

Anarcha-feminist issue

OpenRoad



Issue Twenty

Fall 1986



\$1.50



Update from Big Mountain

Feminist Childrearing

EXPO 86 EXPOSED

I WAS A LIBYAN TERRORIST

U.S. invades Yakima Nation

Beginning mid-August, U.S. marshalls have attacked and harassed native women and children in their homes on Yakima Tribal Land in S.W. Washington state near Hanford Nuclear Reservation. Fully armed officers surprised the families, breaking down doors and shoving children aside to accost the women with their demands. The marshalls sought information on the whereabouts of Yakima spiritual leader David Sohappy, Sr., 70, and four other victims of the infamous "salmon scam" entrapment which had been ordered to report to a California federal prison August 8th. The women and children whose homes were invaded were relations of the accused. No search warrants were shown and no arrests were made.

As it happens, David Sohappy, Sr. and his son David Sohappy, Jr. were in the Yakima Tribal Court-house Jail at the time, having turned themselves in on August 16 in accordance with Tribal Law. Matt McConville, also sought by Federal marshalls, turned himself in to Tribal authorities in late August. Wilbur Slockish, Jr. and Leroy Yocash remain on the Yakima Reserve in obedience to an August 8th Tribal Court Order but their whereabouts on the Reserve are unknown. Relatives and friends of the five fishermen continue to be harassed.

What is the "Salmon Scam"?

In the early 1980's a National

Marine Fisheries Services (NMFS) study indicated that 40,000 salmon had disappeared between Bonneville and McNary Dams on the Columbia River. NMFS decided that these fish had been "poached" by Indian fishermen. To prove this theory, federal and state officers set up an undercover fish-buying operation in which they approached Indian fishermen and induced (entrapped) them to sell the agents fish ("salmon scam"). Starting on June 17, 1982, 75 Native people were arrested by federal and state officers. Later studies by the NMFS showed that the disappearance of the 40,000 fish was not caused by Native fishing, but was the result of flouride pollution discharged into the Columbia River by a Golden-dale, Washington aluminium smelter. The flouride had interfered with the salmon's homing ability and they had spawned up the Dechutes River (a tributary of the Columbia) prior to reaching the McNary Dam. Nevertheless, 19 Indian women and men were tried in federal court. 13 were convicted with nine receiving prison terms of one to five years. The remaining four defendants were given five years probation. In late June, 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the convictions. The nine were to begin their prison terms on August 8th, 1986 at Lompoc U.S. Penitentiary in California. Recently several sports fishermen and restaurant employees near Puget Sound were convicted of selling

and buying sports-caught salmon and steelhead. None of these non-Indians were sentenced to jail.

On August 6 the Yakima Indian Nation released Resolution T-103-86 pertaining to the federal "sting" operation. It noted that "the Lacey Act amendments concerning Indian rights were intended to protect Indian jurisdiction rather than be used against Indian people as occurred in this case." The Resolution announced the Tribe's deci-

sacred ceremonies, followed by deer meat, roots and berries. Water is taken before and after the meal. This is the law of the land...All these sacred things stand to be destroyed and poisoned by the development of industry and nuclear waste."

Johnny Jackson, Yakima elder

In 1885 the U.S. signed a series of treaties with Columbia River native nations preserving their right

families living at these sites stating that the Bureau had established regulations which prohibited permanent residency. The families have lived at these sites for years and the sites occupy land on or near the sites of the original fishing villages.

The village residents at Cook's Landing and Underwood, Washington have sued the Department of the Interior (BIA) and the Depart-



sion "to exercise its sovereign retained powers" to prosecute all tribal members who were defendants in this matter before the Yakima Tribal Court. "The Yakima Nation fully expects its fellow sovereign, the United States, to extend the doctrine of comity toward the Tribal Court prosecutions and sentences. This well-known doctrine has been exercised by the federal courts and other sovereigns." "Salmon is the first food in Indian

to "fish, hunt and gather...at their usual and accustomed places." According to the Territorial Governor of the day, "This promise will be kept by the Americans for as long as the sun shines, as long as the mountains stand and as long as the rivers run."

No sooner spoken than broken

In the 1930's the construction of the Bonneville Dam across the Columbia River flooded 37 traditional native fishing villages as well as fishing sites, burial grounds and ceremonial sites. The Army Corps of Engineers promised the residents that their villages would be rebuilt. Native people are still waiting for reconstruction of their family homes. Five fishing sites were eventually established to replace flooded villages and to provide river access.

