

LOVE AND RAGE

a revolutionary anarchist newsmagazine \$1

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sección en español

June/July 1991

Another Season of Racism for Spearfishers

BY OSCAR HERNANDEZ

THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 2, marked the close of the 1991 Anishinabe (Ojibwe or Chippewa) spring spearfishing season. At the invitation of Anishinabe spearmen and their families, the Witness for Nonviolence, a project of the Midwest Treaty Network, has been documenting harassment, threats, and violence against the Anishinabe during spring spearfishing for the last four years. For the Native people of northern Wisconsin, spearfishing is not just a source of food, but an affirmation of their culture. Now in addition to racism, this culture is facing another threat: the recolonization of the ceded territories by mining corporations.

The resurgence of off-reservation harvest of fish, deer, and wild rice has led to complaints and attacks by some non-indigenous local residents. In particular, Protect America's Rights and Resources (PARR) and Stop Treaty Abuse (STA) have organized protests at the boat landing during spearfishing season, which has led many observers to compare northern Wisconsin to the Alabama of the 1960s and the Boston of the 1970s.

However, a recent Wisconsin State Journal poll shows 42% of northern Wis-

consinites, and 59% of southern Wisconsinites now support the treaties. A much larger percentage are opposed to the boat landing protests.

In response to the protests and attacks, some Anishinabe from the Lac du Flambeau Reservation have organized themselves under the Wa-Swa-Gon Treaty Association. Wa-Swa-Gon comes from the Anishinabe name for "people of torches." Spearfishing takes place after dark, and before the advent of battery powered lamps, torches were used to illuminate the shallows where the male walleye await the spawning females.

This year, hundreds of Witnesses from the local area and all over Wisconsin, as well as Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, Canada, and Germany, have been present at northern Wisconsin lakes. The number of protesters during most nights of fishing has been smaller than in previous years. This is in sharp contrast to the previous year of nightly protests with several hundred and at times one thousand people attending. With the exception of Sand and Dam Lake, Witnesses and Anishinabe together have outnumbered the protesters at the boat landings. The movement is dying.

However, as put by Witness spokesperson Jean Bormet, "the hard core that remains is far more virulent in its racist, abusive and threatening language."

Besides abusive language, shots have been fired and rocks have been thrown at spearmen. These have mostly occurred in more isolated locations where treaty supporter, media, and law enforcement were not present.

As the number of violent incidents subside, the media has begun to lose interest. This has taken the pressure off state politicians and led some spearmen and their supporters to fear that all law enforcement will be withdrawn from the boat landings next year, a situation that they feel could increase the level of violence against the Anishinabe.

Already Republican Governor Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin has commented that there have been "no scenes comparable to the ugly scenes of previous spearfishing seasons." Al Shanks, from the Division of Emergency Government and State Department of Military Affairs, said "I think it is almost to the point where it could be handled on the local

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Letters

Mexican Anarchist Gathering

Dear Love and Rage,

Despite organizing forms originating from authoritarian styles of relating, as in production based upon exploitation, inequality, ignorance, etc., which have limited the human being in its free development, we will always be those who search for a different type of society, where human beings can maintain qualities that allow them to be complete beings, through work and ideas (equality, liberty, mutual aid, etc.), for which we, a part of the anarchist community, call for: the first Mexican Anarchist Gathering, to be held the 14, 15 and 16 of September, 1991 on the premises of the Community Action Investigation Center (El Centro de Investigación Acción Comunitaria), located in Ocotepc, Morelos (near Cuernavaca), under the following types of conditions:

Work stations will be set up. Each one of these will decide how to organize itself (workshops, conferences, displays, discussions, etc.) and will communicate that was dealt with and/or its conclusions in order to tie each group with the rest of the gathering. The proposed themes for discussion are:

Anarchism, yesterday, today and tomorrow?, Anarchist Groups and their

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

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

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

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Box 3, Prince St. Station
New York, NY 10012
tel. (212) 925-7966

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Translations:

Gustavo, Gene

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

connections with society, Work, Daily Life, Culture, Education, Health, Ecology, Women, Youth, etc. The Gathering will have the following objectives: The relations between different groups and individuals of various anarchist tendencies and learning about each other's work in society, working out some kind of coordination, creating a coordinating committee if this is deemed necessary.

For a better of the event, we ask that those interested confirm their attendance, as well as, their preference for which themes interest them and how they would like to participate, at least 15 days before the gathering, to the following addresses:

Regeneración
Aptdo. Postal 9090
México 1, D.F.
México
or
45-206
Colonia Centro
Morelos, Mexico
tel.: 5 12 08 86

ask for Luz Maria or Alberto.

Given the fact that we don't have any money to subsidize the event, we are asking for a fee of 50,000 pesos (about \$20) from each person to cover food and housing expenses. We hope to have the pleasure of your staying the entire three days of the gathering. Reception will begin the afternoon of the 13th and last until 9am on the 14th.

The site has a dormitory, kitchen, enough space for camping, for which we suggest that you bring blankets, sleeping bags, and tents as well as rain gear.

We will also have medical assistance and day care for children. Since the site has a capacity of 150 people, we have decided to give shelter to only 30 foreigners, so we ask that each one represents a specific group and respects our process of regional integration.

Salud y Anarquía
Cordially,
Movimiento Anarquista Libertario,
Biblioteca Social Reconstruir,
Grupo de Autogestion de Salud Popular,
Revista Testimonios,
Fanzine Brigada Subversiva,
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Hector, Braulio and Ruben

Anti-Zionism or Anti-Semitism

Dear Love and Rage,

Eric Jacobson's letter in the May issue raises a couple of valid points—in particular, the need to include a direct condemnation of anti-Semitism in the Love and Rage political statement. But Eric goes on to accuse Chris Day of every sin under the sun, notably "the most pernicious form of...anti-Semitism." Charges like this (repeated to the point of nausea) poison the well so thoroughly that it's necessary to dig a new well—that is, to go back and look at the original exchange between Eric and Chris.

Eric's article was largely directed against one by Wayne Price that appeared in an earlier Love and Rage. Wayne argued for supporting Iraq against the US if war broke out, contending that as an oppressed country, it should be supported against the world's leading imperialist power. As part of his argument, he mentioned that Palestinian and other Arab opinion "mostly" was siding with Iraq. Eric countered that Wayne was wrong to think that Arab opinion was "monolithic" (which Wayne hadn't said). Having noted that Palestinian opinion was divided, Eric proceeded to ignore the question of whether a US victory would strengthen imperialism. Eric's main argument, however, was that anarchists should neither support the US nor defend Iraq, but "stand with the United Nations sanctions against Iraq." Chris's reply focused on this point.

Although noting that the UN resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq had come after Eric's original article, he raised a series of points on sanctions that should have been obvious from the beginning, and connected them to a general argument about the consequences of either an Iraqi or a US victory.

Among other things, Chris contended that "sanctions...are simply a tool of US statecraft,...part of a propaganda campaign to prepare public opinion for war"; that "the brunt of any sanctions will be borne by the Iraqi people"; that war, if it broke out, would "become essentially one of imperialist aggression," involving "rape, pillage and indiscriminate slaughter." Finally, he argued, "If the US successfully defeats Iraq it may mark the beginning of a resurgent US empire," and on that basis he argued for supporting Iraqi resistance to the US.

Chris's arguments, in my view, have been proved correct all down the line. The one question that may remain con-

ter accusation, eventually charging Chris with a "deep resentment toward the Jews." The two points to note about this are: (1) Chris's remarks on Zionism were not aimed mainly at Eric, but at social democrats and Stalinist who used support for Israel or Palestine as a way of covering pro-US or pro-Hussein positions; (2) nevertheless, Eric's article does raise an "unspoken issue" of Zionism because while he cites divided Palestinian opinion in arguing for sanctions, he avoids the issue of whether a US victory will help or hurt Palestinian liberation. Hence, politically sophisticated people wonder whether he is for "containing" Iraq as a way of defending Israel, and is citing divided Palestinian opinion in order to avoid discussing this more fundamental question. Zionism, in short, is a political question, not an ethnic one, and Chris's reference to it is a political accusation, not an ethnic slur.

Eric's letter and his original article do raise other points that should be mentioned briefly. (1) Eric mocks



trovial is whether the war was "essentially one of imperialist aggression," because Bush was smart enough to occupy only a little of Iraq; by playing a cautious poker game he now has the right wing and many liberals arguing that he should have gone all the way to finish off Hussein. What is not disputable, in my view, is that sanctions were a cynical ploy to pave the way for war, and that the results of the war have (unfortunately) been an enormous strengthening of US imperialism. It has especially been strengthened at its potentially weakest point, its public support in this country.

Eric's reply to Chris might profitably have defended his original support for sanctions and tried to show why it did not inadvertently lend support to Bush's war policy. Instead he focuses on Chris's remarks about Zionism. He argues, "Since my article did not even mention Zionism," Chris's statement must be "a reference to my ethnic identity and not to my politics." From there he goes on to raise accusation af-

ter for arguing "that sanctions are just a weaker form of imperialism (which, if consistent, would apply to South Africa)." Of course, sanctions against South Africa, even though supported by the movement there, are imperialist, an attempt by Western governments to influence the reform process and keep it in acceptable limits. Eric's question about this point merely underlines his original failure to understand what the sanctions against Iraq were all about. (2) Eric misrepresents Chris as arguing that "dictatorial regimes fighting Western imperialism...creat[e] space for more authentic and liberatory challenges..." Chris said that an Iraqi victory against the US would create space, not that the Iraqi regime does so. If today's left doesn't grasp this distinction between the regime and the struggle, then when a genuinely popular struggle against imperialism comes along, leftists will mistakenly support the regime (as in Vietnam in the '60s). (3) Finally, Eric's original article presented his pro-sanctions position as a "minimal pro-

gram" against the war, and defined this as a "program to engage in this issue as it exists and is being debated throughout the world, not how we think it should be debated." This conception of a realistic "minimal" program that works within "existing" world politics is precisely what has led generations of leftists into the trap of supporting imperialist "lesser evils." Eric is neither the first nor the last to fall into the trap, but is among the most brazen in his effort to avoid defending his own politics by raising charges against someone else's.

Chris Hobson
New York

Sección in Spainglish

Yo amigos/anarchistas en general, Primavera, mi Espanola es no bueno, porque? Mucho meses aqui en Alemania. O.K. the English will just have to do, but I've persisted with my Spanish and it remains still much more incoherently fluent than my German. I've had an old *MAXIMUMROCKNROLL* lying around my room, left by the previous tenant, and through a natural spate of boredom, I decided it was time for another re-read. Behold, lay your advertisement, and I thought you might be interested in a little tale I can tell. In fact, I burst with reckless energies over an inspirational event that happened to me whilst living in España ultimo año. I'm originally from Escosia [Spanish name for Scotland], well not really, but anyway I became homeless with my girlfriend, so we went and lived in a truck with these three natty dreaded friends in the mountains de Escosia. Some dinero was en mi mano so, disabled by a hospital, mi nobia y yo flew off to España, and eventually found ourselves in a house en el pueblo de Dilar en Andalucía.

Dilar is a small, serene village located in a valley of its own, muy bonito rio, el poblacion es solo uno mille. There's an anarchist bar called the Teteria El Rinconcilo, which we were great friends with the owner, there's the @ painted on the Plaza de España crucifix, and for all the normality surrounding the place, the kids all did their drugs and lived life only the Spanish no how. My girlfriend left, so the house was then safely left in charge to



me and one German, Flo, unable legally to return to his detested birthplace, etc. Anyway, last April (1990), a curious event took place. One morning the whole village was in the throes of rebellion, they'd barricaded the whole place and it was suddenly a local media event.

I dashed into Granada for a roll of film for my trusty old weapon, the camera, and proceeded to record these events. We bricked up the doors to the Casa de Ajuntamiento, told the El Alcalde he no longer represented us y vamoose rapido! Y porque? El Alcalde had signed a dirty paper which gave a large construction company the right to redirect our river to use on a 1000 re-urbanization proyecto de casas nuevas. The water was for swimming pools and football fields, and the project aside, there was no fucking way they were going to touch our river. So, for a month the Estado de Andalucía

was met by passive resistance, protests, petitions, and we were personally threatened with deportation from España.

So, one Saturday, in deliberate provocation, they tried to bring the necessary earth-machines through the village, escorted by 50 Guardia Civil riot police (they're the old private terror instrument of Franco, now in uniform). We blocked them on a one car wide street adjacent to mine and just said, no way hombre, no tu pasaran!

Then, with no legal warning, we were tear gassed, rifle butted, rubber bulleted, electric shocked (the bread lady got the worst of that!). Now this was against unarmed, defiant old pensioners, local children, and even the dogs. And, ironically, we still didn't shift. They didn't get past. And wow did we react. We made Molotov cocktails and sand and oil windscreen smudge scratchers, we barricaded our

streets off, whilst the rest of the village triple barricaded the whole place off.

I sat up all night at the forefront of the village, occasionally running quick trips out to count incredibly obvious secret police who had us under surveillance. And shit, what happened was we left one barricade unattended 2 km out of the village y los puta madres got past us.

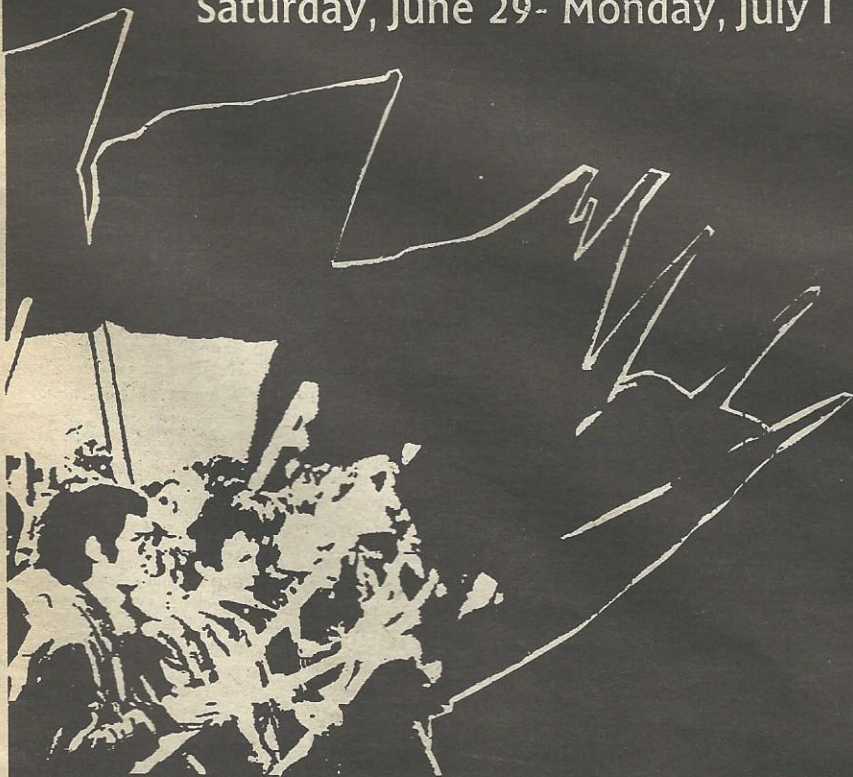
Yuk. Defeated. They had us blocked off by a large contingent of riot police and there was nothing that could be done. But, los dioces con nosotros, we got a legal paper (on a Sunday!) that made the whole project illegal, and we beat them. Dilar resiste un victoria en totale! So that's it. I've got the whole event (violence not included but a local photographer there) en blanca y negra.

Rab
Germany

GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES

LOVE AND RAGE ANARCHIST ORGANIZING CONFERENCE

Saturday, June 29- Monday, July 1



Minneapolis, Minnesota

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

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

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

See you in Minneapolis!

REGISTRATION

If you are interested in attending the Love and Rage Organizing Conference, register now. We are asking for a sliding scale fee (based on your ability to pay) of between \$15 and \$60 to help cover the costs of the conference. Housing and some food will be provided. No one will be turned away for lack of funds.

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

Police Violence Sparks D.C.

Revolt

ON SUNDAY, MAY 5, Daniel Enrique Gomez, a Salvadoran construction worker, was shot by police - touching off two nights of rioting in Washington, DC. According to reports, Mr. Enrique, and perhaps another man, attempted to intervene as police officers Angela Jewell and Girsell Del Valle were arresting two men for disorderly conduct in the city's Mount Pleasant neighborhood. Two other officers arrived and all four attempted to arrest Mr. Gomez; at the same time a scuffle erupted between the officers and another man present. Eyewitnesses state that Mr. Gomez was handcuffed when officer Jewell shot him once in the chest. According to the police version of the story, Mr. Gomez, with only one hand handcuffed, lunged at officer Jewell with a knife, she ordered him to stop, then shot him once in the chest. Other witnesses state that Mr. Gomez did not have a knife.

The report of the police shooting spread quickly through the Mount Pleasant and Adams Morgan neighborhoods and residents came into the streets. In an attempt to disperse the crowd the police drove a section of people into a predominantly Black area around Adams Morgan thereby drawing African-Americans into what had been until then a predominantly Latino revolt.

During the two nights of rebellion which followed stores were looted and burned, and police and media vehicles were destroyed. Mayor Sharon Pratt Dixon declared the city to be in a state of emergency and set a midnight curfew on Monday. By Tuesday the curfew was 7:00 p.m. and at least 33 were arrested for violating the edict Tuesday night.

The declaration of a state of emergency was the third in a little over two decades. The first was in 1968 when rebellion rocked DC in the wake of the assassination of Martin Luther King. In 1971 the Mayday demonstrations brought thousands of people to DC to "stop the government" if it wouldn't stop



the war against the people of Viet Nam. Urban rebellions are very complex - often touched off by an incident of police violence and quickly escalating, the motivations are rarely clear-cut. Part of the reason for the Adams Morgan/ Mount Pleasant rioting was built-up frustration and resentment within the community about having Black and Latino lives - and deaths - valued less than whites' by police, the media, and the government. To be poor and Black or Latino in a racist and class society is to live with the daily frustration of large and small acts of humiliation and oppression. The local and neighborhood conditions and the recent political experience of the residents, many of whom have recently fled the US supported police states of Central America, also contributed to the revolt.

In this particular case, the complexity begins at the shooting itself - officer Jewell is Black and her partner is Latina. The rioters were Latino, Black and white. The politics of the rebellion were painted on the walls: "Fuck Tha Police" or "Pisamosa las chotas."

Response to the nights of rioting has been mixed. While many commentators have conceded that the rioting likely

started from pent up community frustrations, most were then quick to call the continuing street activity "lawlessness" and "bad behavior," describing the looting and rioting as random and implying that the people in the street had only been waiting for a break to act "wild." In fact the rioters were selective in their choices of targets. Salvadoran and Guatemalan restaurants and shops were spared, while franchises like 7-11, Ben and Jerry's and Church's Fried Chicken were trashed.

The mainstream press has attempted to portray the rioters as "hoodlums" who were rioting for kicks and profit. This type of explanation has been used in the past, too, to try to shift blame to "outside agitators" or "criminal elements." Both of these slants on the story have the effect of reducing the importance of the social and economic problems which create urban rebellion and focus a racist view that inner city residents are just waiting for law and order to break down so that "anarchy" can begin. (We wish.)

This view is based on two ideas about urban rebellion which are fundamentally incorrect. First, there is the concept

of "chaos." A critique of anarchism is that if there were no hierarchical governmental structure, then everyone would run around killing each other and looting, raping and pillaging. Despite the fact that there is abundant evidence to the contrary, many still cling to the idea that people must be controlled. They view the recent rioting as a perfect example of their point that people must be controlled. But these people do not believe this about themselves. The assumption is that "other" people need to be controlled, not those in the suburbs, but those in the city, those who are Black or Latino, those who are poor. This argument is based on racism and a belief in the necessity of domination.

Among rioters there are bound to be "outside agitators" and anti-social elements, but they are hardly responsible for either the conditions that gave rise to the riot or the willingness of hundreds or thousands of people to participate. It's almost impossible to start a riot in the suburbs not because there aren't any criminals or agitators there but because the social conditions are different and the oppression is not always so palpable. Riots may not have good politics. They may be based on

racism or nationalism or even fascism.

Riots, however, are important. They represent one of the restricted arenas in which many people feel they have any political or social power. They are direct threats to the powers that be, though their goals may not be revolutionary.

The revolt that broke out on May 5 is particularly important for several reasons. First, it is a clear indication that the growing population of Central Americans is bringing the political experience of their lives under US puppet regimes to the inner cities of the US. Second, it shows the potential of militant multi-racial working class opposition to this system. Finally, it reveals literally just how close millions of people who have little to lose by standing up to this system are to the centers of power.

In building a revolutionary movement that is prepared to truly smash the state it will be vital to have a strong movement in the capitals of North America.

The revolt in Washington DC is an indication that such a movement is possible.

This article was written by Matt Black and Christopher Day with assistance from Tim Nevin.

Love and Rage Political Statement

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

Love and Rage is revolutionary.

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

Love and Rage is anti-statist.

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

Love and Rage is anti-capitalist

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

Love and Rage is anti-racist.

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

Love and Rage is anti-imperialist.

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

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

Love and Rage is anti-sexist.

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

Love and Rage supports Lesbian, Bisexual and Gay liberation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Governments Don't Fall By Themselves"

Love and Rage

Anarchist Organizing Conference

BY PAUL TOUPE

THIS SUMMER *Love and Rage* will be holding its second annual conference to set the direction for *Love and Rage* and the network that supports the paper over the next year.

