

# LOVE AND RAGE

a revolutionary anarchist newsmonthly

\$1

Vol. 2 No. 5 sección en español May 1991

## Student Strike Rocks New York



BY FUTURA DEMIBOLD

**E** DUCATION IS A RIGHT! Fight! Fight! Fight!" Chanting, shouting, and dancing, students have taken control of buildings at nine campuses of New York's huge City University since April 8. We are protesting a \$500 tuition increase, from \$1,450 to \$1,950 per year, and massive service cuts proposed by Gov. Mario Cuomo as part of next year's budget. CUNY has long been the main hope of higher educa-

tion for New York's working class youth. Sixty percent of its students are from racial minority groups, half have family incomes of less than \$16,000 a year, more than a third work full-time, 20 percent are parents, and 10 percent are single working mothers. About 70% of city high school graduates apply to CUNY.

From its founding in 1847 as the Free Academy until 1976, the city college system charged

no tuition. In 1970, the "open admissions" program was adopted, guaranteeing a place in one of the system's colleges to any New York high school graduate, and in the senior colleges to any graduate maintaining a specified average.

Despite conservative claims that open admissions would ruin academic standards, the colleges, and particularly the senior colleges, have kept up rigorous standards through

special programs. CUNY has been the working class student's dream of escape from grinding poverty and lack of opportunity, and it has been his or her dream of intellectual enrichment. All of that is now under attack.

Besides the \$500 increase, the proposed cuts, now being negotiated in Albany, include slashing student aid under TAP (Tuition Assistance Program) by up to \$400 per student, firing

up to 600 adjunct (part-time) instructors (most of them graduate students who depend on their teaching pay to finance their own educations) and cutting back already strained remedial programs. These cuts would come on top of a \$200 rise in tuition already imposed in 1990, and years of budget trimming.

At Hunter College, where I

(Continued on page 4)

Ecology,  
Critical  
Thinking,  
And Utopia

Center

Polish  
Women  
Fight For  
Choice

Page 5

Minneapolis  
High School  
Students  
Walk Out

Page 5

Mail Box  
U.S. Postage  
PAID  
New York, NY  
Permit No. 6088

PO Box 3  
Prison St.  
New York, NY  
10012



# Letters

## Anarchy and Anti-Imperialism

Dear Love and Rage,

Individuals opposed to authoritarianism and authoritarianism must arm themselves against a "holier than thou" analysis that could place this fledgling movement into a right wing oppositional camp. I am referring here to the "anti-anti-imperialist" article by Bob McGlynn that appeared in the March 1991 issue.

Unfortunately, McGlynn seems to feel that anti-imperialism leads to support for oppression. I disagree. McGlynn seems to feel that all (or most) Arab countries are anti-Semitic. Again, I disagree. Finally, McGlynn's analysis proposes some mythical "third road" for anarchist politics when it comes to imperialist war. No such road exists.

Imperialist war is inevitable in the era of imperialism. The US/Allied war against Iraq was an imperialist war. There were inter-imperialist aspects to the war, namely Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. But we cannot equate US imperialism with the Iraqi occupation. At least I cannot, and I oppose the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. Period.

I encourage all progressive people to oppose imperialism, to remain anti-imperialist. I encourage people to read and study and to develop a comprehen-

sive analysis of imperialism that takes into account the drive for power that exists in many developing non-European countries, and compares that to the political and economic realities of the Western capitalist powers and the Eastern socialist bloc. Only then will we be empowered to give real support and solidarity to the oppressed as we will know how to differentiate between our friends and enemies. Leaving anti-imperialism out of our analysis will only hurt progressives in the long run.

Sincerely,  
J.

## An Open Letter to the Southeastern Anarchist Community

Dear Love and Rage,

All across North America our movement is growing in size and strength. Anarchist communities in every region are becoming more organized to meet the needs of our growing movement. Everywhere that is, except for our region. The Southeast lacks any sort of sense of community and is in a pathetic state of disorganization. This urgently needs to change so that the movement in the Southeast will continue to grow. That is why we have several projects underway to aid in our effort to build the sense of community that we are in such a desperate need of.

1) We are planning to hold a regional anarchist gathering sometime in the late summer of '91. We are in desperate need of donations and ideas for workshops. We are planning to hold several planning meetings that we hope people from around the Southeast will attend. Please contact us for more info.

2) We are also looking for a space in which to open some sort of regional community center. This space, we hope, will be used to hold future gatherings and workshops as well as house a bookstore and community bulletin. We want this center to be collectively owned by people all across the Southeast and run in much the same fashion as Love and Rage.

3) We have started a publication/zine called *Mass Revolt*. This zine will focus on events and issues relevant to our community. For a sample issue please write.

We are hoping to hear from anyone who wishes to help out with these projects.

In Solidarity,  
Eric  
Anarchist Action Network  
Suite 142  
3325 Loma Rd. #7  
P.O. Box 36099  
Birmingham, AL 35256

## Should Anarchists Be Anti-Imperialists?

Dear Love and Rage,

When the US state began its assault on the Iraqi people, *Love and Rage* took an extreme position, as might be expected from revolutionary anarchists. This has been criticized in several places. The latest criticism is a *Love and Rage* article by Bob McGlynn (*Love and Rage*, March 91). The main *Love and Rage* articles (including mine) denounced the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, unlike the "revolutionary" Leninists. But we also opposed all moves by the US state, including the economic sanctions and UN resolutions, unlike most liberals. Most extreme of all, we declared that between the US military and the Iraqi military, we were for the victory of the Iraqis, as this was the only way the Iraqi people could be defended right now. (Unfortunately the Iraqi people are not yet organized into a stateless popular militia.)

This position is consistent with the *Love and Rage* Political Statement, which states, "Love and Rage is anti-imperialist. We support the right of self-determination of nationalities oppressed by the various forms of imperialism." This follows the theory of



imperialism, that the rulers of a small group of countries oppress the other countries, holding most of the world's people. From this viewpoint, the war was initially between two oppressed nations, in which Iraq was an aggressor. But once the US intervened it became a war between the US, the main imperialist power on earth, and an oppressed country—and we should stand with the oppressed, despite their rulers.

However, Bob McGlynn disagrees, no doubt expressing views held by many anarchists. He denounces the very idea of "anti-imperialism" as somehow leading straight to Marxism-Leninism. He denies that there are two kinds of countries, imperialist and oppressed. Every state, he says, is imperialist: "The Middle East conflict was not an imperialist war but an inter-imperialist war."

We now have the benefit of hindsight to settle this argument. It is crystal clear to the whole world that the US and Iraq are two different kinds of country. The Iraqi state had an oil industry (which relied on Western technicians) and modern arms (bought from the imperialist states) and the fourth largest army in the world (trained by Russian experts). And Saddam Hussein really did want to be a world power, an independent imperialist. But he discovered that his state (ruling an oppressed country) was simply not in the same league as the real imperialists. In fact, this was the main point of the US war: to show these "Third World" rulers that the US and friends are still the big powers, to put the little states in their place.

It is also clear to the whole world that the victory of the US empire has pulled world politics to the right, as can be seen in the US by the flags on every street corner. The results are very different from the after-effects of the Vietnam War. For years the US rulers have longed to get rid of the "Vietnam Syndrome"—the reluctance of US working people to support another war. Now they have taken a giant step in that direction.

Because of the Vietnam Syndrome the US state did not invade Angola, Iran, or Central America, although sorely tempted to. Oppressed people were encouraged to struggle. Politics and culture opened up in many ways throughout the world. (Afghanistan played a somewhat similar role in weakening Russian imperialism.)

Of course, the people of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos paid a heavy price and are still paying it—due to US aggression and to their own Leninist dictatorships. But the world was a better place because the Vietnamese won (despite their Leninist rulers). And the world was a worse place because the US state won over Iraq. I have great respect for Bob and others with similar views, but I cannot understand how they can miss this.

Finally, Bob raises the theory that the "Communist" states are basically

different from Western capitalism, not by being "socialist" but by having an "Asiatic mode of production." As Bob says, this theory means that "under such rule, resistance is almost impossible..." because they lack the internal contradictions of capitalism.

Instead, some of us have argued that the Russian-type system is really "state capitalism": the state is the collective capitalist boss of the economy, as if the GM board of directors owned the whole US economy and were the state. The Russian system, we said, would have the problems of capitalism. We predicted that it would suffer from economic stagnation, class and national conflicts, and a great deal of resistance. Again, it is clear that this is just what has happened to the Russian empire.

Wayne Price  
New York, NY

## Anti-Semitism

To The Editor,

Just to set the record straight, I found the apology for falsifying a debate between myself and Christopher Day in your paper quite misleading (*Love and Rage*, Jan. 91). Considering that I rejected the offer to republish my article "Ideology and the Persian Gulf Crisis" (*Left Green Notes* Nov. 90) in your paper when asked by Mr. Day, your editor, I was amazed to find it not only printed under the title "For UN sanctions," but accompanied with a response by Mr. Day without so much as informing me of the opportunity to write a rejoinder. This not only defies the most basic standard of responsible journalism, it raises serious questions as to the intentions of your editor.

As for Mr. Day's reply, it is difficult to take his arguments seriously: that one can pick and choose which qualities of the Iraqi regime one would care to support, that sanctions are just a weaker form of imperialism (which, if consistent, would apply to South Africa) and that deeply authoritarian and dictatorial regimes fighting Western imperialists should be supported because they are, in his words, creating "space for more authentic and liberatory challenges to the state, imperialism and capitalism."

However, should we concern ourselves with any of Mr. Day's arguments, his "tactical" support for the Iraqi dictatorship based on a vulgarized idea of historical progress is surely the most bizarre. If, as an anarchist, this seems surprising, it really shouldn't be. There have been a number of anarchist sympathizers who have ended up supporting authoritarian and even fascist movements for creating the space for "authentic" and "liberatory" challenges to the state, imperialism and capitalism including the quintessential fascist Benito Mussolini and the anarcho-syndicalist Georges Sorel. If much of the Left was to embrace the brutality of Joseph Stalin, particularly in the face of Western aggression, why should we be sur-

*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 decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference) are made by an editorial council of people from many regions that meet several times a year in person and communicate 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 write 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, publishing 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, money, 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 this paper, or write to:

*Love and Rage*  
Box 3, Prince St. Station  
New York, NY 10012  
Tel: (212) 675-7966

## Editorial Council

Elly, Brooklyn NY  
Chris, Brooklyn NY  
Christopher Day, New York NY  
David Gordon, Chicago IL  
Gustavo, Rock Springs, Montana MT  
James, Colorado CO  
Justin/Gabe, New York NY  
Kenny, New York NY  
Sandra, Albany GA  
Rob, Minneapolis MN  
Karen Foster, Minneapolis MN  
Laurie, Chicago IL  
Mick, San Francisco CA  
Mike, Chicago IL  
Mike, Berkeley CA  
Rochel, Western VA  
Roni, Los Angeles CA  
Sandra Smith, Berkeley CA

Production Group  
Wendy, Buffalo, NY  
Mike, New York, NY  
Kathy, Seattle, WA  
Overholser, Evan, Geoffrey, Eric, Eric, Dave,  
Christopher, Chris, Chris, Bob.

Translation  
Gustavo, Gusto

Issue	Deadline	Publishing Date
June	May 20	May 27
July	May 27	June 10
August	July 8	July 22



prised by a few apologists for Saddam Hussein?

Perhaps one might think that it is too extreme to suggest that Mr. Day's conditional support for the Iraqi regime is an apology for dictatorship. Surely one could argue that to make tactical alliances does not necessarily mean embracing all aspects of an ally, and we can certainly give Mr. Day the benefit of the doubt that he reserves the right to criticize Saddam Hussein.

But then where was Mr. Day when Baghdad Radio was calling for the cremation of the Jews, purposely invoking the image of the Nazis (NPR 1/23/91)? He was nowhere to be found. And when Israeli citizens were being bombed, how did he or the paper respond? There was not the slightest gesture of condemnation. In fact, it would be hard to suggest anything less than the hypocrisy with which Mr. Day condemned the bombing of Baghdad and yet failed to uphold the same principle for Tel Aviv. In terms with which we speak about the politics of the Middle-East, we call this a double-standard—that is, a policy that stems from prejudice.

If we again consider Mr. Day's response to my article in light of the hypocrisy of his position, we can see more clearly his deep resentment towards the Jews. In his response, Mr. Day accuses me of harboring an "unspoken issue" which secretly determines my politics and other (perhaps Jewish?) Leftists in general, and on the Gulf war in particular, which he characterizes as "Zionism." (p. 13) While Mr. Day does not bother to tell us what he means by Zionism, he does tell us what Zionists do. Zionists creep around centers of government "wielding considerable influence" while "quietly hoping that the US will kick the shit out of Iraq." Mr. Day tells us that Zionists infiltrate the Left and either outright, or under the wing of the UN, coerce "significant portions" of the Left to be party to "cynical Israeli statecraft."

Zionism here is no longer a political ideology that encompasses various strands of thought (both Right, Left and in the case of Gustav Landauer, even anarchist) which is concerned with the right of the Jewish people to a homeland. It is here used as a tool of slander and defamation with the purpose of discrediting the intentions of the author. If Mr. Day is indeed speaking about Zionism, he has created his own definition modeled after the anti-Semitic Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

Since my article did not even mention Zionism, and only once referred to the state of Israel in the most critical and negative light, I find this accusation of "Zionism" a reference to my ethnic identity and not to my politics. It is my understanding that rather than talking about Zionism in any political sense, Mr. Day is actually speaking about Judaism itself or, in other words, the fact of being Jewish. He implies that because of my so-called "quiet" allegiances to some unspecified and demonized form of "Zionism" which is nothing less than my Jewish identity, my opinions should not be trusted. In this sense, Mr. Day's remarks falls within the most pernicious form of classical, European anti-Semitism which considered one of its purposes to illuminate the secret motivations and "quiet" allegiances of the Jews.

But this should not strike the reader as too far from what one would expect from a paper which takes no position on anti-Semitism, and even being informed of its omission in *Love and Rage's* "anti-Racism" principle, has made no measures to respond to this problem (see my letter in the June '90 issue). Considering the history of anti-Semitism in the anarchist movement, which has been attributed to such central figures as Proudhon and Bakunin, an overlooking on this question is grave indeed.

