

The Strength of the Struggle

New Thoughts on
Animal Liberation



Dedicated to Kennedy <3

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Statement of purpose:

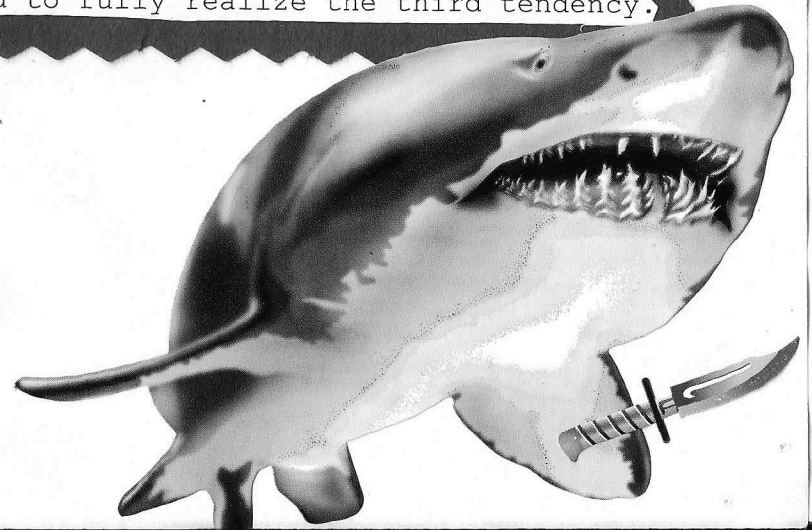
In high school, I experienced the pinnacle politicizing moment of my life that would lead me down a path of different activist and organizing experiences. I would learn what actually happens to animals in factory farms. Sounds silly but as we grow up in a society where meat, bought from the grocery store, is served with every meal, we become so distanced from the origins of that meat that we forget it was once an animal. That introduction to animal exploitation would establish the struggle for animal liberation as the dominant political goal in my life for years to come. As I come to the close of my college pilgrimage, I have since expanded my involvement in politics to struggles outside of animal liberation. I currently study and organize with a group, ¡ella pelea!, that focuses on budget cuts at the University of Texas. The organizational model utilized by ¡ella pelea! is defined by its recognition of organic militancy in working class people and the provision of tools for growth and sustainability of this militancy. This model is referred to as the third tendency or the class struggle Left.



My understanding of the current day Animal Rights Movement (ARM) is first and foremost, its weak presence as a movement. I would also argue that it is dominated by two political poles. To the right is the mainstream, above-ground organizing, dominated by non-governmental organizations (NGO) and non-profit organizations, the centrists. Their approach to furthering animal rights is through reform, petitions, and change on a

legislative level. The opposite pole to the left, are anarchist, insurrectionist groups, the adventurists. These groups recognize the role of capitalism in animal exploitation and attack the profits of major corporations. They destroy the property and liberate the animals of businesses that exploit animals for profit. Unfortunately, neither one of these poles provides an organizing model that both applies a focused attack to the root of animal oppression and produces the political tools needed to sustain struggle through short term and long term goals.

What I hope to provide in this zine is a theoretical framework that will serve as a beginning to understanding and developing a third tendency within the ARM. This organizing model, which is used by ¡ella pelea!, Unity and Struggle, a libertarian communist organization, and Advance the Struggle, a collective of Marxist militants, currently does not exist within the ARM. Therefore, the implementation of this theory has never been put into practice for a group that concerns itself with animal liberation. In *Theses on Feuerbach*, Marx says, "philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it," thus, what I propose is simply conjecture without action.¹ I frame this zine as a starting point because praxis is needed to fully realize the third tendency.



Though this theory is informed by my experiences of praxis in organizing with jella pelea!, the responsibility of full realization of this organizing model is left in the hands of you, me, and other militants fighting for the liberation of all beings, both human and nonhuman.

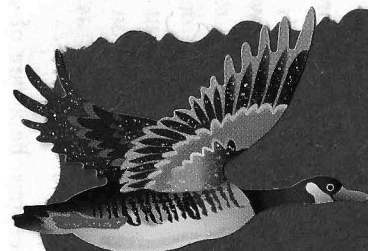


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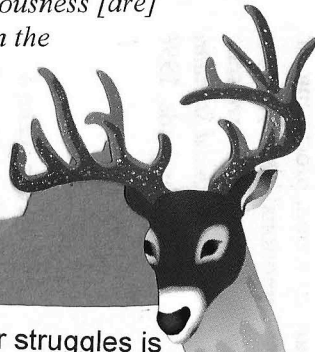


Consciousness

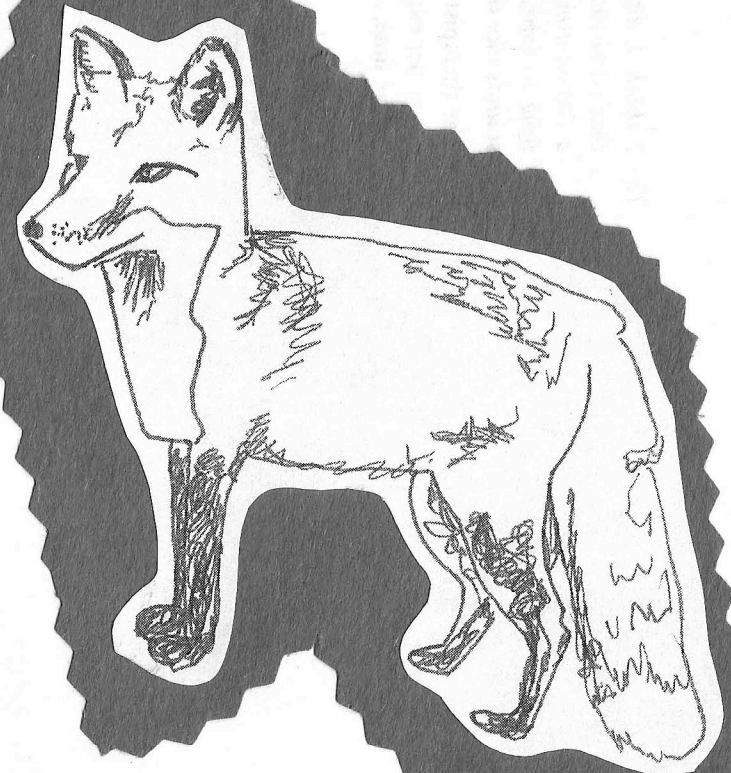
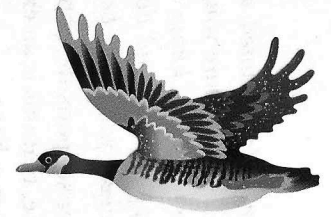
"[T]he differences of approaches to radicalizing consciousness [are] key determinants in differentiating the political forces in the movement." -Advance the Struggleⁱⁱ

If we can agree that the overall goal in our struggles is to liberate all beings, both human and non-human, and if we agree that militant democratic mass movements are the only forces strong enough to create such change, then fundamentally, we are in agreement. Thus, the question of how to participate in building a mass movement becomes central.

