

¡Feminismo, Revolución y los Zapatistas!

AMOR Y RABIA ES UN PERIÓDICO ANARQUISTA revolucionario producida por l@s 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 Feminismo y Revolución de mayo '94, *Amor y Rabia* trae 12 páginas, incluye entrevistas anarquistas por *Amor y Rabia* con Subcomandante Marcos del EZLN y mujeres que participan en la Revolución Zapatista. Trae artículos feministas sobre el 25 aniversario del motín "Stonewall," que inició el movimiento de liberación queer, sobre el movimiento de mujeres en la India, y mucho más.

Amor y Rabia se puede conseguir en subscripciones individuales o en cantidades más grandes para distribuidores. Para 10 números por año, los precios son casi iguales que aquellas de la edición en inglés: US\$1 (o equivalente) para cada número; US\$13 anuales para una subscripción de primera clase en los EE.UU. y PR (los subscripciones de tercera clase no se ofrecerán hasta que se acumula un número más grande de subscriptores); US\$18 anuales para una subscripción internacional (fuera de EE.UU o PR); distribuidores de 10 periódicos o más: 35 centavos cada uno (50 centavos para distribuidores profesionales).

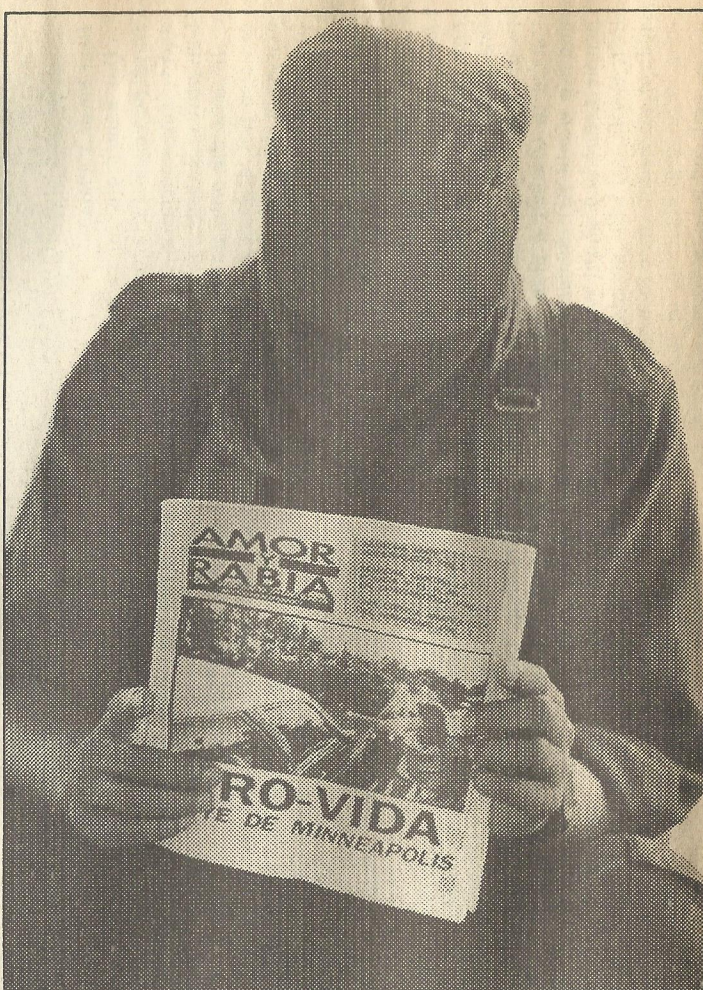
Subscripciones de *Amor y Rabia* para presos, personas con SIDA y soldados en Puerto Rico, los EE.UU. y Canadá son completamente gratis. Para distribuir *Amor y Rabia* en Latinoamérica favor de comunicarse con el grupo mexicano:

**Amor y Rabia
Apdo Postal 11-351
CP 06101
México, D.F.
México**

Actualmente tenemos los últimos tres números de *Amor y Rabia*, disponibles en cantidades pequeñas y grandes. Tienen los siguientes temas: **sept/oct '93:** La lucha contra pro-vida; **nov '93:** La matanza de estudiantes en '68—25 años después; **ene '94:** ¡Viva Zapata! La Lucha Zapatista en Chiapas. Pueden pedir la que les interesa o mejor subscribirse para recibir todas; **mayo '94:** Feminismo y Revolución y entrevista con Subcomandante Marcos.

[Atención presos, soldados y personas con SIDA: como no tenemos forma de averiguar su preferencia, les mandaremos solamente la edición en inglés a menos que nos avisen que quieren aquella en español. Si quieren ambos o para cualquier otro cambio en su subscripción gratis, favor de comunicarse con nosotros en Nueva York.]

—Grupo de Producción, Nueva York



¡Subscríbete a Amor y Rabia Completamente en español!

Amor y Rabia ahora está disponible en una edición independiente y completamente en español que se edita en México, D.F. y se reimprime en los EE.UU.

☐ US\$13 para un año (10 números) en EE.UU o PR.

☐ US\$18 Para un año (10 números) Internacional

☐ ¡Gratis! para presos, soldados y personas con SIDA en los EE.UU., Canadá y Puerto Rico

☐ Mando \$_____ para pagar por los subscripciones grátises

Nombre _____
Dirección _____
Ciudad _____
Estado/Provincia _____
Zip/Código Postal _____
Teléfono() _____

Favor de mandar su cheque o giro postal a:

Love and Rage
PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station

LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST
NEWSPAPER

\$1

IN THIS ISSUE

★CONFRONTING GATT★

★RICO THREAT★

AND

★INTERVIEW WITH EZLN

SUBCOMMANDER MARCOS★

RWANDA EXPLODES

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 3

AUGUST 1994

The Aspect Foundation
PO Box 853
Stuyvesant Station
NY, NY 10009



NONPROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
NEW YORK, NY
PERMIT NO. 5535



Anarchists protesting for choice.

RICO Threatens the Left

BY POLITICAL PRISONER
RAYMOND LUC LEVASSEUR

On January 24, 1994 the US Supreme Court unanimously ruled that prosecution under the Racketeering Influenced Corrupt Organizations (RICO) law does not require proof of economic motive (*National Organization for Women, et al. v. Joseph Scheidler, et al.*) The Court's decision clears the way for NOW to continue its RICO suit in the lower courts.

THE NOW CASE

NOW, a liberal feminist organization, was joined and supported in its petition to the Court by the US Department of Justice. Besides Scheidler, the targets of the suit include numerous anti-abortion organizations, with Operation Rescue being the most prominent. The NOW suit alleges that Operation Rescue, etc. are trying to shut down health clinics that provide reproductive services to women—including safe, legal abortion—and that their tactics include blockades, threats, etc. to dissuade women from using these clinics. What interest the Justice Dept. has in this case can only be presumed, but it's doubtful that their motivation has much to do with assisting NOW in their struggle to protect women's access to abortion clinics.

The narrow legal issue decided by the Court was whether RICO requires proof that a group is motivated by an economic purpose—as many district and appellate courts have held. The US Supreme Court ruled that RICO requires no economic motive.

No economic motive in a law designed to prosecute organized crime, racketeering and corruption? How RICO arrived at this point, and the implications of such a ruling, merit closer examination.

THE HISTORY OF RICO

RICO came on line in 1970 as a law enforcement tool designed to be used against organized crime. Its stated purpose was to combat the infiltration of "legitimate" business by organized crime. Federal courts quickly expanded the meaning and mandate of RICO and broadened its police powers. For example, in *Turkette* (another RICO case), no allegation of organized crime need be established. Any union or group of individuals—any "association in fact"—will do. In RICO terminology, this association is referred to as an "enterprise."

Key elements of RICO are that individuals be engaged in a "pattern of racketeer-

ing," and that they conduct or participate—directly or indirectly—in an "enterprise" through a pattern of racketeering activity. Only two acts are necessary to establish a pattern. A racketeering act is defined as any act or threat indictable under 50 or so state and federal laws (e.g. obstruction of justice, interference with commerce, arson, etc.). The US Congress has and surely will continue to amend this law to make other criminal acts indictable under RICO.

There are two RICO criminal laws: (1) Participation in a Racketeering Enterprise, with its requisite two acts, and (2) Racketeering Conspiracy. RICO's conspiracy provision casts a much broader net, as an individual need not be involved in the commission of the alleged acts. It is proof enough that you engaged in a "conspiracy" to do so. Conspiracy is not limited to a formal agreement. It can be established by a wide range of circumstantial evidence, and can be as subtle as a nod of the head.

The stakes are high. Each RICO count carries a maximum of 20 years imprisonment as well as fines.

RICO CIVIL PENALTIES AND THE NOW CASE

Civil remedy is the focus of the *NOW v. Scheidler* case. NOW initiated a RICO civil suit. Who can litigate such a suit? (1) Anyone who claims injury in a business or property as a result of a RICO violation. (2) The US Department of Justice. (3) Any US Federal District Court. Also important to note is that a RICO civil action comes with enormous subpoena powers to compel testimony and seize documents. The courts can also issue injunctions against the target of the suit. And, at the courts' discretion, the courts can order RICO civil proceedings closed to the public. Within this star chamber the standard of proof required for a civil action is considerably less than that for criminal proceedings.

The potential pot of gold for the successful plaintiff is enormous, because RICO provides for monetary awards of *triple* the amount of damages claimed.

THE LIBERAL LEFT WAKES UP, SORT OF

It's been a long time coming, but we're now hearing some of the liberal left making noises about the potential abuse inherent in the ever-expanding RICO laws. The

(Continued to page 3)

Confronting GATT

BY LOU MADIGAN

Since the final text of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was agreed upon and released to the public in December, organizations and individuals around the world have been organizing to prevent its ratification. The latest round of negotiations of GATT, attended by trade representatives of 120 states and their corporate advisors, has produced a frightening agreement, the most terrifying aspect of which is the creation of a new World Trade Organization (WTO). This body, which will meet in secret tribunals to which the public will have no access to appeal, is about to have handed to it the power to control the flow of goods and capital through our nation and almost everybody else's.

Thankfully, there is mounting opposition worldwide. In India, for instance, the state governments of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal have publicly declared their opposition to the new treaty, which ominously requires that member governments reform their laws to fall in line with GATT tribunal declarations and rulings. Shortly before the signing ceremony by the 120 national trade representatives on April 15 in Morocco, hundreds of thousands of protestors massed in New Delhi. The protestors burned trade officials in effigy and clashed with police, leaving many hospitalized. Opposition parties and citizen groups across the spectrum in India, like in many other countries, see GATT as a direct assault on their national sovereignty; on their ability to control the economic realities of their own society. The supporters of GATT respond to such criticism with the concession that frankly, that is exactly the point of "free trade."

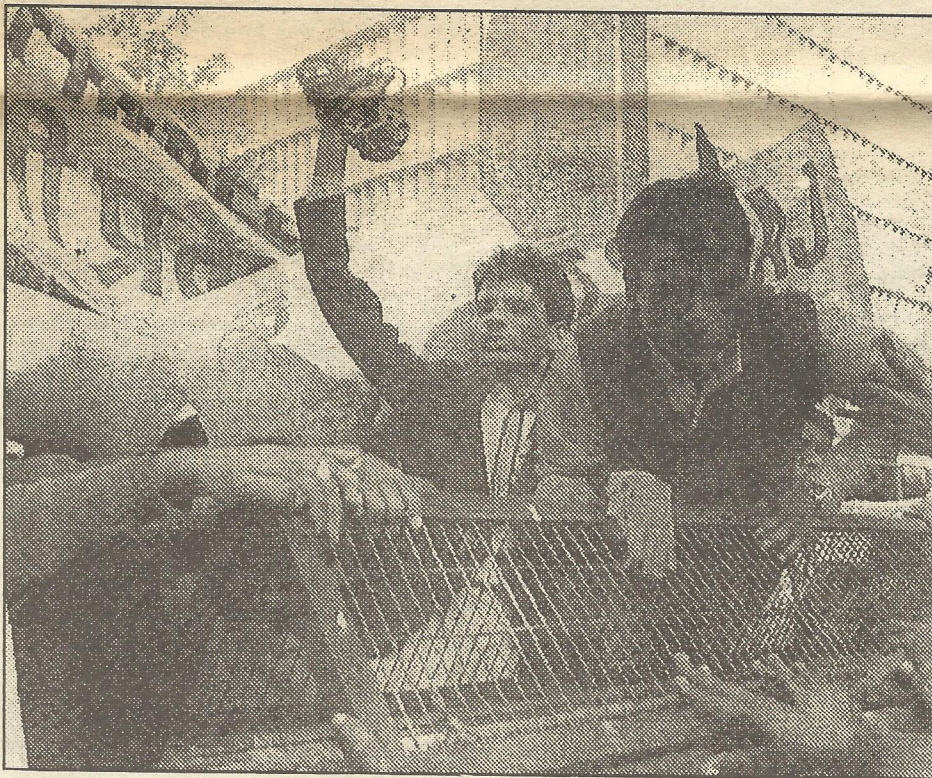
Although much more muted, criticism has also come from groups in the United States. Observing in GATT language a number of mechanisms by which environ-

mental standards concerning pesticide restrictions won through hard political battles here in the US will be struck down, Glen Marshal of the US Ohio Trade Campaign wrote that "through the GATT we may lose all the gains already made through our environmental activism."

Other "achievements" that GATT will bring the world were estimated in a recent study conducted by the World Bank. According to their report titled "Trade Liberalization: Global Economic Implications," more than two-thirds of the monetary gain produced by the new GATT agreement will end up in the coffers of US, European and Japanese corporations. The World Bank estimates that another 27% of the gain will be earned by China and "upper income Asia." For those of you not following the math, that leaves 7% of any economic gain accrued from GATT to be divided up by the rest of the world, along with 100% of the losses, which are predicted to be in the tens of billions! Africa alone is expected to have a net loss of \$2.6 billion in trade revenues as a product of GATT.

With the final text of the round agreed upon, the treaty has now gone back to the governments of the member states for ratification. ALL 120 MEMBER STATES MUST RATIFY THE TREATY FOR IT TO COME INTO EFFECT. That means there is still an opportunity to stop this giant step towards a model of economic internationalization that liberates transnational corporations, maintains export restrictions on poor nations, radically redistributes wealth out of the mouths of the poor and into the pockets of the already rich, and accelerates global environmental destruction. All of which is accomplished by empowering secretive

(Continued to page 6)



Protesting neoliberal economic policies in India.

Rwanda: Genocide and Intervention

BY BILL WEINBERG
ON GOGOL BOULEVARD NEWS SERVICE

The war in the central African nation of Rwanda has left up to 500,000 dead and over a million on the run. While the scale of the violence is horrific, the simplistic media portrayal of "tribal war," of inexorably opposed Hutu and Tutsi bent on mutual slaughter, may pave the way for disastrous Western military intervention. Ironically, the genocide in Rwanda, like the related ethnic conflict in neighboring Burundi, is a legacy of the nation's century of colonial rule—and the Western intervention now under consideration could be a step towards the nation's "re-colonization."

In pre-colonial times, Rwanda and Burundi were the seats of powerful kingdoms, with chieftains from the cattle-owning Tutsi aristocracy ruling the agricultural Hutu population. The tall, pastoral Tutsi are believed to have been nomads who arrived from the Horn of Africa around the 13th century and established dominance over the

smaller, darker, Bantu-speaking Hutu farmers already living there. (The "pygmy" Batwa indigenous people remained hunter-gatherers.) By the time Rwanda and Burundi became centers of African civilization in the 17th century, the ruling Tutsi caste had adopted the language of the Hutu peasantry. The Rwanda-Burundi civilization was a synthesis of the two cultures. Today both countries have an 85% majority of Hutus, with the Tutsi people forming a 15% minority. Until colonization, this equilibrium sustained a stable society.

The Germans, who arrived in Rwanda-Burundi in the 1880's, and the Belgians, who took the region after World War I, turned the Tutsi aristocracy into their agents for governing the colony. Tutsi were favored with education and key seats in the bureaucracy. A revisionist, eurocentric pseudo-history devised by the colonists held that the Tutsi were originally white Hamites, and therefore fit for tutelage in "superior," European ways. The

Hutu remained subsistence farmers or agricultural laborers—and poverty spread as more and more of their land was taken over for coffee cultivation.

This situation spelled trouble as Rwanda and Burundi became independent nations in 1962. Rwandan independence was preceded by a 1959 rebellion that brought a Hutu-dominated regime to power. Belgium, which sought to retain influence over the post-independence regime, did not interfere. In Burundi to the south, the Tutsi maintained control over the government. Both countries also maintained the colonial cash-crop economy based on coffee exports. Coffee brings 50% of Rwanda's foreign exchange, and nearly 80% of Burundi's. While Rwanda's Hutu regime played to populism, posing as defender of the Hutu majority against the former Tutsi elite, small Hutu coffee-growers didn't share in the wealth of the post-World War II coffee boom. Producer prices were fixed by the government even as the price on the global

market soared. The profits went into government coffers for massive arms purchases. Rwanda turned to Egypt, South Africa, Belgium and France for arms purchases. Debt payments to Western banks represented a hemorrhage of wealth.

In 1973, the Tutsi regime in Burundi slaughtered some 150,000 Hutu to crush an attempted revolt. That same year, a wave of Hutu ethno-nationalism in Rwanda brought a coup d'etat in which Defense Minister Juvenal Habyarimana seized power. He shortly consolidated a nepotistic one-party state, key government positions went to family members and associates from his birthplace in Rwanda's Northwest.

In 1990, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), a guerilla group led by Rwandan Tutsi exiles from neighboring Uganda invaded Rwanda. Belgium dropped all military support for the Hutu regime. France immediately took up the slack, stepping in with increased military aid

(Continued to page 2)

Rwanda Continued...

HEY YOU!! The *Love and Rage* office has moved. Our new phone and fax number is: (718) 834-9077. For now, the old post office box is still valid.

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, Mexico 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 Hamilton, Ont., 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 New York City.

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.

Love and Rage Newspaper
PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009
(718) 834-9077/email: lnr@nyxfer.blythe.org

Amor y Rabia
Apdo. 11-351/ CP 06101
México, D.F., MEXICO

Federation Office/Immigration Working Group
PO Box 3606
Oakland, CA 94609-0606
(510)540-0751/lnrfeds@burn.ucsd.edu

Discussion Bulletin
Box 57069
Jackson Station
Hamilton, Ontario L8P 4W9

Anti-Fascist Working Group
PO Box 10491 Livernois Station
Detroit, MI 48210

Production Group: Beth, Carolyn, Chris H., Julia, Matt C., Matt M., Rachel, Todd.

Love and Rage is printed on recycled paper, using soy-based inks, by a union printer. ISSN # 1065-2000. If you are having trouble getting the paper, please call or write to the office.

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?