In closing, I think it is important to realize that the position of "tactical" support for the Iraqi regime which the paper has overwhelmingly given voice

to can not be meaningfully distinguished from the positions of the authoritarian Left. In the real world and outside the offices of *Love and Rage*, Mr. Day's position is no different from the position of the *Workers Vanguard* (e.g. see the 2/15, 1/15, 8/18/90 issues), as well as a host of other sectarian publications who supported the Iraqi regime for various other reasons, each with their own strange and elaborate explanation. If Mr. Day's sympathies for authoritarian regimes question his commitment to anti-authoritarian politics and his hostilities toward certain ethnic groups compromises the anti-racist principles of any anarchist program, then as the "facilitator" of *Love and Rage*, the project is thoroughly bankrupt.

In any case, an apology hardly suffices. I ask for nothing less than Mr. Day's resignation.

Sincerely,  
Eric Jacobson

Fan Mail 1

Dear *Love and Rage*,  
I'm just sending this little note because I was going through some old anarchist magazines and noticed all the whining about your paper. Most of the letters said you were leftoids. This kind of pissed me off. None of these letters made any great observations or said what a leftoid I am. I now see things a little more clearly now about what a lot of anarchists are like, and most of it makes me uneasy. Many of the letters kind of said that if you weren't like they were and lived and thought this pure type of anarchism then you were a leftist. Well I guess that's what I must be, because I don't believe in what these people say.

It seems that there are many different papers and groups promoting different types of anarchism which is good, the more the merrier. Unfortunately, most of these papers claim that they are what "real" anarchism is, instead of understanding that different people will be attracted by what they

like, (i.e., situationist, syndicalist, primitivist, etc.). I see the value of a paper like *Fifth Estate* because it can attract certain types of people into anarchism just like the *Workers Solidarity Alliance* can.

Instead of working in solidarity, they just argue over who is really an anarchist. It makes me think of all the times I've seen the Trots argue with the Marxist-Leninists. The scary thing is that there really isn't much of a difference.

Anyway, before I fall asleep, I am sick of these leftoid paranoias criticizing anything that doesn't conform to their version of anarchism. You have my utmost support in your efforts at *Love and Rage*, and I am looking forward to the conference this summer.

Diversity is a joy  
Finnigan, Community Charge  
Hamilton, ONT

Fan Mail 2

Dear *Love and Rage*,  
I love your paper, and look forward to the (potential?) visit of Matt Black on April 24th. Despite criticisms I have seen, I really like the organized way your paper functions—it's a nice change from the wishy-washy lifestyle crap which is so common.

Anyway, I'll see ya,  
Harry  
Anarchist Youth Federation  
Kingston, ONT

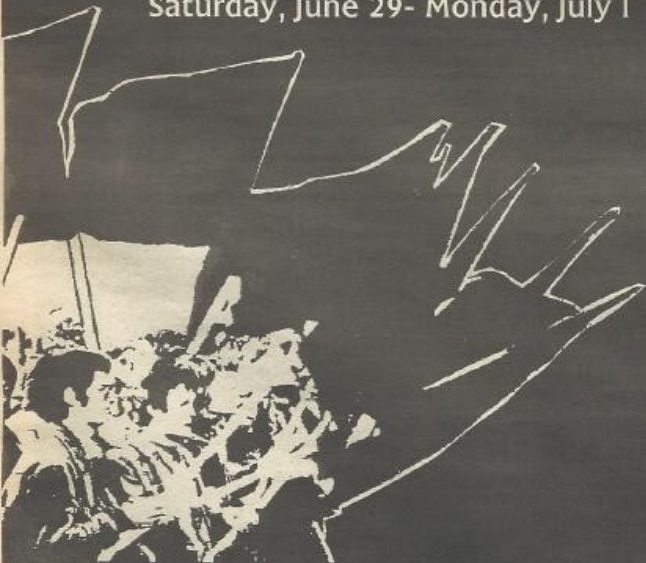
## Correction

In the February '91 issue of *Love and Rage* an article on the James Bay II project in Quebec mistakenly referred to ALCAN as a US based aluminum company. ALCAN is a Canadian firm.

# 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, queens, 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 28th 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 Make checks payable to RABL  
Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

Phone( ) \_\_\_\_\_

Local Group \_\_\_\_\_

Number of people coming (including you) \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to help with the conference.  
I will need childcare. I have the following special needs \_\_\_\_\_



# THE BEATING OF RODNEY KING

BY JAN KRAIER

**S**HORTLY BEFORE 12:30 a.m., on Sunday, March 3, Rodney King, an unemployed construction worker with two children, was driving down the Foothill Freeway near San Fernando.

King was driving with two friends, Bryant Allen and Freddie Holmes, when a California Highway Patrol cruiser came up behind King's white Hyundai. King had driven 55 MPH through a 40 MPH zone.

King's mistake, apparently, was not stopping immediately after he was signalled to. "There was no chase," King told reporters. He stopped at a red light, but simply failed to immediately yield to police request to pull over. Anxious police, it seemed, then summoned extra cruisers and notified a helicopter to track King.

At about 12:45 A.M., King did pull over to the side of a four-lane road running through the middle-class neighborhood of Lake View Terrace. Although 14% of the LAPD is black, all 21 officers on hand were white when Rodney King, who is black, emerged from his automobile. Josie Morales, a resident of the area, was awakened by the sirens and observed the

scene, King, she said, got out of his car and put his hands on his head. Then, he was asked to kneel and lay down on his stomach. Also around this time, George Holliday, a 31 year old



manager of a plumbing business, began to videotape the scene with his new video camera.

Everyone has doubtless seen the video-taped beating of Rodney King several times over the past few weeks. King was hit over 50 times by police batons (and the cops were swinging with two hands for extra force!) kicked in the head and liver, and shocked with a Taser gun. All the while, he lay helpless on the ground, pleading for the officers to stop. One of King's friends, who lay handcuffed on his

stomach on the other side of the car, and hence not visible on the videotape, was also kicked. He described the violence a few days later. He said he could hear King yelling for help, but



then the pain must have become too intense because King eventually stopped screaming and all his friend heard was the sound of bones crunching beneath baton blows.

## Criminals With Bedges

Perhaps the most frightening aspect of the Rodney King case is not so much the beating - by now, many of us realize that this is police routine - but rather the fascistic ploys of the LAPD to cover up the facts.

After the video was aired nationwide, police said that King

had been speeding in excess of 110 MPH. A Hyundai spokesperson, however, told the press that that model car cannot possibly top 100. What's more, California Highway Patrol cruiser tapes, released two weeks after the incident, revealed conversations which proved King's car never exceeded 65 MPH.

Computer messages sent between police cruisers and police headquarters on the night of March 3 have brought to light racial overtones of the case as well. Officers told of what a good beating they had given the man. They all joked and laughed, later comparing the incident to a scene from "Gorillas in the Mist." The little game of "baseball" which the LAPD played out that night left Rodney King with broken ribs, scars, impaired vision, a fractured skull, and possible brain damage.

Public outcry after the King beating was intense. Witnesses to the scene told of how officers ignored their pleas for them to stop. Hundreds of Los Angeles residents have packed "public hearings" to denounce the LAPD and to call for Chief Darryl Gates' resignation. Interestingly, Gates is the only law en-

forcement chief in the country who is a civil service appointee. He cannot be fired by the mayor and is therefore relatively immune to popular political pressure. Beatings are an everyday thing, but no one talks of them. In fact, LAPD officers have been refusing to cooperate with an FBI civil rights investigation of the incident.

As the New World Order hits home, it is becoming increasingly clear to everyone who's side the police are on. The Rodney King incident has shown the police to be unrepentant racists. The beating itself was an unforgivable act of aggression, and the laughter and lies which were the response of the LAPD to the public outcry for justice are just sickening. Chief Gates has refused to remove himself from office, and the four indicted officers are shameless enough to view themselves as not guilty.

People need to take control of their own neighborhoods and their own lives by organizing neighborhood patrols that are prepared to deal with real threats to our communities, starting with the cops. We cannot allow this sort of state terror to continue.

## CUNY STRIKE

(Continued from cover)

teach as a graduate assistant, the cuts in previous years have already had a devastating impact. Each semester, hundreds of students can't get into required first year courses because no money is available to hire instructors for some of the listed sections. Students who work, and can only take classes at certain times, are hardest hit. The Writing Center, which provides tutoring in basic writing skills to students coming from New York's academically deficient high schools, has lost 25% of its positions because of budget cuts.

Two years ago, massive protests stopped a much smaller planned tuition hike. Last year, amid only sporadic opposition, a \$200 increase went through. This year, the massiveness of the proposed jump forced a response.

City College was the first campus captured. In a pre-dawn raid April 8, students infiltrated and seized the huge North Academic Center, which fills several blocks and has hundreds of classrooms. After 4 days of fruitless negotiations,

the college administration cancelled classes until further notice.

In the next week buildings were taken over at eight community colleges and three senior colleges. On April 16, students seized the main building at the CUNY Graduate Center, effectively closing the campus. Classes have now been cancelled at six locations. (The CUNY system consists of nine four-year "senior colleges" which grant BA and MA degrees, seven two-year community colleges, and five specialized institutions, including the Graduate Center, which grants PhD degrees. It has a total of about 200,000 students.)

Administrations at City College and Hunter, among other campuses, have announced that students in the buildings will be suspended, but have not actually carried the suspensions out.

Despite its strength, the movement has definite weaknesses. Most importantly, it is a minority movement. Although six campuses have been shut down, the administrations closed them after small groups of students took over the buildings; most stu-

dents were not involved. Elsewhere, classes continue, and student opinion is split—though not in a really hostile way.

At Hunter, for example, where one building was captured, most classes are meeting, but students cannot use the library, which was the target of the takeover. Many Hunter students are passively sympathetic to the takeover, many are unsympathetic but not really bitterly hostile, nearly all are uninvolved.

One reason for the apathy is that the occupations were carried out by small cadres without extensive prior organizing. Such moves as massive prior petitioning and public meetings threatening coercive action would not have led to concessions, but they would have built active, committed support for the eventual occupations.

In addition there's a potential racial split: the takeovers were spearheaded by Black and Latin students, and whites and Asians are largely uninvolved. Outside, Latin and Black students are more sympathetic than Asians and whites, though the lines are not hard.

Also, people aren't sure that victory can be won or main-

tained. There's a sense of inevitability about the deterioration of all city services, including education. Students may readily agree with solutions like shifting money from arms to social services, but nobody can describe how this will be accomplished.

Given the lack of active mass support, the danger has existed all along that the administrations will turn majority opinion against the activists. But if a large number of uncommitted students could be won over actively to the side of the protests, the movement's power would be multiplied.

One signpost was a student faculty demonstration held April 24 at Cuomo's New York City office. Between 5 and 10,000 students and faculty members attended a rally and then, in pouring rain, marched around the Wall Street area for an hour and a half, blocking the street repeatedly. Another city-wide labor and student demonstration, spearheaded by unions hit by budget cuts, took place April 30. A massive turn out of tens of thousands of union members put this demonstration on the front pages of New York newspapers. But by April 30 the student strike was

essentially over. Impressive as the first demonstration was, it fell short of the massive show of strength, tying up all of downtown New York, that was necessary to make Cuomo retreat. In its aftermath, a backlash has ended the strike. On April 25, anti-protest students egged on by administrators recaptured the main building at Borough of Manhattan Community College. Police pushed students out of an occupied building at Bronx Community College April 26, and cop takeovers forced strikers out of the remaining buildings. The administration's are now capitalizing on the protestors' failure to build mass support earlier.

In this unpromising situation Governor Cuomo, of all people, has something valuable to tell us. Referring to the different groups affected by budget cuts—hospital workers, sanitation workers, grade school and high school students, etc.—the Governor worried, "If they all protested, they could make the CUNY protest look like a breakfast meeting." Learn from him.

[Some of my information has been taken from the City College Student Leader and the Graduate Center Splinter. Thanks.]

## Love and Rage Political Statement

Love and Rage is a monthly anarchist newspaper dedicated to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activities in North America. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions and culture of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed people around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for action in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-ordained ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experience of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We maintain our autonomy and radical politics 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 violence as a necessary means to emancipate humanity and bring an end to the war, poverty, hunger and misery imposed 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-state. We oppose all States whether they call themselves capitalist or communist.

Love and Rage is self-opportunist. 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 American slave slavery to the present and fight of Black people in the U.S. for liberation and self-determination. We fight the corruption of anti Asian and anti Arab racism. We take front rank in the fight against racist skinhead, Klan, Nazi and Cop terror.

Love and Rage is self-determinist. We support the right of self-determination of nations, tribes, oppressed by the various forms of imperialism. We fight to get the U.S. out of Central America, Puerto Rico and all other lands. We support the destruction of the U.S. Federal State. We support the destruction of the Soviet Empire and

the liberation of its peoples. We are for the destruction of Apartheid, the IMF, World Bank, multinational corporations and other forms of imperialism.

Love and Rage is anti-sexist. We are for the liberation and self-determination of all women. We are fighters against patriarchy and for the empowerment of women. This means, militantly, unquestionable reproductive freedom for all women regardless of race or economic status and a world free of sexual 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, bi-cultural, bisexual and gay liberation.

We reject the compulsory heterosexuality of the patriarchal family, and support attempts to foster a diversity of nonsexual human relationships and sexuality.

Love and Rage will support the struggles of youth against their specific oppressions. 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 nuclear 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 to, 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 movement we serve.



# Polish Women Face Pregnancy Police

BY LISA NOVACEK

"However we may pity the mother whose health and even life is imperiled by the performance of her nature duty, there yet remains no sufficient reason for condoning the direct murder of the innocent."

—Pope Pius XI

"The goal of female education must invariably be the future mother."

—Adolph Hitler

WHILE LECH WALESIA, the first non-Communist president of Poland was hailed here as a symbol and "leader" of a movement that fought to replace an oppressive Communist regime with "self-determination" and "democracy", Polish women have been facing an even greater struggle, against the Church and State, which control the choices they make concerning their own bodies. The fight for "democracy," as usual, is once again divided along gender lines.

The Church and the Solidarity-led government, the two institutions that have supplanted the Communist Party are dominated by men. These men, who in the last year have expanded the country's "freedom" (that is, if you define freedom as the expansion and cancerous growth of western capitalist investments), have been viciously attacking the lives of Polish women.

Late last spring the Ministry of Health imposed new rules restricting access to legal abortion. The regulations were passed with no parliamentary debate and little notice in the media, except for a recent poll showing that 65% of Poland's population are against abortion. Although Poland's Ombudswomen have appealed the



regulations saying they were unconstitutional, a tribunal upheld the new rules in January.

What do the regulations mean? They require that a woman get permission for an abortion from three doctors. Any one who finds fault in their patient's reasons for wanting an abortion can refuse to sign the "contract". If one does, a woman must see a state-sanctioned psychologist. Most often these, like the church, try to persuade them to give up their babies to overcrowded orphanages run by nuns.

