

# LOVE AND RAGE

a revolutionary anarchist newsmagazine \$1

Vol. 1 No. 4

sección en español

July 1990

## QUEER AND PROUD!

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# Letters

## Sunshine Sheds Light

Dear Love and Rage,

I am sorry for any confusion surrounding my statements about the women's movement in the East Bay. Of course, it was pure sloppiness on my part that the article gave the impression that I thought our women's group was the first of its kind in the East Bay. On the contrary, what I had in mind was something much more specific and personal, which was that as an anarchist and a woman activist, my experience with the "militant" anarchist scene in the East Bay when I first arrived was that it was male-dominated, and that the women within it sorely needed to organize ourselves.

It is interesting that you mention the Women's Liberation Front (WLF) because the present women's group is in some partial way a resurrection of the original spirit of the now defunct WLF, which was started in the wake of the anti-apartheid movement in the mid-eighties as a way of dealing with the sexism within the movement then. Much of our talk in the present women's group attempts to address the reasons that WLF disbanded and the ways in which these problems could be avoided in the future.

Many women in the group were involved with the WLF. It is also interesting that you mention Women Against Imperialism (WAI), because

the women's group has coordinated some actions and events with them. One of our regular participants is also a member of WAI. Actually, WAI was the first and only women's group which sought out myself and my women comrades when we first moved into this area. We have been working alongside them ever since, but none of us has attempted to join. On my part, this is because ultimately I am uncomfortable with their hard line Marxist-Leninist approach, as well as the structure of their organization — a tightly-organized, elite affinity group, closed to outsiders.

Lastly, I would like to apologize to anyone who construed my article to indicate that I was unaware of the fine work of the Women's Health Movement of the Bay Area. As I described in my article in great detail, we have been inspired by longstanding Women's Health Movement activists in the area. We, as beginning self-helpers, are indebted to our more experienced sisters for

working with us to create a new wave of Women's Health Activism. I hope this letter clears up any misconceptions my article may have presented.

Sunshine Smith  
Berkeley, CA

## Left-Handed Criticism

Dear Love and Rage,

The letter by Richard S. Mote, "Goodbye ISO," published in the May issue of Love and Rage attempts, however feebly, to categorize me as a racist of some variety. He derides my alleged "lack of sensitivity... concerning racism" which he apparently feels is a feature of my elsewhere published critique of the Love and Rage founding conference.

In reality the only reference to the subject of racism to be found in my critique is my denunciation of the Love and Rage Political Statement:

"There are a grand total of about four sentences which mention the state, capitalism and the need for workers struggle as a class. However there are lengthy statements about racism, sexism and imperialism including references to the "special" oppression of African-Americans and the "unique" oppression of youth. How the oppression of African-Americans and youth is any

more special or unique than the oppression of women, gays and lesbians, old people, the physically challenged, left-handed people, etc. completely escapes me. It would seem that if we say that we as anarchists oppose all oppression it would follow that we oppose racism, sexism, ageism, etc."

Perhaps comrade Mote believes that opposition to the state and capitalism are only minor issues which should be pushed to the background of the anarchist movement. Perhaps he feels that the struggle against racism is inherently more important than the struggle against sexism, homophobia and other forms of oppression. Per-



## redwood summer

# ACTIVISTS NEEDED TO DEFEND THE REDWOODS!

IT'S GOING TO BE A LONG HARD summer in the Redwood region of Northern California. Many people are outraged over the timber companies' policy of exterminating the redwoods for short-term profit, and the corporados know they're not going to get away with this for much longer.

Two voter initiatives restricting timber cutting will be on the California ballot in November and, whether in the form of voter initiatives or state and federal legislation, it seems inevitable that some regulations will be passed. The timber companies have reacted to this by racing to cut every tree they can as fast as they can before any laws can be enacted to stop them.

95% of the redwood ecosystem has already been cut, and much of it has been destroyed so that it is no longer even forest land. This summer everything from 1000-year old giants, 12 feet in diameter, to baby redwood trees that are chipped for the pulp mills will be falling at breakneck speed.

If we want to have anything left to save, we have to slow the timber companies down now. And it doesn't seem like we, in these rural, timber-dependent areas, can do it ourselves. Back in the early '60's, the Civil Rights movement found themselves in a similar situation in Mississippi; unable to break the stranglehold of the powers-that-be in their communities, but backed by substantial public support both locally and nationally. What they did was to put out a nationwide call for people

to come ride the buses to Mississippi and help challenge the rule of racism. We need to do the same thing now to save the forest. We are putting out a call for Freedom Riders for the forest to come to Northern California this

summer and defend the redwoods. We hope to maintain permanent encampments and waves of actions all summer long.

Due to the volatile situation we have decided upon a tactical non-vi-

olence for the campaign. Loggers, who often perceive us as a threat, sometimes react violently. We are trying to build alliances with them, and don't wish to engage them with violence. We want to keep the focus on corporations like Maxxam. We also need to insure the safety of the many people coming up for the campaign.

Locally we will provide housing, campsites, guides and support to help plan and carry out the action, and non-violence training for demonstrators. Affinity groups, organizations and individuals are all welcome and needed. The redwoods are almost gone. Help us make a last stand for the stands.

If you want to work with Redwood Summer, contact:

Mendocino Environmental Center  
106 W. Standley  
Ukiah, CA 95482  
tel.: (707) 468-1660

or  
Earth First!  
Box 411233  
San Francisco, CA 94141  
tel.: (415) 824-3841

The Industrial Workers of the World are sending organizers to Northern California to continue building the alliances between environmentalists and lumber workers that are essential to defending the last old-growth Redwoods. They are raising money for four organizers. Send contributions to:

IWW  
3435 N. Sheffield #202,  
Chicago, IL, 60657





haps he thinks my opposition to RSL's (Some former members of the defunct Revolutionary Socialist League are supporters of *Love and Rage*—eds.) previous endorsement of a black nationalist state in the southern portion of the United States is enough to write me off as a closet Klansman, or something similar. The fact is that I have been an active anti-racist for quite some time. I have participated in numerous anti-apartheid activities of all kind. I have spoken to student groups concerning the dangers of the growing racist, fascist movements in the U.S. and Europe. When former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke was elected to the Louisiana state legislature last year, I wrote an article for a local magazine exposing Duke for the racist, Nazi scumbag that he is. More recently, I conducted a presentation at a local high school on the evils of racism and white supremacy in the U.S. It is only because of my criticism of the attempts by *Love and Rage* to inject an incoherent leftoid/Trot political line into the anarchist movement that comrade Mote attacks the sincerity of my commitment to fighting racism at every turn. But what else could one expect from someone who says that murderous, traitorous sociopaths like Lenin and Trotsky "made invaluable contributions to the struggle against capitalism."

For genuine anarchism,  
Keith Preston  
Richmond, VA

#### An Insurrectional Movement

Dear *Love and Rage*,

The petty and extremely limited "discussion" over the monthly anar-

chist paper *Love and Rage* has reached a point where we feel compelled to react and express our position. If the goal of those opposed to this project is to isolate and nullify the paper, *before it has even been published*, then the complacency of the anarchist movement seems to show that this goal has been reached. Against this, we'd like to state our solidarity and support for this paper here and now. The levels of absurdity reached in the form of accusations, assumptions and value judgments reflect perfectly the shallowness of the North American anarchist movement in general. We have never been ones to refrain from criticizing problems within the movement and it is clear that there are distinctions and differences which run so deep as to create diverging tendencies. In this way, we position ourselves clearly with those who have undertaken to produce a paper that is explicitly revolutionary, against capital and the state, against imperialism, against sexism, racism and homophobia and which concretely contributes to the development of an insurrectional movement and consciousness.

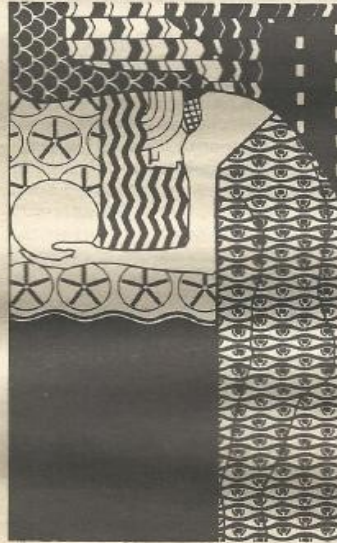
The question of the organization of the paper could have been a starting point for a discussion which presented, in a practical way, questions about anarchist organization and structure, specifically around propaganda. But the path it has taken, using slander, accusation and pettiness, clearly shows it is not discussion that is sought, but rather disruption.

A main ingredient in the "organizational" problem appears to be that the initiators of this pro-

ject attempted to build a strong level of support for the paper before it was published and in this way brought in a diverse group of people who lacked any basis in unity and who would be antagonistic.

Besides sending a verbal expression of our solidarity, we also send a practical one, a monetary donation, and urge others to do likewise.

[venceremos!  
Comrades at *Endless Struggle*



#### Call Me Sedate

Dear *Love and Rage*,

This letter concerns the appearance of the first three issues and how this affects readership and accessibility. It seems the intention of the layout staff is to produce an aesthetically interesting paper with graphics being equally as important

as the text. Fair enough.

The chosen graphics set a tone, however, of violence and urgency which exists sporadically at most throughout the world. The people of London and South Korea are rioting at the moment, but would issues dedicated to nothing but pictures of beaten police inspire average people into questioning their roles in the system? In just a few pages on issue #3 the words "bum," "revolt," "tear," "fight," and "attack" appear in bold type headlines.

Call me sedate, but I don't live in a street-fight situation every day and neither do the majority of people on the North American continent. The text of *Love and Rage* brings many good ideas and commentary to people who may not hear such elsewhere, but I suggest the graphics and overall tone of the paper will put an equal amount of people off to the point where they will not even glance our way.

People wearing black stocking caps and leather do not inspire me to think the way I do, it strikes my eye as mindless fashion and European aesthetic. Punk rock is dead. *Love and Rage* looks and sounds like a cross between *Class War* and *Maximum Rock 'n' Roll*. Surely we can produce a paper which comes across to a broader audience than those influences (read white middle class kids) will allow.

My work has halted my contribution of material to the effort until recently. This situation has changed. I would like to think something I would send would not look severely out of place in *Love and Rage*.

Art Decco  
Raleigh, NC

### redwood summer

# Earth First! Activists Bombed and Blamed

BY TOMMY KELLY

ON MAY 25, AT 11:50AM, TWO members of the radical environmentalist group Earth First! were seriously injured when a powerful bomb exploded in their car as they were driving on Park Ave. in East Oakland. The victims of the bombing, Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney, are two key organizers for "Redwood Summer," a series of non-violent direct-actions geared to halt clear-cutting in California Redwood forests this summer.

Judi and Darryl have received many death threats in recent months from groups or individuals who threatened to harm them if they continued their work defending the wilderness from logging corpora-



tions. The bomb blast demolished Judi's car, sending debris flying as far as 1 block away. Judi suffered serious injuries, including a fractured pelvis and internal ruptures. She may be hospitalized for up to 8 weeks. Darryl suffered a fractured wrist and eye injuries. They were clearly targeted by a bomber who intended to kill them. Judi is still in the custody of the Oakland Police Dept. and FBI, with the ludicrous charge of possessing and transporting explosive

materials.

Hours after the bombing, the FBI and the OPD raided the homes and offices of several local environmental activists, temporarily detaining and interrogating many of them. On May 29, Darryl Cherney was released on \$100,000 bail. On May 30, the *Santa Rosa Press Democrat* (a local newspaper in Darryl and Judi's community) received a letter signed by "The Lord's Avenger" claiming responsibility for the bombing. No informa-

tion is available about this individual.

For more information, contact:  
Mendocino Environmental Center  
106 W. Standley  
Ukiah, CA. 95482  
Phone (707) 468-1660

To help cover legal and medical costs, send checks to:

Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney  
Emergency Assistance Trust Fund  
Savings Bank of Mendocino County  
200 State St.  
Ukiah, CA 95482



# BI WOMEN, LESBIAN IDENTITY, AND SEXUAL LIBERATION



BY GRETA CHRISTINA

OVER THE LAST SEVERAL years, the lesbian community has expanded its boundaries and definitions dramatically. Remember how it used to be? You weren't a "real" lesbian if you: used dildos, slept around, wore heels and make-up, did S/M, dug Miami Vice, weren't in a long-term relationship and didn't want to be, liked porn, fucked strangers, or thought Mick Jagger was cool and Holly Near was a geek. Along with our great increases in self-acceptance (and the somewhat meager increases in acceptance by straight society) has come greater flexibility, a rejoicing in diversity that wasn't around 15 years ago.

