

# LOVE RAGE

a revolutionary anarchist newsmonthly

\$1

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## SELF- DETERMINATION FOR ALL WOMEN



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# Letters

## Nonviolent Wimmyn?

Dear Love and Rage,

Thanks for publishing two excellent profeminist book reviews written, respectively, by Paul Toupe and Francine Dickey. Paul grasps the revolutionary elements of John Stoltenberg's *Refusing To Be A Man*, and imaginatively critiques the book from an anarchist perspective. Francine did a similarly good job in identifying the merits of Robin Morgan's *Demon Lover* while at the same time criticizing its underlying assumptions of gender dualism. I write to extend an argument implicit in both book reviews: namely, that stereotyping wimmyn as nonviolent (read passive) and nurturing (read subservient) by nature ensures the perpetuation of male-directed terrorism against wimmyn.

To be sure, Morgan and Stoltenberg are exactly right in their claim that men, including leftist men, fetishize and revel in violence, directed against each other, and, most especially, against wimmyn. However, Morgan goes on to claim that any wimmyn who feels compelled to use physical force or take up arms against racist, nationalist, or class oppression is coopted by "male" epistemology and is mesmerized by the display of macho violence. By contrast, she defines as distinctly feminist classical "nonviolent" strategies of resistance, even though such men as Mohandas Gandhi, who beat his wife, advocated them in the name of various patriarchal religions.

I think Francine is right to say that Morgan's problem is her tendency to "dichotomize" too rigidly between wimmyn and men. We should all know by now that such dichotomies originate in the patriarchy itself, and that their purpose is to disempower wimmyn. Not all wimmyn have conformed. Harriet Tubman led raids into the South during the civil war, and liberated hundreds of African-Americans. Assata Shakur joined the Black Liberation Army to fight for the end of racist terrorism in North America. What really scares men, though, is the thought that wimmyn might join together to attack the racists and pimps who perpetuate male terrorism.

Male terrorism against wimmyn is embodied in the ethics and culture of rapism. As a social-cultural theory and practice, rape is both systematic and random. It is systematic in that the concrete acts of rape and battery (as well as the emotional and verbal aggression that accompanies and reinforces these acts) condition the life of every wimmyn in this society. It is random in that no wimmyn can be sure at any given time whether or not she will be next. Does anyone suppose that an identifiable group of men, if subjected to such terror from birth to death, would wholly eschew all tactics of self-defense (including preemptive strikes against their attackers) in favor of nurturance and "non-forceful" resistance?

For the first time in the history of the US, wimmyn are being sent to fight in a US imperialist war. How much actual combat these wimmyn will see will have nothing to do with the patriarchal military's concern for their safety. Rather, assigning wimmyn to combat positions will involve a calculation as to whether the "benefit" of sacrificing some of them in battle is worth the "detritment" of allowing those who survive to return home with combat

training. The same considerations tend to white ambivalence about employing African-American troops in combat, though in the end the military opted in favor of compelling Black men to die abroad even if it meant having to hire more cops to crack them upside the head here at home.

Malcolm X, in criticizing the nonviolent tactics and philosophy of Martin Luther King's wing of the civil rights movement, asked African-Americans how they could justify being nonviolent in Mississippi when they had been trained to be violent against other people of color in Korea and Vietnam. The US patriarchy secretly fear that wimmyn, especially if forced into combat in the Middle East, may begin to ask the same question.

As a man, I certainly lack the right to instruct wimmyn in the tactics they should choose at any point in their struggle against male terror and rapism. I do, however, have a responsibility to support my sisters in any way I can in their fight to end the practices my gender uses to keep them in a state of permanent fear and subordination. As in all liberation movements, feminism will thrive through the use of diverse strategies, and will necessarily attack the patriarchy even as it creates new forms of cultural expression. Profeminist men must support the choices feminist wimmyn make, and also must take the initiative in opposing the terrorist acts of other men, such as rape and battery. In deciding what such male initiative might involve it is well to remember that John Brown did more than make speeches about the need to end slavery. But Brown is unfortunately an exceptional white activist; the decisive resistance to slavery came from the slaves themselves. I do not doubt that the struggle to end wimmyn's subordination to men will unfold in a similar way. And as forceful feminists proceed to smash the system that now enslaves wimmyn, and that has done so for so many millennia, we may all have a chance to discover what nurturing is really all about.

Yours in passion and struggle  
Richard  
sometimes from Minneapolis  
sometimes from New York

## The New Xaymaca

Dear Love and Rage,

I cannot begin to tell you how heartening it is to read your paper. I personally am a writer and an activist here at school in Harrisonburg, America. This school is packed with calm, well-groomed kids from the suburbs of DC, and our school newspaper exacerbates the problem with editorials about girls watching football on TV, and how hard it is to be sick at school.

So we started our own newspaper last semester. It all started when Mobil Oil was recruiting at the student union and the student environmentalists and others packed the demonstration to ask questions. The recruiters fled. The computer industry association was livid because we fucked up their open informational session, but we had done it quietly and the fact that the Mobil yuppies decided not to speak the moment they saw forty people in plaid and green shirts only served to expose their corporations abominable environmental standards. Anyway, the computer industry association claimed we had disrupted their meeting and the mainstream newspaper printed these and more lies on the confrontation.

The incident split the student environmental group in ideology because about half of the EARTH members didn't like the idea of action. Everything was so damn wrong.

We'd been active in the disarmament group, UCAM, thus far, as well as doing a punk rock show on the radio. But the galvanizing effects of the Mobil situation created spontaneous discussion groups that began to meet weekly. My group spanned environmental lines, disarmament, gender issues.

At the back of my mind the situations were orchestrated by hierarchical organizations in the official student media, the university ready to press charges on EARTH, and the gross corporations that are cushy with the distant state.

So the discussion group turned its energy behind a new, collectively run, collectively funded, autonomous student newspaper. Its called *The New Xaymaca*. Here it is. We're gonna fund issue #2 mainly through a benefit show with the band Nation Of Ulysses.



(A band that includes "the sassiest boy in America" according to *Sassy* magazine — eds.) Begging only gets you so much. So here's our subscription, in the name of the Xaymaca.

Thanks  
Sander  
Harrisonburg, VA

## Every Person Possible

Dear Love and Rage,

Organizers of the anti-war demonstration in Washington DC on January 26 said there were 300,000 people there. The anarchist black bloc showed how much power we really have and got away with zero arrests. I couldn't wait until the next day. Then I could see how badly the mainstream press covered the protest.

They (the mainstream press) estimated the crowd at anywhere from 15,000 to 70,000 and didn't even mention the black bloc. I realize that the organizers would exaggerate to make the anti-war movement seem bigger, but I know there were more than 70,000 people there. They completely downplayed the event with total lies. I'm sure that no anarchist is surprised at this. It's not uncommon. It does tell me one thing though. We need to increase the distribution of our papers dramatically! The people at least need to know we exist.

I just want to try to motivate everyone into making news-monthlies like *Love and Rage* available to every person possible. I don't know how many people are passing out anarchist literature in the street, but I know it's not enough. We all need to help those who are doing organizing, etc. Basic things we can do to spread our message are:

1. leaflet everywhere—leave them on cars, in newspapers, in magazines at the store, etc.
2. paste up flyers
3. hang banners in noticeable places
4. spray painting and other forms of graffiti
5. selling or giving out anarchist publications at demos, where people

ple of revolutionary potential hang out, etc.

These are not new ideas and others have better ideas. They are just suggestions for those that aren't that active.

We must inform everyone of the problems, our alternatives, and how we plan to create change. We want to liberate. We don't have power to maintain. We have no reason to lie whereas the state does. We are trustworthy and must show the general public the truth.

JP  
of Mid-South Anarchist  
Youth Federation  
Memphis, TN

## In Defense of Zelda, Myself and Other Women

Dear Love and Rage,

I read Zelda's article "Love and Anarchy" in October's issue of *Love and Rage*, and was touched by what she said. It seems that sexism, patriarchy, and male chauvinism exist not only in society at large, but also among anarchists. I don't have a local group to discuss

these things with, so I have put my feelings and ideas into writing.

When I was younger and in a so-called "revolutionary" group, I was in love with a radical young man. Although he said he was against sexism, he never "had time" to iron out the problems in our relationship. It was always me who initiated the familiar "Let's talk about us and where we're going." I, too, found myself fighting for a real closeness with my lover; he was too busy being a political "heavy" to take care of us. I was not monogamous; we were too separated for him alone to satisfy all of my personal, political, and emotional needs. In fact, I left him and he left me. He was even too busy doing political organizing to visit me in the hospital when I was having surgery; I had to browbeat him into coming.

In reality, at least for us women, personal lives and political lives are intertwined. As the revolutionary wave of the women's liberation movement receded into middle-class NOW, we women in the "revolutionary" left had to go on the defensive. That movement had taught me a lot of things: that women's feelings count, that men are usually on top of women everywhere, and that while men are out doing "political work," making speeches and writing pamphlets, they are male chauvinists to their lovers, girlfriends, boyfriends, wives, etc. The sexism in our group was so powerful that several women had their tubes tied because "revolutionaries shouldn't have children." And, as I found out later, the female members were not allowed to have children. How many of the radical men had vasectomies, I wonder? I was told that I, as a woman revolutionary being for women's liberation, could not fight for myself; a complete theory was worked out to support this. Finally, it was suggested to me by a leader of the group that sexism would always be part of the group, and that I should quit!

I do believe that all relationships, be they "deeply" involved or superficial, are OK as long as

they are satisfying, respectful, and responsible. Women's liberation did teach me that you don't have to stay with one partner for your whole life. I doubt that two people can ever meet all of each other's needs anyway. I also learned that women don't have to take abuse of any kind from any man, revolutionary anarchist or not.

I read with anger S. Colman's letter "Free Love" in the January issue. I don't know all of his political beliefs; anarchist, revolutionary, or libertarian, but I do know this one aspect of his political views, and I do know that he is very sexist.

There is no such thing as "Free Love" for most women. Most working class women, women of color, and poor women, are too economically burdened with or without children to enjoy "Free Love." We do need men to survive. Patriarchy and capitalism make women and our children dependent on the state or on men or on our families in order to just get enough food, clothing, or shelter. In fact, children are the single largest group of people living in poverty. I am sure that working, poor and older women, and women of color are the next largest. That's why we need to smash this patriarchal capitalist state, in order to build a society that does meet our human needs. The current "New World Order" provides death, destruction and misery for most people and our planet.

More specifically, I think that it is S. Colman and too many others like him who have the problem, not Zelda, who wants a meaningful relationship with her friend, who, it seems, does not care about her in the way she cares about him. There is nothing wrong with monogamy just like there is nothing wrong with superficial relationships, but you'd think that these guys—especially anarchist revolutionaries—would care about their lovers! I am guessing that if Zelda and her lover live together, she does the housework. Sexism is so strong! It is a basic block of capitalism.

Anyway, I don't know if I have helped or added to this discussion. I hope I have helped. Like the old song says, I feel for you.

Linda,  
Cincinnati, OH

## The Living Theater

Dear Love and Rage,

I am enclosing a dollar for a copy of your periodical (hopefully it has survived the mail). I have been out of touch with the anarchist movement for about ten years. A lot of things have changed. The socialists no longer have "existing socialism" with which to beat us about the head and shoulders. They have to become idealists again. (Horror!)

So, I am looking forward to finding out what new ideas and journals are floating around out there. About six years ago I heard that the Living Theater was considering doing some work in New York. I imagine those plans ended with Julian Beck's death. Perhaps the Living Theater no longer exists. I have a great affection for Judith Malina and Julian Beck since they first introduced me to anarchism through their work. (Even though I have never seen a single play "live") I personally think they get very little credit for being a great asset to the "anarchist movement" (Both here and in Europe). Their lives have been as spirited and committed as any of the usually cited "heavy weights" of anarchism. Well, I will end this rambling discourse and offer my thanks for anything you can send me.

Viva la Anarchia!  
William Small  
Indianapolis, IN



# Anarchism Vs. "Anti-Imperialism"

by Bob McGlynn

THE MIDDLE EAST WAR HAS an additional ugly consequence: the reemergence of Marxist-Leninist analysis vis-a-vis the war. The ML's and Left see everything internationally as a simple minded conflict between an "imperialist US" and the rest of the world; that is the "primary contradiction," with other matters—say the despotic and imperial nature of the Iraqi regime—"secondary contradictions." (Terminology made popular by Mao in his pabulum work *On Contradiction*).

The term "imperialism" is redefined by the left to only refer to US/Western activity. In this way the word "imperialism" becomes a partisan political term, a totalitarian debasement of language, an imperial hijacking of a concept, and a pure mystification when compared with the evidence of the USSR's huge old style colonial empire, various imperialisms of smaller states, the obvious historical existence of pre-US imperialism, and imperialism autonomous of capitalism, and also predating capitalism.

To imply that imperialism only developed out of 19th century US and West European capitalism ("Against Imperialism," *Love and Rage* July '90) is the most abysmal type of patent ignorance. Capitalism certainly has its own inherent imperial dynamic. But subjugation and conquest are as old as the first tribes.

The analysis of the war in *Love and Rage* is right in line with leftist thinking: "The war...is rooted in the

imperialist nature of the U.S. government." "If the U.S. goes to war with Iraq...we will have to be for the victory of the Iraqi military against the U.S..." "I support the Iraqi military on one point and one point only—repelling a US invasion..." (US withdrawal from Iraq) "...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." Really? All of those claims and positions made are straight out of the fetishized "anti-imperialist" analysis so popular from the 60's. It's an analysis that supports the existence of 3rd world despotisms and elitist ML guerilla movements as long as they are "anti-imperialist."

Not only does this analysis support the state, but states that are particularly dictatorial. Of course the *Love and Rage* writers don't support the state, ML's etc., but "anti-imperialist" ideology leads to that nonetheless. The Middle East conflict is not an imperialist war but an *inter-imperialist* war. It was Iraq don't forget that imperially invaded Kuwait. Previously Iraq and Kuwait had imperial skirmishes on their undefined border. When Iraq lobbed missiles indiscriminately at Israel, that's imperialism. Israel is on a permanent imperial land-grab footing. Syria is expansionist. Iraq imperially invaded Iran with imperial support from both western and eastern regimes. Kuwait imperially aided Iraq in that war.

Turkey has imperial designs on Iraq's Kurdish enclave. The Kurds in all the region are imperially shit on by everyone.

The Palestinians are colonized by Israel and used as an imperial political football by the Arab regimes. Anti-Semitic Arab countries would imperially slit the throats of all Jews.

The Soviets, the largest arms suppliers to Iraq, are a quiet but major in the conflict. Soviet arms sales six months prior to Iraq's invasion were running at double the levels typical of the '80's. The Soviets admitted they knew the invasion was coming. Two weeks before the invasion the Soviet's Colonel-General Albert Makoshev—a senior Soviet military officer—visited Baghdad on a secret mission. Critical Soviet military shipments reached Baghdad as late as August 7, just 5 days after the invasion of Kuwait.

The Soviets and US had an imperial understanding: for Soviet support of US war moves the US will turn a blind eye towards Soviet imperial crackdowns on nationalist movements in their colonies—the war thus has extended itself from the Middle East to the Soviet colonies.

I assume the Soviets supported one aim of the Iraqi invasion: to keep the price of oil high. The Soviet state is the world's largest oil company, with mammoth reserves. The USSR needs western currency to pay for western goods and western loans, hence high oil prices

bring them needed increased western cash.

The Middle East conflict is a complex sewer of warring state powers, not only the very real US imperialism.

Even though *Love and Rage's* writers support for an Iraqi "anti-imperialist" military win over the US is conditional, it remains anathema to anarchism. The real purpose of the Iraqi military is conquest and subjugation of the Iraqi people. And the assertion that a defeat of US imperialism automatically (creates) "more space for more authentic and liberatory challenges to the state..." doesn't stand up all the time to historical proofs.

Did Pol Pot's anti-US imperialist victory open up Cambodia? Is Pol Pot "anti-imperialist" because he defeated the US, even though he raided Vietnamese territory with imperial Chinese aid? Pol Pot's state was a full blown "Asiatic mode of production" (where the centralized state collectively owns and controls production with attendant despotic political powers) which also had literal slavery.

Under such rule, resistance is almost impossible—a far cry from "more space" being opened up. Anti-imperialism is only liberatory when it is part of a holistic liberatory process. I would think an anarchist position on the Middle East conflict would not be to figure out who is the "biggest imperialist" in the war, but to be against all the states involved and for all the sub-

jugated peoples in the region.

It doesn't mean shit to a Kuwaiti raped by an Iraqi, nor an Israeli victim of an Iraqi bombing, nor a Lithuanian under the Soviet gun, nor an Iranian or Iraqi mourning the death of a loved one in the Iran-Iraq war, that the US is the world's largest imperialist. There are no "primary" or "secondary contradictions" here—only the pain and heartbreak of individuals, peoples, and classes caused by authority.