A bill already has been approved by one house of the Polish parliament that would make it a crime punishable by 2 years in prison for anyone trying to help a woman get an abortion. The bill would also outlaw the sale of contraceptives, including condoms, which only became available last year for those who could not afford to smuggle them in from West Germany. Not only does this take away any control that women might have over unwanted pregnancy, but this also means no one will be able

to protect themselves from AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

Moreover, the government has cut its subsidies for child-care centers and is making it more difficult to obtain a divorce—the government is now pushing for legislation to eliminate divorce for Catholics entirely.

Many of these measures find support among the more than 95% of Poles who identify themselves as Roman Catholics. Many of these supporters view the legislation as a "gift" to Pope John Paul II for helping further the "Democracy" movement. Apparently Walesia feels the traditional kiss on the ring is not enough of a thank you.

Polish women have been able to obtain free abortions since 1956, when it was legalized by the Communists. The law made abortions available in hospitals for women in the first trimester of their pregnancies in cases of rape, a threat to the woman's health, fetal deformity or "difficult living conditions"—in part in an attempt to ease the misery of overcrowded apartments

and a shortage economy in which people had difficulty buying food let alone contraceptives. But the law was also passed because women and children were dying. In the early 50's several dozen died each year from self-induced abortions.

According to the *Village Voice*, the new restrictions have already caused at least three deaths from back-alley abortions. In Lodz, the city affectionately known as the country's "Woman's City," where the labour force is more than 60% female, have already reported that two pregnant women have bled to death, while one died after injecting cleaning fluid into her womb.

Apparently, the new "leaders" in Poland have not learned from history, which has proven that laws cannot eliminate abortion, only make them less safe and more costly.

Try as it might, no government has ever legislated abortion out of existence. In Romania under Ceausescu's regime, policies made preventing unwanted pregnancies virtually impossible.

Contraceptives were outlawed. A special arm of the secret police force, Securitate—dubbed the "pregnancy police"—oversaw monthly checkups of female workers. Pregnant women were monitored, married women who did not conceive were kept under surveillance, a special tax was levied on unmarried people over 25 and on childless couples who could not give a medical reason for infertility. Despite the law, both abortion and abortion-related deaths rose greatly.

Today, Polish women will not only be fighting for the right to control the choices they make concerning their own bod-

ies,

but also, and equally as important, the right to obtain access to information concerning the choices she will want to make.

There is no sex education in Polish schools (two years ago a sex-ed book distributed in high schools by the Communist government was withdrawn after pressure from the nation's bishops). Most feminist literature has not been translated into Polish, most women know very little, if nothing, of works by such key feminist theorists as Emma Goldman or even Simone de Beauvoir, let alone a book such as *Our Bodies, Our Selves*—Unfortunately, this is also the case for many women here in America.

This most recent era of conservatism, with rightist and nationalist groups gaining more political ground leaves Polish women a lot to contend with. Isn't it about time the male elite, whether they be heads of state, church or corporations see that a because a woman's ability to become pregnant does not dictate her destiny, and her refusal to offer her womb to the fetishized fetus, does not make her a killer. Isn't it about time to refuse to be the victim and take a stand against the ones who find it easier to condone war than contraception. These challenges are even greater for Polish women because of the passivity bred by over 40 years of Communist rule, and countless centuries of oppression by the Catholic Church.

For more information contact:

Barbara Basinska  
Noakowskiego 12 - Flat 11  
Warsaw, Poland  
Tel.: 24 91 28  
or  
Malgorzata Dobrzynska  
Kortla Marnix Straat #6  
Amsterdam, Netherlands  
Tel.: 0031 2023 9889

## South High Walkout

BY KIERAN FRAZIER

ON FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 150 students walked out of classes at South High School in Minneapolis, Minnesota to protest administration policy. Earlier that week, the principal unilaterally decided to implement a system where students must sign in and sign out when entering and leaving the school premises. Ostensibly begun for the students' own "protection" from "outsiders", many students felt it was actually an intimidation tactic to control their movement. Many students were also angered by the fact that the principal totally bypassed the official student/teacher committee which would normally have a say in the matter.

In response to the new restrictive policy, leaflets were distributed calling for a walkout after second period on the 23rd. On the day of the walkout, the school administration attempted to prevent the student show of dissent by offering a question and answer period

during lunch break. At a mass meeting of over 250 students the majority rejected the administration's feeble attempt at co-optation and followed through with the initial plans to walk out. Despite drizzling rain, the striking students regrouped on the school's football field and organized an open discussion on the sign-in policy.

Two adult Socialist Workers Party members were the first to offer their wisdom. Introducing themselves as school board candidates, they invited students to their bookstore and offered their "help" in organizing the students. After a few student speakers, one of the two members of the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League present, an ex-South student, spoke of the need for student self-organization and warned of potential co-optation of the strike. There was talk of organizing a multi-racial student union that would address the needs and rights of all students, especially students of color. A

proposal to march to the principal's office for a sit-in was finally agreed upon after some deliberations. The students began the march back to "prison," chanting "fuck the sign-in," which everyone grooved on as we headed back to the building, pushing past security guards and into the principal's office.

As the students' militancy rose, the Trotskyists beat a hasty retreat. After students occupied the office for over fifteen minutes, the principal agreed to a meeting in the auditorium to address the grievances. This turned out to be a mistake, as it was set up with the principal lecturing the strikers on their choice of tactics in voicing disagreement.

The principal interrupted students, yet consistently demanded to be heard through and treated with respect. This condescending authoritarianism is an example of blatant sexism and the oppression of

(Continued on page 7)

## Subscribe to Love and Rage



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

Box 5, Prince St. Station  
New York, NY 10012 USA

\$7 for a first class subscription (low mail)  
\$12 for a first class subscription (not in a school)  
OR PWAT (Prison Workers Action Team) for a first class subscription  
I would like to support Love and Rage with a monthly pledge of:

\$10 \$20 \$30 \$40 \$50 Other

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_



# Getting It Together: Democracy in Local Collectives

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

**T**HIS IS THE FOURTH IN A series of articles on anarchism and organization. The first article addressed some of the general questions around anarchist organization. The second argued for building a network of anarchist groups and individuals. The third article focused on the process of building local anarchist collectives.

This article continues that discussion. In my last article I attempted to define what an anarchist political collective is. I emphasized the importance of being involved in local struggles and being aware of your local conditions.

I also discussed the importance of a commitment to struggle within the collective as well as within society and the dynamic tension between individual initiative and collectivity.

In this article I will focus on some of the more specific features of a collective, in particular feminist process and internal democracy. I will also address what I see as some of the practical steps that can be taken to start a collective.

## Feminist Process

The women's liberation movement in the 1960s and 70s developed an internal practice based on a critique of the authoritarian dynamics within the New Left at that time. This practice, which I refer to here as "feminist process," is essential to the creation of authentically anti-authoritarian groups.

The New Left that emerged in the US in the 1960s had, by outward appearances a very anti-authoritarian character. The ideal of "participatory democracy" was upheld, not as a distant goal, but as the living practice of groups like Students for a Democratic Society. This meant letting everybody have the opportunity to speak and participate fully in the decisions of the movement.

The new women's movement that emerged out of the New Left and the civil rights movement (in particular the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) exposed this commitment to internal democracy as a fraud.

The New Left was characterized by the same relations of domination and subordination between men and women that prevailed throughout society.

Men did the talking at meetings and made the speeches at demonstrations. Women kept the notes and typed those speeches up as pamphlets.

It is no secret that the same kind of arrangements continue to reproduce themselves throughout the various social movements, and in the anarchist movement as well. Feminist process means a

commitment to more than a formal internal democracy, but also a commitment to breaking down the authoritarian relations that we bring with us into our political activity.

It means understanding that relations of power and privilege influence the internal dynamics of even the best intentioned groups.

Many of the observations that the women's movement made about how women and men interacted within radical groups also apply to divisions around age, class, sexual identity, and race or nationality.

The experiences of women-only groups revealed that while such groups could be considerably more empowering for their members than groups with men in them, they did not automatically overcome the authoritarian internal dynamics that existed in mixed groups.

Feminist process means a commitment to analyzing what is really going on in a group and struggling to overcome the authoritarian patterns that are exposed in the process.

Who talks the most and why? Who's ideas are listened to and why? What ways of talking are respected and why? Who has the most access to information and why? Who's proposals tend to be accepted and why? Who speaks for the group?

Many groups have subjected themselves to these kinds of self-critical questions and certain patterns reappear over and over again.

Anarchism is about the liberation of the oppressed majority of humanity. A movement that is truly controlled by the oppressed must be committed to giving a voice to those who have been denied a voice.

There are simple things that a group needs to be committed to if everyone is to truly have a voice. Interrupting can not be tolerated.

Interrupting someone silences them. Men tend to interrupt women. Older people tend to interrupt younger people. People with power in this society feel free to cut off people without power. Even if the interruption doesn't correspond with these patterns it contributes to an internal culture that is bound to be intimidating to people who have a hard time speaking up.

There are lots of other, subtler or more complex, ways that people are silenced in organizations.

The development of internal process is an ongoing process itself. It can't be accomplished in a single meeting.

It is important that this be balanced with the other work of the group, but it should never be pushed aside as unimportant.



## Internal Democracy

Feminist process can be understood as one aspect of an overall commitment to internal democracy within the group. Both feminism and anarchism recognize that formal democratic procedures are no guarantee that decisions are really in the hands of the people. Nonetheless a clear democratic decision-making procedure is an essential part of building a revolutionary anarchist collective.

Formal procedures of consensus or voting can serve as checks on authoritarianism within the group. Such procedures give everybody a final voice. So even if the internal dynamics of a particular discussion have effectively shut someone up, the formal decision-making procedure gives them a simple way to register their dissent from the dominant voices within the group.

There have been lots of debates on the relative merits of consensus and voting as decision-making procedures. Groups should experiment with different processes to really get a handle on what these debates are about.

In practice, I think that a modified form of consensus, that allows voting under certain circumstances, is the most appropriate for a small collective. A small group has to achieve consensus on lots of questions if it is to be effectively function. A small group that is consistently divided over major questions that confront it, should probably split if those divisions can not be resolved. The specifics of a decision-making process need to be worked out in practice by each group. The abuse of consensus decision making is well known. When consensus is applied so

strictly that a group can not move forward so long as one member objects it becomes essentially authoritarian and anti-democratic.

Strict consensus decision making implies a relationship to time that is a luxury for most people in this society. It is a small section of the population that has the freedom to stay up late into the night to hash out all the details of a demonstration or a leaflet until everybody is more or less happy with it. A truly revolutionary movement needs to develop a decision making process that is more inclusive, that is accessible to people with steady jobs, with families to take care of and so on.

## Security and Trust

The collective is a revolutionary organization. Its activities inevitably make it a target for the repressive apparatus of the state. This means that one of the responsibilities of the collective is to build a secure organization. A secure organization means more than an organization without police infiltrators, it means an organization where there is sufficient trust among the members that nobody will by their actions unnecessarily endanger the collective or its members.

A revolutionary group does not have to be involved in clandestine activity in order to be concerned about security. Most of what the police do to us is gather information on us, so that they can best predict our movements. They want to know who is in the group. They want to know where and when we meet. They want to know to whom we are connected. The less they know the better. Furthermore, developing sound security habits now is very valuable if the struggle ever

does demand clandestinity. There is a small body of written material that is very useful for building a secure organization, and anybody who is building a revolutionary anarchist group should become familiar with this literature. There are known methods by which the police carry out surveillance, infiltration, disruption and other repressive activities against revolutionary groups. It is vital to familiarize ourselves with these methods and develop practices and habits that make such activity more difficult, if not impossible.

There are lots of precautions that can be taken to prevent infiltration, to elude surveillance, to neutralize disruption and otherwise resist repression. But the most important thing that can be done in this respect is to develop coherent and sophisticated politics and to raise the standards of political discourse within the collective.

A well trained infiltrator can master any body of political thought and put on a convincing show. But a commitment to serious politics makes it more difficult for somebody to just hang around and gather information. More importantly coherent politics make it more difficult for the state to disrupt a group by pushing it in a particular direction. Trust in a revolutionary group does not mean that everybody likes each other (though that would be nice). It means that everybody trusts each other not to be loose about security, to respect each other in political discussions and elsewhere, to keep their heads on in crisis situations, to keep their mouths shut during interrogations, to keep political differences from becoming personal squabbles in spite of not liking each other if that's the case.

## Getting Things Done

The purpose of the collective is to get things done. There needs to be a dynamic relationship between the work of transforming ourselves as individuals and our relations with each other on the one hand and the work of transforming the larger world on the other.

The collective should offer its members a glimpse of real human community. It should teach its members to critically understand the myriad systems of domination that eat away at us. But if it does these things and doesn't agitate, organize and take action to build a revolutionary movement and to challenge the existing order it is not what I am referring to as a revolutionary anarchist political collective.

(Continued to page 10)

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.

### United States

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

Revolutionary Group X  
P.O. Box 6022  
Chicago, IL 60660

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

Liberate the Observed  
P.O. Box 1916  
Bella Fourche, SD 57717

Collective Action  
P.O. Box 44563  
Detroit MI 48244

Circle A Collective  
4117 1303 Ursulines Ave.  
New Orleans, LA 70116

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 10012

Autonomous Forum  
P.O. Box 366  
Williamstown MA 01267

Art Deco  
P.O. Box 12504  
Raleigh NC 27605

Anarchist Action Network  
Suite 147, 3325 Latta Rd. #2  
P.O. Box 360999  
Birmingham, AL 35236

Amor y Rabia  
P.O. Box 43-2001  
Miami, FL 33245

### CANADA

Outlawous Outrage  
P.O. Box 4051, Station E  
Ottawa, ONT, K1P 5B1

Ecomedia Toronto  
P.O. Box 915, Station F  
Toronto, ONT M4Y 2K9

Community Charge  
P.O. Box 57069  
Jackson St.  
Hamilton ONT L8P 4W9

Arm The Spirit  
c/o Wild Seed Press  
P.O. Box 57384, Jackson St.,  
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4X3



## Walkout

(Continued from page 5)

youth. Our voices obviously aren't as important as the "seasoned" experiences of the older folks.

Although an excellent beginning, the students at South still face big obstacles to unified action.

African-American students justifiably objected that the use of the word "slavery" in the call

to action leaflet was an insensitive attempt to describe the controlling aspects of the sign-in policy. They raised this criticism at the meeting between the strikers and the administration, changing the direction of the discussion. Several white students responded defensively to the criticism and a major schism developed within the student body, all to the benefit of the school authorities.