But lines continue to be drawn, and walls built on those lines. Suburban lesbians with kids and dogs and pastel sweaters and station wagons are considered highly suspicious, not really "committed to the community." Any divergence from the political party line is seen as treason at best and latent heterosexuality at worst. Some of the old taboos are still being battled over; read the letters to *On Our Backs* that bitch about how hetero it is to show women who like to get fucked. And even though we're beginning to accept masculinity enough to deal with butches and dildos, the line is still drawn firmly and solidly at bisexuality. "They're not really one of us." Why is that?

The issue of identity, labels, definitions, is crucial to most individuals and cultures, and perhaps even more crucial for countercultures. Figuring out who we are is largely a process of elimination: we often find out who we are by finding out who we aren't. Many lesbians and gays first figure out their preference when they realize that they're "not like everyone else." And the gay and lesbian community is at least partly defined by exclusion—we are the ones who are not straight. There comes a point,



though, when the label that frees us from one box can propel us into another. If the line between two worlds, stepped over with so much fear and anticipation, becomes a prison, jealously guarded against all intrusion and contamination and doubt, then its usefulness must be questioned.

So maybe a better question is, not why draw the line at bisexuality, but why draw the line at all?

The very existence of bisexuality is, on some level, extremely threatening to gay identity. To acknowledge bisexuality means to accept blurring some definitions, questioning some labels. When you ask "What is a bisexual?" and start exploring the wide range of possible answers, it automatically begs the question, "What is a lesbian?"

Look at it. For me, being bi means I mostly like to fuck women, and I also like to fuck men. For Joan, it means that she's attracted to both men and women, regardless of who she is or isn't humping. For Sandra, it means that she only gets serious about women, but is willing to fuck men for fun as well. Marta, who's been monogamously married to a man for some time, says she's bi because she's been involved with women in the past and is still attracted to them.



Rachel, on the other hand, is sexual almost entirely with women, but occasionally likes to tie men up and dominate them—she also calls herself bi. The key factor can be who you're attracted to, who you're willing to sleep with, who you're actually screwing, who you fall in love with. And the key factor is different for each woman. It's very hard to pin down.

It's also hard to pin down what it means to be a lesbian. Is a lesbian a woman who only fucks other women? That would include bi women who are monogamously involved with other women. A woman who doesn't fuck men? That would include celibate straight women. A woman who would never get seriously involved with men? Rules out lesbians who've been married in the past. A woman who never has sexual thoughts about men. That excludes dykes who are into heavy and complex gender play, who get off on gay men's porn, or who are maybe just curious. Do you have to be 100% directed at women and away from men in thought, feeling, word and deed from birth to death to qualify as a "real" lesbian? That would rule out

all but about two women on the planet. I hope they can find each other.

Therefore, if you accept bisexuality as a real and valid sexual option, defining lesbian identity becomes an exercise in ambiguity and imprecision rather than clarity and coherence. Since the lesbian struggle for identity is already a formidable one in a world that defines women as asexual and homosexuals as evil, any additional complications may seem intolerable. Bisexuality is therefore commonly cast out, dismissed as either wicked or non-existent.

This may be where some of the myths about bisexuals, who we are and what we do come from. To name just a few: All bisexuals like sex with either gender equally. We're not willing to ever do without sex with both genders, and are therefore promiscuous by nature and unable to be monogamous. We're bisexual because we're so uncontrollably sex-crazed that we don't care who we fuck. Being open to sex and/or love with men makes us unable to be seriously committed to the lesbian community. When the going gets tough, we can always conceal our gay side and hide out in straight society. Like psychic vampires, we suck energy out of



the women's community and pour it into the world of men. We contaminate the women's community with the energy we get from our contact with men. We're really lesbians in our hearts, but are too cowardly to renounce the straight world and come out as gay. We're really just kinky straight women, fooling with girls for weird kicks until Mr. Right comes along. We relate to men as heterosexuals and to women as lesbians; we're confused, fence-sitting, split personalities. We're in transition from our false identity as straight to our true identity as lesbian.

I don't intend to go through these misconceptions one by one and explain why they're mistaken. I would simply like to point out that they all serve the same functions: to marginalize the bisexual identity as either illusory (transitional gay or kinky straight) or as a character flaw (promiscuous, uncommitted, cowardly, confused). They put bisexuality in a place where it isn't taken seriously, and thus doesn't threaten the purity of lesbian identity.

The idea of purity is a pervasive one in the community, and, I believe, an insidious one. The notion is that, because we're all queer, we must be essentially the same at heart with no fundamental differences, no real di-

versity or vagueness of definition. This conformist ideal makes our politics and controversy particularly divisive and vicious. It may be why we tend to polarize ourselves into extreme lifestyle choices. Think of all the clean and sober dykes who only see other clean and sober dykes, crystal healers who only date other crystal healers, leather dykes who only socialize with other leather dykes.

If we feel that there's only one right way to be queer, then seeing someone who does it differently forces us to either condemn them as a traitor or perceive ourselves as failures. Perhaps this is the source of a common complaint against bisexuality: "my girlfriend left me for a man." It seems to be an odd grievance at first: why should it be significantly different or worse than to be left for another woman? The personal rejection may not be much different. But if someone you care for decides that she likes men as well, it calls into question the purity of lesbian identity. Being left for another woman is an unpleasant personal rejection, but being left for a man can feel like a rejection of lesbianism itself.

The idea of purity keeps the community identity strong and simple and unchanging. The idea of maturity does the same for the individual, and is a powerful defense against the spectre of loosely defined identity. The notion is this: you have one basic core identity, embedded in a morass of education and peer pressure and bad upbringing. Any changes you go through in life are simply a process of uncovering that true nature and bring it to fruition. One's inner nature doesn't change, it just goes through greater or lesser degrees of being realized. Things you did and thought ten years ago you now chalk up to youthful inexperience.

This idea is especially powerful with respect to sexual identity. We all "know" supposedly, that sexual identity is formed very young and remains fixed from then on; and that coming out is a process of discovering and accepting your essential gayness and revealing it to the world. This is where the idea of bisexuality as a transitional state seems to come



from; although the idea that, for some people, homosexuality is a transitional state in coming out as bi isn't looked at very often. It's very disconcerting.

There's another idea, though, (Continued on page 6)





BY BRU DYE

**"F**AGGOT WISDOM: THERE IS more to be learned from wearing a dress for a day, than there is from wearing a suit for a lifetime."

Larry Mitchell

In communal faerie fashion, after dinner those who didn't help the kitchen queens prepare the meal, clean up. We share all tasks as much as possible, especially at rural gatherings like this, where we converge from all over the faerie network to more fully live our spiritual politics, grounded in mutual aid and affection. Also, of course, for hikes, massage, gossip, healing, sex, dancing, self-discovery and more.

So after cleaning up, folks get into costume and makeup ("magical

# RADICAL FAERIES!

The walk to the ritual site is through the forest, pitch-black except for the group's flashlights and candles. There are about 25 of us, a raggle-taggle tribe gaily wending its way along the path. I clack two sticks together. Others thump small drums, shake gourds, bang pots, clap and sing faerie songs. Someone plays a flute. Simple instruments that have been around for millennia. The only other sound is the music of the stream rushing nearby.

The cold night sky is sharp and clear. There is no moon, so the stars appear all the more vivid, literally hundreds of them forming a vast, sweeping, stellar panorama. I don't feel dwarfed by it at all, but connected to it.

On the other hand, the ritual grounds me to the earth. The ritual site is by a lake, in a clearing surrounded by fir trees. As we approach through the darkness, the tremendous bonfire is ablaze, sparks and smoke swirling up into the air. We shriek, howl, camp and make animal noises as we cavort.

we make it. Being anti-authoritarian, we have no leaders. No one—or, more correctly, everyone—directs the ritual.

Someone has found a 4-foot long reed with a large, furry phallic tip that each person strokes as it's laughingly passed around. This is supposed to ensure great sex for a full lunar cycle. Then it's held in the flames until it ignites and becomes a phallic torch.

Pagan traditions (from the Latin *paganus*, meaning "country dweller") are some of the major influences on the faeries, as are various Eastern and Native traditions and the "gynergy" of women's spirituality. We feel that Nature and the Earth are sacred, and that no part of them (including, of course, the human community) should be exploited. Organic materials such as stones, wood, feathers, flowers, herbs, bones, fire, water, and earth figure prominently in faerie rituals.

Many Native peoples around the world have considered gays to have a unique and often re-balancing contribution to make to society. Often gays cross-dressed and were thought to be a third, alternative gender and to possess shamanic powers, which enabled them to mediate between the seen and the unseen. Eurocentric conquerors tried to suppress and destroy these traditions, but they are being kept alive in some tribes.

Probably the greatest influence on us has been our own inborn gay consciousness. Now, there are those who dispute the existence of gay consciousness, including some gay people who would like to be quietly assimilated into the dominant culture. But for those of us who realize it, as a part of ourselves, we feel it has always been there, affecting our lives from an early age.

We find humor in things that are outrageously artificial (such as gender roles) and strength in our sense of distinctness as gay and lesbian people. Being persecuted, we have developed survival tactics, such as using our flamboyance and the witty retort as a means of self-defense.

Also the faeries have not lost their capacity for delight and wonder. So when Rafael and Jim enter the ritual circle with blankets over their heads and a sheep's skull and a dog's skull held up where their faces should be, the effect is eerie and primitive. A hush falls over the group as the two of them circle the ring of stones in slow motion, mutely interacting with each other and with those in the circle. It's as if we're watching ghostly animal beings. Their efforts receive the traditional faerie hiss of appreciation.

The ritual proceeds with more dancing, songs and jokes. By ritual, I mean a playful CELEBRATION of

our gay sexuality, our open-hearted spirit, our wholeness with the natural world, and the ways in which these all interconnect.

In this way, we take responsibility for ourselves and create our own culture. And we spin this radical faerie revolution into the world at large, as with faerie "askance" direct action: not approaching political issues confrontationally, but coming at them from an angle.

For instance, two faeries happened upon an anti-choice picket (kids in tow) besieging an abortion clinic. Instead of responding in kind to the picketers' slogans, the faeries simply started making out. Rather than expose the children to this corrupting influence, the horrified picketers left. Or at a somber anti-fur rally, a faerie in drag on roller skates carried a sign that read, "You don't have to wear fur to look tacky." That's askance.

At the close of the ritual, we douse the fire with piss and water from the lake. We straggle back to camp for fresh pumpkin pie and hot spiced apple cider. Everyone appears flushed, sexy and resplendent in their gaudy, incongruous get-ups. I love these men.

## WHY ARE THESE MEN DANCING



Photo by David Sorichter

For all their lives these two men have repressed their true desires in order to conform with a twisted and violent image of masculinity.

When they read *Love and Rage* they realized that anarchist revolution would free them from the ridiculous constraints of compulsory heterosexuality.

As soon as they go home they are going to throw away those silly uniforms, make passionate love all day long and never go back to their crummy job of enforcing the laws of the rich.

There really is just no telling how much *Love and Rage* might change your life. You really don't want to miss an issue. Subscribe today.

Check your choice and send this form to:  
Box 3, Prince St. Station,  
New York, NY 10012 USA

- I've enclosed \$7 for a one year sub by third class (slow) mail.
- I've enclosed \$12 for a one year first class sub (fast, in envelope).
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Country \_\_\_\_\_



After awhile, we settle around the fire, holding hands, hugging, some of us hunkered on logs. A few whispers, the crackling and popping of the fire. Looking around the circle at these gentle faggots of different colors and ages, who are farmers, teachers, artists, healers, drag queens, political activists, and more; enjoying the warmth of their hands and bodies, nothing else exists at this moment but being here, now, together.

As in every faerie activity, the ritual is open to whatever a person contributes to it, sometimes initiating a chant or other activity, other times joining in (or not) as the ritual proceeds under its own free-form dynamics. It will only be as spirited as

drag") in preparation for the mid-night ritual. The intent is not to look like women, but to engage in some glorious gender-fuck and set free our playful, androgynous selves. The effect is raffish and colorful: chiffons, sequins, capes, bandannas, wigs, sashes, festooned beards, tiaras, feathers, flouncy skirts, loincloths, glittery makeup, fringe, psychedelic tie-dyes, gowns, punk drag, painted nails, funky-tacky/creative jewelry, robes, body paints, all sorts of eclectic and trashy ensembles.



