

¡La Edición Zapatista de Amor y Rabia!

AMOR Y RABIA ES UN PERIÓDICO ANARQUISTA revolucionario producida por los compañer@s de la Federación Amor y Rabia en México, D.F. diez veces al año. Lleva la mayoría del contenido que trae la edición en inglés, pero también ofrece contenido autónoma. En la edición de enero '94, *Amor y Rabia* trae 12 páginas de información sobre la lucha Zapatista que se está llevando a cabo actualmente en el estado de Chiapas en México. Trae comunicados, las leyes revolucionarias para tierras liberadas por el EZLN, análisis anarquista y anti-autoritaria, artículos sobre la historia de la lucha Zapatista y conexiones entre luchas indígenas y anarquistas (específicamente el Magonismo).

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**AMOR
Y
RABIA**
UN PERIÓDICO ANARQUISTA
REVOLUCIONARIO

Guerra de Clases
—Estalla la Lucha

Armada en Chiapas



¡Nemi Zapata! Ayemo Miqui ¡Nemi Zapata!
¡ZAPATA VIVE! NO HA MUERTO ¡ZAPATA VIVE!

AÑO 1, NUMERO 1
ENERO 1994

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LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST
NEWSPAPER

- ★ ANARCHIST INTERVIEW WITH
SUBCOMANDANTE MARCOS
 - ★ FULL TEXT OF THE ZAPATISTAS' DEMANDS
 - ★ RON TABOR'S CRITIQUE OF MARXISM
 - ★ WOMEN, HEALTH CARE AND PSYCHIATRY
- AND MUCH, MUCH, MORE...

\$1

The Zapatista Struggle Continues!

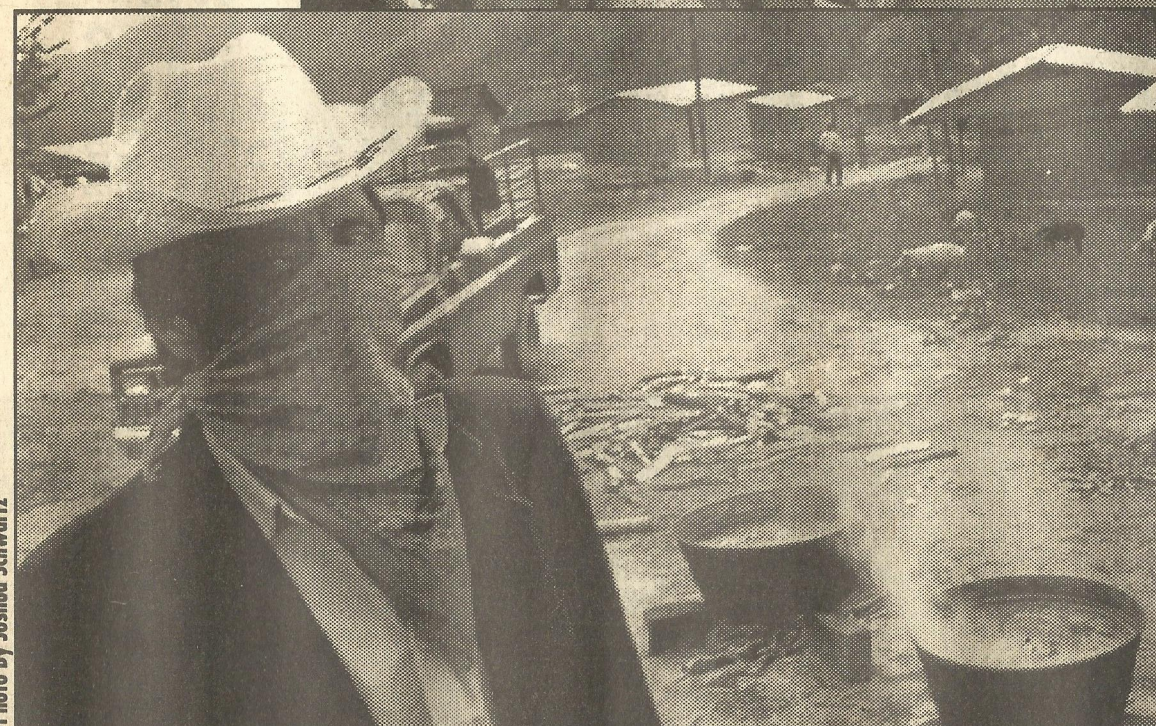
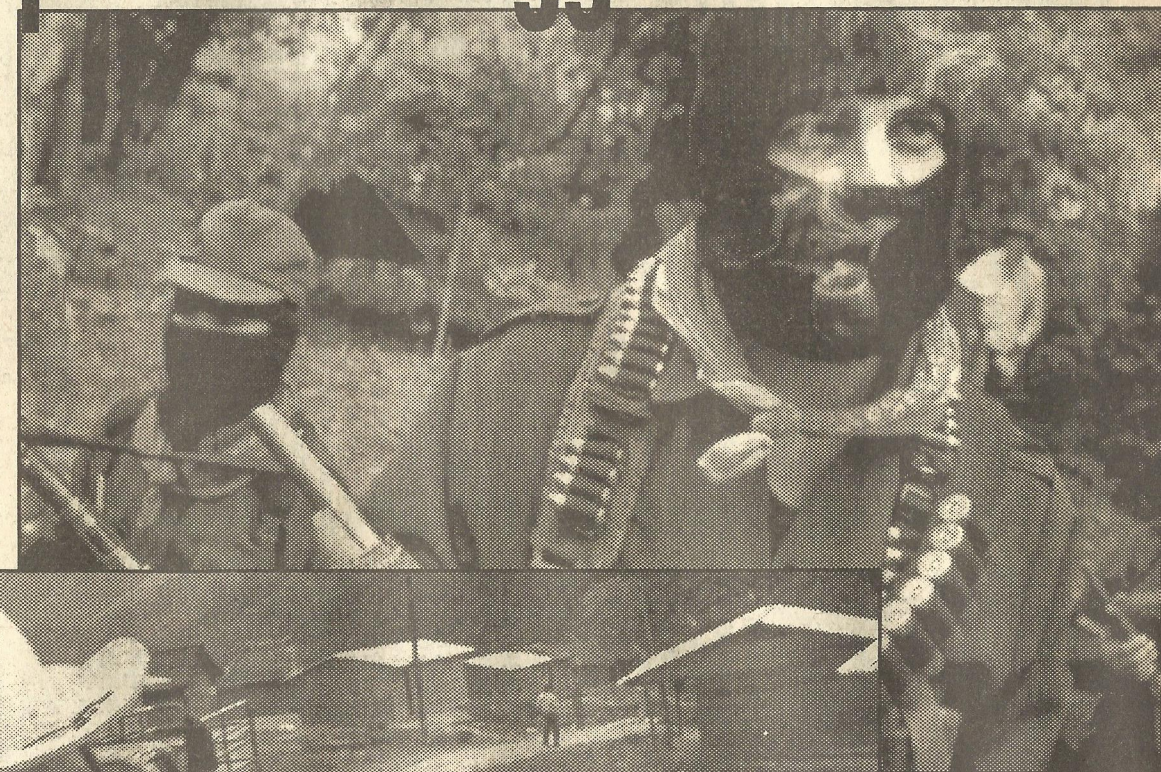


Photo By Joshua Schwartz

Photo By Joshua Schwartz

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 2

JUNE 1994

Zapatistas Ready for Mexican Elections

BY MATT MISCREANT AND TODD PRANE

THE "ARMED" PART OF THE REBELLION in southern México lasted just 10 days, but the stand-off may last much longer. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) needs a legitimate victory in the Aug. 21 elections if they are to continue on their neo-liberal path; the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) could exploit the political turmoil around the elections if they are still a political force in México at that time. Against this backdrop, and with the August elections still wide-open (creating the possibility of the first new ruling party in six decades), it seems like a good time to take a quick look around.

THE NEGOTIATIONS

The EZLN and representatives of the PRI finally sat down at the Cathedral in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, on Feb. 21. The talks were mediated by Archbishop Samuel Ruiz García, and the chief negotiators were Manuel Camacho Solís for the PRI, and members of the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee-General Command for the EZLN. The Zapatistas' demands were a

(Continued to page 4)



A Chiapaneca peasant girl covers her face and the face of the baby she carries, as she watches Mexican Federal Army troops march by. There are over twice as many Mexican Army troops in Chiapas as there were before Jan. 1, 1994.

Alternatives to a Health Care System in Crisis

BY LISA G.

AN ANARCHIST DISCUSSION OF health care is important for several reasons. It is the responsibility of a humane society to collectively provide for the health and healing of its members. The current debate about health care reform acknowledges the problems of people without insurance. That's an opening for us. Unfortunately, the discussion has been framed with Hillary Rodham Clinton as the near left, the single-payer Canadian system as the far left and Bill as the mushy center. A broad, political discussion of health care can present a critique of the capitalist system while developing a vision for a new society.

To start the discussion, I want to bring up several ideas. They come out of my experiences as a nurse, a patient and a mother, supplemented by reading I have done over the past 20 years and my political framework.

1. It is criminal that so many do not have access to health "care" in the US and that health insurance depends on continuity of employment. For fourteen years, part of my compensation went to Blue Cross or an HMO. A few months after I was laid off in 1981, I developed symptoms of a tumor, later diagnosed as malignant. After eleven months of symptoms, I was able to get a job with health insurance. Getting the new HMO to pay the \$40,000 bill was almost as stressful as cancer treatment.

2. A primary assumption of the current health care system is that the individual is responsible for the state of his/her health, yet, the health of most people is more strongly related to the health of the society than to any specific lifestyle, personality type, or genetic background. The great increases in life expectancy have come, not through modern medicine, but through public health measures like sanitation.

New research on breast cancer indicates that exposure to organochlorines—man-made chemicals like DDT, PCB and dioxin—is a more significant risk factor than the medically accepted risks of early onset of menstruation (probably connected with organochlorine exposure), late menopause, or having a close relative with the disease.

The strong relationship between lung cancer and smoking is well known. Not well known is the effect of asbestos exposure (in automobile brakes that disintegrate with every stop) on that relationship. Someone who smokes is five times more likely to develop lung cancer. Exposure to asbestos increases risk by ten times. Smoking and asbestos combined increase risk 92 times!

Between 1980 and 1987, deaths from asthma rose 31%. The biggest increase was among children aged 5 to 15. The death rate is three times as high among African-Americans as among whites.

Asthma is triggered by pollution and other types of stress.

I believe individuals should take care of themselves; our lives are worth preserving. But it is meaningless to discuss health care separately from the destruction of the environment. Likewise, health care cannot be separated from the unceasing, unnecessary stresses embedded in the fiber of our society. Both are compounded for those of us under the gun of racism, sexism, unemployment, economic insecurity. The workings of the entire society contribute to disease.

3. The phrase "health care system" is doublespeak. It was not developed to maintain or restore health. It is a "sick care system" that tries to keep enough people minimally functional so that we can be exploited.

Symptoms are seen as something to be gotten rid of rather than physical manifestations of deeper healing struggling to take place. Most drugs suppress symptoms rather than aid the body in restoring health. It's the physical equivalent of psychological repression. When memories are repressed, as in childhood sexual abuse, the individual functions (temporarily) but less effectively and requires huge amounts of energy to do so. When memories surface, the person may be sick (less productive) for a period of time, but with healing, life becomes clearer and richer.

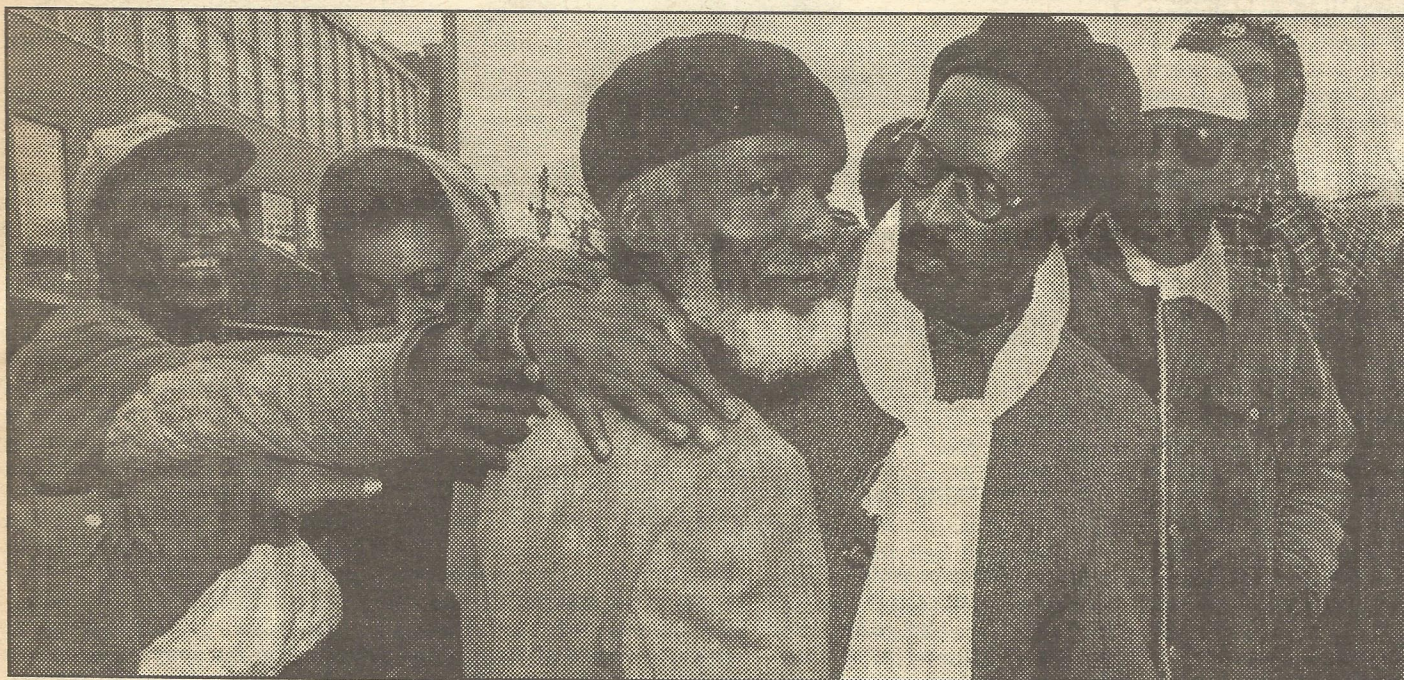
A similar dynamic happens on a physical level: using aspirin and antibiotics can help you function in the short run, but they do not change the underlying conditions that lead to headaches or infections. There are times when these treatments are lifesaving, but treatment should not stop there. Conventional medical practice suppresses the signs of illness until the body is overwhelmed.

4. The health care system developed under capitalism. It is a product of politics and repression as well as science. The beginnings of capitalism lie on the charred bodies of 9,000,000 burnt as witches. 85% of these people were women, many of them healers.

At the turn of the last century, a movement for lay health care was suppressed. Healers and midwives were persecuted. Creating an authoritarian medical system to guarantee the profits of the doctors (who were far less trained and had much less to offer than today's doctors) was the main impetus for this. Human lives did not matter. When midwifery was outlawed, the infant mortality rate in New York City increased by 25%.

(Continued to next page)

Black Activist Framed in Toronto



Dudley Laws, leaving a Toronto couthouse after a hearing, was greeted by supporters.

