

LOVE AND RAGE

a revolutionary anarchist newsmagazine

\$1

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sección en español

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SPECIAL ISSUE ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

STATEMENTS BY
LEONARD PELTIER
AND LARRY GIDDINGS
TO THE
INTERNATIONAL
TRIBUNAL ON
POLITICAL PRISONERS AND
PRISONERS OF
WAR IN THE US
P.4

POLL TAX STRUGGLE CONTINUES P.11



JOIN THE ANARCHIST
CONTINGENT TO THE
JANUARY 26 MARCH
ON WASHINGTON P.3



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Letters

Attack On Dada

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I just read my first issue of your paper. I just want you to know that I thought it great. It's a rare treat for me to run into something in the anarchist movement that isn't completely metaphysical and other worldly, over-hip-pseudo-intellectually-left-ultra-radical-dada (no attack meant on dada, I assure you), or mired in the same old shit as anarchists have been caught up in for 80 years. It was also great to read something that's serious enough that it doesn't waste its time—or mine—thrashing the positions of those who don't agree with every gasp and wheeze of bad air that the purveyors of the anti-authoritarian truth spew out.

But, seriously. How refreshing to get clear, thoughtful, to-the-point analysis and suggestions for action. Even though I don't agree with you on everything, I still think you're doing a great job and that your paper is a much needed contribution to the struggle for a better—no, a perfect world.

Yours for a world without borders

Chris James

St. Paul, Minnesota

Free Love

Dear *Love and Rage*,

Along with this \$7 for a sub, may I say a few words to Zelda? Her open letter to her lover? Dear Zelda,

Your letter to your lover may, I believe, be summed up in one word—commitment. Or maybe two words—commitment and intimacy.

You accuse the guy of stressing feeling in his public or political work, yet short on such feeling in his personal relationship. Relationship, that is, with you. Like he holds back from commitment—

and from emotional intimacy. He's "not afraid of the cops," as you write, "but...afraid to feel."

On and on you go this way! Berating the man for his apparent split between what he puts forth publicly and what he lacks privately.

Ya know, Zelda, you don't seem to dig what free love is all about. Free love, first of all, is freedom. Or anarchism. The freedom to be committed in a love relationship or a superficial one.

While superficiality, fleeting, here today gone tomorrow—while this may have a negative connotation in areas other than the love-area, in this latter-area—love, sex, pleasure therof—is superficiality cool. Cool as a bird flitting from branch to branch. If one so desires.

Free love, in other words, has no goddamn rules! Else it wouldn't be free! Guidelines, yes! Natural guidelines (natural law). Like a bird can't up and fly to the moon, fleeting as it may be. But unnatural rules? To be undeviatingly obeyed? Like a love relationship has got to have commitment, intimacy? Else it's not a real relationship? Gimme a break!

Your lover loves you, as you complain, in a fleeting way. And so what! It's still love, free love. He maybe has relations with other women. And maybe with men. And maybe likewise fleeting. And so what!

You, if you so care, may do the same—same fleetingness. But I guess you don't so care. I guess you want him and only him. And all the way! No holds barred!

So dear, you've got, I'd say, a problem, your problem. To wit, a conditioned monogamy. Or emotional monogamy. You claim, nonetheless, you're not really

monogamous. You then go on to say that neither are you non-monogamous. Well, ya can't be both!

Your letter, I'm afraid, comes down to the quite non-anarchist possessiveness. I can only suggest you seek out a guy with similar possessive propensity (and for sure enough such guys around). You then can cannibalize—oops, I mean possess—each other.

S. Colman

author of *FREE LOVE: 38 Essays*
in *Libido Liberation*
Detroit, MI

Unifying Paper

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I realize that *Love and Rage* has caught a lot of crap but I think that it is a good project that is needed. As the newspaper grows then a lot of its problems will be worked out.

It is very important for us to have a newspaper to sell at demos, etc. There is, of course, *Fifth Estate*, etc., but *Love and Rage* is more of an unifying paper for the North American Anarchist community.

Please continue with more coverage of the oil war, and any Mohawk Indian developments. Also, try and do something about the economic crisis. If that was a front page story, we could sell *Love and Rage* to millions of "normal Amerikkans." I would suggest a well written article that would be very persuasive towards anarchy.

I also wish that *Love and Rage* would put some attention on animal liberation. Speciesism is another form of hierarchy and humans aren't even built to eat meat. I enjoy the updates on the Anarchist movements in another countries. Keep it up, and if possible, could you write something about the current situation in Greece? Now is a vital time for mass recruitment. We can't let a golden opportunity slip away.

Fight Back

J.P.

Memphis, TN

GI Jail

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I am currently in a military prison (United States Disciplinary Barracks (U.S.D.B.) Ft. Leavenworth). I am glad you offer your paper free to GIs and prisoners. Thank you very much.

Once I start receiving it, it will be shared by all. Once again, thank you very much.

J. W.

Anarkistisk Tidning Sedan 1898

Dear *Love and Rage*,

We got your magazine from a friend of ours that visited New York a couple of months ago, it's great!

We are a group of people that have been doing a Swedish anarchist mag called *Brand* for 4 years. Except for writing about what goes on in Scandinavia, we also



write about the world wide resistance.

We would very much like to get *Love and Rage* for knowing what's on in New York and the USA. You will of course get *Brand* in return. We write in Swedish, but we always have info in english for our abroad contacts.

Keep up the spirit

Yours

Brand

Box 15015,

S-104 Stockholm

Sweden

Class War and the Rape of the Earth

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I am offended, both as an eco-anarchist and as an anarchist by the glib contradiction "natural resources under someone else's soil" in October's "Oil War! No Blood For Oil" article.

That an anarchist argument should rest on the assumption of national property rights to fossil fuels (extracted only by the mega-technics of multi-national corporations, defensible only by a global configuration of dangerous power, defended only by the mega-death industries' horrible offspring) is both ridiculous and reprehensible.

While, of course, I agree there should be no war for this oil, it seems that someone needs to be reminded that we are fighting a class war against the ruling elite who enact this normal rape of the earth.

Just as I oppose the rape of women, not because they really belong to their fathers or husbands or boyfriends, but because of the harm done to women themselves, I oppose a war to maintain US access (or European) to Middle Eastern oil because of the harm to the environment and society, not because Arab nations own that land.

"This sin of property we do disdain." Let's stop this war and get on with the other one.

Stella

Chicago, IL

Love and Rage Makes Plans for the New Year

OVER THE PAST YEAR *LOVE and Rage* has grown from the dream of about 60 people at our first conference to a major project. The newspaper is distributed in over forty communities across the continent. The pages of the paper have become a forum for debate amongst revolutionary anarchists on the questions of militancy and nonviolence, imperialism and national liberation, male supremacy, and, more recently, the direction of the anti-war movement.

Love and Rage is not produced by people who keep their distance from the struggles we cover. *Love and Rage* is written, produced, distributed and read by activists. It is a newspaper that is accountable to its supporters.

Over Thanksgiving weekend this year, the *Love and Rage* Editorial Council and friends met in Chicago to set the direction of the newspaper for the coming months. We came to three major decisions that are important to all *Love and Rage* supporters.

Black Bloc/Anarchist Contingent

First, we intend to organize a Black Bloc/Anarchist Contingent to the January 26 March on Washington against the war in the Persian Gulf. A visible militant anti-authoritarian presence in major anti-war demonstrations is vital if we are to build a movement of resistance that can actually stop the war. The Black Bloc is intended to create such a presence.

We take the idea from the German Autonome who developed the

Black Bloc as a fighting formation for demonstrations in Germany. Participants in the Black Bloc all wear black to make identification by police more difficult. The Bloc marches in rows with linked arms. Those at the front often wear helmets and other protection. Many people cover their faces.

Forming a Black Bloc does not necessarily mean we will carry out militant direct action at the demonstration. The act of organizing such a militant contingent alone will project a very clear message and will give us vital experience in coordination for future actions. The details of the Black Bloc are still being worked out. We think that it is important for anti-authoritarians across the continent to join the Black Bloc and create a real alternative to protest as usual.

Love and Rage Organizing Conference

Second, we are organizing the second *Love and Rage* Organizing Conference on Saturday June 29 to Monday, July 1 in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The conference is intended to develop and clarify the politics of *Love and Rage*, to plan future coordinated activity amongst revolutionary anarchist activists, to improve the decision-making structure developed at our first conference and to set the direction of the paper for the following year.

This conference offers us all an exciting opportunity to build a more coherent and better coordinated revolutionary anarchist current in North America. The con-

ference will include: issue workshops; regional meetings; changing the *Love and Rage* Political Statement; caucuses for womyn, queers, people of color, youth and others; discussion and development of action proposals; and more.

We are looking for input into the conference. On January 27 there will be a one-day planning meeting for the conference in Washington DC following the January 26 March on Washington.

Subscription and Pledge Drive

The third major decision was to launch a *Love and Rage* subscription and pledge drive. Most of the costs of publishing *Love and Rage* are paid out of pocket by *Love and Rage* supporters in the form of monthly pledges. But these pledges are a few hundred dollars short of meeting our bare-bones monthly budget. Subscriptions basically pay for themselves, but they provide essential cash flow to keep the production of the paper moving.

To close the gap between our income and our expenses and to put the paper on a sounder financial footing we are trying to get 30 new \$10 pledges and 200 new subscribers by March 1.

We think these goals are achievable. But it will take work. If you haven't subscribed yet, please do so today. If you haven't made a monthly pledge yet, we need it now. If you have subscribed and pledged already, get a friend to join you. If you think *Love and Rage* is impor-

Registration for Love and Rage Organizing Conference Sat. June 29 - Mon. July 1 Minneapolis, Minnesota

If you are interested in attending the *Love and Rage* Organizing Conference this summer in Minneapolis, register now. The conference of *Love and Rage* supporters sets the direction for the newspaper for the following year. If you support this project, the conference is the place to get involved. We are asking for a sliding fee (based on your ability to pay) of between \$15 and \$60 to help cover the costs of the conference. Housing and some food will be provided. No one will be turned away for lack of funds.

Return this form to: *Love and Rage Organizing Conference c/o RABL P.O.Box 10854, Minneapolis, MN 55458-3854.*

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____
 Zip _____ Country _____
 Phone () _____
 Local Group _____
 Number of people coming (including you) _____
 Enclosed is \$ _____ to help with the conference.
 I will need childcare.
 I have the following special needs _____

tant, if you want to see Black Blocs and similar actions organized in the future, if you think a conference of revolutionary anarchist activists is worthwhile — we need your support now!

The Subscription and Pledge

Drive, the *Love and Rage* Organizing Conference, and the Black Bloc are all parts of building a credible revolutionary anarchist movement in North America. If you share this goal please participate and support these efforts.



ⒶUTONOMOUSE SEZ:

JOIN THE ANARCHIST CONTINGENT TO THE JANUARY 26 MARCH ON WASHINGTON AGAINST THE WAR!

self-appointed leaders. As anarchists we can challenge this kind of passive protest politics and raise the possibility of militant anti-authoritarian resistance to the war.

Protest and Resistance

A mass national demonstration against the war is a good thing. It will bring together the broad range of people who are opposing this war — students and youth, pacifists, religious activists, Democratic Party politicians, socialists, communists, activists in the labor and other social movements, and anarchists.

The presentation of such a united opposition to the war is an important part of the fight for public opinion. A visible national anti-war movement will make it easier for people who oppose the war but who feel isolated to speak up and take action. But mass legal demonstrations can not be the only component of a strategy to stop the war.

In cities across the country activists are already preparing The Day After (IDA) demonstrations in response to a US attack on Iraqi forces. It is important that these demonstrations be as militant as possible while retaining their mass character. In some cities that may take the form of an angry, but essentially legal, demonstration. In other places it will mean acts of civil disobedience or streetfighting or trashing.

If and when the US attacks, millions of people will be very angry. It is our responsibility to demonstrate how that anger can be turned into the most effective direct action against the war machine.

If the US has not yet launched a shooting war by January 26, a visible militant anarchist contingent

will hopefully open new possibilities for local resistance. If the war has already begun, January 26 offers us the opportunity to bring the spirit of resistance that has risen in our local communities to Washington.

In either case, the contingent should be viewed as part of a strategy for raising the level of resistance in our local communities.

Unity and Division in the Anti-War Movement

As of this writing there are two calls for a March on Washington, one for January 26 and one for January 19. The January 26 date was called by an open meeting organized by the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East.

The January 19 date was called by the leaders of the Coalition to Stop US Intervention in the Middle East.

The Campaign is dominated by liberals and the ossified peace movement: Mobilization for Survival, the War Resisters League, the Rainbow Coalition and so on. The Coalition is dominated by Workers World Party, one of the most authoritarian of the Marxist-Leninist parties (they supported the Tiananmen Square Massacre and the Ceausescu regime).

Anarchists would do well to avoid taking sides in this split. Both sides represent entrenched bureaucracies trying to assert control over a rapidly growing movement. The Coalition organized the October 20 demonstration in New York City that attracted 10-15,000 people, the single largest demonstration against the war so far. The Campaign, however, is a somewhat looser formation that seems to be growing and shows a little more

promise of becoming authentically democratic (don't hold your breath though).

There are political differences as well. The Campaign condemns the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. They also place a lot of emphasis on lobbying politicians, and they don't have a very critical view of the UN. The Coalition hasn't condemned the invasion of Kuwait and Workers World seems to support it. The Coalition, like Workers World, has more participation by African-Americans and other people of color than the largely white Campaign. There is a much clearer anti-racist focus to the Coalition's work.

If war breaks out the movement will grow and probably push past these two formations. For the moment, however, their squabbling is getting in the way of building a strong united movement. As anarchists we have to decide which demonstration we should build for.

The January 26 demonstration is most likely to have the larger turnout, in particular because the January 26 date is more convenient for student activists, many of whom will be returning to school in early January.

January 19 is the day that Martin Luther King's Birthday will be commemorated. The Coalition is trying to parley this fact into giving additional anti-racist credibility to their call. But the Coalition, like the Campaign, is still a relatively small formation. Local Martin Luther King commemorations will go on in spite of the Coalition. A January 19 March on Washington only means that local anti-war groups will be passing up a vital opportunity to build solidarity with the African-American community. The Campaign has called for local anti-war demonstrations on January 19.

This too is folly. Anti-war forces need to join MLK parades and events and draw the connection between the war and domestic racism.

Linking the war with domestic racism is crucial to the success of the anti-war movement. It is youth of color who will be doing the disproportionate share of fighting and dying in a war in the Gulf. And it is those soldiers who are in the best position to stop the war through their acts of resistance. This means that the anti-war movement can't be a "white thing."

Those of us who can, should try to attend both Marches — arguing for a more open and democratic movement on January 19 and arguing for an explicitly anti-racist and anti-imperialist movement on January 26. But for most of us, such a decision is not practical. We need to make a choice. January 26 is the better date.

All of this bullshit is exactly what one can expect from a movement that is organized from the top down, whether by liberals or Marxist-Leninists. During the movement against the war in Viet Nam, major national demonstrations were generally called by conferences that were open to all anti-war activists.

These open conferences would discuss the politics and logistics of the demonstration and vote on contending proposals. Certainly these conferences were not immune from authoritarian manipulation either. But they allowed the contending political visions to come out so that activists could make real choices.

These conferences didn't always prevent splits of the type that we are witnessing now. But those splits tended to be over truly irreconcilable political differences. What we see now is a crude turf battle between aspiring leaders who place their personal power ahead of any movement unity.

Many of the activists who will be in Washington on January 26 will share our frustrations with all this political maneuvering and efforts to stifle autonomous resistance to the war. We need to be there to meet those people and begin to build from below the kind of movement that can stop this war and carry on to bring down the system that makes this war possible.

For UN Sanctions...

by ERIC JACOBSON

WITH FIGURES LIKE JESSE Jackson and the socialist congressional candidate (now congressman-elect — ed.) Bernard Sanders supporting the war effort in the Middle East, the power-hungry left in this country has turned belly up. On the other hand, leftists against the war who are developing strategies to end US military intervention are stumbling to take a position that favors well ideologically.