As revolutionary anarchists committed to anti-authoritarian

organizing we feel we played a positive role in this action.

Unlike the SWP we didn't go to South and try to recruit or lead but instead to learn from and try to lend support to kids much like ourselves.

We talked with students and strongly encouraged their militance and actually involved ourselves in their process.

We participated in discussing the questions facing the strikers such as what tactics should be used, avoiding co-optation

from the school administration and dealing with racism within the student ranks.

While the Trots passed out flyers and talked about running for school board, we talked about burning down the school—you can guess which was more popular.

### Direct Action Gets Satisfaction

As of April, the sign-in policy at South high school has been tabled, and hopefully will be defeated in the student/faculty

meetings.

Surely, however the militance and outspoken action of the students interrupted the usual authoritarian relations between faculty and students. Next time perhaps the faculty won't be so heavy handed and unilateral with decisions concerning the students. Next time, hopefully the kids will want to finally take over their own education and learn from each other rather than from some stodgy teacher.

# Anarchist Black Cross

## Avi Naftel Update

**A** FEW MONTHS AGO WE printed an appeal from Avi and his support group for funds to help with legal expenses. The appeal was, in the words of his support group, "a total failure", and so without money for a lawyer Avi has filed his own action which is "pending" at this time. The suit charges 29 Department of Corrections employees with conspiracy; that they illegally acted against him to retaliate for his being a legal assistant in the prison.

Last month Avi won an 8 year legal battle against Mohave County, where he was originally arrested, and subjected to months of inhumane treatment and torture before being sent to prison. The court ruled in Avi's favor, granting damages of \$18,100 in compensatory and punitive damages. However the county has yet to appeal, so no money has been paid as yet.

Last November Avi was transferred to the Douglas facility of the Arizona State Prison, Mohave Unit. Although he fought the transfer, it seems that the move was a good one for him. The Mohave Unit is a medium security yard where prisoners are housed in dormitories divided into cubicles in which two people live. Prisoners are allowed to come and go from the housing units from early morning until 9:30 pm. When he first arrived he had trouble getting medical supplies (for his ileostomy) but that has been resolved for the most part. The administrative staff offered no resistance to Avi's seeking wage employment, and he is working now as a carpenter at the rate of 35 cents, the wage for skilled labor.

Right now things seem to be a good deal better for Avi. With a new governor and possibly a new director of corrections there is still hope for a transfer to England or even a commutation of sentence.

Avi is still seeking help with legal funds, that can be sent to:

The Avi Naftel Support Network  
P.O. Box 2352  
Guernville, CA 95446

You can write Avi at:

A. Naftel, #45287  
Arizona State Prison  
P.O. Box 5002  
Douglas, AZ 85608

## John Perotti Update

**J**OHNS SITUATION CONTINUES to worsen. Still on hunger strike to protest years of isolation, John can't hang on much longer. We've been asking folks to write and call the prison and the governor and it seems to be working. They are obviously feeling a bit of pressure. John has been appointed a new attorney to look into the abuse and harassment he's been suffering. Now is the time to lean on them.

Please call and write, telegram, fax, etc.:

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

George Wilson, Director  
Dept. of Rehabilitation  
and Corrections  
1050 Freeway Drive, North  
Columbus, Ohio 43229

and write John and send your support:

John Perotti  
#167712  
P.O. Box 56  
Lebanon, OH 45036

## Anarchist Irresponsibility

We received this letter in early April from Bob McGlynn (of Neither East nor West fame). It's an open letter titled "Anarchist Irresponsibility." Although I don't agree with the letter word for word, I do agree with his main point. I would guess that we are all "guilty" of putting off something as simple as letter writing or phone calls with the excuse that everyone else will do it, we don't need to. Well, guess what? nobody is doing it. Maybe it seems useless to call wardens, politicians, write to prisoners. It's certainly frustrating to write and write and call and ... and nothing changes.

It's true that often we can't make even a dent. But by putting on enough pressure in the form of letters, calls, demos, etc. we can sometimes force the prison authorities to ease up. Well anyway, Bob makes the point pretty strongly, I hope everyone takes the need to do these things more seriously.

Jane

In the Jan. 91 issue of Love and Rage.

## ANTI-WARrior Demands Amnesty for GI Resisters

The ANTI-WARrior sent us a copy of their paper, its a "newsletter of military dissension and resistance" coming out of Berkeley, CA. It's put out independently by military resisters, dealing mostly with dissenters and resisters to the U.S. war in the Gulf. There are articles on the Camp Lejeune Prisoners, and statements by several resisters who were discharged or are currently AWOL.

Its great that someone is trying to provide a forum for those kind of articles and statements, but the best part is contact listings, something a lot of newsletters lack. There are separate listings for the Camp Lejeune prisoners, prisoners who have filed for C.O. status, and a listing of contact groups. The address for the newsletter is in the contact listings. They are seeking donations to continue publishing.



ABC ran an article, "Rainbow Hawk, Sergei Troyanski Solidarity Campaign." Rainbow is an anarchist and Rainbow family activist. Drugs were used as a pretext for jailing him for his political and rainbow family associations. He's a political prisoner. Readers were asked to write a letter supporting parole for him.

So far only ten letters have been received, only one from a Love and Rage reader. No one involved in Love and Rage, ABC, or the Neither East nor West milieu has written.

This leads one to wonder if anyone out there is responding to any of the other simple requests made on the ABC and OGB pages.

Not everyone has to do everything.

But only one letter from the Love and Rage readership proves once more what clowns and irresponsible flakes most anarchists are.

A lack of self-assertion is the antithesis of freedom. It's simple; Rainbow is an anarchist, a political prisoner. Letters do help some times. Just write - "I demand parole of Rainbow Hawk" and send it to:

Bob McGlynn  
528 5th St.  
Brooklyn, NY 11215

If anarchists can't even take care of their own people, there's no point to calling oneself an anarchist or pretending to be active.

Bob McGlynn

## CONTACTS

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

Anarchist Black Cross  
Toronto  
P.O. Box 4354, Stn. A  
Toronto, Ont. M5W 1P9  
Canada

Friends of Liberty  
Box 95486  
Seattle, WA 98145-2486

Anarchist Black Cross  
Vancouver  
P.O. Box 2861  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6B 2E4 Canada

Anarchist Black Cross  
New York  
P.O. Box 20821  
Tombstone, N.Y.  
New York, NY 10009

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

Anarchist Black Cross  
Lima Americas  
P.O. Box 451208  
Miami, FL 33245

The ANTI-WARrior  
48 Shattuck Sq.  
Berkeley, CA 94704

Prisoners' Legal News  
P.O. Box 1584  
Tulsa, Okla. 74104

Through The Walls  
472 Albert St.  
Kingston, Ont.  
K7L 3W3 Canada

Bulldozer  
P.O. Box 5055, Stn. A  
Toronto, Ont.  
M5W 1W4 Canada

Excerpts Politics  
Defense Committee  
P.O. Box 283  
Lawrence, KS 66044

Committee to End The Markin  
Indictment  
343 S. Dearborn, Suite 1607  
Chicago, IL 60604

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

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



# Ecology, Critical Thinking, and Utopia

BY PAUL O'BARRON

**I**NCENSED OVER INCREASED attention to environmental issues following last year's twentieth Earth Day anniversary, White House Budget Director Richard Darman snorted: "Americans did not fight and win the wars of the 20th century to make the world safe for green vegetables." Darman continued: "Because so many people are self-proclaimed 'environmentalists' the label is no longer a meaningful characteristic. It is a green mask under which different faces of politico-economic ideology can hide" (*New York Times*, May 1, 1990). Just who wears a "green mask," and what do they really want? What varying political philosophies accompany differing shades of green?

## Green Masks

While ecology contains insights of a potentially revolutionary character, little threatening to Darman or others of the ruling elite hides behind the mask of conventional environmentalists such as the Sierra Club and Wilderness Society. These major Washington DC based environmental groups prefer to cut deals with the state, preserving selected wilderness areas, while limiting public involvement to sending them money, writing Congress or in the case of last year's Earth Day, making individual lifestyle changes. They never challenge corporate and state structures which perpetuate ecocide. Thus they are increasingly viewed by corporations as allies against groups like Earth First! and the Student Environmental Action Coalition making more radical demands.

Corporations themselves don a green mask to conceal their complicity in ecological destruction, as though proclamations of "concern" for the environment absolve them of their subservience to the growth-is imperative that is capitalism.

Within this framework corporations must fiercely compete with each other, exploiting human labor and the environment to make a profit. Green masks do not just come out for Earth Day.

Now every day is Earth Day, especially shopping day when consumers are barraged by "earth-friendly" products. Environmentalists are often quick to join this charade, encouraging "socially and ecologically responsible" investment in these "good" corporations. The basic problem with this mainstream environmentalism is not, as Darman warns, that it hides a dangerous "politico-economic ideology," but rather that it shares the ideology of the system which created the ecological crisis in the first place. Their green mask comes off with a good tug.

The Wall Street Action and other radical actions around the country challenged the view that environmental problems are our fault, easily solved if only corporations and individuals would be a little more responsible. Radical Earth Day actions asserted that an ecological movement can not suc-

ceed if limited to personalistic solutions like recycling and buying "green" products, but must instead challenge the basis of the ecological crisis in hierarchical society, implicating

looking forward in the utopian thinking of possibility Ernst Bloch referred to as the "not-yet-conscious: the wished for, the anticipated better life, in psychology and material

Many believed revolution was right around the corner. French students and many workers raised the cry "All Power to the Imagination," nearly toppling an advanced

Utopia is seldom on the lips of radicals at the barricades. We move along, planning participation in the next demonstration, writing leaflets, holding forums and organizing local groups and larger networks. Despite the importance of this work, many anarchists involved in social movements have reduced the utopian project which is anarchism to keeping pace with leftist organizers, their noses to the grindstone, seldom looking up to see where they are going, much less to ask if we might be headed in the wrong direction.

Anarchism has always demanded the impossible, offering a comprehensive critique of society, while uncompromisingly holding out the possibility of utopia. Yet today, much of the young, re-emergent anarchist movement, while rejecting the evils of this society, offers little as an alternative except to feel guilt for being a part of it and/or to destroy its closest, most visible manifestations. While many know what we are against, few know, beyond vague intuitions, what we are for. Vision is lost, and many wander without direction or self-identity; some instead wait for "leadership" to arise somewhere else. Times like these require us to stop back, reconsider our assumptions, and initiate a dialogue on the possibilities and preconditions for freedom. We must restore utopia to our radical vocabulary.

## Critical Thinking and Utopia

The study of history, theory, and contemporary conditions, essential to any emancipatory movement, has become extremely difficult. We live in an age in which critical thinking (discouraged by schools and media alike) and taking time to read and reflect, is castigated by so-called radicals as exercising one's "privilege," even as we can barely find time for it amid jobs and organizing efforts.

Despite the central role of study to social struggles throughout history, a self-defeating anti-intellectualism which confuses theoretical discussion and writing with the privileged discourse of the university, characterizing it as "academic" and presumably irrelevant, pervades much of the anarchist activist milieu. Possible insight is lost, as though only that which can be easily understood, or that which feels right, can be true. To adopt this attitude is to cut our own throats, condemning ourselves to forever live with rage, while never understanding our situation or developing possible ways out.

The world we live in is not a simple one. Nor are the increasingly bleak social and ecological problems we face. To understand them requires the development of our ability to think critically, to think theoretically, and to disentangle this process from the indoctrination and abstraction characteristic of school.

Lack of theoretical understanding is clearly evident in the simplistic association of ecological politics with "the en-



capitalism, the state, and perhaps more difficult to immediately comprehend, our very way of understanding relationships among humans and between humans and nature.

This year's Earth Day again saw militant ecological actions, but there has yet to be created the type of sustained ecological movement which can stem the tide toward an increasingly irrational, self-destructive society. The system's destruction of people and nature was shamelessly demonstrated by the devastating Gulf War. It is the same system which, in less spectacular forms, daily deprives people of a decent life. The Bush Administration's plans to continue dependence on fossil fuels, opening up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska and parts of the East and West coasts to oil exploration, in addition to speeding up the review process by limiting public comment on building a new generation of nuclear reactors, further proves the system's irrationality, driving us towards social and ecological catastrophe.

The recent Earth Day is meant to focus our attention on the Earth. If we are to avert catastrophe, we must ask what this implies, both looking back at humans' historic relation to the natural environment, and

terms" (*Principle of Hope*, Vol. 1, p. 13).

## The Anticipated Better Life

The rebellions of the 1960s were initiated in the US by the struggles of African-Americans to gain civil rights and later Black Power, given additional momentum by white middle-class students' rejection of a society which provided them with levels of material abundance never experienced before. At the time, many spoke passionately of creating utopia, a "post-scarcity" society in which the subjective desire for freedom was matched by objective material conditions. Utopia was no longer "no place," (from the Greek *eutopia*) but was now the achievable "good place" (from *eutopia*).

In "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought," in 1965, social theorist and activist Murray Bookchin wrote, "the anarchist concepts of a balanced community, a face-to-face democracy, a humanist technology and a decentralized society... are not only desirable, they are also necessary. They belong not only to the great visions of (humanity's) future, they now constitute the preconditions for human survival... What was once regarded as impractical and visionary has become eminently practical."

capitalist country. Revolutions and revolutionary movements were underway all over the world, and with the US losing in Vietnam, many suspected that US imperialism might be just a "paper tiger."

The US lost in Vietnam but revolution at home never followed. The New Left devolved into a sickening menu of anti-quate, authoritarian Marxist-Leninist sects, while the US ruling elite began reasserting its domestic control. Many activists dropped politics. Despite the failure of the 1960s' movements, the period spawned the women's and gay liberation movements, increased pride and some gains in civil rights, though not economic power, for African-Americans, and an environmental movement.

Now, ten years into right-wing Presidential Administrations, and a sustained assault on the structural and cultural gains of the 1960s, radicals' anticipation of a better life have largely faded. Despite the strength of contemporary groups like New York ACT UP and Queer Nation (the leading edge of US social movements) oppositional groups as a whole lack a shared arena of discussion, let alone a shared analysis, strategy or vision of a new society.



vironment," an association all too common in the anarchist community. As anarchists we must examine the degree to which we share assumptions about nature with those in power, and the degree to which this undermines our project. As long as anarchists perpetuate the dominant society's view of nature as "out there" (merely changing our vote to "for" from "against") as a movement we will lack a coherent understanding of what is fundamentally wrong with this society, and what a free society might look like.

