boston, MA

**Matt, Facilitator, New York, NY**

**Production Group:**  
Gene, Dena, Jessica, Jane, Chris\*,  
Christopher, Chris\*, Bob, Matt,  
Jodi, Pollina\*

(PG Members who didn't work on  
this issue are marked with an \*\*)

**Translations:**  
Alvaro\*, Gustavo, Nina\*, Eugenio,  
Kathy\*, Astrid\*, Ana

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 in-  
stead 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 wait-  
ing 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  
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*Love and Rage* do not necessarily  
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ety 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.

BY JESSICA JONES  
**Q**UISP (QUEER WOMEN AND MEN UNITED IN Support of Political Prisoners), is a group of queers that believes fighting oppression through the support of political prisoners is a crucial act of solidarity. QUISP believes that this work can bring an understanding of the brutally repressive nature of the system to people while making a real difference to the lives of prisoners.

There are over one hundred political prisoners in the United States. They come out of a variety of movements for liberation. The Black Liberation movement — the Black Panthers, MOVE, and others — the American Indian Movement (AIM), the movement for Puerto Rican independence, the Mexicano/Chicano movement, and from the North American anti-imperialist movement — members of which were jailed specifically for actions done in support of the other movements mentioned.

There are also Irish prisoners, those jailed for anti-nuclear and anti-militarist work, anarchist prisoners, a Japanese prisoner, and at least 22 people jailed for refusing to fight in the Persian Gulf War. The Black, Indian, Puerto Rican and anti-imperialist movements were the targets of a particularly vicious campaign by the FBI's COunter INTELligence PROgram (COINTELPRO) designed to crush their organizations and present them to the public as insane, murderous and anti-social. In fact, it was the FBI which used tactics such as extensive surveillance, infiltration, the fostering of infighting through false letters, raids, murder, fire bombing, sensationalist misinformation campaigns, frame-ups and show trials. Many activists wound up dead or imprisoned, and their organizations were left slandered and broken.

Some of these prisoners are queer, all of them have been punished for resisting and all out fighting against the state.

Many people think that the practice of putting people in jail for their political beliefs went out with bell bottoms. In fact, the 80s saw many revolutionaries jailed, and we're likely to see more do time for fighting back. In 1991 there was a rash of COINTELPRO type harassment visited against ACT UP members — especially women — in Boston, New York and other cities. A nine year trial is coming to a close which will put at least two Puerto Rican *independentistas* — Yvonne Melendez and Filiberto Ojeda — and possibly several more behind bars in dubious connection to the 1983 robbery of a Hartford, Connecticut Wells Fargo depot, totalling \$7.1 million.

Those in prison must not be forgotten. Most of these prisoners struggle to maintain their political integrity and do political work within the prisons. They face severe punishment and restrictions for this. Prisoners are routinely subjected to arbitrary changes of rules, strip searches, sexual harassment, and denied access to contact, information and health care. People with AIDS in prison live half as long as PWAs on the outside.

Many political prisoners are locked in their cells for 23 hours a day, sent to the "hole" for minor infractions,

# QUISP:

## QUEERS SUPPORTING COMRADES BEHIND BARS

or put in solitary confinement for extended periods. The attempt to break their spirits can involve being put into a sensory deprivation cell — an empty room with white walls in which the lights are sometimes on for days or are switched on and off at odd hours to disorient the person inside. These cells may be too cold or under constant camera surveillance. This amounts to nothing less than psychological torture. All of this is to punish people for their political beliefs and actions and to coerce them to cease any further actions and repudiate their past.

QUISP came out of a long history of queer anti-imperialist activism. Many queers who came before them have put their lives on the line to support liberation movements. Resistance Conspiracy defendants Linda Evans, Laura Whitehorn and Susan Rosenberg are still serving time for doing so.

There are at least two other queer groups doing prisoner support. Out Of Control-Lesbian Committee to Support Women Political Prisoners does support and produce a newsletter out of San Francisco. QUISP of Chicago marched at Queer Pride dressed in beanies and t-shirts, carrying a banner that read, "Gee Beav, I didn't know there were political prisoners in the United States."

These groups and individuals inspired New York activists to come together specifically as queers as an ad hoc group called Lesbian and Gay Folks Supporting Political Prisoners. This was around the time of the International Tribunal on US Political Prisoners organized by Freedom Now in December of 1990.

Over time the group has solidified and taken on the catchier moniker. The amount of work QUISP has done over the past two years is impressive. They have organized several events to benefit political prisoners, including Eddie Hatcher, an HIV+ Native American; Oscar Lopez Rivera, a Puerto Rican political prisoner of war; Dhoruba Bin Wahad, a former Black Panther and political prisoner who is currently fighting attempts to reimprison him; and Mumia Abu-Jamal, a journalist and former Black Panther who is currently on death row.

The group has also organized on numerous occasions to turn people out to courtrooms and streets to demand release of prisoners, and organized a teach-in on FBI harassment when it was especially needed by ACT UP and Queer Nation.

QUISP has turned out to be a small group of white people taking leadership from and doing support for people of color. This is a common practice in the white

anti-imperialist movement that many of QUISP's members come from. However, this raises the specter of yet another white queer organization representing the multi-racial queer community in a particular area of work, this time prisoner solidarity work. Member Kate Holum says that at this point, their responsibility as white people is to organize white people to fight racism — to be true allies to people of color, rather than trying to recruit them.

The concept of being "allies" involves recognizing the political work that people of color are doing and supporting them in doing that, on the one hand, and taking the responsibility for educating white people about racism, on the other.

QUISP works on the concepts of principled coalition and solidarity. QUISP is opposed to all forms of oppression on principle — they believe that, as Laura Whitehorn says, "we cannot be full human beings unless we fight for all the oppressed. Otherwise our struggle is just as individualist, and racist as the dominant society. In that case we'll never win anything worth fighting for." So we fight for the liberation of others as we fight for the liberation of ourselves — because it's the right thing to do and it's totally worth it — and that's solidarity.

Sometimes this means supporting people whose politics on queer issues are less than fabulous. For instance, QUISP has been engaged in a dialogue with Mumia Abu-Jamal. He has said that he believes heterosexual relationships are more natural than homosexual ones. In the same letter he stated that he wouldn't tell other people how to live their lives and that he very much appreciated QUISP's support. QUISP supports Mumia because he could die for what he fought for, and that is wrong and that is racist. They will support him, but they won't back down on their commitment to ending their own oppression, nor will they be silent about it.

As the US government continues to show its willingness to severely punish any resistance to the grind of poverty, racism, disease and violence — from L.A. to San Juan — we must sustain and create networks that will fight for our imprisoned comrades. We must show people that their efforts in the struggle for liberation will not be forgotten.

QUISP  
Box 282, NYC 10025  
(212) 969-8598

## 500 Queers

continuallyaltershis/herbody, creates and recreates an identity...At war with convention, body gender, the Trickster personifies unfettered human potential." Like Tricksters, Sacred Clowns of one form or another have existed in many cultures, but they play a uniquely important role in Native American tribal societies. In some tribes, the Clown is primarily a ritual persona, adopted for certain ceremonies, as in the Hopi *kachina* dances. In others, it may be a full-time identity, perhaps taken as a result of a dream, as with the Sioux *heyoka*. What is common to all these cases is that the Clown is a powerful figure, and for all his/her deviant, perhaps otherwise unacceptable behavior, the Clown has profound religious and social implications for the life of the tribe. He/she, like the Trickster, stands as a symbol of possibility, a reminder that there are many valid ways to be human and that our ways and customs are only that — ours — and not divinely inspired law. This is a role which Queer figures have frequently played for the "straight" society in which they live: to stand as the other, the mirror, in which that society can see itself.