Anarchists will never make allies among all the oppressed if we play selective games of who is the "worst imperialist." Anarchists will be hated for a reverse chauvinism of seeing US hegemony as #1 to the exclusion of other oppressive powers.

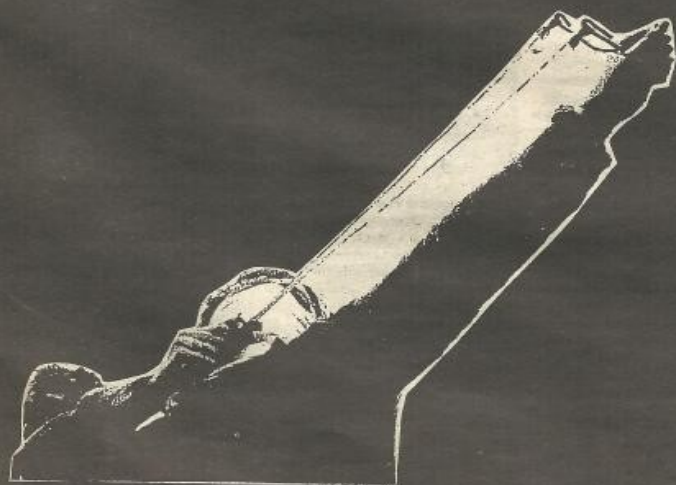
The western left and "peace movement" are despised by alternative movements in the east, and also in 3rd world countries like Afghanistan for such behavior.

Past imperialism often lays the basis for present horrors. Pol Potist marshallism was bred in the Cambodian jungles where the horror of the unending US bombing of the peasantry murdered one sixth of the Cambodian populace. Similarly, British colonialism and the Ottoman Empire provided the backdrop for modern Middle East problems. But none of this can be used as an excuse for modern "anti-imperialist" rule. It is *imperialist* to only concentrate on one imperial power. Anarchism must be purged of leftism to remain true to itself.

## GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES

### LOVE AND RAGE ANARCHIST ORGANIZING CONFERENCE

Saturday, June 29- Monday, July 1



Minneapolis, Minnesota

Hey You! Come to the second annual *Love and Rage* conference. Every year there is a L&R conference at which supporters from across North America gather to discuss and evaluate the project, and to set the direction for the coming year. The Editorial Council, the between conference decision making body, is elected by the conference, and a new production facilitator is chosen for the Production Group for the next year. The conference this year will also include: issue workshops; regional meetings; changing of the L&R political statement; caucuses for womyn, queers, people of color, youth and others; discussion and development of action proposals; and more.

*Love and Rage* is a collective project, funded, written, produced, and distributed by a large and diverse group of revolutionary anarchists from across North America. Papers can be produced other ways, but the people involved believe very strongly that the project should reflect, as much as possible, the many different styles and ideas within North American revolutionary anarchism, and the best way to do that is to produce the paper through an open and participatory process.

You could stay at home the weekend of June 29th through July 1st and watch TV, or you could come to Minneapolis and help build a revolutionary anarchist political tendency. *Love and Rage* isn't perfect, but it never will be without the participation of the people who would like it to be.

See you in Minneapolis!

#### REGISTRATION

If you are interested in attending the *Love and Rage* Organizing Conference, register now. We are asking for a sliding scale 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

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# Black Bloc Pesteters World Bank



BY PAUL O'BANION

**T**HE ANARCHIST CONTINGENT to the January 26 March on Washington was an important development in oppositional politics from which we should learn. The contingent voiced a militant tendency in the anti-war movement willing to take risks and raise the social costs of continuing the war. It also injected irreverent humor and spontaneity into an otherwise stupefying march. Anyone who participated knows, however, that the anarchist contingent had its share of problems.

was not very high going into the march, what occurred during the breakaway action taught us valuable lessons.

## The Black Bloc

A call to form a "black bloc" accompanied the call for the anarchist contingent. Yet to call what occurred a black bloc—except in certain crucial moments—would be to reduce ourselves to a mere parody of the Central European autonome, from whom the tactic emerged. Throughout the march

ment similar to the autonome we run the risk of a simplistic appropriation of the form (black clothing, ski masks, helmets, etc.) without an understanding of the content. Although the autonome movement exists to varying degrees throughout Central Europe, it is the German movement, mostly in Berlin, that we hear most about. The German autonome roughly translates as "those who are autonomous." Autonomy from Social Democratic and Communist Parties was part of the movement's initial identity.

The first major period for the autonome occurred in 1981 in West Berlin when up to 160 buildings were squatted. Squatted buildings and vacant lots were turned into living spaces, cafes, information centers, and gardens, constituting points of opposition to the state, capital and patriarchy. This nascent "dual power" is the basis for the autonome, not street demonstrations per se. Street actions are undertaken to protest the advanced capitalist countries' continuing plunder of poorer southern hemisphere countries, for example, but also to protect autonome "free spaces" from attacks by the state.

The autonome grew out of specific social and political conditions in West Germany, against a backdrop of state repression called "criminalization" during the mid-to-late 1970s. They have developed a form of revolutionary politics which operates between the isolated, self-defeating, extreme of the Red Army Faction (RAF) and the limited parliamentary strategy of The Greens. (For more on the autonome see George Katsiaficas' two part essay "May Day in West Berlin" and "Central Europe's Autonomes" from October and November 1988 *Z* magazine. Available from AWOL Box 7293, Mpls., MN 55407). Although the autonome are a tremendous inspiration, we need to develop a movement appropriate to our own context, rather than simply imitating romantic images of people fighting back. We need to understand the relationship between oppositional street politics and the larger project of social revolution. Militant street demos alone will not create a free society. Equally important is education, confronting various forms of domination (e.g. sexism, homophobia, and racism), the revitalization of a

public sphere for the open debate of ideas, the creation of democratic structures and counter-institutions, a long-term strategy, and a vision of a free, directly democratic, ecological future.

## Lessons Learned

Lack of participation in the pre-march decision-making meeting was one of the contingent's initial problems. In the future a meeting and informal socializing the night before an action should be organized and well publicized to participants. The low turnout at the meeting was partly due to poor communication about the location and plan for such a meeting.

Problems were compounded following this initial error. Many who participated were not aware that a tactical team and breakaway plan had been decided upon, while others—mostly vocal men—exhibited open hostility to the two women who were making tactical decisions. Without a formal structure in place, the most vocal usually end up "leading" everyone else. To avoid this it is important that the group empower individuals to make quick, on the spot, tactical decisions. A tactical team is accountable to the people who empower them.

Communication during a march is also very important. Runners can be used to get a sense of the group and to solicit opinions about what to do next, then relaying this information to the tactical team. In a city unfamiliar to the majority of participants, local anti-authoritarians should also provide maps and at least one local person who knows the area to the tactical team.

Conflict between the tactical team and those who held a simplistic anti-organization view and those who had other ideas for breakaway plans—not to mention those who were just plain confused and frustrated—accounts for some of the day's disorganization. In addition, the tactical team may have appeared to some as self-appointed, rather than as empowered delegates. To avoid what Jo Freeman accurately describes as "a tyranny of structurelessness," it is essential that a structure be decided democratically and be known to everyone in the group.

## Affinity Groups

Working in affinity groups within a larger bloc is an additional way to engage in militant protest while minimizing chances of arrest. Like the black bloc, it is a tactic to express our anger over the continuing injustices of this society, while protecting ourselves from prosecution by the state. By working closely with a small group of people we know and trust, we can be better supported while doing actions in

who have some affinity and choose to work together. They originated with the Spanish anarchists, laying the groundwork for the 1936 revolution in the daily life of their many collectives. Affinity groups were revived for the 1971 May Day mobilization against the Vietnam war—which employed mobile tactics in an attempt to shut down the capitol—and later by feminist consciousness raising groups and the anti-nuclear power movement in the 1970s.

Affinity groups also provide a "free space" for people to work through the internalized patterns of domination we are all victims of and to learn to be genuinely anti-authoritarian. They provide the basis for moving beyond the myth of "rugged individualism" into a realm of mutuality and cooperation where we can begin to free ourselves of sexism, homophobia, and racism, among other afflictions. In them we can learn to make decisions in a directly democratic way. They provide for the well-rounded development of the individual, an attempt which characterizes much of the anarchist tradition. As Jessica Benjamin points out in *Bonds of Love*, to get beyond domination we need to strike a healthy balance between self-assertion and mutual recognition. In this sense affinity groups "prefigure" a truly free society, getting at the roots of authoritarianism and domination. Affinity groups can act alone or preferably confederate locally, regionally, or continentally. This short discussion of a subject which could span an article or a book in itself, is important to reflection on the anarchist contingent, as some there seemed to believe that anarchism is about individualism pure and simple—"I'll do what I want and fuck you!" This type of attitude is unfortunately widespread in the anarchist movement. It is not, however, about anarchism; it is simply the perpetuation of patriarchal and authoritarian conditioning under the guise of "anarchy."

## Attack On the World Bank

Many, myself included, thought the breakaway plan to attack the World Bank and International Monetary Fund was ill-conceived and self-indulgent. It seemed designed to show how tough we are. It also unnecessarily put us at risk of encountering a brutal police reaction, away from the view of the majority of the march participants.

In the future, we should attempt to work with other militant groups like Queer Nation, ACT UP, African-American groups and the Progressive Student Network in planning breakaways. One alternative plan discussed was to blockade a major bridge. An action like this offers the



A recent D.C. acquaintance observed that the immense bureaucracy of the capitol has a deadening effect on people. The assembled anti-authoritarians were not immune to this hypnosis, as the seeming hours of waiting to march gave way to a congested, disorganized crawl through the streets. Once we were in the streets it became clear that most people had not had the type of experiences which would help them see the need for forming a bloc.

As it was, we chanted some fun chants, and had a generally good time, bringing some life to the demo. We enjoyed a dramatic and entertaining attack on the Treasury Department, knocked down a fence in front of the FBI building and had a relatively successful breakaway action against the World Bank. All this was important and satisfying. But if we had been better organized we could have done a great deal more. Although our consciousness about the tactic of the black bloc

we seemed incapable of doing the basic things necessary to marching as a bloc: walking in rows, linking arms, sticking closely together, etc. Subsequently, those who had come to the contingent with the hope that militant street awareness and a black bloc structure would foster more confrontational action did not feel confident in raising the stakes. Had we been better organized, for example, affinity groups would have felt more empowered to break off and express their rage with the confidence of returning to a secure bloc.

Marching as a bloc limits the ability of the cops to make arrests. It also sends a message to the ruling elites that a section of the movement is well organized and able to take the offensive. It is a tactic which we need to take more seriously for future demonstrations. (For more on the thinking behind the black bloc and other tactics, see the February *Love and Rage*.)

In developing a fighting move-



the streets.

Affinity groups are more than simply a tactic for demonstrations, however. They develop the type of society we want in the future in our lives today. As the name implies, affinity groups are groups of people

potential for more people to get involved. It may also do more to raise the social costs of the war through disruption than breaking windows and spray-painting.

(Continued to page 11)



# SELECTIVE SLAVERY EXPLAINED

BY ZOLTAN GROSSMAN

**T**HIRTEEN DAYS... THATS how much time it would take from the day Congress approves a draft, to the arrival of the first draftees in boot camp. The Vietnam-era draft ended 18 years ago, in January, 1973, and an entire generation has grown up in the United States without the threat of being forced into military service. Now, just as that generation begins to turn 18 years old, the draft may be starting up again, this time because of a crisis in the Middle East.

## Why Now?

The current plans for a draft have always been closely tied to crises in the Middle East. President Carter ordered Selective Service to set up draft registration in 1980, in response to a Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and a revolution in Iran. At the same time, Carter created the Rapid Deployment Force, or Central Command, to be able to send troops to oil-rich Middle Eastern countries. Draft registration was supposed to "send a message" about "America's resolve" to show it could fight the Soviets in Europe, the Middle East, and anywhere else. Millions of youths at first ignored it, many of them fearing a war like Vietnam—not in defense of their country, but against people in a Third World country.

Throughout the 1980s, draft boards were set up, regulations written, and the entire Selective Service system was put through trial runs. Selective Service says that after a draft begins, it can deliver 100,000 draftees to the military within 30 days.

The end of the 1980s saw the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet pull-out from Afghanistan. President Bush did not respond by ending draft registration. Instead, he responded to the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait by sending more than 430,000 Central Command troops to the Persian Gulf region. (US troop strength at the height of the Vietnam War was about 540,000.)

As part of the mobilization, Bush has called up Reserve combat units, and kept active-duty personnel beyond their agreed term of duty. These actions—neither of which were taken during Vietnam—raise the question of whether current troop levels are enough to continue a vicious land war, possibly with more US casualties than in Vietnam. Since the crisis began, the number of recruits joining the military has dropped by one-third in some areas. Some politicians and

newspapers have begun to call for a new draft. They claim that it would spread the burden of combat more evenly across society. They ignore the fact that a new draft will hit the poor and people of color first, while those with money will find ways out. Former Navy Secretary James Webb said that if Bush "is serious about going on the offensive, he should call for an immediate resumption of the draft."

At the same time, many people have begun to question the US war in the Persian Gulf. They say that a war fought to defend oil companies and wealthy monarchs is not in the interests of Arab peoples or of the people in the US. They oppose the return of forced military service, but oppose the war even without a new draft. Government officials aren't talking much about the draft now, because they fear that it would increase public opposition to the war. But in war, the military "need" for a new draft may outweigh its political problems. A draft may even start after "peace" comes, if many troops stay in the Middle East.

## What Is The Draft

One form of the draft—the Economic Draft—is already in place, while two others—the Selective Service Draft and the National Service Draft—are being planned and debated.

The Economic Draft is the system now used by the armed forces. Young people, particularly in poor inner cities and rural areas, have few jobs available, and many have little choice but to enlist. Recruiters paint a rosy picture of job opportunities after the service, even though many veterans report that few civilian jobs match their combat-related skills. Since a large number of African-Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans are poor, they make up more than their "fair share" of the "All Volunteer Army." Combat units in the Gulf are more than 30% African-American, compared to 13% of the population.

The Selective Service Draft is the system that was used until the end of the Vietnam War. It was supposed to select 18-year-olds at random for military duty. However, families with more money were able to find lawyers and doctors to keep their children out or (as in the case of Dan Quayle) to get non-combat assignments. Soldiers with less money and fewer skills were more likely to be put in front-line units. During Vietnam, one-quarter of US combat deaths were African-American GIs.

The National Service Draft has gotten support from Senate Armed

Forces Chair Sam Nunn, conservative spokesperson William Buckley, and others. They call for a civilian-military service draft, which would sugar-coat a forced military draft by allowing an option to join civilian government programs (such as VISTA or the Peace Corps) for longer terms and with fewer benefits. Most proposals would ban youths (male or female) from federal student aid if they refuse National Service—again punishing working-class Americans. There are proposals to force Americans of all ages to serve.

## What Options Are There?

If you or someone you know is of draft age (18-26), you may find that the options are different from what they were during Vietnam. Each option has its good points, and many drawbacks.

**CO Status?** Draftees who are opposed to taking part in war for moral or religious reasons can apply for Conscientious Objector status (COs), and, if they qualify, do alternative service instead of military service. You can't apply for CO status when you register, only when you are drafted, so it is important to prove well ahead of time that you are a CO (start writing a letter about your beliefs that you sign, date, get notarized, and mail it to yourself without opening it).

Youth who don't fit a white middle-class religious image may find that draft boards won't accept them as COs. Those who are unwilling to take part in some—but not all—wars, may also be denied. Most National Service plans replace CO status with a civilian service option, with no way out for medical reasons. GIs can also apply for CO status to get out of the military (see *Love and Rage* Vol. 2 No. 2), but many have been told that they can't apply until they're in the Persian Gulf. (For more information about CO status see *Love and Rage* Vol. 1 No. 6.)

**Getting out of the draft?** There are ways to get out of the draft (exemptions) or delay service (deferments) under the Military Selective Service act, but most will be harder to get than during the Vietnam War. The old student deferment no longer exists. Students may only delay draft orders until the end of the semester (for Seniors until the end of the school year.) Getting proof of medical problems for a deferment can be expensive. Hardship deferments will be hard to get, even for draftees with families and children to support. Talk to a draft counselor for help on these claims.

**Leaving the country?** Canada's

conservative government has said that it will not let US draft resisters stay. Canada, like some European nations, has sent its own military forces to the Persian Gulf. Anti-war deserters may find it difficult to locate safe countries of exile; however, Mexico and other countries, have yet to make their positions known.

**Refusing draft orders?** Those who refuse to be drafted may face charges, courts, prison, and large fines. But, if many people resist, the government will only be able to harass a small portion of resisters. During the Vietnam War, 570,000 men resisted the draft, only 8,750 were convicted, and most served no prison time. Statistics show that youth were less likely to be put in jail than to be killed or wounded in combat. Further, the high level of resistance helped end the war.