What has distinguished the *Love and Rage* project from the outset is a commitment to overcoming the problems in anti-authoritarian organizing. Our recognition that anarchists must organize to bring down the organized state is tempered by a thorough-going critique of the problems inherent in any organization, as well as the problems of "no organization" or "the tyranny of structurelessness."

Love and Rage has from the beginning attempted to build democratic structures toward the immediate task of putting out a paper, as well as the long range project of the destruction of authoritarian culture and the construction of a free society. Towards these ends we are sponsoring the 1991 *Love and Rage* Organizing Conference entitled "Governments Don't Fall By Themselves."

Love and Rage was founded a year and a half ago at the first *Love and Rage* conference. In the past year and a half we have put out a paper we can be proud of. We have also learned a lot about how our organization works and doesn't work. We hope this year's conference will be the place where new supporters of the paper can get involved in the project.

There are several things that will need to be addressed by the conference in terms of the paper's structure. Major decisions about the project in the interim between conferences have been made by an Editorial Council (the EC). Some of us hope to scrap the EC in favor of a more democratic structure. Problems with the EC have had to do with its exclusivity and a lack of communication. The problems of communication between the EC and the Production Group (who put out the paper each month) need to be addressed. I'm sure discussions about the structure of the project will go far beyond these few issues.

Whatever structure is found to guide the paper over the next year, people committed to the project and its processes will be chosen for decision making bodies at this conference.

Hopefully we can get a more committed and representative sample of the paper's supporters to take up this work. In addition, the selection of a new facilitator for the whole project to replace the current facilitator, Christopher Day, will occur at this conference. The Political Statement is a guiding force in

the day to day work on the paper at all levels. At the first *Love and Rage* conference these principles were drawn up in a marathon 13 hour session of the conference. In keeping with our individual and collective development these principles are in need of constant revision and refinement. Because we only all come together once a year, this work on our political statement takes a prominent place on our agenda.

Conference Schedule

The proposed conference schedule allows for all this work to take place in three stages. Most of the first day will be given over to workshops on the various issues anarchist activists are involved in. The second day is devoted primarily to workshops on the political statement, the organizational structure of the project and various proposals for the project. The last day is devoted entirely to decision making plenaries: approving or rejecting the conclusions of the previous days workshops on the political statement, action proposals, and structural proposals. A budget will be approved and the election of a new facilitator and decision making bodies will also take place. A plenary is simply a meeting of everybody in attendance at the conference for the purpose of making decisions. Anybody attending the conference can bring proposals. Action proposals could be anything that the whole *Love and Rage* network would take up. Action proposals could deal with the paper (changing the format, adding a section, etc...) or it could call for the whole network to call, endorse, or participate in an action, a coalition, or some other type of thing. The plenaries are empowered to make decisions for the whole project.

The proposed schedule also includes caucuses. Caucuses are meetings in which members of oppressed groups meet separately from the rest of the conference. Any group can organize a caucus.

The proposed schedule includes time for caucuses of wimmin, people of color, queers and youth. Importantly, men, white people, straights, and older people will meet simultaneously with the various caucuses to discuss issues of their privilege and how to work in more effective solidarity with the various oppressed groups. There will also be regional meetings to facilitate regional organizing and networking.

There will be twelve issue workshops. At the *Love and Rage* meeting in Washington, DC we generated a list of

twelve workshops. The theme of the whole conference is of organizing for anarchist revolution. We have tried to get supporters of the paper to present strong and focused workshops to share their knowledge and experience organizing around various struggles. These workshops include:

- Eastern Europe
- Political Prisoners
- Queer Liberation and the AIDS Movement
- Native American Sovereignty
- Wimmin's Liberation
- Organizing A Local Anarchist Collective
- African-American Liberation and Anti-Racist Organizing
- Latin American Liberation
- Youth Liberation
- Eco-Anarchism

In addition, two of the issue workshops will be organized as panel discussions:

- Lessons from Persian Gulf Anti-War Organizing
- Anti-Semitism, Zionism and Palestinian Liberation

Fun, Fun, Fun

Of course all work and no play would make us no better than a bunch of hideous boring commies. The site committee has had its hands quite full with the details of the conference, but we are trying to pull together some fun events. We are working on a couple of possible concerts or dances, and we have definite plans to hold an evening program of anarchist performance artists at a local gallery.

We all know that we don't need to worry about a lack of spontaneous fun with a group of a couple hundred anarchists. Although we can house some conference attendees at the conference site we can't have any big parties there.

The conference is being held June 29, 30 and July 1, in Minneapolis, Minnesota at St. Stephens School, 2123 Clinton Ave. South. Housing and some food will be provided. We are asking for a sliding registration fee (based on your ability to pay) of between \$15 and \$60 to help cover the costs of the conference. Pre-registration is very important to us so that we know how many people are coming, and to help pay for the conference. Of course nobody will be turned away for lack of funds. We also need to know as far in advance as possible if you will need childcare or if you have special housing needs or other requests.

The registration form is on page 3 of this issue of *Love and Rage*. Fill it in and send it to:

RABL
P.O. Box 10854
Mpls. MN 55458-3854

Coming to Minneapolis?

IF YOU ARE COMING TO the "Governments Don't Fall By Themselves" *Love and Rage* Anarchist Organizing Conference read this.

The conference is being held at St. Stephen's Catholic Church/School, 2123 Clinton Avenue South. It's not the safest neighborhood, so take all the basic precautions. Open bottles of booze can get you a ticket, but you can't get arrested for being drunk.

Bus Info

Bus stops are marked by a little red sign with a white "T."

Schedule info: When you get on the bus, ask the driver for a schedule. If you don't have a schedule, you can call 645-6060 and follow their pre-recorded instructions. For a human being call 827-7733.

Fares: Weekdays from 9 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. & 6:30 p.m. to 7 a.m. and all day Saturday and Sunday the fare is 85 cents. Other times the fare is \$1.10. You must have the correct change, dollar bills are not accepted. Transfers are good for any bus except those going back the way you came. Beware of undercover bus cops who have the same arrest power as city police.

Coming Into Town

From the Airport: Follow the signs (or ask) to the MTC bus stop. You want to catch a #7 bus going to downtown. Ask the driver for a transfer, and for her/him to tell you when you get to the intersection of Cedar and Riverside. Get off the bus in front of the New Riverside Cafe. Cross Riverside Ave. and walk back up 1/2 block. You can catch a #2 bus in front of the Urban Peasant Cafe (an @ friendly local). After a 20 min. bus ride you will pass a Dairy Queen (the second on this route) and then cross over I-35. The first block after I-35 is 4th Ave., and the next block is Clinton. Get off the bus, cross Franklin and walk less than a

block up Clinton to the conference site.

From the Bus Station: The station is located between 9th and 10th streets - walk down either toward downtown. Walk three blocks until you get to Nicollet Ave (Nicollet Mall). You want to catch a southbound bus from the stop here (if you walk along Nicollet and the street numbers get higher you are headed south). You can take a #10, #17, or #18 bus to Franklin Ave (6 or 7 blocks, over the freeway, then several more blocks). You should be at the corner of Nicollet and Franklin Ave. Take a left and walk down Franklin about 4 blocks, past Stevens, 2nd and 3rd Avenues. The next block should be Clinton Ave. Take a right onto Clinton, the conference site is at 2123. (You can walk, following the path of the bus, in 25 minutes (2 miles).)

From the Train Station: The train station is in St. Paul, but it is an easy bus ride over to Minneapolis. Warning! The buses stop running at 1 a.m. so if your train arrives late you may not be able to get a bus. For the bus, walk down University Ave. and get a #16 bus. As you exit the train station, turn left, University is a block or two down. Catch the bus on the near side of University - that will be a westbound bus and will take you to downtown Mpls. Get off at Nicollet Ave. Follow the directions from the Greyhound station.

Driving: Note, the city is laid out in a relatively conventional grid pattern. "Streets" run east/west and most "Avenues" run north/south. Almost all the street are numbered, starting from the river downtown going south. Only a few streets are named rather than numbered - Lake Street is 30th Street and Franklin Street is 20th Street. About a third of the avenues are named rather than numbered.

From I-35 going North: At the

(Continued to page 7)

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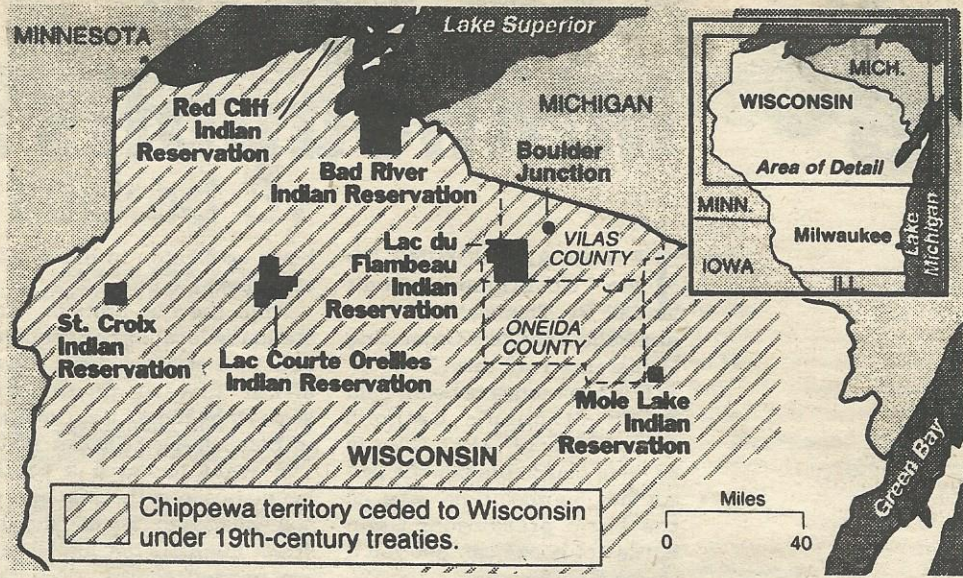
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New York, NY 10012 USA

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Another Season of Racism



(Continued from cover)

level as far as law enforcement goes."

The events of Saturday, April 20, at the boat landing to Sand and Dam Lakes in Oneida County (northern Wisconsin) show that very ugly scenes can erupt at any time. That evening six Witnesses and one supporter went to document a protest of about 250 people at Sand and Dam at the request of a spearing family there.

When Witnesses arrived at Sand and Dam shortly after 8pm they stayed close to the police lines and tried to avoid protesters, who were very vocal and very aggressive. A protest organizer used a bull horn to yell at a spearer "Spearing sucks and so do you," and then addressed the crowd in reference to Tom Maulson, a well known spearer and Wa-Swa-Gon member, "he's in New York making a movie, Dances with Elephants, (no) Asses, Asses."

Protesters swarmed down an adjacent embankment as a spearing boat passed underneath a bridge, booing, cheering, whistling and screaming "Slaughter them guys, slaughter them!" and "Bullshit! Bullshit!" "You're disturbing duck nests." A sign complained of "Wanton wholesale slaughter"

The spearer's boat was accompanied by one Department of Natural Resources (DNR) warden's boat, but none of the police on land made an attempt to control the crowd or prevent them from standing as little as 10 feet away from the Anishinabe and DNR boats. Besides the sheriffs from Vilas County, there was a special tactical police unit at the Sand and Dam landing.

After the second boat headed out harassment was directed against Wa-Swa-Gon Treaty Association member Art Koser, who had arrived to stand with the spearing family, and then at Witnesses.

Mark Zanon was recognized by the protesters as a local from Eagle River and was videotaped and questioned about his identity and friends. Throughout the evening the protesters gathered in groups and pointed at him and Michelle Ploskonka, another local Witness, in order to identify them.

The author was called a "fruitcake," "faggot," "Commie faggot," and "out of the 60's". He was also videotaped by a protester who warned "I wouldn't get close to the guy with the purple hat, he's liable to kiss you." Throughout this time protesters laughed, mocked, and pointed out the Witnesses and continued to harass and taunt the Anishinabe spearkers' family.

The same protester who had videotaped the Witnesses yelled at a guy, "Don, tell the FBI guy these tree huggers

want to talk to him." He then asked the police, "Is it your job to protect these tree huggers?" The police snickered and walked away.

At 8:35pm protest organizer, Al Soik, and STA leader, announced on the bull horn that "the American Indian Movement is coming." The crowd cheered.

At about 9:00pm, Denise Peterson, an Anishinabe woman arrived with her two children to stand with the family. They were escorted by Zanon and the author down to the landing. The protesters, upset by the arrival of more Native Americans, surrounded the three Anishinabe and two Witnesses and jostled them. Racial slurs, anti-gay and anti-communist taunts were directed at all of them.

When the second group of four came to assist, they too were surrounded and jostled. The protesters yelled "Nigger, fuckin-nigger" at James Mincey, a tall African American man. According to Denise Peterson, "When they surrounded James and the other Witnesses Dean Christ, [the head of STA] and Larry Peterson (the head of PARR) were up on the hill watching with smiles on their faces, laughing back and forth."

The Minocqua Lakeland Times reported the following week that Dean Christ planned to present all African American Witnesses with a watermelon wrapped with a ribbon so that they would understand "what it felt like to be called racist."

Mincey requested police assistance but was told, "If we see a violation of the law we will respond." When the author pointed out that the continuing racial slurs were a violation of the hate crimes act, the six tactical squad members entered the crowd. Koser commented that "they moved in just long enough to heighten the tension in our area and then moved out again." During this time all the Witnesses and Anishinabe gathered together close to the snow fence set up by the police to keep the crowd away from the spearkers.

For the next hour, the Anishinabe and Witnesses were trapped by the protesters and again subjected to so much verbal abuse that they feared for their safety. During this time, the police stayed behind the snow fence with the Anishinabe, Witnesses and protesters remained on the other side. Native American game wardens, (who are hired by the tribe to monitor the fish speared), were prevented by police from standing near or talking to the Anishinabe women.

At the Anishinabe the protesters screamed "Go home," "Spear chucksers," "Timber niggers," "Red niggers," "Legalize abortion for Indians," "Sweat hogs," "Whores," "Parasites," and "Assholes in moccasins", a

reference to the American Indian Movement (AIM).

Mincey was taunted with "Fucking nigger," "They're gonna hafta arrest me, I'm gonna kill him; roast his black ass good," "Watermelon," "Hey blackboy, where's your basketball," "Homeboy," "Come with me I'm your master," "Aunt Jemima is waiting for you, praise the Lord," "He's got some big ass lips...good for spitting those watermelon seeds," "Hey Buckwheat," and mock ape sounds.

The five "white" Witnesses got their share of "Commie faggot," "Commie slut," "White Whitey," "White niggers...there's white niggers," "Honkey," "Faggots," "We love the Indians, we hate you commies". Barb Seegert, who had brought a tape recorder, was asked if "she got that at the welfare office...or did you steal it, or did your kids steal it?"

The protesters blew metal whistles loudly in to the ears of the Native Americans and Witnesses, as the group received comments such as "We have red niggers, black niggers, and a few white niggers too," and chants of "How do you spell Vilas County? V-I-O-L-E-N-C-E, "Welfare bums," and "Go home".

Ironically, the protesters complained about how they were tired of being called, "white trash," and how "this old racist story is getting pretty old". They insisted that "There's no racism here, where do you see racism? Nobody's bothering the black cameraman up there but you're asking for it." The cameraman, and most of the media were having coffee during most of the worst exchanges of the evening.

At 10:00pm a group of about 150 Anishinabe and Witnesses arrived at Sand and Dam, led by a drum. They had left Turtle-Flambeau Flowage earlier at the request of the drummers who were concerned about the Anishinabe family at Sand and Dam.

Protesters linked arms to keep the group out of the landing, but police opened a narrow cordon to allow the drum through as it was being played, during which the protesters chanted "Hi how are you! How hi are you!", to a stereotypical Native American drum chant rhythm. Police closed the opening, but then reopened a narrow gap for the remaining Anishinabe and Witnesses, who walked a gauntlet of screaming and pushing protesters who grabbed at them as they passed.

Shouting intensified as Larry Peterson, a PARR leader, burned a US flag with a picture of a Native American emblazoned on it. The flag has become a symbol of treaty support in northern Wisconsin. After this, most protesters left the

landing, and treaty supporters danced around the drum.

The above incident demonstrates the reactive versus preventative approach taken by law enforcement. This is in sharp contrast to the response of the Marathon County Sheriff Department at Big Eau Pleine Reservoir where deputies mingled with the protesters and stood present at many near confrontations. Their presence had a soothing effect on the protesters and defused the tension which could have turned the Big Eau Pleine Reservoir boat landing into the near riot that took place at Sand and Dam.

Koser feels that in Vilas and Oneida Counties the protesters control law enforcement. "A while back a spearer responded [to the racial slurs] by flipping the finger and was arrested...that's the type of law enforcement we have to deal with." In fact the Lakeland Times reported that the Vilas County sheriffs at Sand and Dam considered arresting Mincey. An anonymous police source claimed that Mincey's use of Seegert's tape recorder was inciting the crowd.

Another hurdle the Anishinabe must overcome to maintain their treaty rights is mining. Spearing is one of the rights retained by the Lake Superior Anishinabe when they ceded their lands, (the northern third of Wisconsin, most of the upper peninsula of Michigan, and the northeast portion of Minnesota), to the US in the treaties of 1837, 1842, and 1854.

These treaty rights were reaffirmed in Federal court seven years ago, after the Tribble brothers from the Lac Court Oreilles Reservation in northern Wisconsin were arrested in 1974 for off-reservation fishing.

Any activity that would affect the ability of the Anishinabe to harvest the natural resources in the ceded territories is prevented by the treaties.

According to their statement "Because one of the Wa-Swa-Gon Treaty Association's main concerns is protecting the environment, and mining can cause long-lasting environmental devastation, the Wa-Swa-Gon Treaty Association cannot permit mining destruction to take place within the ceded territories. We will do what is within our power to preserve and pro-

tect Mother Earth for all generations to come...."

It is clear that a sweetheart relationship exists between the Thompson administration and mining companies. Administration Secretary James Classier, a top aide for Gov. Thompson is a lobbyist-on-leave for Exxon and Union Carbide.

Both companies have shown interest in mining in the ceded territories. Thompson's only strategy to deal with the spearfishing conflict was offer the Lac du Flambeau reservation 25 million dollars and the Mole Lake reservation 10 million in exchange for leasing treaty rights. The Anishinabe voted both these offers down.

The Kennecott Corporation (of 1973 Chile fame) has already obtained permits to start mining in Ladysmith 140 feet from the Flambeau river, south of the Lac Oreilles Reservation. In order to obtain these permits, the DNR has provided the company with many exemptions to Wisconsin's environmental and zoning laws.

The struggle to prevent the opening of the Ladysmith mine has brought together environmentalists, treaty supporters, Native and non-Native Americans. A rally at Noranda headquarters in Toronto was held on April 5th in opposition to the company's plans to begin mining in the ceded territories, south of the Lac du Flambeau reservation, on the same day as other groups rallied in London, Vienna, and Madison, Wisconsin. Current plans include a July 6th action at the Ladysmith mine site.

As Zoltan Grossman of the Madison Treaty Rights Support Group said "We may have seen Crist's Last Stand. But the main threat to the treaties has always come from government and corporations, not just the anti-Indian zealots."

For more information contact:

Midwest Treaty Network,
South/ Central office,
731 State St., Madison WI 53703;
Northeast office,
Box 217,
Lac du Flambeau WI 54538

The author, Oscar F. Hernandez, is a member of the Madison Treaty Rights Support Group, and Community Action on Latin America, and works in the Physics Department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Treaty Agreement Sounds Fishy

On May 29, the Ojibwe tribe and the State of Wisconsin agreed to settle a 17 year long battle over 19th century treaty rights. Both sides agreed not to appeal decisions by Federal District Judge Barbara Crabb which bar the Ojibwe from seeking \$325 million in damages over treaty rights violations but protect their right to gather plants, hunt, and spearfish outside of their reservations in northern Wisconsin. The ruling strictly limits the number of fish the Ojibwe are allowed to catch and prohibits them from harvesting timber.

The 17 year legal battle stems from treaties between the US and the Ojibwe signed in 1837 and 1842, in which the Ojibwe ceded territory to the US and in return the US guaranteed the Ojibwe the right to hunt, fish, and cut timber. Over the past 150 years, the white culture in the area has become heavily dependent on tourism

and sport fishing, and whites in the area have contended, despite much evidence to the contrary, that spearfishing threatens the fish population, and the sport fishing industry. Dean Crist, a spokesman for the non-Indian anti-spearfishing group Stop Treaty Abuse-Wisconsin, is quoted in the May 21 *New York Times* as having complained "There's no sport to spearfishing." The distinction between fishing for food and fishing for "sport" appears to have eluded Mr. Crist. While some Ojibwe are pleased with the current agreement, others worry that they may someday regret agreeing not to pursue monetary awards for treaty rights violations. And while the agreement gives Ojibwe a solid legal ground to support their rights to spearfish, it will not protect them from racist interference and attacks or the apathy of the officials charged to protect spearfishing rights.