In 1969 Columbia River tribes strongly objected to proposed Bureau of Indian Affairs regulations that prohibited permanent dwellings at these sites. Several fishing families currently live on two of these "in-lieu" sites. In March 1984, the BIA ordered the eviction of

ment of Defense (Army Corps of Engineers) to halt the evictions and home demolitions and to force the promised rebuilding of all flooded fishing villages. David Sohappy, Sr. and his son are among the Cook's Landing evictees.

Lavina Washines, a member of the Yakima Tribal Council says of the attempted evictions, "It's a long-range plan by the government to step by step get the Indian people off the river so they can get full control of the river for windsurfers, 'love boats', and other tourist industries."

"I'm fighting for a place to fish with no harassment by the whites... We're trying to make them live up to their promises — they got so many promises to the Indians they never kept."

David Sohappy, Sr.

A spiritual gathering in support of Columbia River struggles has been called for Oct. 3-13, 1986. For more information or to offer support, contact: Columbia River Defense Project, P.O. Box 14044, Portland, Oregon, 97214. Phone: (503) 289-4585.

Squatters' daycare harassed by council

A squatters' daycare in Brixton, London, faces another eviction as their struggle against the local 'left-wing' Lambeth Council continues.

The daycare, or creche, started in response to pitifully inadequate childcare services for low income women. The few existing council creches have waiting lists of sometimes up to 2 years.

Begun in 1984 by two or three mothers who could care for about 9 children from the community, the first creche was allowed to operate for five months without disruption. The sudden assault on the squat by council was only the first in a series of relocations and evictions over the next year and a half. A changing group of women and a handful of men have maintained the creche through court cases and many moves through both legal homes and squats.

Local support for the service is

strong, and friends of the creche have petitioned, postered, and held ad hoc daycares on the outside council chambers. One action involved letting a crowd of children loose during a meeting to disrupt proceedings and upset tea and cookie trays. But so far council has remained unresponsive both to these tactics and to the initial attempts at dialogue.

While the Labour council congratulates itself on its anti-sexist, anti-racist, progressive policies, it continues to attack the creche. Recently elected council leader Linda Bellos, a Black lesbian Jewish single mother spoke at a recent Gay Pride March and faced hecklers demanding, "How come you're evicting dykes?"

Bellos' response? "Thank you sisters. This is supposed to be a day of Lesbian unity. You're all a load of shits."

Belgian libertarian held in solitary

BRUSSELS--Chantal Paternostre, a Belgian Libertarian, has been held in 'preventative detention' since August 15, 1985 awaiting the beginning of a judicial investigation that has not yet started.

Since the end of December she has been in strict solitary confinement: isolated 23 hours out of 24, forbidden contact with other prisoners, forbidden from receiving mail or outside communications; and moved from cell to cell within the prison.

The police claim she is part of the Fighting Communist Cells (CCC), but Paternostre says she is not; she says her army is 'the radio'. There is no serious charge against her, but the police unit responsible for preventing terrorism presents her arrest as a major break. Others see her imprisonment as part of the attack on those who hold views in opposition to that of the government Through Radio-Air Libre, Paternostre has been very critical of NATO and the militarization of Europe, and police repression in Belgium, as well as many other actions of the government and police.

In January when about 100 people protested her imprisonment at the Palais de justice, police brutally attacked them, and 80 were held and then released without charge. Some were fingerprinted and photographed.

On May 12 an appeal for the ending of these conditions was launched by Paternostre. A psychiatrist who examined her this spring has stated that she is beginning to show signs of mental and physical breakdown and that irreversible psychological



damage will result if she remains in solitary confinement. Her supporters have initiated a public petition against solitary confinement and to attack the state on its own grounds and to show its contradictions. They are seeking the signatures of influential people in Belgium.

The community has mobilized to fight the attempts by the police and Minister of the Inter-

ior, Jean Gol, to label opponents of the government as criminals and place them in 'preventative detention' while they try to create a case against them.

Radio-Air Libre, a free station in Brussels, which has aired Paternostre's statements, has been linked to the CCC by the police because of its broadcasts about the CCC. The press has then repeated the allegations of the police.