**Refusing to register?** Simply not signing up for the draft is an option chosen by many young men. The Selective Service machine is so big that many non-registrants have "fallen through the cracks." Others have delayed registering until age 22 (the first to be drafted will be 19 and 20-year-olds). Selective Service accepts late registration, and the more draft-age men who hold out and register late, the more trouble Selective Service will have.

The legal risk may be small. Fewer than 20 resisters have been brought to court, and the handful sent to prison served less than six months. During the Vietnam War, non-registrants were almost always given a chance to register late, and were less likely to go to court than those who registered and later refused draft orders. But the government does bar non-registrants from federal student loans and aid, jobs, and job training programs—only punishing those who can't afford these things on their own. Non-registrants can apply for state funds or special student loans, but these can help fewer students.

## What Can I Do?

**Get involved.** Don't just be thinking about what you'll do in case of a new draft, join the movement to stop conscription from coming back. The best way to avoid a new draft is to stop US troops being sent to the Persian Gulf and other regions. Sign up with a group in your area that is working on education, rallies, concerts, and other actions. Get your friends and family involved.

**Form a group.** With a little imagination and hard work, you and your friends can form your own anti-draft group. A high school group can tell fellow students about the military and the draft, print a newsletter, or do a radio show, invite veterans to speak, and hold meetings or marches with students from other schools. Families of draft-age youths can form their

own peace groups, much as families of GIs have already done. Groups of women, people of color, veterans, college students, gays and lesbians, and older people all have their own important and unique views on the draft.

**Organize.** Oppose Selective Service and military recruiters in your community—such as registration ads, ASVAB school tests, and local draft boards. Ask draft and military counselors to train your group. Propose that your community, school, or church declare itself a sanctuary for draft and military resisters, which won't cooperate with federal agencies hunting them down.

For more information contact the groups below:

**Committee Against Registration and the Draft**  
Midwest Office  
731 State St.,  
Madison WI 53703  
tel: (608) 257-7562

**Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO)**  
2208 South St.  
Philadelphia, PA 19146  
tel: (215) 545-4626

**National Lawyers Guild**  
Military Law Task Force  
PO Box 33544  
San Diego, CA 92163  
tel: (619) 233-1701

**Vietnam Veterans Against the War**  
Box 408594  
Chicago, IL 60648  
tel: (312) 327-5756

**Black Veterans for Social Justice**  
686 Fulton St.  
Brooklyn, NY 11238  
tel: (718) 935-1116

**Citizen Soldier**  
175 5th Ave. #808  
New York, NY 10010  
tel: (212) 777-3470

**War Resisters League**  
339 Lafayette St.  
New York, NY 10012  
tel: (212) 228-0450

**Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East**  
36 E. 12th St. 6th Floor  
New York, NY 10003  
tel: (212) 254-2295

**National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East**  
Box 3009 Church St. Station  
New York, NY 10008  
tel: (212) 727-3069

**Military Families Support Network**  
Box 11098  
Milwaukee, WI 53211  
tel: (414) 964-3859

**Youth and Militarism Project**  
American Friends Service Committee  
1515 Cherry St.  
Philadelphia, PA 19103  
tel: (215) 241-7176

city 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.

## Love and Rage Political Statement

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

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

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

We fight against white supremacy and work for the creation of societies that respect cultural diversity. We support the self-determination of Mexicans, Chicanos, Native Americans and other oppressed groups. We recognize the special oppression of African-Americans since slavery to the present and fight for the liberation and self-determination of Black people in the US. We support the resurgence of anti-African 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 nations oppressed by the various forms of imperialism. We fight to get the US out of Central America, Puerto

Rico and all other lands. We support the destruction of the US 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 signs of imperialism.

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

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

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

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

*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-statist.**

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



# AN INTRODUCTION TO ANARCHA-FEMINISM



BY LAURA LIE

**W**HAT IS ANARCHA-FEMINISM? This question can lead one down many paths, often biographical or historical. Here I'd like to try and stick to the path closest at hand — that of anarchy-feminism today. Most anarchy-feminists, including myself, were first radicalized through the lens of their own experience as a woman in a sexist society.

Through feminism we gained an understanding of one system of domination — patriarchy, and its workings through public (the state) and private (capitalism) social institutions. From this developed a recognition of the interlocking of all forms of domination and a realization that an end to patriarchy meant an end to all power relationships.

Many feminists have come to such conclusions. Anarcha-feminists, however, somehow found anarchy in the haze of lies, misconceptions and distortions that surround it and consciously identify ourselves with that tradition. The conscious and distinct anarcha-feminist perspective that has resulted is indispensable to both the feminist and anarchist movements in order to ensure that each someday reach their common, revolutionary goals.

In her article, "Anarchism: the Feminist Connection," (published in the English anthology *Quiet Rumours*), Peggy Kornegger refers to the radical feminists of the late sixties and seventies as "unconscious anarchists" and their perspective as "almost pure anarchism."

This can be seen in radical feminism's understanding of the institution of the nuclear family (an integral component of both capitalism and the state) as the basis for authoritarian systems. Radical feminism further challenged hierarchy in exposing the patriarchal mode of understanding which guides our thought processes. This mode splits reality into dualisms such as man/woman, straight/queer, white/black, culture/nature, mind/body with one term reigning over the "other."

In practice, radical feminism remade the anarchist wheel in its spontaneous reaction to patriarchal forms of organizing that many of them had experienced in the new left. Radical feminist activity took nonhierarchical, anti-authoritarian and decentralized forms. Small leaderless groups allowed women to deal with their subjective experience of oppression, and like the affinity group of the Spanish anarchists, formed the basis of organization.

These groups worked collectively, often in creative direct action aimed at sexist practices, often to create counter-institutions such as alternative woman's health

centers, rape crisis centers or periodicals.

As Kornegger's argument goes, an awareness and understanding of anarchy could have helped the feminist movement by providing historical examples of nonhierarchical organizing and a framework in which the movement could envision long term goals and the means to attain them. For example, many feminist groups' experiments with nonhierarchical forms failed to balance organization with spontaneity, resulting in a "tyranny of structurelessness" expressed both in a tendency to dwell solely on personal problems and the de facto domination of the most charismatic and experienced group members.

Often in reaction women turned back to top-down forms of organization. Anarchist forms of organization specifically address this problem and demonstrate that spontaneity and organization, individual and collective organization are not mutually exclusive. Sharing knowledge and skills, rotating tasks and responsibilities and setting time aside for discussions of group dynamics can be used to consciously guard against the replication of hierarchical patterns while fostering individual potential. In addition, while affirming the need for oppositional action, anarchist history attests to the need for long term preparation of the ground for revolution.

Kornegger observes that the "Revolution Now!" impatience and subsequent discouragement of the feminist movement in the '70s led, in part, to escapism rather than a sustained focus on education, sharing of ideas and the creation of oppositional alternative institutions as well as personal transformation.

This is not 1973, however, and no blossoming latently anarchist feminist movement is in sight. The major trends of feminism today are, on the one hand, white, liberal middle-class NOW types who fail to see the systematic nature of sexism and fight for women's equal participation in an unequal world, and escapists who find solace in the individual transformation of consciousness and a dangerous, farcical "return to the feminist principal of the goddess."

Anarcha-feminism, then, is not in a position to help concretize widespread anarchist tendencies, but rather must foster a "return of the repressed" anarchist consciousness expressed in radical feminism. This entails expressing anarcha-feminism in forms of internal organization, challenging liberal and escapist tendencies for their perpetuation of power relationships as well as working in active resistance to all such relationships.

I can point to a couple examples,

however limited, of anarcha-feminism in action. Here in Minneapolis, anarcha-feminists working in different groups came together to commemorate the anniversary of the massacre of 14 women at Montreal University. The anniversary served as an occasion to demystify what was seen as an "aberrant act of a maniac," and address the less spectacular forms of everyday violence against women.

We used the educational tactic of guerrilla theater to portray the way in which the many systems of oppression facing women construct woman in different ways as targets for male violence. With characters such as a businesswoman and a bride, we implicated capitalism and the state and drew attention to the symptomatic nature of violence against women. This poses a challenge to a liberal outlook which denies the necessarily violent nature of our society and seeks to cure its symptoms with legislation, increasing the amount of state control in our lives.

Ecofeminism, which developed out of the eco-anarchist premises of social ecology, offers another example of an anarcha-feminist tendency at work. Ecofeminism recognizes the historical and ideological connections between the degradation of women and the exploitation of nature. It seeks a new, more liberatory understanding of women's relationship to nature and challenges the replication of patriarchal attitudes toward human and nonhuman nature in feminist thought. Ecofeminism tries to go beyond the essentialist debate within feminism which reproduces the nature/culture dualism.

On the one hand, ecofeminism challenges the assertion of a naturally or biologically determined femininity. Ecofeminists condemn the now popular goddess worship type of essentialism parading as ecofeminism. This dangerous, commodified fad embraces the historically oppressive connections between woman and nature claiming that natural femininity as embodied by the earth goddess is our true salvation without concerning itself with the social conditions that continue to militate against woman's self-determination.

On the other hand, ecofeminism rejects the idea that gender is wholly and entirely culturally determined and the corresponding tendency to view women's biology as a limiting realm that must be overcome, i.e. that all women should refrain from having babies in order to be on equal footing with men. Ecofeminists assert, rather, that gender is created in a developmental relationship between biology and society, nature and culture.

Biology, or nature, is seen as a potential realm of freedom and gender as a distinction whose form in a free society we can't predict. Ecofeminism attempts to reassert difference without shoring up dominance based on difference, and to reaffirm all woman's potentials and work for a world in which they could be realized.

In pursuit of our long-term goal of a society free of domination, some anarcha-feminists have found it appropriate to work in groups of mixed sex. A distinct feminist perspective is crucial within the anarchist movement and cannot merely be subsumed. As Maura Dillon so cogently put it in her article, "Anarchism, Feminism, and Building A Movement," (Left Green Notes no. 5 Nov/Dec 1990) "Anarchism... needs the experience and involvement of women to understand the unique aspects of women's oppression if it is to live up to its ideals."

Many anarchist men resist "process" discussions which examine internal group dynamics, griping that it slows us down too much. We'll smash the state and then worry about process, the argument

goes. Such an instrumental attitude does not come out of anarchism, but bears a closer resemblance to a Marxist outlook which asserts that once an egalitarian economic structure is in place, all forms of domination will fall by the wayside. The relevance of anarchism consists largely in its recognition that all forms of oppression don't in the last instance reduce to a matter of economics, but operate on a more subtle and insidious subjective level, in internalized patterns of domination, and therefore must be addressed at this level. This does not mean, however, that anarchism is inherently antisexist, rather that it is open to feminist critique. Acknowledgement of different forms of domination is a long way from understanding their social dynamics and even further from understanding their inevitable operation within your own head.

Anarchism needs feminism, then, not only to be able to fight against sexism in the larger society, but to work against sexist patterns within the anarchist movement. Some of these patterns are all too familiar and can be easily recognized in their thinly disguised "anarchist" forms. Romanticization of street militance is one such macho practice masquerading as radicalism. Such a fixation on violent tactics often pressures women (and men) into positions where they don't feel safe — like all masochism. Militance is of the utmost importance, but we must always be on guard against self-indulgence which reproduces sexist power relations. We should always reflect on the form militance takes and its relevance to the situation at hand. Militance means a lot more than breaking windows, it means working toward revolution. This can take different forms, many of which can be more effective than fighting the cops. As a friend put it, when you break a store window, it is merely replaced and profits keep rolling in, whereas if you convince others of the horrors of capitalism they may work for social revolution and make the store ultimately irrelevant.

Another strategy is to create counter-institutions such as a community garden which ideally offers an alternative to the capitalist market while laying the groundwork for a cooperative society. Street militance can play a vital and creative part in anarchist politics, but if it does not work in conjunction with other sustained and varied efforts, it can easily lead not

only to a sexist, but ineffective movement.

An anarcha-feminist perspective should also draw attention to the sexist nature of purely individualist anarchism and the tendency to shun organization of any type. This idea of each man for himself harkens back to the American 'ideal' of rugged individualism seen in the frontier mentality. This vision of freedom consists of the isolated male ego in pitched battle with the elements. Such an attitude goes against anarchist principles and merely perpetuates the bourgeois, patriarchal individualism that fragments us and keeps us down. The uniqueness of anarchism, according to Emma Goldman, is its teaching of the unity of life. "There is no conflict between the individual and the social instincts, any more than there is between the heart and lungs; the one the receptacle of a precious life essence, the other the repository of the element that keeps the essence pure and strong." (p. 52 *Anarchism And Other Essays*)

It doesn't take a feminist to notice that the most vocal and prominent figures in the anarchist movement are men. We must work to empower the women we work with by sharing our skills and knowledge and by rotating responsibilities, giving women opportunities to write and speak publicly. It is no accident that women don't feel confident in these roles. We must recognize the patterns of socialization that none of us has escaped or ever fully will. These observations are mere suggestions of what needs to be an ongoing anarcha-feminist critique that must also address homophobic attitudes often experienced in our groups.

Most importantly, bringing a feminist perspective to bear on anarchism cannot rest solely on the shoulders of anarcha-feminists. This burden should not be on women to teach men about themselves. The creation of a new society first requires the creation of new individuals. All anarchists must then take seriously the maxim "the personal is political," and look inward.

Discussions on gender dynamics should not be a guilt game. If sexism remains a woman's issue, we will never be rid of it. Men must come to understand that feminism is not only about the liberation of women, but also about a separate but integral male struggle to

(Continued to page 10)

## Massacre Remembered

BY ANNE MARIE AND NUTA TETLEBAUM

**H**OW WOULD WIMMIN'S lives be different if the first time a young woman child became depressed an older woman came to her and sat with her? If she didn't try to make her happy or shame her feelings but accepted her sadness. How would our lives be different?

In Minneapolis a group of wimmin decided there needed to be a commemoration of the fourteen wimmin massacred in Montreal a year ago. We chose guerrilla theater, hoping it would be an empowering way for wimmin's voices to be heard. Over a month, we met four times and created the theater piece and an informational flier which was passed out during the performances by supportive men. About fourteen wimmin were able to attend the meeting but the piece was designed so that any woman could participate in the theater.

The storyline was that women are targets of sexual violence, coercion, and manipulation every day. The massacre in Montreal is just an example that happened to make the newspapers. After showing some of the state sanctioned roles that wimmin are given, we attack-

ed and destroyed a symbolic target. The most important aspects of the piece itself was that it showed our pain, our rage, and that we fought back!

In a critique meeting of the piece, the wimmin there decided to continue doing theater because it was so empowering. After the Persian Gulf war officially started and several disempowering liberal white male dominated demos, a meeting was called to gather wimmin to plan for further theater. All the ideas gathered acknowledged the connection between the wars at home and the war abroad: racism, classism, sexism and homophobia.

We're hoping this group (which changes as wimmin's lives change) continues to grow. We see it as a powerful force for dissent and empowering ourselves. As an ad hoc group of wimmin, we're learning together how to work together in a non-hierarchical way.

We need to hear from other wimmin about how you're organizing against the wars and if any Montreal Massacre Memorials happened in your city. Send information and pictures into *Love and Rage*.



# Getting It Together: Towards An Anarchist Network

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

**T**HIS IS THE SECOND IN A series of articles about anarchist organization. In the first article I discussed some of the political problems surrounding the question of anarchist organization. I argued that while a tighter organization is in the long run desirable, at the moment a looser anarchist network is a more practical goal. In this article I will address some of the practical activities involved in building a network of anarchist activists.

While I believe that it is premature to launch a continental or national revolutionary anarchist organization at this time, I don't believe that it is too soon to seriously discuss what such a project entails. Future articles will speak to some of the specifics involved in building local revolutionary anarchist political collectives, which I believe are the necessary foundation for a broader organization, and the questions raised in building such a broader revolutionary anarchist organization.



Towards a Strategy

We need a strategy. Anarchists have articulated a brilliant critique of the various institutions of authoritarian society. But we have not done enough to articulate a coherent strategy for the overthrow of these institutions and the creation of an authentically libertarian society.

The project of building a network of anarchist activists that is able to coordinate greater and greater levels of activity is essentially a very modest strategy. It is a strategy to bring together enough anarchists who are committed to collective action in the hope that out of that process a more coherent and comprehensive strategy, based on a collectively developed analysis of this society, will emerge.

The specific activities that are dealt with in this article are commonplace enough: the production of literature, conferences and meetings, the organization of demonstrations, the development of a program of action, speaking tours and so on. There is nothing particularly "anarchist" about such activities, except in as much as they promote anarchist ideas and practices. Taken together, these and similar activities constitute the political life of a movement. Of course that is not enough. A movement, particularly a movement that claims to be working towards an authentic and non-authoritarian human community, must have much more than a "political life." It must offer a social, spiritual, and cultural life as well.