Have Anarchy, Will Travel

BY MATT BLACK

I SPENT A MONTH THIS spring travelling around the eastern US and Canada talking about anarchy. I visited 20 cities in 30 days to talk about the *Love and Rage* project, anarchism, and revolution. The tour was sponsored by *Love and Rage* - though the project didn't financially support the tour in any way. In most cities I spoke about anarchism in general and *Love and Rage* as an example of an anarchist project. In several cities the people with whom I spoke already knew a lot about anarchism - and often about *Love and Rage* - and we discussed controversies and arguments in and around the project and the anarchist movement.

Anarchist travelling organizers have been around for a long time. The IWW sent hundreds of organizers on the road during its strongest period. Emma Goldman spent much of her career travelling and speaking about anarchism and revolution. Even Bakunin spent a good deal of time starting groups where he thought struggle would erupt, then moving on.

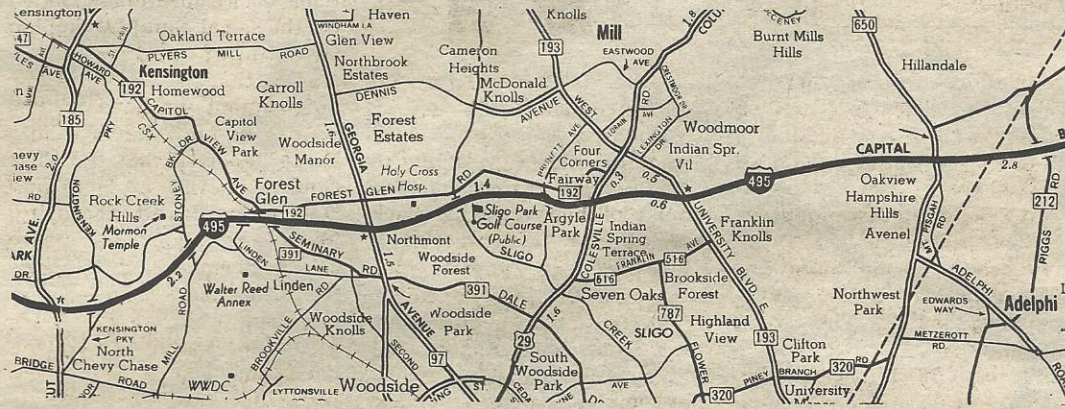
There's probably a difference to be made between a travelling organizer - someone who goes from town to town to create groups - and a travelling speaker - someone who goes from town to town to spread ideas. The distinction is often unclear - a speaker can sometimes be the catalyst for a group to come together or begin to function in a new way.

Almost everywhere people are pleased to know that not only are they not alone in their ideas and actions, but also that someone cares enough to come to meet them, talk about anarchism, share ideas, and try to understand how we can work together to make revolution.

My trip had several purposes - to encourage people to come to the *Love and Rage* conference in Minneapolis, to find out what people thought about *Love and Rage*, to learn what was going on in different cities, and to meet the people behind the names, the zines, and flyers. I travelled to: Williamstown, MA; Amherst, MA; Providence, RI; Boston, MA; Portland, ME; Burlington, VT; Montreal, Quebec; Ottawa, Ontario; Kingston, Ontario; Toronto, Ontario; Hamilton, Ontario; Detroit, MI; Dayton, OH; Yellow Springs, OH; Cincinnati, OH; Knoxville, TN; New Orleans, LA; Birmingham, AL;

Philadelphia, PA; Baltimore, MD; and Washington, DC. I spoke to crowds that ranged from 45 to 2. In begging for money at the end of the night to pay for my gas to the next town I received from \$45 to \$.50. I slept in cars, on floors, on sofas, in beds and in one hotel. I drove a little over 3,000 miles in a borrowed car, through 20 states, 2 countries and 2 time zones.

First, a little *Love and Rage*



stuff. While many people said they were pleased with the changes at *Love and Rage* since the first few issues, many still felt that there was too much of a focus on demonstrations and street-fighting and not enough news and analysis. More disturbingly, many people said that they felt little or no sense of "ownership" of the project - that they were not part of a collective process that created the paper and made it possible. Several groups of people said that they felt that they would not be able to publish an article in the paper because they were either not part of the clique that edited it, or because they were not experienced writers. Many people outside of the northeast US said that they felt that the paper only represented the experience of some activists in only one part of the US, and did a poor job representing other parts of North America. Some people I spoke to said that they read the paper but didn't necessarily find it directly relevant to them or their work. Some people who have been involved with the project reported that they are frustrated with the difficulties in getting the decision-making process to work.

Love and Rage is different from most other papers. The people involved try to work collectively from cities all over North America to produce a paper which reflects their ideas, their struggles, and their lives. While most day to day editorial decision-making happens in

New York right now, efforts are made to make this process as participatory as possible. We try to reflect the different ideas and experiences of people in diverse geographical, cultural and political environments. We try to let these people speak for themselves as much as possible. Further, we try to spur debate by publishing articles with which the Production Group, the Editorial Council or the an-

nual conference may disagree but which raise important questions. Most anarchist papers are produced collectively, but few on so broad a scale as *Love and Rage* - which doesn't make either better or worse, but qualitatively different in terms of decision-making, content, style, etc. The thing which made itself most clear on this trip is that many people who read *Love and Rage* don't know how the project works or why it does what it does.

There are a lot of different ideas about anarchism out there - both in theory and in practice.

Some folks think that anyone who calls himself an anarchist is an anarchist and no one can say otherwise, while others feel that there are definite parameters to the term. Some people feel that any form of organization is necessarily hierarchical, or that any form of revolutionary organization is necessarily vanguardist, while others feel that it isn't organization but kinds of organization that they should oppose. Some feel that rules are bad in and of themselves while others feel that the process by which rules are made and enforced is the problem.

That there is diversity is great, but it's disappointing to see that the form of political debate is often: "Well, if you don't believe this (what I believe) then you aren't an anarchist (and you're also a stupid fuck)."

So, was my trip a success? Was it worth it? I think so. One of the problems the *Love and Rage* project (and the anarchist movement in general) has is communication. My going on the road and talking to people who felt "out of the loop" of communication demonstrated to them that others really did care what they thought, often enough to drive several hundred miles just to

meeting new people, making new connections, and improving communication and cooperation.

If we want to see the anarchist movement grow we'll need to reach out to each other, to people who are sympathetic, and to people who've never heard of anarchism. One of the easy things about sending speakers on the road is that all you need is a car and someone willing to spend a part of their life travelling to talk about anarchy.

It doesn't cost your group or the traveller anything if s/he can get money at each stop to eat and get to the next stop. College groups can often get speaker's fees from their schools to help cover expenses.

Several groups I spoke to are considering sending speakers on the road either within their own states/provinces or regions. It makes sense for groups to coordinate this kind of thing since one speaker could talk about many different things for many groups. Perhaps if there are regional anarchist gatherings they could try to find volunteers for either short or long stints on the road.

Travelling to talk politics is not as easy in the 90s as it was in the 20s, when IWW talkers hopped freight trains to get around and didn't eat at Wendy's or stay at a La Quinta Inn. But even though it's more expensive and more culturally depressing (you can stay in a La Quinta in any city in North America and feel like you never left home at all) it's still worth it.

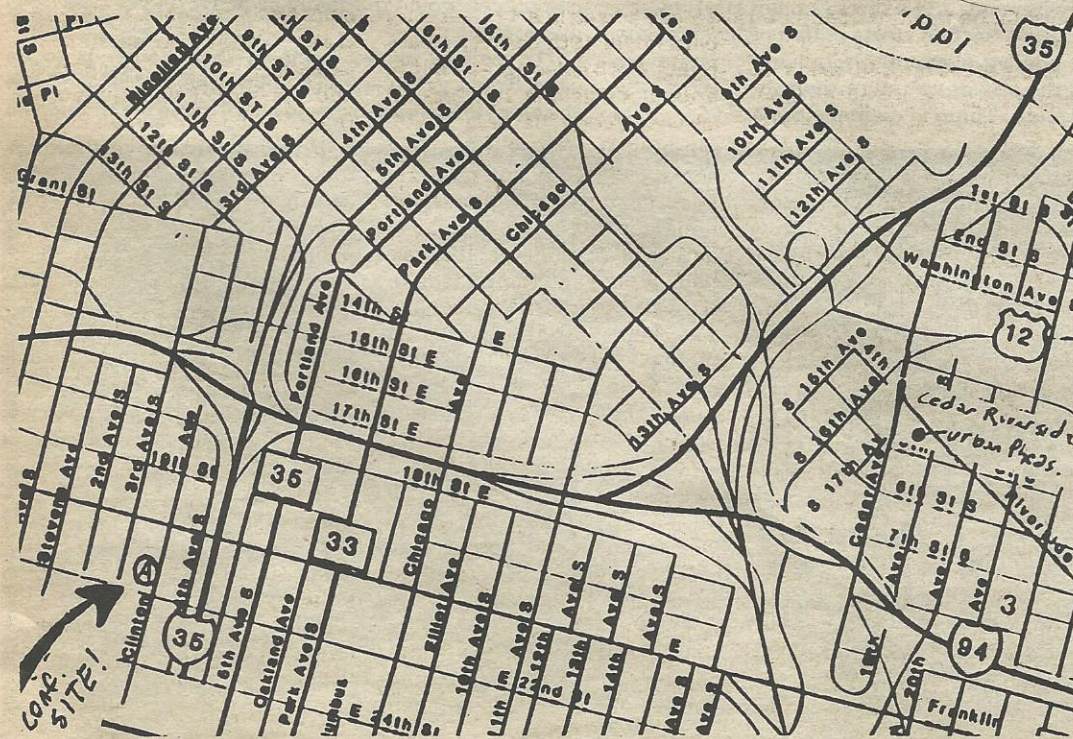
Having a social revolution that results in an anarchist society is a tall order, and travelling around to try to encourage like-minded people to work together isn't a bad first step.

Hopefully we could have people on the road all the time,

Distribute Love and Rage

Love and Rage is looking for people who want to take a bundle of the paper and distribute it in their area. Bundles of nine or more papers are available for 35 cents a copy. You can give them away or you can sell them for a buck and do as you wish with the difference (Donations to *Love and Rage* are always welcome). If you want to distribute *Love and Rage* in your area let us know. Write us at:

Love and Rage
P.O. Box 3 Prince St. Station
New York, NY 10012 USA
or call us at:
tel: (212) 925-7966



Minneapolis

(Continued from page 5)

split of 35 West and East, take 35 West. You should pass 494 and Hwy 62. About 3-4 miles past Hwy 62 is the "Lake Street/31st Ave." exit, which you want to take. Turn left onto either 31st Street or Lake Street. Turn right onto 1st Ave. Go down to 22nd street and turn right. Follow 22nd about 5 blocks to Clinton and turn left...

From I-35 going South: Take 35 West towards Mpls. Exit at 35th Street and turn right onto 35th Street itself. Go down 35th Street one block and turn right onto 1st Ave. Follow 1st Ave. to 22nd Street and turn right onto 22nd. Go down 22nd about 5 blocks until you reach Clinton. Turn left onto Clinton...

From I-94 going West: Get off at 11th Street and follow 11th to the left until you reach 3rd Ave. Take a left onto 3rd Ave. and go about 5 blocks to Franklin. Turn left onto Franklin, go 1 block, turn left onto Clinton...

From 194 going East: Get off at "Hennepin/Lyndale" exit. Follow signs to Lyndale Ave. Southbound. Pass along by the freeway for a couple of blocks, under the bourgeois Art Bridge and past the bourgeois Walker Art Center. Lyndale separates off to the right - continue to follow it. The first stoplight after they separate is Franklin Ave. Turn left onto Franklin. Go 12 blocks to Clinton and turn right...

If you need more information about the conference call:

Love and Rage
Anarchist Organizing Conference
(612) 870-0153

A LOOK AT THE NEW LEFT GREEN PROGRAM

BY WAYNE PRICE

THE LEFT GREEN NETWORK (LGN) IS A SIGNIFICANT part of the anti-authoritarian movement. Many Left Greens are anarchists, integrating libertarian socialism and ecology. Like *Love and Rage* they work toward a self-organized movement. The LGN is having a Continental Congress over July 3-7. One matter to be raised is the adoption of an official program. Following the process set by their Coordinating Committee, a draft program has been written by Howard Hawkins, LGN Field Organizer, and Lowell Nelson, "to which members should submit (alternate) platform or program sections" (all quotations are from *Left Green Notes*, No. 7 April/May 1991).

They write, "The Program has two basic purposes: (1) to ... introduce readers to the Left Greens' vision of an alternate society and how we propose to get there

state must be uprooted and replaced by new decentralized forms of grassroots political and economic democracy."

Politically, they wish to replace the centralized state with town-meeting-like popular assemblies, to determine local policy and to control representatives to higher levels of decision making. "We call for the creation of community assemblies in every neighborhood and rural district in the land (and) for the confederation of community assemblies into municipal, bioregional, continental, and global public administrations that are controlled from below..."

Economically, they propose "public ownership and democratic control of basic industry" through the confederated communities, with "workers' self-management of the immediate labor process." Meanwhile,

ability to...disinvest and move elsewhere, wreck the economy, and blame the reformers. There is the unelected bureaucracy which can tie up reforms in red tape and the unelected military which can crush popular reform movements violently...It is therefore obvious that this system cannot be changed through elections...The only thing that can counter these extraparlimentary powers of the corporations and the state is direct action by a majority of the people — in short a social revolution. Our role is...to build a revolutionary movement..."

So far, so good. But while the writers reject electoral reformism at the national and state levels, they advocate it at the city, town, and county levels. Nor do they see local elections just as possible platforms for making Left Green propaganda. Rather they believe that being elected to local office can bring real power for restructuring the government and the economy. "...We will work to rewrite municipal charters and restructure local governmental institutions as grassroots democracies..." And, "The common aim of these municipal movements will be to take over city and county governments, restructure them..., begin democratizing and socializing the economy..., and counterpose this confederal grassroots democracy as a popular counterpower that can resist and ultimately overthrow and replace the nation-state and global corporations."

This sounds very fierce, but it contradicts all their own arguments against reformism, quoted before. "Capitalism's private veto — its ability to...move elsewhere (and) wreck the economy..." is even stronger at the local level than nationally — as many a reform mayor has discovered. The "unelected bureaucracy" is enormous in big cities at least. The "unelected military" can move into any community, as the National Guard was used to put down ghetto rebellions in the '60s. And the cities have their own "unelected military" in their police forces, Red Squads included. In any case, local governments are subject to control by state and federal governments and can be easily overruled.

In short, the local governments are parts of the capitalist bureaucratic state machine. They are neither more (nor less) vulnerable to being popularly taken over than any other level of government. The authors got it right the first time, when they wrote, "It is...obvious that the system can not be changed through elections."

Managed Capitalism?

As stated, most of the draft program is a set of "immediate demands" on the state. Most of the demands are excellent. These include free child care, repealing laws that limit democratic unionism, the "rapid phaseout of fossil fuel use," increased taxes on the rich and so on.

It is absolutely necessary to raise such demands in order to mobilize people, to improve people's lives where possible, and to educate them about the need for a better society.

Some of the writer's demands, however, imply a liberal effort to *manage capitalism*, to direct the capitalist system better than the capitalist politicians can do. For example, the section on "Economic Reconstruction" begins "...our economy is heading into a recession loaded down with debt. The following measures should be taken immediately to stabilize the economy (and) ensure people's basic needs are met..."

One measure "to stabilize the (capitalist) economy" is a complicated proposal "...to adopt a system of political pricing through the variable taxation on automated production...varied like a value-added tax...a system of 'true cost' pricing..." In other words, capitalism would still exist, but the planners would manipulate the prices. Meanwhile, "In those sectors of the economy where private industry has failed, the public should take control..." (as if "private industry" has only failed in only some sectors). But most of the economy would be run by the market for an indefinite time (some companies would gradually be converted to employee ownership).

The writers expect some of their demands to be carried out by the capitalist politicians: "...We will force the establishment parties to adopt some of our reforms



... and (2) to provide the LGN with a framework of policies we advocate..." As a revolutionary anarchist, I find their "vision of an alternate society" to be excellent. But their proposed strategy "to get there" and their "framework of policies" is inadequate and needs to be reconsidered.

Vision of the Left Greens

The LGN's vision is based on an insightful analysis: "Our society's attempt to dominate nature stems from the very real domination of human by human — of women by men, of people of color by whites, of workers by bosses (and) of one nation by another...We stand with every effort to promote the self-development of people of all age, gender and ethnic groups..."

A key statement is: "The various forms of hierarchy and domination...are integrated by two over-arching institutions today: the capitalist economy and the nation-state."

This is not the same as claiming that capitalism and statism are the only causes of all oppression. Rather it says that the market and the state enforce and hold together the various forms of oppression. "If we are to have an ecological society, capitalism and the nation-

"private sector firms...should be collectively owned and controlled by their employees...(while) progressively more and more goods and services should be removed from the money economy...and distributed free of charge..." This would make possible the redesign of industrial technology and human settlement into a decentralized, ecologically-balanced society.

I believe that anarchists will succeed only if we can project something like the Left Green vision. Unlike Marxism, which relies on supposedly Objective Laws of the Historical Process, the strength of anarchism is its vision of human liberation.

Strategy of the Left Greens

Most of the document, however, does not focus on the analysis and vision. These have already been spelled out in other places, such as the "Principles of the Left Green Network." Most of the draft program is composed of "immediate demands" to be made on the existing government, and a discussion of strategy.

The "Strategy" section starts with a pithy summary of the case against electoral reformism: "...There is a lot more to the power structure than the elected officers of the state. There is capital's private veto — its

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UNITED STATES

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

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

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

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

Liberate the Obsessed
P.O. Box 1916
Belle Fourche, SD 57717

Collective Action
P.O. Box 44563
Detroit MI 48244

Circle A Collective
#LF 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

Autonome Forum
P.O. Box 366
Williamstown MA 01267

Art Deco
P.O. Box 12504
Raleigh NC 27605

Anarchist Youth Federation/NYC
P.O. Box 365, Canal St. Station
New York, NY 10013-0365

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

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

CANADA

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

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

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

Arm The Spirit
c/o Wild Seed Press
P.O. Box 57584, Jackson St.,
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4X3

without ourselves having to take executive power..." a sort of reformism-from-the-outside. But this is also an economic program for the proposed planning boards of the confederated communities.

However, any long term effort to manage capitalism would turn the communal confederation into a new state. The planners would be deeply involved in the market, setting prices and directing the public enterprises. The centrifugal forces of the market would have to be fought by centralized means. The tendency of capitalist enterprises to grow in size and bureaucracy would require a growing layer of public bureaucratic supervision. Enterprises are pressured by the market to be selfish and anti-social (even employee-run enterprises); public authorities will need to use coercion if they are to be controlled.

After a revolution, there will probably have to be a transition from capitalism to complete libertarian socialism. And different regions are likely to experiment in various ways, in a decentralized, planned economy. Communities could try different combinations of public enterprises, worker and consumer cooperatives, kibbutz-like eco-communes, family farms, small businesses, etc. There might be various regional mixtures of cooperation and market competition — from complete anarcho-communism to many small businesses and coops. But this is different from a program to

immediately stabilize a capitalism in crisis or from plans to manage prices in a market economy.

Libertarian Municipalism

The key flaw of the program is its local electoralism. This concept of "libertarian municipalism" was mostly developed by Murray Bookchin. He counterposed this approach to the emphasis on workers advocated by anarcho-syndicalists and libertarian Marxists. These tendencies hold that workplace struggles can lead to revolutionary workers' councils replacing capitalism and the state.

The authors of the program do not display the virulent anti-worker attitudes that appear in Bookchin's writings. Instead, they are pro-worker and pro-union. In general they support a whole range of popular struggles by various oppressed groups, advocating direct action against the system. But they seek to channel all these movements, worker and non-worker, into a pre-determined strategy — electing local governments and rewriting their charters. All popular struggles are subordinate to the goal of libertarian municipalism.

In my opinion, we anarchists are too far from a mass revolutionary movement to tie ourselves to a specific strategy at this time — beyond trying to advance all struggles and organizing ourselves to carry the anarchist message.

No doubt there will be community organizing and rebellions. But there will also be upsurges in workers organizing and rebellion, resulting in workplace committees and fights for democratic unions. There will also be expanded organizing among Blacks, among Hispanics, women, Lesbians and Gays, youth and people concerned with issues of peace or air pollution. And all these will result in new popular structures or revitalization of old ones.

It would be a grave mistake to channel all these struggles into one direction now, whether into support for workers only (wooden "workerism") or for community organizing, as the Left Green program proposes.

We certainly cannot now foretell the finished form that will replace the state. Will it be community assemblies, or factory committees and workers' councils, or some combination, or what? If history tells us anything, it is the creativity of people in revolution.

The vision of the Left Greens, as expressed in this program and elsewhere, is a view of human liberation. It is a call for self-organization and decentralist democracy.

It raises the noblest and yet most practical of ideals. It is supported by an analysis which correctly points to our real enemies. But the proposed strategy is profoundly mistaken in its reformism and should be rejected by anarchists.

Anarchist Black Cross

John Perotti Transferred

Due to the pressure from John Perotti's ongoing hunger-strike, and the steady calls and letters on his behalf, he was transferred on April 27th from Lebanon to Mansfield Correctional Institution, Ohio (US).

John ended his fast when transferred, relieved to be out of the horrible situation at Lebanon. He is being held in

isolation, but is in voice contact with other prisoners, several of whom he knows. The cell he is being held in is larger, over all it's a better situation.