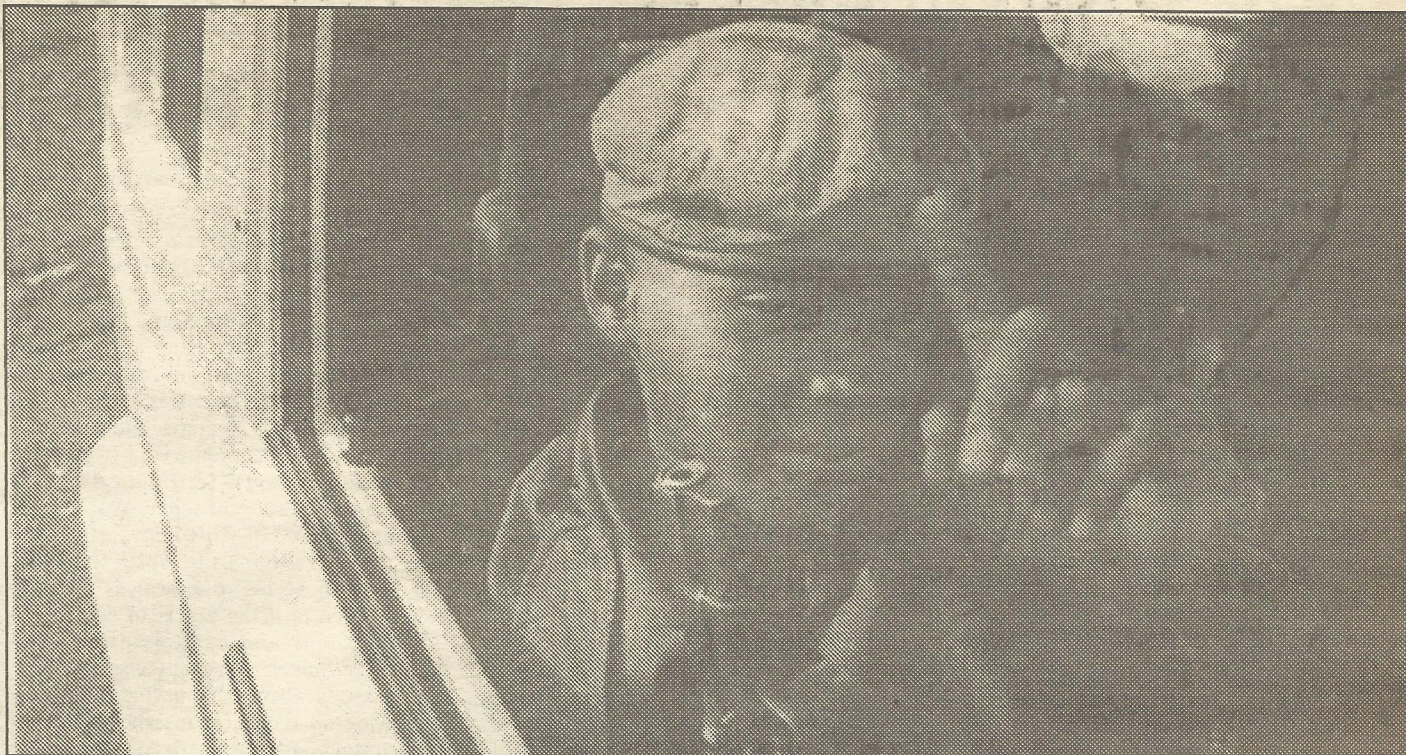
Editorial Policy

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 ongoing revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.



Young RPF Soldier

(Continued from page 1)

to Rwanda, and loans for arms purchases from Egypt. President Habyarimana set up a network of Hutu paramilitary groups and armed them with hundreds of East Bloc AK-47s pirated by black marketeers from collapsed Warsaw Pact forces. These Hutu militiamen, in turn, organized mobs in the villages. Some 2,000 Tutsi were killed that year, most of them hacked to death by machete.

The attacks came in the context of growing economic desperation. A World Bank "Structural Adjustment Program" was imposing harsh austerity and privatization on Rwanda. Compounded by a crash in the world coffee market and a serious drought, the "Structural Adjustment" created the kind of economic agony conducive to ethnic scapegoating. Hundreds starved to death in Rwanda that year. Starvation still threatens thousands.

A cease-fire between the Rwandan Army and the RPF was brokered by the United Nations. A transition government was negotiated, under which Tutsi rebels from the RPF were to be integrated into the Hutu-dominated Rwandan Army. But implementation of these peace agreements was postponed repeatedly.

Reconciliation efforts in Burundi were similarly inconclusive. In October 1993, the Tutsi-dominated army killed Burundi's first Hutu president, Melchior Ndadaye, in a coup d'etat, and another wave of ethnocidal killing began. More than 80,000 were killed in two months of massacres, and thousands of Hutus fled across the border to Rwanda where they languished in Belgian-administered refugee camps. A new Hutu president, Cyprien Ntaryimira, came to power in Burundi, but was not able to challenge Tutsi control of the military, the country's most powerful institution.

On April 6, 1994, an airplane carrying both Burundi President Ntaryamira and Rwanda President Habyarimana crashed out of the sky over the Rwandan capital, Kigali. Both men were killed. Rwanda's Hutu regime claimed that the plane had been hit by a missile from the RPF.

The day after the crash, the Rwandan Army and Hutu paramilitary groups unleashed a wave of terror in Kigali, eliminating both moderate Hutu opposition as well as all Tutsi political figures. The tightly-organized terror campaign seemed like an operation that was very well planned for months in advance.

A propaganda campaign was launched by Hutu nationalists and the Rwandan Army against countries that had pressed for the peace accord, especially Belgium. All foreigners were evacuated.

Since then, the situation has escalated to genocide, with the Rwandan Army and paramilitary groups setting upon whole Tutsi villages with machine guns and machetes, throwing hundreds of corpses into rivers and mass graves.

"I saw militiamen everywhere on the roads stopping people," Rwandan television news chief Francois Nsengiyvma told *New York Newsday* after his narrow escape from the country. "It is not always easy to know that this one is a Tutsi, this one is a Hutu. We have identification cards that say you are a Hutu or a Tutsi. So they were stopping people and asking them. If you were Tutsi they brought you somewhere, never to come back again."

Conspiracy theories about the suspiciously timed fatal air crash abound. Under

international pressure, President Habyarimana had finally been moving to integrate the military when he died in the crash. While the surviving Rwandan regime blamed the RPF rebels for shooting down the plane, the RPF and many Tutsi and Hutu opposition figures blame Hutu hardliners within Habyarimana's own ruling circle—especially the army's elite Presidential Guard. Extreme Hutu nationalists considered Habyarimana a traitor for striking a deal with the RPF.

Rwanda's Hutu regime has also played to anti-Belgian sentiment. Hutu nationalists who control the state radio station, RTL-M, had been spreading anti-Belgian propaganda for months, and intensified their campaign in the days following the plane crash. It was broadcast daily that the Belgians are pro-Tutsi and support the RPF. RTL-M also spread the rumor that it was actually Belgian troops who shot down the plane.

It is doubtful that Belgium, which has long supported the Rwandan government, is now supporting the RPF rebels. But the old association of the Tutsi with Belgian colonialism now serves the Hutu regime's propagandists well.

Since the latest fighting erupted, France has dispatched some 700 troops to Rwanda from its forces stationed in the Central African Republic. French military sources claim these troops are there to protect French citizens. However, according to Human Rights Watch investigator Frank Smyth, "Western diplomats, relief workers and Rwandan army officers all said these troops have provided artillery support for Rwandan infantry troops, and that French advisors have been attached to Rwandan combat commanders."

The US and Belgium have sent smaller troop detachments to Rwanda. Fighting has also spilled over into Burundi, where the frightened Tutsi-dominated army is attempting to crush Hutu rebels. Thousands of Rwandan refugees in Burundi and Tanzania face malnutrition and cholera.

The RPF, meanwhile, continues to fight for control of Kigali, and have pledged not to unleash vengeance killings against Hutu. They have declared themselves against foreign intervention, and say the best solution is to allow them to take power and set up a government not based on ethnic supremacy.

The RPF is largely backed by Uganda. Rwandan Tutsi exiles, including RPF commander Paul Kagame, had been key fighters in the 1986 revolution which brought Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni to power. Kagame, who was trained in the U.S. under the international military training program in 1990, had served as Uganda's military intelligence chief. Today, Ugandan army officers are fighting under his command in the RPF.

UN Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali, an Egyptian who masterminded last year's military intervention in Somalia, is calling for 8,000 foreign troops to intervene in Rwanda. There were already over 2,000 UN troops in Rwanda when the fighting broke out in April. Drawn from 24 countries, the troops are mostly Belgian, with Ghana and Bangladesh supplying much of the remaining troops.

As usual, the hidden hand of global economic structures can be found behind the headlines of "ethnic warfare." As reporter Emmanuel Ohajah recently wrote in a

Pacific News Service story on the crisis: "Each year sub-Saharan Africa repays its Western creditors \$10 billion, more than four times the amount the region spends on health and education. The IMF has not helped the situation. It has regularly taken \$2 billion more in interest payments than it has provided in loans since 1987. This flow of wealth from South to North has resulted in a decline in new investment in industry and the basic infrastructure of society. The collapse in the prices of key African exports like tea, coffee, tin and other commodities has combined with the wealth outflow to create major hardship throughout Central Africa."

In the New World Order, elite global planners increasingly talk of "governance" by international structures such as the UN and IMF taking the place of national governments. This transition has already been made in Somalia, where the UN forces and international aid agencies constitute a de facto state. The extremist ethno-nationalism of local tyrants notwithstanding, Rwanda may be next. Genocidal ethnic fundamentalism may be, in large part, a propagandistic compensation for the lack of real local control. Paradoxically, it also serves as convenient propaganda for further erosion of local control by the elite global management. Writes Ohajah: "The sovereignty of African states is being questioned more and more. Calls to suspend sovereignty, couched in the language of humanitarianism, have already been voiced in regard to Somalia and now Rwanda. If Africans are not careful, colonialism will be back in Africa before you can say 'white man's burden.'"

Many aid and human rights groups are at the neo-interventionist forefront. A recent statement by Human Rights Watch spokesman Kenneth Roth reads: "Given the duty of all parties to the Genocide Convention—which include the five permanent members of the Security Council—to 'prevent and punish' the crime of genocide, we call upon the Security

(Continued to page 14)

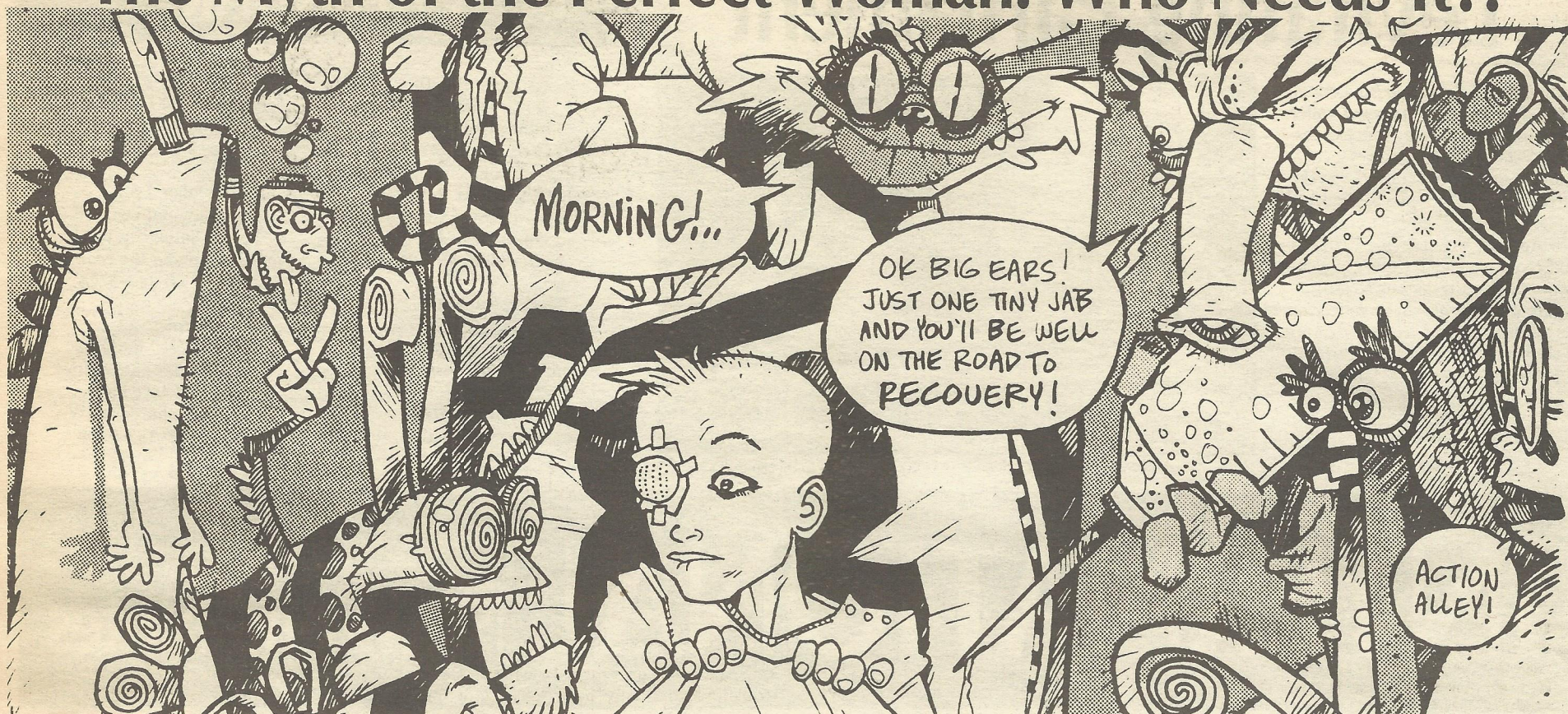
Subscribe to and Distribute Love and Rage

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Province _____ Zip/Postal Code _____
Phone () _____

One Year Subscription (6 issues)
☐ \$13 Fast Mail ☐ \$9 Slow Mail
☐ Free to GLs, PWAs, and Prisoners
☐ I would like to distribute _____ copies of each issue of *Love and Rage*. Enclosed is \$_____ (35 cents not for profit, 50 cents for professional distributors x number of copies) for my first bundle.
Send check or money order to:

Love and Rage
P.O. Box 853 Peter Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009

The Myth of the Perfect Woman: Who Needs It?!



BY MORGAN FIRESTAR

In this society, being a woman is to be less than a person. Psychiatrists feel that to be a healthy female is to be an unhealthy adult. There is no way out of this catch-22, as long as we pay attention to others' opinions of our proper place. On Star Trek (the original), a woman once aspired to be a starship captain, and resented that women weren't permitted to be captains. Captain Kirk said, "She could have had as good a life as any woman." He didn't say "as any person," because it wouldn't be true. Unfortunately, Star Trek and shrinks reflect the prejudices of our society quite clearly. In the "Next Generation" of Star Trek we see a few, token female captains, but rarely, and only in bit parts. The implication is that women are allowed to be captains, but apparently choose not to. This corresponds to real-life situations such as medical schools. Women are no longer kept out by written rules, but the social and sexual harassment they experience in a male-dominated milieu successfully discourages most women from becoming doctors. The price is just too high to pay. How can we as women respect ourselves in a culture that disrespects us? Some of us can't. Many women have a low opinion of other women. Female anti-abortion advocates don't think women are capable of making intelligent choices. Women must be restrained by restrictive legislation from controlling our own bodies. The life of the fetus has more importance than the life of the mother. That women will be irresponsible in using abortion is a fantasy. Women are raised to be responsible for everything and everyone. But we are not allowed to exercise this trait except in socially accepted situations. In many other ways, women show that they don't respect women, which means they don't respect themselves.

This is not surprising, as our sex-role conditioning begins at birth, if not sooner. The all important question: "Is it a boy or a girl?"—determines the life experience and training. Is there a way for women to short-circuit this training and begin to feel self-respect? I think it's possible, but not easy. It depends on many factors, including the strength of the woman's character. The less invested in the social rewards we are, the easier it will be to break society's rules.

I have read that two things are needed to feel self-respect: a feeling of being a good person, and the experience of competence in accomplishing tasks. Liking ourselves may be the most difficult part. Whatever we do, we are criticized. If we dress modestly, we are denying our femininity. If we don't, we are inviting sexual assault. If we succeed in the business world we're unfeminine and castrating. If we fail we're incompetent or the product of raging hormones. Femininity is a trap. It is so narrowly defined that most women cannot meet all its requirements. As women become more like slaves, we lose our femininity. We are expected to feel this as a loss, and sometimes we do. But femininity is incompatible with self-respect.

Liking oneself usually originates with other people's opinions being internalized. "Mommy likes me, so I must be likable." In the absence of positive feedback from our environment, we must make a conscious

effort to like ourselves. Notes on the refrigerator. Lists of our admirable character traits. Remembering times when we felt most comfortable. Patting ourselves on the back for being who we are. This leads directly to the issue of competence. Women are extremely competent. I'm reminded of the coffee cup that reads: "We found something that will do the work of five men. What? One woman!"

The problem is that most of our work and accomplishments are not acknowledged. Working women are routinely expected to do child care, laundry, shopping, cooking, etc. No man in his right mind would seriously attempt so many jobs at once. It would lead to burnout and/or failure. It is instructive that women are at the same time seen as incompetent, yet are expected to perform as well at home and on the job, often without the emotional support men get from their wives. Men, who are seen as super-competent, are expected to work eight hours and then relax and be waited on.

These double messages can be very confusing. If we accept these standards and measure ourselves against "the perfect wife, mother, and career woman," we will inevitably fall short. We are "imperfect" because the "perfect" woman is a myth. She works constantly, gets no recognition, never complains, knows her place and her duties, and cheerfully does them. If she is criticized by her spouse, she "understands" his stress and his problems. No one understands hers. Unless she can afford to pay a therapist to be understanding. Women are in therapy much more than men, for many social and political reasons. One reason is that heterosexual women are constantly doing therapy for men: listening, giving feedback, encouraging, loving. We don't get reciprocal caring. So we go to therapy as a last resort, to find a sympathetic listener.

If we can drop the dream of womanly perfection and see ourselves more realistically, we may realize how competent we really are. A woman may list everything she does in a day (24 hours) and compare it with what her husband or male friend does. Women's work is considered unimportant, but in reality is essential to human existence as we know it. Raising children may be the most difficult and important task anyone could accomplish. Running a household, keeping a family happy, is necessary in these non-communal times.

