

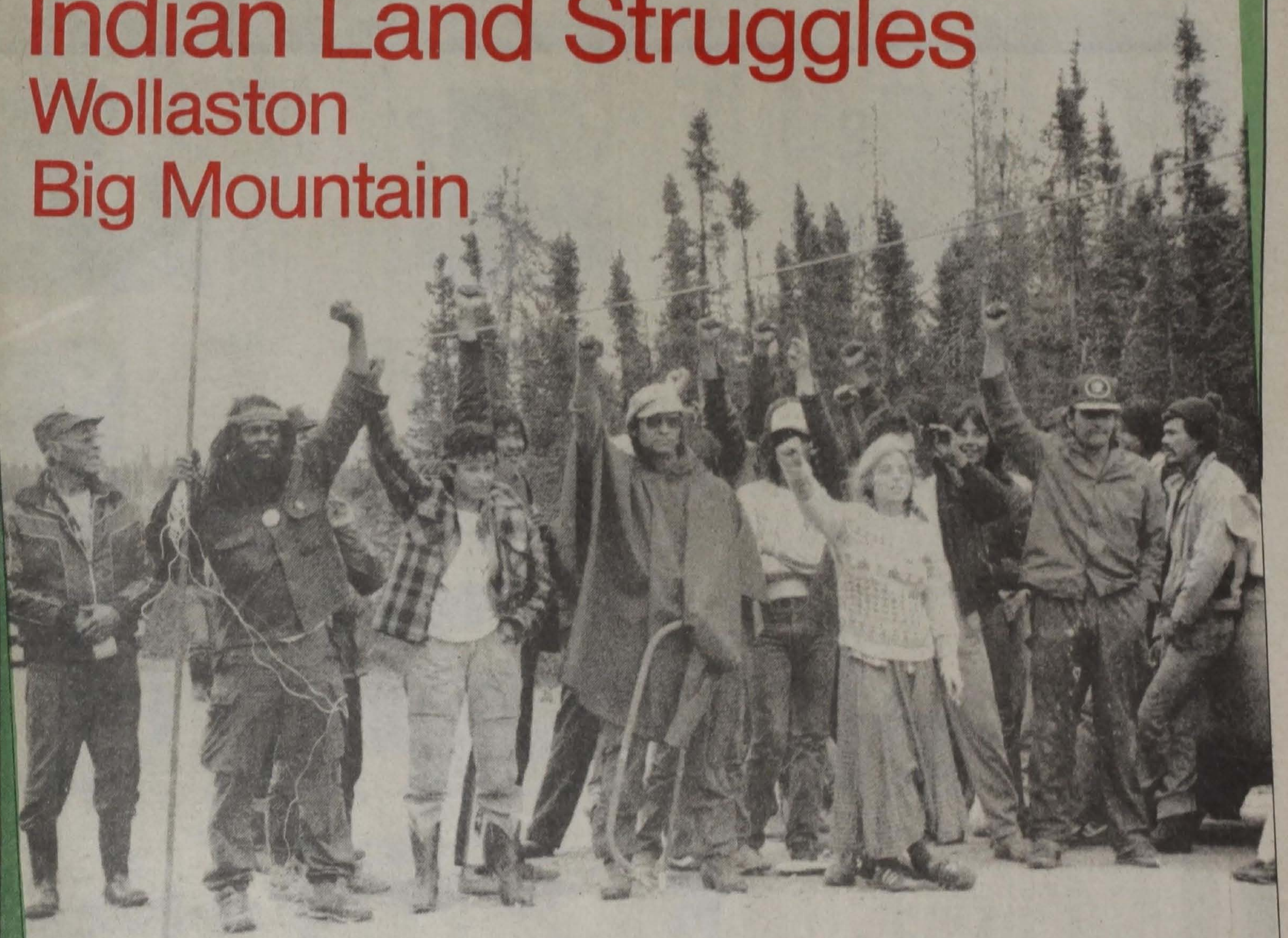
Europe: Fighting in the Streets

Insert! RESISTANCE No. 10

# OpenRoad

Issue Eighteen Spring 1986 \$1.50

Indian Land Struggles  
Wollaston  
Big Mountain



Anarchist History: Faked Photos  
Emma Goldman, "Great Women"



# Protestors Block Waste Trucks

MUNICH—Anti-nuclear protestors took to the streets in opposition to the WAA (Wiederaufbereitungsanlage) in Wackersdorf and in Gorleben in October. The first transports loaded with nuclear wastes had arrived after a pause of one year.

50,000 people marched

through the city on October 12, 1985. A 'Black Block' with the power of a few hundred anarchists were attacked but the police were unable to disrupt the group. Five banks had their windows smashed by the crowds, and in revenge the police arrested 45 people after the demonstration. In the

evening the police also attacked a peaceful street festival, claiming that the people had attacked a police car with stones. A few minutes later, 1,000 cops closed the city district and tried to arrest all the people from the festival. More than 150 people were caught, many were hurt, but

the rest of the crowd escaped. 10 of the arrested came to court.

The police attempted to justify their actions in the next few days with many lies, but it had been a well planned mission of the cops to criminalize the anti-nuclear movement.

On October 19th, several hundred people tried to demonstrate against the brutality of the police at the street festival, but were met with a repetition of events: the police attempted to arrest the whole demonstration, as it had been forbidden by the court an hour before it began. 53 people were arrested.

In Gorleben, on October 21st, the first three transports loaded with nuclear rubbish arrived at the 'Zwischenlager' after a one year pause. 300 activists gathered to prevent the semis from entering the dump site, but they were met with great numbers of Niedersachsen state police who had been in the area for several days. The first two transports that day were delayed only shortly, just as long as it took for the police to haul away the blockaders. The third truck stood over an hour in front of the gates, and did not enter under its own power, as protesters had destroyed the tires and brakes of the vehicle.

The second six transports which were to arrive at the 'Zwischenlager' the following day were stopped by the government, for during the night barricades were built which surrounded the dump site. The police were unable to prevent the barricades from being built or from being kept up that whole day. The transports had to stand 24 hours in the barrack of the German Army 50km away from Gorleben.

The next day (Oct. 23rd) the six transports arrived at the dump site accompanied by 300 police, bringing the total in the region to 1,800. The police closed the streets to allow the convoy to proceed, and attempted to control the forests as well, arresting three people in the process. Nevertheless, some people were able to make their way to the trucks and blockaded the street for an hour. The police arrested them and hurt one protester very seriously, that he had to be taken to the hospital.

After several quiet days, a new convoy of six transports arrived, and were faced with burning barricades and a 150 person blockade. The transports were, however, able to make their way to the dump without much difficulty as they travelled on sideroads and the cops had by this time become quite experienced in carrying out arrests.

(Ecomedia Berlin)



## Immigrants, Fascists Clash

COPENHAGEN—The violence and hatred between Danish fascists and immigrants culminated in a working class area here on October 2nd. Police swarmed onto the streets after fights broke out and seven people were arrested.

After intensive media coverage the fascists have had an influx of new members and they have become more aggressive, perhaps trying to live up to media expectations. The fascists, always dressed in green pilot jackets (and therefore called 'the Greenjackets'), are the same people who some months ago attacked a squatted house on Ragnildsgade St. in Copenhagen, thereby terrorizing the squatters out of the place.

Young immigrants are now organizing themselves into militant groups ('Warriors', 'The Black Brigade') to fight

the fascists. But so far most immigrants are hoping that everything will calm down if they just keep quiet.

October 13—14 a great concert against racism was held at the town hall square of Copenhagen by a group called 'SOS-Racism'. Thousands turned up.

October 18th a person claiming to represent the 'Greenjackets' called a taxi-company demanding that

a racist communique be read out in the 7:30pm news telecast, or they would shoot four taxi-drivers and then a policeman every ten minutes. It wasn't read out, and next morning a taxi-driver was found shot dead in his taxicab in a Copenhagen suburb. It hasn't been proved yet to be the 'Greenjackets'—it could as well be another kind of maniac. (Denmark Anarchist Federation)

## Riots Commemorate Uprising

ATHENS—A Greek guerrilla group calling itself the November 17 underground organization has claimed responsibility for the November 25th car bomb which ripped into a passing police bus, killing one police officer and injuring 14 others. The explosion occurred after about 1,000 anarchists gathered in front of Parliament demanding the release of people arrested in Athens during riots the previous week.

The guerrilla group has claimed responsibility for at least 6 political assassinations since 1975, including two U.S. officials, three Greek police officers and a right-wing Greek newspaper publisher. Its name comes from the November 17, 1973 student uprising against the military dictatorship of Col. George Papadopoulos, when police and soldiers invaded the campus, killing 30 people and wounding dozens more. The dictatorship collapsed eight months later.

The blast was the second major outbreak of violence since the riots which followed the police shooting of 15 year old Michalis Kaltezas as he tossed a firebomb at a police bus. The shooting took place after police disrupted an anti-NATO demonstration of 100,000 people commemorating the 12th anniversary of the stu-



—AP photo

dent uprising. Students and anarchists rampaged through the streets of three cities, throwing firebombs and smashing windows.

Thirty-eight persons, including 20 police officers, were injured and at least 70 arrested in Athens in what police called the worst rioting in the capital in years. Rioters hurled bricks through the windows of the South African Airways office, the Hilton Hotel coffee shop

and stores and shops, as well as throwing gasoline bombs at buses, cars, and other buildings.

Police responded with water cannons and billy jacks, clubbing scores of youths to the ground and throwing them into police buses.

The rioting spread to Salonica, the country's second largest city, and Xanthi, in northeastern Greece, but police said that rioting was not as serious

as in the capital.

National police chief Lt. General G. Romossios, his second in command, and the police commander of the Athens region were suspended following the rioting. The Greek minister of the interior and public order, Manios Koutsogiorgas, and his deputy, Thanassis Tsouras, submitted their resignations, but Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu refused to accept them.

## ZIMBABWE WORKERS' OCCUPATION

Springmaster Zimbabwe furniture factory workers face mass redundancy after the Courts ruled against the workers who are in occupation of company buildings.

Bruce Grant, Senior Manager, was beaten up by the factory workers, company cars were taken and the premises ran without 'managers' in response to the boss's plans. The company, fronted by Robin Beazly, intends to sack 700 workers once they have been evicted from their occupation.

It seems that 'Third World' or 'First' the 'streamlining' of the workforce goes on, whoever is in charge of the State.

(Black Flag)



# Demonstrator's Death Sparks Riot

FRANKFURT—Rioting, solidarity demonstrations, and numerous bomb attacks followed the death of Gunter Sare, killed during a recent demonstration here. Sare, a 36 year old unemployed mechanic and voluntary youth worker, was knocked by police water cannon from a street corner

onto the path of an oncoming vehicle. He bled to death from chest and head injuries after police prevented people from coming to his aid and even held back an ambulance for 20 minutes.

Reaction was immediate. Banks, insurance companies, airline offices, luxury shops

and cars were smashed in this West German commercial capitol and over 350 people were arrested throughout the country during riots and battles with the police in the next few days. The disturbances even spread to other countries, with the West German embassy in Copenhagen being attacked in a demonstration of solidarity.

On Friday, October 4th, 1985 an unemployment office in Frankfurt was firebombed, causing several thousand DM in damage. In a number of warehouses in Hamburg a related series of 11 bombs were planted, five of which were found and defused by

police, the rest exploding and causing a substantial amount of damage—millions of DM. These actions took place over four days, ending on the ninth. The Revolutionary Cells

exploded two bombs on October 7th; their targets were the Mercedes Benz office in Koln, and the genetic research

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## Cops Murder Squatter

AMSTERDAM—Riots and severe battles occurred for three days beginning October 24, 1985 in this Dutch capitol after a squatter died in police cells.

The fights started after the surprise eviction of a mother and child from her squatted flat in the Staatslieden area, a Squatters stronghold. Local squatters decided to do a mass re-squat. The police who were still occupying the flat panicked and fired their guns at the squatters, hitting one in the arm before escaping out the back.

The riot police were gathering outside; battles followed. All those arrested were badly beaten up. One Squatter's death in the police cells flared up the riots until Sunday evening (Oct. 26), leaving police cars in the parking lot of the main station

burnt out, most Council offices smashed, and other police stations attacked.

Other sources reported the occupation of the Townhall but no details are presently available. At least 50 people have been arrested, and solidarity actions against the Dutch state took place in West Germany.

100 people demonstrated at the office of KLM airlines in Berlin, and, the following day when 200 people met for a demonstration, six were arrested. On the 26th of October a bomb exploded at a police station in Nurnberg, causing about 10,000DM damage; and in Lohr, on the 27th a firebombing (also of a police station) was less successful, causing only slight damage.

(Black Flag, Ecomedia Berlin)

## Narita Struggle Continues

TOKYO—Protestors armed with steel pipes, petrol bombs and stones fought riot police near the Narita airport where a planned second runway—threatening farm land—is to be built. The anti-airport Farmer's Union said 4,000 marchers demonstrated and 200 were injured, 240 arrested.

A parked vehicle disguised as a firetruck burst into flames in front of the airport control tower.

The number of arrests was the highest in any anti-airport protest since Narita opened in 1978, a decade late because of effective disruption by protestors. (Black Flag)

### Spot the difference No.1

Can you spot the difference between the two almost identical photographs below? Photo No. 1 was published in *Black Flag* at the beginning of 1983 (Volume 7 No. 2A) and was taken at an anarchist/CNT-AIT demonstration held some years previously.

Photo No. 2 was published in the latest issue of *Sinews* (1985) who claim that the photo was taken earlier this year at a demonstration in Vittoria against the arrest of several 'CNT-U' members. Nice try, *Sinews*, better luck next time! -Black Flag



### Spot the difference No. 2



Top: the fake Solidaridad Obrera. Bottom: the real thing.

# Fake CNT Formed

The Spanish anarcho syndicalist trade union the CNT-AIT, is currently being hindered by another group calling itself the CNT. This group consists mainly of socialist and communist union members/supporters and with a mystery source of ample funds.

This group, known as the *CNT Renovadas* or, in Catalonia, the *CNT de Catalunya*, has made itself something of an irritating bore in the anarchist movement around the world but to the CNT-AIT it is a threat, despite the absurdity of the false CNT's claims and actions. The false CNT print posters looking as much as possible like those of the CNT-AIT, and issue press releases in the name of the CNT without making it clear which CNT it is.

Two quick examples of the confusion which this can lead to:

1. One of the recently evicted squatters told me that the CNT had approached them but had been rejected because they seemed bureaucratic and 'after something', only recently I found out that it had been the false CNT who had been involved, as they had a small group of supporters in the same area as the squat. Later the CNT-AIT sent them a letter offering any kind of support they wished and of course that too was rejected on

the grounds of 'What, that lot again?' Not familiar with the details of anarcho-syndicalist politics the squatters assumed that it was the same organisation.

2. In a recent issue of the *Solidaridad Obrera* (Catalan CNT-AIT paper), a letter appeared from a post office worker, Jordi Cadierno, complaining about how the bureaucratic manoeuvres of his own union, the communist CCOO, aided by the 'CNT' had sold out his fellow workers and

himself over a salary increase; he wanted to know why the 'CNT' had also helped break up the strike organised to back up the claims. Of course the *Soli* printed a reply explaining that they had nothing to do with the events, were opposed to what had happened, and that the 'CNT' functioning in the post office was a very different organisation.

MT Barcelona 24/7/85  
longer version in Black Flag 138

# Fake 'Soli' issued

The *Solidaridad Obrera* organ of the Catalan CNT-AIT has been coming out every two weeks or so since the death of the dictator. Before and during the Civil War, it was published daily.

In March of this year the *Renovadas* (see accompanying article) printed their own version of the same paper—same well-known title heading—and heralded it as the emergence after many years of silence of the well-known anarchist paper etc. There was no mention of the fact that the *Soli* had already been on news-stands month after month for eight years and already had a faithful readership (nor was there any mention of the CNT-AIT, nor

were there any references to anarchy, not even so much as a wee A sign.)

The phoni *Soli* had a print run of 2,000 for the whole of Spain (the original *Soli* runs 3,700 for Catalonia alone) and very probably—if format, paper and the lettering are anything to go by—was done on the presses of the liberal/monarchist daily called *Diario 16*; it wasn't distributed outside the *Renovadas*' premises: not one copy has appeared on a news-stand. They haven't printed another issue and in mid-July the designer of the logo gave the CNT/AIT exclusive rights over its use, so the false *Soli* can't appear again in its first and last guise.

# Australian Women's Army Formed

SYDNEY—A group of women are training women to defend themselves against men, on a farm outside this city. They are receiving training from an expert in unarmed combat from the Australian Army (Citizen's Military Force), and also train secretly with arms, according to police.

In a sensationalist report in the Australian *Sun Herald* the police say they photographed the women, known as 'the Sisters' dressed in army clothes, carrying out exercises in dense bushland on the farm. The police say the women have been training for five years, and draw their support from a

wide range of feminist organizations, in Sydney and Melbourne.

The authorities say the most serious allegation is that the women have formed a special unit to take back their children from men, by force.

The police say there is nothing they can do, officially—there is nothing to stop the women from training on private property. However, police have been using helicopters to photograph the land, and one was quoted as saying "there has been a huge upsurge in the purposefulness of radical female groups, and it is difficult to keep track of them...."



# Butlers Acquitted!

THE POLICE MAY HAVE HYPNOTIZED a couple of key witnesses in the murder trial of American Indian Movement warriors Dino and Gary Butler, but, for once, they weren't able to cast a spell over the jury.

After more than four years behind bars, the Butlers were finally acquitted October 19th, 1985 in Portland, Oregon in a trial with distinct native Indian cultural and religious overtones. They had been accused of the 1981 killing of a white grave-robber in Newport, Oregon, who had carried on a lucrative business by digging up the ancient graves of the Siletz Indian people of Oregon and removing religious artifacts for sale to private collectors. Despite repeated complaints by the Siletz, and despite the fact that such activities would be considered blasphemy and repugnant if carried out against Christian burial places, the police never lifted a finger to stop the illegal trafficking.

The FBI were zealous to see the Butlers convicted on account of their political activism, which in Dino's case dated back to the July 26, 1975 shoot-out between invading FBI agents, members of the American Indian Movement and residents of the Oglala Sioux nation in South Dakota. An Indian man, Joe Stuntz, and two FBI agents were killed in that firefight. When Dino and fellow defendant Bob Robideau were acquitted—on the grounds of self-defense—with the murder charges stemming from that shoot-out, the FBI told Dino that they were out to get him, no matter how long it took.