A good example of what I'm talking about is the famous (or infamous) ACT UP and WHAM! (Women's Health Action Mobilization) demonstration at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, when activists disrupted the Catholic mass in order to protest the church's position on AIDS education and Gay rights. Responses ran the gamut from cheers to outrage (even in the Queer community). Radicals called it a long overdue statement; moderates condemned it as unnecessarily inflammatory and disrespectful. But everyone, it

seems to me, missed the most important point — viewed from the right perspective, it was a profoundly spiritual action, and a legitimate expression of authentic Queer power. One of the major roles of the Sacred Clown is to act as counterpoint to the "respectable" and "serious" participants of religious ceremonies. Irreverently — even "disrespectfully" in Western terms — the Clowns disrupt, mock, and generally parody the sacred rites. But the Clown is sacred too, a means of "seeing through" the cultural symbols and recognizing them for the metaphors they are. By introducing humor (and often explicit sexuality) where it would not be expected by Western standards, the Sacred Clown in effect says, "See, this is only a show after all, and these are only actors, not gods. Let's not take every thing so literally. These ceremonies stand for something sacred, but they themselves are no more (or less) sacred than eating, making love, or taking a piss." In this way, the Clown denies the separation of experience into sacred and profane — a separation the Catholic Church and all of Western culture have institutionalized — and represents the holiness of all life.

When we take on a given identity, consciously or unconsciously, then we invoke certain archetypal patterns, from within and without. The interplay of our volition, with these ancient forms of being is the dance of life. There is power in these Queer images, and trouble, too. The two are never very far apart. The bias and the exclusivity of Western society have torn apart the pieces of the sacred pattern. But when we wield Queer Power, it naturally flows toward Queer forms of expression.

### SEXUALITY AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

I have focused on Native American identities for many reasons, but identi-

ties are always historically specific and must be understood in a cultural context. While I believe that rigid categories of sexual preference or orientation, especially when applied to others, do violence to the flexibility and diversity of individual experience, I cannot accept the idea of a common, undifferentiated sexuality which is then directed and formed by experience or by society. People are differentiated, both sexually and otherwise, and to pretend they are not leads to the same reductionism as the claim that all religions are simply cultural interpretations of some generic, basal spirituality. Such positions destroy the mystery of both religion and sex.

I have wrestled with both sexual and cultural/racial identity, and found no easy resolution to either. Between the idea that there is a fixed and unchanging "gay" nature which has been present in all times and places, and the conception of identity as a completely cultural construction, it seems to me there is a complex realm of interplay and interaction. Choice, context and nature all play a part in what we are.

1992 and its accompanying debate on the legitimacy of official vs minority history can provide us with a context for making connections that may never come again. Over several decades, the degree to which racism against Native Americans and others has been a part of official US policy has been gradually uncovered. It is important to continue exploring and confronting these facts. But a complimentary investigation into the role of homophobia and political tradition has barely been started. We know, of course, that during the McCarthy era, "Queer baiting" became nearly as common as "red baiting." And in recent years Gay rights have taken a position second only to abortion in polarizing opposition between progressive groups and the religious Right. But the history

of these phenomena has yet to be fully explored. For example, in 1779 Thomas Gedderson authored a bill revising certain Virginia laws, adding sodomy to a list of crimes including polygamy and rape, for which the punishment was castration for a man and, for a woman, cutting a hole of at least one and a half inches in the nose.

The previous penalty had been death, so perhaps these were considered liberal advances in their day. During President Truman's administration, the appointment of Kathryn McHale, a former executivedirector of the American Association of University Women, to the Subversive Activities Control Board, was torpedoed by Senator Pat McCarran when he "threatened to hold public hearings during which 'information would be brought out that she was a lesbian.'" Accusations of lesbianism have been used to discredit and divide the Women's Movement from its beginnings.

These are not isolated incidents. They are part of a pervasive and usually unarticulated homophobic politics.

There is a historical continuity between the homophobic missionaries and Jesse Helms; between Balboa's soldiers and modern fag bashers; between the devastating epidemics of smallpox and other diseases (sometimes deliberately seeded with infected blankets) which decimated Indian tribes and the AIDS crisis of today.

1992 is an opportunity to ask questions and present answers. It is also a chance to build powerful connections between different groups struggling against racism, sexism, and homophobia. We must not waste this potential. And in the process, we can further explore the possibilities of expressing our social, political, and spiritual perspectives and of wielding our uniquely Queer power in old and new ways. ★

# LOS ANGELES

press, there really was significant racism in the widespread looting of Korean owned businesses. Korean shops were clearly singled out for looting.

There are many factors that contribute to the animosity between the Black and Korean communities. African-Americans living in LA constitute a minority amongst minorities. The Hispanic and Asian communities are both growing rapidly, and many Blacks feel like they're being pushed out. The Asian, Hispanic and Black communities are pitted against each other in a battle to survive. The beating of Rodney King was just one incident that primed the Black community of Los Angeles for revolt. Perhaps equally important was the shooting in the back of 14 year old Latasha Harlins by a Korean shop-owner who was let off with probation and community service.

This antagonism was exploited by the police, who facilitated the attacks on Korean shops by arresting armed Korean shop-owners while protecting white owned businesses.

The hyped incidents of attacks on whites or Asians, while inexcusable, need to be put into perspective: compare four incidents in over a week with the average number of racists assaults by the LAPD in one day! And, in each case, not only did the majority of people condemn the attacks as misdirected and wrong, but individuals — without guns, nightsticks or stinking badges — intervened, at their own personal risk, and directly stopped them. (And not like Officer Briseno, the "turncoat" cop, claimed he helped Rodney King by stomping on his back to get him to stay still.)

But these examples are evidence of misdirection — or maybe stupidity or even malice — but certainly not of the "mindlessness" or "randomness" of the violence. On the other hand, even in the reports from the usual unreliable sources, it was obvious that much of the rage was strikingly well directed: police cars, police stations and the police themselves were prime targets. So were government offices, banks, large chain stores...and gunshops.

## CAUSES OF THE REBELLION

The rebellion was righteous despite some ugliness.

While people of many different backgrounds participated in the action, poorer African Americans led the way because they have the least to lose.

Many African Americans face unemployment, or have low paying, go-nowhere jobs. Many are unable to obtain the basic necessities of life: decent housing, health care, food. Black people face discrimination in getting education and jobs.

People of color have an extremely high probability of being put in prison. Of Black men between the ages 20 and 29, 1 in 4 will go to prison or be placed on probation. 60% of the wimmin in prison are wimmin of color. Poverty and the absence of other opportunities to escape it compel many Black youth to turn to gangs, drugs, and anti-social crime. An estimated 150,000 youth belong to the roughly 1,000 LA gangs. Half of all Black and Hispanic youth of South Central LA belong to gangs. In central LA, half of the Black families fall below the poverty line, and youth unemployment hovers at 50%.

In LA there is a widespread sense that community leaders and a Black political establishment betrayed the community. There were tensions building before the verdict, ie, the standoff between Police Chief Darryl Gates and Mayor Tom Bradley. After the beating of King, the police commission suspended Gates, but the city council reinstated him, appeasing pro-police white voters.

In July of 1991, Gates promised to resign by April of '92, but was still in office when the trial verdict was released (actually, he wasn't in his office, he was at a fundraiser). In short, the wimpiness of the mayor and white liberals showed clearly when compared to the political power of Gates. At a meeting at the First A.M.E. Church during the first hours of rioting, the mayor, clergy, and community leaders were booed and ignored by much of the audience. A young black womyn charged the podium, and took control of the mike. "We can't rely on these people up here to act...I believe

they have our best interests at heart, but we cannot rely on them...You know what we need to do."

## DON'T BELIEVE THE HYPE

The poor of LA had little to lose. Is it any surprise people reacted the way that they did? The plight of the poor is usually ignored. For the past 12 years politicians have succeeded in demonizing Blacks. From the Willie Horton ad designed to transform racist fear into votes for Bush, to the racial code words of "welfare," "crime," and "affirmative action," an atmosphere of vicious racism has been consciously cultivated by conservatives and liberals alike.

