

LOVE AND RAGE

a revolutionary anarchist newsmagazine

\$1

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OIL WAR



BY WAYNE PRICE

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS GETTING ready for a war and anarchists are getting ready to oppose it. We have no sympathy for the brutal dictatorship of Iraq or its aggression against Kuwait. But we know that the US government is the more powerful and dangerous aggressor. We know the war is not about freedom for Kuwait; it is about oil. You and I can have little effect on Iraqi militarism, but we can stand in the way of the US war plans.

Once the US rulers decided on military intervention, two schools of thought emerged. Some, such as Henry Kissinger and the Israeli military, urged an early military strike at Iraq, smashing its military and industrial sites. However, this would not have defeated Iraq's million and a half strong army. A long, drawn-out war might follow. The US people might turn against the war as happened in Vietnam.

Others such as General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, advocated a vast US military buildup in the Middle East. They calculate that enough US forces can be in place by the end of October to win a war with Iraq. Meanwhile Iraq could be weakened by a military blockade. The US rulers have chosen the second plan. Whether the US military is right and can win without a drawn-out war is an open question. If Saddam Hussein

does not back down, there will probably be a war this fall.

In preparing for a war, the preparation of people's minds is even more important than the build-up of tanks and bombers.

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Letters

Women Against Imperialism

Dear *Love and Rage*,

Women Against Imperialism would like to clear up the confusion in some recent letters to this paper concerning who and what we are.

We are an action-oriented Bay Area feminist organization of lesbians and straight women. For the last nine years we have sponsored an annual International Women's Day demonstration. We have also been involved in Take Back The Night and International Day Against Violence Against Women marches, as well as Central America and Philippines solidarity work, organizing around the issue of political prisoners and Prisoners of War in the U.S., participating in clinic defense against Operation Rescue and other reproductive rights work, lesbian visibility actions, a lesbian discussion series, AIDS activism, and more.

We do most of our work with other groups and individuals. We also frequently try to create women's contingents with unaffiliated women and other women's groups at large demonstrations. However, we are a collective, and are not an "open" group, in that we like to get to know women before they actually join our organization. This is both a response to the continuing problem of government infiltration and disruption of our movements, and to our need to create a long term group where members trust each other and have unity on basic political principles.

While our group includes women who identify themselves as marxist-leninists, some anarchists, women who don't relate to those terms, and many of us who are trying to figure out what it all means in 1990, we do all agree on such points as supporting women's, lesbian and gay liberation, supporting liberation movements in the world and in this country, and opposing US imperialism. We would love to talk to women who are interested in working on projects with us and to hear what women in other places are up to. We can be contacted at: (415) 995-4735; 3543 18th St. #14, San Francisco, CA 94110.

Women Against Imperialism
San Francisco, CA

Fan Mail

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I recently obtained two issues of your paper, and I was very impressed. Before reading *Love and Rage*, I had the idea that Anarchists were just a group of disorganized thugs who caused chaos with violence for the hell of it. Now I see how wrong I was, and I realize that my viewpoints match those of *Love and Rage* and its contributors. I especially appreciate the attempt to liberate womyn from the oppressions they now face. Please suggest any books on Anarchist theory which would give me more information and give me the name and address of any groups in or near the state of Maine. Also, right now I am financially unable to subscribe to *Love and Rage*, but is there

anything I can do to help you or the movement? I appreciate your help.

Sarah Tomlinson
Medford, ME

Sound of the Drum

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I recently had the wonderful experience of attending the 22nd annual A.I.M. pow wow held in Fort Snelling Park, Minnesota. The first night, I arrived at dusk. Walking from the parking lot towards the gathering, I could see the

flood lights and hear the powerful sound of the drum and singers.

The last time I heard these sounds I was standing on a boat landing in a remote part of Wisconsin. At that time I was a witness for peace during the spear-fishing disputes. What I witnessed was the ugly hooded face of racism and ignorance. At that time the singers and drum wailed up great sadness and anger. Sadness because of what these proud people have been forced to endure, and anger for there seemed little I could do.

As I write this I sit with a small group of Native Americans and white supporters outside the Canadian consulate in Minneapolis. Once again I hear the drum. The voices are silent now as if drowned out by our collective sadness and anger, knowing that at this very moment Canadian troops are perched on the brink of attack around a small group of Mohawk Indians in Quebec. The Indians have taken a stand against the "development" of sacred land for the expansion of a golf course. At times I can not be-



Youth Greens Conference

BY BAZOOKA JOE

APPROXIMATELY 80 young anti-authoritarians gathered this summer for five days and nights (July 27-31) in Plainfield, Vermont for the Third Continental Youth Greens Conference.

The conference served to further distinguish both the theoretical and practical orientation of the Youth Greens as an organization committed to helping to create a revolutionary social and ecological movement in North America. Along with members of locals from such places as Eugene, Oregon; Knoxville, Tennessee; Yellow Springs, Ohio; Berkeley, California; and New York City there were participants from other groups who have worked closely with the Youth Greens, such as the *Love and Rage* collective, Autonomous Anarchist Action and the Left Green Network.

In a cooperative environment where responsibility for cooking and cleaning were shared, people engaged in theoretical debates, discussed and voted on proposed

The first two days were set aside mainly for workshops, speakers and discussions of position papers. Workshops included ones on Art and Politics, Advanced Capitalism



and the New Social Movements, Contemporary Native American Struggles and Community Development. Some strong debates developed early on after Social Ecologist Murray Bookchin's speech the first night on "Intellectuals and the New Intelligentsia." In his speech he warned, on the one hand, of the dangers of falling into a nihilistic street militancy that eschews theory, a tendency he claimed was prevalent in the German autonomous movement, and on the other, of the theoretical smugness of armchair revolutionaries who exist comfortably within the walls of academia.

He called instead for a reclamation of the public sphere through a combination of cooperative ventures, direct action, study groups and a strategy of radical municipalism; or the development of participatory democracy in the local electoral sphere.

The following evening anarchist writer John Clark spoke on "Youth

and the Politics of Imagination: Beyond Cynicism, Nihilism and Neo-Fascism." In this context he spoke of the role of imagination in the creation of social movements, especially youth movements, both left and right. Like Bookchin, Clark called for anarchists to get beyond what he referred to as a "Nineteenth century Bakuninist character structure."



The last three days of the conference were taken up by decision-making. A new principle promoting "Anti-racism and Ethnic Identity" was adopted that began by calling into question the category of race, racial categories are seen as "pseudo-biological (categories) constructed by an imperialist capitalism to legitimate domination and exploitation by European ruling classes over other cultures." The principle goes on to state however, that while racism and economics are closely linked, the elimination of capitalism will not automatically bring an end to racism. Only through the destruction of hierarchy and domination in all its forms and the affirmation of ethnic particularity, the Youth Greens believe, can a non-racist and liberated society emerge.

An ecofeminist principle was adopted that acknowledges the historical

link between the domination of women and the destruction of the natural world. The basis for this link is a pervasive societal notion that places women in the realm of nature and men in the realm of culture. Transcending this nature/culture dualism, the ecofeminist perspective shows that women are both biological and cultural beings who can draw on the liberatory aspects of their "historical inheritance by seeing women's tendency for enhanced rational and nurturing capacities" as indispensable in the actualization of a free ecological society.

A revision was made of the Youth Greens' Lesbian/Gay and Bisexual Liberation principle which came out of a number of substantive discussions throughout the conference. It reflected an interest on the part of Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals in working on common issues of sexual oppression, but with an emphasis that the experiences of Bisexual women and men, Lesbians and Gay men are often distinct from each other and can not be equated.

In other resolutions adopted, the Youth Greens affirmed solidarity and future cooperation with the *Love and Rage* project, endorsed support for the family and friends of Mohawk traditional 23 year old Matthew Pike who was slain in an attack on his home earlier this year and endorsed the activities being organized by Native Americans in response to the 1992 celebration of the 500th anniversary of the landing of explorer and genocidal murderer Christopher Columbus.

Along with continued action in their local communities over the next year, Youth Greens will work as part of the Greens for Democracy Alternative camp at the Green Committees of

Correspondence national platform conference in Boulder, Colorado this September. They plan to hold workshops at the upcoming Student Environmental Action Coalition this October and will work with the Left Greens in planning a Global Week of Action next April.

The Youth Greens will be holding another Continental Conference in Knoxville, Tennessee sometime this December. For more information please contact:

Youth Greens Clearing House P.O.
Box 7293 Minneapolis, MN 55407



principles and resolutions, drank beer, set up democratic (anti) by-laws for the organization and frolicked in a nearby river.

lieve that life will be taken over golf, but what is red skin worth compared to rich white man's need for leisure?

Ladric
Minneapolis, MN

Endless Squabble

Dear *Love and Rage*,

Greetings. Having just read your most recent issue, and the previous ones, I have questions about your allegedly anti-authoritarian leftist paper.

Why don't you report on the long-standing projects of the dozens, if not hundreds, of struggling anarchist groups and individuals and publications in North America, or at least list addresses like so many zines do, instead of reporting your own organizing efforts and on national liberation struggles worldwide? We can get that from any leftist paper - often alongside listings of anarchists. Doesn't your practice tend to detract from the many diverse anarchist works everywhere?

Why criticize the OGB insert, the most readable part of the paper, as self-indulgent, and then widely feature the activities of the *Love and Rage* production group's action arm, the AAA? Why repeat what successes AAA has had and ignore their wide criticism by anarchists, those they've made appearances to support, the media, and even those who've joined their actions? Does your "Editorial Council" know about this?

How is it that your report on the closing of Sabotage Books couldn't choose which side to support, when the "yahoos" resorted to mob force to get their way, endangering two individuals and enlisting the help of members of centralist communist cults like the Revolutionary Communist Party, be-

sides subverting the standing decision-making process and the collective that made Sabotage possible? Does your "Editorial Council" know about this?

Don't you folk get any mail? You hardly print any. The give-and-take between readers is the

Dear David,

It was decided at the beginnings of the paper that we wouldn't print replies to critical letters that we receive, it just leads into the same back-and-forth wind-bag nit picking that



most vital part of a publication, especially an anarchist publication. Let's see it. Does your "Editorial Council" know about this?

Admitting to your macho/militant posturing seems like a baby step in the right direction away from self-interest and towards being a service to anti-authoritarians. Might we see an analysis of instances in which AAA or production group members have discussed purging or "physically dealing with" fellow anarchists for supposedly heretical personal activities? It would be nice to know what our anarchist leaders are planning in this regard, openly and up-front, before it occurs. A position paper, maybe. Does your "Editorial Council" know this goes on?

Type 3 Watsonian
David Crowbar
Popular Reality
Box 571
Greenwood Lake, NY 10925

takes up the space in lots of letters columns. Besides which, it always gives the paper (or person answering the letter, in this case) the chance to have the last word. But, although I wouldn't call your letter constructive criticism, you raise good questions. So, here goes...

You asked why we don't report on long standing projects, or have an address listing. *Love and Rage* isn't written by the handful of folks who do the actual putting together: typesetting, paste-up, mailing, etc., it's a compilation newspaper. The articles we print, artwork, photos, etc., are what folks send in. The Production Group makes editorial and space decisions in keeping with the politics of the project and the decisions of the Editorial Council and our annual conferences. In each issue of the paper that has come out there is a request for individuals and groups to send in announcements, articles, info, art,

etc. Yes, we want it to be more diverse, we want a better mix, and we are trying to get it. As for reporting on national liberation struggles, *Love and Rage* is a "newspaper" just like it says on the front page. Yea, you can read about the same event in *The Times*, but not from an anarchist point of view. Printing a contact list would take up a huge amount of space if we tried to be inclusive. We try to have contact addresses for publications that send an article or groups who send in reports. Perhaps we could run contact lists when discussing a specific subject.

You ask why the OGB insert was criticized and much space given to reporting on Triple A actions. The OGB insert was discussed at the Editorial Council meeting, like everything else, some loved it, some hated it. Lots of different parts of the paper were picked apart, that was one of the purposes of the meeting. Folks voiced their opinions on different parts of the paper. Why knock us for criticizing ourselves? As for Triple A coverage, there were two articles on actions Triple A was involved in, written by someone involved, and sent in. The articles weren't written by "the paper." Triple A is not a part of *Love and Rage*. It's a direct action group. Yes, people from Triple A are involved in the *Love and Rage* production group. So are folks from NYDAC, Youth Greens, and Neither East Nor West. Folks send in reports on actions, "successes" or otherwise, and we include it. When the little blurb about the closing of Sabotage was written up, it was by a member of the production group. The whole mess had blown up only the day before, there were lots of strong feelings. Rather than argue over exactly what to

write, or not saying anything, we decided to just write a short announcement of the closing. We knew that both "sides" were writing up and distributing their own information and views on the closing.

We print about a page of mail every issue. It would be nice if we could print more. An extra page would cost more money than we've got. If you've got some extra you'd like to send to us, we'll make more room. The last part of your letter is a little vague - my best guess is that you are referring to a Triple A meeting at which things got a little crazy. That meeting had nothing to do with *Love and Rage*, but since I was at the meeting, I'll spell it out. No one was purged. But yes, things did get ugly. After the closing of Sabotage there were lots of anger on both sides. One of the people at the meeting yelled at another, they argued, one said that if he "were a violent person" he would "punch him in the face." The person who made the threat now says he didn't mean it as one, but it sure sounded like it. At the next meeting, the man who made the threat was treated to several people's negative reaction to the things he said. People still have disagreements, which is o.k., but tempers have cooled. At another meeting both of the people involved were there. We argued about what actually happened talked about it, and ended up laughing. That doesn't mean that everything is fine, but obviously there aren't the sinister goings on that you seem to be insinuating. *Love and Rage* is just starting out. Lots of people working on this have never done anything like this before. We are learning.

Jane
for the Production Group

VIEQUES REPORT

BY KATHY MANLEY

"FUERA LA MARINA!" and "Navy Out!" can be seen in brightly colored spraypaint on streets, walls and bus shelters all over the small island of Vieques, Puerto Rico. This is an island dominated by the US Navy, which has controlled 3/4 of its 20 mile long, 4 1/2 mile wide territory since the 1940's. I was there for three weeks in July with Building Community, a construction brigade. We were a small group, composed mostly of teenagers, trying to rebuild some of the houses knocked down by Hurricane Hugo last year.

Building Community was organized mainly by Ruel Bernard, an Albany carpenter who has been to Vieques several times. The trip was also supported by the Free School, a local alternative school where I teach, and several kids from the school went with us. Ruel began organizing the brigade when he learned that 90% of the wood houses on Vieques had been destroyed by the hurricane, and that most of the people were too poor to rebuild. There is FEMA money available, but most people can't get access to it since they don't have legal title to their land.

Another important aspect of this trip was our support for the anti-Navy struggle on the island, particularly the rescate ("rescue") movement, which is the process of reclaiming land from the Navy by building houses on it and living in them.

Vieques is a small island municipality of Puerto Rico, eight miles east of the main island. The culture is definitively Puerto Rican, although it also contains aspects of other Caribbean cultures, such as a Rastafarian influence from nearby

St. Croix. The history of Vieques is a history of struggle. First there was the ultimately doomed resistance of the native Taino Indians against the Spanish invaders. Then it was the struggle of the African slaves brought to work the Spanish sugar plantations. Then came the efforts of the "free" sugar cane workers to change the subhuman conditions that they were forced to work under. Currently there is the struggle to reclaim the island from the US Navy.

During World War II the United States decided it wanted more bases in the Caribbean. As well as building and expanding bases on several other islands, the Pentagon expropriated 22,000 acres of the island of Vieques, 3/4 of its entire area. The population plummeted from nearly 15,000 to its current level of 8,000. The fishing and sugar cane industries were wiped out, and the years of bombing have contaminated the island's coastline.

Vieques is used as a base for US aggression against its Caribbean and Central American neighbors. The Navy uses the island for weapons storage; target practice, including the dropping of 2,000 pound bombs; and amphibious maneuvers. Cows and horses who stray onto Navy land are often used as moving targets. One man showed me a huge cartridge. He said that he had found his horse dead on the beach with one of those inside it. A small girl was nearly blinded when she found an unexploded mine which then proceeded to explode. The purpose for all this? Well, the beaches of Vieques were the scene of the dress rehearsal for the invasion of Grenada.

There is opposition to the Navy presence. Anti-Navy movements have waxed and waned on Vieques

since the 40s. The local government has at times passed resolutions demanding the Navy leave. There have been many demonstrations and several riots with the same demand. One riot succeeded in permanently (at least so far) kicking the US sailors out of Isabel Segundo, the main town on the island, where they used to go to drink, harass women, fight, and generally act like an occupying army.