Seeing their opportunity in this case, the FBI took outrageous steps to see the Butlers convicted. They were responsible for having two eyewitnesses hypnotized, repeatedly showing them pictures of Dino and Gary, so that they would be able to recognize the defendants in court. The FBI also brought one of the witnesses to Vancouver to view a police line-up where the only suspects in prison uniform were the Butlers.

The defense, arguing that the use of hypnosis tainted the evidence, sought a pre-trial motion in the Newport courtroom to have this evidence ruled inadmissible. The Newport judge thought otherwise, but when the defense got a change of venue (due to extensive pre-trial publicity) to Port-



Darelle "Dino" Butler (left), Gary Butler (not shown), and Robert Van Pelt (center) at their trial.

land, they were able to convince the new judge that this evidence was completely unacceptable. In his Sept. 10th ruling, the Portland judge ordered that only the pre-hypnosis testimony of the two witnesses which had been made two days after the murder of the grave-robber would be accepted by the court.

In this testimony, the murderers were described as being 'tall' persons. This led to a dramatic courtroom scene, when the prosecutor, attempting to save his case—for the Butlers, while they are heavily built, are certainly not tall—sought to convince the jury of Dino and Gary's guilt during his examination of the grave-robber's son by, first, picking up the two revolvers allegedly used in the murder, waving them in the air, and exclaiming, "How tall am I now? How tall am I now?" He then picked up the knife from the evidence table and shouted, "How tall do I look now?" The prosecutor finished his dramatic presentation, worthy of the Perry Mason show, with the question, "When I'm on top of your father,

beating the piss out of him, how tall do I look?"

Three days after throwing out the evidence obtained by the FBI through hypnosis, the judge released a third accused, Robert Van Pelt, due to the lack of admissible evidence against him. Robert had turned himself in on April 30, 1985 when he heard that he was wanted on the same charges that faced his Siletz cousins. Their trials were consolidated on July 23rd. This decision was based on the experience of the trials that followed the Pine Ridge firefight. As Dino wrote in a letter to the Leonard Peltier Support Group, "In July 1976 Bob Robideau and I were acquitted of two murder charges that two years later Leonard Peltier was convicted of and sentenced to two consecutive life sentences. Our indictments were identical.

"There is no doubt in my mind that if Leonard Peltier had stood trial with Bob Robideau and me in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, he would have been acquitted right along with us. We did not want to make the same mistake here in Oregon. That is why Robert turned himself in and why his trial was consolidated with ours. We are innocent just as Leonard is innocent." Robert's release on Sept. 13th vindicated this position.

In his closing statement to the jury, the prosecutor asked for them not "to make a fool of him" by acquitting the defendants. His plea obviously fell on deaf ears, for they did acquit Dino and Gary. The Butlers returned to their families on the Siletz reservation.

After the verdict, Gary's wife Ishbel Butler said, "We feel justice had been partially served, but Lincoln County [where the trial was held] can never give them back the four years and all the things they went through."

The legal proceedings following the 1981 murder were interrupted by an extended stay by the two cousins in Canada. It wasn't a holiday though. They were on their way to visit friends in Vancouver in connection with

defense work for Leonard Peltier, then serving time in the infamous Marion Penitentiary, when a police car started tailing them.

The Butlers stopped to ask them what they wanted, but when the cops drew their guns, the two cousins decided they didn't want to stick around to see what was on their minds.

Result: four year sentences for discharging a firearm and dangerous driving.

## Hungerstrikes

For the next four years, they staged a series of hunger strikes and other actions, in cooperation with the native brotherhoods in each prison in which they were stashed, to win the right for native people to hold pipe ceremonies, sweat lodges and other traditional sacred rituals behind bars. The authorities resisted, in the knowledge that cultural and spiritual rights are often a forerunner of political rights.

By the end of the four years, assisted by effective lobbying all the way to the House of Commons by Opposition politicians, lawyers and (Christian) religious leaders, the right to practice traditional religion had been established, at least for the time being.

But it wasn't only in the prisons that the Butlers fought. They also used the courts as a forum to win native rights. After their conviction, they appealed on the grounds that the jury-selection process was racist: court officials admitted, in an unguarded moment, that they systematically excluded native people because they were allegedly "unreliable."

They won the appeal, which in effect was a rebuke to the Chief Justice of the British Columbia Supreme Court, who had presided at their first trial. He had also refused to allow them to bring their sacred pipe bundle into the

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## ON THE ROAD:

Just when you thought you'd never see another issue, here we are with #18, packed with all the good stories you've come to expect. We continue in this issue with the special insert of *Resistance*, a practice begun with #17. We did get a healthy response from our readers concerning the inclusion of this underground paper, most of which was in favour. The OR collective considered the many issues involved with including *Resistance*—financial, ideological, and practical—and we decided to go ahead with its inclusion. In fact, our next issue will be an attempt at amalgamating the two papers.

This will be achieved through a change in both papers. For *Open Road* this means expanding our Blast section to cover the guerrilla struggle

in greater detail, including the reprinting of selected communiques; for *Resistance*, this means writing more stories about groups and events in the struggle, and reprinting fewer direct statements from the clandestine organizations, especially those of M-L persuasion.

Along with our decision to amalgamate, we will be making a concerted effort to come out more frequently and regularly. This means that we are more than ever in need of your editorial, graphic and financial contributions. So drop us a line today.

The Open Road collective

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# Resistance at Wollaston

Dada-the. Literally, "death-rock" in Dene, uranium in English. In 1984, Canada became the number one producer and exporter of uranium in the western world, surpassing the USA for the first time. Most of this uranium is mined in the homeland of the Dene peoples, northern Saskatchewan, Canada. It was uranium from the Northwest Territories which helped produce the nuclear bombs exploded over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Today, uranium mined in Saskatchewan directly fuels the nuclear chains and weapons programs of several western nations, foremost USA and France.

Throughout the 1970's, the social democratic government of Saskatchewan diligently built up the infrastructure necessary to accommodate the boom in uranium exploration and mining. Resistance to 'progress' was discouraged by co-opted native leadership, who emphasized economic benefits to impoverished constituencies. Indeed, the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians proceeded to set up, with state/corporate funding, the Saskatchewan Indian Corporation (SINCO) whose main function was to truck the uranium to southern Canadian distribution points. SINCO Security is a special arm of this enterprise, responsible for guarding the uranium mine sites.

The constellation of transnational resource corporations now active in northern Saskatchewan include French, West German, American and Japanese based interests. The high grade of uranium ore close to the surface, and compliant Canadian and Saskatchewan state corporations are major factors attracting the transnational investment. However, just as significant is the relatively low level of political opposition in Saskatchewan, compared to Australia or Namibia. Saskatchewan thus remained the only important growth area for the global uranium industry, undercutting competing areas in terms of price, quality and assured supply.

Northern Saskatchewan is a beautiful country of abundant forests, wild berries and other edible plants, wildlife, fish and interconnecting lakes and rivers. The air is still refreshing to breathe and the water tastes good. A person can still catch a fish or animal with some assurance it is free of toxic chemicals and pollutants. This 300,000 sq. km. area is rapidly changing from one of the few unpolluted spots in the world to a radioactively contaminated 'national sacrifice area'. Spills and leaks of radioactive materials and toxic chemicals that spread wastes into the environment, worker accidents and radiation 'overexposure' are common at uranium mines in Saskatchewan. The wastes from the 25 open pit and underground mines that were operated near Uranium City from 1953 to 1982 were dumped without treatment onto nearby land and into lakes. One lake now contains no fish or plant life because the water has become too acidic from chemicals used to process the uranium. Some lakes have more wastes than water and some of these 12 million tonnes of wastes have



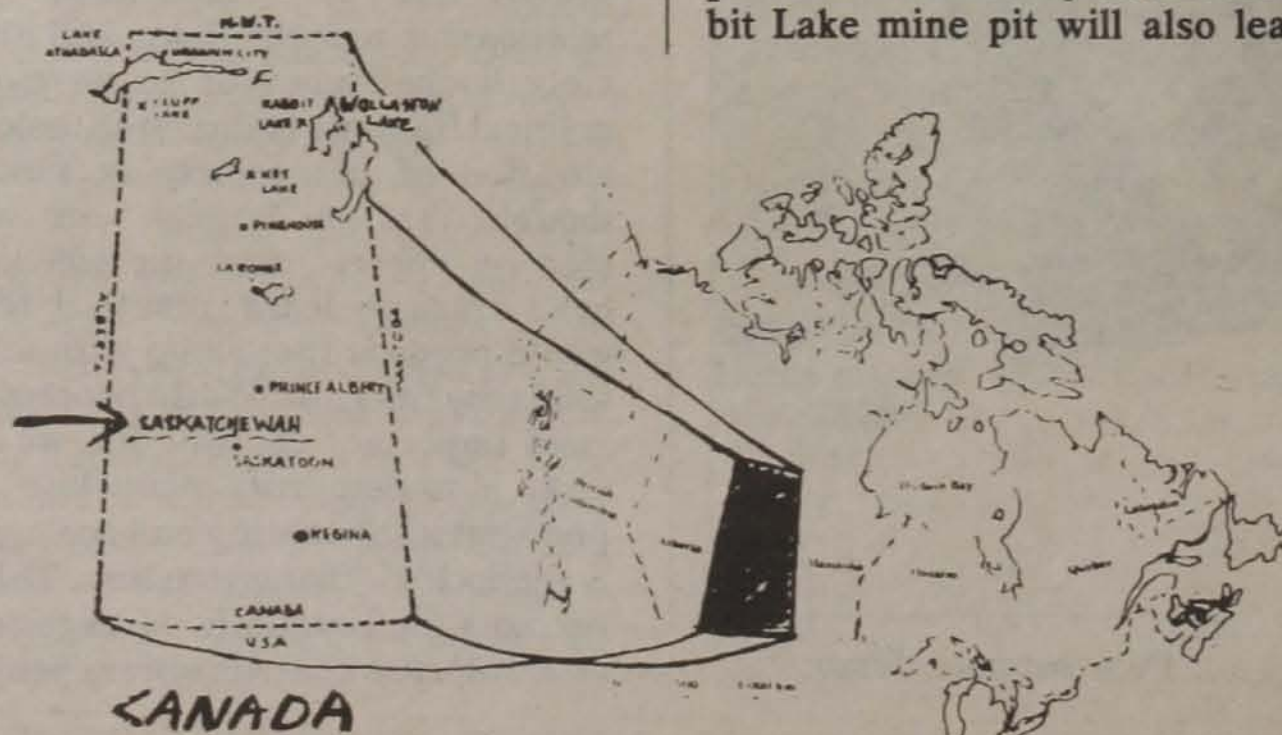
Rabbit Lake open pit mine.

**'I've tried my best to have meetings with the governments and mining companies to discuss how the mines would effect the people for years to come. But they never did that, they just went on their own without letting the people know. It seems like these people are only interested in making money out of our land.'** - Chief Hector Kkailther

overflowed into Lake Athabasca. The extremely dangerous radioactive radium wastes from the Cluff Lake operations which began in 1978 have been placed in nearly 3000 two-tonne concrete containers, of which 200 are now leaking. In 1982 a spill of over two tonnes of this material with radiation levels 600,000 times the regulation level was reported. Cluff Lake Mining has still not decided what to do with this material.

The latest and most spectacular accident was the spill of 100 million liters of radioactive liquid with radiation levels at least 20 times regulation levels at the Key Lake mine in 1984. The open pit at Key Lake is the world's largest and contains a very high grade ore. Many spills occurred at Rabbit Lake mine during its operations from 1975 to 1984. From 1975 to 1977 the waste liquid released into Wollaston Lake frequently contained toxic levels of ammonia.

In spite of these problems and catastrophic accidents the government departments responsible for the protection of the environment at both the federal and provincial levels continue to allow explorations to proceed. One of these developments is the Collins Bay 'B-Zone' open pit which began operations last summer. This mine is especially dangerous because the uranium is actually under the bottom of Wollaston Lake. Wollaston Lake is the major commercial fishery of northern Saskatchewan and many Dene families make their living from it. The thin sheet steel dike that has been built to keep lake water out of the pit may not be high enough to withstand strong waves which are a common occurrence on the lake. Radiation will seep through the ground and even more radiation will spread into the lake when the dike is removed after operations are completed. Radiation from the wastes that will be placed in the nearby abandoned Rabbit Lake mine pit will also leak and



leach into Wollaston Lake and also spread into the environment through the air.

The 'B-Zone' is only one of many high grade deposits in the Wollaston area. There are four more deposits under Wollaston Lake at 'A-Zone', 'D-Zone', 'Eagle South', and 'Eagle Point' in Collins Bay. Several more deposits are located west of Wollaston Lake at Dawn Lake, Midwest Lake, McLean Lake, Raven-Horseshoe, West Bear, McCarthur and Cigar Lake adjacent to the south-west shore of Waterbury Lake. The deposit of 230,000,000 pounds of 10 per cent average grade uranium at Cigar Lake is even larger and richer than Key Lake and one uranium company stated that robots may be needed to remove it because radiation levels will be so high in the underground mine needed to remove the ore.

Mining this extraordinarily high grade uranium ore is so profitable that one American uranium executive was quoted recently calling Saskatchewan "the Saudi Arabia of the uranium business." The lax licensing and environmental protection regulations by both provincial and federal governments encourage developments and ensure profitable operations. In fact both levels of government are directly involved in the uranium industry through the provincial crown corporation Saskatchewan Mining Development Corporation (SMDC), which is involved at Key Lake, Cluff Lake, Cigar Lake, Dawn Lake and other mines and exploratory drills; and the federally owned Eldorado Nuclear, which recently purchased the Rabbit Lake/Collins Bay operation from Gulf Minerals.

International corporations are enjoying the political climate of the Saskatchewan uranium business. Foreign companies involved with SMDC in the Cigar Lake venture include Cogema Canada, a subsidiary of the Atomic Energy commission of France, and Idemitsu Kosan of Japan. The president of one company operating in Saskatchewan was quoted in the March 1985 issue Saskatchewan Business: "I'd rather face the technical problems of mining Cigar Lake than the political hassle of developing a uranium mine in Australia."

## Four day blockade of uranium mine

In the summer of 1985 an unprecedented protest took place in northern Saskatchewan on the west side of Wollaston Lake. All traffic in and out of Rabbit Lake and Collins Bay uranium mines was blockaded for eighty hours from June 14 - 17, 1985. A few kilometres up the road from the blockade, mining had continued unhindered by opposition for over a decade. Mining for uranium has taken place in northern Saskatchewan for over three decades. The action marked the first publicly announced, planned act of civil disobedience against the uranium industry in Saskatchewan.

The blockade was significant for several reasons. First, it was a response to the appeal of the Dene people of Wollaston Lake, who initiated and led the actions. In the past, resistance to uranium mining in northern Saskatchewan has been initiated by urban-based groups, including the American Indian Movement and assorted non-native anti-nuclear groupings. These initiatives were often met by suspicion and even hostility by the Dene, who have experienced their share of 'well-meaning' colonial interlopers. Second, it marked the first co-ordinated



# RESISTANCE

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## British Youth Strike Back



A series of riots swept England's Black ghettos in the late summer and fall of 1985.

The first riot occurred in Handsworth, Birmingham, on September 9th. The press and police attempted to portray the riot as an internal struggle between Blacks and Asians, and it became clear only later the involvement of the National Front in the looting of local Asian merchants and the arson attack on a local post office that left two Asian men dead. The riot had been triggered by police harassment of an Asian man riding a motorbike.

The second riot was in Brixton, London, on September 28th. It was triggered by the shooting of Cherry Groce, during a police raid on her home. The police were looking for her son, a 19 year old robbery suspect. Ms. Groce will probably be paralyzed from the waist for the remainder of her life.

The third riot in Toxteth, Liverpool, on October 1st, was triggered by the trial of four Black men.

The fourth and most recent riot, was in Tottenham, London on October 6th. It was triggered by the death of Cynthia Jarret during a raid on her home. The police were purportedly looking for stolen video equipment. The suspect, her son, didn't even live with her. The police continued their search while Ms. Jarret, who subsequently died of a heart attack, lay gasping for breath on the floor. During the riot one cop was knifed to death, and 220 people were injured, 200 of them cops.

What follows is an interview with two residents of Brixton who participated in the riots there. The two people in question were interviewed separately, and as such any differences that they may have had could not be explored. The interviews were subject to minor editing to prevent unnecessary repetition, without altering the ideas expressed.

Do you think the riot was provoked simply by the shooting of Cherry Groce, or were

there other elements at play?

A. I think all riots have a big lead up to them, not necessarily the specific behaviour of the police in the months leading up to it. Peoples' attitude toward the police and the police attitude toward the community is one of complete mutual hostility.

B. Nothing happens for one reason. People in Brixton are always pissed off. They're pissed off for lots of reasons. They're pissed because they're caged animals in a ghetto in London. There's all the racism, all the

economic isolation, all the unemployment, hunger, the imprisonment within Brixton. They hate because they're frustrated as individuals. They've been brought up in fear. They'll take the chance when it comes to rage. That's the nobility of what happened in Brixton.

I've heard that the racism is getting worse. I've heard that this riot was going on for weeks before it happened. People were talking about their fury, talking about their anger, talking about the way they're pushed around, talking about the fact that their whole neighbourhood has been broken up

by bulldozers. They're being moved out by trendies, out of the one little scrap of the world they can call their own. Of course the pressure has been becoming worse, the unemployment's been becoming worse. The future isn't optimistic. The Tories have a strong hold in government, and all the things they're doing, right now the abolition of the GLC(1), for the token that that might represent. There's a whole bunch of factors that fit together that anger grows out of.

The meaning of unemployment plays a large role. What unemployment means is

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## Julie Rats Out

On September 23, 1985 the B.C. Court of Appeal heard Julie Belmas, former member of the Canadian clandestine organizations Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade, appeal her 20 year sentence. During her testimony, she said she had renounced her activities, and described how she became involved with armed struggle and events leading up to and including the firebombing of Red Hot Video and Litton Systems of Canada. She named and described the activities of her former comrades Ann Hansen, Gerry Hannah, Brent Taylor and Doug Stewart, including activities for which some of these political prisoners have not been charged. The head of the three member panel, Judge Nemetz, ordered the transcripts of the appeal seized so that they could be used against Brent and Ann when they come up for appeal (before the same panel). The court's decision on Julie's appeal has yet to be handed down.