# Notes of Revolt

## A.N.C. Tortures 'Anarchists'

THE accusations that they are "anarchist" is being used as an excuse for torturing dissident members of the African National Congress, according to *Le Monde Libertaire*, the weekly journal of the French Anarchist Federation.

The information comes from seven ex-A.N.C. members, now living in Kenya, who said they were tortured following a failed revolt in Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. The seven were "attached to trees" and "whipped and then shut inside iron containers...exposed to the sun. Some were even burned with plastic.

"In the space of several years," the article continues, "60 militants of the ANC who were on poor terms with corrupt leaders have perished while they were being tortured. In light of such a scandal, a spokesman for the accused organization has acknowledged, without a hint of remorse, that 'some "anarchists" who were accused of treason, rebellion and of killing officers' have in effect been imprisoned in ANC camps which were set up in the countries bordering South Africa between 1984 and 1988."

from *Profane Existence*

## Customs Comes Down Hard on Ejaculation

CANADIAN Customs recently warned Boston's *Gay Guide to the Northeast* that depictions of "Excessive ejaculation on the human face" cannot enter Canada, Chicago *Outlines* reports.

Intrigued, *The Guide* further learned from Customs that the amount of ejaculate is less worrisome to officials than "words or pictorial matter that depict ejaculation on the eye, in the nose or in the ears."

As an experiment, *Outlines*, which exchanges with Canadian gay papers, printed this sentence: "He pulled out just as he began ejaculating, dumping 14 liters of semen directly into my left ear and a bit on my nose."

Canadian readers who don't receive their *July Love and Rage* know why.

## Work is Really Silly

BY BOBEE

ON MAYDAY THERE WAS AN anti-work, pro-play demonstration in St. Louis, Missouri. People marched from the intersection of Tucker and Pine into central downtown, passing Southwestern Bell,

McDonalds, Burger King, Boatmens Bank and into the St. Louis Center mall until we were escorted out by two security guards. Then we sat in Kiener Plaza passing out our last flyers and anarchist mags. We clumsily, yet easily, went into City Hall and presented the mayor's office (he was out) with a flyer. We then went to Union Station where we chanted and talked with people about Mayday and why we hate work. A clown inside made us a "@" balloon.

Throughout the day we chanted "Work is Really Silly," "No More Chants," and similar chants. There were only about 15 people marching. For an organized event it was pretty spontaneous and fun. We didn't have any leaders and did what we wanted to.



U.K. Customs forbids "obscene" or "indecent" material, including gay sex videos. Domestic material with a "tendency to deprave or corrupt" is also banned. This S.F. AIDS Foundation poster will not see British shores.

The Mayday march came two days after a Mayday anarchist picnic at the pavilion in Forest Park attended by about 35 people.

from *Eagerly Life Flourishes*

## Paint 'Old Glory' Black

ON July 4 the Mid-South Anarchist Youth Federation will hold a "We need another revolution" demonstration at noon in front of City Hall in Memphis, Tennessee. People interested in participating are urged to bring masks. For further information:

Mid-South Anarchist Youth Federation  
P.O. Box 241532  
Memphis, TN 38124

## CLASSIFIEDS

Classified advertisements cost 50 cents per word. We will not accept racist, sexist, ageist, homophobic or other authoritarian ads. Classifieds should not be construed as an endorsement by *Love and Rage* of whatever is advertised.

Send classifieds with payment to: Box 3 Prince St. Station, New York, NY 10012.

### Class Struggle Anarchism!

The *Anarchist Labor Bulletin*, a monthly report on workers struggles from an anarchist perspective, is available for \$10 for 1 year (or \$1 for a sample) from P.O. Box 210095, San Francisco CA 94121-0095.

### On Our Backs

*On Our Backs* is the sexual entertainment magazine for lesbians, is 48 pages of erotic fiction, photographs and features. We are bi-monthly, international, unique and provocative. \$28 subscription or \$6 for the current issue from *On Our Backs*, 526 Castro St. San Francisco, CA 94114.

The Workers Solidarity Alliance, the U.S. section of the anarcho-syndicalist IWA, publishes *Ideas and Action*. Sample copies are \$2 and a four issue subscription is yours for \$7.50 from: P.O. Box 40400, San Francisco, CA 94140

*Left Green Notes*, the newsletter of the Left Green Network, can be obtained from: P.O. Box 372 West Lebanon, NH 03784.

## queer pride

# BI WOMEN

(Continued from page 4)

that's even more disconcerting. What if the evolution of your sexual preference and behaviour—for example dating men, finding you're attracted to women, deciding you're bi and dating both, falling in love with a woman, coming out as a dyke, sleeping only with women, then occasionally screwing men, etc.; what if these changes don't reflect a growing and lessening perception of your true nature, but instead reflect an actual changing self? What if your place on the sexual spectrum isn't one tiny fixed dot, but a large and imprecise realm? What if finding out who you are isn't something you do once and get it over with, but something you keep doing, rediscovering, and revealing, for the rest of your life?

Why is it so easy to think of sexual identity as a matter of discovering which of two or three distinct and unrelated enemy camps we belong to, and so hard to think of it as a continuum, or as several continuums, that we move back and forth over throughout our lives?

And, perhaps the most difficult question of all, why is it so important to find a label that fits?

The need for conformity is great in an oppressed class. Identity is so fragile when it's constantly bombarded with assaults on its validity, and the need for clear definitions and secure limits can be powerful. In a deviant subculture like the lesbian

community, trying to build strength and coherence in the face of bigotry and fear, ambiguity can seem like instability, and divergence can seem like treason. And yet, for the gay and lesbian community, the paradox is that our strength, our very existence,



is founded on sexual liberation, on acceptance of diversity and the breaking of boundaries. How can we demand of the straight world, "We will love whom we choose and in the way we choose, you must accept us as we are," and then turn around and tell others in our own community,

"The way you love is misguided and wrong; we will not accept you because you are not exactly like us." Crazyism.

Acknowledging bisexuality presents a real challenge to traditional ideas of sexual identity. The lesbian community can create a rigid and restrictive self-definition, defending ourselves suspiciously against intruders (and periodically purging trai-

tors from our ranks). Or we can accept the fluidity of a sexual continuum, subjective self-definition, and an imprecisely defined community, and allow anyone to call herself a dyke if she feels it's right for her.

Reprinted from *On Our Backs*.

*Love and Rage* is created by a network of supporters who are in general agreement with the *Love and Rage* Political Statement and contribute time, money, and energy to *Love and Rage*. Major decisions and overall policy are made when all the supporters gather for a conference. Less major interim decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference) are made by an editorial council of people from many regions that meets several times a year in person and communicates by phone and mail. Day-to-day decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference and the editorial council) are made by a production group resident in New York City, where the paper is published. In some cities and regions, *Love and Rage* supporters have organized themselves to cooperate in support of the paper on the local level and they sometimes plug into the rest of the network through their group or collective. Other supporters work alone.

Most *Love and Rage* supporters are active in efforts to change the world above and beyond publishing *Love and Rage*. Supporters are involved in a broad range of local groups and non-groups, publications of various sorts, and issue networks and organizations that work nationally and internationally, and they often write about their activities in *Love and Rage*.

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

*Love and Rage*  
Box 3 Prince St. Station  
New York, NY 10012

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The deadline for the August issue is July 1 unless other arrangements are made. Articles can be faxed to: (212) 925-7966



# Anarchist Black Cross

## GRAPO HUNGER-STRIKER DIES



Solidarity demonstration in Strasbourg.

ON MAY 15, GRAPO hungerstriker Jose Manuel Sevillano was transported to a civilian hospital in Madrid. Although pronounced dead by the ministry of justice, Jose's heartbeat was revived and he was kept alive on machines for another week. Meanwhile, as Jose lay in the hospital, 30 demonstrators gathered outside with banners on May 19. Not taking kindly to such protest, police on motorcycles rode into the group. 10 demonstrators were taken to the hospital with head injuries.

### TORONTO ASKS SUPPORT FOR ALAN BERKMAN

ALAN BERKMAN, AN ANTI-Imperialist political prisoner currently indicted in the Resistance Conspiracy trial in Washington, is suffering from Hodgkin's disease (a form of cancer). He needs immediate treatment but is being denied this right. People are needed to write or call the authorities listed below and let them know you support Alan's right to proper medical treatment.

Alan Berkman has given his all to the resistance against U.S. imperialism, now it's our turn to give our all to support him in his life and death fight. For further information on Alan Berkman and the Resistance Conspiracy trial, contact:

ABC Toronto, P.O. Box 6326 STN A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5W 1P7

Send letters, telegrams or call:  
David Road, Administrator  
D.C. Central Detention Facility  
1901 D Street, S.E.

Phone (202) 673-8202  
and

Dr. Kenneth Moritsuga, Medical  
Director, Bureau of Prisons  
320 1st Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C., 20001

Demand immediate diagnostic tests and appropriate medical treatment of Dr. Alan Berkman. Cards and letters of solidarity and support can be sent to:

Dr. Alan Berkman  
c/o Washington Area Committee  
For Political Prisoners' Rights  
P.O. Box 28191  
Washington, D.C., 20038

One arrestee was severely beaten while in handcuffs, and another was assaulted while inside the hospital. One protester was so poorly treated that he suffered severe bruises, a broken finger, and head injuries resulting in memory loss.

On May 21, 6 banks in Baskenland had their locks glued shut in solidarity with Jose. In a letter to prime minister Philippe Consalis, Jose's father pleaded for "something to be done to end the hungerstrike." The Spanish government, however, would make no concessions.

On May 25, at 3:30pm, Jose died after 167 days on hungerstrike. His

demands, and those of fellow GRAPO/PCE(r) prisoners, had been a minimal respect for the human dignity of political prisoners and the bringing together of all GRAPO/PCE(r) prisoners. In the days after Jose's death, small demonstrations took place.

After one woman was shot in the leg by police, a group of 150 demonstrators broke the windows of the office of the PSOE (Spanish social democrats) and anger at the police grew more widespread. The next day, 2000 people demonstrated for Basque autonomy, and over 7000 people came out in support of the

hunger strikers. More stones, tear-gas, and flaming barricades resulted.

Days of confrontation continued. Finally, 600 demonstrators sealed off the city center of Bilbao with barricades after a battle with police that included the firing of rubber bullets into a local bar. Demonstrators held off a police charge from behind a barricade on a bridge leading into the city's old section, and they were even able to launch an offensive against the police out in front of the massive barricade, hitting a bank and a luxury cafe in the process.

The fight goes on, both for prisoner respect and Basque autonomy. At present, 3 hunger strikers are being kept artificially alive on machines. But the 39 GRAPO hunger strikers remain resolute.



Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista 1° de Octubre (GRAPO)

### JOHN PEROTTI

WE received a statement from John in beginning of June detailing his present situation. He has had trouble sending or receiving mail. Due to space constraints we can't print it this month. We will print it next month.

## Finnish Objectors Freed

ON APRIL 23, ABOUT 300 Finnish civil service workers started a five-day strike to protest the length of the alternative service and treatment of total objectors who refuse to do both the military service and the alternative civil service. Alternative service in Finland is at the moment 16 months, while military service is from 8 to 10 months. The total objectors are now sentenced to prison for 12 months or sometimes even more. Half of the strikers continued the illegal strike for a couple of weeks after those five days.

Also on April 23rd, 3 currently imprisoned total objectors started a hunger strike to support the civil service workers' strike and their cause. One of them was our comrade Ari Arffman, who was imprisoned last October. In the beginning of his sentence he was on hunger strike for 26 days to get permission to study while serving his sentence. The 3 total objectors, Ari Arffman, Robert Ryoma and Jari Kallioluoma were granted total amnesty by the Finnish president. These 3 men are the first total objectors to ever be granted amnesty in Finland.

Though this is an important victory, the struggle is far from over. There is still a compulsory military service in Finland and there are still 15 other total objectors in Finnish prisons and more will come, even though the sentences for total objection will probably be reduced from the current 12 months or more.