The result of this is that there is no longer a War on Poverty, but an outright War on the Poor in the disguises of the war on drugs, crime prevention, reforming welfare, etc. Racism, oppression, and the politics that divide people are what capitalism thrives on, and what maintains this white supremacist system. The rebellion in LA was a bold rejection of "business as usual." It was to be expected, not condemned.

The old racist lies of recent political campaigns have been transformed into new racist lies about the rebellion. Politicians and the capitalist media would have us believe that people were consciously burning down their own homes in some irrational expression of rage. Certainly, people's homes were burnt down. Fires set to more deserving targets sometimes accidentally spread to people's homes. Some people's homes may have been set on fire deliberately. We are not in a position to know to what degree these incidents involved deserving targets. What we do know is that the portrayal of the Black community of Los Angeles as so insane as to destroy their own homes is propaganda designed to dehumanize that community and prepare us for the brutal repression that followed the rebellion.

## THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

The Los Angeles revolt and the shock waves that spread around the world struck fear in the hearts of the US ruling elite. Almost immediately they began to strike back. The invasion of Los Angeles first by National Guard and then by Federal troops reflected that war had broken out in Los Angeles, and that the longer the revolt lasted the further it might spread. A curfew was established and basic civil liberties were suspended. The California courts extended the period of time people could be held under arrest without charge from 24 hours to a full week. Over 14,000 people were arrested in Los Angeles. Over 1,000 people were deported as "illegal aliens." Over 2,000 people were arrested in sweeps in the San Francisco Bay area, at least half of whom were clearly engaged only in peaceful protest. The National Guard was mobilized in Las Vegas as well.

The military and police response to the revolt went right along with the effective use of television for social control. At first, the television news eagerly broadcast helicopter shots of the early hours of the revolt. But as it became clear that the Los Angeles uprising was no ordinary riot, that it was sweeping the second largest city in the US, and becoming the largest single expression of domestic unrest since the Civil War, the television coverage shifted to damage-control mode. The spread of the unrest to every corner of the country could not be denied, so it was reduced to short clips without meaningful information about the scale of the revolt, mixed with lengthier accounts of "socially acceptable" expressions of protest. Every hour we were assured that calm was returning, that law and order were being restored.

Every effort was made to chill out the militancy of the moment. When Berkeley High School students marched on a police station, the police issued a statement in support of the demonstration. In Minneapolis, a coalition lead largely by the Socialist Workers Party negotiated with the

police to prevent any violence, to keep the massive police mobilization out of view (but not so far away that they could not attack), but the Chief of Police and prominent pro-police politicians were allowed to join the march unmolested.

Then Hollywood got in on the act. Actors attracted massive media attention for performing the mundane tasks of cleaning up. The revolt was being recuperated by the spectacle, transformed from the act of thousands of people reclaiming control over their lives to a topic for commentary by Tom Petty, Arsenio Hall, and the predictable array of politicians and journalists.

## THE WAR AT HOME

But the Los Angeles revolt was not a movie. It was a real event in the lives of real people. It was the collective expression of a community that had been oppressed and brutalized for too long, and had decided to fight back. The jurors in Simi Valley explained that they based their verdict acquitting the four cops charged with beating Rodney King on more than the 81 seconds of videotape that the whole world had seen. They said they based it on what happened before the video-taped beating. They meant 15 minutes before — not 400 years before.

There was a tremendous amount of anger expressed across the country, revealing the depth of the crisis in our soci-

ety. What happened in LA over a week was an intensified version of what's been going on all along. When people are enslaved, caged, beaten and denied the basics of life, they react in many ways. Some seek revenge, some to fulfill their needs, some kill. 10,000 business destroyed, 58 dead, nearly 10,000 arrested, a billion dollars worth of damage. An increasingly fascist USA has intensified its war on Blacks, taking back the crumbs, changing the rules of government aid to punish. There's been a long history of injustice that led up to what happened in Los Angeles. From the time of slavery to the present, Africans living in America have struggled for their freedom. The events in Los Angeles were the continuation of this struggle. The verdict in the trial of officers Wind, Koon, Briseno and Powell confirmed and reiterated the truth — that there is still no justice for African Americans. The reaction of LA's Black community was a clear sign that the fight will not end until there is justice.

foreign occupation. Forced into ghettos or dispersed in housing projects, the Black community is subjected to police and judicial practices that closely resemble colonial military occupation. Police forces in every major city are trained in counter-insurgency techniques perfected by the British and US militaries in their wars against Third World national liberation movements. Black men make up 46% of the US prison population. The drug trade and accompanying violence have been used to systematically tear apart whatever kind of cohesive community Black people have been able to create. These communities have not been allowed to be self-sufficient, so some people took things into their own hands.

The dispatch of the Army, Marines, National Guard and more police could be viewed as merely the sending in of reinforcements for a war that's seen many battles. The Los Angeles revolt needs to be understood historically. It needs to be seen as part of a continuing struggle. It also needs to be seen as the serious departure from the previous terms of that struggle that it is. A good place to start to understand what happened in Los Angeles in 1992 is to remember the Watts rebellion of 1965.

## WATTS UP DOC?

In the summer of 1965, the Watts area of Los Angeles rose up in revolt. The Watts revolt was the first major urban



uprising of the 1960s. It signalled a new phase in the struggle for Black liberation. The Civil Rights movement that had arisen in the South was unable to speak effectively to the needs of urban Black communities elsewhere. Like the recent Los Angeles uprising, the Watts revolt was sparked by an incident involving police violence, but reflected a much deeper alienation from US society, indeed from capitalism as a system. The Watts revolt was the beginning of a revolutionary phase for the Black movement. The revolutionary Black movement that emerged in the following years took the form of both more spontaneous uprisings (Detroit and Newark in 1967, everywhere in 1968), and the creation of organizations like the Black Panther Party, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and others. By the early 1970s this movement had been effectively crushed by state repression where it had not been torn apart by its own internal tensions.

It is not unlikely that the coming years will see more urban uprisings or even the establishment of popular revolutionary Black organizations. There are many differences between the current situation and the situation in the 1960s, but knowing what happened then can help us respond more effectively to events

# The Fire This Time

this time around. By studying the events of that period we can see how the movement exploited or failed to exploit the crises that were pulling the system in different directions.

One of the big differences between the Watts rebellion and the more recent Los Angeles revolt is the political context in which the two events took place. Watts was in many ways an expression of the failure of the civil rights movement in the South to speak to the economic issues confronting the urban Black communities of the North. But, by the same token, it took place in the context of that movement. There were sections of the civil rights movement who were able to rise to the occasion and organize a more militant and revolutionary Black liberation movement. When the founders of the Oakland based Black Panther Party took the Black Panther symbol from the Mississippi-base Lowndes County Freedom Organization it was an expression of the continuity that existed with the earlier Southern phase of the civil rights movement.

*"The Crenshaw shopping district, the heart of L.A.'s Black middle class and the only significant commercial district in South Central had burned to the ground."*

*Village Voice*

In 1965 there was not much of a Black middle class. One of the consequences

pated in what was none the less mainly a Black uprising. While it is important to see how the spirit of revolt that surged forward in the Black community can be spread to the rest of the working class and to other oppressed peoples, it is also important to acknowledge what the Los Angeles revolt demonstrates so clearly: the centrality of the fight for Black liberation to any revolutionary movement in the US. Try to imagine a white working class community rising up tomorrow like South Central Los Angeles and the situation becomes clear.