But it is these commonplace activities become the building blocks for a strategy. A strategy is a general vision of how we can get from where we are to somewhere else. It is all fine and good to say "the workers need to seize their workplaces and form workers councils" or "we need to stop the promotion of violence against women in the media" but it is really just idle chatter if you don't have a proposal for how all five (or all five hundred) of us are going to achieve such a thing. A strategy is such a proposal.

A strategy says "We should do this if we want to achieve such-and-such." A strategy is an attempt to bridge the actuality of the present with the potentiality of the future. A strategy takes into account both what we want to see happen and what we are capable of doing right now and projects a series of intervening steps.

A strategy is not etched forever in stone. Anarchism, as a living body of theory and practice, must always reevaluate itself. An anarchist strategy too must be reassessed at each step of the way. Discussing the practical activities involved in building a network is a way of looking at what we are currently able to do and projecting it into the near future.

The process of building a network raises all sorts of questions about the nature of this society and what that means for an anarchist revolution. In building a network we will have to set priorities. We are a small group of people with limited resources. By choosing to direct those resources in a particular direction, towards a particular social movement or to support a specific project, we are also deciding not to use those same resources elsewhere. Where are our resources best directed? What groups in society have greater and lesser revolutionary potential in the long run? Who is in motion right now? Who are we in a position to reach? What is the composition (in terms of race, class, gender, age, sexual identity and so on) of our groups? How does that effect what we are able to do?

Building a network allows us to discuss these questions as they apply to our practical activity but also allows us to continue to work together if we disagree. One group of people might argue for an orientation toward the labor movement, while another argues for building the Black liberation movement as a primary focus. Presumably there would be many other positions. Building a network is a way of acknowledging the importance of these questions, but also acknowledging that we don't yet have the clarity as a movement to strike out in a single direction.

This is not to say that lots of anarchists, including myself, don't have strong opinions about what the orientation of the movement should be, but rather that there is not sufficient unity amongst any particular sector of revolutionary anarchists to put any particularly ambitious strategy into practice.



Empowerment and Revolutionary Consciousness

To formulate a coherent strategy we also need to talk about our vision of revolution. That is not something this series of articles will attempt to do in any kind of comprehensive way. But we can sketch roughly a picture of how mass social movements might converge to give rise to a revolutionary situation.

A revolutionary situation exists when the established order is being torn apart by its own internal contradictions and when the masses of ordinary people have

organizations of their own that can potentially replace the existing order. A revolution occurs when the majority of humanity, long the object of other peoples' political intrigues, becomes its own subject and takes control of society.

Revolutions and revolutionary situations don't simply fall from the sky. They are products of a conjunction of specific events. They require the conscious intervention of those who want a revolution in events that are seemingly beyond the control of ordinary people.

People have endured every form of oppression and exploitation, often for centuries. Where there is oppression there is bound to be some form of resistance. But resistance is not revolution. A real revolution only becomes possible when people make the leap from resisting their oppression to understanding their own capacity to remake society. If such an understanding were readily embraced by most people under the normal conditions of daily oppression and exploitation, the revolution would have been completed a long time ago. Most people only become receptive to the possibility of revolutionary change under extraordinary conditions, when "the way things are" no longer appears so monolithic.

For most people the dramatic events of the current era—wars, economic upheavals, ecological disasters and so on—seem simply beyond their control. People feel powerless in the face of such events. When ordinary people overcome that feeling of powerlessness and realize their own capacity to act and change the world they are taking the first steps towards building an authentically revolutionary movement.



Social Movements and Revolution

It takes cataclysmic events on a world scale to shake the consciousness of the whole world. But that doesn't mean we have to wait for such events to build a revolutionary movement. Every day in every community there are events that shake the consciousness of people, radicalizing them and making them receptive to a revolutionary analysis.

In non-revolutionary times, the main avenue by which people come to realize their collective power and their capacity to take control of their own lives is through various social movements: the environmental movement, the women's movement, the Black liberation movement and so on. It is important to articulate a critique of the inherent limitations of such movements and their authoritarian features. But it is also vital to recognize what they mean in the lives of so many of their participants: they are the point at which people break with the way things are and begin to ask how they can change the world.

Of course most people aren't involved directly in any of these movements at this time. And there are lots of people outside these movements at any given time who are coming to radical and revolutionary conclusions about

the world they live in. But we are a small movement. We know we lack the resources to reach as many people as we would like to.

It is in the social movements that we find the highest concentrations of people who are receptive to our ideas, so it is there that we need to direct most of our resources. This is not to argue against trying to reach people directly who are not involved in the social movements. But I think we should understand that such efforts are less likely to bring in as many new people and that, given our small numbers, bringing in lots of new people is the only way we can hope to make revolutionary anarchism a force in the real world.

## The Autonomy of Social Movements

When I refer to social movements I am referring to a very broad category. I am consciously avoiding addressing the specific interrelationships between struggles along lines of class, gender, nationality, age, sexual identity and so on. I specifically oppose attempts to subordinate all these struggles to one by saying "what really matters is the class struggle" or "all domination is ultimately rooted in patriarchy." I think such formulations are generally ways of avoiding the complex nature of the totality of domination. That is not to say that all forms of oppression are equal, or that some forms aren't completely dependent on others. But it is to say that we can not reduce the totality of domination to some sort of "primary contradiction."

While the project of bringing together the most revolutionary and anti-authoritarian activists is essential, we also need to be conscious of the value of the social movements in their own right. While various organizations may have an overwhelmingly recuperative function within society, it is important to remember that the social movements are also expressions of resistance to particular features of authoritarian society. Each social movement has its own legitimate autonomous agenda, demands that must be included in any anarchist program, but that are articulated first with clarity from within the context of the autonomous struggle.

An authentically anti-authoritarian revolution must overthrow a wide range of authoritarian social relations: patriarchy, white supremacy, capitalism, state power and so on. To accomplish such a sweeping revolutionary program it will be necessary to unite the various social movements without subordinating their autonomy to some reductionist vision of "the revolution" that sees all oppressions rooted in some single source.

Understanding the relationship between the various social movements and the revolutionary anarchist project affects how we look at specifically anarchist activities as well. There is a popular conception of anarchist organizing and agitation as "going directly to the people" that I believe should be viewed critically.

If we understand that in non-revolutionary times only a minority of the people are receptive to revolutionary ideas, it is our responsibility to develop a practice that is directed to the specific concerns of that minority. In particular we need to concentrate on speaking to the various questions that confront the social movements. We need to be aware of what are the current debates and we need to articulate anarchist positions on those questions. We must also be conscious of the levels of unity we both create and demand through various activities.

## How Do We Build A Network?

The various social movements we participate in will have their own organizational forms. Some will be better than others. But none of them are likely to be explicitly revolutionary anarchist formations. While we are working in these movements we need to be building our own network. The network will bring together activists from a variety of social movements. It will provide us with the means to assess what we are doing, to compare our activity with that of other anarchists, to learn from each others' experiences and to draw general conclusions about the various social movements and their respective potentials.

The existence of such a network is vital if we hope to bring new people into the anarchist movement. The network is something we have to offer that is usually not available within a particular social movement: the experiences and thoughts of people outside that movement who sympathize with the aspirations of that movement but see the need for something both broader and deeper. Building such a network involves a number of practical activities. That is what the rest of this article is about.



The Role of the Newspaper

*Love and Rage* was created to be an organizing tool, to help anarchist activists build local groups and to improve communications between existing groups. It costs a lot of money, and in some respects has only been a partial success. There is certainly much room for improvement. But the truth remains, having a regular and timely source of information is essential to building any kind of organization beyond the local level. Whether it is *Love and Rage* or some other publication, a newspaper is an ongoing forum, meeting and rally when there is nothing else, when you are isolated in a small town, when you are forced into inactivity by school or your job, when the political situation is bad.

A newspaper is essential in building the network. A single person can take a bundle of newspapers, hawk them at an event and meet other anarchists to work with. A local group can report on an action in the pages of the newspaper and generate contacts with interested groups across the continent. A subscription to an anarchist newspaper is frequently the first step towards more serious activism. A newspaper that puts people in touch with a wide range of activities encourages the next step.

The newspaper also plays a vital role in developing the political consciousness of the network. It becomes a forum for contending visions of the movement, a place where complex ideas can be argued out in print before an audience of thousands who, in turn, carry on the debate in their local work. Through this process the newspaper begins to articulate a revolutionary anarchist perspective on the important issues of the day.

(Continued to page 11)



# On Gogol Boulevard

## ANARCHY IN HONG KONG

### An Interview With Mok Chiu Yu

**I**N OCTOBER 1990, MOK CHIU YU, an anarchist and theatrical performer came through New York City as part of a tour of Europe and North America. He spoke at the Libertarian Book Club and was interviewed by a member of the *Love and Rage* Production Group. An edited version of that interview follows.

**Love and Rage:** If you could tell me some things about yourself, your own personal history?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** I was a student in Australia doing economics in the University of Adelaide in the late '60s and of course, you know, America was becoming involved in Vietnam and so were the Australians. There was growing dissent about the war and I read up on that and I eventually got involved in the anti-war movement as well. But at that time I was more of a new leftist than an anarchist. I was reading up, well, OK, you know, those fashionable writings read by radical students in the sixties: Herbert Marcuse, Che Guevara, and who else, Paul Goodman, etc. I got quite active in the anti-war movement in Australia. Then when I went back to Hong Kong I worked with some friends to start up an alternative paper. Again that was something that was beginning to become very popular in Australia as well as in America. We were called *The Seventies* biweekly. We were very action-oriented, we were very open, we had an office, at beginning, maybe as big as this but not as well equipped. I see you have all the latest in sophisticated technology. Anyway, the paper was printed mainly in Chinese, but there was a section in English as well.

**Love and Rage:** This was in Hong Kong?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** In Hong Kong, yeah. We were anti-colonialist, we were anti-imperialist, we were anti-capitalist... that makes us socialist right? Most of us were very critical of the Beijing regime. Through the newspaper we would call for demonstrations about this and that. Looking back, let's put it this way, take our position on the Vietnam War, for example. In the early days of the seventies, we gave critical support to the Vietcong. So we weren't exactly anarchists, but given time, through our own reflection, through our own discussion among ourselves, through our interaction with visiting radicals and also ex-Red Guards from China, some of us developed a libertarian perspective. Some actually became Trotskyists, there was a split in the paper and the organization, and I belonged to the libertarian faction. This was around 1974. So since then you may say that we have kind of a libertarian group, anarchist group. Over the years we tried to continue our publishing effort, but we never again were successful in putting out something regularly. We managed to put out something called *Minus*. *Minus* 9, that's nine years before 1984, but we put out one issue of that in English, and then *Minus* 8, *Minus* 7, and so on averaging about four issues a year, in English. We sent this English magazine, *Minus*, all over to comrades groups and contacts we had. During those years, when we published this English magazine,

we became known also, to quite a lot of anarchist groups. We didn't get involved in cultural action until the early eighties. We went to Venice for the 1984 international anarchist gathering, and we made the film on that.

It was after last June that we decided that to publish *Democracy Wall*, but it's not an anarchist magazine. We got other people involved and we make it very easy for people to get involved because we just try to focus on those people who have been arrested and what they say, and we call on the people who get the magazine to express concern, or continued concern, about this person. I went away and came here in the middle of July and since then I've heard that there has been a discussion that we should no longer restrict ourselves simply to what we have been doing. What this means is that they're now talking about having our own essays, our own articles, and putting out our own positions.

**Love and Rage:** You mentioned that in the process of your political development through the seventies you were influenced by former Red Guards who came to Hong Kong? Could you tell me about that and some of your thoughts on the Cultural Revolution?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** Yeah, we published this bi-weekly magazine. We put in all kinds of very interesting things, including for example, the Port Huron Statement of the SDS, and then we also published the New Morning Statement of the Weathermen. We published something by Abby Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, sometimes in English, sometimes translated. Of course, not just them, we were translating various things from English into Chinese, you know, Herbert Marcuse. We had reports on Third World revolutions. We also had essays on China. So these ex-Red Guards that came to Hong Kong, in the early seventies, they got their hands on this newspaper, which was freely available in the newsstands. They thought what we wrote and what we published was extremely interesting, so they came up, and they became members of our group. After sharing discussion and so on. And of course, they helped us to articulate our position with respect to China. Now, of course, we were already anti-bureaucratic. China was to us no socialist paradise, as some of the left would have thought in America. We gained access to a lot of information, it was very, very easy for all of us to go to China, so we knew what was going on. It was an extremely bureaucratic society, but the Red Guards were originally fervent supporters of Mao Zedong, in 1966-1967. They were supporters of Mao because they thought that he was anti-bureaucratic. The Red Guards were called upon by Mao to rebel against authority, to criticize the so-called "capitalist roaders," and there was a lot of discontent among the young people, about the bureaucracy, so they simply rebelled. But this pseudo-revolution, initiated by Mao, eventually became a real revolution. The Red Guards, they really wanted to overthrow the whole of the bureaucracy, including Mao himself, and when that was hap-

pening Mao, with support of Lin Biao, the defense minister, suppressed the Red Guards. Many were killed, many were forced to go to the countryside to learn from the peasants. This was a means actually to disperse them, and to get rid of them. Then of course the Red Guards found life in the countryside extremely tough, and they reflected on what had happened to them, and they realized that they had been used by Mao Zedong. Of course they formulated an analysis of China. They saw that China was governed by bureaucrats, and that to have a genuine socialist revolution you must overthrow the bureaucratic system. When they came to Hong Kong with their own experience, with their analysis, we listened. We had discussions with them, and we formulated our ideas. In fact, we spent some effort in studying the cultural revolution, we put out a book, a collection of essays from the ex-Red Guards and also from the non-Maoist left in the West. We put them together and Black Rose published it. It was called *The Revolution is Dead, Long Live the Revolution*. A piece of mine which Black Rose edited heavily appears as the introduction to *Voices from Tiananmen Square*; it has several pages on the Cultural Revolution.

**Love and Rage:** So, you mentioned that many of the Red Guards were killed. There are still a certain number of leftists, even today, who retain certain illusions about Mao and all that.

**Mok Chiu Yu:** Now, the Red Guards in the sixties and the early seventies, they arrived in Hong Kong. They risked their lives you know, by swimming for hours in waters infested with sharks. A lot of them lost their lives that way, or had their limbs bitten away. They were radicals. Some of them subsequently dropped out of the movement. It's like every radical movement here in the sixties, people who were active, they dropped out, they became entrepreneurs, and so on. In China, virtually every high school student was a Red Guard, and some of them were to become active again, striving and fighting for democracy in the late seventies. All these people here, like Wei Jung Shung, like Wong Shi Ji, and so on, were still in jail. They were ex-Red Guards, and they had simply not lost their faith in changing society. So we saw them again, rising up in the late 1970s. They were putting up big character posters, they were demonstrating, they were writing a lot, and issuing what they wrote in the form of mimeographed magazines, and official magazines, and so on. They had different ideas about China, or what China ought to become. Some, like Wei Jung Shung, they would support liberal democracy. You look at that particular section, on the 1979-1980 Democracy Movement, you will have found reference to three distinctive currents; the reformist current, the liberal democratic current, and the revolutionary current.

**Love and Rage:** You described China as a bureaucratic society. Is that opposed to a view of it as a state capitalist society?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** In the early days we had a lot of debates: well it's bureaucratic, but is that bureaucratic

collectivist or state capitalist, or what? In the end we used the term state capitalist to describe China. I have been influenced by the anarchist comrades in Italy, who speak in terms of the rise of technobureaucracy in the Western capitalist world and the domination of this technobureaucracy in the so-called Communist countries. In fact this analysis tries to point out that there is a technobureaucratic faction, or class rather. Technobureaucracy is a class, which is in ascendancy. And I see a Leninist bureaucracy in opposition to the technobureaucracy. The technobureaucracy could capture the Leninists and absorb the Leninist bureaucracy. There is such a possibility but at the same time to the extent that technobureaucracy does not agree with the monolithic rule of the Leninist bureaucracy, then they are in conflict with each other. So, the democracy movement is at the same time a contest for power between the technobureaucracy as a class of technobureaucrats who control knowledge and the Leninist bureaucracy, and because of this control of knowledge they have power in society and they also control wealth in society.

**Love and Rage:** Are they represented by any factions within the democracy movement as you see it?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** I'd say some prominent intellectuals, Xiao Ji Yung, and some people in the party. I saw the workers as a separate class. The Leninist bureaucracy is another class. And the technobureaucracy is yet another class. And then also embryonic private capitalists that have grown in influence and number because of the reforms that have taken place. But then at the early stage of the wars, after 1949, I talked about the monopolization of capital over a period of time by the Chinese Communist Party. So, what happened in China after 1949 was the gradual development of China into a state capitalist society. The state is controlled and run by the Leninist bureaucracy, over the years the dynamic has evolved.