Another high point of the resistance was in 1979. A group of fishermen had been prohibited from fishing in the best waters, which are controlled by the Navy. They decided to put a stop to Navy maneuvers. In 15 foot fishing boats, the tiny armada blocked the huge US ships, and did stop the maneuvers for a while. Around the same time, organizers held an ecumenical service on Navy land, and the group was attacked by local cops and the Navy. A battle broke out on the beach, with injuries on both sides. One man told me he hit a captain in the head with his slingshot. In the end, 21 "ringleaders" were selected from the crowd and arrested, more for their independent politics than for anything they had done that day. Ten of them were jailed, having received sentences of up to six months for trespassing on their own land. One of them, Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, was murdered in a Tallahassee jail cell.

When Building Community's first brigade went to Vieques in April, they built shelves for the "Angel Rodriguez Cristobal Room" of the Colecion Viequense, a library full of information on the anti-Navy movement. It's located in the local high school and run by Bob Rabin, who teaches history there, and who has lived in Vieques and taken part in the anti-Navy movement for the last ten years.

One of the projects our group was involved with was helping build a house on rescats land at a place called Monte Carmelo. Felix



Carmelo Matta, his wife Maria, and their children, reclaimed this mountain from the Navy, and built a house there in 1976. It's an incredibly beautiful spot; from it you can see almost all the way around the island. Other people moved there as well, and built their houses.

Last year the Navy put up eviction notices and told everyone to clear out. Many did leave, but Carmelo and Maria decided to stay, even after the Navy pulled Maria aside and offered her \$40,000 and a new house, if only they would leave. When this offer was refused, US marshals arrived with three trucks and started loading up the family's furniture. But supporters came as well, about 100 of them, and they stopped the trucks from leaving. After a long tense standoff, one of the trucks mysteriously caught on fire. Eventually the other trucks did manage to leave, but they needed to come back for the rest of the furniture. Before they could do so, however, one of

Maria's and Carmelo's sons brought the family beehives into the house, where they swarmed.

When the evictors returned, they were held at bay by a bunch of angry bees. The Navy decided to leave, and they haven't yet come back. T-shirts were made up describing the story of the bees, and they have been very popular on the island (see graphic). The family is still there, and they're trying to get other people to come and build as well. We helped another family build a house there, and hope to do more in the future.

Our group also built a little cement (hurricane proof) house for an old couple whose old house had been destroyed by Hugo. Ruel Bernard had met the couple, Pedro and Monin, while walking across the island a couple of years ago. He had seen their house and stopped to ask for a drink of water. With typical Vieques hospitality, they fed him

(Continued on page 12)

Troops Attack Mohawks

AFTER 11 WEEKS, THE armed confrontation between the Canadian military and Mohawks is over. On September 18, the Canadian government attacked the Mohawk nation at Kahnawake. A massive military force of three to four hundred soldiers struck in armored personnel carriers and helicopters. Then, on September 27, the last group of Mohawks laid down their guns and left the building where they had held out against the might of the Canadian state.

As they left, unarmed but still defiant, the men, women, and children were again attacked by the military and forced onto school buses which took them to a military base for "questioning." Soon they will be dragged before a judge to decide who should be charged with the "crime" of defending Mohawk land.

There has been a wave of bitter anti-Native American racism among Canadian whites. However, when Mohawks spoke to young Canadian soldiers, some said that they did not want to be there or understand why they were there. A few also stated that if they did not follow commands, they could receive 15 years in prison. But there were incidents of soldiers refusing orders to run their armored personnel carriers over the Mohawks.

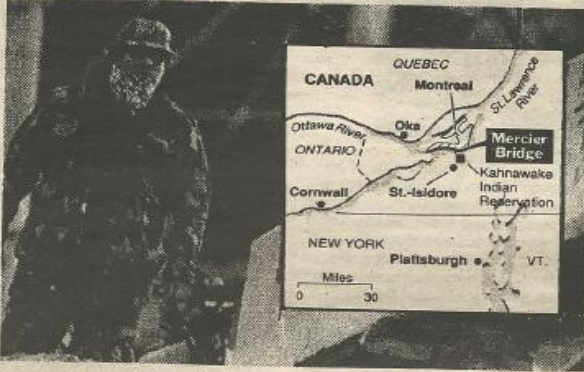
The Mohawk/Euro-Canadian conflict was recently set off by a decision of the town of Oka to take traditional Mohawk land in order

to expand a golf course. In resistance, Mohawks set up barricades, shutting down roads. Local Mohawks were joined by the well armed Warrior Society.

On July 11, 500 heavily armed Quebec police opened fire with teargas and automatic rifles on a Mohawk village which mostly held women and children. Mohawks shot back. One police offi-

cer was killed, apparently by his own side by accident. After this attack, a major standoff developed, with the government blockading the Mohawks in their territory while the Native Americans refused to disarm. Offers to negotiate by the Mohawks were rejected. The Mohawks offered to disarm and take down their barricades if the government gave an assurance

that people would be protected. This assurance was flatly refused. Mohawks arrested for protecting their sisters and brothers have been beaten, kicked in their genitals, under their underwear was saturated with blood, burned with cigarettes, and punched in the face. Bathroom privileges were denied to known diabetics, legal representation denied, wo-



men and children urinated and spat on, and so on. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has congratulated the army for being so level headed and cool during this crisis. The immediate armed conflict is over. But the struggle of the First Nations against their oppression will never end. 85% of Quebec is either owned by Native American nations or is under legal claim by

them. The issues raised by this can no longer be simply settled by imperial force.

Information for this article was gathered primarily from Warrior Society press releases.

(Continued from page 6)

Information for this article was gathered primarily from Warrior Society press releases.

Both sides are rotten, but there is an important difference. The US and Iraq are two different kinds of country. The US is the mightiest imperialist state on Earth and Iraq is an oppressed country, long robbed by the imperialists. Its oil has mostly gone to enrich other people. Despite the recent wealth of its regime, Iraq - like other Arab states - has not been able to industrialize in any rounded fashion. Thousands of Westerners are caught in Iraq and Kuwait, precisely because these countries were kept dependent on others to run their oil industries. Iraq imports 70% of its food. It has virtually no arms industry.

George Bush compared Hussein to Hitler but Hitler was the master of one of the big imperialist states, whose economy and military was strong enough to overrun all of Europe. Hussein rules a small, poor, and oppressed nation.

Throughout the Middle East, popular support is mostly behind Iraq and against the US. This is especially true for the Palestinian people. The vast majority of Arabs have no love for the emir of Kuwait and his fellow feudalist rulers. They know the US as the sponsor of Israel, the regional bully. In country after country there have been pro-Iraq demonstrations. The King of Jordan has been forced to waffle between the US and Iraq, due in part to the intense feelings of his Palestinian subjects. Arafat of the PLO has been painfully forced to oppose the US, despite all the money the Saudi Arabian princes have paid him over the years.

If the US goes to war with Iraq, revolutionary anarchists should be on the side of the Iraqi people, the Palestinian people, and all the oppressed Arabs. If this means that we will have to be for the victory of the Iraqi military against the US, so be it.

We have no illusions in Saddam Hussein. It has been a weakness of solidarity movements that they spread illusions in the governments they supported, such as in the Sandinistas or the Vietnamese Communists. Over time their rosy pictures of bureaucratic regimes turn out to be false.

Anarchists oppose all governments. We want the Arab people to dispose of Hussein, along with the kings and emirs. We would like to see the Middle East (and the rest of the world) become a multi-national confederation of self-governing and cooperative communities. If this vision is to become a reality, our first job is to oppose US imperialism and to stand with the oppressed against it.

Anarchist Black Cross

LARRY GIDDINGS

Red Knife

LARRY GIDDINGS WAS born October 6, 1952, in Rosstal, Germany. His mother is Silesian/German and his father is of various European and North American extractions. Larry spent his early years and some of his teens in Germany, with approximately eight years attending school and living in Glen Burnie, Maryland, until dropping out of high school.

Wounded during a shoot-out and arms expropriation, on August 21, 1971 (with 4 others, in Los Angeles, California), he was arrested at the scene. His trial focused on the need for armed struggle against the U.S. government and judicial system and the liberation of prisoners. Upon conviction, he received a 20 years to life sentence. New laws, and his status as a "first-time-felon," resulted in his parole after seven years. Larry spent more than a year on parole, working and living with a multi-cultural political, food and prison-support collective, that was involved in progressive work in the San Francisco Bay Area. He then began clandestine activities.

On October 14, 1979, Larry was again wounded and captured. This time during the liberation of a comrade from a Seattle, Washington jail. Convicted of Escape (aiding), the shooting of a policeman, bank expropriation (used for funding the activities), and conspiracy, he received multiple sentences of life in prison and 75 years, all consecutive. He has no known parole opportunities.

Larry's anti-authoritarian commitment, and non-nationalist political analysis, has played a key role in police repression of himself and friends, their trials, and later, his transfer from Walla Walla State Prison to the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas. Larry and his comrade William Dunne were transferred in August of 1982. Dunne has spent the majority of his federal time in Marion, Illinois and Larry has spent the entire time at Leavenworth.



From 1983-1988, Larry completed B.A. Degrees in Sociology and Psychology with the University of Kansas. He is presently working towards completion of the M.A. degree in Sociology, in the area of Social Movements.

In Giddings' view, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism are integral to an anti-authoritarian analysis and practice. In Larry's

own words:

"I seek a world where people live without cultural, racial or national oppression. This can only happen in a non-nation-state world, a world without borders. My most inspirational historical example is that of the Seminole struggles of the 1800s, in Northern Florida, Oklahoma and finally in Northern Mexico and Texas. Indigenous people of various nations, Afrikans (both free-born and escaped from slavery), "renegade" Europeans, and Maroons (shipwrecked sailors and rebels from around the world) united under the banner of the Seminole and resisted the imperial slavery of the US for decades. Some of these Seminole people continue to struggle to this day. These "Seminole Wars," as they are called, are filled with examples of non-authoritarian structures, multi-cultural developments and autonomy between a number of cultures united in struggle. It is from these roots that I believe a truly dynamic and successful movement for a socially and ecologically sound world will arise. A respect for the Indigenous People of the world and the environment is a primary step in creating this world. Information from leaflet by:

Ed. de L'Épicerie
C.P. 263 Lac-Mégantic, Québec
Canada G6B 2S6

To contact Larry, write:
Larry W. Giddings
#10917-086 P.O. Box 1000
Leavenworth, KS 66048

STEVE LAYTON (MELAH LUTAH, Red Knife), is a North American Indian activist who has been imprisoned for the last 9 years. His unwavering activism in support of Indian and other prisoners rights have earned him constant harassment from prison authorities.

In 1981 after a prison riot in Sioux Falls against inhuman conditions, Red Knife and other inmates were framed up as ringleaders.

The case against him was frivolous, even the guard he was accused of assaulting said he did not know who assaulted him. Other dirty tricks were used in the court room as well, including illegal use of prior convictions, denial of impeaching of a prosecu-

tion witness and denial of discovery of information.

Finally an admitted racist prisoner was brought in to fabricate a story to convict Red Knife. Since then he has successfully beat a murder rap, survived an attempt on his life and spent four years in the Super Maximum Marion Penitentiary.

To contact or support Red Knife write:

Steve Layton
#36283, P.O. Box 1059
Santa Fe, NM 87501
or
Red Knife Defense Network
c/o Survival Network Information
Center
302 N. "J" St. #3,
Tacoma WA 98403

SUPPORT NEEDED

KENNETH JACKSON NEEDS support. He is a vegetarian who has been denied his request for meatless meals. On August 16, 1990 he received a reply to his request stating that he had been denied and implying that he would be force fed if he continues a recently begun fast.

You can write and offer support to:

Kenneth Jackson
#J0062-431-10355-26 N.C.D.O.C.
Box 215
Maury, NC 28554



On Gogol Boulevard

Soviet Anarcho-Syndicalists Conference

East Bloc Native Solidarity



KAS march in Moscow, Mayday '90. Sign reads: "Anarchy isn't chaos - it's the harmonious coexistence of free individuals."

BY A. SHUBIN

AN EXTRAORDINARY congress of the KAS (Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists) was held in Moscow on 24th-25th March 1990. Why extraordinary? The situation in the USSR is developing very quickly, but the KAS has now only one body which can establish all KAS documents: its congress. The first year of the existence of KAS (it has existed by this name since January 1989, but its pre-history began in 1982-86) gave us new experiences for correcting some program documents. It was extraordinary for two reasons: a misunderstanding with anarcho-communists and the perspective of crushing the Communists' monopoly of power.

The congress opened with greetings from anarchist organizations from Sweden, Spain, the US and Australia. In the beginning the Moscow organization was asked not to chair the congress, because this tradition could lead to Moscow hegemony. Igor Podshivalov of Irkutsk was elected as chairman, A. Shubin and A. Isaev as secretaries.

The idea of the organizers was to open with an analysis of the current situation in the USSR, but conflict with the anarcho-communist faction began very quickly. This conflict has its prehistory. There are two anarchist organizations now in the USSR: KAS with 400-500 members and 2-3 thousand supporters and the Anarcho-Communist Revolutionary Union (AKRU) with nearly 50 activists and nearly 100 supporters. Part of the AKRU is now in KAS, part is not.

At the time of the formation of AKRU (January 1990), an article by the anarcho-communist and member of KAS, V. Strelcovsky appeared. In it, he said that AKRU is more revolutionary than the anarcho-syndicalists and that anarchists should adopt paramilitary (!) strategies to achieve the revolution. Because the majority of KAS is against violence as a political method, the Moscow KAS organization in its declaration asked the anarcho-communists who are members of KAS whether they had plans to use KAS as a tool for the preparation of a violent revolution?

In his speech, the leader of the Leningrad AKRU and member of

KAS, D. Ivania, said that he was surprised by the Moscow declaration. Yes, he had some violent ideas, but before entering the KAS he changed his opinions. Now he is against physical violence as a political method (in Russian political culture strikes are not forms of violence). Then D. Ivania said that he thought that syndicalism is a way to achieve anarcho-communism and it's also a strategy of different left forces, not only the KAS.

In his speech he also criticized very hard the KAS newspaper, *Obschina*, published in Moscow. But other KAS organizations didn't support this accusation.

In his answer to D. Ivania, one of the Moscow representatives, A. Isaev, attacked articles published in the anarcho-communist Leningrad paper, *Black Flag*, where all democrats are named dirty pigs. Democrats are in common struggle with us against totalitarianism, A. Isaev said. The other Moscow representative, A. Shubin, wanted to stop this continuing conflict, because the answer of D. Ivania was quite good and we must ask the anarcho-communists to stop their attacks on the democratic movement as a whole.

But the real explosion in the Congress occurred during the speech of Kharkov's delegate, I. Rassoha. He said that "communism" is the border between anarchism and foolishness. "Communism is a thing foolish and terrible, even if it is anarcho-communist." Rassoha's comments about AKRU were so harsh that the delegation of the union left the hall for a time. But the other Kharkov delegate, Zaporochets, said that the rest of the Kharkov delegation didn't agree with I. Rassoha's comments. At the end of the Congress I. Rassoha stressed that he was mistaken about the anarcho-communists because of the activity of Strelcovsky and the struggle of Kharkov's anarchists against the communist system.

V. Strelcovsky engaged in a prolonged attack on the old KAS organizations (Moscow, Kharkov, Irkutsk) but his plan to stop all activity in the local Soviets and put all effort into the growth of socialist trade unions (Socprof) to which KAS must join, hadn't any success even among AKRU

members. Socprof is a very reformist group and KAS decided to establish syndicalist trade unions in the USSR in this year. At the end of the Congress, V. Strelcovsky left the KAS.

The other question that was discussed at the Congress was changes to the text of the KAS Charter. There were three main issues which led to major discussions: violence, common membership of parties, and trade union politics.

After a little discussion, all delegates agreed that KAS could only support violence in the case of self-defense. But what is self-defense? At the end of the discussion, the Congress decided to adopt this formula: the "Congress rejects violence as a method of transformation of society." Really it was a result of compromise.

The collapse of the monopoly system determines the rapid growth of new parties. Many party rules of play sometimes press on the KAS. What is the place of the KAS in these new relations? The answer to this question led to the major crisis during the congress. Initially, the congress decided that members of the KAS must be anarcho-syndicalists. After this decision, three delegations left the KAS because they thought that the KAS should be a broad front of all anarchists. But the anarcho-communists didn't leave.