How can we realize the importance of our work at home? Stop doing it. This will immediately cause shock and anger for refusing the feminine role. (I must warn the reader here that refusing that role may lead to incarceration in a mental hospital!) But a lot can be learned. When we learn to value all our work, we will be able to respect ourselves. And when we respect ourselves, we will be able to stand up to men and refuse to be treated as objects and slaves. We can refuse to abide by male definitions of womanhood. We can define ourselves. We can support each other. We can stop being depressed and resentful. We can free ourselves from mental chains. And men will just have to adjust to it.

Oppressors like to find a biological or other innate foundation for the inferior

situation of the oppressed group. Biological justifications take the politics out of the picture. Injustice becomes inevitability. And future change is unthinkable. If women are biologically

inferior, it makes no sense to struggle for equality. Accept the status quo and stay in your niche: That's the message. I hope you all disregard that message. DAMN THE NICHES—FULL SPEED AHEAD!★

RICO Threatens the Left

(Continued from page 1)

Nation editorialized against this latest expansion. The *Progressive* states that RICO is dangerous. Anti-nukers and campus activists worry that they may be next. They are concerned that the next time they stop "business as usual" at a military facility, campus building, government agency, or factory gate, they may be subjected to the full power of the RICO laws. The concern is that a political or economic boycott, or militant occupation and picket lines will be defined as a pattern of racketeering. Think about the legendary Rosa Parks and the Montgomery bus boycott. Such "prohibited activity" would certainly come under the shadow of RICO, had it existed then. And Rosa Parks would have had lots of co-defendants, because RICO focuses on the prosecution of groups rather than on the individual.

In the NOW case, Justice Souter filed a concurring but separate opinion warning, "I think it prudent to notice that RICO actions could deter protected advocacy...." Recently a *New York Times* op-ed piece hailed the Court's decision as "a decisive new weapon against terrorism." Be forewarned.

THE HISTORY OF RICO AND THE LEFT

These aren't the first warnings. In 1980 the FBI issued a statement of intent to apply RICO to "terrorist" activity. Prosecutorial guidelines issued by the Department of Justice stated that RICO need only establish that a group have an "economic or other identifiable goal." For the purpose of establishing an "enterprise," it merely must have "a common shared purpose." In the early 80's the government initiated its first RICO prosecution against a political group—the right wing Croatsians. In 1994, the first RICO civil suit against a political group is against the right-wing Operation Rescue, etc. It didn't, and won't, remain this way.

After prosecuting the Croatsians, the government did a 180-degree political turn and began prosecuting leftists: 28 in three cases ("Brinks"; New York 8+; Ohio 7+). I was a defendant in one of these trials, where we were charged with membership in a revolutionary organization and participation in acts—directly or indirectly—"to further our political goals."

The indictment alleged certain "manner and means" used to further the goals of the criminal "enterprise." Among them: (1) Procured and carried false identification; (2) Used a network of apartments and homes ("safe houses"); (3) Used mail drops and telephones to avoid detection; (4) Practice in the use of firearms; (5) Conducted meetings to discuss the purpose of the enterprise.

These are not illegal, per se, but constitute the web-like components of a RICO Conspiracy.

Those targeted through these trials (and the parallel grand-jury investigations) repeatedly warned of the dangerous political precedent being enforced through RICO. If they came for us in the middle of the night, they'll come for you some fine morning or afternoon. We were largely ignored by those engaged in passive resistance, boycotts, and publishing.

The so-called "strict constructionists" of the Supreme Court apply a very narrow interpretation of the Constitution when it comes to the rights of the oppressed. Business and property interests come first, along with expanded police powers to protect those interests. The US Department of Justice doesn't prosecute crime and corruption at the highest levels of government—where it is most pervasive. They didn't use RICO against Oliver North and the Iran-Contra "enterprise" (the very word that was used by North to describe the network of war criminals masquerading as patriots). They don't use RICO to prosecute corporations that destroy the limbs and lungs of workers, or police departments that brutalize and kill.

NOW V. SCHEIDLER: SHORT-TERM GAINS; LONG-TERM LOSSES

NOW's RICO suit demonstrates the natural fault line of liberalism when it becomes overly dependent on the law, courts, and government enforcement. Allied with government prosecutors, NOW stands to gain something in the short run, but it comes with steep and protracted political costs. Virtually every progressive and radical group in the country—if its activity merits more than a few parking tickets—is now a standing target for a RICO civil suit. You can be sure the government didn't join NOW in its suit to conduct a broad search-and-destroy mission against the right wing. They are undoubtedly using this case as a whetting stone to hone the edge of the broad sword of RICO.

It took liberals and litigation to snatch a victory being won in the streets by pro-choice activists and turn it into a loser for the entire left. Just as there's no such things as being "a little bit pregnant," there is no expanding the scope of RICO "a little bit" without increasing the potential for future political repression.

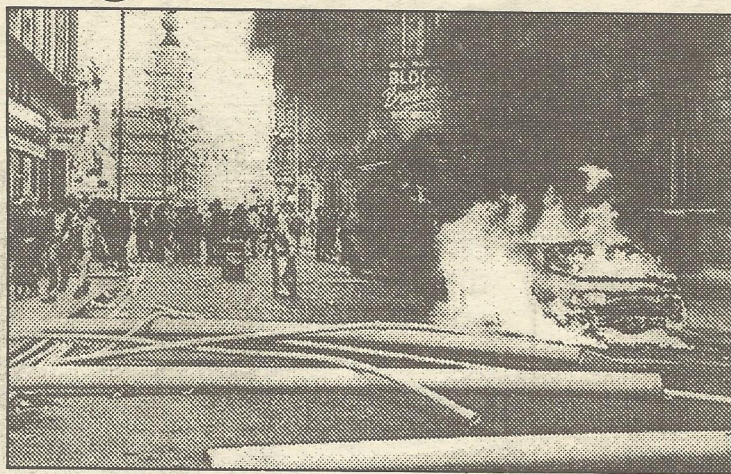
Ray Luc can be reached at:

Raymond Luc Levasseur
#10376/016
Box 1000
Marion, IL 62959
USA

Levitating Parliament

From October 21 to 30, London will host what is being called the biggest-ever anarchist festival. The festival features everything from Direct Action to Psycho Drifting, Class Struggle to mail art, Marxism, and the Zapatistas. Groups as diverse as Profane Existence and Earth First! will be taking part. The gathering's organizers are interested in anyone who has something to contribute, or who just wants to take part by attending. Please contact them at:

Anarchy in the U.K.
P.O. Box 1096
Bristol B599 1BW
England



The world-wide anarchist gathering in London promises to be explosive.

CALENDAR

August 19-20
Queer Gathering
Minneapolis, MN
Call Chris: (612) 347-6945

September 3-5
IWW General Assembly
Santa Cruz, CA
For Info: (408) 457-8152

October 7-10
Love and Rage Conference
Minneapolis, MN
Info: (718) 834-9077
or write:
P.O. Box 7075
Mpls, MN 55407

October 21-30
Anarchy in the UK Gathering
London, England
(see blurb to left)

October 17-23
International Leonard
Peltier Solidarity Week
(actions around the country)
Call: (913) 842-5774

October 23
International Rally for
Justice for Leonard Peltier
1 p.m. Peace Park
U.S./Canada border in WA
Info: (206) 383-9108

INTERNATIONAL News and Notes



Bomb making: A hobby the whole family can enjoy.

Nationalism in Northern Ireland

The recent South African elections and the entry of a Palestinian police force into the Gaza strip and the West Bank are certainly victories for the African National Congress (ANC) and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Through years of dedicated struggle the ANC has won a vote for the majority of South Africans and the PLO has gained (very) limited autonomy for the West Bank Palestinians. These must be viewed as great steps forward.

However, this is as far as either organization is prepared to go. As Nelson Mandela kisses babies and the PLO becomes an official Palestinian cop force, the limitations of their nationalism become clear. Neither the PLO nor the ANC can deliver real freedom. Both are ready, willing and able to work within the capitalist system.

The republican movement in Northern Ireland is now (following clarification of a list of questions on the Downing Street declaration by the British government) preparing to enter into a process of negotiation. They have been given absolutely no promises. Even their own agenda of a united 32-county, capitalist Ireland seems very far down the road.

This article from the Irish anarchist paper *Workers Solidarity* examines how this process was entered into and how, once again, a national liberation movement

has demonstrated the limits of their anti-imperialism.

-Conor McLoughlin
Andrew Flood
anflood@macollamh.ucd.ie

THE PRICE OF PEACE

In the past month or so an alien landing in Dublin would have been amazed at the total rehabilitation of Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Up until then the English language had been ransacked for terms of abuse. Dictionaries of medicine and zoology were scoured in the search for more descriptive insults. Terms ranged from the mild sounding "men of violence" (no women in the IRA, according to the media) to cynical/callous/brutal/cowardly godfathers of crime, murderous/senseless/bloodthirsty killers.

In the recent past they have rejoiced under the jolly sounding term of republican movement. This sudden turnaround by the media was a result of the so-called peace process. This was initiated in secret meetings between Sinn Fein and the British government in March (though we now know there have been contacts since 1990).

WAR WEARINESS

These negotiations represented the culmination of two trends. Firstly there is increasing war weariness and disillusionment among

nationalists. The IRA in the 1970's believed that they could beat Britain out of Ireland in a short period of time. They quickly realized that this was not possible, and settled for a long war of attrition. As the prisons continued to fill up, as families lost sons and daughters and then grandsons and granddaughters, the ability and will of nationalists to sustain the fight lessened.

On the British side a second factor has come into play. Last winter the IRA detonated two massive bombs in the City of London, the financial center of London, causing enormous damage to the financial buildings in the area and disrupting business. The massive bill for the devastation of several parts of the business heart of London prompted the British government to begin talking. This was a factor in pushing the establishment towards the latest set of talks. They have acknowledged they have no economic or strategic interest in the North and are tired of pumping in \$4 billion a year (even if this is mainly made by workers through taxes). A significant section of the British ruling class wants to disengage, but can't risk leaving a violent and unstable situation behind.

Talks between the British and Irish governments culminated in the Downing Street declaration. This document (which, by the way, has no official or legal status) offers absolutely nothing to nationalists in the North. The vague reference to self-determination both North and South actually just reinforces partition and the unionist veto.

THE "NATIONALIST NIGHTMARE"

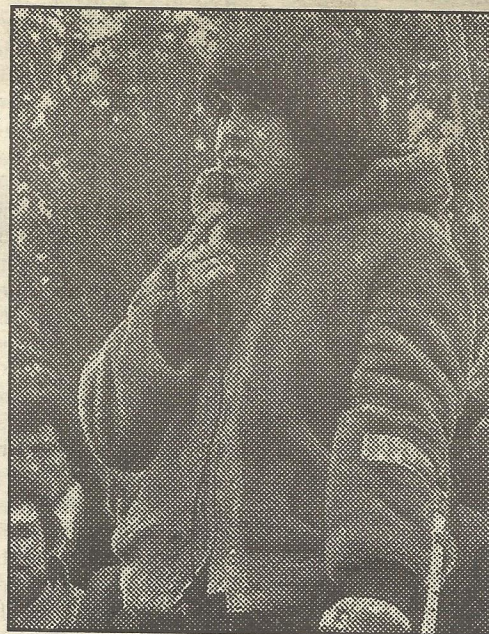
There is no mention of the continuing level of discrimination against Catholics in the North. According to the last Fair Employment Agency report (February, 1992) Catholics are under-represented in the workforce by 5-6%. Catholic male unemployment is two and a half times the Protestant level and has been for the last 25 years! [The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), the police force in Northern Ireland, is 92.6% Protestant. [The RUC has extensive links to the loyalist paramilitaries.] Neither did jury-less Diplock courts, strip searching, police use of torture, the Prevention of Terrorism Act (which gives the police special powers in

Britain, including holding people for up to 7 days without charging them) or the daily harassment of Catholics merit a mention.

Sinn Fein now find themselves in a difficult position. It is hard to see how they can call off the military campaign for this document, even as the beginning of a peace process. After building up expectations they will now be seen as the ones who pushed away the olive branch. The unaltered Declaration offers little to their supporters; the republican movement's expectations have not been met. The deal is unacceptable to them, as they have made clear through both official and unofficial spokespersons.

Unfortunately, being nationalists, they have little in the way of alternatives to offer. On the Republic of Ireland's national television and radio stations' "This Week" program Bernadette McAliskey spoke for many nationalists (this was about two weeks before the lifting of the

(Continued to page 6)



Bernadette McAliskey

AN INDEX TO NORTHERN IRELAND

Sinn Fein [Gaelic for 'ourselves alone'] This is the legal political party of the republican movement. It has been referred to as the political wing of the IRA, but for legal reasons it cannot describe itself as such. However, there is no political disagreement between it and the IRA. Gerry Adams is their current leader.

Downing Street Downing Street is the British equivalent of the White House, where the British Prime Minister (John Major) lives. The Downing St. declaration was the document released by the British and Irish governments outlining their "views" on peace in Northern Ireland in response to the

John Hume-Gerry Adams talks.

Diplock courts "Terrorist"-related offenses are not tried in front of a jury in Northern Ireland, but by a panel of three judges. As you might imagine this makes many of the convictions obtained unsound and excludes the possibility of a political defense.

Bernadette McAliskey Originally Bernadette Devlin, she was elected to the British Parliament in the 70's. After the Bloody Sunday massacre when British paratroopers shot dead 13 unarmed protesters in 1972, she punched the Speaker of the House of Commons after he refused to allow her to speak on the massacre in the Parliament. She was also photographed breaking up paving slabs for use in the Bogside riots, and in the early '80s survived an attack on her and her husband by loyalist death squads.

Over the years she has moved from a more socialist position to a nationalist one. In the radio interview referred to in the article she was widely seen as speaking for Sinn Fein, as they were banned from the radio at the time. She is not, however, a member of Sinn Fein.

Unionists Those who wish to maintain the "union" of Northern Ireland with Britain. The ruling class in both Britain and the 6 counties encouraged sectarianism during and after the creation of the Northern state to destroy workers' unity and to win Protestant workers to siding with their bosses through the various facets of unionism. Loyalism means the same thing, although it is sometimes used to indicate the paramilitary side of unionism.

Republicans The section of the nationalist movement in the 6 counties that has supported armed struggle as a means to get Britain out and create a united Ireland. Sinn Fein and the IRA are the two largest parts, but there have been smaller movements with similar politics in the past.

The movement for an independent Northern Ireland There is nothing significant in this area, at times the Ulster Defense Association (UDA) has talked of such an idea but more as a threat than any real plan.

WSM (Workers Solidarity Movement) Our position is for the building of an anti-imperialist, anarchist movement that would unite all workers, regardless of religion, against the bosses. We campaign for troops out and defend the right of the republicans to engage in armed struggle.

To contact, write:

WSM
PO Box 1528
Dublin 8
Ireland
Pamphlets available for US \$5

Anti-Fascist on Trial in Minneapolis

At press time, Kieran Frazier Knutson faces two counts of felony assault, and could receive up to 10 years in prison and a fine of \$20,000. His trial has been moved to October 3, 1994.

Kieran, 22, is a long-standing member of the Love and Rage Federation, who has been involved in the anti-racist and anti-fascist movement in the Twin Cities and nationally. His parents were involved in radical politics, and Kieran himself has been involved in politics since he was 14. Among other things, he has worked against US involvement in Central America and the Middle East, defended women's reproductive rights, and fought against police brutality.

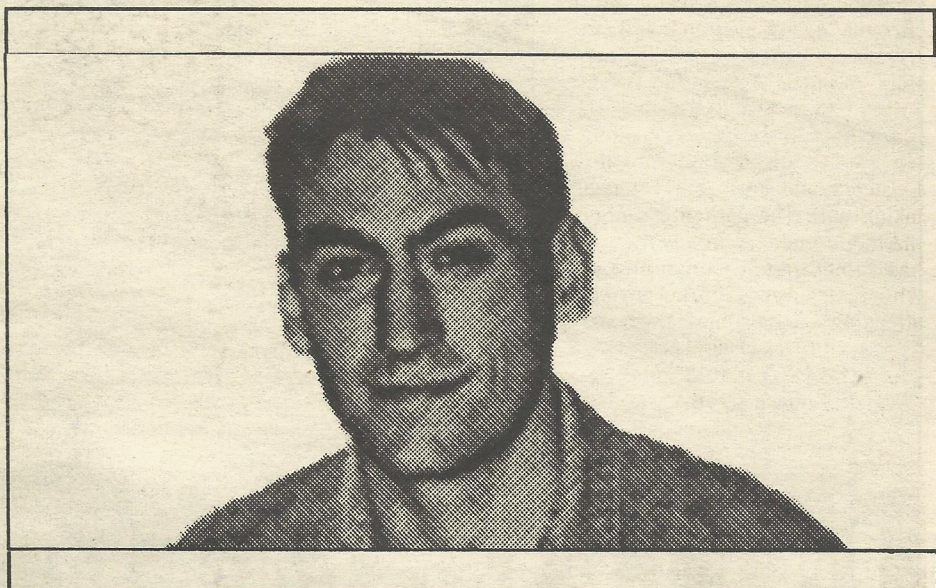
The Anti-Fascist Defense Committee in Minneapolis has mounted a strong campaign to demand that all charges against Kieran be dropped. Besides local support work, they have organized national phone zaps and received letters and faxes from all over the world. Kieran's case has gotten wide exposure throughout the anarchist press due to the efforts of the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee. The AFDC wrote recently, "...we've learned how to do something that all of us together are going to be doing more and more of as the 90's roll on. Activists are once again going to face more serious charges and harsher sentences. We have to defend our movements against

repression while still moving forward. A clenched-fist thank you to the system for giving us this lesson."

The charges against Kieran resulted from an anti-racist rally held by the Progressive Student Organization on the University of Minnesota campus on October 22, 1993. As 100 anti-racists rallied, two white-power boneheads appeared, probably looking for some fellow neo-nazis. One of them, Daniel Simmer, whom Minneapolis anti-racists report is a member of the neo-nazi organization Northern Hammer Skinheads, lunged into the crowd with brass knuckles in his hand. A skirmish ensued as several anti-racists defended themselves. This included Kieran, who swung his flashlight.

Several months later, the state suddenly brought felony charges against Kieran, based on statements from Simmer and his fiancée Amy Foreman, the other neo-nazi at the demonstration. Simmer has not been fined or charged for assault or possession of an illegal weapon. Meanwhile, most of the local press has portrayed the conflict as between two groups of violent individuals, and has reported Simmer's version of events.

The state's prosecutor in the case is County Attorney Mike Freeman, who is also running for Governor of Minnesota. His office also prosecuted the Minnesota Eight case, in which eight African-American men



Kieran

were framed for the 1992 shooting of a cop. Clearly, Freeman is interested in framing and putting away local anti-racists.