A classic example of the prison and justice system attacking the weakest link, breaking the will of Julie and reducing her to a pitiful, whining and sobbing spectre of her former self, Julie announced her 'rehabilitation' saying how she would like to 'values' and how she would like to teach criminology courses so that young people wouldn't follow her wayward path. Blaming

her youth and impressionable nature, (introducing a pamphlet on 'Identity, Youth and Crisis') she criticized Brent and Ann for misleading and misdirecting her, and completely accepted the prosecution's portrayal of Ann and Brent as the leaders and herself as a lowly soldier. She spoke of pressure being applied to her due to her debts, and how she spoke tough on the phone only because she couldn't bear Ann and Brent's scorn. She asked the court to show her leniency because her guilty plea had started the whole ball rolling and how she had saved the justice system so much money by not proceeding with a trial by jury. All in all, a pathetic spectacle.

Julie's turnaround did not surprise the Vancouver political community supportive of the Five. There had been enough signals indicating in which direction she intended to go, her rejection of the Free the Five Defense Group's financial and political support (money sent for Julie's appeal instead will be spent on Ann's and Brent's), her slide into religion at the Kingston Prison for Women where she and Ann were imprisoned and where Ann remains, her failure to answer correspondence, and her break-up with Direct Action member Gerry Hannah. And it was only the liberalism and naivete of the Vancouver revolutionary community that continued to accept Julie



JULIE BELMAS

following her plea of guilty in June 1984 accompanied as it was by a signed confession implicating Brent in a number of activities. At that time, none of the other defendants had pleaded guilty, and while the Defense Group tells us that Brent was not overly disturbed by this betrayal (he being much more concerned with an upcoming court decision on the use of wiretaps) a betrayal it was, one which was not negated by Julie's subsequent recanting on the

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**FROM PAGE 1**

you have no way to enter the system which is held up to be the most important thing on every Telly show. Or when they go to the market and try to buy food, but its priced beyond their means for any kind of decent food they would want to eat without worrying about the pennies it takes to buy it. Unemployment is having nothing to do but get drunk or stoned out. There's no countryside for them. That's all unemployment.

**Do you think the riot would have occurred if the riot hadn't occurred several weeks earlier in Handsworth?**

A. I don't know. It always seems to happen like that, but Handsworth happened without other riots happening before that, so I think it could easily have. In Birmingham that little boy had been shot two weeks before that(2). I think peoples' tolerance point has got to a boiling point.

Maybe it's the futility of expressing your anger in any other way. Also riots are like a community sport, they're fun, which is something I'd never known before. In got such a negative image from the media about Handsworth. I thought it was terrible. I swallowed the whole thing about West Indians and the Asian community and the fact that Asians were the ones that got their shops burnt, and I thought it was really terrible. Obviously that's shit. It was an Asian man that was riding the motorbike in the incident that provoked the riot.

For some months policing in Brixton had been getting more aggressive. We were really expecting something to happen this summer because the Front Line was evicted. They cleaned-up the whole of that area of Railton Road where the dope was sold. I think in general the dealers in Brixton were saving their own backs, they weren't going out and rioting. The eviction of the Front Line was a very successful little police operation.

B. There's been a path of things leading up

to this this summer. There was Stonehedge (3) which was well publicized—the beating up of children and pregnant women, people that weren't there for confrontation. That was perhaps the most publicized issue. Nothing happened when the baby was killed in his crib(2), but that stayed in peoples' minds. There's the different marches on various issues, socialism, anti-racism, anti-National Front(4) stuff.

The police are becoming more heavy-handed, more obvious. They put forward this insipid program of Community Policing, which means the police are controlled by the central government. There is no such thing as metropolitan police, much less a community police force. It's a publicity campaign which the police put forward because they're not able to control the streets in the way they want, control the streets in the way the State demands they do. So they tried to co-opt people on the streets by giving them little carrots of peace and quiet, and stuff like that, and to co-opt certain elements in the community to believe that the police are their friends. They walk around and smile and say hello, give the kids candy, and things like that, to show that they're really an upright organization. They attempt to hide the real face of the police in relation to the State. It's been going on for a few years. I think its highly effective. I think it's a quite thought out development on the part of the police because it does have a small, but nevertheless significant effect, because it divides. Perhaps the division has infuriated people more, because now their community is sprouting with copites, people that think they're cops, people who have been baited into it and segregated. I think that that's part of the reason people are pissed off, this new image of the cops when in fact they're doing the same thing as before, and much worse. They're pushing people around. More harrassment, more break-ins, 250 this year, I think 50 have been documented with degrees of violence. 50 is a lot, 250 is even more. That doesn't count all the times on street when the coppers pass and say,

"Hello, how are you?", and the people know they're going to be back in ten minutes saying "What's in your pockets?". Brixton is perhaps the worst place in Great Britain next to Belfast, except the police don't run up and down the streets like Rambos, they slide around in their vans, they have walkie-talkies, they're there all the time.

Everybody in Brixton has been wondering when the riots were going to occur. I really felt it was overdue. I was surprised it didn't happen before now. It's always been a tinderbox. There's always been little skirmishes that are never publicized, Handsworth was just the biggest thing that happened. It acted as a note that it could happen again. Seeing a riot tells you that you can do it. Handsworth gave people hope it could happen and affected the already developing spontaneous resistance. It could have acted as a match.

Something very clearly happened in Brixton with the shooting of Cherry Groce, that was a clear catalyst.

So four major factors: growing discontent of people in Brixton, the shooting of Cherry Groce, Handsworth, the rise of political criticism and action by various groups from socialists, anarchists, the Irish, anti-racist groups, a growing critique, a growing leftist understanding of reality.

Most people probably didn't even know that Cherry Groce had been shot. At the beginning at 5:30 there were 200 people at town hall demonstrating. Out of the 200, probably a minor percentage were rioters. Most people during the night were just saying "Well, it's time". They were pissed off. Probably most of these people didn't know much about South Africa, much about Labour discontent, much about Handsworth. They were just pissed off.

**Do you think the skinhead, National Front type violence of the last year played any role in sparking the riots?**

A. This doesn't happen in Brixton. I think that fascists are shit scared to come into Brixton. It does happen in East London. People know that the police are really racist, and the Stoke Newington thing where the police and the NF were practically hand in hand doesn't surprise people at all. Basically the police and non-white communities in London, it's just mutual hostility.

B. I think it's a minor factor. I don't think it's a major factor. The NF don't play a role in Brixton itself. They play a role in general consciousness from what the people see in the papers and on the Telly. There's increasing racism on the Telly, in the Tory Party, in the Labour Party to a lesser degree, in general really. But the NF is really a minor factor.

**What do you think of the media claim that the riot was the work of outside agitators,**

**usually identified as Trotskyites and Anarchists?**

B. It's bullshit. It's just like the last time(5). What I'm trying to say is that when we take all the outside factors, it's the inside life, the isolation, community isolation, that makes people the most pissed off. As long as there's isolation of people from any good living standards, any good living opportunities, any real contact with themselves, ideas can be labelled as outside, but a lot of those outside people live here, they live here just like they live anywhere else. Surely there may be a possibility that there were a few agitators who had come into the community specifically for that purpose, but they came into the community for that purpose after the first riot had occurred. So they weren't the ones to cause the riot because the first riots happened without them. The effect they had on the majority of people was even more minimal than other categories of consciousness and awareness.

**To what degree do you think the riot could be called a racial riot?**

A. It's a racial issue in that the police are racist and black people get much the worst treatment from them. But white and black people were rioting, and the white people weren't just the politically motivated types, but others as well. I was in the centre of the riot and I've never felt safer on the streets of Brixton, 'cause generally there's a perfectly understandable hostility between black and white people here. Brixton's bad for oppressed groups hating each other, so generally you're scared of that, and you're scared of the police.

But the police were on the run and the black and white people were cooperating entirely in the rioting, and it was really excellent, and there have been links formed between groups now which are really good. But on the outskirts there were some opportunist wankers who were mugging people and generally getting in the way. Two rapes happened on the night of the riot and one was the daughter of a Tory MP. Where I was people were into getting the police and not into looting and certainly not mugging and that shit.

B. I've heard a lot of bad stories about racialism. Personally I had no problems at all. I felt a great solidarity. I'm white and I felt a great solidarity from blacks. I dropped my defenses. It's hard, you hear all the stories. I just felt real good stuff. Definately there were probably a few people using cover of the riots to use their own violent tendencies to get a few extra pennies from some other innocent person. There's always those jerks who use the opportunity, rather than get their frustrations out about a general enemy, for their own means. But they're also part of the issue, they're just a bit more opportunistic about it. As long as the problem is made to be black vs. white in

## JULIE APPEALS 20-YEAR SENTENCE

**FROM PAGE 1**

pages of the **Vancouver Sun**, the major daily in the metropolitan area.

Whether it be an 'upright citizen' befriended by, and acting for, the cops; a sleazy informer working for the police for money or to avoid charges; or a former member of the guerilla organization who has broken down under the stress of capture, confinement or torture, an informer is one of the guerillas worst fears. Look at the supergrasses of Northern Ireland and Italy and the destruction they have caused to the struggle there, or, closer to home, to the role of traitors in the trials of the Brinks defendants, the New York 8, and the Puerto Rican patriots in the U.S.

The use of informers as one of the most effective weapons in the counter-insurgency arsenal means that we, as revolutionaries, have to take special care with whom we work, discouraging those we feel haven't

reached the political and emotional maturity to engage in this line of activity, to look deep into ourselves to see if we, ourselves, are capable of withstanding the onslaught of the state and to take structural precautions to limit the amount of damage that can result from the turning of a comrade.

After all, to inform is to betray. To betray your comrades, to betray the revolution, to betray the people. If there is one transgression that cannot be countenanced it is that. On that score there is no forgiveness, no mitigating factors. It is the bottom line—one can't get any lower.

So if Brent did stand up, as Julie testified in her appeal hearing, and said harshly to her that she "was out to sabotage everything he had dedicated his life towards" and that she "should be very careful" he was right.

For that is the destructive power of the informer and the proper attitude that we need to have towards them.





Newman warns: Police 'won't shrink' from using plastic bullets and CS gas

PLOT BEHIND THE RIOT

by Michael Peck, Peter Dobbie, Adrian Shaw and John Stevens

SPECIAL REPORTS: PAGES 2, 3, 5

POLICE now in control of the Tottenham estate where one policeman died and seven people were injured by a shotgun, were looking at evidence today which suggested the riot was planned.

And Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir Kenneth Newman said that he was prepared to use plastic bullets and CS gas to prevent what he called "terrible and atrocious crimes."

"I wish to put all people of London on notice," he said, "that I will not shrink from such a decision should I believe it is a practical option for restoring peace and preventing crime and injury."

As police made their first examinations of several areas on the Broadwater Farm estate in Tottenham, at least two people were arrested following the discovery of petrol bomb-making equipment and "other evidence."

WIN £7500 GOLD: PAGE 9

Police fears that the violence was planned were also heightened by reports that by 3 pm yesterday a van and lorry-loads of bricks and rubble packed in plastic dustbins had been moved into the area. Some witnesses claimed that at the height of the violence they heard a whistle being blown among the angry crowds as a signal. Detectives were also trying to trace two men who reported seeing two other men with walkie-talkie sets apparently guiding mobs armed with petrol bombs to their targets. Sir Kenneth Newman said there was evidence that political agitators had been active on the estate. "Their presence has been noted ever since the Brixton disturbances in areas of ethnic concentration," he told a Press conference. "They are from both within and outside London and they are both black and white. I am waiting for more detailed reports from my officers but they were probably of a Trotskyite or anarchist outlook. Only last week the main in-



WOUNDED: a TV sound man and a policeman hit by shotgun pellets.

Brixton that problem will be harder. That's the key element in all this. Even if a lot of blacks don't believe it and a lot of whites don't believe it, as long as the myth is perpetuated by the cops and the State it's going to be harder to control. I couldn't give you a percentage, but a lot of people understand that that stuff is bullshit. When animals are caged they strike out. When people are caged they strike out too. strike out in very different ways. What's the answer. It all comes down to whether the people are going to be caged or not. It's not challenging direction, it's uncaging people. I guess I think people can control this opportunistic violence by themselves. The police certainly aren't going to do it.

The riots attacked mostly objects, there was a disregard for property. They attacked stores, petrol stations, took things from stores which they couldn't afford. It was economic rioting, it wasn't thievery, it was taking things they could never afford. Unfortunately it was from people in the community rather than down in Mayfair or Chelsea or places like that. The second important thing was the rise of street captains. The thing about riots based on grouplets is you don't even have a group on

the street. Certain people on the street were able to take non-authoritarian roles in attempting to judge the positions of the police, types of attacks that they made, and attempt to advise the crowd that they had a presence and a power that went far beyond them as individuals. That's the main point of a struggle that people stick together. The third point is the way they attacked the figures of authority with zeal. The police were the invaders, the occupiers. They may have been throwing bricks at police, but they were also throwing bricks at people who were invading their areas against their will

The question of how the police responded, that's something much more profound. Hopefully someone can figure it out and document it.

Some people were arrested during the riots, has an organization been formed to defend the arrested?

A. I think there is a defence campaign, but it's not something I know about actually. The most serious arrests were the ones in Tottenham because they were very young kids arrested for the murder of P.C.

Blakelock(6). The story I heard about that was that he was laying into a group of kids when he was stabbed, and someone had to do something to stop him, which is why he was stabbed.

How have the police been acting in the community since the event?

A. They're keeping quite a low profile, but not particularly differently. I think the community cop is doing a little less nodding and smiling, 'cause it's not credible anymore. The whole community policing experiment has been such a desperate failure.

B. They've been backed up by numerous more vans hidden in corners. Any chance of confrontation they whip in overwhelming forces at a minutes notice so they can't get into any trouble. People feel this incredible police state around them.

Do you think there was any connection between the riot in Brixton and the subsequent riot in Tottenham?

A. What I heard about Tottenham was that the police there had been stepping up their pressure, especially on weekends. I was there recently and there were so many police around! There really were a lot of police in Tottenham. They'd been building up their presence and being obviously provocative, especially on Saturday nights. Everyone expected the riot to happen on a Saturday night. Then this woman died very late on a Saturday night, and it actually happened on a Sunday morning. So I think there'd been some uneasy hostile feelings at Tottenham for some weeks beforehand, and that the connection with Brixton wasn't particularly strong.

Do you think there is any credibility to the government claim that groups of people, usually referred to as outside agitators, or Trotskyites and anarchists, are travelling from one riot to another?

A. The purpose of making that claim is to try to present the image of a bunch of political agitators creating the situation, which is just a load of shit, we are living off the back of a riot created by well-organized blacks, and the idea that we could start a riot like this is just nonsense. I went to Tottenham, which was a mistake. One of the things that was a mistake about going up to Tottenham was that we didn't know the streets. We weren't from the area so we couldn't do anything effective. The people who create a riot are from the community and the others are there for tourist purposes. Claiming it's outside agitators is a total insult. The people of Tottenham said, "We don't need outside agitators to fight back". I think travelling from one riot to another is not a thing to do. I regret going to Tottenham. I think it was politically a complete mistake.

B. There are always spectators at shows. I think that people who went wanted to rid themselves of tyrants. They heard there was another chance. It was unorganized. Those people played no role in Tottenham, just as the people who came from outside had little

effect here. They were spectators most of the time.

Did the organized left, in fact, play any role?

B. The organized left, I suppose if we include the liberals, played a role in Brixton, because someone passed out legal aid leaflets. That was a very good move. I don't think the organized left, from anarchists to Trotskyists, with their rhetoric, played any role except maybe their presence, a few little things they might've done. Other than Labour information in the big dialies, I don't think the left plays much role in Brixton. The biggest movement in Brixton among blacks is the Christian movement, the new Christian movement. They sing on street corners and have their chapels all over the place. A Christian, a Minister, an appointed community leader, was condemning the riot. He was talking at town hall at the beginning, trying to pacify the crowds, and he had a molli tossed at him and his pants caught fire, so I guess the people in the street didn't think much of him.

Do you expect an attack on the left in Brixton as a result of the riot?

A. I suppose. We've been preparing for raids. I'm surprised it hasn't happened yet because of all the media stuff about the RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party—a Trotskyite group) and the anarchists provoking the riots. The thing is it might be quite embarrassing for them because they know they won't find anything. They know that. So maybe they'll leave it out because it's better for the media to be able to go on saying it's white political agitators.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) The Greater London Council, a government appointed body which oversees grants to community and popular organizations. It has traditionally been left-leaning. It is currently being gutted by Tory cut-backs. The cutbacks are the focus of a large protest campaign.
- 2) A reference to the shooting of a five year old boy in his crib by the police during a raid on his parents' home in Birmingham in the summer of '85.
- 3) The police attacked and brutally beat peaceful celebrators congregating for the traditional Summer Solstice celebration at Stonehedge.
- 4) A neo-nazi formation in Great Britain. The NF has waged a widespread campaign of attacks and arson against non-whites, especially East Indians, for the last year. A number of people have been killed.
- 5) A reference to the '81 riot in Brixton. As is the case this year, the '81 riot was one of a series of riots in black ghettos.
- 6) A cop knifed to death during the Tottenham riot. The police have charged four young men with murder in this case, three black men aged 26, 15, and 14, and a white man aged 13.

News Briefs

OHIO SEVEN ON TRIAL

On November 4, 1984 heavily armed government agents captured five anti-imperialist revolutionaries in Cleveland, Ohio. In a subsequent police action on April 24, 1985 two more combatants were captured in Norfolk, Virginia. Together, Patricia Gros, Raymond Lavasseur, Barbara Curze-Laaman, Richard Williams, Jaan Laaman and Tom and Carol Manning make up the Ohio Seven. Their conspiracy trial related to the ten actions of the United Freedom Front from 1982 to 1984 was scheduled to begin September 30 in the Eastern District Federal Court in Brooklyn, New York.

In an attempt to break the political prisoners the state has used isolation, brutality and psychological warfare against them. During the Cleveland raid the children of Barbara and Jaan were taken by the government and

incarcerated in the substandard Metzenbaum Centre. It was six weeks before the children were turned over to the families of the prisoners. Tom and Carol Manning's children were held after the Norfolk raid and it was only after a month long hungerstrike by Tom and a media and letter-writing campaign to pressure the judge that the children were released.

In addition to this psychological attack on the prisoners, they have been treated brutally by the prison and justice system. When the initial five defendants attempted to read a political statement to the court they were viciously set upon by over 20 Federal Marshalls using blackjacks and 5,000 volt stun guns. There have been other beatings of the prisoners, denials of visits, the use of solitary confinement, and the confiscation of mail. To show your support, contact: Ohio 7 Defense Committee, Box 23, Dixmont, ME 04932, USA.