The development of such a movement is heavily dependent on understanding and developing consciousness among the masses of working class people. Historically, the working class has been interpreted in both racial and gendered ways, both in and out of socialist circles. Selma James, founder of the International Wages for Housework Campaign and former member of the Autonomous Marxist group, Johnson-Forest Tendency, poses the question, "who is 'the working class' and what income level, work, political issues, demands and actions distinguish it?"ⁱⁱⁱ If we understand the failure of our predecessors, in both the mainstream and the Left, to realize there is no division between "the workers" and those kept outside that label as "the others," than we understand that workers are every race and every gender. Workers are queer and they are immigrants. Those who think otherwise only perpetuate division and conflict between various sectors of the working class. What we gain from understanding that each of our identities cannot be compartmentalized and placed outside the realm of "working class" is the conclusion that Selma James reached from her proposed question, that "the structure of exploitation... is a very complicated hierarchy and demands a very complicated network of organizations to destroy it."^{iv}



The ideas of the working class are in tension, being pulled back and forth between acceptance of mainstream ideology produced by a capitalist system. Also, with the necessity to fight against the alienation the working class experiences in that system, it becomes necessary to trust the intuitive militancy in people and provide tools to sustain that militancy with theory and practice.



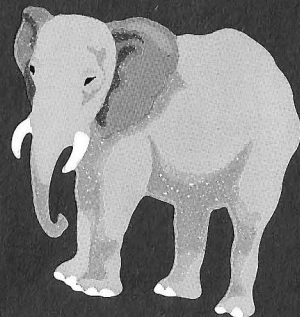
Centrists

"The centrist, never sure of his position and his methods, regards with detestation the revolutionary principle: State that which is; it inclines to substituting, in the place of political principles, personal combinations and petty organizational diplomacy." -Leon Trotsky^v



The centrists within the ARM are bureaucratic entities that fail to reach the consciousness of the working class. They are often guilty of controlling dissent and thus, become movement managers.^{vi} I feel the need to qualify the groups I throw into this category because first, none are explicitly revolutionary organizations, which centrism usually refers to, and second, some could even be considered more liberal than centrist. However, I use the term centrist broadly to discuss the ways in which groups approach consciousness and to help establish a spectrum on the Left within the ARM.

There are many problems within the current mainstream animal rights movement, some of which are derived from movement's non-profit leaders and others, which relate directly to political ideology and organizing methods. People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), likely the largest mainstream animal rights group, will serve as my main example for centrist tendencies within the ARM. Though PETA is a large organization, I've personally experienced the replication of their methods in smaller locals. In Austin, Texas, an example would be Action for Animal, a local non-profit, and the on campus organization at the University of Texas, Students Against the Cruelty to Animals (SACA), both of which I will also briefly discuss.



Things to know about the Non-Profit Industrial Complex (NPIC):

- the state use non-profits to the way in which capitalist interests and
- ▶ monitor and control social justice movements;
 - ▶ divert public monies into private hands through foundations;
 - ▶ manage and control dissent in order to make the world safe for capitalism;
 - ▶ redirect activist energies into career-based modes of organizing instead of mass-based organizing capable of actually transforming society;
 - ▶ allow corporations to mask their exploitative and colonial work practices through "philanthropic" work;
 - ▶ encourage social movements to model themselves after capitalist structures rather than to challenge them

The result of the NPIC on mainstream organizations such as PETA and those who follow their organizing methods are liberal orientations to the consciousness of people, maintained dissent by government funded entities, and formulaic organizing tactics that are "successful" or at least promoted to benefactors in such a way that to divert from such tactics would contradict their successful claims and possibly result in a loss of funders. This relationship to benefactors and government funding engenders problematic organizing methods. The use of methods and campaigns that work within the system uphold the patriarchy, homophobia and racism within the system.

PETA's campaign methods are problematic in two very obvious ways. One: mobilization for the large campaigns occurs seasonally. These seasonal campaigns utilize the same petitions and protests method that lacks relationship building. Two: existing campaigns completely negate systemic and institutional oppression that makes PETA's solutions and answers to animal oppression completely moot by either reinforcing or ignoring other forms oppression that relate to these solutions.

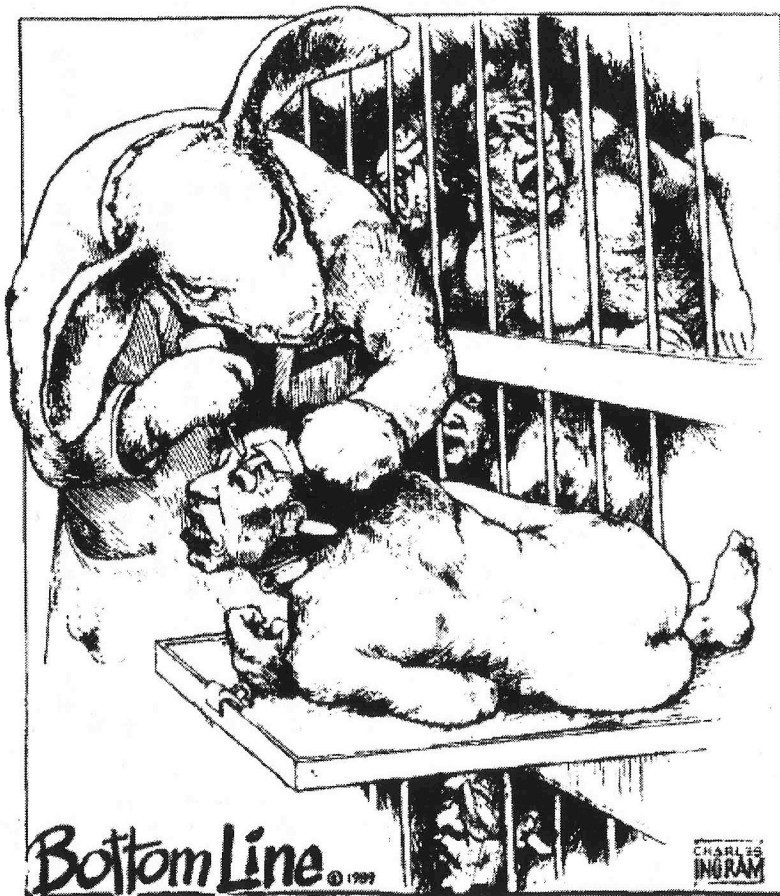


With regard to my first point, PETA's campaigns are reactive and cyclical, the winter brings anti-fur campaigns, the spring brings anti-circus campaigns, Fall holidays bring a push for vegan outreach. This formulaic campaign pattern means agitation never escalates; the movement never pushes boundaries and, therefore, never becomes a threat to those in power. Let it be known that I'm also not advocating for a very linear form of escalated agitation controlled by vanguards, something which is also common in centrist organizing. This seasonal cycle through various campaigns is a mechanical form of organizing that is fairly common among the ARM and can also easily lead to burnout among organizers. There is no adaption for organizers, no room for change and growth. Levels of dissent do not change for fear of overstepping boundaries that may alienate sympathizers and the change of season brings the same thing it did the year before and the year before that. Pair this monotony with failures in reaching goals and movement deterioration, problems that are all too common in organizing. Organizers either drop out from the scene, too tired of the monotony and failures, or become accustomed to the everyday drawl, never pushing for an escalation of the movement as if it were a day job to just get through. Another unfortunate outcome from this type of organizing is reformism. Organizers begin to believe changes in legislation are the only way to make significant changes. They put their beliefs in a system that is fundamentally authoritarian. They either forget or do not recognize that the rulers do not have peoples' interests in mind, let alone the interests of animals.