After this episode, some of the delegates began a campaign for a decision according to which a member of the KAS can't be a member of a party. At this time KAS members who work in the Green Party were absent, because they were attending the Green Party Congress which was being held at the same time. This decision was adopted.

When the Greens returned, they attacked this new point of the Charter, because according to them, the KAS is now a party: it has a political program. The rejection of the membership of two organizations is a party feature. In the morning, the struggle ended by a formula: members of KAS can't be a member of a party whose program is in disagreement with the program of KAS.

The question of trade unions had three solutions for the KAS: 1. The KAS could transform itself into

Several groups in the east are doing solidarity with American Indian struggles. The following two documents from Poland and East Germany are expressions of this solidarity.

DEAR OGB, I WRITE YOU about what we are doing now. Some time ago during International Earth Days (April 20-22), the Polish Indian Friends Movement in many Polish cities organized lectures, meetings and other forms of activity in favor of our Mother Earth and her relation with Native People in all the world.

During August and September people will be coming to Poland from the Chippewa tribe with American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Dennis Banks. What else with us? We suffer from slow flow of news or complete lack of news from Indian's land. For that reason *TAWACIN*, the newsletter of Polish Indian Friends Movement is very often untimely. For that reason I wrote to *Akwesasne Notes*. I would like to come into contact with someone in USA, Canada. Maybe you? Write....

In spirit of unity, love and peace,
Tomasz Juszkiewicz
The Polish Indian Friends Movement
ul. Szamarzewskiego 36/15
60-532 Poznan, Poland
OGB encourages all those involved in Indian affairs to send materials to this group.

THE FOLLOWING LETTER was sent to Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson on April 1, 1990 by the East German Indian Support Group in Netzschkau.

Dear Mr. Governor,

We, as a German-Indian friends and support association group, are deeply moved by the fact that authorities of northern Wisconsin denied effective security to Chippewa spearfishers during spearfishing season. Traditional spearfishing is part of the treaty rights your government guaranteed in 1842. That's why we believe that it is your state's responsibility to protect treaty rights for Wisconsin Chippewa bands.

We are alarmed by reported violence against Indian spearfishers and the activities of groups like the "Anti-Treaty Movement" who claim to protect America's rights and resources. We are especially afraid of violence by the "Stop Treaty Abuse" group located in rural northern Wisconsin.

The United States of America claims to be a big democracy protecting equal rights for all worldwide. We wonder why the interests of sports anglers are safer than minorities' treaty rights. That's why we support the April 7th "International Day of Support for the Indians of Wisconsin." We hope for your attention, sensibility and help in this matter.

Respectfully,
Bernd Damisch,
Coordinator Working Circle
"Indians Today"
Box 701/017 Muhlstr.
15 9804 Netzschkau, GDR

Note: The Lvov Trust Group of Ukraine also sent a solidarity letter, and Hungary's Autonomia engaged in a petition campaign for the Chippewa.

OGB Recommended Reading

KAS Newsletter

In English, inaugurated in July 1990, this 4 page by the Soviet Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists has news of their doings and analysis of the present Soviet situation. Send \$1 cash and an SASE to:
Bob McGlynn
528 5th St.
Brooklyn, NY 11215, USA

Ferment

This compact zine-booklet has two issues so far concentrating on the Trieste east/west anarchist gathering, anarchism in the east and contacts. Other non-related material is included and future issues promise Latin American info. \$3 sample copy, or \$20 for eight issue sub (make checks to Brian Kane) to:

Terminal Words,
P.O. Box 590052,
San Francisco, CA 94159, USA

a trade union. 2. The KAS could organize syndicalist trade unions wider than the KAS itself. 3. The KAS could enter the reformist independent trade union Socprof.

The main supporter of the third and first positions was V. Strelcovsky, but delegates decided that the KAS isn't so big as to become a trade union and it isn't necessary to enter the reformist Socprof. But the KAS must have official opportunities for its activities in monopoly society. If necessary it will be registered as a social organization. For this purpose and the task of political negotiations a federal council was established.

The solution of the problem of trade union politics was based on the real potentialities of the KAS. Anarcho-syndicalists can

East European News

This is an excellent bulletin by the U.S. Workers Solidarity Alliance filled with info on labor and anarchist organizing in the east. Issues 1 and 2 are available. \$4 sub to:
Workers Solidarity Alliance
339 Lafayette St., Rm. 202,
New York, NY 10012, USA

Intercontinental Neither East Nor West Bulletin

Irregular, 2 issues so far, this is a networking newsletter that was planned out of the April 1990 Trieste anarchists gathering. No frills, documents, newsletters, photos, etc... are sent in from east/west organizers, are then xeroxed, stapled and sent back out. \$10 cash to:

Bulletin
P.O. Box 1425,
New York, NY 10009, USA

establish local union organizations and in association with other independent trade union groups organize a Conference of syndicalist unions in 1990.

KAS and other radical workers have since established the Association of Self-Managing Trade Unions, Resistance, which is explicitly syndicalist.

A few organizations (Zitomir Donbuss, Kaluga, and others) joined the KAS at this Congress. See the OGB recommended reading if you wish to receive the KAS newsletter (in English).

Contact for KAS:
Vladimir Gubarev,
117279 Moscow, Ul. Mikhukho-Maklaya 38 KV.
136 USSR.

No Blood For Oil

(Continued from cover)

The issue in this war is not Iraqi aggression. It is oil. The US and the rest of the "modern world" runs on petroleum. Our whole society is built around the consumption of cheap oil. Our housing is laid out so we need cars with gasoline engines for transportation. Our buildings and furnishings use plastic as does our clothing. Our industrial production runs on gasoline and is distributed by gasoline powered trucks. Our food is grown with petroleum based artificial fertilizer and pesticides, transported in trucks and wrapped in plastic. In short, our whole ridiculous way of life is built on oil. The profits of the few and the (apparently) "high standard of living" for the many depend on "cheap" oil.

This oil-based society is a house of cards. Oil is a limited, non-renewable resource. Sooner or later it will run out. Oil is also the main cause of the greenhouse effect. The use of oil is killing humanity and killing the planet. What is needed is not more, cheaper oil, but a drastic cutback in the use of oil, while alternative ecologically safe forms of energy are put in place.

The capitalists' profits and the workers' high standard of living are illusory. At some point the oil supply will be too low and the pollution too severe to continue the charade. Then humanity will pay for today's wastefulness.

The price of oil is paradoxical. On the one hand, the few oil-owning governments (OPEC) work with the few Western oil companies (the "seven sisters") to keep the price much higher than the actual cost of production. On the other hand, the price is much cheaper than it would be if it included the long term costs of an oil-based and energy-wasteful society - its costs to our health and to the survival of the planet, or the costs of rebuilding society when it collapses.

President Bush says we need to defend "our way of life" against Iraq. This lacks even the moral pretense of anti-Communism. In the Cold War, at least, the US rulers pretended to be defending democracy against totalitarianism. But now

This is simply a claim to imperial privilege. It says, "We the aristocrats of the world, have the right to everyone else's raw materials, and cheaply too." Morally it is simply corrupt.

If the US has the right to Kuwait's

oil, the more conservative Arab states have been satisfied with their "deal" with the US. Kuwait, in particular, pumped out oil in excess of the quota assigned to it by OPEC. This lowered the world price and decreased the US

are not moved by the ideas of democracy and self-determination of nations. They just want to protect their deal with Western imperialism.

Then there is Egypt, whose regime is the second largest recipient of US foreign aid (after Israel), as well as a major recipient of Saudi oil money. And Syria, whose brutal dictatorship is a clone of Iraq's (they have the same basic totalitarian ideology, Ba'ath "socialism"). Syria invaded Lebanon in 1976 and has held large portions of it ever since, but is now part of the coalition against "aggression."

These and other "Third World" states are collaborating with Western imperialism. They have joined with the US and the West European imperialist states, sending a few thousand troops to cover the US force with an "Arab" figleaf.

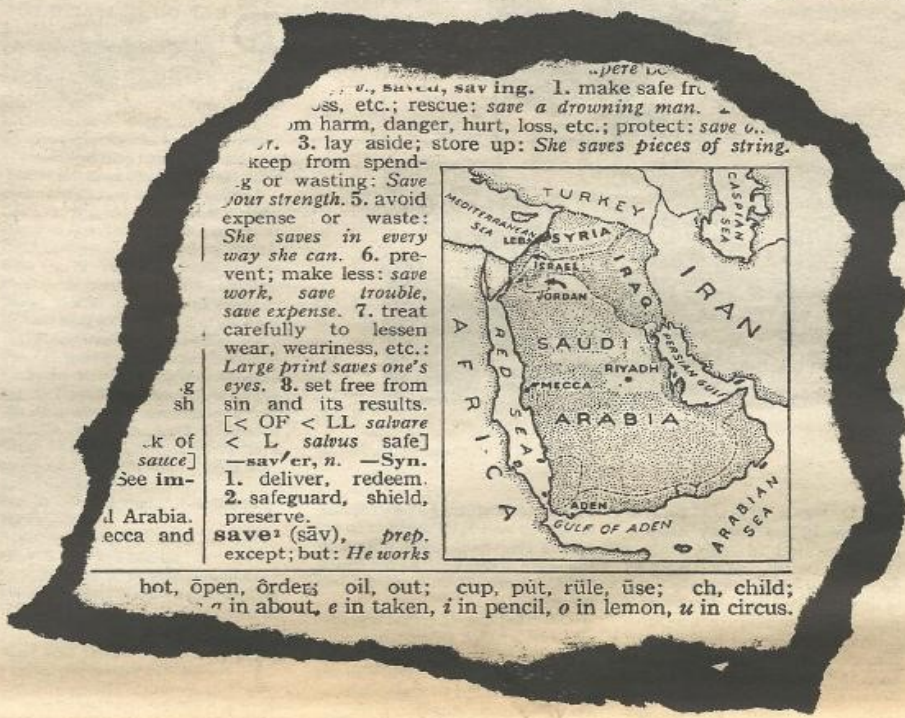
The Soviet Union has given up its efforts to compete with the US in a big way. It has gone along with the US aggression, with only a few complaints. It has endorsed the blockade.

There have been seven resolutions passed by the UN Security Council which the US government has used as an excuse for its military actions. The Soviet Union voted for all seven. China too has voted for all resolutions. A negative vote by either China or Russia would have vetoed any resolution and seriously weakened the US ideological cover. Instead, the US can claim to be supported by the whole world, because 12 governments voted with it on the Security Council.

Some US leftists still have illusions in Cuba. Its representatives on the Security Council only voted against one resolution.

In short, the Marxist-Leninist or state capitalist governments stood with the US imperialists. They complain about minor aspects of the US intervention, but their actions

(Continued on page 4)



they are just claiming to defend our right to a (seemingly) "high standard of life," based on gas-guzzling. They are defending our "right" to live well by getting cheaply the natural resources under someone else's soil.

oil to help our economy, then so does Iraq, which has claimed that Kuwait is selling oil so cheaply that it hurt Iraq's economy. This argument in favor of military aggression is immoral for Iraq and immoral for the US.

balance of payments deficit (and cost the Iraqis alot of money).

The conservative Arab states ("conservative" as in feudal reactionaries) have mostly chosen to back the US. Naturally, these sheiks, kings, emirs, and sultans

THE GULF CRISIS IN CONTEXT

BY ZOLTAN GROSSMAN

IRAQ'S INVASION OF KUWAIT brings new dangers to the Middle East - dangers perhaps greater than anyone now realizes. While the conflict originally pitted one large Arab state against a smaller Arab state, foreign intervention is raising the stakes beyond anyone's control. The growing US military presence, in particular, could lead to a nuclear or chemical conflict.

To see why, the clock has to be turned back over three decades. In 1958, Iraqis had just overthrown their country's monarchy and installed a secular, revolutionary government, which nationalized some oil interests. At the same time, US Marines were intervening in a civil war in Lebanon, and conflicts were erupting in nearby Arab states. The other monarchies of the Gulf region feared that Iraq's revolution would spread. Kuwait's monarchy specifically feared an Iraqi invasion, and called on the US and Britain for help. Britain did not send troops (as they did in a similar crisis three years later). But in 1958 the US response was immediate. Marines set sail from Japan to the Gulf region. More ominously, President Eisenhower directly threatened the use of tactical nuclear weapons to keep Iraq out of Kuwait.

The situation today is no less dangerous than in 1958. The US and its allies have moved in jets and over 150,000 troops to Saudi Arabia, and carrier battle groups to enforce the Persian Gulf blockade. More troops are poised in Japan and the Philippines. US military bases are also strung along Iraq's northern border with NATO member Turkey. But Iraq, as one of the strongest military powers in the Middle East, will be no Grenada or Panama. The US will have to be prepared to fight a long and bloody war in the desert, perhaps with a resumption of the draft, if fighting breaks out.

US military forces are now being used to bolster the Arab states in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). It was founded in 1981 by six countries - Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman and the United Arab Emirates - an assemblage of wealthy monarchies that closely "cooperate" with the US government and oil companies. Their human rights policies are hardly superior to those of Iraq, though they have less violent internal tensions since they are less economically and ethnically divided. Saudi Arabia is run by an Islamic dictatorship that allows far fewer freedoms for women than does Iraq. (Though Iraq is a tyrann

ny it is not a religious tyranny). Four years ago, Kuwait's al-Sabah dynasty briefly experimented with civil liberties, until the royal family came in for criticism. Then Kuwait's National Assembly was abolished. (The Assembly was elected by the 7% of Kuwait's population deemed "first-class citizens"). Neither Saddam Hussein nor George Bush have demanded free elections in Kuwait.

The risk in this conflict is that, much as World War I started because of interlocking treaty obligations, the US pacts with GCC states could drag it into a war that could easily grow. And just like WW I, chemical weapons are present on both sides. Iraq has already used them in abhorrent attacks on Iranian troops and Iraqi Kurdish civilians.

The US has used chemical weapons in Vietnam and has the world's largest chemical weapons stockpile. Israel, Iraq's foremost enemy, recently admitted possessing chemical weapons. It isn't difficult to foresee these nations launching chemical attacks on each other's warships, or worse.

The worst fallout of the Iraqi invasion may be within the U.S. itself. Just at a time when military budget cuts seemed to have become inevitable, the Pentagon is

ecstatic that a new threat has been handed to it on a silver platter. The invasion fits all the Pentagon's nightmare scenarios of a "cut-off" of Persian Gulf oil, and "American friends" under attack. Former CIA Near East director Miles Copeland proposed in one radio interview from London that in order to demoralize Iraqi civilians, Baghdad neighborhoods should be hit with bombing raids "like in Dresden."

The easily forgotten truth is that the U.S., along with GCC, openly supported the Iraqi dictator in his eight-year war with Iran, which he started in 1980. It was acceptable to the US for Iraq to take control of Iranian oil fields then, but not Kuwaiti or Saudi oil fields now. One only has to remember the sign held by a US hostage soon after returning from Iran: "Buy Iraqi War Bonds." It was only two years ago that US Navy was blowing away Iranian ships and planes, and supplying Iraq with satellite reconnaissance data on Iranian forces.

The bottom line is that the U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf have nothing to do with human rights or democracy, nothing to do with sovereignty of small countries, but have to do with oil, or more importantly, oil money.

The 1980 Carter Doctrine extended the US military and nuclear

umbrella over Persian Gulf oil fields. The GCC nations have, in effect, become old-fashioned US protectorates, like Panama, Nicaragua, Liberia and the Philippines. All of these countries have recently seen direct US military intervention, as part of a growing trend of the US reasserting its traditional "spheres of influence."

Perhaps the greatest barriers to understanding the Middle East are cultural and religious. Some US "progressives" still - subconsciously perhaps - need to be convinced that Arabs are not the savage, fanatical mobs they are portrayed as in US news programs and movies. Some people need an Archbishop Tutu or Archbishop Romero to tell them that US policy is wrong, and there is definitely a shortage of them in the Middle East. Maybe one day we'll see campaigns for state divestment from firms doing business in Israeli-occupied territories, or olive picking brigades in some Arab countries. Until then, North American activists need to read and educate themselves about the real history of the region, and tell high school students about that old chant from the days of the Iran crisis: "Hell no, we won't go, we won't fight for Texaco."