For further information contact:

ABC FINLAND  
c/o S. Kauppinen  
Kaupplamaentie 13 A 2.79100 Lep-  
pavirta, Finland

Support messages can be sent to:  
Ari Arffman PL 7.70101 Kuopio,  
Finland

Letters of protest can be sent to:  
Ole Norrback, Minister of Defense,  
Puolustusministerio,  
Etelainen Makasiinikatu 8.00130  
Helsinki, Finland



The ABC section is compiled by the New York Anarchist Black Cross from information supplied by various ABC and prisoner support groups, as well as other sources. As such, it acts as a clearinghouse for information on both anarchist and non-anarchist prisoners, and information on prison conditions and struggles. The Anarchist Black Cross is an international network of autonomous groups of anarchists working to aid and support anarchist, class war, and other prisoners. Although there is a listing of specific "Anarchist Black Cross Prisoners" selected by various ABC groups, each group decides which prisoners (anarchist, or otherwise) they wish to support/aid.

For information, to ask questions, or to pass along pertinent information feel free to contact any of the following groups:

- Toronto ABC  
PO Box 6326 Stn. A  
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P7
- Vancouver ABC  
Box 2881 Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3X4
- ABC Latinoamericano  
PO Box 45-1208, Miami, FL 33245
- ABC Knoxville  
Box 23061, Knoxville, TN 37933
- Project 1313  
PO Box 1313 Lawrence, KS 66044  
Borderlands
- PO Box 8362 San Diego, CA 92102  
WPSN — PO Box 770 Stn P  
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2Z1



# AGAINST IMPERIALISM INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND RESISTANCE

FROM ENDLESS STRUGGLE

This is an edited version of an article that was discussed at the Regional Anarchist Gathering Jan. 26-29 in Vancouver, Canada. The full version appeared in *Endless Struggle* No. 13.

**"IT IS OUR OPINION THAT OUR failing to have any significant presence in the reality of present day struggles is largely due to complacency and lack of up to date analysis of problems in an increasingly complex social structure"**

Bratach Dubh collective,  
intro. to *Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle*,  
by Alfredo Bonanno

The first half of this article is a brief introduction to the historical development of imperialism, including the rise to dominance of US capital in the global economic order. The second half discusses national liberation struggles, their contradictions and limitations, and an anarchist perspective on these struggles. We hope it provides a starting point for discussion.

If anarchist or autonomist struggles are to have any impact, a complete re-assessment of our analysis and methods is necessary. Developing this means addressing ourselves to an analysis against capital.

Anarchists tend to reduce anarchism to mere anti-statism or opposition to authority, a superficial and all encompassing "anti-authoritarian blanket" draped over all social struggles. Instead of extending an analysis to patriarchal and capitalist exploitation, which by its nature demands an international struggle, anarchists have restricted their perspective to the most blatant products of this: sometimes in the "lifestylist" approach by boycotting multinationals, at other times in the pursuit of "alternative economic communities." Capitalism is acknowledged, but only as some kind of background setting with no specific structures or conditions.

When the Economic Summit of the G-7 (the seven leading industrial countries consisting of the US, Canada, Japan, W. Germany, Britain, France and Italy) was held in Toronto in June 1988, the movement's lack of anti-capitalist analysis was clear. "Protesting the 7 leaders is somewhat of a red herring, seeing as it's not just these 7 who are the problem but all leaders and capitalism itself" (from *Ecomedia Toronto*, our emphasis). In this, the world economic order, dominated primarily by US capitalism, and its structures, the IMF and World Bank, in which the G7 maintain dominant positions, is reduced to a problem of "leaders" and "capitalism" remains as something lurking in the back.

The article continues on, making the point of resistance a question of who controls the streets rather than one of who maintains the levels of exploitation. "But many anarchists came out to support the day's actions because the issue turned from one of protesting the leaders to...reclaiming the streets of our city, which have been blocked off for us for the length of the Summit."

This is a reflection of the fact that most anarchists don't see various social struggles (ecological, anti-sexism, anti-racism) as having a basis in the class struggle. But this isn't to say that these social struggles are irrelevant or secondary to the class

struggle, as some marxists (as well as some anarchists) do, but rather the opposite. These social struggles make up the basis of the class struggle. In the minds of those who relegate these social struggles to a secondary position it's commonly argued that capital created racism and sexism as a tool to divide the class. Such a simplistic analysis ignores the patriarchal and racist ideological basis that makes up the domination and expansion of capitalism.

Today, capitalism shapes and affects our cultural and social relationships like no other social structure has. Anti-capitalism is not only an economic struggle, but is also a cultural struggle. The logical conclusion of an international class struggle against international exploitation, imperialism, is not seen by most anarchists. A primary component of resistance to imperialism has been the national liberation struggle. The anarchist response to these movements has been silence, reluctance, or outright hostility. We think there is another approach, one of intervention and solidarity.

## Development of Imperialism 1800-1900

Between 1800 and 1900, the full division of the world amongst the major European and American powers was completed. From this point on, only the re-division of the world was possible. During this period, Great Britain acquired 3,700,000 sq. miles with 14,700,000 inhabitants, France acquired 3,600,000 sq. miles with 14,700,000 inhabitants and so on (from Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* where he quoted economist J.A. Hobson).

For nations which had a level of independence after fighting colonial wars, the metropolises were already developing new forms of colonialism in the forms of debts and dependence. In the 1820s, English banks lent a total of 21 million pounds to former Spanish colonies (Chile, Argentina, Peru, Mexico, and Guatemala). The loans were directed towards developing export infrastructures: roads, railways, and ports, specifically from the mining and agricultural industries. Traditional agriculture was destroyed and replaced by monocultures, "cash crops," grown for export. The export of raw materials was essential for the industrialization process of the metropolises: England, France, Spain, and others.

With the debts, it was also a way of ensuring dependency, through the import of technology and machinery necessary for large-scale export, the increase in loans for these projects and loans to maintain a balance-of-payment on the debt.

This then, is the basis of the economic control of the "Third World" and the mass poverty and super-exploitation gripping the people in the three continents today; the peripheral countries provide agricultural and mineral raw materials for the imperialist centers, at the same time serving as sales markets for the manufactured goods produced in the metropolises and as spheres of influence and investment for their surplus capital.

## World War II: The American Century

The Second World War marked a substantial change for world imperialism and out of it the US was to



emerge as the dominant player.

The US ruling class entered the war with a clear idea of what it wanted. Competing empires would be dismantled and made dependent on US capital. Britain, Japan, Germany and France were exhausted and almost non-functioning economies from the war and they would be reduced to junior partners. An important part of this was the Marshall Plan, in which the US gave or lent to Western Europe and Japan \$17 billion between 1947 and 1955. This allowed the US to control post-war rebuilding along capitalist lines and to expand foreign investment by US multinationals. Alongside this, the US prepared plans for a new world trade and monetary order to prevent a world economic crisis as in the 1920's and to further develop the expansion of US capitalism.

The creation of the IMF and World Bank were important steps in this direction. For obvious political reasons, the USSR and its satellites were excluded. In fact the USSR was to be seen as the major threat to US interests, even though as a result of the war it wasn't in a realistic position to pose much threat. Nevertheless, the US quickly began consolidating itself against the "spread of communism." Military and economic blocs, dependent on the US, were created to contain and encircle the USSR and its European satellites. These came in the form of NATO in 1949, SEATO in 1954, and ANZUS.

This was to be the "American Century!" But the post-Second World War expansion was to last only 3 decades. The pattern of economic growth came to an end in '73-74. The investment boom making up for wartime losses and shortages, and capitalizing on new industries (electronics, jet aircraft, etc...) had run its course with nothing comparable to take its place as a force of driving the capitalist accumulation process.





(Paul M. Sweezy, *US Imperialism in the 90s*.)

The interpenetration of the US market by West European and Japanese manufactured goods forced the US to shift many of its manufacturing industries to the Asian market, where costs were low. The formerly dependent powers in Western Europe and Japan were in the process of breaking out of their dependence on the US. (Already new developments are occurring, with the possibility of the creation of 3 competing blocs; the US and its dependents, the USSR and its dependents, and the European Economic Community, which in 1992 will abolish trade barriers within its borders. The Free Trade Agreement between the US and Canada is an integral part of this development. US imperialism can be said to be declining as a dominant world power.)

Contributing to this decline of the US were revolutionary movements within the US itself and the development of national liberation movements. During this period a "record number of defections" from Western imperialism occurred; Ethiopia in 1974, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, leading up to Grenada, Nicaragua, and Iran in 79, and Zimbabwe in 1980.

These liberation movements had their roots in the struggles between 1954-75. During this period, 17 British colonies in Africa alone achieved nominal independence, the French followed ceding independence to 19 of its 20 African colonies. Upon independence, political power was merely transferred from colonial governments to local bourgeoisies. In this way, the metropolises were able to maintain influence and control.

This "formal break" with colonialism was only a prelude to revolutionary struggles in the form of national liberation movements. A primary characteristic of these were the na-

tionalisation of industries and resources, the "ideology of nationalization" (Julio Rosado 'Behind the US Economic Decline,' *BREAKTHROUGH* Vol. 11 No. 1, Summer 88)

#### Soviet Support for National Liberation Struggles

*"...The Eastern bloc is a black stain in the political geography of leftism... It is more according to their geostrategic interests and the priority given to the consolidation of their own existence that the external policies of the Soviet Union are decided. The aspiration to be 'recognized' and to have the equivalent of imperialism and not the aspiration of world revolution is the red thread that runs through all of their world politics... In this phase of imperialism the Soviet Union has the disadvantage that its expansion is based on need and not on surplus. They cannot rely on the 'gentle' violence of a mode of production, waiting for it, as a result of its inherent expansive logic, to build a durable dependence"*

Revolutionary Cells/Rote Zora  
Discussion Paper on the  
Peace Movement, 1984

It is without doubt that conditions for national liberation movements would be much more extreme without the aid of the USSR. The existence of this competing bloc has in ways reduced the movements of the western bloc. But this should be seen as the result of the USSR's own interests. Under the rhetoric of "socialist internationalism," the USSR has given aid according to its own geostrategic interests and designs.

Afghanistan shows that the USSR, like the US, is prepared to defend these interests using violence in the form of armed intervention, napalm and chemical weapons. Even with this the USSR cannot be placed on an equal level with the US.

The USSR's expansion is based on need, not on a surplus and it is in this way incapable of developing a strong dependence.

In the age of perestroika, the East bloc shows its own integration into western capital in the form of its massive debts to western banks, the IMF and World Bank. Even today, the Deutsche Bank opens up offices within the East bloc.

#### The Limitations and Contradictions of National Liberation Struggles

Today, the consolidation of national liberation and self determination is an unrealistic goal. In these isolated struggles, one nation merely moves, from one capitalist bloc to another, unable to determine its own economic direction. Because of this many anarchists and marxists define the FMLN in El Salvador as the "left-wing of capital's political apparatus," while the US-backed regime is the "right-wing." In a candid interview, Francisco Jovel of the 5 member FMLN General Command flatly stated "We are not talking about installing a socialist regime. This is a product of our analysis of national and international reality" (*NACLA Report on the Americas*, VOL XX111 No. 3 Sept 1989).

Eduardo Sancho, another member of the General Command, describes the FMLN's proposed "Gov't of Broad Participation," the "pluralistic democracy" which is the basis of the FMLN's proposals, as being "from an ideological and economic point of view, nothing more than (a program for) the development of capitalism in El Salvador... We first have to develop our minimal program... then later bases to construct socialism, and then later communism — which we think will develop in this country in the year 3,000" (From *NACLA, Report on the Americas*, Sept. 1989) Talk about long range development plans!

Obviously, the FMLN is the "left wing" of capital, but this reformist view of socialism is only a reflection of the reality that national liberation can't win self-determination. Increasingly, it becomes clear that the consolidation of social liberation, the breakout of national liberation, and the extending of the insurrection in the periphery is directly related to our own revolutionary struggles here and now, in the centres. This is the basis of *internationalism*.

#### Anarchist Internationalism

*"If internationalism is not to be merely meaningless rhetoric, it must imply solidarity between the proletariat of different countries or nations. This is a concrete term. When there is a revolution, it will be as it has been in the past, in a precise geographical area. How much it remains there will be directly linked to the extent of that Internationalism, both in terms of solidarity and the spreading of the revolution itself"*

Jean Weir  
*introduction to Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle*

In the absence of this internationalism, the success of Cuba (although the continued repression including that against the anarchists is well known) in the eradication of mass hunger and extreme hunger, providing healthcare and schooling, takes on a new level of attractiveness for the people still fighting for these necessities.

