

LOVE AND RAGE

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Resistance Raises The Costs Of The War

BY MATT BLACK AND CHRISTOPHER DAY

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT has launched a war against Iraq. Around the world and across the country people have expressed their outrage, their anger, and their fear. From the beginning of the US troop build-up in Saudi Arabia, activists have been mobilizing and organizing to put pressure on those in power to end the war preparations, resulting in demonstrations, vigils, direct action, and, most importantly, increased awareness about the causes of the war and our power to end it.

These actions have only increased in frequency and intensity since the beginning of actual attacks, fighting, and dying.

What Are We Fighting For?

The US is waging war against Iraq in defense of what George Bush is calling the New World Order, which is nothing other than the old American empire rejuvenated. The rulers of this country are will-

ing to sacrifice tens of thousands of Arab, American, Israeli and other lives for its renewed health.

The question of Kuwaiti sovereignty, while a real issue, is here a fig leaf for the US's real intentions: the elimination of Iraq as a major autonomous regional military power. One day into the US war against Iraq, Bush announced that it was "too late" for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait to end the war; the US would only settle for surrender.

It is clear that if the US comes out of the war against Iraq relatively unscathed—with its military intact and domestic opposition to the war confined to established channels of ineffectual protest, this war will mark the resurgence of the American empire and no country will be safe from limitless US aggression.

National liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America can expect to be ruthlessly crushed. Essentially it will mark the beginning of a new world war—an unre-

mitting war by the US and its imperial allies against the people of the "third world."

It is our responsibility to build the kind of movement that can ensure that this doesn't happen. Already there is massive resistance to this war. People have taken to the streets across the country and around the world. We need to increase the pressure domestically, build resistance within the ranks of the armed forces, and force the US to withdraw from Iraq.

Taking It To The Streets

There has been what amounts to a news blackout on demonstrations against the war. The US has been rocked by daily demonstrations in every major city and in hundreds of towns. Millions of people around the world have taken to the streets as well. Yet the Friday edition of the *New York Times* contained no coverage at all of the largest explosion of protest in the US since the height of the movement against the war on Vietnam. There can be no denying that the country is already deeply divided on this war, less than one week into the fighting.

Daily demonstrations began when Congress narrowly voted to support the war. On January 14 and 15 High School students in New York, Berkeley, Oakland, Minneapolis, Boston and other cities walked out of their classes and took to the streets, blocking traffic and fighting the police. In San Francisco 15,000 people took over the Bay Bridge for three hours after a successful blockade of the Federal Building. In the Mission another 10,000, mainly people of color, marched on Chevron where a bonfire

was set in the street. In Minneapolis, two thousand people shut down the Federal Building and set fires in the streets. In Chicago, 5,000 people shut down the Federal Building and took over the streets.

When the war started on Wednesday, January 16, spontaneous demonstrations broke out everywhere. In San Francisco 25,000 people marched again on the Bay Bridge. When a police motorcycle ran over a demonstrator the crowd set one cop car on fire and smashed in the windows on at least three more. They then marched on Chevron headquarters and Macy's and smashed in windows. The next day 10,000 people shut down the Federal Building again and police arrested over 1,000 people. In Eugene, Oregon a military recruiting station was firebombed.

In New York City, thousands of people took the streets at Times Square, tore down police barricades and marched on the United Nations, where the Security Council was meeting in closed session. After pushing through police lines and barricades, the crowd was finally stopped across the street from the UN. The march then proceeded to Dag Hammarskjöld plaza for a rally. Police barricades were torn down and used to build a massive bonfire. The march then returned to Times Square where another fire was set and then proceeded downtown and blocked the Brooklyn Bridge. A drunk driver drove into the crowd at this point, injuring at least seven people seriously, a couple quite severely.

In Boston, students stopped traffic on three bridges. In Amherst, Massachusetts, businesses closed for one hour to protest the war. In

Seattle, 60,000 people came out for a candlelight vigil against the war. In New Orleans 500 people marched against the war. In Los Angeles about 4,000 people converged on the Federal Building. 700 UCLA students occupied a campus building and another 1000 rallied outside. A class stoppage was called for Tuesday, January 22. In the conservative town of Riverside, California, 200 people took to the streets. In Minneapolis, 6,000 people marched and newspaper boxes for the *New York Times* and *USA Today* were thrown into a dumpster and set afire to chants of "Burn Those Lies." In Detroit, police rounded up activists at a peaceful demonstration and charged them with incitement to riot.

Around the world, demonstrations were even larger. 2 million people marched in Madrid. In Quito, Ecuador a make-shift bomb was tossed in a British bank. In Sydney, Australia 10,000 people marched against the war.

These actions are promising signs that the anti-war movement will not have to learn all the lessons of Vietnam over again. By pushing over barricades, by refusing to listen to the cops, by taking the streets and setting fires, in short, by making the country "ungovernable," a new generation is showing that, at least instinctively, it understands that the war machine will not listen to reason or appeals to morality. One of the lasting gains of the 1960s was the breakdown of people's faith in the system—few people still believe that the government is responsive to the demands of ordinary people.

(Continued on page 4)

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Burning barricades at the UN. (Photo by David Sorcher.)

Letters

Earth First! Rendezvous

Dear *Love and Rage*,

Organization is under way for this year's Earth First! Rendezvous in the Green Mountains of Vermont from Monday August 5, to the action on Monday, August 12. One reason we are mailing this out so early is so people can start thinking about what kinds of workshops they would like to host. We would like to see a broad range of workshops in everything from exchanges of tactical information to educational forums, from discussions of internal dynamics to debates over the future of Earth First! We hope to create conditions for the most open forums of discussion possible in order to maximize democratic participation, to bring forth new and unpredetermined visions of what Earth First! is and could be, and to minimize susceptibility to government-sponsored divisiveness.

Please respond with ideas you have for specific workshops you or your group would like to

facilitate or suggestions of how you would like to see the overall workshop scene structured. Also include the logistical needs of your workshops like: day/night, how long, how many sessions, early or late in the rendezvous, near or far from the campus, etc.

Uncompromisingly yours,
The Workshop Committee
Earth First!
RRR PO Box 174
Burlington, VT
05402-0174

A Dog in Klan Robes

Dear *Love and Rage*,

Wouldn't you know it? The day before I planned to demonstrate (along with others) against the Klan's "Christian" rally at Fountain Square in downtown Cincy, not only did my son get sick and my mom get operated on, but my car stopped running and had to be towed to the dealer. Needless to say I had to watch the fight on TV and read about it in the local bourgeois press.

But four people I know went, and told me about the counter-demonstration and the fuss that SHARP (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice) and other groups and individuals put up against the Klan being there. Of course, the Klan had the only "legal" permit to be there and of course, the "law and order" police protected them against 1,500 angry demonstrators. There were few arrests, but, of course, all were from the anti-Klan protesters.

The Klan put on a rally to "put the Christ back in Christmas" and to protest against the court-won right by some Jewish folks to have a menorah on the square for the eight days of Hanukkah along with the city's large Christmas tree. Makes sense to me. We live



in a pluralistic, multi-ethnic, multi-religious society where everyone should be able to worship if they want to. The almost-torn apart state capitalist countries never allowed most people to worship, Christians as well as Jewish women and men.

The Ku Klux Klan are not just another peaceful, god-loving group. They incite hate against anyone who is not lily-white and who is not a christian—they used to not like Catholics either. Maybe they do now, but when my dad was young, the KKK marched down the road past his house—his dad, my granddad, an Irish-French Catholic guy, threw a white cloth over Shep, his German Shepherd herding dog. The Klan dragon swore at my granddad and said "I'll get you for this, John." Never did. The KKK likes to boast. That was maybe 60 years ago. And the KKK is still around, and will be, as long as we live in a system that breeds hate among folks. But the KKK is also still getting trounced up by folks who hate them.

Linda,
Cincinnati, OH

The Torch is Dead Long Live the Torch

Hey Folks,

I saw your 'zine mentioned in the last *Left Green Notes*, so I thought I'd drop you a line. Now don't let the letterhead scare you. YPSL (Young Peoples Socialist League) is made up of both anarchists and democratic socialists, and right now I'd say the mix is just about even. Basically, by being an independent affiliate of the Socialist Party we can reach youth in both camps. Personally, I say fuck the whole idea of labels—it's

the struggle that matters, not what you call it. As long as you're anti-patriarchal and fight for youth lib, that's all we care about.

Anyway we're hoping that you'll exchange *Love and Rage* for the *Torch* (YPSL's paper), which I'm enclosing. The next issue should be ready in mid-January or so.

YPSL. Youth Liberation and other anti-social behavior. We will make the playgrounds and playpens of this world ungovernable.

For Youth Liberation,
Ken Meyers
for the *Torch*

Dumpster Times

Dear *Love and Rage*,

Thanks for the posters (beautifully done) and all my best wishes for the anarchist contingent in DC. Wish I could be with you, but alas—only in spirit.

Although I'm the only anarchist I know here in Akron, I did manage to find a few secure places to post your fliers. And happily, I just completed *Dumpster Times* #8 and am enclosing a poster with each one sent out to places far and wide with the suggestion to copy and distribute—30 sent today. A small help, but it's something.

The times are truly perilous, protestors arrested for "treason," sheep awaiting slaughter. My thoughts and hopes go with you.

Love and Anarchy
Wendy S. Duke
Dumpster Times
P.O. Box 80044
Akron, OH
44308

An Apology

Love and Rage makes mistakes. Last issue we made several. Several captions were missing from photos and things like that. The most serious mistakes we made were in publishing an article by Eric Jacobson that appeared first in *Left Green Notes* as "Ideology and the Persian Gulf Crisis: Can the Left Greens develop an anti-war program?" and that we reprinted as a section with another article "For UN Sanctions And Against" with Eric's article under the "For" heading.

Eric's article was written before the UN Security Council voted to authorize the use of force against Iraq if Iraq did not withdraw from Kuwait by January 15. When we spoke with Eric about reprinting his article he said that he wanted to make revisions in light of the events that had occurred since he wrote it. We failed to follow up on that and instead reprinted the article as it appeared in *Left Green Notes* (and failing to note where we reprinted it from to boot.)

Eric did not give us permission to reprint the original article. We should not have and apologize to him for having done so, particularly since it appeared with an article written in response to it and thereby created the false impression that he had contributed the article for a debate.

The "For And Against" headline also effectively misrepresented the intention of Eric's article by focusing on the single question of UN sanctions, when the article had a much broader focus, better reflected in the headline used in *Left Green Notes*. Again we apologize.

Conflicting Opinions

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I have very conflicting opinions about anarchism and your publication. Many of the articles are incredibly beautiful, and insightful and I learn a lot from them. On the other hand, I do not have a full understanding of anarchist ideas, and sometimes I feel you tend to glorify violence.

Also, I was at the Dec. 9 rally at the Waldorf and I too was fed up with the repetitive dragged out speeches (except the guy from ACT UP), they were all bullshit. I and many others around me were happy when AAA (Autonomous Anarchist Action) started up the march, the anti-war movement's gotta have more vision than the Coalition To Stop Intervention In The Middle East.

I'd just like to tell you I think your paper has shown me a different way of seeing the Left, and given me a lot to think about on my sexual relationships, and society in general.

Thank you,
Charles Riccardi
Brooklyn, NY

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

Revolutionary Group X
P.O.Box 6022
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Toronto, ONT, M4Y 2N9

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

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

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

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

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Raising the Costs of Love and Rage

NOW THAT THE U.S. HAS launched its war against Iraq, it is particularly important to do everything that is necessary to build a militant and anti-authoritarian wing of the anti-war movement. *Love and Rage* is an es-

oi the growing resistance to this war.

Instead we are struggling to pay the many bills that we have accumulated and have even missed deadlines for lack of funds. We have an opportunity at this moment to



sential component in building such a wing, and we need your support now.

The capitalist media is a part of the war machine. They lie about our actions. An alternative press is essential for providing accurate information about actions, for providing a forum for discussion of the many issues confronting the movement.

Love and Rage has a circulation of only 3,000 and is only 16 pages long. If we had the money for printing, postage and other expenses, we could easily double both the circulation and the size of the paper. We could reach thousands more people with better coverage

build a strong and serious anti-authoritarian movement. We need a reliable monthly paper that can publish *all* the vital information that comes into our office and get it into the hands of *all* the people who want and need this information.

Please help us. Your contributions to *Love and Rage* are contributions to building the kind of movement that can stop this rotten war and begin to bring down the institutions that make war both possible and inevitable. There are many ways you can help.

Subscribe

The price of a subscription barely covers the costs of printing and

mailing. But subscription money is very important for our cash flow. If you value *Love and Rage* and haven't yet subscribed, do so today. We are in the midst of a subscription drive. We are trying to get 200 new paid subscriptions by March 1. Help us meet that goal.

We provide free subscriptions to GIs and prisoners. As GI resistance increases and repression of the anti-war movement sends more people to prison the demand for these subscriptions will increase. By taking out a paid subscription and making a donation to *Love and Rage* you enable us to reach these people.

Pledge

Most of the money that pays for *Love and Rage* comes in the form of monthly pledges by activists and others who understand the importance of a paper like *Love and Rage*. We're not rich. Most of those pledges are \$10 or \$25 a month from people just like you, working cruddy jobs, but willing to find the extra money to support *Love and Rage*.

But our pledges do not meet our expenses. We need more people to make a monthly pledge if we are to keep coming out and if we are to grow. Ask yourself what you can afford and send us your first pledge (it can be made out as a tax-deductible contribution to the Aspect Foundation if you prefer). We are trying to get 30 new \$10 pledges by March 1. Help us now.

Distribution

Most of our circulation comes from people who purchase bundles of the paper and then either sell or give them away as they see fit. Bundles of 10 or more copies can be had for 35¢ a copy. You can sell them all for a buck and put the extra money into a local project or send it along to us (we really do need it) or you can sell enough to cover your costs and give the rest away to people you think would benefit from *Love and Rage*.

Distributing *Love and Rage* in

Governments Don't Fall By Themselves Support Love and Rage

If you like *Love and Rage* please help us get the paper around. Writing, producing, supporting and distributing *Love and Rage* is the work of a small but growing group of anarchist activists in over 20 cities. We don't pretend to have all the answers, we are learning as we go what it means to build an anarchist movement here and now. If you share our desire to build such a movement please join us. *Love and Rage* needs your help if it is to grow and improve.

Of course we need your financial support if we are to survive. So fill out the subscription form and make a monthly pledge as well. But we also need your participation.

We want *Love and Rage* to carry coverage of events from across the continent and around the world. Your articles, photos, artwork and news clips are what make this paper what it is. Can you translate between Spanish and English? Then we need your help. We need your comments and criticisms. What do you like? How can we make the paper better? also need contacts who can help us with particular articles, who can put up *Love and Rage* supporters who are on the road.

If you want to get involved in setting the direction for *Love and Rage* come to our conferences and meetings. They are open to all sincere supporters of the project. If you want to get involved in any of these ways, please fill out the form below.

____ Yes, I want to get involved with *Love and Rage*.

Name _____

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____ I would like to provide the following to *Love and Rage*:

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your community, at actions, at gigs, or wherever, is a good way to build a local group if you don't have one yet or if you are just getting started. It is a particularly effective way of reaching out beyond your own cir-

cle of friends and bring new people into anarchist activity.

Whatever you can do to help *Love and Rage* come out bigger, better and in larger numbers over the coming months will help us.

LOVE AND RAGE ORGANIZING CONFERENCE

Saturday, June 29- Monday, July 1



Minneapolis, Minnesota

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

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

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

See you in Minneapolis!

REGISTRATION

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

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

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Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Country _____

Phone () _____

Local Group _____

Number of people coming (including you) _____

Enclosed is \$_____ to help with the conference.

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Unity and Division in the Anti-War Movement

BY WAYNE PRICE

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST US intervention in the gulf region is growing rapidly, and one of its strengths is its political diversity. People of differing views are working together: liberals and Leninists, reformists and revolutionaries, authoritarian leftists and anarchists, pro-Zionists and anti-Zionists—all committed to opposing war in the Middle East. As I write, military preparations continue. By the time you read this, either war or—less likely—a negotiated “peace” may be in effect.

At the same time, these differences cause conflicts. There is, in particular, the scandal of two coalitions calling two separate anti-intervention rallies in Washington in January—a week apart—which follows on the left’s bad history of manipulation, maneuvers, front groups and hidden agendas.

There has been little serious discussion of differences between the two different coalitions: the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East versus the Coalition to Stop US Intervention in the Middle East. The National Campaign only says, “We condemn the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, while the Coalition has not taken a position on this.”

(*Guardian*, 12/19/90) The Coalition charges “They (the Campaign) were divided on the issue of support for sanctions against Iraq . . . while supporting UN resolutions and solutions.” (ibid.) Obviously these differences do not justify two demonstrations or even two different coalitions. They do not even explain what the real dividing points are.