NEW YORK 8 ACQUITTED

On August 5, 1985 eight Black revolutionaries were acquitted in a New York courtroom of conspiring to liberate New Afrikan Prisoners of War Kuwesi Balagoon and Sekou Odinga, and to expropriate an armoured truck. Lesser charges of possession of firearms and of making false documents were met with guilty verdicts against all of the defendants except one. In addition, eight individuals who had taken a principled stand of non-collaboration with the Grand Jury which had been set up following the arrest of the New York 8, were released from prison on July 31st.

The New York 8 had been arrested during simultaneous raids on numerous homes in New York City by an army of 500 FBI agents and NY police officers, following intensive surveillance of nearly two years duration. For more information contact: New York 8+

Defense Committee, 2415 Coney Island Ave., Brooklyn, NY, 11223 USA. Also check out the Summer, 1985 issue of *Overthrow*, for an insightful interview with three of the defendants. (Insurgent)

PUERTO RICAN PATRIOTS FOUND GUILTY

On August 5, 1985 four Puerto Rican patriots were found guilty of "seditious conspiracy" to "overthrow the U.S. government by force to win independence for Puerto Rico" by a Chicago, Illinois jury. They were sentenced by Judge Leighton on October 4th. The three FALN combatants Alejandra Torres, Alberto Rodriguez, and Edwin Cortes received 35 year sentences while Jose Luis Rodriguez, an independentiste non-combatant received a 20 year suspended sentence and five years probation. Jose had rejected the

U.S. government's 'deal' to have the charges dropped against him if he would make a statement condemning the use of violence; the three Puerto Rican Prisoners of War similarly rejected their part of the 'deal' whereby they would receive a lighter sentence in return



for pleading guilty. For more information, contact: National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, Box 147, 2520 N. Lincoln, Chicago, Il. 60614 USA. (Insurgent, Libertad)



# FIGHTING COMMUNIST CELLS



*On this morning of November 26, 1984, the Fighting Communist Cells attacked a communications centre outside the air force base of Bierset with explosives. We have destroyed two antenna towers and their ground installations.*

Located at this base (Bierset) is the squadron of Mirage 5 fighter bombers, part of the Tactical Air Force of this country, which has been put under direct NATO command through the Second Allied Tactical Air Force (2 ATAF). We take this opportunity to salute the comrades of the Red Army Faction (RAF), whose Sigurd Debus commandos attacked the general headquarters of this force in Ramstein (FRG) in August 1981.

The attack and the sabotage of the imperialist military apparatus occupy an obviously privileged position within revolutionary politics, and even relatively small or non-sensational actions can help put a wrench into the enemy's works. Further, when such actions become 'mass', spontaneous practice, they encircle the enemy, isolate it, and can even crucially paralyse it. As spontaneous mass practice, such actions have a dialectical relationship to the practice and the political direction of the organized communist vanguard; this is becoming possible and realisable today.

False paradox. The role of Belgium within the imperialist military organization is limited but central, and therefore, revolutionaries are confronted with the fact that the attack on this centre, on this military apparatus, becomes itself central within the concrete framework of international communist revolution. The political-military apparatus of NATO is at the same time a function of permanent social domination and the last rampart of the capitalist mode of production. NATO is the most obvious expression of the highest stage of capitalism: imperialism. As the comrades from Stammheim so aptly describe it: 'war of aggression outside and counter-revolution inside' (the metropolis).

It is NATO—including the ABI and the Belgian state—which guarantees imperialist order over all the continents, from the Malvinas to Berlin, from Palestine to Pretoria, from Turkey to Zaire, from Grenada to Morocco... To be a political-military base for the direction and the export of imperialist domination, such is the function assigned to Belgium by its Yankee masters.

But establishing the fact that NATO has set up one of its major command centres on the territory of this country is useless if it does not lead to an analysis of what revolutionary politics must be under such conditions. We think that, obviously, there is not a single place on Earth where the exploiters of the people should be spared attack, to be sure! But we think that, today, a great historical responsibility devolves upon the communist revolutionaries of the metropolis: in the imperialist centres, because striking the beast in its heart is of paramount, considerable, and determining importance for the concrete realization of a genuine proletarian internationalism. Strategically, we must fight to bring about the collapse of our bourgeoisie, whether it is within inter-imperialist confrontations, within its wars and its domination of the people of the periphery and the Third World, or in the class struggle here. Imperialist domination will only be overturned through the dialectical unity of revolutionary struggles on a world scale. If it is true that capitalists cannot continue without the copper of Shaba and Chile, and that they're slaughtering two whole peoples for it, it is also true that this is possible only through the pacification of countries—such as Belgium—where they can plot and organize their crime in all security! And this allows us to understand the police hysteria against us and the fighting communist organizations in the centres: NATO cannot allow its communications, its officers and cadres, its research institutes, and its military structures to be threatened in the very space of its own general headquarters.

As we said in our communiqué on the attack against Honeywell, there are good reasons why NATO selected Belgium as the site of its general European headquarters. They chose a country where anti-imperialist consciousness is weak and politically reformist, morally bourgeois, and where all the parties in power are openly atlantist and have—with perfect continuity—organized the gendarmic as a formidable repressive apparatus under the command of national defence. Everyone must understand and all comrades must integrate in their militant practice the

following: **Without social peace, without a wide inter-class consensus, without the pacification of the centres, the bourgeoisie cannot triumph in its imperialist wars.**

Presently, a crucial and wide-ranging political battle is taking place everywhere, a battle in which the impetus of war confronts that of revolution. From the point of view of imperialist strategies, the goal is to draft the people of Western Europe into the NATO war project. Massive and high-quality war production, a disciplined and combative army, a population which accepts all the privations entailed by the war effort, a militarisation of public services, a social and political pacification guaranteeing the security of the command centres and their installations, this is what the militants and revolutionaries who are sincerely opposed to imperialist war projects must attack. This means sabotage of military production, destruction and repeated attacks against the firms in the industry, sabotage, destruction, and mutiny in the ranks of the bourgeois army, political and organisational work, political and military work towards the destruction of bourgeois power and for the internationalist revolution. This is the practice of the impetus to revolution, which forms the inevitable bases of the civil war to definitely break the prehistoric logic of capitalism.

The economic crisis of capitalism and the war projects which result from it are factors which have brutally awoken those who were sleeping. To a situation of pacification, gorged in the consumer and credit society of putrid nationalism and its corollary, racism, of acquiescent indifference, a situation which to carry on its crimes in the periphery and the Third World, to this situation imperialism in crisis must now substitute war in the very centres. But what war do we have? Where is our class memory? Where is the memory of our history? The memory of those who witnessed the 1936-45 slaughter? The memory of those who endured the misery of reconstruction? Of those who have known all the defeats to an increasingly arrogant

bourgeoisie? Can a few crumbs from the cake stolen from Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, or from our own labour mask the future to which we are inexorably led by imperialism: endless war and misery?

A great political battle we must wage and win thus imposes itself. This battle has to be waged on all terrains because today we encounter the bourgeois warmongering thesis and the petit-bourgeois collaborationist thesis everywhere. The regimentation by the media apparatuses within the framework of 'anti-sovietism' borders on the caricature; the slightest stomach ache of a Lithuanian 'dissident' gets banner headlines and must comfort us in the idea that it is better to die under torture in Turkey than to be amnestied in Poland. As the shepherd of all the accomplices, Wojtila rightly deserves his title of 'NATO's Pope'... even if he doesn't dare, yet, to bless Pershings; in Latin America, he has an impact greater than a division of Marines—without creating as much havoc in the liberal consciousnesses. The list is too long for this statement... but what is clear is the outcome: the inexorable, in the short term, of an inter-imperialist conflict, is understood by whole populations. The dupes' hopes that, after 1945, it was possible to get rid of war while preserving capitalism—the deafness and blindness of those who haven't seen (of have refused to see) that war has not stopped for a single minute since then for the oppressed people—are being replaced by reality: revolution or war!

The warmongering theses of NATO, whose object is to justify war and to involve the people of the metropolis in it, are but a radicalisation of the permanent thesis justifying the exploitation of workers. The defense of the 'free world', of bourgeois democracy, of parliamentarism, of the judeo-christian slave mentality, etc... become a rationale for death on the battleground, a radical alternative to alienated labour's daily death, alienated labour's daily death.

It is not an easy thing to confront these theses, which are the ideological foundation of the history of bourgeois domination; it is not easy to advance revolutionary, constructive alternatives for the future against them, because these theses have—on the whole or in part—seriously contaminated the anti-war movement.

An important point we want to specify, we don't want to mire our analysis in commonplaces. We are fighting within the framework of proletarian politics which forces us to dare—and to have the duty—to criticize a mass movement, such as the anti-war movement, when it follows the path opened by reformists and treacherous institutions. But we do not criticize the sincerity of the militants who involve themselves in the anti-war movement, we do not gratuitously criticize the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators—among them our own activists—who have gathered this year throughout Europe. What we firmly denounce and criticize is the petit-bourgeois leadership, the CNAPO, the VAKA, and the various parties who support it, who are leading this formidable popular movement to short-term burn-out to failure, to a dead-end, to defeat.

Thus, underneath the funeral wretches of parliamentarism, of neutrality, of 'apoliticism', and on the bourgeois parliamentary railroad, these gang of crooks made in Galland & Cie are the preachers of a defeatist politics which must be vigorously opposed.

1) Respect for imperialist order through legalism and non-violence erected into a mystical absolute where non-violence is nothing but desertion in the face of an enemy whose domination rests upon daily brutality, the police, the gendarmerie, and the army. Legalism, parliamentarism, and non-violence are counter-revolutionary because they confine the anti-war and anti-missile movements within a circus controlled by bourgeois power. The deployment of the Cruise was programmed by powers who did not even consult the lackey Vreven; yet, the pacifist leadership continues to keep the movement in the dark on this matter.

The parliamentarist option—that is, leaving our fate in the hands of bourgeois power after having brought to its attention that we don't want war or missiles—is as grotesque as asking thieves to enact laws against robbery! Anyhow, we know what to expect from them and it is not the latest tomfooleries of Swaelen or Martens which will change anything.

2) A global 'apolitical' orientation (with democracy and political pluralism as an option) which prevents people from addressing the problem of imperialist war in any other way than through the horror-story of the suffering that it would cause here. There is a double consequence to this position. First, imperialist war, instead of being seen as the product of concrete facts (eg. the economic crisis of the capitalist mode of production and the inter-imperialist contradictions), is presented as an evil with no specific cause, which horrifies everyone—including Rogers. Second, this position is clearly nationalist, focusing solely upon the protection of national territory. Let's not be afraid of the words: it is a squarely patriotic position. Therefore, we are saying that the tenants of the pacifist position and of pacifist politics separate war from imperialism and class structure, refuse to analyse war as a specific but logical component of class domination, and separate such analysis from practice, hiding causes behind effects. Such a position and such politics have no other goals but to mislead the anti-war movement and to historically disarm it.

In reality, this so-called 'apolitization', this endorsement of bourgeois power, only allows the moles of all bourgeois parties—parliamentarians or city councilors looking for votes—to infiltrate the leadership of the anti-war movement. This leads to the distortion of the movement and its presentation as a force which regroupes the whole country, all the classes, which would unite in the same effort of good will, for the common good—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In reality, this so-called 'apolitization' masks the fact that the bourgeoisie of this country as a whole is involved in war preparations: the politicians as lackeys of Washington, the military under US command, the industrialists, the bankers,...

3) As imperialist war has become, thanks to the Collaborators, a harmful force standing beyond class antagonisms, the question of war. This leads directly and unambiguously to the question of class demand? USA, USSR, do not misery; it is not a break in their exploitation! To say this does not mean forgetting the people for whom war has been a daily reality for decades past! For revolutionary communists, there is no 'that's it'; we are not interested in the USA or the USSR, whether they are in peace or at war. Even without an atomic war, we have no interest in the imperialist order and we find it

intolerable! It must be swept away by the birth of a new society, a society without classes and without a state, a community society.

4) The pacifist organizations have mobilized their militants and a vast popular movement over the problem of imperialist war, but they have falsified this problem. Thus, to support their fatalist thesis, they can only present the conflict through visions of a nuclear hell, of a total destruction of the planet, of an apocalyptic escalation, etc. To present things in such a way is, first of all, a complete absurdity, one which once again attempts to place war beyond the interests of the bourgeoisie; secondly, it is very harmful to the anti-war movement because it provokes a feeling of demobilization in the face of 'an insurmountable fatality'. It is not through such apocalyptic visions that imperialist war must be grasped; on the contrary, we must understand the imperialist war process as one of a series of combined operations which are geographically contained, and planned with specific deadlines. To be sure, it is a process of terrible violence, but is completely controlled by the imperialist headquarters. To illustrate this, we can consider the 1914-18 war where the armistice was signed without a winner or loser. At that time, the front was located outside Germany, and Germany was in a strengthened position due to the birth of the Soviet Union. Very simply, the capitalists decided that there had been enough, the industrialists had made sufficient profits, the colonial apportionment had been completed, and the world communist movement was undermining the old European order. Whereas everyone had gone to war with great unanimity, the capitalists decided, overnight, to stop right there and to worry about other things (that is: to let the German Army massacre revolutionaries, and to mount international expeditions to support the White Army). That is, the cynicism of imperialism war! The bourgeoisie will not destroy the planet because it would not serve its interests to do so. Rather, it will attempt to destroy all the revolutionary centres across the world: it will not raise Moscow with megatons, but it will send battalions to Central America, to North Africa, to South-East Asia, etc. It will not glady the Urals, but it will start up a horrible battle, half-classic, half-nuclear, in Germany! And it will not be a matter of adventure or surprise, but of very precise plans around which are articulated today's armaments policies, combat doctrines, strategies and tactics.

WHAT IS FUNDAMENTAL FOR THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT IS TO RID ITSELF OF THE MYTHOLOGY OF EFFECTS IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO ATTACK THE CAUSES. WE CANNOT FIGHT AGAINST WAR IF WE CANNOT PUT OUT OF COMMISSION THOSE WHO PROGRAM IT AND WHO CONCRETELY ORGANIZE IT. WE CANNOT FIGHT AGAINST WAR WITHOUT POSING THE QUESTION OF THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION AND HOW TO DESTROY IT.

5) Another indication that the political weakness of the anti-war movement has absorbed the pacifist poison is its European focus, its obvious nationalism. As we have already said, war in the Third World had not ceased for a single day since 1945. More than once, the Belgian Army has been involv-

ed in it (in Korea, Algeria, Shaba). But these are seen as 'sub-wars'. Whereas, a war here will be something serious! This is not a laughing matter. It is just and legitimate to see such wide mobilization against the deployment of the Cruise and Pershing; but the poverty, or rather the absence, of any mobilization against imperialist interventions in Shaba, for instance, reduces the scope of the movement. For, imperialist war is possible here because it is possible in the Third World. For, the exploitation of workers from Africa is possible only in connection with the exploitation of workers here. But what is 'new' is the return of the threat of war HERE. We must denounce and fight those who intentionally lead the movement within the limits of this 'novelty', because the transition is easy from a simple concern with the protection of one's safety to the waging of war against one's neighbor. Only a correct view of what imperialism is all about can permit us to fight nationalist jingoist tendencies. The fight against imperialist war is the primary activity of the anti-Mobutu guerillas. Doing this, they develop a common identity which concretely expresses itself in an internationalist practice.

Finally, to conclude this first criticism of pacifist politics and ideologies, we must emphasize its absolute lack of perspective, and its resounding failure. The pacifist organizations are calling for a demonstration in 1985. Who are they trying to fool? Today, the movement which served as a model for Belgian pacifism—the peace movement in the FRG—is in complete disarray. And this is fully understandable: it has been unable to reach any of its so-called objectives, and it cannot even organize its shows of 'human links'. Weariness and hopelessness are pronounced among its militants, who have realized that years of pacifist struggle have been completely useless.

However, on the other hand, what we see in the FRG is the development of a strong anti-imperialist guerilla movement which, under the political direction of the Red Army Faction, is the obvious expression of a proletarian rejection of NATO war projects. When they call for another sterile demonstration, with petit-bourgeois slogans on reformist pacifist policies, the VAKA and CNAPO turn themselves into the objective grave-diggers of the anti-war movement!

It is necessary to expose the pacifist theses to the fire of revolutionary criticism, in order to go beyond this misguidance and to thrust a new dynamic into the opposition to war and to NATO missiles. The attempts to strike a compromise with the bourgeoisie on the war question must be politically defeated. This means that the movement must link war to imperialism, and place itself within a revolutionary proletarian perspective.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR, CIVIL WAR!

Let's organize and fight without respite!

FORWARD TO THE BUILDING OF A PROLETARIAN COMBAT ORGANIZATION!  
FORWARD TO COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!  
POWER TO THE WORKERS!

FIGHTING COMMUNIST CELLS FOR THE BUILDING OF THE PROLETARIAN COMBAT ORGANIZATION

This communiqué is distributed by the anti-imperialist collective 'Ligne Rouge'.

## Discussion Paper

# REVOLUTIONARY CELLS & ROTE ZORA

*Below we present Part Three of the revolutionary cells' Discussion Paper on the Peace Movement. The Revolutionary Cells have existed in West Germany for over 12 years. It is a clandestine organization with an anti-authoritarian structure and an open political concept which is defined by an ongoing theoretical political discussion about strategies and actions. There are no uniform positions. The majority sees itself as being part of the existing legal mass movements (womens-, squatter-, prison-, anti-nuke-, anti-imperialist-, and autonomous movements, etc.) by carrying out militant actions against related institutions (in most cases bombings of property). They explain their actions in communiqués, news- or position papers. Not only that they want to attack the enemy but that they also want to show people that there is more than the 'dead end' of the legal struggle; that we need a consciousness about the development*

*of a militant struggle for social revolution and that imperialism will not be destroyed without violence. Most of the members of the RZ live aboveground as long as possible but carry out illegal acts. In these 12 years they have carried out some hundred actions without many members/people killed or arrested.*

*The co-authors of this position paper Rote Zora, are an autonomously organized group of women sharing the same principles, concepts of building illegal structures, and illegal network as the Revolutionary Cells. While their first action took place in 1974 against the Supreme Court in Karlsruhe to demand the end of laws against abortion, and several others have been directed against the specific oppression of women, they have not limited themselves to this one issue, and have directed their anger against slumlords, high transportation costs, as well as arms and computer manufacturers amongst others.*

The significance of a movement in the consciousness of its partisans, and its objective role in history, is not necessarily the same thing. The peace movement—due to its composition and structures—has always vacillated between radicalization and integration, and has arrived at a decisive point. Because, as honest as the motivations of the persons adhering to the movement might be they are also, in part, not thought out. What the movement will leave as its heritage, as well as its political strength, even after the missiles have been long installed, goes far beyond its immediate reason for existing and its openly declared goal. The current danger is that it will not be the Pershing II, but the radical left and principle concepts that will be sacrificed by the understanding they have offered us to date.