BY RACHEL RINALDO

DUDLEY LAWS, AN ORGANIZER against police racism and founding member of the Black Action Defense Committee (BADC) in Toronto, was convicted in March of illegally smuggling immigrants into Canada. He is out on \$25,000 bail while appealing his conviction, citing entrapment and a politically

motivated frame-up. Laws is an important figure in the Toronto activist scene. BADC is a radical anti-racist organization that has consistently protested police violence against the Black community, and Laws was one of the key spokespersons. His conviction is a blow to the Toronto Black community, which is constantly under threat of police harassment and

attack. The Toronto Police and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police spent a year trying to entrap Laws in a CND\$2.5-million operation that included a phone tap and heavy surveillance.

Finally, the cops put out a story that Laws was running a smuggling ring for

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Love and Rage is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, México and the US who share a set of common politics and who work on common political projects. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production group is made up of volunteers and one full-time paid staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City, operates a Federation office in Oakland, Calif., and publishes an internal discussion bulletin in Chicago, in addition to supporting various actions and campaigns.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by an annual conference, or between conferences by the Federation Council. The Federation Council is made up of two delegates from each of the local supporting groups plus eight delegates from the various projects.

Ongoing debates and discussions within the Federation take place in the quarterly discussion bulletin (*Disco Bull*). More timely information goes out in the monthly Federation Bulletin, produced in Oakland.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. Any member of a local supporting group is automatically a member of the Federation. Any individual who is in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation, who supports the projects of the Federation and who pays the \$25 communications fee to cover the costs of receiving the Federation publications, may be a member of the Federation. The communications fee will be waived on request. Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in Federation projects. Please contact us.

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Boring Disclaimer

Yo, the stuff we print does not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation. We print lots of things for lots of reasons. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with, because we believe that they are interesting or provocative. Got it?

Editorial Policy

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1750 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. Submissions may be edited. Please include a phone number and address or internet email address so the PG can consult you on editing. Articles not printed may be sent to our internal bulletins unless otherwise noted. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is a request that they not be published. Letters will not be edited.

About Our Politics

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is in the process of developing a statement of our common politics. A set of Working Papers encompassing the debate on the content of this statement is available for \$5 from the Fed Office (see address above). The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

Love and Rage is a bi-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.

Art by Seth Tobocman



Psychiatry: Social Control of Women

By MORGAN FIRESTAR

BEING A WOMAN PUTS you psychiatrically at risk. Women are more likely to be locked up, electroshocked, drugged, etc., than men. This includes outpatient therapy and drugging by either psychiatrists or medical doctors. Women are also more likely to have physical illness diagnosed as a psychiatric disorder requiring the use of brain-damaging drugs. Why?

It's easy to think of reasons. Women are more likely to be victims of childhood and adult sexual assault, which might cause severe emotional trauma. Women are raised to ask for advice and expert opinions, and not to trust their own perceptions. This makes women extremely easy to victimize. Another explanation might be that women are more sensitive emotionally and therefore more likely to realize that they have problems. Most of these reasons attribute the result (psychiatric assault) to some inner quality of the victims.

I think there are some obvious other reasons why women are victims of psychiatry. First of all,

women are victims of our society at large. We are routinely victimized and discriminated against, ridiculed and physically assaulted. We are living in a war zone, yet pretending that nothing is wrong with society. We are allowed to find something wrong with ourselves. The high stress women are constantly under is masked by our society's acceptance of these conditions as "normal."

In the beginning of the women's movement, many women questioned these assumptions, analyzed them, and even refused to go along with them. But the power of the male-identified media and the inertia of patriarchal institutions made it difficult to retain the momentum of rebellion.

The word "feminist" has lost all its revolutionary meaning. Women reached the outside limit of social accommodation, and then had their gains eroded by backlash, just as the civil rights movement did in the 1970s.

One difference between the women's movement and the civil rights movement is that every-

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Sick Care System in Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

In 1917, Phelps-Dodge, then a uranium mining company, donated \$100,000 to Memorial Hospital in New York City with three provisions: that the hospital be used to only treat cancer patients, that a particular doctor who believed in radiation treatment for cancer be named Chief of Medicine, and that radiation be used in the treatment of all cancers. Other forms of treatment, many of them as promising as or more promising than radiation, fell to the wayside. This institution, now Sloane-Kettering, is the premier cancer treatment center in the US.

Both Sloane and Kettering were presidents of General Motors. Two-thirds of the board of directors of Sloane-Kettering is made up of auto and oil industry related people. Representatives of the biggest polluters in the country (except the military) are setting policies for cancer research and treatment.

5. Modern medicine is based on a capitalist model of science. The body is a "well-oiled machine," our parts work exactly alike and only exist on a physical level. The innate abilities of the body/mind/soul to heal were written out of the picture. Germ theory is the predominant model of illness.

Modern medicine assumes that we all get the same illness in about the same way and we can all use the same drugs to be cured. But we don't react to the same germ in the same way. Our constitutions are different, and some people's immunity is so strong that they don't react to a specific germ at all. Take strep, for instance. It's everywhere, part of the normal flora of the world. Some people get strep throat, some people get scarlet fever, some people don't get sick at all. The medical model, based on machines, can't integrate this variety.

I don't want to discount our knowledge of microbes or the power of the scientific method. The alternative is to take germ theory as a piece of what happens.

6. The relationships in the health care system are hierarchical and authoritarian. The doctor has power (knowledge and the power to cure). My doctor refers to my prosthesis as his hip — I bought it, I paid him for his ser-

vices, and it resides in my body, but it's his hip. Contrast this with relationships based on the anarchist values of cooperation and respect: no one knows patients as well as they know themselves, the doctor has areas of expertise and tools to help, healing happens within the patient's body, it is the doctor's responsibility to support that process.

7. Under the impetus of the women's movement, the openness of the '60s and the failure of the health care system as experienced by individual after individual (including myself), an alternative movement for health care has been growing. I include in this midwifery, other women's health issues, the

healers, including doctors, who have developed treatments with respect for the "old ways" in the African-American, Mexican-American and Native-American communities. Some of the beliefs can be conservative — your thoughts make you sick, or your karma. Some of the beliefs are "holistic," connecting health to the whole of society and the world, respecting the human being in the healing process. The alternative health movement is thriving although it is overwhelmingly not supported through health insurance.

Access to alternatives has no place in the current reform; in fact, the government and professional societies have targeted alternative practitioners. In the name of regulation, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA)

predominant hospital that treats medicare patients. Giving Depo Provera, "the shot" for birth control was a routine practice in this clinic. At that time Depo Provera was not approved for birth control, it has frequent and serious side effects of which the patients were not informed. Apparently that was less of a problem than Vitamin B-12 shots.

By accepting a narrow framework of health care reform, the liberals and the left are leaving the alternative movement to the right wing. The current bill in Congress to insure the availability of supplements has been spearheaded by Senator Hatch, one of the most conservative members of Congress. The Liberty Lobby has publications aimed at alternative practitioners. The right wing is out to defend the rights of alternative practitioners as small business people, who run the range from dedicated humanitarians to charlatans out to make a buck.

The right wing wants to keep health care a matter of individual rights and gain openings into a large group of people who are pitted against the big business of health care. They don't give a shit if poor people have no insurance or if toxic waste is dumped in Black, Latin or Native communities. The liberals support more regulation.

Health care has been and will continue to be of particular concern to women. As primary caretakers of children, they are intensively involved. Birthing, once a normal part of life, has become a medical event overwhelmed by technology. Doctors, not mothers and their network of equals, have become the authority on a family's health. Women's illnesses are more likely to be labeled psychological or emotional in nature, women's hormones are thought to be problematic. Research for most diseases has been done on white males. Often women are not listened to or believed.

Over the past 25 years, women have played a key role in changing the shape of women's health care, researching and providing options. There's plenty happening along these lines and there's plenty more changing and making these changes accessible to do.

Some good books to read: *For Her Own Good: The Cancer Syndrome; Politics of Cancer; Mothering Magazine; Our Bodies, Ourselves; 1 in 3: Women with Cancer Confront an Epidemic.*



A typical prescription

growing bodies of work on psychological trauma and physical illness, the environmental movement, tapping into old systems of healing using herbs, Indian Ayurvedic, Chinese herbs and acupuncture, more recently developed methods that connect the physical body to the energy body like craniosacral and polarity. I also include some of the medicine practiced in the communities of people of color by recent immigrants who have brought their practices with them, and by

has made certain supplements unavailable and raided at least one doctor practicing alternatives. Others have been forced to leave the country. Raids on other practitioners have been reported.

Surveillance is selective. Doctors who are incompetent practitioners of conventional medicine are protected by their colleagues and governmental policies; doctors practicing alternatives are harassed. As a nursing student, I spent time in an ob/gyn clinic connected to the

Outbreak of "Peace" in South Africa

ALL OVER THE WORLD peace seems to be breaking out. The talks between the British Government and Sinn Fein-IRA, the Israel-PLO accords, the end of the Ethiopian-Tigrean-Eritrean war and the South African government all appear to point to peace on Earth. Nothing could be further from the truth. With the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the United States is keen to sew things up where before there were possibilities for its leading opponent to exploit the situation to its advantage. As part of the New World Order, the United States is putting pressure on its allies to sort out some sort of democratic fix, where agreement can be reached with the emerging new ruling class in the opposition movements, as in Palestine and South Africa.

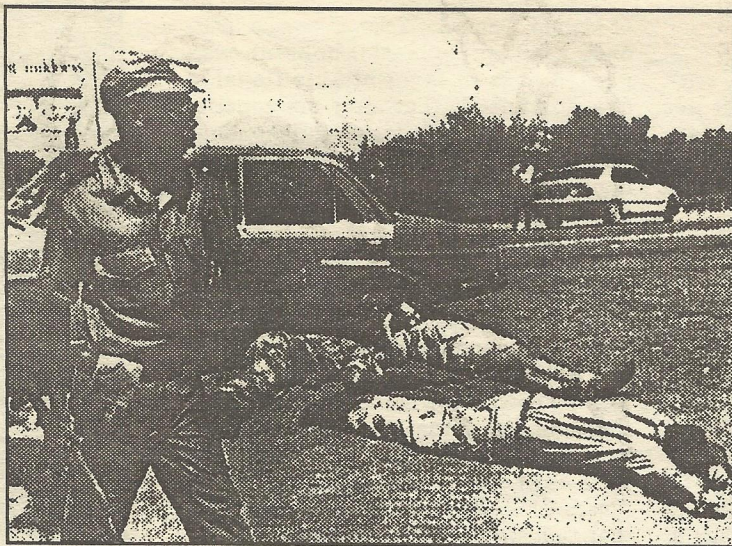
In South Africa the African National Congress and its ally the South African Communist Party, have been at the forefront of this democratic fix. Nelson Mandela spoke at the United Nations General Assembly about the need to lift the sanctions and normalize the situation on South Africa. Sanctioning this, President Clinton said that the US would take steps to permit lending from the International Monetary Fund, and that "We must now respect the judgment of the new leaders of South Africa and move to lift our remaining sanctions." Mandela went on to hold talks with IMF and World Bank officials. This can

only mean that the IMF and World Bank have told him what they have told other national leaders on the past—discipline your working class, make them work harder for less, or we will not bail you out.

NORMALIZATION

As part of the normalization process, sanctions are being lifted by the US and the Commonwealth. New York's Mayor Giuliani announced that \$40 billion would be released from pension funds, hitherto blocked under municipal anti-apartheid laws, to be invested in South Africa. As part of his efforts to shore up South African capitalism, Mandela is appealing to foreign investment. This is part of the deal he and the Afrikaner state apparatus have struck—a transition to power-sharing, in return for the end of sanctions and embargoes, and the encouragement of foreign investment, in order to save South African capitalism, which is in deep crisis....

The transition to power sharing between the ANC and the Afrikaner ruling clique will not be smooth. Elements opposed to these moves amongst the die-hard Boer right wing, including armed fascist elements organized around the AWB, and Zulu tribalists in Inkatha, who have been used up to now as an auxiliary of the Afrikaner state, will oppose the new order and may attempt to mount armed insurrections.



A Bophuthatswana cop looks at the bodies of white fascists, killed in March, in violence leading up to the elections in South Africa. The fascists had occupied the township.

There will also be attempts at destabilization from amongst elements in the military, police and secret services, in alliance with the alliance of Inkatha and the Boer right. The new regime that is being created will also face trouble from amongst the black industrial working class and from the urban and rural indigenous African underclass, particularly the townships, shanty-towns and squatter camps. Part of the move to a new order will be the creation of a new black capitalist class and upper middle class, recruited in the main from the ranks of the ANC.

The economic and political situation for the mass of the black population will not have changed in the slightest — in fact the chances are that conditions will deteriorate with attacks on living standards, rent rises, and speedups at work.

Expectations are still high that real change can come about, and when the ANC fails to meet them, a new wave of radicalization may develop. When and if that happens, the ANC will do its utmost to crush any dissent.

—From *Organise!*, publication of the Anarchist-Communist Federation of Great Britain.

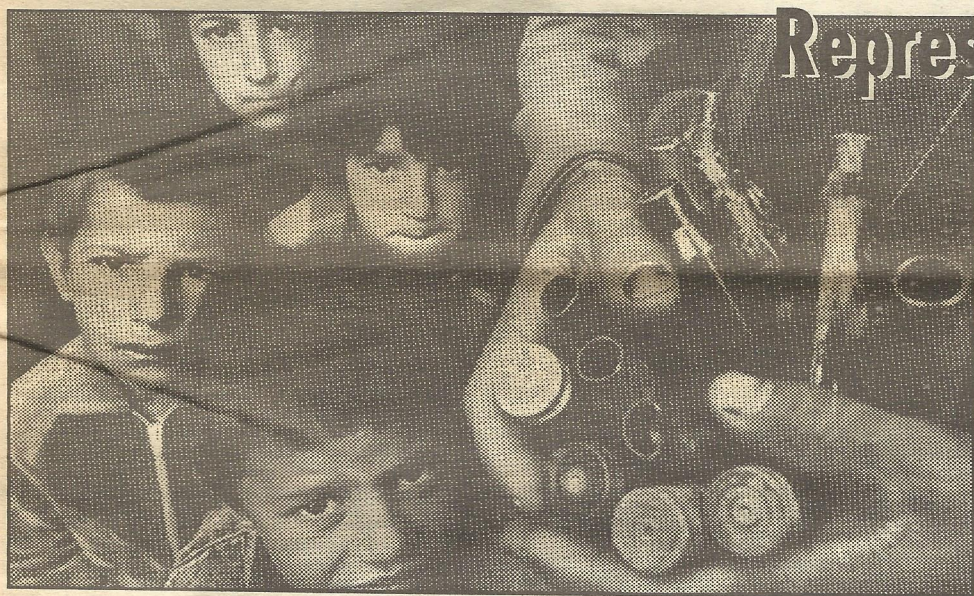


Photo by Axel Koester

Turkish mortars become toys for Kurdish children in the town of Cizre in war-torn Kurdistan.

Repression in Kurdistan

GENOCIDE AGAINST THE KURDISH people by the Turkish Government in Turkish-occupied Kurdistan has recently intensified. Since 1985, 874 Kurd villages have been depopulated by the Turkish Army (519 villages were depopulated in 1993 alone). With war-weariness and draft evasion on the rise in Turkey it seems likely that a lack of personnel in the Turkish Army will be made up for with a continued increase in violence against Kurdish communities.