In this way, condemnation of the "left-wing of capitalism," becomes little more than political posturing, true as it is. The total rejection of the FMLN as the left-wing of capital ignores the context of what they are fighting for and what they must fight against.

Of course, there are countless other criticisms of national liberation fronts and struggles: that, as in Kampuchea, there is the possibility of disastrous outcome or that they are mostly dominated by Marxist-Leninist positions.

*"One could reply to the first that there is no such situation as one that can guarantee a revolutionary or progressive outcome in advance, but rather that such an outcome would be more probable in the presence of the anarchists and their struggle... The relationship between Marxism and the national liberation struggle is purely instrumental. That is, the people in struggle have adopted... certain Marxist elements as they have nothing else at their disposition. And is this not the fault of the anarchists?"*

*Insurrection* No. 4 May 1988

Anarchism, while addressing itself to all sorts of social and cultural struggles, has recently failed to offer any kind of attack on capitalism's economic exploitation. Is it no wonder that the most economically and socially oppressed peoples have always been areas where Marxists and Marxist-Leninists have been able to make inroads?

National liberation fronts, as vehicles for achieving political and economic independence, contain contradictions in their very content, and these clearly lead to their limitations. These fronts generally encompass all people who are part of the specific ethnic group that is engaged in struggle. Thus for the ETA or native peoples in Canada, it becomes a question of the liberation of the Basques or the liberation of native peoples, rather than one of specifically class struggle.

Writing on this in the magazine *No Middle Ground* (no. 3-4 1985), K. Sorel, in reference to the FSLN in Nicaragua, wrote: "From its very beginnings in the 1960s the FSLN had emphasized multi-class cooperation against the regime and that the patriotic middle-classes would play a central role..." and that the "Sandinista regime (after overthrowing Somoza) quickly demonstrated its class nature by inviting leading businessmen Alfonso Robelo and Arturo Cruz into top positions of the new government. At the Managua labor seminar of the state-controlled labor union, the Sandinista Workers Central, Commander Carlos Nunez declared that it was 'important to distinguish between those members of the bourgeoisie who are still influenced by imperialism and those who had been victims of the dictatorship because the latter are individuals the FSLN wants to attract and consolidate into the revolution.'" (Sorel quoted *Barricada* Sept. 25 1979).

*"Ethnic culture is not that of all who are born or live in the same territory and speak the same language. It is the culture of those who, in a given group, suffer the same exploitation. Ethnic culture is class culture, and for this reason is revolutionary culture"*

*Front Libertaire*  
quoted in *Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle*

In this way, the diversity of the front begins to contradict what

(Continued on page 12)



*Love and Rage* is a monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed people 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 prepackaged 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 constant and radical revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

**Love and Rage is revolutionary.**

We support the overthrow of all forms of authoritarian social relations and the creation of a society based on cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid. We recognize that social revolution can only be made by the oppressed majority of humanity in a movement that they control themselves. We support the use of whatever means are necessary to emancipate humanity and bring an end to the war, poverty, hunger and misery generated by the existing system. We support the emergence of a fighting movement as a step toward making the social revolution.

**Love and Rage is anti-stalinist.**

We oppose all States whether they call themselves capitalist or communist.



**Love and Rage Political Statement**

**Love and Rage is anti-capitalist.**

We support all efforts to overthrow all forms of class rule and state power. We support strikes and other forms of workers struggle for control of the means of production.

**Love and Rage is anti-racist.**

We fight against white supremacy and work for the creation of societies that respect cultural diversity. We support the self-determination of Mexicans, Chicanos, Native Americans and other oppressed groups. We recognize the special oppression of African-Americans and support slavery to the present and fight for the liberation and self-determination of Black people in the U.S. We fight the resurgence of anti-Asian and anti-Arab racism. We take front rank in the fight against racist skinhead, Klan, nazi and cop terror.

**Love and Rage is anti-imperialist.**

We support the right of self-determination of nationalities oppressed by the various forms of imperialism. We fight to get the U.S. out of Central America, Puerto

Rico and all other lands. We support the destruction of the U.S. Federal State. We support the destruction of the Soviet Empire and the liberation of its peoples. We are for the destruction of Apartheid, the IMF World Bank, multi-national corporations and other forms of imperialism.

**Love and Rage is anti-patriarchal.**

We are for the liberation and self-determination of all women. We are fighters against patriarchy and for the empowerment of women. This means, minimally, unquestionable reproductive freedom for all women, regardless of race or economic status and a world free of sexist violence. We recognize that the oppression of women is necessary to the continued functioning of the State. The State will not solve our problems. Our liberation lies in the overthrow of the State.

**Love and Rage supports Lesbian, Bisexual and Gay liberation.**

We reject the compulsory heterosexuality of the patriarchal family, and support attempts to foster a diver-

sity of consensual human relationships and sexuality.

Love and Rage will support the struggles of youth against their specific oppression.

Love and Rage makes a special effort to provide a platform for youth. We recognize that the revolutionary future lies with the youth.

Love and Rage supports the struggle against the domination of the natural world.

We recognize that the current industrial order, built on the exploitation of the planet and its inhabitants, has given rise to an ecological crisis that threatens the very survival of life on the planet. We support the movements that resist further destruction of the planet. We see the need for the revolutionary transformation of our relations with the planet and the species on it. We want to stop and reverse the destruction of the wilderness. We want to stop and reverse the poisoning of the air, land and water. We are against the exploitation of animals in factory farming and testing systems. We oppose the attacks by the State on the animal liberation movement.

This statement does not attempt to include all issues of concern to anarchists and anti-authoritarians, nor does *Love and Rage* pretend to fully understand, or be fully united on, all issues. We do not purport to represent the full spectrum of diversity in the contemporary anarchist movement. We will not shy away from controversy. We will always seek the input of our readers and other activists in our efforts to advance both our own understanding and that of the movements we serve.

# On Gogol Boulevard

## RUSSIAN SYNDICALIST MURDERED

ON MAY 25, APPROXIMATELY 40 anarchists gathered at the Soviet Consulate in New York City and protested the suspicious death of Petr Siuda, a labor activist and member of KAS, the Confederation of Anarcho-syndicalists. Protestors also demanded that Oleg Gorshenin and Sergei Troyanski be given their freedom. Demonstrators were joined by Alexander Rubchenko, a member of the Radical Association for Peace and Freedom.

Siuda, age 53, died in Novotcherkassk on May 5. Several village residents reported seeing a group of about ten unidentified persons attack and beat Siuda. Rostov District Department of Internal Affairs Major Nazarchuk announced that Siuda had died as a result of a brain hemorrhage due to "severe stress." The

official autopsy report lists the cause of death as "natural," however, Dr. Listopadova, a physician present at a second autopsy performed on the day Siuda was buried, said there was reason to believe that he died as a result of being beaten.

A few days before his death Petr Siuda announced to the press that he had documents implicating the KGB in the massacre of striking workers at the Novotcherkassk Train Construction Factory in 1962. On May 4, with a union activist named Chernyshev and a packet of documents, Siuda went to find a man who had supposedly taken part in the burial of people shot during the 1962 upheaval.

Chernyshev left Siuda and Siuda continued the search alone. The packet of documents that Siuda was

carrying has disappeared.

On June 3 members of unofficial public organizations marched through the streets of Rostov carrying placards, flags and wreaths in memory of those killed in Novotcherkassk, and laid a wreath at a proposed site for a monument to the victims of Stalinism. 1000 people gathered at an officially sanctioned ral-

ly demanding an investigation into the 1962 events to determine responsibility for the massacre of the striking workers and to locate the graves of those killed.

A memorial was held at Vosnesensky Cathedral and then the crowd took busses to the grave of Petr Siuda to lay a wreath and mourn.

are better. They expressed suspicion about the intentions of Isaev and Shubin, who previously were activists in the Komsomol (the Communist Party's youth organization). They question the "change from within" assumptions behind KAS nomination of Isaev as a candidate in elections to the Moscow City Council. "It's better to be independent and work at a grass-roots level than to get oneself into the power-games of the Communist dominated parliaments," said Anischenko and Volkhonski. (OGB note: we welcome a response from KAS to these criticisms.)

The workers' movements in the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been badly weakened according to SMOT. Nationalism has consumed much energy, and the non-Baltic population have been alienated and pushed into the arms of the Kremlin, which is keen to foster opposition to the Baltic independence movements. Baltic Communist leaders have become nationalists and have secured their positions of power. The introduction of new currencies and other moves embracing capitalism are likely to result in further problems for working people, such as high unemployment and astronomical inflation.

SMOT is a small organization of hard working activists not distracted by elections, nationalism, nor Gorbomania. Like all Soviet alternative organizations, SMOT needs material assistance. Presently they desperately need toner for their photocopier, Rank Xerox 3100 type H toner, unobtainable in the USSR. This is crucial as SMOT's main activity is publicity work and printing. Stationery, foreign currency and interna-

anarchist publications are also desired.

The SMOT Information Agency can be contacted at the following address, in English, German, or Spanish:

Korzina Olga,  
142784 Moskovskaya oblast,  
Leninski raion, pos. Moskovskij  
dom.32, kv.73, USSR.  
Tel: 439-97-48.

SMOT's list is available in English for \$10 from:

Soviet American Review  
1022 W. Newport Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60657

## Workers Autonomy In The Soviet Union

BY WELL FIRTH

SINCE MID-1987 SMOT (FREE Interprofessional Union of Workers) has attracted less state repression and more openly continues its work: publishing information on independent labor and political initiatives, and acting as "grease in the wheels" of independent labor politics in the USSR, promoting self-organization and self-management. The SMOT Information Agency publishes "Spravochnik," a list of political contacts in the Soviet Union similar to the anarchist Blacklist.

SMOT has maintained contact with many of the strike committees set up during recent struggles, e.g. in the mining regions of Donbass and Vorkuta. SMOT was the only organization to publish the full list of demands put forward by striking miners in Vorkuta in the winter of 1989-90. The Soviet mass media played down or ignored the political content of their demands, such as reviewing the constitutionally guaranteed "leading role" of the Communist Party.

Many of the striking workers were

Communist Party members, and this meant that demands were pursued within party channels whenever possible. SMOT considers itself a catalyst or embryo for the launching of an independent, anti-authoritarian union, following probable disillusionment with Party oriented strike committee work and electoral distractions.

The Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (KAS) is also pursuing the establishment of an independent union. Currently there is a boom in union-forming activity, ranging from the reformist and hierarchical union "Sotsprof" to the Union of Cooperative and Individual Workers which is nonhierarchical, doesn't get stuck in endless declarations of principles, and has become a good mutual aid network for its members. It is widely spread, its presence most noticeable in the Urals region.

SMOT members Vladimir Anischenko and Lev Volokhonski said they have poor relations with Moscow KAS, although relations with KAS members in other centers

## Russian Anarchist Held In Psychiatric Hospital

IN THE OGB SECTION OF *LOVE and Rage* it was erroneously stated that Free Initiative member Sergei Troyanski had been freed. In fact, he was released from jail and transferred to a psychiatric hospital, and still awaits full release. Free Initiative asks that support letters continue to be sent to Sergei. The jailers will see these and such pressure often works in the USSR. Send your letters to:

Sergei Troyanski  
142 370 Moskovskaya oblast  
Chekhovskij raion,  
p/o Troitskoye-Antropovo P.B. No. 5,  
1 Otdeleny, USSR.



# FRENCH GOV'T CLAMPS DOWN...

BY LAURIE

It's an all-too-familiar story: gentrification. Now, in France, Chirac and Mitterand are doing their best to make Paris a mecca for yuppies and to transform the city into a "modern city." According to *France Soir*, 2800 lodgings per year have been renovated by the city between 1983 and 1989. Additionally, 6000 units of low-income housing and all of the old HLM (public housing) units are to be "modernized" by the end of the decade. We know where that leads: the rents soar and are no longer affordable for the current inhabitants who very often are immigrants. Typically, the owners of run-down buildings let them deteriorate, while at the same time collecting rent from the residents who are often too poor to find other living accommodations. Eventually, the building is

condemned by the city or is sold off by the owner, leaving its inhabitants with no where to go. The city has occasionally relocated (read deported) those displaced by gentrification. Sometimes, these displaced persons are placed in suburbs, often more than two hours away from their places of employment. Others have simply been thrown out on the streets. This has led to an increase in squatting. The squatters' movement has been led by a group known as the Committee of the Mal-loges which was started in 1986 by a group of families who supported squatting. The group began by squatting a building in the 20th arrondissement of Paris, and then another in the 11th. Their ranks quickly grew. According to *Le Monde Liberaire*, in the last three

years the number of buildings squatted in Paris has multiplied five times. But the authorities have begun to crack down, often branding the squatters "illegal inhabitants" as dangerous criminals whom it is necessary to get rid of as soon as possible.