The methods used within these campaigns also lack the relationship building needed to engage with people's consciousness. Without people, a mass movement is impossible. My experiences of tabling on campus with SACA are a prime example of such. Basically, you sit at a table outside where you are surrounded by other campus organizations and student passer-bys on the way to their next

class. You hold a clipboard of papers that contain a brief synopsis of the campaigns at the top and lines down the rest of the page for signatures and emails. You ask passing students for their signature and they either ignore you with earphones in the ears or sympathetically stop for a minute so they can sign your petition, reveal that they agree people should adopt their dog from a shelter instead of buying from a breeder or reveal they would never go to the circus, and then they leave to their next class and go on with their life. When PETA campaigners come to your campus to help your organization with their current petition, they teach you how to increase the number of signatures you get in the same amount of time. They emphasize being vigilant about disregarding meekness when it comes to approaching passer-bys. You have got to get those signatures. I don't remember a single person who has signed one of my petitions over the 3 years I spent with SACA.



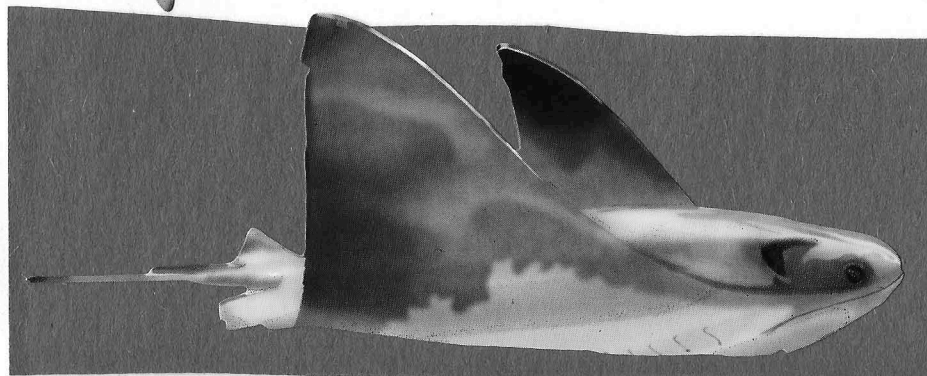
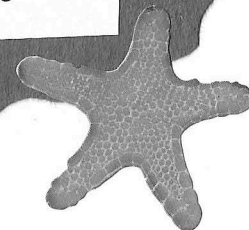
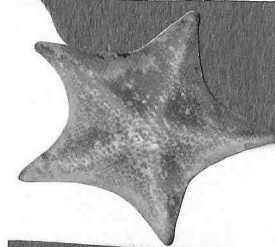


Dedicated to the "scientists" at the UT Animal Research Center

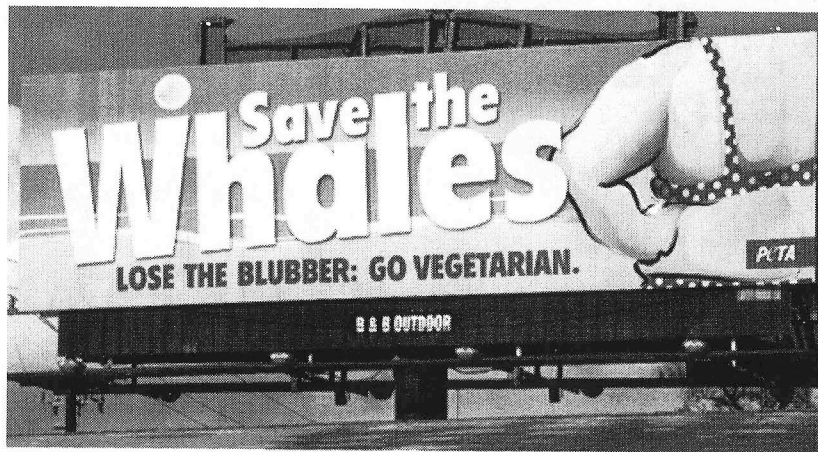
Action for Animals utilizes the same tabling and petition method but do it off campus at city events such as Fun Fun Fun Fest, a musical festival in Austin. They also do protests in the same vein as those done by PETA (and often with signs and leaflets provided with PETA) where mass produced signs of the same three images and slogans appear throughout the crowd of animal lovers outside the rodeo grounds or outside the Frank Erwin Center, local home of the yearly Barnum and Bailey Circus. The only thing they lack is the sensationalism PETA protests tend to be known for, usually incorporating naked women in some way.



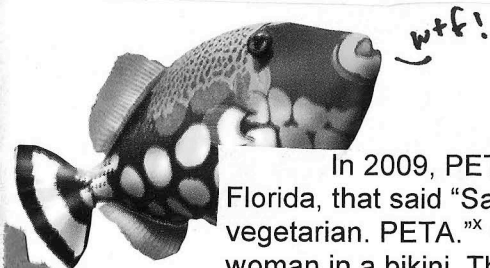
With regard to my second point, I am convinced that although PETA's vegan outreach is actually its strongest campaign, it fails to consider many things. The most obvious is the economic viability of a vegan diet for those who are not upper middle-class and live around the corner from the nearest Whole Foods. Their blanket solution of adopting a vegan diet disregards access to particular foods. Such solutions also build monster-like personas of the rank-and-file who work within the meat industry. Again PETA ignores the class and race make-up of factory workers and the concurrent exploitation between workers and animals within those factories.