Meanwhile, opposition is growing in most cities across the country to what has become a protracted military contest. In New York and the Bay area, mass meetings and demonstrations have rallied thousands as the US and allied forces reach close to 350,000 troops in Saudi Arabia. In the event that what is now a show of force turns into war, can Left Greens develop a minimal program to participate in an anti-war movement or will we remain quiet on one of the most serious issues that faces us?

US Imperialism

While the combined oil production of Iraq and Kuwait amount to roughly 20% of the world resources, the US imports from both countries only about 4.4% of its total oil consumption.

Abbas Alnawawi, "Iraq, Kuwait, the US and the War for Resources," Left Green Notes, Sept./Oct. 1990

From these figures it seems highly unlikely that the US would massively deploy troops to merely control the minute amount of oil we import from these countries, but rather to control the distribution of natural resources from these countries to the West and Japan.

In fact, US State Department planners have had long-standing interests in controlling the Arabian

"I have just one ruler that measures occupation, whether it is measuring the armies of Israel, Syria, or Iraq."

peninsula directly, in terms of military bases, or indirectly through the patronage of client states, with these intentions. At least as far back as the 1940's and early fifties, the State Department recognized the Arabian peninsula as "a stupendous source of strategic power, and one of the greatest prizes in world history," sometimes referring to it as "Axiom One of international affairs." As an element of what has come to be known as "grand area planning," George Kennan, then head of Policy Planning staff for the State Department, observed the latent economic might of Japan could pose a threat to US world hegemon-

ony.

Japan, with virtually no natural resources of its own, was and still is almost completely dependent on foreign oil. Should the US gain control of key oil producing regions of the world, thought Kennan, it could exercise "veto power" over Japanese oil imports and therefore maintain some form of control over Japan's military and industrial

strength. Now with the end of the Soviet Union as a superpower, and the emergence of a third economic threat to the US — a United Germany in a European common market — the need for the US to assert itself in the Persian Gulf comes as no surprise and at an opportune moment with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (see Noam Chomsky, "Nefarious Aggression," Z Magazine, October 1990).

Response of the Left

Many curious perspectives have been raised as to the position the

(Continued on page 13)

...And Against

by CHRISTOPHER DAY

ERIC JACOBSON'S ANALYSIS of how the anti-war movement should approach the question of Iraq is a good starting point for the kind of debate that we need to see. I think that Jacobson is essentially correct in his analysis of what this war is about — US control over the economies of Europe and Japan. But, I think that his attempt to divide the "left" into three camps fails and reflects a misconception of anarchist anti-imperialism.

Certainly, there are a number of outright apologists for the US to be found in groups like Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). And there are apologists for Hussein and Iraqi aggression like Workers World Party. But I think Jacobson is wrong to say that those who oppose both the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and US intervention should support UN sanctions or that support for a US military defeat is a form of support for the Hussein regime.

If the reasons for opposing UN sanctions were not obvious when Eric wrote his article, they should be now. The UN Security Council has just passed a resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq if Iraq does not withdraw from Kuwait by January 15. That is essentially a carte blanche for a US invasion.

I think that it is irresponsible at this time to foster any illusions about the role of the UN in all this.

At the very best the UN will represent the efforts of the other imperialist powers to prevent the US from completely dominating the region, and thereby preserve a piece for themselves. At the moment, however, the UN isn't even doing that. It is serving the interests of the US ruling class by providing an "international" cover for US aggression. The anti-war movement should not call for a UN solution at the very moment when the UN is demonstrating its servility to the US.

It is also a mistake to support economic "sanctions" against Iraq. Sanctions, in this case, are simply a tool of US statecraft. The US pushed for sanctions as part of a propaganda campaign to prepare public opinion for war. The sanctions, which essentially amount to an embargo, are an act of war. They can only be meaningfully enforced militarily, and only the US military is prepared to carry out such enforcement.

We should remember that the brunt of any sanctions will be born by the Iraqi people long before they affect the Iraqi military. Support for sanctions is support for economic warfare against an already impoverished people to bolster US economic, political and military power in the Middle East.

I also think that Eric misinterprets the meaning of Wayne Price's

(Continued on page 13)

Anarchist Black Cross

TRIBUNAL STATEMENT

Larry Giddings

IN 1992, IT WILL HAVE BEEN 500 years since the major contact made by Europeans with the continents of North and South America, and the Caribbean Islands. As we contemplate this 500th anniversary of colonialism, imperialism, genocide, environmental exploitation and destruction, we are faced with many harsh realities.

The cultures and People inhabiting these lands were taken as slaves, from the first contact in the Caribbean, and so began the colonial enterprise in this so-called "New World." The massive extraction of resources from these shores gave birth to a new and dynamic economic model from which the world has yet to extricate itself: Capitalism.

With the development of capitalism, its engine of social control and military might, the modern "nation-state" arose. Today, we are looking towards the symbolic intersection of this 500 years of colonialism, with the 500 years of struggle against it.

The warm welcome given the European explorers and colonizers by the Indigenous People of the Caribbean and the Americas was returned by callous and rapacious genocide. Indigenous People resisted, and continue to resist, this seemingly endless onslaught. Their determined resistance has moved the world.

The flexibility of Iroquois democracy and Huron society have transformed the political theories of government around the world. Starting with the French and U.S. revolutions and spreading globally, the right of the masses of people to participate in making the decisions which affect them was, and still is, being fought for.

The cultures of the Indigenous People transformed the world's understanding of social relations, via their shared ideas of freedom and personal/individual dignity, social equality for all, consensus decision making, and autonomy for those who desire it. They demonstrated an intrinsic respect for and knowledge of the earth which has helped feed many in the world today, as well as providing insight for the struggle to prevent the destruction of our planet.

In contrast to the racial and cultural chauvinism of the colonizers, the Indigenous People of these lands accepted and admired cultural diversity, and have viewed all people of all hues as people, rather

than creating categories by which to separate them.

From the first colonies, soldiers, servants, and traders found a friendly and open culture. They viewed this as a weakness, leading to an easy conquest. However, from those first contacts, Irish slaves and servants, African slaves and soldiers, sailors, living in virtual servitude within colonial navies, and others found friends, allies, and a new life among the Indigenous People of these lands.

"Maroon" communities proliferated - mixed societies which either merged with Indigenous People via intermarriage, or autonomous enclaves which acted as allies.

First as slaves, servants, and poor rebels, then as entire communities of self-liberated Maroons, we have struggled alongside Indigenous Native Americans against the colonizers and imperialists. For 500 years our history has merged with that of Indigenous Native Americans.

We recognize this struggle as one of and for our own liberation from the tyranny of Euro-imperialism, and from any other source from which it may arise. We are anti-authoritarians; we represent many cultures and we may be of any racial background imaginable. We have been at war for 500 years, and we continue to struggle for a multi-cultural, multi-racial world, without regard to the political boundaries of the modern nation-state.

On my personal history, I was born in Bavaria in 1952 to a Silesian refugee mother and a U.S. soldier father. My father's family name is one that arrived in Massachusetts in 1638. In those 350 years the Giddings family name proliferated and it counts among its members Native Americans, Africans, Puerto Ricans, and many, many more.

To know history is to know ourselves. I am, without question, a product of five centuries of cultural and genetic mixture arising from this soil. Like New Africans, Puerto Ricans and others, I recognize the spirit and material fact of Maroon culture as my own.

I do not struggle to merely "support" the liberation of "other" people, and other nations; I struggle to liberate myself and my community of cousins, which might, indeed, include anyone reading or hearing this. A struggle which began with the colonization of this continent continues, unabated.

The statistics of infant mortality,

disease, poverty, imprisonment, and environmental destruction are better prepared and presented by others. The state of the world in general, and this continent in particular, are well known. U.S. imperialism - economic, military, and cultural - blends with the imperialisms of other nation-states, although it may dominate many of them.

The anti-authoritarian movement extends beyond the borders of the United States, and exists in many other nation-states.

As conscious participants in a war with the ecologically destructive, economically oppressive, and socially authoritarian ruling classes, we who are prisoners are "prisoners of war," though the United Nations may not recognize this. There are many of us, though this gathering may not reflect this. Though I represent no specific organization, I feel a deep responsibility to all anti-authoritarians; prisoners, laborers, radical ecologists, and activists working in virtually every cultural and socio-political sphere.

As do others who are assessing the environmental destruction wrought by the industrial and technologically dominant nation-states, anti-authoritarians recognize the deep significance of Indigenous Native American culture to ensuring survival for the planet. Implicit in that recognition is the demand that we all recognize and join the struggle of the Indigenous People of these continents.

For 500 years, Native Americans have given refuge to those struggling against oppression. Necessity demands, and history informs us, that there can be no liberation, no true revolution, without understanding that the Native American struggle forms the basis of unity in North, South, Central America and the Caribbean. The recognition of Native American sovereignty is recognition for all those struggling in this area.

The U.S. government has done everything in its power to keep separated all of us who struggle against colonialism. It has utilized racial codes and imprisonment. It has written us out of its "history" books, branded us "terrorists," and confronted us with oppression in all forms. Still we struggle, we continue to exist, and we grow.

As an individual, I am but one voice; but my voice and many others will be heard within what is truly a new world rising. This new world, rooted in the recognition of Native American sovereignty, is multi-cultural, multi-racial, and ecologically aware.

My imprisonment is a result of this awareness, and this struggle to achieve its realization. The struggle continues.

Siempre,
Larry W. Giddings

TRIBUNAL STATEMENT

Leonard Peltier

UPON MY ARREST ON FEBRUARY 6, 1976, some of the first groups of people who came to show solidarity, along with my own People, in recognition of my political status as a prisoner of war, were the anti-authoritarian groups of both Canada and the U.S.A., as well as in other countries throughout the world. The respect, recognition, love, and solidarity they gave not only to me, but to my People is something I will always cherish and hold dear to my heart.

This show of solidarity proved to me that not all Euro-Americans were our enemy. Throughout the first months of our organizing the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee (LPDC), they were the people who gave us what knowledge, resources, and skills they had to build an effective organization. I questioned why they would help people like myself, as at the time we believed all white people were *wasichus*: the evil ones, the greedy ones. They proved to us that this was not the case and they too hated the *wasichus*. They too were resisting and fighting imperialist oppression being committed by their race, but not their People. They did not consider themselves to be part of a People so evil.

Now that my case has gained international attention and is becoming a cause to rally around, other Peoples are standing with us. But the first people who supported us, at least the strong-hearted ones, are still with us. These people, whom my own People call the good-hearted ones, were with me from the beginning of my imprisonment.

I was very concerned when I heard that some of them, who are also imprisoned warriors, were not going to be recognized as political prisoners or POWs. I made a solidarity decision that, if this were true, then I would not allow my name to be used in connection with any of these new organizations, such as Freedom Now!, which deal with political prisoners and POWs.

Neither I nor my people want to work with those who will not recognize their own warriors. So I was pleased to hear that FNI and other such organizations have changed their views on this very critical issue.

From the beginning of these new

organizations, one of the questions I repeatedly asked was how they defined political prisoner and prisoner of war. Some wanted to blanketly define all Indian prisoners as political prisoners or POWs. This I could not agree with. There is a certain truth to it; because of imperialist oppression, through socio-economic conditions or outright aggression against Indian Nations, all Indian prisoners are in a sense political prisoners. But I for one, along with all traditionalist and progressive Indians, cannot identify as political or justify in any way, someone who has, for example, raped a sister, molested a child, or murdered an elder.

I decided I would have to withdraw my name from any organization which used this type of blanket definition. Again, I was pleased to learn that this was not going to be the policy of these organizations.

My greatest disappointment, in all my years of struggle occurred just recently, when I saw the lack of support for the courageous warriors at Oka. The knowledge that some of my own People failed to stand up to protest the invasion of Oka broke some of my spirit as a warrior. But it also awakened me to the realization that I must work harder to build unity among my own People and their nations.

In today's world, we see nations whom many of us considered allies now turning to imperialists to join the old. We as warriors, and our organizations, must build our own foundation of unity from which to struggle, to protect the environment, stop the spread of nuclear weapons, and to resist colonialism.

There are still a few small nations holding strong - but in truth, we now have to depend on ourselves for sanctuary in the struggle to free our homelands. We must build a unity so strong that no matter how oppressive our enemy becomes, they cannot destroy it. Through this Tribunal, let us begin a new day, a new organization, a new movement. Let us hold our fists high, and put the oppressors on notice that we have just begun to fight, for not only political prisoners and prisoners of war, but for our nations and for our freedom.

In the spirit of Crazy Horse,
Leonard Peltier

The state Seeks Revenge

NORMA LYNNE GRIEVER IS a long time activist and advocate for battered and abused women and victims of sexual abuse. Now Norma, and her partner, Willard Griever, are fighting the state for the return of their four children.

A little over two years ago their 13 year old son was raped by a man Norma had earlier helped to prosecute for the abuse of his wife and daughters. The family reported the rape to the police, but the boy's story was not believed although there was ample evidence. The

Manatee County Sheriff's Department refused to consider the man a suspect and he was never arrested.

Outraged over the Sheriff's Department's refusal to investigate the crime fully, or arrest the obvious suspect, Norma filed suit against the department. She charged that they had failed to protect her son, and filed a formal complaint over the handling of the case, demanding a complete internal investigation.

Soon after filing suit, she found herself charged with "failing to protect" her son; the exact charge she

had filed against the police. The charges were brought by Florida's Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (H.R.S.), who sought to place all four children into foster care. All four of the children signed statements that they had never been abused by their parents and wanted to return home.

Within days of the charges being filed by H.R.S., the children were taken from their home and placed in foster care following a hearing. Believing that she could not get a fair trial in Florida, Norma and Willard took the children from their foster homes and fled to New York state. They hoped that once in New York with friends they could find an attorney willing to help them and generate publicity about their

situation.

Two months after leaving Florida Norma, and three of the children were picked up by Ithaca, New York police, on a warrant from Florida Charged with "interfering with child custody," and possession of a handgun. Norma was jailed and the children returned to state custody in Florida.

While Willard and her 13 year old son remained in New York, she was held for two and a half weeks and then released on bond. The 13 year old, still in New York, called police 2 1/2 weeks ago asking to turn himself in and be returned to his mother.

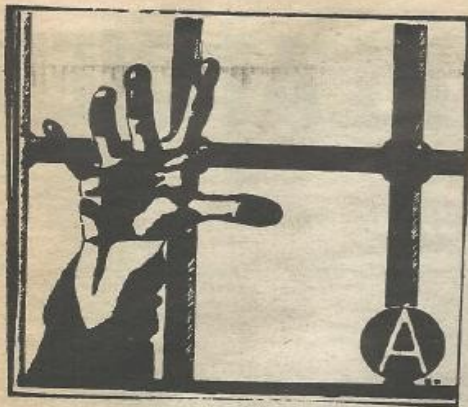
First victimized by a rapist, and now by child "protective" services, New York state sought to send him back to Florida foster care. The

family's court appointed attorney filed a motion asking the state to "show just cause" as to why the boy should return to Florida, but the court dragged its feet, and he was sent back. Norma is now back in New York, trying to raise money for legal defense, and get public attention for the situation that she and the children are in.

Florida H.R.S. has now proposed a "Permanent Placement Plan" that will allow the children to return home, if the parents agree to all of the 9 items in the plan. The plan would give the state extensive control over the children.

For instance, the entire family must submit to random drug testing, although drugs were never

(Continued on page 12)



Why Prisoner Support?

WE TALK ABOUT THE changes we want to see in our communities, societies, nations. The coercion, cruelty, and destruction around us is so obvious, so easy to identify, and we have plenty of ideas on alternatives. But often, our ideas are vague. It's difficult to affect real change.

We have to create alternatives for ourselves. Prison solidarity is one of the many ways towards making a tangible difference. If we are going to support or take part in direct actions, we have to be prepared to help those who get arrested and are jailed.

When people become an "enemy of the state" through political action, they stand a good chance of being imprisoned. You don't have to throw a bomb to piss off the powers that be. Organizing a demonstration, squatting, even taking

part in the most peaceful action makes you a "trouble maker." It's easy to see how activists have been jailed to get them out of the way.

We must have a network set up to find lawyers, raise money for legal funds, get out information, and act as a link to the "outside" for the prisoners. We need to be able to provide this crucial mutual aid.