In Germany celebrations of the Kurdish holiday Newroz have been banned. Exiles face repression as their resistance to racist police and neo-fascists is portrayed by the media as activities of foreign terrorists. Deportation to Turkey is a preferred method of addressing the Kurdish problem, and often means death for the deportee.★

Summer Autonomist Conference in Berlin

THERE WILL BE A EUROPEAN-wide autonomist conference in Berlin October 1-3, 1994. The conference idea emerged from the organizational problems around the disastrous 1993 May Day demonstration. Major themes of the conference will include autonomist history,

structures, theory and politics, as well as media perceptions of the autonomist movement. For more information contact:

Kongressini c/o Mehringhof
Gneisenaustrasse 2a
10961 Berlin
Germany

—From *Autonome Forum/Arm the Spirit*

Maroons Seize Dam in Surinam

ON MONDAY, MAR. 21, A group of 20 rebels of the Suriname Liberation Front (SLF) seized the Afobakka hydroelectric dam, threatening to turn off power to the capital city of Paramaribo if the government of President Ronald Venetiaan did not step down. After two rounds of negotiations with the government, the rebels ended talks and shut down the power supply to the capital. At dawn on Mar. 24 the Surinamese Army stormed the plant, releasing captive staff members and arresting several rebels.

The rebels were identified as Maroons, descendants of slaves who escaped from the Dutch colonists, forming communities of resistance in the jungle. Between 1761 and 1768 the Dutch imperialists were forced to sign several agreements with the maroon population of what was then Dutch Guiana.

The Afobakka dam, 60 miles southwest of the capital, was built in the 1960s. The construction caused the relocation of 6,000 Maroons, who had been relatively isolated until

that time. SLF spokesperson Cornelis Waisi explained that residents of his community, Koffiekamp, were among the 6,000 relocated, and are still suffering from the relocation. Waisi went on to say that Venetiaan's administration was responsible for the continuing devaluation of the currency, increasing poverty, health and education crises, and the general deterioration of living standards.

More recently, a North American company called Golden Star has been given the right to mine gold and other minerals in a 6,800-hectare area that includes the community of Koffiekamp. Panning gold provided an income for many Maroons, but they are now forcibly prevented from continuing.

After twice escaping from prison, Waisi became leader of the Angula guerrilla group in Brokopondo in 1988. From 1986 to '92, maroons fought against the neocolonial government of Suriname in a struggle now called the Hinterlands War. Waisi was captured on Mar. 24.★

GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES. THEY NEED YOUR HELP. JOIN THE FEDERATION.

☐ Yes, I like the stated politics of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation and would like to participate in the Federation as it continues to grow. Here's my \$25 to cover the costs of receiving the newspaper (6 times per year), the Federation Bulletin (twice per month) and the Internal Discussion Bulletin (4 times per year). [The \$25, if you can't afford it, is waived on request.]

☐ I would like further information about the politics of the Federation. I have enclosed \$5 for the Love and Rage Political Statement Working Papers.

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Zapatistas and Elections

(Continued from front page)

mixture of revolution and reform, with some of the apparently reformist demands actually requiring revolutionary change. The government declared that it will meet some of the demands, mostly in ways that only look like change.

This is consistent with the PRI's history of seeming to accept radical demands (thus the "Institutional Revolutionary Party") though in reality co-opting them. The government has gone so far as to characterize the negotiations as 'agreements' needing only a signature. The EZLN responded: "If the supreme government wants to present the documents of San Cristóbal as 'agreements,' then let's consider the EZLN's list of demands the 'agreement' and guarantee democracy in the next elections with the resignation of the federal president." The government's mischaracterization of the dialogue has threatened the talks and the chance for a peaceful solution with the Zapatistas.

Indeed, it is doubtful that a peaceful solution is possible. The Zapatistas probably will not agree to any settlement that does not incorporate their more revolutionary demands, such as the resignation of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, which would likely spell the end of the PRI's hegemony and radically open up political space in México. It is likely that the EZLN realizes that the PRI will not meet their more radical demands and is only buying time to increase its strength.

Time is on the side of the Zapatistas, who have been quietly organizing for ten years, and not to fight for only ten days. As Subcomandante Marcos wrote on Feb. 2, in a letter to the editor of *Tiempo*, the local newspaper in San Cristóbal: "Taking power? No, something far more difficult: a new world."

Time is not on the side of the PRI, whose power will be at stake in the August elections. Should the PRI win they will likely be accused of election fraud yet again, which in the current political climate could lead to radical consequences. It is important to remember the uprisings that happened after the last elections were stolen from center-left candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. Also, it is rumored that other radical-left armed groups will begin a war on the federal government in August, possibly providing the Zapatistas with armed allies in other parts of the country [see *L&R* vol. 5, no. 1].

THE ASSASSINATION AND THE AUGUST ELECTIONS

The entire negotiation process had the undesirable effect of increasing President Salinas' popularity (due to the perception that he "handled the situation" well). The negotiations also increased the popularity

of Manuel Camacho Solís. Camacho Solís, once a PRI presidential hopeful, was passed over in favor of Luis Donaldo Colosio Murrieta, but after the negotiations seemed likely for an independent candidacy. Such a candidacy would have floored the PRI by drawing away large amounts of their most solid support. Camacho, however coincidentally, announced that he would not seek national office the day before Colosio was shot.

Colosio was assassinated on March 23, 1994, in Tijuana by Mario Aburto Martínez, a 23-year old Tijuana resident. This was big news, even in the US, for two reasons: the first is that no prominent Mexican politician had been assassinated since 1928 when President-elect General Álvaro Obregón was killed; the second is that Colosio's death throws an already uncertain election into complete disarray and raises all kinds of questions about the killer and his motivations. Both of those factors, in the context of the ongoing situation in Chiapas, add up to a fear on the part of American investors that México is unable to maintain a capitalist democracy and will fall prey to the same difficulties as Guatemala, El Salvador, Perú, and so many other Latin American countries. The assassination gives more substance to a joke that was already circulating in México: President Salinas went to sleep on New Year's Eve thinking that he would wake up in the First World and woke up on New Year's Day in the Third.

However, with the assassination of Colosio, the PRI had an opportunity to change the political climate and nominate a new, more popular candidate. Instead, they have shown their commitment to business as usual, which means neo-liberal economics/class war on México's poor, by selecting another faceless technocrat, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, to run in Colosio's place. The line of faceless bureaucrats is long and the assassination of Colosio has not resulted in a real change in the PRI. What it has done, however, is two things: 1) At the same time it has reaffirmed the PRI's commitment to avoiding internal democracy (within the party) and further destabilized the PRI's position, increasing the likelihood that the PRI will need to steal the elections; 2) It has raised all sorts of questions about who would have motives to shoot Colosio, with speculations about everyone from members of the the PRI to the Pope.

All of this gets back to the question of the negotiations and how, exactly, they shifted the political balance in México. The EZLN quickly denied any involvement in the assassination, though it appeared they might be subject to an assault by the Federal Army in the wake of the killing. Immediately following the act, Federal Army troops appeared to be massing to attack, and government



A woman in EZLN-held territory carries a baby on her back

Photo by Joshua Schwartz

planes made aerial attacks near the highway between Comitán and Altamirano.

Although this signaled that the PRI might try to blame the assassination on the EZLN, the PRI has changed tactics. Now the PRI is not blaming the EZLN at all, but is using the assassination to build support for themselves in the elections, using rhetoric which identifies the PRI with México, claiming that the assassin killed México itself when he shot Colosio. Reports published in the capitalist press services indicate that a right-wing faction within the PRI may have been responsible for the assassination. This does not come as much of a surprise, but it does threaten the PRI's strategy of treating the assassination as an assault on all of México. Instead it looks like little more than the usual internal PRI maneuvering, stepped up a level. All of this raises questions about the viability of the PRI in the next elections.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE EZLN

Solidarity work in México has been frenetic. Demonstrations have been large and frequent, and activities built to a huge day

of protest on April 10, the 75th anniversary of the assassination of Emiliano Zapata. Marchers from most states of the Republic, notably from Guerrero, travelled by foot to the Capital, shouting their support for the EZLN (and fetishizing Subcomandante Marcos) the whole way. The last leg of the march—from the state of México into the Federal District (from the outskirts into the city)—and the demonstration were good ways to gauge ongoing Mexican public interest in and support for the EZLN. Around 100,000 marchers, militantly supporting the EZLN's demands, clearly demonstrated that the EZLN, and Zapatismo more broadly conceived as peasant land reform, still very much define Mexican national politics.

Even as the EZLN faces questions of its long-term survival, North American solidarity groups face the difficult transition from the excitement- and communique-filled days of January to protracted, dependable activity. Most of the small groupings and even some of the larger coalitions will quickly fade as the communiques come more slowly and the stand-off continues. Of central importance, though, is whether these groupings will be around in August for the elections.

At the moment, North American solidarity work is concentrated around information-sharing, although material aid caravans are already being launched, notably by the Pomo Indians in Northern California, with the assistance of a broad-based coalition in the San Francisco Bay Area. If activists in North America are to be of more substantial aid to the Zapatista revolutionary movement, we need to expand our activities. We need to resist North American intervention—the US has already sent troops to Guatemala, just across the border from Chiapas, in a covert military operation—while protesting the already-enormous Mexican Army presence in the state. Our ability to stop the capitalist war machine from crushing the Mexican insurgency may be crucial to whether the movement brings about revolutionary change. Resistance must be coordinated and groups working in solidarity with the Zapatistas must be in contact with each other and work together in a principled manner—across the border. We must be in contact with those we are in solidarity with and help them achieve their liberation. Their liberation and ours are inextricably linked. Freedom cannot exist within the confines of one country; we cannot separate the liberation of the Chiapanecos from our own.

—Sources include: Nicanet Weekly News Update/339 Lafayette St./NY, NY 10012; New York Transfer News Service/nyt@blythe.org/(212)675-9690; Equipo Pueblo/pueblo@laneta.apc.org.



Photo by Joshua Schwartz

An EZLN soldier guards the area surrounding the delegates, who have come from all over EZLN-held territory to discuss the "dialogue" with the Mexican Federal Government and its responses to the EZLN's 34 demands. She is one of the troops under Subcomandante Marcos.

From An Anti-Authoritarian Perspective:

Anarchist Interview with Subcomandante Marcos

By BILL WEINBERG

[Bill Weinberg, anarchist journalist, recently spent two months in México, the majority of that time in the state of Chiapas. Towards the end of his stay in EZLN territory he interviewed Subcomandante Marcos, spokesperson for the EZLN.]

What kind of support do you need from your sympathizers in the United States? What should we be doing?

Well, we have a lot of necessities here because the Federal Army has surrounded us. For our troops, that is not a problem, but the civilian population here is suffering a lot. They lack necessities like food, clothes, medicine. Even the children. Our people, the civilian people here, cannot go to the city to buy such necessities, because the Federal Army can take them prisoner and "disappear" them. So our people are under very strong conditions of war, even if it is not one of bullets and guns now, but the "dirty war" that the government is making against us. The only chance that we have is support from other people, from México, and from Mexicans in other parts of the world. I mean, we know that in the States there are a lot of people whose families are Mexican Indian people...

But what about anglos and other folks who aren't Mexican or Indian who support the struggle? What can we do?

We have a lot of necessities. The first concerns the federal government—the government of Salinas. They have made a big lie about our country. They say that our country is free, without serious economic or social problems, a good partner for the NAFTA. His government is mak-

ing a big publicity campaign for other people in other parts of the world, principally the United States. So it is imperative for us that the world know that Mexican people, especially Indian people, are not in the life condition that Salinas says—as you can see in this trip that you have made here. We need people in the United States to create counter-propaganda to that of the Mexican federal government, and get out the truth against the lies of Salinas.

Salinas wants to isolate our struggle, contain it to only one part of México, and only one part of Chiapas. He says that what we are fighting for are not concerns elsewhere in the country. But it is a lie again. He made an agreement with Canada and the United States in NAFTA.

When he shook hands on this agreement, he was playing with the lives of a lot of Indian people. You cannot shake hands on an agreement like that without staining your hands with blood.

But the federal government is very sophisticated with its publicity. If the truth is known in all parts of the world, especially the United States, it would be a great help to us. That is the first thing.

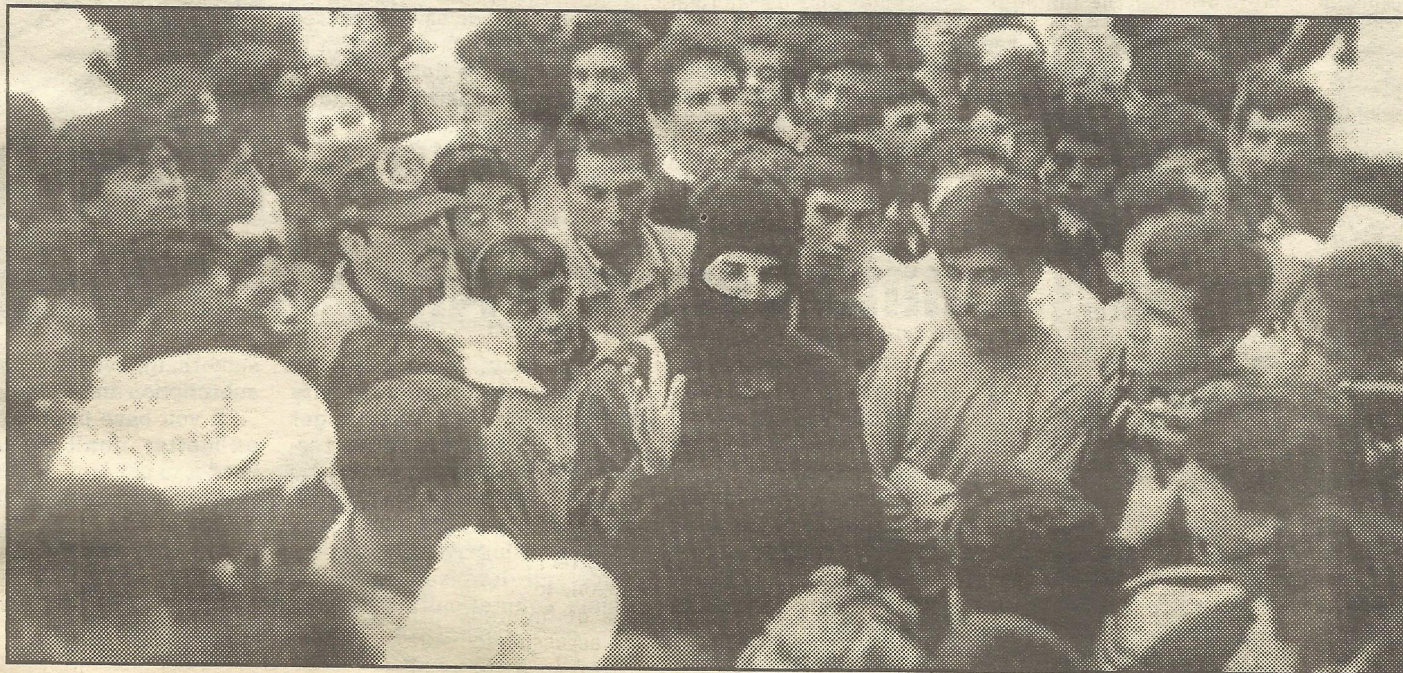
There is another kind of help. You can see that here there are many children without anything—without food, without health care, without education, without good houses. So organizations that help the poor in other parts of the world should notice us. Our movement is a true movement. There are no strangers or foreigners behind us. We are all Mexicans,

and the big majority of our army are Indian people. We think the government is lying to us with their promises to solve our problems. We don't trust anymore in this government. But our needs remain, and maybe we have to rely on people in other parts of the world to help us. I repeat, our troops are surrounded, and the civilian population here needs such necessities as food and clothes...

Who can we work with here in México to get you donations?