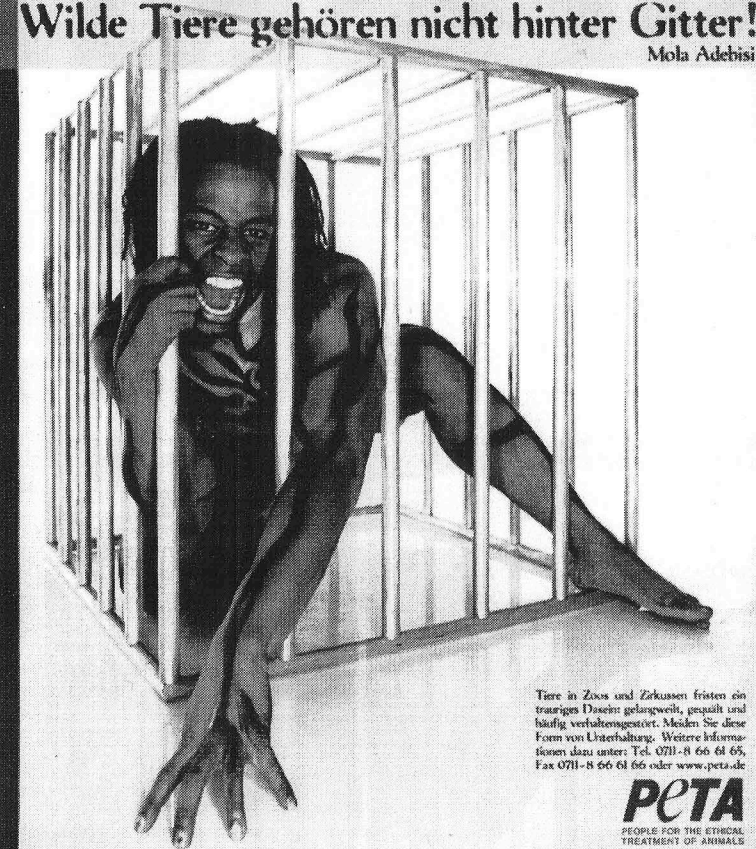
Looking at the billboards and ads PETA uses, we can see the oppressions of capitalism, racism, patriarchy, homophobia, etc., recreated for the goal of animal liberation.



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In 2009, PETA put a billboard up in Jacksonville, Florida, that said "Save the Whales. Lose the blubber: go vegetarian. PETA."^x It also featured the back of an overweight woman in a bikini. The idealizations of women and women's bodies have remained a consistent feature in patriarchal ideology. The objectification of women still remains a contemporary struggle among feminists. Furthermore, history has shown through successive feminist waves that women of different races and classes are affected differently and the recognition of different struggles is necessary to sustain a successful movement. Today's popular image of female beauty often shows white women perpetuated as the ideal. On the other hand, woman of color are often exoticized and objectified. It then becomes necessary to investigate what images of women PETA is perpetuating. Can they really end the exploitation of animals in a society that remains misogynistic and oppresses women?



Unfortunately, it does not end there. PETA has also received criticism for an international ad picturing a Black man in a cage. The German version of this ad had text that translated to "wild animals do not belong behind bars"^{xii} and the American version had the text "Fur bites."^{xiii} Not surprisingly, a group willing to exploit stereotypes of women is also willing to exploit stereotypes of people of color, Black men specifically in this example. In addition to being blatantly racist and patriarchal, these ads reveal that PETA does not recognize that these oppressions are complementary and mutually constitutive. The capitalist system turns animals into resources to be used for the economic gain of a specific, privileged group. When PETA uses ads that reinforce and perpetuate the objectification of women and people of color, they reinforce a system in society that maintains oppression of minority groups, turning them into resources for a capitalist system. The augmentation of these human oppressions by PETA preserves the system that oppresses animals and, therefore, indirectly negates all the positive animal rights work an animal liberation organization could do.

The hegemony of the animal rights mainstream has failed to recognize a system that dominates and exploits not just animals, but women, people of color, queer folks, and in general the working class. Again, PETA is a prime example as it leads this mainstream. PETA's organizing methods and campaigns reflect an ideology that does not recognize the root of oppression as a systemic one.



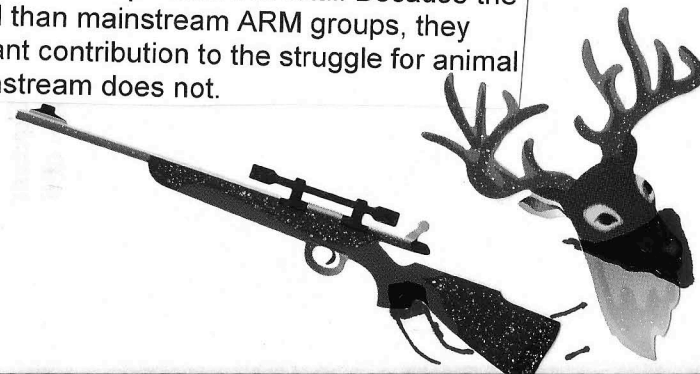
Insurrectionists

"The adventurers think that mass revolt is sparked by inspirational actions of the more radical minority ready for confrontation." - Advance the Struggle^{xiv}



The second pole of the ARM has manifested itself in underground groups that utilize illegal direct action as a means to end animal exploitation. Insurrectionist groups provide a different approach to fighting oppression by exchanging the bourgeois ideology of centrists for radical thinking. These ultra-left groups practice isolated militant actions defining them as adventurers.^{xv} Though these adventurers offer a movement many positive things, they sidestep the consciousness of people. Thus, an emphasis gets placed on disengaged radical action over mass consciousness needed to broaden a movement.

The primary group that will be referenced in this type of underground organizing is the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). ALF's structure is made up of anonymous, autonomous cells. Each cell encompasses anywhere from one person to a small group of people. ALF cells operate without any relation or coordination with one another and without centralized power. In theory, this allows ALF to minimize the threat of infiltration by authorities which allows for increased survival and prolonged activity of cells.^{xvi} The short term goals of ALF are to liberate as many animals as possible while also disrupting the practice of animal-abuse. The long term goal is to end businesses that rely or utilize animal exploitation in their practices, thus ending animal exploitation in total. Because the ALF is far more radical than mainstream ARM groups, they provide a very significant contribution to the struggle for animal liberation that the mainstream does not.



The first significant contribution the ALF provides is a direct challenge to capitalism. This recognizes the role capitalism plays in the exploitation of animals, which is a step mainstream organizations fail to take. Their actions often involve property destruction and thus, a financial burden to companies they target. Though it may seem that companies can replace and repair whatever damages occur, large profit loss is still the result. In 1987, ALF members attacked a research laboratory that was being built at the University of California at Davis. This arson attack caused \$3 million in damage without a single injury and left the lab in burnt ruins. The lab was closed for a year after the attack.^{xvii}



Financial burdens and attacks on private property used for production are challenges to capitalism. Though there is a valid argument that property destruction does nothing to stop production or use of animals, such as the University of California at Davis example where the lab, though delayed, continued to function later on, there have been actions with lasting effects. Operation Bite Back was a series of actions done by the ALF in the early nineties. In this campaign, ALF members attacked farms and mink researchers in Oregon, Washington, Utah, and Michigan. In 1991, one of the first attacks in this campaign occurred at the Oregon State University Experimental Fur Farm. Due to the destroyed equipment, research file removal, liberation of the mink, and overall damages of \$150,000, the lab was unable to recover and was shut down later that year.^{xviii} Another example involves Peter Young, an animal rights activist and well known member of the Animal Liberation Front. His successful 1997 series of mink releases had lasting effects on the fur industry. He and a friend released eight thousand mink from six fur farms. This action took place over a period of about two weeks and resulted in the closure of two of the mink farms.^{xix}