Many white Americans, when faced with the struggles of African Americans, are unable or unwilling to deal with their own racism. White working class communities, even the poorest ones, lack the history of revolt, the culture of resistance, the sense of common antagonism with the police that characterizes most Black communities. While most working class whites will never escape their class standing, the possibility is a thousand times greater than for most Black people. The poorest white person can imagine themselves owning a small store under the existing system, and therefore feels they have something to lose when they see revolts like those that rocked Los Angeles. This sentiment is considerably less widespread in the Black community. The popularity of anti-police rap songs among Black youth does not have a parallel among white youth.

multi-racial revolutionary movement, now is the time to provide concrete support for Black revolutionaries. At the same time we need to build on the sense of solidarity with the revolt that was expressed in many other communities. There is a fight going on right now for the conscience of white America. For a moment, millions of white people saw clearly in the Rodney King verdict the brutal injustice that is the daily experience of Black people in the US. ABC News reported that 39% of white Americans believe that the government "only responds to blacks when they resort to violence." Many saw in the revolt an expression of righteous anger, and many poured into the streets to express their outrage as well.

This momentary expression of solidarity scares the hell out of the powers-that-be who are working furiously to reverse it. The reversal will take two forms: liberal cooptation with promises of new social programs, and outright racist reaction. We need to fight back against both. We need to uphold the revolt, not just as an expression of righteous outrage, but as an opening round in what we hope will be a rising tide of popular uprisings. The revolt should not be a wake-up call for the ruling class, so that they can throw the poor a few more crumbs. It should be a wake-up call for the oppressed, showing the possibility of a revolutionary solution to our problems. We also need to take up the fight against racism within white working class communities. Black people are not the only people looking for a radical way out of the present situation. A growing fascist movement in white communities is also speaking to many people's deep fears. We need to be in those communities to challenge this movement, to build solidarity with the Black liberation movement, and to cultivate a spirit of revolt that sees in the uprisings in the Black community the beginnings of an even broader struggle for a world worth living in.

## SPONTANEOUS REVOLT AND PREPARATIONS FOR REVOLUTION

But the need for such preparations should not be confused with the acceptance of any bunch of self-appointed leaders claiming to know what's best for the people.

Perhaps most positive of all was the real festivity evident — created cooperatively among a large, diverse, multiracial populace taking control for themselves for once. It was a brief moment that was enormously far from being able to last, let alone grow, but we still find it inspiring.

It is also challenging and frightening, for it forces us to ask: how can the tremendous changes necessary to actually start achieving anarchy ever come about, and what, if anything, can anarchists do to speed them? The people of South Central Los Angeles were able to perform amazing feats with very little formal organization. Contrary to the lies about turning on their own community, people invaded Hollywood and Beverly Hills, striking at the rich who have made their lives miserable, in a way that has not been seen in many previous urban uprisings. But, on the most elemental level, the moment passed because the cops — with the aid of over 10,000 state police, Army, Marines, and National Guards — were able to regain and hold control of the streets. Although scattered driveby shootings of cops and guards, among other forms of resistance, continued for several weeks in Los Angeles and a few other places like Las Vegas, all the large scale uprisings were put down within a few days. The people did not have the capacity to effectively resist the military occupation of their communities, either by direct confrontation, guerilla activity, or by spreading the rebellion into the ranks of the Army and National Guard. The media blackout succeeded in limiting the spread of revolt. A strong revolutionary media could have broken the blackout. Recent events have shown that mass

urban uprisings are one way to challenge the state's power. Defeating it will take a more sustained, determined, organized struggle.

Unless there are already at least seeds of truly collective, non-hierarchical organization at a directly democratic level to consciously oppose authoritarian methods, these will come out on top, particularly in a military situation.

Then the fact must be faced that looting has only very short-term viability as a supply solution. Very soon inventories are depleted and then must be restocked, stuff grown, moved around, etc. — and if domination is to be ended, this must all be organized directly, democratically and collectively by all those involved in the doing. But surely, it can't be the same things made the same way, the same stuff grown where and how it was, all moved to and from the same places by the same methods. We — all participating individuals, around the world — will have to re-examine and re-do everything.

Is the leap from here to there possible, let alone probable? We don't know. Those who'd like to see it happen can and should do something to make it more possible/probable. We can't — and shouldn't try to — create non-hierarchical collectives spanning the cities from ghetto to barrio. We can and should organize ourselves, directly, non-hierarchically, on the level we can, beginning with affinity groups and political collectives. We can't — and shouldn't try to — build people's militias; we can — and should — take seriously (though not humorlessly) our encounters with the cops, learning what we can, going as far as we can, and preparing for tomorrow. We can't decide how production and distribution should be reorganized, but we can and should study and investigate various alternatives, not simply as theories (although that has its merit), but in really creating alternative models for housing, childcare, health, food supply, entertainment, communication, etc., etc. (and learning from those, such as Food Not Bombs, Wimmin's self-health collectives, etc., which already exist).

Undoubtedly this analysis is insufficient and incomplete. We do not doubt that we suffer from misinformation and misperceptions of what has been occurring. Nonetheless, it's important for anarchists to understand and learn from what has happened; we hope others will correct, add to, and contradict these ideas. ★

*This article was spliced together from a couple of different sources. Gene, Dena, and Chris of the Production Group worked on an article together, and did the final putting together. Substantial portions of an article written by Bruce Kala were included, and lots of information came from the many and excellent reports we got from around North America and around the world. (Look for all of those in the discussion bulletin.)*

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of the urban revolts of the 1960s was the creation of a larger Black middle class to serve as a buffer for what remained a white supremacist system. During the recent rebellion, this new Black middle class was also targeted by the people.

In 1992 there does not exist a movement in the Black community that compares to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. This does not mean that people will not create such a movement. It does mean that a new movement is likely to reflect more deeply a rejection of the liberal integrationist politics of the traditional civil rights movement. The question of Black self-determination is likely to take a more prominent place beside more traditional demands for civil rights in any resurgent Black movement. The civil rights movement has failed the Black community in its promise to bring Blacks into the mainstream of a white supremacist society. The establishment of forces of Black autonomous power, from organizations of struggle to educational institutions, will be a priority in the coming period.

## BLACK POWER AND THE CLASS WAR

The revolt that rocked Los Angeles had both racial and class characteristics. Chicanos, whites, and others partici-

Millions of people, who live lives very different from the people of South Central Los Angeles, felt a thrill at the sight of the revolt. That instinct towards solidarity is what needs to be transformed into a broad revolutionary movement. All sorts of people across the US (and around the world) responded to the revolt. This sense of solidarity reflects the potential among many sectors of society for revolt. It also indicates the importance of the Black community, since no other community has demonstrated the power to inspire such widespread revolt. We want to build a revolutionary movement that includes all sectors of the working class and all other people oppressed under this system. Making supporting the Black liberation movement a priority is a strategic decision based on the understanding that the Black liberation movement has a unique potential to inspire revolutionary action across this society.

The revolt in Los Angeles will very likely push forward the development of revolutionary forces within the Black community. These forces may remain relatively small, or they may grow dramatically. Either way, they will need support. They will become the immediate targets of state repression. If we are serious about building a broad and

# ANARCHIST BEATS GRAND JURY

BY MATT BLACK

ON THURSDAY, MAY 28TH LOVE and Rage Network supporter and Coordinating Group member Brian Coan appeared before a Federal Grand Jury. Brian was called to testify several weeks ago, apparently concerning a threat to the life of President Bush. Brian pledged non-cooperation with the Grand Jury, and refused to talk with Secret Service agents, the Assistant US Attorney in charge of the investigation, and refused to testify before the jury.

## WHAT HAPPENED

On Thursday, May 7th Brian was visited by a Secret Service agent at his college in Williamstown, Mass. The agent attempted to interview Brian, informing him that the Federal Government was conducting an investigation of him; Brian wisely refused. On Friday, May 8th two agents returned with local police and served Brian a summons to appear in Federal District Court before a Federal Grand Jury on May 28 in Springfield, MA. Although the summons didn't mention a specific charge, the Secret Service agent who delivered it said that it was related to a charge of threatening the life of the President.