**Love and Rage:** That's a very useful way of looking at it. So, you see this technobureaucracy in ascendancy. What does the struggle between the Leninist bureaucracy and the technobureaucracy — and I don't know to what degree you include the entrepreneurial capitalists — but, how does that struggle affect the workers' movement? Does it create opportunities?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** Yeah, it creates opportunities for the workers to rise. But the technobureaucracy, they reject the monolithic rule of the Chinese Communist Party, the Leninists. They want very much to become a legitimate opposition. Given time, the Leninist bureaucracy might well have been captured by the technobureaucrats, but that was not happening, that has not happened. Now what the technobureaucrats stood for was modernization, which means the elevation of the position of people who possess knowledge, more power and wealth to them. At the same time, they support political reforms that would give more freedom to society at large, or to put it another way, control would be reduced. For ex-

ample, more books would be available and more freedom of expression would be allowed, that kind of thing. So it opens up possibilities for workers to be involved as well. But the workers, they have their own limitations. There's a lack of awareness, they have their own interests, working class interests. As a result of those reforms that didn't work, the workers bore the effects of inflation, corruption, and so on, as much as the students and other sectors of the community.

**Love and Rage:** You mention that



you considered yourself anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist, and all that, and that you gave critical support to the National Liberation Front. What is your view on that in retrospect?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** Looking back, of course, you know, that was a wrong position to take, critical support. Subsequently we took a position of neither Washington nor Hanoi.

**Love and Rage:** How do you see anti-colonial struggles relating to a vision of an anti-authoritarian society or anarchist revolution?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** The way I see it is that we shouldn't condemn any anti-colonial or anti-bureaucratic movement at the outset, even if they did not come out to be libertarian, because I see by my own experiences that people's ideas do change. My experience was discontent with colonial authority, discontent with capitalism. So in the early sixties and seventies we were young, we wanted to fight against



all these injustices and inequality and so forth. We were amorphous. As we developed, some of us developed a libertarian outlook, so I see the movement, the pro-democracy movement in China, or anywhere to be like that also. There was a general feeling of discontent, so we were fighting against the colonialists. But this movement could go in many different ways. It depends on a whole host of factors. It could well develop into an anti-authoritarian movement, an anarchist movement. But whether it does or how strong the libertarian tendency is going to be depends on a number of factors, among which is to what extent can libertarians, including those from outside, actually intervene? If you take for example the democracy movement, why is it that there is such a strong pro-capitalist tendency? I'm not saying that all of it is pro-capitalist, but there is a strong pro-capitalist element or tendency within it. Why? It's because they are able to listen to the Voice of America and the anarchists don't have a voice of whatever, a Voice of Utopia. There isn't something like that, you see, and there wasn't enough anarchist intervention in this movement.

the Chinese hammered out an agreement to hand back Hong Kong to China. That was an agreement that's come about with very little participation of the Hong Kong people. But, by and large, people in Hong Kong were nationalistic enough to say "Yeah, we don't want to be a British colony anymore, after '97 we'll be part of China."

China promised Hong Kong to have self-government; a Hong Kong governed by the Hong Kong people. After that, the economic and political system would remain unchanged for 50 years after 1997. So that's what China promised to the Hong Kong people. You must be aware that, comparing China and Hong Kong, the majority of the people would say that Hong Kong is miles better than China, although it is governed by the British.

There was no political democracy in Hong Kong. The legislature never had any directly elected legislators. For the first time next year there will be a few elected legislators. There has been this absence of political democracy. So although everyone is supposed to have the vote, as long as one is over 21, that vote is pretty useless. You

law. And the two most vocal drafters on this basic law drafting committee were kicked out because of their involvement in the support for the democracy movement. In the end, the basic law was more or less formulated by the Beijing government, by the Communist Party.

**Love and Rage:** Can you talk some about anarchist or anti-authoritarian movements within Hong Kong and within China? Beyond publishing *The Seventies*, have there been other journals than *Minus*? And what about China?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** We have printed a few books in Hong Kong. We have translated Bookchin's *Post Scarcity Anarchism* and published it in both Hong Kong and Taiwan.

**Love and Rage:** Did you have anti-authoritarian contacts within China during the democracy movement?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** Friends just went up there. The movement was yet to be developing in such a way that the libertarian tendency was clearly discerned. If this movement had continued, this tendency would appear, I'm sure.

**Love and Rage:** Are there lessons that you've drawn from June 4th or

tionary transformation in China?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** The workers are definitely important in the cities. The peasants would also be important in any revolutionary transformation. Again, we have to look at what's happening in the countryside as well. The way that it's going is that some people in the countryside are becoming really capitalist. Some are dispossessed workers and proletarians. This is the kind of change which is taking place. Unless the peasants are also involved in transforming Chinese society, it will be just a city-led thing.

**Love and Rage:** What can anarchists in the West or outside China do to support the movements in China?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** The way I see it, the best thing is to make the people in China aware of the pitfalls of capitalism. So that when they get rid of the bureaucracy they are not going to replace it with capitalism. I see this happening in Europe, Eastern Europe, and in some ways things have become worse. So I was told, I haven't been there, but things have gotten really bad in Poland, for example. It's most important that anarchists continue to work towards a libertarian society to make revolution.

**Love and Rage:** How do you see that taking place? What do anarchists need to do to be seriously working towards revolution?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** I don't know, frankly. I do what I can in Hong Kong, and that's not a whole lot. What I do is, or what I sure try to do through various ways, through music, through publications, through films. To empower the people so that they could themselves get it together, form themselves into groups, articulate what they want, and to take control of their own lives, to run their own theater, society, and so on. I mean, more specifically, I hope that I'll be doing a lot of workshops, of theater, so that through these workshops groups may be formed and do things like what the People's theater has been doing.

**Love and Rage:** Can you talk a little bit about *Democracy Wall*?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** The first issue was put

out in support of a group called the "April 5th Action Committee." They organized a demonstration in September last year in Hong Kong, and they were beaten up by the police and so on. So we issued that as the first issue of *Democracy Wall* and sent it all over the place, calling for people to write letters to condemn the police action in Hong Kong. At the same time, we had already come together and decided to put out a publication like that. But we focused subsequently on individual prisoners. We picked those prisoners partly because we could get their photos, and we could get more information about them. So it's going to be like that too, future issues would consist of people we know better. We have more information and it's published both in Chinese and in English, and they're printed separately. English is for foreign consumption, Chinese for local, and hopefully some are getting through into China.

**Love and Rage:** Are you making efforts to get them in?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** Yeah, but we don't know if we're being successful. As I said earlier, *Democracy Wall* just carries information about prisoners; it doesn't have a standpoint of its own. But people are now saying that it should. In future you may see more articles like that. It may well develop into something bigger. We have found this extremely useful, in fact these are being used at demonstrations. They are posted at Chinese embassies all over the place. After our publications come out I think supporters in different places pick up on the ideas. They use some of our pictures as posters. We tried to organize an international action around these posters. We send them all over the place and we designate a specific day as a day of action and ask people getting these to post them at a Chinese embassy, at Chinatown, or just in public places. I don't know exactly, but we had done something like this before with the "Democracy Wall Fighters" way back in the early 1980s. That was rather good.



And there has not been any successful anarchist revolution elsewhere. The prosperous countries that these people see are Japan, Western Europe, and the USA.

**Love and Rage:** You see anarchist participation in anti-colonial struggle as important?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** Yeah, I mean, you should participate in such a way that you can propagate anarchist ideas. That depends on what you mean by participation. I think you should not ignore it. Whether you go on a march, or not, or whether you just go and leaflet the demonstration; that's to be carefully worked out. I saw anarchist participation in the anti-Gulf War rally on October 20th; the anarchists had formed their own contingent and they had their own leaflets.

**Love and Rage:** So, tell me about the situation in Hong Kong and what Hong Kong's inclusion in the People's Republic is going to mean.

**Mok Chiu Yu:** In '84 the British and

don't even choose your legislators. You may choose councilors for the Municipal Council, but these councils or these district boards are a lot less influential and powerful, if you look at it from the point of view of liberal democracy anyway. So 50 years remaining unchanged and the promise of self-government.

This is a promise from China, but no one takes this promise seriously, particularly after June 4th, particularly after China had forced upon Hong Kong a constitution for post-1997 Hong Kong, in such a way that, it's even very far off from being a liberal democracy. The new Hong Kong government to be set up in accordance with the new constitution, to be implemented after 1997, is not going to be a liberal democratic system. Virtually all those who represent Hong Kong are in the minority and have been hand-picked by China anyway. So that the very few liberals were really a very, very small minority in the drafting committee of the basic

from the democracy movement? What did it do wrong?

**Mok Chiu Yu:** Basically, I would say that the workers weren't involved, weren't mobilized in such a way that at the crucial moment they could rise, they could undertake strikes, or they could take over factories or things like that. From beginning to end it was the students who led the workers. Some students, for example, like this guy Mo Shu Fung, he was one of those who felt that there should be an alliance between the students and the workers. He was in the minority, and the students didn't talk about going to the workers until the very last moment. But of course students had their own limitations. They're idealistic, but they were the future technobureaucrats and they didn't really see themselves fighting together with the workers to bring about the changes.

**Love and Rage:** You see the workers as the key to any kind of revolu-

The following letter was received by On Gogol Boulevard from K.C. Lok.

**DEAR COMRADES FROM ON Gogol Boulevard,** Greetings from Tokyo. I'm writing to you as an anarchist of Hong Kong origin but living in Japan for years. Last June I met with the Neither East nor West Toronto, Canada chapter. I did some talks on democratic struggles in China.

Personally I was involved deeply in the first wave of the Chinese democratic movement (1979-1981). Now I am in touch with the present wave of activities. Most of them are far different from the first wave. For instance, to them, capitalism as in Japan and the US is wonderful enough if it could transform China. Hardly they can conceive of India and Latin America also belonging to capitalism.

Corruptly brought up by the Taiwan government, people living overseas used the real people who were victimized June '89 in Peking. They chased the titles and fame of this and that organization, thus preparing political credit. When the time comes for mass revolt, they

will return to China to be the leaders and then rulers. They are in fact children of the privileged class, the ruling elites. The extension of "chambers of revolt inside the palace," forged the voices of opposition to the outside world.

However, there are millions of workers in China, who deserve our communication with them. They are the real heroes. So many of them were executed, even the International Labor Organization condemned the Peking government. My idea is to put out a newsletter in the Chinese language, which mainly consists of a news and letters exchange with comrades in East Europe and the Soviet Union with supportive comrades in Hong Kong and Japan. I wish to have *On Gogol Boulevard* back issues. Eagerly, I wish to get anarchist contacts in the Far East Soviet Union, Siberia, and Mongolia. I have the intention of visiting North Korea.

Yours,  
K.C. Lok  
c/o Democracy Wall,  
POB 31340, Causeway Bay,  
Hong Kong

## Letter from Hong Kong



# Anarchist Black Cross

## Martin Foran Faces Death

We received this update on Martin Foran's situation from Leeds ABC in late January — The background of this case is not only this prisoner's victimization by the legal, and prison systems, and the horrible suffering he is enduring now. The other angle to this situation is the extensive police misconduct and corruption involved, which is just now fully coming to light.

RECENTLY IN THE PRESS and on TV there have been reports of police corruption and disciplinary action against the police involved in false prosecutions of innocent people. The reports have made particular reference to the now disbanded West Midlands Serious Crime Squad (WMSCS).

One victim of these methods is Martin Foran, convicted in 1978 for a robbery he didn't commit. The

people who were robbed stated that Martin was not involved, and supported the campaign to free him. Martin's sentence was 10 years, he was released in 1984. He was again arrested in September 1984, charged with robbery, and conspiracy to rob. Martin had a cast iron alibi, with 15 witnesses to his movements on the night in question. He was convicted of the alleged offenses and sentenced to 8 years imprisonment.

On both occasions, officers from the WMSCS were involved in the frame-up. Two figures at the center of the corruption scandal are Det. Michael Hornby, and Det. Inspector Paul Joseph Matthews. Hornby was involved in the 1978 case, and Matthews in the 1984 case, after which he was dismissed on corruption charges.

Martin is Irish, and there is a clear element of anti-Irish racism involved, along with the WMSCS' desire to silence any attempts by Martin to expose their corruption. Apart from Martin's fight against his imprisonment, he now fights on a second issue: a fight for the right to medical treatment and the care he needs, since becoming ill at the hands of the prison authorities. Martin's illness is a result of a bowel complaint contracted during his first imprisonment. Repeated requests for medical treatment were denied as the problem grew worse.

Finally in desperation, Martin took a prison officer hostage. A colostomy operation was at last carried out. The colostomy was in fact too low (an impossibly large error according to medical experts) and can not heal properly. Three weeks after this major surgery Martin was attacked and beaten by prison hospital guards. The beating was so severe that corrective surgery was needed on the already-batched colostomy. Years after the attack, although a county court accepts that

Martin was in fact beaten, no criminal charges have been brought against the guards.

Six years were added to Martin's sentence as a result of the hostage incident, and he has been constantly moved between prisons. The frequent moves mean that Martin has been denied the medical attention that he needs. His colostomy repeatedly becomes infected, stomach acids leak onto his stomach and groin, tape worms crawl from his belly. The deliberate neglect of Martin's condition has led to a hernia, and he now has a cancer in one eye.

To save his life he needs an operation to make the colostomy permanent. The choice now is between an operation that may be only partially successful, perhaps leaving him impotent, or almost certain death without it.

While the police work overtime to cover up and whitewash the corruption that has led to the imprisonment of Martin and many others, an innocent person's life is deteriorating. Refusing Martin the care he needs is equal to the death penalty. Martin Foran is being allowed to die.

A fund has been set up. The fund will go towards helping Martin's partner and five children, and towards a campaign to gain treatment and freedom for Martin.

The campaign aims to:

1. Pressure the authorities into providing proper health care.
2. Clear his name and get him released on appeal.
3. Demand a pardon and compensation for wrongful imprisonment.

The most urgent task right now is to save Martin's life. He should be released into an intensive care unit of an outside hospital until he is fully recovered.

Please send letters of support to:  
Martin Foran, C51796,  
HMP Frankland  
P.O. Box 40, Finchale Ave., Brasside,  
Durham, DH1 5YD England  
Donations should be sent to:  
Leeds ABC  
Box JAG, 52 Call Lane  
Leeds LS1 6DT England

## FREE DALE GOWEN

DALE GOWEN WAS ARRESTED in October 1990 on charges of "sale of a controlled substance," after being targeted in a sting operation. He is being held in lieu of \$50,000 bail.

Dale was active in the Chicago 1986 and Minneapolis 1987 continental gatherings, and regional anarchist gatherings. In 1984-85 he published *REVOLUTION*, an anthology of anarchist writings. He has also been involved in Rainbow Family activities and Big Mt. support work. Most recently he has been a part of an alternative book-

store in Syracuse, New York called Memory Hole.

People in the Syracuse community are organizing legal help for Dale. Donations for legal help, or other kinds of support can be sent to:

Morgan  
c/o Alternative Info Network  
P.O. Box 906 University Stn.  
Syracuse, NY 13210  
Letters of support can be sent to Dale at:

Dale R. Gowen  
Annex West P.O. Box 143  
Jamesville, NY 13078

## Lesbian Activist Jailed

LEIGH WELPER, A LESBIAN activist, was recently sentenced by a federal court to the maximum penalty for an act of non-violent civil disobedience. Last September, she was charged with defacing government property after she threw symbolic blood (water-soluble red paint) on the Federal Building to protest U.S. aid to El Salvador. For this act, she has been sentenced to three months in prison, three years probation, over \$900 restitution, substance abuse treatment, and mandatory drug testing every 60 days while on probation. She has no prior arrests or convictions or history of drug abuse.

The Reagan-appointed federal prosecutor made it very clear that

the harsh sentence is an attempt to make an example of Leigh and deter other activists. We must fight this repression—we will not be silenced. There is a letter campaign to demand Leigh's release from her 90 day sentence and 3 year probation period.

To protest Leigh's sentence write to:

Jay Earl Cudd,  
Magistrate  
110 S. 4th St.  
Minneapolis, MN 55401

Please send a copy of any letters and/or letters of support for Leigh to:

Twin Cities Activist  
Support Network  
P.O. Box 75355  
St. Paul, MN 55101

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 internal decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference) are made by an editorial council of people from many regions that meets several times a year in person and communicates by phone and mail. Day-to-day decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference and the editorial council) are made by a production group resident in New York City, where the paper is published. In some cities and regions, Love and Rage supporters have organized themselves to cooperate in support of the paper on the local level and they sometimes plug into the rest of the network through their group or collective. Other supporters work alone.

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

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

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

### Editorial Council

Billy, Brooklyn NY  
Chris, Brooklyn NY  
Christopher Day, New York NY  
Darrell Gordon, Chicago IL  
Gustavo Rodriguez, Miami FL  
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### Translations:

Kathy, Gustavo, Gene, Ron.