The idea of the court and prison system as it exists today should be abhorrent to us. Our goal should be the abolition of prison. But prisons do exist and the folks inside need to know they haven't been forgotten. There are several groups (for example Freedom Now!) who do work with political prisoners, and other groups who do work on behalf of prisoners in general.

We have a responsibility to the prisoners who, although not arrested for "political" crimes, are active

inside prison, organizing, striking for improved conditions, and doing legal work on the behalf of other prisoners. These prison activists get plenty of abuse from the guards and administrators, and not a lot of support from outside. Most "Political Prisoner" groups don't view these folks as political and therefore don't recognize or support them.

Prisoner solidarity work is not too glamorous and maybe writing letters, making calls, or putting together fliers or demos on a prisoner's behalf seems like anarchist shit work; not many folks seem to want to get involved. But we must stop blabbering and put our ideas to action. To get involved you can contact any of the groups which are listed in the Anarchist Black Cross section of this issue.

JANE

Rainbow Hawk, Troyanski Solidarity Campaign

RAINBOW HAWK (PAUL Knapp) is a prisoner in New York in the United States. Sergei Troyanski is imprisoned in Moscow in the U.S.S.R. Their cases have been "twinned" by New York City's Neither East Nor West (NENW) and Moscow's Free Initiative (FI) group. With petitions, letter writing campaigns, and demonstrations, both groups are fighting for the release of Rainbow and Sergei. The prisoners share many things in common: both are unjustly jailed on drug charges in cases with political overtones, both are anarchist, anti-war, civil rights, and counterculture activists, Rainbow is with the counterculture Rainbow Family/Rainbow Peace Projects, Sergei is with an equivalent loose knit Soviet "hippie" grouping called Sistema and is a founder of FI.

Technically both are "guilty." Information shows that Sergei may well have had drugs in his apartment when it was raided. He had been known during that period to be taking tranquilizers and anti-depressants. Rainbow was on the scene of an LSD (acid) sale and was charged with "Acting in concert to possession and sales of a controlled substance." Under New York State law, you don't have to be a physical party to a drug transaction to be arrested; they can put you away simply for being in the midst of a deal. On August 4th, 1983, at the Sheraton Hotel in Smithtown, N.Y., Suffolk County, Rainbow was hanging out with a friend, Lenny Fridella, who was introducing a seller and holder of acid to a police informant and an undercover cop who were carrying the cash. The bust then took place.

For starters, we don't believe in jailing people for drugs, we believe in the individual's right to free choice. Both cases though are saturated with politics. When the law is broken in either the US or USSR the state makes a decision whether they want to prosecute or not. In the case of dissidents the state more often than not prosecutes and prosecutes with a vengeance. People who aren't well known, who are countercultural or minorities, who are poor, also more often than not receive unjust sentences. The "unconventional" are easy prey for cops and prosecutors seeking promotion with easily engineered convictions. Sergei and Rainbow fit the above.

Politics is apparent in Sergei's case, in that he was a leading "trouble-maker" the KGB went out of its way to get. On October 28, 1986, his apartment was raided and

drug agents seized his typewriter, copies of FI's brochure protesting the Afghanistan War, and other dissident Soviet and Western anti-war publications. He was charged with possession of narcotics. The FI was continuously persecuted with most if not all of its members being jailed and/or put in mental hospitals simply for being oppositionists and long-hairs.

In Rainbow's case it seems there was no prior political plot against him. He was simply caught in the same net as those who were doing the real dealing. But once busted, and knowing his connection to the Rainbow Family, the state offered to drop the charges if Rainbow agreed to be a spy in the Rainbow Family. He refused and they slammed him with the maximum 8-1/3-to-life sentence on January 4, 1984.

Clearly Rainbow was no big "drug dealing" prize to them—he was incidental, otherwise they wouldn't have offered him a political deal. His connection to the Rainbow Family was mentioned in the prosecution during his trial, and many times prison personnel have mentioned to Rainbow his long-time political activism as being the sole reason for his being incarcerated. (The Rainbow Family and their large yearly gatherings have been the subject of much harassment and surveillance by the government.) His trial was full of constitutional and legal violations on the part of the state. His state-appointed lawyer was totally incompetent (those in the know maintain Rainbow would never have gone to jail had he had a decent lawyer). Codefendant Lenny Fridella, who admittedly was involved in the LSD deal, signed affidavits that Rainbow had no part in it. All parties agreed Rainbow was never in possession of the LSD. The jury was naturally confused by this and requested reinstruction by the judge, who answered "yes" to the jury's query as to whether one can be in "possession" (of drugs) if one in fact was never in possession. The judge thereby prejudiced their ultimate verdict. The actual owner of the acid, Mark Kalhe, was released from prison in August 1989! Rainbow got the maximum 8-1/3-to-life sentence. It was the first time Suffolk County in New York gave a maximum sentence for an LSD charge, supposedly to "send a message" to other dealers. On those grounds alone the sentence can be considered harsh and excessive.

The case was also one of entrapment—a complete setup—where a

police agent harassed Rainbow's codefendant, Lenny Fridella, for eight months to find a supplier of acid, and finally manipulated him to do so. All of this was going on during a period in Suffolk County where massive corruption and law-breaking were going on in their narcotics division, including police involvement in drugs. (See "An Investigation of the Suffolk County District Attorney's Office and Police Department" by The State of New York Commission of Investigation, April 1989.)

Officially labeled a "Public Risk," Rainbow devotes his time in prison to acting as a facilitator and information coordinator of the Rainbow Peace Projects. These projects include peace encampments/villages in Mexico, California, and Oklahoma and the Peace Fleet, a flotilla of ships from many countries (in the Baltic Sea during the fall of 1990) promoting environmentalism and disarmament.

It is apparent to us that Sergei and Rainbow are being persecuted not for "law breaking," but for their politics, culture, and class. Since their technical "law breaking" was so minor, obviously something else is at work here to imprison and punish them for so long, and for the abuse they've received in jail. (At a minimum Sergei has been force-dropped. Rainbow has been harassed, threatened, beaten, held in "keep lock," refused medical treatment (which led to many of his teeth falling out), and has had important documents "lost" by prison authorities, among other things.)

Drugs were simply a pretext for their persecution. Rainbow and Sergei are political prisoners. Although in the early days of Rainbow's case he had support, such as from poet Allen Ginsberg and a mention in *The New York Times*, neither case is widely known. It is the intent of this pamphlet to remedy that, and we'll be applying to human rights groups such as Amnesty International and Freedom Now! for their acceptance of these cases.

How to Help

Rainbow is able to apply for parole in October 1991. Please support him by writing letters supporting parole for him "To Whom it May Concern" and mail them to:

Bob McGlynn
528 5th Street
Brooklyn, NY 11215
USA

Importantly, what Rainbow really needs is a lawyer. There is no money for this, though. If you can help, write to the above address.

Want to write to Rainbow?
Rainbow Hawk (Paul Knapp)

84A0405

POB 147, Drawer B
Stormyville, NY 12582

(That's Greenhaven Prison.) If you're interested in the Rainbow Peace Projects that Rainbow is working on, please ask him for the updated address of the RPP Newsletters.

Support Sergei by writing protest letters to:

Mikhail Gorbachev
The Kremlin
USSR

It's important that Sergei get letters too, since prison officials see them:

Sergei Troyanski
142370 Moskovskaya oblast
Chekhovskii rayon
p/o Troitskaya
Antropovo P.B. No. 5
1 Otdeleniye
USSR

Sergei has a chance of release in fall 1990 or spring 1991. Sergei's Free Initiative group can be contacted via:

Yuri Popov/Tania Kozhevnikova
Moscow 11642
Novokosinski ul., dom. 18, k.v. 2
USSR
Tel: 701-1485.

We need contributions for this campaign. Please make them payable to Bob McGlynn.

This pamphlet is jointly sponsored by NYC-Neither East nor West and New York Anarchist Black Cross, NYC-Neither East nor West networks and promotes solidarity among alternative and anti-authoritarian oppositions in the east, west, and third world. NY Anarchist Black Cross is part of the Anarchist Black Cross international network which provides solidarity and support to anarchist and class war prisoners. Together we and other individuals have formed the *Rainbow Hawk/Sergei Troyanski Defense Committee*. We regard our campaign with the Free Initiative as an important and historic example of fighting not only the former cold war capitalist/Communist competition, but also today's capitalist/Communist collusion. We reject all elites and oppressions along with the hypocrisy of the "right" and "left" in their self-serving and selective propaganda concerning human rights. Contact the Defense Committee c/o:

Bob McGlynn
528 5th Street
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215
USA
Tel: 718-499-7720

CONTACTS

To learn more about political prisoners, prisoners of war and prisons in North America write to any or all of the following groups:

Anarchist Black Cross
Toronto
P.O. Box 6326, Stn. A
Toronto, Ont, M5W 1P7
Canada

Anarchist Black Cross
Vancouver
P.O. Box 2881
Vancouver, B.C.,
V6B 3K4
Canada

Anarchist Black Cross
New York
P.O. Box 20521,
Tompkins Sq. Stn.
New York, NY 10009

Anarchist Black Cross
San Lorenzo
P.O. Box 215
San Lorenzo, CA 94580

Anarchist Black Cross
Latino Americana
P.O. Box 45-1208
Miami, FL 33245

Bulldozer
P.O. Box 5052, Stn. A
Toronto, Ont, M5W 1W4
Canada

Leonard Peitler
Defense Committee
P.O. Box 583
Lawrence, KS 66044

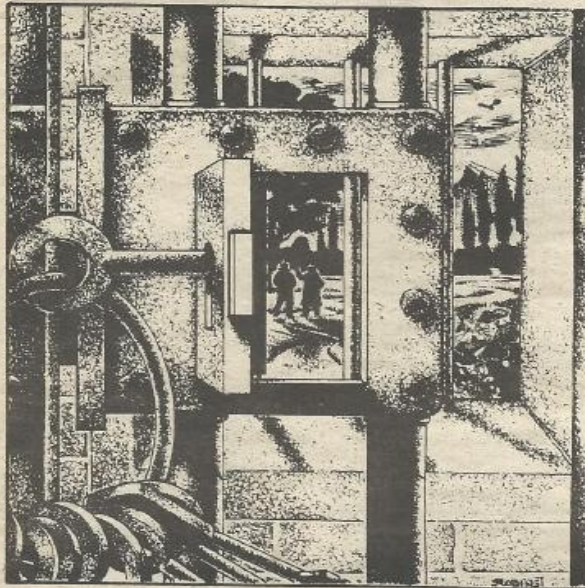
Committee to End the Marion
Lockdown
343 S. Dearborn, Suite 1607
Chicago, IL 60604

Project 1313
P.O. Box 1313
Lawrence, KS 66044

Wimmin Prisoner
Support Network
P.O. Box 770, Stn. P
Toronto, Ont, M5S 2Z1
Canada



NEW CONTROL UNIT PLANNED



BY KRIZZIE THERCOP

SOMETIMES FIERY SPEAKERS and heavy audience applause at left events result in high spirits and little action.

The passions ignited here on Saturday, November 17, however, may rekindle a country-wide anti-prison movement. They may even heat up a large, militant direct action reminiscent of late-80s disarmament blockades.

At an "organizer's meeting" called by Freedom Now and at a conference of the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, both held at DePaul University, activists vowed to prevent construction of a new federal prison in Florence, Colorado.

They also began planning a week of solidarity with political prisoners in the US for February.

The Marion Committee (known by its initials, CEML) has invited activists from around the US Midwest and from Colorado to attend the day-long conference and give their advice on launching a broad campaign to stop the planned prison.

Authorities apparently intend the new prison to advance the current psychological torture efforts at Marion Federal Prison and in control units at other prisons. CEML has dubbed the proposed prison a "new and improved Marion," based in part on the boastful words of a Bureau of Prisons functionary.

"Marion learned from Alcatraz, and now we've had a chance to learn from Marion," Russ Martin, project manager for Florence, has asserted. The federal prison at Marion, Illinois, opened in 1963, the year that Alcatraz closed.

CEML's Mariel Nanas explained

that, as the BOP refined its sensory-deprivation techniques, Marion's 60s-era physical construction proved constraining. If completed, Florence will deny prisoners any routine human contact. Robots will bring meals to prisoners in the cells, and guards will herd individual prisoners along corridors with loud speakers, surveillance cameras, and remote-controlled doors.

Further, prisoners will be unable to shout to each other from cell to cell, as they do at Marion, because Florence's cells will have solid-front doors rather than barred doors. "These guys will never be out of their cells, much less in the yard or anywhere around here," the city manager of Florence told the local press to assure concerned citizens.

Ground was broken at the construction site last July 14. The prison is scheduled to open in 1992.

The meeting and conference coincided with the seventh anniversary of the permanent lockdown at Marion. In 1983, following separate, fatal stabbings of two guards, Bureau of Prisons authorities confined the prisoners to solitary cells and began a prolonged behavior-modification experiment. Marion holds a high proportion of political prisoners, class war prisoners, and prisoners of war from national liberation movements.

Marion is also used to coerce submission from social prisoners throughout the system.

"Marion is like an anchor dragging the whole rest of the prison system down with it," Jan Sussler, of the People's Law Office in

Chicago, has said. Prisoners who file "too many" lawsuits, or insist on practicing their faiths, for example, are transferred from state or federal prisons to Marion. Other prisoners appear to be rotated through Marion randomly, to spread the word about its threat.

Participants in the conference determined that the campaign to stop Florence should be decentralized and should try to achieve its stated goal of preventing construction of the prison at Florence.

During a notably concrete discussion of goals, opinion ranged from demanding more information on the prison from the BOP, to being willing to accept certain concessions from the BOP (congregate dining, no robots, for example), to halting construction, participants reached consensus on the last.

Because CEML's early research reveals the Florence plan to be a nexus of new human rights horrors, environmental disasters, and economic troubles recurrent in post-industrial America, opposition to the prison could unite an unprecedented breadth of activists.

Nuclear Mess

In addition to fulfilling the worst techno-security nightmares of the last decade, Florence promises to poison prisoners (and, presumably, staff). Radioactive contamination from the nearby Cotter Uranium Co. appears widespread in the Florence area, and residents of Lincoln Park, Colorado, have sued Cotter. The region is said to be on the Environmental Protection Agency's Superfund list, which has included Love Canal.

CEML members stressed the irony of airborne-particulate contamination at this new prison site. Prisoners at Marion recently won a battle to drink clean water, rather than water from another Superfund site, Crab Orchard Lake. Staff at Marion had been drinking bottled water for some time.

Relatively new formations, such as the Youth aggreens, have the potential to make great contributions to an anti-Florence campaign. Bringing together a critique of capitalism, a global environmental sensibility, and a feminist attack on patriarchy, new anti-authoritarian militants at once offer a developing worldview and a determination to win.

Money Trouble

"Residents in the Canyon City and Florence area seem to be overwhelmingly in favor of this new torture chamber," CEML literature asserts. "The townspeople were given a choice between another University of Colorado branch or a federal prison, and they chose the latter."

Several conference participants recalled that, during disarmament organizing in the 1980s, economi-

ing to be mad when you finally are going sane." Morgan mentions our right to intellectual arrogance, which she describes as "the energy of female erotic intelligence." It is a move from a male centered world view to a female one (at least temporarily). We have to begin to love ourselves. For men, it is an "ought." As womyn, we have to stop being responsible for men. Men should seek to learn for themselves and challenge sexism in all its forms, through action and education. They should seek to hear, learn and develop the values that womyn bring with themselves. And this book brings a shift in our understanding about the use of violence within our society.

purge of communists by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, thousands of young women were identified as 'radicals' because of bobbed hair, and were accused of 'sexual license and free love' politics. Many were wrapped in cotton wadding, doused in oil, and burnt alive. To remain strictly pacifist in these cases is to sacrifice oneself (sorry, I am no Jesus Christ), and perhaps to cling to ideology more than to the life which we are supposed to defend.

As a whole, this book is a great challenge to our understanding of the use of violence. It leads to self-reflection. For womyn, it calls for a right to believe in who we are, and not to fear our ways. "Those are the ways you go mad for fear of appear-

cally hard-hit areas were hungry for military jobs. Opponents of the Rocky Flats, Colorado, uranium-trigger plant, and the Rock Island, Illinois, Arsenal, for example, made halting efforts to reach workers.