The anarchist movement has been attacked for supporting the CCC or opposing the government. Anarchist Louis-Jean Carpentier was arrested in April 1985 after police planted CCC documents in his car, and then discovered them. Earlier they got a friend of his to plant a sub-machine gun at his home, but he buried the gun in the country. In January 1985 after a shoot-out with people the police believed were the CCC, they watched Carpentier. But the sub-machine gun they planted on him was a different model than the one used in the shoot-out. He was charged none-the-less, but the case has not yet come to trial.

Letters to Chantal and Louis-Jean can be sent to them at: Prison de Forest, 52 avenue de la Jonction, 1060 Bruxelles, Belgium. For more information contact Friends of Chantal Paternostre, 261 Chaussee d'Alsemberg, 1180 Bruxelles, Belgium.

[le monde libertaire]

Wackersdorf protest widens



Masked demonstrators under attack from police gas and water cannons

WACKERSDORF--On the weekend of May 17-19 after three weeks of radioactive fallout from Chernobyl, over 30,000 people converged on the Wackersdorf nuclear reprocessing plant in Bavaria, in a mood for civil war. More than a thousand came prepared for the conflict wearing masks, and many more did the same when the attacks by the riot police using CS gas cannons and helicopters with gas grenades intensified. Families, elderly people, and local farmers not normally participants in actions were there in good numbers and resisted police appeals to separate from the radicals, instead joining the action.

The so-called 'Invincible' fence, made of heavy steel bars and steel posts was cut through in dozens of places and barricades/shelters were built inside to push the police back. After their defeats, on the third day the police tried to retaliate, but were driven back and their motor pool suffered severely when they launched the offensive. Only their gas was effective.

By Tuesday evening (20th) when many people had left, the police surrounded the camp and started attacking people, exacting the revenge they had been trying to get previously. Many of the arrested were 'rescued'.

The campaign to stop the construction has been building

since January, when thousands demonstrated in the forests in -10°C weather. There have been two deaths already, hundreds of injured, and thousands of people jailed, as well as millions of marks worth of damage. After the Chernobyl catastrophe the nuclear reprocessing plant here has become the main focus for resistance in West Germany. For once, the anarchists and autonomists from the cities have been united with anti-nuclear activists, pacifists, and local farmers in an all-out attack. There have been demonstrations held every week, and because of Chernobyl many thousands more joined the Easter demonstration.

[Black Flag]

GREECE:

The struggle continues

Open Road has been receiving a lot of information from Greece. Anarchists in Greece have been very active and are currently suffering massive attacks

from the State. We are printing the following chronology in order to give an idea of the scope of anarchist activity and state repression.

May 10: Anarchists organize a motorcyclist's cavalcade against nukes. Police intervene and brutally beat the comrades.

May 17: Anarchists take part in an anti-nuclear march, organized by extra parliamentary leftists and pacifists. Police motorcyclists attack the anarchist block, who respond by throwing petrol bombs. Two police motorcycles are burnt down, nine policemen are injured, and 30 comrades are arrested.

May 17: The instruction judge orders 13 comrades to be held in custody. The following day the police torture the 13, beating them with lashes, at the Security Police Headquarters in Athens.

May 19: The Minister of Public Order, Ret. General Droysoyanis, says that police make "preventative" arrests. "It is better to arrest a hundred innocent people than to let a guilty one escape" he continues.

May 22: Police attack a rock festival in Salonika, arresting 11 comrades who are sentenced to a year in prison. They are set free on 50,000 drachmas bail per person until their appeal is heard.

Police attack Exarchia square in Athens. Many comrades arrested see fascist leaflets on the desks of police officers. The comrades are set free the next morning.

May 23: Police violently attack residents of the Zografou suburb in Athens when they occupy a bulldozer which was sent to cutdown trees in a park to make way for a motorway. Among the arrested is anarchist Klearhos Smyrmeos. In June he is sentenced to 11 months in prison.

May 25: Fascists demonstrate in all the main Greek cities, demanding the liberation of the ex-dictator Col. George Papadopoulos. Anarchists organize counter demonstrations in Salonika, Patra, and Kavala, but are attacked by police and fascists who seriously wound many of them.

May 29: Four comrades are arrested in the city of Lamia for distributing an anti-nuclear poster. At the same time the city is plastered with fascist posters.

May 31: Six comrades are sentenced to six months of prison for their participation in a demonstration against the French fascist Le Pen's visit to Greece on

December 5, 1984.