Write to:

County Attorney Mike Freeman
C2000 Hennepin County Govt. Center
300 S. 6th St. Mpls, MN 55415

Pete Connors Adult Prosecution
C2100 Hennepin County Govt. Center
300 S. 6th St. Mpls, MN 55415

For more information, copies of the petition, postcards, or to donate money, contact:

Anti-Fascist Defense Committee
PO Box 7075 Mpls, MN 55407

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Leonard Peltier Update

Dear Love and Rage Readers;

First off I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Love and Rage, its subscribers and to the ABC network. I am aware that you have been extremely supportive of me and are responsible for helping me to educate the masses and keeping them updated to my situation and not letting them forget about me after 18 years of wrongful imprisonment. I thank you.

However, I am in desperate need of your immediate help. After exhausting all of my legal resources I am left with my last hope of freedom. In November of last year I submitted my petition for executive clemency which hopefully will be granted by President Clinton, with your assistance. The clemency campaign has good momentum at this time and this needs to continue. It is currently being reviewed by Deputy Attorney General Jamie S. Gorelick and will move onto the Attorney General and then the President. I need for all of my supporters to contact the above-mentioned people and express their concern to see justice done.

Unfortunately we will not know the clemency campaign's success until a decision has been made by President Clinton. Please do not let this last chance for my freedom go unheard or overlooked.

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse,
Leonard Gwarth—ee—las Peltier 4/28/94

The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee reported that on December 14, 1993, Leonard went before the parole board for the first time in his sentence. After 30 minutes of deliberation they returned with the decision that Leonard should apply again in 15 years. On April 2, 1994, the office of Ramsey Clark filed an appeal to the Parole Board's decision. The Commission has not yet made a decision on the appeal.



The Executive Clemency Petition is now in the office of Deputy Attorney General Jamie S. Gorelick, who will report her findings and make a recommendation to Attorney General Janet Reno. Reno will review the case, and then report to President Clinton. This whole process may take six to nine months, during which Leonard's supporters of deluging the offices of the President and Attorney General with phone calls, faxes, petitions, and letters.

On October 14-23, an International Walk on the Border for Justice for Leonard Peltier will be taking place as part of International Leonard Peltier Solidarity Week (October 17-23.) The walk will culminate in a rally at the International Peace Park border between Washington and British Columbia.

Relativity Records is putting together a benefit album for Leonard. Scheduled for release in late June or July, it will be called "Exiled in the Land of the Free" and include songs from The Goats, Rage Against the Machine, Corrosion of Conformity, Bad Religion, Helmet, Quicksand, The Unsane, Black Market

Flowers, Cry of Love, Giant Sand, Big Chief, Lucy's Fur Coat, Sacred Reich, Superchuck, Tribe After Tribe, Brother Sun, Beaver Chink, Trouble, and Grunttruck.

Write to:

President Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20500
phone: (202) 456-1111
fax: (202) 456-2461

The Honorable Jamie S. Gorelick
Deputy Attorney General
10th St. and Constitution Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20530
phone: (202) 514-2101
fax: (202) 514-4699

For further information, contact:
Leonard Peltier Defense Committee
PO Box 583
Lawrence, KS 66044
phone: (913) 842-5774
fax: (913) 842-5796

Perotti on Hunger Strike

During most of May and June, anarchist prisoner John Perotti was on a hunger strike. He was protesting his illegal transfer from Mansfield Correctional Institute to Lucasville Maximum Security Prison in Ohio. He renewed the hunger strike on July 1.

He is also protesting that he has not been released from administrative control, though the decision that placed him there was reversed. When he filed a writ seeking enforcement of the reversal and asking for release into the general population, the reversal decision was then overturned. John is seeking legal redress on the issue, and asks supporters to write State Representative Rhine McLin and demand his release into the general population, as McLin had ordered in March.

John also wrote a letter recently about Danny Cahill, a politicized prisoner who works with him. On April 14, 1994, Danny had been on a hunger strike for 60 days when State Representatives Rhine McLin and Samuel Bateman ordered Lebanon Correctional Institution officials to take them to Danny's cell. Although Danny had been vomiting and having convulsions, Lebanon officials refused to recognize his protest or medically monitor his hungerstrike. Representative McLin promised to launch an investigation and ordered the prison to put Danny on a liquid diet.

Danny had been charged with being a gang leader due to his participation in a class action case he, John, Chryztof Knecht, and Bill Martin had brought against Ohio's governor and the Department of Corrections challenging prison overcrowding in the state and deteriorating conditions. The charges of gang activity also stemmed from the prison monitoring of mail between John, Danny, Bill, Chryztof, and others who were writing about tactics and planning legislative lobbying letters to protest the building of a super-maximum prison in Ohio.

John Perotti #167712
PO Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699

State Representative Rhine McLin
16 E. Broad St, 9th Fl, Rm 901
Columbus, Ohio 43226

Anarchist Black Cross & Other Prisoner Support Groups

ABC Baltimore
PO Box 19245
Baltimore, MD 21213

Nightcrawlers ABC
PO Box 1034, Mott Haven Station
Bronx, NY 10454

ABC Minneapolis
PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

Prison News Service
PO Box 5052, Str. A
Toronto, ONT M5W 1W4 Canada

Philadelphia ABC
4722 Baltimore Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Washington ABC
925 U St. NW
Washington, D.C., 20001



"Free Trade Boulevard" in Ojinaga, México lacks the bustle that town officials envisioned when they named it.

Northern Ireland

(Continued from page 4)

gag on Sinn Fein imposed under Section 31 of the broadcasting act). She declared that the agreement was a calculated insult from the British government and an "unknown insult" from the Irish government. This is surely strange use of the English language. How many people have you, the reader, unknowingly insulted today!?

FIGHTING SECTARIANISM: THE REPUBLIC OR THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC

She went on to say that it was essential to reject the declaration and convince John Hume (head of the constitutional nationalist Socialist Democratic Labour Party) and Albert Reynolds (head of Fianna Fail, the party ruling in coalition with the Labor party, which puts the interests of the Southern ruling class first) to negotiate "a real peace." The old nationalist bullshit; form an alliance with anyone in a green jersey. As if Fianna Fail, "the extradition party," are going to help out. As if Uncle Albert who has just signed an agreement ignoring nationalists and acknowledging the unionist veto, is going to lend a helping hand. Fianna Fail were hanging republicans in the 1930s, interning them in the 1950s, and are extradit-

ing them today. A united Ireland is not particularly in the interests of most Southern bosses. Nor is it much in the minds of the electorate. And who could blame them when the only prospect they are presented with is extending Albert's rule to the six counties? So why should Fianna Fail give a damn?

Looking for allies like this shows the republicans are living in cloud cuckoo land. Only anarchism has the answers. Any solution within capitalism will do little to adjust the sectarian status quo. Sectarianism can either be left as it is or redressed by taking away the marginal privileges of Protestants. This is not acceptable. We fight not to take from Protestants and give to Catholics—we are struggling for more of everything for all workers. More jobs, more houses, better services, education and leisure facilities. We want to sweep away sectarian differences by increasing the standard of living for all workers.★



British soldier teaches Irish youth about political power.

GATT

(Continued from page 1)

authoritarian tribunals, institutionalizing a trade role for state governments as brokers for transnational corporate interests and locking out grass-roots organizations and popular movements from the discussions that will decide the economic fates of the people they represent and seek to protect.

GATT'S HISTORY

Understand that the Uruguay Round of GATT is in fact GATT's destiny. GATT's roots can be traced back to the 1944 Conference and subsequent Treaty of Bretton Woods, the same treaty that established the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. It was supposed to establish

a n International Trade Organization (ITO) which would have had the same role as the new World Trade Organization. The US Congress however, did not want to surrender its Constitutional responsibility of regulating the US economy at the height of its power. Therefore the third member of the holy trinity of institutions used to regulate post-World War II global capitalism was still-born. The round system of GATT was established in its place in 1947.

There have been 8 rounds of GATT since 1947, each

bearing the name of state in which the first meeting of that round took place. The Uruguay Round, with the establishment of the WTO, is clearly the most significant to date. While it is true that each round has reduced many tariffs and trade inhibitors under the touted ideology of "Free Trade," even a cursory examination of its rulings reveals a more complex agenda.

For instance, in the Uruguay Round of GATT, international copyright standards are established to protect the US entertainment and publishing industries. The new GATT round also institutionalizes the notion of "trade related intellectual property rights" which will protect the US pharmaceutical and biotechnology industries. This will certainly raise morbidity and mortality rates in poor countries and contribute to the continual exploitation and impoverishment of Third World farmers. Finally, when it comes to textiles, US industries once again are protected: the Multifibre treaties of reciprocity forced on Third World states in the early 1970's as "temporary" abrogations of GATT principals will stay in effect for at least another 10 years. This blatant act of protectionism will maintain the quota system which protects first world textile manufacturers from those based in poorer southern countries. Martin Khor, the director of the Third World Network, said last month in Geneva that the obvious ideology driving the US and other industrial states who dominate GATT negotiations is: "Liberalization if it benefits me, Protectionism if it benefits me, What counts is my self-interest." Labeling GATT as a "Free Trade" agreement only looks at half of what this treaty is really all about. Doing this is purposely misleading the general population in nothing less than an exercise in Orwellian Double-think. It essentially misses the full purpose of GATT, and its congruent regional cousin NAFTA.

WHY FREE TRADE? THE THEORY

As grass-roots based organizations around the world gear up to struggle against the ratification of GATT and other trade agreements that disempower people and strengthen the hand of transnational corporations, it is important that we develop a detailed understanding of what the so-called "Free Trade" treaties are all about.

If any of us were fooled by the much touted propaganda that "Free Trade" will "raise all ships on a rising tide," we should consider Noam Chomsky's observation, stated on many occasions, that no state in the world has ever developed under a policy of "free trade." And if one examines all the industries in the United States which are most competitive, namely very high technology electronics, pharmaceutical, biotechnology, agriculture, etc., you will find that they are all industries that receive massive government subsidies and tariff protections.

So why the push towards free trade? Free trade is a demand of the investment class of the United States and the other industrial states. Put simply, any barrier that exists between capital and the most profitable investment reduces profit. Those who possess capital are demanding the ability to invest it, irrespective of state boundaries and certainly without local hinderences. Being more than a decade into the profit drought that has NOT ended with the recession, trade liberalization is an ESSENTIAL demand of those who possess capital. At this point any state that stands in the way of collapsing state boundaries to

investment is going to pay the heavy price of capital flight, trade embargoes and economic collapse.

For this reason, a state of near "Free Trade" exists now. Tariff levels are already at all-time lows around the world! This is before the implementation of NAFTA, and the latest GATT agreements. If one examines any of these agreements in detail, one will find that the majority of texts are not concerned with trade at all. These treaties are centrally concerned with the establishment of new transnational political bodies.

As trade and production have globalized, the power of transnational corporations has risen greatly. They have gained the ability to play states off each other in order to create the most profitable business conditions (lower taxes, wages, environmental standards, etc.). It is in response to this that the powerful industrial states have come together to organize these trade agreements and essentially forced weak industrial and agricultural states to accept their terms. These trade agreements simultaneously grant the concession for capital investors and corporations of more open access to markets and institute transnational political structures. These structures have the ability to regulate the behavior of states and corporations regionally, in the case of NAFTA, and nearly globally in the case of GATT.

The most disturbing aspect of this scheme regarding GATT is that the transnational political institutions created are authoritarian (if not fascist) in structure. Therefore, they will end up representing the interest of the ruling elite of the United States and the other rich industrial countries; most often the same interests as the capital investors and managing class of the transnational corporations themselves.

Also disturbing is the role that powerful industrial states, like the United States, Japan and the European governments are already playing in GATT tribunals. They have essentially become brokers: bringing claims and defending interests of the investors and corporations with whom they have capital, production and employment links. This role institutionalizes a new forum for the expression of the United States' power internationally. Let's face it, the United States government makes a damn good broker. It makes money the old fashion way: It rapes and plunders it! As a superpower, the United States has a clear comparative advantage over other states. It can twist arms in Southeast Asia to open Thai lungs to the Marlboro hardpack or it can prostitute out an apocalyptically powerful army to saturation bomb Iraq for oil interests.

All of which is to say, the institutional structures created by GATT, and by NAFTA, will become a host of new powerful organizations struggling against the interest and the will of the peoples of the world. It is time that the progressive forces in the United States take up the issue of GATT. It may be the most important of our time. And if nothing else, as human beings living in the society whose government is forcing much of this down the throats of most of the other people of the world, we have an obligation to act on the knowledge that our trade policies are designed to perpetuate injustices of which we, personally, are the beneficiaries. People are starving to death so we can buy cheap bananas at our local supermarket chain.

It is time we took to the streets to halt the progress of GATT. Perhaps we should take a lesson from our comrades in India.★

National Public Radio Nixes Mumia

Political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal was recently offered the extraordinary opportunity to present his views as a regular on National Public Radio (NPR). His commentaries were scheduled to air on NPR's evening program All Things Considered beginning May 16. But NPR, under pressure from conservative forces, has pulled their offer and scrapped the two tapes that they had already made.

Mumia, a former radio reporter for WUHY, a NPR affiliate in Philadelphia, received a number of awards for his reporting on the radio and in print. Bill Steinber,

former station manager for WUHY (now WHYY), and author of NPR's Mission Statement said "Mumia is, and was, a gifted writer with an eye for detail and an ear for radio. People pay attention when his pieces are on the air."

In justifying the cancellation, NPR stated that they did not feel they could provide a "balanced viewpoint" to Mumia's. Activists in Mumia's support campaign believe that pressure from law enforcement groups also led NPR to cancel the commentaries.

To protest, call:
NPR Listener Response line
(202) 414-3232

or:
Bruce Drake, Managing Editor
(202) 414-3329

For more info contact:

Jane Henderson
Equal Justice USA
(301) 699-0042
Noelle Hanrihan
Prison Radio Project
(415) 648-4505
Kica Matos

NAACP Legal Defense Fund
(212) 219-1900

—from Prison Activist Resource Center /
PO Box 3201 / Berkeley, CA 94703 /
fax: (510) 845-8816

Operation Rescue Beaten Back Again

The San Francisco Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) responded to Operation Rescue-California's "Summer of Missions '94" caravan through Central California and the S.F. Bay Area by putting a crew of cars on the road, to provide detailed reporting on the caravan's activity to clinic defense teams throughout the region.

Local support for OR was consistently weak at clinics. OR made four unsuccessful attempts to harass physicians at their homes. One of the physicians vowed to work with BACORR's Strong Link Coalition and to get involved with Medical Students for Choice.

The police were supportive of OR in several instances. In Monterey County police, after allowing an OR invasion of a medical building courtyard, escorted OR out of town, while other officers picked out and followed BACORR vehicles which were interspersed in the caravan.

The New Mexican Revolution

A book of all the communiques, letters, essays, and many of the interviews with the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) is being published by Autonomedia for release in August. The book, translated and edited by a collective of activists involved in EZLN support, will be the most complete collection of primary material on the Zapatistas in any language, containing communiques never released in English and interviews never published in any language. A portion of the proceeds of the book will go to aid the EZLN and the communities that form their base of support. For information on ordering contact:

Autonomedia
POB 568
Brooklyn, NY 11211-0568
(718) 387-6467

New Anarchist Centers

Recently, a number of anarchist community centers and infoshops have opened around the continent, and there have been new developments at others. Here are some of the goings-on:

Baltimore-area anarchists opened an info-shop/collective-space on April 1 called Croatan. Plans for the center include a reading room, meeting space, movies, seminars, coffee shop, and office space for Food Not Bombs, Anarchist Black Cross and a women's health group. Money will be raised through the sale of coffee and merchandise and through donations. The space will also serve as a clearinghouse for anarchist and radical information. Croatan is located at 1237 Hollins Street in Baltimore. The mailing address is:

PO Box 4309
Baltimore, MD 21223



Political Prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal

After over two years of preparation and planning, Los Angeles anarchists have found a community-center space and they moved in just before May Day. To find out more about the center or to send much-needed donations, please write to:

Food Not Bombs/Long Beach
PO Box 1245
Los Alamitos CA 90720

or send queries to:

The Fire Ant Collective
PO Box 11619
Costa Mesa, CA 92627

The Autonomous Octopus (Le Pieuvre Autonome) in Montreal opened in the early spring at 370

Marie-Anne East (Metro Mont-Royal). It is a two-story space with performance space, kids' space, a library, an open kitchen stocked with food (partially to encourage squatting), and a news bulletin board. Political activity has included a women's group, education about and mockery of Hydro-Québec (the utility behind the James Bay Project), benefits for various causes and the beginnings of a new French-language anarchist journal. The Octopus is open seven days a week from 1 p.m. to 10 p.m. Contact them about booking shows, speakers, films, etc.:

(514) 843-4528
email:
larnder@physics.mcgill.ca

NOTES OF REVOLT



Photo by Greg Gaar

Food Not Bombs has faced state repression in many of the cities where chapters exist.

FNB Activist Jailed

The attacks on the homeless and their supporters are increasing around the world. The felony trial of San Francisco Food Not Bombs activist Keith McHenry is set to start on September 19, 1994. The mayor's bodyguard is charging McHenry with "three strike" felonies in an effort to silence Food Not Bombs opposition to Jordan's anti-homeless policies. He is out on \$100,000 bail.

Several other Food Not Bombs volunteers are also facing felonies for their support of the poor. Eight people were arrested on July 11,

1994 and charged with felony conspiracy to feed the people without a permit. Two volunteers were injured.

That morning, after over 100 people ate free food and protested the attacks on the homeless and their supporters, the judge moved the trial date to September 19. There were protests in over 20 cities on July 11.

Faxes calling for the charges to be dropped and an end to the arrests can be sent to Mayor Frank Jordan at (415) 554-6113 and District Attorney Arlo Smith at (415) 553-9054.

Corrections

In last issue's Political Glossary the definition of Bolshevism stated that the Bolsheviks were the majority faction of the Russian Social Democratic Party. While their name would imply this (we correctly stated that Bolshevism means majoritism), they were in fact the minority faction for almost their entire pre-1917 existence.

Also last issue we printed the wrong address for Anti-Fascist Info. The correct address is: AFI, Box 35, 1744 Kingsway,

Vancouver BC, V5N 2S3, Canada. We incorrectly printed that the address was Box 25. If you have written to Box 25 and had your mail returned, please try again with Box 35. AFI hopes to produce documentation on recent trials of anti-fascists in Vancouver in the near future (none of whom received prison time.)

In Love and Rage vol. 5, number 1 we printed a letter stating that Rebelles, a Québécois periodical, is no longer operating. We recently received a new issue, indicating that in fact it is still operating.

Bayou La Rose
c/o Wesley Everest Educ. Proj.
302 N "J" Street
No. 3, Tacoma, WA 98403

News mostly on native and ecological struggles. In its sixteenth year of publication!
Two dollars per issue.