OUT NOW! Toward a Strategy of Resistance

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

AS THE U.S. PREPARES TO launch a war against the people of Iraq, and possibly spark a more general conflict throughout the Middle East, anarchists in the US have a special responsibility to raise the costs of any war moves.

Ever since the US was defeated in Viet Nam, the rulers of this country have been patiently preparing public opinion for another major war. The invasion of Grenada, the bombing of Libya, the sending of troops to Lebanon were as much battles for the hearts and minds of the US public as they were serious military missions of the American Empire. In 1988, when the US sent 3200 troops to Honduras in preparation for an attack on Nicaragua, militant demonstrations in cities across the country (and around the world) brought those troops back and showed the rulers of the US that the "Viet Nam Syndrome" was not yet fully in remission. But Nicaragua was a special case. A loyal and hardworking solidarity movement had spent the previous decade educating much of the US public about the situation in that country (and fostering a few illusions of their own along the way) and so tens of thousands of people were poised to take the streets against any US war moves on Nicaragua.

The strong tendency of US solidarity activists to protect their own revolutionary hopes and dreams on a select regime of their own picking, however, has had a disastrous effect on opposition to US war moves in other parts of the world. Last December when the US invaded Panama there was hardly any serious opposition from the "left" as an untold number of Panamanians were slaughtered. The lessons were obvious to the generals and CEOs who make the decisions that can destroy our lives.

It is now our responsibility to build an anti-war movement in this country that is truly anti-imperialist: that stands against imperialism everywhere, that doesn't value human lives in proportion to the illusions we have about their rulers but as ends in themselves. It is also our responsibility to build an anti-war movement that can get the goods, that can actually stop the war.

We are in the midst of war hysteria. The whole body of the US military propaganda machine has been thrown behind whipping up the US public into the kind of frenzy that will be necessary to wage a war against the massive armed forces of Iraq. Under these conditions, opponents of US war moves can expect to come under far heavier attack than in the past. We need a strategy that recognizes the real limitations that we currently face, but that also identifies the weak points of the war machine.

We should be clear about what we are doing. The rulers of this country will not respond to appeals to their morality or even to expressions of popular opposition to the war. They don't give a fuck what we think as long as we don't jam the gears of their machine. That is exactly what we must do. We must raise the costs of the war. That means that we are fighting for the defeat of the US. That is what we will be accused of. We

need to be honest and say that is what we are doing and that we are proud to be doing it.

At this writing the most important thing the anti-war movement can do is to speak out loudly against the war. March, leaflet, picket, chant, spraypaint, get on TV, wear buttons, write letters to newspapers. We need to be as visible as possible. The US public needs to know that there is opposition to this war, that it is growing and that the claims of a national consensus in support of the war are a fraud. For this kind of activity anarchists should seek to join and build the broadest possible coalitions. We need to be scrupulously non-sectarian and make the coalitions honestly open to liberals and marxists, religious activists and the politically independent.

A serious strategy to stop the war, however, can not be limited to speaking out. We have to jam the gears. As the war gets hotter

of the possibility of a draft. We need to be circulating "We Won't Go" statements publicly declaring our refusal to fight in this war. We need to be training as draft counselors to aid those who are confronted by a draft with the decisions

was a common practice for soldiers in Viet Nam to kill their officers by tossing a fragmentation grenade in their tents ("fragging"). These are traditions that are bound to revive if the war heats up. Already several reservists

"The antiwar movement must respect a diversity of tactics from peaceful legal demonstrations to mutinies to clandestine acts of sabotage."

they will have to make. We will have to prepare the structure to support draft fugitives. We need to be doing all these things now.

The second front is the military itself. Most of the people who fill the ranks of the armed forces are there for economic reasons; in one

have either refused orders to go to Saudi Arabia or have declared their intention to refuse orders. We need to go into the towns that are close to military bases and begin talking to the soldiers themselves and lay the foundation for future GI resistance.

On college campuses we need to be confronting the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC). The majority of US military officers come from ROTC. The movement against the war on Viet Nam pushed ROTC off many campuses. ROTC buildings were taken over, attacked, bombed and burnt down during militant anti-war demonstrations. But over the past 15 years ROTC has returned. Campaigns against ROTC can disrupt the functioning of the military by denying them access to the officers they need to wage the war.

If the anti-war movement is to be successful it must be broad. If it is to be broad it must respect a diversity of tactics from peaceful legal demonstrations to mutinies to clandestine acts of sabotage. But more than that, we must build a movement that is respectful of the tactical decisions people make that we disagree with.

As anarchists we understand, for example that electoral politics are a trap that can drain the energy of sincere activists and often transform committed organizers into political hacks. We should not hide what we think and we should actively seek to persuade people that a strategy of mass direct action resistance will be more effective. But many people will, nonetheless, choose to engage in electoral politics, just as people will decide to organize a legal picket when we might think it is more appropriate to smash windows. We need to respect these decisions.

Many authoritarian Marxist-Leninist groups who share our commitment to militancy will not hesitate to try to manipulate people into taking militant actions when that is not what they want or are prepared for. Far more important than whether or not a particular demonstration trashes a military recruiting station is that the movement be controlled democratically by those who participate in it. Often that will mean that we, as revolutionary anarchists, will not get our way in particular coalitions. A movement that is really controlled by the people, in which we argue for our ideas, will eventually come to embrace our better ideas and correct our worse ones.

Of course we should never confuse the whole anti-war movement with a single coalition or

demonstration. There will be times when we want to organize our own, more militant actions, perhaps in coalition with other militants, perhaps not. We should not be afraid to do so. Nor should we allow ourselves to be steamrollered by liberals or communists in order to maintain some sort of fraudulent unity.

These are only a few of the concerns that will face us over the coming months. Mine are certainly not the last words on these matters. We need to carry on a wide discussion of these questions both in the anarchist movement and in the larger anti-war movement. We also need to get to work and get out to people with our message that this is a rich man's war and we intend to stop it now.

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 November issue is Oct. 15 unless other arrangements are made. Articles can be faxed to: (212) 925-7976. Please call ahead before faxing to make sure the fax is hooked up. Thank.



Youth in Madrid, Spain protest the deployment of Spanish armed forces in the Persian Gulf.

we must be prepared to raise the level of resistance as high as possible.

There are several fronts on which we can raise the resistance:

The first is resistance to the draft. The US has already called up tens of thousands of its reserves and has hardly fired a shot. It is unlikely that the armed forces can maintain any sort of prolonged conflict with Iraq without eventually resorting to conscription. This is very likely a point at which public opinion will turn against the war.

We need to be preparing for this situation now. We need to be outside every High School in the country passing out leaflets that warn

sense or another they are victims of the "poverty draft." They don't want to die or kill. Many of them will repeat the patriotic slogans that have been drilled into their heads, but when their friends start dying it will become all too clear to many soldiers that they are being asked to die for oil company profits and to protect a pack of despicable desert monarchs.

During the war against Viet Nam, opposition to the war amongst GIs destroyed the fighting capacity of the US war machine. At first a few GIs refused to be sent to Viet Nam. Slowly the resistance grew. Officers' orders were refused. Soldiers mutinied or went AWOL. By the early 70s it

Talking About

BY ZELDA

An Open Letter to My Lover

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

I WANT TO TALK ABOUT LOVE and anarchy or politics and relationships, or disjunction between words and deeds. I find certain tendencies found in conventional men exhibit themselves in you, an anarchist organizer, contrary to the notion that our politics make us different. I'm going to criticize you as I don't dare in daily life based on the contradiction between your politics and personal life. I hesitate to criticize you in person because I know you don't want to hear it and I'm afraid of driving you away. Therefore I'm writing.

The crux of the matter is that I agree with your politics, but I find how you act towards me, a woman and your lover, betrays your anarchist ideas.

In part I became involved with you because I was seduced by your beautiful ideas. For instance, when giving preps for non-violent actions you tell people they should express feelings in their political work. I thought this was an enlightened stance for a man to take. But in intimate relationships, it turns out, you avoid confronting your own emotions and seem unaware of what you're feeling most of the time.

It's partly the nature of your political work that enables you to sublimate your feelings. You keep yourself so busy organizing actions that your emotional life becomes an unwanted distraction. You're not afraid of cops but you're afraid to feel. But what kind of society is it that you're trying to create where emotions have no place?

For you the task of reshaping society represents an overwhelming obsession, which doesn't imply making space for emotions or such things as intimacy. But I believe that working on intimacy is part of social change.

You're trying to change things because our world seems screwed up. But this perception refers to what is inside us as well as outside in society, since a society based on division and exploitation produces alienated individuals. That's how they want us to be, because alienation makes us powerless. An essential part of our work is therefore overcoming internalized alienation, learning to make ourselves vulnerable and become intimate with others. Confronting the powers-that-be is not enough.

As anarchists we need to work both inside and outside ourselves, to transform internalized alienation as well as challenge the social structures that shaped us. For you, however, commitment to political work by no means signifies engagement in the personal sphere.

After a year and a half together we rarely discuss how we feel about each other and it's clear you're not interested in opening things up. If I want a discussion then it's my responsibility to initiate. Nevertheless you assert that we're building models for the future society by how we act now. But maintaining emotional distance in our intimate relationships posits a bleak picture: sex with no love. If I can't connect, then I don't want to be part of your revolution.

I suspect that you don't want the revolution I envision, which involves integrating radical action and the ability to make ourselves vulnerable and achieve emotional closeness. You don't want emotional closeness because being intimate with someone else makes you deal with yourself. That's frightening, so you choose to escape yourself by focusing on "political" work - going to meetings, writing reports, making phone calls. You don't mind having superficial relationships because you're more free to concentrate on your political work. The quality of relationships never becomes an issue for you because you never have the time. But in truth your political work has little base if you're not in touch with your own feelings or able to forge meaningful relationships with other people. Those relationships are the new society we're working to create. If they're empty, what have we got?

I'm addressing you as the archetypal "sensitive man," who talks about feelings without letting himself feel. One reward of staying distanced from your own emotions and avoiding intimacy is to gain the illusion of control. A feminist analysis presumes your control is illusory because eventually your repressed feelings will assert themselves and change your life. Then you'll have to integrate your emotions and politics for the first time. But in the short run you can pour all your energy into working for social change by keeping your feelings at a distance. You thereby act just like any man who has a career and no time for a personal life. Your pattern is to keep busy to avoid your feelings while justifying your obsessiveness in the name of the cause. This tendency perpetuates a patriarchal tradition where emotions get ignored to serve a "higher good." In addition this lack of self-awareness betrays our sensibility as anarchists and leads to burn-out.

Another way to avoid feelings and keep relationships superficial is to pursue non-monogamy. You switch partners often, you say, because you lose interest quickly. But what does it mean, "to lose interest"? You don't want to get too close to anyone. If you stay with one person a while and focus only on that lover you might get close to them.

Being close to someone else shows us a lot about ourselves. That's scary and therefore has to be avoided. You thus make the conventional male choice of "playing the field" and remaining detached rather than pursuing intimacy. There's nothing radical about the situation, no matter how many partners are involved.

You seem afraid that if you open up to me at all I'll devour you completely. You choose non-monogamy to protect your freedom, to avoid becoming your partner's property. You assume that I want to possess you. But this makes me feel crazy, for I'm not asking to be your one and only lover. It's not monogamy I want, but intimacy, which you can have without being monogamous.

If I seem needy sometimes it's because I feel emotionally deprived, pushed away by you. I want to get as much attention as your friends, not find myself ignored because I'm your lover and you need to deny the connection we have. I'd feel this way whether you had other lovers or not.

Given that the excitement of conquest interests you more than developing long-term connections, your choice of non-monogamy may have something to do with your socialization as a man. I'm just not as keen on having affairs as you are. But let's leave that aside and assume non-monogamy saves us from the potential stagnation of marriage. We have other choices besides sleeping around or getting married. Non-monogamous relationships do not have to be superficial.

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

The superficiality of our relationship supports the mainstream view that only marriage is meaningful. If non-monogamy is to be a healthy alternative for us there has to be room for intimacy within that context, since many of us want intimacy. Indeed, to survive on the fringe we need a close emotional connection with each other. Our movement depends on it.

Emotions work in strange ways. While you give your friends attention you ignore me because we're lovers. (I'm usually the last person you'll talk to at a party. Your ex-lovers fare better.) It's the intimacy between us that scares you into avoidance.

What's scary about intimacy is confronting yourself as reflected in someone else's eyes. It scares me, too. That's partly why I got involved with you: I knew I'd be safe because you keep distance. But now that we've been involved over a year we have more than a sexual connection. We're emotionally involved as well - I'm just not supposed to talk about it. That's one of the unspoken rules of our relationship.

Those unspoken rules have political content. A power issue is involved, for you to define the level of intimacy in our relationship. We want different things, since I don't want to become obsessed like you. I'm trying to balance a variety of interests in my life, creative and intellectual as well as political. But you refuse to discuss a compromise, a way of addressing our different needs. Instead you hand down the law, just like a patriarch. For us to actually talk about our relationship would bring us closer and empower both of us. But that doesn't interest you. In fact, you



Love and Anarchy

want to avoid the potential for greater intimacy by using political work as an excuse. You tell me that if I'm unhappy with the situation I can leave. But that's your approach, to avoid things. Meanwhile, the power stays with you. For you as a man to have such power takes on political implications, reflecting traditional relationship dynamics. But it is part of your stance to ignore the kind of choice you're making, or its significance. In your eyes you're merely doing what you want - sleeping with whomever and moving on whenever you want - and why should you care that in a patriarchal world men mostly get what they want?

sexist tradition lives on in us. I want to challenge the patriarchal paradigm of denying our emotions, or leaving emotional work to a certain class, namely women.

Society trains us to separate different aspects of our lives, to ignore connections between varying phenomena. To forget that social training influences our behavior signifies the success of patriarchal thinking. If we

you're not interested in working things out. But I want to find a way out of our paradox. We shouldn't have to play the same old games.

Obviously, I've presented my view of things, which is not necessarily your view at all. I find your suggestion of leaving you doesn't solve anything, since we need to create relationships that are alternatives to the norm. I believe this would mean working on intimacy, confronting our socialization, making ourselves vulnerable - but these are not things you want quite yet.

I'm concerned that to ignore the political significance of our personal relationships and fail to challenge ingrained stereotypes deepens our alienation and thereby undermines our movement. But I'm not looking for the rhetoric of free love, which usually rationalizes familiar sexism. I want to see radicalism and intimacy intersect in our lives now. That is the revolution, honey.

With love, from
"Zelda"

Keeping distance in our relationship not only gives you the power but perpetuates certain stereotypes. Your decision not to make yourself vulnerable lets me do the emotional work as you put your energy into politics. You get public recognition for completing projects while I spend a lot of time processing our lack of intimacy with my women friends (who also share their relationship frustrations with me; the fact that they have similar complaints with their lovers makes me see our dynamic as part of a larger pattern).

Every relationship (like every political movement) entails emotional work. Everyone benefits from the emotional work of women, but women's work is anonymous. I'm bitter that the emotional responsibility we should share is mine alone. I could be developing more of my own projects; instead I'm often dealing with feelings you ignore. It's an old story: you get to have a public life while I caretake the relationship. Such a stereotype betrays our movement as well as ourselves. We're perpetuating mainstream sex roles we should have transcended. What happened to our revolutionary everyday life?

We have the Sixties as an example of a movement where men gave lip service to feminism while engaging in stereotypical relationships with women. That means despite their radical perspective men tended to act in traditional ways and dominate women. Their words and deeds did not match up. The advantage of hindsight lets us recognize this as hypocritical behavior we think we've outgrown, but what makes us different? We're repeating history. The

fail to see our own relationships as part of a system, we're allowing our socialization to blind us. Thus we end up living out conventional models: emotional absence in men, while women do the primary caring work in relationships.

A radical alternative would be for women and men to share emotional responsibility. I don't want to become like you and ignore my feelings while doing political work. You need to acknowledge that as a man making no time for feelings has political significance. The anarchist perspective recognizes the integrity and interrelatedness of seemingly disparate realms.

As anarchists, our political and personal lives should ideally reflect each other. To repeat the scenario where the man evades intimacy and the woman feels slighted betrays this ideal.

I recognize my own part in creating the power dynamics between us by staying involved with you when



first class

NOTIFY SENDER OF NEW ADDRESS

Responses to this open letter will be forwarded to Zelda (a pseudonym) if sent to:

Malcolm Knowles
P.O. Box 410802
San Francisco, CA 94141-0802

ORGANIZING FOR

BY ANARCHIST WORKERS GROUP

ONE OF THE MOST A-bused words in the political dictionary is "spontaneity." It is used to justify disorganization and mystify the historical process of revolution. Starting from descriptions of mass struggle, "spontaneity" has too often been elevated to a general theory of social change.