June 1: "Anarchist Action" claims responsibility for the arson of a printing plant in Athens where the governing party's weekly "Exormisi" is published, causing damage of many millions of drachmas.

June 5: Anarchists occupy the building of the Industrial Studies School in Salonika, in protest against police and state oppression. The comrades declare that they're going to blow up the building if the police try to enter. The occupation still continues.

As seen by the above, the anarchists desperately need our help and solidarity. They request that we write letters or phone the nearest Greek embassy or consulate. Write letters to:

Minister of Justice,
Apostololos Kaklamanis
Zinonos & Sokratus str.
Athens, Greece

Prime Minister
Andreas Papandrou
Athens, Greece

President of the Republic
Christos Sartzetakis
Athens, Greece



Editor arrested

In a move designed to close down the radical Dutch paper De Knipselkrant, its principal editor for many years, Paul Moussault, was arrested by a large police force when leaving his house in Groningen on May 4th.

Moussault is under suspicion of having been involved in the importation of a kilogram of TNT in the Netherlands on May 1st, for which a Japanese person was arrested that day in Schiphol. According to the public prosecutor, Moussault either imported this substance together with the other person, or had "incited" that import by "supplying opportunity, means and/or information." Supporting evidence for such an accusation is extremely slight as it is based on two clues: that Moussault and the other defendant were in the town Belgrado on the same night and "consequently" could have met each other, and the testimony (contradicted in a written statement) of a porter at a hotel that a man answering the description of Moussault asked for the room number of the Japanese.

From the arrest file it is apparent that the arrest was organized by the CRID in Den Haag, which works closely with the BVD (Internal Security Service). The paper which Moussault was the principal editor has been a thorn in the flesh of internal and foreign secret services for years. This weekly paper published in three languages includes statements and press reports from 175 daily papers and magazines about armed resistance and political

prisoners in Western Europe, anti-imperialist resistance, anti-nuclear power movement, anti-militarism, counter-insurgency, secret services and fascism. Its particular aim is the "communication about revolutionary policy in Western Europe."

This attempt to eliminate De Knipselkrant, by linking its editor with the importation of explosives, follows the closure of two other important European revolutionary papers in the last few years: the West German autonomist paper Radikal which was closed and two editors arrested for the publication of the communiques of the Revolutionary Cells and the autonomist movement; and the French newspaper L'Internationale, which was effectively destroyed when 13 editorial members were arrested as members of the urban guerilla organization Action Directe.

On January 18, 1985, two BVD agents visited Moussault to talk to him about the hunger-strike of RAF prisoners going on then and about his supposed contact with armed resistance groups such as the CCC and the RAF but he refused the conversation. The next month an international press campaign was run against RVF (Red Resistance Front)/De Knipselkrant.

To show your support, or to subscribe, please write:

De Knipselkrant
Postfach 7001,
9701 JA Groningen,
Nederland

Independent label goes to court

The recent U.S. Senate hearings concerning 'obscenity' and general bad ideas in rock music has generated repressive fallout a lot faster than may have been anticipated. Shortly after the hearings ended, with some labels agreeing to warning stickers

on their albums and others suitably cowed by the spectre of the wrath of the right) the L.A. and San Francisco police departments filed charges against 5 people involved in the independent music scene. Their crime: distributing material harmful to minors.

They are: Jello Biafra, singer for the Dead Kennedys; the general manager of Alternative Tentacles, the band's label; two distributors of their recent album; and the head of the company that produced the album package. The album in question, **Frankenchrist**, contains a poster of a painting by Swiss artist H.R. Giger showing 10 sets of interlocking male and female genitals. Reproduced in a dismal green, and with the oddly slimy look characteristic of Giger's work, it's not attractive, but it's also hardly offensive.

Whatever this poster repres-

ents and to whom, the issues involved go far beyond that of the poster itself. The Dead Kennedys are an aggressively political band, and probably have the highest profile of any alternative/punk band in North America, consistently trashing the icons of american middle class dreams and the behind the scenes exploitation and death mongering that supports them.

Still, the legal fees are going to be large—one figure mentioned is 20,000 dollars—and the consequences of losing this case could be serious for Biafra and the others charged (the maximum conviction is a 2,000 fine and up to a year in jail) and even more serious in the implications for the entire alternative underground. Donations to defray legal costs can be sent to the No more censorship Defense Fund, P.O. Box 11458, San Francisco, California 94101.