During the next two weeks, Brian and his lawyer, Stanley Cohen, tried to find out what was going on, and tried to decide the best strategy. In the meantime, the Love and Rage office in NY faxed dozens of press releases, and mailed out hundreds of appeals for solidarity from other groups and individuals. All that work paid off. Brian was all over local and regional papers, and was the lead story on the local TV news. His story was picked up by the Associated Press. On Wednesday, May 27 Assistant US Attorney Kevin O'Regan's office was deluged with calls from outraged folks (thanks, you all!) who wanted to protest this harassment.

On Thursday, May 28th there were solidarity demonstrations for Brian in New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco and possibly other places (let us know, you anonymous demonstrators out there).

In addition, there was a demonstration at the Federal Court House in Springfield. At its peak, there were roughly 15 of us, having traveled from as nearby as the next town over to as far as from Boston, New York, and Hamilton (Ontario). We held a banner that read "Grand Jury: Hands Off Brian Coan" and passed out over 400 leaflets during a period of 3 hours. All the while men in suits with binoculars looked down on us from the Federal building and wouldn't wave back when we all waved. It was a tense 3 hours while we waited to find out whether Brian was in chains and on the way to prison for contempt, or whether he would remain free.

Well, he's still free. Apparently, the Secret Service and the US Attorney only had a piddly-shit piece of "evidence"; as I understand it, it was a message from a computer network that said something like "Bush: that guy needs a bullet." As Brian's lawyer said, "Threatening the life of the President? Oh, please." The SS and the US Attny tried to get Brian to talk to them before going into the jury, making an offer to drop the investigation if he would 'fess up that he had done it and tell them it was only a joke. Of course, Brian refuses to collaborate with the Secret Service and told them, politely, to stuff it.

He went in to the jury and refused to answer any of their questions. He did give them fingerprints, photographs, and a handwriting sample — all of which they had already, and refusing to give them would have sent him straight to jail. This was a difficult tactical decision, which I'll talk about later.

So, the feds decided not to do anything. The SS will snoop around Brian's home town — winning political points for our side as they stamp all over everyone's flower beds, toes, and sensibilities — and when they don't find anything (be-

cause there isn't anything there), they'll drop the investigation. (An important note — all the calls and letters that flooded O'Regan's office really unnerved them and definitely helped to create the conditions that have kept Brian free. Yay!!!)

## THE EVILS OF GRAND JURIES

Things were not always this rosy. This event had and has potentially serious consequences for Brian, the Love and Rage Network, and the anarchist movement in general. Grand Juries are scary things. Under Grand Jury rules, you can only have limited legal representation during the inquest, and you can be compelled to answer nearly any question, on any subject, or face imprisonment on contempt charges. You can be granted immunity from incriminating yourself (your rights under the Fifth Amendment), but once granted this limited immunity, you have no legal right to refuse to answer questions. The questions you are asked do not have to be directly related to the investigation at hand, so they could ask "Are you in The Fred Flinstone Armed Faction? What are the real names of the other members of The Barney Rubble Boom-Boom Collective?" and so on. In addition, your lawyer, observers, and the press are barred from the courtroom.

Because of the broad powers of Grand Jury inquests, they have often been used against political activists. People from other movements, such as the Puerto Rican independence movement, the Black liberation movement, and groups including the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee have faced similar situations. Some have spent time in jail for refusing to collaborate, but some like Brian have won — they didn't testify and they didn't do any time.

Because of the ugly history of the use of Grand Jury proceedings against political activists, Brian pledged non-collaboration with the inquiry. He felt, and many people including me agree, that this is the only politically acceptable position. However, there are different levels of non-collaboration. Total non-collaboration involves refusing to give them anything — refusing to recognize the Grand Jury at all — this almost surely lands you in prison. While this is a principled position, for tactical and strategic reasons, Brian chose to take another course. Brian felt that since the feds already had this information on him, and refusing to give it would have resulted in him going to prison for up to 18 months and draining the resources of a small movement, this was an appropriate tactical decision. These aren't perfectly clear cut issues. But the precedent that Brian has set is clear: don't go to jail over stuff they already have, but don't give them **anything at all** that they don't. This is a brave and principled decision and for one I'm really impressed with Brian's dedication, discipline, and willingness to go the prison to protect his comrades. Thanks Brian.

Grand Juries are shrouded in secrecy. Although we have no real way of knowing whether this is part of a larger investigation, whether other people will be subpoenaed, or whether this will cause us more wide-spread trouble, all the clues point to this being an isolated incident of Secret Service over-zealousness. But don't take this happy turn of events lightly. This might have been the beginning of large scale legal harassment of the Love and Rage Network, or of the journal *Arm The Spirit*, which Brian also works with, or of the anarchist movement in general. It's crucial that we know how to resist this kind of repression. For more information, call the Movement Support Network of the Center for Constitutional Rights at (212) 614 6438.

If you can contribute money to pay for Brian's defense costs (\$800) please send contributions made out to "Love and Rage" and earmarked for Brian to Love and Rage, POB 3, NYC 10012. ★

## Democrat Slime

OK, SO LAST MONTH WE TOLD all of you out there in anarchy-land about a group called Unconventional Action that's working to make life difficult for the Democratic National Convention this summer in New York. Well, seems that there are really two groups doing work around this from the anarchist community and we didn't realize it when we printed the last paper. So, in addition to Unconventional Action, there is also a group called The Con-Dem-92 Committee. We don't really understand what the relationship between the two groups is.

On the other hand, despite this confusion, and despite whatever energy here may go into making these distinctions between groups, there will definitely be plenty going on to fuck with the Democrats. At least one of the groups (Con-Dem '92) is planning on having an encampment in Central Park. As far as we know, at least one group (Unconventional Action) and probably both, are planning on working with pro-choice groups to trounce on Operation Rescue's plans to interfere with clinics during the convention.

There will be plenty happening, and hopefully plenty of anarchists here to do it all, so our advice is to get in touch with both groups, find out everything that's being planned, and come to New York!

Con-Dem-92  
POB 20950  
NY, NY 10009  
(212) 465 3175

Unconventional Action  
228 East 10th Street #24  
NYC, 10003  
(212) 465 2548

## Russian Anarchists Free!

BACK IN MARCH (VOL.3 NO.3) WE printed a history of the arrest, trial, and imprisonment of Alexei Rodionov and Alexander Kuznetsov, two Moscow anarchists arrested on trumped-up charges by the KGB in March, 1991. Well, since that article ran, the two have been unconditionally freed!

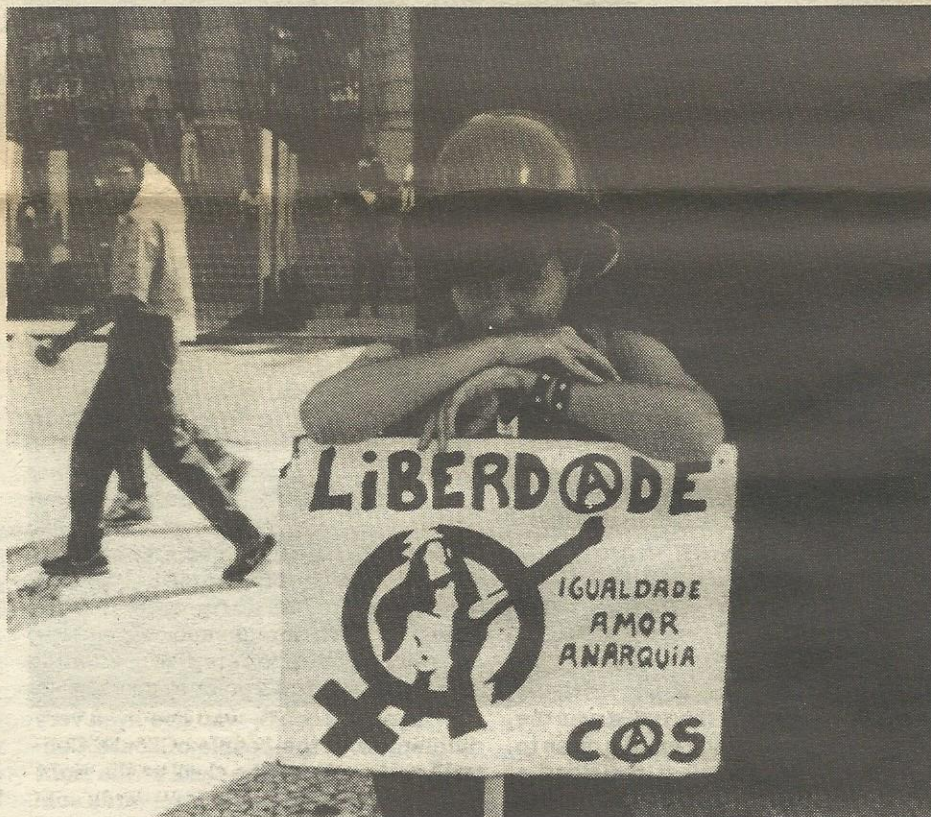
Apparently due to a combination of internal and external pressure — and clearly influenced by the protest demonstrations that happened around the world in support of Alexei and Alexander — the Russian government decided to release them and drop all the charges.