The alternative to this manipulation is not to pretend that conflicts do not exist. Instead, the movement needs open discussion, honest debate — with no baiting or name-calling — and democratic decision-making.

There are two main poles of opinion within the movement: the liberal, reformist pole, and the Marxist-Leninist, “revolutionary” but authoritarian, pole. This distinction somewhat fits the Campaign versus Coalition split, but both coalitions are broader and more mixed than this implies. Anarchist views are in contradiction to both tendencies — but anarchists can and do work with both.

Liberals and the Democratic Party

The liberal view can best be approached by first looking outside

the anti-intervention movement to the Democratic Party. Congressional Democrats have criticized the Bush administration for moving “too fast” towards war, for “not giving sanctions a chance.” They have paraded two former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and several former Secretaries of Defense before congressional committees. These said that it would be wise, for military reasons, to wait to see if the blockade and the threat of war will force Saddam to retreat without the costs of actual fighting.

For example, Massachusetts Senator John Kerry, from the liberal wing of the Democrats, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, said: “I know of no one who has suggested that the threat of force should not be real and unmistakable. Whether it’s now or later, Saddam Hussein faces the same ultimate day of reckoning. But many of us are fighting to guarantee that we maintain consensus in this country so that should shooting start, the policy does not fall apart.” (*New York Times*, 12/11/90)

From the start many Democratic liberals supported US war moves. Jesse Jackson announced that the

Iraqis “must be driven back to the border” and that the US should be ready to “use military force, multilaterally or unilaterally.” (*Guardian*, 8/15/90)

The Anti-War Liberals

Unlike the Democratic politicians, the anti-war liberals really do oppose a gulf war. (“Liberals” here includes reform socialists, most pacifists, moderate Greens, and other believers in a reformist approach.) However, many are drawn to the Democratic Party and one of their main strategies is to work through the Democrats, while pressuring the politicians with demonstrations.

The anti-war program of most liberals is usually a watered-down version of the Democrats’ program, which in turn is to continue doing what the US is doing without moving into overt war — yet. Liberals are for economic sanctions but not the naval blockade — or for the blockade but not for the US military expedition — or for US military provided they are under “UN command.” They are for the UN resolutions or most of them. They hope for “negotiations” — between Bush and Saddam, among the Arab

rulers, or at the UN — to solve everything.

Sanctions and naval blockades are acts of war, and are part of the US war preparations. And what if they fail? Does war then become “justified”?

It is hard to see how anyone could oppose the US by looking to the UN at this point. The UN is an association of national governments, reflecting their own ruling classes. The needs of the oppressed majority of the world are sometimes indirectly reflected through the UN—in resolutions on Namibia or Palestine, for example—but such resolutions have no real force. no real force.

Right now, with the collapse of the Soviet Empire, the US has no real counterweight, and can dominate the UN. The UN resolutions on the Gulf have been important in selling the US intervention to the US and world population. A similarly useful role has been played by the multi-national armed forces there, even though the vast majority are U.S. troops. A “multi-national UN military force” would just be a repeat of the Korean war, where the US waged a war on an oppressed people under a UN flag.

Resistance...

(Continued from page 1)

Those in power have already decided that they can safely ignore such limits on behavior as ethics, fairness or reason—if they had not, this war would not be happening—through their every action, the ruling class shows their ruthless self-interest (which, it might be added, is itself a product of the social order).

Since logic and justice do not encumber their thoughts in domestic policy, there is little reason to suppose that they will in foreign affairs. The only way that domestic protest can stop this war is by threatening the security of the ruling class’s privilege and power.

The Causes of War

Wars are blamed on geo-politics, and the “crazy” or “unacceptable” actions of world leaders who “threaten the world order.” Yet actions identical to those termed “insane” are financed, supported, and led in many places by the very people who denounce them in others. It is clear that while geo-politics may be a pretext for war, the true cause of war is the desire on the part of those in power (on both sides of the conflict) to expand or strengthen their positions, power, and prestige.

There are groups of individuals who have the power to decide the fates of others—either through the political machinations of law and war, or the continuation of systems of control and domination like racism and sexism. This ruling elite is selective in its horror at the compromises of “democracy” and “freedom”—it chooses its wars carefully, selecting only those which serve its interests and work to further solidify its position of control.

This war only reinforces Randolph Bourne’s assertion that “War is the health of the state.” Yet war will not end when this government is voted out, or even when this form of government is disposed of, because those who hold power over others—through any system of oppression — will always seek to ensure their position, by violence if necessary.

Clearly, then, war will only end when there is no “power over,” when there is true freedom, individual autonomy and collective self-management. Through the anti-war movement and other acts of revolt and resistance, we are attempting to undermine and overthrow the systems which oppress us.

What Kind of Anti-War Movement

This war will only end when one of two things happens: either the ruling elite will decide that its interests have been furthered, that is, that “we” have “won”; or when the same ruling elite becomes convinced that the costs of war are unacceptably high for them.

If we can raise the costs of this war for those who favor it, this war will end. If we can make it clear that the continuation of this war will create a political situation that threatens to go beyond the control of those in power, we will force them to end the war.

Militant demonstrations and actions that defy the police and expose the vulnerability of the system, the accelerated breakdown in any faith in authority, massive non-cooperation with conscription, and resistance in the ranks of the armed forces all raise the costs of the war by threatening the institutions of control in this society.

Of course, we hope that the situation really does get out of the control of those in power. Further, not everyone working in the anti-war movement shares this analysis, and for the moment we can work on ending the killing and dying in the Middle East with an understanding that raising the costs of the war brings its end that much closer.

It is important to note that militancy is not necessarily a goal in and of itself, but is an expression of the spirit of resistance and revolt that many experience when they confront both the systems of domination which are used in a continuing attempt to control their lives, and the people who control those systems.

At the same time, it’s important to remember that people *become radicalized* through experiences which speak to their personal

experience of domination and resistance; the goal of militancy should be to encourage people to make the connections between different kinds of oppression which lead to a radical view of the world, and a willingness to break the bounds of “acceptable” behavior in the struggle for freedom.

Working for this limited goal may not immediately bring about the revolution we seek, but it will enable millions of people to realize their power and their agency. Millions learning that they are capable of running their own lives —certainly more capable than anyone else—and learning that they can disagree with, defy, and fight those in power, is definitely a step in the right direction.

However, these same millions learning that it is better to listen to those in power in the anti-war movement is a step in the wrong direction.

A Democratic Movement

Anarchists need to demand and work towards an anti-war movement that is democratic. Authoritarian social relations are unacceptable everywhere, whether at home, in school, or in the anti-war movement. If we believe that the experience of stopping a war may radicalize people, then we should work to ensure that the experience is truly radical. That can only be true in a movement which is democratically controlled by, and accountable to, its members. Coalitions must be open and the selection of decision making bodies must be left to open meetings and conferences of the movement.

An Anti-Racist Movement

This is a racist war. It is a war that will be fought disproportionately by African-Americans and other people of color. So, if this movement is to be inclusive of those who are most directly affected by the war it must be an explicitly anti-racist movement. This means a lot more than just adding anti-racist slogans to our leaflets and banners. It means making our organizations and coalitions authentically multi-racial by building real alliances between existing predominantly

white peace organizations and organizations rooted in communities of color. It also means that there needs to be aggressive affirmative action in the selection of decision-making bodies for our coalitions to ensure that the work of coalitions is rooted in the struggles of communities of color.

An Anti-Imperialist Movement

The war in the Middle East is an imperialist war. It is rooted in the imperialist nature of the United States government. It is not a “mistake,” but rather the inevitable consequence of the kind of system the world lives under. The US Empire is seeking to further establish itself as the sole military protector of a world order based on the super-exploitation of the poorest countries by major industrial powers.

The effectiveness of the anti-war movement depends in large part on how clearly it understands the nature of the system it is up against. Anarchists need to work for an explicitly anti-imperialist anti-war movement that sees the connection between US aggression in the Middle East, the system of Apartheid, and the crushing of the national movements within the Soviet Empire.

A Movement of Resistance

This movement must be a movement of resistance. We resist the state’s power and the state’s war. We will resist a draft, and we will resist domestic war-time repression. Resistance is many people’s immediate reaction to this war, and it differs substantively from reform. This movement will have to embrace a variety of tactics, to allow everyone to express their resistance and their outrage — and to allow these to develop.

A Secure Movement

Movement security is an important issue. Another lesson of the 60s (and 70s and 80s and 90s) is the reality of domestic counter-insurgency programs which employ electronic eavesdropping technology, counter-intelligence, disruptive mis-information, and provocateurs, among other tactics, to disrupt, discredit, and destroy opposition to

US government policies and actions.

Brian Glick documents this and provides ideas for reducing and avoiding the impact of these programs in his excellent book *The War At Home*; it is must reading for all activists. We need to be cautious with our words, our confidences, and our actions. We should take care not to incriminate ourselves in any way, or open ourselves up to infiltration or attack; nor should we allow fear and suspicion to dominate us: caution is the by-word, not coma.

At the same time, we should avoid stupid and divisive quarrels with other activists, as it is exactly such small divisions that counter-insurgency operations seek to exploit, often leading to the destruction of groups and movements, jailings, and deaths of activists. We should never ignore or down-play serious political differences, or the crucial need for debate, but we should avoid name-calling and petty squabbles which serve only to divide the movement, and not to further our ideas and ideals.

Anarchy and the Anti-War Movement

Anarchists are involved in the anti-war movement for a variety of reasons, from anger and horror to fear and outrage. What sets anarchists apart as a group distinct from the rest of the movement is our commitment to a revolution based on our critique of systems of hierarchy and domination. We are fighting the war because we want it to end; however, we also understand that the war, and the resistance it generates create openings for the destruction of the existing social order, which makes war both possible and inevitable.

As Alexander Berkman said, “Revolution is simply the boiling point of evolution.” Revolution takes place when the existing social order collapses from a combination of internal and external pressures, and other forces compete to establish a new order. This new order, if a revolution were to take place tomorrow, would likely be

(Continued on page 12)

It is similarly mistaken to call for "negotiations." Negotiations among nation states always reflect the balance of power among them. For the U.S. right now this includes its military build-up in Saudi Arabia. To focus on negotiations is to call for the U.S. to be more wily in using its threatening military power; that is all.

No doubt the final outcome of the Gulf conflict will be ratified through some negotiations — whether as a victory for one side, or some sort of stalemate. But the job of an anti-war movement is not to tell an aggressor government how to negotiate. It is to build up as much pressure as we can to help force that government to stop the war.

The Statist Anti-Imperialist Wing of the Movement

Opposition to US imperialism is generally not a problem for the revolutionary-statist left, by whom I mean most Marxist-Leninist parties (MLs), as well as most Black nationalists, as well as other nationalist movements. These groupings want a revolution of some sort which would smash the existing bureaucratic-military state of US capitalist imperialism.

The actual practice of this tendency is often the same as the liberals. For example, during the last two presidential primaries, most MLs and nationalists strongly supported Jesse Jackson. Also,

their anti-intervention organizing rarely targets the Democrats as being as much enemies as the Republicans.

Further, their anti-imperialism is directed mostly against Western imperialism. They have generally been supporters of Russian imperialism; they supported the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, and are mostly sorry to see the Soviet withdrawal from its colonies in Eastern Europe.

Unfortunately, the issue of anti-

the US deployment is about aggression and international law..." ("Condemning Iraq helps US war plans," by M. Ratner and W. Schaap, *Guardian*, 10/24/90) Or in other words, if even the anti-war movement says Iraq is wrong, then people will decide Bush is right after all.

What is wrong with this argument is that people already know that Iraq is a dictatorship which has annexed its neighbor. Although President Bush says so, it happens

able to say that Iraqi aggression is wrong.

"In the long term and larger historical picture, the invasion may well be seen as an attempt by a Third World country to control Third World resources... (and) may also be a historic step in the ultimate demise of the incredibly undemocratic sheikdom system..." (ibid.)

By such arguments any crime can be excused. The dead soldiers on both sides do not care about

existing state with a new state: a one-party dictatorship, without rights for any opposition, without independent unions, and with a state-capitalist economy—owned by the state, not the workers, and run top down, not bottom up. They imagine that this will be a benevolent, pro-worker dictatorship, but it would actually be another state-capitalist dictatorship.

There is a wide variety of ML groupings: Trotskyists, Stalinists, Maoists, pro-Moscow communists, and others yet unknown. Revolutionary anarchists have a negative agreement with them: MLs and anarchists are both against the US imperialist state, but we disagree over what should replace it—a new dictatorship or a cooperative, self-managing free community.

Build an Anarchist Wing of the Movement

An anti-intervention movement which remains dominated by liberals and Leninists will be sterile. It would be a grave mistake for anarchists to withdraw into our own little movement. On the contrary, this is a great opportunity for us to reach out and win over militants from many different backgrounds. We can only do this if we are both militant and non-sectarian: being willing to work with anyone while sticking to our principles.

"There are two main poles of opinion within the movement. . . Anarchist views are in contradiction to both — but anarchists can and do work with both."

imperialism has become expressed in a debate about whether to condemn the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. It seems a simple matter to me to say that it was wrong of Iraq to invade and annex Kuwait. Whatever grievances the Hussein regime had, they did not justify the mass slaughter of war.

But many oppose such a simple condemnation; this is the view of Ramsey Clark and others. The main argument is that criticizing Iraq plays into the hands of the US: "Making criticism of Iraq a priority... gives legitimacy to the belief that

to be true. The movement will not impress people by denying reality. And people are right to condemn aggression—anti-imperialist sentiment is built on that condemnation. We win people over by pointing out the one-sided nature of Bush's "condemnation" of invasion, not by being one-sided and hypocritical ourselves.

It is correct to make a distinction between Iraq and the US, and to expose the imperialist goals of the US. It is correct to reject sanctions, reliance on the UN or "negotiations." But it is also important to be

Iraq's "motivations." The Kuwaitis who have lost self-determination do not care about "arguable claims." Jailed Kuwaiti democrats do not care that their torturers are modern state "socialists" instead of old-fashioned sheiks.

The appeal to the "longer term and larger historical picture" is a classic Marxist approach: the broad sweep of the Historical Process is used to excuse mass murder and vicious aggression. Most Marxist-Leninists advocate a social system more-or-less similar to what exists in Iraq. They want to replace the

ANARCHIST TACTICS AT LARGE ACTIONS

AS EVENTS AT HOME AND around the world become increasingly turbulent, anarchists find themselves engaging in more street actions than ever before. The war in the Persian Gulf has brought about a series of mass demonstrations organized by various leftist and liberal groups. Revolutionary anarchists have organized themselves to bring an anti-authoritarian element to these demonstrations in hopes of laying the groundwork for rapid social change in an anarchist direction.

It is necessary for us to understand how to protect ourselves from police violence and arrests during these demonstrations. Many of the people joining the anarchist contingents have little or no experience in dealing with police. The purpose of this leaflet is to share the knowledge we have on this subject with all those who will be participating in anarchist contingents.

Affinity Groups

One of the most effective tactics we can use to protect ourselves from violence in a street action is to organize ourselves into affinity groups: small groups of people who all know and trust each other. A buddy system can be used within larger affinity groups as a second level of protection.

It is important to stick with your group from your arrival at the demonstration site until you leave and are a safe distance away. A common tactic employed by the police is to target specific demonstrators and nab them when they are leaving without the protection of a mass of people. It is the responsibility of affinity group members to watch out for each other and to intervene if an affinity group member is targeted by police or anyone else.

Unarrest

The term unarrest is self-explanatory. The authorities refer to it by terms such as "interfering with government administration." Think of it as preventing the abduction of friends by armed and dangerous individuals.

Many attempted arrests can be successfully resisted if people are prepared to carry out an unarrest. There are two essential elements to

a successful unarrest. First, the arrestee needs to struggle to get free and to prevent the police from dragging her away from the crowd. Second, the crowd needs to grab the arrestee and free her from the police. All of this usually takes place in a matter of seconds. Often it

have gotten away clean if they can leave a demonstration without being arrested. This is simply not the case. Police videotape any large and/or militant demonstrations. Hiding your identity by using a ski mask, balaklava, or bandana, offers effective protection against police

of a hundred people wearing black clothing and a mask it makes it difficult for them to make arrests and successfully prosecute demonstrators.

Black Bloc

The Black Bloc is a tactic that ori-

forming rows and moving as one.

When it is appropriate or when resources permit the organization of a Black Bloc can be more ambitious. Ropes can be run along the sides of the bloc to prevent the police from picking people off the edges. People in the front and back rows and on the edges of the bloc can wear pads, helmets and other protective gear.

All of this prevents police from getting inside the demonstration where they can identify organizers and single out individuals they accuse of being disruptive of their attempts to contain and control the action.

The Black Bloc can also be a launching point for direct actions against appropriate targets along a march route. The bloc opens and closes to let people out and in so they can carry out actions and escape the police.