Other Anti-Authoritarian/Anti-Imperialist Periodicals

The Blast!
PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407
The Agitator Index Collective's hot bi-monthly paper. The second issue features an interview with Noel Ignatiev, sex work and sex slavery, anti-racism, Anarchist Black Cross and more!
Two dollars by mail.

Arm the Spirit
PO Box 6326 Stn A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P7
An anti-imperialist, autonomist journal. Reports on international movements waging armed struggle.
Ten dollars for ten issues.

Race Traitor
PO Box 603
Cambridge, Mass. 02140
Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity. This journal focuses on race, and the concept of white people trying to give up white-skin privilege in order to abolish white supremacy.
Five dollars for one copy.

The Revolt Against Development - The Crisis and Chiapas

BY CHRIS KUTALIK

Before diving into the specific features of the Chiapas uprising it is important to understand the crisis in México. It is not a one-sided structural crisis conjured up by a political scientist or some other academic high priest, but a two-way give and take between two polar antagonists: Capital (which in México is inimitably, but not exclusively, tied to the government and the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party]) and the many, varied sectors of the working class (from industrial workers and technicians in the cities to the many groupings of peasants and landless laborers in the countryside). The crisis comes as the fine edge between these camps.

At the risk of making an over-generalization, the Chiapas conflict is like a very big rock that has been thrown into an already wildly agitated pool. To take the analogy further, the shock waves emanating from this rock have spread throughout the country, extending into the heart of the PRI itself.

A *New York Times* article (Feb. 8) reported that several town halls outside of the war zone in Chiapas have been seized by small, peasant groups independent of the EZLN who have realized their own ability to reclaim their autonomous power by way of the uprising. This is the extent and nature of the crisis.

Predictably enough, the orthodox right and left have trotted out their usual clichés and mystifications concerning Chiapas, but Chiapas is not Cuba, El Salvador or Guatemala. The uprising is following a pattern unique to the specific features of class antagonism in México. This pattern has its historical origins in the agrarian revolts of the last few centuries of Mexican history.

THE CYCLES OF AGRARIAN REVOLT

Agrarismo as a social force developed out of the material conditions of 19th-century México. Before the 19th century, peasant resistance often took the everyday forms of tax evasion, draft resistance or the occasional bloody, short insurrection. Toward the turn of the century this cycle of struggle began to evolve to another plane of resistance.

The construction of railroads throughout México in the last part of the 19th century lead to the creation of an export-oriented agricultural market. The large hacienda owners, who were the only ones in a real position to capitalize on this development, began a vigorous campaign of dispossessing the lands of the traditional village *ejidos* [collectively owned land]. A variety of tactics were used, most hinging upon either legal maneuvers, supported inevitably by the *caciques* [corrupt political bosses] of the local and federal government, or the use of hired gunmen (*pistoleros*).

Peasant resistance quite reasonably began to take on an increasingly militant flavor as these dispossessions increased. A triangular agrarista alliance evolved at this time among a periodically active village mass, the local militants and outside agitators composed mostly

of anarchists, urban intellectuals and workers. Agrarismo sprang directly from the autonomous cycle of rural struggle. Agraristas frequently called for the creation of the *municipio libre*, a decentralized, village-based region free of the interventions of State and Capital. This desire was seen in the periodic burning of government records during revolts. A reliance on armed struggle against the hired gunmen, police, and army became a central feature of the struggle, alongside the call for the seizure of the large land holdings. Zapata's army, which had originally risen up against the sugar plantations of Morelos (and, later in the Revolution, against all of México's bosses), came fullheartedly from this cycle of struggle.

Despite the land-reform measures of the Revolution, which were codified as Article 27 in the Constitution, this cycle continues into the present. In Chiapas, as in many other parts of México, land is still overwhelmingly concentrated in the hands of a few large landowners. For example, in the municipality of Tenegapa 3.8% of the landowners own over 60% of the land. This wealthy 3.8% is composed entirely of ranchers, who are nearly all mestizo, while, predictably, the bottom 96.2% are Indian peasants.

SELF DEFENSE IS THE BEST OFFENSE

Land disputes between these groups still take on the intensity of the agrarian struggles of the past. Large landowners still rely on hired gunmen; correspondingly, peasants and Indigenous groups throughout México have relied on small, armed, self-defense groups. Beginning in the 1940's with Ruben Jamarillo's armed rebellion in Morelos (Jamarillo had ridden with Zapata in his youth), a slew of small self-defense groups sprang up in several states, including Hidalgo, Guerrero, Veracruz and Oaxaca. In 1993 alone two such groups were formed. Last spring 80 people in the



Young Zapatista soldiers and an older officer pose for the Love and Rage camera.

THE EZLN AND THE AGRARISTA TRADITION

According to sources close to the rebel group (and supported by the Mexico City thinktank, the Center for Studies of Armed Movements) the EZLN had originally been formed as a similar peasant self-defense

(Continued to page 13)

May 1 Communique from the EZLN Clandestine Committee

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

To the people of México:

To the people and governments of the world:

To the national and international press:

Brothers and Sisters:

The Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army directs itself to you to declare the following:

Today, May 1, 1994, we celebrate one more day for the workers. All over the world, rural and urban workers celebrate their rebellion against exploitation and reaffirm their aspirations for a more just world. In México this is a day of struggle. Ever since the evil government, which now oppresses us from the Zócalo in Mexico City, usurped the just

demands of the Flores Magón brothers, a chain now strangles the best of the Mexican workers. False and corrupt leaders, some for more than nine decades, traffic in the pain of the Mexican workers. They are the sustenance of the supreme government that now offers our history and our soil for foreign money. The struggle of the workers for organizational independence has revealed the triple alliance between the evil government, the corrupt leaders, and the powerful men of money.

Businesses of evil wealth have a new etiquette. Another mask hides our pain from our own eyes. A new name has been given to injustice, to slavery, to the usurpation: neoliberalism.

The workers that build this country bleed from three wounds. The powerful bleed them with unjust salaries, humiliations and threats. The heads of the great central government unions bleed the workers with extortions, beatings, and death. Those who sell the country bleed the workers with the dispatches of usurpation, writing the laws that their treason dictates.

The workers die three times in the factory for the history of the country. They die of poverty because they are not paid fairly according to their work. They die of humiliation because their words of rebellion are silenced by the treachery of those who claim to represent them. They die of slavery because the evil government ignores their will and their efforts.

The Mexican workers struggle three times on land and on asphalt. They struggle for justice so that there can be bread and truth in their houses and on their tables. They struggle also to speak and walk freely and to not bequeath shame to their children. They struggle for democracy because it is their power to transform matter, and also their power to govern and to govern themselves.

The future has three lives that we all desire for the whole country. The life of their own strength in their brothers and sisters in recognized labor. The life of the workers and peasants, hand in hand. The life of their embrace which includes all of the people, so they can march together again with a new, good direction.

Faceless, the worker lives and dies three times. Without a clean face because of the hunger that dirties it. Without a free face because of the treachery that kills it. Without a true face because of a will usurped.

They die three times, they struggle three times, they live three times. Faceless, they

walk three times, those that make the riches of the country into something located, something measured, something changed.

Brothers and sisters:

From another history, the same and different, another faceless being, looks with hope on this day. From the mountains of the last corner of México, faceless hope, tender voice and fire walking alone, greet the workers.

Three times the false masks which rob us today must fall.

Injustice at work and in pay must fall. The treachery which leaves us speechless must fall. The government that usurps our will must fall.

Justice! Freedom! Democracy! These are the three keys to the three chains. Justice in the right to a dignified job and to be well paid. Freedom in the right to organize ourselves with independence from the powerful and their spokespeople. Democracy in the right to demand that the government obey us in its mandate.

This is what we, the smallest of these lands, ask for. We want this: three rights, three struggles, three suns. A tomorrow of a new México.

Mexican workers of the city and the country:

Let your voice run together with ours. Let your shout sound strong and hard on this soil. Accept this hand that your smallest brothers and sisters offer you. Three forces should unite their paths: the force of the workers, the force of the peasants, the popular force. With these three forces there will be nothing to detain us.

Our blood is already losing itself in history. Let the brothers and sisters of the machine not let their brothers and sisters of the country die in vain. Let all of the people unite. Let the curse that divides not come again to our skies.

Receive our voice, which although far away, says: Greetings workers of the sea and of the land! The Zapatistas follow you in their struggles! With you there will be a country and future for all some day! Without you, night will continue to rule these lands!

Freedom!

Justice!

Democracy!

Respectfully,

Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army

General Barracks

Mountains of the Mexican Southeast
Chiapas, México



Interview with Zapatista Subcommander Marcos

[Interview with Subcommander Marcos, Zapatista National Liberation Army
Wednesday, May 11, 1994 Somewhere in the Lacandona Jungle

Interviewers: Pablo Salazar Devereaux (Haitian Information Bureau) Ana Laura Hernández (Amor y Rabia/México) Eugenio Aguilera (Nightcrawlers Anarchist Black Cross) Gustavo Rodríguez (Amor y Rabia/México)

Special thanks to Robin Flinchum and Selene Pinti Jaramillo for their help with the translation.]

Much has been written and said about the Zapatistas, but little concrete is known about your ideology. There are many who are trying to claim your struggle as their own. The Maoists say that you are Maoists; the Trotskyists say that you are Trotskyists and the list goes on ...

The anarchists say that we are anarchists ...

No, we have never been able to say for sure [laughter]. We need proof. However, you have insisted that you are Zapatistas. Even now we remember the words of an EZLN major who affirmed: "We are not Marxists, nor are we guerrillas. We are Zapatistas and we are an army." Anti-authoritarianism is felt in each of your words and actions, in the manner in which you are organized, in the structure of the Clandestine Committees, in the collective participation (within the EZLN). In México, the only precedents for your actions and attitudes go back precisely to those whose names you constantly evoke: Zapata and Magón. Has Magonismo permeated your ideology?

This is a question?

[laughter]. No, a presentation.

I thought it was a speech.

No, no, a presentation.

Well then, I'm going to explain. The EZLN was born having as points of reference the political-military organizations of the guerrilla movements in Latin America during the sixties and seventies: That is to say, political-military structures with the central aim of overthrowing a regime and the taking of power by the people in general.

When the first group of the EZLN arrived here, to the jungles of Chiapas, it was a very small group with this political-military structure that I am talking about. It began to adapt itself to the surroundings, to try to survive—that is to say, to permeate the territory, to make it survivable. But, above all, it began to forge in the combatant, in that initial group of combatants, the physical and ideological strength needed for the guerrilla process. I mean by this that the mountains served as a school for cadres, inflexible and constant day and night. But things were taking shape. In this period there weren't cameras, there weren't recorders, there wasn't any press, nor were there military actions. The only thing that lets you stay in the mountains and endure is hope, because there isn't any payment. I'm not referring to monetary payment, of course there never was any of that, but to some moral reward, to something that would serve as some sort of assurance that it is all worth it.

Ten years ago, we were clinging to the hope that everything that we were learning, with much suffering and many problems, was going to have results someday. In that period, there is a double learning process: the learning process of the mestizos (the inhabitants of this area call everyone who lives in the city "mestizo") and the process of the Indigenous peoples. The process of the Indigenous people includes learning the very basics—to speak Castilian [Spanish], the history of México, reading and writing, basic notions of mathematics, geography, biology, chemistry—in all, everything that we mestizos have as our basic culture. And we for our part had to learn and understand not only the world view of the Indigenous peoples of this zone, but also learn a series of physical aptitudes that are not innate to the Indigenous peoples, but that they learn when they are small: to handle a machete, to carry large loads over long distances, to reduce their food intake to the minimum required—in this case corn and sugar.

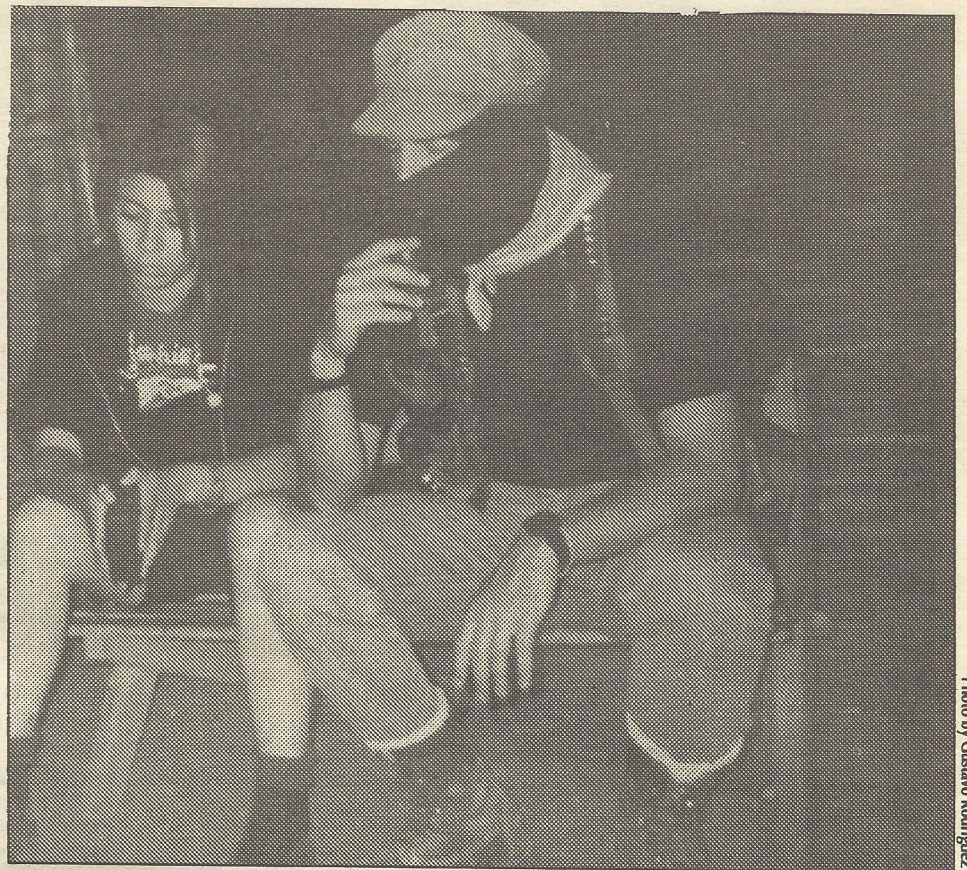
We should talk about this "romantic

vision," if you understand me, of guerrilla war, with its references to grandiose military actions: the taking of power and triumph, all of those things that could be references to the triumphant guerrilla wars of that era, the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions.

The environment brings you back to reality and makes you understand that all revolutions have a cost and only those who are disposed to pay it can carry out the revolution.

We then confronted the common belief that an armed revolution was possible in any country other than México. That is to say, México was considered the country of solidarity, but never the country of the revolution. When we proposed a revolution, we were considered heretics among the left. The left said that revolution wasn't México's role, that we were too close to the United States, that the regime in México resembled the European model and that because of this a "revolutionary" change was only possible by electoral methods, by peaceful methods, or, in the most radical scenario, by insurrectional methods. This means that the unarmed masses, with broad mobilizations, would disrupt the economy and create a crisis in the State apparatus, which would then fall and a new government would take power. When we proposed a guerrilla war, an armed struggle, we broke with this tradition, a tradition that was very strong during that time. With what was happening in Nicaragua and what was beginning to happen in El Salvador, well...

We were always confronted with the mountains. Let's say we survived that first stage, that this first stage was, in effect, about two things: surviving and beginning our political work. In this initial political work, a connection began to take place between the proposals of the guerrilla group, the initial group of the EZLN, and the communities. This means that there are different expectations of the movement. On one hand, there were those who hoped that armed action would bring about a revolution and a change of power, in this case the fall of the governing party and the ascension of another party, but that in the end it would be the people who took power. On the other hand, there were the more immediate expectations of the Indigenous people here. For them, the necessity of armed struggle was more as a form of defense against groups of very violent, aggressive and powerful ranchers. In



Interview with Subcommander Marcos being conducted by an Amor y Rabia member.

addition, there was an approaching storm—no, let's not say approaching storm—as if there was a wall, a wall that was the same mountain that separated the jungle from the city and that separated the Indigenous peoples from political power.

It was this wall that permitted the EZLN to grow so scandalously without anyone realizing to what point it had grown. The Indigenous peoples realized the necessity of learning to defend themselves. They had weapons, but they used them only for hunting or to protect their homes from animals or thieves. Then, we found each other and we began to speak in two different languages, but in this common point of necessity of armed struggle a relationship began to develop. They needed military instruction, and we needed the support of a social base. And we thus tried to convince them of the necessity of a broader political project. That didn't occur until elements of the

community entered the army. In that moment, the difference between combatant force and civilian force began to disappear until it reached the point you see now when whole communities are Zapatistas, when there is no line that separates the civilians from the Zapatistas.

Since the internal life of the communities was totally separated from national and local political forces, the important thing was the work done by the communities and because of this a collective government came about. No, it was always there: a way of making decisions in common about problems that affect the entire community. These decisions included decisions about work that had to be done in common, judicial problems at an internal level—because it isn't possible to appeal to judicial power of the state. What I mean to say is that the isolation of the Indigenous communities provoked the development of another type of "state," a state to deal with the survival of the collective, of a democratic collective with these two characteristics: The leadership is collective and it is removable.

I want you to understand me; we didn't arrive and say, "It is necessary that the collective and democracy guide us." That isn't true, of course. This wasn't our conception. Our conception was vertical: "What is necessary is a group of strong men and women, with ideological and physical strength, with the resistance to carry out this task." Our conception was that we were few but of high quality. Well, I'm not saying that we were of that high quality, but we sure were few.

Finally, I can't say exactly when—it's not something that's planned—the moment arrived in which the EZLN had to consult the communities in order to make a decision. At first, we only asked if what we were doing was going to cause problems for the compañeros. And later, when we left the jungle and entered the mountains, we also entered the assemblies and discussions of the communities. A moment arrives in which you can't do anything without the approval of the people with whom you work. It was something understood by both parties: they understood that we wouldn't do anything without consulting them, and we understood that if we did anything without consulting them, we would lose them. And this flow, this increase of men and women who left the communities in order to enter the mountains, made us realize that we couldn't draw a solid line between combatant forces and civilian forces. Even geographically this line had broken down. There were military units that didn't live in the mountains but that instead lived in the communities and participated in communal labors. They gave military instruction, but they also participated in the work of the communities. When we reflect on this now it isn't a question of "us" and "them"—now "we" are the entire community. It was necessary to organize, to establish this collective authority alongside the



Subcommander Marcos on horseback.