The isolation and his limited visiting "privileges" of one hour per week are standard following a transfer out of a previous isolation. He is not in disciplinary isolation and should be in general population with a regular visiting schedule in 90 days. Since his transfer he has had a one hour visit with his mom.

Federal Judge Spiegel has appointed an additional lawyer for John to follow up a pending civil rights case and look into the abuses at Lebanon. The lawyer seems very interested in working with John and has already spoken with him a

few times. The lawyer will be returning to Ohio within a few weeks and will meet with John's partner, Linda, to talk about John's case. We'll keep everyone up on what's going on with John's court cases.

Thanks very much to everyone who called and wrote on John's behalf, and wrote to John.

East European Aid Project

The East European Aid project, organized by the Worker's Solidarity Alliance is a financial and material aid campaign aimed at supporting the independent trade union movement in the "Eastern Block". The campaign is running only through August 31st of this year.

One of the groups receiving the aid will be the Free Interprofessional Workers Union (SMOT), one of the oldest independent union groups in the USSR. Several of their members have been imprisoned over the years, and SMOT publishes information bulletins and works to aid strikers and political prisoners.

The other groups receiving the aid are: SPARTAKUS, an underground anarcho-syndicalist group active in Gdansk. Confederation of Anarchosyndicalists (KAC), and the Polish Anarchist Federation.

Financial aid is needed to go towards purchasing literature, printing supplies, etc. Material Aid is also needed, they need paper (size A-4) Xerox supplies, printing equipment and supplies, and books, zines, pamphlets, etc. on anarchist and union history, theory, current events, etc.

You can call about making a donation, they even offer to help arrange shipping if you can donate supplies/equipment. The contact is:

WSA
339 Lafayette St., Room 202
New York, NY 10012
tel.: (212) 979-8353

Alternatives Anyone?

Since the ABC page started up as an independent section of *Love and Rage* we've been able to get out information on the situations of prisoners, and occasionally, letters and information from prisoners. It's been great to have a forum to get this info. out, and to see people respond, as in John Perotti's case where the letters and calls tipped the balance in his favor. But it seems reactive to limit this forum to trying to hold off disaster after the fact. We need more writing (and art) by prisoners and we need to talk about alternatives to the court/prison system. There are individuals and groups working on prison alternative projects - lets hear your ideas. The purpose of the ABC isn't prison reform, it's prison abolition! Send us your ideas and opinions.

Books To Prisoners

Books To Prisoners is one of only two such programs in the US, sending progressive literature and basic educational materials to prisoners across the country for 11 years. Volunteers with the program open more than 2,000 letters a year and respond to requests ranging from dictionaries to biographies to historical works on Black liberation, the civil rights movement, and other political struggles. It's often this kind of support that gives prisoners the strength to speak out for their rights while imprisoned.

Books For Prisoners is funded entirely by donations. To donate books, money, time, and energy, or for more information, write:

Books For Prisoners
Box A, 92 Pike Street
Seattle, WA 98101

FREE THE MURRAYS



INFO ON THE CASE: TENANTS CORNER
48 a OVAL MANSIONS, VAUXHALL, LONDON, UK
SE 11

CONTACTS

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

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

Friends of Liberty
Box 95686
Seattle, WA 98145-2686

Anarchist Black Cross
Vancouver
P.O. Box 2881
Vancouver, B.C.,
V6B 3X4 Canada

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

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

Anarchist Black Cross
Latino Americana
P.O. Box 451208
Miami, FL 33245

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

Prisoners' Legal News
P.O. Box 1684
Lake Worth, FL 33460

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

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

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

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

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

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

AIDS IS ONE OF THE MOST PRESSING SOCIAL crises we face today, and it is important for anarchists to respond to it. If we hope to convince people of the value of anarchism, we should have concrete strategies for dealing with pressing social concerns.

Under our present system, it sometimes seems as if the government is the only entity with the money, resources, and power to make a dent in the AIDS epidemic. At the same time, we realize that the state is often not an ally, and may in fact be one of the greatest impediments to our fight against AIDS.

AIDS activists often have a contradictory relationship with the state. ACT UP (the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) is known for its accusation that the government, by not doing enough, is committing genocide against people with AIDS and, by extension, against the populations that are most affected by the disease. Is the government, in fact, responsible for every death that it fails to prevent? Certainly if the state devoted unlimited resources and effort, many current diseases might have been eliminated, including diabetes and cancer as well as AIDS. Governments can "protect" us by instituting ever more strict regulations, but our freedom suffers as a result. A "blame-the-government" attitude can, unfortunately, allow us to deny individual and collective social responsibility and become dependent on the state. If it is true, as activists claim, that the government does not represent our best interests, it would be foolish to rely on it as a source of solutions.

Most anarchists acknowledge the value of people coming together to carry out various tasks. This is the basis of mutual aid: individuals sharing resources and skills for the benefit of everyone involved. The differences between a task-oriented organization and a government are based on their degree of power and control and on their overall purpose. Governments have the power to compel people to do what they command; task-oriented groups depend on voluntary participation. Governments have the proven tendency, whatever their initial purpose and stated aims, to evolve into entities whose primary function is to maintain their existence, perpetuate dependence, and consolidate their power. Unfortunately, non-governmental "AIDS professionals" and their organizations are not immune to this tendency. It is often direct action, grass roots groups that must re-focus attention on the real needs of the people involved.

Socialists claim that government exists to serve the people, and that it is therefore a proper role of activists to demand that the state do its job.

This argument presupposes an idealistic belief that the government is basically well-intentioned. Anarchists generally believe that the state is *not* well-intentioned, and that it exists to serve a powerful elite. The first view (held by many liberals as well as socialists) claims that through education, persuasion, and democratic process, we can convince the government to use its (that is *our*) resources to meet human needs. The opposite view claims that since government is unwilling to use its (our) resources for what we feel is important, we would be better off putting the time, money (including taxes), and effort that we currently devote to petitioning, supporting, and evading the government into alternative activities that meet our needs directly.

ACT UP and similar AIDS direct action groups follow an anarchist model in many ways, although their overall attitude toward the state is ambiguous. For example, these groups are:

Decentralized - there is no formal leadership, either within or among chapters. ACT UP began in New York City in 1987, and has branched out to other cities and towns, evolving to meet the needs of local communities. There is no top-down agenda or methodology. Different groups use different strategies and tactics to achieve their goals, though they often network with each other and call upon others to support their projects.

Grass-roots based - different groups take on the issues that have the highest importance for the members and their local community. When members have differing priorities, subgroups may form to carry out various projects. ACT UP is known for bringing its message to the streets and bringing wide exposure through the press, so that issues are brought before the public as a whole, not just the policy-makers.

Direct-action oriented - groups are committed to working outside the system, putting pressure on the government, corporations, and the medical establishment, doing direct outreach and education, and interfering with business as usual. Some groups have

a component that works within the system as well, using the threat of direct action to get their demands met.

What AIDS Activists Do

Since their beginnings, ACT UP and related groups have had some notable successes. They have been instrumental in pushing AIDS drugs through the federal approval and regulation process more rapidly, and in getting more and better research done on promising treatments. ACT UP pressured Burroughs-Wellcome, the company that holds a monopoly on AZT (although it was developed at public expense) to lower its price from \$10,000 per year to a substantially lower rate. ACT UP has challenged state, church, and private officials who have blocked AIDS prevention efforts by prohibiting safer-sex information, sex education in the schools, and the distribution of condoms. ACT UP challenged the Immigration and Naturalization Service regulations that prevented HIV positive people from visiting or emigrating to the U.S. (ACT UP was joined in this effort by gay people, immigrants, and anarchist activists who oppose the INS for anti-statist reasons; while the INS regulations against gay and HIV positive people are pending repeal, regulations against anarchists are still in effect.)

ANARCHISM AND AIDS ACTIVISM

AIDS activists have been on the forefront of safer-sex education. These efforts have been so successful that the rate of increase of HIV infection has declined among gay men. In our moralistic, sex-phobic society, activists have taken the lead in promoting the kind of frank information and discussion that is necessary to motivate people to change risky behavior. The government, schools, and religious institutions are still resisting efforts to promote education about safer sex and safer drug injection and to make available informational resources, condoms, and clean needles. Since it is clear that establishment institutions cannot be relied on to strongly promote AIDS prevention, activists are working to develop outreach and education programs for heterosexual women and men, lesbians, sex workers and drug user similar to those that have been successful for gay men.

Grass roots activists have worked to improve health care delivery. Much of this work resembles and builds upon time-tested self-help strategies, like those developed by the women's self-help and underground abortion movements in the 1960's and 1970's. The AIDS activist/People with AIDS (PWA) movement aims to help people control their own bodies, and to empower them to take control of their own health care. Non-professional people are learning about the manifestations of HIV disease and challenging the medical establishment. PWAs are exploring new and alternative methods of treatment (like the women's health movement explored alternative methods of contraception and abortion), including traditional methods such as herbs and acupuncture; there is an emphasis on preventative care and user controlled methods of health care delivery.

PWAs and AIDS activists have started community health centers, volunteer service organizations, and buddy programs. Buyer's clubs have sprung up to provide access to drugs that are not available through the usual channels due to government regulation (some of these drugs can be obtained from other countries or produced in underground laboratories). Clubs allow PWAs to share and trade surplus medications, partially circumventing drug company monopolies. Initiatives have been developed to safely administer drugs such as Compound Q (a Chinese plant) which requires intravenous infusion. Volunteer medical workers risk losing their license for helping supply unapproved treatments, making these efforts acts of civil disobedience as well as direct health care provision. The devastatingly slow pace of federally sponsored research, and

the overwhelming concentration of research on treatments that have drug company backing have led some activists to decide that they can do better themselves. Community Research Initiatives have been developed in several cities to carry out decentralized research based on the needs of PWAs. Because these initiatives are locally-based, they are more knowledgeable about and responsive to the needs of the diverse people they work with.

As people with AIDS become sick, they are at risk of losing their jobs or their homes. Homelessness is an increasingly common problem with PWAs, especially in large cities that have a widespread housing crisis. Some AIDS activists have taken up squatting as a means of securing housing. Unlike the typical demonstration, whose purpose is to call attention to an issue and get bureaucrats to act, squatting is a direct appropriation or a needed resource, which at the same time educates the community and puts pressure on the powers-that-be. ACT UP/Philadelphia got much community support when they took over an AIDS hospice that had lost its funding. ACT UP/Boston is currently exploring squatting to provide places for PWAs to live.

A large and ever increasing number of people have become infected with AIDS through IV drug use, by sharing or renting needles contaminated with blood

that contains the HIV virus; in order to protect themselves, injection drug users must have access to sterile needles. The possession and non-prescription sale of needles and syringes is illegal in eleven states, including California and the Northeast; probably not coincidentally, these states are home to the cities with the highest incidence of AIDS. Several AIDS activist groups are doing clean needle distribution or exchange in opposition to the law. Among these are the National AIDS Brigade (started by former addict Jon Parker in New Haven, Connecticut in 1986), San Francisco's Prevention Point (the nation's largest), and ACT UP groups in Boston (the IV League), New York, and East Bay. Studies in Europe and the US have shown that access to clean needles greatly reduces the spread of AIDS among injection drug users, and does not lead to an increase in drug use.

Drug users are often the target of police harassment, and face stiff sentences for needle possession; it is crucial to abolish laws that punish people for trying to protect themselves against AIDS. Ironically, in some cities activist pressure has convinced the state to take over the funding and operation of needle exchange programs; state programs tend to exclude activists and are tailored to meet the needs of bureaucrats rather than drug users (for example, a pilot needle exchange program in New York City required drug users to come to a central facility located across the street from a police station). As is so often the case, we cannot depend on the government and must continue to develop community-based, user-controlled programs. In the US, AIDS disproportionately affects those outside the law, such as IV drug users, sex workers, and prisoners. The state, as well as many private organizations, seems more concerned with preventing supposed moral sins than with preventing the spread of AIDS. Drug laws drive drug users underground and keep them away from sources of support and health care. Laws against prostitution subject sex workers to continual harassment by the police, and make them vulnerable to abuse from clients and pimps. Sex workers are often scapegoated as spreaders of AIDS, when in fact they are more at risk of getting AIDS themselves than they are of infecting a client. Police policies of confiscating condoms as evidence of prostitution, which makes sex workers less willing to carry them, are killing people, and must be abolished. Moralistic and legalist attitudes lead officials to deny that sex and drug use occurs in prison, despite clear evidence to the contrary. Prison populations have very high rates of HIV infection, and it is crucial that prisons allow inmates to protect themselves by means of condoms and clean works.

ACT UP is known for its protest of the bureaucracy, red tape, and regulations of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and other government agencies. Some activists believe that regulations should be done away with, and that people should be free to make their own choices about their treatment. The ability to make such decisions depends on a level of knowledge, literacy, and access to information that many PWAs unfortunately do not have. Other activists have called for stricter regulation, especially for alternative treatments, to protect people from charlatans who seek to make a quick buck off sick people's desperation. In order to responsibly advocate a reduction in government regulation, we should develop ways to make

information and options available in an accessible and understandable way so that people can truly make their own informed decisions about their health care.

The need for AIDS service is so pressing that it would be of great value if people with the necessary motivation, experience, and knowledge were allowed to put their skills to use without having to spend large amounts of time and money on formal medical education and licensing. PWA's and community activists who often have as much or more knowledge about AIDS care are risking prosecution for practicing medicine without a license. Reduction of regulations would also make it possible to use needed facilities without having to meet expensive and often unnecessarily stringent approval requirements.

An Anarchist Critique of AIDS Activism

While direct action AIDS activists may be anarchistic in method and attitude, ACT UP and similar groups cannot be considered an anarchist ideal.

Some anarchists have criticized ACT UP for becoming just another part of the spectacle. More than most direct action groups, ACT UP has been very successful in using media images, and its way of doing so sometimes appears similar to the manipulative tactics of the state and corporations. At the same time, new and creative ways of using the media have been developed, including the use of media by non-professionals. The government and corporations do not have an exclusive hold on the media, and it is important for activists to use these tools if they can further our goals. ACT UP has also been criticized for its faddish consumerism, with its ubiquitous ACT UP merchandise marketed to the tune of several thousand dollars, part of a million dollar annual operating budget (for ACT UP/NY alone).

A more serious criticism from the anarchist point of view is the tendency for some members of AIDS direct action groups to become "insiders," with access to high-level government and corporate decision makers.

Maintaining such access presents a real risk of cooptation, especially when the "insiders" come to think of themselves as an elite and as more valuable than other members. The "insiders" cannot be allowed to forget that they have gained access only because they are backed by large numbers protesting in the streets. In the fight against AIDS, knowledge is indeed power. One of the strengths of the AIDS activist movement is that so many people without specialized education or medical training have learned so much about research and treatment. ACT UP and others have generally done a good job of disseminating information widely, but as groups become larger and the amount of information becomes greater, there is a tendency for knowledge to become concentrated in fewer hands; people tend to specialize and become "experts," thus leaving some people in control of information, and increasing the risk that the "big picture" will be missed in favor of smaller details.

The explosive growth of the AIDS activist movement has presented serious issues for those concerned with maintaining decentralized, non-hierarchical structures. Some of the larger ACT UP chapters have faced divisions and splits when they have been unable to reconcile conflicting priorities. At its outset, ACT UP was a group of primarily gay white men with the specific goal of getting drugs into the bodies of people with AIDS. As the AIDS crisis worsened and spread to other segments of the population, and as more diverse groups became involved in AIDS activism, people began to claim that developing new and better drugs was not enough. PWAs have many pressing concerns that go beyond drugs, such as the need for housing and the problem of discrimination. Drugs are not enough if they are unavailable to the poor, the uninsured, women, children, people of color, IV drug users, and prisoners. People must have access to health care regardless of ability to pay.

Direct action groups often work best when they are small, the size of an affinity group or perhaps several affinity groups working together. Groups of this size let all members know one another, which is important in building trust and solidarity, as well as in maintaining security against infiltrators and provocateurs. Smaller groups allow everyone to give their input, and can work in a directly democratic way or by consensus. In contrast, larger groups may find it necessary to resort to representation, hierarchical structures, and rigid process rules. It would be valuable for anti-authoritarian political groups to develop genuinely democratic ways of working in large groups, but until these methods are developed and people are accustomed to them, it may be beneficial for groups to divide as they grow, with

different groups focussing in different issues, while sharing an overall goal and working together when large numbers are effective. This allows members to do the work that needs to be done rather than arguing over priorities and process in huge group meetings. Unfortunately, some ACT UP chapters that have split up (such as ACT UP Portland, Oregon, an ACT UP/SF) have done so in an acrimonious way that has made it hard for the resulting smaller groups to work together. ACT UP/NY regularly has meetings attended by hundreds of people.

In March, Larry Kramer (the founder of ACT UP) distributed a letter calling for ACT UP to re-examine its goals and methods, suggesting that ACT UP should consider electing officers and establishing by-laws. Smaller and more cohesive chapters, in which anti-authoritarian and anti-elitist sentiment remains strong, are likely to resist such moves.

The AIDS activist movement now finds itself in the situation that anarchist organizations are likely to face as they grow and develop, and it is possible that the anarchist movement can learn some useful lessons from the way ACT UP and similar groups respond to this challenge. On one hand, it is exciting when the number of members increases, since it indicates awareness of the issues and admiration for the work the group has done. On the other hand, increased size

present system that benefits only the financially secure. A voluntary, comprehensive, community-managed health care system would be ideal, but will require a great deal of time and resources to develop (as well as a basic change in the way people interpret the roles and responsibilities of the individual, the community, and the government), and many lives are at risk in the meantime.

In the US AIDS initially struck gay men, a relatively cohesive community that had considerable experience in political organizing; the group of all diabetics, for example, does not begin to have these characteristics. This community also had relatively high levels of education, skills, and resources, and was willing and able to give AIDS a high priority on its agenda. In addition to gay men, AIDS has most heavily affected other populations (communities of color, IV drug users, women) that have historically faced discrimination and oppression, and who have less faith in the political and medical establishment and less to lose by challenging it.

AIDS activists have been known to claim that if AIDS had struck wealthy straight white men, there would already be a cure. This is not evident when one looks at a typical malady of white male executives (such as heart disease). The men in power have not been moved to challenge the system (for example by demanding

more research, speeding up the release of drugs, breaking pharmaceutical company monopolies, and providing more care and resources for the sick), even when they themselves are affected. Perhaps this is because they trust and feel invested in (and are often a part of) the government, the medical establishment, and the health care corporations; it seems that the powerful would rather die than challenge the system that keeps them in power. It is no surprise that it is the disenfranchised groups that are demanding drastic change.

The AIDS activist movement is among the largest social change movements today, and may become one of the broadest. As time goes on and the epidemic shows no signs of abating, activists are increasingly realizing how deep the roots of the AIDS crisis go. Activists are expanding their focus to include others in addition to the gay, largely white and

middle-class men that started the movement. Addressing homophobia has always been an integral part of AIDS activism, since the fear and hatred of gay people has contributed to the apathy and hateful policies surrounding AIDS. It is ever more evident that sexism, racism, and classism are co-factors in the epidemic as well, and must be confronted and dealt with both within activist groups and in society at large. AIDS activists are also taking part in the fight against social service cuts, and in the anti-war movement, realizing that the focus on war and the military buildup allows the government to divert attention away from domestic issues, and consumes a huge amount of resources that would be better spent elsewhere. Defeating AIDS and improving people's overall quality of life will require major changes in the health care industry, in the political system, and in the currently profit-based capitalist economy. These changes necessarily imply an alteration of the underlying power structure of society. Reform is not enough. Making revolutionary change happen will require the combined efforts of all people who are currently disenfranchised and who stand to gain by widespread change. Anarchist activists are an important part of this movement, and making links between anarchist activists and progressive health care activists is an important task.

In "Positive," Rosa von Praunheim's film about AIDS, it is mentioned how tragic it is that the AIDS epidemic has forced the affected communities to fend for themselves and come up with their own strategies to deal with the crisis. I feel the contrary is true. This process is highly empowering and is laying the groundwork for long-term change. Existing institutions can sometimes be relied on for short-term bandaid measures that help a small proportion of those in need, and in our desperation it is often tempting to accept these crumbs. At the same time we should never lose sight of the bigger picture; the AIDS crisis and the broader health care crisis are deep-rooted, long-term societal problems and it is important to seek comprehensive, long-term solutions. The government is too often more concerned with perpetuating its own power than it is with meeting the needs of those it claims to serve. What the state gives, it can also take away. In order to achieve a non-hierarchical, self-sufficient, cooperative society built upon anarchist values and focused on human needs and desires, it is vital that we find ways, individually and collectively, to develop solutions that do not rely on the state.



can change the very character which has made the group successful. We can try to de-emphasize the importance given to the size of specific groups, and rather focus on developing and expanding the movement as a whole in a decentralized, grass roots manner.

AIDS and the "Big Picture"

People often claim that AIDS gets too much attention and resources in proportion to its occurrence. Other diseases like cancer and heart disease claim far more lives than AIDS in the US (40 million Americans have cardiovascular disease, and 550,000 die of heart attacks each year); while an estimated 1.5 million are HIV positive and over 100,000 have died from AIDS. Why do AIDS activists selfishly demand so much?