A full exploration of nature philosophy is simply not possible in the space available. Instead I will sketch the contours and implications of ecological thinking, challenging the reader to examine her or his own assumptions, as well as my own, and to further study the question (see the end of the article for suggested readings).

#### What Is Nature?

When we think of "nature" we may imagine countryside, a city park, or a place we might spend a weekend camping. We may think of rivers, the air, or an endangered forest. Seldom do we think of ourselves, the city, or culture. Like the separation of men and women, "third world" and "first," white and Black, we also maintain a mental dichotomy between humans and nature. Although we may know that humans evolved from apes, for instance, we seldom realize the degree to which humans are in fact a part of nature, creating a sharp separation between ourselves and "nature."

Understanding humans' place in nature is a first step toward grasping the ecological crisis. Humans have developed as an expression of nature over thousands of years, with the unique ability to think, transmit ideas through language and create a rich culture. In this sense humans can be viewed as a conscious part of nature. We are nature thinking about itself.

This understanding of humans as self-conscious nature is based as much on philosophy as on the study of natural history. As John Clark in *The Anarchist Moment*, points out: "In the scheme of the evolutionary development of subjectivity, humanity is 'nature rendered self-conscious,' an idea developed extensively by Hegel and Marx. But for those thinkers the conception of humanity as universal self-conscious is corrupted by the ideology of domination and what (Murray Bookchin calls the 'epistemology of rule' (p. 218).

Bookchin, the leading theorist concerning the relation between humans and nature, has brilliantly explored the implications of ecological thinking for radical politics, calling his project social ecology or eco-anarchism. In Bookchin's main work, *The Ecology of Freedom*, he outlines the emergence of hierarchy and the problems of bringing about a free and ecological society. He illuminates deeply ingrained patterns of domination, which he sees as part of the dominant Western epistemology. Epistemology deals with our way of knowing the world. Bookchin calls it "mentalizing the entire realm of experience along lines of command and obedience... epistemologies of rule" (p. 89).

It is here, at the level of epistemology, that we can begin to unravel the complex interrelationships of humans' domination of other humans and the conscious attempt to dominate nature. As Bookchin stresses, "the State has a long history—not only institutionally but also psychologically (p. 94). The

modern State grew out of earlier forms of hierarchy and domination. Control through command is what various forms of domination have in common. The State, capitalism and patriarchy are elaborate systems and institutions with a minority in control. The command of men over women, white over Black, capitalist over worker, is extended to the attempt by ruling elites to control nature to increase their power.

The attempt to control nature developed in relationship to certain humans' subjugation of other humans. In its early, rather benign, form the attempt to control nature involved placating "spirits" or deities of nature in order to appease them. Tim Luke, drawing from the work of anthropologist Malinowski, points out, "primal myths and rituals actually are an operationalist mode of thinking, mediating primal people's efforts to control or influence Nature" (*Telos*, No. 76). Early attempts to dominate nature eventually gave way to more destructive enterprises. As Dorothy Dinnerstein states in *The Mermaid and the Minotaur*, "As technology has advanced, and (men) have felt more powerful, one part of this sense of risk—the fear of antagonizing (nature)—has abated. A euphoric sense of conquest has replaced it" (p. 104).

Thus, as Bookchin maintains, "As much as any material development, these epistemologies of rule fostered the development of patriarchy and an egoist morality in the rulers of society; in the ruled, they fostered a psychic apparatus rooted in guilt and renunciation. Just as aggression flexes our bodies for fight or flight, so class societies organize our psychic structures for command or obedience" (p. 89). Domination and hierarchy thus have deep roots in human evolution. They manifest themselves not just in more recognizable institutional forms, but also in ways of thinking. This highlights the importance of changing consciousness through study, discussion and self-reflection as part of a revolutionary movement. The apparent crisis in nature must in fact be addressed in the realm of culture by confronting interrelated forms of domination—uprooting epistemologies of rule.

#### Culture, Nature & Hierarchy

Humans have historically intervened in nature to create a "second nature," or culture. Early human culture is believed to have lived relatively cooperatively—although not freely in any meaningful sense—with great sensitivity to natural processes. As we have seen, some members of various tribes and clans began to dominate others; men to control women, elders to control the young, etc. With time, for example, sexual divisions of labor became hierarchically institutionalized. Although we will probably never know exactly how or when this happened, we can say for certain that forms of domination such as patriarchy have long preceded the rise of class society. Understanding that domination preceded the emergence of class society leads to the perspective that all forms of domination must be opposed to bring about liberation, rather than simplistically advocating that class is the "original sin."

Social ecology seeks to understand the relationship between nature and culture, or "first" and "second" nature, and how the current division between them can, through a dynamic understanding of the process of interrelationship, be overcome. We must confront

the degree to which human culture has degraded first nature, living in blatant disregard of natural processes. But we also need to recognize the distinct value of culture within nature. The social ecological project is one of restoring balance to both relations in society and those between culture and nature.

To create an ecologically informed relation between culture and nature requires a rethinking of what we mean by nature, especially an understanding of how humans project dominant social relations onto nature. As Bloch points out, "The concept of nature certainly expresses in the first place the society in which it appears" (*Erbenschaft dieser Zeit*, p. 291). John Ely further develops the idea, "that cosmology is conceived in definite relation to its respective social system," by stating that this view "is central to forming a coherent emancipatory politics" (*Renewing the Earth*, p. 51). What, then, is a radical view of nature?

Chiaia Heller drawing from Bookchin's work, asserts that "a radical view of nature... regards nature as active, participatory, and continually engaged in an ongoing process of development out of which emerges ever increasing levels of complexity and diversity. Further, a radical view of nature goes beyond the nature/culture dualism by regarding nature and culture not as separate from each other, but as existing on a developmental continuum (a dialectic) in which culture is the realization of the potentiality for subjectivity latent within nature" (*Renewing*, p. 155).

Viewing nature as an active "subject," rather than an object to be manipulated, challenges the dominant view of nature which extends the capitalist commodification of human labor to nature, i.e. as a "resource." In opposition to the notion of humans as subjects relating to objects (nature), "Nature too is a 'subject' and the relationship therefore between humans and nature, like that between human beings is inter-subjective" (Ely, *Renewing*, p. 57). Although we must guard against tendencies to romanticize indigenous cultures, Haudenosaunee John Mohawk points out how their worldviews are far more ecological than those of industrial society and can aid in the development of an ecological sensibility: "Traditional societies are socialized to existence in a specific place. That is to say, the most Traditional societies are indigenous in the sense that they believe they belong in the space they occupy, be that a desert, a rainforest, or a hardwood forest... Generation after generation expends energy thinking about what it means to be a people of a forest or desert... It is not difficult to contrast that result with a people who spend their time thinking about what it means to be a Nation-State which claims hegemony over deserts and seashore" (*Renewing*, p. 94). The belief that one can control nature has its origin in the control of some humans by others, such as the closely related patriarchal practice of men controlling women. As Ynestra King draws the parallel, "For men raised in women-hating culture, the fact that they are born of women and are dependent upon non-human nature for existence is frightening. The process of objectification, of the making of women and nature into 'other' to be appropriated and dominated, is based on a profound forgetting by men. They forget that they were dependent on women in their



early helpless years, and are dependent on non-human nature all their lives, which allows first for objectification and then for domination. But the denied part of men is never fully obliterated. The memory remains in the knowledge of mortality and the fear of women's power." Partly for these reasons King explains that "ecology requires a feminist perspective. Without a thorough feminist analysis of social domination that reveals the interconnected roots of misogyny and hatred of nature, ecology remains an abstraction: it is incomplete. If male ecological scientists and social ecologists fail to deal with misogyny, the deepest manifestation of nature-hating in their own lives, they are not living the ecological lives or creating the ecological society they claim." King further argues that "The way to ground a feminist critique of 'this culture and politics of abstraction' is with a self-conscious ecological perspective that we apply to all theories and strategies, in the way that we are learning to apply race and class factors to every phase of feminist analysis" (*Harbinger*, Fall 1983).

Here I have begun to present the complexity of the ecological crisis and the degree to which it stems from the crisis in society. I have referred to one of the more obvious connections between a form of social domination (patriarchy) and the attempt to dominate nature. This is in order to demonstrate the interrelation between multiple forms of domination and, the following necessity to uproot domination from our psyches even as we create a movement to end institutional forms of hierarchy, such as the State. The implication, then, of this partial, and admittedly largely undeveloped, presentation of some of the issues is, as Clark points out, that "A precondition for the achievement of harmony with nature is the attainment of harmony and balance within society itself. Mechanistic organization based on political and economic power must be replaced by an organic community regulated through common ecological values and a commitment to a common life" (*Renewing*, p. 8). Bookchin's work, and that of eco-feminists such as Heller and King, can aid the individual concerned not just about "the environment," but in the potentiality of a liberated humanity living in harmony with nature. Bookchin's writ-

ings over the last forty years are essential reading. As prolific as he is, Bookchin is no piddling academic, or armchair theorist. He has played an active role in social movements, from his days working in a factory, to the civil rights and New Left movements, up to the ecology, anti-nuclear and Green movements of today. Clark points to Bookchin's significance as a revolutionist in that "his conception of social change is qualitatively different from the standard 'revolutionary' ideologies, which succumb to varying degrees of mechanism, instrumentalism, and reification. Given his conception of the ecological society, the true project of humanity must be the regeneration of the organic fabric of both society and nature—as mind, desire, and imagination are liberated from the legacy of domination" (*Anarchist Moment*, p. 227).

During his difficult recovery from an assassin's bullet, Rudi Dutschke, 1960s German student leader and close friend of Bloch toward the end of their lives, eloquently captured the utopian element presented here: "The principle of hope knows a solution for every situation. Every distress contains its own overcoming... Unambiguous traces... remained; the task was to link up with them. To live socially and not to repress the question of death probably is the best sign of one's relation to history" (*Telos*, No. 52 Summer 1982).

#### Further Reading:

Janet Biehl, *Rethinking Eco-Feminist Politics* (Boston: SouthEnd Press, 1991).

Murray Bookchin, *The Ecology of Freedom* (Palo Alto: Cheshire Books, 1982.) and

*The Philosophy of Social Ecology* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990.)

George Bradford, "How Deep is Deep Ecology?" *Fifth Estate*, Vol. 22 no. 1 (Fall 1987) and "Return of the Son of Deep Ecology," *Fifth Estate* Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spring 1989).

John Clark, ed., *Renewing the Earth: The Promise of Social Ecology* (London: Green Print, 1990.)

Don Davis, *Ecophilosophy: A Field Guide to the Literature* (San Pedro: R. & E. Miles, 1989.)

Tim Luke, "The Dreams of Deep Ecology," *Telos* No. 76 (Summer 1988)

Marge Piercy, *Woman On The Edge of Time* (New York: Fawcett Crest, 1976).



# Notes of Revolt



## African-American Sailors Charged With Mutiny

TWO African-American sailors, Abdul Shaheed and James Moss were charged by the US Navy with "urging disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty" on January 19. The two men are charged with sabotaging the aircraft carrier USS Ranger catapult launch system and engineering equipment and planning to kidnap the ship's skipper. A Navy officer acknowledged that "there was no overt act involved...Essentially they are being charged with making disloyal statements."

The two sailors are both Muslims and Moss had applied for Conscientious Objector status. The Navy claims that they were responding to a call by Saddam Hussein to rise up against the US. This case is, to our knowledge, the first acknowledgment by the US military of resistance to the war within its ranks.

The USS Ranger was the launching point for the fighter bombers that carried out the massive slaughter of fleeing Iraqis on the highway from Kuwait to Iraq.

## Working on the Railroad, Again

ON MARCH 16 over 500 people marched on the Concord Naval Weapons Station, source of close to 25% of the bombs rained on Iraq, on the two-month anniversary of the war's start.

After a short rally at the gathering site, demonstrators took over the six-lane Port Chicago Highway and set off for the base, a mile away.

Upon arrival, graves were dug on the base's lawn for the mock coffins labelled "Made in the USA," which had been carried as a symbol of mourning for the hundreds of thousands of Iraqi war dead.

But today we were not going to be satisfied with a purely symbolic protest. No sooner were chunks of sod dug up than they went flying at the base's wall, neatly dislodging the 16-inch metal letters spelling out Concord Naval Weapons Station.

A folding ladder appeared and several attempts were made to scamper over the barbed-wire fence surrounding the base.

When these were unsuccessful, the crowd gathered around the railroad

tracks leading off-base. What followed was an amazing display of the power of collective improvisation. The shovels brought for the symbolic grave-digging were put to work removing the gravel track-bed. Spare ties were quickly found and inserted under the tracks, which people began to jump on, to pry up the rails.

Realizing their special ability to contribute, a number of large wimmin soon took a prominent role, gleefully chanting "We're fat, we're mean, we don't eat Lean Cuisine!"

Then someone discovered that large metal letters, "I's in particular, are excellent for prying up railroad spikes. Finally a pipe wrench appeared, the bolts on a tie-plate were removed...and there goes a section of rail! At least for a short while, there'd be no more bombs coming out of Concord.

## Alive is Dead

ALIVE, an international anarchist newsletter launched last fall in Amsterdam will no longer be published. The need for a regular international anarchist bulletin has been felt by many for some time. *Alive* is only the most recent

## Democracy

(Continued from page 6)

A movement that is not truly committed to building an authentic human community amongst its members can not hope to understand what is required to extend that project to the whole world, that is, to make revolution.

Occasionally a collective needs to step back, take a breath, reassess, lick its wounds, nurture itself. At all times a collective needs to be conscious of its own internal dynamics and how they might be reproducing the systems of domination the collective is supposed to oppose. But we should understand clearly that the collective can not make the revolution by perfecting itself as an anarchist island in the sea of an authoritarian society.

The collective's greatest contribution to human freedom is when it compels people to realize their subjectivity, to take action to take control of their own lives, to see social relations as a human construction that can be transformed. That is to say that the greatest contribution the political collective can make is its political activity, its participation in struggles that involve hundreds, thousands or millions of people.

The collective is an organization that is designed to get certain things done. That means developing and sharing the skills that are necessary for po-

litical organization: writing, producing literature, running meetings, running an office, public speaking and the often intangible, but vital, skill of getting people to work together.

The collective should always try to find ways to share these skills so that it is both democratic and flexible. Many people, for example, are intimidated by public speaking. This means that a lot of public speaking will tend to get done by the same people unless a conscious effort is made to share the skills involved. There is no shortage of good books and articles on public speaking. People should read these. If you have a good speaker in your group she should help other people prepare and practice speeches instead of giving them all herself. Sharing skills is an important part of getting things done.