Photo by Gustavo Rodríguez

(Continued to page 10)

Subcommander Marcos Interview

(Continued from page 9)

absurdity of a vertical, authoritarian structure. Then, it was possible to divide the process of making decisions. I mean by this that strategic decisions, important decisions have to be made democratically, from below, not from above. If there is going to be an action or series of actions that are going to implicate the entire organization, the authority has to come from below. In this sense, even the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee isn't able to make every decision. You could say that the EZLN is different

“What was it that made this possible? A centralized command? No! Rather, it was that decisions of this kind were made by consensus or consultation.”

because in most political-military organizations there is only one commander, and in the EZLN the Clandestine Committees are composed of 80 people, 100 people, 120 people or however many. But this is not the difference. The difference is that even the Clandestine Committees cannot make certain decisions, the most important decisions. They are limited to such a degree that the Clandestine Committees cannot decide which path the organization is going to follow until every compañero is consulted. In the EZLN a decision cannot be made until everyone is consulted, even if it appears that the majority of the compañeros have already decided for one of the options. Only after consulting everyone can the Committee say, “We have asked everyone and this is the result.” The Committee cannot say, “We consulted the majority and ...”

This could cost you your life. You can't play games here.

In this way, we were not a guerrilla group, but an army, an army with territory, with troops, with a general strategic plan. Our initial plan was a defensive plan, a plan in which the compañeros could participate in one of three different ways: as part of the regular combat force that lives in the mountains, as part of the irregular combat force that lives and works in the communities, or as part of a reserve force composed of the elderly and children. These last also receive military training. At last, we were arrived to the point where we were able to mobilize five thousand people and concentrate them in a village as part of a military exercise.

What was it that made this possible? A centralized command? No! Rather, it was that decisions of this kind were made by consensus or consultation. It is more than consultation; it is not a consultation in order to see what you think but more to ask, “What do you want to happen?” The purpose of this is to give power to those who should have power.

Then, in this interweaving, in this exchange between two different forms of decision-making, the most orthodox proposals of Marxism or Leninism, theoretical concepts or historical references—for example, that the vanguard of the revolution is the proletariat, that the taking of state power and the installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the aim of the revolution—were confronted by an ideological tradition that is, how can I say this, somewhat magical. It is magical in one sense, but very real in another. What I mean by this is that it is an ideological tradition born of war—in this case, the war of the Conquest that began, well, not exactly five hundred years ago, and that continues through different historical periods. It continues ... it continues, and it grows. If we had been orthodox leftists, we would never have worked with Indigenous peoples. Now, today, I believe there are many theories in crisis. Who would have thought that it would be the Indigenous peoples who would provoke all of this? Not even in the Leninist conception of the weakest link was it thought that it might be the Indigenous people, right? I told you that there was a learning process at the beginning of our work

here, albeit a forced one. It's not like we said, “Well, we are going to learn and see what happens.” No! We were closed-minded, like any other orthodox leftist, like any other theoretician who believes that he knows the truth.

Even in “pure” Marxism there is discrimination against Indigenous people.

Yes! Definitely. The events of this last January will bring changes at the theoretical level as well. We arrived here and we were confronted by this reality, the Indigenous reality, and it continues to control us. Ultimately the theoretical confronted the practical, and something happened—the result was the EZLN. Therefore our combatants are right when they say, “We are not Marxist-Leninists, we are Zapatistas.” They are referring to this synthesis, this coming together, this compatibility that incorporates—I'm going to be very schematic—the historical traditions of struggle and resistance of Indigenous people and the necessity of a national revolution.

Excuse me for interrupting. This is exactly the meaning of the initial question: whether you believe that Magonismo has permeated the Zapatista movement. Let's look at the history of the Mexican revolution, in which Magón, who was also a descendent of Indigenous people, of Indigenous parents in Oaxaca, had a similar vision. Do you believe that Magonismo has permeated the ideological formation of the EZLN?

Look, I have to be honest. When we talk about Magonismo, it also makes me think of the orthodox line, closed-minded and stupid. This is the truth. The Magón

al, that they have a proposal for the nation. The same or better or worse—it's open for discussion—as any other proposal that intellectuals or political parties or social groups have for this country.

We don't want to deviate much from the questions that we planned to ask you, but now that you have brought up the term “nation”... Even within the discussions of postmodernism the term “nation” continues to be marked by a petit-bourgeois conception. We would like it if you could tell us a little of the vision of which you speak. When you refer to your national proposals, is it with this bourgeois vision of the nation-state-fatherland, or are you merely using a language a little, well, we could say, more common—something more direct and easier to understand?

When we speak of the nation we are necessarily speaking of history, of a history of common struggle with historical references that make us brothers to one group of people without distancing us from other groups. But what more do we have in common with the history of what is today called México? I say this because the first accusation against Zapatismo is that it is aligned with Central America. Therefore it has to delineate itself and explain that its vision is not directed towards the south, but rather towards the north. That is to say, to that historical tradition which has brought it together with a group of people—in this case with the Mexican people, not with the Central American peoples. Because...remember that the other thing being said is that this revolution is the last Central American revolution. Some say it is the first postmodern revolution, others say that it is the last Central American

revolution, even geographically speaking.

What occurs as a result of this insistence...when the concept of autonomy is brought up, the state understands it in this way: “Well, what the Indigenous peoples want are reservations, like the ones North American Indians have.” This is where the compañeros say, “No, if we are going to end up like the North American Indians on reservations, no.” This is not the concept of autonomy that we want, rather that they recognize, for example, this structure of government that I have explained, a structure that gives us validity. We don't want them to operate as if they were conquering territory.

When the Federal Army entered the communities before the war, or the judicial police or the public security police, or the municipal police, they entered as an invading army in enemy territory, even physically. When an army invades a country, everyone from that country is an enemy.

“If there is going to be an action or series of actions that are going to implicate the entire organization, the authority has to come from below.”

When they entered the communities, they entered acting as if everyone were an enemy. At that point, the compañeros said, “We have our own forms of government, we have traditions of community decision-making that must be respected by the government. And not only that—these traditions are a good example for the national government, for the government of this country, for any government that pretends to be a democracy.”

For this reason we speak of México, of the Mexican nation, because we must mark our boundaries, we must say, “It is not nostalgia for Central America, it is not nostalgia for Nicaragua, nostalgia for El Salvador.” On the other hand, when they speak of autonomy they are speaking as sectarians. They don't look to the future but to the past, the nostalgia... They look to ethnicity in a pejorative sense, as if we wanted to create a bubble, a bubble like the one in the movie, a bubble that isolates you from contamination or from what happens outside it. Therefore, any concept that you put out there... We must make clear what we are speaking of in all senses.

(Continued to page 11)



Subcommander Marcos Interview

(Continued from page 10)

From our point of view... We felt a little shocked by the discrepancy in your positions. For example, what is put forward as the "nation" of México we understand to be very similar to what Indigenous peoples understand to be the "nation" of the United States. And in this sense we understand México to be an imperialist nation that has kept all of these peoples oppressed without recognizing their culture, their traditions, their identities, a nation that has imposed a culture and an identity and that is trying to maintain the entire territory under its control without the least respect for cultures, traditions, identities or anything of the kind. This then we see as a kind of contradiction, speaking of a national project... I don't know if you have given thought to this, if you have come across this contradiction in your experiences.

No, this is your position, but since this is my interview, I am going to explain ours. Look, we believe that today's México, the México that we are fighting against, is not a México in abstract but rather a project of a certain class, of a certain social group. This project was born of the disorder

"We are saying, 'Let's destroy this state. This state system. Let's open up this space and confront the people with ideas, not with weapons.'"

or of the internal agreement provoked by the revolution at the beginning of this century. The implementation of this project has brought about a series of things as you indicate: domination, questions of land, of forms of government. For example, the lie that there is a federation when in reality the states depend upon the central government, or the lie that there are free municipalities when in reality the municipalities are dependent. We believe that it is possible to have the same México with a different project, a project that recognizes not only that it is a multi-ethnic state—in fact, multi-national—but also that new concepts are needed in order to reform the constitution. But, since there isn't a just relationship between the federation and its parts, we are proposing autonomy. We are proposing this because we are mostly Indigenous people but what we say with respect to the need for autonomy could be applied equally to the municipalities, to the unions, to social groupings, to peasant groups, to the governments of the states or to the states that are nominally free and sovereign inside the federation.

Could it be said that you view the future society for which you are fighting as one in which the free municipality, the autonomous municipality will be put into practice, a society in which a federation will be put into practice based upon a citizens' confederation?

No, before this we have to complete the other revolution. The EZLN... The revolution that we are proposing isn't an Indigenous revolution. The EZLN was born with Indigenous demands due to how it developed, but it aspires to organize the workers, non-Indigenous peasants, students, teachers, and all of the other social sectors in order to carry out a broader revolution, not just an Indigenous revolution.

We don't believe that the result of this revolution that we are proposing will be a new world, a new country; it will only be a first step, an antechamber that you enter before you enter this new country. We are proposing a space, an equilibrium between the different political forces in order that each position has the same opportunity to influence the political direction of this country—not by backroom deals, corruption or blackmail, but by convincing the majority of the people that their position is best. I mean by this... If there is a neoliberal proposal for the country, we shouldn't try to eliminate it but confront it. If there is a Trotskyist proposal, a Maoist proposal, an anarchist proposal, or proposals from the Guevaristas, the Castristas, the Existentialists or whatever "ists" that you may think of, they shouldn't be eliminated. They shouldn't be discussed in the way we are discussing them now, in small groups. In this discussion, we are demonstrating that we know a lot, that we speak very prettily, but in the discussions that we are proposing... the rest of the country shouldn't be spectators, like they will be to the debate tomorrow [On May 12, for the first time in Mexican history, the presidential candidates of the major Mexican political parties engaged in an open, televised debate—translators]. The people have to decide what proposal to accept, and it's the people who you have to convince that your opinion is correct. This will radically change the concept of revolution, of who the revolutionary class is, of what a revolutionary organization is. Now, the problem isn't in fighting against the other proposals, but instead in trying to convince the people. It's because of this that the Zapatista revolution isn't proposing the taking of power, it isn't proposing a homogeneous ideological concept of revolution. We are saying that yes, we do have our idea of how the country should be, but something is lacking before we talk about this. We cannot replicate the same logic as the government. They have a vision for the country that they have imposed on the people with the arms of the Federal Army. We cannot reverse this logic and say that now the Zapatista vision is going to be imposed on the people with the arms of the Zapatista army. We are saying, "Let's destroy this state, this state system. Let's open up this space and confront the people with ideas, not with weapons." This is why we propose democracy, freedom and justice—justice in order that certain material

conditions are satisfied so that people have an opportunity to participate in the political life of the country. We are saying, "We don't want this new world yet. We are not talking about a new world yet. We aren't talking about what form Article 27 should take. We aren't talking about what form the federation agreement should take. We aren't talking about what form Indigenous autonomy should take. We are talking about a democratic space where the political parties, or groups that aren't parties, can air and discuss their social proposals.

Marcos, in analyzing the way in which you are organized—at least what you have let us see—it's evident that when you speak of democracy, you are referring to direct democracy. Is this interpretation accurate?

Yes. Definitely. Look, what we are trying to do... We are a clandestine organization that has taken up arms against the government, and still we are very careful to try and maintain this democracy. By this I mean the direct vote, everyone's vote. Yes, because only the Zapatistas can vote. It's not the kind of process where you arrive and ask the people, "Are you for war or are you for peace? Well, I'm for war. And you? Peace." And you go adding up the votes.

No, I tell you that it must be the logical outcome of community discussion. The people meet in assemblies and the representatives put forth, for example in the case of the consultations, the demands of the EZLN and the response of the government. They're explained. What is it that we asked for and what has the government said in response? And they begin to debate, "Well, this is bad and this is good." After the community says, "We have already debated, we already understand, now we can vote"—this could take days. In fact, almost all the consultations have gone on for two, three days now and they haven't yet reached the point of voting. They arrive and say, "Well okay, we are in agreement, let's vote if we are ready to vote, if we already understand what it is we are going to decide." It's not about raising your hand or putting a check-mark for one option or the other. You have to debate and analyze the pros and the cons.

In this case you're not voting for a governor where he could turn out to be a son of a bitch, you're voting for your life or death as an organization. If you're at war you already know that you could live or die. But, if you err in a decision and you vote for war when it is time for peace or you vote for peace when it is time for war, you disappear as an organization. You might disappear because they destroy you, because you lose prestige or moral authority, or because you become a traitor to yourself by signing a fictitious peace that nobody wants. You can't leave decisions of this magnitude to a group of leaders no matter how collective they are or how large the group is. Not even the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee can decide these things. The Committee can't meet and decide, "We analyzed what Camacho [former Commissioner for Peace and Reconciliation in Chiapas—translators] said and we are going to decide yes or no." They can't do that.

Do you strive for consensus in the general assemblies?

No, there is direct voting. It isn't the sort of voting where at the end they say, "The majority of the people voted yes and therefore it's yes for all the people." No, it has to be known how many said yes and how many said no, because these 'yes's and 'no's are added up proportionally. It's not the consensus of the government, for example, that says, "Well, nobody said no [laughs] so we have consensus. Are you in agreement? Nobody said they didn't agree so that means that you agree." No, it has to be a direct vote.

We want to ask you another question that deals with ground that's already been covered to some extent, since it's been made clear during the interview that the EZLN has never considered itself to be the vanguard of the Mexican revolutionary movement. I need to ask this question directly because other groups, specifically the Revolutionary Workers Clandestine Party-Union of the People [Partido Revolucionario Obrero Clandestino-Unión del Pueblo, PROCUP], have said that they are the vanguard of Zapatismo. PROCUP recently circulated a document where they implied that the EZLN is one of their "belligerent groups," and that all the recent events in México are part of PROCUP's national plan, of which, logically, they are the vanguard. Is this true? Do you have some connection?

The left is very closed-minded. The traditional left is very closed-minded. They say, "Well, these people don't draw from any of the known ideologies, so they must not have one. I will lend them one." [laughs]. Or they say, "They are good people but they don't know what they want. I'm going to tell them what they want." Or "They're good people but they need a leader. I'll be their leader." This is the reality not just in the case of

PROCUP, but with groups of Trotskyists and Maoists who say, "What the EZLN needs is... ME!" [laughs].

My leadership.

Yes, ultimately, "my leadership." What upsets the Pentagon is that when you punch "Zapatista" into the computer, nothing comes out that says, "Moscow," or "Havana," or "Libya," "Tripoli," "Bosnia" or any other group. And the left, accustomed to the same way of thinking, says, "Well, they don't fit in anywhere." It doesn't occur to them there might be something new, that you have to re-theorize. And they say, "Well then, these poor people don't know what they want, we need to help them." And furthermore, we are talking about an armed force at war, surrounded, that isn't able to receive all the declarations or the newspapers. Eventually, we find out what is said after a week or maybe 15 days. So, they know that we will not be able to deny it. We can't stop it. But, we have confidence in the people, in the community, in that we have been clear about our positions and that people will have difficulty swallowing that we are the armed arm of PROCUP or of any other organization of any type. But I have seen various magazines...

Very insidious... the commentaries.

... of Trotskyists and Maoists, of all of the orthodox leftists and of the old dinosaurs that say, "Well, the ELZN is very good and what they've done is very good and all, but they lack a program, so here's a program. They lack a party, so here's a party. They lack a leader, so here's a leader." This attitude is held by everyone from Aguilar Talamantes to the left.

Yes, he already wanted you to be a candidate for president, right?

No, first he wanted to be our candidate for the presidency. [laughs].

Later he wanted you to be the candidate.

Yes, but he made it very difficult. First I had to prove that I was more intelligent than he was.

Really? Imagine. Impossible.

Evidently it was impossible.

Going back to the previous discussion, Dr. Armando Quiroz Alejandro of the National Assembly for Human Rights [Asamblea Nacional de Derechos Humanos, ANDH] met with comrades of the Zapatista Solidarity Committee in New York City. During the visit, he insinuated in private discussions with these comrades that PROCUP has a link to the EZLN and furthermore that the EZLN is following the same political line as PROCUP.

It's not true, those people need to be publicly denounced. It can't be. Why should the Zapatistas provide the dead bodies and the other groups collect the dollars and fool people into thinking that they're providing solidarity for an organization that never receives any of this aid? We don't subscribe to their ideologies—in this case the ideology of PROCUP. If we subscribed to the ideology of PROCUP, well, we would be PROCUP. We are not, we are not in anyway in league with them, we have not even entered in any kind of conversation with them since our inception, since their inception. There is absolutely no type of alliance. Well, in the sense that we are all human beings, you could also [laughs] link us to Clinton or to Reagan, to Perot, to Che, to Zapata.

With anybody... Now that we are clearing some things up. There have been other groups that have manipulated things in a different way. Specifically in the case of CLETA, who said, for example, that you are their vanguard. This is the opposite of PROCUP. CLETA needed a vanguard and put you in that position. Furthermore, as

(Continued to page 12)

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 (once 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.

Name and Address

City/State/Province

Zip/Postal Code Phone ()

Send check or money order to:

Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation
PO Box 3606 Oakland, CA 94609-0606

Subcommander Marcos Interview

(Continued from page 11)

we are talking about the problem of solidarity, they are one of the groups that has organized concerts and collected funds saying that they are for you, saying that this aid reaches you, that this money reaches you.

Well, we're going to wait until it arrives. But, up until now nothing has arrived [laughs].

Nothing has arrived. A number of very biased press sources have tried to equate the EZLN with the Shining Path [Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path]. Making a simply objective analysis you can see that both groups are very different. For example, while the Shining Path has committed innumerable executions, you [the EZLN] tried a criminal like Absalón and you put him to work in the corn fields and in the end you freed him. We would like it if you could expound on this because there are Maoists who say that you part of the international Maoist revolution, that there is a link between the Shining Path and the Zapatista army, etc., etc.

No, there is no link. Look, if the Mexicans couldn't accept that an armed revolution was possible in México, definitely foreigners couldn't accept the possibility. Come on, everyone saw, or still sees, México as the rearguard for political solidarity work. Now I'm remembering something; let's see if this relates to the question—it will make the tape recorder jump. We just received a feminist magazine that says that we are sexists because we chose war and war is sexist, armies are in and of themselves sexist, so therefore the EZLN is sexist. Therefore, what the EZLN needs is to be feminist. The article was brilliant—it moved me to tears. I don't remember what it was called—it was written by "pure" feminists. The article goes beyond anything I've seen.

Well, one of the things that we are most concerned about—specifically the compañeras—are the gender politics within the EZLN. You facilitated our being able to interview a number of compañeras and we have seen—to the point that you have allowed us to see [laughs]—that there exists an equality. This can be seen clearly. The women say it themselves: "My partner," —or in the case of those who are married—"My husband washes his things, does his work, does his part." And when you ask her if she has children, she says, "Yes, I already have mine, my M-16." Things like this show that yes, there is an equality that exists, at least in practice. The single compañeras that we've interviewed also tell us they do the same work as the men, that they aren't limited to working as nurses or in the kitchen as a result of being women. We would like you to tell us, as spokesperson of the EZLN: What are the politics of the EZLN towards gender issues?