One way is through the non-governmental organizations here in México, like the Red Cross, the non-governmental

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Subcomandante Marcos, spokesperson for the Zapatista army, discusses EZLN politics and news with a crowd of interested Mexicans.

The Zapatistas' Demands

Thirty-four points presented to the Mexican government at the "negotiations"

Communique of the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee-General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army, México, March 1, 1994

To the Mexican people:
To the people and governments of the world:

To the national and international press:
Brothers:

THE CLANDESTINE INDIGENOUS Revolutionary Committee-General Command of the EZLN directs itself to you with respect and honor to share with you the list of demands presented at the dialogue table during the days of peace and reconciliation in Chiapas.

"We do not ask for hand-outs or presents, we ask for the right to live in dignity, with equality and justice like our forefathers."

To the Mexican people:
The Indigenous people of the state of Chiapas, risen up in arms as the Zapatista National Liberation Army against misery and the evil government, present the causes of their struggle and their principal demands:

The reasons and causes of our movement are that the government has failed to find solutions to the following problems:

1. The hunger, misery and marginalization that we have suffered since the beginning of time.
2. The lack of land on which to work in order to survive.
3. Repression, expulsion, imprisonment, torture and murder as the government's responses to the just demands of our people.
4. The intolerable injustices and constant violation of our human rights as impoverished Indigenous people and peasants.
5. The brutal exploitation we suffer in selling our products, in our workday and in the buying of merchandise of the

utmost necessity.

6. The lack of indispensable services for the majority of the Indigenous population.

7. The government's lies, deceit, promises and intrusion that have lasted over 60 years. The lack of liberty and democracy to decide our destinies.

8. Constitutional laws have not been followed by those who govern this country; instead they make us, the Indigenous people and peasants, pay for even the smallest mistake and they lay upon us the weight of a law that we did not make and those who did are the first ones to violate it. The EZLN came to dialogue with the word of truth. The EZLN came to say its word on the conditions that gave rise to its just war and to ask for, in the name of all Mexican people, a solution to these political, economic and social conditions that lead us to take up arms in defense of our rights and our existence.

Therefore, we demand...

1.- We demand free and democratic elections with equal rights and obligations for all political organizations contending for power, true liberty to choose one or another proposal and respect for the will of the majority. Democracy is a fundamental right of all Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Without democracy there can be no liberty, justice or dignity, and without dignity there is nothing.

2.- To ensure free and truly democratic elections it is necessary for the Federal Executive and occupants of state offices who reached their positions of power through electoral fraud to resign. Their titles do not come from majority consensus but rather are the result of usurpation. Consequently, it will be necessary for a transitional government to be formed so as to guarantee equality and respect for all political currents and contingents.

Another way to guarantee the realization of free and truly democratic elections is to legitimize, in the nation's great laws and on a local level, the existence of citizens and citizens' groups which, without

political militancy, will oversee the entire electoral process, sanction its legality and results and guarantee, as the maximum authority, the legitimacy of the entire electoral process.

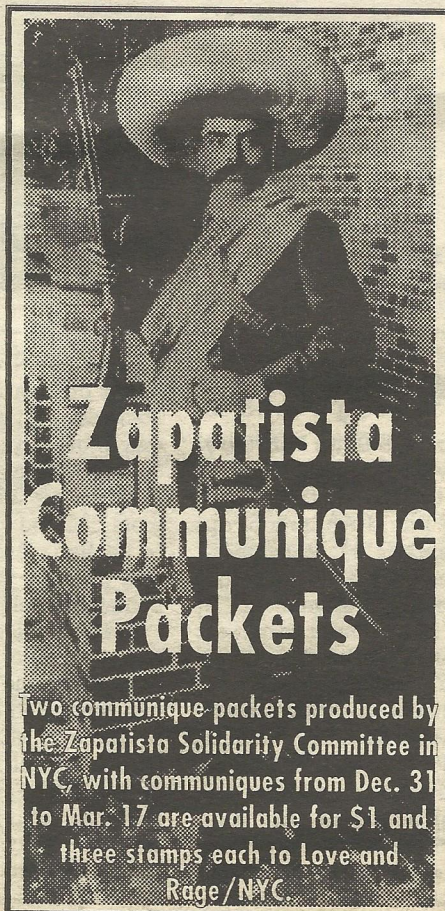
3.- The recognition of the Zapatista National Liberation Army as a belligerent force and of its troops as authentic fighters and the application of all international treaties regulating armed conflicts.

4.- A new pact between Federation members to do away with centralism and allow regions, Indigenous communities and municipalities to govern themselves with political, economic and cultural autonomy.

5.- General elections in the state of Chiapas and the legal recognition of all the state's political forces.

6.- A producer of electricity and petroleum, the state of Chiapas pays tribute to the nation and receives nothing in return. Our communities have no electricity and the economic outflow, profit of oil exports and domestic oils sale, brings no benefits to the Chiapaneco people. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that all Chiapan communities receive electricity and that a certain percentage of the taxes earned from the commercial-

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Zapatista Communique Packets

Two communique packets produced by the Zapatista Solidarity Committee in NYC, with communiqués from Dec. 31 to Mar. 17 are available for \$1 and three stamps each to Love and Rage/NYC.

Subscribe to Amor y Rabia

Love and Rage is available in a separate Spanish-language edition, *Amor y Rabia*, which is edited and published in Mexico City and reprinted in the US.

- ☐ \$13 For One Year (approx. 10 issues) Domestic
- ☐ \$18 For One Year (approx. 10 issues) International
- ☐ Free! to Prisoners/PWAs/GIs in the US and Canada

Name _____
Address _____
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Zip/Postal Code _____
Phone () _____

Send check or money order to:

Love and Rage
PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009

OTHER ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS

The Blast
PO BOX 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407
The hot new bi-monthly paper of the Agitator Index Collective. First issue has lots of Zapatista news and analysis, excellent coverage of anti-racist local Minneapolis politics, and lots more. Required activist reading.

Alphabet Threat
3018 J Street No. 140
Sacramento, CA 95816
(0-65/6 issues)
a (roughly) bi-monthly, wimmin-centered newspaper, writes on sexuality, revolt, other fun stuff

Arm The Spirit
PO Box 6326 5th A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P7
(\$10/10 issues)
an anti-imperialist, autonomist journal, reports on international movements of armed resistance

Bayou La Rosa
c/o Wesley Everest, Educ. Proj.,
302 N "J" Street
No. 3, Tacoma, WA 98403
news on Native struggles, ecological struggles, and more

Anti-Fascist Info in Vancouver

ANTI-FASCIST INFO, IN Vancouver, is a recently-formed collective of predominantly people of colour, concerned with the rise of the extreme right. History has taught us that fascist movements flourish when communities fail to organize against them. The recent lack of community support for local activists arrested at anti-fascist demos brought to light the severe need to gather and distribute information about the extreme right in Canada and its international connections.

Our work publishing various educational leaflets and holding video and info nights has already helped to establish an anti-fascist consciousness [one pamphlet included with this report presents the views and strategy of Anti-Fascist Info; the other deals with Ernst Zundel, the notorious holocaust revisionist who has been the subject of much anti-fascist activity in Toronto—see *L&R* vol.4 no. 5]. We have been working in

solidarity with Toronto's Anti-Racist Action, and our leaflet on Ernst Zundel is one small contribution to their ongoing campaign to shut him down. We would also like to eventually produce a regular newsletter.

We hope to consolidate contacts with other anti-fascist/anti-racist groups, to exchange information, in order to broaden our perspectives and enable us to effectively disable the extreme right in Canada. We see anti-fascism as a protracted struggle with no clear victory or conclusion, until there are fundamental changes in the white supremacist world order. Institutionalized racism, and the oppression of Third World peoples globally, creates a climate that inherently breeds racists. At the same time we have witnessed the explosive rise of fascism in Europe, and are determined to prevent it from developing into a mass movement here.

**AFi/Box 25, 1744 Kingsway,
Vancouver, B.C., V5N 2S3 Canada**



Emma Center's Anarchist Archive

THE EMMA CENTER, A volunteer-run anarchist community center, has started a library and archive project for books, zines, magazines, pamphlets and videos. One of our goals is to provide a resource center for activists and others interested in radical politics. Currently our library only exists as a reference service, but we hope to convert it into a lending library soon.

The projects is similar to the Anarchist Archives Project in Cambridge, Mass., which has collected over 6,500 items on anarchism. While anarchism would be

our main focus, we are interested in all aspects of revolutionary struggle. We would like to get material on wimmin's issues, Lesbian/Gay/Bi/Transgender, People of Color/self-determination, labor/class issues, property/squatting, pacifism, revolutionary violence/self-defense, disability issues, counter-culture & rebellion—Beat, Hippies/Yippies, Punk, Hip Hop, etc. The list could go on.

We are looking for donations of books, periodicals, pamphlets, leaflets, newspaper clippings, videos or any other related material.

If you publish and/or write

something, consider donating a subscription and/or back issues.

If you have old radical printed matter, don't throw it out, send it to us!

Consider making a financial donation.

Any material you send will be seen and read by lots of people. The library is located in a public space, and a soon-to-be acquired copy machine will provide people with articles of interest at cost (postage, paper). For info or to donate:

**Emma Center Library Committee
3451 Bloomington Ave. S.
Mpls, MN 55407 / USA**

Neither East Nor West To Form Network

NEITHER EAST NOR WEST in New York City, which networks alternative oppositions in East and West for mutual solidarity, is calling for the formation of a continental network for mutual support between anarchist activists in the East and West. This is in response to recent growth in NENW and dangerous reversals in Russia. The network would be loosely structured and primarily serve as the means of coordinating a few broad campaigns per year, but would have room for growth.

NENW has been around since 1986 and has predecessor groups as early as 1980. They currently provide news about anarchist and other struggles in the East to such papers as *Fifth Estate*, *Anarchy*, *Love and Rage*, *Amor y Rabia*, and *Profane Existence*, among others. They also engage in a number of petition, letter-writing, and protest campaigns at any time.

Only those who are serious about participating in the network should get involved, but all of those should get in touch with NENW at:

**Neither East Nor West-NYC
528 5th St.
Brooklyn, NY 11215 / USA**

Intl. Infoshop Conference

THE INTERNATIONAL Infoshop meeting was held over Easter in London. Working groups included one for Women, Antifa activists, European Counter Network discussion, a Clash group, McLibel Campaign, Anarchist Black Cross, and a Men's group. The groups discussed an outrageously wide variety of topics and those who are interested in the notes from these discussions (or "protocols" as they are called by the organizers), are encouraged to write to the folx at 56a infoshop who did much of the organization for the event.

The next International Infoshop Conference will be held in the fall. For more info:

**56a Infoshop
56 Crampton St.
London, SE17 England**



Scene Reports:

—Victoria, B.C. (in February)

We have been doing support work for the Zapatistas, mainly targeting David Anderson, our local Member of Parliament demanding that he work to get the Canadian government to cut all ties to México until they meet the demands of the Zapatistas. The ad-hoc group is also demanding nation-to-nation negotiations with sovereign First Nations.

Food Not Bombs is continuing its weekly meals, despite the change of power at City Hall, where the old leftist mayor has been replaced with a law-and-order butcher (literally, he owns a

butcher shop) who seems to be intent on clearing the streets of homeless people and anyone who may prove a problem for the upcoming Commonwealth Games. Activists are working on a grassroots film and comic book project to gather views on the Games and present the real situation behind this colonial festivity.

HAG (the local anarchy-feminist magazine) is planning their next issue, and Terra Prima! has just conducted a joint occupation of the local Ministry of Forests. Activists went in wearing masks of the Chief Forester John Cuthbert (the head swivel servant in the MoF). Once inside, the "many John Cuthberts" demanded that the Ministry stop issuing forestry

permits on Sovereign Nations' lands, or else he would resign.

Victoria Alternative Literature Information and Distribution (VALID) has produced a catalog of files and a cross-referenced activist directory (available from the Activist Centre, below). Meanwhile, the Activist centre, a local resource centre for activists run on a collective basis, has opened, and people are talking about doing infoshop work out of it. Contact any of the groups above at the address below:

**Activist Centre #618-620 View St.
Victoria, BC V8W 1J6 Canada
Fax/Phone: (604) 380-0102**

—Houston, Tex.
On March 6 a first-ever public

meeting was organized by Black Fist. It included unaffiliated individuals, the locally based, radical hip-hop radio show Street Vibe, the Houston Anarchist Collective, and the East Texas Anarchist Collective.

The Class War Federation and Food Not Bombs are just starting out. A protest against US President Bill Clinton's appearance in Houston had a clear anarchist contingent; Black Fist are talking about growing from a zine to a newspaper, and many anarchists have squared off against neo-Nazis. However, Houston's anarchist scene is still new and small, and the city is spread out.

—From Black Fist

ALF Support Group Starts

SUPPORTERS OF THE ANI-mal Liberation Front (ALF) have recently formed a Supporters Group in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. The Supporters Group is for those interested in supporting the ALF without breaking the law. It includes a defense fund for imprisoned ALF activists, support of imprisoned ALF activists, the goal of unifying ALF supporters, education, and producing a newsletter.

The Supporters Group is especially relevant in the context of recent developments in repression against the ALF, especially resulting from the federal grand jury in Spokane, Wash. The first 18-month term of the grand jury recently expired, but in January it was re-convened for an additional period. On the 18th of February Kim Trimiew and Deb Stout went to jail for contempt of court for refusing to testify. [See Letters page for letter from Deb Stout. For more info on grand juries and their role in the repression of political movements in the US, see L&R vol.4 no.5, ABC page, or *The War At Home*, by Brian Glick.]

In related animal liberation news, Darren Thurston, convicted of burning three fish delivery



trucks and liberating 29 cats from a University of Alberta lab in Sept. '93, is still waiting for a decision on an appeal to his conviction. The prosecutor appealed the sentence of two years probation and CND\$73,725 restitution on the grounds that "the judge failed to impose a sentence which reflected the principle of general deterrence."

Finally, the ALF-SG has begun to publicize the case of

Anthony Miller, who was sentenced to 10 years in prison in 1990 for the release of wild horses captured by the US government and the state of New Mexico. He is not expected to be released until 1997 and needs outside support.

Contacts for all of the above:
**North American Animal Liberation Front
Supporters Group
PO Box 75029, Ritchie PO
Edmonton, AB T6E 6K1 Canada**

Kim Trimiew, Deb Stout #3W14

(send letters separately)
**Spokane County Jail
1100 W. Mallon
Spokane, WA 99260
USA**

**Anthony Miller #40351
PO Box 1059
Santa Fe, NM 87504-1059
USA**

Update:

Anti-Fascist Trial Postponed

ON APRIL 12, THE TRIAL of Kieran Frazier Knutson, anti-fascist activist charged in Minneapolis for allegedly attacking a fascist skinhead, was postponed until June 20, due to "scheduling conflicts." Kieran is facing up to ten years in jail and \$20,000 in fines.