For a complete history of their case, see the March 1992 Anarchist Black Cross page. ★



## Spanish Synopsis

Due to the space limitations of printing a broadsheet edition, the Spanish section wasn't able to print what we had planned. Originally, we had planned to print a translation of Lin Elliott's article, "500 Queens of Resistance." Instead, this month's Spanish section is a translation of "US out of LA," this month's English cover story. Lin Elliott's excellent piece will appear in next month's Spanish section, finances willing. ★



A Brazilian anarchist comrade, leaning on a sign that says "Liberty - equality, love, anarchy."

## ANARCHIST CALENDAR

### June 26th - June 29th

THE NY3 FINALLY GET AN APPEAL  
The NY3, 3 imprisoned Black revolutionaries, finally overcome years of obstruction and get an appeal in New York.  
for info (212) 740 8557

### July 14th - July 22nd

DEMOLISH THE DEMOCRATS  
New York, New York  
Phone numbers and addresses of the groups doing organizing for this trouncing are in the article above entitled "Democrat Slime."

### June 28th - July 4th

EARTH FIRST! ROUND RIVER RENDEZVOUS  
San Juan Mts., Colorado  
EPI RRR PO Box 1166  
Boulder, CO 80306

### August 14th - 21st

RUMBLE WITH REPUBLICANS  
An anti-convention and Temporary Autonomous Zone encampment and demonstration. Lots to do in Houston, TX.  
Rob Los Ricos  
504 W 28th #81  
Austin, TX 78705

### Sometime this Year

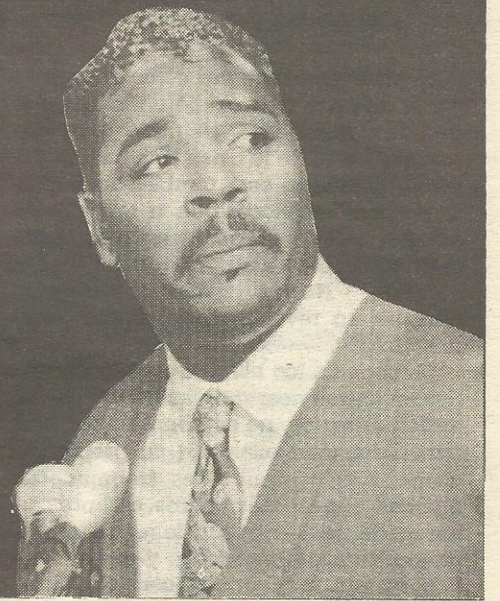
WEST COAST @ GATHERING  
(Between San Diego and Vancouver)  
Stefan Wray  
2440 16th Street, Box 241  
San Francisco, CA 94103

Want your events listed? Just tell us about them, darn it.

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EDICION RESUMIDA

## REBELIÓN:

## la opción de la nueva generación

**A**NARQUÍA! ES PROBABLEMENTE el término más usado por los medios de comunicación y el gobierno para describir lo que sucedió en Los Angeles y alrededor del mundo en repuesta a veredicto del caso Rodney King. La prensa ordinaria pretendió difamar a las personas que tomaron las calles y al anarquismo.

Mientras que el anarquismo no se logró en Los Angeles (ni en ninguna otra parte) algo importante se alcanzó, con limitaciones y con muchas cosas negativas, se dieron pasos de avance hacia el anarquismo. Lo más importante en docenas de ciudades, en diferentes áreas y por espacios de tiempo, el estado perdió su poder: la policía tuvo que correr para salvar sus vidas y el pueblo tomó el control de las calles y un poco del control de sus vidas.

Otra de las difamaciones fué tratar de igualar al anarquismo con la abolición (temporal) de las comodidades - tratando de confundir las necesidades humanas con las necesidades de compra y la mentalidad ordinaria del consumismo de productos (acompañado de su publicidad constante y sus altos precios). Con solo impulsar un bate (o lanzar un ladrillo), así, como por arte de magia, todo lo bueno se puede obtener gratuitamente y al alcance de todos, de acuerdo a sus necesidades y deseos sin la necesidad de tener que vender tu precioso tiempo y tus habilidades a ningún patrón.

Los anarquistas no solo debemos apoyar esto, sino que debe mas celebrar que se alcanzen sin sentido - hubo muchos problemas, y vendrán más, de los cuales muchos son lecciones negativas que tenemos que aprender. Frente a los ataques de la "izquierda" y de la derecha sobre la "violencia sin sentido = anarquismo", nosotros sostenemos que la (realmente conciente y liberadora) violencia es un paso adelante hacia el anarquismo.

### LA NUEVA SOCIEDAD DENTRO DEL CASCO DE LA VIEJA

No somos tan inocentes como para creer que ocurrió nada desagradable, brutal o mal en Los Angeles. La rebelión de Los Angeles sugirió la posibilidad de una nueva sociedad; pero esto también nos demostró que muchas de las personas que podrían construir una nueva sociedad cargan consigo muchos de los valores de la vieja. Esto fué fuerte utilizado por la prensa, hubo un significativo racismo en el extenso saqueo a los pequeños negocios de dueños coreanos. Las tiendas coreanas fueron blanco de saqueo. A esto contribuyen muchos factores que mantienen lo enemistad entre las comunidades negra y coreana. Los afroamericanos que viven en Los Angeles constituyen una minoría dentro de las minorías. Las comunidades hispanas y asiáticas han crecido rápidamente y muchas afroamericanos sienten que ellos han sido desplazados. Las comunidades asiática, hispana y negra están

una frente a la otra en la batalla por la supervivencia. La paliza de Rodney King fué solo un incidente que llevó a la comunidad negra de Los Angeles a la revuelta. Quizás, de igual importancia fué el incidente que se produjo, cuando un dueño de tienda coreano disparara por la espalda a la Tasha Harlins de solo 14 años de edad, saliendo con probatoria y prestación de servicios comunitarios. Este antagonismo fué explotado por la policía, quienes facilitaron los ataques a las tiendas coreanas al arrestar a los dueños de tiendas coreanas que trataban de defender armados sus negocios al igual que los propietarios blancos.

Desde luego, estos ejemplos utilizados por la prensa, son actos de violencia sin sentido; pero por otra parte la mayoría de los reportes, no dados a

ción y trabajos; tienen una extremadamente alta probabilidad de ser encarcelados. Un hombre negro entre la edad de 20 y 29 años, uno de cada cuatro va a la cárcel o es puesto bajo probatoria. La pobreza y la ausencia de oportunidades encaminan a los jóvenes hacia las bandas, las drogas y el crimen anti-social. En la ciudad de Los Angeles se estima que más de 150,000 jóvenes están envueltos en unas 1,000 bandas. La mitad de los jóvenes negros e hispanos del centro-sur de Los Angeles están envueltos en bandas. En el centro de Los Angeles la mitad de las familias negras viven por debajo de los niveles de pobreza y el desempleo juvenil sobrepasa el 50%.