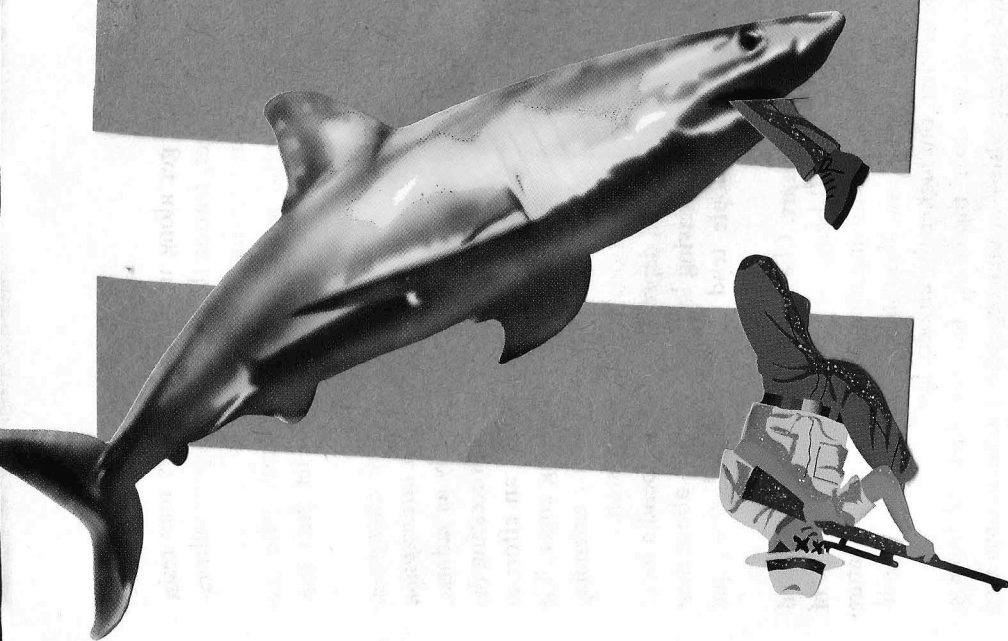
The fate of the mink is debated between the farmers, who assure media the mink die because they are captive animals unable to defend themselves in nature.^{xx} Animal rights activists, such as Peter Young, say that freed mink not only survive because they are genetically wild animals, but the native animal population is actually almost entirely made up fur farm escapes and their descendents in certain areas in the

U.S.^{xxi} Animal rights activists also point to the fact that the fate of the mink after release is debated but the fate of the mink in fur farms is certain.^{xxii} A study published in 2009 in the scientific journal, *Biological Conservation*, revealed that captive-born mink actually are able to adapt to the wild after a stabilizing period of about a month to a month and a half.^{xxiii} None of the mink studied were found to have died directly from a lack of survival skills.^{xxiv}

The challenge to capitalism is more than just a challenge to profiteers of big business. With their presence, propaganda, and actions, the ALF directly challenges bourgeois hegemony, a pro-capitalist and institutionally oppressive set of values, and the fundamentals of mainstream ARM political ideology. The ALF can be attractive to those who recognize reforms within the system yield to the power of the oppressor. It can be attractive to people who recognize these systems and institutions perpetuate oppression and will continue to do so as long as it is in their economic interest. Often, these people are themselves oppressed by these institutions. The ALF offers another side to the ARM, one that no longer targets the upper middle class but recognizes the power of the state and institutions when it comes to exploitation. Due to its anonymous nature, there is no way to see the identity make-up of ALF. The number of people of color, women, and queers involved with ALF are unknown. However, Rod Coronado, a well known face of ALF because of his public support of ALF and their actions, as well as his own capture and imprisonment due to his involvement with Operation Bite Back and other various actions related to both the ALF and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), is a man who sees his involvement as way to "honor the sacred tradition of indigenous resistance."^{xxv} Coronado is Yaqui and identifies as an "indigenous activist" and relates his involvement with ALF and ELF as part of his "fight for cultural survival."^{xxvi} Coronado is an example of how people can connect the anti-capitalist fight of the ALF to struggles of people. That connection is something mainstream ARM greatly fails to do.

During Coronado's imprisonment, he released a four issue zine, *Strong Hearts*, that discussed various ALF campaigns, his own crimes committed on behalf of the ALF and ELF, and broadly, his political thoughts on strategy and tactics, often placed in the camp of eco-anarchist by outside sources.^{xxvii} In general, Coronado supports a diversity of tactics that range from letter writing and legislative work to monkeywrenching, a form of property destruction and sabotage, and other forms of illegal direct action. He is critical of those who enforce mainstream, liberal tactics of social change by naming all other forms of dissent as counter-productive to the movement. However, he vehemently pushes, throughout the zine, the idea that "effective strategy requires the acceptance of individual action independent of above-ground tactics as part of the path to victory."^{xxviii}

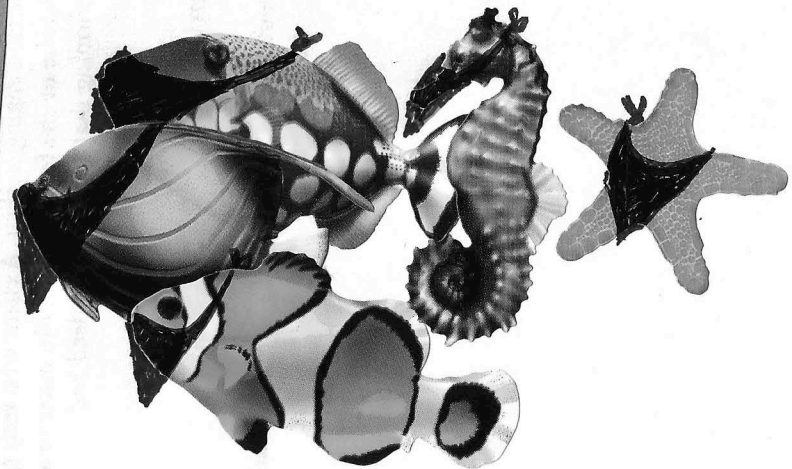
The second significant contribution the ALF provides is a space for dormant militancy to be put into practice. To be considered part of ALF only requires that one follow the guidelines and a vegan or vegetarian lifestyle. Essentially, this allows any vegan/vegetarian who views illegal action as a necessity to animal liberation, and is willing to commit such actions, to consider themselves a part of the ALF and take up their struggles. The accessibility of adventurists groups benefits those whose political underdevelopment prevents their access to other clandestine groups. Insurrectionist groups recognize that dormant militancy can exist within anyone.