Just because there is a Black Bloc it should not be presumed that there will be militant direct action. Depending on the circumstances, the Black Bloc can just march as a demonstration of the fact that we are prepared for action when it is demanded.

Provocateurs

Strangers who approach the demonstrators and encourage them to engage in acts that can lead to arrest, such as an offering the makings of a molotov cocktail, are either stupid or are police agents. Ignore them. Some people go around spreading rumors. At one demonstration there were people spreading a rumor that Iraq had bombed Mecca. Another was that the draft had been announced and would start in five days. It is not wise to react to unconfirmed reports.

Conclusion

The police refer to their duties at demonstrations as "crowd control." If we behave as a crowd their methods will be successful at controlling us. Only through organization and planning can we out-manuever the authorities and get our message across when and where we choose.

BY AUTONOMOUS ANARCHIST ACTION



turns into a tug of war that can easily be won by a determined crowd. Unarrest can save a lot of people a lot of grief, and it really does work!

Hiding Your Identity

Many people think that they

and FBI identification. Law enforcement personnel review videotapes and may use them as evidence during trials. Covering up your identity will protect you during and after a demonstration. If the police can only describe you as one

generated in Europe and has been used successfully in places like Berlin where militant resistance to the power structure has been going on longer than in most other western cities. The Black Bloc is essentially a group of anarchists linking arms,

AT 9 A.M. ON TUESDAY, November 27, over 80 riot police including the Emergency Response Team, the RCMP bomb squad, a helicopter, dog teams, fire trucks, and two earth moving tractors were deployed at the 1600-block of Frances St. in Vancouver's East-End. Their targets were 6 squatted houses, occupied since February 1990.

Surrounding three of the houses were 6-foot high barricades, and inside were a group of squatters who had erected the barricades against an expected eviction of their homes. A Supreme Court order for eviction had passed on November 23. Squatters and supporters had also erected barricades on Frances St. and the alley behind the houses.

After 5 hours of negotiations with the police, the barricades were dismantled with an agreement that there would be no police action until November 26. On that day, squatters again set up barricades, this time around three of the houses, also securing the inside of one of the houses.

During the November 23 negotiations, police stated they would notify the media and the squatters before any police action, and would indicate how they would act. However, it wasn't only the squatters who used the extra time to organize, but also the police.

The massive para-military action, with an arsenal of automatic weapons and tear gas, was put into effect with the pretext, fabricated by the police, that a "new criminal element" now armed with three shotguns and two handguns had moved into the squats. The fabrication included "reliable sources" and an alleged "ex-squatter" who saw the weapons. The very existence of such a person cannot be verified and is suspect at best. Police statements, faithfully reproduced by the media, were clearly part of a constructed counterinsurgency program that aimed to isolate and criminalize the squatters.

According to Vancouver Police Department spokesperson, Bob Cooper: "It's not a social housing or a squatting issue anymore...We are now faced with a group of criminals who have stockpiled weapons in a house. We've received reliable information that the original group has been taken over by people who could care less about social housing. They have expressed a desire to kill a policeman."

In fact, no firearms have been found despite extensive police searches. It's difficult to find material that doesn't exist! The most police can produce are canisters of gasoline (used to ignite fires, plainly carried around on Nov. 23), buckets of rocks, lightbulbs filled with paint, and some molotov cocktails. Hardly justification for the ERT assault and snipers on rooftops.

The people behind the barricades had not changed, but police

Vancouver Squats Squashed



Vancouver squatters leave destroyed homes.

clearly had to justify their own shift in tactics from Nov. 23 to Nov. 27. Adding to the "militant criminal anarchist" angle, members of the bomb squad were called in, in case of "booby traps," and houses in a two-block radius were evacuated.

As people gathered around the police perimeter, targeted individuals were arrested or allowed to cross police lines and then arrested. During the seven hour seige several hundred people gathered around the area, most supportive of the squatters, chanting "Troops Out of East Van" and "Housing is a Right," and yelling warnings to the squatters whenever members of the ERT moved toward them.

Eventually, police lines advanced towards the barricades with heavy machinery and arrested eight people. Four other squatters withdrew into the barricaded house, which police then demolished using heavy machinery. After this assault, the four remaining squatters emerged waving their fists and maintained their defiance in the face of cops armed with automatic rifles pointed at them.

In total, 27 people were arrested. Many were subjected to physical assaults during their capture and while in custody. By November 29, all had been released. 12 were charged with mischief and obstruction of justice. The rest were not charged at all. Prisoners were told the investigation was "ongoing" and further charges could be laid.

While in custody, prisoners were shown surveillance photographs for no other reason than to indicate

that the police "knew everything" and to intimidate the prisoners. Of course, the police themselves didn't have to go too far for photographs and videotapes, as journalists not only reprinted the innuendos put forward by the cops, but clearly acted as intelligence gatherers for them.

The days following the para-military assault saw a liberal outpouring from tenants-rights groups, community "leaders," as well as trade unionists denouncing the extent of the police operation and demanding an inquiry. Even "progressive" members of the Vancouver city council participated in this "attack on the police," while also collaborating unanimously to declare the evicted houses a "public nuisance" and pass a special demolition permit.

With this, the houses were demolished on November 29, despite the fact that some of the squatters still had possessions in the houses, and despite the fact that some of the houses were still inhabitable. In fact, only 2 of the 6 houses had received heavy damage.

One of the main demands of the squatters had been to occupy the houses until demolition day. A few squatters who had stored their belongings in a comrade's bus, which was raided by the police, found money and other items missing.

Police Repression Builds Our Resistance

It was important that the police

action of November 27 did not intimidate the growing resistance in Vancouver, that the people did not retreat back into the safety of their houses, or friends' houses.

So on November 29 a strong, angry protest was held. Gathering at Grandview park in the East-End, well over 100 people marched to the 1600 block of Frances, where some squatters made speeches on their determination to fight on and continue squatting. From here the demo proceeded towards the downtown area, blocking traffic, with a banner in front which read "Police Repression Builds Our Resistance."

On the route, an agitated driver tried to drive through the demo, nearly injuring a comrade, and was quickly set upon, escaping with a few dents.

The second stop for the demo was the main target of the people's rage: the Vancouver Police Department station. The main entrance was blocked and police inside, clearly intimidated, locked the doors and called in more officers. A police car outside was attacked, but because there was no preparation beforehand, people lacked the necessary tools to do real damage such as paint, iron bars, etc. Before the cops could organize or call in more officers, the demo moved downtown through the tourist-trendy Gastown area.

Here people became bolder, and some began knocking over postal and newspaper boxes—but again, higher levels of property damage were stopped by the lack of

preparation. The protest then moved back up to Hastings, and prior to reaching Granville St., about 8 motorcycle cops arrived and attempted to cordon off the demo, bumping into people in the rear and hitting others who got in their way along the side of the demo.

Here, the demonstrators, now numbering between 30-40, became more organized, linking arms and not allowing the cops to stop the demo or to intimidate them. The determination of the demonstrators to continue the demo to the point where they had decided it would end, and not to allow the police to send them back on the "legal" domain of the sidewalk, was an important and empowering process.

Also important was the minor property damage/disturbance that developed a militancy that gave direction to people's anger. The demo itself was strong and relatively coherent. It was mobile to prevent police build-up, many people were masked, and had preparations been made beforehand, many actions against the police and financial targets could have occurred. Most of all, the march was needed to regain some power after the police assault on November 27.

Conclusion

With their overt repression, the police hoped to break people down, to stop a growing radicalization amongst the squatters. But instead, the opposite has occurred, repression has radicalized people even more. The experiences at the hands of the police, the discussions in the jail, the surveillance the police openly displayed, the fabrication used to militarily attack the squats, have in many ways contributed to a process the police had clearly hoped to curtail.

There is also a continuing harassment of people, including blatant police presence around people's homes, and the very real threat of police raids as police continue their "search" for weapons. In fact, one house was raided in conjunction with the police assault on November 27 under the pretext that the person, a relative of one of those arrested, was a "weapons dealer."

The parallels to the confrontation between the Mohawks and the Canadian government in Oka, Quebec have not been missed; the extreme offensive launched by the state, the criminalization of resistance, and the counterinsurgency techniques, have all occurred in a common pattern. When people struggle collectively, and fight together, they gain power and develop possibilities for fighting back. for fighting back.

FROM RESISTANCE

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

Love and Rage is revolutionary.

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

Love and Rage is anti-statist.

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



Love and Rage is anti-capitalist.

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

Love and Rage is anti-racist.

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

sity of consensual human relationships and sexuality.

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

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

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

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

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

Getting it Together: Revolution and Anarchist Organization

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

THE QUESTION OF ORGANIZATION is the most pressing matter facing the anarchist movement in North America today. These times offer great opportunities for the advance of anarchist ideas. But the anarchist movement lacks the necessary organization to take advantage of these opportunities. Whenever anarchists get together to discuss the future direction of the movement, the question of organization comes up. New local groups, networks and federations seem to spring up and collapse with dizzying frequency.

A recent Youth Greens conference debated a proposal to try to launch a continental anarchist organization. A similar proposal was circulated by Mike Kohlhoff, now with the Workers Solidarity Alliance and Anarchist Labor Network, prior to the San Francisco Anarchist Gathering in 1989. Critics of *Love and Rage* have attacked the newspaper for its promotion of an organized and militant movement.

These efforts reflect the deeply felt need for anarchist organization. But they will continue to stumble over the same obstacles unless we begin now the discussion of anarchist organization that must precede any serious attempt to build such an organization.

This article is the first in a short series that will try to address the practical and political issues involved in building a revolutionary anarchist organization. This series will consist of several articles. The first article will look generally at the state of organization within the anarchist movement in North America and some of the political questions involved in building a network of committed anarchist activists. The second article will speak to some of the practical activities involved in building such a network. The third article will focus on building local revolutionary anarchist collectives. The fourth article will address the general question of building a revolutionary anarchist organization in North America.

Anarchy and Organization

Before talking about building an anarchist network it is important to address the general question of anarchist organization. Anarchist activists are often confronted with the question: "Isn't anarchist organization a contradiction in terms?" Of course it isn't, but anarchists do have a very thoroughgoing critique of how existing organizations serve to perpetuate the authoritarian social relations we seek to overthrow.

Anarchism is not opposed to organization per se, but rather to a specific type of organization: the authoritarian and hierarchical structures that characterize most of the society we live in. As anarchists, we understand that our lives are lived socially, and that organization is necessary for our survival. All sorts of our needs and desires can only be met through the coordinated activity of people. People naturally come together and find ways to distribute tasks amongst themselves to meet their common aspirations. What we, as anarchists, object to, is the subjugation of a group of people's needs to the control of others.

To build a certain type of house you need an architect, masons, carpenters, roofers, painters, plumbers, electricians and so on. Anarchists have no problem with the kind of organization necessary to coordinate all these kinds of activities to create a house for people to live in. But when you add a landlord to this picture, everything changes — the work invested in building the house becomes the

starting point for a form of domination. Anarchists believe in the kind of organization that allows people to house themselves, but not the kind that squeezes rent from them.

The same basic principle applies to anarchist political activity. An anarchist society — a society without bosses, rapists, bureaucrats, generals, landlords or cops — can only be achieved by means of revolution. By revolution I mean

not they call themselves anarchist) tend to reproduce the authoritarian social relations that prevail in the larger society.

This is certainly true. *Love and Rage*, for example, has a fairly simple and non-authoritarian structure. But all of us involved in this project are products of this society and it is a constant battle to prevent the patterns of domination and obedience we have been trained in

"Authoritarian relations reproduce themselves everywhere: in formal organizations, in social groups, in our personal lives."

simply the process of overthrowing existing power relations — the seizure of workplaces by workers, of housing by tenants, of schools by students and so on — and the creation of new human relations based on cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid.

Such talk often seems hopelessly idealistic. But we know from history — from the Mexican Revolution, from the Spanish Revolution in 1936, from May 1968 in France and from a thousand other events and struggles — that in revolutionary times ordinary people have the capacity to create authentically anti-authoritarian structures to meet their needs for food, services and defense: soviets, workers' councils, collectives, popular militias, worker-student action committees, and so on. These experiences are inspiring. They give us a glimmer of what a truly free society might look like.

We also know from history, however, that each of these revolutionary moments was crushed. The authoritarian social relations we are seeking to overthrow are much more deeply rooted than we often are willing to believe. The structures of dual power that are created in revolutionary times have proven themselves inadequate in the face of counter-revolutionary terror. The old world has beat down the new world over and over again. It is not enough to rely on the spontaneous creativity of the masses.

A successful anarchist revolution must be preceded by a long period of activity that prepares as many people as possible for the demands of a revolutionary situation. Such activity includes: the production of newspapers, pamphlets, videos, posters and other propaganda; the organization of demonstrations and other actions; educational events and conferences. Such activity, if it is to be sustained and effective, must be organized.

So already we are talking about at least two types of organization in the process of anarchist revolution: the self-organization of the masses of people in a revolutionary situation, and the organization of anarchist activity in non-revolutionary times. Of course there are many other distinctions that will have to be made in the discussion of anarchist organization. This series of articles focuses on the organization of anarchist activity in non-revolutionary times.

Anarchists Against Organization

The tendency of non-anarchists to equate anarchism with disorganization is often encouraged by an articulate wing of the anti-authoritarian milieu that opposes any kind of formal organization on principle. The basis for this position is essentially the observation that all formal organizations (whether or

from asserting themselves within our own project. Anybody who claims that their organization or project is immune from the taint of authoritarianism is simply lying, at least to themselves.

The problem with the anti-organizational critique is that it doesn't go far enough. The same tendency to reproduce authoritarian social relations is just as strong in informal structures or in the ad-hoc formations that seem to be the preference of anti-organizational anarchists.

The bottom line is that authoritarian relations reproduce themselves everywhere: in formal organizations, in social groups, in our personal lives. In an authoritarian society, every moment of our lives is already organized in the interests of someone else. We have a choice. We can seek to deepen our

Formal and Informal Organization

The question of formal and informal organization is related to the general question of organization. Some anarchists draw a line between what are called formal and informal types of organization. The distinction between formal and informal structures is quite arbitrary. Some groups with all the trappings of a formal organization: bylaws, statements of principles and so on, may, in practice, be far more freewheeling and open than some informal groups that, in practice, are so entrenched in how they think and act that they will never open themselves up to new influences.

To be sure, the formality of an organization can be an important aspect of what makes it stifling and authoritarian. At the same time, the absence of any formal process of decisionmaking or any formal definition of membership is often manipulated by informal elites to control informal groups or projects. This dynamic was brilliantly exposed in the classic feminist essay "The Tyranny of Structurelessness" by Jo Freeman.

For anarchists the final analysis of any organization — formal or informal, large or small, open or closed — must be based on whether or not it is in fact controlled by its members; and on the merits of its practice, what it stands for and what it is getting done in the real world. The choice that confronts us is not between pure and tainted organizational forms but between imperfect organizations that are of our own making and organizations that are controlled by others. That is to say we can choose between

organizations. And political unity is never a fixed state, it is always in the process of development. Every organization should expect to revise its points of political unity as it develops. In discussing the project of building an organized revolutionary anarchist movement I will try to address the different levels of unity demanded by different structures and activities.

The Current Situation

Revolutionary anarchists in North America are currently largely dispersed and disorganized. To be sure, there are important and promising exceptions. The Anarchist Black Cross does important prisoner solidarity work. The Anarchist Youth Federation has begun to organize the punk community. The Youth Greens have done a great deal of work to articulate a coherent anti-authoritarian politics rooted in social ecology.

But in a more general sense we lack the organization in most places to effectively participate in social struggles and significantly influence them in an anti-authoritarian direction. And we lack the political coherence and unity necessary to create such organization right now.

Serious revolutionary anarchists can be found in twos and threes in communities across North America. In some cities they are active in explicitly anti-authoritarian projects. In many cities they are immersed in the broader activism of "the left." A significant fraction are involved in anti-authoritarian groups devoted to a single focus: prisons, the East bloc, Native solidarity, labor and so on. In a few cities there are embryonic revolutionary anarchist political collec-



understanding of how this happens and what we can do to subvert it. Or we can allow this fact to paralyze our efforts to build a serious revolutionary anarchist movement by confining ourselves to structures that can never grow, deluded that we have escaped the influence of a thoroughly authoritarian society.

The institutions of authoritarian society can not be brought down without an organized movement. It is certainly true that any such movement contains the potential for reproducing the very features of authoritarian society we seek to eliminate. The only guarantee that this won't happen is the empowerment and self-organization of the people. To fail to organize is to concede defeat and allow the existing order to continue without serious challenge.

organizing ourselves or being organized by someone else.

Finally, we need to be conscious of what kind of political unity is expected within various organizations. Whether it is stated explicitly or not in some "Statement of Principles" or manifesto, every organization or group has certain expectations that its members share some common ideas. Again, the level of political unity demanded is independent of the formal or informal nature of the organization. An informal group may be united on a very developed and comprehensive social analysis, whereas a formal organization may be united around a set of very rudimentary principles that only define a fraction of any single member's political perspective.