"For some time to come the results of all types of resistance and struggle will be described as spontaneous occurrences, though they are nothing but the planned actions or accepted activities of men (sic). Spontaneity is a manner of speech, attesting to our inability to treat the social phenomena of capitalism in a scientific, empirical way."

Paul Mattick, *Spontaneity and Organisation 1949 from Anti-Bolshevik Communism 1978*



THE LIMITS OF SPONTANEITY

The worst thing about "spontaneism" is that it has become identified as a definitive tenet of anarchism. Anarchists, however, have never rejected organization itself, only specific types of organization. The problem for anarchism has been the scarcity of any systematic attempts to develop a theory of political organization. Today's received ideas about anarchist organization are largely derived from historical accounts of anarchist movements in the past.

This "theoretical gap" is not confined to anarchism. All contemporary Leninist parties model themselves primarily on the practice of the Bolsheviks. Marx never elaborated a clear conception of how the revolutionary minority should organize, whilst Lenin's *What Is To Be Done* only argues the need for a centralized party but never details its precise form. Key concepts identified with Leninism such "the vanguard" and "democratic centralism" were never systematized by Lenin. Indeed the tendency to view organizational forms as neutral, and the failure to acknowledge any danger of substitution or bureaucratization are fundamental inadequacies of Leninism.

Anarchists by contrast have always been accused of being only capable of negative criticism of bolshevism and failing to provide a constructive alternative. If anarchists are to become more than the "conscience of the revolution," it is vital that we develop a theory of political organization that guides our practice as revolutionaries between today and the revolution.

Whilst we must take as our starting point the immense creativity of the working class in action, we must also recognize the limits of spontaneity. History has painfully taught us that whilst workers can create new forms of organization suited to their needs, and can become politicized rapidly, it is also true that all manner of political ideas can gain mass influence. Social democracy, stalinism, and nationalism are powerful ideological forces which can and have derailed revolutionary movements in the past and, as such, they cannot merely be wished away. They must be fought, exposed, and defeated by argument and example.

In Britain the main obstacle to working class independence is the Labor Party, an organization put to the "test of office" time and again and consistently proven to be a bosses' organization. Despite its

anti-working class record, the left in Britain continues, to function as recruiting-sergeants for Laborism. It is crucial, therefore, that an anti-Laborist force is built in Britain today: one that can conduct an unrelenting battle with the ideas of laborism and its left apologists.

The current resurgence of interest in anarchist ideas creates the potential for building such an organization. The Anarchist Workers Group was set up with this specific objective. We have agreed on a number of key organizational concepts: the leadership of ideas, the need for a program, interventionism, and cadre organization.

We will flesh out these ideas in the second part of the article, but first we will trace the tradition from which these ideas originate.

BAKUNIN

Anarchism as a political philosophy of working class revolution found its first real voice in Bakunin. Although extracting a coherent analysis of political organization from Bakunin's scattered works is a politically hazardous task, it is clear from what he has written and from his activities that he did understand the necessity and potential influence of an organized revolutionary minority. Firstly, through the International Brotherhood and subsequently through the Alliance of Social Democracy, Bakunin attempted to win ideological hegemony for his anarchist/collectivist views within the nascent workers' movement and the First International.



"For it is indeed enough that one worker out of ten, seriously, and with full knowledge of the cause, join the International, while the nine remaining outside of this organization become subject to its invisible influence, and, when a critical time arrives, they will follow, without even suspecting it, its directions, in so far as this is necessary for the salvation of the proletariat."

Bakunin, *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, Macmillan 1953, p. 317

Those who object to the concept of an "invisible dictatorship" as authoritarian misunderstand Bakunin. What he was attempting to express was that the influence of organized revolutionaries can extend through "ideas" rather than "orders." Again, in an address to Italian revolutionaries, Bakunin clearly makes a case for this conscious minority to play a "leadership role."

"Three men (sic) united in an organization already form, in my opinion, a serious beginning of power... what will happen when you succeed in organizing several hundred of your followers throughout the country?... several hundred well intentioned young men (sic), when organized apart from the people, of course do not constitute an adequate revolutionary force... but those several hundreds are sufficient to organize the revolutionary power of the people."

ibid. p. 380

We need not agree on Bakunin's numerical estimate to appreciate the point: revolutionaries are many times more effective if they organize themselves. Bakunin clearly dismisses the authoritarian idea that revolutionaries act "apart from" or instead of the class.

SYNDICALISM



Following the collapse of the First International and Bakunin's death in 1876, Anarchists turned to the terrorist (sic) methods of "propaganda-by-deed" and simultaneously became separated from the workers' movement. It was involvement in the syndicalist union movement at the turn of the century which won anarchism a mass working class base. Syndicalism was an attempt to bridge the gap between day to day economic struggles and the political goal of socialism by means of a revolutionary union. The problem with syndicalism is that in order to be effective unions need to organize all workers at the point of production regardless of their political allegiances. Unions are only as revolutionary as the workers within them and if the mass of workers are not revolutionary, unions will tend inevitably towards accommodation with the system rather than revolution. It is consciousness which defines workers as revolutionary, not whether they carry a union card, however radical the union constitution may be. The problem of consciousness is not resolved purely by organizational means (industrial unions, direct democracy, limited tenure of office, etc...) but by way of political struggle, a struggle of ideas.

The Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT, was formally committed to the principles of libertarian communism, which was due to the strength of the conscious anarchist minority within its ranks. It did not happen naturally or spontaneously, but was the product of:

"Tenacious propaganda... carried out for long years in some of the peasant villages, and the constancy and strong conviction of the agitators."

Juan Gomez Casas, *Anarchist Organization: The History of the FAI*, Black Rose 1988 p.53

In France the syndicalist union, the CGT, fell under the influence of social democracy and Stalinism, while in Spain the anarchists found it necessary to organize on an independent political basis within the CNT to ensure the dominance of anarchist ideas.

"Anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists knew that reformism was gestating within the organization. This, together with the government pressure and the resulting disorganization and demoralization of the unions, and the never ending maneuvers of the tiny communist organization gradually led to the historic birth of the FAI in July 1927."

ibid. p. 100

The primary purpose of the Federation of Iberian Anarchists (FAI) was to keep the CNT free from the non-anarchist influences. The form it adopted was the free federation of "autonomous affinity groups." Each group "was free to carry on whatever activities they wished," and while it succeeded in keeping anarchism dominant in the CNT, it proved itself unequal to the historical questions which confronted it in July 1936.

The most important attempt to answer these questions and develop a theory

of political organization which unified theory and practice was the Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists. This document, drawn up by exiled veterans of the Russian Revolution in 1926, had already become the center of international anarchist controversy in most countries, except it appears, in Spain.

The founding conference of the FAI had the "platform" as an agenda item, but remitted discussion because it was not available in Spanish translation. Apart from this technical problem, there were more important political reasons for the platform's lack of impression in Spain.

It was written in the aftermath of the failed Russian Revolution and addressed to an anarchist movement which had largely lost its working class influence and which was as the platform described, in a state of "chronic general disorganization." This was not the case in Spain. The anarchists enjoyed primary influence within a mass syndicalist movement, and obviously felt in no need of lessons in political organization.

The case that the platform made for strong organization was, nonetheless, to prove particularly relevant to Spain when anarcho-syndicalism was put to the test of revolution in 1936.

THE PLATFORM EXAMINED

The platform recognized the need for the anarchist minority to organize independently from the economic organizations of the class (trade unions, factory committees, etc.) It pointed to the need for an organization which worked both inside and outside the labor movement to win the hegemony of anarchist ideas.

"Without restricting ourselves to the creation of anarchist unions, we must seek to exercise

our theoretical influence on all trade unions, and in all its forms."

The Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists, WSM edition

The Platform analysed the failure of the Russian Revolution in a far more scientific way than other anarchist authors such as Voline, Maximov and Berkman who tended on the whole to rhetorical denunciations of the "power crazed" Bolsheviks. The authors of the Platform such as Makhno, the Ukrainian insurgent leader who had narrowly escaped Trotsky's assassination squads, had just as much reason to detest the Bolsheviks. Yet they also lay some of the blame at the feet of the anarchist movement for failing to have

been sufficiently well organized to counter the Bolsheviks' political ly.



Nestor Makhno, leader of Ukrainian anarchist insurgency and author of the Platform.

ANARCHY: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

"The absence of a general organization led many active anarchist militants into the ranks of the Bolsheviks."

ibid.

The most controversial section of the Platform, however, concerned the proposals for a General Union of Anarchists. The "Organizational Section" proposed four core organizational principles:

1. Theoretical Unity
2. Tactical Unity
3. Collective Responsibility
4. Federalism

The first two principles express the need for an agreed political program based on a shared understanding of both the goal and the method of revolutionary anarchism. The requirement of collective responsibility was simply a recognition that democratic membership rights carried with them the responsibility of abiding collective decisions: "there can be no decisions without their execution."

The Italian anarchist Malatesta was sharply critical of the "democratic" standpoint of the Platform. "It is known that the anarchists do not accept majority government (democracy) just as they do not accept government by a few... The anarchists have made innumerable criticisms of so-called majority government, which moreover, in practice always leads to the domination of a small minority."

Malatesta, *Reply to the Platform* reprinted in *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review #6*

It is a remarkable leap of logic to say that democracy automatically leads to autocracy. It is also politically incorrect to say that anarchists oppose democracy. Anarchists are against parliamentary democracy because it is a sham which masks the real domination of capital over labor which lies outside parliament. Anarchists have always, in its place, counterposed the real democracy of worker's councils to the circus of parliament.

Malatesta's criticisms, furthermore, demonstrate a serious lack of faith in the possibility of a society where mass decision making is necessary to organize production on a world-wide scale. Democracy is the only way that production can be "consciously" regulated such that it meets human needs. Malatesta's position is therefore not communist, but "collectivist." The only way society's labor time can be regulated through the free interaction of collectives without democratic planning, is the mechanism of the market.

Some of Malatesta's criticisms do, however, need to be answered. Although the platform rejects a "false interpretation of federalism, which has too often been understood as the right, above all, to manifest one's ego," it does not clearly explain how disagreement and dissent can be resolved. When Bakunin outlined the federal principles for his proposed United

bulletin and to our journal, but they are bound by the requirement of tactical unity to carry out majority decisions.

Unless both tactical unity and the right to dissent are guaranteed within a political organization then there is an inevitable tendency to lapse into chaos, on the one hand, or authoritarianism, on the other.

"Strategy can only be effective if it is based on a clear understanding of how society works in order to change it."

States of Europe, he said: "Because a certain country constitutes a part of some state, even if it joined that state of its own free will, it does not follow that it is under obligation to remain forever attached to that state...The right to free reunion as well as the right to secession, is the first and foremost of all political rights."

The Platform effectively defines federalism "one-sidedly" as simply "free association," whereas federalism has always meant the "right to secede" as well. It is this aspect that the Platform fails to explicitly accept or reject.

In this article we are not going to deal with the principles governing the revolutionary re-organization of society, we will concentrate on the constitution of a specifically political organization. The Anarchist Workers Group has clarified its position on the question of federal rights within such a political organization. Strictly speaking, the right to secede within a political group can only mean the right to ignore majority decisions. We therefore reject the unconditional right to secede whilst still retaining membership.

A political organization is a voluntary association and, as such, individuals who strongly disagree with majority decisions are free to resign.

The Anarchist Workers Group instead employs a conception of the "right to dissent" or, in other words, "faction rights." Dissent can either be dealt with bureaucratically by suppression or expulsion, or else by allowing the "dissenting minority" the right to continue to argue its case as a faction within the organization. As libertarians we allow factions guaranteed access to our internal

Despite the Platform's lack of attention to the mechanics of libertarian democracy, its value lies in its clear understanding of the need for an anarchist political organization, based on an agreed program, which can provide answers to all the problems and concerns of the masses: "From the moment when anarchists declare a conception of the revolution and the structure of society, they are obliged to give all these questions a clear response."



THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Ten years after the Platform was published the Spanish anarchist movement failed to meet a requirement outlined in the Platform, the requirement of leadership. This failure contributed to the defeat of the Spanish Revolution. When dual power existed in Catalonia the anarcho-syndicalists refused to destroy the bourgeois state. This first fatal flaw led the anarchist movement on a path of compromise which ended in the ultimate fiasco of anarchists entering a popular front government.

Solidaridad Obrero, the CNT paper, announced the entry of CNT members into the government by declaring that: "the government in this hour, as a regulating instrument, has ceased to be an oppressive force against the working class, just as the state no longer represents the organism which divides society into classes."

Vernon Richards, *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, Freedom Press
The state, of course, does not di-

vide society into classes. Capitalism creates the division between owners and producers, whilst the state is the instrument which protects class rule. Thus not only had the anarchist movement lost its faith in the working class as agency of social change, but at the most vital moment their analysis of the state collapsed into confused apologetics for collaboration.

The Friends of Durrutti, a small grouping of CNT militants opposed to collaboration were, in contrast, quite clear that this failure was due to lack of theory and program. "The CNT was utterly devoid of revolutionary theory. We did not have a concrete program. We did not know where we were going. We had lyricism aplenty; but when all is said and done we did not know what to do with our masses of workers."

Friends of Durrutti, *Towards a Fresh Revolution*, Drowned Rat Publications

Not only was the CNT in disarray, but the specific anarchist organization, the FAI, reflected the deep rooted confusion. As far as they were concerned, the only two alternatives were a "libertarian dictatorship" or collaboration. Ricardo Sanz, a member of the Nostros group of the FAI, expressed the dilemma thus: "From the moment the movement took over responsibility for everything, everyone would have to do as we ordered. What is that if not dictatorship?"

quoted in R. Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 1979

The decision to collaborate was far more than "historic stage-fright." It was a theoretical failure to distinguish between leadership and dictatorship. Collaboration was never an alternative to the establishment of working class power. In fact, the Friends of Durrutti drew out the counter-revolutionary implications of CNT's actions. "It collaborated with the bourgeoisie in the affairs of the state when the state was crumbling on all sides...it breathed a lungful of oxygen into the anaemic, terror stricken bourgeoisie."

Friends of Durrutti, *Towards a Fresh Revolution*, Drowned Rat Publications

Understanding the need for a program which the Friends of Durrutti speak of, is not to deny that both the CNT and the FAI did have agreed policies and principles which in effect constituted programs. Nor was it simply a case of anarchists' ignorance of their own programs. What is crucial is that those "programs" failed to ad-

dress the problems of dual power, civil war, foreign intervention; and certainly did not inform and guide the actual practice of local branches of the movement both before and during the revolution.

In 1933 an FAI national plenum had agreed to draft a "report" on libertarian communism which was to cover basic anarchist principles, analysis of capitalism, re-organization of production, and defence of the revolution amongst its questions. After the discussion and amendment, the report would be voted on and: "was to be printed and distributed to every community in Iberia so that the goals became understood and discussed."

Juan Gomez Casas, *Anarchist Organization: The History of the FAI*, Black Rose 1988, p. 53

However, according to Casas: "The report was never written. The atmosphere warned of grave



and foreboding developments, and men (sic) of action concerned themselves more with revolutionary strategy than the goals."

ibid.
The opposition of theory to practice is a false one. The subordination of theory to the immediate tasks of the movement is symptomatic of the FAI. Strategy can only be effective if it is based on a clear understanding of how society works in order to change it. Because the syndicalist movement was primarily concerned with economic and trade union issues, it was clear that the consciously anarchist section of that movement should have a clear idea of what to do in a revolutionary situation.

It is tragically clear that a general understanding of these tasks and problems was lacking throughout the ranks of the FAI. The lesson of the Spanish experience is that an organization comprised of brave street fighters and militant trade unionists is not necessarily a good revolutionary organization.

This is the first part of a two part article reprinted from the English Anarchist Workers Group's publication Socialism From Below Vol. 1 No. 1. The second part, discussing principles for building a contemporary mass anarchist organization, will appear in the next issue of Love and Rage.

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 culture 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 propagandist ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice constructed 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-stateist. We oppose all States whether they call themselves capitalist or communist.



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 since 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 extremism, 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, multinational corporations and other forms of imperialism.

Love and Rage is anti-sexist. 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 men's 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.