Stopping Florence Federal Prison will mean changing the minds of at least some of the Florence-area teachers and fire fighters who are leaving their jobs to work in prisons. It will mean having

future to get a real-world test. We may yap about the crisis of marxism. We have to articulate some alternatives.

Genocide

Readers are probably well-acquainted with the practice of charging the US government with genocide. While the US is invariably guilty as charged, the accusation loses some of its punch as

"These guys will never be out of their cells, much less in the yard or anywhere around here."

something coherent to say to people not only in Florence, but in the next town that the booming prison industry targets, and the town after that.

Organizing to Stop Florence

CEML's suggested agenda for the conference had allowed time to discuss a national action at the construction site, but time ran out. Building such an action as part of a campaign against the prison would force activists to deal with the human rights-racism issues, the environmental and economic issues, and also with the nitty-gritty of organizing.

Some of the big disarmament direct actions tinkered with anti-authoritarian process such as affinity group-based organizing. Putting anarchist, Youth Green, and other anti-authoritarian shoulders to the anti-Florence wheel would raise these forgotten matters. Further, it would demand that anti-authoritarians clarify their politics on white supremacy and the much ballyhooed "connectedness" of all oppressions.

Finally, it would allow a developing, still-embryonic vision of the

it becomes routinized.

Two specific, visceral descriptions of how the incarceration system destroys people of color brought the meaning of genocide back into stark clarity for conference participants.

Jaime Delgado, a Puerto Rican *independista* who was recently released from a federal prison in Florida, told activists that *entire communities* of African-American men from Washington, DC, appeared to have been transplanted to the prison.

"All these guys knew each other from grade school," he told visibly stunned listeners. "There were these two guys doing hundred-plus sentences who knew they were never going to get out, and these other guys who had been in and gotten out and were back in. Some of their peents had done time, and they would say, 'Oh yeah how's so-and-so?'—'Oh they're back in again.'"

Delgado and *independista* Dora Garcia were framed and imprisoned in the '80s on a bogus charge of conspiracy to break POW Oscar Lopez and Kojo Sababu out of Leavenworth.

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Demon Lover

(Continued from page 10)

writing; considering the silence forced upon womyn in the course of history, the ability to name the word, to break the silence, is indeed revolutionary.

However, Morgan's strict pacifism can become very limiting and hinder possibilities. It might not answer to different situations. For instance, what should womyn do when the violence of the patriarchal state against them turns out to be mass genocide? "In the 1927-30

On Gogol Boulevard

U.S. SOVIET TRUST GROUPS ALIVE AND WELL

BY BOB McGLYNN

MANY HAVE ASKED "What ever happened to the Trust Group?" In 1982, 11 Soviet dissidents in Moscow got together to form "The Group For Establishing Trust Between the US and USSR." Soon it had branches in other Soviet cities with a program centered on nuclear disarmament with a provision that all citizens be free to participate in those issues.

The Trust Group formed alliances with the more non-aligned (read: not slavishly pro-Soviet) anti-nuclear movement in the West. Trust Groups were formed in the West as well.

Even though the Trust Groups were savagely and unceasingly repressed — by beatings, forced druggings in mental hospitals, labor camp sentences, etc. — Westerners who protested provided enough of an umbrella of protection that Soviets officials (who used the "Peace Issue" the way the U.S. uses the "Freedom Issue") were unable to completely smash the Trusters the way they had other dissident movements.

The great bulk of the Western peace movement/left either opposed the Trust Group or were silent on the issue of the well-known repression of the Trusters. They preferred to work with the government front "Soviet Peace Committee," which offered free trips to the USSR, chauffeurs, and so on to the western "peaceniks" (an insulting term used by the Soviet opposition for the pampered Westerners).

The New York Trust Group had the advantage of Trust Groupers who were expelled from the Soviet Union because of their membership. Many people who were involved in this new "east/west" movement were anarchists or "alternativists" outside the mainstream peace-movement/left.

The formation of the Trust Group, and their outreach to alternative milieus in the West, was one of the most important spurs that led to what was known as the "detente from below movement" and its



more modern and radical "neither East nor West" sector. *On Gogol Boulevard* and the large network that NYC Neither East Nor West and others have developed can directly trace their inspiration to the Trust Group.

For a period, the Trust Groups were the only open opposition in the USSR. With Glasnost, tens of thousands of new groups appeared that vastly overshadowed the Trust Groups. For a while, many weren't sure if the Trust Groups even existed. But they do, and they're more interesting than ever, with groups in many cities.

The Trust Group expanded its program to include ecology and human rights. Many of its members also formed the Soviet section of the Italian-based Transnational Radical Party, which took the name Radical Association for Peace and Freedom. Its platform included cooperative economics, decriminalization of drug use, gay and women's rights. The Radical Association split from the Italian Parent Group over the latter's bureaucracy and pro-Gorbachev stance. It has since dissolved over internal problems with some ex-members forming the Libertarian Party.

While in the past, the Trusters were a very mixed political bag (including everything from anarchists to pro-Westerners, and even

a Trotskyist). Today the conservative and pro-Western elements are out and the Trust Groups can be seen as solidly alternative. (Note that in the past, as today, the Trust Group always blamed both the US and USSR for the arms race and never took pro-US positions).

There is now a renewed interest in The Trust Group due to the NYC visit beginning April '90 of long-time Trustee Alexander Rubchenko. Alexander has been politically engaged, visiting anarchists in Chicago, spending time at *Love And Rage*, speaking at a NYC-Neither East Nor West forum, working with Amnesty International, and visiting political prisoner Rainbow Hawk.

He's also picketed the Soviet

Consulate in New York City many times for gay rights, the release of Soviet political prisoners, protesting the murder of Piotr Siuda of the Soviet Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists, visiting NYC squats and participating in a squatters demo, and attending NYC-Neither East Nor West meetings, among other things.

If you want to get in touch with the Trust Group, here are some contacts:

Mikhail Molnik
UL. Ustlyanovicha d. 10 KV 10 G.
Lvov 290000 USSR
Tel.: 741134

Nikolay Shtromberger
UL. Lenina d. 16 KV 39 G.
Alma-Ata 480082 USSR

Nikolai Khranov
115407 Moscow
Nagatinskaya Nahrezhnaya
58 Korpus 2, kv 119
Tel.: 117-6895

Dimitri Starostin
UL. Vungtau d. Gakv. 9
Baku 370129 USSR
Tel.: 711671

Ekaterina Podoitseva
196105 Leningrad
Ulitsa Blagodatnaya Zokv. 38
Tel.: 296-4529

Peotr Protskevich
UL. Uborevicha d. 18 KV. 50 a
Minsk USSR
Tel.: 418543

ARGENTINE ANARCHISTS

ARGENTINE ANARCHISTS' communications with the rest of the Americas are irregular. Except for Uruguay, the United States and Canada, we haven't been able to establish fluid contact with libertarians from this continent.

Here in the city of Rosario, for several years now (we) have been able to create an environment in which a wide variety of alternative activities have been able to flourish.

A number of independent groups and organizations share a building, La Casa:

Ricardo Accurso
(area correspondent)
Grupo Impulso Autogestionario
C.C. 984
2000 Rosario
Argentina

Other groups at La Casa (above address) include: Taller Ecologista (ecology workshop), Union Socialista Libertaria, Biblioteca y



Archivo Historical Social "Alberto Ghirardo" (social-historical library and archive), Cooperativa de Trabajo 1 de Mayo (work cooperative), Centro de Estudios Sociales "Rafael Barret" (center for social studies), Cooperativa de Vivienda "Rodo" (housing cooperative), Asociacion Indianista Abya Yala (Indian studies)

As you can tell from the diversity of groups, we are involved in many different kinds of projects. But recently, the severe economic crisis here in Argentina has been making it difficult for us to meet the rent on our shared working space.

Since we cannot count very much on raising funds in our own country we must appeal to comrades around the world

Please write to:
Carlos A. Solero
(at La Casa)
or
Daniel Raposo
C.C. 56 — Suc. 8
2000 Rosario,
Argentina

You can also contact other anarchists in South America:
Ivan Etcheverry (writer, film-maker)
8-3675
1897 Gonnet
Argentina

F.L.A. (Federacion Libertaria Argentina)
Brasil 1551
1154 Buenos Aires
Argentina

F.O.R.A. (Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina)
Onel. Salvadoros 1200
1167 Buenos Aires
Argentina

Biblioteca Popular Jose Ingenieros
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ON GOGOL BOULEVARD (OGB) is the bulletin of New York City Neither East Nor West, networking East and West alternative oppositions and printing news and documents unavailable in the corporate or "left" media. We are now also attempting to bring Third and Fourth World activists into these efforts. This regular OGB section in *Love and Rage* will serve the same function. We encourage all those involved in "neither East nor West" type activity to regularly contribute to this section. Please address letters, reports, documents, debate, etc., directly to OGB.

This is not a section for anarchists only. We are interested in all things promoting freedom, such as worker's, women's, minority and gay liberation, environmental and anti-militarist issues, and anything pursuing paths other than the capitalist and state bureaucratic models.

By the way, *Gogol Boulevard* is a noted hang-out for Moscow's counter-culture — see you there! Subscriptions to OGB are \$5. Contact *On Gogol Boulevard* at:
Neither East Nor West
528 Fifth Street
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tel.: (718) 499-7720

WORKSHOP FOR ALL BEINGS

THE WORKSHOP FOR ALL Beings is an informal group of people who accept Deep Ecology and are aware of the need for an uncompromising defense of Mother Earth.

Certain general principles we've accepted are: the quest for one's own individual lifestyle expressing understanding of the unity of all beings and processes; preservation of all life, not only because of its absolute value, but because unnecessary killing and destruction builds up ego, which is the cause of suffering; experience before speculation; nature, body, and mind are not independent and separate.

Groups abroad we feel closest to are Earth First! and the Rainforest Information Center. Sometimes we use the legal status of the Zen Center with which we are affiliated. Our activity covers the following fields: propagation of Deep Ecology (lectures, the "Report" newsletter,



books, tapes, and videotapes, posters, leaflets); workshops for raising deeper ecological consciousness (Councils of All Beings), designing (The Studio for Living Architecture is the architectural section of the Workshop), and interdisciplinary studies (expertises on the rewilding of exploited forest areas, etc.); direct actions in defense of trees, forests, and riverbank habitats, etc.

The professional musical group AT-MAN, whose members are also independent foresters, is the musical-theatrical section of the Workshop. For more information write to:

The Workshop for All Beings
Andrzej Janusz Korbek
ul. Magi 21/3
43-300 Bielsko-Biala
POLAND

Why Anti-Authoritarian?

BY LARRY GEDDINS

FROM WITHIN THE PRIMAL ooze of social-political labeling I have, for a number of years, chosen "anti-authoritarian" as my own. Those that prefer specificity have argued that this term is not descriptive enough and does not declare a "particular" political evolution. Bandits, rebels, street gangs, "free-speechers," Jeffersonian constitutionalists, untutored and politically unsophisticated teenagers in rebellion, anti-communists, undisciplined rabble, counter-culturalists, libertarian socialists, democratic socialists, social democrats, council communists, syndicalists, anarcho-syndicalists, anarcho-marxists, anarcho-communists, anarcho-feminists... and more, can all be considered "anti-authoritarian." Oh, just so you don't think I forgot, anarchists, little "a," and big "A," are considered anti-authoritarians.

"Why can't I use one of the more 'acceptable' labels, one with a distinctly 'left' connotation?" they ask.

Unfortunately, I found the term "anarchist" lacking as well. I'm not alone in this observation. The term "autonomist" has appeared in recent decades as a response to the perceived differences between "classical" anarchists, and younger, more contemporary anti-authoritarian activists.

In Europe, the original organizations of many thought to be extinct political ideologies are still alive. Small they may be, but they are still around. So, younger anti-authoritarians/anarchists felt compelled to develop different organizational methods and labels.

Similarly, having described myself as being of the anarchist persuasion during the early '70s, it has been a circuitous route to the term anti-authoritarian.

"Anarchist" is generally accepted to mean without authority, or without ruler. In that sense, especially — without ruler — I am, most certainly, an anarchist.

However, life isn't nearly that simple, and, as with most other labels, the term "anarchist" has become value laden. Which means that when people read or use the term they readily identify it with particular ideological, social and historical images they have carefully or unconsciously filed in their brains. For the unconscious, the greatest majority of people, it represents everything from bearded bomb-throwing lunatics, to pipe smoking armchair idealists. For those with some political and historical knowledge, those who carefully file their definitions, an anarchist is someone that doesn't believe state power is the object of struggle with the dominant social order, but instead that a socially responsible and autonomous humanity is the object of struggle.

At this point, the waters become rather murky. There are nearly as many definitions of anarchy as there are anarchists! Laborists and syndicalists view the General Strike as the jumping off point in the creation of a classless, racismless society; to others, a commitment to the removal of technology, and anti-industrialism are the marks of a "true" anarchist. To others, any support for a national group or "nationalist" movement precludes one from being an anarchist. Situationists, Post-Situationists, Social Ecologists, Social Anarchists, Anarcho-Marxists, Christian Anarchists, Pagan Anarchists — you fill in the blanks. All definitions of "true" anarchists are based on good analysis.

Excuse Me! As a poor, mostly self-educated, imprisoned, non-dues paying member of any organi-

zations, or adherent to a specific anarchist "program," I conceded. O.K.!! Maybe I'm not really an anarchist. Maybe I am something which has not been described yet. Maybe I should take a step backward and, dipping into the primordial ooze of labeling, find something not so insulting to true anarchists. So I did. A friend, some years ago, suggested that I was an "eclectic" anarchist since I believe that good ideas can come from most anywhere, and good people even more so.

Then there is the term "autonomous." Autonomous, in the European sense, has been used to describe non-communist-party-dominated socialist and communist groups, as well as the ever popular "autonomes" of Germany. The autonomes include many perspectives in their non-ranks. The term "autonomous" is still largely unknown in the US. Anti-authoritarian was the term that seemed to work for me.

Like most of us, my journey began as a "rebel," pure and simple. Against family, against school, against "adults," against most anything that got in my way of achieving some personal enjoyment and development in life. I left "home," left school, and dropped-in to the world at large to find all the impediments multiplied. Firstly, I recognized "ageism" as a repressive cultural force. Secondly, I felt the "family," as an incubator of the state, was the most repressive institution. Thirdly, the state, as enforcer and manager of all other institutions, the inhibitor of change, was the target of my rebellion.

Within the structure of the state, I swiftly recognized the police and the "criminal justice" system as the immediate arm of state authority. I was very clear on this when I was 14, 15, 16 years old. I had read lots of history, been active in street actions in Germany and preparing for armed action in the U.S. from 16 or 17 years of age. There was no doubt in my mind that armed revolution was needed to effect any real change in this system. I had learned, all too well, as the son of a career army sergeant, that force was the only thing that the state understood.

Living near Washington, DC, Baltimore and Annapolis, I witnessed all too often the results of "peace demonstrations," sit-ins, and civil rights marches, not to mention anti-war demos. Discussion was out of the question. I wasn't willing to lay down and let the state, or any one else, beat me bloody, attack me with its dogs and shoot me, without fighting back.

My less than perfectly executed, expropriation of arms, to pass out to liberated prisoners and a good number of 16-18 year olds much like myself, in LA, in 1971, landed me in prison for 7 years. I spent those years evaluating myself, my actions and my goals. I had recognized a youth movement: armed youth including Black Panthers, Brown Berets, American Indian Movement (AIM) activists, and others, as headed in the same direction. But I had not worked closely with any of them. Mistrust between groups of activists, separatism (political and cultural), active campaigns by various police agencies (including the FBI's COINTELPRO program), served to support our already deeply taught "need" to function as separate communities. Except for fairly isolated events, such as the occupation of Wounded Knee, this idea of the necessity of racial/cultural separatism remained a dominant theme, especially in the armed revolutionary communities. Ideologically, I proclaimed anarchism as a

goal. In practice, I operated nearly as separately as nationalists. Still, I rejected dictatorships of any kind.