Under the present system of childrearing, one adult, typically the child's mother, acts as the overseer of her or his life. The mother is given heavy re-enforcement by the public, school system and the television set, but she is ultimately held responsible for the product. She has succeeded if her child fits without overt rebellion or malfunction into her or his allotted place within the existing social order, both while growing up and after becoming an adult.

From a feminist perspective, the child is damaged in three critical and interlinked ways by this method of upbringing. First, instead of learning how to work with others in equitable relationships, she or he learns how to submit to authority. Secondly, instead of learning that she or he, together with everyone else, is a participant in the larger human world, she or he is kept isolated and powerless at home and in school. Finally, instead of obtaining emotional security from her or his membership in a working community of caring peers, she or he obtains sustained emotional support from only one individual, or at best from the small number of individuals composing a stable and loving family.

Ugly old patterns of human interaction are established in the minds of a new generation. Children learn that the basic human relationship is one of dominance and submission, that some people ("successful" adult men) run the world, while the rest of us are dependent on their decisions, and that there is a rigid division between the cold competitive public domain, and the warm private enclave of the family.

A mother and her children (with or without a father) presently constitute a social unit which is inextricably enmeshed in the patriarchy. Because she is held totally responsible for her children's behaviour and well-being, a mother must forbid them their freedom. If they do not attend school on time and neatly dressed, if they fail to behave politely and respectfully to adults, if they break the law, if they offend anyone in any way, or damage themselves in any way, their mother is considered at fault.

If she fails in minor ways to make her children behave "appropriately", she will merely meet social disapproval, but if she fails drastically, her children will be removed to a foster home or a juvenile detention centre. Thus in self-defense, and in order to protect her children, a mother does her best to make them submit to her authority, which she uses to coerce them into conforming to society's expectations.

EL SALVADOR: Courage out of terror

"How was El Salvador?" people asked me when I returned to Canada in early June. I initially had difficulty expressing what I had seen and heard, but two words soon stood out among the others. They are opposite in meaning, but intrinsically linked in my experience of El Salvador. Those words are terror and courage.

One feels the terror as the plane lands in San Salvador. The airport is full of armed men in various uniforms. The streets of the city feature National Police and Guardia on the corners, stationed every few blocks in the downtown area, with sub-machine guns and high-powered rifles. They look mean, their young minds warped and human warmth gone. The U.S. Embassy is a fortress, with 20-foot cement walls and machine-gun turrets at each corner.

The terror seems overwhelming, but gradually you adjust, as you see that life continues. As you adapt to the militarization and the fear, the incredible courage of a people under siege begins to emerge.

On May Day 80,000 people marched through the streets; city workers and campesinos, men, women and children. Risking murder and disappearance, they marched through the capital and gathered at the Plaza Libertad, calling for an end to the new economic measures, an end to the repression, and for dialogue to end the war. The General Association of University Students (AGEUS) spraypainted the walls passed by the march, including the walls of

the U.S. Embassy, with slogans like Reagan plus Duarte = Misery and Hunger.

Later we talked to the National Unity of Salvadorean Workers (UNTS) which organized the march. It includes over 150 trade unions, government and service workers, peasant co-operatives, the teachers association, ANDES, and the university students, organized in AGEUS. Many unions who formally supported the Duarte government have joined after realizing that Duarte was not going to fulfill his campaign promises of agrarian reform and an end to the human rights abuses. Small business associations are now also in an alliance with the UNTS and its demands.

UNTS formed on February 8th in response to the Duarte government's economic package which raised the prices of basic food items by 60% and the cost of medicine by 100%. With unemployment at 40% and underemployment at another 40%, people are starving in order to finance the war being waged against them.

The UNTS is calling for the abolition of the economic package, the reduction of food and gasoline prices, an end to the human rights violations, and the resumption of dialogue between the FMLN-FDR and the government. This large coalition reflects the growing strength of the labour movement, rebuilding since the repression of '82 and '83, and the willingness of the people to continue risking their lives to demand social change.

continued on page 12

FREEING THE FAMILY

The pattern of dominance and submission is repeated in every major facet of a child's social experience. If a father is a part of the family unit, the child will almost certainly see his or her mother dominated in her turn. In public school, the hierarchy is more rigid, with a (usually male) principal supervising teachers who in turn control a mass of powerless children. Television, that distorting window on the world, hypnotically repeats endless variations on the dominant/submissive theme.