Notes of Revolt

GIs RESIST

Common Consensus

RECENTLY, THE DEKALB County Magazine of Illinois, ran an article describing a new software program, Atlas*Gis, that will allow users to access the data they buy from the Census Bureau on personal desktop computers. Previously, the data was accessible only on expensive mainframe computers, while this new software will cost approximately \$2500. This program enables users to generate address by address street maps of any city in the US. Demographics can be broken up into block by block profiles, including information such as "residents' ages, income and marital status." Perhaps we could invest in such a program and map out all the addresses of rich, white Americans? Could be useful.

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News of the Alternative Press

ALIVE WILL BE A NEW, INTERNATIONAL anarchist newsletter out of the Netherlands, with the purpose of creating a platform for exchanging anarchist news from all over the world. The first issue is set for early 1991, and first issue is set in setting up a network of individuals to send information and magazines from their areas. All interested @'s are encouraged to send information, pamphlets, magazines, addresses, etc. to:

Alive
Andre and Yvonne,
J. van Lennepkade 122,
1053 MT Amsterdam,
The Netherlands



the Alternative Student Press (NASP), an association of radical student and youth oriented publications across North America.

Anybody who is involved in publishing an alternative or radical publication should get the NLNS news packets. The first one was packed with too much good stuff to mention. If you want to be hip contact:

NLNS
P.O. Box 41, MIT Branch
Cambridge, MA 02139
tel.: (617) 253-0399

OBSCHINA, THE SOVIET anarchist monthly (produced in conjunction with *Golos Truda*, an independent union paper) will be increasing its print run, and going on sale in newspaper kiosks in hopes of reaching a substantially larger audience. Unfortunately, paper is both scarce and expensive, and most paper producers and traders are demanding payment in foreign currency (which is illegal for Soviet citizens to possess, as well as being expensive). With all the changes developing in Eastern Europe, new opportunities are arising for anarchism, and it would be a shame if anarchist presses were shut down due to lack of funds. Send any spare money (cash is o.k.) to, in any currency to:

Editrice A
Cas. Post. 17120
I-20170, Milano, Italy

Vieques

(Continued from page 3)

dinner and, since it happened to be Monin's birthday, a piece of birthday cake as well. When he returned to Vieques after the hurricane, Ruel looked for them and found their house gone; they were living in hastily put-together tin shacks.

So in July we built them a cement house, and also interviewed them with our camcorder. We found that Monin, in particular had a lot to say about their situation. When we asked if they had gotten any help from the government for rebuilding, she

laughed disgustedly and said, "The government only helps those who don't need it. Those who need the aid don't get any. The rich yes - the poor no... The government says that we are nothing, that we are dogs... The government is always tricking people. But the people are not fools!"

Right now the anti-Navy movement is in a lull, partly because people are still feeling demoralized by the hurricane. The Navy took advantage of Hugo by kicking some people off rescue land when their houses were wrecked. They moved their barbed wire fences up to incorporate this land, which has yet to be reclaimed by the Viequesians.

But people are still living at Monte Carmelo, and more people are starting to move there again. In 1974 a similar movement forced the Navy to stop bombing the nearby Puerto Rican island of Culebra. There is hope for Vieques as well, although it will be an uphill battle.

Building Community is sending another brigade to Vieques from January to mid-March of 1991. Anyone interested in going for any or all of that time can contact:

Building Community, 4 Elm St.
Albany NY 12202
tel.: (518) 426-0024.

Carpentary experience and a knowledge of Spanish are helpful but not necessary.

The Future of Love and Rage

WE'RE AGAINST CAPITALISM. It says so in our political statement. One of the consequences of this is that supporters of **Love and Rage** are utterly embarrassed to ask for money. Money, and the money-economy, are ugly. All the other things we attack in the political statement (see page 11, this issue) are also ugly, and we think the newspaper **Love and Rage** is one small vehicle on the road to overturning all that.

Not the only vehicle. Contrary to some strong opinions out there, we are not trying to speak for anyone who doesn't wish to be spoken for. We just think that helping willing local individuals and groups to exchange ideas and work together more closely is consistent with anarchism. And necessary. If anarchism is to reach the numbers of people it will take to make our vision of a world without rulers a reality.

Therefore, predictably, we are overcoming our shyness and asking for a hell of a lot of money, and soon. Here's why (this will be mostly a political, and only partly a financial, argument): You've probably seen more than one issue of **Love and Rage** by this time, and you know it's not everything you could wish for in a revolutionary anarchist newspaper. At sixteen pages a month it can't be. But we're proud of what we have done.

We have put out a bilingual anarchist newspaper every month (with one month off for summer) exactly as we planned. We have reached into high schools, prisons and the military with our paper. We have built a network of supporters across North America who write for, distribute and pay for a paper that is accountable to them. We think that **Love and Rage** is doing something important for the anarchist movement, that we have moved a few steps closer to the kind of movement our political statement talks about.

As the US is getting completely coked up in preparation for a war in the Persian Gulf it is an open question as to what the future of the anarchist movement will be. Will the anti-war movement be weighed down by the corpses of the authoritarian left? Or will anti-authoritarians be able to assert a living, liberatory vision of that movement and the world we want to live in? **Love and Rage** is an essential outlet, a forum, a tool for a generation of activists that is fighting to make the anarchist vision a credible alternative to the exhausted authoritarian ideologies that have left the planet in its current state.

Building **Love and Rage** is an ongoing process of widening the circle of support that sustains us. With each addition to that circle the newspaper changes and the possibilities of what we can do together are enlarged. To change and grow into the newspaper its readers would like it to become, **Love and Rage** has to get longer each month, so more letters of praise, complaint, and criticism can see the light of the day. More pages will allow more analysis, more photos and art, more of everything. Possibly less testosterone.

First, however, **Love and Rage** has to survive. Period. Between now and the end of December we need to raise 8 thousand bucks to survive. It's a lot. We have a monthly budget of 2 thousand dollars. That's a lot.

Here's what it goes for: Printing (a press run of 3,000 a month), rent (for a small office), stipend for one full time staffer (\$400 a month). Try living on that in Manhattan. Even if he got paid on time, Christopher would be going

a little hungry).

Most of the money comes from monthly pledges. The Editorial Council (EC) decided, after a lot of debate, not to accept display advertising. Some EC members would like to reconsider this policy, others are politically opposed.

The pledges we raised at the founding **Love and Rage** conference in November 1989, didn't quite cover our \$2000 a month budget, so we've gone into debt.

Again, with pledges, people's politics come into play. In these days the prospects for an upsurge in political radicalism, let alone an anarchist revolution can seem remote. Supporting a project like **Love and Rage** represents a belief that those prospects can change, possibly very fast, and having a reliable newspaper both prepares us for such an upsurge and makes it more likely. People who pledge money to **Love and Rage** make a political decision to give part of their income to a struggling project they don't have 100% agreement with. That's an important point. This is a collaborative effort. Nobody gets everything they want out of it. Each of us winces occasionally. But we all get a paper we can use to start talking with people about anarchism and what it has to say about the world we live in. We also get a paper we can point to as the product of trying to put our lofty ideas into practice. That's what the people who support **Love and Rage** pay for.

Some of these people would choose to work less if not for this commitment. Others, who can't make that choice, or who support children, would live 5 or 30 or 100 dollars more comfortably each month. All of us are opposed to consumerism. All of us think our money for **Love and Rage** is well spent. We know that we can't build the kind of movement we think is needed by just giving when it's convenient, or every so often or at the last minute. We have to support our projects month in and month out.

Back to that vehicle "metaphor." We all know, our readers, our critics, and we ourselves, that **Love and Rage** isn't the Revolution. The **Revolutionary Worker** thinks it's the revolution. We think we're a subcompact on the freeway of history, and we think the more the merrier. We need gas and some minor repairs. We'll need gas next month and probably a tune up. We need to know that the money is going to be coming each month before we use our credit cards anymore. Otherwise the trip is over.

Even if you're still feeling out the small milieu that agrees with our political statement, we urge you to subscribe to **Love and Rage**, and to make a monthly pledge. If you're one of the many folks who were around long before **Love and Rage**, we hope you'll make a commitment now. Most of us believe, as a political issue, that supporters of this newspaper should bear its cost. (As opposed to: selling display ads, seeking corporate (haha) dollars, or firing the staffer and the printer and sneaking xeroxing when we could, which would mean we'd come out "whenever.")

If more people give one or two day's labor a month, to keep our subcompact running, we hope to get a U-haul trailer sometime in 1991. If you want **Love and Rage** to survive, to grow and mature, pledge today, please. If you want your pledge to be tax deductible just make your check out to the Aspect Foundation.

Send your pledge to:
Love and Rage
Box 3 Prince St. Station
New York, NY 10012

AMOR Y RABIA

una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria \$1

Año 1 Número 6

Octubre de 1990

¡No Guerra EU Contra Irak!

BY WAYNE PRICE

EL GOBIERNO DE E.U. ESTA preparándose para una guerra, y los anarquistas estamos preparándonos para oponernos a ella. No tenemos ninguna simpatía con la dictadura brutal de Irak o con su agresión en contra de Kuwait. Pero sabemos que el gobierno de EU es el agresor más poderoso y más peligroso. Sabemos que la guerra no es para la libertad para Kuwait; es para el petróleo. También, el gobierno de EU es nuestro gobierno, lo que domina a nosotros. Nosotros no podemos tener ningún impacto sobre el militarismo iraquí, pero sí que podemos oponernos a los proyectos militares de EU.

En el momento en que los gobernantes de EU decidieron intervenir

situarse para finales de octubre. Entretanto pueden debilitar a Irak con un bloqueo militar. Los gobernantes de EU decidieron llevar a cabo un segundo proyecto. Si los militares de EU tienen la razón y pueden vencer a Irak en una guerra prolongada es una cuestión no decidida. Pero, si Sadam Husein no se rinde, es probable que venga una guerra en el otoño venidero.

En la preparación para la guerra, la preparación de las mentes de la gente es aún más importante que la acumulación de tanques y aviones bombarderos. Los políticos y los militares de EU deben tener en mente el síndrome de Vietnam, los sentimientos en contra de la guerra que aún

el derrocar de los gobiernos en Grenada y Panamá por medio de las fuerzas armadas de EU, sin tener en cuenta la opinión internacional, se considera como bueno. (Incidentalmente, hoy día, hay más tráfico de drogas desde Panamá que el que existía antes de la invasión.) Pero si Irak invade y derroca un gobierno en Kuwait se considera como un crimen.

Igualmente, la gente de EU se enfurece de que Irak ha mantenido rehenes occidentales y esto sí que es un acto terrible (aunque no habría pasado si EU no hubiera intervenido militarmente). Pero casi no notamos que EU está bloqueando la comida y los medicamentos a Irak, en contra de las leyes internacionales. El gobierno estadounidense está manteniendo al

La mitad de México se le quitó mediante una guerra y se convirtió en el "suroeste de EU." También cayó Latinoamérica bajo del dominio de EU. EU ha ocupado a casi todos los países de Centroamérica en una época u otra, y ha quedado involucrado profundamente en los asuntos de Centroamérica hoy día. Existen bases militares en todas las regiones del mundo. Las bombas nucleares de EU tienen la capacidad de exterminar al total de la humanidad muchas veces. Con la disintegración de la Unión Soviética, EU quedará siendo la única potencia mayor armada con bombas nucleares.

Las corporaciones de EU dominan el mercado mundial, agotando las riquezas de todo país en sus cuentas bancarias. Los bancos de EU dominan el sistema monetario.

En su mayor parte, los argumentos que EU utiliza para justificar sus acciones militares en el Medio Oriente son mentiras. Es verdad, por supuesto, que Sadam Husein es un tirano cruel que invadió a Kuwait. Es una mentira, sin embargo, que le molesta a George Bush la tiranía o la invasión. Hace diez años este mismo tirano invadió a Iran para ocupar los campos de petróleo (¿recordamos?). En aquel momento EU no estableció un bloqueo naval contra Irak ni envió las tropas ni pasó resoluciones a la ONU. Oficialmente, EU fue "neutral" en la guerra de ocho a ± nos entre Iran e Irak y extraoficialmente se "inclinó" hacia Irak, ayudando su esfuerzo militar de varias maneras. Por ejemplo, Irak ha sido el receptor más grande del mundo de las ventas subvencionadas de grano de EU.

La cuestión involucrada en la crisis en el Medio Oriente no es la agresión de Irak. Es el petróleo. El EU el resto de los países del "mundo moderno" necesitan el petróleo. Nuestra sociedad entera se organiza sobre el uso del petróleo barato. Nuestras casas están hubicadas de una manera que necesitamos autos con motores de gasolina para transportarnos. Nuestra producción industrial necesita gasolina y se distribuye por camiones con motores de gasolina. Nuestra comida se crece con químicos para fertilizar y para matar los insectos, y es transportada en camiones y cubierto con plástico. En efecto, las ganancias de la élite y nuestro aparentemente alto nivel de vida dependen del petróleo barato.

Esta sociedad de petróleo es, de hecho, débil. El petróleo es limitado y no se crea de nuevo. Tarde o temprano se acabará.

(Continúa en la página 4)



militarmente en el Medio Oriente, dos corrientes de pensamiento emergieron. Algunos, tales como Henry Kissinger y el ejército israelí, abogaron por un golpe fuerte e inmedío contra Irak, aplastando los objetivos militares e industriales. Pero esto no habría derrotado al ejército de un millón y medio de Irak. Hubiera dado lugar a una guerra larga y difícil. Y el pueblo estadounidense se hubiera puesto en contra de la guerra, como pasó en Vietnam.

Otras personas, tales como el General Colin Powell, Presidente del Estado Mayor Conjunto, abogaron por una vasta acumulación de fuerzas militares en el Medio Oriente. Calculan que fuerzas suficientes para vencer una guerra contra Irak pueden

quedan muchos años después de la guerra de Vietnam. Una motivación importante de las acciones militares en Grenada y Panamá fue la de acostumbrar a la población estadounidense a la agresión de EU. Ahora, una ola de histeria militarista ha poseionado el país. Arde la antorcha del racismo contra los árabes y del orgullo nacional de gran potencia.

El Orgullo Nacional de EU

La población de EU está, de muchas maneras, satisfecha consigo misma, orgullosa e ignorante del mundo. Los gobernantes de EU hacen lo mejor que pueden para mantenernos así, por medio de la dirección del sistema educacional, de los medios de comunicación y de las iglesias. El invadir a países y

pueblo iraquí como rehenes por culpa de las acciones de su gobierno (sobre las cuales no tiene ningún control). Esto es también un ultraje. Si reclama EU que esto es un complemento de la guerra moderna, el gobierno de Irak también puede decir lo mismo en cuanto a mantener los rehenes.

EU es casi un fenómeno excepcional de la historia del mundo: una nación que nunca ha sufrido una invasión o la ocupación por fuerzas armadas extranjeras, nunca ha visto sus ciudades bombardeadas en una guerra, "nunca ha perdido una guerra." (Así lo cree mucha gente). Esta es la razón de que la derrota en Vietnam tanto les molesta - al mismo tiempo que les sirve de lección - a mucha gente.

EU se construyó mediante la agresión. Un vasto territorio se les quitó a los americanos indígenas.

MIAMI: RACISMO Y REPRESION

por GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

UNA VEZ MAS, ASISTIMOS a una nueva oleada de brutalidad, represión política y racismo en la ciudad de Miami; con su consecuente desencañamiento y recrudecimiento de las tensiones raciales entre las diferentes comunidades que coexisten y en algunos casos (como el de los haitianos y los nuevos africanos) subsisten en la ciudad sureña, producto del racismo intrínseco de la sociedad en que vivimos.

Al igual que en el resto de los Estados Unidos de Amerikkka, en Miami, el sistema de Apartheid sudafricano se encuentra impuesto, con las modificaciones y adaptaciones que estas latitudes requieren, manifestándose, no solo en la división y el aislamiento de las comunidades étnicas, delimitándose muy sutilmente sus áreas y territorios, sino enmarcándolos dentro de un sistema social que pretende (y de hecho lo impone) establecer categorías ciudadanas.

Como fuera de esperar, los haitianos que habitan en Miami, no quedan fuera de estas condiciones, concentrándose en el área noroeste de la barriada predominantemente negra de Miami, asentando su propio barrio: Little Haiti.