Instead of asking why AIDS activists demand so much, perhaps we should ask why people concerned with other health issues are content with so little. Their attitude seems to be, "We have been dying quietly, so why don't you shut up and do the same?" AIDS activists are asking instead, how can you die quietly? Why aren't you in the streets demanding what you need? The success of AIDS activists is a testament to their effective organizing, persistence, and ability to find innovative ways to challenge the system. AIDS activists will not reduce their efforts because other groups have not made similar efforts nor achieved the same success.

At the same time, AIDS activists are not demanding that attention and resources be given to AIDS at the expense of other pressing needs. That is a choice made by politicians who are more willing, for example, to rake funds away from cancer research to fund AIDS than to cut the military budget.

An increasing number of AIDS activists are joining with groups concerned with other health issues (such as women's health activists working to combat cervical cancer and breast cancer, people concerned with reducing the high infant mortality rate in communities of color, and those working to develop more accessible and successful drug treatment programs), and are part of a growing movement to demand some type of universal health care regardless of financial or employment status.

Anarchists within this movement face difficult questions on the issue of national health care. We currently seem to be facing a choice between a state-supported inclusive health care system, or the continuation of the

Notes of Revolt

European Autonomist Congress

ITALIAN AUTONOMISTS involved in the National Anti-nuclear Anti-imperialist Coordination (CNAA) are sponsoring an international congress to discuss their proposal "Against the Europe of '92, the Europe of the ruling classes, lets construct a Europe of the movements." The call for the congress emphasizes the need to confront the theoretical questions raised by the dramatic changes in Europe, the Gulf war and the plans for a united Europe in 1992.

The CNAA was organized in 1983 by Italian autonomists involved in various struggles (prisons, antinuke, anti-imperialist and anti-NATO, squatting, and self organization in the workplace). The CNAA is united around principles of anti-institutionalism, direct action, and self-organization. They have sought to link theoretical debates with a practice of direct action. Last November the CNAA organized a seminar of over 300 people that agreed on the need for an international congress.

There will be a series of workshops. Proposed subjects include:

Internationalism, imperialism, and solidarity

Free spaces and free time, squatted houses and centers

The world of labor and collective working relations

Migratory currents and racism

Nuclear power and pollution

NATO and military service

Communication

Repression and the new European legal apparatus

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Vicolo Pontecorvo 1
35100 Padova, Italy
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fax: 0039-49-664589
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Via Dei Volsci 56
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Rio Slum Dwellers Squat Thousands of Homes

BETWEEN MARCH 15 and March 19, an estimated 5,000 poor families have taken over vacant city lots or half finished housing complexes in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil according to the New York Times. In the most spectacular case 982 apartments in an abandoned condominium development valued at \$100 million were taken over.

The tidal wave of squatting began with the inauguration of Leonel Brizola, a 69-year old Socialist as Governor of Rio De Janeiro State. The squatters believe that Brizola will not use the police to enforce evictions. In reference to Ronald Levinsohn, the Brazilian developer of the failed condominiums the Governor claimed "I will do everything to put the slum dwellers in the complex, and Levinsohn in the slum."

Occupations have also taken place in Rio Grande do Sul, a state where Alceu Collares, a fellow member of Brizola's Democratic Labor Party, also took office as Governor.

ROM 11 Trial Date Changed

THE ROM 11, a group of African activists in Toronto, arrested during demonstrations opposing the racist Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) last spring have had their trial adjourned until November.

The 11 were to face trial on a series of charges from assaulting police to resisting arrest, based on an incident where Toronto's "finest" attacked the weekly demonstrations countering the racist "Into the Heart of Africa" exhibit at the ROM. The exhibit portrayed African people through the eyes of white missionaries and degraded their culture. The exhibit has been compared to mounting an exhibit of Jews in Germany through the eyes of the Nazis. The trial was to span three days beginning April 24 but has been expanded to nine days to accommodate more police testimony and moved to November 18.

Dhoruba Bin-Wahad, a former Black Panther and political prisoner for 19 years, spoke in support of the ROM 11 April 19 in Toronto. His talk focused on the need to make a personal commitment to revolutionary struggle, principles and cultures, and to build principled movements capable of challenging European settler states like Canada and defending those, like the ROM 11, who are persecuted for their stand against those states. He also challenged the sexist ideas and practices of many radical

men, describing his battles with his own sexism. Of particular note for Canadian people, facing the rollback of gains made in the last half century, is his description of how the Vietnamese won their war against the biggest military machine ever (the US), because, as Dhoruba put it, "They didn't know they were supposed to lose." He added that "We don't realize that we are supposed to win."

From *Ecomedia Toronto*

Soviet Jews Used As Israeli Pawns

THE BREAKDOWN OF the Soviet Republic has brought a relaxation of that country's emigration policy, lifting restrictions off Soviet Jews. However, Soviet people can't leave until they gain acceptance into another country. Most Soviet Jews would like to emigrate to the United States or Western Europe, but countries like the US which at one time pressured the Soviet Union to allow Jewish emigration are now refusing large numbers of immigrants claiming they do not have refugee status. Many Soviet Jews see emigration to Israel as an option.

Israel has opened up its doors to the new immigrants in hopes of building, as Prime Minister Shamir describes, a 'Big Israel.' The ambition is to create a definitely Jewish State with a population that overwhelms the Palestinian presence. More and more Soviet Jews are realizing they are being pushed into the center of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and now many are refusing to go, choosing to remain in the Soviet Union.

Revolt in Tompkins Square

BY MATT BLACK

PEOPLE IN TOMPKINS Square Park in New York City were already angry about police violence on Memorial Day evening. The park is located on the Lower East Side, a very diverse neighborhood with strong communities of Puerto Ricans, anarchists, squatters, and homeless persons living in the park. The neighborhood is also increasingly subject to gentrification by an influx of wealthy urban professionals. Police and government repression aimed at the squatters and homeless, two of the most visible anti-gentrification forces, is a regular feature of the neighborhood, and every corner has a story attached to it about which riot started there, or what act of police violence was witnessed there. The park has been the focus of political activity for over a hundred years, having been converted at one point from a park to a military parade ground to discourage residents from gathering and protesting there. In recent years the focus has been largely centered around providing homes for the homeless and poor, and on this Monday of Memorial Day Weekend, there was a "Housing is a Human Right" concert happening in the park's bandshell (at night, a home to many).

At around 7 p.m. police struck and attempted to choke a young man waiting on line to get a free meal from the Catholic Worker food table. Eyewit-

nesses report that while the man was waiting in line, police approached and told him not to drink beer in the park - it is not clear whether he were actually drinking beer or if there was only a bottle on the ground near him. Some words were exchanged and a scuffle ensued, the police ending up by attempting to choke the man. Other people in the park, who were attending the concert, came to his defense, and several hundred poured out onto the street, blocking the street for 4 blocks along the park's edge.

This incident was compounded by the scene that many concert-goers had witnessed earlier as another young man was chased into the park by police, tackled, and beaten with nightsticks and two-way radios before being hauled away.

Perhaps as many as 600 people lined the sidewalks and filled the street as community activists raised chants of "No police brutality, no police state," and "Pigs go home." Some were out to watch the action, and some were just passing by, but the feeling on the street was one of anger and frustration. People began to gather trash from the curbs and pile it for fires, and small groups of police moved in to protect the trash and ensure that it wasn't ignited. Word passed quickly from person to person about what had happened, and many were waiting for the next step. Meanwhile the police blocked

streets within a 2 block radius and moved riot and fire crews in behind their barricades.

Suddenly the group began to run, around the corner of the park and down to the next avenue. The spontaneous action confused some who split and went back, but half the group ran around the block and then through the park, tipping over garbage cans and yelling, letting everyone know what had happened, all the while eluding police who were forced to drive in one direction, then turn around, as private cars slipped past barricades and joined the confusion. Finally the crowd emerged from the park, a block away from the site of their original occupation. Several talked with the police Commander while others filtered back to the first site, where, police attention successfully diverted, the fires were finally lit.

At each of three intersections bonfires were built, using trash, cardboard boxes and packing crates for fuel. Several loud explosions announced the arrival of fireworks, and the crowd, laughing, moved back from the fires, which enabled the police to extinguish one of them. By this time the concert was over, and perhaps half the crowd slowly drifted away. Others took up a position a block away from the main crowd and watched. A riot line of police was formed and advanced slowly toward the crowd. They were met with countless volleys of bottles, rotten fruit and eggs. The police weren't seri-

ous about making a push, they hadn't brought their riot shields and were clearly simply testing the crowd to see what they could accomplish without a fight. The Commander and an aide came far ahead and several community activists went to talk to him. Eventually, between the dialogue with the activists and the crowd's assurance that nothing would happen without a fight, the line retreated several blocks. This was met with shouts and whoops, and the crowd danced a victory dance in the street. An impromptu drum circle was formed with trash cans, sticks and bottles providing the music. As this clear victory registered, some in the crowd raided the stand of a vegetable and fruit store, and soon everyone was eating free grapes. Surprisingly, however, another group broke open the gate on a pharmacy discount store and began to loot more seriously - very much against the character of other riots in the neighborhood.

Apparently to stop the looting, another riot line advanced from the other side, but was also successfully repelled with bottles. The crowd began to dwindle and gather into small knots, discussing the situation and the police violence that had started it.

Police characterized the protest as "Animals in the park." When asked what had caused the fighting in the streets, a common response was a confused look, and a final statement "They're throwing bottles." The police Commander on the scene explained the beer bottle incident as police having asked a group of

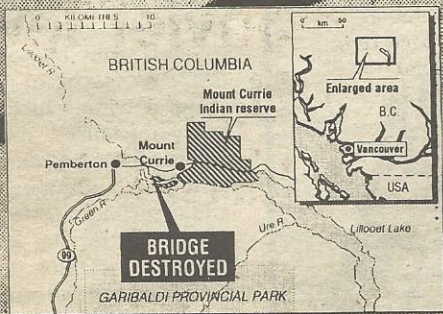
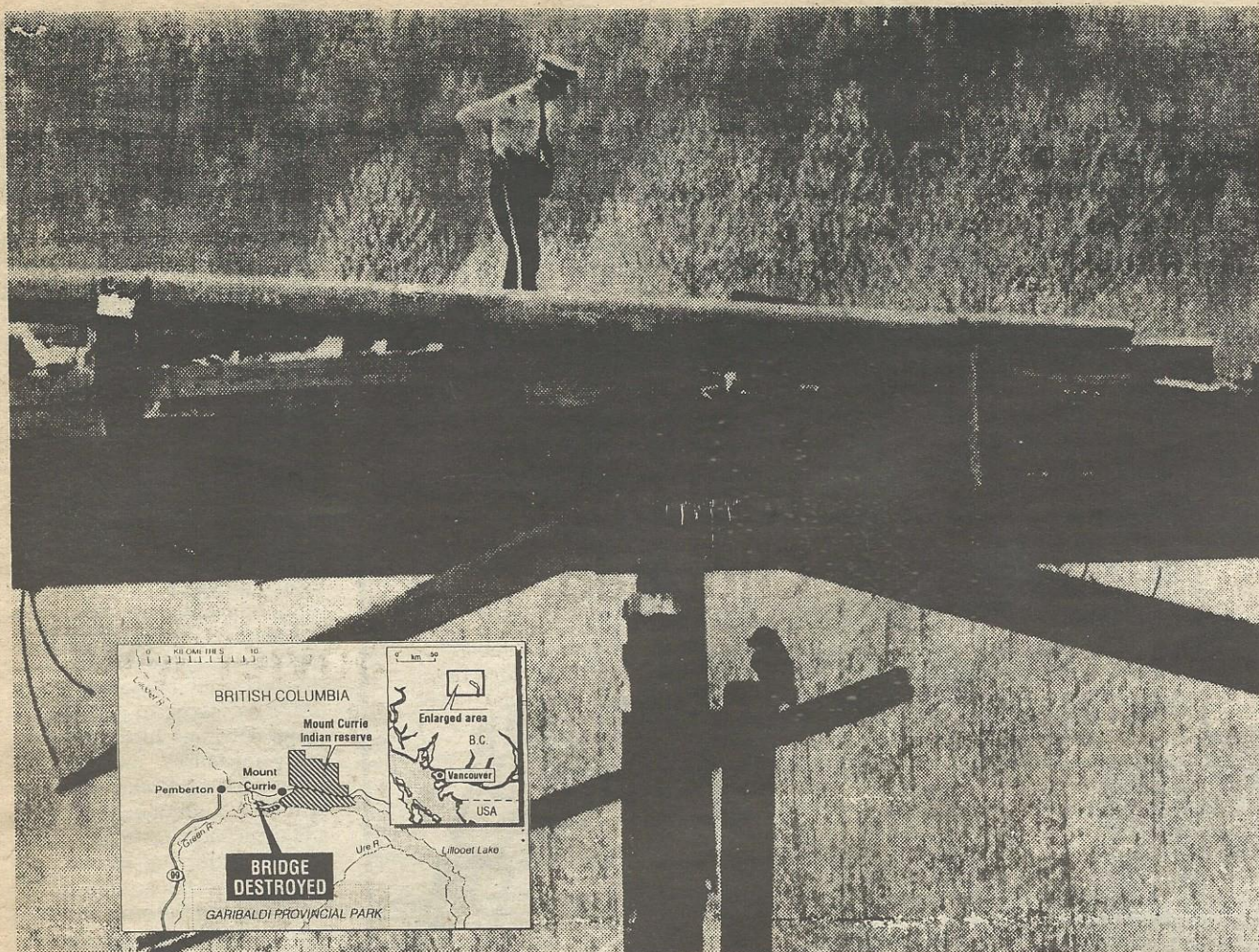
homeless persons who live in the park not to drink beer in the park. How this resulted in a melee and attempted choking was not explained.

Police offered no sign of any insight into why urban riots happen or how they might be avoided, and tended to characterize the evening as senseless and animalistic. Clearly not the kind of attitude or analysis which will enable them to "protect and serve" this community.

As the drumming continued and the crowd dwindled further, it began to rain. The flashes that had been visible in the distance all evening came closer, and with them came rain, light at first but quickly becoming heavy.

The riot lines moved in to reclaim an empty street already relinquished by activists who knew both that they had won and that they were getting wet. The community had been able to express its outrage and protect its right to be free of police presence. The community took the streets and kept them until they were ready to give them back, a symbolic but significant victory for people who were reacting to their sense of powerlessness and oppression. The final counts were 10 injured, 7 of them cops, and at least 6 arrests.

As the final line of cops moved in to tell people who lived there to "go home," lightning struck half a block away, accompanied by a tremendous clap of thunder, and someone in the crowd watching the end of the rebellion wondered aloud "Suppose that was for the riot, or against?"



Israel has imposed censorship on news about the Soviet immigrants to downplay the negative publicity. The immigrants that do arrive in the country are placed under restrictions that do not allow them to leave the country.

The government has offered attractive benefits to counter these tough measures, such as interest-free mortgages, free health insurance, etc. The majority of Soviet immigrants, 20,000 in 1990 alone, are being settled in East Jerusalem. This territory, which was Palestinian land prior to the 1967 war, is not recognized by Israel as an occupied territory. The result of this flood of immigration is a massive housing shortage in East Jerusalem, which has increased racial tension. The eastern part of the city is home to 140,000 Palestinians. The overcrowding has caused increased competition for housing and jobs. The new immigrants are finding conditions in East Jerusalem so unbearable, they are eventually moving to the West Bank.

The Israeli government has promised not to directly settle new immigrants in the occupied territories. But Soviet immigrants who have gained citizenship (which amazingly only takes one year) may settle anywhere in the country. Many are being forced to choose the occupied territories. The Soviet immigrants are effectively being used as pawns in a political game. The Israeli government is achieving its goal of a larger Jewish state with the resettlement of the occupied territories at the new immigrants and Palestinians alike, who are being forced into a situation of homelessness and violence. In essence the Israeli Government is exploiting the Soviet Jews for its own political ends.

Logging Bridge Dynamited

AN EARLY MORNING blast on April 17, 1991 blew up a logging bridge leading to a road that has been the scene of Canadian state and corporate clashes with Indians struggling to defend their culture and livelihood.

The blast at the Green River bridge, about four kilometres east of Pemberton, British Columbia, damaged the bridge which provides access to the Ure Creek logging road. Heavy beams were splayed around the bridge which has been sabotaged at least once before. On April 21, 1989 the bridge was set on fire. It has also been damaged by chainsaws. It had been partly rebuilt at the time of the bombing.

Approximately a case of dynamite appears to have been distributed at five

spots on the bridge. Dynamite was expropriated January 4, 1991, from the Ure Creek Logging site, where it was kept by the company building the road for International Forest Products.

The blast follows ten months of native roadblocks and harassment of the natives by the RCMP on behalf of multinational logging companies. No one has claimed responsibility for the blast. The Lil'wat People's Movement, a faction of Mount Currie Indians, has recently maintained roadblocks to protest the continued destruction of their homeland by logging companies.

On February 9, 1991, officers of the RCMP in British Columbia beat and arrested 9 men and 2 women of the Lil'wat group who had set up a blockade. They were attempting to prevent construction of the logging road which will destroy sacred ancestral burial grounds and further lead to the deforestation of rapidly diminishing wilderness areas. Last November, RCMP officers tore down the first Lil'wat barricade at Duffy Lake Road and contempt charges against the 64 blockaders resulted in 62 convictions.

Lyn Crompton, a lawyer who has been working for the Lil'wats, said "this has been a non-violent movement throughout." "The Duffy Lake roadblock was 116 days long and withstood surveillance, police dogs, (police) snipers in the bushes and they never once armed themselves.

Ms. Crompton also said that other natives have no doubt been watching the Lil'wats unsuccessful efforts to pursue their claims through the courts. Said Ms. Crompton: "If you turn for justice and there's none, then the frustration's going to emerge."

The courts have consistently ruled in favour of corporate interests with injunctions against native-built road blockades, and dismissals of actions presented by Indians to protect their culture and hunting and fishing regions. International Forest Products, and its sub-contractor Howe Sound Timber, are proceeding with plans to destroy the area even though native land claims for the area are still before the courts.

The First Nations people will continue to act until they are recognized as sovereign nations and until all lands they hold sacred are returned to their jurisdiction for the protection needed for the survival of all.

Material and moral support are urgently needed. Donations can be sent to:

Bank of Nova Scotia, Acct. # 1035827
Branch 00380

Vancouver, BC, Canada

Correspondence can be addressed to:

Lil'wat Tribal Council
P.O. Box 1420

Lillooet, BC, Canada, V0K 1V0

For further information call or fax Terri John at:

tel.: (604) 894-6069

compiled by
Autonomous Green Action

Sharing In War Profits

AN ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN group in Olympia, Washington distributed flyers telling people that they could redeem their yellow ribbons for \$5 at banks in Thurston County. The flyers were put inside 800 copies of the Sunday edition of *The Olympian* and placed on the windshields of 200 cars. The April Fools Day hoax read "In celebration of US victory in the Persian Gulf bring in your yellow ribbon and receive five dollars Monday and Tuesday April 1-2, 1991. Thank you for supporting our troops. Victory, something you can bank on. The Greater Banks of Thurston County."

People who took the flyers into various banks met with various responses from different bank employees. Some thought their bank just wasn't a part of it. Others were offended at "such a cruel trick." One downtown Olympia bank gave \$5 to three customers before it realized the flyers were fake.

Disturbing the Peace

AN ANTI-WAR GROUP in Seattle, Washington, Disturbing the Peace, claimed credit for altering 3,000 copies of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer by pasting false pages over the cover. The altered papers carried a headline that read "We Lie, For Your Own Good." It also carried two stories, one exposing media complicity in the war, and another covering the largely unreported casualty counts from the war that, according to the story totaled more than 100,000 dead.

Radio Is Not a Crime

RADIO HONDRED (Radio One Hundred), a pirate radio station operated by squatters in Amsterdam, has been silenced by the Dutch police and the Radio Control Service. In a series of raids carried out May 15, the police closed down the station which has been running for almost 10 years.

While stating that their purpose was simply to close down the next on a list of radio pirates, the raids took on an explicitly political character when police raided seven private homes, two squatted centres, and a cooperative printer's office. Both private and political materials, including the printer's client list were confiscated in the raids. Fifteen people were arrested, thirteen of which have been charged with article 140, a conspiracy law, on the allegation that the accused are members of a criminal organization. All have been released pending trial. Actions against the radio station were initiated last November by the Minister of Justice. On January 11 the police had identified seven people as "leaders" and set up phone taps.

Radio Hondred had the kind of programming and a very strong signal that would have been the envy of many community radio stations in North America. The station was collectively run and housed in a large squatted centre which also included a restaurant and living spaces.

From *Ecomedia Toronto*

Military Resisters Face Trial

SAM LWIN, a student at Eugene Lang College in New York City, and a lance corporal in the Marine Reserves, has recently been tried by a military court for "Desertion With Intent to Shirk Hazardous Duty or Important Service" and Missing a Troop Movement. He faced up to five years in the brig. The charges stemmed from Sam's decision not to report to his base when activated to serve in the Persian Gulf, since he had a Conscientious Objector claim pending. His trial began on May 20th and on that day Judge Beck denied a motion for dismissal of the charges, entered by Sam's lawyers. His lawyers argued that since Sam filed for CO status on November 9, 1990, 8 days before his company was put on active duty, and since service people with CO claims pending on the date of mobilization are exempt from mobilization orders, Sam could not possibly have shirked duty that he was legally exempted from. Judge Beck ruled, however, that Sam's unit was mobilized - though Sam was not personally activated - when Defense Secretary Cheney gave mobilization notice to all National Guard units in August, and therefore Sam's CO claim was filed subsequent and not prior to his assignment to "Hazardous Duty or Important Service."