On May 2, the CRS (a high-level police organization) went to the above two sites and kicked out 47 families, including 150 children, without even giving the people time to collect their belongings. These families later regrouped at Place de la Reunion and occupied a nearby square which they have been successfully defending.

Since May 2, hardly a day has passed without people being expelled from other squats in the city. On May 9, a particularly brutal expulsion took

place with 40 demonstrators attempting to seize a nearby house where several police, protected by agents in combat gear, were holding a squatter hostage.

Nearly 80 CRS riot police arrived and blocked the only two street exits. At the sound of a broken window, the police charged in and began beating the squatters with the butts of their guns. Half of the demonstrators were injured. The next day, close to 5000 people gathered to march to the police headquarters in the 20th arrondissement to demand housing.

A delegation of protestors was granted a meeting, only to be told by the officials: "we'll study some of the people's dossiers." So, the struggle for decent housing and an end to gentrification in Paris goes on.

## AND COPENHAGEN BZ FACE UPHILL BATTLE...

IT'S NOW THREE MONTHS SINCE the police went into the three squatted houses in Vesterbo, arresting everyone in the buildings and totally smashing the place, ripping out all the windows and doors, and tearing down part of the roof.

They used the excuse that they were looking for the people who had attacked a police car and injured a pig outside the squatters cafe, Morgenstjernen, twelve hours earlier. The police claim that they were tricked into a trap so that the squatters could attack them. The police attack on the houses was not a spontaneous response to an incident in the street, but a well planned action that had been sanctioned from the top. The incident with the police car happened at two in the morning, Friday, February 2, but already Thursday afternoon the police had been turning people back from the borders who looked like squatters. The containers they used to storm the house with were specially constructed and had been ordered in advance, and they used a specially equipped and trained commando squad to storm the houses.

It only took them ten minutes to capture the houses and their occupants, in what were the best barricaded houses in Copenhagen. We think, as well, the police knew that morale was at a low point in the BZ (squatters') movement and that it was therefore a good moment to strike.

Our response was one of total shock, especially as the houses had not been under threat. After a chaotic meeting in the Youth house that evening we went onto the streets to attack the police, from the squatted house in Baldersgade. It was great that Baldersgade were doing this, as they are to be the first, and probably only, legalized squat. They felt it is more important to fight back, when BZ is attacked, and risk losing their house as well, then remain as some sort of museum piece, after all the

other houses are gone. During the battle the contents of the local bank were moved out onto the street and everything totally smashed. After five hours of teargas against bricks and molotovs, the police withdrew, having failed to get permission to evict the house from the owners: a group of councilors, a lawyer and the squatters.

That night the local pigstation near Christiania was burnt out, and in other countries there were solidarity actions. The next day there was another march out to the evicted houses, the police were gone. We went in and tried to salvage the remains of people's possessions. We decided to wait until the next day to move back again — everything was smashed.

Sunday was a really fantastic day, one of the best experienced in BZ-history. We were really a lot of people, many old faces who you hadn't seen for a long time, many new faces, everyone busy cleaning up, rebuilding doors and windows, lots of people coming by with tools, food and money. It was a great feeling being so many people together again, working with each other, rebuilding our dream — even though we didn't believe we would be allowed to stay in the houses, we would try anyway.

This was a real psychological victory. Even though they smash us we will rise again. Just after dark the cops attacked us there, charging into the yard, throwing teargas grenades. They even kidnapped a baby and held it in the teargas cloud. They were acting on their own initiative, saying they had to throw the squatters out to protect the lives of the local citizens.

That night several police stations were attacked. Over the next couple of weeks we kept up the initiative, holding blockades outside the houses, making happenings and squatting an empty building site just 100 meters down the road. We held a

demonstration against the evictions where more than 3,500 people came, which was the largest demonstration in Copenhagen since the demonstrations of the peace movement.

The whole time there was a really good press-group, that immediately responded everytime the police came up with some new bullshit about bombs, stolen goods and evi-

dence of terrorist plans. This meant that police propaganda didn't have the effect they had hoped for. Somehow though we have lost the initiative. It is physically impossible to retake the houses. There is a permanent guard of 6-12 battle ready cops in and around the buildings and a further fifty waiting on stand-by at various stations.

## AS DUTCH USE LETHAL GAS



ON MAY 26, IN GRONIGEN, Holland, the police riot squad laid siege to the WNC squat with tanks, water cannons, guns, tear gas and cranes. The WNC squat is probably the largest squat left in Holland, consisting of one entire city block.

After 5 1/2 hours of struggle against state violence, the squatters were forced to barricade themselves in the basement of the squat. The police gained access to the third floor of the building by crane with a protective plexiglass shield over the top (in case of flying debris such as molotovs). They then cut through the remaining floors until they reached the basement. After many unsuccessful attempts to gain access to the basement, the mayor ordered riot police to dispense lethal amounts of tear gas into the basement, stating, "They must be stopped at any cost!" (One can of tear gas can cover a square mile and is lethal in an enclosed room.)

The night after the attack began, the squatters surrendered. 139 squatters remain in custody in 18 separate facilities and reports state many are in isolation cells; most are being interrogated in military

fashion and forced to submit to injections. Most of the squatters are vegetarian or vegan and are being denied vegetarian food.

During the siege article #219220 was put into effect. Designed for wartime use, it allows an area to be isolated by force (martial law) with random searches. This has led to more arrests. The town mayor, Staatsen, has declared war on the squatters and everyone who "looks like a squatter" is subject to arrest on the street.

The repression has escalated considerably. As of June 9, 10 of the WNC squatters thought to have been arrested have been reported missing. State lawyers have been uncooperative in the defense of those arrested and prisoners are being denied written communication with the outside.

Two bills being considered by the Dutch government suggest even more repression. Article 140 would outlaw squatting and make it punishable by 1 year imprisonment. Article 141 would outlaw squatter support groups and allow the police to tap phones, intercept faxes and open mail.



# Womyn's Health: In Our Own Hands

**TORNADO WARNING IS A** group of radical anti-authoritarian feminist womyn. We came together in September of 1989 with the purpose of creating a supportive political atmosphere for womyn. Our issues focus on basic survival needs and self-sufficiency. We are struggling and fighting for adequate food, housing, healthcare, education, egalitarian partnerships and the freedom to have access to things we need and want in our lives. We realize that under the current capitalist/racist/patriarchal system free choice is a myth. Womyn are limited

because of the inequalities inherent in the system.

With the understanding of these ideas, Tornado Warning recently brought two womyn from the Federation of Feminist Women's Health Centers to Minneapolis, as part of a self-help workshop, to teach womyn about our bodies. The first day of the conference also consisted of a lecture and video open to both womyn and men, followed by workshops for womyn the next day. The workshops included gynecological exams and learning self-help education.

We have come away from the conference with renewed faith in our own ability to empower ourselves and affect change. We have absolutely no faith that the current political system will provide us with the information and education that we need about our bodies. Laws that give us the right to control our bodies can be taken away. Self-knowledge can't. We will not rely on the current system. We will do it on our own.

We are interested in networking with other groups or individuals with similar ideas and concerns. For more information about Tornado

Warning or to make a donation to help defray the costs of bringing these womyn to Minneapolis contact us at:

**TORNADO WARNING**  
P.O. Box 7624  
Minneapolis, MN 55407

For more information about the Federation of Feminist Women's Health Centers write or call:

**FEDERATION OF FEMINIST WOMEN'S HEALTH CENTERS**  
6221 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 419-A  
Los Angeles, CA 90048  
Tel: (213) 930-2512

## AGAINST IMPERIALISM

(Continued from page 9)

should be the logical base of its struggle: anti-capitalism. "National liberation movements are capitalist multi-class coalitions in which the proletarians of the Third World do the fighting and dying..." (No Middle Ground no. 3-4). If anti-imperialist resistance (here or there) doesn't expand beyond this, if it is opposition to imperialism only, then it too begins to develop its own contradictions and can in fact become a refor-

mist struggle. As Alfredo Bonanno writes, "The enemy is he who exploits, organizing production and distribution in a capitalist dimension, even if this exploiter then calls us compatriot, party comrade, or whatever other pleasing epithet.... Unity with the internal exploiters is impossible, because no unity is possible, between the class of workers and the class of exploiters."

In rejecting national liberation struggles some anarchists and marxists use the slogan "Nation or Class," with the view that because we struggle for international revolution, limited national struggles are an obstacle. However, as has already been said, the limitations of these struggles can be viewed as the direct result of our

own revolutionary struggles lacking in intensity and influence. Demanding "world revolution" while rejecting national liberation struggles and ignoring the lack of revolutionary struggle here is like trying to get blood out of a stone.

With or without revolutionary solidarity, the exploited of the three continents will continue to organize and build resistance on their own. Whether or not the national liberation struggles contribute to international revolution, by extending the insurrection, is something that also rests in our hands.

Our internationalism, which connects revolutionary struggles here with the struggles in the periphery is what creates the anti-imperialist re-

sistance. The basis of our anti-imperialism is extending the struggle to form a base in the anti-capitalist struggle, within an international perspective. Part of developing an anti-imperialist, international perspective is seeing that even with the contradictions and limitations, national liberation struggles also contain class fronts, and this is what connects our struggles into one. Our position should be one of intervening and extending the struggle. "Anarchists should give all their support, concrete regarding participation, theoretical concerning analysis and study, to national liberation struggles."

Alfredo Bonanno,  
*Anarchism and the  
National Liberation Struggle*

### anti-racist actions

## BAY AREA BONEHEADS BASHED

BY TOMMY KELLY

**F**OR THE PAST TWO YEARS IN San Francisco, neo-nazi skinheads have marched on May Day, the international workers' holiday, chanting "We don't care what the commies say, May 1st is white workers day!" This year people fought back. The nazis were unable to march on May 1st at all due to the presence of about 250 anti-racists who gathered in SF's Haight district (nazi bonehead turf) to stop the nazis and their tide of racist violence.

We so greatly outnumbered them that they didn't even attempt to march, and the event was quickly transformed into a festive, anti-racist May Day demonstration. We chased a small number of particularly thick-skulled nazis out of the Haight and then proceeded to further invade their turf by occupying and reclaiming "skinhead hill" (Buena Vista Park), a nazi hangout.

On April 30th, the day before our successful "Reclaim May Day" demonstration, we learned that the American Front was planning a racist May Day march and rally for Saturday, May 5, in SF's Union Square Park (Yuppie turf). The American Front is a neo-nazi skinhead youth group led by Bob Heike, with close ties to the neo-nazi christian fundamentalist Aryan Nations.

Three groups who organized the May Day demo, Bay Area Anti-Racist Action (BARA), Direct Action Against Racism (DAAR—a new, student-based group), and the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, quickly mobilized forces. The strategy was to arrive at Union Square before the

nazis and to prevent them from marching. 300 of us gathered at the BART station and marched to the park at noon on May 5th. We were a diverse group of workers, students, traditional (anti-racist) skinheads, and anarchists.

As we marched around the perimeter of the park, a group of about 20 nazi goons, complete with brown shirts, Aryan Nations patches, confederate flags, and an "Aryan Revolution Now" banner, marched into the park from the other side. Our group met them in the middle of the park and greeted them with fists, boots, bottles, and chants of "Nazi Scum Fuck Off!"

The police quickly surrounded the nazis to protect them from the crowd who spent the next 15 minutes boun-

cing rocks, bottles and other objects off their little pink heads. The SF Police Dept. rescued the AFers by putting them in a paddy wagon and driving them away from the scene, only to drop them off elsewhere. Baton-swinging cops thwarted our attempts to blockade the paddy wagon. We held a brief victory rally and burned the American Front banner and other souvenirs we had acquired during the fight. Since then, anti-nazi and anti-racist activity has increased dramatically in the Bay Area, particularly in the East Bay punk scene.