In prison, from '71 to '73, I read, like a lot of prisoners. Amongst that mass of words, I began to read feminist literature. It was easy to identify with many issues raised by feminists. As the oldest son of working parents, I had been responsible for the care and keeping of house and brothers. Don't you know I hated being trapped — both as a servant and as a youth, with virtually no rights in this society. Children were, and still are, the "property" of their parents, genetic or otherwise. The "law" treats all equally shabbily. This study of women's writings and political analysis led me to recognize "gender" as a special category of social/political relations, aside from economic class and age. Also, the women's movement of the '60s and '70s reaffirmed and expanded the concept of the "affinity group," an anarchist concept of organization, in which small groups of compatible people function in a largely egalitarian manner — without hierarchical "command" structures.

In prison, I swiftly observed racial separation as a constant source of misunderstanding, and felt that all such "separatism," nationalist or otherwise, was divisive. We could not change this society, as anarchists or anything else, while observing and participating in tacit agreement with social and cultural apartheid-U.S. style. It was in these years that I rediscovered a favorite historical period of mine.

Instead of just as an isolated period of "history," my experience led me to realize the deeper social and political significance of the "Seminole Wars" of the early 1800s. This commitment to a consciously multicultural, non-nationalist struggle, rather than an amorphous anarchism, propelled me to enter a collective that reflected that commitment, when I was paroled in 1978.

This collective held property in common, supported prison abolition and prisoners' needs, women's struggles, and members were from a variety of cultures and races. Study of revolutionary political material was a constant in the collective, and reflected the various origins of those involved. Anarchists, Marxists and socialists of several varieties lived, worked and struggled for individual growth and with each other, as well as against the state. It was an "eclectic" community.

Twenty months after parole I was captured in Seattle for the attempted liberation of a prisoner. Once again I was in prison. My time on the streets had gone much too fast. While recognizing other groups and struggles as necessary, I had focused on a fairly narrow spectrum of activity. No strong alliances had a chance to grow in such a short time. The continuing destruction of the already small armed "left" in this country, and my personal experiences, caused me to look more closely at the relative isolation of many people and struggles. An anarchist, global revolution against the nation-state formation must begin somewhere. It must survive to struggle. I began to reevaluate my thoughts, actions and focus. Once again, I returned to the study of the Seminole formations. In doing so I found that a greater commitment to Indigenous, Native American, Indian struggles was necessary.

Recognizing genocide, colonialism and the on-going destruction of Indigenous People and their ideas as a historical fact is one thing, implementing that knowledge in a

meaningful way is another. Rather than just acknowledging that genocide and colonialism exist, we need to actively struggle against them now. Many Native Americans may not call themselves "anarchist," but many are clearly anti-authoritarian in views and practice. Instead of relying on European historical example, they rely on their long Indigenous history. Recognizing that much of what modern, 18th, and 19th century activists call "anarchism" is in a large way a result of interaction between European intellectuals and Native American societies is of paramount importance in this process. Closer interaction with and support for Native struggles clearly added "self-determination and autonomy" for Native people to my list of goals, along with the recognition that they have

many European based anarchist and anti-authoritarian movements and struggles, which attempted to deny their own cultural imperatives, those that struggled in the Seminole War acknowledged and accepted their own special relations and histories. Rather than a false universalism, one which excluded those that sought autonomy within their own movement, they practiced a true one.

Rejecting a "romantic" view of Native American struggles is a requirement before learning the lives and struggles of People as real. If we tear away the mythology and romantic view of "Indians living with nature," we find a revolutionary movement in the Seminole, a movement evolving out of the "Red Stick" movement, as well as the social and political struggles of



historical reasons for wishing to organize separately.

Feminism, Women's Studies, gender as a special category of oppression, led me to identify and accept struggle against other specific forms of oppression as valid. Recognition that Black/Now Afrikan, Puerto Rican, Mexicano peoples, and others also share specific and different historical, intellectual and social realities, swiftly followed. This recognition, in other than just an abstract way, is not "truly" anarchist, I have been informed on many occasions.

However, I would hold that the Seminole struggles were anti-authoritarian in practice, and perhaps even anarchist in reality. Rather than having a mere ideological/philosophical position on "globalism," or a theoretical "anti-capitalism," or "alternative economy," or "utopian" multi-racial/multi-culturalism, they actually lived and practiced, loved and fought with these principles in the real world. Unlike

Europe in regard to wars, growing industrialism and the social theories and movements in England and France.

Seminoles had alliances with every class of people in the young United States, especially among the anti-slavery/abolitionist movements, as well as allies in Europe and the Caribbean. Furthermore, Florida was still a Spanish colony, though in reality the Spanish dominated only a few towns and some coastal areas. A number of Seminoles fought in battles and struggled as far north as Connecticut. Native Americans had been kept as slaves in Georgia and the Carolinas and at some points it was considered "illegal" to have Africans enslaved, but "legal" to enslave Indians. Their legal status shifted back and forth. But, the link between the "cimmarones" (Spanish for: wild and runaway), Maroon communities, and others became stronger as they helped more and more people to escape from bon-

dage and build a new society, one which might eventually be able to free territory in other areas, including Central America and Venezuela. Cimmarones became known as Seminoles.

De-centralized, participatory communities, multi-cultural and separatist communities, autonomous decision making and plans of action, caused the Seminole allies to be an incredibly committed and versatile foe of the U.S. The U.S. government's actions against this grouping was the most costly ever fought here, except for the Civil War. Some bands that refused to submit still exist. Others fled to the islands, migrated and mixed with local populations, or were removed to Oklahoma, as members of the Seminole People. Still others escaped the reservation and fled to Mexico where they waged a running war with the U.S. for decades more. Some bands still live in Mexico.

In my attempts to translate these events and my own experiences, I have observed the following: whether I recognize non-anarchist, nationalist, separatist struggles or

not, they are in existence. By ignoring their existence, because of some principle of pre-agreement—a requirement that these struggles reflect my notion of a non-nation-state future and multi-cultural struggle—I am ignoring history and the reality of their everyday

ed. "Globalism" must come about through mutual understanding. It will not be imposed. A culture of anti-authoritarian struggle is necessary.

Anarchism, as a body of literature and activity which opposes centralized state domination of

chism, we have excluded many of those whom we wish to, or claim to wish to, communicate with.

Young people in particular are much more open to the need for a multi-cultural practice than those of my own generation, for instance. It matters less, to me, that young activists understand every nuance of struggles between historical anarchism and marxism, in their intricacy and confusion, than that their day to day practice is of an anti-authoritarian nature. None of us, not one, was suddenly endowed with all of this information. To expect young, or old, activists to suddenly understand what took many of us decades to compile, or even agree with it, is ludicrous, to say the least. In fact, it is from this new generation of activists that a new language of global struggle will emerge. The assuredly "Eurocentric" language and practice of our anti-authoritarian/anarchist theory is in for a healthy and long overdue infusion of life.

In effect, I would rather be called an anti-authoritarian and spend my time and energy struggling to build a non-nation-state world, than ar-

gue infinitely about the definition of a "true" anarchist. Either anarchism has the ability to retain an evolutionary approach to problems, analysis and struggle, or it will be rejected by yet another generation of activists in favor of quick-fix, short-term, pseudo-democratic, and authoritarian alternatives.

Those that wish to trap themselves in an ideologically suicidal classicalism may do so. I, for one, reject that crystallization of thought and practice which would doom the fertile and living body of knowledge and experience we call anarchism and, yes, anti-authoritarianism.

Let us practice globalism. Let us be real, sincere, and effective allies to each other. Practice the theoretical knowledge we have confidence in. Confidence. A lack of fear that contact with "others" somehow unlike ourselves will destroy us, or take away our knowledge, or change us. Confidence will build flexibility. False confidence and fear create rigidity. Can we reaffirm anarchism's roots by becoming anti-authoritarian? I hope so.

"By ignoring the struggles of 'non-anarchists' against our mutual oppressors, I ignore my own desire for a non-nation-state future."

lives. By ignoring their existence, and ignoring their struggle against what are most often our mutual oppressors, I ignore my own desire for a non-nation-state future. "Globalism," decentralized social and economic systems, non-nation-state formations, will only come about through struggle. Through struggling together, trust and confidence in our ability and commitment to our dreams is communicat-

social and political life, is growing ever larger. In recognition of the vastness of the sea of material available and the swamp of views represented, I have used the label "anti-authoritarian" to keep the door open, so to speak. There is every reason to allow people to grow and learn and make additions to anti-authoritarian theory and practice. If we narrow our movement to some narrowly defined "true" anar-



The Seminole Wars

AT THE END OF THE WAR of 1812, white settlers resumed the push West and took control of the land from ocean to ocean. The U.S. government, after pressuring the Spanish government into selling them the Florida peninsula, began the process of gaining control of this area.

Although the indigenous people of this area were less than enthusiastic about the white man's plans, the US was able to convince a group of Seminole chiefs to cede them most of their land in return for an area of land which whites pledged not to invade. The chiefs, wishing for a peaceful existence, accepted the offer.

The whites, in typical fashion, decided that they also wanted the Seminole reservations. The Semi-

noles, now located in the vast Everglades were determined to resist further conquests by the government and settlers. The attempts at removal of the Seminoles and subsequent resistance and retribution by the Seminoles are known as the Seminole Wars.

The Seminoles, like many of the tribes of the Southeast, had African-Americans living with them. Many of the African-Americans were runaway slaves. The Seminoles gave the African-Americans sanctuary and took them as tribal members. Needless to say the treatment of Blacks among the Seminoles disturbed the proslavery forces in the US. This, along with a desire to control all land led to an attempt in 1832 to remove the Seminoles to reservations in the



West.

From 1832 to 1842 the Seminoles fought a guerilla war with the white settlers and U.S. Government

forces throughout the Everglades. In 1842, after a decade of fighting the US Government agreed to allow the Seminoles to remain in the por-

tion of the Everglades which they then inhabited, and where many still live.

Review of Robin Morgan's *Demon Lover*



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 inroads 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:

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New York, NY 10012

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The deadline for the February issue is Jan. 5 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. Thanx.

BY FRANCINE DICKLEY

ROBIN MORGAN BELIEVES that the use of violence, embraced so easily by revolutionary movements of the right and left wings, is only a perpetuation of patriarchy: like father, like son. If the patriarchal state has been founded on a mad drive to conquer, penetrate and destroy nature, revolutionary movements which advocate violence are based on the same disrespect of life. Hence, in Morgan's book *The Demon Lover*, on the sexuality of terrorism, men are associated with death.

On the other hand, Morgan associates womyn with redemptive power. Womyn have traditionally taken care, nurtured and healed life. She sees them as having stood historically outside the patriarchal system, thus as an oppositional force which could change this society.

If Morgan criticizes excellently the violence within this world, and within often male-dominated revolu-

tionary movements, she fails to criticize equally well the social conditioning which has kept womyn in the role of mother and nurturer. Even if these values can set up a dual power to the present system of domination and violence, this does not change the fact that womyn have been traditionally limited to the "gentle sphere" by the patriarchal system. Hence, womyn's roles and identities have been shaped greatly by the system, and in order to have a truly revolutionary analysis we must go beyond these categories.

I believe that Morgan's problem is her tendency to dichotomize between good (womyn) and bad (men), gentleness (womyn) and violence (men). Her whole book seems to play between these two spheres, which have been created by the patriarchal system, instead of negating both and seeking a new vision in which the gap between them is met.

This does not mean of course that men can become like womyn, or womyn like men. To celebrate diversity is only one aspect of the revolutionary project. I am a womyn with a specific history, and cultural and natural tendencies. This makes me different than any men in this world. On the other hand, I do not want to be limited to the "gentle and nurturing" sphere. I've been taught this all my life in Catholic school, and am pretty happy to liberate myself from this imposing image. It is oppressive and domineering. The first time I told a man or my boss to fuck off, was pretty liberatory (can this be classified as emotional terrorism because I refuse to be nice?).

Morgan's last chapter is very interesting. In it Morgan focuses on womyn's anger but challenges the traditional male means to express it (through fights, arms, killings, and bombings) and calls for new ways. "Women know that we can not win by force—that no one really can—and therefore women seek to resolve problems by other means" (334); "Militance without a lust for death" (238). She cites many examples such as the Chipko movement in India, which started when 24 womyn mobilized together and began to embrace trees to protect them from commercial logging. They were called magical and mad. Another example Morgan cites is

(Continued on page 6)

BERLIN SQUATS ATTACKED



BY DAVE LAWRENCE

ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, anarchists and squatters battled police in the streets after three squats were evicted in what was East Berlin. After barricades were erected by the squatters, the police were held off for two days.

On Wednesday, the 14th, police used armored cars to break through the barricades. Many squatters were arrested and seriously injured while defending their community against the state. Squatters fought back with molotov cocktails and bricks against thousands of riot equipped police. On the Thursday following the clash, the Green Party, who are considered to be progressive so far as electoral politics go, withdrew from the coalition government of Berlin in protest.

European authorities have stepped up their attacks on squatters in the past year in preparation for the much hyped "United Europe" planned for 1992. The Berlin police were putting a few more pieces in place for the "new world order" in which squatters in the center of Berlin, in the center of "one Europe," will not be tolerated. Squats in Denmark and the Netherlands were struck by police earlier this year.

During the transitional period, beginning with the weakening of the Stalinist East German dictatorship in September 1989 and ending

this past October with the reunification of Germany, squatting flourished in East Berlin.

Many West Berlin squatters who had lost their houses over the past years moved east to join with their East Berlin counterparts as thousands of East Berlin residents migrated west leaving empty buildings behind. The weakening of government in East Germany opened up opportunities acts of self empowerment such as squatting.

A demonstration was held by New York City squatters at the German consulate as an expression of solidarity with the Berlin squatters. Squatters in New York are also facing the threat of eviction.

Legal maneuvering is now underway by some squatters to try and halt the evictions of over 200 squatters on the Lower East Side. But, should the legal options prove unsuccessful, all squatters will have no option but to defend their homes as they have done numerous times in the past. Squatters in the South Bronx and the East New York section of Brooklyn are also facing eviction just as a cold New York winter is about to set in. For more information on squatter struggles throughout the world write to:

International Solidarity Network,
P.O. Box 20114,
Tompkins Square Station,
New York, NY 10009

THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE TELEVISED

BY KATE CERNIDWEN

WHILE DAYDREAM America puts its Denial to sleep at night, the anarchists are arriving in the back door of the station. They come in to the sounds of the R&B Showcase, and cue up a segue for the start of the show. The Neville Brothers, or Queen Latifah turn the arwaves to the themes of liberation. With a format of liberation music of all nations, (especially ours), lively commentary, poetry and text readings, news, and information of the latest happenings, *Late Night Liberation* is pumping up the volume and raising the ante in the dark dreams of an all-night radio insurgency.

Minneapolis is not a city for nocturnals: You're lucky to find a White Castle open at 2 a.m., The buses don't run, and the bars close

at one. The puritan work ethic saws logs for a solid eight hour shift.

But the liberation audience is awake, aware, and on the phone to the studio.

"What did you think of George Bush's talk on the budget?"

"Hey, listen, I've got a couple copies of *Cop Watch*. Have you seen it? I'll send them to you."

"Could you play a Minutemen tune?"

"How about some Sun Ra, or N. W. A.?"

The host station, KFAL Fresh Air Radio at 90.3 fm, is a community radio station. It pays five staff people, and is programmed by nearly 200 volunteers. Its annual budget of \$233,000 is mostly raised through listener pledge drives. And the format is inclusive in a most

glorious way. Shows for the Hmong Community, the Vietnamese, Iranian, Chicano, and Native American communities and more, are each in their own languages.

There are several slots for African-American programming, and KFAL has more wommin-only programming than any other station in the states, with ten hours of *We Want You to Know* a week.

Fresh Air is sort of a community in itself, with an internal newsletter, and its numerous picnics, potlucks, parties, and (a plethora of) meetings. Its door is wide open, and marvelous people of all sorts walk through it, and get involved.

Having been accepted by the programming committee, *Late Night Liberation* has been on the air for five weeks. The four hour shows, from 2-6 a.m., focus on

themes such as the conquest, as celebrated on Columbus Day, anti-elections, the Intifada and Al Qaeda mosque, political prisoners, and Native American sovereignty.