While Sam was fighting the early battles of his resistance, a support group, Hands Off!, formed to help him, and, eventually, many other military resisters. Hands Off! has acted as a clearing house for information about resistance and resisters, as well as providing direct support for resisting service people. Hands Off! has been instrumental in getting the word out that there was and is resistance to the Persian Gulf war in the military.

As Sam's trial begins Hands Off! has set up a Freedom Camp at Cedar Point Campgrounds, near Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, where the trial is being held. They are doing outreach and are holding a public speakout to continue supporting the resisters. At least 12 people have already been jailed for resisting military service, while 9 are still fighting in court, and 2 others face the death penalty. With the war fading fast from the popular consciousness, we need to remember that for many people on both "sides" the war is not over. Any "patriot" will tell you that soldiers "fight to keep you free"; well, at least that's true of Sam and the other military resisters, and groups like Hands Off! are fighting to keep them free too.

Sam beat the Desertion rap, but was found guilty of Missing a Troop Movement, and sentenced to 4 months in the brig minus 36 days for time already served. This is a major victory for Sam. To find out more about military resistance to the Gulf War, and Hands Off! contact:

Hands Off!
tel.: (212) 353-2445

BY KEVIN THOMAS

JUST OVER TWO YEARS ago, most Canadians still didn't know what the US/Canada Free Trade Agreement (FTA) really meant. Two years after its implementation on January 1, 1989, few Canadians can mistake its effects. Plant closures, job losses and cutbacks in social services are becoming a given in an economy increasingly run by the demands of the marketplace alone.

Many people in the US are undoubtedly asking the same questions we were...for starters, what is Free Trade? In this context, free trade is the dropping of trade restrictions between nations, barriers which were put in place to protect one country's economy from unfair competition from another. For instance, production costs in Canada are higher than in the US because our average wages are higher, unions stronger, and taxes higher, and therefore US products are generally cheaper. Canada originally had in place trade barriers which put limits on imports and prices so that Canadian producers had a chance. With these barriers in place, US owned companies often opened branch plants in Canada to take care of the Canadian market. Since the implementation of the FTA, US branch plants and other firms have been closing down and moving south to take advantage of lower costs, without import restrictions to make the Canadian market inaccessible.

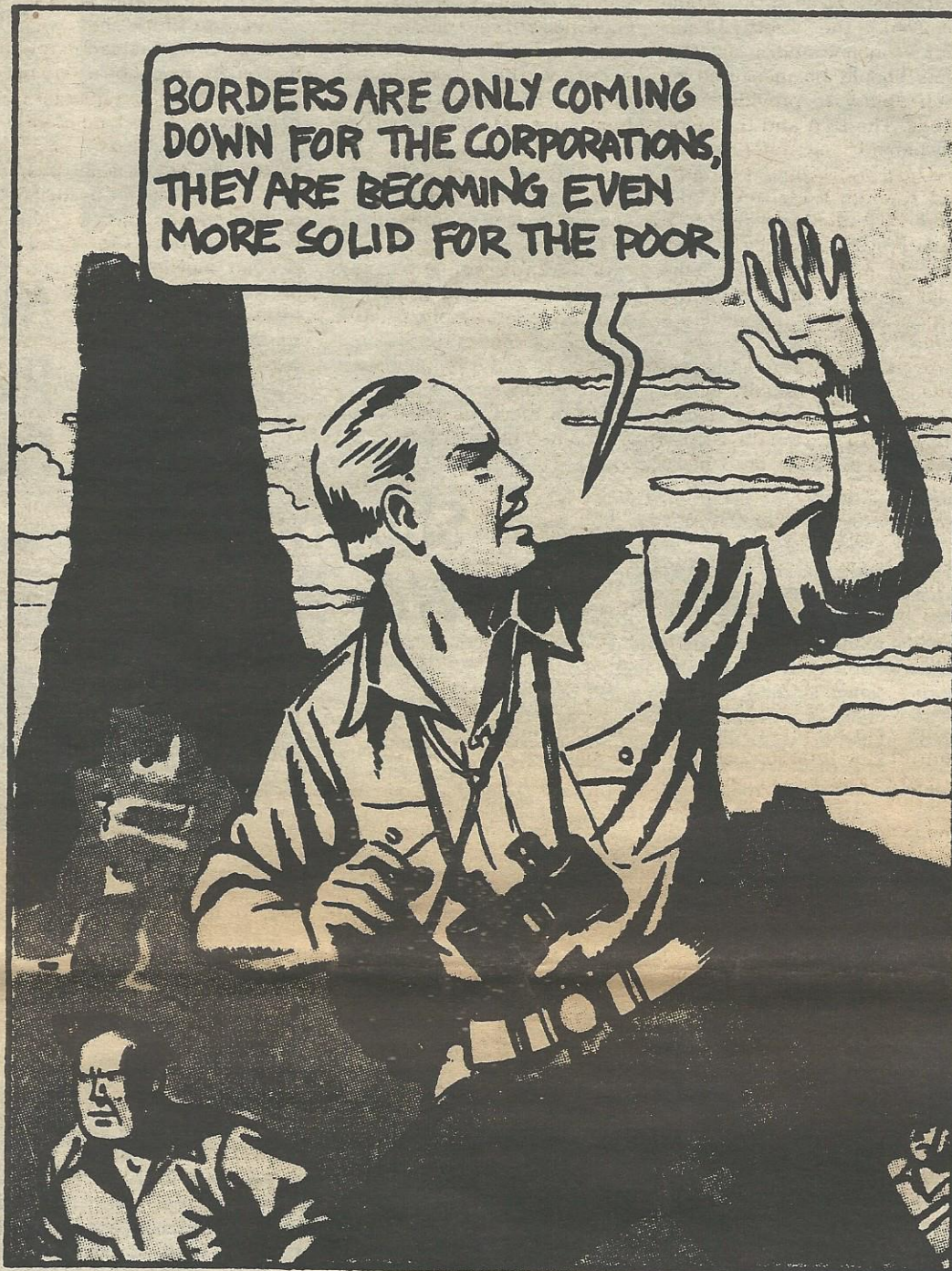
Costs of Free Trade

What the FTA has meant for us so far can be measured in several different areas: jobs, the environment, and social programs.

The Canadian Labour Congress estimates that during the first two years of the FTA 226,000 jobs were lost in Canada. That number doesn't include indirect job losses which inevitably result from the blow to a local economy dealt by a plant closure. Conservatively estimated, for every direct loss there is one "spin-off" job lost as well. A look at many major plant closures in Canada indicates that a large number are moving to the US or Mexico. Few directly credit the FTA for giving them this opportunity, though none could truthfully deny its role in aiding the decision to move production. While the federal government promised some sort of support for workers who lost their jobs under the FTA, no such aid has been forthcoming.

This has led Canada into the grips of a recession. Unlike previous recessions, such as the

WITHOUT BORDERS? AN ANARCHIST CRITIQUE OF FREE TRADE



one in 1981, many of the jobs we are currently losing are permanent job losses, jobs lost due to restructuring that won't come back after the recession.

While job losses may be the immediate effect of Free Trade, many feel that the real impetus for the US to enter into a deal with Canada was based on a demand for Canadian natural

resources. Canada's economy has been primarily based in resource extraction and that fits in well for the US. While the US used a brutal war to secure energy supplies from the Middle East, it used paper and sell-out politicians to secure energy resources from Canada. The deal allowed for unregulated development of energy resources for

export, which has been blamed for a new round of energy mega-projects currently being planned. The James Bay II project, planned to service export markets in the US, was helped along by the FTA. Conservation regulations applied to fisheries were struck down as unfair trade barriers, leaving the waters open to more overfishing. The decision, which could be used as a precedent for all other conservation programs, illustrates that in a contest between the environment and trade objectives, trade comes first.

One of the most threatening effects for working class Canadians has been the threats to our social services. In negotiating the deal, the US stressed the need for a "level playing field," which has translated into a drive to reduce spending on social programs in Canada.

Canada has had fairly good social programs such as universal health care, unemployment insurance, daycare and other benefits. It's not that the Canadian state is necessarily more benevolent or "nice"; working class people fought long and hard for these programs. Historically this has led to the federal government playing the role of a "welfare state." That is rapidly being replaced by what some Québécois anarchists call the "Big Mac state"—a market driven state increasingly disen-

gaged from the social sector and loyal to the ideology of private enterprise. Social programs, won in the struggles of the earlier part of this century, have taken a severe beating. The federal government has withdrawn its funding for unemployment insurance, placing the burden on the workers and employers alone, as well as cutting the size of payments and making it less accessible. Many fear that universal health insurance, long taken for granted, is next to go. The move has already begun with the cutbacks in federal transfer payments to the provinces, which by the year 2010 will make health care a purely provincial matter and thereby create inequalities in services from province to province.

Economically speaking, no one factor is wholly responsible for the cutbacks and recession. International Monetary Fund (IMF) pressures to pay off national debt and introduce austerity measures, international investment and takeovers, the artificially high Canadian dollar and many more factors all share the blame for the situation of Canadian workers. Free trade, however, and the general ideology behind it and the current federal government, are clearly major influences on our increasingly desperate situation.

Continental Free Trade

A new chapter in the free trade saga was opened when news of a forthcoming continental deal came to light. Several weeks ago George Bush got permission from the U.S. House of Representatives to fast-track negotiations with Mexico and Canada for a three-country deal, which clears the way for implementation perhaps as early as 1992. Negotiations for such a deal will officially begin this June.

A three country deal would mean the creation of a market of 360 million consumers as well as a trade set-up that could hardly be more advantageous for the rich. In the new trading bloc, Canada will be relied on for cheap access to natural resources, and Mexico for cheap access to labour, and the United States will direct the whole show. The creation of this "Fortress North America" is seen as a necessary step to compete with the new trading blocs created by the unification of Europe in 1992 and the ascendancy of Japan, both of which are outdoing the American economy and challenging their global economic control.

Mexico's appeal to business is obvious. The Mexican minimum wage is \$3.25(Cdn) a day, environmental regulations are next to non-existent, corporate taxes have dropped to 35% and there are millions of desperate people who might be willing to put up with awful conditions to ensure an income. The average wage is \$1.60(Cdn) an hour.

Mexico borrowed large amounts in the 70's from international banks to fund energy projects and other developments that never paid for themselves - oil projects were hit badly by the low price for oil in the late 70's and since then Mexico has been shouldering a national debt of more than \$100 billion. Due to this, the International Monetary Fund has made Mexicans swallow austerity programs which include privatization, lower wages, and removal of restrictions on the flow of money and goods in and out of the country. Free Trade is an inevitable part of Mexico's subservience to the IMF demands.

The effects of the FTA won't be all that new to Mexicans; Mexico has long had an "export processing zone" where a form

DROP YOUR PANTS

MEXICAN-AMERICAN women workers are calling a boycott of Levi's products in response to plant closures instituted by the clothing giant. Levi Strauss Associates Inc. is responsible for the layoff of 1,115 mostly Mexican American women after they closed their south Zarzamora street plant in San Antonio, and moved the plant to Costa Rica. Further illustrating the now common flow of manufacturing jobs from advanced industrial nations to third world countries (where wages are kept extra low), the move was a cynical play for more cash by a company that was already making \$50 million (US) profits in the fourth quater of 1989

alone. The layoffs, which took place last April, are being challenged by Fuerza Unida (Unida Force), a seamstress organization of former Levi's employees. They've initiated a class action law suit against Levi's for 410 billion (US) and a boycott of all Levi's products.

Fuerza Unida is also planning a national day of action in the United States for April 12, to mark the anniversary of the plant closing. Actions, some including civil disobedience, are planned for at least 16 cities in the US.

Plant closures are becoming more and more common both in Canada and the US. With the powers-that-be currently negotiating a continental free trade

agreement it looks like even more jobs will head down to where wages are kept at inhuman levels like \$3 or \$4 a day. Though it seems that big business has its own plans for our future (unemployment or extra-low wages), we can join with other workers in determining our future through actions like this Levi's boycott.

Don't buy them! Or, if you already own a pair or two, cut the labels off them, and mail them in with a written explanation to:

Levi Strauss & Co.,
1155 Battery Street,
San Francisco, CA 94111
Attn.: Bob Haas

from Ecomedia Toronto

of free trade exists. Foreign companies build plants, or *maquilas*, in the zones and produce goods for export, employing Mexican workers, primarily women, at \$3.25 a day, while avoiding corporate taxes and having free reign to dump toxics practically at will. Undoubtedly the *maquiladoras* have brought jobs to Mexico, but the near-slavery working conditions and the effects on Mexican people's health and environment call into question the true benefits.

Mexico's trade unions offer little protection for workers. Over eight million Mexican workers belong to unions. The Congreso de Trabajo or Congress of Labour is the largest Mexican labour body, made up of various federations, unions and associations. Its unions are generally undemocratic and identify closely with the ruling party, the PRI. Trade unionism in Mexico is in a sorry state. However there is a push for democratic and independent unionism represented in unions like the 19th of September Union, a union composed primarily of seamstresses and controlled by women, and the Frete Autentico de Trabajadores (FAT) which combines independent unions, cooperatives, farm workers and community organizations.

On the political front, the current ruling party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI-Institutional Revolutionary Party) has ruled for the last 60 years. Due to reportedly widespread electoral fraud, which brought in the government of President Carlos Salinas despite overwhelming opposition, there is little hope for responsible political representation for Mexico's people. Meanwhile Mexico's popular movements face increasing repression. At least 80 members of groups and parties opposing the government have been assassinated since Salinas' term began, mostly members of labour, farm and indigenous peoples' organizations.

Challenging the continental Free Trade Agreement is no easy task and it would be idealistic to assume that we could, at this point, stop it. The current restructuring that capitalism is undergoing internationally has been in the works for the last couple of decades, and it's likely that even now capitalists are planning for the next two decades beyond the FTA.

Looking back, it's ironic that US anarchists chose the theme "Without Borders" for the 1989 continental anarchist gathering in San Francisco. They may indeed be seeing their wish come true. Certainly the elimination of the 49th parallel is not a short term goal for Canadian anarchists, who recognize that in a decidedly unequal world, faced with imperialism and economic integration, borders may present one form of defense for regional economies and may indeed be better than the immediate alternative. However, above all we have to be clear that clear borders are only coming down for the corporations - they are becoming even more solid for the poor and for people of colour seeking immigrant or refugee status.

In Canada there is a kind of resurgent nationalism which rejects the domination of Canada by the US. While this appeal to sovereignty is in some ways quite progressive, because political sovereignty from the U.S. will definitely be a pre-requisite for any form of democracy in Canada, it is hard to defend a Canadian nationalism when we question Canada's own record as far as the genocide of Native nations, the national position of Quebec, and the aforemen-

tioned trade deals. Free Trade is about ideology. It's about an ideology of the market dictating the direction of our economy and the centralization of greater power into fewer hands. It means the destruction of regional autonomy and regionally controlled economies. For us, it calls into question the whole direction of the Canadian economy - who controls it, what its properties are, and whom it benefits.

Free Trade and Class Rule

Anarchists maintain that the first goal of any economy must be providing food, shelter, and other needs to all of the people involved in the society. All current economic and social systems should be measured by their ability to provide these needs. The FTA and the ideology behind it maintains that the first goal in an economy is trade, and through trade, profit. Behind this ideology stands a class system in which a small elite of mostly white men make a lot of profit while even the basic needs of many of us are denied.

Any look at the continental Free Trade agreement would be incomplete without seeing the inherent racism represented in it. While on a basic level the deal involves U.S. control of both the Canadian and Mexican economies, Mexico is in a particularly desperate situation due to the racist distribution of power and wealth, engineered by international banking organizations, like the IMF, and a history of colonialism. Currently as well as historically, manufacturing and dangerous jobs have been moved to developing countries where North American racism allows for super-exploitation of their labour without wide-scale opposition. Even working class Euro-Americans are heavily dependent on the exploitation of other nations for our standard of living. The American economy in particular has long been dependent on the underground and underpaid labour of illegal immigrants from Mexico within the U.S.A. Now this process will be further entrenched with the FTA.

We also have to acknowledge that the FTA means that Mexican women will be further exploited. Women - often very young women - comprise 68% of the current *maquila* workforce. They are seen as more exploitable by employers because their responsibility to their children and families often means they are wary of risking their jobs by organizing or complaining. Women face serious sexual harassment in the *maquiladoras*. Undoubtedly when the doors are opened up under the FTA, the labour conditions for Mexican women will be increasingly desperate.

One thing the FTA has done for us is destroyed the myth of social democracy. It doesn't take much figuring to see that in a world where trade barriers are taken down, corporations won't stay in areas where taxes on them are higher, or environmental and labour regulations are stronger. Since a New Democratic Party (Canada's social democratic party) government was elected in Ontario last year, it's been interesting to watch how much their hands are tied by the threat of jobs leaving the province.

Any government that tries to make corporations pay, will cause those jobs to leave. And therefore social democratic strategies are ineffective in challenging the multinationals. While this justifies the anarchist position that people have to take complete control of their local economy (something that can't be done by just voting) the

current situation makes such a complete and revolutionary change seem so far away, as conditions and our real capability to organize ourselves effectively deteriorate rapidly. Faced with international organization on the other side of the barricades, we're eventually going to have to counter it with effective international organization of our own. However, that level of organization would need to take into account so many of the different national situations and contradictions, it would be no small task. Unequal economic situations affect our ability for international organizing. Labour conditions in the three countries are very different - for instance, while Canadian workers are worried about the cutbacks to Unemployment Insurance, Mexican workers have no insurance at all.

Amidst all this there are, however, groups which are a spark of hope in confronting the FTA.

In Canada some workers have gone beyond grumbling and begun job actions, such as the occupations of the Caterpillar Plant, a profitable branch plant which was closing its doors to move to the US (see companion piece in this issue). The occupation was the first of what we hope are many more militant job actions.

Ontario truckers were also in the news for their blockades of Canada's busiest highway, and despite holding up traffic for days on end, they won the support of a majority of the public. They were protesting unfair competition from US trucks since the industry was deregulated. Due to higher taxes and diesel fuel prices in Canada they can't compete with US truckers who are now allowed to haul loads from one point within Canada to another. While isolated industrial action isn't a solution in and of itself, the massive support it's receiv-

ing does raise hopes that normally docile Canadians could be spurred to action to reverse the current economic and political direction spearheaded by the federal government.

At a Labour Notes conference on the labour movement in the 90s held in Detroit last month, the prevailing strategy promoted within the US labour movement was to back up the Mexican independent labour movement and community organizations so that rather than Canadian and US wages dropping to Mexican rates, Mexican wages and standard of living can be pushed up to our rates. For Canadian and American workers to throw their weight behind the Mexican popular movement would be a very progressive move and may be the beginnings of the kind of international organizing we need.

On a grassroots scale, people in the north should participate in campaigns and boycotts which support the Mexican popular movement's agendas, as well as develop links with radical organizations down there and acquaint themselves with their history and the issues which concern them.

Mujer a Mujer (Women to Women) is a small women's group based in Mexico City that's been working for the last 7 or 8 years making links between the women's movements in Mexico and the US. Now with the accelerated continental integration, it's extending its efforts to Canada. Mujer a Mujer is particularly interested in linking women active in labour and anti-poverty organizations. They can be reached at Mujer a Mujer (address below).

Mujers en Acción Sindical (MAS - a Mexican women's labour organization) and Mujer a Mujer are planning a meeting of women union activists and supporting labour organizations from the three countries to dis-

cuss the impact of continental integration, represented by the FTA, on women's lives, and to assess and develop strategies for national and tri-national initiatives. That's planned for this coming November. For more information contact Mujer a Mujer.

In Canada, Common Frontiers is a coalition of labour, church and community organizations which recently sponsored a two day conference on the FTA deal in Toronto. While politically their agenda is decidedly social-democratic, as a resource and as a representative of a broad base of Canadian popular organizations they are worth checking out (address below).

A similar network of Mexican labour and non-governmental organizations is also working on the FTA. Again, for more information on them contact Mujer a Mujer, who are part of the coalition.

A Canadian paper which has very radical and interesting analysis of both international economics and trade, and in particular focuses on agriculture, farm workers and the food system, is the *Ram's Horn*. Published by Cathleen and Brewster Kneen, the *Ram's Horn* is part of their ongoing work in organizing against corporate control of the food system.

For more information contact:

Common Frontiers
P.O. Box 2207, Stn. P
Toronto, ONT M5S 2T2
Canada

the Rams Horn
125 Highfield Road
Toronto, ONT M4L 2V4
Canada

Ecomedia Bulletin
P.O. Box 915, Stn. F
Toronto, ONT, M4Y 2N9
Canada

MORE THAN ONE WAY TO SKIN A CAT

BY MATT BLACK

WORKERS ON THE night shift on Wednesday, April 24 at the Caterpillar Tractor plant in Brampton, Ontario, went on strike and occupied the plant. They struck to protest an executive decision to close the plant in this suburb of Toronto and move production to Raleigh, North Carolina. The morning shift joined the occupation, bringing the total inside to 250 out of the 400 workers who stand to lose their jobs.