As positive as these aspects of adventurists are, there are many problems with them also. Because the actions of ALF exist in isolation, they fail to broaden the consciousness of the movement. Coronado's politics and actions favor underground, individual action and promote such action as a necessity for victory. Peter Young similarly favors the action of individuals, to the point where he is even somewhat critical of the ALF cell structure. In an interview, Young stated that

putting less emphasis on the multiple people cell structure would be ideal because "one person on a bike with a backpack can potentially do as much damage as several, without the burden of consensus and the threat of snitches." Both Young and Coronado fail to appeal to the militant masses of the working class. In fact, they act as the vanguard of the ARM, putting little to no faith in people. These politics deny that working class people can work towards the emancipation of various sections of oppressed, in this case animals. These politics also serve as an implication that people need "leaders" like Young and Coronado to impart their knowledge on the masses, to inform the masses how their struggle can be won.

black
fish bloc.



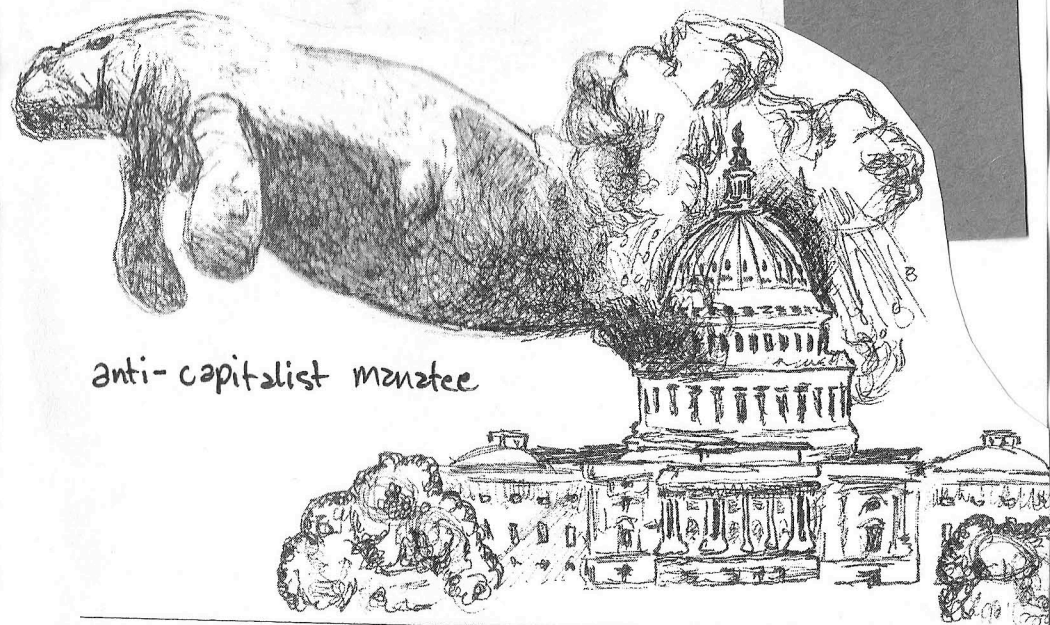
The way in which Young and Coronado measure victory and results are also problematic. When Young emphasizes the need to ask whether tactics are effective, he implies that effectiveness is measured by the loss of capital for rulers. Even the release of animals can fall into that category because essentially, those animals are products and the loss (or liberation) of those animals is a direct loss of capital for corporations. This means that production by capitalists and the destruction by insurrectionists exist as a confined exchange between these two groups. Victory then becomes sporadic blows to capitalism that are unsustainable in the long term. Even though the results are loss of capital, it is still a capitalist system that sets the terms for those results. How should we be measuring results then? I do think we can find victories in these small material gains but that is not the only way to measure success. When people work through their political contradictions and become militants; that is also success. When people take steps, make demands that abolish the undemocratic and oppressive nature of authoritarian and capitalist rule; those are results. The measure of success is in how we build a communist society, not how we fuck with the capitalists.



Beyond radical action, those who participate in adventurist action are left without the tools to continue to develop politically. Without consciousness, militancy cannot be sustained. ALF provides a space for militant action but it lacks space for advancing the struggle through intellectual progression. Such progress is fostered through a political theory that pulls from past struggles and synthesizes the information with the organic combativeness of the present. The result is a strategy for maintaining the fight. It is important to note that the need for theory does not translate to the need for academic or scholarly understanding of subjects. Often theory has the connotation of existing only in academic settings. Instead, the theory needed to sustain movements is one that understands and explains our experiences as oppressed peoples.

Their actions were singular and such actions cannot suddenly wake the masses, who watch from the side line, from complacency. Essentially, these actions were a conversation directly aimed at the oppressor, instead of being aimed at the oppressed multitude. The multitude need not encompass the state or those willing to appeal to legislative bodies, for that would be equally, if not more, detrimental than the course taken by insurrectionist groups. Instead, the principal element which makes the multitude essential is the rank and file who hold intrinsic militancy. Rod Coronado and Peter Young will not be able to destroy capitalism on their own. The small groups of people that comprise the ALF will not be able to end animal exploitation on their own.

OH, THE HUGE
MANATEE!



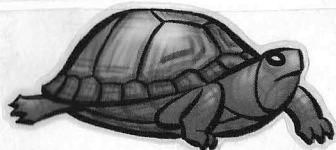
The class struggle Left/The third tendency

"No movement can survive unless it is constantly growing and changing with the times. If it isn't growing, it's stagnant, and without the support of the people, no movement for liberation can exist, no matter how correct its analysis of the situation is. That's why political work and organizing are so important." -Assata Shakur^{xxix}

My overall political development and my understanding of the third tendency has come from my experiences of organizing with jella pelea!. So the question I stand with today, the motivation behind this entire zine, is how can I take what I have learned from my organizing with jella pelea! and rectify my relationship with the ARM? The problem stands that the ARM currently lacks a space for me, I am neither interested in centrist or insurrectionist politics, and jella pelea! excludes animal and ecological liberation from their demands. This too is problematic because I think these are necessary struggles to include and, bottom line, they are important to me.

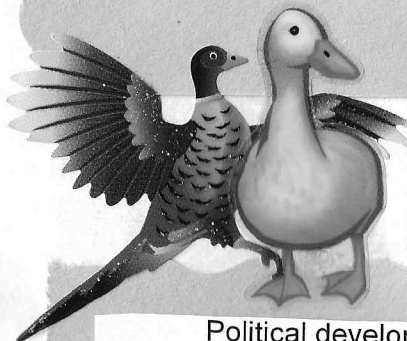
How do we begin to remedy the schism between the third tendency and the animal liberation fight?

I can only look to my own experiences to explain this part. My personal development as a militant speaks to the importance of spaces that provide resources for growth. These spaces and the resources within them speak to the role of those who have already developed revolutionary consciousness. As a way to broaden political understanding to those searching for militant organizing, those who have developed revolutionary consciousness can build "organizational structures in workplaces, schools, and communities."^{xxx} These structures become spaces for people to become "active intellectual participants who understand revolutionary theory and strategy."^{xxxi} For me, jella pelea! is that structure.