For more information, contact:  
**Bay Area Anti-Racist Action (BARA)**  
P.O. Box 3501  
Oakland, CA 94609  
Phone (415) 644-4173



## SKINHEADS CONFRONT KLAN IN OHIO

BY LINDA MALONEY

**O**N APRIL 17, ABOUT 10 KLANSMEN and very few supporters marched in the small town of Oxford, Ohio (home of Miami University), located about 30 miles north of Cincinnati. The Klan was greeted by about 300-500 anti-Klan, anti-racist protesters who were angry and shouting anti-Klan, and anti-Nazi slogans.

The Klan had a parade permit and was protected by police from Butler County and surrounding townships. Because of the police protection, the Klansmen were able to march through the town of Oxford. During their march, the Klansmen and their supporters were pelted with rocks, bottles and other debris. Three anti-racist protesters were arrested but released when an angry crowd demonstrated in front of the Oxford police station, according to local newspaper reports.

The Klan likes to brag about how strong it is. It informed the police that 500 of its people would participate in their march and rally to protest the suspension of two Talawanda High School students from Oxford for wearing Klan-like robes to school last Halloween.

When the Klan tried to hold a rally in town after the march, the rally was disrupted when Klansmen began fighting with anti-racist skinheads. The police and Klan both agreed that the remainder of the rally would be cancelled as the police could not guarantee the safety of the Klan. This was a much-needed victory for the anti-Klan forces after the Klan had been able to finish its march.

(Continued on page 12)



# AMOR RABIA

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**REBELION CONTRA EL  
IMPUESTO ELECTORAL  
SACUDE  
A GRAN BRETANA 2**

**BARRICADAS EN BROADWAY 4**

( EL SEGUNDO PARTE)



# REBELION CONTRA EL IMPUESTO ELECTORAL SACUDE A GRAN BRETANA

POR MICHAEL DONNELLY.

LA EMBAJADA SUDAFRICANA fue incendiada, se volcaron vehículos policiales y por lo menos 36 policías resultaron heridos, y más de 300 personas fueron arrestadas cuando los manifestantes anti-impuesto electoral se enfrentaron a policías anti-motines, el pasado 31 de marzo en Londres, cerca de Downing Street, residencia de la primer ministro, Margaret Thatcher.

La multitud enojada granizó proyectiles sobre los carros de bomberos enviado para proteger la embajada sudafricana. La manifestación ocurrió un día antes de que el Impuesto Electoral fue planeado de empezar. Fue la más reciente y la más grande de las manifestaciones militantes en contra del Impuesto Electoral que ha sacudido a Inglaterra en el pasado mes de marzo.

A principios de mes una turba de 5000 atacó a la policía con piedras y botellas, quebró ventanas y volcó un carro patrullero en Hackney, distrito de Londres. La divulgación de las tarifas del Impuesto Electoral durante la primera semana de marzo fue recibida con una resistencia masiva en todo el territorio Ingles. Fueron arrestadas 57 personas y 30 policías fueron heridas en el disturbio de Hackney. En Birmingham, los manifestantes lucharon con la policía en la cámara del concejo municipal. En Bristol, los manifestantes atacaron a la policía, y entonces fueron asaltados por policía equestre. En Swindon, más de 1200 manifestantes quemaron la efigie de la primer ministro Margaret Thatcher. El mismo episodio se repitió en ciudad tras ciudad a lo largo de Inglaterra.

Actualmente, la cantidad del impuesto a pagar al concejo municipal se calcula basado en el valor de la propiedad de la persona. La nueva propuesta de Thatcher establecería un impuesto de porcentaje fijo pagado por cada persona mayor de los 18 años, con pocas excepciones limitadas a casos de penuria extrema. El impuesto a pagar de un hacendado bajaría agudamente, mientras que alguien viviendo en un humilde apartamento pagaría cientos de libras esterlinas más. Ya que cada concejo municipal se verá obligado a equilibrar gastos con ingresos generados por el Impuesto Electoral, al quien viviendo en municipios controlados por el Partido Laboral (los cuales son más pobres y tienen gastos mayores para servicios sociales) pagaría más que alguien viviendo en un municipio controlado por el Partido Conservador de Thatcher. Esto no sería una sorpresa para los estudiantes de la historia. El primer Impuesto Electoral resultó en la Rebelión del Campesinado hace más de 600 años. Después de disturbios a escala mayor y la ejecución en publico

del tesoro, se suspendió el impuesto.

Cuando fueron divulgados los planes del impuesto, hubo protestas inmediatas. El espíritu de la resistencia fue atenuado, sin embargo, por las declaraciones del gobierno que cuadrillas móviles de investigadores estaban verificando si todos habían registrado. Hubo amenazas de deducciones del 20% a los cheques de beneficio gubernamental y de cartas que serían seguidas por la confiscación de propiedad y de cuentas bancarias, y eventualmente por tiempo de cárcel para los resistentes al impuesto.

Los grupos de oposición - el Partido Laboral, los sindicatos, el Partido Nacional Escocés, aparentemente no pudieron o no quisieron retar a Thatcher por el impuesto. El líder Laborista Neil Kinnock hizo discursos en el parlamento denunciando el plan tributario, pero la política oficial del partido fue la permitir que los concejos municipales coleccionaran el impuesto.

Hubo problemas aun con los grupos nuevamente formados para oponerse al Impuesto Electoral. Varios fueron dominados por sectos izquierdistas dogmáticos como la Tendencia Militante y el Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores. Ninguno de estos dos grupos fue especialmente democrático en sus métodos. Ambos aparentemente estaban mas interesados en reclutar nuevos miembros y

en perseguir sus propias agendas que en crear una resistencia al Impuesto Electoral.

El movimiento Inglés anti-impuesto Electoral tuvo un inicio lento. Pero cuando la fecha límite en Diciembre para registrarse había pasado, las cosas habían empezado a cambiar de dirección. Como en Escocia, muchos meses de organizar a nivel de calle y de individuos en la comunidad comenzó a rendir resultados, con aportes importantes por parte de activistas anarquistas y anti-autoritarios.

Se rechazó la táctica de Thatcher de "probar el mercado" para el Impuesto Electoral en Escocia. Una

Aberdeen, la policía tuvo que rescatar a los alguaciles de las manos de 100 manifestantes. En Edinburgh, 40 activistas ocuparon la oficina del alguacil y efectuaron una subasta en parodia de objetos encontrados allí.

NALGO, un sindicato representado a trabajadores de los concejos (muchos de los cuales perderían sus empleos por causa de los recortes presupuestarios que resultarían al implantarse el impuesto) fueron a la huelga. Esto entorpeció considerablemente los esfuerzos de identificar y perseguir a los morosos. los huelgistas fueron apoyados por activistas opuestos al Impuesto Electoral.

*"El grupo bien organizado de Haringey proyectó casi una totalidad de abstención al pago del impuesto."*

cuarta parte de los Escoceses rehusaron pagar. Muchos, para empezar, no se habían registrado, y otros dejaron de pagar después del primer pago.

Los alguaciles que trataron de confiscar la propiedad de la gente por falta de pago del Impuesto Electoral a menudo fueron enfrentados por turmas de manifestantes furiosos y cancelaron los procedimientos programados para el día. En un caso en

En Inglaterra, los activistas comenzaron a producir publicaciones, hacer grafitis, ir puerta a puerta, organizar grupos comunitarios y marchas de protesta, y a protestar en las juntas de los concejos o en las oficinas del Impuesto Electoral. Hubo numerosos programas de entretenimiento en oposición al Impuesto Electoral, con bandas como Chumba-wumba y Wot Tyler (una banda anarquista con el nombre de un líder de la Rebelión del Campesinado en el siglo XIV)

En Londres, los obreros del NALGO de Lambeth rehusaron efectuar todo trabajo relacionado con el Impuesto Electoral, y muchos grupos gubernamentales o semi-gubernamentales declararon que no cooperarían con los investigadores tributarios. Los investigadores fueron obligados a retirarse de complejos habitacionales subsidiados en South-wark y en Tower Hamlets.

Un método común de manifestar la oposición al impuesto era el de quemar publicamente los planillas de inscripción del Impuesto Electoral. La quema pública mas grande se produjo en junio en el distrito progresista londinense de Islington, donde la oficina del Impuesto Electoral fue incendiada una noche y totalmente carbonizada.

Después de la fecha límite para registrarse en diciembre, 10% de la población había rehusado registrarse, y la antagonía empezó a aumentar cuando la gente se dió cuenta que de hecho estaría apareciendo en sus buzones una cuenta tributaria enorme e injusta.

El movimiento anti-impuesto Electoral fue impulsado enormemente en aquel momento decisivo por las raja-







duras cada vez mas anchas en la armadura de Thatcher. La economía no marchaba tan bien como antes. Las encuestas indicaban que Thatcher perdería una elección prematura por 20% al Partido Laborista. La prensa popular publicó artículos indicando que las tasas del impuesto serían aun más altas de lo proyectado, y resaltaban tales discrepancias absurdas como el caso del mayordomo del Príncipe Carlos, quien pagaba una tasa de impuesto más alta por un apartamento de una habitación que la que el príncipe pagaba por su hacienda rural. Grupos vecinales como el del distrito obrero multi-racial de Haringey (en Londres) denunciaron el impuesto de 554 libras esterlinas (casi \$900) que se les había exigido pagar, uno de los más altos en el país. El grupo bien organizado de Haringey proyectó casi una totalidad de abstención al pago del impuesto.

Los disturbios en marzo fueron denunciados por Thatcher como trabajo de seguidores de Tendencia Militante. Pero en verdad las manifestaciones se efectuaron por una mezcla interesante de estudiantes, amas de casa, asentados anarquistas, jubilados, jóvenes profesionales izquierdistas, y otros. Si la turba hubiese sido compuesta únicamente

por seguidores de Tendencia Militante, Thatcher no hubiese tenido razón alguna para preocuparse.

Thatcher enfrenta la mayor crisis política de su carrera. Afortunadamente, cuando el sentimiento anti-impuesto Electoral explotó, ya había una infraestructura sólida de activistas,

información, organizaciones, y apoyo comunitario, que la gente había edificado durante más de un año, de la cual depender. En estos momentos, parece que habrá abstención masiva de pago al impuesto, con mucha probabilidad de algun tipo de concesión política. La trayectoria

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política de Thatcher parece estar al terminarse. Quizá una pregunta más importante es si los anarquistas que trabajaron con otros grupos en este caso seguirán trabajando con grupos de raíces amplias comunitarias, y a la vez presentar las ideas anarquistas como una alternativa viable para tales grupos.

Para mayor información, contactar a:

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*Amor y Rabia* es un periódico mensual anarquista revolucionario que intenta fomentar el activismo revolucionario anti-autoritario en Norteamérica. Proseguimos cobertura sobre luchas sociales, eventos mundiales, acciones anarquistas y brotes de resistencia (contra-cultura). Apoyaremos las luchas de los oprimidos alrededor del mundo por el control de sus propias vidas. El anarquismo ofrece la más profunda crítica a la dominación, haciendo posible un marco de unidad de todas las luchas por la liberación. Tratamos de entender los sistemas bajo los cuales vivimos mediante nuestro propio análisis y rechazamos cualquier ideología parastatalista. El anarquismo es un cuerpo vivo de teoría y práctica, conectado directamente a las experiencias de los oprimidos que luchan por su propia liberación. Anticipamos la revisión constante y radical de nuestras ideas como parte necesaria de cualquier proceso revolucionario.

#### *Amor y Rabia* es revolucionario.

Apoyamos el derrocamiento de toda forma de relaciones sociales autoritarias y la creación de una sociedad basada en la cooperación, en la solidaridad y la ayuda mutua. Reconocemos que la revolución social solo puede hacerse realidad la mayoría oprimida de la humanidad mediante un movimiento autogestionario. Apoyamos la utilización de cualquier medio que sea necesario para emancipar a la humanidad y alcanzar así el fin de la guerra, de la pobreza, del hambre y de la miseria generada por el sistema actual. Apoyamos la necesidad del desarrollo de un movimiento de lucha como paso dirigido hacia la realización de la revolución social.

#### *Amor y Rabia* es antistatalista.

Nos oponemos a todos los Estados como quiera que estos se autodenotan: Capitalistas o comunistas.



## Declaración Política de **Amor y Rabia**

#### *Amor y Rabia* es anticapitalista.

Apoyamos todos los esfuerzos por derrocar toda forma de dominio de clase y poder estatal. Apoyamos las huelgas y otras formas de lucha obrera por el control de los medios de producción.