También en Los Angeles existe un generalizado sentido de que los líderes



conocer, hacían obvio que la ira también, desembocó en acción directa: coches de policía, estaciones, comisarias y los propios policías fueron el blanco de estos ataques, al igual que todas las oficinas del gobierno, bancos, graúeles cadenas de tiendas y armerías.

### CAUSAS DE LA REBELION

La rebelión fué virtuosa a pesar de algunas cosas desagradables. Gente de diferentes procedencias participaron en la acción, los afroamericanos pobres encabezaron la revuelta por que ellos no tienen nada que perder.

Muchos afroamericanos enfrentan desempleo, bajos salarios o trabajos temporales. La mayoría de ellos son incapaces de satisfacer las necesidades básicas de vida: vivienda digna, atención médica y comida. El pueblo negro encara la discriminación al intentar obtener educa-

comunitarios y políticos negros traicionan a la comunidad. Esto contribuyó a crear las tensiones antes del veredicto, por ejemplo las reservas entre entre el Jefe de la Policía Darryl Gates y el Alcalde Tom Bradley.

### EL IMPERIO DEVUELVE EL GOLPE

La elite gobernante de los Estados Unidos casi inmediatamente devolvieron el golpe. La invasión de Los Angeles, primero por la Guardia Nacional y después por las tropas federales reflejaron que la represión no había sido solo para eliminar sus tensiones internas.

No es improbable, que en los próximos años veamos más sublevaciones e igualmente el desarrollo de organizaciones populares revolucionarios negros. Existen muchas diferencias entre la actual situación y la de los años sesentas, pero conociendo lo que sucedió entonces,

podemos ayudar a responder más efectivamente cuando estos acontecimientos de ese periódico, podemos ver como el movimiento falló al aprovechar las crisis que empujaron al sistema en diferentes direcciones.

Una de las grandes diferencias entre la rebelión de Watts y la reciente revuelta en Los Angeles es el contexto político en el que los dos eventos tuvieron lugar. Watts fué de muchas maneras una expresión del fracaso del movimiento por los derechos civiles en el sur, para hablar de los problemas económicos enfrentamientos por las comunidades urbanas negras del norte. Pero, esto a su vez afectó en su contexto a aquel movimiento. Hubo secciones del movimiento por los derechos civiles que fueron capaces de incrementar la lucha y de organizar un movimiento de liberación negro más militante y revolucionario. Cuando los fundadores del Partido Panteras Negras de Oakland tomaron como símbolo la Pantera Negra de la Organización de Liberación del Condado Lowndes con base en Mississippi fué una forma de expresar la continuidad que existió con la primera fase sureña del movimiento por los derechos civiles.

En 1965 había poca clase media negra. Una de las consecuencias de las revueltas urbanas de las sesentas fué la creación de una clase media negra más grande para servir como amor tiguador para hacer permanecer al sistema supremacista blanco. Durante la reciente rebelión, ésta clase media Negra también fué blanco de los ataques de la gente. En 1992 no existe un movimiento en la comunidad Negra que se compare a él movimiento por los derechos civiles de los sesentas. Esto no significa que la gente no crea tal movimiento. Sino, que un nuevo movimiento está destinado a reflejar más profundamente un rechazo a las políticas liberales integracionistas del tradicional movimiento por los derechos civiles. El tema de la autodeterminación Negra está destinado a tomar un lugar prominente junto a las demandas tradicionales por los derechos civiles en cualquier resurgimiento del movimiento Negro. El movimiento por los derechos civiles le ha fallado a la comunidad afro-americana en su promesa de subirlos al nivel de la sociedad supremacista blanca. El reestablecimiento de la fuerza del poder autónomo Negro, desde las organizaciones de lucha hasta las instituciones educacionales será una prioridad en los años venideros.

### PODER NEGRO Y LUCHA DE CLASES

La revuelta que estremeció a Los Angeles tuvo ambas características, racial y de clases. Chicanos, Blancos, y otros participaron en lo que no fue solamente una sublevación negra. Es importante tener

(Continúa en la página 2)

# Revuelta...

(Viene de la portada)

esto encuentra, para ver como el espíritu de la revuelta que surgió en la comunidad afro-americana se pudo extender hacia el resto de la clase trabajadora y a otros oprimidos, esto también es importante para reconocer que la revuelta de Los Angeles demostró claramente: la necesidad de centrarse en la lucha de liberación Negra para cualquier maximismo revolucionario en los Estados Unidos.

Muchos de los blancos norteamericanos, cuando encararon las luchas de los afroamericanos, no estaban preparados para lidiar con ellas por su propio racismo. Las comunidades trabajadores blancas, aún las más pobres, carentes de antecedentes históricos de revueltas, de una cultura de resistencia, y de un sentido común antagonista con la policía, que caracteriza a las comunidades afroamericanas.

Mientras que la mayoría de la clase trabajadora blanca nunca escapará de su posición, las posibilidades de permanecer igual de la mayoría del pueblo afroamericano es mil veces mayor. Los blancos más pobres, pueden imaginarse así mismo propietarios algún día de una pequeña tienda, bajo el sistema existente, mientras que este sentimiento esta menos extendido en las comunidades negras. La popularidad de las canciones de rap anti-policías entre la juventud negra no tiene paralelo en la juventud blanca.

Millones de personas, que viven vidas muy diferentes a la pueblo del centro sur de Los Angelesles conmovieron ante la escena de la revuelta. Este instinto hacia la solidaridad es lo que se necesita transformar en un movimiento revolucionario amplio. Todo tipo de personas atavés de los E.U. (y alrededor del mundo) respondieron a la revuelta. Este sentido de solidaridad refleja el potencial en muchos de los sectores de la sociedad para la sublevación. Esto también indica la importancia de la comunidad negra, ya que ninguna otra comunidad ha demostrado el poder de inspirar una revuelta. Queremos construir un movimiento que incluya todos los sectores de la clase trabajadora y a todos los oprimidos bajo este sistema. Construir y apoyar al movimiento de liberación negra es una prioridad dentro de la decisión estratégica basada en el entendimiento de que el movimiento de liberación Negra es el único potencial para inspirar una acción revolucionaria dentro de esta sociedad.

La revuelta de los Los Angeles, será probablemente lo que empuje hacia el desarrollo de una fuerza revolucionaria dentro de la comunidad afroamericana; estas fuerzas pueden permanecer relativamente débiles o quizás crezcan dramáticamente, de cualquier manera estas necesitaran apoyo. Seguramente se convertirán en el blanco directo de la represión estatal. Si somos realmente serios en la intención de construir un movimiento revolucionario amplio y multiracial, ahora es el momento de proveer apoyo concreto a los revolucionarios negros. Al mismo tiempo, necesitamos construir este sentido de solidaridad con la revuelta que fué expresado en otras comunidades. Existe una lucha que pasa ahora por las conciencias de la Norteamérica blanca. Por un momento, millones de blancos vieron claramente en el veredicto de Rodney King la brutal injusticia de la experiencia cotidiana del pueblo afroamericano en E.U. El noticiero de la cadena A.B.C. reportó que el 39% de los norteamericanos blancos creen que el gobierno "solo responde a los negros cuando ellos recurren a la violencia". Muchos vieron en la revuelta una expresión de enojo justificada y muchos salieron a las calles a manifestar su inconformidad.

Esta expresión momentánea de solidaridad asustó terriblemente al poder quien esta trabajando arduamente para erradicar todo vestigio. La guerra ha estallado en Los Angeles.