Different levels of political unity are appropriate for different

tives.

There are probably several hundred of us scattered across North America, who could reasonably be expected to find sufficient political agreement to join together in a common organization if we got to know each other by working together.

These are times that hold great promise for revolutionary anarchist politics. The global collapse of Marxism-Leninism creates an opening for an authentically revolutionary and internationalist movement. It is our responsibility to take the initiative, to build a serious revolutionary anarchist movement that will challenge the various authoritarian ideologies — Marxism, the various forms of nationalism, religious fundamen-

(Continued on page 11)

DAMN JAMES BAY II



BY BILL WEINBERG

THE CREE INDIANS AND Inuit ("Eskimo") people of northern Quebec are joining forces with environmentalists to resist the construction of North America's biggest hydro-power project. They say that the project, known as James Bay II, would destroy the largest remaining wilderness area in eastern North America and decimate the traditional self-sufficient culture of the region's native peoples, amounting to genocide as well as ecocide.

Quebec hopes to sell the power produced by the complex to utilities in the northeast USA, especially New York's Con Edison. A deal between Quebec's public utility, Hydro-Quebec (H-Q) and that of New York state, the New York Power Authority (NYPA), was signed in 1989. But the resale contracts between NYPA and local utilities (predominantly Con Ed) are still under negotiation. Stateside activists hope that effective opposition to these contracts can halt construction of James Bay II by making it financially unworkable.

If the deals go through, the 1,800 megawatts from H-Q would account for 7% of New York State's electricity beginning in 1995, with 80% slated for Con Ed. With H-Q assuming a whopping "third world-size" debt of \$60 billion to build the project, it is depending on the deals with US utilities to make the project pay. For this reason, activists fighting the project in Quebec maintain that effective resistance south of the St. Lawrence is essential.

The James Bay II project calls for a series of hydro-dams to be built on five major rivers that drain into James Bay, a massive inlet of Hudson Bay in the remote expanses of northern Quebec. Together, these dams would flood an area the size of the state of Vermont, and alter the ecology of an area the size of France. An earlier phase of the project, James Bay I, a series of dams on La Grande River, flooded 11,000 square kilometers. James Bay II calls for more dams on La Grande and dams on the Great Whale, Notawaway, Broadback and Rupert. Construction has already begun at the phase II sites on La Grande. Activists are fighting to stop the building of roads to Great Whale, the next river targeted by H-Q.

The land slated to be flooded is tundra, wetlands and sub-arctic forest where the Cree and Inuit have hunted and fished for millennia without ever seriously impacting the ecology. While James Bay II will destroy this land base, the project was conceived as a solution to economic and political dilemmas in white Quebec society hundreds of miles to the south.

Bourassa Cools Unrest at Indians' Expense

The James Bay project is the brainchild of Quebec premier Robert Bourassa of Canada's Liberal Party. It was conceived as a means of defusing Quebecois unrest in an era when nationalist and separatist sentiments were on the rise.

Twenty years later, these sentiments are growing restive again, with a new militancy among Quebec's native Mohawk, Cree and Inuit making the situation even more potentially explosive.

Bourassa was elected premier in 1970, which turned out to be one of the most cataclysmic years in Quebec's history. The left-nationalist Parti Quebecois had just been formed. Canada's industrial heartland was in the process of shifting from Montreal to Toronto, leading to hard times, labor militancy and resentment of Ottawa in Quebec.

Bourassa only took the elections by warning that a Parti Quebecois victory would mean a flight of foreign capital and bloody revolu-

tion. Shortly after he gained office, the clandestine Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ) kidnaped Bourassa's labor minister and a British trade commissioner in Montreal.

Canada's Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau responded by declaring martial law in the province. In the ensuing days over 340 Quebecois were arrested and held without charges. FLQ demands for the broadcast of their manifesto were met, inspiring student strikes in Quebec, which only made the federal government less willing to negotiate. The Labor Minister was ultimately killed, while the trade commissioner was secured in exchange for transport to Cuba for his FLQ captors.

Martial law was lifted, but it became obvious that if the Liberal Party was going to continue to hold power in Quebec and head off a separatist movement, the rising nationalist sentiments would have to be addressed.

The next year, Bourassa unveiled what he termed "the project of the century": James Bay. Essentially the James Bay project was seen as a means of providing Quebec with a symbol of national pride and a source of national independence which would not upset the prevailing order or threaten the federal government in Ottawa. As Bourassa wrote in *James Bay*, his 1973 book promoting the project: "While the United States and the Soviet Union compete in space exploration, Quebec has a fascinating challenge to meet. . . . The whole history of Quebec must be rewritten. Our ancestors' courage and will must live again in the twentieth century. Quebec . . . must conquer James Bay. We have decided that the time has come."

A new law was passed turning vast areas of northern Quebec over to the control of the newly-formed James Bay Development Corporation, charged with the overseeing construction of the complex for Hydro-Quebec. The lucrative



construction contract went to the privately owned Quebec firm Lalonde, Valois, and Associates, or LAVALIN, which in turn sub-contracted the US engineering giant Bechtel, which had built hydro-dams and nuclear plants throughout the US West. It was under Bechtel's tutelage that LAVALIN developed into the pillar of the Quebec economy that it is today, and has since won big contracts backed by international finance in such places as Africa and China.

Advisors from the massive French nuclear industry, Electricité de France, were also brought in. Hydro-Quebec incurred a massive debt from such sources as the Rockefellers and Rothschilds, new power lines were built across the international border, and in 1978 electricity generated at the new dams on La Grande—today known as James Bay I—started sending power south. But construction was beset with political conten-

tions which dealt a blow to Hydro-Quebec's image as a symbol of Quebecois pride.

The Parti Quebecois, recognizing James Bay as one of Bourassa's strongest cards, obviously took a stance against it. It was, however, indicative of the Parti Quebecois' rightward drift and abandonment of its radical roots that the argument it chose to use against the project was that if Quebec invested so much in hydro development it would "miss the boat" on nuclear power.

Indeed, it was partly due to Parti Quebecois pressure that Hydro-Quebec developed the Gentilly nuclear power station, which is currently the focus of a provincial probe in response to a wave of birth defects among both humans and livestock in the surrounding towns. After construction of phase I, Parti Quebecois' opposition to James Bay would become increasingly lukewarm.

Labor unrest was also a serious problem. As cost estimates for the project jumped from \$2 billion to \$14 billion, job estimates dropped from 125,000 to 12,000 at peak construction in 1978. Rival trade unions waged a bitter struggle for control of the James Bay workforce.

By 1974 there were frequent reports in the Quebec press that the Quebec Labor Federation (QFL), linked to the Liberal Party and the US labor monolith, the AFL-CIO, was using hired thugs to intimidate and rough up organizers from rival unions at La Grande construction sites.

Allegations of blackmail and extortion were widespread. In March the battle between the QFL and the radical left-leaning Confederation of National Trade Unions exploded into violence. Bulldozers and the work-camp power generator were destroyed, costing Hydro-Quebec \$2 million in damages.

1,400 workers were hurriedly flown out of the camp, as sub-zero

minum plants started to seriously contaminate nearby communities. But the most serious opposition came from the Cree Indians whose lands were flooded by construction of the James Bay dams. The Cree had still been nomadic as recently as the 1950s and had only recently settled into villages, and had to contend with federal bureaucrats imposing hunting restrictions and English and French schooling on their children. Cree language, culture, spirituality and other traditions were still very much intact due to the remote and

levels as high as those found at the Minimata industrial site in Japan twenty years ago.

The contamination rendered the waters' fish, a staple of the Cree diet, highly toxic, causing brain damage if eaten. In short, the flooding amounted to a severe attack on the self-sufficient economy which the Cree and Inuit had maintained on the land for millennia.

This resulted in increased numbers of young Cree and Inuit leaving their homeland to seek employment in Montreal and Toronto

pledged to resist phase II of the project, citing the region's importance as a habitat for numerous species which have been nearly driven to extermination elsewhere in the continent, including fresh water seals, beluga whales, and the caribou which the Cree have hunted for millennia without ever threatening the health and survival of the herds. Land now traversed by caribou migration routes would be flooded by James Bay II, lakes which are home to seals would be flooded, and shorelands which are vital feeding

Citicorp. Yet, critics point out, it is New York area rate-payers who will, indirectly, be paying the money back. Therefore, a project being subsidized by New York's rich will ultimately be paid for by New York's poor and middle class.

Resistance Vowed

The Cree and environmental groups have launched lawsuits both in Canada and the US to stop the power sales on ecological grounds. Canada's environmental protection bureaucracy is still young and ineffective, with many regulations still on the drawing board. A legal strategy in the US is to bar the power purchases unless it can be proven that James Bay II conforms to the more stringent US environmental standards.

The Cree recently lost the first round in the New York state courts using this argument, but plan to appeal. Pressure on state government power regulatory bodies has succeeded in barring approval for H-Q's exports to Maine and in limiting the size of the exports to Vermont.

A contentious issue in Canada at the moment is whether H-Q will be able to build the new roads to the Great Whale River, a prerequisite for starting construction there. Ecologists say that even the building of roads through the sensitive sub-arctic ecosystem would cause serious damage to wildlife.

There is widespread talk among young Cree of blockading road construction crews, and even sabotaging power lines if need be. Ernie Webb, a Montreal-based Cree radio journalist who broadcasts news to James Bay in the Cree language with the Canadian Broadcasting System, says the struggle against James Bay II will not be defeated as easily as the one against James Bay I. "In the 70's, the Cree didn't know what they were dealing with. The elders didn't believe that it could be done, that the hunting grounds that they had known all their lives would be under water. After they lost their court case, they were forced to sign. They had a gun to their heads, metaphorically speaking."

In contrast, Webb says that the Cree who grew up watching the James Bay I struggle have more political savvy. "We're starting to form youth councils. 60% of the Cree population is under 25. So there's a new power base which is becoming more politically aware." Webb reports that last winter several young Cree held a protest encampment in the path of an H-Q cable line, and that an H-Q billboard announcing the phase II construction was covered with graffiti reading "CREE LAND." He says that a low level campaign of harassment is already underway at La Grande construction sites, with anti-James Bay II bumper stickers being slapped on bulldozers and other equipment.

A grassroots activist group fighting James Bay II in New York City is the James Bay Action Team (JABAT). JABAT activist Terre Goldman says "This project has got to be met with resistance at both ends — by the Cree in James Bay where it is being built, and by us here in New York where it is being funded. That's how it can be defeated. The problem is that few people here have ever heard of James Bay. It's our job to change that, to create an unpopular political climate for purchasing this so-called clean power by exposing it as the ecological and human rights atrocity that it really is."

If you want more information on the struggle against James Bay II contact:

James Bay Action Team
tel.: (212) 674-3306

"This project has got to be met with resistance at both ends — by the Cree in James Bay where it is being built, and by us here in New York, where it is being funded."

indomitable nature of the land they occupied.

Bourassa and Hydro-Quebec made no effort to inform Cree leaders that much of their territory was slated to be flooded. Indeed, the Indians only found out about the project when Philip Awashish, a young Cree studying at Montreal's McGill University, read about it in the newspapers after it was announced.

The Cree subsequently launched a legal battle to stop construction. They succeeded in winning an injunction which briefly halted work at La Grande in November of 1973, but lost the case on appeal. Ultimately, the Cree were forced to accept construction in exchange for a commitment from Quebec to provide economic development, health care and employment.

While the promised \$225 million was forthcoming, reports started to appear in the press that the guaranteed employment priority

— which in turn frequently led to the abandonment of native language, diet and other traditions.

Despite the fact that Bourassa had written in *James Bay* that "not a single Indian village will be touched or displaced by the development project," the Cree village of Chisasibi was flooded and had to be relocated.

Yet, when Bourassa returned to power in 1985 (after a period in which the Parti Quebecois held power), he immediately launched plans to build phase II of the project. Damming five rivers, James Bay II is slated to dwarf James Bay I.

Bourassa's 1985 book *Power From The North* envisions continent-wide water diversion schemes on a scale never before contemplated, including a "Grand Canal" which would transport water thousands of miles from James Bay to the giant agribusiness farms of the arid US southwest, reversing the course of the Missouri River.

Critics say that the "Grand Canal" would exacerbate the greenhouse effect by increasing the salinity of the Arctic Ocean, thereby speeding the melting of the polar ice cap. Wrote Bourassa in *Power From The North*: "Quebec is a vast hydro-electric plant in-the-bud, and every day millions of potential kiliwatt-hours flow downhill and out to sea. What a waste!"

Atomic Energy of Canada, Ltd. has proposed building a string of nuclear reactors throughout the James Bay region to power the Grand Canal's massive pumps.

An Ecological Disaster

While construction has already begun at phase II sites in La Grande, Cree leaders have pledged to resist construction of James Bay II. Chief Billy Diamond, one of the beneficiaries of the \$225 million awarded to the Cree for the construction of James Bay I, recently told the *Toronto Globe & Mail* that the Cree would be willing to use the same tactics to stop James Bay II that the Mohawks used to stop their traditional lands at Oka, near Montreal, from being turned into a golf course earlier this year — namely armed blockades.

Diamond told international financiers to invest in James Bay II "at your own risk. Before a decision is taken to invest, there had better be a clear view of . . . the ability of the Crees to block the project."

Bourassa, however, is maintaining that the Cree permanently signed away all rights to the James Bay region when they accepted the \$225 million in 1974.

Many Canadian and US environmentalists have also

grounds for waterfowl, including migratory geese on their winter journey south, would be submerged.

In addition to destroying the land upon which this wildlife depends, there is also the risk of wildlife being destroyed in accidents, such as the deluge caused by a phase I dam on a tributary of La Grande in 1984, which drowned an estimated 10,000 caribou.

The project would wreak havoc on the region's hydrological cycle. Summer electricity demand to power the air conditioners of New York and Boston would be met by releasing more water and widening the rivers—a complete reversal of the natural cycle in which the spring ice-melt gives way to narrower rivers in the summer. By storing the ice-melt in reservoirs, H-Q can control water flow to meet its own particular economic needs.

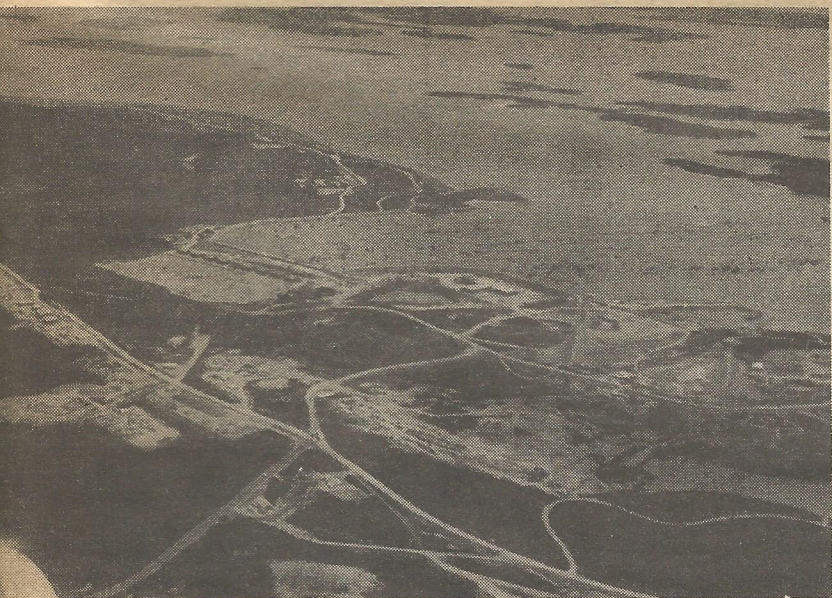
With water levels rising and falling at H-Q's command, new shoreline habitat will not be able to take hold, say ecologists, citing James Bay I as evidence. Therefore migratory birds which fatten up in this habitat for the winter journey south will diminish in numbers. Changes in water salinity will also destroy local ecosystems.

In response to such criticisms, H-Q and NYPA have begun to aggressively portray James Bay II as the more ecological alternative to the fossil fuel-burning plants which they claim would have to otherwise be built to meet a growing energy demand in the 1990s, pointing out that fossil fuel use contributes to the greenhouse effect. But critics point out that the decomposing trees of flooded forests also release greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide and methane into the atmosphere, if not to quite the same extent as burned fossil fuels.

Energy analysts opposed to James Bay II maintain that improved conservation and efficiency measures could circumvent the need for new power plants altogether. Says Quebecois energy analyst Jean-Francios Turmel: "Hydro-Quebec's competitors are manufacturers of energy-efficient products and technologies. They are trying to get the dams built as fast as possible to capture the markets before their competitors do."

Greens and radical environmentalists point out that the project would be built only to feed the same bloated and wasteful "way of life" which the US is about to go to war in the Middle East to protect.