The format blends hard information and rocking music. The anarchists have taken the tool, and are molding an entry point for the politicized and not. Presenting an alternative, conducting the flow of information, critiquing our strange and dangerous culture, and keeping people up at night. *Late Night Liberation Radio*. The revolution will not be televised.

For more information contact:
Late Night Liberation Radio
c/o KFAL 1518 E. Lake St.
Minneapolis, MN 55407
tel.: (612) 721-5011
or studio line (Wed. 2-6 a.m. C.S.T.)
(612) 721-4936.

Fuck the Poll-Tax!



BY JAN KRAKER

ON SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, yet another massive anti-poll tax demonstration took place in London. The day began with a picket of some 1500 people at 10 a.m. at the infamous court at Horseferry Road. Then, this group met up with some 40,000 other demonstrators to take part in a 10 mile march organized by the All Britain Anti-Poll Tax Federation (which is still largely controlled by Trot (Trotskyist) bastards, though the internal struggle is continuing to make the federation base-democratic).

The march was severely restricted by the police, and the approved route wound largely through the quieter areas of Brixton, in an effort by the State to minimize the effect of the march. At a rally in Brockwell Park, a speech by the Trot bastard head of the Federation was cut short by a volley of jeers and bottles, leading to a somewhat comic tussle between Trot bodyguards and hecklers.

The real action of the day started after the rally in the park when the Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign (TSDC) held a protest march of its own. The TSDC is a largely anarchist legal-aid network which was set up after the March 31 riot to provide legal and financial support and solidarity for arrestees.

Their work thus far has been excellent. Some 60 TSDC volunteers followed police inspectors around on October 20, along with some 16 TSDC video-cameras

to document any eventual police brutality.

The TSDC march was supposed to end at Brixton Prison where four persons are currently serving jail sentences stemming from the March 31 upheaval. This site was chosen to make the connection between the poll tax, class issues, and State repression.

In an atmosphere of intense excitement, some 4000 set out towards the prison. But less than half an hour later, the London cops had provoked violence. Cops seized a megaphone from a TSDC legal-aid volunteer and objects were hurled at police. Arrest teams flew into the crowd and the brutality began.

The demonstrators were, unfortunately, split into several fleeing groups. It seems the main demonstration group didn't have enough people who were experienced enough or willing enough to stay put and fight. What's more, too few people (again) had masks with them, and those who did made easier targets for the bobbies. In any case, for several hours violence spread through the streets of Brixton. Barricade attempts by protestors failed, although some cars and real estate agencies were burned.

Police blocked off the Brixton metro station and numerous side streets in what was clearly an orchestrated scheme to arrest as many people as possible. Arrest teams were well coordinated, and a total of 120 people were nabbed.

Many of these folks were beaten harshly—revenge for March 31?—and almost all were hit with phony charges. But several coppers and yuppie establishments got their own as well during the rioting in Brixton.

British Anti-Poll Tax Repression

The anti-poll tax repression which was unleashed by the State after the March 31 riot has been tremendous. Squats have been raided, parents have been offered "rewards" to narc on their children. One man currently is serving a two-year jail term for kicking a police van!

It seems that Britain's radicals are facing a level of police brutality familiar to anarchists in the US but which is not so well known on the European continent where arrests at demos are less common. But people still aren't paying the poll-tax. No way! People are still saying "Fuck the rich!" and refusing to comply. What's more, the movement is still being successful.

The October 20 march attracted 40,000 people, 4000 of whom joined the anarchist event at the prison. The government fears both the popular hatred resulting from the movement, as well as the increase in class-oriented violence which continually erupts at anti-poll tax events. A spokesman for the Metropolitan police has asked that all future poll tax marches be banned. Fuck that! Plans are already being made for March 30, 1991.

Everyone come, and fight for the right to demonstrate.

Please get in touch with anarchists in Britain and show them your solidarity. Below are two addresses to write to:

Trafalgar Square
Defendants' Campaign
Room 205, 36 Mount Pleasant
London WC1E 6JF England
or
Crash Poll Tax
Postbus 16544 1001 RA
Amsterdam The Netherlands

Anarchist Solidarity

Five non-Britons were arrested on October 20, something which

the conservative press seized upon. "Anarchists link to form Euro-Mob" ran one headline. "Anarchists take weekend break for demo" ran another. The press tried to sensationalize the presence of Dutch and German anarchists at the march, although really there weren't that many. This time.

Sure there were "foreign" anarchists there. That's because solidarity is an important concept for all anarchists.

The poll tax is a gruesome scheme, and one which is indicative of the coming of the United Capitalist States of Europe '92, Inc. A government research agency in

(Continued on page 12)

Students Riot in Paris

BY JAN KRAKER

ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, hundreds of thousands of predominantly high-school aged students took to the streets in protest yet again, all over France. The students were demanding, among other things, more teachers and better schools.

In Paris, riot police prevented a march of some 150,000 students from reaching government offices across the Seine. Bands of anarchists seized the opportunity to confront the cops, pelting them with any number of objects. Throughout the night, bands of masked youths surprised police with their "well orchestrated acts of violence" as they burned nearly

200 expensive cars and looted over 200 stores.

Police were powerless to act, much to the pleasure of the proletarian youths, for fear of the negative public opinion which would result if young students were beaten by rampaging cops. Negative public opinion resulted nonetheless from the wealthy Parisian slime who had their cars destroyed and shops emptied.

All in all, the protest was successful. The government gave in to the demands of the protesting students, and the police were powerless to check the fierce outburst of street-militancy which had erupted at the massive march.



Love and Rage is a monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed people around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any prepackaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the constant and radical revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

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

Love and Rage is anti-statal. 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 US. We fight the resurgence of anti-Asian and anti-Arab racism. We take front rank in the fight against racist skinhead, Klan, nazi and cop terror.

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

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

Love and Rage is anti-sexist. We are for the liberation and self-determination of all womyn. We are fighters against patriarchy and for the empowerment of womyn. This means, minimally, unquestionable reproductive freedom for all womyn regardless of race or economic status and a world free of sexist violence. We recognize that the oppression of womyn 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, Bisexuals (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



Washington DC KKKops Protect the Klan

ON SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29, some 30 members of the Ku Klux Klan held a march in Washington, D.C., our nation's poverty-ridden capital which is majority Black.

DC sent out 4000 local and federal police to protect the fascists. Helicopters flew overhead, dog teams were readied, and the entire area surrounding Constitution Avenue was sealed off. All this to protect 30 bigots.

Naturally, a counter-demonstration took place, although the police did their best to bloody up as many protesting Blacks as possible in order to keep the Klan bastards safe. Anarchists and members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (hey, for once they weren't just selling their paper!) responded to the police bigotry by ripping up

paving stones and hurling them at the cops.

In all DC spent close to a million dollars so that 30 fascists could praise David Duke and Jesse Helms while denouncing "n*****s" and civil rights at a rally on Capitol Hill!!!

What should have happened? The Klan should naturally be allowed to march, but they should have expected to have their little pink-headed racist bodies pounded into the earth. That a city which has one of the highest levels of urban poverty and homelessness in the nation should spend \$800,000 to shield 30 fascists from the wrath of the people's justice is sickening!

How many homeless folks could have been fed and clothed with that \$800,000? Think about it



I Want You!

ANARCHISTS in Kingston, Ontario posted up phony posters announcing a call to register for conscription. The authentic looking posters included a phone number that actually belonged to the local newspaper, *The Whig-Standard*.

The newspaper had to hire someone to answer all the calls generated by the hoax. It was the top story on the radio all day and forced local military personnel to talk about the possibility of conscription.



London
Department of National Defence

CALL TO REGISTER FOR CONSCRIPTION

All Canadian citizens are required by law to register for conscription in the Canadian Armed Forces at such times as deemed necessary by the Minister of National Defence. Registration is not in and of itself, conscription.

Registration is a mechanism whereby the Canadian Armed Forces are able to respond efficiently in the eventuality that the Canadian Parliament should request the activation of the conscription rolls.

In accordance with this, Minister of National Defence Bill McKnight has called upon all male Canadian citizens born between 15 December 1965 and 15 December 1972 to register for conscription. In Kingston and the Islands registrants will attend at the Canadian Forces Recruiting Centre at 395 Princess St. between 0830 hrs and 1630 hrs according to the following schedule:

DATE OF BIRTH	REGISTER ON
18 December 1965 to 14 September 1967	26 November 1990
15 September 1967 to 14 June 1969	27 November 1990
15 June 1969 to 14 March 1971	28 November 1990
15 March 1971 to 14 January 1972	29 November 1990
15 January 1972 to 15 December 1972	30 November 1990

Persons who are unable to attend on their assigned date must arrange an alternate date (ph. 644-5000). If for any reason you have not registered by 15 December 1990 you may be charged in accordance with the Criminal Code of Canada Section 430(3), and will be liable to up to ten years in prison.

Any person applying for exemption from service in the armed forces is still required to register. Requests for exemption will be assessed by the Department of National Defence and persons with legitimate grounds for exemption should bring any relevant supporting documents with them when registering.

The Collapse of the Armed Forces

FEW of the soldiers being sent to the Persian Gulf are old enough to remember the war against Vietnam. The history of that war, and the important role of resistance in the US armed forces in bringing it to an end, is a powerful weapon that anti-war activists need to use in organizing opposition to the new war.

Fifth Estate, the anti-authoritarian tabloid coming out of Detroit for 25 years, has reprinted in its most recent issue "The Collapse of the Armed Forces" by Marino Colonel Robert D. Heintz. Heintz's article appeared first in the *Armed Forces Journal* in June 1971 and details how GI resistance broke the military

power of the world's mightiest empire.

The article recounts how fraggings (the killing of officers), GI coffeehouses, sabotage, and mutiny destroyed the capacity of the armed forces to prosecute the war. The article is in the Winter 1990-91 issue. Get it today from:

Fifth Estate
4632 Second Ave.,
Detroit, MI 48201

Autonomi Newsletter

ANOTHER attempt at a pan-European autonomist journal is called *Autonomi Newsletter*. We recently received what appears to be an issue from September 1989 devoted to a discussion of "Revolutionary Strategy of the 90s." The discussion is made up of responses by autonomous projects and collectives in Italy, Denmark, and France to various questions about the nature of their work, the situations in their respective countries and their outlook on the unification of Europe.

Autonomi Newsletter is published in English by Autonomous Revolutionaries based in Denmark. Send a buck or two and get a sample copy from:

Autonomi Newsletter
c/o Info-Bogcafe Zapata
Blagardsgade 12
DK. 2200 KBH.N.

Poll Tax Prisoners

HUNDREDS of people are facing charges and possible imprisonment for actions taken against the British poll tax. Others have already been convicted and imprisoned. Still others are imprisoned while waiting for trial. The Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign was founded to help people fight the charges arising from the March 31 mass demonstration in London's Trafalgar Square. The Poll Tax Prisoners Group is a section of the TSDC set up to specifically look after the welfare of those imprisoned for demonstrating against the poll tax. The Prisoners Group produces up to date lists of prisoners and addresses of where they are being held.

Poll tax prisoners need letters, material support and visits (admittedly the latter is not too practical for folks on this side of the Atlantic), so if you can help in any of these areas write to:

Poll Tax Prisoners Group
c/o Room 205, Panther House,
38 Mount Pleasant, London WC1X
Tel: 071-833 8958

University of Michigan Erupts

"NO Cops, No Guns, No Code!" is scrawled in chalk across the University of Michigan Ann Arbor campus. It is the slogan of a newly resurgent student movement fueled by repressive University measures and the threat of war in the Persian Gulf according to the most recent issue of the *Industrial Worker*.

The campus administration has announced plans to deputize and arm 24 campus security guards. The selective enforcement of a ban on campus parties directed mainly at African-American groups has contributed to the spirit of resistance that has swept the campus.

On Wednesday, November 14, 35 students occupied the president of the University's office to demand an end to the repressive measures. On Thursday, the University Regents declared a "state of emergency" and illegally closed their monthly meeting. More than 1500 rallied at the occupied administration building. 100 students occupied the "News and Information Service" to protest University propaganda.

On November 15, 2500 students rallied on State Street, a main Ann Arbor artery. A vote on holding a student strike received a bare majority so a campus wide teach in was organized for the next Monday. A campus teach in on the Persian Gulf attracted 2000 students.

The Campus Democracy movement has broadened its demands to state that the University administrators must negotiate with all campus groups, including Black, Lesbian and Gay, and other groups that have outstanding demands. All in all it is a promising revival of student radicalism that does not bode well for those who would benefit from a more quiet studentry.

Griever

(Continued from page 4)

an issue in this case. The Grievors must supply the H.R.S. with the names, addresses, and social security numbers of people who are "frequent visitors" to the home. All the children must attend school, even though they were previously being legally home-schooled. All the family members must be seen by an H.R.S. psychiatrist for ongoing evaluation. If the parents refuse

to sign this agreement, the state will seek to terminate their parental rights, making the children wards of the state.

Children have a right to live in a safe environment where they are loved, cared for, and respected. It is pretty obvious that in this situation the children want to be with their parents. Norma and Willard will be returning to Florida within a few weeks to fight this placement plan, and have their children returned

Poll Tax

(Continued from page 11)

even gone so far as to suggest that a new group, the "West European Revolutionary Front," has been formed. This is supposedly a new international network of anarchists who "support terrorist groups like the IRA, the Basque group ETA, and the RAF... and who seek to un-

dermine European Unity through underground acts of sabotage."

It sounds like some asshole bureaucrat glanced over some autonomous publications, completely missed their analysis, and proceeded to stir up some hype about anarchist terror.

It's important for anarchists to have visions which extend beyond

Europe Wide Newspaper

THE second issue of *CLASH*, newspaper for the resistance in Europe is out. *CLASH* is published in two editions, one in German, and one in (by their own admission, bad) English. It is a hefty and ambitious magazine. It is an excellent source of information on anti-authoritarian resistance (squats, the autonome, prisoners etc...) in Europe and is a vital contribution to building a Europe-wide resistance as the continent lurches towards unification. Send a few bucks for the latest issue to:

Slagerzicht Overtoom 274
1054JB
Amsterdam, Netherlands



Squatting Down Under

THE Squatters Union of Melbourne is seeking contacts with US and Canadian squatters, collectives and organizations. Contact:

The Squatters Union
c/o F. Jacobsen,
Post Office Box 1127,
North Fitzroy, 3068 Victoria,
Australia.



home.

It's ironic, but not too surprising, that someone who sought the protection of the state for her son, now needs protection from the state. These people need help. Letters of support and donations toward their legal fund are badly needed. Both can be sent to:

Friends of the Grievors Committee
c/o Ed Lisbe
850 Steam Mill Road
Ithaca, NY 14850

their own immediate concerns. The poll tax is one such issue which should be a concern to anarchists everywhere. After all, if Thatcher (or her successor Major) is successful in killing off Britain's poor, reactionaries everywhere might emulate her plan. That's why the plan to implement the poll tax must be stopped.



left should take in opposing the war. In general, there seem to be three outlooks that have been voiced so far. The first is support for the war and therefore US imperialism. The second is critical or tactical support for Iraq. The third is opposition to US imperialism, a condemnation of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the support, to varying degrees, for the United Nations sanctions. I think we can generally discount the first position as sheer opportunism, a betrayal of the basic values of the Left.

The second position, of critical or tactical support for Iraq, is certainly more complex. It comes from individuals who identify with groups such as the Workers World Party, the International Socialist Organization, the Young Socialist League and the Fourth International Tendency, to name a few.

Most of those who argue this position understand the brutal nature of the Iraqi regime and sometimes even acknowledge Iraq's massacres of the Kurds within its country. Nevertheless, they call for unity and single-focus in opposing US imperialism and demanding the immediate withdrawal of US troops. They insist that introducing a condemnation of the Iraqi government is tantamount to diluting a call to oppose the US intervention.

Generally, this is the limit of their arguments. However, as bizarre as it may seem, it is possible that some of those who advocate this perspective sympathize with the "socialism" of the Ba'ath party and its "historically progressive" role in conquering the Kuwait monarchy. But this position, which would seek to replace one form of domination by another, is far too archaic and bankrupt to deal with seriously.