Pero, no solo son víctimas de esta sutil concentración y aislamiento (digo sutil, porque esta maniobra se realiza de tal forma que cuando usted trata de ponerla al descubierto, le bombardean con argumentos tales como: que tienen su propio territorio, que se sienten como en su casa, que lo han hecho a imagen y semejanza de su propia tierra natal, que ellos son los dueños y por último que ellos están allí porque les gusta y porque quieren; y no fallarían los ejemplos de prosperidad, se mostrarían dos o tres elegantes restaurantes, el Centro Comunitario y un par de Iglesias) sino que también son discriminados doblemente, primero por su raza y después por su nacionalidad. En medio de esta sociedad superlativamente racista, donde sus comunidades se dividen según la raza, la nacionalidad y el sexo (entiéndase hasta las inclinaciones y gustos sexuales) y poder económico.

Los anglos sin duda alguna, vienen a ser los ciudadanos de primera categoría, por la "pureza de su raza," por ser nacidos (no por nativos por supuesto) en Amerikkka y por tener el idioma de Shakespeare desde la cuna. Como el lógico, esta categoría de ciudadano de primera que le otorga a priori al anglo esta sociedad, se subdivide según el poder económico, como consecuencia fundamental de este capitalismo monopolista y consumista, dando origen a anglos de primera, de segunda y hasta de tercera, quedando aquí comprendidos los despectivamente denominados "White Trash" o "basura blanca," que como es de esperar son discriminados por los anglos "high," quienes les consideran "basura," desde luego, con apellido, ya que la "basura blanca" para estos blancos "High" es mejor que la "basura negra," pero ellos a su vez, discriminan y desprecian (una vez más producto del racismo intrínseco de la sociedad) a sus compañeros de trabajo y hasta a sus compañeros de celda según la raza, la nacionalidad y el sexo.

En estas categorías sociales y raciales que esta sociedad impone, está el ciudadano de segunda que también se divide y subdivide infinitesimalmente. Aquí quedan comprendidos muchos extranjeros e hijos de extranjeros, no solo por su idioma o lengua natal, sino también por su raza y religión, por ejemplo los denominados "hispanos" o a veces "latinos;" (aquí caen en un gran caldero todos los nacidos del Rio

Bravo hasta la Patagonia, pero a menudo por el significado etimológico de la palabra se incluyen los italianos, los españoles, los portugueses y franceses) a su vez las concepciones racistas y la discriminación toma cuerpo entre los ciudadanos enmarcados dentro de esta categoría de segunda, ya que los "hispanos high," en la mayoría de los casos no toman cuenta, o mejor dicho se hacen los de la vista gorda y no reconocen ser discriminados por los anglos y se sienten tan "superiores y puros" como ellos, estos, como es de suponer, discriminan al resto de los llamados "hispanos" que no tengan su mismo poderío económico o poder adquisitivo, igualmente por raza y sexo.

También, los que vendrían a ser de "segunda" dentro de estos "ciudadanos de segunda" son aquellos que aunque no tienen el poder económico de los "hispanos high," son blancos es decir son de tez blanca, o casi blanca aunque no tengan los ojos azules o verdes, ni los cabellos rubios originalmente (digo originalmente porque es muy común encontrarlos con los cabellos rubios oxigenados). Estos "ciudadanos de segunda dentro de los de segunda," discriminan por raza y sexo, al resto de sus "compañeros de categoría," discriminando a los hispanos indo-nativos sur americanos y a los mestizos quienes vendrían a ser los "ciudadanos de tercera" dentro de esta categorización de segunda.

Dentro de estos denominados (por los anglos racistas) ciudadanos de segunda, entran también los judíos, los asiáticos y los nuevos africanos o negros norteamericanos, quienes a su vez se subdividen y se autodiscriminan al igual que los grupos anteriores, según el poderío económico, el nivel adquisitivo, etc, haciéndolo el juego a esta sociedad de categorías sociales y raciales.

En este marco clasista y racista del Apartheid norteamericano, el haitiano viene a ser (sin necesidad de reflexión alguna) un ciudadano de tercera categoría por triplicado: por negro, por extranjero y por no reconocerle el status de refugiado político.

El refugiado haitiano, no solo va a ser discriminado por los anglos racistas de primera categoría ciudadana, y por los hispanos y judíos de segunda categoría ciudadana, sino que va a encontrar hasta la discriminación y la hostilidad de los afroamericanos y nuevo africanos, en las escuelas, en los trabajos etc... como consecuencia lógica de las pocas oportunidades disponibles para las minorías negras, tales como programas educacionales (becas, estipendios, etc.), programas sociales (viviendas de bajos ingresos, cupones de alimentos, etc.) y oportu-



tunidades de empleos. Para reafirmar, esta categoría de tercera que la sociedad yanqui ofrece al refugiado haitiano, se va a sumar la discriminación por parte de las agencias gubernamentales, tales como el Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización (INS), quienes le otorgan al refugiado haitiano esta categoría dentro del mundo de los refugiados, convirtiéndolos en los inmigrantes con menos oportunidades en los E.E.U.U.

La inmigración obligatoria del pueblo haitiano, dada las precarias condiciones político-sociales y las deterioradas condiciones económicas de Haití, traen hacia las costas estadounidenses a miles de haitianos en busca de refugio, todos los años. Sin embargo, estos refugiados no reciben dicho status por parte del I.N.S., siendo deportados (casi en su mayoría) hacia su país; sin tener en cuenta la barbarie de la represión política que sufre el pueblo haitiano.

El gobierno de Estados Unidos (en todos sus mandatos) no ha reconocido el status de refugiados políticos a los haitianos reconociéndoles únicamente el status de refugiados económicos, lo que les limita la entrada a este país; sin tomar en cuenta el largo período de represión y crímenes políticos de las sangrientas dictaduras de los Duvalier padre e hijo (Papá Doc y Baby Doc).

En la actualidad, pese a los cambios cosméticos de la política haitiana, la realidad es asfixiante, solo tenemos que recordar las elecciones sangrientas de 1987, donde el pueblo que asistió a las urnas fue

masacrado impunemente, a mantenernos atentos del acontecer haitiano y veremos como la persecución, el asesinato político y la necesidad económica arroja diariamente a los peligros del mar a miles de hombres, mujeres y niños en busca de refugio. El pasado 10 de julio, se ahogaron cerca de las costas de la Florida 48 personas que intentaban llegar a Estados Unidos a bordo de una embarcación, que al igual que todas las que realizan este tráfico venial sobrecargada de personas. Pese a todos los peligros que enfrentan estos haitianos en busca de refugio, cuando son interceptados por los guardacostas norteamericanos estos los devuelven a Haití, sin consideración alguna de los riesgos que puedan correr al regresar a su país; como parte de acuerdo bilateral de interdicción que firmara el ex-dictador haitiano Baby Doc y el ex-presidente yanqui Ronald Reagan en 1981. Desde entonces a la fecha más de 25 mil haitianos han sido devueltos bajo este inhumano convenio.

Los haitianos que logran llegar a tierra norteamericana sin que las embarcaciones que los transportan sean interceptadas en aguas internacionales por los guardacostas, aun no pueden cantar victoria. Mientras que a los cubanos que logran escapar de la tiranía stalinista de Castro, se les recibe con la política de "brazos abiertos," como parte del juego yanqui de reconocer exclusivamente la miseria y la represión en el bando oponente; los haitianos que pisan "la tierra de las oportunidades" son detenidos y trasladados inmediatamente al

Centro de Detención del INS de Krome, en Homestead, donde se les mantiene presos durante meses en pésimas condiciones.

A finales del mes de noviembre de 1988, se sucio una huelga de hambre de unos 200 haitianos detenidos en el Centro Krome, protestando por los abusos y violaciones que estaban sufriendo en dicho Centro y por las precarias condiciones de vida en que allí se les mantiene. Esto hizo salir a la luz las innumerables violaciones de los derechos humanos, entre las que se escuchaban golpizas, detenciones a menores, etc. Como consecuencia, un pequeño grupo fue puesto en libertad bajo palabra, exigiéndoles tener familiares inmediatos (padres, hijos, esposas o esposos) en los Estados Unidos para ser puestos en libertad y otorgarles el "parole".

En la mayoría de los casos, el haber logrado llegar a tierra norteamericana sin ser interceptado, o el no ser deportado para Haití después de estar detenido en el Centro Krome o el ser puesto en "libertad" y habérsele otorgado un "parole," no resuelve los problemas de los refugiados haitianos. En primer lugar, al hacerle entrega del "parole," no siempre se le provee permiso de trabajo, lo que les impide desenvolverse en esta sociedad y en segundo lugar, un "parole" otorgado como refugiado económico, no los exonora de la deportación cuando el gobierno así lo estime. En muchas ocasiones después de recibir el permiso de trabajo, han sido discriminados al solicitar compensación o cupones de alimentos y servicios médicos al quedar desempleados. Aún después de ser residentes permanentes en los Estados Unidos los refugiados haitianos continúan siendo objeto de discriminación en el momento de solicitar empleos, ayudas federales, etc.

En la actualidad, los haitianos continúan siendo víctimas sistemáticas de la discriminación. Los recientes incidentes y la consecuente represión y brutalidad policial contra los haitianos dejaron expuesta la ineludible discriminación a que son sometidos.

El pasado viernes 29 de junio se sucio un vergonzoso incidente que desatará la ira de la comunidad haitiana aquí en el sur de la Florida. Quizás, el incidente que se desarrollara en la tienda de ropas "Rapid Transit Factory Outlet," propiedad del Sr. Reyes, entre su propietario y un cliente haitiano que



(Continúa en la página 4)

LA LUCHA DE VIEQUES

POR KATHY MANLEY

SE PUEDE VER "FUERA LA MARINA" en pintura brillante sobre las calles, paredes y paradas de públicos (guaguas) a través de la isla pequeña de Vieques, Puerto Rico. La isla está controlada por la Marina de Guerra de Estados Unidos, que controla casi 3/4 del territorio (20 millas en largo por 4 1/2 millas en anchura) desde los 1940s. Yo pasé tres semanas allí el julio pasado con Construyendo Comunidad, una brigada de construcción. Eramos un grupo pequeño, la mayoría de jóvenes, y estábamos tratando de reconstruir algunas de las casas destruidas el año pasado por el Huracán Hugo.

Construyendo Comunidad fue originada por Ruel Bernard, un carpintero de Albany, quien ya había viajado a Vieques dos o tres veces. También el viaje fue apollado por la Escuela Libertaria, que es una escuela alternativa aquí en Albany. Yo soy profesora allí, y algunos de los alumnos fueron con nosotros. Ruel empezaba a organizar la brigada cuando él aprendió que un 90% de las casas de madera fueron destruidas por Hugo, y que la mayoría de la gente no tenía el dinero para reconstruir. FEMA tiene dinero, pero la mayoría de la gente no puede obtenerlo, porque no tienen títulos para sus tierras.

Otro aspecto importante de nuestro viaje fue nuestro apollo en la lucha contra la Marina, en particular en el movimiento de rescate, que es el proceso de retomar tierra de la Marina, construyendo casas y viviendo en esa tierra.

Vieques es una pequeña municipalidad de Puerto Rico, 8 millas al este de la isla grande. La cultura es definitivamente Puertorriqueña, aunque contiene también aspectos de otras culturas del Caribe, por ejemplo hay influencia Rastafariana de la isla cercana de Santa Cruz. La historia de Vieques es una historia de lucha - primero había la resistencia de los indios Tainos contra los españoles; después había la lucha de los esclavos Africanos, quienes fueron capturados para trabajar en las haciendas de caña de los españoles. Entonces había el movimiento de los trabajadores de caña "libres" para remediar las condiciones bajo las cuales se vieron obligados a trabajar, y ahora hay la lucha para rescatar la isla de la Marina.

Durante la segunda guerra mundial el gobierno EU decidió que quería más bases en el Caribe. El Pentágono construyó, y amplió bases en otras islas, y también expirió 22,000 hectares de Vieques - casi 3/4 del territorio entero. Miles de personas tuvieron que mudarse, y la economía fue destruida. La población fue reducida de casi 15,000 a su nivel actual de 8,000. Las industrias de pesca y de caña (de azúcar) fueron destruidas, y los años de bombardeo han contaminado la costa de la isla.

EU usa Vieques como un base para atacar a sus vecinos en el Caribe y en Centroamérica. La Marina usa la isla para almacenar sus armas, para practicar bombardeos, incluyendo bombas de 2,000 libras, y para maniobras anfibia. También usa algunas veces para blancos las vacas y los caballos que se extravían en su territorio. Un hombre me mostró un cartucho muy grande, y me dijo que él había encontrado su caballo muerto en la playa, con uno de esos adentro. Una nena fue casi cegada cuando encontró una mina viva que reventó cuando ella la tocó. ¿La razón por todo eso? Pues, por ejemplo, las playas de Vieques fueron la escena del ensayo final para la invasión de Grenada.

Hay oposición a la presencia de la Marina; movimientos contra la Marina han crecido, y disminuido en Vieques desde los años cuarentas. El gobierno local ha aprobado algunas veces resoluciones para quitar la Marina, y habían muchas manifestaciones y algunos motines con la misma demanda. Un motin tuvo éxito en (por lo menos hasta ahora) quitar a los marinos del pueblo principal de Isabel Segundo, donde iban a ir para tomar, molestar a las mujeres y pelear, llevándose generalmente como un ejército de ocupación.

Otro punto fuerte de la resistencia ocurrió en 1979. Un grupo de pescadores, prohibidos de pescar en las aguas mejores, que son controladas por la Marina, deci-

construyeron una casa allí en 1976. El lugar es muy bello, se puede ver casi toda la costa de la isla.

Otras personas y familias llegaron también, y construyeron sus casas. El año pasado la Marina puso avisos de desahucio, y dijo que todo el mundo tendría que salir. Algunas salieron y algunas quedaron, incluyendo a la familia Carmelo, aunque la Marina dijo a María que le iba a dar \$40,000 y una nueva casa, si ellos salieran. Cuando esta propuesta fue rechazada, llegaron los Federales (US marshalls) con tres camiones, y empezaron a sacar los muebles. Pero vinieron otros también, más o menos cien, para apollar a la familia, y ellos no permitieron que los camiones salieran. Después de un tiempo largo de in-

gusto y dijo, "El gobierno da ayuda a los que no lo necesitan. Los que necesitan, no reciben nada. Los ricos, si - los pobres, no..." (El gobierno dice) que no somos nada, que somos perros... El gobierno siempre engaña a la gente. Pero la gente no son bobos!"

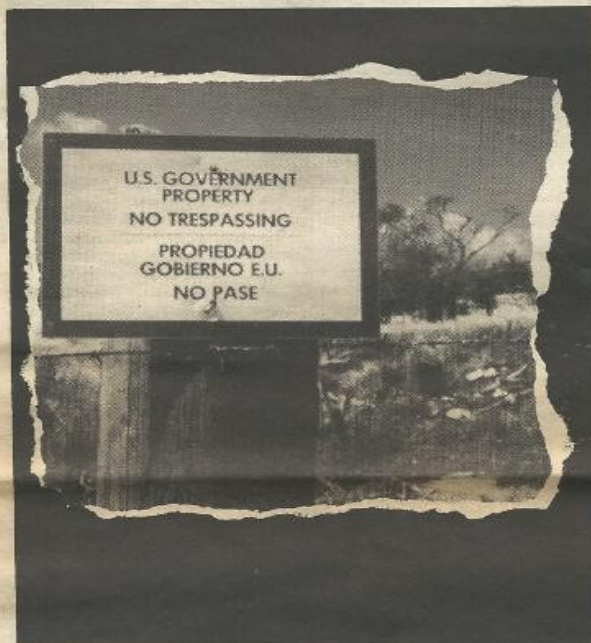
Ahorrita, no pasa mucho con el movimiento contra la Marina, en parte porque la gente se siente desmoralizada a causa del huracán. La Marina se aprovechó de Hugo deshuciendo a gente de tierras rescatadas cuando sus casas fueron destruidas. Los marinos movieron su cerca de alambre para incluir esta tierra, que ya no está retomado por los Viequeses. Sin embargo, todavía hay gente a Monte Carmelo, y otras están mu-

dándose allá. En 1974 un movimiento similar fue victorioso en parar la Marina de bombardear la cercana isla Puertorriqueña de Culebra. Hay una esperanza para Vieques también, pero la lucha será muy dura.