Look, there are many problems. I am speaking of the compañeras... above all in the civilian population, the civilians have continued practicing many ancestral customs that don't belong in even a pre-revolutionary situation. For example, many still believe that the man should choose the woman that he wants to marry, but that the woman should have no choice in the matter. The difference, including the physical difference, between the civilian women and the combatant women is very clear. At the age when many of the combatant women have, as you say, an M-16, many civilian women already have four or five children, are beaten by their husbands; they don't know how to read or write, they have no opportunity to develop themselves as people. What the compañeras say is that they cannot have their equality decreed from above, they have to achieve it through struggle. They say, "You can like it or not, but now we are going to change these things." By force. That's why in our list of

"What the compañeras say is that they cannot have their equality decreed from above, they have to achieve it through struggle."

demands to the government, it doesn't mention anything about gender. The compañeras say, "We aren't going to ask the government to give us freedom, nor are we going to ask you male fools. We are going to ensure our freedom, our respect and our dignity as women and as human beings." I'm speaking of the compañeras... They also criticize us, the men, for our sexist or authoritarian attitudes. For example, in relationships between combatants, many things have changed, things that haven't changed in the civilian population. For example, in the civilian population, when a woman marries, she is no longer allowed to dance. She is married, and dances are places where single people meet and decide to get married. If she is married, then she doesn't dance because now she is somebody's "property." Amongst the civilians it is still this way. Amongst the combatants, no, the combatants dance whether they are married or single, and it is very common that the woman chooses her dancing partner. They dance just to dance, to have fun, without any other motive such as to sleep with someone or have a relationship.

The politics of gender in the EZLN, among the regular forces... There isn't a politic of gender, there are only combatants. There are women soldiers and there are men soldiers, but in the end they are soldiers. In order to rise to a command position, in order to rise in rank or to carry out actions and missions, we take into account the soldier's aptitudes; it doesn't matter whether they are male or female. Many times, in our daily life as combatants, in couple relationships, sexist attitudes are reproduced and because of this our laws tend to favor the woman. It is very common for couples to fight physically when they fight. Let's say that the difference between the women combatants and civilian women is that the women combatants hit back [laughter].

They defend themselves.

Yes, it's common that it's the man who comes to us complaining that his partner hit him. We have to be very cautious in this respect because both are armed, if it occurs to one of them to shoot the other... A blow is much different than a gunshot. For us—for me it's very clear, and I believe that it's clear to many compañeras as well—that equality isn't something that's conceded. You can't say, "I as a man am going to give you your freedom and now we are going to be equal." That's not true, of course. In the same way, the government can't concede us our rights as Indigenous peoples, we have to fight for them. The women are also fighting for them, many times in very radical ways. I believe that they've achieved many things inside the combat forces and inside the civilian population. For example, men who had never received orders from a woman, who couldn't stand it when women would give them orders in the mountains... When they saw them fighting, they saw that the compañeras knew how to fight. They look on them with respect now because they realized that the women knew how to fight and they didn't. They saw them facing death and they stopped being women. They stopped being women in the classic sense of the term, weak and unable to...

Women in the pejorative sense.

It could be also that you see a woman and you think that she's only there to sleep with. But when it changes to, "She's going to give me orders and I have to obey her," or, "I'm going to give her orders and she is going to obey me," in that moment you stop being a female combatant or a male combatant and you become a soldier, equals. I'm not saying that the women stop being women and become men, but that both women and men stop being what they are and become combatants. Since we are soldiers all the time—we aren't able to take vacations—it is very difficult to tell when one is acting in the role of combatant and when one is off-duty. I believe that this has brought more benefits to the compañeras than to the sexists, to us men, in the sense that this equality in combat, in work is transmitted to other aspects of life.

Do you accept the analysis that we live in a patriarchal society, that men have controlled society for centuries and that this is also part of the system that feeds Capital, that feeds the bourgeoisie?

Definitely!

We must rise above this and the sexist attitudes that we hold.



Children dressed as Zapatistas at the May Day march in Mexico City.

Definitely! There are compañeros who are very revolutionary politically, but who are real assholes in relationships, in marriages, in relationships between men and women. But, I believe that changes in this aren't going to be our concession—I'm speaking as a man. The women are going to change things whether we like it or not, despite our closed-mindedness. It is the same thing as we are doing with respect to the government. The government doesn't like the fact that the Indigenous peoples have risen up, but we did it. The sexists don't like the fact that the women are doing what they are doing, but they are going to do it and that's that. They have fought in combat, they even won. Some of them led successful missions, they won, they defeated men. They commanded entire units of men. The EZLN is composed of about two-thirds men and one-third women. It is very common to have military units where the only woman is the commander; the entire unit, all of her subordinates, are men. This caused many problems before January first.

And these problems were eliminated?

They finally saw that yes, that what was important wasn't that they were women but that they had learned during their years in the mountains to lead the same as any man.

We have seen this. We have met many women captains during our stay here in the liberated territories. We have met many female captains and this demonstrates the truth of what you are saying...

The male captains hide themselves [laughter]. No, that's not true.

Continuing along this same subject... We have seen that there is also a cultural difference, a difference in tradition. You said this also, at the beginning when you spoke of your links to the Indigenous communities. Many of the compañeras have told us that they aren't allowed to have sex until they are married, that there is a regulation that says that they must be married. If they like a man and they want to sleep with him, it's easier to marry him. We're not speaking of a religious marriage, but that you, the EZLN, expedite some form of marriage... But we feel this to be a little puritanical, as if to say, "You can't have sex because you are a woman and you have to be married."

No, no, it's that marriage for us means that you are a couple and you have permission. Let me explain. When you are going to have a sexual relationship... During the day you can't have sex, you're working. The most logical thing is that you are going to sleep with someone at night. You have to advise the commander that you are going to be having sex somewhere, because if you are attacked the commander has to look for you and... We tell the combatants, "You have to trust the commanders to tell them that you are sleeping with someone." Why? It doesn't matter to me, I'm not going to watch you, I'm not a voyeur. It isn't like that. What I'm interested in is that I have someone covering your position. If we are attacked, we can't have the entire defensive line having sex. Well, it could happen, but it shouldn't happen. We don't demand that they are married.

You mean a woman can have sexual relations freely?

Yes, what she is told is to follow a birth-control method. That's why she is told to let us know, so that she can follow a method. Because if you become pregnant... you can't stay in the mountains pregnant, you have to go to town, go get an abortion there. It has already happened; there are compañeras who abort on the long walks that... Then, the method has to be followed, you have to look after yourself. Only when the army says, "Now it's possible to have children and remain in the mountains or at some positions," only then will it cease to be an issue. But, yes, the nurses are asked to be checking for pregnancy.

They can have sexual relations freely?

In fact, they have sex and then they say, "Well, not this one." Or "Yes, this is the one I want to marry. Or maybe I don't want to marry this person, but I just want it to be clear that we are a couple." They say this to avoid gossip—like that he or she gets in bed with one person and then another, and so on.

That involves culture and tradition as well.

Yes, we are talking about Indigenous people who come from the villages...

Who hold different concepts than we who come from the cities.

But it is a rule is that you have to let the commanders know.

Now, when you were explaining this to us, something else came to mind, another question. You spoke of the possibility... well, of pregnant compañeras who risk abortion while engaging in maneuvers. In the Women's Revolutionary Law [one of the revolutionary laws promulgated by the EZLN in the liberated territories—translators] it is stated explicitly that a woman has full rights over her body and her life. But the media assumed that the EZLN is opposed to abortion. Thus, I would like to divide the question in several parts. The first question would be: What is the proposal of the Zapatistas in relation to the legalization of abortion? And the second question is: At this time, if a compañera becomes pregnant because her contraceptive method fails and she does not wish to carry the pregnancy to term, if she wants to interrupt it, does she have authority over her body in order to decide if she aborts or not? And the third question...

Wait, wait, let's start with the first question.

Well, yes, let's go question by question. The first one is: What does this law proposal consist of?

The EZLN demands that the state's penal code be modified because there is no political freedom. The government, taking advantage of the fact that we are tied up in talks and that we are surrounded, is taking the opportunity to reverse the decriminalization of abortion that existed in the Penal Code. They say that this is at the EZLN's request, but the EZLN did not request the modification of the Code in that respect. The stupidity of this article is

(Continued to page 14)

The Revolt Against Development

(Continued from page 8)

group four or five years ago. Andres Aubry, a French anthropologist who has lived in Chiapas for decades, said of the EZLN "unlike the guerillas in Guatemala, they are not seeking out bases of support among the peasants, but coming up from them. In that they are like Zapata himself."

Since its inception the EZLN has quite obviously taken on a more ambitious trajectory of its own. Jose Luis Moreno, a former militant in an urban guerilla group, the September 23 League, attributes part of the EZLN's success to its ability to build horizontal alliances with urban groups. Certainly the presence of obviously urban intellectuals, such as the much-hyped Subcommander Marcos, points to this.

CORRUPTION AND DESTRUCTION

Like the agraristas of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the EZLN has risen directly from the specific features of class conflict in rural Chiapas. In discussing these features it is impossible to get away from an explanation of the key role the Mexican State plays in this conflict. In rural México a two-layered system of political control exists. At the federal level you have the national government and the PRI. At the local level the corrupt political bosses hold power with a complex patronage system. Both of these levels rely on alternating between the velvet glove and the iron fist for social control. The velvet glove nearly always means costly (and conspicuous) development programs, while the iron fist covers a whole slew of repressive measures, spanning the fence from beatings, torture, withholding of social services and murder. The method usually corresponds tactically to the level of struggle put forward by the local working class.

The interplay between class struggle and government development programs has created massive environmental destruction in Chiapas, or more precisely the Selva Lacandona: the rainforest that used to cover most of the eastern part of the state. The story of the destruction of the Lacandona (an estimated 80% in the last 20 years) is very much tied into this crisis. Although this story really extends back all the way to the turn of the century mahogany-debt peonage-camps immortalized in fiction by B. Traven's *Rebellion of the Hanged*, the most dramatic and relevant phase lies in the last 20-30 years.

Responding to the pressures for land reform by peasants in southern México, the federal government began to look in the 1960's to the Lacandona as a panacea for its social control problem. Large-scale development schemes were dreamed up for the new "frontier." These included, along

with intensive logging and oil exploration, the resettlement of 150,000 landless peasants mainly drawn from Indigenous Mayan-speaking groups like the Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Chol, Sekema and Tojolabal.

What followed is a pattern that mirrors the destruction of the Amazon rainforest. The Lacandona's topsoil, like most tropical rainforest, is unsuited for long-term agriculture. After the new settlers had slashed and burned the forest on their ejidos they could hope to get only 2 or 3 good years out of the soil. A cycle followed in which the peasants were forced to clear and squat more and more of the Lacandona. Meanwhile the ranchers were busy buying up, swindling or coercing large tracts of cleared forestland from the settlers. Cattle overgrazing reduced the already-damaged forestlands into wasteland, while social tensions rose rapidly between the frustrated peasants and boss-dominated ranchers. As a result of this pattern only 275,000-325,000 hectares of an original 1.3 million hectares of forest were left intact.

The federal government's response to this rising level of conflict clearly demonstrated the old velvet glove/iron fist social-control method. Government development programs aimed to pacify the area by two methods. The first was to pull the semi-autonomous, Indigenous farmers closer into the wage-labor market by conducting large-scale infrastructure projects, such as mas-

sive hydroelectric dams, road construction, oil exploration, etc. The second was through old-fashioned, pork-barrel politics. Local political bosses meted out projects in accordance to the amount of political support or favors that were given to them.

In 1991 the Salinas government attempted to curb a wide-scale backlash against debt-crisis-fueled austerity programs by creating the \$9 billion Solidaridad program. Solidaridad predictably fell into the same pattern of development. As one Chiapas resident put it "we can't eat basketball courts."

The inability of development to curb peasant resistance has led to the government's increased reliance on the iron fist of repression. Human rights abuse has a long history in Chiapas. To cite one example in 1975 soldiers of the 46th Battalion attacked the Lacandona community of San Francisco, burned down their homes and drove them from the land (which was later given to several large landowners in the region). Since that time hundreds of cases of beatings, torture and murders have occurred at the hands of gunmen, police and soldiers.

Less dramatic but just as harsh has been the use of underdevelopment as a passive weapon. In many of the newly formed Lacandona communities, especially along the dirt roads, social services such as adequate medical care or running water have

never been developed as promised, or have been allowed to slowly deteriorate.

RESISTANCE BECOMES REVOLT

It is from these conditions that members of several local, autonomous groups, such as the Emiliano Zapata Independent National Peasant Alliance (ANCIEZ), decided to form the EZLN. This bottom-up evolution places the EZLN in an entirely different category from the usual focoist, external, vanguard strategy that dominates most Latin American armed groups. The EZLN shares far more with the Mexican agrarista tradition than it does with the Fidelistas. When the EZLN took San Cristóbal it opened up several stores and pharmacies to the people, producing, according to one eye witness, an LA-style festival of the oppressed. Government records were taken out and exposed to the people on the street, showing a very different attitude than the typical meet-the-new-boss style of successful guerilla groups. However, keep in mind this is not to say that the EZLN are perfect, little, anti-authoritarian angels. Importantly, they are an army in every sense of the word, including a hierarchical command structure and a certain degree of military ruthlessness. Also a very distinctive Marxist-Leninist element exists inside the EZLN. Whether these elements will lead them to become detached from the autonomous cycles of struggle inside the Lacandona is yet to be determined.★



Young Zapatista Soldier

BACK ISSUES OF LOVE AND RAGE

- Vol.5 #1: Mar/Apr. '94**
Feminism & Revolution
Section on Chiapas
- Vol.4 #5: November '93**
Food Not Bombs, Russia,
Intifada Interruptus
- Vol.4 #4: September '93**
@ Critique of Marxism,
March Against Cops/Klan
- Vol.4 #3: June/July '93**
Revolutionary Strategy,
Ohio Prison Revolt
- Vol.4 #1: Feb./Mar. '93**
Confronting Fascism
Somalia, México
- Vol.3 #7: Sept./Oct./Nov. '92**
Black Blocks Kill Columbus,
Anarchist Prisoner Support
- Vol.3 #6: July/Aug. '92**
Mumia Abu-Jamal, RAF
Class War book review

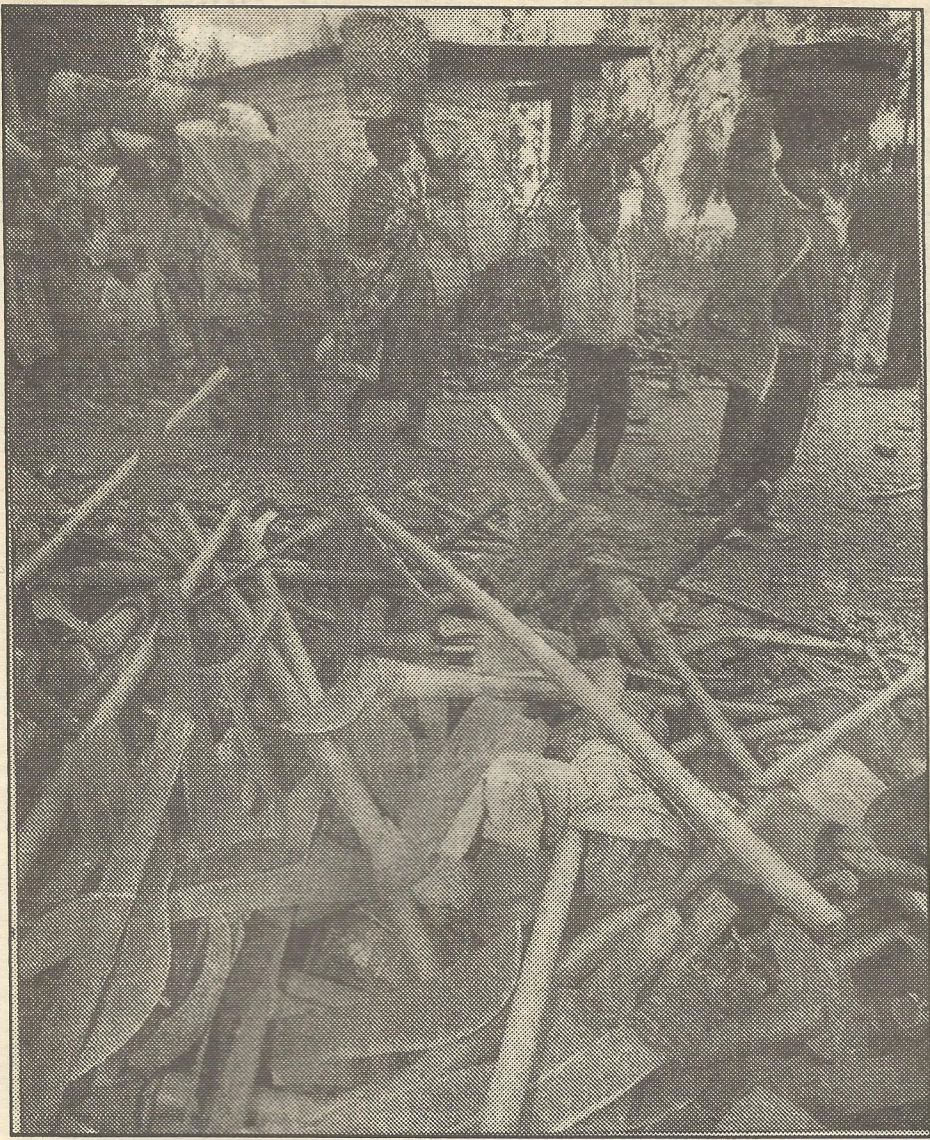
Each issue costs \$.50, but the minimum order is \$1. Write for other back issues.

VOL/ISSUE _____

QUANTITY _____

AMOUNT ENCLOSED _____

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



Rwandan refugees filing past weapons confiscated by Zaire's Army as they cross the border into Goma, Zaire.

Marcos Interview

(Continued from page 12)

based on the argument that this is a position of Samuel Ruiz García, that it evidences the influence of the church on the EZLN, and since the church is against abortion they want it to be penalized. Then, according to the argument, the church directed us to present this law proposal. We have not presented any law proposal or anything of the kind—nor an electoral reform proposal or anything like that either. The proposal says contextually: “We demand that the Penal Code of the state be eliminated.” We don’t say that it should be reformed or replaced by a more just one. We demand that it be removed because it leaves us no other form of political participation other than taking up arms. That’s what it says. I sent a letter to *La Jornada* because of that stupid article that was published.

Very insidious!

Yes. That answers the first question. Question two: The compañera not only has the right to terminate the pregnancy, but the organization also has the obligation to provide the means for her to do it with total safety.

Well, that was the third question, you already answered it.