Issue	Deadline	Publishing Date
April	March 4	March 18
May	April 1	April 15
June	May 6	May 20

## PEROTTI HUNGER STRIKE

JOHN PEROTTI, AN ANARCHIST prisoner and Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) organizer, has been held in total isolation for 32 months now. John has been organizing inside the prison system for years and as a result has been cut off from contact with other prisoners. John has also been denied access to the law library and his mail as well being denied visitation rights. John has been beaten and harassed by guards and prison authorities.

To demand an end to his isolation John began a hungerstrike on January 30th. In support, John's partner, Linda Leisure, who has endlessly worked to support John and the ABC, is also on hungerstrike. John and Linda are

asking people to write the Governor of Ohio to ask him to intervene.

John is anticipating a transfer from Lebanon Correctional Facility where he is currently imprisoned. When we receive information of his location we will print it. Until such time please contact New York ABC for further information. Write us at:

New York ABC  
P.O. Box 20521 Tompkins Sq. Station  
New York, NY 10009

Please write, and/or call the governor of Ohio and demand that John Perotti be removed from isolation:

Governor Volinovich  
77 S. High St. Statehouse  
Columbus, Ohio 43215  
tel.: (614) 466-3555

"I hope you can join with us in breaking down the walls so that one day we may all hold hands together in a world free of brutality, exploitation, racism, and sexism."

John Perotti

## 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 3X4  
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 Peltier  
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



(Continued from page 6)

liberate themselves from a damaging socialization process.

Although these projects are perhaps equally important, we must also realize their differences. Although man is damaged from his construction as oppressor he has also historically benefited from patriarchy. When anti-sexism gets too hot to handle, men can retreat into the privileged realm of masculinity. Women, however,

must sweat it out.

Anarchist men must start taking feminism seriously by reading up on it, examining their own patriarchal conditioning and otherwise working actively against sexism in our society. Only then can we all begin to get a glimpse of what a free individual may look like and from this perspective, develop a better understanding of how such humans might relate to each other and the natural world in a free society.



# Network

(Continued from page 7)

The *Love and Rage* Political Statement reflects a fairly broad basis of political unity—a commitment to essential principles of anti-statism, anti-capitalism, anti-racism, anti-sexism and so on is sufficient for involvement in the project. While the statement does distinguish the project from those anarchists who, for example, do not make anti-racist work a priority, it does not attempt to offer a comprehensive analysis of, for example, Black liberation. Such an analysis will be an essential component of any genuinely revolutionary anarchist politics in North America. But it would be premature to make such an analysis a point of unity when there are so few of us with so little practical experience. The pages of the newspaper are precisely the place where we can begin to articulate and debate such an analysis.

Finally, the newspaper is essential in promoting the various other activities that are involved in building the network: actions, conferences, speaking tours and so on.



Actions and Contingents

Beyond just talking to each other, in print or in person, we need to work together. Street demonstrations offer us an opportunity to both raise our visibility and to gain experience and build trust while participating in larger social struggles. Organizing anarchist contingents to national demonstrations organized by broader forces allows us to reach far more people than we could through our own efforts alone. The anarchist contingent to the 1988 Pentagon Action and the recent Black Bloc at the January 26 March on Washington are good examples of the value of such efforts.

Organizing contingents allows us to bring together anarchists from many different communities, to be in the streets together and to have a common experience that we can analyze and use as the basis for future common action.

Under certain circumstances we will want to organize our own actions. Although they were fraught with all the mistakes one expects from a new movement, the Days of Action at the anarchist gatherings in Chicago, Minneapolis, Toronto and San Francisco gave hundreds

of young anarchists invaluable experience with militant street actions.

Anarchist contingents to larger demonstrations can strike out on their own, or choose to be the rowdier section of a less militant demonstration. They can engage in direct action or simply demonstrate that we are prepared to. These are tactical decisions that should be based on the conditions we are operating in—are there other significant forces that share our frustrations with "protest as usual"? or will our militant actions only isolate us from the very people we want to work with?

## Conferences, Meetings, and Gatherings

Street demonstrations are important for developing our capacity for coordinated action. But it is more important that we develop our political analysis—our understanding of the world we live in and how we can act to transform it.

This too is a collective process. Each of us may have our own particular analysis of any number of questions. But that analysis becomes a force in its own right as it is developed collectively, as more people embrace it, correct it and, as necessary, transcend it. A newspaper is a valuable forum for different points of view, but it is no substitute for in depth face-to-face discussions.

Conferences, gatherings and meetings are often organized with a specific task in mind. Decisions involving people from a number of different localities have to be made, so a meeting is organized to make those decisions. But in the process of discussion in the meeting, and in the informal discussions that take place during breaks, in hallways or out on the grass something else is happening—the collective politics of the network are being discussed and developed.

Meetings often have a very straightforward agenda. Conferences may combine decision making meetings, caucuses and educational workshops. There has been little or no formal decisionmaking at the gatherings, but a lot more socializing. These different forms are all appropriate under different circumstances.

Currently, *Love and Rage* is planning an organizing conference this summer in Minneapolis (June 29-July 1). This conference will have to make important decisions about the future direction of *Love and Rage*, but it will also offer an opportunity to build the network of revolutionary anarchist activists more broadly. There will be educational workshops on various issues (prison solidarity, the Persian Gulf and so on) that will provide an opportunity for valuable face-to-face discussions of anar-

chist politics. There will be discussions of proposed changes in the *Love and Rage* Political Statement and in the decision making structure of *Love and Rage*.

There will be other conferences, meetings, and gatherings as well. To the degree that we can it is important to participate in as many of these as possible, to build the lines of communication that are the foundation of future organizing.

## Speaking Tours and Travelling Organizers

Traveling to conferences can get prohibitively expensive pretty fast. Not everybody can do it. But the face-to-face communication that goes on at conferences needs to involve as many people as possible if the network is to be truly democratic and participatory. Furthermore, efforts must always be made to bring into the network anarchist activists who have so far remained isolated. This means getting on the road.

No movement can hope to grow without putting people on the road as speakers and organizers. In its early years, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) used full-time travelling organizers to build their organization in cities and towns across the continent. In the 1960s Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) did the same thing, sending organizers from campus to campus to help people establish chapters, to talk politics and to build for upcoming demonstrations or conferences. A travelling speaker or organizer puts lots of people into direct contact with what is going on elsewhere.

A speaker can be anybody who is involved with a significant struggle and is a competent public speaker. It doesn't have to be somebody famous, as long as what they have to say is interesting. A speaking tour might cover only a few cities. Local groups may organize a public event or the speaker might just give a talk to the group. However modest or ambitious, the purpose is the same: to put people in touch with struggles going on in different communities and thereby build the network. A speaking tour is a good way for local groups to build themselves. A speaker from out of town is a good way to attract new people to a group.

The purpose of a travelling organizer is to build the network directly. The travelling organizer goes from city to town, to talk with anarchist activists, to share the experiences of other groups, to help individuals start groups, to help groups with projects, to get people to write articles for the newspaper, to find new people to distribute the newspaper, to mobilize people to attend conferences or demonstrations and so on. A travelling organizer can go to a town with a single contact. Or they can go in blind and find the local alternative music venue or go check out the local college and try to find a contact there. More than any particular skill, the

travelling organizer needs a knowledge of the diversity of situations that exist in different cities and towns. They need a belief that anarchists are everywhere, and that the task is to find them. They need to understand that building a network involves a lot of false starts in making contacts, but that any contact gives you a starting point for finding another contact.

A full-time travelling organizer needs to be supported with a salary. But any decent-sized local group can put one of its members on the road for a week or two, spending each day in a different city in its region. And there is no reason that a longer tour couldn't be supported by donations for gas money and other expenses coming from each group visited.



Elementary Structures

All of these practical activities are already going on to one degree or another. *Love and Rage* and other publications are linking together anarchist activists across North America. There are conferences and meetings all the time. The Workers Solidarity Alliance holds an annual convention. The Youth Greens have conferences more or less twice a year. *Love and Rage* is having a conference this summer. Anarchist contingents have been organized to the 1988 Pentagon action, the 1989 March for Choice, the 1990 Wall Street Action and, most recently, the January 26 March on Washington against the war in the Persian Gulf. Two activists spent a month on the road prior to the 1989 Anarchist Gathering building support for the newspaper project that became *Love and Rage*.

All this needs to continue, and more needs to happen. Existing networks need to be more ambitious in building themselves. We need to organize speaking tours to promote the work being done by the Anarchist Black Cross, by anarchists in Anti-Racist Action, by Neither East Nor West and so on. We need to put organizers on the road all the time.

There are a growing number of people who see the importance of this network building activity. We also understand that all of this places demands on our very limited resources. We need to create decision-making structures that are able to set priorities and make more long-term plans.

We will have come a long way in building our network when a hundred people can come together and

agree (for example) to publish a special issue of a newspaper aimed at High School students in September, to build an anarchist contingent to a demonstration in October, to put a prisoner solidarity activist on a speaking tour in November, to organize radical ecological actions in cities across North America in December, to sponsor an anti-racist educational conference in January and to have a travelling organizer on the road the whole time. None of these things are beyond our capacity. By planning ahead we could pull them all off successfully. Taken together they would constitute a modest program of action.

It remains to be seen when we will have in place the elementary structures necessary to carry out such a program. But by consciously working towards it, by arguing for it at every opportunity, by building the network one person at a time, we bring the movement closer to that level of organization.

## Local Autonomy

This article is focused on the tasks involved in building a loose network of revolutionary anarchist activists from across North America. Building such a network is a necessary part of the process of building a more serious revolutionary anarchist organization. But it is only one part. More important in many respects is the day to day organizing that takes place on the local level. A network is worthless if it is made up of people who hop from conference to national demonstration but who are not connected to the real struggles taking place in their own communities.

At the same time that we are working to build a network we also need to be building local revolutionary anarchist collectives that are able to participate in a broad range of local struggles, learn from them and develop more coherent anarchist politics in the process. A network of small groups and isolated activists should not be confused with an organization based on secure and established local collectives. The first is already in formation. The latter may be a long way off.

At its best a network can nurture and encourage the emergence of such collectives. But if the network does not respect the local autonomy of such efforts, it is sure to stifle them. None of us is sure exactly what must be done to build a revolutionary anarchist organization. Every local group should be viewed as an exciting experiment in something new.

There are already several groups that can be described as revolutionary anarchist collectives. There are many groups that have rich bodies of experience that should inform the organizing of new collectives. The development of autonomous local revolutionary anarchist collectives is the focus of the next article in this series.

(Continued from page 4)

The destruction of "private property," which is a manifestation of our domination, is an important act of resistance which threatens the ruling elite status quo. But we should be aware of the danger of reducing the process of social revolution—a process which may take generations—to keeping a scorecard of damage inflicted on capitalism and the state.

With this in mind the break-away was a relative success. Out of necessity people quickly organized themselves as a bloc. As we marched, bank windows were broken, but also those of a travel agency. At about that point someone in the contingent correctly took the bullhorn to argue for choosing more appropriate targets.

The bloc made it to the World

Bank building, where the majority hesitated. A few adventurous ones left behind broken windows, a spray-painted message to end the war and the trademark circle-A. Significantly, when the cops arrived, instead of the usual running melee featuring police swinging clubs, beating and arresting people, the bloc re-formed, calmly and defiantly taking the street to rejoin the march.

Amidst the fear of going off on our own to confront an oppressive institution responsible for so much third world plunder, we seemed to learn what some had been imploring their comrades to do all along: link arms, stay close, watch out for each other. This was an important experience which made up for all the disorganization that preceded it. Now formed as a bloc, the contingent acted as an effective force.

## Unarrest!

A police motorcycle squad followed the contingent back into the march, shortly attempting to drive single file up its' right side. What followed further confirmed the wisdom of the bloc.

A motorcycle cop began to dismount to go after a comrade throwing a paint bomb, only to be knocked over along with his bike. He gave pursuit and apprehended who he thought threw the paint bomb. The comrade was quicklyunarrested by fellow protestors. Perhaps more miraculously, this individual's jacket, which contained his wallet and had fallen into the hands of the cop was also "unarrested" when a member of the bloc ran up behind the retreating cop and snatched it from

his hands and darted back into the bloc. All those involved in the scuffle quickly rejoined the bloc, which prevented the police from attempting additional arrests.

The bloc moved in on the police, who were now in the street in the middle of the march. In a dramatic move, marchers behind the police closed in on them, surrounding the badly outnumbered cops.

With no one in police custody, the contingent moved forward, breaking into an inspired but exhausted South African-style totoi jog, with clenched fists waving. The anarchists joined the rest of the marchers gathered in a park who were listening to barely audible speeches. A meeting was held during which a bullhorn was passed around for people to assess the day's events and debate what to do next. After a variety of suggestions,

ranging from going back to the White House to confront pro-war counter-demonstrators to marching to the stage to demand the mike, the contingent dissolved into smaller groups who relaxed after what was a very mixed experience.

Approximately 200,000 people marched that day in Washington. Although the press largely ignored the story, the ruling elite got the news—a sizable minority in this country is opposed to this war and some are willing to raise the social costs of continuing to wage it. Although small in numbers and poorly organized, the anarchist contingent did exact a small price for going to war. Perhaps most importantly, we learned valuable lessons for the long fight ahead, which will require more of us as we bring about the revolution we desire so strongly.



# Notes of Revolt



## Global Class War

**CLASS WAR**, the notorious English anti-authoritarian group and newspaper, is calling a week long international conference to be held in London September 23-28 1991 entitled "Our Time Has Come." Class War is well known for their raw humour, street militancy and uncompromising working class politics, so this should be an interesting conference.

The promotional mailing for the conference includes a long list of discussion topics for the conference including: the rise of racism and fascism in Europe, green politics, sex and sexuality, the death of communism?, Arab nationalism and Moslem fundamentalism, riot and revolution, and many more.

The conference is emphasizing the need "for a more coordinated,

international movement" saying "We believe that the events in Eastern and Western Europe over the last few years, and the period of austerity facing the working class, offer a great opportunity for a new international working class movement, to recapture the class war from the corpse of Marxist-Leninism."

The organizers of the conference are looking for speakers who want to lead a workshop. The conference planners are also offering travel subsidies to those coming from Eastern Europe. At present they would like to know who wants to attend and what kind of travel arrangements (e.g. visas, invitations to attend, etc.) will be necessary.

We hope that as many North Americans as possible will be able to attend this conference. If you are interested in this conference contact:

International Secretary c/o  
London Class War  
P.O. Box 467  
London E.6 3QX  
England

## Tempers Flare at Yuppie College

BY JAN KRAKER

ON January 24, the far-right Garfield Republican Club at Williams College staged a pro-war rally on campus. The event drew a crowd of about 150 made up of a hardcore of

35 right-wing brats, 10 veterans and about 100 other supporters of the war. 30 anti-war demonstrators stood with their backs to the crowd. The local anarchist group, the

Autonome Forum, organized the counter demonstration. The night before, the words "No War" were spray-painted on the pillars of Chapin Hall where the rally was held. Shortly after the rally began, 5 Autonome Forum members approached the rally carrying a black flag and signs. The signs were on broken hockey sticks for protection. Throughout the rally, Autonome Forum members shouted comments attacking both Bush and Hussein.

At the conclusion of the rally, a Republican said, "Now lets all wave our flags proudly." An Autonome Forum member responded by attempting to torch a flag. People began screaming. A pair of vets grabbed the flag burner, and a student hit him. College security responded by dragging off one Autonome Forum member, who was later released without being formally arrested.



## Santa Fe Anarchists Organize

BY MEDUSA

FIFTEEN hundred people took to the streets in Santa Fe, New Mexico on Sunday January 13 to protest war in the Persian Gulf. We marched from the capitol and passed the National Cemetery on the way to the Plaza, the center of town, for a rally.

The demonstration was relatively somber and quiet, but a small group was heard yelling "Fight The State, Not Its War" and similar chants. Among the more radical groups present at the rally were: a large group of lesbians and gays, many involved with the newly formed Queer Nation-Santa Fe, Vietnam veterans, and anarchists.

Since Sunday there have been a number of smaller actions and more are planned for the coming weeks. These actions have brought together a number of anarchists who, previously unorganized, have formed a group.

We hope to create a more visible radical contingent in the forth-coming anti-war activities and to stress the connection between US foreign policy, the war in the Persian Gulf and poverty and racism in the United States.

While a large part of our energy will be going towards anti-war activities, particularly organizing for a local January 26 protest, we believe it is important to start taking action now to make the connections. We will participate in a Roe v. Wade celebration on January 22, organize a grass-roots soup kitchen, take anti-racist actions and plan activities for International Womyns Day.

As of now the group doesn't have a name. We will keep in touch with *Love and Rage* to update you with our name and continuing activities.

## Ooooooh, Busted!

from Autonome #6

THE entire secret police force of the town of Nijmegen, Holland, had to be disbanded after anonymous local squatters exposed them. In November a 200 page book suddenly appeared with full details of the undercover cops — photos of their houses and safe houses, vehicles, gear, methods of operation, etc. The fifth nicked several people and tried to suppress the book, but it was too late. It's now in its 3rd edition and is a good guide on how

Euro-cops keep tabs on active people (but it's in Dutch).