I was drawn to jella pelea! because the people within the group were willing to take the time to develop a relationship with me. Much of my politics at that time were contradictory, something I continue to work on till this day, and my overall political knowledge was very limited. I understood through conversation that the people within jella pelea! took political study seriously and, in many ways, it was intimidating

to participate in political conversation. However, whether people from jella pelea! disagreed with me on particular politics or not, I was never made to feel stupid and, in fact, felt more welcome than I had in many other places. Perhaps I didn't always understand political conversation that occurred but I did understand that these people were genuine and sincerely wanted me to be around to have these conversations. I also recognized their earnest effort to help me develop the tools that would allow more participation in these conversations. It is not easy to be in a situation where you feel the least knowledgeable, but the fact that I wanted to spend as much time as I could with these people despite that detail speaks to the kind of people that make up jella pelea!.



Political development within organizational structures requires pedagogy unlike the one-way exchange of information often experienced in and out of school. Paulo Freire describes this academic method as the "banking concept of education" where the teacher narrates to a student content that is alien to the experiences of that student. The student then becomes a "receptacle," receiving the information projected from the teacher and thus, develops an internal system of storing information given by the teacher instead of developing critical consciousness.^{xxxii} The question then becomes how to revolutionize teaching and what could learning in a different way look like?

should we read
Caliban and the Witch
next?



My political growth in jella pelea! takes place through scrupulous study with those who have already developed revolutionary consciousness. I learn through sharing experiences and having experiences shared with me. Everyday struggles become part of a dialogue and these very real experiences are contextualized into broader political thought. They become reason and part of the understanding for why we must struggle. There is a mutual communication that occurs without hierarchical power dynamics between "teachers" and "students." We are all teachers and we are all students. Horizontal learning and distribution of tasks means

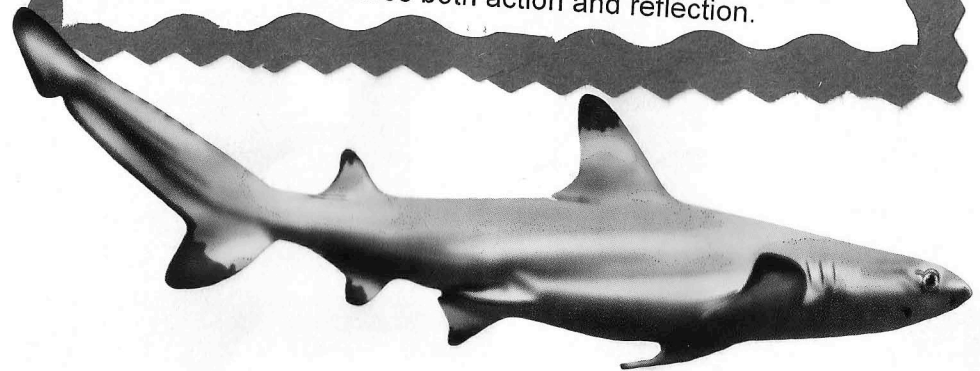
everyone is equipped with every ability; another way to dissolve hierarchical power dynamics within the group. The result of such pedagogy is a militant organization that embodies theory and practice.

Militancy takes form through day to day organizing, through the relationships we build and the pedagogical methods we employ. We can look to groups like the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Panther Party as examples of the slow and respectful work that defines militant organizing. When SNCC began voter registration in the south, they spent months, some spent years, building relationships with community members. Their emphasis was on building community-based movements and that led to an emphasis on the development of local leadership within those communities. The Black Panthers implemented community programs, such as free clinic care, educational information on things like sickle cell anemia and tuberculosis, and free food programs for the children in these lower class communities. These programs helped emphasis community care work as part of revolutionary activity.



The flyer distribution methods, the educational events, the prolonged study groups, and the informal conversations that jella pelea! engages in builds militancy. Time is taken in each of the spaces to build relationships with individuals. It is conversation where we reflect on our experiences, learn from each other, and work through our contradictory politics. What emerges is our everyday struggle. Militancy cannot exist in the flyer distribution methods, the educational pamphlets, and the petitions of groups like PETA, that rely solely on the quantities of fliers in hands and signatures on clipboards. Reflecting on my experiences with PETA, I can only shake my head sadly at how much emphasis was put on getting signatures on petitions. Whether the signer even knew what they were signing made no difference. The signer would leave and we were left with nothing other than a piece of paper, no relationships made, no chance for any change.

Militant organizing also encompasses action democratically directed by the masses. This type of action lacks the movement managers of centrists and vanguardist adventurism of insurrectionists, something we will continue to encounter and struggle against as we organize. This action is our theory put into practice. However, without reflection, action becomes "action for action's sake" and dialogue is negated. Thus, our praxis involves both action and reflection.



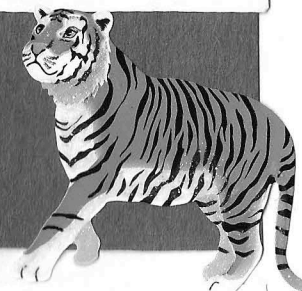
Visions for the future

As I reach the end of my analysis the question of what the third tendency within the ARM can look like still remains. As stated before, I cannot say for sure because this theory I have outlined has never been fully realized through practice. I imagine once it is fully realized, it will look like many things.

When I try to conceive of the third tendency within the ARM, I imagine vegan outreach that recognizes the vegan diet is not economically viable for everyone, so vegan outreach also becomes a fight for accessibility to good food. For example, a child's participation in the National School Lunch Program demonstrates the class limitations of most vegan outreach programs that come from groups like PETA and SACA. Should a child need to partake in the National School Lunch Program, a federally assisted meal program, due to economic situations, the child will be eating lunches that must meet Federal requirements.^{xxxiii} These requirements come from the Dietary Guidelines for Americans that is published every 5 years by the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Agriculture (USDA). The 2010 Dietary Guidelines for Americans claims to promote healthy dietary habits in hopes to reduce risk for major chronic diseases but, as analyzed by physician and author, Dr. John McDougall, actually contains confusing doubletalk that warrants accusations of allegiance to livestock industries and actually discredits the nutritional value of plant based diets. One of the most disturbing aspects of the dietary guidelines is its praise and promotion of milk in the diet, "It is especially important to establish milk drinking in young children, as those who consume milk as children are more likely to do so as adults."^{xxxiv} One thing to keep in mind is that poorer communities also tend to be communities majority people of color. So while the government promotes consumption of milk and therefore, establishes the bases for distribution of milk through the National School Lunch Program and the Special Milk Program, another USDS program, it is children of color who are "benefiting" from the milk and the recommendation of the Dietary Guidelines for Americans. However, the prominence of lactose intolerance negates any idea of "benefitting." Lactose intolerance within communities of color translates statistically to 70% of African Americans, 90% of Asian Americans, 53% of Hispanic Americans, and 74% of Native Americans suffering from the condition.^{xxxv}



It does not end there. When the Dietary Guidelines for Americans begins to explain the dissimilarities in different types of fats, it favors and defends the need for saturated and trans fats, both found in cattle. These fats have relationship to health conditions one being cancer, obesity, and the issues that result from obesity.^{xxxvi} Meanwhile, women of color are 50% more likely to be obese than white women. The cancer rate is 26% higher in African-Americans' than whites'. Hispanic women's rate of heart disease is double that of white women.^{xxxvii} The blatant disregard for these numbers gives credence to accusation of institutional racism through the national promotion of dietary regulations that benefit a select few, those in the dairy and cattle industry, while harming people of color.