Because children are confined to home and school, they seldom associate with adults in situations in which the adults are not in authority over them. So pervasive are oppressive attitudes towards children that even when a situation allows an adult and a child to interact simply as two people, the adult more often than not will automatically assume that he or she has the right and duty to tell the child what to do. Only with young companions in powerlessness is there the possibility of developing equitable relationships. But of course children usually establish among themselves some form of the dreary power hierarchy that is the only model for human relationships that they have been given.

The second way in which we warp children's spirits as we care for them is by forbidding them meaningful work. I am not suggesting that the majority of adults are permitted meaningful work. In order to survive, many of us spend our days following others' orders and performing tasks that are useless or even destructive. But this fact does not justify turning our children into parasites. It does make comprehensible this aspect of our child-rearing practice: children

are being systematically deformed in a fashion that will later make them able to bear their adult burden of alienation, powerlessness, and boredom.

We often tell children that their work is going to school and getting an education. But 'regular work' and learning need not and should not be separated in this way. We know that in many past societies children and adults worked and learned together—there is nothing particularly 'natural' about segregating children in schools. Educating ourselves is a continuing process from childhood to old age, and working to create our human world should similarly be a process in which we all are involved at every stage of our lives. It is not possible to know what we need to learn if our learning is divorced from action.

Some say that we would be robbing children of their childhood—their heritage of play—if we expected them to work, or burdened them with our worries about the state of society. All of us are being robbed of our heritage of joyful creation when we are made to do work for others at meaningless or destructive tasks. The work children are made to do in public school is often just as alienating as the majority of the jobs we perform for pay. We patronize children when

we see them as inferior beings who are unable to face the harsh realities of the world, and our efforts to protect them are not even successful.

We are struggling to develop a non-authoritarian social system. Such a system can only work if most individuals feel responsible for the well-being of the group. A sense of social responsibility grows only as individuals learn that they have the power to affect the world in positive ways, and this is learned only through taking part in the task of running it. By the time our children, who have been looked after and kept out of the way all their lives, have grown up, they are usually apathetic, believing that only the men who are our political, military, and industrial leaders have the knowledge and power to make social decisions and see that they are carried out.

We damage our children in a third way by teaching them that they can count on physical and emotional nurture only from their immediate families, and in many cases only from their mothers. While they are very young, and relatively helpless, we leave them exclusively in their mothers' care. Then, when they are five or six years old, we send them to public school, which mimics the harsh, competitive adult society for which they are being prepared. In school and on the job, passionate emotion of any sort is anathema. Warm empathetic feeling for others is not fostered, and objectivity and personal ambition are considered positive qualities. The ability to follow instructions precisely and without question, to work at dull repetitive tasks for long periods, to conform in appearance and attitude to one's peers, to be respectful to one's superiors, to be neat and punctual, and to behave in a consistent predictable fashion are the virtues which are especially valued. The school experience helps children to make a sharp separation between the public and the private sphere of social reality, confining power and effectiveness in the world to the former, and love and emotion generally, to

continued on page 4



ON THE ROAD:

Welcome to the first anarcho-feminist issue of O.R. in seven years. More than 20 women contributed to this insert (p. 3-13). Our backgrounds in political work are varied and most of us haven't worked on O.R. before.

We use the term 'anarcho-feminist' rather than 'anarchist' because while it is claimed that anarchist practice is inclusive of feminism, in reality it is not.

We've chosen to work separately from the men on the regular collective because we want to build from a common understanding of sexist oppression, clarify our criticisms of the anarchist movement, and strengthen the connections between us as anarchist women.

We're critical of the approach to politics which pretends anger is the only emotion that fuels our work—violent con-

frontation glorified as the only true revolutionary activity. This approach denies the humanity we're struggling for in the first place. We recognize the guerilla as a crucial element in the overall resistance, however we feel that the struggle to build a mass legal and a militant quasi-legal movement is just as important.

We've tried to show other facets of struggle and resistance. Our writing has emphasized political topics which affect us in a direct, personal way. Issues like pornography and childrearing demand that we put our revolutionary ideals into practice in the most personal areas of our lives. Our common goal is a balance between action and introspection and a reintroduction of the personal into the political.



Drawings by seven-year-old anarchist

continued from page 3

the latter.