The squat movement in Nijmegen was attacked by police a few years ago, and unknown heroes began following plainclothes cops after demos and spent two years on a spy vs. spy campaign before exposing them in a book. An informer was also exposed, the secretary of a peace group involved in active sabotage; he had been with the movement for 9 years.

In December a big demo was organized in Nijmegen and people came from all over to tour the former haunts of the secret police and festively celebrate their spectacular success against police repression.

The following groups support *Love and Rage*. If you like what you see in *Love and Rage* and would like to find out more about revolutionary anarchism contact the group closest to you.

Revolutionary Group X  
P.O. Box 6022  
Chicago, IL 60680

Revolutionary Anarchist  
Bowling League  
P.O. Box 10854  
Minneapolis, MN 55458-3854

Love and Rage  
Supporters in Atlanta  
P.O. Box 2234  
Decatur GA 30031-2234

Collective Action  
Detroit MI 48243  
Detroit MI 48244

Circle A Collective  
P.O. Box 29095  
New Orleans, LA 70189

Bay Area Anti-Racist Action  
P.O. Box 3501  
Oakland, CA 94609

The Alternative  
UT P.O. Box 16156  
UT Station  
Knoxville, TN 37996-4900

Autonomous  
Anarchist Action  
P.O. Box 3  
Prince Street Station  
New York, NY 100012

Autonome Forum  
P.O. Box 366  
Williamstown, MA 01267

Art Decco  
P.O. Box 12504  
Raleigh, NC 27605

Amor y Rabia  
P.O. Box 45-2001  
Miami, FL 33245

CANADA

Outaouais Outrage  
P.O. Box 4051, Station E  
Ottawa, ONT, K1F 5B1

Ecomedia Toronto  
P.O. Box 915, Station F  
Toronto, ONT, M4Y 2N9

## Social Ecology Summer Programs

THE Institute for Social Ecology (ISE) is offering their well known Summer Semester program this summer. The program will present both a comprehensive exploration of the critical problems we face and a reconstructive perspective focusing on the process of ecologically oriented social change. It will provide an integrated college-level curriculum in each of five programs.

The Summer Semester consists of the following programs: Ecology and Community, June 21-July 21; the Design for Sustainable Communities Studio and Practicum,

June 7-21; the Social Ecology and Higher Education Symposium, June 14-21; Women and Community Development, August 9-18; and the Social Ecology M.A. Program, which begins with attendance in the Ecology and Community Program. College credit is available for several of the programs.

The Summer Semester at the ISE is an exciting opportunity to study social ecology. The program has received rave reviews from many *Love and Rage* supporters. If you are interested contact:

Institute for Social Ecology  
P.O. Box 89, Dept. B,  
Plainfield, Vermont 05667  
tel.: (820) 454-8493

## Documenting Anarchy

THE Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy is an organization which produces audio documentaries on numerous progressive and anarchist political topics. They sell these tapes for individual use and with the hope that they might get some radio air play (attention trendy college DJs!).

Topics range from "The Politics of Genetic Diversity" to "Gay Bashing" to "Everyday Forms of Popular resis-

tance" to "A Conversation with Colin Ward." Anarchists are encouraged to purchase as many of these tapes as possible. Listen to them, learn from them, distribute them! Play them for family and friends! For a full catalog, send a buck to:

The Great Atlantic  
Radio Conspiracy  
2743 Maryland Av.  
Baltimore, MD 21218

## choose subscription

Subscribe to *Love and Rage* and have every issue of this revolutionary anarchist newsmonthly delivered to your door by a uniformed agent of the State. Indicate your preference and send your check or money order to:

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

— \$7 for a third class subscription (slow mail).  
— \$12 for a first class subscription (fast, in an envelope).  
— \$12 for an international subscription.  
— GI? PWA? Prisoner? Check here for a free subscription.  
— I would like to support *Love and Rage* with a monthly pledge of: \$10 \$20 \$50 \$100 Other

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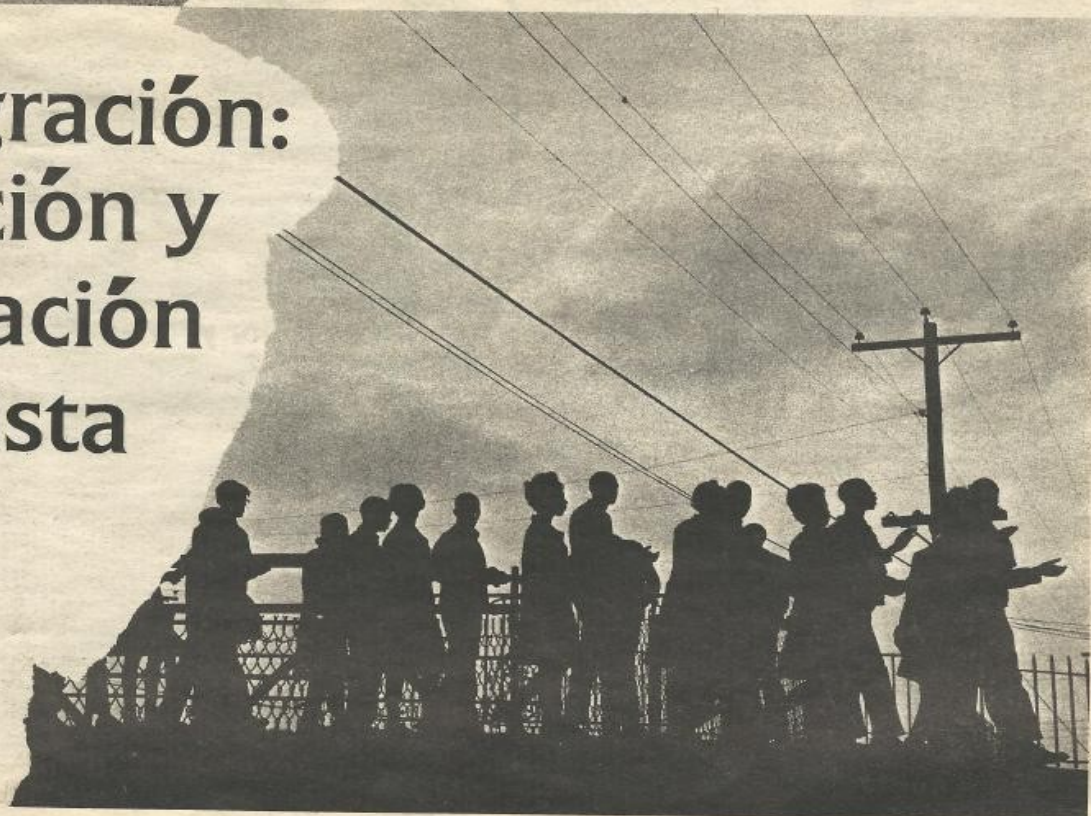
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## ESCUADRONES DE LA MUERTE EN MIAMI

La Integración:  
Revolución y  
Organización  
Anarquista





# ESCUADRONES DE LA MUERTE EN MIAMI

por GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

VENIMOS ASISTIENDO, cada vez con mayor incidencia, a un fenómeno que a pesar de lo mucho que la gran prensa controlada trata de ocultar, salta a la vista: La Creciente Brutalidad Policial.

Hemos escuchado, infinidad de casos de brutalidad policial (bestiales golpizas, asesinatos, etc.) a lo largo y ancho de los Estados Unidos y hasta repetidos casos de violaciones sexuales y abuso infantil por parte de los agentes del "ORDEN." Pero Miami, en los últimos años, ha sido un hermoso ejemplo para todos los cuerpos que se ejercitan en perfección en el arte de la represión alrededor del mundo.

En esta ciudad sureña por excelencia, en los últimos tiempos la policía se ha visto implicada en pandillerismo, narcotráfico y asesinatos de narcotraficantes, (caso del Río Miami) además del asesinato de jóvenes afro-americanos (unas veces a golpes y otras a tiros) de los cuales han quedado impunes con la excepción del ex-agente William

Lozano. Recientemente, durante la represión a las demostraciones de la comunidad haitiana, dieron una contundente exhibición de su destreza y capacidad para golpear multitudes indefensas sin discriminación de ancianos, jóvenes, mujeres y niños.

Pero, sin duda alguna, el mayor exponente del proceder policiaco miamense, fue hace dos años, exactamente el 6 de Diciembre de 1988, cuando 6 agentes de la Policía de Miami, (Pablo Camacho, Tom Trujillo, Charles Haynes, Ron Sinclair, Andy Watson y Nathaniel Veal Jr.) asesinaron a golpes en su propia residencia a Leonardo Mercado, un expendedor de crack, de origen puertorriqueño, vecino de la barriada de Wynwood (área predominantemente puertorriqueña del N.W. de Miami) y golpearon a sus hijastros José y Pedro Soto de 17 y 16 años respectivamente.

"A grandes males, grandes remedios," dice un viejo refrán. Una adaptación de dicho refrán a los hechos, nos llevaría a la revuelta del

pasado 3 de diciembre en horas de la noche en la barriada de Wynwood, protagonizada por más de 200 personas, en su mayoría jóvenes entre 15 y 19 años y la "JUSTICIA" (el gran mal), donde los cacareados derechos civiles se reducen a una enmienda de la constitución (a tinta y papel) que puede ser violada cada vez que sea necesario para conservar el "ORDEN."

Al menos, así sucedió (una vez más) en el denominado caso Mercado, donde los policías que le procuraron la muerte al traficante de drogas Leonardo Mercado, mediante una bestial paliza, quedaron absueltos, cuando un jurado federal les declaró "No culpables" a pesar de las 44 laceraciones en el cuerpo y las marcas en el rostro, que según los investigadores correspondían a las huellas de los zapatos de los policías. Desatando la furia que convirtiera al empobrecido barrio puertorriqueño de Miami, en escenario de una enardecida revuelta que resultara en autos, contenedores de basura, oficinas y edificios

abandonados, incendiados por los manifestantes.

Estamos hartos (mas bien repugnados) de esas lacras que envuelven y destruyen todo lo que les rodea con el vicio de las drogas. Pero, a los males, debemos atacarlos en la raíz. Sabemos de sobra que vivimos en medio de una sociedad podrida y corrupta y que los verdaderos zares de las drogas están bien seguros, amparados por la ley y amasando grandes fortunas en la banca internacional o se ocultan tras el uniforme y el poder que les ofrece el ORDEN. Por eso, como diría Richard A.W. Baker (uno de los miembros del jurado) "los 6 policías tienen mucha suerte."

Bajo estas circunstancias, el ofrecer y buscar SOLIDARIDAD con el resto de los individuos que nos rodean no es sino, la alternativa ante esta maquinaria represiva que nos acosa. Después de esto, que vengan y nos hablen de Derechos Civiles, libertades y democracia.

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

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

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

Amor y Rabia  
Box 3, Prince Street Station  
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tel. (212) 925-7966

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## Grupo de Producción:

Wayne, Wendy, Rachel, Mike, Matt, Mark, Lisa, Jessica, Jane, Owendolyn, Gene, Erica, Eric, Dave, Christopher, Chris, Chris, Bob, Billy, Bill.

Traducciones por:  
Kathy, Gustavo, Gene, Ron.

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## Cartas

### Anarquía en Chile

Estimados compañeros,

El colectivo anarquista de concepción, fundado en Marzo de 1990, trata de desarrollar y preservar la idea libertaria en la zona, lo cual hemos hecho con algunas actividades tales como la edición de dos boletines (El Acrata, Liberación), recitales de música marginal, videos y difusión de arte en general.

Si bien estos actos han tenido buena acogida entre la gente, debemos decir que el anarquismo que predicamos es bastante intuitivo ya que en concepción no tenemos literatura ni publicaciones a la cual acudir.

Hace pocos días (Septiembre) el colectivo tomó contacto con gente anarquista de Santiago con la cual

estamos teniendo correspondencia y a través de ellos nos conseguimos direcciones de otros grupos, federaciones y sindicatos anarquistas de otros países. Por lo cual hemos decidido escribirles para pedir su apoyo en material útil para la difusión tales como: Publicaciones, libros, afiches, fotografías, y de manera especial ver como podemos conseguir videos anarquistas (como Saco y Vancetti entre otros) ya que como les decía aquí no existe material ni antiguo ni actual. Cualquier material nos sirve para la difusión y será muy bien recibido.

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## Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia

### Amor y Rabia es antipolicialista.

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 maricónes, 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 cabeceras (fascistas) del Ku Klux Klan, los Nazis y el terror policial.

### Amor y Rabia es antiliberista.

Apoyamos el derecho a la autodeterminación de los

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

### Amor y Rabia es antisexistista.

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

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

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

Amor y Rabia apoyará las luchas de los jóvenes contra su específica opresión. Amor y Rabia se esfuerza especialmente en promover una plataforma para la juventud. Reconocemos que el futuro revolucionario está en manos de la juventud.

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

Reconocemos que el sistema industrial actual, construido sobre la explotación del planeta y de sus habitantes, ha causado una crisis ecológica que amenaza la supervivencia en el planeta. Apoyamos los movimientos de resistencia contra la continua destrucción del planeta. Venimos la necesidad de una transformación revolucionaria de nuestras relaciones con el planeta y las especies que lo habitan. Cuaramos detener la destrucción del medio natural. Cuaramos detener e inventar el envenenamiento del aire, de la tierra y del agua. Estamos en contra de la explotación de animales en las grandes industrias 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 antiliberalistas, ni Amor y Rabia pretende un entendimiento a plenitud o una plena unidad de criterios sobre todos los temas. No pretende representar el espectro completo de la diversidad en el movimiento anarquista actual. No evitamos la controversia. Le pediremos siempre ideas y sugerencias a nuestros lectores y a otros activistas escandinavos por mejorar nuestro entendimiento y al del movimiento en que militamos.



# La Integración: Revolución y Organización Anarquista

por CHRISTOPHER DAY

**E**L TEMA DE LA ORGANIZACIÓN es el más urgente ante el movimiento anarquista en Norte América hoy en día. Estos tiempos ofrecen gran oportunidad para el avance de las ideas anarquistas. Siempre que se reúnen para tratar sobre la dirección futura del movimiento, la polémica de la organización surge. Nuevos grupos locales, las redes, y las federaciones se establecen y se desmoronan con una frecuencia que nos deja mareados.

En una conferencia reciente de la Juventud Verde, se debatió una propuesta para tratar de implantar una organización anarquista continental. Una propuesta fue circulada por Mike Kohlhoff, ahora con el Workers Solidarity Alliance y el Anarchist Labor Network, antes de la reunión anarquista en San Francisco en 1989. Los críticos de *Amor y Rabia* han atacado al periódico por su apoyo a un movimiento organizado y militante.

Estos esfuerzos reflejan la necesidad que hay para una organización anarquista. Pero seguirán los tropiezos causados por los mismos obstáculos si no se comienza ahora con el desarrollo de una organización anarquista, y el debate que deberá preceder tal desarrollo.

Este artículo es el primero en una serie corta que tratará los temas prácticos y políticos involucrados en cualquier esfuerzo serio para construir una organización anarquista. Esta serie consistirá en varios artículos. El primer artículo examinará de manera general el estado de la organización dentro del movimiento anarquista en Norte América, y a la vez algunas de las preguntas involucradas en la construcción de una red de activistas anarquistas comprometidos con el movimiento. El segundo artículo cubrirá algunas de las actividades prácticas involucradas en la implantación de esta red. El tercer artículo se enfocará sobre el establecimiento de colectivos locales anarquistas. El cuarto artículo tratará el tema general de construir una organización revolucionaria en Norte América.

## El Anarquismo y la Organización

Antes de hablar de la construcción de una red anarquista es importante tratar el tema general de la organización anarquista. Los activistas anarquistas se les plantea frecuentemente la pregunta: "La organización anarquista no es una contradicción en términos?" Claro que no lo es, pero los anarquistas sí tienen criterios muy exigentes sobre como las organizaciones existentes sirven para perpetuar las relaciones autoritarias que deseamos eliminar. El anarquismo no se opone a la organización en sí, pero sí se opone a un tipo específico de organización: las estructuras autoritarias y jerárquicas que se encuentran por doquier en esta sociedad en que vivimos. Como anarquistas, comprendemos que nuestras vidas se viven socialmente, y que una organización es necesaria para que sobrevivamos. Toda clase de nuestras necesidades y deseos se pueden satisfacer únicamente por medio de la actividad coordinada de las personas. La gente naturalmente se reúne para encontrar maneras de distribuir el trabajo entre los individuos para lograr sus aspiraciones comunes. Lo que nosotros, como anarquistas, rechazamos, es la subyugación de las necesidades de un grupo de personas al control de otros.