If she says, “I have become pregnant”—it could even be that she became pregnant on purpose, not just that the birth-control method failed— “but I don’t want it anymore,” this is fine, as long as her life is not in danger; I mean, if a certain number of months have gone by it can’t be done. Then she can demand by the right of Zapatista law that the EZLN give her the means to terminate the pregnancy under the best health conditions that the EZLN can ensure. It is the obligation of the commanders that she is given these means. If the pregnancy can’t be stopped, aborted, then the commanders have to find the way to resolve the problem.

In this case, for free.

It is not in the strictest sense control over their bodies and the compañeras demonstrate this very clearly, “We are not free in this sense because, for example, I can’t become pregnant and continue to serve in the army. In this sense I am not free. I am free in that if I am pregnant I can stop the pregnancy, but if I am not pregnant I can’t decide to become pregnant, because if I become pregnant I have to leave the army.” And yes, we do tell them they have to leave the army, because of the conditions we face. That’s why the compañeras say, “There is no freedom over my own body.” In the case of the female combatants it is only half-freedom, the other free-

dom is lacking. Right now they can’t decide to carry a pregnancy to term and remain in the army. It is only fair to point this out, and the compañeras continue to fight for their right to become pregnant. The other side of the issue has already been resolved for many years and we deal with abortions with the means we have at our disposal. Until now no one has died during an abortion. In the communities abortion is practiced to the extent that our resources allow.

Then it exists also for the civilian population, for the women in the civilian community. There is that possibility in case she needs it, if she so wishes.

Yes. In general, they don’t seek it because of their beliefs; also for health reasons, since in their nutritional conditions an abortion can be deadly. Sometimes it is best to let the pregnancy be carried through, even if there is still time for an abortion. But we do facilitate the use of contraceptives and all that, for example.

The compañeras we met also had access to contraceptives. The question has been raised of whether there is the possibility for the organization of women’s groups within the army where women could organize as women of the army but also autonomously as women. By this we mean self-help collectives where they could gain and acquire more knowledge about their bodies, and could even get to the point... for example, in the case of abortions in the first weeks, there are methods that have been proposed by radical women’s groups, like abortion by menstrual extraction, one of the first methods for aborting early in the pregnancy. Is autonomy given in this sense or not?

No, I didn’t know about this method. The situation here is not so advanced. The most we managed to achieve some time ago—when I was captain—many years ago, was to have sex-education classes, explaining the man’s body, the woman’s body, what was the mechanism of pregnancy, what things were going on in their bodies. This was received with much enthusiasm from the men, and much embarrassment from the women. The men came to see how a woman’s body was. For example—look, this town has a power plant project that breaks down all the time, but when it works... some months ago it worked for few days. One of the compañeros told us, very enthusiastically, that at last he had “seen” his wife. He said, “I finally saw all of her.” And they have ten kids. He had ten kids and he didn’t know his wife’s body. He didn’t know his wife’s body! Until there was electric light and they thought of making love with the light on, and then yes, he could see everything that was going on. And he talked about it as if it had been his first time. He already had ten children, one of them fully grown, already an insurgent [combatant

Rwanda

(Continued from page 2)

Council to publicly inform responsible individuals within the Rwanda Army and militia that the international community will take steps to suppress and punish this horrendous crime.”

Human Rights Watch Africa expert Rakiya Omaar was sacked from the organization last year after her dissent against the military intervention in Somalia.

At a recent briefing for US senators on the Rwanda conflict, UN Undersecretary-General for Peacekeeping Kofi Annan stressed the “extremely important” role the US had to play. Despite the White House’s reluctance to commit combat troops, Annan argued that the US could send unarmed military observers to Rwanda, whose only weapon would be “moral authority” Annan told the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa, “The US is a magnet. When you participate, others will come, as we saw in Somalia.”

As the fighting escalated, the UN scaled its Rwanda force down to under 3000. Boutros Ghali is currently scheming for a politically expedient way to build the force back up again.

US ambivalence about diving into Rwanda is more than mere post-Vietnam quagmirephobia. While Latin America and much of Asia fell squarely under US hegemony in the Cold War order, the African continent remained more a domain of European, and especially French neo-colonialism. Even in those African nations where anti-Communist dogma necessitated US intervention in the Cold War years, such as Angola and Zaire, the intervention was affected through CIA manipulation of surrogate forces, rather than direct US troop dispatchments. And the CIA was merely one among many intervening forces—along with troops, mercenaries or intelligence operations from France, Belgium, South Africa, Israel, and East Bloc nations. France especially maintains a neo-colonial relationship with the African Francophone states, most notably Chad, Zaire, Côte d’Ivoire, the Central African Republic, Rwanda and Burundi. US intervention against the Rwandan genocide regime would therefore pose a dangerous element of US-European rivalry to the nascent New World Order ostensibly based on seamless UN/IMF/GATT hegemony.

in the EZLN—translators], an 18 year-old, a member of a combat unit.

We organized these classes in order to combat the diseases that afflict the women, so that they understand the necessity of hygiene. It is a problem for them; the men don’t take it into account. They think that when a compañera has a urinary-tract infection, from lack of cleanliness for example—or if she has her period—that she is just lazy, that she doesn’t want to work. We need to sensitize the men to this so that they understand that a woman’s body is not like a man’s, in many senses. And that’s why we organized these classes. We try in the talks and lectures to address these issues.

Now, relating the answers with other questions... One of the questions that we were asked to ask by compañeros Mateo and Robin is what is the EZLN’s policy, in the army and in the liberated communities, toward sexual preference, in this specific case, homosexuality and lesbianism. Is the EZLN given to the “satanization” of homosexuality that has sometimes been found in other leftist groups? Or is it simply unknown what you are talking about when you attempt to address these issues?

No, let’s say that at a level of, well, of basic culture, it is not punished. I mean, they don’t say, “He’s a homosexual, put him in jail, kill him.” On one hand, they laugh, make jokes, but homosexuals have a normal life in the community. Our position as an army is that—let me put it to you in a general way—there are many minorities that will have to say, “Enough is enough!” Just as the Indigenous people said, “Enough is enough!”, other minorities not tolerated by the powerful will have to say it also. In that sense, then, there is no sexual policy in the Zapatista Army.

That is, there is no law—in the communities either—that forbids lesbianism or homosexuality.

No, there is nothing like that. They go ask the commanders, the same as when it is a male-female couple. That means, they let us know they are not going to be at their posts, because that is what the commanders are concerned about, that their position is covered.★

Moreover, due to severe underdevelopment of basic infrastructure such as roads and communications, it may simply not be cost-effective for the global managers to exploit the continent’s vast resources, especially with trade barriers going down in Latin America and new resources becoming available for exploitation in “liberated” Eastern Europe. While the African nations’ foreign debt is crippling for their small economies, it does not begin to approach the massive debts of Latin America and Asia. This is because the World Bank and IMF have long considered most sub-Saharan African nations to be “basket cases” unworthy of substantial loans. Sub-Saharan Africa may simply be written off as a poor investment.

The question, unfortunately, seems to be whether Black African nations will be left to suffer in the mess that colonialism has made of their land and societies, or be re-colonized. Now that the situation in Rwanda has reached actual genocide, it is comparatively easy for the media to pose the question purely in terms of military intervention. Rarely do we hear calls for measures which would address the roots of the crisis: debt cancellation, economic reparations for former colonies, asylum for refugees and war resisters, and a halt to the international arms trade.★

UPDATE: Since Bill Weinberg wrote this article, there have been a number of developments in Rwanda. France sent troops, ostensibly to maintain ‘safety zones.’ The RPF succeeded in capturing Kigali and have set up a provisional government composed of both Tutsis and Hutus. The policies of the government are extremely unclear. The only indication is their recent statement that they will not be able to hold elections for about five years. Currently, a million people, mainly Hutu, are in refugee camps in Zaire, where they have been struck by epidemics of cholera and meningitis. Western countries are airlifting a small amount of food, and the US has already sent several thousand troops as part of an international force. At press time, President Clinton was considering sending a much larger force to Rwanda. The only effort made by the international community has been to recently airlift relief food, or to send more troops, now that 2000 people a day are dying in the refugee camp. Somalia revisited? How many more will there be?

Love and Rage Political Glossary

Agrarismo--The term for traditional, agrarian resistance by peasants against ruling class hegemony in México. Agraristas are participants in this tradition.

CLETA--A Marxist-Leninist cultural group in México, known for its sectarian practices. CLETA has been raising funds supposedly for the EZLN, though the Zapatistas have never seen any of this money.

Magonismo--The Flores Magón brothers were Mexican anarchists who fought for libertarian socialism in the United States and México. Magonismo refers to their brand of anarchism. Adherents of Magonismo are Magonistas.

PROCUP--A small, sectarian Maoist guerilla group in México, claiming to be the vanguard of the EZLN and everyone else. Has bombed civilians ‘in support of the EZLN.’ The EZLN has denounced these bombings. Started as a rural group in the 1960’s, almost all of their activity today is urban.

Structural Readjustment Programs--The austerity programs forced on many Third World countries by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in order to keep wealth flowing from the poor Southern countries to rich Northern countries. These programs cause misery for the vast majority of people in the countries where they are imposed, as the wealth produced by the masses is stolen from them, leaving the majority of people in poverty.



Mural in California

IN SEARCH OF...ANARCHY?

Dear Sir or Madam,

Our names are, for better or for worse, Anna Pomegranate and Siobhan McGrath, and we are students at the Johnston Center, University of Redlands, in Southern California.

Here at the Johnston Center we devise our own B.A. degrees and are able to create classes in whatever tickles our fancy. Take, for example, the class we are doing work for right now, as we type, a class we designed ourselves called "Anarchy: Theory and Practice."

As it's five weeks until the end of the semester, we've finished the "theory" part and now we're anxious to get onto the "practice" part. Our interest in anarchist praxis is twofold; a) for our final project, we've contracted to concoct a plan for revolution, and we would like discussion with other people concerned about social change to help clarify, criticize or add to our ideas, and; b) we might want to actually donate time to an organization, or magazine or intentional community when we graduate (Anna this May, and Siobhan next May), so we need contacts.

This is not just a detached academic interest, and we are not intellect-o-fucks. To generalize about the both of us, we felt that this Emma Goldman quote summed up both of our attitudes: "If I can't dance, you can keep your revolution."

We are sending these letters in hopes that any staff member of your esteemed publication will respond, and also that you print this letter in the publication itself along with our addresses, so that we may get as diverse a response as possible. Here are the things we are thinking about:

1) To a certain extent, we can all agree on the anarchist vision: freedom, community, fulfillment, good sex, etc. The big question is how do we get there?

2) Does violence, even carefully planned, intelligent violence (such as targeting big business for economic sabotage and giving adequate warning times for bombs planted such as the IRA would be, ideally, or the Weather Underground might have been ideally) necessarily contradict the anarchist vision to such a degree that it poisons the vision beyond recognition?

3) Propaganda by the deed? Does shooting labor leaders help convert the working class to anarchism? Does an intentional anarchist community have any effect at all on its neighbors' political views?

4) What is with all these more revolutionary-than-thou penis games? Purging the party means there are less people that think even remotely the same on certain issues. Can't we work in coalition on things that we agree on without getting into superior attitudes? We're doing it right now by typing this. What is it about any revolutionary thought process that produces this desire to delineate and alienate?

So, there are some of the things we're interested in talking about. Write about one of them, write about all of them, or write about none of them, but PLEASE WRITE!!!!!!!

Love and cool whip,
Siobhan McGrath
Anna Pomegranate
c/o Box 1264
Hailey, ID 83333
Smash the Government

THANX AND SMASH THE STATE

Love and Rage,
Thanx for the "sample" ish. Excellent

articles, both unbiased and diverse. Once those involved with the anarchist movement put aside their trivial differences and realize that to start a revolution, all oppressed races, creeds, colors, social levels and sexualities must combine their intelligence and resources into a collective resistance against the government, we can attempt to achieve true "freedom." Encourage anarchists to be militant! Let's smash oppression and destroy the society that thrives on it!

An individual,
Ajax Treadway
Through the Walls

GREETINGS FROM TEXAS

Yo! Love and Rage!!

Greetings brothers and sisters in resistance! My name is Kevin Zettner. I'm a 20-year-old male who is incarcerated in the de-humanizing confines of the Texas Dept. of Criminal Justice (what a crock of shit).

I'm in this heap for a burglary of a store. My ex-boss just somewhat pissed me off by trying to dick me and my co-worker/fall-partner outta our checks... Well, fool on him. I've been locked up since July of '91!

I've always been into the anarcho-punk scene since I grew up a number of years in London, England. I live mainly in Los Angeles, but now and then I stayed in Austin, TX (where I fell). In fact, in the latter of the two, some friends of mine in high school and I rallied a small movement against the Persian Gulf War. Nothing news-breaking, but it pissed off the majority right-wing residents. We had walked out of school on that Jan. 15 deadline ol' Bush had implemented. It resulted in 95% of the senior and junior classes doing this. What was so fuckin' cool was that the whole school threatened to walk out if those of us who already had got any repercussions! Dig that!!

Other than that, I've been part of a few other movements... Peace is anarchy in my eyes. Anarchy is the freedom to choose for yourself—no holds barred. That's peace of mind. Hey (!) If ya know someone who'd like to write, be my guest. I'm always intrigued by diverse individuals. Well, thanks for giving free subscript's to your 'zine. I think it's righteous as hell! I'm gonna close for now. Stay strong in the fight for autonomy!

In love and rage,
Zettner
p.s. My address:
Kevin S. Zettner
#609309 (12-CD-53)
c/o 12002 FM 350 So.
Livingston, TX 77351

CALL IT ANARCHY

Love and Rage,

Hello. Well I was going through some bills, and I saw that we still owed you for the special Mexican uprising issue. Enclosed is the seven dollars that we owe. Thank you for sending those to us.

How is everyone? The last issue was great. I really liked the "Ain't No Revolution Without Children," "Machismo in México," "Anarcha-Feminism and Separatism in Chicago" articles. The section on Chiapas, Mexican anarchism, and the Zapatistas wins you all the circle A award for journalism. The newspaper just keeps getting better. It is so important to the anarchist movement that we have newspapers that not only introduce new people to anarchist ideas, but also strengthen the ideas of anarchists. The articles in *Love and Rage* continue to offer this.

The power structure is so very complex, and just listening to our favorite political bands ain't gonna keep us informed. I'm very much aware of the punk ghetto that everyone wants to break out of. I just went to a punk benefit show a couple of weeks back, and I hardly felt like I was amongst comrades. It just made me think about how vital information is to our young movement, and papers like *L&R*, *Free Society*, *Bayou La Rose*, and now *The Blast!* are so incredibly important. I know that you are all very aware of this, but I just wanted to send some positive words of encouragement, and let you know that your work is appreciated.

Several of us from the U.A.F. (United Anarchist Front) went to a L&R office meeting several weeks ago. Myself and Nilou, who are still here in Whittier, went with Matt and April, who are already in San Francisco. The meeting was productive, and we felt good about doing work with the office. Matt, April, and some of the others have been trying to attend the meetings, and once Nilou and I get up there we hope to start attending as well.

To be honest, I was starting to worry about the Federation. Having read the last discussion bulletin, right before the council meeting, I was unsure of what Chris Day had written, in regards to wanting to get away from anarchy by dropping it in the name and perhaps mentioning it as part of our politics. I was happy to hear from Matt Miscreant that this was not supported at the council meeting. I completely understand the desire to break out of the punk ghetto, but doing this doesn't require us to drop anarchism because it carries a bad stigma, it requires us to challenge the ways we have been organizing. I also understand the frustration regarding anarchists with *Fifth Estate* and *Anarchy*, but they aren't the entire anarchist movement.

It seems to me that the people who are usually the loudest about being anarchists are those who don't even really understand it (drunk punks as a prime example), or people who don't understand it at all. At my school there was a letter written to the gay and lesbian student union that read, "die you fuckin' faggots" and the "a" was circled, of course this was put into the school newspaper—in a newsheet, called *Molotov Cocktail*, that a couple of us at school do, we explained the truths about anarchism and queer liberation, but I'm sure there are people who assumed anarchists probably hate queer people (after all, they want to destroy society). Now the point that I am getting at is this, the people who understand anarchism frequently call themselves social libertarians, social ecologists, anti-authoritarians, autonomists, radicals, anti-statist communists, etc. The people who understand what anarchism is all about need to call themselves anarchists so we can finally remove the stigma. I've enclosed one of Kropotkin's writings, *On Order*, that discusses this whole issue.

I apologize if this has become a dead issue with everyone out there, but I wanted to get some ideas out of my head. I also apologize for not writing to you about this much sooner.

I look forward to the next issue of the paper. Thank you.

LETTERS

In solidarity,
Chris Crass

PORNOGRAPHY DEBATE REOPENS

Dear Love and Rage,

Thanks for printing my article in Volume 5 #2. I'd like to respond to the article by Kiwi in Volume 5 #1 called "A Taste of Latex." I was shocked to read that pornography which has been objected to as violent and degrading to women should be sold, considering the bookstore's policies against carrying sexist, racist, homophobic, etc. material. Kiwi has tried to take gender out of the argument by not identifying his/her gender and by saying "some people" object instead of "women object." I feel fairly confident that women are probably in the forefront of the objecting process.

I am also concerned with Kiwi's belief that violence is not violence if it is desired or requested. As anarchists we are trying to build a society in which no one has power over anyone else. Our society is based on power inequities in which the powerful exploit and abuse the powerless. It is impossible for these dynamics not to become part of our personalities and our sexuality. I include not only S&M but "normal" heterosexual relationships in which men coerce, abuse, or disrespect women. Or any relationships in which power is part of sex. Although we can't help being influenced by the world around us, we can make an effort to rid ourselves of the behaviors and thought-patterns of coercion and manipulation. We owe it to ourselves and other anarchists, because without equality of power, what we are building will just turn into communism or capitalism or some other governmental nightmare of coercion.

The women's movement has a saying: the personal is political. People who are willing to work on their behavior and actions in their public relationships also need to work on their attitudes about sex. I feel that certain things are inherently coercive, even if someone wants them. Tying someone up is a symbol of having power over the person. If someone asks me to tie them up, I won't do it. Their attitudes are their own problems; I need to consider my own integrity. I would not feel comfortable tying someone up or hitting them, spanking them, or doing anything that is symbolic of a power struggle. That's how I feel, as a person and as an anarchist.

I realize that people may feel that this is an issue of personal freedom, and that anarchism guarantees or should guarantee that freedom. Certainly if no one feels that they are being hurt, there is no reason to be judgemental. But in this case it sounds like people do feel hurt by the presence of the magazine in question. Therefore I feel that in this case, the right thing to do is not to carry that kind of material. People can go elsewhere for pornography and S&M stuff. An anarchist bookstore does not need to carry that kind of thing.

Sincerely,
Morgan Firestar
Lunatic Fringe Zine