This is not to deny the fact that since the beginning there have been minority groups within the movement who have tried to create space for autonomous agitation to maintain a counter-balance against forms of protest conforming to the will of the state. The counter-demonstrations of Krefeld, the women who penetrated and briefly occupied the military terrain at Hunsrück, the many peace groups who have not understood blockade actions simply as a theatrical game and have seriously tried to sabotage and prevent the war preparations—all of these represent the hope of a real massive radicalization which will really attack the roots of the system, which will not be blinded by the fear of war, but which understands the nuclear danger as the last consequence of strategies of exploitation and extermination developed by their own imperialism, which develop at all levels and does not only place us in the position of victims, but also continuously in the position of accomplices.

The struggle against 'post-armament'—if it had been really serious—would have questioned the foundation and legitimacy of the system. It was for exactly this reason that it seemed destined to become the mediator and the link between social movements, ecologists, feminists, and other groups in society, prejudiced against and isolated from each other. Apparently this was a fallacy. Instead of developing the imperialist link between armament and the crisis, the misery in the Third World and social restructuring, sexism and racism, etc. and, therefore, open new fronts along all these new lines of demarcation, exactly the opposite happened.

People were withdrawn from all the social domains and were concentrated and organized according to the 'principle danger'. The multi-dimensional threat didn't sharpen the examining of cause and effect, but fear and despair were allowed to grow like weeds, constantly sinking their roots deeper and deeper. Nor were the issues of 'who-what?' or—even weakly—the possibility of real resistance addressed. The dialectic that establishes that the larger and more global the danger becomes the more the struggle against the foundation of power must be strong and precise was abolished—consciously or not.

The efforts of the autonomous groups within the peace movement to really impede and sabotage were unsuccessful faced with all this. The hope that the protest against 'post-armament' could be radicalized and progress to confrontation if the autonomists attacked their social and anti-imperialist resistance to the forms and contents of the organized peace movement wasn't realized. The old experience that a movement can't be criticized from the inside, but that criticism of its ideas and practices must always be realized in a counter-movement, apparently must always be repeated.

That is not to deny that many people have had, in the protests against the stationing, individual experience that no one would have explained to them. Fundamental experiences not only with regards to the power structure, its strength, its arrogance and violence, but also regards to themselves, their own social role, their own relationship to others. In these sections of the peace movement a potential for resistance has crystallized, the significance of which will be demonstrated in the next confrontations. And when the Minister of the Interior very loudly states his belief that he sees in the militant nucleus of the peace movement a 'new terrorist generation' he doesn't say that simply for propaganda reasons, but because he understands that the institutionalization of protest has irreversibly broken down.

Nevertheless, we cannot deny that the sections of the peace movement have theoretically understood and practically attacked the relationship between 'post-armament' and imperialism have constantly remained the minority. In the majority the peace movement doesn't want to know anything about this. On the contrary, the analysis that starts with the categories of class struggle is replaced by an apparently moral dualism that doesn't distinguish between upper and lower but between good and bad. We rediscover this ideal, as old as the world, which is at the same time extremely dangerous, because in the final analysis it always capitulates before material conditions. The ideal of the good human understands class contradictions as the expression of human error and hopes for their resolution by a global moral 'renovation', whereas it sees behind the confrontation and combat at the base the same aggressive instincts as in the global imperialist strategies which are destructive to humanity. In this perspective peace can be nothing other than the result of a 'personal disarmament' and a massive 'moral rearmament', and in no case the result of a development where we fight for the end of conditions of exploitation. That is, where is found the ultimate origin for the argument that we must approach the issue morally to militate in a credible manner for peace. It is necessary to open the hands and pray so that they don't become fists.

In this moral and religious conception of the world, working for peace and the class struggle become antagonistic because even the fact of fighting has become the problem against which we are united. The peace

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movement in its majority doesn't want to exacerbate and take on contradictions, but to get rid of them. It searches for an oasis of peace in a world of screaming contradictions. The peace community is not only on the defensive against the atomic menace, it is at the same time subject to this total vision of an ideal world that collapses in the face of reality.

Perhaps this enormous need for harmony explains the unbelievably difficult mixture of manifest fear and equally manifest unconsciousness that we find at peace movement demonstrations. Perhaps that is where we find the visible contradiction existing between the dramatic color with which we paint the consequences of a nuclear war and the naive character of its forms of action. The gestures of humility and the will to sacrifice, the religious nature and missionary zeal, the inner emptiness, even the slight profoundness that we see in peace festivals—all this constitutes indications that protests against the missiles must be understood above all as **internal pacification**, as willingness to defuse the 'time bomb' that each person could be.

We cannot precisely say if the depoliticization and moralism of the peace movement constitutes the conditions for or the result of the rise of the Greens, the churches, the traditional socialists and communists, and, finally, the apostles of social-democracy—who would permit, with great determination, the stationing of the missiles if they still had power. We can even totally reproach them for not opposing the obedient atmosphere with the movement but, on the contrary, cultivating and using it to impose their sterile conception of growth, seeing their strength in the growth of such a movement. So, neither this reproach, nor the nth version of the "who betrays us" accusation, nor the correct and absolutely necessary criticism of the leadership clique and its understanding with the state answers the explosive question of whether the fundamentally conservative element at the heart of the peace movement has achieved such resonance because it isn't confronted by a class movement and culture, or if today, with the constantly spiralling threat, large sections of the population can only be won over by this moral and religious conception. And if, truly, the 'principle hope' is expressed less and less by human potential to change existing conditions, that is class struggle, but on the contrary waits for a 'moral resurrection', beyond material conditions, which neutralizes class antagonisms and compromises with power. The worldwide renaissance of religions, sects, mythologies, and mysticism could constitute an indication.

But the background plan of this phenomenon isn't mystical. "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature," wrote Marx.

The administrations in power continuously spit out global studies of the end of the world and scenarios of catastrophe; nothing is hidden, masked or spared. Never has a system itself made known in such an open and offensive manner the devastating and exterminationist consequences of its domination. And never has any system propagated amongst the people, constantly and without any censorship, proof of its super-dimensional threatening character. This conjuncture, transforming to fear and terror, is the fruit of a cold and calculated method of power, it is an aim. Therefore, missiles are not silently placed, as were past generations of arms systems, but placed, before their construction is finished, by all channels of social communication. Negotiations are acted out to maintain, without a break, the heat of this burning question:

Political strategists await good conditions to impose their decision, to see that the concrete contents of their negotiations remain secret, so the negotiation and the goal are brought to public awareness in an offensive manner. This so that the victims and the collective measures that could indispensable are internalized.  
(taken from: **Western Security: New Dimensions and New Tasks**)

Because imperialism couldn't prevent protest against military escalation it uses all methods to control its orientation and to turn legitimate fear of war into 'mass psychosis' that it can mobilize in the interest of projects it wants to impose in the future.

We don't denounce fear of nuclear armament as without reason, or as paranoid. What we denounce is the manipula-

tion of power.

What we denounce is the effort to create and maintain an atmosphere of catastrophe that gives the regime a free hand to impose its imperialist project internally. In the shadow of the 'threat of destruction' the 'spiral' is started, the disintegration of the Welfare State is undertaken, the boundaries of a new politic of poverty, expulsion, and destruction are put into place. The strategies of war are opened up by presenting the consequences of the crisis as a small evil and a necessary sacrifice which must be

**"When the refusal of violence is elevated to the level of an inviolable principle where good and evil are counterposed, it is not a question of disagreement, but of submission and obedience."**

accepted to avoid a much larger crisis.

The utopia of a free society is sacrificed to a political morality where the only value is the physical survival of humanity.

What we denounce is the effort to create, by propaganda, an 'end of the world' atmosphere to engrave in the social spirits of the individual her/his powerlessness and absolute dependence.

The sentiment of the existence of an enormous menace becomes the foundation of the legitimacy of the imperialist state in the measure that the 'solutions' don't appear as solutions in opposition to the dominant class, but on the contrary, in unity with it. The more the crisis is executed the larger becomes the army of zealous little political and military strategists who offer the powerful of this world the advice necessary to do this even better. Via all the channels the dialogue with power is again developed, hope is placed in parliaments,

missionary zeal and a fascist mentality is thin, that is well known. The danger is not so much that the peace movement will leave resignation and despair in its wake, but more that it will become a catalyst of a political program that transforms its original intentions to the point of being unrecognizable.

The organizations at the heart of the peace movement have fully demonstrated how much the sentiment of danger can easily be transformed and mobilized against the 'trouble-makers', in their reaction to the

spectre of militancy and autonomy—especially after Krefeld. The rage and anger manifested on behalf of the state against the 'chaotics' is nothing but the ugly mask, the flip-side of the ideal of the positive person. They can have personal motives and good reasons that make it appear incorrect in certain situations to fall back on violence to achieve their goals.

But when the refusal of violence is elevated to the level of an inviolable principle where good and evil are counterposed, it is not a question of disagreement, but of submission and obedience. By taking distance and their denunciation the functionaries have really demonstrated one thing: that they have understood and used the principle to which they feel connected, for a long time, as an instrument of control over the entire peace movement.

Obviously, what is behind this is less a problem of ethics than of political calcula-

other than the vehicle used to impose all the other objectives.

The organizations at the heart of the peace movement want to 'make their butter' on the back of this. The criticism of 'post-armament' goes far beyond the problem of missiles and goes toward the perspective of a non-aligned European super-power. If the hegemonic powers want war and we want peace—this is the fatal logic—then we must become sufficiently strong to bring them to reason. "We must, alas, become, ourselves, just as dangerous to guarantee peace": that is what Manes Sperber has understood as the perspective of the peace movement from the French point of view when the Nobel Peace prize was restored to him. Is it as a result of inconsistency that people like Bastian and Petra Kelly have not reacted against this or is it the result of a tacit understanding.

And, as in Europe, nothing can be done without touching upon the 'German question', the problem of reunification is also posed to the left. In the interests of disarmament we develop the fiction of a 'progressive' German nationalism, a nationalism in the name of which not only two bloody wars have been declared, but also a final solution, a holocaust, was organized, and in the name of which the peace movement, as much its future victim, today organizes theatrical demonstrations reintroducing the massacres. Historical paradox.

The legend of a 'hostage' Europe, and the slogan about 'occupied Germany' that risks being pulverized between the super-powers, the USA and the USSR, not only contributes to making West-German and West-European imperialism banal. It also helps the Green and Social-Democratic strategies to justify politics for a sovereign Europe and a sovereign Germany, where the material base isn't questioned: "We endeavor to put forward our own European politic. If that constitutes a concrete alternative then I say yes, I support it. I will support it also if it is purely and simply capitalist." (Dan Diner, SB).

What characterizes capitalism pure and simple is expansionism which is as indis-



ministers, deputies, and even the security apparatus and we forget that "the rapport of the movement for political emancipation cannot be a rapport of participation, but only one of destruction." (Agnoli).

And, finally, what we denounce is all efforts to use the mixture of an apocalyptic atmosphere, a nostalgic and abstract desire for peace, and the lack of a social concept, so characteristic of the peace movement, to give a mass legitimacy to a wide array of totally different demands and goals. The training in submission to power, the non-violence training, the constraining effect of group consensus, all this is not as innocent as it appears at first viewing. The entrenched sentiment of moral superiority could develop, in relation to constantly revived fear of total destruction, into an explosive mixture that develops its strength in totally different formations. The line between

tion. It rests on the 'historical internal compromise' which can be concluded in the name of "the greater interest of maintaining the species" (Bahro), and in the name of which, as precursors and guarantors, the directors of the peace movement block the base and conclude treaties at the top—as if the renunciation of missiles can be negotiated against the offer of social collaboration. When Robert Jungke claims that those that say 'never another war' should say 'never another civil war' he poses the real historic alternative: socialism or barbarism, civil war or genocide. This is not the way that we prevent imperialist wars, on the contrary: we, therefore, contribute to internal peace which is one of its essential conditions.

Meanwhile, while the paralyzing discussion about the problem of violence unfolds, what risks being smoothed over is that the 'historical compromise' is, in effect, nothing

pensible to it as 'salt in the soup'. Capitalism pure and simple doesn't stop at the borders of the national state. It must chase profits, therefore, constantly exceeding its borders. Capitalism pure and simple has little in common with peace, but, on the contrary, has more in common with imperialism and war.

That goes in an extreme measure for West Germany where the renewal is carried out in a fashion ideal for starting apparently progressive assumptions of 'going beyond the bloc system'. The sliding of forces into the heart of the imperialist camp is expressed in the demand for a new martial order. It must grant West German capital its part in the cake in world exploitation, corresponding to its economic weight. 'Non-alignment, propagated in a lazy way amongst the masses in the name of peace, takes the water to the windmill of those who hope for



# Computer Companies Attacked

As the leaders, so the followers. The logic of computers is the logic of capital: it serves the exploitation and subjugation, the splitting and selection, the registration and repression. The senseless debates about the alternative propagation of computers documents not fantasy, but much more the inability to cope faced with the monstrous expansion of technological violence.

In the shadows of IBM and Siemens, in the last decade the companies that served as connection between the computer industry giants and the users expanded, producing the tools for capital and the state, with which the data offensive of the factory is driven.

Scientific Control Systems (SCS) in Hamburg and the Mathematische Programmier und Beratungsdiest (MPB) in Dortmund, the one owned by

BP, the other subsidiary of the Hoesch Konzern, are competing over the top position in this market. Led by a management of capitalists, militarists and scientists, this modern trio of technological violence has in short time achieved the leadership of the secret know how centres of capital and authority.

Their commissioners come from Wolfsburg and Weisbaden as much as from South Africa and Saudi Arabia, they are located in the commanding centres of industry, trade, and finance capital as much as they are located in the planning staffs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of War.

The product selection of these system houses includes anything which can be subjected to the formal structure of computer manipulated processes and that is in the eyes of scientists simply without limit.

The designs for the regiment of chips and complex automation in the production places of the automobile industry stem from the accounting centres. Born in the machine dialogue created for the restructuring of the department stores, they stand in opposition to their personnel, particularly women, in the form of unguaranteed working conditions, perfected control equipment and intensive exploitation of the workforce. They provide programs for the manipulation and surveillance of nuclear plants in the atomic industry and offer concepts for the computerization of office work or administration. Automaticized central stations for the police are sold just as much as programs for screen searches of electronic comparison of fingerprints at the BKA. A flourishing brand is the business with the armies: with electronic navigation systems, military communication

nets, command information systems, and other projects of air and space forces they take part in making mass murder more efficient.

The power and force that is accumulated in their system centres, works in concealment and secrecy. Nevertheless! The thought models of a handful of scientists penetrate each and every social pore, the technical requirements of electronic data processing become the formation principle of social reality.

"The more total the social, economical and scientific apparatus, on to which operation the production system has tuned the body a long time ago, the poorer the experiences it is capable of. The elimination of qualities, their inversions in function, transfers itself from the science, due to rationalized work methods, to the experienced world of people and resembles it tendentially back to the experienced world of the blind fish (lurche). Through the mediation of the total society, conceiving all relationships and motions, people are again being made to what is the developmental law of society, the principle of self turned against itself: mere species, equal to each other through isolation in the forced upon manipulation of collectivity. Their way was the one of obedience and work, over which fulfillment was only a deception, as a sterilized beauty glows." (Adorno)

The glow of fire, which last night let the sterilized beauty shine and let the depersonalized computer world at SCS and MPB fall to ashes, originates our radical and practical critique of the total organization of society through big business and its all encompassing technique, which has occupied the world and imagination so completely, that the thought it could be different threatens to become an almost hopeless effort.

## RZ EXPLAIN BOMBING SERIES

ATTACKS ON THE DEUTSCHE BANK, THE COMBINED STEEL INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION, AND HOECHST

It is with significance, though not without irony, that on May 1st the unions met with their insecure clientele to celebrate the 'Day of Work'. Of course with this there was a spirit of combat; while the day after, shortly after the speeches from the soapboxes had died down, the united world capital victoriously celebrated itself on its economic summit.

There centered, the imperialist force can prove itself. They are full of satisfaction with the recent success of different class fronts. The result being: a 100 year old proletarian class fight which was enforced the hard way. This gets hollowed out with incredible swiftness and boldness, robbed of its substance, and trampled down. It is capital in its offensive, with all rigour and keenness.

And below? Perplexity and confusion, starting from the

concepts. So there stands no one else behind the growing multitude of the socially weak, but the proletariat, who only superficially got dressed in a new German linguistic coat to express themselves. Because as is well known they have also today nothing else to sell but their labour force.

Farewell from the proletariat. That's ridiculous! Despite all these names nothing has changed! We are still stuck in the same unsettled class altercation. The foremost protagonists in this conflict are the banks particularly the Deutsche Bank in which case the board of directors are using interests and credits to manipulate the restructuring of production conditions. It is they who bleed and politically rape the Third World.

The Gesamtverband der Metallindustrie (Combined Steel Industry Association) a most potent capital fraction,

provides the framework of tariff politics which establishes grounds for the change in a qualitatively new and extremely sharp era of exploitation. After the more flexible and more effective utilization of the workforce has been established the next stage is to drop the workless Saturday.

The chemical industry (Hoechst) which through their entire control of the worldwide food market not only decides how and what will be produced, but also who, and so totally direct the structures and conditions of authority by which they interfere worldwide like no other industry branch into the living conditions of people, sicken their bodies and kill. Until now no criticism could hurt this Moloch. Its profits continue to explode just as its gastanks.

24.4.85 Revolutionary Cells

2.9.85 Revolutionary Cells

a 'neutral' Western Europe, a manoeuvring space for a more flexible imperialist tendency.

We have already said that the anti-imperialist concurrence comes after global strategic interests of the NATO states. In no case would a 'non-aligned' Europe be neutral. That would not signify a separation from the western bloc and, therefore, a weakening of the imperialist camp, but more the doubling of its power. The Yalta revision that is propagated by all political parties foresees the end of the division of Europe, to reassemble under the western flag. This doesn't foresee the creation of a 'non-nuclear' Europe, but of a capitalist Europe from Poland to Portugal.

Those that today speak of 'left patriotism' in an effort to mobilize the peace movement for a 'non-aligned' Europe, without trying to understand its political and economic structures, shouldn't be surprised if the result is a national-chauvinist movement which, consciously or not, swims in the troubled waters of imperialist destabilization politics.