Para construir un tipo dado de casa, se requiere un arquitecto, albañiles, carpinteros, techeros, pintores, plomeros, electricistas, etc. Los anarquistas no tienen ningún problema con el tipo de organización necesaria para coordinar todos estos tipos de actividades necesarias para construir una vivienda. Pero cuando se añade un propietario a este cuadro, todo cambia—el trabajo invertido en la construcción de la casa se vuelve el punto de partida para una forma de dominación. Los anarquistas creen en el tipo de organización que permite que la gente consiga vivienda, pero no en el tipo que la aprieta para conseguir un alquiler.

El mismo principio básico se aplica a la actividad política anarquista. Una sociedad anarquista—una sociedad sin jefes, burócratas, generales, violadores, terratenientes, o policías—se puede lograr únicamente por medio de la revolución. Con "revolución" quiero decir sencillamente la eliminación de las relaciones de poder existentes hoy en día—el tomo de centros de trabajo por los obreros, de las escuelas por los estudiantes, etc.—y la creación de nuevas relaciones humanas basadas en la cooperación, la solidaridad, y en la ayuda mutua.

Estas palabras parecen a menudo descabelladamente idealistas. Pero sabemos de la historia—de la revolución Mexicana, de la revolución Española en 1936, de Mayo del 1968 en Francia y de mil otros eventos y luchas—que en los tiempos revolucionarios la masa del pueblo



de la creatividad espontánea de las masas.

Una revolución anarquista exitosa deberá ocurrir después de un periodo largo de actividad que prepare el más alto número posible de personas para enfrentar las demandas de una situación revolucionaria. Tal actividad incluye la producción de periódicos, panfletos, cintas de video, afiches, y otra propaganda; la organización de manifestaciones y otras acciones; eventos educativos y conferencias. Tales

una ala del medio anarquista que se opone a cualquier tipo de organización formalizada como punto de vista es, fundamentalmente, que toda organización formalizada (sea esta autodenominada anarquista o no) tiende a reproducir las relaciones autoritarias que prevalecen en la sociedad en general.

Esto es verdaderamente cierto. *Amor y Rabia*, por ejemplo, tiene una estructura bastante sencilla y no autoritaria. Pero todos nosotros involucrados en este proyecto somos productos de esta sociedad y es una lucha constante evitar los patrones de dominación y obediencia a los cuales hemos sido entrenados. Cualquiera que sostiene que su organización o proyecto está inmune a todo rago de autoritarismo está sencillamente mintiendo, por lo menos a sí mismo.

El problema con el criterio antiorganizacional es que no va lo suficientemente lejos. La misma tendencia de reproducir las relaciones sociales autoritarias es tan fuerte dentro de las estructuras informales o en las estructuras provisionales que parecen ser la preferencia de los anarquistas antiorganizacionales.

El hecho es que las relaciones autoritarias se reproducen en todas partes; en organizaciones formales, en grupos sociales, en nuestras vidas personales. En una sociedad autoritaria, cada momento de nuestras vidas ya está organizado hacia los intereses de alguien ajeno. Tenemos una decisión a tomar. Podemos buscar profundizar nuestro entendimiento de como esto ocurre y que podemos hacer para evitarlo. O podemos dejar que este hecho paralice nuestros esfuerzos para crear un movimiento anarquista revolucionario serio al limitarnos a las estructuras que nunca podrán crecer, engañados a creer que hemos evitado la influencia de una sociedad netamente autoritaria.

Las instituciones de una sociedad autoritaria no pueden ser destronadas sin este tipo de movimiento organizado. Es cierto que cualquier movimiento de este tipo conlleva el potencial de reproducir aquellas características de una sociedad autoritaria que deseamos eliminar. La única garantía que esto no va a ocurrir es la transferencia del poder y la auto-organización del pueblo. Fallar en la organización es conceder la derrota y permitir al or-

den existente seguir sin un reto serio.

## Organización Formal e Informal

La cuestión de la organización formal o informal está relacionada a la cuestión general de la organización. Algunos anarquistas trazan una línea divisoria entre lo que se llama una organización formal y clases de organización informales. La distinción entre las estructuras formales e informales es bastante arbitraria. Algunos grupos con todas las características de una organización formal (reglamentos internos, declaraciones de principios, etc.) pueden, en la práctica, ser mucho más flexibles y abiertos que algunos grupos informales que están tan atrincherados en como piensan y actúan, que nunca podrán abrirse a nuevas influencias.

Claro está que la formalidad de una organización puede ser un aspecto importante de lo que la hace asfixiante y autoritaria. Al mismo tiempo, la falta de todo proceso para la ejecución de decisiones es aprovechada por las élites informales para controlar los grupos o proyectos informales. Esta dinámica fue brillantemente expuesta en el clásico ensayo feminista "La Trámida de La Falta de Estructura" por Jo Freeman.

Para los anarquistas el análisis final de una organización—formal o informal, grande o pequeña, abierta o cerrada—debe estar basada en si está de hecho controlada por sus miembros; y en sus objetivos y lo que logra en el mundo real. La opción que nos enfrenta no es entre formas organizacionales puras o contaminadas, pero sí entre organizaciones imperfectas que son de nuestro propio hacer y aquellas organizaciones que son controladas por otros. Es decir que podemos escoger entre organizarnos o dejar que otros nos organicen.

Finalmente, debemos estar conscientes de las expectativas presentes dentro de las diferentes organizaciones sobre el tipo de unión conceptual política que debe haber. Llámese "Declaración de Principios" o manifiesto, cada organización o grupo tiene ciertas expectativas que sus miembros compartirán algunas ideas en común. De nuevo, el nivel de unidad política que se busca es independiente de la naturaleza formal o informal de la orga-

(Continúa a página 3)



tiene la capacidad de crear estructuras auténticamente antiautoritarias para satisfacer sus necesidades para la comida, los servicios, y la defensa: soviets, consejos de trabajadores, colectivos, milicias populares, comités de acción sindical, etc. Estas experiencias dan inspiración. Nos dan una gota del sabor de una sociedad verdaderamente libre.

También sabemos de la historia, sin embargo, que cada uno de estos movimientos fue aplastado. Las relaciones sociales autoritarias que deseamos eliminar tienen raíces mucho más profundas de lo que normalmente estamos dispuestos a creer. Las estructuras de poder subyacentes que se crean en los tiempos revolucionarios se han mostrado inadecuadas ante el terror contrarrevolucionario. El viejo mundo ha golpeado al nuevo mundo repetidamente. No es suficiente depender

actividades, si se podrán sostener efectivamente, deberán ser organizadas.

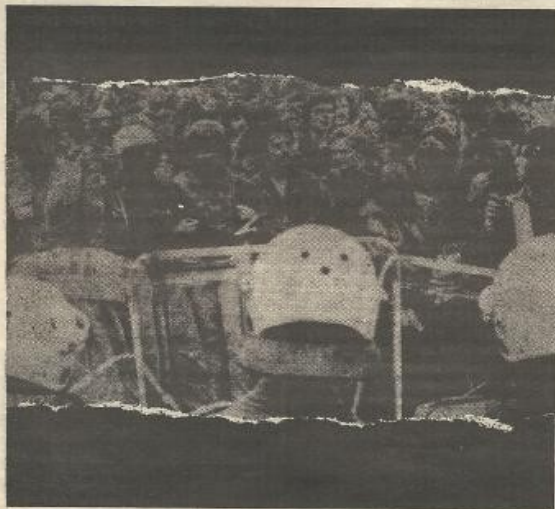
Así que ya estamos hablando de por lo menos dos tipos de organización en el proceso de revolución anarquista: la auto-organización de las masas de la gente en una situación revolucionaria, y en la organización de la actividad anarquista en los tiempos pre-revolucionarios. Claro que hay muchas distinciones que habrá que hacerse en el debate sobre la organización anarquista. Este artículo se enfoca en la organización de la actividad anarquista durante los tiempos pre-revolucionarios.

## Los Anarquistas Contra la Organización

La tendencia de los no anarquistas es de equivaler el anarquismo con la desorganización, y esta tendencia es a menudo alentada por



# Revolución y Organización Anarquista



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nización. Un grupo informal puede estar muy unido en cuanto a un análisis social muy desenvuelto y completo, mientras que una organización formal puede unirse alrededor de un conjunto de principios muy rudimentarios que definen únicamente una fracción de la perspectiva política de un miembro individual.

Diferentes niveles de unidad política son apropiados para diferentes organizaciones. Y la unidad política nunca es un estado fijo; debe esperar revisar sus puntos de unidad política a medida que evoluciona. Al describir el proyecto de edificar un movimiento revolucionario anarquista tratare de tocar en los diferentes niveles de unidad requeridos por las diferentes estructuras y actividades.

## La Situación Actual

Los anarquistas revolucionarios en Norte América están actualmente, por lo general dispersos y desorganizados. Claro está que hay excepciones importantes y prometedoras. La Anarchist Black Cross (Cruz Negra Anarquista) hace trabajo importante en el área de solidaridad con prisioneros. La Anarchist Youth Federation (Federación de Juventud Anarquista) ha empezado a organizar la comunidad punk. Los Youth Greens (Juventud Verde) han trabajado arduamente para desarrollar y divulgar una política coherente antiautoritaria, con raíces en la ecología social.

Pero en un sentido más general carecemos de organización en la mayoría de los lugares para efectivamente participar en las luchas sociales y para influenciarlas de manera decisiva hacia una dirección antiautoritaria. Y carecemos de la coherencia política y la unidad necesaria para crear tal organización ahora mismo.

Los anarquistas revolucionarios serios se encuentran por dos y tres en comunidades a lo ancho de Norte América. En algunas ciudades son activos en proyectos explícitamente antiautoritarios. En muchas ciudades están involucrados en el activismo más amplio de "la izquierda." Una fracción significativa está involucrada en grupos antiautoritarios dedicados a un solo enfoque como las cárceles, el bloque del este, solidaridad con nativos, etc. En algunas pocas ciudades hay colectivos políticos anarquistas revolucionarios.

Hay probablemente varios centenares de nosotros regados por Norte América quienes pudieran fácilmente esperar encontrar suficiente concordancia política para juntarnos en una organización co-

mún, si pudiéramos llegar a consensos trabajando juntos.

Estos son tiempos que prometen grandes cosas para la política revolucionaria anarquista. El colapso global del Marxismo-Leninismo crea una apertura para un movimiento auténticamente revolucionario e internacionalista. Es nuestra responsabilidad tomar la iniciativa, crear un movimiento serio revolucionario anarquista que retará las diferentes ideologías autoritarias como el Marxismo, las varias formas del nacionalismo, el fundamentalismo religioso, etc., que cuentan con la lealtad de millones de personas que creen que están luchando por la libertad.

Si vamos a responder a la oportunidad que se presenta tendremos que organizarnos. Un primer paso lógico sería establecer una red que pueda integrar a los varios centenares de activistas anarquistas revolucionarios y ponernos en contacto los unos con los otros.

## ¿Qué Es Una Red?

Qué quiero decir cuando digo que debemos crear una red? La situación que se nos presenta demanda una estructura bastante suelta o flexible que requiera un nivel limitado de unidad política. El objetivo principal de una red es abrir las líneas de comunicaciones, unir a los anarquistas revolucionarios para empezar el proceso largo de eventualmente edificar una organización mas estrechamente y seriamente compuesta.

Una red puede ser o una estructura totalmente informal o una estructura informal relativamente suelta. Y existen algunas redes anarquistas o antiautoritarias, tanto formales como informales como la Anarchist Black Cross (Cruz Negra Anarquista), la Youth Greens (Juventud Verde), la Anarchist Youth Federation (Federación de Juventud Anarquista), Neither East Nor West (Ni Este Ni Oeste), la red de apoyo a *Amor y Rabia*, la Anarchist Labor Network (Red Anarquista Sindical), y otros.

Por lo tanto, cuando me refiere a "La red," me interesa menos si tiene o no tiene algún tipo de estructura formal que si sirve de hecho para unir a los anarquistas revolucionarios para una actividad común. "La red" puede ser un conjunto suelto de organizaciones y redes que, en la práctica, trabajan juntos, con un grupo proveendo la estructura necesaria por aquí mientras que otro grupo provee algo diferente por allá.

Una red sirve para abrir comunicaciones entre grupos locales otramante autónomos. Esto es lo que permite que una red una a un número significativo de personas—no

requiere que estén todas de acuerdo en cuanto a un programa amplio de acción.

Por supuesto que hay alguna unidad alrededor de la acción conjunta: una campaña en beneficio de algún prisionero, o la publicación de un periódico, por ejemplo. Claro que a medida que se desarrolla la red se espera que se tomarán pasos hacia un programa de acción más abarcador, pero al principio (y sin duda aún estamos al principio) el apoyo a tal programa no puede ser un requisito para participación en la red.

## El Decentralismo

La red está guiada por el principio del decentralismo—ejecución de decisiones se mantiene primordialmente al nivel local. El decentralismo es importante como una manera de asegurar que la organización está auténticamente controlada por sus miembros desde raíces.

Por ejemplo, durante la guerra contra Vietnam, la resistencia a la conscripción obligatoria surgió en las ciudades y en los pueblos en todas partes de los EU. Estos grupos locales mantuvieron su autonomía. No se subordinaron a ningún comité central o grupo de líderes nacionales. De esta manera el movimiento de resistencia a la conscripción quedó en las manos del pueblo.

Hubo oficinas nacionales y regionales establecidas para coordinar varias manifestaciones y proyectos y para ayudar en la comunicación. Pero si un grupo local no compartía las prioridades específicas que emanaban de estas oficinas, el grupo retenía la libertad de tomar sus propias iniciativas. A menudo estas iniciativas locales servían como ejemplos que luego fueron adoptadas por el movimiento en general.

El decentralismo es un término relativo. Para un individuo que nunca ha trabajado colectivamente antes, organizar un grupo o integrarse a un grupo es un acto de "centralizar" métodos individuales de resistencia y rebeldía hacia una puesta en marcha colectiva.

Lo que importa, entonces, no es algún concepto abstracto de decentralismo, sino un decentralismo práctico que mantiene una escala humana en la organización. La escala humana es función de los humanos involucrados: si se conocen y se confían entre sí pueden crear estructuras relativamente más "centralizadas" sin conceder parte de su autonomía. Careciendo de estas bases de confianza hasta la más suelta y descentralizada estructura puede ser dominada por una élite.

Una organización fuerte que es, de hecho, controlada por sus miembros puede fortalecer su autonomía con relación a las fuerzas autoritarias en la sociedad en general: la partitocracia, la supremacía blanca, el estado, el capital, etc. A fin de cuentas el proceso de auto-organización se trata de empoderarnos para trabajar en estructuras más grandes y complejas que aún son realmente controladas por sus miembros. La experiencia de los anarquistas Españoles ofrece un buen ejemplo de esto.

A finales de los años 20 cuando los organizadores en la CNT Española (la federación anarcosindicalista) decidieron que la represión del estado y la creciente influencia del Leninismo requerían una organización explícitamente anarquista, crearon la Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI).

La FAI unió a los militantes anarquistas más serios a lo ancho de toda España en una organización que podía coordinar efectivamente la actividad insurreccional anarquista. Estas preparaciones organizacionales se demostraron ser de gran importancia cuando estalló la revolución en 1936.

La FAI juntó a grupos de afinidad anarquista en ciudades y pueblos por toda España y Portugal—grupos de afinidad que estaban activos dentro del movimiento obrero, en las organizaciones feministas, en la actividad propagandística, etc. En algún sentido la coordinación de estos esfuerzos se trató de un tipo de "centralización" que no estaba presente antes en el movimiento. Pero a causa de la madurez del movimiento anarquista en España no significó el sacrificio de la autonomía local. La FAI fue erigida sobre los lazos de confianza que se habían establecido entre diferentes grupos anarquistas a través de los previos años.

La mayoría de nosotros tenemos relativamente poca experiencia trabajando dentro de organizaciones auténticamente antiautoritarias. Podemos reconocer este hecho y aún seguir adelante con el proyecto de edificar un movimiento anarquista organizado. Podemos crear una red que servirá de base para una organización futura. Una configuración suelta es más amena al establecimiento de la confianza que se requiere para mantener junta a cualquier organización.

Ya he descrito la falta de consistencia en las organizaciones anarquistas locales. Algunos anarquistas están involucrados en grupos locales con los cuales están satisfechos. Pero muchos anarquistas están aislados como individuos o grupos de dos o tres. Una red permite a los individuos aislados beneficiarse de las experiencias de los grupos locales más desarrollados.

El establecimiento de una red es el primer paso hacia un nivel de desarrollo más o menos parejo. Le hace posible a la gente aislada relacionarse con la actividad anarquista más organizada y hace visible a los grupos más organizados los problemas que enfrentan los individuos aislados.

Hasta ahora, he mencionado primordialmente a los principios involucrados en crear una red de activistas anarquistas revolucionarios. Pero una verdadera red se edificará por medio del verdadero trabajo. Hay varias actividades prácticas que adelantarán el proceso de establecer la red que pueden ser emprendidas por proyectos existentes. Examinaré estas actividades en el próximo artículo en la serie.