Of more interest, strangely enough, is a position of tactical support for Iraq that some anarchists have adopted. Wayne Price, a sincere and strongly supportive member of the Left Green Network, has argued a similar perspective in the October issue of *Love and Rage*, the revolutionary anarchist news-monthly. He begins his feature article with a clear and principled anarchist condemnation of the governments of both the US and Iraq while favoring a position of international solidarity of the world.

He goes on to say that while both sides are worthy of condemnation, there is an important difference between the two states. "The US is the mightiest imperialist state on Earth" Wayne argues, "and Iraq is an oppressed country, long robbed by the imperialists. ... 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."

In short, Wayne sympathizes with the position voiced by the other groups that, as he writes, "our first job is to oppose US imperialism and to stand with the oppressed against it."

First, Wayne is wrong to assume that there is a monolithic voice in the Arab world which supports Saddam Hussein.

Like most peoples of the world, there is no singular opinion or organization that represents their voice. Not long ago, I returned from a six month stay in Jerusalem. If there is one thing that Palestinians constantly told me, it is that the world measures their lives to be worth less than those of other people. From this, one often hears the desire for one standard of justice to be applied across the board. As a Palestinian friend of mine in Vermont told me: "There just one ruler that measures occupation, whether it is measuring the armies of Israel, Syria, or Iraq."

Indeed, some Palestinians oppose military occupation and imperialism on principle. According to a poll conducted by the East Jerusalem Arabic weekly *A-Nadwa*, 38% of the Palestinians asked oppose the invasion of Kuwait, while 58% support it. Included in this sizable minority are some of the organizers of the Intifada, who issued a separate communique on August 15 supporting "the principle that it is not permissible to occupy land by force" and calling for a withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. (Jon Immanuel, "Palestinians urge Iraqi pullback," *The Jerusalem Post* (internal edition), Thursday, August 16, 1990.) The findings of this poll are certainly not conclusive and merely serve to illuminate the diversity of opinion among Palestinians. The communique was largely attributed to Faisal Hussaini, one of the leading PLO figures in the West Bank.

But in the event of a full-scale war, whether some Arabs will favor an Iraqi victory over the US and the other leading Arab states that are part of the allied forces, should not really alter our position on the issue substantially.

Position of Left Greens

If there is any such thing as a "first job" for Left Greens to do, it is to try and build an anti-war movement in this country that will call for the immediate withdrawal of US troops and allied forces, not the military victory of the Iraqi army against our own.

Even if there is no war, to think that an oppositional movement will embrace any support for the Iraqi government, tactical or otherwise, is a mistake. Could anyone imagine

today using some of the same rationale today that was used to oppose the US during the Vietnam era — the external proletariat in the third world, the progressive forces fighting imperialism?

If the first position is morally inept, and the second position is both wrong and untenable, we are left with the third position which calls for the immediate withdrawal of US troops and includes standing with the United Nation's sanctions against Iraq — a position I believe Left Greens should take. As problematic as this position is from the principle of democratic decentralism, it must be seen as part of a minimal program to engage in this issue as it exists and is being debated throughout the world, not how we think it should be debated.

This raises the question of how Left Greens can take positions on "global" issues in which the meaningful options directly conflict with our principles. We certainly cannot change the terms of debate concerning a global issue as we can on a local level. We must, therefore, take a minimal position that will allow us to work with people in this country to build an oppositional movement while pointing to the more systematic elements of this crisis.

As a further test of our politics, Left Greens must also consider the role of a UN "peace-keeping" force being used to replace US troops to prevent an all out war in the Middle East which — in terms of the millions of Palestinians, Jews, and Arabs that would be killed in a chemical and nuclear war — is as vast as it is horrific.

To have a formidable position as the Left Greens, we must not forget, when considering such a highly volatile situation as the Middle East, the irrational forces that have repeatedly led to senseless wars. Israel's nuclear threat, with the Shamir government just spoiling for a fight, and Iraq's chemical capabilities, under the control of Saddam Hussein, whose ability to manipulate Arab nationalism should not be underestimated (according to Palestinian scholars Edward Said, "Another view of the crisis" *Issues*, Aug/Sept. 90 (Arab-American Institute), and George Abed, "A long road for the PLO," *Christian Science Monitor*, 9/20/90.) all too vividly illustrates the threat which these states pose to the lives of millions of people.

Therefore, our only alternative, I believe, is the third position in which we must build an anti-war movement and at the same time, try to point out the roots of this conflict and the more fundamental social crisis from which it stems: the state, imperialism, and capitalism.

controversial statement that revolutionary anarchists might have to support the victory of the Iraqi military over the US. We need to keep in mind that any war between the US and Iraq will ultimately take place on Iraqi soil. The US may move at first to "liberate" Kuwait, but I don't believe that Bush is willing to pay the price of such a massive military action without toppling the Hussein regime.

At this point the war will become essentially one of imperialist aggression. The US will be imposing its will on the people of Iraq by all the means of terror that are associated with wars of aggression: rape, pillage and indiscriminate slaughter. Under such conditions the only moral position is to demand an end to the aggression and support whatever resistance to the invasion the Iraqi people can muster. If the Iraqi people had the luxury of choosing between joining community based anarchist militias and being conscripted into the Iraqi military we could talk about Iraqi resistance without supporting a victory by the existing Iraqi military against an invading army. But that is not the case. So, for the moment, the Iraqi military is the Iraqi people's best bet for repelling a US invasion.

Jacobson argues that "whether some Arabs will favor an Iraqi victory over the US... should not really alter our position on the issue substantially" but then turns around to cite US public opinion in favor of his position by saying that "to think that an oppositional movement will embrace any support for the Iraqi government, tactical or otherwise, is a mistake."

Certainly, we can not expect to build a movement around the slogan "Victory to Iraq," but our analysis should not be based simply on what is popular, either amongst Palestinians or Americans. I support the Iraqi military on one point, and one point only — repelling a US invasion — and only because it is at that point, and that point only, that the interests of the Iraqi military coincide with those of the people.

Supporting an Iraqi victory against a US invasion in no way implies support for the Hussein regime or the criminal invasion of Kuwait. And we should oppose attempts to stain the hands of the anti-war movement with Kuwaiti (and Iraqi and Kurdish) blood by inviting representatives of the Iraqi state to speak at anti-war events.

The question of whether or not one supports the Iraqi military in the face of an invasion seems a little abstract at first. But it becomes clearer when we begin to talk about what is the proper strategy for the anti-war movement.

I believe that anarchists should agitate for and organize a strategy of resistance, a strategy that consciously seeks to impede the US war effort by raising the social, political and economic costs of the war. In other words a strategy of draft resistance, of resistance in the military ranging from desertion to mutiny, and of resistance in the streets that threatens domestic order. Whether we are willing to admit it or not, such resistance will effectively strengthen the hand of the Iraqi military in its fight against a US invasion. I don't think we should try to raise slogans like "Victory to Iraq," particularly while Iraq still occupies Kuwait. But we should be prepared to defend a strategy of resistance with a clear anti-imperialist analysis that upholds the defense of Iraqi self-determination.

If the US invades Iraq there are essentially two possible outcomes: the US military will win and impose its will on the people of Iraq or the US will lose and will withdraw from Iraq.

Given a choice, I prefer the latter. It would effectively put the US on the defensive around the world, creating more space for more authentic and liberatory challenges to the state, imperialism and capitalism.

If the US successfully defeats Iraq it may mark the beginning of a resurgent US empire. If Iraq repels the US it is not at all clear that it will mark a period of continued Iraqi expansion. The Iraqi people have already suffered eight years of war. Even a failed US invasion would have tremendous costs for the Iraqi people. Already almost 10% of the Iraqi populace is in the military. Hussein's impressive military machine was built with Western and Soviet arms and Kuwaiti loans, sources of support that will not be there to maintain that machine.

In closing I would like to address what I think is an unspoken issue in Eric's article and much of the discussion on the left: Zionism. Significant portions of the US left have essentially taken the side of the US in this conflict, either directly and openly or indirectly via the UN, because of the threat Iraq poses to Israel. Now, I think Hussein would be a fool to drag Israel into this conflict. Sure he will beat his chest about the Palestinian question, but he knows that Israel is quite prepared to respond to any attack with a nuclear assault that would simply destroy Iraq.

The US has to keep Israel on the sidelines in order to hold together the support of various Arab rulers. I think a lot of Zionists are quietly hoping that the US will just kick the shut out Iraq without involving Israel at all. I think it is appalling that significant portions of the US left would be party to such cynical Israeli statecraft.

On the flip side there are forces in the US left that are trying to cover up their support for Hussein by trying to redirect attention to Palestine and cast US policy as being servile to Zionism. While Zionists certainly wield considerable influence in US foreign policy, I think the US would be in exactly the same place as it is now if Israel didn't even exist. This is a war for US hegemony, and only incidentally involves Israel. Of course this may change if a US invasion sparks renewed Palestinian insurgency.

Eric makes a great deal of what is essentially a side point in Wayne's article in which he raises support for the Palestinian people as going hand in hand with support for the Iraqi people. Since a US invasion is likely to fan the flames of Arab discontent everywhere, this is a relevant point. But I think we need to be careful of how the Israeli/Palestinian issue is being used on one hand to suggest an imminent attack on Israel and on the other to deflect attention away from the crimes of Saddam Hussein.

For now we should clearly oppose attempts to tie the politics of the US anti-war movement to the statecraft of either Israel or Iraq. This is a complex situation that demands a complex analysis. We should resist the impulse to try to reduce our politics to slogans. We can only come to fully understand this situation through serious study and debate at the same time that we are building a movement that can stop the war. A developed analysis of the complicated politics of the Middle East will be an indispensable tool in building such a movement. I hope that this exchange is just the beginning of a much more thorough discussion of these issues.



AMOR RABIA

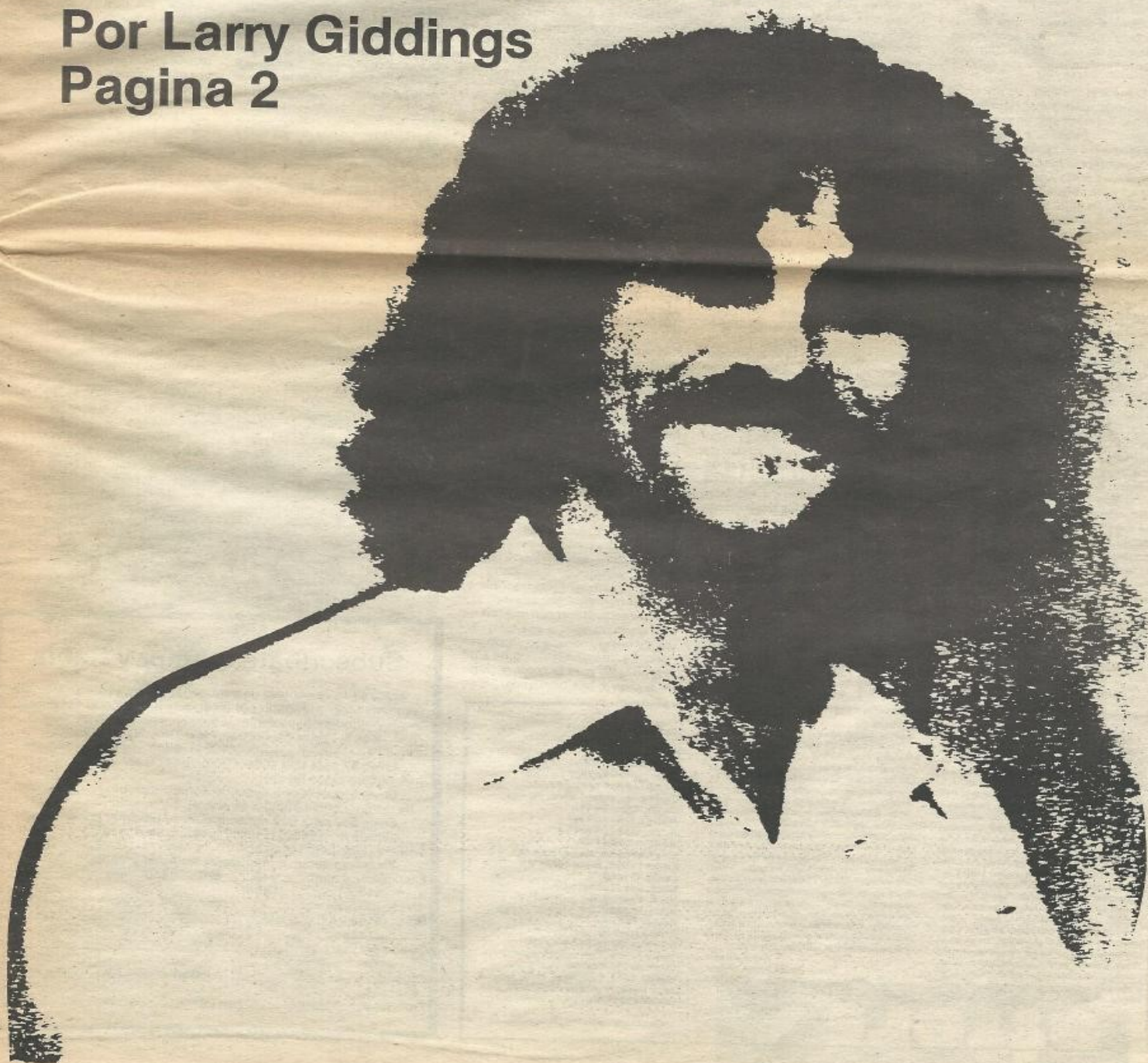
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Enero de 1991

¿PORQUE ANTI-AUTORITARIO?

Por Larry Giddings
Pagina 2





¿PORQUE ANTI-AUTORITARIO?

POR LARRY GEDRONS

DESDE DENTRO DE LA L.A.M.A. primordial de calificaciones socio-políticas yo he, por unos números de años, elegido "anti-autoritario" como lo mío. Los que prefieren especificidad han disputado que este palabra no es bastante descriptivo y no declara una evolución política "particular". Bandidos, rebeldes, cuadrillas de la calle, proponentes del derecho de hablar libremente, constitucionalistas "Jeffersonian", jóvenes en rebeldía sin enseñanza y con una política sencilla, anti-comunistas, sindicalistas, anarcho-sindicalistas, anarcho-marxistas, anarcho-comunistas, anarcho-feministas... y mas, pueden ser considerado "anti-autoritarios." Oh, para que no creas que yo olvidaba, anarquistas, pequeña "a" y grande "A," son considerado anti-autoritarios.

"Porqué no puedes usar uno de los calificaciones mas aceptable, uno con un conotación distintamente "izquierda"?" me preguntan.

Desgraciadamente, yo encontré la palabra "anarquista" también faltando. No estoy solo en éste observación. La palabra "autonomista" ha aparecido en décadas recientes como un respuesta a las diferencias percibidas entre anarquistas "clásicos" y los jóvenes activistas anti-autoritarios mas contemporario. En Europa las organizaciones originales con ideologías políticas ya creído extinto todavía estan vivos. Son pequeños pero todavía existen. Anti-autoritarios/anarquistas mas jóvenes desarrollan diferentes métodos de organizarse y también sus calificaciones.

Parecido a esto, yo me he descrito como anarquista desde la primera parte de las '70's y ha sido un camino circular a la palabra anti-autoritario.

"Anarquista" es generalmente aceptado a significar: "sin autoridad, o sin gobernante". En éste sentido, especialmente "sin gobernante" yo soy, ciertamente, un anarquista.

Pero, la vida no es tan simple, y como con casi todos de los otros calificaciones, la palabra "anarquista" ha sido identificado con imágenes ideológicas, socios y historicos particulares que gente ponen intencionalmente o inconscientemente en sus mentes. Para la mayoría de gente "anarquía" puede significar un loco con barba que tira bombas, un idealista con pipa sentado en su silla de brazos, o cualquier cosa entre los dos. Para ellos con conocimiento historico y político, un anarquista es alguien que no cree que teniendo el poder del estado es el

objeto de la lucha con el orden social dominante pero que el objeto de la lucha es una humanidad autónoma y responsable socialmente.