The peace movement can't do this, it must be resolutely anti-imperialist, if not it favours the development of national emotions from which only the powerful profit. Why do the Greens demand, with perfect tolerance, 'disarmament East and West' instead of resolutely opposing the myth of the Eastern menace which has always served to legitimate western armament? Why don't they recognize that their initiatives at constructing a spiritual unity of the Western peace movement with the 'independent' movement in the East, in the same way as their Anderplatz action and their unconditional solidarity with 'Solidarity' and 'Charter 77', win applause from the wrong side? And why can't they talk about US imperialism, about Grenada, without citing, at the same time, disgusting acts of the Eastern bloc. By mobilizing anti-American and anti-communist resentment we could easily gain a majority in the FRG. This is not a proof of political strength in an emancipating way.

On the contrary a 'European politic' thusly understood serves as a trampoline for the nationalism of liberation which has nothing in common with the left and finds its political base where German patriotism has always had its source: in the reactionary and far right camp.

'Left patriotism' isn't an exception, it's a style. Instead of counterposing a radical counter-culture to the conservative rejuvenation coming from above, the peace movement manoeuvres in its wake. When the Green philosophy discovers 'conservative values' and says 'so long to the proletariat' to go fishing in the troubled waters of 'conservative' origin it must break with their left-wing past and throw aside their fundamentally emancipating positions. Women in the peace movement question the legitimacy of the feminist movement, by postponing their struggle against oppression, sexism and the power structure until after the grand common goal of peace. And when sections of the feminist movement ingenuously return to norms of feminine behavior to find in 'the nature' of women all the characteristics that find parallels in the peace movement in the form of the will to sacrifice, humility, refusal of confrontation and combat they favour the biological theory of 'femininity', which for a long time has been known and understood as a product of power.

The sneaky placing of reactionary goals and contents under a progressive cover is also the expression and result of errors committed by the left. It isn't the right that has developed in the social movement, but the crisis of the left that has contributed to the uncertainties and the existing positions from which the right has profited in the final analysis. The apocalyptic vision of the disappearance of humanity has played a role as an argument against nuclear energy in certain sections of the anti-nuclear movement. It contains a warning of the nuclear disaster which will destroy entire sections of the population. The propaganda appeal to the global sentiment will touch an entire 'abstract' community so the will to survive surpasses all social and political interests, all of which can be easily used by the right against class struggle. Even radical groups' anti-imperialism is essentially anti-americanism, whereas the arming of European states, and its growing importance on the world market, is treated with almost total silence. On such a compost heap, the legend

TURN TO NEXT PAGE



**THE INSURGENT:** Writings of political prisoners and Prisoners of War, analysis of government counterinsurgency against progressive movements, news of current battles against repression. Bi-monthly; one year for \$6. Committee to Fight Repression, P.O.B. 1435, Cathedral Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10025 USA

**DE KNIPSELKRANT:** Dutch paper, with reprints from English, German, French and Dutch papers on the subjects of armed struggle, political prisoners, fascism, counterinsurgency. Postbus 7001 J.A. Groningen, Netherlands.

**LIGNE ROUGE:** French language paper reprinting communiques from European guerrilla groups, especially BR and CCC. Monthly. Don't use their name on the address. B.P. 1682 Bruxelles, Belgium.

**LIBERTAD:** Official organ of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. Monthly. Box 147, 2520 N. Lincoln, Chicago, IL 60614 USA.

**BREAKTHROUGH:** Political journal of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. Covers US underground and progressive struggles, Third World Liberation struggles. Quarterly. John Brown Book Club. P.O.B. 14422, San Francisco, CA 94114 USA

**BLACK FLAG:** English Anarchist FORTNIGHTLY. Up to date coverage of armed struggle, labour unrest, squatting, street fighting, in Europe and around the world. Black Flag—Black Cross, BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX England.



## Anti-Apartheid Bombings

# ACTION DIRECTE

### MACHORO—MANDELA: SAME STRUGGLE

The French and South African States are prepared to do anything to assure their domination of the people they exploit. They are armed States. The French imperialist State maintains thousands of soldiers on a war footing at numerous points on the globe. It is by military means that the white racists in South Africa exercise their power over the Blacks in their territory and of Namibia. The hate with regards to peoples who refuse to be controlled by western capitalism is the same in Paris as in Pretoria:

- French interventionism in Chad and Lebanon
- South African interventionism in Angola and Mozambique.

In Paris as in Pretoria, race and class

hatred determine the conditions of daily survival. In France: with completely overpopulated cities, barrack-houses in Sonacotra and dormitory cities in the suburbs serve as precarious housing for immigrant workers. In South Africa it's the townships for black workers. The principle is the same. It is that of the GHETTO. With regards to reserves, onto which the French have driven the Kanaks, their similarity with the Bantoustans, where the Blacks are penned up, is not the fruit of hazard. Their existence responds to the same need for colonies: to gain possession of the best agricultural and mining areas.

### ASSASINATE MACHORO—DETAIN MANDELA

This is, on the part of Fabius and Botha, an attempt to maintain the existing social

relations in France and South Africa.

### COUNTRIES OF CAPITALIST RIGHTS FOR THE WHITE MAN

If the two States have had fundamental points in common for a long time they have considerably reinforced their economic relations since the arrival in power of French social-democracy. Good business with South Africa is unquantifiable. Below find an account of their many agents:

- professionals in the field of gold and diamonds
- 23 French banks, many nationalized in '81
- the national administration of Renault
- arms trafficking of the Minister of 'Defense': sales, coproduction, transfer of airplane technology, helicopters, missiles, armoured-cars, cannons, mortars, submarines
- nuclear construction and fabrication: Framatome, Alsthom, Spie Batignolles
- enterprises implicated in the extraction and pillage (prohibited by the U.N.) of uranium in Namibia: PUK, CFP, Total, Minatome
- EDF who use South African carbon in their thermal centrals, courtesy of the action of the 'socialist' Hubert Dubedout, president of the ATIC: Association Technique des Importeurs de Charbon (Carbon Importers Technical Association).

Without mentioning the importation of foodstuffs which has increased by 240%

It is in the Parisian Ministerial offices that the Blacks in the ghettos created by Pretoria start to die.

### DOWN WITH FRENCH PARTICIPANTS IN APARTHEID

September 4, 1985  
ACTION DIRECTE

### FROM PAGE 7

of an 'occupied' Germany and a 'left patriotism' can prosper.

### QUESTIONS NOT RECIPES

With regards to that which concerns our criticism of the peace movement, our conclusions are clear: we must break this fatal dependence with regards to alliances with the peace movement and open our own front. To support an orientation based on themes and forms of protest against the stationing is a political and practical limitation that make it so the declared goals are transferred to their opposite. The left has nothing to gain with a biological and racist demand for a 'non-nuclear Europe' from Poland to Portugal. The only chance of polarizing 'the alliance' and creating a counter-weight that prevents the transformation of the peace movement into a new 'nationalism' of liberation resides in the perspective of an autonomous counter-movement that is free from political limitations, and the level of the peace movement, and again articulates the relationship between the crisis and war, and understands its critique as practice. The internal problems, the disintegration of the basis of power at points where it is possible to resist it easily with little force is always the decisive means against post-armament. As long as a radical mass movement which poses the question of power by its resistance to exterminationist imperialist strategies is not in view no other possibilities remain for us: our politic must continue to broaden and reinforce the left, to radicalize and broaden its militancy.

It must limit itself to pieces of social reality in the name of a so-called 'principle danger', but it must attack the system in its totality and trace the lines that connect the crisis and war, the social poverty in the advanced capitalist countries, sexism and racism, technological attacks organized in high places and ecological destruction.

The consequences of our analysis of the imperialist project for the future goes beyond all that without it being already clear to us in all its implications. We don't want to give answers when we ourselves are posing many questions:

- The 'new social movements' that's what the peace movement has created, have developed in opposition to class struggle, masking social contents and essentially moving to the right. It is problematic from



the point of view of revolutionary practice. The attitude 'reunite the entire movement', which poses the problem of the contents and goals of this mobilization, is insufficient as a criteria.

- The oppressed classes are certainly presented as the new subject of revolutionary change, but only at the level of social practice. Where it defends itself and struggles it develops forms of struggle that fundamentally distinguish it from those of the new social movements. The brief and powerful riots, like those we saw in Brixton and Toxteth, no longer have anything in common with traditional politics of large campaigns. Those, on the left, who refer to oppressed classes must reflect on the forms of action and organization of their own struggle if they want to find a possible connection with 'the bottom'.
- Against the background of suppression of the 'free' market and the generalization of forms of work and reproduction that no longer require class centralization, but have as a goal its atomization and its disintegration, the question is posed as to the conditions of the construction of consciousness and organization in new forms. The affirmation that women and foreigners, who are touched or threatened by social misery, are protagonists of future battles, doesn't say how a subjectivity can effectively develop the transformations of living conditions in the advanced countries, and what role a radical left practice could play in the process of constructing consciousness.

- The Third World can no longer be considered as the historical subject from which the revolutionary transformation in the centres of capital accumulation could have its source, and which defines resistance here as 'its exterior'. The freedom of

the Third World can only realize a partial process of freedom from economic dependence. The consolidation of the process is connected to "the struggle in the heart of the beast" (Che), to the destruction of imperialism in the central countries. At the same time the era of national liberation struggles seems to be over. But with the riots and the looting in Sao Paulo we can see the nationalist connection between the native elite and the oppressed classes becoming fragile and the common struggle for social liberation in the capitalist centres and the Third World is becoming the material base of a new internationalism.

- The significance of the new strategic sectors, which are at the same time the source of a gigantic accumulation of wealth and an instrument of domination, must be translated into practical consequences. The issue is to know if they will become the central place of attack for a revolutionary strategy, for which we must acquire the qualifications, and for which we must organize.

- The transformation of 'bourgeois democracies', which results from political and economic changes will limit the field of legal action, especially if conditions encourage a radicalization of resistance. The peace movement has shown that the new social movements don't offer the protection, in the shadow of which we can organize militant action.

A radical left whose identity renders resistance possible, must create its own subversive and illegal structures to remain unanticipated, inaccessible, and invincible.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CELLS  
& ROTE ZORA

### RECORD PREVIEW

### SHANGHAI DOG 'THIS EVOLUTION'

It's a strange force that compels musicians, year after year, back into basements, unheated warehouses and garages, surviving inevitable internal hassles, wefare shitty jobs, poverty and trauma in order to produce—if they're lucky—something personal, original and successful. Then there are bands who compound the problem by attempting to maintain their politics and their integrity in the face of hierarchical and smoothly complacent record companies, and a cultural musical mainstream that smoothly performs its function of churning out entertainment for the masses that neither provokes nor offends.

From here you have two choices. You can either try to 'package' yourself for an audience beyond your original following—all the while loudly insisting on your political credibility even after it has become obvious that the only people you're fooling are, of course, yourselves—or you can redefine the idea of 'success' and continue working toward music that is intelligent and articulate, and which compromises no ideals.

I started writing this review by trying our adjectives, listing them neatly, and then dropping the lists onto the floor. After a while the usual rock-lingo descriptives become depressingly limited. "Straight ahead"... "Nifty complicated bass parts"... "Kind of a hard-core sensibility without quite the hard-core sound"... Forget it. There are a lot of reasons why I like Shanghai Dog, and the music may be the greater part of that, but it's not all.

Shanghai Dog's only other previous release—the 1983 EP *Clanging Bell*—contains not only the best musical summation of the power dynamics of the workplace I have ever heard, but also a cutting and accurate indictment of the utopian drifting off passed off as a political stance by those who should know better. So I was happy when my obviously high expectations of the album—*This Evolution*—were not disappointed.

Shanghai Dog managed to convey the urgency of their message without becoming overwhelmed by it; they write on difficult topics and manage not to preach; and they maintain an intensity of feeling throughout the album. Their scope is wide enough to take in the personal denial in alcoholism (On the Rocks), nuclear testing in the southwestern states (American Desert), and a thoughtful, lyrical exploration of the function of religion in human life (This Evolution). Their musical vocabulary parallels their range of subject. Capable of deftly knocking off suspiciously mainstream rock-sounding pieces such as Siren, they move comfortably into slower songs like the intense Security, a wonderfully ironic look at the generalized surveillance rampant in our techno-society and, I assume, the CSIS in particular. "Keep their distance, only watching/don't you find it touching/with this interest how could you feel insecure." Indeed. Like they always told us in school, you have nothing to be afraid of if you have nothing to hide, and if your political opinions happen to run counter to what the government thinks is appropriate, then you get everything you deserve.

It was especially good to hear Hiroshima here. First recorded by the Subhumans, it sounds powerful and moving, and has the added texture and density of a percussion part. Hiroshima was written by Mike Graham, who with Ron Allen make up the two ex-Subhumans members in the band (Ron replaced Gerry Hannah on bass). It would be a mistake though, to think of Shanghai Dog as a kind of mature version of the Subhumans. They are completely their own band. They've worked hard to put out this album, and they deserve your support.

Shanghai Dog are comprised of: Ron Allan (Bass, back-up vocals), Doug Anderson (lead vocals, guitar), Mike Graham (Guitar, songwriter) and Barry Taylor on drums. They are assisted on this album by Alex Phillipides (percussion) and Brian 'Sunny Boy' Roy (Back-up vocals).

*This Evolution* is being released on the Undergrowth label in Vancouver.

Friends of Durruti  
PO Box 790, Stn. A  
Vancouver, BC  
Canada, V6C2N6



international mobilization. In addition to the scores of Dene who came to help the people of Wollaston from several villages in northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba, non-native anti-nuclear/pro-Dene land rights activists came from across Canada, and protests took place in Toronto, Montreal, Copenhagen, Dublin, Stockholm and several Australian centres. Third, it was the first act of resistance to uranium mining in Saskatchewan to receive national media attention, spurring state and corporate officials to respond with both coercive and co-optive means.

Over the period of the blockade about 250 people participated, with about 10% being non-native. The vast majority of blockaders were Chipewyan/Dene residents of the nearby community of Wollaston Lake. Supporters came from the northern Dene communities of Lac Brochet, Black Lake, Pinehouse, Southend, La Ronge and Ile a la Crosse. Supporters also came from southern Canadian communities in BC, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec.

An hour and a half after lifting the blockade, 22 eighteen-wheeler trucks rolled through into the mine site. This negated claims by industry spokesmen that the blockade had no effect on operations of the mine. There is no question that the blockade sent a shockwave through the state/corporate apparatus which operates the mines. The opposition was shown to be alive and well, but mining continued without missing a beat. The momentum of 300 years of colonialism in northern Saskatchewan pushed through another 'victory'. For the Dene and for the Earth, the battle was lost but the war was on.

The blockade was preceded by a four day gathering at Wollaston Lake. Meetings began in early afternoon and continued well into the evening. Speaker after speaker stood up and expressed their concerns from the heart. Each night, after the meetings, dancing would begin and go on until dawn. Benjamin Denedcheze of Lac Brochet opened a community meeting in the Wollaston Band Hall, June 12 with the following prayer: "We Natives and Whites, let us put our minds and hearts together and may the Great Spirit guide us to whatever aid we can find to save Mother Earth, because she gives and she provides. So let us keep her clean as she was for generations and help work together without hurting one another.

Eldorado built a new gate across the road just a few weeks before the blockade. It was erected about two kilometres from the mill buildings, cleverly placed just around a corner where the mill buildings were out of view and keeping open an access road to the main waste area. A sign on the gate read "No Trespassing: Trespassers Will Be Prosecuted," in English, French, Cree and Chipewyan syllabics. But despite all Eldorado's preparations they were not ready for the large group of people that closed the road Friday morning, June 14th.

When the cars, trucks and vans holding about 150 people arrived, Eldorado security vehicles sat a few hundred yards inside the gate. After a short while, a group of Dene elders and supporters walked around the gate. There they asked the Eldorado staff for a meeting with mine management. The request was refused. Hector Kkailther, Chief of the Lac La Hache Band of Wollaston Lake then phoned Saskatoon to request a meeting with mine manager Mike Babcock. The atmosphere remained calm when Babcock agreed to a meeting, but no date or location was set.



Young Dene blockaders.

**'I know the mine is not good because it destroys our land and animals. We young people should think about our future and the future kids. We should go to blockade the road to stop the uranium mine.'** - Sarazine Josie

Friday the road was turned into a place for celebration and living. It was a sight that could bring spirit back into the heart of the most burnt-out activist. A cooking fire sat square in the middle of the road. Large stones were pushed in front of the gate and used as comfortable stools. People sat calmly as if there wasn't a worry. In the evening, elders stood around the fire and sang songs as old as the land while beating a Caribou skin hand drum. At the same time young and old participated in a traditional round dance - people danced in a circle with the fire and elders in the centre. On the side of the road about 25 tents were pitched.

In sharp contrast to this peaceful scene was the ever present dull roar of mine machinery and vigilant Eldorado mine security personnel. But the sound of the drum and singing carried well into the Eldorado camp. Some of the mining staff seemed to expect flaming arrows to come flying across the gate at any moment.

Saturday, Chief Kkailther announced that Babcock agreed to a meeting at the mine gate Monday June 17th. Soon afterwards the RCMP (federal police) announced there would be no traffic in or out of the mine site until after the meeting. It looked as though the people's views would finally be heard. The stress of dealing with the threat of arrest was temporarily relieved. More and more people arrived to take part in the blockade.

The blockade was also physically bolstered by the erection by protesters of a second 'security gate' on the road, which served to keep guns, alcohol and drugs out of the blockade environment. The RCMP were informed they would have to relinquish their guns and submit to being escorted by Dene elders if they wished to enter the blockade area. The police became indignant at this request and so were refused entry.

Sunday the mood changed dramatically. The RCMP arrived in plain clothes from inside the mine site. They had flown across from Wollaston and landed inside the mine area. A short, private meeting was held with Chief Kkailther. The RCMP gave the word that Babcock would not meet until after the blockade was lifted, and the place would be the mine site or at Eldorado headquarters in Saskatoon. Only a small delegation of Dene Chiefs and elders would be permitted to attend. And to top it off, the RCMP said, "The trucks will get through." It was later leaked by an Eldorado employee that Babcock had been willing to meet with everyone at the mine gate but that the RCMP had intervened, perhaps with orders from their state superiors. A confrontation was being forced. It was time to make a decision. Monday afternoon the Wollaston people and supporters sat in a circle amongst the trees and held council. The decision was made to lift the blockade pending the outcome of the meeting.