Over 120 people attended a demonstration organized by the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee held in downtown Minneapolis on April 12 to protest the wrongful prosecution. The AFDC has also organized petition drives,

postcard drives, and a phone zap to County Attorney Mike Freeman's office. Send letters or phone calls of protest to:

**County Attorney Mike Freeman
C2000 Hennepin County Government
Center / 300 S. 6th St.
Minneapolis, MN 55415
612-348-5550**

Write to the AFDC or send desperately needed donations to:

**PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407
email: jolson@polisci.umn.edu**

Update:

Giddings & Dunne

POLITICAL PRISONER BILL Dunne's appeal has been denied. The appeal could have affected the case of political prisoner Larry Giddings. Bill and Larry have been sentenced to large amounts of Federal and State time, and have been repeatedly transferred between the two. The appeal claimed that prisoners have the right to serve their sentences consecutively. It would have made Bill and Larry immediately eligible for parole. Bill has not decided whether to appeal the decision.★

Prison Legal News Moves

PRISON LEGAL NEWS, A publication by and for prisoners focusing on legal issues, is moving its physical production from Seattle to New York City. They hope to cut their printing costs and find a larger pool of volunteers to help out with production and distribution. Questions? Volunteers? Write:

**Paul Wright #930783
PO Box 777
Monroe, WA 98272**

Update:

Leonard Peltier

THE LEONARD PELTIER Defense Committee (LPDC) is planning a "Peltier Weekend" on June 25 (the anniversary of the shootout) and 26 in Washington, DC as part of the campaign to get executive clemency (a presidential pardon) for Leonard. Leonard's appeals options ran out last year and he was recently denied parole. The LPDC has also recently begun publishing a newspaper to keep supporters updated on the case.

**LPDC / PO Box 583
Lawrence, KS 66044 / (913) 842-5774**

ABC Conference This Summer

BUILDING A UNIFIED ANARCHIST Black Cross Network is an important step in building a North American anti-authoritarian revolutionary movement. It is crucial that we be able to provide real support for our imprisoned comrades. There will be an Anarchist Black Cross Conference in New York City, August 12-14, with the goal of creating and organizing a network of ABC groups in North America. Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin's "Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross Network" is the main basis for

the planned network. There is currently a Discussion Bulletin out (and another one to follow) to serve as a forum for dialogue with interested groups and individuals. Subscriptions are \$10, though more would be welcome to finance the costs of sending it to prisoners.

Groups and individuals who are not involved with prisoner support work but want to support or attend the conference can sign on as endorsers. Fifteen dollars or more enables endorsers to receive the Bulletin and to be publicized

as endorsers. Anyone who can send funds to defray travel costs of international ABCs is urged to do so. Please send checks made out to "cash." To be put on the mailing list, or added to the contact list, write to the ABC page at *Love and Rage*. Send submissions for the conference bulletin to:

**Nightcrawlers ABC
PO Box 1034
Bronx, NY 10454**

Subscriptions, endorsements, and money to:

**NJ ABC / PO Box 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508-8532**

Dudley Laws Entrapped

(Continued from front page)

and heavy surveillance.

Finally, the cops put out a story that Laws was running a smuggling ring for huge sums of money. Yet the only people who testified at the trial that Laws had helped them cross the border illegally were cops. Laws admitted taking the bait, but maintained that the cops entrapped him by offering him money to help Black people in trouble. In a hearing after his conviction, lawyers revealed reports showing that at the same time Laws was charged, cops were also collecting information for files on other Black

community activists.

The case has been a serious drain on the resources of the BADC. Laws was sentenced to nine months in jail and fined CND\$5,000 after a five-week trial by the same judge who originally ordered the wiretap. The wife of a 1979 victim of a police shooting guaranteed his bail. Laws is launching an appeal of the conviction, which will be heard in September. For more information on the case and to support the appeal, write:

**Black Action Defense Committee
386 Vaughan Road
Toronto, Ontario
M6C 2N8 Canada**

Anarchist Black Cross and Other Prisoner Support Groups

**Leonard Peltier Defense Committee
PO Box 583
Lawrence, KS 66044 USA**

**ABC Portland
1951 W. Burnside/Box 1928
Portland, OR 97209 USA**

**Philadelphia ABC c/o A-Space
4722 Baltimore Ave
Philadelphia, PA 19143 USA**

**Ratspike ABC
PO Box 8054
Victoria, BC V8W 3R7
Canada**

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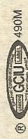
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This is Part II of Ron Tabor's series: An anarchist critique of Marxism. The series began in Love and Rage vol. 4 no. 4 (Sept. 1993) and will be a regular, if intermittent, feature in these pages in the future. Responses, as always, are welcome.

IN THE FIRST INSTALLMENT OF THIS SERIES, I DISCUSSED the fact that international Communism is in crisis and that this and the crisis of Marxism that it entails offer anti-authoritarians a historical opportunity to enhance the influence of anarchism and the anarchist movement in the global political arena. I also warned that the crisis of Marxism is temporary, that Marxist ideas and organizations will reemerge as significant forces, as oppressed people around the world step up their struggles. It is therefore essential for anarchists to hit Marxism while it's down, not assume it will die of its own accord.

One facet of such an attack is to elaborate the anarchist critique of Marxism as an ideology. We need to show that, despite its promises, Marxism is fundamentally a totalitarian doctrine that is incapable of guiding the struggle for a liberated society. Although such a critique does not by itself guarantee a victory over Marxism, without it a victory, or even much of a fight, will not be possible.

My thesis is that Marxism is responsible for Communism. Specifically, the ideas of Marx and Engels, regardless of the authors' intentions, gave rise to the brutal regimes that we have come to call Communist. The emergence of such systems was not the result of some accident, unfortunate misinterpretation of Marxism, or some other cause. These regimes represent the underlying logic of Marxist ideas, and every effort of Marxist organizations to create revolutionary societies in the future will lead to similar systems.

Since such a contention is controversial, it is necessary to demonstrate it. I do not say "prove," because it is

usually ask one to cite one's "sources," then denounce them as agents or dupes of imperialism, hence biased and unreliable. Meanwhile, the only sources they trust are people, newspapers, magazines, etc., that support their views, in other words, Communist apologists. Even when one points to the obvious failure of these regimes, that so many collapsed of their own accord, we're told that what happened was the result of machinations of US imperialism, the CIA, etc.

The very need to resort to this type of argument is itself a refutation of Marxism. While Western imperialism was and is hostile to Communism and Communist regimes (and the CIA was and is undoubtedly involved in upsetting them), Communism ought to have been able to withstand imperialist aggression. According to Marxism, the socialist-communist system is inherently more effi-

cient and productive than capitalism; that is precisely the reason it is supposed to come into being. It was to be the liberation of the working class and the establishment of a society based on its direct direction of social affairs that would guarantee this result.

It is crucial for proponents of this type of argument to downplay the atrocities committed by the Communist regimes and deny that they were in any way fundamental to the system; they were, at most, "excesses." This way, popular outrage at the Communist regimes can be made to seem extreme. Although Stalin himself admitted that 20 million people died in the Soviet Union during forced collectivization, and the estimates of the total of these victims and those killed during the purges range up to 70-80 million, the advocates of the "excesses" theory generally settle for a figure under 5 or 6 million. They then argue that these deaths, while unfortunate, were the price of the struggle to defeat Nazi Germany, which killed 6 million Jews plus many others, started World War II, etc.

But this claim fails to address the not-unreasonable deduction that such excesses are not accidents but inherent results of the Communist system. Twenty million people died in China during Mao's Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. The Khmer Rouge murdered 3 million people in Kampuchea. Mengistu's juggernaut in Ethiopia attempted genocide against the Eritreans, Oronos and other peoples, and was responsible for the deaths of millions of others. How many were killed, tortured, or spent years in prisons, labor camps, and psychiatric hospitals operated by other Communist regimes? And why is it wherever such regimes are established mass murder seems to occur?

The most sophisticated rationale for the atrocities is the contention that these were unfortunate results of the birth of a new and historically progressive social system: look how many people died in the emergence of capitalism! Leaving aside the questionable propriety of weighing human lives in this way, this argument only has validity after the fact, that is, if Communism actually emerges as a global system that is a liberatory and humane as its proponents claim. Judging by recent events, this doesn't seem too likely. In the meantime, Communism remains responsible for the murder, torture and imprisonment of millions of people, and Marxists continue to look for arguments to explain this away.

There is another evasion of Marxism's failure which is both more sophisticated and more devious. This is the view that the Communist systems were/are a fundamen-

Marxism and Its Historical Responsibility

BY RON TABOR

impossible to prove this proposition in any meaningful way. Whatever proof is possible has been rendered by history. Despite this, it is always possible to come up with some explanation, some interpretation of Marxism that "explains" the crimes and failure of Communism in such a way as to absolve Marxism of its responsibility for these developments.

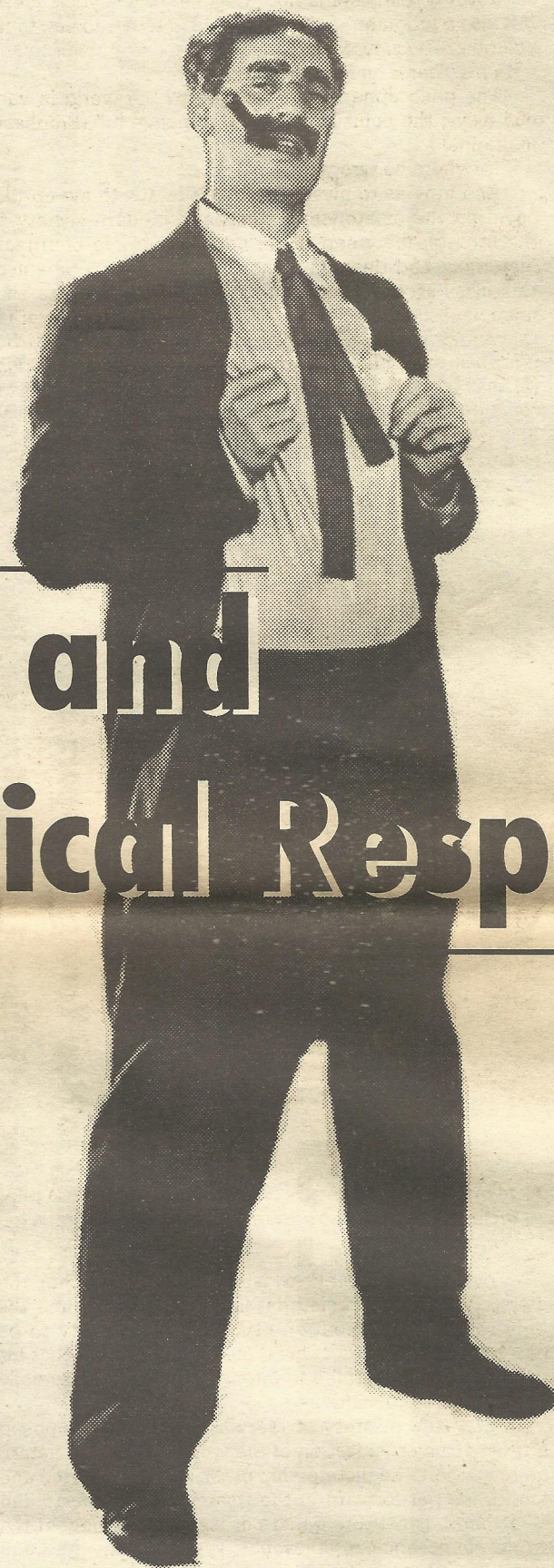
Marxism has demonstrated that it is a failure: it does not lead to classless, stateless societies, as Marx and Engels promised, but to societies that were and are as class- and state-dominated as anything capitalism has produced. Moreover, not only do these societies not progress toward the classless and stateless ideal, they are not even capable of promoting sustained economic growth. After an initial burst, they stagnate and then tend to collapse under the weight of their inequities and internal contradictions. And almost everywhere they've been established Communist regimes have murdered, tortured and imprisoned millions of people and have been responsible for a catastrophic level of environmental destruction.

Despite this record, Marxists have come up with a million rationalizations to explain why Marxism is still valid; why, in other words, the atrocities committed under Communist societies, the economic and other failures of the system and the collapse of many of these regimes, are not really the result of Marxism, but some kind of aberration. Thus, although Marxism calls itself scientific, the "unity of theory and practice," it has been aggressively unwilling to let itself be judged by the results.

The rationalizations that Marxists have devised to explain away the failures of Marxism and Communism are many and varied, and as the Marxist movement revives, anti-authoritarian activists will increasingly be encountering them. It is therefore worth discussing them, if only briefly.

To this day, some people, such as members of the Workers World Party and the Communist Party, USA, essentially contend that the Communist societies were/are classless and stateless, or were at least moving in that direction. They accomplished great feats of economic growth, were continuing to develop and had exceptional records of democracy, human rights and other social achievements. Moreover, far fewer atrocities occurred in these countries than is generally claimed by anti-Communists. Those that did occur were much less than those committed by the capitalists, were greatly exaggerated by the bourgeois media and were mostly caused by the aggression of the imperialist countries.

Surprisingly, these contentions are not easy to refute, certainly not to the people who argue for them. For example, when one points out the catastrophic state of the Soviet economy prior to the Soviet Union's collapse, they



usually ask one to cite one's "sources," then denounce them as agents or dupes of imperialism, hence biased and unreliable. Meanwhile, the only sources they trust are people, newspapers, magazines, etc., that support their views, in other words, Communist apologists. Even when one points to the obvious failure of these regimes, that so many collapsed of their own accord, we're told that what happened was the result of machinations of US imperialism, the CIA, etc.

In fact, it was at least in part because the workers and other oppressed people continued to be oppressed and were even more excluded from participating in, let alone directing, social affairs than they are under capitalism that the Communist regimes stagnated and some have collapsed. In other words, it was the authoritarian nature of the system itself that enabled the activities of Western imperialism to have whatever destructive impact they had.

A somewhat less defensive rationalization admits that the Communist systems were flawed, but were fundamentally progressive and healthy. Yes, the economies did suffer from problems and atrocities were committed by Communist governments. But however serious these were, they were relatively minor problems, essentially the "birth pangs" of a new social system, which, once mature, would fully reveal its progressive and humane nature.

This argument was/is usually accompanied by efforts to challenge the estimates of the economic situation in those countries and now blames the collapse of the regimes on errors or treason committed by the leadership and popular overreaction. In other words, the economies

tal distortion of Marxism. That way, their failures and atrocities were not the result of Marxism but the unfortunate "objective conditions" in which Marxists carried out social revolutions.

According to this argument, first put forward systematically by Leon Trotsky, the first socialist revolutions did not occur in the advanced industrialized countries, as Marx and Engels predicted, but in semi- or underdeveloped countries, such as Russia and China. These countries lacked strong working classes and the material bases necessary for building democratic socialist societies. Moreover, they were invaded, blockaded and otherwise attacked by the imperialist countries. In the context of the destruction and poverty that resulted, Marxist revolutionaries were forced to resort to coercive measures merely to hold on to power and to preserve the revolutions. Had revolutions occurred in the advanced industrialized countries and had Russia, China, etc., not been invaded, blockaded, etc., the revolutionaries would have built socialist societies in the manner predicted and prescribed by Marx and Engels.

Although this argument has a certain plausibility, it is a sleight of hand. For one thing, isn't the fact that what actually happened was not what Marx and Engels have predicted a telling indictment of Marxism, which claims to be based on a scientific analysis of society and the nature and direction of history? That the first socialist revolution did not occur in the advanced capitalist countries, as Marx predicted, and that they still haven't occurred there, is a substantial argument against Marxism.

What is even more destructive to the argument is what Marxist revolutionaries actually *did* when they were confronted by the objective conditions they didn't expect. Why, when the Bolshevik revolution didn't spread to the industrialized countries and when such countries sponsored and sent in counterrevolutionary armies, did the Bolsheviks choose to concentrate all economic and political power in their own hands? Why did they outlaw all other political parties and groups, take over the workers' councils, factory committees, trade unions, and other mass organizations and amalgamate them into a huge, centralized state apparatus? Why did they go into the countryside and seize the peasants' grain and shoot those who resisted? Why did they set up a secret police, institute execution without trial, shoot and throw into labor camps millions of people? Nobody *made* the Bolsheviks do these things; they could have done something else.