Children need many forms of support until they have gained enough experience and skill to function with an adult's independence. Our society is organized in a fashion that makes it almost impossible for adults who are not biological or adoptive mothers, or 'professional childcare workers' to provide this support. Since we expect children to be in school or at home with their mothers, centres of adult activity are so arranged that it is seldom practical for adults to include children as they go about their daily work. We work more efficiently, of course, when we are not subject to childish distractions, and efficiency is a central concern of those for whom we work, and must please. We are too busy to look after 'other people's' children.

The belief that children are their mothers' responsibility is deeply ingrained in us all. After all, she chose to bring them into the world. Never mind that she was lied to about the difficulty of the task she was taking on, and taught that only by having children could she become a worthwhile person. Forget that safe and effective birth control was not available, and that she may have been raped. It is irrelevant that bearing and caring for children is not a private hobby, but a task as necessary to human survival as growing food or producing the commodities we need. As long as children 'really' belong to their mothers, to help with them is to do a mother a personal favour. To accept many such favours puts a mother too deeply in debt. The mother becomes uncomfortable, and both she and her 'helper' begin to resent a situation that seems inequitable.

People having little experience with children almost always assume that caring for them is easier and pleasanter than it is. (If this were not the case, fewer of us would deliberately become pregnant.) Our assumptions are faulty because we have been taken in by patriarchal propaganda to the effect that mothering can be handled almost by instinct by any good woman. A task that is so insignificant that it is left to women cannot be very difficult. Thus it is reasonable to expect mothers to produce clean, polite, happy children with revolutionary attitudes, and also to work full time for the feminist movement.

When people with such expectations decide to assist the obviously inadequate feminist mother of a child who is not a clean, polite, happy revolutionary, they tend to think that they can solve the child's problems in an hour, or a day, or a couple of weeks. Mothers do not need patronage of this sort. We need long-term commitment to our children by people who have some sort of appreciation of the effort that has gone into raising them up to the present.

A mother should never have to feel that she has imposed on her group or her child because she brings her child to a meeting. She has a right to be at the meeting, and if it is scheduled for a time when she has no-one to care for her child, that is a problem that the group should willingly find a way to solve—and it is as important that the solution be as satisfactory to the child as that it be satisfactory to the mother and the rest of the

group. It is all very well to say we do not want children to be raised in nuclear families, but they have to be raised somehow. How do we propose to take care of them on a day to day basis?



THIS LESBIAN MOTHER HAPPENS TO HAVE A BLACK BELT IN KARATE. THE JUDGE DROPS HIS GAVEL AS HE GETS A FREE RIDE TO THE MOON.

In her novel *Motherlines*, Suzy McKee Charnas coined the term sharemothers for a group that assumed special responsibility for seeing a person safely through childhood. I can conceive of no better alternative to the nuclear family than a sharemothering group. Sharemothers would be collectively responsible for their group's children. A sharemother who had given birth would have no special status—indeed it would be possible, though probably unusual, for a child to be nurtured in a sharemother group to which her or his birth mother did not belong.

Probably at first most groups would be formed around single mothers and their children, since few men have a feminist analysis, but as more men became our allies, mixed and all male groups would become more common.

We must not rush into sharemothering. If a child learns to love an adult, and trust her as her mother, and then the adult decides she cannot handle the commitment she has made, and so withdraws from the relationship, the painful sense of betrayal the child will feel may stop her or him from being able to form deep emotional ties with anyone else. When an adult gradually increases involvement with a child's care as the relationship between her and the child deepens, the adult avoids mechanically applying an abstract political analysis to the complexity of real human interactions.

One way of experimenting with shared childcare in a communal house is to arrange regular times when a child's birth mother is not responsible for her or his care. Mothering is diffuse: it involves continuous responsibility, although not continuous effort. A person who wishes to become a sharemother can experience this continuous responsibility by committing herself to a weekly twenty-four hour shift during which she assumes all of a mother's normal responsibilities: seeing that the child gets adequate food and rest, getting the child to school on time, working with the child to develop sensible limits of behavior, arranging childcare if she has to go to work or to a meeting, and staying home if the child is ill or otherwise troubled.

A woman who has been a mother for several years renews her nurturing energy as well as her ability to focus on tasks and pleasures other than mothering when she is

released, at regular intervals, from her care-taking role for a whole day and night. Children have a vivid awareness of who it is that is looking after them, and quickly learn to stop relying exclusively on their birth mothers when other adults regularly and dependably provide nurture.