The meeting was held in Saskatoon on the following Thursday, June 20th. Most of the Dene Chiefs of northern Saskatchewan attended, as did corporate and state officials. However, the dominant personality at the meeting was one Sol Sanderson, the pro-nuclear president of the umbrella group, Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. Sanderson was quoted as saying, "We're talking about the bottom line being dollars, yes, for Indian development, for Indian control." Chief Kkailther was clearly intimidated by Sanderson's brazen paternalism and the threats of economic catastrophe to his people should the mines shut down. The importance of the protest was downplayed and replaced with promises of economic funds for community development. False and outrageous statements were made by Sanderson in an effort to split the Dene from outside supporters, and discredit the support work that had been done. Quote, "We're not going to be preoccupied with protesters because these same protesters from the outside are protesting in Europe and across this country now with Greenpeace opposing our traditional livelihood in terms of fur, hunting, trapping..."

Continued resistance is uncertain. Supporters across the country are waiting for direction from the Dene people, pending further meetings with state and corporate officials, both Indian and non-Indian. It is important to continue support of resistance at Wollaston. There are vital questions which are not being addressed by the state, corporations and the FSIN. The question of the legality of Treaty #10, land claims, and aboriginal rights and protection of those for the Dene peoples of northern Saskatchewan. Treaty #10 was signed in 1907. Elders who were in their teens at the time of its signing tell how the people were guaranteed that their hunting, fishing and trapping would never be disrupted. The treaty was written in English - none of the Dene could read the document. To this day, the reserve lands promised under Treaty #10 have never been allocated.

Another serious question for the Dene in dealings with the state/corporate apparatus is long-term clean-up of mine sites and the problem of existing wastes. Eldorado has proposed that three people from the Wollaston community be nominated to regularly visit the mine and observe monitoring. The Dene have been saying that they want to be part of monitoring, and want to conduct water sampling - they don't want observer status.

It is of vital importance for people to continue support for the resistance at Wollaston Lake. The Dene want and need information if they are to make decisions in the best interests of the people and the land.

For more information, contact:

Lac La Hache Band,  
Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan,  
Canada S0J 3C0

Collins Bay Action Group,  
Box 3183,  
Vancouver, B.C.  
Canada V6B 3X6

N.B. "Voices From Wollaston Lake," a book documenting the Wollaston Lake people's struggle against uranium mining, focusing on the June 1985 gathering and road blockade will be published in Spring 1986. Contact CBAG at above address for more information on this.



review

# Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life

FOR ME, THE PROBLEM WITH 'GREAT WOMAN' BIOGRAPHIES COMES down to one theme: so what. Why *another* book about *another* great woman? My problem with great woman biographies is that they end up speaking as the experience for *all* women of that particular persuasion or period.

Heroinization has a tendency to hand people a way to live their lives, in full admiration of their heroines, without ever having to think or sort a position out for themselves. Instead of developing one's own ideas, one amalgamates the admirable qualities of a hero(ines) life style(s) and adapts it to their particular situation. So, after the heyday of Greenham Common, the women's and peace movements were deluged with Greenham Commonites. How many mini-Che's surfaced in the late 60's and 70's?

Emma Goldman's life has been exhibited, described, outlined and, in my thinking, exploited to the hilt. Now, in the last ten years, she has become a darling not only of a new generation of anarchists, but also of the mainstream feminist movement. Having been ignored for years, she has now become editorial fodder for the literary and academic magazines alike. A cover girl for an American liberal news magazine. A full spread, with cover photo, in the Village Voice Literary Supplement. How trend-oid. A big article several years ago in Ms. Magazine, that bastion of mainstream feminism. And Emma on the big screen, at last, in Reds. (Myself, I would have preferred Lily Tomlin in that role). Emma is bakeable, is saleable and, in that, is being rendered historically harmless.

This book arrived. *Emma Goldman: an Intimate Life*. AaHaa, I plotted (but as I was alone at the time it was obviously *not* a plot of that dreaded I.A.T.C - the International Anarchist Terrorist Conspiracy) - AaHaa, I plotted, this is one of those hot-bath-and-a-case-of-beer books, where the steaminess of the pages is matched only by that of the hot water in the tub. Anticipating a scandal rag approach (ANARCHIST BABY BORN, BREEDS CHAOS, TERRIFIES WHITE HOUSE!!!), I settled into that hot tub, cracked open a bottle of union brewed, sealed and delivered ale, and got ready for a good, sleazy read.

Emma Goldman's life could certainly lend itself to that category of good sleazy novels. Anarchist, feminist, advocate of free speech, birth control, sexual freedom, organizer and antagonist, Emma Goldman was for many the embodiment of American anarchism. She was different from her American anarchist counterparts in her feminism, leading her to often write for and about women. As a result, she has become for many "the" voice of 20th century anarchism, a place well preserved by copious essays, biographies, buttons and T-shirts.

Ask any number of anarchy-feminists about women and anarchy and the first (often *only*) name they will come up with is Emma. Go into most progressive/left/alternative book-

stores and the only books on women and anarchism are by or about Goldman. In better stocked establishments you may find books by or about Louise Michel, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Voltarine de Cleyre, Mollie Steiner and Lucy Parsons. Even those are the luminaries of the anarchy-feminist roll call. Not a lot has been written either about women other than those named above, or about the relationships between those luminaries and the women they worked with and encountered daily. How did Emma relate to the women in the shops and stores she did business in? Books about these women often are more interested in their contributions to history than to their working and social relationships with other women. Or to their sexuality.

There are a few exceptions. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, an Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) organizer and orator, who later joined the American Communist party, wrote a moving account of her experiences with co-habitants at Alderson Federal Penitentiary during the 1950's. Louise Michel's memoirs, recently published in a new account (dreadfully titled *The Red Virgin*) have given me some of the most intimate and thought encouraging anarchy-feminist reading in some time. (Not to mention my favorite line for this year. In a long passage she writes of the effects of her arrest on her ailing mother. "Can the mothers of revolutionaries ever be happy?" she asks.) And three years ago the first of a series of books about Emma Goldman's *intimate* life appeared, revealing a sexual, emotional and insecure nature. *Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman* by Candace Falk, did much to unearth the mature Emma's emotional smolderings, and to re-establish her not just as anarchism's prime spokeswoman, but also as a woman in love, in pain, a woman who meshed the personal and political long before it became a shiny button to wear. As a woman who shares many of Emma's political and personal ideas, I found the book a comfort - and a prime candidate for a bathtub and beer book of the month. Unable to afford the outrageous cover price, (at least now it's in soft cover), I had to resort to reading excerpts in various magazines, and standing in bookstores for hours on end. Which raises a particular question: why are books about anarchists so expensive??

*Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman* has become a scandal in many ways. Finally, someone looked at a feminist heroine and included all her personal trauma - her jealousy, her intensity, her desire for, and pleasure in, sex. Imagine those readers who like their political heroes dry and theoretical, opening Falk's book to find Emma



Emma at rest with Alexander Berkman

writing to her lover that he had "...opened up the prison gates of my womanhood" releasing "...all the passion that was unfettered and unsatisfied in me for so many years... You fill me, fill every nerve and atom, you intoxicate me, you are the great passion of my life." Whew.

In that passion, though, lay jealousy, insecurity and depression. Her moods seemed dependant on lover Ben Reitman's actions and letters. Lucy Parsons recalled that Emma "was always agonizing about something or other, one could hardly make out just what it was all about."

Falk's book, to those of us outside that immediate community, was scalding stuff. I suddenly felt much better in my own agonizing over such weighty anarchist debates as "Is jealousy politically correct?" To know that one of the anarchist icons had her share of emotional zits and warts was very comforting. People would call up, breathing hard and gasping "Did you read page 202?" Heady stuff.

Now, two years later, comes Alice Wexler's book *Emma Goldman: an Intimate Life*. It too is rich in personal detail. It's a pretty good bathtub and beer book, too. But it reeks of "thesis", which may be why it took some time before I could actually get into it. Wexler follows Goldman's life, from childhood, through development of her anarchist philosophy and ideology, to her heyday as "America's most feared woman". Her account ends with Goldman's deportation to Russia on December 21, 1919.



Wexler approaches Goldman from a *woman's* as opposed to an *anarchist* point of view. In that sense she has approached the biography from a "great woman, flawed as she was" perspective, typical of most women's history. It's as if Wexler fell in love

with Goldman as she worked with her papers and diaries. She's not the first and it is very hard not to fall in love with a subject so exciting, as you re-read and re-live their lives.

Goldman's life is described either in reference to state controlled events (i.e., history) or in terms of her relationships with men. It places her as the ideological head of the American anarchist movement. It's a little different than most biographies of the famous, be they Elizabeth I, Laura Secord or Louise Michel. As a radical historian, I find books like this tedious, because I'm tired of "great woman" biographies. I really don't care anymore about how women collided/colluded/confused/connived or con whatever'd with the state to achieve some ends. I don't want to read anymore about how women affected history, because I recognise neither the traditional definition of history nor many of the organizations, sell-outs and personal martyrdoms that women joined, developed and endured to allow them to buy in to a state structure, for that matter, a traditional male-defined political structure, no matter how left it appeared. The kinds of history and biography I read and write have nothing to do with greatness, leadership, organization or state succour, as much of current women's history does. I'm interested in reading about how women and men worked together, fought together (and, often, against each other), lived and loved. I want to know what kinds of relationships women built, how they worked together. I need to know what those women thought and how that affected their lives and their work. I want to read about women like me, like my mother, like the women I know and work with.

I need to know WHO ELSE was out there, organising. Who was doing the leg work for women like Emma. Who worked in the offices of *Mother Earth*? Who worked with women in birth control centres? I need to know the experiences of the women in that all-encompassing but often faceless crowd of anarchist women. I need to know how they reacted to a woman like Emma. Was she atypical? Did they work with her? Or for her?

I am also concerned about how records of our lives are treated. For most of us, the lives of our foresters and brothers are locked away, filed and deoderized in some archive, to be doled out to us through someone else's analysis. I understand the need to physically preserve documents, to ensure their survival so that future anarchists can read and enjoy them. What I do not accept is how documents, and therefore lives, are perceived to be the "property" of particular people or institutions, with restrictions on access and use. I support and am working towards the growth of community based archives and libraries, open and accessible and free from the pallor of academia.

cont...



What is at issue here for me is responsibility, respect and trust. Responsibility to make the materials as accessible as possible to as many people as possible. Respect for the political nature of both the materials, the individual(s) involved and the community. And trust between the collection curators/holders and the people in the community who want/need to see those materials. It is a bridge difficult to build, but essential to the non-exploitation of both the materials and people involved. You can't own a person's life - unless you have state-induced delusions of grandeur.

Back to the matter at hand. I settled into that steaming tub, knowing I would have to review this book, and began to think about what I would say. It's got all the details, it has some good dirt on Emma and her lovers, and is a good book to hand someone who leans over the dinner table and asks "So, do you have anything I could read about Emma Goldman?" The book has a good standard bibliography, one of the most comprehensive I've seen. Wexler tries, to some extent, to write from inside Emma's head. I wish she had written more from Emma's heart. Is it a worthy addition to your anarchist bookshelf?

**"I want to know what kind of relationships women built, how they worked together. I need to know what those women thought and how that effected their lives and work."**

Not too many books on anarchism come along these days...

There's not too much wrong with this book. It just doesn't do anything for me, politically or personally. What it *does* do, more than anything else, is remind me of what I am still waiting to see in anarchist historical writing. When are anarchists, and anarcho-feminists in particular, going to start writing and publishing and making available materials about our past? Why is history always left to the academics, the ones with the credentials and the money? What we get are books about anarchists written by non-anarchists (usually feminists or socialists) which, depending on your tolerance, may or may not be okay. I'm tired of academic pronouncements on people who would like to puke if they encountered these people today.

So I am bothered when I read accounts of women's lives that have been condensed, reworked and reduced to fit an analytical framework. Books like that seldom allow the energy of a woman to shine through. One of the beauties of anarchism is our diversities. It's time to stop writing these "great woman" biographies and to get to the stage beyond Emma. Post Emma. The stage where we, as anarchists, as anarcho-feminists, write *our* histories, about the women who are still active, who have been activists and co-strugglers in the past and in the present.

And to answer Louise Michel: the mothers of revolutionaries can only be happy if their stories and the stories of their daughters and sons are told with warmth, with strength and with respect and honesty. It is our task we, at some point, have to embrace as part of our commitment to change. To know who and what has gone before you offers a strength no state or military power can ignore.

Kandace Kerr  
1985

cont. from page 3

courtroom, insisting the Bible was sufficient.

A pipe bundle consists of a wooden and stone pipe, plus tobacco and other herbs and an eagle feather wrapped in cloth. To the Butlers, it represented an altar and the presence of the Great Spirit in the courtroom. They therefore stood mute at the first trial, and refused to present a defense.

At the second trial, held last November, the judge finally allowed the pipe bundle into the courtroom, another rebuke to the Chief Justice. It was the first time that a native Indian sacred object had been accorded the same status as the Bible in a Canadian court.

Dino, who is 41, is recognized as a traditional spiritual leader. Gary, who is 26, was thrown into Solitary Confinement for his spiritual activities and transferred to a prison 3,000 miles away. Still, he did not stop demanding native rights and reaching out to other young native prisoners.

A law professor and a Protestant prison chaplain testified at the second trial that Dino and Gary, during their time in Canadian prisons, had helped many young native prisoners break out of the cycle of criminal activity, alcoholism and drug abuse. Even the judge at the second trial was forced to "acknowledge that both these men here made contributions to the institutions themselves and to other younger native persons who have unfortunately found themselves incarcerated."

Dino and Gary were again convicted at the second trial, but the judge sentenced them to just one day in recognition of the time they had already spent behind bars. Shortly afterwards, they were deported to the United States, where they were kept behind bars until their Oct. 19th acquittal.

Both Butlers spent their youth in a cycle of crime and drugs in Oregon. Dino travelled across North America searching for something better, and finally met the native traditionalists of AIM at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

*For those of you who would like to look at our previous issues, we have a list of copies available and their prices.*

cont. from page 2

division of the University of Koln. The damage to Mercedes Benz was 150,000DM and the university 30,000. In their declaration the guerrilla organization apologized for the damage they caused at the university, for their bomb destroyed part of the botany institute instead of their intended target.

On the following day, a bank was firebombed in Hamburg; damage was 10,000DM.

Gunter Sare was buried on the 9th of October. In Frankfurt 2,000 people marched from the place he was killed to the courtyard; altogether 3,000 people came to visit the grave and pay their respect. In Berlin the funeral was marked by a march through the city where Benno Ohnesorg was killed (shot by police at a demonstration in 1967) to the place of death of K.J. Rattay (run over by a bus after a police action against a squatted house in 1981). On the day of the funeral there was also an unsuccessful firebomb attempt at a bank in Lubeck; a demonstration in Koln attended by 1,000 people; and a peaceful demonstration in Bochum where police nevertheless arrested 30 people and took them outside the city, leaving them 7km from the city centre.

(Black Flag, Ecomedia Berlin)

#### ANARCHIST ENCYCLOPEDIA

The Anarchist Encyclopedia, due to commence on November 11th, will consist of bi-monthly folios, each devoted to a particular theme, social issue or problem which will be explored in depth. The object will be to cast a hard light on other ideologies, seek fresh viewpoints, clarify issues and achieve a better understanding of anarchism and other aspects of society.

It is designed as an easily updateable and cross-referenced source on current research and thinking and will explore new fields in the presentation of anarchist theory.

Subscription rates (in US funds) will be: 1 year (institutional) \$50; 2 years \$90; individual 1 year \$32; 2 years \$60. Contact TAE, Cambridge Free Press, Unit 6, 25 Gwydir St., Cambridge, England CB1 2LG

ECOMEDIA TORONTO, the Canadian office of the Ecomedia network (an international alternative news and information service) has begun to send out news packages of information received from the Network and other sources on a regular basis. For further information, contact: Ecomedia Toronto, Box 915, Stn. F, Toronto, Ontario, M4Y 2N9



Two women interviewed in the video *All Our Lives/De Toda La Vida*

OPEN ROAD needs writers... and photographers and artists.

Our aim is to be a forum for the international anarchist movements. To do this we need written and graphic contributions from people on the spot. We need first-hand accounts of your aims, your struggles, and successes, what works and what doesn't. You can make the Open Road the paper you deserve. Send any and all contributions to:

The Open Road Box 6135, Station G  
Vancouver, B.C., Canada  
V6R 4G5





CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

New Haven Correctional Center  
245 Whalley Ave.  
New Haven, CT  
06511

Open Road  
Box 6157  
Station 6  
Vancouver, BC  
Canada V6H 4Z5

May 13, 1985

Hi-

I hope my stationery didn't frighten you, it's just something a friend and I whipped up for fun. We use it to write to the warden on. He sends his goon squad up here to confiscate our supply but all they ever find is a sheet or two, we've got reams of it stacked away. Our next project is OGIS stationery.

I just received my first copy of "Open Road" and I really liked it. It was very informative. We don't get much real news in here so "Open Road" is like a breath of fresh air. I just wish I had found your address sooner.

I know how hard (expensive) it is to print an alternative newspaper so I decided to send you a check. I know it's free to inmates but every little bit helps, right? I was going to send you two hours pay but since we only make 75 cents a day I decided to shoot the works and send a weeks pay. I hate working for so little but now I feel as if I'm helping you instead of them.

Since I just started reading O.R. I was wondering if you sell back issues. I must've missed a lot of important news so buying the back issues would help. If you do sell them I'd appreciate it if you'd let me know and I'll order some.

Well thanks for putting out such a good paper and printing the real news. Keep up the good work.

In Solidarity



U.S. Department of Justice  
Federal Prison System  
Federal Correctional Institution

11-1000-108-7000

November 16, 1984

Open Road  
Box 6135, Stn. C  
Vancouver, B.C.  
Canada V6R 4G3

Re: Adolfo Matos, Reg. No. 88968-024

To Whom It May Concern:

The Winter 1984 issue of Open Road addressed to Adolfo Matos was received here on 11-14-84.

Bureau of Prisons Program Statement 5266.4, Incoming Publications, authorizes the Warden to reject any publication if it is determined detrimental to the security, good order, or discipline of the institution. An evaluation of the newspaper shows that it contains various articles which could inflame an already volatile inmate population. To allow this issue of your magazine into the institution would be detrimental to its security, good order, or discipline.

If you wish to appeal the rejection, you may write Mr. J. D. Williams, Regional Director, Bureau of Prisons, 1607 Main, Suite 700, Dallas, TX 75201. By copy of this letter, Mr. Matos is being notified of the rejection and that he may appeal through the administrative remedy process. The publication will be maintained for 15 days to allow him to appeal.