En éste punto se complica la cosa. Hay casi tanto definiciones de anarquía como anarquistas! Laboristas y sindicalistas opinan que la huelga general es el punto de salto a la creación de una sociedad sin clases y sin racismo; para otros, una obligación a un removimiento de tecnología, anti-industrialismo, es la marca de un anarquista "verdadero". Y para otros todavía, apoyo para un grupo nacional o un movimiento "nacionalista" excluye uno ser anarquista. Situacionistas, post-situacionistas, ecologistas sociales, anarco-marxistas, anarquistas paganos,

lleno los blancos. Todo los definiciones de un anarquista "verdadero" tienen su base en buen análisis.

Disculpa me! Ya que yo soy un pobre, autódidacto, encarcelado y no soy miembro de una organización o como no tengo adherencia a un "programa" anarquista, yo concedo. [Esta bien! Acaso, no soy algo que todavía no tiene nombre. Acaso, debo buscar algo no tan insultante a anarquistas verdaderos. Por tanto yo la iso. Un amigo, hace años, sugerido que yo era un anarquista "eclectico" porque yo creo que ideas buenas vienen de casi cualquier sitio y buena gente mas todavía. Entonces, hay la palabra "autónomo." "Autónomo," en el sentido europeo, ha sido usado para describir grupos comunistas y socialistas que no estan dominado por el partido comunista, también como los "Autónomos" de Alemania. Los Autónomos incluyen muchas perspectivas en sus rasos. La palabra "autónomo" era desconocido en los Estados Unidos. Anti-autoritario era la palabra que funcionaba mejor.

Como muchos, mi viaje empezó como "rebeldé," puro y simple. Contra familia, contra escuela, contra adultos, contra cualquier cosa que se puso en el medio de logrando disfrute personal y el desarrollo de la vida. Me marché de casa, también escuela, y cayó en el mundo en grande, los impedimentos multiplicado. Primero, yo reconocí el prejuicio de unos a otra a causa de su edad como una fuerza cultural represiva. Segundo, sentí que la "familia" como una incubadora del estado, era la institución mas represivo de todos. Finalmente, el estado, que maneja y lleva a todas las otras instituciones y existe para inhibir cambio, fue las objeto de mi rebelión.

Por dentro de la estructura del estado, yo rápidamente reconocí la

policia y la sistema "judicial criminal" como el brazo inmediato de la autoritaridad estatal. Yo fui muy claro en esto cuando yo tenía 14, 15, 16, años. Yo he leído tanto historia, he sido activa en acciones de la calle en Alemania, y empecé a preparar para acción con armas entre los 16 y 17 años de edad. No había duda en mi mente que revolución armada era necesario para afectar cualquier cambio real en ésta sistema. Yo he aprendido, porque la carrera de mi padre era sargento en la mili, que la fuerza es la única cosa que el estado entiende. Viviendo cerca de Washington, D.C., yo era testigo, demasiados veces, a los resultados de las "manifestaciones de paz", ocupaciones de edificios, marchas para derechos civiles y claro las manifestaciones en contra de la guerra. Discusión fue imposible. Yo no quería ponerme en la calle y dejar el estado, o cualquier persona, atacarme con su perros, pegarme y dejarme sangriento o pegar tiros sin darme una pelea.

Mi expropiación de armas para prisioneros liberados y para jóvenes de 16-18 años en Los Angeles, en 1971, no ocurrió perfectamente y fui a la cárcel para 7 años. Pasé los años evaluando yo mismo, mis acciones y pensando en donde quería llegar. Yo he reconocido un movimiento de jóvenes armados, incluso los Black Panthers, Brown Berets, y activistas de A.I.M., el movimiento de Nativo Americanos, y otros que; ban en la misma dirección. Pero yo nunca ha trabajado muy cercano con ellos. Desconfianza entre grupos activistas, separatismo político y cultural, campanas de varios agencias policiales (incluso la programa GOINTELPRO de el F.B.I.), servían sostener nuestro ensañado "necesidad de funcionar como comunidades separados. Con el excepción de eventos muy aislados, como la ocupación de Wounded Knee, éste idea de la necesidad de separatismo racial/cultural ha quedado un tema dominante, especialmente en las comunidades revolucionarios armadas. Ideológicamente, yo he proclamado anarquismo como mi deseo. En practica yo he operado separadamente casi tan como los nacionalistas. Todavía, descarto dictaduras de cualquier forma.

En la cárcel desde '71 a '78 lei, como muchos encarcelados. Entre esa masa de palabras escritas yo empecé a leer literatura "feminista". Era fácil para identificar con muchas de las temas planteado por feministas. Como el mayor hijo de padres parentes trabajadores, yo he sido responsable para la cuida y cargo de la casa y mis hermanos. Sabes

que yo odió siendo atrapado—como sirviente y como un joven, casi sin derechos en éste sociedad. Niños eran, y todavía son propiedad de sus padres, parentes, genetico o otramente. La "ley" les trata igualmente mal. Este estudio de escrituras feministas y análisis político me dejó reconociendo "genero" como una categoría especial de socio/política relaciones, junto con clase economico y edad.

También, el movimiento de mujeres de las 60's y 70's reafirmado y extendió la concepción del "grupo de afinidad", una concepción de organización anarquista, en cual grupos pequeños de gente compatibles funcionan en una manera egalitaria — sin estructuras jerárquicas.

En la cárcel, yo rápidamente observé que la separación racial es una procedencia constante de malentendido y sentí que "separatismo", nacional, o otramente era divisivo. No podemos cambiar este sociedad o cualquier cosa, como anarquistas mientras que observamos y participamos en acuerdo tacito con "apartheid" social y cultural: del estio E.U. Fui en éstos años que yo descubrí de nuevo una época historica favorita. En vez de una época aislado de la historia, mis experiencias me llevan a realizar la mas profunda significación política y social de las "Guerras Seminolas" a principios del siglo diecinueve. Mi compromiso a un concientamiento multi-cultural lucha sin nacionalismo, en vez de un anarquismo amorfo, me impulsó a entrar en un colectivo propio cuando me dejaron libre bajo palabra en 1978.

Los miembros de éste colectivo tenían su propiedad en común, apoyaron abolición de cárceles y luchas de mujeres, ayudaron prisioneros con sus necesidades y eran miembros de un variedad de culturas.

El estudio de material político revolucionario era constante y reflejó los orígenes varios de los miembros. Anarquistas, marxistas y socialistas de muchas variedades, vivían, trabajaron y lucharon por crecimiento individual y con los otros, y también en contra del estado. Era un comunidad "eclectico."

Veinte meses después de ser liberado me capturaron en Seattle, por la atentado liberación de un prisionero. Otra vez estubo en la cárcel. Mi tiempo en las calles fue demasiado

rápido. Reconocí que otros grupos y luchas eran necesarios, pero yo concentré en un espectro de actividades bastante estrecho. Alianzas fuertes no pudieron crecer en tan poco tiempo. La destrucción continua de la pequeña "izquierda" armado en éste país, y mis experiencias personales, me obligó a mirar mas atentamente a el aislamiento relativo de muchas personas y de luchas.

Una revolución global anarquista en contra de la formación de estados-naciones tiene que empezar en algún lugar. Tiene que sobrevivir para luchar. Yo empecé a evaluar otra vez mis pensamientos, acciones y foco. Otra vez yo estudié las formaciones de los Seminolas y por hacer lo, yo descubrí que mas compromiso a las luchas de Americanos Nativos era necesario.

Reconociendo genocidio, colonialismo y la destrucción continuo de gente indígena y sus ideas como realidad historica, es una cosa, implementando esta información de una manera que vale, es otra. En vez de reconocer que el genocidio y el colonialismo existen, tenemos que luchar en contra de lo; activamente, ahora. Muchos Americanos Nativos no se consideran anarquistas pero son, claramente, anti-autoritario en sus perspectivas y costumbres. En vez de fiarse del ejemplo historico Europeo, ellos se fían en su larga historia indígena. Reconociendo que mucho de lo que las activistas de los siglos dieziocho y diecinueve y activistas modernos llaman—anarquismo—es por gran parte el resultado de la interacción entre intelectuales Europeos y sociedades de Americanos Nativos—es muy importante para éste proceso. Interacción mas cercana con y apoyo de luchas de Nativos claramente puso "autonomía y autodeterminación" para personas nativos en mi lista de metas, pero con la realización que ellos tienen razones historicas para desear luchar separado de otros.

Femenismo, estudios de mujeres, genero como un categoría especial de opresión, me llevó a aceptar otras formas de opresión como válido. Reconocimiento de que Negro/Neocoloniano, Puerto Riqueño, Mejicanos, y otros también tenían en común realidades sociales, intelectuales y historicos diferentes y específicos, vino poco después. Este reconocimiento, mas que de una manera abstracto, no es

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de verdad anarquista, me han informado en muchas ocasiones.

Pero, mantengo que las luchas de los Seminole son ejemplos de luchas que eran anti-autoritario en la práctica y tal vez, en realidad, anarquista. En vez de solo una posición ideológica/filológica de "globalismo," o un "anti-capitalismo" teórico, o una economía "alternativa," o una utopía multi-racial/multi-cultural, ellos en realidad se amaron de, vivían y lucharon con, éstos principios.

Muchos anarquistas, luchas y movimientos anti-autoritarios de Europa atentado a denegar sus imperativos culturales, pero los que lucharon en la manera "Seminole" reconocieron y aceptaron sus relaciones e historias especiales. En vez de un "universalismo" falso, uno que excluyó los que buscan autonomía en su movimiento, ellos practicaron uno de verdad.

Rechazando una perspectiva "romántico" de luchas de Nativos Americanos, es necesario para aprender las vidas y luchas de gente como real, pero, si dejamos la mitología y perspectiva romántico de "Indios viviendo con la naturaleza" encontramos un movimiento revolucionario en grupos como los Seminole. Los Seminole evolucionaron del movimiento "Red Stick" (Palo Rojo), y también de las luchas sociopolíticas de Europa alrededor de guerras, industrialismo crecido y también teorías sociales y movimientos en Inglaterra y Francia.

Los Seminole tenían alianzas con cada clase de gente en los jóvenes Estados Unidos, especialmente entre los movimientos abolicionistas/anti-esclavitud y aliados en Europa, y el Caribe. Mas que esto, Florida era todavía una colonia Española pero, en realidad, los Españoles solo dominaron pocos de los pueblos y algunas áreas costales.

Unos cuantos de los Seminole pelearon en batallas y lucharon con otros tan lejos al norte como Connecticut. Nativos Americanos han sido esclavos en Georgia y las Carolinas, a veces han considerado esclavitud de Africanos "ilegal", pero "legal" a esclavizar Nativos. Su estado legal cambió de uno a otro mucho. Pero el eslabón entre los cimarrones y otros llegó a ser mas fuerte como ellos ayudaron mas y mas gente a escapar de esclavitud y construir una nueva sociedad, una que al cabo podría liberar territorio en otras áreas incluso Centro América y Venezuela. Cimarrones lego a ser llamado Seminole.

Comunidades participativas, descentralizadas, comunidades separatistas y multi-cultural, planes de acción y decidiendo autónomamente, causó los aliados con Seminole a ser un cometido y versátil enemigo de los Estados Unidos. Los acciones del gobierno de los Estados Unidos

en contra de éste grupo costó mas que cualquier otra pelea en éste país con la excepción de la Guerra Civil de los 1860s.

Algunas bandas, los que rehusaron a someter, todavía existen. Otros fueron a las islas, migrando y mezclando con poblaciones locales, o fueron removido a Oklahoma, como miembros del Seminole. Otros escaparon de reservas y volaron a Méjico, donde ellos hicieron guerra con los Estados Unidos para tres décadas mas.

En mis intentos a traducir éstos eventos y mis experiencias, yo he observado lo proximo: si reconozco luchas que no son anarquista, que son nacionalista, separatista, o si no lo reconozco, ellos existen. Si no hago caso de su existencia y no hago caso de sus luchas en contra de los que son en muchos casos nuestros opresores mutuos, yo desatengo mi deseo para un futuro sin estado-nación.

"Globalismo," sistemas economicos y socios descentralizado, formaciones sin estado-nación, solo van a venir por la lucha.

Luchando juntos, confianza en

nuestro habilidades y compromiso a nuestro sueños es comunicado. "Globalismo," tiene que venir de entendimiento mutuo. No puede ser impuesto. Una cultura de lucha anti-autoritario es necesario.

Anarquismo, como un cuerpo de literatura y actividad que se opone a dominación estatal centralizado de la vida socio-político, crece siempre mas grande. En reconocimiento del inmensidad de materiales disponible y las perspectivas representado, yo he usado la palabra—anti-autoritario—para dejar la puerta abierta. Hay todos los razones a dejar que gente crecen y aprenden y aumenten la teoría y práctica anti-autoritario. Si reducimos nuestro movimiento a un estrecho definición "verdadero" de anarquismo, excluimos muchos de ellos con quien deseamos, o decimos que deseamos, comunicar.

Jovenes, en particular, son mas abiertos a la necesidad de una práctica multi-cultural que los de mi generación, por ejemplo. Me importa menos que activistas jovenes entiendan cada aspecto de la lucha historica entre anarquismo y mar-

xismo, de que sus actividades de día a día son de un género anti-autoritario. A ninguno de nosotros, a venido, de pronto, toda ésta información. Esperando que activistas jovenes, o viejos, de pronto entiendan lo que ocupó años para entender, es ridiculo. Es de éste nueva generación de activistas que una nueva lenguaje de lucha global va venir. La lenguaje "Euro-centrico" y práctica de teoría anti-autoritario/anarquista, va ver una infusión de vivacidad.

En efecto, yo prefería ser llamado anti-autoritario y gastar mi tiempo y energía luchando para desarrollar un mundo sin estado-nación, en vez de discutir hasta la infinidad acerca de la definición de un anarquista "verdadero". Anarquismo tiene que tener la habilidad a retener un método evolucionario para resolver problemas, analisis y luchas, o va ser descartado por otra generación de activistas, en favor de soluciones rapidos, anti-democraticos y alternativas autoritarios. Los que desean entraparse en una suicida ideologicamente de clasismo, pueden si quieren. Yo descarto esa

crystalización de ideas y práctica, que podría matar el cuerpo vivo de enseñanza y experiencia que llamamos anarquismo, y claro, anti-autoritario.

Vamos a practicar "globalismo". Vamos a ser reales, sinceros, y aliados efectivos. Practica el conocimiento teoretico en que confiamos. Confianza. La falta de miedo que si estamos en contacto con otros, que no son como nosotros, nos van a destruir, cambiamos, llevar nuestro conocimiento. Confianza puede construir flexibilidad. Confianza falsa y medio crean rigidez. ¿Podemos reafirmar las raíces de anarquismo siendo anti-autoritario? Yo lo espero.



Amor y Rabia es un periódico mensual anarquista revolucionario que intenta fomentar el activismo revolucionario anti-autoritario en Norteamérica. Proveremos cobertura sobre luchas sociales, eventos mundiales, acciones anarquistas y brotes de resistencia (contra-cultural). Apoyaremos las luchas de los oprimidos alrededor del mundo por el control de sus propias vidas. El anarquismo ofrece la más profunda crítica a la dominación, haciendo posible un marco de unidad de todas las luchas por la liberación. Tratamos de entender los sistemas bajo los cuales vivimos mediante nuestro propio analisis y rechazamos cualquier ideología pre-establada. 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 hacerla 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 antiautoritaria. Nos oponemos a todos los Estados que quiera que estos se autotitulen: Capitalistas o comunistas.



Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia

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

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

Amor y Rabia es antipatriarcal. Apoyamos el derecho a la autodeterminación de los

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

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

Amor y Rabia apoya la liberación de las lesbianas, de los homosexuales y los bisexuales. Rechazamos la heterossexualidad obligatoria de la fe-

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 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 a mutar el calentamiento 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 concierne a los anarquistas y anti-autoritarios, ni Amor y Rabia pretende un entendimiento o plenitud o una plena unidad de criterios sobre todos los temas. No pretendemos representar el espectro completo de la diversidad en el movimiento anarquista actual. No evitamos la controversia. Le pedimos siempre ideas y sugerencias a nuestros lectores y a otros activistas esforzándonos por mejorar nuestro entendimiento y el del movimiento en que militamos.