Un toque de queda fué establecido en Los Angeles y los libertades civiles básicas fueron suspendidas. Las Cortes de California extendieron el período de tiempo para las personas que fueran ar-

restadas sin cargos, de 24 horas a una semana completa. Más de 14,000 personas fueron arrestadas en Los Angeles, 2,000 indocumentados fueron deportadas como "ilegales" por encima de 2000 personas fueron arrestadas en el área de la bahía de San Francisco en protestas pacíficas. La guardia Nacional fue movilizada, también en Las Vegas. La respuesta militar y policiaca a la revuelta fue efectuada con la efectiva complicidad de la televisión para un control social. Al comienzo los noticieros de televisión, transmitieron ansiosos tomas desde helicópteros el inicio de la revuelta. Pero, como evidentemente la sublevación de Los Angeles no era un motín ordinario, sino la mayor expresión de inconformidad doméstica desde la Guerra Civil, la cobertura televisiva cambió inmediatamente sus transmisiones directas por noticias editadas. La generalización de la inconformidad en cada esquina del país no podía negarse, por lo que fueron reducidas las informaciones a cortas capsulas sin muchos datos de la magnitud de la protesta; alternados con comentarios "socialmente aceptados" de expresiones de inconformidad. A cada hora se nos aseguraba que la calma habia regresado y que la Ley y el Orden habian sido reestablecidas. Cada esfuerzo fue hecho para desalentar la militancia del momento.

## LA GUERRA EN CASA

Hubo una tremenda cantidad de furia expresada a través del país, revelando la profundidad de la crisis en nuestra sociedad. Lo que paso en Los Angeles en una semana; fué una versión intensificada de lo que esta sucediendo a todo lo largo del país. Cuando el pueblo es esclavizado, enjaulado, apaleado y se le niegan las necesidades básicas de vida, estos reaccionan de diferentes maneras. Algunos buscan la venganza, otros tratan de llenar sus necesidades y algunos matan. Diez mil negocios destruidos, cincuenta y ocho muertos, aproximadamente 10 mil arrestados y un billon de dolares en daños. El creciente fascismo en Estados Unidos ha intensificado su guerra contra los afro-americanos, retornando a la miseria, cambiando las reglas de la ayuda gubernamental para castigarlos.

El pueblo Negro ha venido luchando contra un sistema tan profundamente racista que solamente puede ser entendido como una forma de colonialismo domestico. Traidos a estas tierras como esclavos, los Negros han permanecido como una comunidad económicamente subordinada a una elite económica blanca, como una colonia bajo la ocupación de su metrópolis. Forzador a vivir en ghettos o dispersos en "proyectos habitacionales", la comunidad Afroamericana esta sujeta a prácticas policiales y judiciales muy cercanas a una ocupación militar colonial.

La revuelta de Los Angeles necesita ser entendida historicamente. Es necesario observarla como la continuación de la lucha. Esto también necesita verse como una salida seria de los términos previos de lo que esta lucha significa. Un buen punto de partida para poder entender lo que sucedió en Los Angeles en 1992 es recordando la rebelión de Watts de 1965.

## ¿QUE PASO EN WATTS?

En el verano de 1965, el área de Watts de Los Angeles se sublevo. La rebelión fue la mayor sublevación urbano de los años sesenta; esta marco una nueva fase en la lucha de liberación Negra. El movimiento por los Derechos Civiles que habia surgido en el Sur, fue incapaz de hablar efectivamente de las necesidades de las comunidades urbanas Afroamericanas. Al igual que la reciente revuelta de Los Angeles la sublevación de Watts estalló por un incidente relacionado con la violencia policial. Los motines de Watts fueron el comienzo de una etapa revolucionario Negro. Este movimiento que emergió en los años siguientes se formo de las dos más espontaneas sublevaciones (Detroit and Newark en 1967, en todas partes en 1968), la creación de organizaciones como el Partido Panteras Negras y la Liga de los Trabajadores Negros Revolucionarios y otros. Al comienzo de los setenta este movimiento habia sido ef-

cazmente aplastado por el Estado mediante dos vías: la cooptación liberal, con promesas de nuevos programas sociales y la cabal reacción racista.

## LA REBELION EXPONTANEA Y LA PREPARACIÓN DE LA REVOLUCION.

La necesidad de tal preparación no debe ser confundida con la aceptación de ningún auto-proclamado lider que pretende conocer que es lo mejor para el pueblo. Quizas lo más positivo de todo esto, fue la evidente coóperatividad entre una amplia, diversa y multiracial multitud tomando el control de si mismo por una vez; este fue solo por un breve espacio y esta muy lejos de ser capaz de lograrse, pero aún es inspirador.

Todo esto, nos fuerza a preguntarnos: ¿que tremendos cambios se necesitan para realmente empezar a lograr el anarquismo y como los anarquistas podemos acelerarlos? El pueblo de el sur centro de Los Angeles fue capaz de realizar asombrosas hazañas con muy poca organización formal. Contrariamente a las mentiras sobre la auto agresión a sus comunidades, el pueblo invadió Hollywood y Beverly Hills, impresionando a los ricos que han hecho sus vidas miserables de una manera nunca antes vista en las sublevaciones anteriores. Pero, en el nivel más elemental su momento paso, porque los policías-con la ayuda de más de 10 mil policías del Estado, los Marines la Guardia Nacional- fueron capaces de recuperar el control de las calles. Al menos, han germinado algunos semillas de verdadera colectividad, organizaciones no jerárquicas a un nivel de democracia directa para oponerse concientemente a los métodos autoritarios, esto salio a flote particularmente en esta situación militar.

El hecho de los saqueos debe verse solo como pequeño lapsus de tiempo que viavilizo la solución de las necesidades de provisiones. Muy pronto los inventarios seran hechos y se sustiran nuevamente los comercios y tiendas declarando perdidos que seran retribuidas por los compañías de seguro. Si la dominación se terminara, todo debe ser organizado directa, democratica y colectivamente por todos aquellos que esten involucrados en el que hacer. Seguramente, no poderemos hacer las mismas cosas de la misma manera, no se puede hacer lo mismo en todos los lugares, ni individuos que participano en la lucha alvededor del mundo-tenemos que re-examinar y re-hacerlo todo.

Todo aquellos/as que queremos ver un cambio debemos de hacer todo lo posible para lograrlo. No podemos-ni tratemos- crear colectivos no jerárquicos que abarquen las ciudades desde el ghetto al barrio. Pero si podemos y debemos organizarnos nosotros mismos directamente y no jerárquicamente en el nivel que podemos, empezando por grupos de afinidad y colectivos políticos. No podemos, ni debemos tratar de construir milicias del pueblo, podemos y debemos tomar seriamente nuestros enfrentamientos con la policía, aprendiendo lo que podemos, llegando tan lejos como podamos y preparamos para el mañana. No podemos decidir como debe ser la producción y la distribución reorganizada, pero si podemos y debemos estudiar e investigar varias alternativas, no solamente como teorías (aun que esto tenga su mérito) sino mediante la creación de modelos alternativos para la vivienda, el cuidado infantil, la salud, el abastecimiento de alimentos y comunicación.

Indudablemente este análisis es insuficiente e incompleto. No dudamos de que sufrimos de des información y de falta de percepción de lo que ha estado ocurriendo. Sin embargo, esto es importante para que el movimiento anarquista aprenda y entienda lo que ha sucedido; esperamos que otros corrijo, le agreguen y contrdigan estas ideas.

(Escrito colectivamente por Gene, Dema Crassy, Chris Day, Bruce Kala y otros.)

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Liz, Boston, MA  
Matt, Facilitator, New York, NY

Grupo de Producción:  
Gene, Dema, Dan\*, Jessica, Jane, Chris\*,  
Christopher, Chris\*, Bob, Matt\*, Polina, Kelly

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