H-Q's tremendous debt is being floated by the biggest names in New York's money market, including Merrill Lynch, Shearson Lehman Hutton, JP Morgan, and



weather with no power generator spelled certain death. Work was halted for over 50 days. After that, a contingent of the Sureté, Quebec's provincial police, was stationed at the work-camp, and QFL subsequently consolidated power over the workforce.

Opposition to James Bay also emerged from environmentalists. A part of the economic scheme was inviting foreign aluminum firms such as USA's ALCAN and Reynolds and France's Pechiney to Quebec to exploit the dirt-cheap electricity generated by the hydro-dams. The aluminum industry, which had long been exploiting cheap hydro-power all along the St. Lawrence, greatly expanded in Quebec in the late '70s and early '80s due to James Bay. But aluminum, in addition to being one of the most energy-intensive industries in the world, is also one of the most polluting.

Fluoride emissions from the alu-

for Cree and Inuit promised by Bechtel, LAVALIN and the James Bay Development Corporation was being violated. Cree leaders have charged that health care has been inadequate, citing such examples as the lack of a comprehensive tuberculosis testing program after an epidemic at the Cree Village of Mastassini, and the contamination of local drinking water with sewage effluent leading to sometimes fatal diarrhea outbreaks among Cree children.

More important than the broken promises was the way in which construction of the hydro-complex led to the rapid erosion of traditional Cree culture. Hunting grounds that the Cree had used for thousands of years were flooded. Furthermore, the water pressure from the massive floodplains leached mercury from the soil, leading to the worst mercury contamination in North America—

On Gogol Boulevard

HELLO world! Please note that On Gogol Boulevard/NYC— Neither East Nor West has changed its address from 151 First Ave. #62, NY, NY 10003, USA, to: OGB/NENW c/o Bob McGlynn, 528 5th Street, Brooklyn, NY 11215, USA. Phones: (718) 499-7720, (212) 979-8353.

Dear Readers: Corrections — Due to who knows what fuck-up, OGB photo captions were missing from the last issue. The photo accompanying the Trust Group article was of Alexander Rubchenko of the Moscow Trust Group, and Laurie Wettstead of Chicago—Neither East nor West and *Love and Rage*. The photo with the Argentinian piece was of Argentinian @'s sent by Grupo Impulso Autogestionario. The Polish brief had a photo of Andrzej Janusz Korbel of the Workshop for All Beings. In the heading "US SOVIET TRUST GROUPS..." "US" should have been deleted. In the same article a crucial part was missing: Alexander Rubchenko of the Moscow Trust Group is still in NYC and would like to visit other activists in other cities. To get in contact with him send an SASE to:

Bob McGlynn,
528 5th St.,
Brooklyn NY, 11215
tel.: (718) 499-7720

Hungarian Anarchists Reorganize

FOLLOWING IS A LETTER and bulletin (*Anarcho-Info Hungary 2*) from Hungary's anarchists:

"Dear Neither East nor West: Thanks to you we've met lots of comrades (from Hong Kong, the U.S., Britain...). Hope you continue to be fine and active. Wish you a happy, fruitful New Year. — Agnes"

Here we are again, more in number and in a new composition. Some of you may have heard already that Eastern Europe no longer looks the same as it used to, say, last year. Well, the situation is similar in Hungary too. The dictatorship of state bureaucracy failed. Here's the new nationalist democracy.

Our situation is easier from the point of view that now we have got certain rights: we can demonstrate, we can take actions against the government. However, our situation is more difficult, since the current parliamentary democracy is the result of social consensus.

No one wants a one-party system but for most people pluralism means the ultimate possibility of freedom, even though the party in power is not the one they have voted for.

Recently the alternative social movements that used to form the opposition against the Communists have partly integrated into the parliament and have partly grown stronger outside the parliament (ecologists, women's movement). These are the most important issues in Hungary today: the possible restriction of the abortion law; the issue of religious education in the state schools (which has recently been introduced); the danger of the return of pre-war, feudal-capitalist property conditions; the ever-growing power of the church; the cutting down of the budget of education and social welfare services; the appearance of racism (against Gypsies) and anti-Semitism.

Soviet Afghan Vets Write Vietnam Vets

OUR FEELINGS PAINED through the war are very much in common. You are older and more experienced and we believe that our communication would help us to solve many problems.

About two years have passed since the Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan. The dirty war was over at last. But it had swallowed thousands and thousands of injured individuals, broken souls and saddened fates. There are over one million participants in the Afghan war. Most of them are in need now. They are in lack of social, psychological and medical help for rehabilitation.

An Afghan syndrome — a heavyache disease — are suicides, drunkenness, drug addiction, bumming, crimes. Is it normal?

It is very important for us to know your experience of overcoming Vietnam syndrome. Pity it is, but in this country we have no chance to get elementary means for that, we could not be provided with

There's a general feeling of insecurity; the rate of unemployment is on the increase and the money earned during 10–12 hours a day is worth less and less. In addition people have lost the values of the old Communist system and today they can't fall back on anything else.

NOW, WHAT ABOUT THE ANARCHISTS? After several months of interior dispute, search of new directions and the cropping up of personnel conflicts, the AUTONOMIA Group (Budapest) split on the basis of a mutual agreement. The fact that more and more people attended our meetings played an important role in this; you could often hardly breathe in the Eotvos Klub (where AUTONOMIA held its meetings). The group dynamics didn't come up to the mark, either. The dictatorship of structurelessness gave no chance to many people to participate in the discussions. The group got divided according to different interests. We would get together without an agenda or concrete goals. We also stopped talking theory. We lived out of our actions which didn't suffice for the creation of the knowledge and consciousness of an anarchist group.

AUTONOMIA is reincarnated in the following groups:

- A NAP (= SUN) Anarcho Punk Group. Their basic activities consist in the spreading of punk and counter-culture, the promotion of anarchism by means of concrete actions, opposition to the church, violence and militarism. Their main aim is to squat a house successfully where an autonomous cultural center could be established. A NAP, 1139 Budapest, Hajdu u.17/4/29, Hungary.

- GEO. Their aim is the creation of an international anarchist eco-settlement near the Hungarian-Slovakian-Austrian border. This would be a symbolic gesture towards the abolition of borders. The experience of community life and the creation of an independent, ecologically sound energy system are important for them. The creation of a model habitation would prove that it is possible to live without the exploitation of nature, our environment, and each other. GEO is looking forward to hearing from everybody who has already taken part in such a project and would like to exchange their experiences. GEO, 1139 Budapest, Pf. 701/546, Hungary.

skillful help. It makes our life unbearable.

Perhaps you would be interested in our own way of activity and we would have an opportunity to cooperate. We want peace. We are looking forward to goodwill and consciousness. We are the real hopeful force together. The force of good and peaceloving.

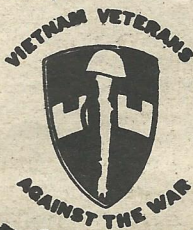
Let us communicate together, live together and further.

With best regards for all of you,
Studio of Experimental

Workmanship

The Studio can be contacted at:
USSR, Leningrad 191040
Ligovsky Prospect 65
"Xpam Mupa" (USSR palace of peace)

This letter is reprinted from *The Veteran Summer*, 1990. (Subs. \$6.00: P.O. Box 408594; Chicago, IL 60640) as VVAW received it. If you have special experience in the field of post traumatic stress, please write directly.



- Budapest Anarchist Group. Their purpose is to maintain an efficient group that connects theory with direct actions and the traditional anarchist principles with modern libertarian, ecological, and feminist values. Keeping in mind the AUTONOMIA experiences, they will try to shape the group dynamics so that everybody can equally participate in the debates and decision making. The soonest possible, they would like to publish an anarchist paper regularly. The number of members is limited for efficiency's sake. Budapesti Anarchista Csoport, 1399 Budapest, Pf. 701/900, Hungary.

- The anarcho-syndicalist group is in the making but it hasn't been organized yet. They took part in the organization of the Hungarian workers' councils movement but they have (temporarily?) abandoned it. Of course the four groups don't only mind their own business. Once a month we would like to hold an "anarchist forum" where apart from the members and fans, we welcome everybody interested. Our common aim is to create an "ANARCHIVE," that is a libertarian documentary centre (perhaps to organize an Alternative Centre with the Feminist Network, founded in June 1990 — Budapest 1056, Szerb u.8, Hungary—and the Green Alternative).

Important! This way we divide the ex-AUTONOMIA correspondence, so please spread the new addresses everywhere (newspapers, address lists, etc.)

Freebies

Soviet/East European Report: This 4-pager is free and comes out three times a month. Although this is issued by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, it's packed with interesting detailed info and analysis. *Soviet/East European Report*, RFE/RL, 1201 Conn. Ave. NW, Wash. D.C. 20036, USA.

Radical: Another free 4-pager, this monthly covers Poland. The viewpoint is right-populist and is filled with rage against Walesa sell-out policies, exposes of Solidarity/Communist collaboration, muckraking, and fun gossip. *Radical*, c/o Joe Losiak, 1918 Wesley, Berwyn, IL, 60402, USA.

Support Stalinism: Invade the Gulf

The following anonymous leaflet was received by OGB:

AS THE WORLD ANXIOUS-ly watches the preparations for war in the Persian Gulf, hardliners in the Soviet government are making their long-feared crackdown to reassert the legacy of Stalin. For months Gorbachev has been under increasingly heavy pressure from the right wing of the Communist leadership to overturn glasnost and perestroika (and lose his job and maybe more).

A few weeks ago, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze shocked his country by resigning and publicly warning of the grave danger that a virtual coup by orthodox Communists could destroy the progress of the last few years. Now that the world's attention is focused elsewhere — and more importantly, now that George Bush and his allies are desperate to ensure continued Soviet support for the war in the gulf — the repression has begun.

Independent journalists are being silenced. The popularly elected governments of Ukraine, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, and Georgia are being threa-

tened by Moscow.

In the last few days civil war has begun in the USSR as Soviet soldiers have killed and wounded Lithuanian national guards and stormed the Lithuanian broadcasting station. Lithuanian President Landsbergis, speaking on US radio (NPR's "All Things Considered") said he might be deported or shot by the Soviets.

He also said that he had called the White House to ask for help (the United States has never recognized the Soviet conquest of Lithuania, and considers it an independent country forcibly occupied by the USSR) but George Bush would not speak with him.

So Washington and Moscow have struck a deal: in exchange for a free hand to reintroduce a totalitarian state at home, the USSR will support US action in the gulf. Soviet leaders get what they want, American leaders get what they want, and everybody comes out ahead — except a few hundred million people who lose their freedom. Think about that the next time Bush talks about international support for his actions in the gulf.

Lithuanian Anarchists Calling

BY EUGENIJUS MISIUNAS

The following report from Lithuania is from early 1990 and therefore does not refer to the recent crackdown on Lithuanian sovereignty.

OUR GROUP, THE LITHUANIAN Pacifist Movement, is not big. Several members from 30 to 35 years of age form this group. They are teachers and artists. Since 1988 our group has been active. The first actions were against the Afghanistan war, the Soviet occupation of Lithuania, and the other two Baltic republics.

This time anti-militarist movements are becoming massive. We are working together with feminists, greens, nationalist groups against occupation, and for a nuclear free zone in the Baltic region. Tens of thousands of young people have refused to serve in the Soviet army.

In September '89, I was in Amsterdam at the Europe Against the Current festival and was first introduced to anarchists from the west. Their ideas I think are close to what we propagate, especially it is important at this time, when Lithuania is going to be independent and frightened, that one authoritarian Communist regime can be changed into another authoritarian regime.

We don't think that the capitalist way can solve all problems. We need to find another way. We are acting in the streets: pickets, meetings, demonstrations, and we publish anti-militarist materials.

What can I say about the political situation in our country? (circa early '90) Today were elections in the Lithuanian parliament. I don't know the results yet, I think people are passive. They are tired. Because the political situation changes everyday, the economic situation everyday is becoming worse. Every political party promises a better life, but people don't believe them.

Only striving for an independent Lithuania keeps people alive and unites people in our republic. Most people in Lithuania, who have travelled to the West, or who have

only watched TV about Western countries, they believe that shops are full of goods, and that shows that to live in the West is very easy.

Most politics that are talked about in Lithuania are in a Western style, that it is the best way. Tomorrow in many Russian cities will be demonstrations and meetings to remember the democratic revolution of February 1917. It is the first time after the Bolshevik overturn, that people can freely commemorate this event. This year tens of anarchist and syndicalist groups were formed in Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities in Russia.

For further information contact:
Eugenijus Misiunas
Venclovos 9-33,
Marijampole 234520,
Lithuania

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

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

By the way, Gogol Boulevard is a noted hang-out for Moscow's counter-culture — see you there! Subscriptions to OGB are \$5. Contact On Gogol Boulevard at:

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

Anarchist Black Cross

Mohawk Defense Fund

ALTHOUGH THE INITIAL seige at Kanesatake and Kahnawake is over for the moment, the situation remains tense, and in the wake of the stand off aid is more needed than ever. Material aid is needed along with money for legal defense funds, and a continued legal fight for amnesty. Show your support. Checks or money orders can be sent to:

Defense Fund for Mohawk Sovereignty
Acct. no. 2638
c/o Bread and Roses Credit Union
348 Danforth Ave. #211
Toronto, Ont.
Canada M4K1N8
tel.: (416) 921-0437

Or call the Mohawks direct:
Kahnawake Nation Office
tel.: (514) 638-4750
Kanesatake
tel.: (514) 479-8353

Report on Finnish Objector

A FINNISH TOTAL REFUSER, Tommi Nieminen, aged 27, was imprisoned in November 1990, after having refused to do either military service or alternative civil service. He had served in the army for 79 days in 1983, after which he applied for the alternative service. However, in June 1988, his service had been deferred a couple of times, he refused to do the alternative service as well, because he saw it merely as punishment to the military refusers for their conviction. The alternative service in Finland is at the moment 16 months, while the military service is from 8 to 11 months. In addition to this, the current law tries to connect the alternative service to national defense.

In February 1989, Nieminen was sentenced to prison for 9 months, which was shortened to 7 months a year later. He was supposed to start serving his sentence in September

1990, but he went underground. He didn't report to the police before November 16th 1990, after which he was immediately taken to the Helsinki Provincial Prison, and the next day to the Kerava Youth Prison.

Both the Union of Conscientious Objectors and the Finnish Anarchist Black Cross started campaigns for Tommi. The Finnish ABC informed ABC groups in other countries about the campaign, and they gave their support and sent protests to the Finnish authorities. On December 6th, the Finnish national day, the Union of CO's organized a silent demonstration outside the ministry of justice, in which members of the ABC also participated.

On December 14th, Tommi Nieminen was granted amnesty by president Mauno Koivisto. He had only served 30 days of his sentence, all of which he was on hunger strike. At the moment there are 13 total refusers in Finnish prisons, and about 20 more are awaiting court decision or imprisonment. Last time when successful hunger strikes occurred (before this recent case) was in spring 1990 and more are expected to come.

Information from
Anarchist Black Cross Finland

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

PAMPHLET AVAILABLE: 'Free US and Soviet Political Prisoners Rainbow Hawk and Sergei Troyanski'

The introduction to this 20-page booklet was printed in *Love & Rage's* ABC section Jan. '91. For a copy send \$1.00 to:

Bob McGlynn,
528 5th St.,
Brooklyn NY, 11215, USA

Prisons Growing

IT SEEMS THE ECONOMY sucks everywhere but Georgia, where imprisoning people has become very big business. According to the director of the Georgia department of corrections, John Silor, "Prisons have unfortunately become the biggest growth industry. We're building, or planning facilities in 16 counties, and I've got 25 more counties practically offering their first born for one."

Correction officials are

marketing prisons as an industry that doesn't pollute or go out of business. Local business folks seem happy at the prospect of making easy bucks off other people's misery. Local Fire Chief and business man Tom Roberts proclaims, "I believe we're going to grow from here. The prison has brought the county together, and given everybody something to look forward to."

CONTACTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Getting it Together

(Continued from page 7)

talism, and so on — that have the allegiance of hundreds of millions of people who believe they are fighting for freedom.

If we are to respond to the opportunity before us we need to get organized. A logical first step would be to build a network that can bring together the several hundred revolutionary anarchist activists and put us in touch with each other.

What is a Network?

What do I mean when I say we need to build a network? The situation that confronts us demands a fairly loose structure that makes only modest demands for political unity. The primary purpose of a network is to open up lines of communication, to bring together revolutionary anarchists to begin the long process of eventually building a tighter and more serious organization.

A network can either be a completely informal structure or a relatively loose formal structure. There are already a number of anarchist or anti-authoritarian networks, both formal and informal: the Anarchist Black Cross, the Youth Greens, the Anarchist Youth Federation, Neither East Nor West, the *Love and Rage* support network, the Anarchist Labor Network and others.