The plant, which has been in Brampton for more than 30 years, is not being closed because its machinery is out of date, nor because of over-production, and in fact the plant continues to be profitable. This plant is being closed because Caterpillar International, under the US - Canada Free Trade Agreement (FTA), can make even more money by moving production to Raleigh, North Carolina, where wages and taxes are lower. The sole reason for this move, even according to Caterpillar, is higher profitability.

Before the US and Canada signed the FTA, a company producing goods in the U.S. (and other countries) would have to pay protective tariffs to import them for sale in Canada - thus making it more profitable for

companies producing for sale in Canada to locate in Canada. The logic being that protective tariffs keep jobs and tax dollars in the country. With the signing of the FTA companies like Caterpillar are leaving Canada with its (relative to the US) high minimum wage and high taxes which go to support extensive social services, to relocate in the U.S. where they can pay less and realize a higher rate of corporate profit from the same level of production.

On April 27 more than 350 people rallied in the plant parking lot in support of the workers still inside. The unions supported the strike, and union officials from the presidents of the local units to Bob White, national president of CAW-TCA (Canadian Auto Workers - Travailleurs Canadien Automobile) spoke from the bed of a pickup-truck to the rally. Twenty feet away, up a grassy slope, occupying workers watched and cheered from behind the plant's chain link fence. Many were standing on rows of would-be cabs for future Cat Tractors. There was a long row of cardboard tombstones on the fence, commemorating other Canadian factories killed by free trade. Some strikers held signs reading: "Profitable Plant - Why is it moving

South?" and "Justice for Caterpillar Workers." Between speakers local bands played folk, country and union songs while from a hundred yards away a uniformed company security guard videotaped the entire rally from a low roof.

While union negotiators seem optimistic that they might be able to force the company to keep the plant open, they acknowledge that, if unable to do so, they will fight for a better settlement for the displaced workers than the legal minimum offered by Caterpillar.

After five days of occupation, acting on promises for negotiations from the company, the union encouraged the workers to de-occupy the plant, and they complied.

Feelings are mixed about this step, since no actual concessions have been won, and workers report that they are ready to re-occupy if bargaining does not move forward.

As the April 27 rally came to a close, John Albanese, chairman of CAW-TCA local 252, speaking from inside the plant, set the tone for the future by issuing this warning to the politicians who signed FTA and the executives who are rushing to profit from it: "Just remember, there's more than one way to skin a CAT!"

On Gogol Boulevard

Fucked By Commiss And Capitalists

Following are excerpts from Robert Strybel's "Warsaw Watch" in the Polish American Journal, May '91. The ending quote is from Ursula Doroszewska's "Unemployment: The New Threat" in Un-captive Minds, Spring '91.

Lech Walesa can always count on a hero's welcome in America, but in Poland the mystique of the charismatic leader and the once 10-million-strong Solidarnosc movement has long worn off. The growing cost of living, the prospect of unemployment, the continued housing shortage and growing crime have combined to sour the public mood. More and more people are saying that "things were better under the communists." Many shrug off freedom of speech and other democratic gains, saying such things do not put food on the dinner table. Strikes and pay protests continue to simmer around the country and various groups regularly demonstrate outside Walesa's presidential palace.

The owners of apartment buildings often face a battle with irate tenants who refuse to pay higher rent and cannot be easily evicted."

"Extensive and rapidly growing unemployment carries with it the threat of social unrest. Many Poles have assigned responsibility for current conditions equally to the Communist and the post-Communist government. "Why do we want Capitalism?" more and more Poles are asking. "After all, Capitalism also exists in Africa."

Czechoslovakian Appeal

Dear friends in anti-nuclear movements,

On the meeting in Prague on 10 November, representatives of the Children of the Earth, the Rainbow Movement and sympathizers from other ecological groups have decided to contact the people in Western Europe who might share our concern about the further development of nuclear power in Czechoslovakia. We think you might be of a great help in stopping the export of Western nuclear technology.

Despite the fact that our economy is wasting energy on an unprecedented scale, our government has decided to continue the nuclear program. Nuclear power plants are presented as the only solution to the ecological disaster facing our country.

According to the official propaganda, safety problems are a peculiarity of the Soviet technology and can be prevented by imports from the West. The German company Siemens has been the most successful in gaining access to our market. It has won a contract to build controlling systems in the Mochovec nuclear power plant. The activities of Siemens seem to be much broader; as far as we know the company wants to start a joint venture with Skoda Works in Plzen, building nuclear technology for electricity generation and communal heating.

We would like to ask for your help in this respect. Any company trying to exploit our present situation should be given a clear message that it is not welcome. It can be done by boycotting their products, protesting or any other non-violent means you find appropriate.

Antonin Hradilek
Koseveho 17
169 00 Praha 6
Czechoslovakia

For more information contact:

Children of the Earth
PO BOX 70
161 00 Praha 6
Czechoslovakia

or
Rainbow Movement
c/o Jan V. Beranek
Vymazalova 19
615 00 Brno
Czechoslovakia

OGB NOTE: Readers, please send us any information you have on U.S. companies exploiting the East.

News From Poland

These are the second and third parts in a series of accounts prepared by Poland's Black Alliance. The first part was published in the OGB section of the August '90 issue of Love and Rage.

• 17 Oct. Krakow

The group of Anarchist Federation in Krakow organized an anti-presidential demonstration during the election rally of Lech Walesa. The A.F. demonstration was attacked by skinheads and the other supporters of Walesa.

• 19 Oct. Warszawa

Outside the British embassy, an anti-poll tax demonstration was held by the Anarchist Federation. At the same time it was a demonstration against vivisection organized by the Animal Liberation movement.

• 5 Nov. Gdansk

The "Panachyda"—a happening on the place of the German cemetery destroyed by the Polish and Communist bureaucracy after the Second World War. The action was organized by KIS (the Club of Social Initiatives).

• 7 Nov. Krakow

An occupation of the Soviet consulate by anarchists in solidarity with Moscow and Leningrad anarchists was crushed by anti-terrorist troops.

• 2 Oct. Gdansk

The hunger strike of an old woman outside the conscription office was taken to change the rules of conscription to the army. After one month she was taken to the hospital. The action was supported by the Federative Trade Union and other anarchist groups of Gdansk.

• 19 Nov. Gdansk

Outside the German consulate a solidarity action with fighting squatters from Berlin was held by KIS.

• 24-25 Nov. Gdansk

The General assembly of Anarchist Federation: We were discussing the following problems: presidential elections, privatization, clericalism, military service, the political police, our position on collaboration with official mass-media, and which way of acting.

• Gdansk

KIS—The Club of Social Initiative in Gdansk: It was founded by a few local independent groups (anarchists, socialists, Ukrainian minority and others). We hope to make there: free library, small hostel, place for concerts, etc. We don't have any money, but we have a lot of needs. The Black Alliance group is taking care about library. If you have some books in English, French, Italian, German, or you can send us your magazine.

Black Alliance
PO Box 67 PL-81806 SOPOT 6,
Gdansk, Poland

There is an anti-abortion law discussed by the Polish parliament. The deputies are under pressure from the Polish Catholic Church and if they are against this law, they are accused of an anti-Polish and anti-Catholic attitude. There are a lot of different actions against (members of the Anarchist Federation included) and for this law. The reform of the army—no more exceptions in recruitment; the only bread-winners and young farmers are now forced to join the army. By the information of the government the military service will be shortened from two years to one, but this is about to work in the future. A young Polish graffiti painter—Wieslaw Sojka—was sentenced for two years in

suspension and the punishment of 3.7 million zlotys (\$400)—about two average Polish salaries) for stenciling the walls.

He can be contacted at:

Wieslaw Sojka
Pieniny 4/2
92003 Lodz

• 9 January

A member of Peoples' Liberation Front threw a tear gas bomb into the Israeli embassy in Warsaw. It was in support of the Palestinian people. At the moment he is in prison. Some groups of the Anarchist Federation condemned this act.

The Polish anarchists took part in several demonstrations throughout the country supporting free Lithuania.

• 27 February

The Anarchist Intercity took part in demonstration against the war in the Gulf.

The Free Syndicate of Students was created in Gdansk. They can be contacted at:

Klaudiusz Wesolek
Slupska 32/2
Gdansk

Anarchist Federation News

LUBLIN

The anarchist group of A.F. from Lublin has a pirate radio, "Rebelia w Eterze." They have already broadcast two programs.

• 13 December

The same groups marched against the U.O.P. (The newly created political police).

KRAKOW

• 8 February

More than 50 people protested against building of barrage in Czorsztyn.

Zines

New edited issue of anarchist papers:

CIACH #8
Cicha 4/4
05-825 Grodzisk Mazowiecki
POLAND

REWOLTA #5
Grzybowska 30/914
00-863 Warszawa
POLAND

MAC PARIADKA #3
PO Box 67
81-806 Sopot 6
POLAND

Anarchist Federation Office Address:

An-Arche Uniwersytet Slaski
ul. Bankowa 12B
pok. 1 40-007 KATOWICE
POLAND

Russia Is A Queer Nation Too

Last November 7, in New York City, Soviet and US gay activists held a picket at the Soviet mission to the UN to protest Soviet AIDS policies and repression against gays. In attendance were prominent Soviet gay activists Roman Kalinin and Evgenia Debryanskaya. Among the chants were "Free Gay Prisoners in the USSR," "Legalize homosexuality in the USSR," "Repeal Article 121," (the law which "outlaws" gay fun), and "Russia is a Queer Nation Too!" Following is the text of the leaflet distributed at the action:

WHAT IS THE SOVIET UNION DOING ABOUT AIDS? FACT: The Soviet government claims there are 44 people with AIDS and 500 with HIV in all of the Soviet Union!

WE DEMAND that the government acknowledge the AIDS epidemic in the

Soviet Union and conduct surveys to provide real estimates of AIDS and HIV prevalence.

FACT: "AIDS Education" in the Soviet Union tells people to avoid prostitutes, homosexuals, and drug addicts, and it fails to protect people.

WE DEMAND explicit AIDS education on television, in newspapers, in the schools, and on the streets.

FACT: Disposable needles are practically nonexistent in the Soviet Union. Those that come from abroad often end up in special Party hospitals.

WE DEMAND immediate production and fair distribution of disposable needles.

FACT: Condoms are practically unobtainable in state-run stores in the Soviet Union.

WE DEMAND immediate, sufficient production of condoms throughout the Soviet Union.

FACT: AIDS drugs like AZT are severely limited or totally unavailable, and hospitals which treat people with AIDS are unsanitary. They offer almost nothing to help people with AIDS.

WE DEMAND clean, well-stocked hospitals and beds for people with AIDS, and access to drugs and other treatments for AIDS and HIV, experimental or otherwise.

FACT: People with AIDS are subject to discrimination in housing, in the workplace, and in society at large, and are given very little compensation by the state.

WE DEMAND anti-discrimination legislation and fair compensation for people unable to work.

GAYS AND STRAIGHTS MUST BE EQUAL UNDER THE LAW.

FACT: Sex between men is punishable by up to five years of labor camps in the Soviet Union. This kind of legislation is intolerable.

WE DEMAND immediate repeal of Article 121 of the Russian Criminal Code, the hateful anti-homosexuality law, and of similar laws in every other Soviet republic, and the immediate release of all people incarcerated in prisons, camps, and psychiatric hospitals for homosexuality in the Soviet Union.

FACT: The Soviet government refuses to legitimize alternative lifestyles and sexual diversity in its own country.

WE DEMAND a stop to government sanctioned discrimination and immediate acknowledgment of the civil rights of Gay men and Lesbians in the Soviet Union. SILENCE=DEATH.

Sponsored by: ACT UP/NY, QUEER NATION/NY, Moscow Gay Union, ACT UP/MOSCOW, GLAAD.

To contact Soviet gays:

ACT UP/MOSCOW
c/o Roman Kalinin
103009 Moscow K-9
Do. Vostrebvaniya, USSR
Tel: 095-153-9035

Correction

The names of the Polish civilian service deserters discussed in the last OGB page were Piotr Lis, Maciej Malecki, and Jaroslaw Urbanski.

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

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

By the way, Gogol Boulevard is a noted hang-out for Moscow's counter-culture. See you there! Contact *On Gogol Boulevard* at:

Neither East Nor West
528 Fifth Street
Brooklyn, NY 11215
tel.: (718) 499-7720

AMOR Y RABIA

una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria \$1

Año 2 Número 6

Junio y julio de 1991

VIOLENCIA POLICIAL INCITA TUMULTO EN WASHINGTON D.C.



EL DOMINGO, 5 DE MAYO, DANIEL Enrique Gomez, un trabajador de construcción, fue herido con arma de fuego por la policía iniciando un motín durando dos días en Washington, D.C.. Sr. Gomez y posiblemente otro hombre atentaron intervenir cuando policías Angela Jewel y Girsel Del Valle estaban arrestando dos hombres por "conducta contra el orden pública" en la comunidad de Mount Pleasant. Otros dos policías llegaron y los cuatro atentaron arrestar Sr. Gomez; al mismo vez una refriega empezó entre los dos policías y otro hombre presente. Testigos declaran que Sr. Gomez estaba en esposas cuando agente Jewell disparó y Gomez fue herida en el pecho. Según la versión policial Sr Gomez con solo un mano en esposas salto hacia agente Jewel con una narvaja, ella lo ordenó a para, y disparó una vez a su pecho.

Los otros testigos declaran que Sr. Gomez no tenia una narvaja.

Noticias del incidente llevo rapidamente en las comunidades de Mount Pleasant y Adams Morgan y los residentes salieron a las calles. La policía atentaron dispersar el multitud empujando un sección atrás a una área predominantemente Negra cerca de Adams Morgan y así entraron Afro-Americanos a un tumulto que ha sido hasta este momento predominante Latino-Americano.

Durante los dos noches de tumulto que sucedió, tiendas fueron quemado y saqueado, y vehículos de la policía y de la prensa fueron destruido. Alcalde

Sharon Pratt Dixon declaró que la ciudad estaba en un estado de emergencia y comenzó una queda empezando a la medianoche el Lunes. A llegar el Martes la queda empezaba a las 7 de la tarde y por lo menos 33 fueron arrestaron por violar la queda el Martes.

La declaración del estado de emergencia fue el tercer en un poco más de 2 decadas. El primer fue en 1968 cuando rebelión sacudió a DC después del asesinato de Martin Luther King. En 1971 los manifestaciones del Primero de Mayo trajo miles de gente a Washington a "parar el gobierno" si no paraban la guerra contra el pueblo de Vietnam. Rebeliones urbanas son muy complejismuchas veces comienzan con un incidente de violencia por parte de la policía y rapidamente intensifican, los motivaciones son raramente claros. Parte de la razón por el tumulto de Adams Morgan/Mount Pleasant fue frustraciones y resentimiento amontonado dentro de la comunidad porque las vidas-y muertes de Afro-Americanos y Latinos valen menos que blancos según la policía, la prensa, y el gobierno. Siendo pobre o Negro o Latino en una sociedad racista y dividido por clases es vivir con las frustraciones de actos grandes y pequeños de humillación y opresión. Los condiciones locales y vecindario y la experiencia politica reciente de los residentes, muchos de ellos recientemente han huido de estados policiales de Centro America sostenido por los Estados Unidos, tambien ha contribuido a el rebelión.

En este caso particular, la complejidad empieza en el mismo tiroteo- polizontes Jewel es Negra y su compañera es Latina. Los amotinadores fueron Latino, blanco y Negro. La política del rebelión fue pintado en las paredes: "Fuck Tha Police" o "pisamosa las chotas".

Reacción a los noches de tumulto fue mezclado. Mientras muchos de los reporteros han concedieron que el tumulto muy probablemente ha empezado por frustraciones de la comunidad, casi todos de ellos de prisa llamaron la actividad que continuaba en la calle "ilegal" y de "mala conducta", describiendo el motín y saqueando como impensado y implicando que la gente en la calle estaban esperando para actuar

(Continúa a pagina 2)

Carta de los "Squats" de
Berlin: Parte 2
Pagina 3

VIOLENCIA POLICIAL INCITA TUMULTO EN WASHINGTON D.C.

(Continúa de la página 1)

"salvaje". En realidad los amotinadores fueron muy selectivo en sus preferencias de blancos. Restaurantes y tiendas salvadoreños y guatemaltecos no fueron atacados, pero el 7-11, Ben and Jerry's y Church's Fried Chicken fueron destruidos.

La media ha atentado a describir los amotinadores como "matónes" actuando por dinero y alegría. Este tipo de explicación ha sido usado antes, para intentar poner la responsabilidad en "elementos criminales" y "agitadores de afuera". Los dos de estos cuentos tienen el efecto de reducir la importancia de los problemas económicos y sociales que crean rebelión urbana y enfocan una perspectiva racista que residentes de la ciudad están esperando para que el "orden público" se derriba y "anarquía" empieza. (Lo deseamos.)

Esta perspectiva tiene sus raíces en dos ideas sobre rebelión urbana que son

incorrecto fundamentalmente. Primero, hay el concepto de "caos". Una crítica de anarquismo es que si no había estructura gubernamental jerárquica, entonces todos podrían correr locos matando a gente, estuprando y robando. Despecho al hecho de que hay un montón de evidencia al contrario, muchos todavía no dejan del idea de que gente deben ser controlado. Vean el tumulto reciente como un ejemplo perfecto de su punto de vista que gente deben ser controlado. Pero esta gente no creen esto de ellos mismos. La asunción es que "otra" gente necesitan ser controlado, no los en los suburbios, pero los en la ciudad, los que son Negro o Latino, los que son pobres. Este argumento tiene su base en racismo y una creencia en la necesidad de dominación. Entre los amotinadores siempre vas a ver "agitadores de afuera" y elementos anti-sociales, pero ellos no son responsables por los condiciones que son el origen de este tumulto o la voluntad de cientos o miles de gente que

raramente pueden empezar cualquier cosa del principio. Es casi imposible empezar un motín en los suburbios no porque no hay criminales o agitadores allí pero porque los condiciones sociales son diferente y el opresión no es siempre tan obvio.

Puede ser que motines no tienen un político bueno. Puede ser que tienen su

base en el racismo o nacionalismo o también fascismo. Sin embargo, motines son importante. Representan una de las arenas en cual mucha gente sientan que tienen poder social o político. Son una amenaza para los en poder, aunque sus metas no son revolucionarios.

La rebelión que que empiezo el cinco de mayo es particularmente importante por muchas razones. Primero, es un indicación clara que la población Centro Americano (que sigue creciendo en este país) esta trayendo la experiencia política de sus vidas bajo regímenes marionetas a las ciudades de los Estados Unidos. Segundo, muestra la potencial de oposición multi-racial y militante de la clase trabajadora a esta sistema. Finalmente, revela literalmente, que hay millones de gente que tienen poco para perder si se lavantan en contra de la sistema que viven muy cerca de los centros del poder.

Para contruir un movimiento revolucionario que está preparado a destruir el estado va ser muy importante tener un movimiento fuerte en los capitales de Norte America. La rebelión en Washington, DC es una indicación que tal movimiento es posible.

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Eugenio

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Oct.	16 de Sept.	26 de Sept.

Segunda Conferencia Anual De Amor Y Rabia

Sábado, junio 29 - Lunes, el primero de julio



Participa en la segunda conferencia anual de Amor Y Rabia. Todos los años Amor Y Rabia celebra su conferencia anual, permitiendo el encuentro de militantes y simpatizantes de todas partes de Norte America con el fin de discutir y evaluar los proyectos y la dirección a seguir para el próximo año. El Consejo Editorial, se materializara mediante las desiciones tomadas, siendo elegido por la conferencia igualmente será escogido el facilitador de producción para el Grupo de Producción del próximo año. Este año la conferencia incluire: Talleres y exposiciones de topicos, mítines regionales, cambios en la declaración política de Amor Y Rabia, feminismo, liberación lésbico-homosexual, personas de color, jóvenes y otros temas; la discusión y el desarrollo de las acciones propuestas y más. Amor Y Rabia, es un proyecto colectivo, fundado, producido, escrito y distribuido por un amplio y diverso grupo de anarquistas revolucionarios a lo largo y ancho de Norte America. Las publicaciones pueden producirse de muchas maneras, pero todas las personas envueltas en este periodico, creemos firmemente que este proyecto debe reflejar, lo mas posible las diferentes tendencias e ideas dentro del anarquismo revolucionario en Norte America, y la mayor forma para alcanzar esto, creemos que es produciendo un periódico mediante un proceso abierto y participatorio. Si quieres, puedes quedarte en casa tranquilo, mirando televisión, el fin de semana de junio 29 al primero de julio, o puedes venir a Minneapolis y ayudarnos a construir una creciente tendencia anarquista revolucionaria. Amor Y Rabia no es perfecto, pero nunca se habrá sin la participación de todos los que queremos cambiar el mundo, como tu.

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CARTA DE LOS 'SQUATS' DE BERLIN (Parte 2)

Esto es la segunda parte de "Carta de los squats de Berlín". La primera parte salió en Amor y Rabia (año 2, número 4) y fue escrito en Berlín en noviembre de 1990 por Jeremy Warsaw de Berkley, California.

POR JEREMY WARSAW

15 DE NOVIEMBRE, 8:15 PM

EL ESTADO ANÍMICO aquí está extremadamente tenso. Mainzerstrasse cayó ayer por la mañana; y la policía están atacando otros "squats" (los edificios que están ocupado ilegalmente). Otros tantos desposaron esta mañana y ahora la policía están preparando un asalto contra Kreuzigerstrasse, la calle adyacente Mainzer con solo pocos menos squats (tiene 7 a los 12 de Mainzer). Parece que si Mainzer era el corazón del movimiento de "squatters" (los que ocupan los edificios) de Berlín del Este, Kreuziger puede ser los pulmones.