A more effective form of organizing for vegan outreach would do more than just instruct people to change their diets; it would do more than just educate people on why particular foods are bad. Vegan outreach organizing that attacks the real root of the problem would address issues of access to these particular foods. It would fight for more unbiased vegan diet education in schools and other institutions. It would fight for people of all classes to have access to proper food and nutrition and not be deprived of these things because they are poor. It would also be unafraid to call these problems racist and center these issues in a class-based struggle.



Another vision for the third tendency within the ARM would go beyond the blanket vilification of every person involved with the meat industry. The inextricable ties between the exploitation of both animals and workers are undeniable. Since Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*^{xxxviii}, a novel written about the American meatpacking industry in the early 20th century, we have been aware of the meat industries exploitation of immigrant workers. The fight against animal exploitation for meat and other by products is also a class struggle. Since Sinclair's early 1900s recognition of class war in the meat industry little has changed. A 2005 report by the Human Rights Watch names factory work in the meat and poultry industry as one of the most dangerous jobs in the U.S.^{xxxix} There are still a very large number of immigrant workers that face the reality of having their undocumented status, or the undocumented status of relatives and loved ones, known to employers who use this fact to further exploit them. This coupled along with things like language barriers and costly legal fees to fight workplace injustice leads to a direct relationship between immigrant status and safety on the job. A general statistic in workplace fatality places Mexican workers 80% more likely to die on the job than native-born workers.^{xl} Though this statistic is an overview of jobs from tobacco agriculture to tree cutting, Latino workers are the majority in the meat and poultry industry. Major companies like Tyson and Smithfield Foods rely heavily on immigrant workers for profit. These are workers in which are un-unionized allowing for low wages, constantly

being pushed to work the lines faster, and become part of the high turnover rates that prevent them from qualifying for time off and insurance.^{xli}

In the factories of current day capitalism, we can see the rampant exploitation that affects both worker and animal. The emancipation of one will only occur with the emancipation of all. Therefore, a struggle against animal exploitation is a struggle for the working class.

if slaughter houses had glass walls...



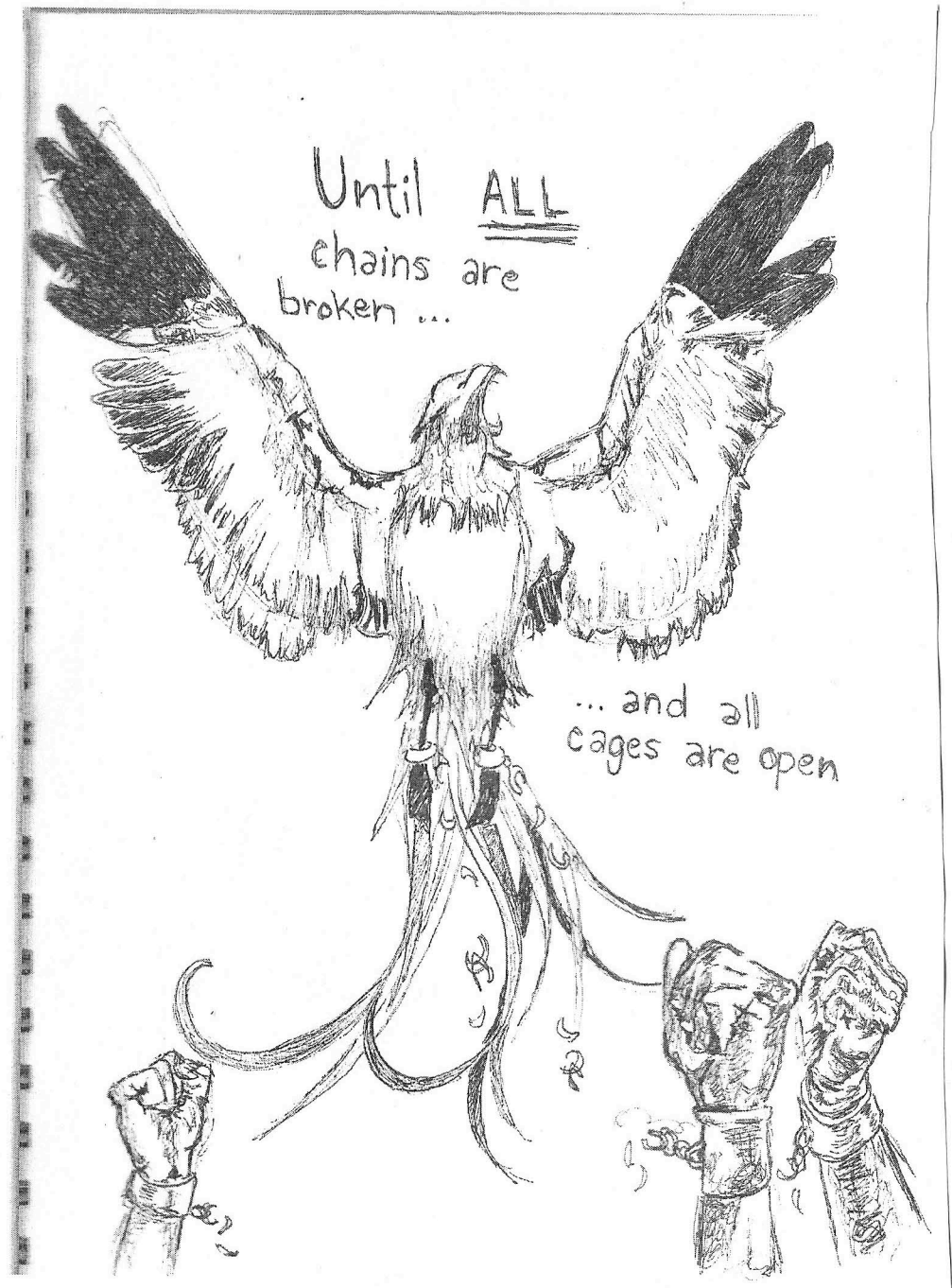
we would see multiple oppressions

Conclusion

I ask wholeheartedly that you consider the struggle for liberation one that encompasses all people, animals, and earth. I ask that animal rights activists look to the struggles of people, look to the radical history of organizers outside of the animal rights movement, and recognize the need for popular currency amongst the working class as a goal and a necessity for animal liberation. I ask organizers outside the ARM to question whether human liberation can be won at the cost of the earth's land, sea, and animals and if not, to make demands that challenge these oppressions as well.

Until every chain is broken and every cage is open,

-M. Mendez



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- two great blogs.
Advance the Struggle
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