Construyendo Comunidad va a mandar otra brigada a Vieques desde enero hasta medianos de marzo de 1991. Si alguien quiere ir por cualquier parte de ese periodo se puede escribir o llamar por teléfono a:

Construyendo Comunidad
4 Elm St.
Albany, NY 12202
(518) 426-0024

(Se habla español, más o menos) (No necesita de carpintería es útil, pero no es necesario.)



dieron parar las maniobras de la Marina. En lanchitas de 15 pies, ellos bloquearon las naves grandes de la Marina, y tuvieron éxito en parar las maniobras durante un periodo. Más o menos al mismo tiempo, organizadores tuvieron un servicio ecuménico en la playa allá, sobre el territorio de la Marina, y el grupo fue atacado por la policía y los marinos. Había una batalla en la playa, con heridos en los dos lados. Un hombre me dijo que el golpió a un capitán en la cabeza con su honda. Al fin fueron arrestados 21 "líderes," quienes fueron escogidos de la multitud a causa de sus políticas independentistas, no para nada que habían hecho esa día. Diez fueron mandados a cárcel por seis meses por el crimen de caminar en su propia tierra. Uno de ellos, Angel Rodríguez Cristobal, fue asesinado en una celda de una cárcel en Tallahassee.

Cuando la primera brigada de Construyendo Comunidad fue a Vieques en abril, construyeron estantes para la Colección Viequesense, una biblioteca llena de información sobre la historia de Vieques y el movimiento contra la Marina. Está situada en una escuela secundaria, y dirigida por Bob Rabin. El es profesor de historia allá, y ha vivido en Vieques y trabajado en el movimiento contra la Marina por los últimos diez años.

Uno de los proyectos con que trabajó nuestro grupo fue una casa de rescate en un lugar llamado Monte Carmelo. Felix Carmelo Mata, su esposa María, y sus hijos, retomaron esta montaña de la Marina, y

decisión, uno de los camiones misteriosamente empezó a quemar. Los otros dos camiones lograron salir, pero tenían que volver para lo resto de los muebles. Antes de esto, uno de los hijos de Carmelo y María trajo los paneles de la familia adentro de la casa. Cuando volvieron los Federales, encontraron muchas avéjgas enojadas. La Marina decidió a salir y ya no ha vuelto más. Se hizo camisas con un dibujo de lo que pasó, y están muy de modo en la isla. La familia todavía esta allá, y quieren que otros vengán también. Nostros ayudáremos a otra familia a construir una casa en esa montaña, y esperamos hacer más en el futuro.

También nuestro grupo construyó una casita de cemento (prueba a huracanes) por una pareja de ancianos, cuya casa fue destruida por Hugo. Ruel conoció a la pareja, Pedro y Monin, cuando él estaba caminando a través de la isla. Había visto su casa, y se paró para pedir un vaso de agua. Con la hospitalidad típica de Vieques, le dieron una gran cena, y porque fue el cumpleaños de Monin, un pedazo de bizcocho también. Cuando volvió a Vieques después del huracán, Ruel les visitó y vió que su casa había desaparecido, estaban viviendo en unas chozas de lata. En julio les construimos la casita de cemento, y les entrevistamos con nuestra cámara video. Aprendimos que Monin, en particular, tuvo mucho decir sobre su situación.

Cuando les preguntamos si habían recibido ayuda del gobierno para reconstruir, se rió con dis-

Amor y Rabia es realizado por una red de simpatizantes los cuales están de acuerdo en línea general con la Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia y contribuyen con su tiempo, dinero y energía para que Amor y Rabia sea una realidad. Las decisiones mayores y la política general se determinan cuando todos los simpatizantes se reúnen mediante una conferencia. Las decisiones internas, menos importantes (de acuerdo a las decisiones de la conferencia), las toma consejo editorial, integrado por personas de diferentes regiones, que se reúnen varias veces al año y se comunican por teléfono y por correo. Las decisiones cotidianas (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la conferencia y del consejo editorial), las hace el grupo de producción editorial que reside en New York, donde se publica el periódico. En algunas ciudades y regiones, los simpatizantes de Amor y Rabia se han organizado para cooperar en el apoyo al periódico a nivel local y algunas veces participan en la red a través de su grupo o colectivo. Otros simpatizantes militan solos.

La mayoría de los colaboradores de Amor y Rabia están activos en esfuerzos por cambiar al mundo, además de publicar Amor y Rabia. Los simpatizantes están involucrados en un amplio rango de grupos locales, en varios tipos de publicaciones, en redes que atienden asuntos específicos y en organizaciones que militan nacional e internacionalmente y muchas veces escriben sobre sus actividades en Amor y Rabia.

La red de apoyo de Amor y Rabia no es un círculo cerrado de amigos. Así estás conforme a comprometer tu tiempo, energía o dinero en nuestro esfuerzo común, puedes convertirte en parte de la red y participar ampliamente en el proceso de tomar las decisiones. Pídeles más información a la persona que te vendió o te obsequió tu copia del periódico, o escribe a:

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(Continúa de la página 1)

El petróleo también es la causa principal del "greenhouse effect" que está levantando la temperatura del planeta. El uso del petróleo está matando a la humanidad y al planeta tierra. Lo que se necesita no es más petróleo más barato, pero una limitación vasta de el uso de petróleo, se al mismo tiempo que desarrollan formas de energía que son alternativas más sanas en su impacto ecológico.

El precio de petróleo es una paradoja. Por un lado, los gobiernos que tiene petróleo (OPEC) trabajan con las pocas compañías occidentales de petróleo ("las siete hermanitas") para mantener el precio mucho más alto del costo de producción. Por el otro lado, el precio es más barato que sería si ello incluía los costos de una sociedad que está basada en el petróleo y que gasta la energía.

El presidente Bush dice que necesitamos defender 'nuestra manera de vida' de la agresión de Irak. Esto falta aun el pretexto moral de anticomunismo. Durante la Guerra Fría, por las menos, los gobernantes de EU aparentaban que defenderían la democracia del totalitarismo. Pero hoy día, solamente están reclamando que defiendan nuestro derecho de mantener un aparentemente alto nivel de vida, basado en el gasto del petróleo. Están defendiendo nuestro derecho de vivir bien por sacar baratos los recursos naturales bajo la tierra de otra gente, naturales que pertenecen a otros, y en una forma barata también. Moralmente, esto es corrompido. El hecho de que tantas personas en el EU lo aceptan es una parte de

neutra corrupción imperialista. Si el EU tiene el derecho de tener el petróleo de Kuwait para ayudar a nuestra economía, también lo tiene Irak, que reclamó que Kuwait estaba vendiendo su petróleo tanto barato que esto hacía daño a la economía de Irak. Este argumento en favor de la agresión militar es inmoral para Irak y inmoral para el EU.

En contraste de Irak, los estados árabes más conservador se habían satisfecho con su "arreglo" con el EU. Específicamente, Kuwait produjo más petróleo de la cuota que le la dado OPEC. Esto bajó el precio del petróleo en el mercado mundial y bajó el déficit en el balance de pagos de EU (y costó a Irak mucho dinero).

Por El Lado de EU

Los estados árabes conservadores ("conservador" en el sentido de reaccionarios feudales) en su mayoría han elegido apoyar a EU. Naturalmente, estos jeques, reyes y emires y sultanos no les importan las ideas democráticas y la autodeterminación de los pueblos. Solamente quieren proteger su arreglo con el imperialismo occidental.

Entonces, está Egipto, cuyo régimen es el receptor más grande de la ayuda exterior de EU después de Israel, así como el receptor mayor de dinero del petróleo de los Saudis. Y Siria, cuyo régimen brutal es una copia del régimen de Irak (ambos tienen la misma ideología totalitaria, el "socialismo" Ba'ath). Siria invadió a Líbano en el 1976 y ha ocupado regiones grandes de este país desde entonces, pero ahora forma parte de la coalición contra "agresión."

Estos y otros estados del "Tercer Mundo" son agentes del

imperialismo occidental. Se han juntado con EU y con los estados imperialistas de Europa Occidental, enviando unos pocos miles de tropas para cubrir la fuerza de EU con una cobertura islámica débil.

La Unión Soviética ha cesado en su esfuerzo de competir con EU por el control del mundo. Y ha apoyado la agresión yanqui, con algunas quejas. Ha endosado el bloqueo naval y ha enviado buques al área. Apoyado las cuatro resoluciones aprobado por el Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU que ha usado como pretexto para sus acciones militares EU. También, China ha votado por todas las resoluciones. Un voto negativo por la parte de China o Rusia habría debilitado cualquier resolución y habría creado el pretexto ideológico más transparente. Pero ahora, EU puede reclamar que está apoyado por todo el mundo, porque 12 gobiernos votaron por ello en el Consejo de Seguridad.

Hay algunos radicales que ya tienen ilusiones en Cuba. Su representativo en el Consejo de Seguridad no votó en contra de ninguna de las resoluciones; se abstuvo sobre dos y votó por dos.

En breve, los gobiernos marxistas-leninistas o capitalistas de Estado se unieron con los imperialistas de EU. Se quejan sobre aspectos menores de la intervención de EU, pero sus acciones significan más de sus palabras.

¿De Que Lado Estamos?

De un lado, están los imperialistas de EU y de Europa, y un grupo de estados clientes árabes (Israel se queda un poco escondido, proveyendo a EU con avisos militares). Del otro lado está el régimen iraquí de Sadam Husein, que oprima su propio

pueblo con una dictadura brutal, ha oprimido a la nación curdista dentro de sus fronteras, y ahora ha invadido a Kuwait.

Ambos lados son malos. Pero hay una diferencia importante. EU e Irak son de diferentes clases de Estados. EU es el más poderoso estado estado imperialista del mundo, e Irak es un país que ha sido oprimido y robado por mucho tiempo por los imperialistas. Su petróleo, en su mayor parte, se ha usado para enriquecer a otro gente. A pesar de la riqueza reciente de su régimen, Irak, tal como los otros estados árabes, no ha podido industrializarse de una manera plena. Miles de gente occidental son atrapados en Irak y Kuwait, porque estos países necesitaban a otras personas para operar sus industrias petrolíferas. Irak importa el 70 por ciento de su comida. No tiene casi ninguna industria de armas.

George Bush comparó Husein a Hitler, pero Hitler fue dictador de uno de los estados imperialistas más grandes, cuyo economía fue bastante fuerte para que su régimen pudiera vencer a toda Europa. Husein es el jefe de una nación pequeña, pobre y oprimida.

Por todo el Medio Oriente los sentimientos de la mayoría de la gente está con Irak y contra EU. Esto es especialmente el caso del pueblo palestino. No les gustan a los árabes el emir de Kuwait y sus jefes feudales. Reconocen a EU como el apoyador más importante de Israel, el matón de la región. En muchos países ha habido muchas manifestaciones en pro de Irak. A el rey de Jordania le han forzado a elegir entre EU e Irak, el resultado en parte de los sentimientos fuertes de sus sujetos palestinos. A Arafat de la

OLP le han forzado a oponerse a EU, a pesar de todo el dinero que le han pagado los príncipes saudis por muchos años.

Si comienza una guerra entre Irak y EU, los anarquistas revolucionarios deben de ser solidarios con el pueblo de Irak, el pueblo palestino y con todos los árabes oprimidos. Sin que esto signifique que debrán apoyar la victoria del ejército iraquí ni que tenemos ningunas ilusiones en Sadam Husein. Ha sido una debilidad de los movimientos de solidaridad que hayan creado ilusiones en los regímenes que han apoyado, tales como los sandinistas o los comunistas de Viet Nam. Eventualmente, sus retratos bellos de regímenes burocráticos se muestran falsos.

Los anarquistas se oponen a todos los gobiernos. Queremos que se deribe a Husein y a todos los reyes y emires. Queríamos que se convierta el Medio Oriente (y el resto del mundo) en una confederación multinacional de comunidades cooperativas autogestionarias. Si fuera a hacerse realidad nuestro ideal, nuestra primer tarea ha de ser de oponerse al imperialismo de EU y de estar en solidaridad con todos los pueblos oprimidos en contra de ellos.



Amor y Rabia es un periódico mensual anarquista revolucionario que intenta fomentar el activismo revolucionario anarquista en Norteamérica. Proveyamos 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 mayor 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 pre-establecida. El anarquismo es un cuerpo viviente 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 antilestalista. Nos oponemos a todos los Estados como quiera que estos se autotitulen: 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 abierta por el control de los medios de producción.

Amor y Rabia es antirracista. Luchamos contra la supremacía blanca y multirracios por la creación de una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Apoyamos la autodeterminación de los americanos, 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 tehas e blancos raptados (John Deere), el Ku Klux Klan, los Nazis y terroristas policiaos.

Amor y Rabia es antilimpialista. 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 de EU. 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 antiesexista. Estamos a favor de la liberación y de la autodeterminación de la mujer. Esto significa, como intrínico, el inalienable derecho reproductivo de todas las mujeres sin diferencias de razas o estado económico y por un mundo sin violencia sexual. 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 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 apoya 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. Venimos a 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 ensuciamiento 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 conciernan a los anarquistas y autogestionarios, ni Amor y Rabia pretende un entendimiento a plenitud o una plena unidad de criterios sobre todos los temas. No pretende representar el espectro completo de la diversidad en el movimiento anarquista actual. No evitaremos la controversia. Los pedimos siempre ideas y sugerencias a nuestros lectores y a otros activistas esforzándonos por mejorar nuestro entendimiento y el del movimiento en que militamos.

MIAMI: RACISMO Y REPRESION

(Continúa de la página 2)

exigiera que se le tratase como cualquier otro y se procediera a hacerle los bajos (dobladillo o bastilla) de un par de pantalones que separara en "Lay-o-way" bien podría ser un incidente aislado: sin embargo la golpiza que le diera el hijo de Reyes al insatisfecho comprador, trajo como consecuencia severas protestas por parte de comunidad haitiana a sus radioemisoras locales, lo que provocó una violenta manifestación frente a la tienda "Rapid Transit Factory Outlet," donde se personaron cientos de haitianos, hartos de discriminación y represión hacia los miembros de su comunidad. En pocas horas, la protesta fue tomando cada vez más presión y la ira fue tornando cada vez más violenta la mis-

ma; se rompieron los cristales de la vidriera de la tienda; se derribó su su anuncio lumínico y se mantuvo sitiado durante horas al propietario de la misma, teniendo que intervenir la Policía de Miami para tratar de rescatar de los "rebeldes" a el victima ahora convertido en "víctima."

Esta demás comentar: que esta ira espontánea y esta demostración autogestionaria, se trató de controlar por los mismos elementos de siempre, quienes con todo malo intención y con un oportunismo gigantesco trataron de adjudicarse, apareciendo como voceros de la misma en cuanto declaración y comunicado de prensa se emitiera. Tampoco fallaron los comentaristas acusadores que bautizaron con una extensa gama

de afiliaciones políticas a los manifestantes denominándoles desde "pro-castristas" hasta "anarquicos."

Estas protestas se prolongaron durante una semana. Según pasaba el tiempo los animos se iban calmando y las demostraciones aunque cada día eran más numerosas se iban tornando cada vez más pacíficas y aquí, como era de esperar, contra un centenar de pacíficos manifestantes (mujeras, ancianos, hombres, y niños) se precipitaron brutalmente palo en mano las bestias uniformadas de la policía de Miami.

El jueves de julio la pacífica manifestación haitiana, frente a la tienda "Rapid Transit Factory Outlet" fue reprimida salvajemente por los agentes policiaos miamen-

ses, quienes cargaron palo en mano contra mujeres, hombres y niños ocasionando decenas de heridos. Aunque los partes policiaos aseguran haber arrestado 58 personas, los comentaristas afirman que fueron 70 detenidos de los cuales 30 se encuentran en el Centro de Detención de Krome y amenazan con deportarlos a Haití.

Algo que puso de manifiesto la hostilidad de la policía contra la comunidad haitiana, fue la detención no solamente de los participantes en la manifestación sino también de los hombres y mujeres haitianos que se encontraban esperando el autobús en la misma cuadra de la confrontación y de los que se encontraban comprando en las otras tiendas y mercados de mismo control comercial donde está locali-

zada la tienda "Rapid Transit Factory Outlet." Pese a toda la represión de que han sido objetos, las demostraciones de Haitianos frente a la tienda continúan dejando en claro tres cosas.

1. Que la comunidad haitiana está harta de discriminación y malos tratos.
2. Que no están dispuestos a continuar permitiendo dicha discriminación.
3. Que es hora de que se reconozca la larga y prolongada lucha del pueblo haitiano por la libertad absoluta e irrestricta, como igualmente es hora que se les reconozca su status de refugiados políticos y que se alze la voz de los derechos humanos por este sufrido pueblo, tanto en su tierra natal como en Amerikkka, tierra de "derechos y libertades."