Mucho ha pasado en el último día y medio que, si hay tiempo, yo voy relatar aquí, pero vamos a ser claro. Lo que ocurre aquí es como la lucha de Barrington, pero mil veces más significativo, mil veces más pesado, en batalla, en represión. Hay más de 1000 squatters aquí de Alemania más que nada, pero también Italia, Canadá, Los Estados Unidos, Japon, Peru, etc. Han ocupado edificios habitables con cocinas comunes, cafés, librerías etc., etc y más - a una comunidad real, una comunidad vibrante y lleno de color, donde homosexuales y lesbianas están afuera y fuerte, donde anarquistas discuten la política, planifican acciones, etc. Sin embargo 95% de esta gente no tienen trabajo y por esto es más increíble todavía que estos edificios fueron restablecieron del decadencia que eran a tuertas o a derechas - juntando el poco que tienen para comida, para carbon para calentar, el robo de carbón, el robo de las tiendas florece también.

En la última carta, yo dejé de escribir cuando hemos ganado a la policía - rechazando a los cañones de agua, tanques "Panzers", gas lacrimógeno, pelotones de asalto por barricadas y bravata. Volvimos a casa a descansar un poco y tarde el próximo noche fuimos atrás a Mainzer cuando vino noticias de que Panzers adicionales estaban llegando desde Hamburgo, que más policía también estaban llegando de afuera de Berlín, incluso fuerzas especiales como los cueros de tropas de la policía de la frontera.

Llegamos a Mainzer a encontrar una atmosfera, como antes de una guerra, muy serio, con grupos de hombres y mujeres en máscaras, decididamente extendiendo barricadas, apilando piedras, poniendo cubos de agua por todo la calle como un antídoto a gas lacrimógeno, también matafuegos en las calles y los edificios, por si acaso de fuego de explosión de una lata de gas lacrimógeno o un "molotov" errante.

Ellos se aprovecharon de esto cuando a la una de la mañana humo empezó a salir del sótano de un edificio al otro lado de la calle de los squats con el resultado de una batalla feroz por

hasta una hora mientras 300 squatters rápidamente organizaron brigadas de cubos para tirar cientos de litros de agua y tierra encima del fuego.

Vista surreal - andando las calles, yo paso por un grupo pequeño agrupados detrás de un coche en Mainzer tomando los instrucciones de uno de nuestro medicos. Asumiendo que habia un herido, yo empezé a cercarme para asistir y hallo que el medico actualmente estaba dando una lección rápida en la construcción de una bomba molotov. Los Autonomen Sanitaler ("Sanis") son muy radicales y muy organizados. Llevan cascos blancos, máscaras antigás, y una cruz roja con un puño encima (símbolo del poder) y la meta del Sanis es el mantenimiento de la pelea, así que cuando corre del gas vas a encontrar 3 o 4 Sanis gritando "vasser, vasser" y jeringando agua en los ojos de gente. También tienen medicos que empezaron un semi-hospital en uno de los squats donde muchos de los amotinadores fueron llevado, algunos heridos seriamente como el hombre herido en la cabeza por una lata de gas tirado desde 15 yardas que faltaba por lo menos una docena de puntos.

Bueno, en los pisos de arriba grupos de amigos tienen reuniones para hablar de sus planes para la defensa. Mi grupo se divide en dos, medio a las barricadas, el resto al techo; donde el rocío deja el alquitrán un poco resbaladizo, agregando el peligro de caer a su muerte así que no hay verjas, solo un toldo de tejas inclinado empinadamente con una gofera de 6 pulgadas que a lo mejor podría parar un cuerpo que está cayendo pero probablemente no. Son muy buenos, sin embargo, parando de caer latas de gas, que lo deja expulsar su contenido por el techo más allá del alcance del brazo. Varios squatters pasaron el tarde construyendo "barricadas españolas" - esos rollos de alambre de púas y madera que se ve por millas y millas entre las fronteras de países hostiles. La intención es mantener a distancia la policía que pensamos van a tratar de tomar el techo de una iglesia que están contruyendo y que esta lindante con los techos de Mainzer.

Voy abajo por 15 o 20 minutos de dormir espasmódico antes de escuchar una alarma desde una intersección no determinada. Las calles vean vida cuando todos corren a sus barricadas o balcones, etc., o terminan a contruir una barricada, tapar el último molotov. La policía, se parece, intentan confundirnos, jugando el gato y el ratón en como se acercan a las esquinas y luego atrás a la noche. Sentamos en el techo mirando a un Berlín que todavía duerme, no se puede ver lejos por la calina, visión borrado por las máscaras de esquí de estilo autonomen, cabezas calentado por cascos negros y marcado por batallas, ansioso pero con un clase de quietud por adentro, pocos palabras hablados. Y por fin, casi como un alivio, la policía empiezan el ataque. Otra vez hay mucho en juego, tanto para la comunidad (los

squats no van a quedar intacto esta mañana sin una victoria) como individualmente - los miedos de ser herido o arrestado, y sin embargo la policía están enfadado- y claramente la policía están mejor preparado, como podemos ver por los números de ellos, 2 o 3 Panzers, tal vez 4 o 5 cañones de agua, y un ejército pequeño de pelotones de asalto listos.

Cuando los Panzers hacen una senda a las barricadas grandes para una empujadora de la policía, squatters en el techo mueven adelante a tirar piedras, molotovs, cohetes de señales y más o menos somos empujado atrás por latas de gas lacrimógeno, que son casi imposible ver volando, ya que amanecer ha llegado y las chispas son esencialmente invisible. Además, la policía ahora parecen apuntar mejor y son capaz de tirar el gas por encima

(Ejército Republicana Irlandez) contra tiradores certeros Ingleses.

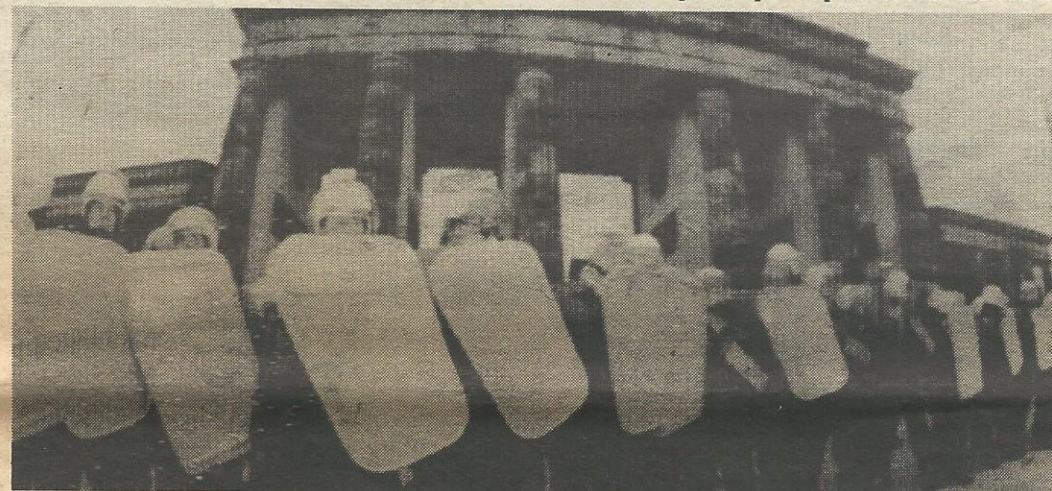
Es gracioso como miedos pequeños se van cuando hay otros más grandes ya que perdió miedo de caer y me tiro cada primero al techo. En realidad machacó mis costillas pero no me di cuenta hasta horas despues. Sentí extraño, mirando por encima de una chimenea y viendo una arma automática modificada. Tiran gas y cuando recargan, yo salté, gritando "Facistá", brazos en el aire en invitación.

El gas lacrimógeno deja el techo insostenible, la policía avanzar en el calle y no queremos estar atrapado en el techo, o tanpoco en el squat, así que entramos el ático y abajo al calle donde ya esencialmente ha terminado la cosa.

(Mas sobre el techo: anticipando un asalto de helicop-

siempre cayendo corto. También debe ser claro que el gas, efectivo como un agente químico, fue más que nada usado como un proyectil, para mi un miedo más grande y tal vez un efecto más fuerte. Finalmente, debo decir que los techos fueron capturaron por las fuerzas especiales Alemanes, el SEK, Con todo tipo de entrenamiento, armas especiales, "anti-terroristas", etc., 2-4,000 polizontes en total.

Por tanto, ahora quedamos en la calle un poco, pero finalmente volvemos al squat y arriba a un habitación grande común en el segundo piso, 50 más o menos de nosotros. Algunos querían ir al sótano donde los squats están enlazado, pero yo no fui porque mis comaradas de Lubbinstrasse quedaron. Gran error, como sale, porque A.L. y otros si escaparon por esa vía. En vez de



del repisa desde la calle y además las armas tiran 2 o 3 latas al vez y por fin, nos vean fácilmente por el día y somos mejor blancos. Un par de tipos fueron heridos en las piernas y somos forzado atrás, ahora somos inefectivos.

Mientras en la calle la batalla es similar al otro día excepto la policía no retiran, ellos usan 2 cañones de agua en cada una de las dos esquinas que atacan y ahora tienen un tractor que puede romper las barricadas, imposible para los Panzers; y muy importante, pueden excavar tierra y llenar las trincheras para dejar los cañones de agua acceso a Mainzer. La intensificación policial es causa de más militancia en las calles y muchos más

molotovs son tirado a los polizontes; yo vi uno caer ardiendo, no se si fue realmente herido o no.

En el techo cosas van mal también cuando policía entran el ático de la iglesia y empiezan a tirar gas a nosotros por puertas pequeñas que son imposible llegar a pegar con piedras. Somos forzados a sentar en cucillas detrás de chimeneas pequeñas. La situación se peora cuando la policía llegan al techo de una factoria solo 25 yardas de donde estamos, y que tiene una ventaja de 10 o 15 piez en altura. Molotovs no lo dejan avanzar por un poco tiempo pero ya no podemos ganar, no tenemos acceso para bombear la calle sin ser molestado por latas de gas. Pero todavía quedamos en el techo por lo más tiempo que podemos entendiendo que si los polizontes cogen control total del techo todo ha terminado. Siento como un guerrillero del I.R.A.

teros, algunos globos fueron llenado con helio y amarado con cuerda de pescar a puntos en el techo. Un helicoptero llevo pero fue usado solo para reconocimiento y intimidación, no se iban tratar de tomar por asalto el techo con la asistencia del helicoptero. Al mismo vez no puedo decir que efecto tenían los globos, pero sospecho que tenían miedo de nuestro pistolas de cohetes de señales, y en

ir, todos empezaron a quitarse las máscaras y cascos - ilegales en Alemania - cambiar de ropa, tirar sus jaquetas que tenían el olor de petrol. Eso terminado, esperamos con más que un poco miedo para que la policía llegaran, comiendo queso y pan. Finalmente escuchamos un puntapie a la puerta de abajo, y pocos minutos después un

(Continúa a página 4)

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(Continúa de la página 3)

polizonte entra y dice unas palabras con un altavoz, y se va a mucha risa. No necesito transducción. "Buenas días, estáis arrestado. Policía entran la habitación; estoy esustado porque gente dicen que ellos van a batirnos, estamos encerrado, pueden usar gas (esto es Alemania, reunido y fuerte) empezamos a dar palmadas cuando personas grandes y verdes detrás de escudos nos mueve hacia atrás a una esquina, y entonces, empiezan a pegar sus escudos con sus palos, pero no mueven a pegarnos. Esperamos por lo menos una hora (capturado a las 9 de la mañana). Es curioso la diferencia entres estos polizontes y el tipo Americano. ¿Estos son más rendidos? ¿Del cláse trabajadora? No se describirlo pero ellos son bastante desinteresados en nosotros, dejándonos continuar a comer pan y queso, hablar, cantar, mover. Hasta 3 o 4 de ellos duermen en sus cillas, un entretenimiento para nosotros. Tratan casi, de no dejarnos cercar las ventanas, pero no con mucha fuerza. Alguien, en un gran momento, pone un canción Aleman "punk". "Esta es nuestra casa". (Me informen que éste es un canción de Pipi Longstocking) a cual todo el mundo empiezan a cantar, silbando cuando para la música y cantando otro vez cuando empieza la música. Otro gran momento fue cuando un anarquista Italiano y yo, bromeando en Ingles, preguntando sobre prisión Aleman, empezamos a chiar "I scream, you scream, we all scream for ice cream" y todos participaron.

Lentamente somos, uno por uno, traído al habitación siguiente, una búsqueda y llevado afuera. Finalmente me traen adentro, investigado por

una mujer horrible que no deje de hacer un visaje de burla, diciendo que voy a ver la policía militar y que no voy ir de Alemania por mucho tiempo. Entonces me llevan abajo donde han hecho un carcel temporal de un bar/cafe anarquista donde me saludan con champán y nos divertimos muchísimo en este habitación, porque la policía nos deja quieto, y un hombre juega como camarero y nosotros sirviendo "Becks" para todos pagado por "la casa", y finalmente vienen la policía, escudos puestos, palos listos, roban la cerveza, solo medio borracho. Casi en ese momento la prensa, que lo han dejado en la calle, mueven adelante a la ventana con reja de hierro, y valla, los primeros a llegar son el BBC, así que me hacen portavoz de los squatters y no lo hago mal, siendo empujado a hablar de la violencia y cuanto de la responsabilidad fue de los squatters y al principio, minimizando lo, diciendo que la policía fueron responsable, mucho más violentos, etc., etc., pero mi di cuenta, porque negarlo, entonces yo dicho, mira, gente tienen el derecho de proteger su comunidad, sus casas, de cualquier manera necesario, y que es un crimen sacar gente de sus casas en invierno, etc., etc. Que barricadas y pierdras son usados en todo el mundo en estos situaciones, que somos radicales, personas jóvenes formando espacios libres en oposición al estado y por eso nos atacan con tanto fuerza - somos un peligro para el estado. Me dieron un aplauso los camaradas, que me hizo sentir bien, especialmente porque A. me ha querido ver con la prensa inglesa. El resto del tiempo el BBC me preguntaron como la policía nos trataron, pero no respondí bien, bromeando sobre la hospitalidad del estado.

En cualquier caso, los Alemanes no son tan eficiente, tal como no me liberaron hasta las 8 de la mañana (casi 24 horas despues). Facilidades no tan mal actualmente, pero no podia dormir mucho tal como las guardias siempre estaban yendo de una parte a otra procesándonos y habia mucha ira y chias para "essen!" (comida) - la policía tiran todos tus posesiones - todo en tus borcillos, cinturón, etc. dentro una cesta, y así yo tenia \$300 dolares americanos robado por la policía, que fastidio el jefe de los polizontes y un informe fue registrado así que a ver si me lo devuelvan (puede ser trabajo bueno para el consulado americano).

El resto del día ha sido un borrón, y ahora son 3 días de solo pocas horas de dormir casi por todos, que no ha ayudado el nivel de esfuerzo aquí. Para mi las horas del día no tienen significación para mi, solo descansado/no descansado, día/noche, así que todavía estoy en transición de la hora de los Estados Unidos. También no tengo bien aspecto - no me ha duchado en una semana, solo un par de pantalones, lavado una vez, pero estan muy sucios, como mi jaqueta roja nueva que ésta lleno de pintura desde el primer día que estubo en Berlin cuando yo hizo el error de ponerme de espardas a un pared y ahora la jaqueta ésta colorado gris, maron, etc.

Como siempre, la lucha trae juntos a gente, ayuda enfocar nos, y yo me siento más cerca a esta gente, y ellos a mi, y nos damos gran abrazos después de ser liberado.

Todavía, como dicho antes, hay un tensión enorme aquí en la escena de los squatters sobre la policía y también miedo porque se han visto policía en Lubbinstrasse (donde hay los 3

squats que quedan en Berlin occidental) la mañana del Motín cuando nadie estaba allí. Como este squat tiene un año y es considerado seguro y tiene un papel muy central al el movimiento de los squatters, y probablemente es central aquí en Kreuzberg, hay preocupación. Y yo estoy preocupado en un sentido personal porque cuando te desahucian pierdes todo, significando que yo puedo perder mi ropa, mi saco de dormir, mi bolsa, etc. y ya me han robado mi máquina fotográfica cuando estubo en prisión. Y es ironico; yo perdí la maquina de K. (o digo que fue robado) en el Motín de Barrington, y cada maquina tenia un rolo de película adentro - eso son 72 fotos perdido. También tenia mi narvaja confiscado por los policía. Pero es interesante. Después de tanto acción mis cosas materiales no parecen tan importante. Es difícil describir, pero este tipo de lucha me deja más enfocado, un poco más duro. Tu sabes, poniendo en mi cabeza una máscara de esquí y un casco de pelear de la calle debia tenerme cayendo en el piso de risa, pero no, era el acción más propio. Es como los que tiraban molotovs, cohetes de señales, pierdras - es trabajo real, trabajo duro, y era necesario: propio, las vidas de gente estaban/y estan en juego, y spongo que estoy contento estar aquí luchando con esta gente.

Como esto traduzca al resto de mi vida no se puede saber, y no vale la pena specular.

Más de 350 fueron arrestado, llevaron a carceles por todo la ciudad (nosotros fuimos llevado a el suroeste de Berlin) y algunos, dicen, fueron batidos, tirados, etc. Cuando estuvimos retenido en el squat un polizonte dijo que "esto es como el Estadio de Santiago en Chile, 1973." (refiriendo a la tortura y ejecución de cienes de Chilenos.) ¡Que broma! Lo encontramos deficit reír.

Esa noche habia una manifestación y marcha por Mainzerstrasse (que ahora ésta cerrado) en que 7-9,000 atendieron, y después de la tirada de pierdras y cualquiera, 100 más fueron arrestado, llevando el total a 450. Y estamos hablando aquí de radicales dedicados, columna negra, anti-imperialistas/anarquistas. En mi celda de prisión habia un Americano, un Italiano, y un Japonés. Todo el mundo viene a Berlin ahora. Venga y vea.

Ahora, casi todos de la casa estan en un reunion grande para decidir el curso de la defensa, de acción. Así que seguramente va venir más noticias. Mucho más.

Después de hablar con un Aleman, tengo que clarar algo, el movimiento squatter/anarquista aquí se trata de autonomía, comunidad, vitalidad, y no ésta organizado acerca de la violencia, peleas de la calle, y eso. Claramente, miles de horas de trabajo han ido a encontrando, entrando, reparando, limpiando, planificando, reuniendo dinero, negociando con burócratas, suboficiales, pintando, teniendo fiestas, todo para los squats, que es deficit imaginar que pasan tiempo planificando la revlución.

No me interpretas mal; esta gente son revolucionarios y más probablemente apoyan revolución armada, pero esto no es que ocupa su vida cada día, de por sí. Yo he estado aquí a lo mejor una semana, y un gran trematoda me ha puesto en el medio de esta lucha. Acción de este tipo se ve en Alemania solo una vez en unos cuanto años.

Ustedes que han visitado Kreuzberg, este explicación no es necesario. Para ustedes que no lo han visitado o que no me conocen muy bien, por favor, entiende que yo escribo extensivamente sobre las barricadas porque también vamos a las barricadas en los Estados Unidos, podemos partir en esta experiencia y aprender de esta lucha, podemos compadecernos con la situación, y claro, es emocionante. Pero también entendemos que esto es un negocio sangriento gente se encuentran en hospitales, con sentencias de carcel, y son descubierta a brutalidad de todos clases. Si yo ha romantizado cualquiera de esto lo siento. Si yo parezco emocionante es que soy.

Però esta excitación ésta por dentro el contexto de reparando, quizás, por poco tiempo, esta moda de vida de comunidad que ésta siendo destruido con brutalidad.

No quiero ver gente herido, pero cuando tratas de destruir la gente que me han traeron en su casa, daron comida, cuidaron por mi, quienes son autenticos, dedicados, humanos, pues yo voy sentir una alegría cuando éstas en el suelo, fuego casi en tu cuerpo, con más molotovs que vienen.

Bueno, estoy demasiado cansado, existiendo en una confusión, y estoy seguro que el primero párrafo es desarticulado, no muy claro, pero espero que tu entiendes lo que yo quero decir.

Esta es nuestra casa
Ich bin ein Berliner
Jeremy

Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia

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

Amor y Rabia es revolucionario.

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

como paso dirigido hacia la realización de la revolución social.

Amor y Rabia es anti-estatal.

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

Amor y Rabia es anti-capitalista.

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

Amor y Rabia es anti-racista.

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

Amor y Rabia es anti-imperialista.

Apoyamos el derecho a la autodeterminación de los pueblos oprimidos por las diferentes formas de imperialismo. Luchamos por expulsar a Estados

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

Amor y Rabia es anti-sexista.

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

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

Rechazamos la heterosexualidad obligatoria de la familia patriarcal y apoyamos los esfuerzos por promover una diversidad de relaciones humanas consensuales y sexuales.

Amor y Rabia apoyará los luchos de los jóvenes contra su específico opresión.

Amor y Rabia se esfuerza especialmente en promover una plataforma para la juventud. Recono-

ecemos que el futuro revolucionario esta en manos de la juventud.

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

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

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