Another part of getting things done is effectively delegating responsibilities. Getting things done means that not every decision can be made by the collective as a whole after an exhaustive two hour discussion. That means that the collective has to develop mechanisms for delegating specific tasks, and some of the decisions involved in those tasks, to smaller groups of people. It is important to rotate tasks and not to let delegated positions ossify into positions of power over the group.

At the same time it is important to develop a decision mak-

ing process that allows people to thoroughly discuss the questions that are important to them. Part of delegating tasks then means figuring out what needs to be done and which of those tasks people feel need to be talked about by the whole collective.

### Internal Education

People will join the collective usually because they believe in what it is doing. They often come into the collective with widely divergent experiences and understanding. This is a good thing. If a comprehensive understanding of revolutionary anarchist politics is a precondition for getting involved, the collective will become uniform and stagnant. It will exclude people whose politics are more instinctive and it will thereby exclude their distinct perceptions and experiences.

The unevenness of different people's political understanding, however, can become a big problem. Those who are most knowledgeable (or most comfortable with their knowledge) tend to dominate the politics of the group. Attempting to address this simply by shutting up the big mouths doesn't do the trick. The collective needs to take responsibility for a process of internal political education that will empower members who come into the group without much knowledge of anarchist theory or history. Developing such a process without reproducing the

authoritarian dynamics of school can be very difficult. What is essential is overcoming the mystification that tends to attach itself to theory and history and to arm people with the skills to understand them on their own. Study groups, discussion groups, and even classes are all ways that a group might choose to carry out internal education.

Study and political discussion are essential components in the process of democratizing relations within the collective. A group can develop both a serious feminist process and democratic structure, but if access to historical and theoretical knowledge is not shared it will not be a truly democratic group.

Feminist process, internal democracy, trust and security, and internal education are all essential to building a strong anti-authoritarian collective. In the process of building a collective you will often return to these tasks.

By considering them in advance you have a real advantage when you actually begin to organize a collective

### Getting Started

Building a revolutionary anarchist collective is an ambitious undertaking. Before trying to pull together a collective it is important to identify as many people as possible who might be interested in joining such an effort. It is essential from the start to try to reach beyond your circle of friends.

Find people in existing activist groups who seem to share a revolutionary and anti-authoritarian perspective. Talk to them one at a time. Give them some literature (the articles in this series might be a good starting point) and find out what they think about building a revolutionary organization. As you identify people who are interested, find out if they know other people who might be interested. Once you have found a few people from different scenes, sit down together and plan a meeting. Talk to everybody you want to come far enough in advance so that they can actually come.

The first few meetings will probably focus on developing the identity of the collective. This will be an ongoing process. You will also have to pick a name, set up a regular meeting schedule, and pick a first project. It is very difficult to really develop a serious collective if you meet less than weekly. Anything more is generally too much to ask of a new group. A first project could be anything: an educational event, a spray-painting campaign, a contingent to a demonstration, a pamphlet.

What is essential is that from the start the collective participate in real social struggles and that it develop a public presence that will attract new people from outside of its own circle. Part of the idea is to get people to come up to you and ask "What is this anarchist



in a series of such efforts that have failed. If such a project is to succeed it will require more advance preparation and coordination across borders than Alive.

## From the Petroleum Broadcast System

In a classic case of the management of public opinion during the war the Public Broadcast System planned to make a release of *Frontline's* High Crimes and Misdemeanors by David Fanning and Bill Moyers available to local PBS affiliates in March but withdrew the offer because the show might "undermine the President's credibility."

The show was an investigation of both President Reagan's and then-Vice President Bush's involvement in the Iran/Contra affair.

This blatant suppression of important information was revealed in a memo circulated by Steven Ashley and Jim Salem of PBS to local PBS affiliates. A copy of the memo was obtained by the *New Liberation News Service*.

The memo states quite explicitly that "in light of the present circumstances in the Gulf, we are withdrawing (the) offer and our plans to refeed the episode at this time." A message from Fanning and Moyers was included in the memo that says "...Because of the war in the Gulf, we believe it would be editorially and journalistically inappropriate to air this program now."

## Spies Among Us

THE STUDENT Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) has been targeted

for corporate surveillance by a company called MBD Issue Research and Analysis. MBD has compiled a report on the broad based student group and their "Catalyst" conference last October. The report was sold to various corporations that have something to fear from groups like SEAC. A temporary employee at one such corporation leaked the report to SEAC.

The report is a lurid and paranoid assessment of SEAC. It is also a useful document for those who want to learn about corporate surveillance. The report expressed concern that "Closer cooperation between the grassroots movement and student environmental activists could have adverse effects on mainstream environmental groups which may find themselves outside looking in at vibrant, more radicalized campus/local community alliances that exclude the Washington DC establishment." There is lots more of this kind of stuff in the report. Get a copy from:

Threshold  
P.O. Box 1168  
Chapel Hill NC 27514-1168  
tel.: (919) 967-4600

## Return of The Black Panther

THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper is back. The first issue appeared this spring. In a front page editorial statement the publishers explained that *The Black Panther* is being published by the Black Panther Newspaper Committee. The committee is made up of former members of the Black Panther Party.

The Black Panther Party was the most prominent voice of the revolutionary wing of the Black liberation movement in the 1960s and the *The Black Panther* was widely read back then.

The reappearance of *The Black Panther* comes at a time of increasing mili-

tancy and self assertion in the African-American community. Support for the paper already appears to be quite broad.

Articles in the first issue include a strong article on AIDS in the African-American community that takes community leaders, churches and other institutions to task for homophobia, a scathing review of *What Every Blackman Should Know About the Blackwoman*, and a lot of valuable Panther history. The chronology of the Black Panther Party is an astounding account of the repression the Panthers faced. The descriptions of the survival programs of the Panthers adds to our understanding of a group that is unfortunately best known for its shoot outs with the cops.

*The Black Panther* will be published quarterly. An individual subscription for one year is \$10 from:

Black Panther Newspaper Committee  
P.O. Box 519  
Berkeley, CA 94701-0519

## Food Not Bombs

ON FRIDAY, March 22 San Francisco Food Not Bombs members were in court to support member Keith McHenry, who was being charged with contempt of court. The charge was dismissed. As people were leaving the court room, police arrested McHenry for a previously discharged traffic warrant, inciting a small riot as Food Not Bombs members attempted to block the stairwell.

Food Not Bombs has been serving free food to San Francisco's homeless and hungry for three years. They have been consistently harassed by the city and police for their efforts which have exposed the plight of the homeless in the Bay Area.

To challenge this harassment Food Not Bombs is asking all their supporters from across the country to write letters to the mayor and district attorney demanding that all charges against Food Not Bombs members be dropped, that

the mayor meet with Food Not Bombs as soon as possible to discuss ways of resolving their conflict with the city, and that all harassment stop immediately.

Letters should be sent as soon as possible to:

Mayor Art Agnos  
Room 200, City Hall  
400 Nan Ness  
San Francisco, CA 94102

and

Arlow Smith, DA  
Room 322, Hall of Justice  
880 Bryant Street  
San Francisco, CA 94103

## Firebombs in Eugene

A SERIES OF firebombings and other acts of sabotage have given Eugene, Oregon the distinction of having seen the most militant resistance in the US to the US war against Iraq.

The incidents began January 17 when two Molotov cocktails caused nearly \$30,000 in damage after being hurled through windows at the US Army Reserve Training Center and US Marines Reserve Center in west Eugene. Three nights later, another Molotov was thrown into an IRS office in north Eugene. Another firebomb with a timer was discovered outside the entrance of the US Army's Southern Oregon recruiting headquarters in west Eugene on April 5. Bomb squad members "disarmed" the device by blasting it with a water cannon. The ensuing explosion blew the doors off the office's main entrance.

On April 14 a power pole was cut down and a bomb threat was called in to KEZI TV, an ABC affiliate carrying the jingoistic "Welcome home, America!" show to honor the the USO and returning troops who obediently slaughtered 300,000 Iraqi people.

While fire bombings and other acts of sabotage took place around the country we know of no other city that has experienced this level of clandestine resistance to the war.

revolution stuff about any way?"

You should expect there to be a number of false starts and periods of low participation before the collective gets off the ground. The right mix of people takes time to find and sometimes good people get driven away by mistakes that inevitably get made. That's life. The collective should expect there to be good times when the collective is growing and dynamic, but also bad times when only a handful of people come to meetings and everything feels stagnant. Perseverance is the key. That doesn't mean it is never appropriate to throw up your hands and start over again. But the collective is an attempt to build a bridge between what is and what could be. The fact that there are difficulties shouldn't obscure the necessity of making the collective work. The bridge must still be built, even if half of it just collapsed.

One of the main activities of the collective is building itself: developing its politics, bringing new people in, developing its structure to accommodate larger numbers of people and to sustain a higher level of activity. This should be explicit from the start. The collective needs to grow from a handful of people into a mass revolutionary movement. That may seem like a hopeless dream when you only have four people at a meeting. But it will never happen if those four people aren't committed to it happening. That

means not being ashamed about devoting energy to convincing people that the collective is something they should join. That means talking openly about making anarchist revolution even if people give you funny looks.

The development of collective politics means more than assessing the situation, taking collective action and reflecting back on it. It is just as vital to carry out collective study of history, economics, social, and political theory and a lot more. Without a commitment to serious study and critical examination of revolutionary theory the collective can quite easily become a dogmatic and self-contained sect. The collective should study the various debates and discussions that have divided the revolutionary movement over the years, should study the historical experiences that inform and were informed by those debates, and should be familiar with current debates. That means studying not only the writings of various anarchist thinkers, but also the literature of movements we disagree with. It means developing a thorough understanding of marxism in its many forms, liberation theology, pacifism, Islamic fundamentalism and many other ideologies that command popular support around the world.

A political collective is united around politics. These may be adequately expressed in the ac-

tivity of the group. But, sometimes it becomes necessary for the group to collectively develop a written statement expressing its points of political unity. This can be very valuable in determining who you want to bring into the group and who you don't: who agrees with the stated politics of the group and who doesn't.

On the other hand you want to avoid letting such statements take on their own life. If you take your own proclamations too seriously you will most likely miss the many interesting ideas that will inevitably fall outside of your statement's scope. The process of drafting a statement—the debate and discussion of the identity of the group—may in fact be much more valuable than the statement itself.

### Beyond the Political Collective

The political collective is a local organization. But that doesn't mean it doesn't have relations with and responsibilities to the larger movement. The collective is not an end in itself, it is a step in a long process of building an authentically anti-authoritarian revolutionary movement.

The local political collective is the precursor of regional, national and international anarchist political structures, organizations that can coordinate their activity so that it most effectively challenges the institutions of authoritarian society. Strong, secure, local revo-

lutionary anarchist political collectives are the cornerstones of any future revolutionary anarchist organization beyond the local level.

That is to say that the political collectives have the responsibility for developing the foundations for such an organization.

The collectives have to make organizational activity beyond the local level a subject for regular discussions. The collectives have a responsibility for developing regional networks that can help other groups and individuals in their regions get better organized.

Collectives also have a responsibility for taking the initiative around particular issues on a national or continental basis. That is to say that, in the absence of a larger organization, local collectives should take the initiative in calling for actions or campaigns in response to world events.

The collectives need to commit themselves to building networks that link together geographically dispersed anarchist activists and transforming those networks into structures that can coordinate activity and that remain accountable to their base in local communities.

Local collectives even have a responsibility to communities where there are no known anarchist contacts. When struggles break out in places where there aren't any known anarchists, local collectives should organize to send people there to make

contacts, to find out what is happening and to get that information out to the anarchist movement at large (a newspaper, or other regular publication is an essential part of this process).

Even if this doesn't result in an explicitly anarchist contact, it helps connect the anarchist movement to the actual struggles that are taking place.

It is a fact that collectives will be organized in certain cities long before they get started in other places.

Different cities and towns have different political climates. This uneven development of the movement places special responsibilities on strong local groups in relation to weaker groups and scattered individual anarchist activists.

People who are active in areas that are difficult to organize in need support from areas with more established groups. They need people to come and visit them, to correspond with them, to do defense work if they are arrested, to help them find other people in their area and so on.

The creation of a revolutionary anarchist organization that includes a number of strong local collectives as well as weaker groups and individual activists is essential if revolutionary anarchism is to become a viable movement that can speak to oppressed people in every corner of this society. The next and last article in this series will focus on that task.



# On Gogol Boulevard

## Now Poles Take On "Civilian Service"

**D**URING THE MID/LATE '80'S the Polish Freedom and Peace movement; (WiP) fought for and won the right to do "civilian service" as a way to avoid a stint in the military. Many groups around the world aided WiP, including us here at OGB/Neither East nor West. Anarchists in both east and west played a prominent role in the campaign.

Now they are battling forced civilian service and conscripts are deserting. Our WiP anarchist friend from Poland, "Patyczak" (Grzegorz Kmita), writes us of resistance organized by the *Social Defense Against War and Violence* group, where anarchists again are taking a leading role:

Hello OGB!  
Here I send you xerox copies of declarations of 3 people who have deserted from civilian service and a copy of the declaration of our campaign *Social Defense Against War and Violence*. The situation of civilian service in Poland starts getting worse and militaristic ten-

MPs and Senators. I will send you all further info about our campaign regularly—about once a month. You can use it freely as you want.

"Patyczak"  
Grzegorz Kmita  
Dozynkowska 9B  
Poznan, Poland

(Patyczak is also a contact for punks in Poland and speaks fluent English and Danish.)

The declarations of the three deserters and a list of others is available for an SASE from:

On Gogol Boulevard  
c/o Bob McGlynn, 528 5th St.,  
Brooklyn NY, 11215

The following is the text of the Declaration of the Social Defense Against War and Violence Campaign in Poznan on December 1, 1990:

We consider war to be a crime against humanity. We don't support any of its forms and we start a campaign which has the elimination of all reasons for war as its main aim. The campaign is a form of cooperation of individuals participating in various pacifist and anti-militarist movements and organizations. We believe that through our individual involvement we will manage to spread a new way of thinking about the role of the army in the state and about possibilities of defense with some other than military ways of fighting.

We began Social Defense Against War

and asks that solidarity letters be sent to the above address) Jaroslaw Urbanski/Anarchist Federation, "Objector" Association; Elzbieta Oledzka/Freedom and Peace Movement, War Resisters Int'l; Rafal Kasprzak/Amnesty Int'l; Grzegorz Kmita/Anarchist Federation; Andrzej Wolyniec/Freedom and Peace Movement; Maciej Malecki/Objector Association; Andrzej Tuszynski; Piotr Zyzuk/Kropotkin Anarchist Group; Pawel Kwiatkowski/Kropotkin Anarchist Group; Malgorzata Krukowska/Freedom and Peace Movement.