An Anarchist Critique of Marxism Part 2

The usual answer is that these steps were necessary to preserve the revolution: the only political force capable of doing so was the Bolshevik Party and the only way to ensure Bolshevik dominance was to concentrate all power in its hands and squelch all opposition.

This answer contains the germ of a profound critique of Marxism: it is precisely what the Bolsheviks did—resort to centralized, brutal and dictatorial methods—and why they did it—because they assumed that the survival of the revolution was coincident with their control over the state—that reveals the totalitarian nature of Marxism. Despite its libertarian vision and goals, Marxism advocates the use of the state and violent, hierarchical, centralized measures to achieve liberation. And it bases itself on a philosophy of history, human nature and the nature of the universe that justifies the necessity of such methods. Yet the end it claims to struggle for cannot be achieved through such means.

Even the Bolsheviks' decision to try to survive at all costs reveals an underlying value. Perhaps their contention—that had they not taken such dictatorial measures the counter-revolution would have triumphed—is true. But the fact that the Bolsheviks chose to hold onto state power at whatever the cost, no matter how barbaric the measures, says something about the nature of Marxism: For it, control over the state and the brutal suppression of enemies are essential elements of the socialist revolution; democracy for workers and peasants, the right to economic, social, cultural and spiritual autonomy and human decency are not.

Perhaps there would have been less suffering and the cause of human liberation would have been better served in the long run had the Bolsheviks worked to preserve worker democracy and expanded economic, social and cultural freedom, even if it meant that they and the revolution were defeated. (Perhaps, even, the revolution—a different one than the Bolsheviks stood for, to be sure—would have survived.) There were factions in the Bolshevik Party that pressed, very timidly, in this direction. But they were overwhelmed by the Leninist and other centralizing factions. This was no accident. Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and the other proponents of centralized, dictatorial methods had the logic of Marxism on their side.

There is an additional argument that seeks to deny Marxism's responsibility for Communism that is worth mentioning here. This is that what happened in Russia, China, etc., was not the result of Marxism at all, but a profound distortion or misinterpretation of Marx's ideas. The ideology of the Bolsheviks, and their historical followers, so this argument goes, is not really Marxism at all. Marx didn't advocate a vanguard party; his conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat entailed democracy for the workers; virtually everything today that is called Marxism-Leninism, including "historical materialism" and "dialectical materialism," is an invention of Engels, Plekhanov, Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Stalin, Mao, etc., and an inversion of what Marx himself believed.

Almost every type of apologist articulates a version of this argument. Trotskyists insist Lenin was true to Marx; Stalin distorted him. Maoists argue that Stalin was a Marxist and that "revisionism" began with Khrushchev. Present-day CP'ers probably argue that Brezhnev correctly interpreted Marx; it was Gorbachev who went astray, etc. The most sophisticated form of this claim is the one put forward by the Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski (when he was still a Marxist) and others: the distortion of Marxism began with Friedrich Engels, who wasn't a Marxist at all, but a "positivist."

Here, too, the very posing of this argument (in whatever form) implies a critique of Marxism, for if the historic process had developed as Marx had predicted, all debates over what is Marxism and what isn't Marxism would be irrelevant. Marxism would have "happened" (or would be "happening") and there'd be nothing to debate about.

Moreover, if the argument is true, why is Marxism so prone to be misinterpreted and distorted? Why have such intelligent people as Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and Mao so profoundly misinterpreted Marx? Engels was Marx's lifelong friend, with whom he discussed his ideas and collaborated for decades. How is it that even he misunderstood Marx's ideas? Why do the overwhelming majority of people who read Marx also misinterpret his works? Why are virtually all the contemporary political trends that derive from Marxism statist, centralist and authoritarian? And what good is a theory of popular social change that only geniuses can truly understand?

The answer to these questions lies in another one: is there a connection between the supposedly real Marxism, that is, the ideas of Marx, and its various distortions? Or to put it differently, is there something in Marxism that makes it prone to be misinterpreted as it

has been, that points in the directions of these distortions, that points, in other words, to totalitarianism?

Perhaps the most apparently reasonable attempt to defend Marxism from its own consequences is the claim that Marxism, or parts of it, remain valid analytical propositions, which can be accepted independently of Marxism's political program and historical practice: for example, the class analysis of society, the analysis of capitalism, the materialist conception of history.

In fact, many of those who put forward this argument do accept Marxism's program and defend, in one form or another, the "socialist countries." But sensing Marxism's vulnerability in the realm of practice, they chose to retreat to a stronger line of defense, the apparent validity of Marxist theory.

However, Marxism is not just a set of analytical ideas, but also a program—a demand and strategy—to act, to revolutionize society. Marx himself was explicit about this.

In his *Theses on Feuerbach* he wrote:

"The philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it." (Emphasis in original.)

Elsewhere he wrote:

"And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists, the economic anatomy of classes. What I did was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular, historical phases in the development of production, (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." (Emphasis in original.)



The theoretical and political founders of Communism, in a rare photo together before factionalism and sectarianism separated their paths forever.

In other words, Marx considered the ideas that the dictatorship of the proletariat is both inevitable and the only route to the creation of a classless society to be essential components of his thought. He also felt that his theoretical works, first and foremost *Capital* had actually proven these propositions.

In fact, the entirety of Marxist theory, its proposed strategy (the organization of the working class, proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc.) and tactics (as put forward in the *Communist Manifesto* and elsewhere), constitute a more or less unified view of the world—in essence, a philosophic system. Although Marx rarely put them forward explicitly, his thought implies and entails a notion of the ultimate structure of reality, a concept of nature, a theory of knowledge, a concept of human nature and evolution, and a set of ethics, as well as theories of society, history, economics and politics, which he did write about.

All these facets of Marx's thought are interdependent and reasonably consistent with each other (as consistent as most other philosophic systems.) While one may believe he/she holds one aspect of his system while rejecting others, this is in reality not so easy to do, insofar as one theory or concept implies the others. To say that one supports Marxist theory but not its practical demands, or that one supports some facets of Marxist theory but not others, usually involves one in fundamental contradictions.

For example, some feminists have sought theoretical support for their ideas in Marxism. But Marxism insists on the primacy of economic processes (under class societies, economic domination/exploitation), as the fundamental and determining factor in human society and history, subordinating other dynamics, such as sexual/gender domination, to it. One may use economic exploitation as an analogy and extend the idea of economic domination to the realm of gender. Contending that gender domination is the fundamental dynamic of human society, however, or even that it is coequal in importance with the economic, is not Marxism, but a direct contradiction to it. It involves a fundamental repudiation of *Capital* and Marx's material-

ist conception of history. If despite this, one insists that *Capital* and historic materialism are valid, one is abandoning the standpoint of feminism.

(In my opinion, anarchism's incorporation of economic, gender, racial, cultural and other forms of domination/exploitation under the rubric of authority without seeking to rank them, is a theoretical concept of exceptional importance and entirely at odds with the letter and spirit of Marxism.)

The systematic and connected character of Marxism, then, is one of its chief features. In fact, this character, Marxism's seeming ability to answer so many questions, is one of the chief reasons why so many people find it attractive. And it was Engel's attempt to elaborate some of the implications of Marx's thought, in such works as *The Dialectics of Nature* and *Anti-Dühring*, that so many academic apologists for Marxism find so embarrassing.

The efforts to endorse parts of Marxism selectively, and the more specific rationalizations we have been discussing, all share a refusal to realize that Marxism, and Marxists, must accept responsibility for what Marxism has wrought, that the cause of the crisis of Communism and the atrocities it has committed lie within Marxism itself.

One root of this refusal to accept responsibility is a failure to look deeply into Marxism, particularly its philosophical presuppositions. This is in part because most Marxists lack the background to do this. (Although Marx and Engels explicitly acknowledged a substantial debt to the German philosopher, G.W.F. Hegel, how many Marxists have read Hegel, even a little?)

The failure to investigate Marxism's philosophical underpinnings is also a result of the fact that most Marxists believe that Marxism is scientific, that Marx's philosophical presuppositions are the same as those of science. And since science has proven itself (they believe), its

philosophical assumptions must be correct and so are Marxism's. (Indeed, most people are not even aware that science has philosophical assumptions and that these are by no means unquestionable.)

Yet, science inherently entails open competition to disprove established theories and establish new ones. In contrast, Marxism (when Marxists cannot suppress discussion), may allow its specific propositions to be challenged, but this is always done in the interests of preserving Marxism as a whole. Marxism never allows itself to be judged as a specific scientific theory, but insists that it is the equivalent of science itself, thus assuming a positive outcome (the reaffirmation of Marxism) of any critique before it is even begun.

As a result, most Marxists find themselves in a trap of their own making. If events occur that force

them to question Marxism, this rarely prompts a serious investigation. Marxism appears to answer so many questions, is so central to most Marxists' worldview and self-identity, that an abandonment of Marxism usually entails a profound personal crisis. If the shock to their worldview is not severe, most Marxists express concern, and when the turbulence has passed, reaffirm their beliefs.

If developments are more profound, some Marxists engage in a limited discussion, the outcome of which is to affirm their belief that socialism is and must be democratic and to urge further investigations of the "historical experiences of the construction of socialism" (thus assuming what needs to be proved). This loaded question then remains the subject of an irrelevant discussion, in which the participants agree to disagree about what are, at best, minor points. (See the recent statement of the Committees of Correspondence, former members of the Communist Party who are now trying to "regroup" with others around a broad social democratic program.)

When Marxists do reject Marxism, most are too demoralized to dwell on the past. The majority slide out of politics and cease considering themselves Marxists, while still (often subconsciously) retaining most of their old political assumptions. Generally, those who do make an attempt to evaluate their previous politics lack the knowledge or motivation to do so in depth. Their critiques of Marxism are usually shallow, tend to repeat time-worn pro-capitalist clichés, and almost always entail the rejection of revolutionary goals in favor of liberal reformism or downright reactionary ideology.

As a result, the Marxist movement exists in a self-contained world. Being a Marxist entails accepting Marxism, more or less unquestioningly. When one is disillusioned, one leaves the movement and ignores or merely denounces one's previous views. Meanwhile, Marxism, the supposed "science" of revolution, never subjects itself to a serious critique, however obvious its failures and horrible its deeds.

Just because Marxism and Marxists (and most ex-

(Continued to next page)

An Anarchist Critique of Marxism Part 2

(Continued from previous page)

Marxists) refuse to face up to their historical responsibility doesn't mean that it is okay for anarchists to ignore the question. Yet, many anarchists today have little interest in the issue, either because they believe Marxism is dead or irrelevant, or because they think that the standard anarchist arguments against it are sufficient. (Surprisingly, there are some anti-authoritarians who believe that Marxism is not inconsistent with anarchism.)

However, anarchists ought to elaborate their critique of Marxism. This will certainly be necessary if we are serious about combatting the influence of Marxism and the Marxist left when, as I argued, their influence starts to grow. But anarchists have another, more profound, reason to develop their critique.

Opponents of revolutionary change—liberals, conservatives and reactionaries alike—argue that totalitarianism is inherent in every revolutionary program; that is, that very attempt to radically transform society will inevitably lead to totalitarianism. Given the history of recent revolutions, this is not a groundless argument, and anarchists would be wise to look at it. Not only should we investigate the roots of totalitarianism in Marxism, we should also look into anarchist theory and practice to see whether anarchism embodies such tendencies, and if so to root them out or seek to mitigate their influence.

It is my contention that Marxism is responsible for Communist totalitarianism because its underlying philosophical assumptions imply it. Moreover, Marxism is unaware of its authoritarian logic. Unlike Nazis, (who are at least partially aware of what their program really means), Marxists fight for totalitarianism fervently believing that they are fighting for its opposite: human freedom. (This is particularly ironic in that Marxists believe that they are truly conscious; everyone else suffers from "false consciousness.") It is this combination of inner totalitarian logic and lack of awareness of it that gives rise to the narrow fanaticism generally characteristic of Marxists and Marxist



Joe Stalin, stern even in his youth

organizations.

Although it is the purpose of this series to analyze this proposition in some depth, it is worth sketching my basic argument here.

Marxism believes that it has discovered the true meaning of human history. It believes that it alone understands human nature, consciousness and society; that it has discovered the "laws of motion" of history, what its goal is and how that goal is to be reached; that it is Marxism's right and obligation to point the way to this goal; that the chief vehicles to achieve this are a violent revolution and a state. Marxism also contains the implication that it has discovered Truth in general, and that it has answered the fundamental philosophical questions that humanity has pondered for centuries.

In Marxist theory, the goal of history, i.e. Communism, is not imposed, except on a tiny minority—the capitalist class and its agents. The communist goal is supposedly shared by the overwhelming majority of humanity—the international proletariat and its allies—who revolt, establish their own state and use it to implement their program.

In practice, however, reality doesn't conform to Marxist theory. When Marxists seize political power, they build up a massive state apparatus that they use to impose their program through coercion. In other words, they try to force reality to conform to their theory. Since this is impossible, they wind up in a state of war with reality, including the majority of the working class they claim to lead, using the full powers of the state to try to fulfill their unfulfillable program.

Although Marxism claims to be Materialist, that is, contends that the fundamental reality is matter—atoms, protons, electrons, etc.—it is actually a form of Idealism, but one that doesn't recognize itself as such. Despite its Materialist pretensions, Marxism entails the belief that the real, underlying Reality is its own idea or concept of the world—what it calls the "laws of motion" of nature and society. It then proposes to make its own concept (its theory) real, demanding in effect that reality conform to its idea of it. The fact that it doesn't see itself as Idealist, or even as philosophy, prevents it from having the scruples not to advocate the imposition of its program by force.

More specifically, Marxism is a variant of bourgeois Rationalism, the belief that the ultimate reality of the universe is rational, an embodiment of Reason. This Reason is not the specific (and flawed) reasoning

powers of individual human beings or even the human species, but a cosmic principle or spirit that underlies all reality.

Rationalism as a philosophical trend arose during the 17th century as the philosophical counterpart of the great mathematical and scientific discoveries that emerged along with and helped foment the development of manufacturing and, later, industrial capitalism. Although most of the Rationalist philosophers were hostile to the Catholic Church and organized religion in general, they still believed in God, although He no longer had the figure of a human, a personality and a name. In effect, the traditional God of the Judeo-Christian religions had become a disembodied universal Mind that underlies, and in some versions is coterminous with, reality.

But whereas most forms of Rationalism implicitly justify the world as it is, Marxism refuses to accept that the brutal reality that is capitalism is in fact the embodiment of Reason. Instead of breaking with the Rationalist way of thinking, Marx and Engels wound up elaborating the particular variant of Rationalism developed by Hegel.

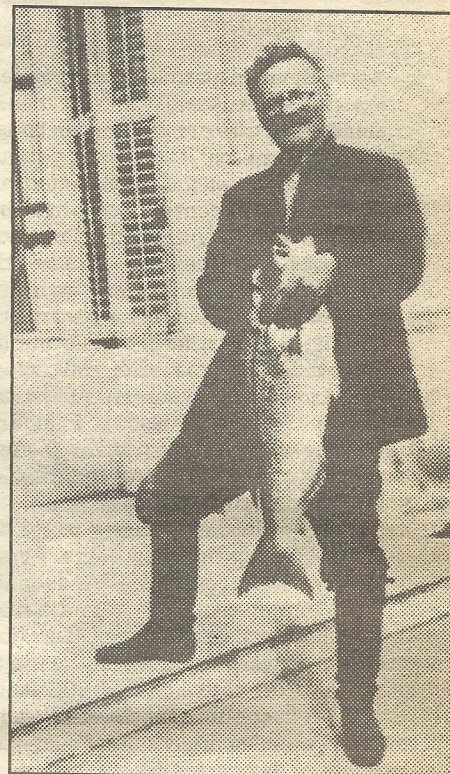
Hegel was concerned to correct what he saw as the main failure of previous Rationalist philosophies, the inability to explain history (if everything was rational, why does anything change?), which to him was primarily the development of human consciousness. He sought to do this by elaborating a concept of the dialectic, the tendency of Reason to argue with itself, and through this debate, to move toward Truth or what he called the Absolute; that is, God.