#### *Amor y Rabia* es antirracista.

Luchamos contra la supremacía blanca y militamos por la creación de una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Apoyamos la autodeterminación de los mexicanos, de los chicanos, de los indígenas norteamericanos y otros grupos oprimidos. Reconocemos la especial opresión de los afroamericanos desde los tiempos de la esclavitud hasta el presente y la lucha del pueblo negro en los Estados Unidos por su liberación y autodeterminación. Luchamos contra el resurgimiento del racismo hacia los asiáticos y los árabes. Nos colocamos al frente en la lucha contra los racistas fechos cabeza rapadas (jakhahed), el Ku Klux Klan, los Nazis y el terror polaco.

#### *Amor y Rabia* es antipatriarcal.

Apoyamos el derecho a la autodeterminación de los

pueblos oprimidos por las diferentes formas de imperialismo. Luchamos por expulsar a Estados Unidos de Centro America, Puerto Rico y de todos los otros territorios. Apoyamos la destrucción del Estado Federal de EU. Apoyamos la destrucción del Imperio Soviético y la liberación de todos sus pueblos. Estamos a favor de la destrucción del Apartheid, del FMI, del Banco Mundial, de las corporaciones multinacionales y de todas las otras formas de imperialismo.

#### *Amor y Rabia* es antifeminista.

Estamos a favor de la liberación y de la autodeterminación de la mujer. Esto significa, como mínimo, el cuestionamiento del derecho reproductivo de todas las mujeres sin diferencias de razas o estado económico y por un mundo sin violencia sexista. Reconocemos que la opresión de la mujer es necesaria para continuar con el funcionamiento del Estado. El Estado jamás resolverá nuestros problemas. Nuestra liberación solo será posible mediante el derrocamiento del Estado.

*Amor y Rabia* apoya la liberación de las lesbianas, de los homosexuales y de los bisexuales.

Rechazamos la heterosexualidad obligatoria de la fa-

milia patriarcal y apoyamos los esfuerzos por promover una diversidad de relaciones humanas consensuales y sexuales.

*Amor y Rabia* apoyará las luchas de los jóvenes contra su específica opresión.

*Amor y Rabia* se esfuerza especialmente en promover una plataforma para la juventud. Reconocemos que el futuro revolucionario está en manos de la juventud.

*Amor y Rabia* apoya la lucha contra la dominación de la Naturaleza.

Reconocemos que el sistema industrial actual, construido sobre la explotación del planeta y de sus habitantes, ha causado una crisis ecológica que amenaza la supervivencia en el planeta. Apoyamos los movimientos de resistencia contra la continua destrucción del planeta. Vemos la necesidad de una transformación revolucionaria de nuestras relaciones con el planeta y las especies que lo habitan. Queremos detener la destrucción del medio natural. Queremos detener e invertir el empobrecimiento del aire, de la tierra y del agua. Estamos en contra de la explotación de animales en las granjas industriales y en los sistemas de prueba. Nos oponemos a los ataques del Estado contra el Movimiento por la Liberación de los Animales.

Esta declaración no intenta incluir todos los asuntos que conciernen a los anarquistas y anti-autoritarios, ni *Amor y Rabia* pretende un entendimiento a plenitud o una plena unidad de criterios sobre todos los temas. No pretende representar el aspecto completo de la diversidad en el movimiento anarquista actual. No retiramos la controversia. Le pedimos siempre ideas y sugerencias a nuestros lectores y a otros activistas esforzándonos por mejorar nuestro entendimiento y el del movimiento en que militamos.



# ACT NOW En Chicago

POR KEDZIE THROOP AND LAURIE

LA PRIMERA VEZ QUE ALguien gritó, "De quien es esta calle?", la multitud parecía a intuir un punto de transición. Con una sola voz, gritaron la respuesta "¡Nuestra calle!" Se hizo un canto - llamar y contestar - completamente diferente del canto repetitivo de una 'robótica' línea de piquetes.

Prominente en la manifestación nacional de ACT-NOW (un grupo que hace acción directa contra el SIDA) por atención médica aquí el 23 de abril fue un grupo grande de afinidad que se llama el 'Grupo PISD' (Personas con Desórdenes de los Sistemas de Inmunidades - en inglés PISD (pissed) significa enojado.) Cuando ellos dijeron que estaban PISD, todo el mundo les creyó.

Casi mil activistas contra el SIDA desfilaron por tres millas de calles de Chicago para cuatro horas, desafiando a los policías (a caballo y a pie), entocando su cólera contra dos compañías de seguro, la Asociación Médica de (norte) América (AMA), y el gobierno de la Condada 'Cook'. Ellos declararon desdefosamente que a causa de la homofobia, el odio a las mujeres, el racismo, y la avaricia, personas con el SIDA, y personas percibidos como 'a riesgo', no pueden conseguir seguro.

Ellos acusaron el establecimiento médico de los mismos prejuicios; estos prejuicios han empujado la AMA a atacar los tratamientos alternativos.

Activistas dijeron que la compañía Mutual de Nueva York denegó seguro a una mujer a causa de su alegada promiscuidad, después de examinar sus récords psiquiátricos. Ella ya se había sometido a una prueba para anticuerpos HIV cuando la compañía lo demandó perentoriamente, y el resultado fue negativo.

La compañía Prudential, según ACT-NOW, ha calificado vecinidades y profesiones enteras de 'homosexuales', y les niega seguro. Esto es ilegal, y Prudential rechaza la acusación.

El gobierno de la Condada 'Cook' fue también acusado de estos crímenes, porque proveyó a solamente treinta camas en la cuadra SIDA del Hospital de la Condada 'Cook', mantuvo vacías la mitad de esas camas aun cuando había una lista de espera de 800 personas con el SIDA, y excluyó a mujeres y niños de la cuadra.

Esto inspiró la poderosa culminación de la manifestación: al mediodía más que cien mujeres improvisaron una cuadra SIDA en medio del cruce al edificio del gobierno de la Condada 'Cook'. Ellas emplearon dieciséis colchones; la mayoría de estos se habían aparecido misteriosamente poco tiempo antes que la marcha llegó a la esquina. En solidaridad con ellas, el Grupo PISD, y el Grupo de Personas de Color, tomaron la calle de la policía, y trataron de tenerlas a raya mientras que las mujeres se plantaron.

En la próxima hora, más de sesenta y seis personas fueron arrestados a empujes en una grande desobediencia civil (DC) que tuvo más en común con las sentadas militantes de hace una generación, de con la reciente DC domesticada.

Durante esta DC, miembros de

ACT-UP Chicago tomaron un balcón a la Casa Consistorial, y colgaron una bandera que proclamó: "¡DEMANDAMOS IGUALDAD EN ATENCIÓN MÉDICA YA!" Ellos fueron arrastrados adentro, golpeados, amenazados, y arrestados.

En total, había más de 134 personas arrestadas ese día, incluyendo a un manifestante ciego y su perro-lazarillo.

La creciente influencia de personas de color en el movimiento contra el SIDA se mostró de muchas maneras durante el fin de semana de actividades de ACT-NOW. Cuando la



## BARRICADAS EN BROADWAY

(EL SEGUNDO PARTE)

POR PAUL O'BANION

AL FINES DE LA MAÑANA, UNA marcha espontánea ocurrió, con un tropel de 2,000 a 3,000 personas. Al mediodía un "speakout" (una oportunidad para platicar frente a la multitud) ocurrió en los peldaños de un edificio federal adornado con una estatua de George Washington con un signo del dólar en el mano.

El "speakout" fue un suceso en que hablaron muchas personas con creencias muy diversas. No obstante, las tendencias de la mayoría de disertantes eran en la dirección del reformismo y de tener un solo punto de disputa. Con muy pocas excepciones, el carácter revolucionario de la política de los grupos originadores no estaba expresada con coherencia. No estaba expresada una alternativa programática tampoco.

Algunos de los 17 disertantes fueron: Leo Myrick, un representante de los conductores Greyhound a la huelga; Jitsu Weusi, independiente activista negro de largo plazo; Sam Anderson, quien habló sobre la oposición pública a los planes de Columbia University de construir una facilidad de tecnología biológica (en el sitio del asesinato de Malcolm X); Howard Hawkins de Left Green Network (red de ecologistas izquierdistas), quien insistió sobre la necesidad de democracia directa contra el capitalismo y el estado; Chris Shawn de Agent Orange Network; Donna Reik de Dalkon Sheild Information Network; Ari Suki de ACT-UP y WHAM; Bob McGlynn quien volvió recientemente de Europa, y quien leyó una carta abierta de solidaridad de anarquistas de 23 países quienes se habían reunido en Trieste, Italia; y Tatiana Bohm de East German Independent Women's Association (asociación independiente de mujeres de Alemania del este).

marcha acercó al edificio del gobierno de la Condada 'Cook', un grupo de afinidad Latino empezó a gritar "CHICAGO, MIRA, DINERO PARA SIDA", y otros manifestantes rápidamente se juntaron a ellos.

Una conferencia de activistas de color contra el SIDA tuvo lugar en Chicago el veinte de abril. Hay intentos de establecer un boletín nacional entre estas activistas, y habrá otra conferencia en seis meses.

Desde el principio de la manifestación, una existente mezcla de conocimiento táctico, y voluntad política, muchas veces ayudó a los manifestantes abrirse paso de falanges de policías a caballo, que salieron en desbanda, y se regrouparon más lejos.

'Guías', que en otras manifestaciones muchas veces se conducen como policías de la manifestación (para asegurar que todo es pacífico), aquí ayudaron con la formación de li-

neas de autodefensa, llamando a los activistas a eslabonar los brazos contra las líneas de policías a caballo que adelantaban.

Las policías de Chicago se demurraron en darse por vencidos. Un miembro de ACT-UP (NY) dijo a una activista de Chicago que él y sus compañeros volvían a Nueva York con un nuevo conocimiento de la brutalidad de la policía de Chicago, y de la dificultad de acciones militantes en la calle aquí.

Para más información sobre el boletín de los activistas de color, y sobre la conferencia, se puede escribir a:

Darrell Gordon  
PO Box 6022  
Chicago, IL 60680  
Tel.: (312) 287-0158

Darrell Gordon contribuyó a este artículo.

siones sobre la emergencia de un movimiento autónomo (como en Italia) norteamericano. Pero después de Wall Street y otras acciones en el continente, se parece más posible.

La organización de grupos de afinidad dentro de grupos móviles, el deseo de evitar el cárcel, y el uso de barricadas físicas (todos estos fueron evidente en la acción) están más y más de moda con activistas.

Tan confuso como la situación parecía, nos dio una conciencia de lo posible. Y mucho fue posible. El deseo general de evitar arresto fue muy diferente de lo de los días cuando el propósito de asistir a una manifestación fue de someterse al arresto. El número pequeño de personas haciendo desobediencia civil limitó nuestra habilidad de bloquear. Si, personas enfrentaban a la policía, pero ya no hay organización propia para acciones directas de tipo sin desobediencia civil. Muchas veces la gente huía cuando aparecían los polizontes. Necesitamos aprender aprovechar el espacio en las calles, mientras que usamos grupos de afinidad y grupos móviles — tácticas que disminuyen la posibilidad de arrestos, y también nos permiten actuar en manera eficaz.

La Wall Street Action ha creado una apertura para los anarquistas orientados hacia organización y el desarrollo de un movimiento pugnant. También es una representación de la continuación de la alianza entre la Juventud Verde y los anarquistas en otros proyectos, en el contexto de un movimiento más amplia y más radical. Hay una red grande de personas con interés en el desarrollo de un movimiento de tipo que se fue exhibido el 23 de abril. Ya hay discusiones sobre el inicio de una continental red verde de acción directa.

Acciones en las calles son solamente un componente de una estrategia revolucionaria, que consiste no solamente en el desarrollo de "poder dual", pero también en el mutualismo y solidaridad entre nosotros. El significativo de la acción fue subrayado por la muerte de John Jay Anderson de los Antioch Greens, en una accidente automovilístico durante su vuelta a Ohio. Aunque nunca no ha participado antes en una acción directa como Wall Street, sus compañeros, después de su participación en la acción, le describían como muy satisfecho y lleno de entusiasmo. Dedicó este artículo a su memoria y a mis compañeros quienes sufren mucho a causa de su ausencia.