Sincerely,

*(Signature)*  
T. C. Martin  
Warden

## SUPPORT THE FIVE

IT WAS WITH SOME DISMAY that I read the two letters in the last issue of the *OR* which criticized your support for the Vancouver Five and specifically the *Litton and the Left* article which appeared in #16.

Werner Scott's letter was particularly stupid and consistent with other critics of the Five in that their opposition is never theoretical, none of the points raised in the *Litton and the Left* article were spoken to at all. What we get instead is name-calling and insults. In common with the bourgeois press, Scott prefers a psycho-determinism, that the Five were acting to fill some "insignificant void in their lives" rather than dealing with the political issues raised by their actions. It is impossible for such an abstract point to be countered. All I would suggest is that people read the communiques released after the various actions to determine whether or not the actions of the Five had any political base.

Granted, the tone of the *Litton and the Left* article was impassioned and was harsher on some of the local pacifists than they deserved. But what is forgotten is that we are real people, caught up in a real situation with very serious consequences. The article was not written as an intellectual exercise. It was impassioned precisely because it was a very intense period of time and our language and feelings reflected this reality.

One would have hoped that anyone calling themselves anarchists would understand that mutual aid is a fundamental governing principle. Having worked with and known both Ann and Brent and having considered the others as 'comrades' what would Scott have us do, abandon them to the state because he disagrees with their actions? The Five were and are part of a community of people stretched across the country who have various connections, shared experiences and common politics. We don't turn our backs on friends and comrades simply because they choose to follow the option of a more militant politic.

The *Litton and the Left* article did not call for others to follow in the footsteps of Direct Action and start a

campaign of bombing. It did not suggest that bombing was the only valid political tactic for this period of time. The Five have never set themselves up as heroes or martyrs even though many do consider them folk heroes. If anything, as supporters of the Five, we have been too timid in not continuing to advocate the validity of armed struggle in North America. In spite of whatever wishful fantasies Scott and others like him might have, armed struggle has been used and will be used in North America. And we will continue our support for people who choose this option regardless of whatever childish indignation is sent our way.

Militant actions such as the *Litton* bombing are useful precisely because they remind us that in fact we are involved in political struggle. In our view there is little room for compromise or constructive dialogue with those who are despoiling the world, and committing large scale genocide, in their search for profits. As others have asked, what would we do if we had found ourselves in Nazi Germany during the second world war? Would these anarchists such as Scott have advocated a slow and steady policy of working with the people? Hoping that eventually enough Germans could be convinced through unions, food co-ops, small magazines and study groups that Hitler was evil? Certainly comparing the U.S. to Nazi Germany might be considered extreme by some people though on what grounds I don't know. If we went simply by the body count of those killed directly or indirectly by the U.S. since the war and Germany during it then it would be hard to determine which was the worst of the two. Certainly, we could excuse the people of Central America, Chile, the Philippines, Southern Africa, South East Asia and elsewhere if they doubted our word that the good guys won the second world war. If this is what democracy does to the world then we sure are lucky that the fascists didn't win.

Scott and his friends in Regina can rest content that they have a moral superiority to the Five, their supporters and magazines like *Open Road* which have covered the issue. For myself I'll not be so concerned about moral one-up-man-ship since it is through practice and not words that one should be judged. And meanwhile

I'll continue to work with the Five and help them remain part of the movement. We'll all be stronger for it.

Frankie Lee  
Toronto, Ont.

## Keep the fires burnin'

Friends,

Here's a small contribution to help keep the fires burnin'. I really enjoyed the last issue, especially the articles about Hawaii and the Swiss youth movement. The latter article I am sending to a friend in Der Schweiz who was active in the movement. What happened in Zurich I believe is a lesson and an example to the North American Left of the power of creative anti-authoritarianism. The 'Bewegung' may have been set back by the brutal reaction of the neo-fascist Swiss authorities, but it is not defeated and will not die. The incredible spirit of the Swiss youth burns on.

I'm glad to see that you're still coming out with a quality paper that takes authority uncompromisingly to task every issue and refuses to bend to the conservative windchill that is sweeping over North America and indeed the world. I only wish that you came out more often. I understand the difficulty in financing and coordinating a project as complex as a newspaper, but there are some of us who worry that every issue will be the last. Regardless, keep up the good work, brothers and sisters.

Some friends and I are about to launch our own anti-authoritarian news-leaflet, to be called *FLASH* and distributed in the Boston area. We would be interested in receiving any writing, information, tips, graphics, or photographs on anti-authoritarian subjects that might be of interest to people in the Boston area. The publication will be small, only four pages, so keep it brief. Also we would like to hear from folks in other cities that are involved in similar projects. Free press needs all the support it can get!

No master,  
John May

P.S. Now that you've demythed Hawaii, how about an article about the struggle to save the world's last northern wilderness, Alaska?

Dear Comrades:

Many thanks for sending me the *OPEN ROAD* and *RESISTANCE*. It really is interesting to have news of the kind official press never publishes.

Thinking you'll like to hear some recent news from Greece, I'll try to brief you on what's going on there.

On April 1st, 1985, a public prosecutor, Theophanopoulos, was shot dead by unknown assailants. Theophanopoulos was one of the many responsible for the veil of silence that covered the assassination of Chapman, an English journalist, in 1972-73 in Greece under the military regime. He was also responsible of the prosecution of many anarchist comrades since then, and especially the prosecution of the originators of two squats in Athens in 1981. He was also responsible for the prosecution of many papers and magazines, and the editors of a De Sade book series. An 'Anti-State Struggle' organization issued a communique claiming responsibility for Theophanopoulos' execution.

On May 16th, three men approached a stolen motorcycle in an Athens suburb. Three policemen, watching the stolen bike, opened fire, but the three men were armed as well. The subsequent battle left one civilian and

## BOOKS RECEIVED:



EMMA GOLDMAN: AN INTIMATE Life, by Alice Wexler - Virago Press. 340pp, \$9.00. Reviewed this issue p. 8  
UPROOTING WAR by Brian Martin - Freedom Press. Arguments for grassroots strategies to replace the military industrial war system, by a libertarian socialist. 298pp, \$6.00, Angel Alley, 846 Whitechapel High Street, London E1, England.

SOME WINDED, WILD BEAST - by Christina V. Pacosz - Libertarian poetry - 100pp - Black and Red, P.O. Box 02374, Detroit, Michigan 48202  
THE RISE AND REPRESSION OF Radical Labour - by Daniel R. Fusfeld - covers the american labour movement between 1877 and 1918, focusing on the methods of state repression during this period. 70pp \$3.95

DREAMS AND DYNAMITE - by Covington Hall - Early I.W.W. oriented poems - 56pp - \$3.95 - both from Charles H. Kerr, 1740 Greenleaf Ave, Suite 7, Chicago, Ill. 60626, U.S.

PRISON JOURNAL - a periodical of writing and art by prisoners in B.C.'s lower mainland. Issue #4 includes an interview with Gerry Hannah, 'retired member of the Vancouver 5. He contributes his thoughts on punk music, feminism, ecology and anarchism. A well edited, quality production. \$7.50 for three issues from: Prison Journal, SFU/Prison Education Program, Office of Continuing Studies, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C., Canada V5A 1S6

THE OUTLAW'S BIBLE: How to Evade the System Using Constitutional Strategy - applies mainly to the U.S. - by E.X. Boozhie - 325pp - \$12.95 post paid from: Circle-A Publishers 8608 E. Hubbell, Dept. 40A, Scottsdale, AZ 85257, U.S.A.



one policeman dead, with the other two policemen seriously wounded (they too died a few days later).

A week later, police announced that the dead civilian was Christos Tsoutsouvis.

Christos Tsoutsouvis belonged to a leftist underground group called 'Revolutionary People's Struggle', which has attacked several state targets in the past.

In 1978 he retired from ELA and declared himself to be an anarchist.

In the first days of June, police announced that, searching the house of a suspect, they found the original text of 'Anti-State Struggle' which claimed responsibility for Theophanopoulos' death. They also announced that they are looking for two men, supposedly co-authors, named Lesperoglou and Balafas. These two men are still on the run.

Looking forward to reading the next O.R. and RESISTANCE issues, I wish you all the best.

A Greek anarchist

## PORNOGRAPHY

OPEN ROAD HAS COME UNDER increasing attack for its stand on pornography. Fred Woodsworth, Lazarus Jones, and Bob Black, the Bob Hope of anarchism, have all recently stepped forward to defend the anarchist faith against Open Road's 'crypto-fascist' heresies.

Woodsworth, Ellams, Black and all other anarchist 'defenders of pornography' treat pornography as a free speech issue, as if pornography is just an idea that some people are advocating like "communism." But pornography is not an abstract idea, it is a very real social practice in which women are both exploited as wage-slaves and reduced to the level of a commodity to be consumed, a sex object rather than an autonomous human being. How can anarchists, who are supposedly opposed to exploitation and domination in all their forms, then defend pornography, which both embodies and expresses the male domination and exploitation of women? Only by misrepresenting pornography as merely an idea or theoretical position rather than a lived reality can these so-called anarchists pretend to be defending human freedom when they are really defending the oppression of women by men. Their position is disturbingly reminiscent of other so-called anarchists who defend capitalism under the specious pretext of individual liberty, hiding the authority of the boss and the exploitation of the worker being libertarian rhetoric. Just as the anarcho-capitalist defends capitalism on the grounds that workers are "free" to choose their own jobs and consumers are "free" to choose the commodities that they consume, so the anarchist defenders of pornography claim that women are free to refuse the status of sex-objects and men are free to refuse to consume pornography. But pornography, as with capitalism, is not something that can be abolished merely through an individual refusal, nor is it something that can be simply ignored. Everywhere you go in this society you are confronted by pornography, whether at the magazine stand, in advertising, at the local video store or in the home of an anarchist who subscribes to *Hustler* magazine. Pornography is not an idea that has appeared out of nowhere, or dropped like manna from heaven, but a concrete social practice which presupposes and depends on other

social practices, such as patriarchy and capitalism, in order to exist. When "anarchists" defend pornography they are really defending the entire patriarchal, capitalist society of which pornography is an expression. Pornography is not something to be opposed on a purely intellectual level but something which can only be eliminated through the abolition of the society which gives rise to it.

*Open Road*, it must be admitted, has greatly confused matters by failing to clearly distinguish its position on pornography from that of statist reformers calling for government censorship and control of "pornography." At least the classical anarchist thinkers and movements made clear that while they were opposed to capitalism they were

equally opposed to state socialism. *Open Road* has never made clear that while it is opposed to pornography it is equally opposed to state censorship, and sometimes *Open Road* has given the impression that it approves of police action against video retailers of hard-core pornography. The idea that the authoritarian, male-dominated state can itself be used to deal with any social problem is a dangerous illusion which consistent anarchists have always opposed. In opposition to statist reformers anarchists have always advocated direct action and social revolution as the appropriate means for changing society, and this is the sort of position that *Open Road* has championed. I think that *Open Road* needs to emphasize that social problems are not solved by making

them illegal, especially now that the statist anti-pornography movement is enjoying limited success. Statist solutions to pornography merely strengthen the power of the state rather than really dealing with the underlying social structure which makes pornography possible. By jumping on the anti-pornography bandwagon without clearly articulating a consistent anarchist position in opposition to that of state reformers *Open Road* has unwittingly contributed to the movement to state censorship. Some day *Open Road* may find itself stuck with an obscenity charge while the real pornographers get away scot free. Think about it.

Anarchy or chaos,  
Bob Graham  
Vancouver, B.C.

# Open Road Back Issues

#1 Summer 1976 AIM/Martin Sostre/People's Music/Seattle Guerrillas/Women Unionize/Sabate poster [Photocopy Only]

#2 Spring 1977 Spain - the renewed struggle/Portugal - the difficult revolution/Grand Juries/Jamaica - Reggae, Rastas & resistance/Weather Underground/Dene people/Bakunin poster

#3 Summer 1977 Anti-nuke resistance/Bugs, Taps & Beepers/G.J.B./Battered Women/Guerrilla Strategy/AIM Trials/Spain - Resurgent Anarchism/Emma Goldman poster

#4 Fall 1977 Anarcha Feminism/West coast Anti-nukes/Nazi Bashing/Pie as weapon/Arctic people organize/Sacco & Vanzetti poster

#5 Fall/Winter 77-78 Punk/A Tale of Two Regions/Wobblies/Spain/GJB/Revolt Against Work

#6 Spring 1978 Feminists turn on rapists/CNT/Work Poets/Eastern Europe/Peace conversion/Family, traditional roles/Marie Louise Berneri poster

#7 Summer 1978 1980s looking back/French Autonomists/So-Fi - revolutionary utopia/All in the Family/Women Fight Back/Against the Hag/Prison poster

#8 Fall/Winter 1978 Persons Unknown/Music as a revolutionary weapon/Radio Free World/Fare Fight/Anti-Apartheid/Urban action in Italy/Labour news/No Nukes poster

#9 Spring 1979 Spain & Portugal/Living Theatre/FLO/Home Births/Anarcha Feminist poster

#10 Fall/Winter 1979 Still Crazy/Persons Unknown/Anti-nukes/IC.N.T./Did the '70s Burn You Out?

#11 Summer 1980 Rebel Feminists/CNT splits/Squatters in Amsterdam/Bikeshoviks/Gulags in North America/Peace & Ecology movements/Anarchy an Italian Model/Anarcho Comics [magazine format]

#12 Spring/Summer 1981 Poland-Solidarnosc/B.C.Tel. occupation/Parenting/Video death/Loving relationships

#13 Spring 1982 Anarchy in USSR/Carl Harp/Guatemala/European news/Squats/Murray Bookchin interview

#14 Summer 1982 Anarchism & the world crisis/China/Anti-Nuke/Pornography/Punk music

#15 Spring 1983 Direct Action issue - in the workplace - in the streets - at home - on the air / Vancouver 5 - Trial by Media/George Woodcock on Gandhi

#16 Spring 1984 Litton & the Left/Peace movement/Vancouver Five/Nicaragua/Oswell/Chomsky interview/The General Strike That Wasn't

#17 Winter 1984 Hackers organize/Beauty Pageant protest/AIM/Van 5/Occupied Hawaii/Zurich is Burning/Punk - DOA in Europe/Resistance #8 special insert!

Trial By Media: Free The Five

ASP

RESISTANCE No. 8

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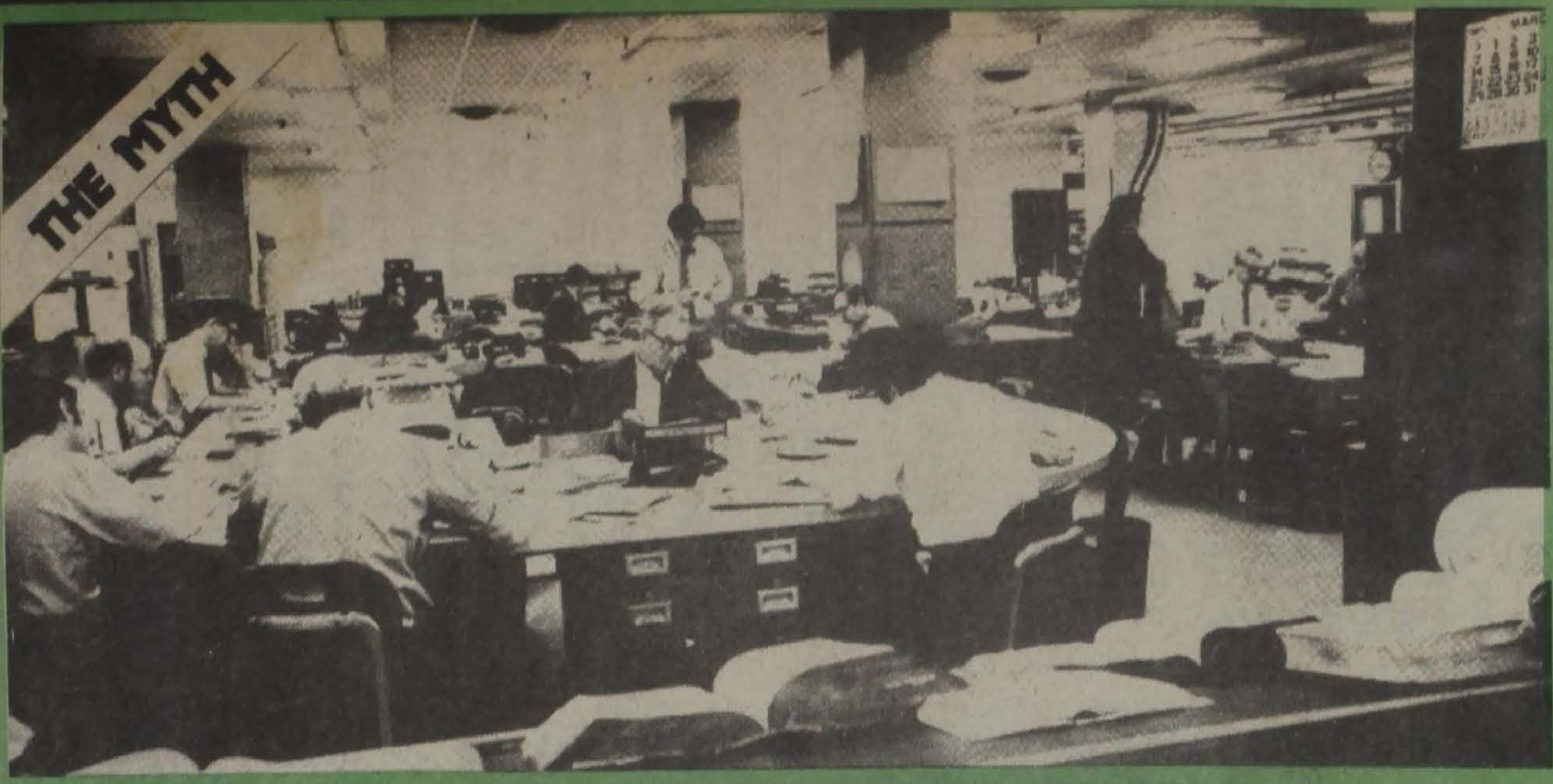
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The Open Road Box 6135, Station G  
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# YOU THINK WE HAVE LOTS OF MONEY AND PRODUCE OPEN ROAD OUT OF A SPACIOUS, WELL-EQUIPPED OFFICE?

Well, you can bury your fantasies...

The Open Road comes out of a small ramshackle office in Vancouver's "skid row." We spend as much time fending off hungry office rats as we do the landlord. We're broke. The last issue cost \$1800. We need a lot of help from our friends. It's the only way the Open Road can continue.

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