In Hegel's view, human reason is the embodiment of a cosmic Mind or Spirit (actually the mind of God), but it only finds this out when it has reached the end of evolution, from primitive thoughts to a comprehension of the Absolute (the omnipresence of God), through a debate with itself. History, with its material trappings, is a reflection of the dialectical development of human reason, which is in reality the mind of God becoming conscious of itself. (If you don't get this, don't worry, not too many people have. In any case, we'll get back to it in later articles.)

Although Marx and Engels, who had been students of philosophy, acknowledged their debt to Hegel, they claimed to have "stood him on his head," that is, rejected his Idealism in favor of Materialism, while salvaging his dialectical method. In fact, Marxism remains a form of Hegelianism, Idealist to the core but unaware of it; it may best be described as a form of disillusioned Hegelianism.



V.I. Lenin, chillin' with Trotsky



Leon Trotsky, with a Snoek he caught himself

Hegel posited the achievement of the Absolute largely in the realm of thought, attaining only an approximate material fulfillment in the Prussian constitutional monarchy of his day. Marx and Engels saw this as a cop-out and insisted that the achievement of the Absolute fully occur in reality, not just in our minds. As radical Hegelians, they insisted that the program of their teacher actually come to pass. They sought to do this through the discovery, in scientific fashion, of the laws of motion of history in general and capitalism in particular that were supposedly leading to the establishment of communism, a planned and truly democratic, i.e. rational, society. Instead, they developed a philosophic outlook that advocated the imposition of their own version of the Absolute through the state and the suppression of all who resist.

It will be the purpose of the rest of this series to elaborate this argument. In the next installment, I intend to discuss Marx and Engels' general theory of the state. The article will investigate their conception of the revolutionary state—the dictatorship of the proletariat. That will be followed by installments devoted to *Capital* the Marxist (materialist) conception of history, and the broader philosophical propositions of Marxism.

[Note: Despite years of debate among Marxists and bourgeois scholars as to what constitutes the "real" Marxism—the writings of the "young" vs. those of the "mature" Marx, the works of Marx vs. those of Engels—we will assume that the works of Marx and Engels, young and mature, constitute a more or less unified world view and should be treated as such. Whatever the truth of the various claims about Marx vs. Engels, young vs. mature Marx, etc., Marxism as it has come down to us and is accepted by most Marxists consists of the writings and activity of these two men throughout their adult lives.]★

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Love & Rage Political Glossary

[We will be publishing a glossary in each issue of *Love and Rage* from now on. The terms will come from the pages of the newspaper, and we will try to select words that are important to understanding struggles. We welcome comments.]

Neo-Liberal—In the context of México, used to describe current President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and his technocratic faction of the ruling party, the PRI. They advocate a lowering of trade barriers and entering fully into the international corporate economy. Also applies to the Peruvian and Brazilian Presidents, among others. Neo-liberal is also used to describe a far wider variety of economic beliefs than we can describe here.

Compañera/Compañero/Compa—In Spanish-speaking communities, companions, comrades, but without the commie connotations. When used as "my compañera" it can mean "partner" and is less euphemistic than "companion" in English.

Materialism/Idealism—Materialism is

the belief that there is a physical world and that the physical characteristics of that world determine what happens in it. Idealism is the belief is a set of non-physical entities or object which determine what is true and what there is in the world. It can also be the belief that there is no physical world or that there is no permanence to the physical world. Marx claimed to battle against Idealism with various kinds of Materialism, including Historical Materialism and Dialectical Materialism.

Depo-Provera—A hormone contraceptive shot administered by a health care worker every three months. Problems with Depo-Provera are similar to those of the Pill when it was first introduced and to Norplant now: there are no long term studies of its effects; no one knows exactly how it works; wimmin either have normal periods, no periods, or bleed all the time while on "the shot"; statistics are particularly shaky regarding the

ability to conceive within one year of not taking the drug (According to Upjohn, the drug manufacturer, "most" wimmin conceive within one year). Depo-Provera is another step in the trend of birth control methods over which wimmin have increasingly less control. If a womyn has a bad reaction to Depo-Provera—excessive weight gain or bloating, hair loss, or severe depression—can do nothing. The drug will remain in her system for three months no matter what.

Bolshevism—From the Russian meaning 'majoritism,' the Bolsheviks were the majority faction (as opposed to the minority reformist faction, the Mensheviks) of the Russian social democratic party. They pursued what they believed to be a maximalist revolutionary program. Maximalism can be described as revolutionary politics which claim to make no compromises with the system they seek to overthrow. Later the Bolsheviks became the Communist party of the Soviet Union and continued their 'maximalist' policies through the single party state.

Didactic—Teachy, in a bad way. Kinda like this glossary...★

Demands of the EZLN

(Continued from page 5)

ization of Chiapan petroleum be applied to industrial, agricultural, commercial and social infrastructure projects for the benefit of all Chiapanecos.

7.- The revision of the North American Free Trade Agreement signed with the United States and Canada. In its present form it does not take into account the Indigenous population. Furthermore, it represents a death sentence because it does not include any labor qualifications whatsoever.

8.- Article 27 of the Magna Carta [a reference to the Mexican Constitution] should respect the original spirit of Emiliano Zapata: land is for the Indigenous people and peasants who work it, not for *latifundistas* [owners of large-landed estates]. We want the large tracts of land that are in the hands of ranchers, national wealthy land-owners, foreigners and other people who own a lot of land and are not peasants to be put in the hands of the people who are desperately in need of land, as it is set out in our Revolutionary Agrarian Law. The redistribution of lands should be accompanied by the provision of farm equipment, fertilizers, insecti-

cides, loans, technical assistance, improved seeds, cattle and fair prices for our products such as coffee, corn and beans. The land that is redistributed should be of high quality and it must be accessible by roads, public transport, and have adequate irrigation systems. Peasants who already have land also have the right to receive the support mentioned above to facilitate their work and improve production. New communal land areas and communities should be formed. The Salinas reform to Article 27 of the Constitution should be annulled and the individual right to land should be put back into our Magna Carta.

9.- We demand that the government build hospitals in the capitals of all municipalities, which are equipped with specialized doctors and sufficient medicine to attend to all patients, and rural clinics in smaller communities with training and fair salaries for health representatives. Already-existing hospitals in the area should be rehabilitated as soon as possible and must be fully equipped to provide surgical services. Clinics should be built in large communities, which have sufficient doctors and medicine to more closely attend to the needs of the people.

10.- That Indigenous people be guaranteed the right to information on local, regional, state, national and international levels through an independent radio station that is managed and operated by Indigenous people.

11.- We demand that housing be built in all rural communities in México that is provided with all necessary services such as: light, running water, roads, sewage systems, telephones, public transportation, etc. And also that we be granted the benefits of the city such as televisions, stoves, refrigerators, washing machines, etc. The communities should have centers of recreation for the healthy diversion of residents: sports and culture which dignify the human condition of Indigenous people.

12.- We demand an end to illiteracy in Indigenous communities. For this we need better elementary and secondary schools in our communities, which provide free materials and have teachers with university degrees who are at the service of the people and not just defending the wealthy. In municipal capitals there should be free elementary, secondary, and high schools. The government should provide uniforms, shoes, food and all study materials for free. Centrally located communities that are far away from the capital of the respective municipalities should have boarding sec-

ondary schools. Education should be totally free, from preschool through university, and it should be available to all Mexicans regardless of race, religion, age, sex or political affiliation.

13.- That the languages of the various ethnicities be made official and that they be taught in primary, secondary and high schools and at the university level.

14.- That our rights and dignity as Indigenous people be respected and that our culture and tradition be recognized.

15.- We do not want to be subject to discrimination and scorn which we, the Indigenous, have suffered for a long time now.

16.- As Indigenous people we demand that we be allowed to govern ourselves autonomously because we no longer want to be subject to the will of national and foreign powers.

17.- That justice be administered by the Indigenous communities themselves according to their customs and traditions, without intervention from illegitimate and corrupt governments.

18.- We demand dignified jobs with fair salaries for all workers both in the cities and in rural areas so that our brothers are not forced to resort to bad things such as drug trafficking, delinquency and prostitution in order to survive. That the Federal Labor Law be applied to rural and urban workers with bonuses, loans, vacations, and the true right to strike.

19.- We demand fair prices for our products. For this we need to have free access to a market to buy and sell without being subject to the coyotes [profiteering middlemen] who exploit us.

20.- That the extraction of wealth from México and especially Chiapas, one of the Republic's richest states but one in which hunger and misery grow every day, cease.

21.- We demand that all debts, whether they be credits or loans for taxes with high interest rates, be cancelled, as these cannot be paid back due to the poverty of the Mexican population.

22.- We want an end to hunger and malnutrition because they have caused the death of thousands of our brothers both in the city and the countryside. In every rural community there should be cooperative stores supported economically by the federal, state and municipal governments and the prices in these stores should be fair. There should also be transport vehicles, property of the cooperatives, for the transport of merchandise.

23.- We demand the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and poor people who are being held unjustly in Mexican and Chiapan jails.

24.- We demand that the Federal Army and judicial- and public-safety police be prohibited from entering rural zones as they only go to intimidate, clear out, rob, repress and bombard peasants who are organizing to defend their rights. The people are tired of the presence of soldiers and public-safety and legal officials because they are so abusive and repressive. The Mexican government must return the Pilatus planes used to bombard our people to the Swiss government. The refund money should be channeled to programs to improve the life of rural and urban workers. We also ask that the United States government take back its helicopters as they are being used to repress Mexicans.

25.- The Indigenous peasants took up arms because they have nothing but their humble shacks. When the Federal Army bombarded the civil populations, it destroyed these humble homes and all of their few belongings. For this reason we demand that the federal government compensate families that have suffered material losses due to air raids and actions by federal troops during the conflict. We also demand indemnity for widows and orphans of the war, both civilians and Zapatistas.

26.- We, Indigenous peasants, want to live peacefully and tranquilly and demand that we be allowed to live according to our rights to liberty and a life of dignity.

27.- That the Penal Code of the state of Chiapas be eliminated as it does not allow us to organize except by taking up arms because legal and peaceful struggles are repressed and punished.

28.- We ask and demand an end to the expulsion of Indigenous communities by the local tyrants who are supported by the state. We demand that all expelled people be returned freely and voluntarily to their lands of origin and that they be

(Continued to next page)



Delegates from EZLN-held territory take a break from their discussions of the dialogue held between the EZLN and the Mexican Federal Government in San Cristóbal de las Casas in the last two weeks of February.

Women on the Lunatic Fringe

(Continued from page 2)

one admits that African-Americans are oppressed and nobody is now claiming it's their natural condition to be oppressed. Whereas men are still insisting that women are imagining things, exaggerating, or just hysterical. Maybe they have PMS. The existence of PMS has become one more weapon to use against women, to keep us in our place.

The latest ploy seems to be accusing women of sexism if they don't like men. The problem is—what's to like? Most men have bought, to some extent, the social construct of women as inferior beings who are emotionally unstable and do not deserve to be treated with respect. And women live in the constant shadow of physical and sexual assault by men.

Women are not afraid of other women, women are afraid of men. Even if they are not afraid, they will be automatically blamed if anything should happen to them. Why weren't they more careful? What were they doing out at night? The whole situation would be ridiculous, seen in the light of reason. But in the murk of prejudice and oppression, there is no objective reasoning. We are at war.

It's a guerrilla war, being fought by women who refuse to conform. And thanks to their suffering, women now have a slightly better life. The chains of slavery have given way to the sad spectacle of women participating in their own oppression, feeling like they should be grateful for every crumb of freedom, and not ask for too much, lest the chains return. And psychiatry is a major force

keeping these women in line.

The gender differences in "mental health" have been well-detailed elsewhere. Suffice it to say that "healthy male" and "healthy female" are psychiatric opposites, whereas "healthy person" is the same as "healthy male." This makes all women inherently unhealthy mentally, even those who strictly conform to the female stereotypes of passivity and self-hatred. But woe to the female who refuses to conform! The powers of the psychiatric state are launched against her and she doesn't stand a chance.

Women who refuse the female role are routinely incarcerated by family members, notably husbands who are not being served or obeyed. Psychiatry, being a male-dominated instrument of social control, will accept any excuse to incarcerate a woman who does not accept male domination. The problem is, we are not only expected to accept our own oppression, we must also enjoy it!

It's not surprising that so many women fail this "normality" test. What's surprising is that any woman is considered sane. It's very hard to walk that thin line between "femininity" and "masochism." And since our society pretends that this oppression doesn't exist, women are not prepared to resist it. But we are all told, in one way or another, that if we step too far out of line, the loony bin will be the result. One more thing to be afraid of in this undeclared war.

Once inside a mental institution, men and women are treated very differently. It's important to note that, although men may be committed for acts of aggression that differ in type or intensity from

accepted acts of male aggression, the accepted level of male aggression is much higher than that of female aggression. A woman is considered violent or potentially violent if she shows any anger at all. Men usually have to beat a few people up before their violence is noticed.

The other dimension in male commitment is social class. Men with money are allowed to be aggressive, unpleasant, offensive, "eccentric." So most men who get locked up are economically oppressed people who are expressing their anger in "inappropriate" ways. In the hospital, they are punished for this behavior and rewarded for cooperating with shrinks.

But women must not only change their behavior, they must develop a properly "feminine" obsession with their appearance. This is considered to be an important indicator of "healthy female" behavior. Staff members keep track of how much attention women pay to their make-up, their hair, their clothes. They are released when they conform to this stereotype. Once again, women are not seen as people, but as objects of interest to men. And men, in this case male shrinks, are once again defining women in the most narrow and degrading sense.

The shrinks might as well say: "We are not interested in your mind, or your feelings, or your abilities. We just want to be sure you're brushing your hair and putting on lipstick." I'm pointing out that psychiatry is a mirror of our society, and serves a social control function that is especially dangerous to women. And that women, therefore, have a special interest in the abolition of the psychiatric state.

—*Lunatic Fringe*, a zine by and for women in psychiatric institutions, is available for a contribution from PO Box 7652, Santa Cruz, CA 95061 / USA

Marcos Interview

(Continued from page 5)

human rights groups, the Diocese of Bishop Samuel Ruiz. Or come here yourselves, and we will receive this help with plenty of thanks.

If we can get it through the army checkpoints...

Well, the Federal Army doesn't interfere with American people, because they are afraid of the American government.

Some of your early statements back in the first days of the uprising in January spoke about fighting for socialism, and marching on Mexico City. Almost immediately, your rhetoric changed to what it is now—demands for democracy and Indigenous autonomy. So what prompted the change? And when you talk about "socialism," what do you mean? What kind of socialism? Socialism like in Cuba?

The directorate of our army has never spoken about Cuban or Soviet socialism. We have always spoken about the basic rights of the human: education, housing, health, food, land, good pay for our work, democracy, liberty. Some people may call this socialism. But it doesn't matter what name you give these demands. In México there is no democracy. So it doesn't matter what you think, or what your political goal is. Because only the political goal of the government party wins—always wins.