## Slovenian Alternative Scene

**N**YC NEITHER EAST NOR West's friend Marko Hren from Slovenia, Yugoslavia, recently sent us a twelve page report. Below is a brief summary. For a copy of the entire report, send \$2 to Bob McGlynn, 528 5th St., Bklyn, NY 11215.

In the capitol city, Ljubljana, the Center for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence has opened, complete with a library and a computer smuggled from New York City. The Center is currently looking for an international volunteer to staff it for a year or so who knows at least english and spanish. Those interested should talk to Saso Gazdic, who regularly works there. (See address and phone at close of article)

During Slovenia's April 1990 first multi-party elections, Marko Hren ran as "an independent candidate of the New Social Movements (pacifist, feminist, emancipator, gay, lesbian, rock, subculture, drugs, alternative approaches concerning psychiatry, medicine, healing...etc...)" It was a lot of fun and the basic achievement was that we promoted our issues in the political arena. An indication of how seriously such alternatives are taken came in the form of President Milan Kucan's invitation to Marko to be a consultant on security issues. Previously, the alternative movements operated under the protective umbrella of the official Communist Youth group, but have now freed themselves from its cover. In the process seriously vexing the youth group who ran as the newly formed Liberal Party. The alternatives additionally helped to form a "Parliamentary Commission for Peace Politics".

One of the central issues, and the principal election theme, of the alternatives is the abolition of the army (Slovenia Without an Army group). The Liberal, Green, Communist, and Socialist parties all support the alternative's anti-military platform. In fact, the majority of the government actually endorses the concept, but wants Slovenia to have its own military (autonomous of the federal one) for a transitional period until the situation in the Balkans settles.

The alternatives have succeeded in drafting a new "quite liberal" law concerning conscientious objectors. At the moment, a de facto agreement exists that no CO will be conscripted if he/she applies to a peace group or to the Ministry.

Finally, the Network for Metelkova formed recently, bringing together seventy different groups. Metelkova is a street in Ljubljana, on which the Central Military barracks and headquarters are located. The Network's stated objective is to convert the military buildings to "Cultural, social, etc. purposes."

### Projects

The Center coordinates and runs about ten projects of the Movement for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence. A list of those projects is available from On Gogol Boulevard.

### Communications

The address of the Center is the contact point for the following international networks: War Resisters International;

ICOM-International Conscientious Objectors; Helsinki Citizens' Assembly; Abolition of the Army, Europe Without Armies; Alpe Adra Alternative; The Center for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence is in touch with over 500 groups and individuals worldwide. Please send us your new addresses and we will update our database. We use Macintosh and PC-compatible equipment and can receive data on disks. Hopefully we will hook onto Greenet by the end of 1990. The following groups share the same address and telephone number within the Center for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence: Movement for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence/c.o. Saso; People for Peace Culture/c.o. Saso; Women for Politics/c.o. Natasa; A group for the socialization of psychiatric treatments/c.o. Vito; A group for drug addicts help/c.o. Vito; Network for Metelkova/c.o. Irena.

### Documentation Library

The Center has a reference library and archive that is looking for contributions of: periodicals, newspapers, newsletters, pamphlets, and other literature, as well as your up-to-date information, calls for solidarity, and cooperation. Send your literature list!

Center For The Culture Of Peace  
And Nonviolence

Mestni trg 13, 61000 Ljubljana,  
Slovenija, Yugoslavia  
tel.+38-61-224566

Fax.+38-61-328887 Attn. Marko Hren  
Gyro. Acct. 50100-678-44002

## Hungarian Anarchist News

"Hello Neither East Nor West, Hope everything is OK with you and no one got arrested for having demonstrated against the Gulf War. Could you please circulate this info in the newsletter?"

Anarchist regards,

Love from BAC

(Budapest AnarchistGroup)

-Agnes

(Below is a summation of their double-sided Anarcho-Info newsletter)

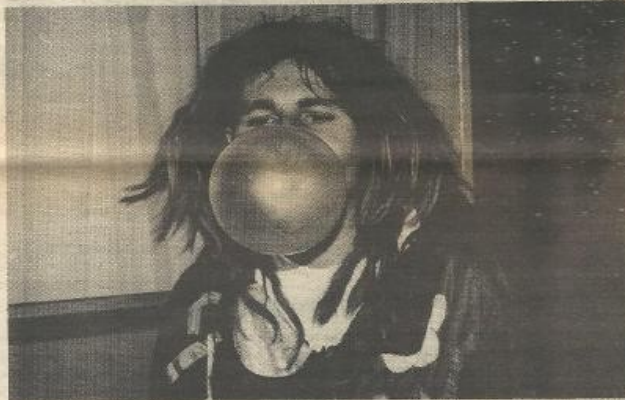
After a slow summer BAC is having regular meetings again in Budapest's "Eotvos Klub." On Sept. 29, 1990, BAC joined with punks in an anti-militarist demo of about 300 people demanding the abolition of all armies. BAC joined the Feminist Network on Oct. 9 and held a 25 person picket at the Polish Embassy to protest Polish anti-abortion policies (anti-abortion pressure is mounting in Hungary also). BAC accused the press of "making sarcastic remarks on people's looks, rather than seeing their point." On Nov. 23rd BAC squatted the German embassy for five minutes in a show of solidarity with east Berlin squatters under siege. Seven BACers protested the Gulf War Jan. 16 at the Iraq and US embassies. On Jan. 25, thirty people from BAC and the Feminist Network joined the worldwide protest against the Gulf war by marching from the Iraqi to the US embassy.

BAC reports that pro-war propaganda dominates the media. Some large national papers gave demo coverage. "Some objective and positive. The TV didn't miss to comment mockingly on action—proving their own corrupted narrow-mindedness."

BAC has given quite a few media interviews and says that "there's definitely a growing interest in anarchist ideas in Hungary." They plan to open a library, an office, and launch a paper.

BAC wants contacts from anarchists all over:

Budapest Anarchist Csoport  
1399 Budapest Pf. 701/900  
Hungary



Patyczak

dencies in the society increase - we think it is the last moment to start doing something serious about it.

We would like to create a social force which would be able to stand up to militarism, proposing as an alternative - social defense. Our main aims and foundations are printed in our Declaration. We printed 1200 copies of our info-bulletin - I send you one. We give it to people for free or they pay what they want. We distribute it mainly in Poznan, but we sent many to other towns, mainly to people from WiP and FA (Anarchist Federation) - we expect them to join the campaign. We also try to gain the support of some people who are known and respected by public opinion; even their formal support - I mean, their signatures under our Declaration can help us a lot.

We in Poland get used to making simple actions—such as pickets, demonstrations, etc. Now such forms of activity are completely ineffective—neither society nor the authorities pay attention to them, everybody is indifferent, so the only way for us is to start to prepare something bigger, just a campaign—long wave and planned activity on various fields and levels. So far we've released #1 of our bulletin, everyday we held a walking picket at the National Headquarters of the Air Force, we send information abroad, we try to involve people from other towns to do our action and to spread info through official mass media (so far we've managed with local a radio station and a newspaper).

We also wrote an open letter to all

and Violence in order to:

1. Shorten civilian service, which, as a result of remissness in competent departments of the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Employment and Social Policy, lasts incomparably longer than military service (for students—24 months in relation to 5 months of military service, for basic service—36 months in relation to 18).

2. Release unconditionally all deserters, who were imprisoned on the grounds of the regime law, and give them a right to cases at civil, non-military courts.

3. Put an end to lawless and scandalous proceedings done by the Military Headquarters of Supplement and by Recruitment Boards. The Social Defense against War and Violence campaign will also try to initiate a discussion on introducing two new articles to the new constitution: to guarantee a possibility of the refusal to carry a gun, also in a case of armed conflict, and to ban the use of the Polish army beyond the border of our own country. We see future Poland as a neutral country with the army reduced to a minimum, just if its existence will be of any use at all.

We ask all social-political groups and organizations to support our campaign in whole or at least its three basic points.

Social Defense Against  
War and Violence Campaign  
DS Jowita

Zwierzyńska 7, pok P-2  
Poznan, Poland

(OGB/NYC-Neither East Nor West



# AMOR Y RABIA

una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria \$1

Año 2 Número 4

Mayo de 1991

## Carta de los "Squats" de Berlin: Parte 1

Página 2



**Puerto Rico:  
Consulta Cosmética  
Página 3**



# CARTA DE LOS SQUATS DE BERLIN (Parte 1)

El noviembre pasado habían batallas duras entre policía y los "squatters" (colonos que ilegalmente ocupan propiedades) de Berlín (para más lea Amor y Rabia Inero de 1991). Jeremy Warsaw, de Berkeley, California estaba allí. El Texto que sigue es una carta que el mandó a sus amigos en su suelo patrio. Es-

roja luminosa, una condición exacerbada por mi inabilidad de participar en un estilo de vida de fumar sin parar, fiesta hasta las 6 de la mañana, durmiendo hasta mediodía.

Sea lo que sea una situación más extraordinario ha surgido, lo cual me encuentro ensimismado completamente. Parece

agua, un todavía mas grande camión de acéró sólido con fuerte cañones de agua de alta presión montado encima. Detrás de esto sentaron 10 camiohetas de policía cada una con 10 a 15 policía anti-motines.

Todos dicen que estos muchachos son malos. Son todos más o menos 6'3" o 6'4", joven-

ribe y puestos en los balcones. Primero decidimos quedar adentro, pero al momento que la gente que vivían aquí nos dijo que no querían tirar piedras, fuimos a la calle.

Llegamos a tiempo para encontrarnos con la mejor de Alemania occidental, cada uno aguantando un blindaje de plexiglás. No estaban atacando, solamente tratando de asegurar un intersección fuera de Mainzer. Bueno, tentativamente al principio, algunas piedras fueron tiradas, entre cantos de "policía fuera" empezamos a bombardear y forzar los fuera de la calle.

¡Tíros! ¡Gas! Humo blanco, sabor de pimienta en mi boca, pero no tan mal. Entramos corriendo a un suat cuando viene un cañón de agua. De los balcones y techos un diluvio de piedras y botellas, no haciendo dano al cañón, pero no dejando al esquadron avanzar. Gritos altos empezaron cuando un "molotov" explota—golpe directo—y en cima del cañón hay fuego. Pero no por mucho tiempo y parece que hasta las bombas de fuego son incapaz contra tal maquinaria.

¿Que es efectivo? Baricadas grandes. Trincheras en la calle, montones grandes de tierra y basura. Así que, el trabajo empieza y continua todo el noche.

Cuando viene la hora del proximo ataque, horas despues, hay baricadas en todo lado del Strasse, trincheras grandes, coches volcado, hasta un tractor enorme fue expropiado de un solar de construcción cerca de aquí. Fue bien usado, conducido torpemente al principio y despues con más habilidad por un anarquista con máscara, que lo conduce hasta agotamiento (hombre o maquina, no se) y luego tambien el tractor llega a ser una baricada.

Y ahora esperamos. ¿Van a atacar? ¿O mejor dicho cuando?

Yo sospecho que el ataque va ser por la mañana, cuando la policía estan descansado, cuando ellos pueden ver mejor. Comemos, cagamos, escuchamos el radio. La gente militane de Lubbi no construyen baricadas. Amasan piedras y petrol. El ruido del cañón y el motor diesel del Panzer se oye antes de ver los y sabemos que la policía han vuelto. 8pm, 9pm, quien sabe. Casi todos van a la calle, yo al techo con 5 o 6 otros a mirar cuando el cañón entra en combate con el Autonomen. El cañón se da una vuelta por el bloque, viene por aquí y tiran agua (con gas lacrimógeno hechado). Policía en

camiohetas con latas de gas, que cheispean cuando vuelen, explotan en el aire y bailan en el piso con humo dañoso. Gente buscando los y tirando los atrás a la policía casi como lo que vimos de los años 60's.

Un tren fue parado y impedido, cerrando esta entrada particular. Altavoces del policía nos informa que los squats de Mainzerstrasse no van ser desahuciado, solo quieren abrir las calles. Y luego, ellos atacan otra vez, por la otra entrada, y es nuestra turno, de los techos, a tirar cientos de piedras, tejas del techo, ladrillos de chimeneas a las filas de policía, amon-

**"Aquí hay un episodio cuando la violencia es efectivo; tiene valor valor instrumental. Sin piedras los squats estaran destruido."**

taba escrito en dos partes. El primer tiene fecha de lunes, 12 noviembre, 1990 y el segundo, viernes, día 15 de noviembre, 1990. Esto es el primer parte.

POR JEREMY WARSAW

**B**ILLIE, ESTOY EN BERLIN ahora, despues de una semana corta en Nueva York y Massachusetts con Martha y mi hermano. Despues de algunas dificultades, yo fue dispuesto a encontrar Andrei R. en un "squat" (edificio ocupado sin título por colonos) grande en Kreuzberg en la calle Lubinestrasse. Hay hasta 60 personas en dos edificios, juntados por un puente de suspensión tombaleando cuatro tramos por encima del suelo. Tambien viviendo allí es Andrei S., quien fue muy amistoso, y una mujer de Canada quien el vea.

Los "squatters" aquí no son muy amistoso en general. Como un extranjero lo dijo "Berlín es frío en casi todos aspectos."

Pero, ellos, sin embargo hablan algo de Inglés así que podemos comunicarnos.

Anoche unos quantos de nosotros vinieron a Mainzerstrasse, en Berlín del este, para rondar en un bar en uno de los "squats".

Hay más de 130 squats en Berlín del este pero solo un poco quedan en Berlín del Oeste, como el en que yo estoy. Muchos de los squats; lleno de grafito, tienen puequerías taveras de sotano, donde gente viene a beber y fumar, fumar, fumar, escuchando musica Americana de "Rap". Hay 12 squats en una fila en la calle Mainzerstrasse, una fila impresionante de edificios de 5 tramos vestidos en banderas y insignias políticas. Aquí hay algunos bares, un café/centro de información, librería anarquista, etc.