When I refer to "the network" then, I am less concerned with whether or not it has some sort of formal structure as I am with the fact that it actually exists and actually brings revolutionary anarchists together for common activity. "The network" may well be a collection of loose organizations and networks that, in practice, work together — one group providing the necessary structure here and another there.

A network serves to open up communications between otherwise mainly autonomous local groups. That is what allows a network to bring together a significant number of people — it does not demand that they be united on a comprehensive program of action.

Of course there is some unity around common action: a campaign on behalf of a particular prisoner, or the publication of a newspaper for example. Of course as the network develops it is hoped that it will take steps towards a more comprehensive program of action, but at the beginning (and we are definitely still at the beginning) support for such a program can not be a precondition for involvement in the network.

Decentralism

The network is guided by a principal of decentralism — decision-making and the execution of decisions is kept largely at the local level. Decentralism is important as a way of ensuring that the organization is authentically controlled by its members at its base.

For example, during the war against Vietnam, draft resistance groups sprung up in cities and towns across the US. These local groups retained their autonomy. They did not make themselves subordinate to a central committee or group of national leaders. In this way the draft resistance movement remained in the hands of the people.

There were national and regional offices set up to coordinate various demonstrations and projects and to aid in communication. But if a local group didn't share the particular priorities that came out of such offices they retained the freedom to take their own initiatives. Often those local initiatives served as examples that were later taken up by the larger movement.

Decentralism is a relative term. For an individual who has never worked collectively before, organizing or joining a group is an act of "centralizing" individual practices of resistance and revolt into a collective practice.

What matters then is not some abstract conception of decentralism, but a practical decentralism that keeps an organization human scaled. Human scale is a function of the humans involved: if they know and trust each other they can build relatively more "centralized" structures without compromising their autonomy. Lacking this foundation of trust, even the loosest most decentralized structure can be dominated by an elite.

A strong organization that is, in fact, controlled by its members can

strengthen their autonomy in relation to the authoritarian forces in larger society: patriarchy, white supremacy, the state, capital and so on. Ultimately the process of self-organization is about empowering ourselves to work in larger and more complex structures that are still really controlled by their members. The experience of the Spanish anarchists offers a good example of this.

In the late 1920s when anarchist organizers in the Spanish CNT (the anarcho-syndicalist labor federation) decided that state repression and the rising influence of Leninism demanded an explicitly anarchist organization, they created the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI).

The FAI united the most serious anarchist militants across Spain into an organization that could effectively coordinate anarchist insurrectionary activity. These organizational preparations proved to be of considerable importance when revolution broke out in 1936.

The FAI brought together anarchist affinity groups in cities and towns throughout Spain and Portugal — affinity groups that were active in the workers' movement, in womens' organizations, in propaganda activity and so on. In some sense the coordination of these efforts involved a kind of "centralization" that had not been present in the movement beforehand. But because of the maturity of the anarchist movement in Spain at that time this did not mean the sacrifice of local autonomy. The FAI was built on the bonds of trust that had

been created amongst different anarchist groups over the previous years.

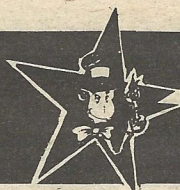
Most of us are relatively inexperienced in working together in authentically anti-authoritarian structures. We can recognize this fact and still proceed with the project of building an organized anarchist movement. We can build a network that will lay the foundation for future organization. A loose formation is more conducive to building the trust that is necessary to hold any organization together.

I have already mentioned the unevenness of local anarchist organizing. Some anarchists are involved in local groups that they are satisfied with. But many anarchists are isolated as individuals or groups of two or three. A network enables isolated individuals to benefit from the experiences of more developed local groups.

Building a network is a first step towards a more even level of development. It makes it possible for isolated people to relate to more organized anarchist activity and confronts more organized groups with the problems faced by isolated individuals.

So far, I have spoken mainly about the general principles involved in building a network of revolutionary anarchist activists. But a real network will be built by real work. There are a number of practical activities that existing projects can take up that will further the process of building the network. I will discuss those activities in the next article in this series.

Notes of Revolt



Bashing The Klan

CINCINNATI, OHIO, WAS the site of a recent Ku Klux Klan gathering. Cincinnati, a very conservative city, was also the site of the Mapplethorpe controversy.

The Klan members, spouting their usual racist rhetoric, were protesting the placement of a menorah in honor of Hanukkah. Although rumored to have approximately 30-40 members in Cincinnati, only 12 Klan members were present, in part due to a city ordinance prohibiting the protestors from wearing their hoods. Undoubtedly, some of their members believe themselves to be prominent and respectable community members, and did not want to be recognized.

The intention of the gathering was to burn a cross on Fountain Square, but, as city ordinance prohibits any public display of fire, the Klan members could only hold the 10 foot cross and chant slogans such as "Fight Racism, Abolish Affirmative Action."

Approximately 1500 people showed up at the strategically scheduled 8:30 a.m. meeting to counter-demonstrate. Cincinnati's finest were already there with riot gear and horse patrols.

The horse patrols spent most of their time pushing through the counter-protestors in attempts to disperse groups to avoid violent outbursts. The air was already tense, and the counter-protestors seemed ready to fight both the Klan and the police.

The protestors remained relatively tame, however, armed mainly with slogans such as "Cops and Klan Go Hand in Hand," and some canned goods which a few brave individuals put to use by aiming at Klan skulls. The police were using their usual tactics, including videotaping the crowd for use as evidence for possible charges.

The gathering, which lasted only 40 minutes, also included a few Klan speeches, which were not audible over the crowd noise. Seven people were arrested for reasons ranging from pelting the Klan with canned fruit and rocks to recording the license number of the Klan getaway car.

As the Klan were leaving, several people in the crowd pursued them in an attempt to "reason with them" (undoubtedly with their fists), but met with police resistance, complete with mace.

Anarchist Media Down Under

THE Anarchist Media Institute is an Australian "media propaganda group" which is dedicated to reporting Australian and international news from an anarchist perspective. So far they have met with much support from the main stream press, and have been able to speak on both radio and television about anarchism and events from an anarchist point of view. The Institute requests that people from around the world contact them with news and updates. They have an answering service, and you can call 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

Anarchist Media Institute
P.O. Box 20
Parkville 3052
Australia
Tel.: (03) 828 2856

Colombians Against Columbus

Grupo Contra La Celebración del 5ta Centenario

THE Grupo is a group of Colombian youth fighting the "stupid" 5th Centenary celebration of Columbus's invasion of America. They plan to distribute propaganda via newsletters, painting, stickers, music, etc. They are looking for information about other groups making similar efforts. They are also looking for music from "post, Metal, Speed, Industrial, trash, New, H.C., etc." bands to put onto a fund-raising tape. All bands with tracks on the tape will receive free copies of the tape.

Grupo Anticelebración V Centenario
Walter Alonso Yepes
A.A. 54839
Medellín
Colombia
or
Yaneth Alzate
Nueva Fuerza
A.A. 7685
Medellín
Colombia

Flag-Burner Gets Burned

BY JAN KRAKER

CHERYL LESSIN, A MEMBER of the Revolutionary Communist Party in Cleveland, was sentenced on December 28 to one year in prison for her actions at an anti-war protest in Cleveland last summer. At the event, Lessin burned an American flag to protest Bush's oil war in the Persian Gulf. Greatly outnumbered by mindless patriots, however, Lessin was physically assaulted after torching Old Glory.

So why the jail sentence? Since flag burning is not punishable by law, the police had to contrive some other reason for Lessin's incarceration. The judge handed Lessin a one-year sentence on the charge of inciting a riot. It seems that because people lashed out violently at her that she was the one to be punished.

Lessin's trial was a farce. Two Cleveland police officers told blatant lies to the court, stating that Lessin had run through the crowd shouting obscenities and throwing punches. Although several witnesses testified that this was not true, the judge, Patricia A. Cleary, was not to be swayed.

Another example of Judge Cleary's obvious right-wing bias was her removal from the court of 20 of Lessin's supporters who sat in the courtroom with pieces of the American flag over their mouths as gags. Although these folks were removed from the courtroom, two ultra-patriots waving flags in the air were allowed to stay.

When Lessin's lawyer commented on this bias, the judge replied, "It's not relevant." Before being sentenced, Lessin said: "I'm being sentenced for daring to be among the first to call out and resist their war use and for being bold enough to burn their symbol, their flag. I'm also being sentenced for being a thoroughly unrepentant woman and a revolutionary Communist. I will continue to be all those things."

In spite of our well known differences with the RCP, Lessin deserves the solidarity of anarchists. This case is a good indication that American courts are not going to be favorably disposed towards anti-war activists as the anti-war movement heats up.

"What If This Is For Real?"

ON December 5, a State University of New York (Binghamton) anti-war coalition, "Students for Peace in the Middle East," along with a publication called *Looking Left*, published a mock version of an official student paper *Pipe Dream*, with the headline "US INVADES IRAQ." Needless to say, this caused great distress among the students, a number of whom have friends and relatives in Saudi Arabia.

The editor of the real *Pipe Dream*, who quickly disclaimed the hoax, called it "interesting" that the anti-war students used the *Pipe Dream* name: "It's sort of admitting that if they did it under a different name that no one would have taken it seriously," but conceded that, despite the lawsuit pending against the hoaxsters, "Maybe it shocked people into realizing, 'What if this is for real?'"

... And on January 16?

Support Our Troops (Resistance)

ACCORDING to reports from Vietnam Veterans Against the War, at least 60 active duty personnel have publicly declared that they will not fight in the Persian Gulf, nearly 1,000 have applied for Conscientious Objector discharges, and it is estimated that possibly as many as several thousand are AWOL. On the flip side, George Morse has already been court marshalled in Kansas, and nearly a dozen Marines await court marshall at Camp Lejeune.

The National Lawyers Guild has set up a toll free hot-line for military personnel seeking counseling about their options — **1-800-86 NO WAR**. You can write to service people in the Gulf, and the VVAW urges that letters be supportive and friendly, not hostile or attacking.

(Any Soldier)
c/o US Army
Operation Desert Shield
APO New York 09848-0006

(Any Sailor)
c/o US Navy
Operation Desert Shield
APO New York 09848-0006

(Any Marine)
c/o US Marine Corps
Operation Desert Shield
APO New York 09848-0006

Police Crush War Protest in Ohio

ON November 17, 450 Ohio University students (with parade permits) protested the war in the Middle East, marching from the campus student center and marching through the streets of Athens Ohio. When the demonstration, due to its increasing size, spilled into the street, demonstrators were arbitrarily arrested and, though cooperating with the arrests, were restrained with painful coercive techniques. Several students were thrown against cars and parking meters, and one was dragged over a four foot high steel fence.

Despite these violent arrests, all those arrested were charged with the relatively minor charges of Interfering with Traffic and Creating a Disturbance.

Nigerian Women's Center Needs Help

Nigerian Women's Center Needs Emergency Assistance

A NIGERIAN women's center working to stop traditional practices which endanger the lives of women — such as genital mutilation, childhood marriage, wife and child beating, and others — desperately needs both financial and material assistance. The already overcrowded center has been overwhelmed by female refugees from Liberia, all of them assaulted, and several of them raped, by soldiers of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front (according to the report from the center). The center needs money (send only by Registered Mail) and relief materials such as clothing, shoes, and medicines (send in boxes marked "Charity Donation/Not For Sale"). The center can be contacted through, and donations sent to:

Hannah Edemikpong (Mrs)
c/o Box 185, Eket
Akwa Ibom State
Nigeria — West Africa

Protest At Westover Air Force Base

WESTOVER Air Force Base in Chicopee, Massachusetts has been the target of many large protests against the war in the Middle East. Westover AFB has sent nearly 50% of the materiel and troops to Operation Desert Shield.

Brigadier General Walker has stated "these weekly outbreaks of lawlessness are no small inconvenience in that the smooth operation of our very mission is affected." In addition to frequent demonstrations, there have been two blockades, one on October 20, which attracted 200 people and 21 arrests, and one on December 1, which had 10 times that many, with a total of 2,000 protestors, and 39 arrests. More information can be gotten from the local anti-war network at:

tel.: (413) 549-4600

Endless Squabble Part 2

WE have received further correspondence on the controversy surrounding the closing of Sabotage Books in New York City. We feel that this issue has been thoroughly discussed in the anarchist press. Those who would like to know what each side has to say can write to the following addresses to receive pam-

phlets with detailed accounts of the split and closing:



The Betrayal Of Sabotage
c/o Shadow Press
P.O. Box 20298
New York, NY 10009

and
Whatever Happened To Sabotage?
c/o Black Cat Collective
P.O. Box 1737
New York, NY 10009

(Continued from page 4)

some variant of statism and capitalism. The important issue is to try to understand the conditions under which the "new order" would be an anarchist society, and to create those conditions.

There are two general elements that seem to be essential. The first is the existence of previously creat-

ed "anarchistic" social structures which can take on the functions of the new society in a decentralized, directly democratic way. The second is a consciousness on the part of the majority of the population of the possibility of a world based on cooperation and mutual aid.

Along with all the other work that anarchists do, the anti-war movement clearly could be both the

beginning of social structures which could involve many people in running their own lives, and an avenue for bringing to more people our ideas about the possibility of a world based on freedom. Or it could be neither, a tool for authoritarians (or over-enthusiastic anarchists) to attempt to control people, thus driving away from radical politics many who, from their personal

experience of conflict with the "powers that be," have sought to unite with others and find a way to resist.

We need to fight for and create a movement which will not only pose a serious challenge to the current war, but will, at the same time, help us move towards an anarchist society.

AMOR Y RABIA

una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria \$1

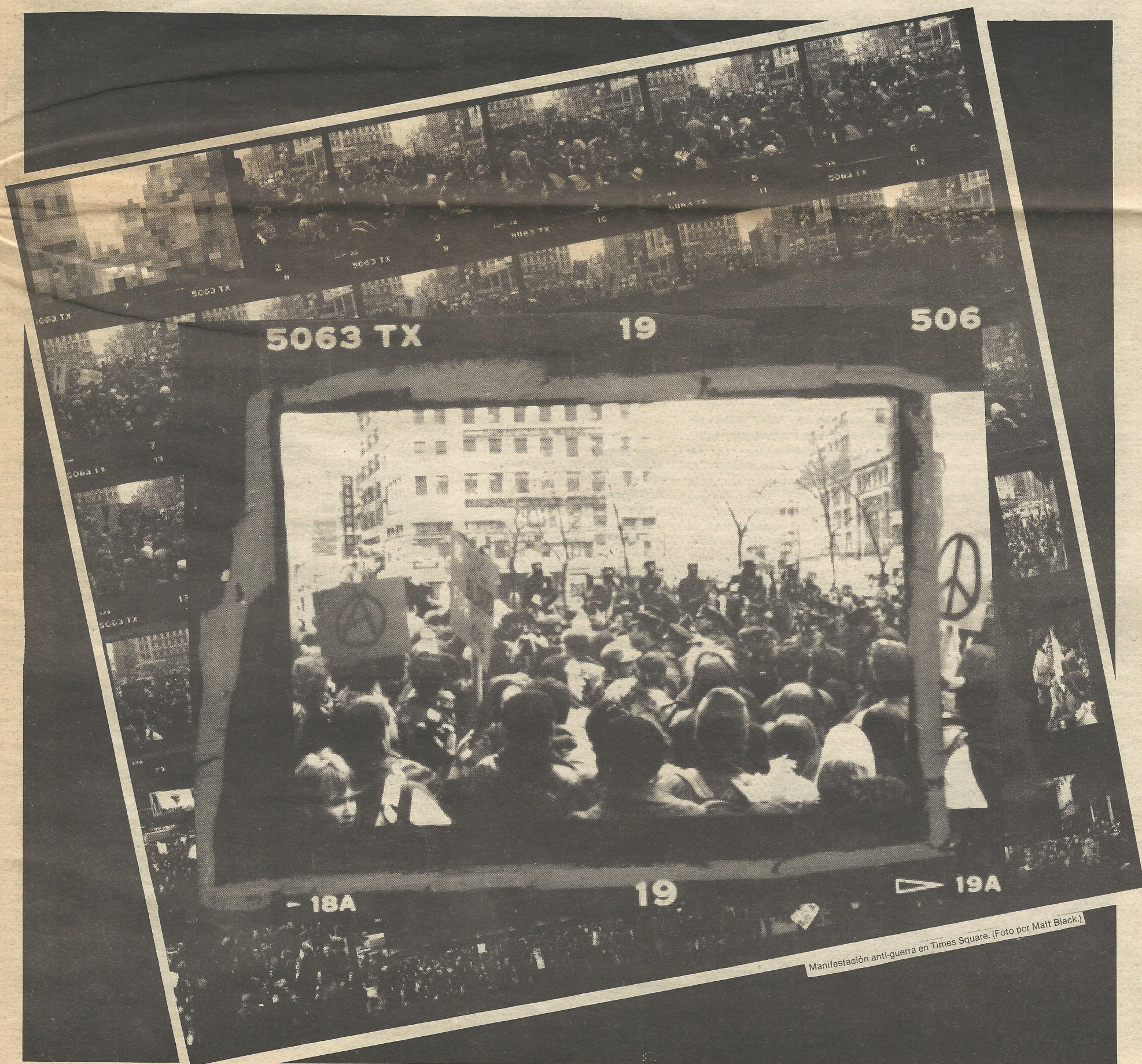
Año 2 Número 2

Febrero de 1991

¡Fuera Ahora!