We say, make a democratic space, make enough liberty so that you can explain your ideas. It doesn't matter what kind of ideas—communism or socialism or capitalism or *lo que quiere*, whatever you want. With democracy and liberty, you can tell the people, "I want this, follow me." And if the majority follow you, you will win. But this doesn't exist. Now, it doesn't matter if people follow you, what kind of government you want, or your political ideas. The people doesn't matter for the government. It is always the government's political ideas and economic projects which are imposed on the people. So we don't want any more of this. We want to find ways to resolve our own problems. When there is democracy, we can decide which leaders we agree with—and by "we" I mean the people, not the Zapatista Army.

The federal government does not represent us. We want to follow our own Mexican way to democracy and liberty and justice.

And what about socialism?

The kind of life we want—life

with good food, good land, good health, good education, good work, democracy, independence, justice and peace—if you want to call it socialism, OK, call it that. But we are not a cliché of Cuban socialism, or Castrismo or Sendero Luminoso. If you want to call it Mexican socialism or the Mexican way to liberty, that's a good name for it.

Have you been influenced by anarchism at all, especially Magonismo, the Mexican anarchist tradition?

Basically, all of our thoughts about the workers and *campesinos* and the revolution are taken from Flores Magón, Francisco Villa, Emiliano Zapata. Their ideas about the farm workers, the workers in the cities, their hopes of liberty, are our inspiration for this movement.

You've said that you don't want any more ecological reserves for the Lacandon Selva. How do you envision protecting what remains of México's last rainforest?

Well, look. We don't agree with this preoccupation with the trees over the death of our people. We say, we want trees. We want the mountains. But we also want a dignified life for our people. So we say, if the government makes a good plan and the people have what they need, they will not have to attack the trees and mountains. The government just declares by decree that there will be no more cutting of trees.

We say, we don't want to cut the trees. Because the mountain is very important for Indian people. It is a part of their tradition and their history. So we agree, we say, "No, there should be no more cutting of trees—but give me the life conditions for another way, so I will no longer have the necessity to cut the trees. I will take good care of this mountain, I will take good care of these trees, and I will take care for the future of my child, from one generation to another generation. But now my people have no way to live other than to cut trees and burn them. That is the only way we can find land." I mean here there are no tractors, here there is no machinery; there is nothing for the Indian people. There is no option but to cut the trees, burn them, and put the seed in the land. It doesn't matter how the land is taken when you are hungry.

The average production here from one hectare is less than half what it is in other parts of the country. In other parts of the country, it's about eight tons per hectare. Here in the Selva Lacandona the average is about a half-ton per hectare. There is no

justice for us. And our land, you can see, with good work, and some technology, could produce.

What about land redistribution? What about taking land away from the ganaderos [ranchers] and fincas [plantations], and giving it to the campesinos?

Yes. This is the second way to make a better life for our peasants. I mean, this land was originally for the Indian people. The white people, the big farmers and ranchers, imposed their force over the Indian people and pushed them up into the mountains. You can see that here the good land is on the fincas—the plains, the valleys. The Indians have the rocky lands in the mountains. But the Indian sees the good land below and says, "Originally, this was my land, so I have the right to recover it."

The big farmer says, "They have stolen my land, they have stolen my cattle." But my people say, "Before you were even born, my grandparents made their life here."

So, our lands cannot produce with this injustice. We need redistribution of the land. But that is not all we need.

¿Qué más? [What else?]

We need roads, water, schools, hospitals, technology—like tractors, like planes. So even if the land is producing, the next question is the price. You can grow a good crop of coffee, but when you take it to the city, the *coyote*, the intermediary, thinks, "you don't speak Spanish, so I can lie to you and cheat you." You can bring in one hundred pounds of coffee and he will say it is only fifty. He will say that the quality isn't good, and he can only pay you half price. And you have to walk four or five days from your village to get to the city, so you just take the money. You can't bear the thought of carrying your hundred pounds of coffee back to the village.

So the Indian people face very complex structures of exploitation. I've implicated the federal government, the big farmers, the *coyotes*, the municipal governments, the police, the army. Over all these there are a lot of people who are living with the blood of Indian people. People don't understand this in other countries. They think that México is Acapulco, it's Cancun, it's Puerto Vallarta, Guadalajara, Monterrey, Mexico City. They think that the Indians just make pretty clothes, they are curiosities. They cannot even imagine that these people are dying.

There's been speculation that helicopters which were donated to México by the United States for the War on Drugs have been used against the civilian population here in

Chiapas. Do see the War on Drugs as a significant factor in the militarization of México and Indian lands?

There's no speculation. The people saw the choppers that said PGR [the Mexican Attorney General's office], and we know the American government gives the PGR choppers to fight against drug dealers. But everybody knows that there are no drugs in our territory. The DEA knows it. The Federal Army knows it. The PGR knows it. All they have to do is look at their maps and their satellite pictures.

The Indian people who were attacked from these helicopters with machine guns and bombs—they don't have anything. If they were trafficking drugs—well, look at their houses. Where are the big trucks, the luxury?

A lot of people, even journalists, saw these choppers fight in San Cristóbal, fight in Ocosingo, fight in Altamirano, fight in Las Margaritas. We sent a letter to Bill Clinton about this problem, and we never received an answer. The choppers are even now in the airport at Tuxtla Gutierrez, ready to strike again.

During the 1980s in Guatemala and El Salvador, after rebel movements emerged there was terrible repression. Whole villages were massacred. How do you hope to avoid such a scenario in Chiapas?

The only way is that our movement becomes national. If our war gains support all around the country, then the army can't take one place and make a total effort against us. If the war is only here, of course the Federal Army can put all of its force against us. But if there are a lot of guerrillas, or social movements, against the government, we can divide their forces.

In any case, our people are prepared for resistance. We are training the civilian people to resist an attack. But this resistance will cost a lot. So it would be better if there was a push against the government, if there was civil pressure on the government to change direction, not in their own interests, but in the interests of the people of México. The political exit would be better. I hope that it is possible. But if it is not possible, we will continue the war.

What do you think is to be learned from the experience of the rebels in Guatemala, who often let the Indian civil population suffer the worst of the repression?

Well, we think our principal effort must be directed towards a national revolutionary movement that could incorporate a lot of forces. Not only the forces of the Zapatista National Liberation Army. I mean, other political

forces, cultural forces. Our problems are the same problems faced in other parts of the country. We are learning about what happened in other parts of Latin America, in Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua. When the guerrilla provided the direction for all the movements, there were a lot of problems of division, unity became impossible. So we must find the right flag to incorporate all the ways of struggle.

Are you optimistic that there can be a peaceful solution, or do you think that there's going to be more violence?

We see a lot of signs of violence. We don't see any signal of peace. We are very skeptical about the peace process. Some parts of the government say, "OK, make a deal." But other parts of the government say "No, the strong hand is better." The big farmers don't want peace. They just want to protect their land, and they don't want the Indians to live in the same state as the white people. I mean, the big farmers have been educated to think that they are the aristocracy. They think the Indian people should only serve the white people. Equality? They don't want to hear about it. You are dealing with very reactionary people. In their minds, it is still centuries ago. So we are making an effort for peace, but if it is impossible ...

You're prepared.

We'll fight, of course. We are prepared for a long war. I'm talking about years and years of war, throughout the mountains of the Southeast of México.

Do you think there's a threat of US military intervention?

Whenever we talk to the American media, we say, "We don't want to attack the White House. We want to live with dignity." Our demands are the same demands of the American people—I mean, the average American people. So why should they want to fight us?

Because the American government has a whole lot riding on NAFTA.

But do you want a NAFTA with blood on it? We don't want a NAFTA written with the blood of Indian people. If you want a NAFTA, make some kind of reform to incorporate Indian people. Because Indian people will not die without a fight. This is our message to the American people. Let us live with dignity, understand us. If you understand our situation, our reasons for fighting, the American people will not want to go to fight against Mexican people. We are trusting in this.★

EZLN Demands

(Continued from previous page)

compensated for their losses.

29.- *Indigenous Women's Petition*—We, Indigenous peasant women, demand the immediate solution to our urgent needs which have long been ignored by the government:

- a) Childbirth clinics with gynecologists so that women receive necessary medical attention.
- b) Child-care facilities in all communities.
- c) We ask the government to send sufficient food for all children in rural communities including: milk, cornflour, rice, corn, soy, oil, beans, cheese, eggs, su-

gar, soup, oats, etc.

d) Fully-equipped popular kitchens for children in the communities, which have all the necessary services.

e) We demand the construction of community nixtamal mills and tortillerias depending on the number of families in each community.

f) We demand that the government give us poultry, rabbit, sheep and pig farms, and also that we be provided with technical assistance and veterinarians.

g) We ask for bakery projects, which include the provision of stoves and ingredients.

h) Artisan workshops, well-

equipped with machinery and primary materials.

i) Markets in which to sell our crafts at fair prices.

j) Technical training schools for women.

k) Preschools and maternal schools in rural communities, where children can play and grow in a morally and physically healthy way.

l) As women we want adequate means of transportation for the products we produce in our various projects.

30.- We demand that Patrocinio Gonzalez Blanco Garrido, Absalon Castellanos Dominguez and Elmar Setzer M. be tried politically.

31.- We demand that the lives of all EZLN members be respected and that no charges will be brought or actions taken against

any EZLN members, fighters, sympathizers or collaborators.

32.- That all organizations and commissions for the defense of human rights be independent or non-governmental because government human rights organizations only hide the arbitrary actions of the government.

33.- That a National Commission for Peace with Justice and Dignity be formed, composed primarily of people who are not in the government and have no political party affiliation. This National Commission for Peace with Justice and Dignity will oversee the fulfillment and implementation of these accords.

34.- That the humanitarian aid for the victims of the conflict be channeled through authentic representatives from Indigenous communities.

While these just demands of our people are still unresolved we are prepared and committed to continue with our struggle until we obtain our goals.

For us, the smallest of these lands, those without face or history, those who come from the night and the mountain, those true men and women, the dead of yesterday, today, and forever...for us nothing. Everything for everyone.

Liberty!
Justice!
Democracy!
Respectfully,
From the Southeast of México.
Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee-General Command of the EZLN. México, March 1994.

—Translated by Barbara Pillsbury, Equipo Pueblo, NGO in Mexico City



JAILED FOR ANIMAL LIBERATION

Dear friends,

I am currently jailed on contempt charges for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury. The grand jury is investigating the 1991 raid at WSU claimed by the ALF (Animal Liberation Front). I expect to be here for at least six months.

I'd like to get on your mailing list, and would like also to receive the most recent copy of *Love and Rage*. I haven't seen one for quite a while now. I've been living in Montana and decent bookstores are few and far between.

If you folks want any details about the investigation, let me know. There's at least six grand juries going in this country to

investigate (destroy) the animal liberation movement. The US and Canada are working together in their efforts. [See *ABC Section*, p. 7 for more info—PG.]

Anyhow...thanx. I look forward to more stuff to read as there's not a whole lot else to do.

Love + Liberation,
Deb Stout 3W14
Spokane Co. Jail
W. 1100 Mallon
Spokane, WA 99260

RESISTING IN TEXAS

Revolutionary Greetings,

First, I'd like to say thanx, *Love and Rage*, for providing your revolutionary publication free to those of us who are locked away behind the walls of this world's closed and secretive prison hierarchies.

Since I am currently incarcerated and cut off from the revolutionary battle to eliminate the state and bring about a society without government, I enthusiastically read every piece of anarchist literature that I'm fortunate enough to receive, turning my attention to general questions concerning revolutionary anarchist theory and strategy. The battle I face at this time is primarily one of ideas, and I'm seeking to gain new perspectives on how to topple the existing world order completely, so that all people might be liberated from oppressive social conventions.

Love and Rage is one of the few anarchist publications that helps me gain any valuable new insight into the theories and techniques of how to bring forth any society without government. It would seem that all anarchist publications should believe in revolutionary principles and strategy, because there can be no true freedom or equality, until capital and its patron the state, are eliminated. But alas, most anarchist publications forgo revolutionary action for words.

Anarchism is the effort to liberate all people from oppressive social conventions. But the government will not allow anarchism to become a serious revolutionary movement, because

the system wishes to keep the herd in a state of submission. And we allow this repression in the corrupt world, because the people themselves uphold the tyrannies of government. No real social change will occur, without a revolution, and never can any new idea move within the law.

Despite the dreams of a few, no revolution will just happen overnight. We must struggle to make it happen. Resist!

Anarchy and revolution,
Mike Kelly #493005
Clements Unit
9601 NE 24 Ave.
Amarillo, TX 79102

P.S. We can proclaim to be whatever we desire, but our actions will ultimately validate what we really are.

BALTIMORE ABC

Dearest friends, conspirators and miscreants,

Here are a few projects that the chapter of the Black Cross in Baltimore has come up with.

Following the example of our compañeros of the New York Nightcrawlers, we've considered starting a book-lending service for prisoners. We're trying to assemble a list of books that we could lend, and we are hoping that interested parties can and will contribute. We're also considering a fund for the replacement of lost, destroyed, or unreturned books. Please send us any questions and comments on this idea or a list of books you would like to lend.

We're starting to delineate roughly the region that we want to cover for prisoner-support efforts. To date we've decided to stick with the north-east and mid-Atlantic states, not including New York and New Jersey, which fellow @ists seem to be managing quite admirably—though naturally we will lend our support elsewhere when needed. We are also in contact with various like-minded groups overseas. If you have any information about worthy causes in the region or suggestions about how we might better define the scope of our activities, feel free to get in touch.

We are especially interested in the plight of prisoners in the Maryland/D.C./Pennsylvania area, those in need of immediate attention and any wisdom or strategies for dealing with the governmental authorities in such matters.

Vivan los Zapatistas!
Signed: you know who we are.
@BC Baltimore
PO Box 4309
Baltimore, MD 21223

OOPS! FORGOT ABOUT WHITE MEN AGAIN

Dear Love and Rage,

As a Gay man who found out who I was a couple years after Stonewall, I agree that many points in "Radicalizing Stonewall 25" (March/April 1994) need to be made. They are well documented in Martin Duberman's history, *Stonewall*.

In tracing the lives of those who made the Stonewall Rebellion, Duberman also shows the oppression experienced by what your article calls "white gay men"—something that some of us still seem to have trouble understanding.

Eric L. Shambach
Minneapolis, MN

STONEWALLEAUCRACY

Fellow Aliens:

"Stonewall 25" looks (as of 3/94) like Stalinist architecture: gigantic, controlled, boring. Yet reality may prove more lively than Stonewalleaucrats might wish. Is top-freedom still allowed in NY state? Transgender persons may protest, possibly backed by bisexuals. And sparks will fly when ILGA expels NAM-BLA.

I had hoped Julia's article (March/April 1994) would list libertarian queer groups. Are there none?

Meanwhile, anarchists of all genders/orientations can join the Association of Libertarian Feminists, POB 20252, London Terrace, New York, NY, NY 10011.

For planet & liberty,
G. Tortuga
Tahanga Research Association

Corrections

Love and Rage vol. 5 no. 1 contained the following errors:

The "Anarchist Assessment of the EZLN" on page 11 was printed without a by-line due to layout and proofing error. The article was written by Todd Prane with Elizabeth Bright. The lack of a by-line gave the appearance of being the "official position" of *Love and Rage*. The article, however, is solely the opinion of its authors and not necessarily of anyone else either at *Love and Rage* newspaper or in the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation.

Neither of the women pictured in the two photographs on page 10 is the Mexican Revolutionary Margarita Ortega, although both are revolutionaries from the Mexican Revolution of 1910. The lack of captions on the photos may have implied that one (or even both, to the undiscerning eye) was Margarita Ortega. We regret the confusion.★