Los squatters son mas que nada de Berlín occidental y, como ustedes que estuvieron en Berlín antes saben, ellos son "punk" en el extremo, en su estilo de vestir y pelo, joyería. Tambien hablan del "uniforme"; botas negras, pantalones negros, una amalgama de sueters (oscuros, rotos) cubierto por una jaqueta negro de cuado abusado, "kaffiya" sobre sus cuellos, cabezas afeitados, o pelo colorado o corto o largo "dreadlocks" (mechones) que tambien pueden ser colorado. Claro, no me siento de moda en mis pantalones de drill y jaqueta

que este mañana la policía desalojado tres squats alrededor de Mainzer Str. (Antes habia una diferencia bastante grande entre la policía del este y de Alemania del oeste, con la ventaja en brutalidad, severidad, agresión, viciosidad yendo a los Alemanes del oeste). Un cuento que escuché es instructivo: El año pasado vinieron desalojar un squat de mujeres. Despues



de hechar a todas, cierraron las puertas y se pusieron en frente del edificio. Sin saber lo ellos habia una entrada de el techo y casi todas de las mujeres simplemente fueron de atrás del techo y reocuparon su casa. Al entrar hicieron un letrero diciendo: "Policía 1, Squatters 1" y lo aguantaron afuera de la ventana. La policía solo miraron, despues se largaron. Solo han sido ordenados a tomar el squat una vez, no dos veces, por eso se han ido. Sin embargo, claro, desde reunificación (como un tigre se reuna con su victima) la policía oriental, como la militar, va a ser eliminado. Bueno, atrás en Kreuzberg alguien nos di la noticia, diciendo nos a ir a Mainzer para ayudar defender lo. Cuando llegamos allí habian cientos de personas en las calles, del estilo autonomen, mascarás negras cubiendo la cada. En un lado de la calle bolsas para la basura fueron expropiado del solar de construcción y la esquina, una intersección "T", baricadas pequeñas fue construido de cualquier cosa que estaba a mano: basura, cascote, medera, etc. Mientras tanto la policía bloquearon un intersección. Pero quedaron atrás por algunos bloques. Sentado en la calle fue "de Panzer", un mostro tanque verde, con el filo de una empujadora en frente. Detrás de eso, habia un cañón de

21,22,23, de bien fisico, artes marciales, etc.

Sea lo que sea, por mucho tiempo nadie sabia si la policía iban atacar. Construimos baricadas, empezamos a romper la acera de guiarro, que nos dejaron con piedras que se podia usar para tirar.

Estaba muy claro que la policía no tenían plan de desalojar los colonos de Mainzer-



strasse, y a este punto yo creo que ellos han acabaron con la faena de este mañana con los desahucios de antes. Ahora, claro, la situación se ha puesto ma complejo.

¿Estaban los polizantes dispuesto a capitular solo para afrontar una amenaza mas serio: la perdida de la calle a la gente?

Casi todos que viven en el squat "Lubi" estaban allí y tenemos una reunión para decidir que hacer. Claro nosotros absolutamente tenían que proteger los squats porque sabemos, que si no podemos parar los en Mainzerstrasse no podemos parar los en ningún sitio. Tal efecto, cestas de piedras fueron arrastrado al piso de ar-



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 tres de los organizadores se reúnen mediante una colaboración. Las decisiones interinas, menos importantes (de acuerdo a las decisiones de la conferencia), las toma un 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 toma 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 — enviando y algunas veces participando en la red a través de su grupo o colectivo. Otros simpatizantes actúan 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 sociales, en varios tipos de publicaciones, en redes que atienden asuntos específicos y en organizaciones que militan nacional e internacionalmente y algunas veces reciben sobre sus actividades en Amor y Rabia.

La red de apoyo de Amor y Rabia no es un círculo cerrado de amigos. Si estás de acuerdo en general con la Declaración Política y estas dispuesto 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. Pídele más información a la persona que te vendió o te chequeó tu copia del periódico, o escríbele a:

Amor y Rabia  
Box 3, Prince Street Station  
New York, NY 10012  
tel.: (212) 925-7969

#### Consejo Editorial:

Billy Braddock NY  
Chris, Brooklyn NY  
Christopher Day, New York NY  
Dorell Gordon, Chicago IL  
Guillermo Rodriguez, Miami FL  
James, Knoxville TN  
Jimmy, New Orleans LA  
Johnnie, Atlanta GA  
Kris Carlsdwan, Minneapolis MN  
Kris Carlsdwan, Minneapolis MN  
Linda, Chicago IL  
Mark, San Francisco CA  
Nik K., Chicago IL  
Nuest, Berkeley CA  
Rachel, Madison WI  
Roni, Detroit MI  
Suzanne Smith, Berkeley CA

Grupo de Producción: Wayne, Wendy, Rachel, Mike, Matt, Lisa, Jessica, Jane, Geraldine, Gene, Ellen, Eric, Dave, Christopher, Chris, Chris Bob, Bill

Traducciones para: Gustavo, Gene, Ian, Alvaro

Edición	Fin de Mayo	Día de Impresión
Junio	14 de Mayo	20 de Mayo
Julio	31 de Mayo	10 de Junio
Agosto	3 de Julio	17 de Julio



tonaron juntos en un formación verde, escudos subido, piedras cayendo a sus pies, por encima de sus cabezas, uno se va al piso. Gritamos. Fue herido. Hombres están tirando cohetes de botellas, y cohetes de señales de pistoles que normalmente sobrepasa su marca, son difícil a controlar, pero suben la emoción, la paranoia de la policía. Ellos disparan granadas de gas lacrimógeno que normalmente van por encima y más allá de nosotros pero otros caen en el canal para la lluvia de bajo de nosotros encerrando nos en niebla. Demasiado. Ojos quemando, pulmones y garganta escaldadura. No aguanto, tengo que ir adentro. También estoy asustado de ser pegado con una lata de gas- pueden ser mortíferos, si te cojan en la cabeza, y ya dos han venido cerca.

Voy adentro, abajo a la cocina en el piso de abajo y es surreal.

Estoy sudando, con máscara, ojos cerrados, cansado de la batalla y es tranquilo, caliente, claro. Respiro, y al techo otra vez. Todavía el Panzer no ha rompido las barricadas primeras. Mainzer es nuestro.

Ahora algunos Molotovs fueron lanzado del techo y los cientos en la calle gritan porque el Panzer está lleno de fuego y dura un minuto para que el cañon se ensiende sus mangas y para el fuego. Un grito más alto cuando otro Molotov, bien

apuntado, vuela dentro de una línea de policía rápidamente retirando, pero no bastante rápido porque fuego coge uno de ellos por un momento, pero el parece estar bien.

Ahora abajo a la calle a encontrar amigos, porque la policía han dejado de tratar de romper esta barricada y están tratando de venir por una callejuela por encima de un edificio de apartamentos. Ellos también retiran porque tiramos piedras pero no sin daño, como ellos tiran piedras también- y casi todos de nosotros no tenemos cascos o relleno, solo jaquetas de cuero y pantalones.

Finalmente, la policía se van. Una tienda de licores ha sido saqueado y algunas otras tiendas tenían sus ventanas rotas.

Cansado volvemos a Lubistrausse a dormir.

La próxima mañana volvemos a ver que hemos creado: barricadas duras, hondas en 3 o 4 bloques, cascote por todo, piedras por toda la calle, las cajas de basura tirados, todo gris y moreno, un coche quemado en una calle, otros lo de arriba abajo bloqueando los caminos.

Residentes locales y curiosos lentamente deambulan por Mainzerstrasse, ojos al dano, la creación. Montones grandes de latas de gas gastados están tirado por la calle. Parece a mí como una revolución, como las calles de París en '68. Tienen la



misma energía, pero, puede ser que los Alemanes son demasiado experimentado, cínicos, cansado parar tener parte en ese espíritu, de crear un nuevo sociedad, el sueño del imposible que dió impetu a los estudiantes de Francia. Salvamos los squats para ahora- no

una victoria simbolico- los hogares de a la mejor 2-3000 gente y hace frío ya que es noviembre con invierno solo empezando. Y también hay ese sentido de estar en un territorio liberado- es nuestro, no hay policía, no hay estado- y el trabajo continuo- trabajo en el techo-barricadas-reuniones para el manifestación de mañana sobre el desahucio, etc. Así que por ahora sentimos que ganamos la batalla, una batalla significativo, pero no la guerra.

Algunos comentarios generales cuando pensando sobre manifestaciones en Alemania contra manifestaciones en los Estados Unidos. Aquí hay un episodio cuando la violencia es efectivo; tiene valor instrumental. Sin piedras los squats estarían destruido. Mas, están peleando por algo sustentable- una comunidad. Ellos viven aquí, no hablan de agitadores de afuera. 1400 policía, bien entrenado y armado derrotado por a la mejor 1000 de nosotros.

Normalmente no hay motines en nuestro hogares, nuestro comunidades. Así que, si empujamos atrás la policía todavía (probablemente) vamos a ir eventualmente. Además, somos capaces de destruirnos de cualquier manera como la protesta de '85. Así que, creo que quiero decir que la militancia es mejor cuando hay algo sinifi-

cante detrás de lo, mas que ir mero, como nuestro manifestaciones sobre America Central. Claro, si estuvimos tan unificado y militante como los Alemanes cosas será diferente. Aquí no hay debate sobre la violencia. Levantar una piedra y no hay una "policía de la paz" en tu cada no dejándote actuar. Cuando solo pocos son militantes te pueden identificar fácilmente; cuando todos son, estas más seguro y fuerte.

Controla el aire, el clave del combate moderno. Lo hacemos y era crucial a nuestra victoria. La policía tiene que mirar arriba a nosotros en vez de ellos mirando abajo a la calle, así que tienen que mover despacio. La policía aquí son muy diferente que nuestro. No van adentro de un multitud parar romper el manifestación en dos. Usan gas, agua. Y tienen mas paciencia. Si estuvimos tan violento en manifestaciones en los Estados Unidos nos matan de tiros. Las calles aquí han surtido las bombas de los Aliados en la Segunda Guerra, pero no los anarquistas. Siempre hay municiones a mano (actualmente a tu pie). Un factor mayor.

Bueno, estoy cansado, así que voy parar aquí, por ahora. Es casi noche, a ver que pasa.

# Puerto Rico: Consulta Cosmética

**A** MEDIADOS DE 1991, Puerto Rico deberá pronunciarse una vez más, mediante plebiscito, sobre la relación jurídica-política definitiva con los Estados Unidos. En 1967 se realizó ya un plebiscito similar; sin embargo, por haberse desarrollado bajo presión del Congreso norteamericano y por haberse detectado presiones de los cuerpos de seguridad de los EE.UU., prácticamente se declaró nulo y no fue reconocido internacionalmente. En esta ocasión, la historia parece repetirse, pero ahora con nuevos factores que eventualmente avalarían el proceso, aún cuando no se cumpla con los requisitos que exige el derecho internacional para la auténtica "libre determinación" de Puerto Rico.

En efecto, los puertorriqueños tendrán que votar por una de cuatro opciones contempladas en el proyecto plebiscitario: la anexión a la Unión como otro Estado más (estadidad), la conservación del status jurídico-político actual, la independencia definitiva, y "otra" de libre voluntad del elector; sin embargo, todas ellas de una o otra forma garantizan permanencia indefinida del enclave militar norteamericano en suelo puertorriqueño, pierda angular que Washington busca relegitimar internacionalmente mediante el plebiscito.

Tanto por la relación de fuerzas en el país, cuanto por la poca presión internacional en torno al conflicto, especial-

mente latinoamericana y del Caribe, el Congreso norteamericano no tuvo dificultades para arreglar unilateralmente el contenido fundamental del plebiscito, que pone a buen recaudo la "seguridad nacional" de EE.UU., entendida ésta como "seguridad militar" en todo el hemisferio. Por esta razón, algunas lecturas del proceso indican que en realidad el puertorriqueño no tiene otras opciones en este plebiscito, que las de elegir un Estado militarizado, un Estado Libre Asociado militarizado o una República militarizada, quedando todavía muy lejana la posibilidad de un verdadero proceso de descolonización de la isla.

## La negociación

Entre tanto, el gobierno norteamericano ha logrado establecer ya una dinámica negociadora con sus interlocutores puertorriqueños -las élites de los tres partidos que participaron en las últimas elecciones- aún cuando estas negociaciones exclusivamente hayan quedado reducidas a los aspectos de procedimiento. Cada uno de los partidos representa a una de las opciones contempladas en el plebiscito: el Partido Popular Democrático (PPD), actualmente en la gobernación, que defiende el status actual; el Partido Nuevo Progresista (PNP), que promueve la anexión como un Estado más de EE.UU.; y el Partido Independiente Puertorriqueño (PIP), que propugna la independencia de Puerto

Rico. En enero de 1989, estas tres agrupaciones políticas emitieron una declaración conjunta, en la que señalaban que el pueblo puertorriqueño no ha sido consultado sobre el status desde 1898, reconociendo la situación colonial de la isla y la necesidad de resolverla de acuerdo a las normas internacionales; sin embargo, meses más tarde al insertarse en la dinámica de la propuesta norteamericana, prácticamente han renunciado a la posibilidad de que Puerto Rico se autodetermine libremente.

"Con la negociación, de lo que se trata es de determinar cuál de los tres partidos le vende la colonia más barata a los norteamericanos", afirmó José Rivera, secretario tesoro de la Unión de Trabajadores de la Industria Eléctrica y Riego de Puerto Rico, en un diálogo con ALAI.

Según nuestro entrevistado, las propuestas de cada partido no son más que "operaciones cosméticas" que dejan intacto el control exclusivo estadounidense de una buena parte del territorio nacional para uso militar, así como de otros aspectos en que ponen el acento uno o otro partido.

Respecto a la alternativa "Estado Libre Asociado" (status actual), José Rivera dijo que "ni es Estado, ni es Libre, ni se asociado", pero que se ha hecho manifiesto el apoyo del "verdadero gobierno norteam-

(Continúa de la página 4)

## Subscríbete a Amor y Rabia

y recibirás cada número de este periódico mensual anarquista revolucionario entregado por un agente uniformado del Estado. Indica tu preferencia y envía este cupón al: P.O. Box 3, Prince Street Station New York, NY 10013 USA



Envío \$7 para una suscripción de correo de tercera clase (lento).  
Envío \$12 para una suscripción de correo de primera clase (rápido, en sobre).  
Envío \$12 para una suscripción de ultramar por un año.  
¿Solidad? ¿PCST? ¿Preso?  
Indicarlo equipara una suscripción gratis.  
Yo quiero ser un simpatizante de Amor y Rabia.  
Envíame cada mes: \$10 \$20 \$30 \$100

Nombre \_\_\_\_\_  
Dirección \_\_\_\_\_  
Ciudad \_\_\_\_\_ Estado \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ País \_\_\_\_\_