Hacia Una Estrategia De Resistencia

Pagina 4



Manifestación anti-guerra en Times Square. (Foto por Matt Black.)

ORGANIZAR PARA LA

POR EL GRUPO DE OBREROS ANARQUISTAS

Esta es la segunda parte de un artículo de dos partes por Joe White del Grupo de Obreros Anarquistas de Inglaterra. Esta reproducida del primer número de su revista El Socialismo Desde Abajo.

COMO HEMOS VISTO, LAS expresiones más teóricas del anarquismo se basaron en la experiencia de la lucha de clases y específicamente en los levantamientos revolucionarios en Rusia y en España.

Para anarquistas hoy día, es esencial que nos avancemos mas nuestro entendimiento teórico, en la luz de la experiencia de los 50 años desde la Revolución Española. Al mismo tiempo, tenemos que desarrollar para el anarquismo una aplicación contemporánea, la cual pueda empezar de tener una respuesta en el movimiento de la clase obrera.

EL LIDERAZGO DE IDEAS

El liderazgo es un término que tiende de evocar una reacción instintiva de muchos anarquistas. Sin embargo, como hemos visto, anarquistas han tenido una concepción de liderazgo, y han cumplido un papel como líderes en luchas obreras. Como admitieron los autores del Programa: "Más de algún otro concepto, anarquismo debe convertirse en el concepto dirigente de la revolución, porque es solamente en la base teórica del anarquismo que pueda la revolución llevar a cabo la liberación completa de la clase obrera."

En admitir esto, los autores reconocieron el papel clave que hacen las ideas en el proceso revolucionario. El Programa es igualmente claro en explicar que su concepción de liderazgo es totalmente limitada a la esfera de ideas, y no es una llamada por la especialización política.

"Esta fuerza teórica impulsiva no debe ser confundida con el liderazgo político de los partidos estadísticos el cual dirige finalmente al poder Estatal."

El Programa

Es más exacto, por eso, hablar de "un liderazgo de ideas" para evitar confundirlo con la concepción leninista del liderazgo. La razón para que queremos que dirijan nuestras ideas es sencilla. Nosotros creemos que nuestras ideas sean mejores que las de otras corrientes. Décadas de contrarrevolución stalinista son la prueba del hecho de que el poder de la clase obrera debe ser basado en la más extensa democracia y libertad de los obreros para que sobreviva el proyecto revolucionario.

La acusación más frecuente que se dirige contra "el liderazgo de ideas" es la que es, de hecho, igual al concepto leninista del partido de vanguardia. La frase final del Programa se cita usualmente como prueba de su bolchevismo escondido, porque sostiene que la or-

ganización anarquista "pueda convertirse en la vanguardia organizada del proceso de emancipación."

Al rechazar el término "vanguardia" como concepto político, sin embargo, debe basarse en más de solo el método de "la culpa por asociación," según el cual quienquiera comparta el mismo vocabulario como los leninistas es automáticamente un leninista.

Reconocemos que existen diferentes niveles de conciencia dentro la clase obrera, desde el revolucionario, al reformista, hasta el totalmente reaccionario. Por eso, es posible decir que exista una "vanguardia" o "sección avanzada de los obreros." Una minoría de obreros sí que tiene un entendimiento más claro sobre el papel del estado y la naturaleza del capitalismo, y por razón de este hecho, éstos obreros son en el frente de la lucha de clases y hacen un papel dirigente en esa lucha. Esta minoría se constituye como una vanguardia.

No vacilamos en identificarnos como una parte de la "vanguardia." Nuestras ideas anticapitalistas son mejoras de las ideas reformistas, nuestra oposición a la opresión es mejor del racismo, y nuestros métodos libertarios son mejores de los métodos burocráticos.

El reconcimiento que somos más avanzados que la clase obrera total no implica, sin embargo, que los anarquistas nos constituyamos, o seamos capaces de constituirnos, como la vanguardia entera.

Esto es donde tenemos diferencias con el bolchevismo. Entendemos que existirán inevitablemente diferentes corrientes dentro la clase obrera y por eso dentro la vanguardia. Es claro de los escritos de Lenin que el vió ninguna diferencia entre el partido y la vanguardia. El partido, en la concepción de Lenin, fue la expresión más avanzada de los intereses del proletariado. En otras palabras, fue la expresión concreta organizativa de la vanguardia. En esto esta la sustitución teórica del partido en lugar de la clase, la cual considera todas ideas competidoras como atrasadas (una enfermedad infantil) o no proletarias (pequeño-burgués). La sustitución concreta del dominio de partido en lugar del poder de la clase obrera en la Unión Soviética fue el resultado lógico.

Para nosotros anarquistas, el único método de resolver las diferencias de opinión inevitables dentro la clase obrera revolucionaria que es consistentemente socialista es a través de la democracia de los obreros más extensa y más fuerte. Por eso, siempre consideramos que la clase sea más importante que "partido," y insistimos que la vanguardia no tenga derechos políticos sobre el resto de

la clase obrera.

Reconocemos que la "vanguardia" pueda funcionar como un obstáculo de la lucha, tanto que pueda dirigir, y que la clase obrera pueda estar más avanzada de la vanguardia en la lucha concreta. Durante mucho del año de 1917, los líderes del partido bolchevique tendían de seguir la actividad de la clase obrera.

En mayo de 1937, las filas de la CNT luchaban contra los stalinistas en las calles de Barcelona al mismo tiempo que los líderes de la CNT le llamaban por emisiones de radio para cesaran de luchar.

La conclusión que podemos deducir de esto es que hay una diferencia cualitativa entre "el liderazgo de ideas" y "el vanguardismo." Es la substitucionalización en el concepto leninista que constituye la diferencia entre la concepción anarquista de liderazgo y la del leninismo. Anarquistas se dan cuenta de la contradicción entre la minoría avanzada y el resto de la clase, y, por eso, de los peligros de la substitucionalización. Esto nos da una ventaja sobre los leninistas, quienes o eligen de ignorar o no reconocen el problema.

LA UNIDAD TEORICA Y TACTICA: LA NECESIDAD DE UN PROGRAMA

"El único método que puede solucionar el problema de organización general es, en nuestra opinión, atraer al militantes anarquistas activos a una base de principios precisos: teóricos, tácticos y organizativos, i.e., la base más o menos perfecta de un programa homogéneo."

Como hemos visto, los que abogan por un programa para el movimiento anarquista han sido una minoría dentro el movimiento. Tales propuestas se encuentran con acusaciones que son bolchevistas. Por eso hay que examinar, en el interés de una examinación crítica en vez de prejuicio, lo que significa la unidad teórica y táctica.

La objeción más usual es que estos dos conceptos representan conformidad a una línea monolítica de un partido. Pero esto es un error voluntario. Dejémonos investigar primeramente la unidad teórica. Una unidad de corrientes distintos con distintos puntos de vista no es unidad en realidad. Como dijo Fortenis, un libertario francés, de ésta forma de organización de "síntesis":

"La 'síntesis,' o mejor dicho la conglomeración de ideas no compatibles que solo son de acuerdo en lo que no importa, solo puede causar la confusión y no puede parar su destrucción por las diferencias que son claves..."

El Manifiesto del Comunismo Libertario, traducción de la FAC. Unidad teórica no significa que no haya diferencias de opinión dentro la organización anarquista. Donde deben crearse una unidad de ideas

es sobre posiciones fundamentales: el análisis del capitalismo, la clase obrera como agente revolucionario, el papel de los sindicatos, el papel de organización política, etc.

La única prueba real de que diferencias teóricas sean fundamentales es el proceso de ponerlas a la prueba de la práctica, porque la teoría y la práctica son integrales la una y otra. Si, son grandes las diferencias teóricas, unidad en acción será por la mayor parte imposible y la organización desagregará o existirá totalmente como un club de debate.

¿Por qué, entonces, es importante la unidad o acción colectiva? Porque: "Elimina el efecto desastroso de distintas tácticas que se oponen, concentra todas las fuerzas del movimiento, las de un rumbo común que dirige a una meta establecida."

El Programa

La creación de unidad táctica es más difícil. Posiciones generales sobre las tácticas las debe decidir la membresía entera a través de congresos nacionales. Sin embargo, posiciones generales no pueden tratar de antemano todas las cuestiones que emergerán de la lucha de clases. Tales cuestiones necesitarán soluciones rápidamente desarrolladas y acción decisiva, las cuales harán imposible la consultación de toda la membresía.

Por ejemplo, es posible que una organización esté de acuerdo en la necesidad de una insurrección, pero congresos nacionales no podrían predecir el momento exacto de empazar tal acción. Los autores del Programa reconocieron este problema y como resultado propusieron la creación de un 'comité ejecutivo de la unión' que se encargaran con varias funciones, las cuales incluyeran:

"la orientación teórica y organizativa de la actividad de organizaciones aisladas, consistente con las posiciones teóricas y línea táctica general de la Unión."

ibid.

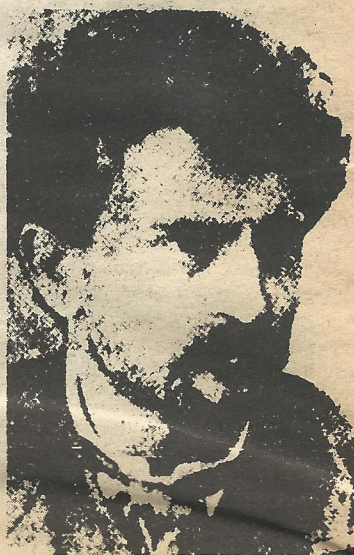
De este modo, el comité ejecutivo cumplirá no solamente un papel administrativo pero se delegaría la responsabilidad por decidir cuestiones de táctica entre los congresos. No podría desatentar las decisiones de los congresos nacionales, pero claramente tendría una función política.

Este aspecto del Programa ha sido el más difícil para que lo acepten los anarquistas. Malatesta condenó la idea como "un gobierno y una iglesia" y declaró: "el Comité Ejecutivo debe inspeccionar las actividades de cada miembro y marcarle de qué hacer o qué no hacer;...nadie podría hacer nada antes de recibir la opinión y el permiso del comité." Tales palabras no son solamente una caricatura falsa, no elimina la necesidad de hacer decisiones rápidamente.

La revolución en España es un buen ejemplo de cómo, cuando falta un mecanismo para hacer decisiones de emergencia, élites harán inevitablemente tales decisiones. Los comités más poderosos de la CNT debían ser puramente administrativos. Sin embargo, la evidencia que tenemos indica que las decisiones claves que se hicieron en el nombre de la CNT durante la Revolución Española (colaboración, guerra antes de revolución, entrada en el gobierno) se hicieron sin consultar a las filas de la CNT. Aparece que todas estas decisiones las hicieron "en el interés" del movimiento militantes influyentes en los comités más poderosos de la CNT.

Por ejemplo, según Vernon Richards, la decisión de que cuarto miembros de la CNT participarían como ministros fue el resultado de negociaciones entre el primer ministro Caballero y el secretariado general de la CNT, Horatio Prieto. Los cuarto anarquistas aceptaron sus puestos como ministros sin consultar a la CNT in ningún nivel.

En la luz de la experiencia de España, la propuesta para un comité ejecutivo que actuaría dentro los límites de las decisiones de los congresos nacionales no es tan pernicioso y maquiavélico como Malatesta la quería que apareciera. Para asegurar el máximo control democrático sobre tal comité, se necesitan varios requisitos: Primero, el programa debe ser tan desarrollado y detallado como posible, dirigiéndose a todas las



Errico Malatesta

cuestiones que concierne a la clase obrera y dándola claras y precisas instrucciones para todas las circunstancias predecibles, antes, durante y después de una situación revolucionaria.

El programa no debe limitarse a una serie de declaraciones generales, sino debe unir el más avanzado entendimiento de las tendencias sociales con la práctica diaria más efectiva. Tal programa, que es el producto de la práctica acumulada, no es inmutable, sino debe probarse y modificarse por medio de su aplicación práctica.

Segundo, el "comité ejecutivo" debe limitarse por la más extensa democracia libertaria; los delegados al comité deben ser responsables a las filias y las files deben poder retirarles en algún momento. Esto requiere la distribución extensa de información dentro la organización a través de una publicación interna regular.

La discusión más extensa tiene que ser una prioridad en la vida interna cotidiana de la organización para dejar que se hegan las decisiones de una manera informada. La membresía se deban consultar inmediatamente a través de un proceso de ratificación obligatoria cuando se necesita hacer decisiones de emergencia.

Ultimamente, y lo más clave, la única manera de asegurar que se ejercieran los derechos formales de retirar a los delegados es tener una membresía que es conciente políticamente y de mente crítica.

INTERVENCION

La organización política no debe ser solamente una institución de propaganda. Si actúa por contraponer generalmente la necesidad de anarquismo a los intereses inmediatos de los obreros, se quedará una secta. La organización debe involucrarse en las luchas cotidianas de la clase obrera para hacer pertinentes sus ide-



ANARQUIA: PRINCIPIOS DE ORGANIZACION

as. En hacer esto, no debe participar en las luchas solamente de una manera apoyador o sindicalista, Pero como anarquistas, y debe militar para hacer más políticas éstas luchas. Por eso, definiríamos tal organización como intervencionista.

En contraste a la organización totalmente teórica o totalmente activista, una organización intervencionista pone sus ideas a la prueba por tratar de influenciar el curso de la lucha de clase. Consecuentemente, esto requiere que la organización establezca grupos industriales, desarrolle programas para cada industria, y por eso empiece de desarrollar la base para un movimiento de obreros anarquistas.

Más, la organización política debe intervenir en todas las luchas que afectan a la clase obrera, no solo las que ocurre en los lugares de trabajo, y debe destuir el seccionalismo del movimiento sindicalista tradicional. Debe fomentar la lucha contra opresión dentro de los lugares de trabajo y dejar que inquilinos, obreros no asalariados, etc., entren comités de huelga.

No basta para una organización intervencionista que se proclame; debe crearse por desarrollar un entendimiento claro de "cómo" vamos a intervenir. Si vamos a intervenir en la manera de anarquistas, y no militantes buenos, debemos buscar y descubrir el "contenido libertario" que es implícito en todas las luchas. ¿Qué significa esto en términos concretos?

Primero, debemos promover formas libertarias de lucha: acción directa, control por las filas, comités de huelga elegidos y que se pueden retirar, rechazar de recurrir a los tribunales y comisiones de arbitración.

Segundo, debemos insistir que el contenido político a metas de la lucha se basen en los intereses de la clase obrera entera, independientemente de los requisitos del capitalismo (producción de ganancias, eficiencia de costo, productividad, el interés nacional, etc.). Por luchar por lo que necesita nuestra clase, en vez de lo que puede aguantar el capitalismo, podemos empezar de demostrar, de una manera concreta, la necesidad de una sociedad que puede garantizar estos requisitos, i.e., comunismo.

En cada lucha, tenemos que buscar el "punto de politización" por preguntarnos "¿Qué es que nosotros, como anarquistas, tenemos que decir?" Solamente en preguntarnos y averiguar las respuestas de esta pregunta que podemos desarrollar una práctica anarquista y restablecer la influencia de anarquismo dentro el movimiento de la clase obrera.

ORGANIZACION DE CUADRO

Como hemos insistido, la organización política necesita que sus miembros sean conciente políticamente y de mente independiente, que no sean simplemente académicos o representantes sindicalistas en el lugar de trabajo, pero sean obreros anarquistas capaces de ganar influencia para ideas anarquistas.

Utilizamos el término "organización de cuadro" para designar este concepto. Lo hacemos porque este término implica cómo debe construirse tal organización. El término "cuadro" significa el núcleo de una organización. En el contexto de una organización política, el cuadro es el nivel de agitadores diestros sobre el cual depende el desarrollo de la organización. Es incontestable que un cuadro de anarquistas era el elemento decisivo en crear la influencia amplia de

anarcho-sindicalismo español.

"Militantes y agitadores de todas partes de España...llevaban a cabo continuamente su actividad educacional...Se quedaban en los pueblos por períodos prolongados, espenado a los rebeldes y reforzando sus creencias. El agitador tenía pocos requisitos personales. Cuando alcanzó a un pueblo, se quedaba en la casa de un obero y vivía como el obero. Organizaban conferencias y hablaban en reuniones, generalmente sin pago. La federación de los obreros pagaron los costos del viaje..."

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

De la misma manera, el Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), dependió sobre oradores de "soapbox" y agitadores viajeros para organizar sectores nuevos de los trabajadores estadounidenses.

Cada sindicato hoy día reconoce la necesidad de un cuadro de delegados en las fábricas, a por eso, organiza "escuelas de delegados" y cursos de educación. Nuestra recomendación de una "organización de cuadro" se base en el entendimiento de que solamente se puede construir una organización anarquista sobre un fundamento de activistas que tienen las habilidades para "enseñar, agitar y organizar."

También reconocemos que una organización política efectiva tiene que desarrollarse paso por paso. La tarea primera es la de desarrollar y clarificar sus ideas políticas, de elaborar su programa, y de desarrollar un cuadro educado. En esta sentido, la etapa inicial se caracteriza por el desarrollo cualitativo en vez del crecimiento cuantitativo.

El desarrollo político requiere la autoeducación que es un requisito para la democracia interna. Queremos construir una organización que puede llevar a cabo un "combate de ideas" en contra de todas las ideologías competidoras, que sean o complejas o simples. Por eso, para prevenir la dominación de unos pocos "sabios," debemos tener un programa comprensivo de educación interna.

Se necesita tal programa para facilitar hacer decisiones de una manera informada y para fomentar participación amplia en el proceso de decidir la política. Inevitablemente habrá una contradicción entre los miembros con experiencia y los que no la tienen. Lo que importa es que la organización concientemente reduzca esta contradicción por tener responsabilidad para la educación de la membresía. Organización política no es un ejercicio académico formal, pero un proceso continuo que requiere que la organización se dirija a fomentar debate político a toda nivel.

Un método para garantizar la estancación es de tener que las reuniones se enfoquen sobre asuntos de "business," i.e., la organización de ventas de cosas ordinarias, la organización de las tareas de comprar timbres o de mojar sobres.

El entendimiento político no se gana por estudiar tomos, pero a través de una discusión interna dinámica, de fomentar el debate con nuestros competidores y de un diálogo intervencionista con el resto de nuestra clase.

Un otro aspecto de crear cuadros se trata de armar los miembros con la conciencia política. Nadie nace con esta conciencia, y para esta razón la organización política debe hacerse responsable para la desarrollar. Para influenciar la lucha

de clases, una organización anarquista necesita oradores de masas, organizadores de los lugares de trabajo, periodistas políticas, etc. Por eso se necesita organizar escuelas para desarrollar estas habilidades.

Sin embargo, escuelas som solamente una parte de educación. La lucha de clases es la mejor forma de educación y de adquirir las habilidades de activistas. Por eso, ser miembro de una organización de cuadro debe significar actividad en todas las esferas de la vida política: como sindicalistas, en asociaciones estudiantiles, organizaciones de obreros no asalariados, y en todas las campañas que concernan nuestra clase. La organización, entonces, debe fomentar, facilitar y coordinar las actividades de sus miembros para ganar lo más de la lucha.

Obviamente, una nueva organización, recientemente nacida, debe seleccionar y arreglar sus actividades para utilizar sus recursos limitados en la manera más eficaz. El punto importante, de todos modos, es el de que "el activismo" de la membresía tenga un carácter organizado.

Una organización de cuadro no es una organización de la clase entera, como son los sindicatos, pero una minoría de anarquistas. Rechazamos el concepto del reclutamiento de todo el mundo que sean de acuerdo con la "idea" del anarquismo. Tal método de "la puerta abierta" resulta inevitablemente en que desarrolle en algún momento una diferencia política significativa, ocasionando cismas y inestabilidad constante.

El reclutamiento a una organización de cuadro debe basarse en criterios más exactos. Debe basarse en un acuerdo amplio con, entendimiento de, y compromiso al programa de la organización. Miembros prospectivos deben darse cuenta de sus responsabilidades a la membresía: asistir regularmente a las reuniones de las secciones, pagar los impuestos de miembro, llevar a cabo las decisiones colectivas.

Aunque el nivel de actividad requerida lo determina democráticamente la organización entera, no es aceptable de dejar que se reproduzca la dualidad que consiste de una minoría activa y una mayoría pasiva la cual caracteriza organizaciones no cuadro tan como el Labour Party.

Habrá inevitablemente aquellos anarquistas a que no le gustan el sonido del término "cuadro," viéndolo como el concepto leninista de revolucionario profesional. En "¿Que Hacer?" Lenin sostuvo: "que ningún movimiento revolucionario puede durar sin una organización estable de líderes que mantenga la continuidad...que tal organización debe consistir por la mayor parte de gente involucrado profesionalmente en actividad revolucionaria..."

Nuestro uso del término "cuadro" es bastante diferente y tiene un sentido explícitamente antielitista. Abogamos por un programa de educación interna para asegurar la máxima democracia interna. Solo una membresía activa y de mente crítica puede prevenir que desarrolle una división entre líderes y seguidores, lo que es una característica de organizaciones leninista.

Nuestro cuadro no es un núcleo de "líderes," una parte de una cadena de mando, pero uno de activistas diestros. Un cuadro anarquista no es una burocracia embrionaria o una comisaría; es un instrumento por construir un movimiento político cualitativamente

diferente, en el cual nadie es un líder y nadie tiene ningunos privilegios o derechos sobre los otros.

HACIA UN MOVIMIENTO DE OBREROS ANARQUISTAS

En Bretaña hoy día, no existe un organización anarquista que tiene los criterios que hemos delineado. Ni es que el Grupo de Obreros Anarquistas reclama de ser tal organización. Sin embargo, declaramos abiertamente nuestra objetivo. Queremos un movimiento de revolucionarios quienes pueden ganar los debates en todas los foros de la clase obrera, quienes pueden pensar y actuar sin decirles lo que hacer un comité central, y quines pueden hacer democráticas las luchas.

Queremos que anarquistas

puedan influenciar activamente el curso de la lucha de clases en una dirección libertaria y anticapitalista. Eventualmente, tal movimiento anarquista organizado debe poder hacer su papel en la destrucción del estado capitalista por la clase obrera, y en prevenir a que oportunistas robe una revolución obrera que ha tenido éxito.

Capitalismo de hoy no puede cumplir los requisitos de vida humana, no más que pudiera hacerlo en la época de Bakunin. Apelamos a todos los que son comprometidos a poner fin al capitalismo: ¡Júntense con nosotros en construir un movimiento anarquista que puede armar a la clase obrera con el programa que es necesario para llevar a cabo esta meta!



Buenaventura Durruti

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POR CHRISTOPHER DAY

Este artículo apareció en la edición de Amor y Rabia de Octubre 1990 antes del ataque iniciado por los EU contra Iraq.

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CON LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS preparando para lanzar una guerra contra el pueblo de Iraq, y posiblemente chispear un conflicto mas general por todo el Medio Este, anarquistas en los Estados Unidos tienen un responsabilidad especial a subir la costa de cualquier movimientos de guerra.

Desde la derrota de los Estados Unidos en Vietnam, los dirigentes de éste país han estado preparando pacientemente la opinión publica para otra guerra mayor. La invasión de Grenada, el bombardeo de Libia, el mandamiento de tropas a Libano eran tanto batallas para los corazones y mentes del publico est Americano como misiones militares serio del Imperio Americano. En 1988, quando los EU mandaron 3200 tropas a Honduras en preparacion para un ataque sobre Nicaragua, manifestaciones militantes en ciudades al través del país (y alrededor del mundo) trajeron esos tropas de vuelta y enseñó a los dirigentes del E.U. que el "síndrome Vietnam" todavía no estaba en remisión. Pero Nicaragua un caso especial. Un movimiento de solaridad, leal y trabajadora, ha gastado la decada previo educando mucho del publico E.U. sobre la situacion en ése país (y criando unos cuantos ilusiones suyos a lo largo del camino) y así miles estaban preparando para ocupar las calles contra cualquier movimiento de guerra E.U. sobre Nicaragua.

La tendencia fuerte de activistas de solaridad del E.U. a proectar sus esperanzas revolucionarios y sueños encima de un regime selecto de sus preferencias, sin embargo, ha tenido un efecto desastroso sobre la oposicion a guerras en otros partes del mundo. El ultimo Diciembre pasado cuando el E.U. invadieron a Panama casi habia ninguna oposicion seria. De la "izquierda" aunque una nunca dicho numero de Panamanios fueron masacrado. Las lecciones eran obvio a los generales y los ejecutivos corporativos que llegan a ser decisiones que pueden destruir nuestra vidas.

Es ahora nuestra responsabilidad a construir un movimiento anti-guerra en éste país que es de verdad anti-imperialista; que lucha contra imperialismo en todas partes, que no valora vidas humanos en proporción. A los ilusiones que tenemos sobre sus diligentes pero valora las vidas. Tambien es nuestro responsabilidad a construir un movimiento anti-guerra que puede suceded, que actualmente puede para la guerra.

Estamos en el medio de histeria

de guerra. Están usando el cuerpo entero de la maquina de propaganda del militar E.U. para convencer el publico que va ser necesario a trabar una guerra massivo contra las fuerzas de Iraq. Bajo estos condiciones oponentes de guerra de los E.U. pueden esperar a ser atacado mas fuertemente que antes. Necesitamos una estrategia que reconoce las limitaciones reales que nos tenemos en frente corrientemente, pero que tambien identifica los puntos flojos de la maquina de guerra.

Tenemos que ser claro sobre que estamos haciendo. Los dirigentes de este país no van a responder a apelaciones de oposicion popular a la guerra. No se preocupon de que nosotros creemos ya que no rompemos su maquina. Esto es exactamente lo que tenemos que hacer. Tenemos que subir la costa de la guerra. Esto significa que estamos luchando para la derota de los E.U.. Esto es lo que ellos nos van a acusar. Nosotros tenemos que ser recto y decir que esto es que estamos haciendo y que somos orgulloso hacer lo.

En este momento lo mas importante que el movimiento anti-guerra puede hacer es hablar en voz alta contra la guerra. Marchar, distribuir panfletos, cercar con piquetes, cantar, pintar lemas, salir por la television, llevar chapas, escribir cartas a periodicos. Tenemos que ser lo mas visible posible. El publico E.U. tiene que saber qu hay oposicion a esta guerra, que esta creciendo y que los reclamaciones de un consenso nacional que apoya la guerra son un fraude. Para ests tipo de actividad anarquistas deben buscar a juntarse con y formar un coalicion lo mas extenso posible. Necesitamos ser no sectario escrupulosamente y dejar que la coalicion de verdad estar abierto a liberales y marxistas, activistas religiosos y los independientes politicamente.

Una estrategia seria para parar la guerra, sin embargo, no puede ser limitado a solo hablando. Tenemos que romper la maquina. Ya que la guerra se calienta necesitamos ser preparado para subir el nivel de resistencia lo alto posible.

Hay varios fronteras en donde podemos subir la resistencia:

El primero es resistencia a conscripción. Los E.U. ya han llamadon diez de miles de reservistas y todavía no estan a tiros. Es improbable que las fuerzas armadas pueden mantener cualquier tipo de conflicto prolongado con Iraq sin tener que eventualmente empezar conscripción.

Esto es muy probablemente un

punto a que la opinion publico cambia en contra la guerra.

Necesitamos estar preparando para esta situación ahora. Necesitamos estar afuera de cada escuela en el país dandoles panfletos que avisan de la posibilidad de conscripción. Necesitamos circular declaraciones de "no vamos" publicamente declarando nuestra denegación a pelear en ésta guerra. Necesitamos entrenar para ser consejeros de conscripción para dos estan confrontaron con conscripción y con decisiones que preparar la estructura para suportar fugitivos de conscripción. Tenemos que hacer estas cosas ahora.

La segunda frontera es la militar mismo. La Mayoría de gente que llenan los rasos de la fuerzas armadas estan allí por razones economicos; en un sentido or otro son victimos del "conscripción de la pobreza." No quieran morir or marar. Muchos de ellos van a repetir los slogans patrióticos. Que lo han enseñado pero va ser demasio claro a muchos soldados que les piden morir por los beneficios de los compañías de petroleo y para proteger una juaría de monarcas despreciables del desierto.

Durante la guerra contra Vietnam, oposicion a la guerra entre los soldados destruyó la capacidad a pelear la maquina de guerra los EU. Al principio unos cuantos soldados rechazaron a ir a Vietnam. Despacio la resistencia creció. Pedidos de los oficiales fueron rechazaron. Soldados amotinaron o fueron "AWOL." Según, a principios de los '70s fue práctica común para soldados en Vietnam a matar sus oficiales cuando tirabon granadas fragmentarios en sus tiendas de campaña. Estos son tradiciones que seguro van a volver si la guerra se calienta. Ya varios reservistas han rechazaron pedidos a ir a Saudi Arabia o han declararon su intencion a rechazar pedidos. Necesitamos ir a los pueblos que estan cerca de bases militares y empezar a hablar con los soldados y poner la fundación para el futuro de resistencia de soldados.

En recintos de colegios necesitamos afrontar el ROTC (Cuerpo de Entrenamiento de Oficios en Reserva). La mayoría de oficios de la mili vienen del ROTC. El movimiento contra la guerra en Vietnam echaron ROTC de muchos recintos.

Edificios de ROTC fueron ocupado, atacado, desalojado y cernado durante manifestaciones militantes. Pero sobre los ultimos 15 años ROTC ha vuelta. Campañas contra ROTC pueden romper el funcionamiento de la militar por denegar les acceso a los oficios que ellos necesitan para hacer guerra.

Si el movimiento anti-guerra va tener buen exito tiene que ser amplio. Si va ser amplio tiene que

respetar una diversidad de tácticas desde manifestaciones legales y pacíficos a sublevaciones a actos clandestinos de sabotaje. Pero mas que eso, necesitamos contruir un movimiento que es respetuoso de decisiones tacticos de gente quienes no estan en acuerdo con nosotros.

Como anarquistas entendemos, por ejemplo que la política electoral es una trampa que puede quitar la energía de activistas sinceros y en muchos casos transforma organizadores cometeros a políticos. No debemos esconder lo que creemos y debemos buscar activamente a persuadir gente de que una estrategia de resistencia y acción directo en masa va ser mas efectivo. Pero muchos, todavía, van a elegir a apalabar en lo político electoral, tambien como otros deciden organizar un piquette legal cuando nosotros a la mejor creemos que rompiendo ventanas es mas apropiado. Tenemos que respetar estos decisiones.

Muchos grupos autoritarios Marxistas-Leninistas que parten con nuestro compromiso a militancia no van a esperar a tratar de manipular gente a hacer acciones militares cuando eso no es lo que quieren o estan preparado para. Mucho mas importante de que un manifestación destué un estación de reclutamiento de la militar o no es que el movimiento ser controlado democraticamente por los que participan en lo. En muchos caso eso va querer decir que nosotros, como anarquistas revolucionarios, no vamos a ver nuestros ideas ganar en coaliciones particulares. Un movimiento que de verdad es controlado por la gente, en donde discutimos para nuestros ideas, va eventualmente abrazar nuestros ideas mejores y corregir los peores.

Pero claro nunca debemos fundir el movimiento anti-guerra entero con un solo coalición o manifestación. Va venir tiempos cuando vamos a querer organizar nuestro acciones mas militantes, a la mejor en coalición con otros militantes, a la mejor, no. No debemos ser miedoso a ser lo. Tan poco debemos dejarnos ser aplastaro por liberales o comunistas para mantener un tipo de unidad fraudulento.

Estos son solo un poco de los asuntos que nos afronta en los meses que vienen.

Mios ciertamente no son las ultimas palabras de estos cuestiones. Necesitamos tener amplio discusiones de estos cuestiones en el movimiento anarquista y tambien en el mas grande movimiento anti-guerra. Tambien tenemos que trabajar y alargar a gente con nuestro mensaje de que esto es una guerra del rico hombre y proponemos para lo ahora.

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

Amor y Rabia apoyará las luchas de los jóvenes contra su específicas opresión.

Amor y Rabia se esfuerza especialmente en promover una plataforma para la juventud. Reconocemos que el futuro revolucionario está en manos de la juventud.

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

Reconocemos que el sistema industrial actual, construido sobre la explotación del planeta y de sus habitantes, ha causado una crisis ecológica que amenaza la supervivencia en el planeta. Apoyamos los movimientos de resistencia contra la continua destrucción del planeta. 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 antiautoritarios, 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.

Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia

Amor y Rabia es anticapitalista.

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

Amor y Rabia es antirracista.

Luchamos contra la supremacía blanca y militamos por la creación de una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Apoyamos la autodeterminación de los mexicanos, de los chicanos, de los indígenas 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 árabes. 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 antilimperialista.

Apoyamos el derecho a la autodeterminación de los

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

Amor y Rabia es antieixista.

Estamos a favor de la liberación y de la autodeterminación 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 las lesbianas, de los homosexuales y los bisexuales.

Rechazamos la heterosexualidad obligatoria de la fa-

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

Amor y Rabia es revolucionario.

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

Amor y Rabia es antilestatista.

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