The point at which we can say that genuine sharemothering has begun is the point at which it is no longer automatically assumed that a child will stay or leave with her or his birth mother. The good thing about sharemothering is that by the time this point has been reached, the idea of the child being left with someone who had not borne her or him will no longer be frightening. Each of the sharemothers will know that she or he will not be left permanently alone to deal with the responsibility of the child's care. The birth mother will know that she will not be cut off from a child she dearly loves just because she needs some time on her own. The child will know that she or he has a strong voice in the decision about which household she will be with, and that she or he will not be long out of contact with any of her or his sharemothers.

Before children can effectively support our struggles and organize around their own oppression, they need much greater political sophistication than they now possess. Their need for accurate information can hardly be overstressed. In our society, what is called 'the innocence of children' (which is actually ignorance compounded by lack of experience) is protected by dressing any ugly social realities they may come across in cute bunny suits. They are fed bland half-truths and lies by schools, by books, by the media, by their parents—by all adults and adult institutions.

At the same time that we hide unpleasant truths about our society—which is also our children's society—from children, we also hide harsh facts about our children's lives from ourselves. That is why we forget that there is almost no subject that is of concern to adult feminists that is not also of concern to children.

Children are as affected by the race and class structure as we are. When we are poor, our children are poor. Children's sexuality is repressed and they are all too often sexually exploited. Many children are raped. Birth control devices and even facts about birth control are often difficult for adolescents to obtain. Homophobia is not a problem for adults only—many of us remember beginning to be strongly attracted to members of our own sex when we were as young as seven, and queer-baiting is not less common in public school than it is in the adult world. Children of lesbian mothers or gay fathers share many aspects of their parents' oppression. Child battering occurs at least as frequently as wife beating.

Children are more trapped by marriage than are women, because divorce is now an option for women, but children often are not even consulted about whom they want to live with when their parents' marriages end. Like women, children are both idealized (as when it is assumed that they are more creative or have greater moral purity than

adults) and scorned (as when adults are insulted by being called girls or boys, or by being labelled childish).

Children have to live with the nuclear nightmare and other environmental terrors just as the rest of us do. They can be imprisoned in homes for juvenile delinquents and in many cases have fewer legal rights than adult criminals. They are placed in mental institutions without ever having the option of signing themselves in or out. Like depressed housewives, 'hyperactive' children are 'helped' to adjust by pharmaceutical industries with their profitable mood altering drugs. Exploring an anarchistic alternative to our present political structure is certainly as relevant to children, who do not even have the vote, as it is to women.

Once our children had achieved an analysis profound enough to be useful as a guide to action, they could educate other children more effectively than we can. They could work with us, or independently, to produce children's plays and children's newspapers. They could organize children's drop-ins and form children's consciousness raising groups. They could plan programmes and workshops for children at events. If they were attending public school, they could form action groups, and work to eliminate the sexist and ageist practices of their teachers.

We cannot build a society of equals if we are ourselves oppressing social groups. That is, we will not overcome sexism in society at large if we have not overcome racism, classism, homophobia, ageism and so forth within our own movement. This is obvious, but it bears repeating, because even though criticism improves our political health, it is often an unpalatable medicine, and children are not in a position to insist that we take it. We must accept the fact that one of the most useful functions that an autonomous children's movement could perform is to help adults revise our mistaken analysis and change our oppressive practices so that we can more effectively work for change throughout society.

These are excerpts from the essay *A Feminist Perspective on Children's Liberation* by Lee MacKay in the book *Children and Feminism* to be published in the fall. It will be available through Lesbian and Feminist Mothers' Political Action Groups (LAFMPAG), P.O. Box 65804, Station F. Vancouver, B.C. V5N 5L3.



THE CAPITALIST WANK-OFF

EXPO 86

The 1986 World's Fair celebrating the marvels of technology and the progress of capitalism has come to British Columbia—the Canadian province with the highest unemployment rate and most dismal and regressive record of social spending and labour legislation. For a couple of years now Expo has been "the only game in town" for this economically depressed region, not only for the media and labour, but for the left as well. But while the media have agreed to uncritically boost Expo, and labour to ignore the bigger issues involved, the left is at times sharply divided over how to approach the fair and what it represents.

Many people outside BC, even those who fully criticize the government here, fall short of really understanding the nature of Expo. You almost have to live here to see how closely linked it is to the political party that spawned it. It's propaganda not only through its advertising campaigns and corporate links but in almost every aspect of its planning and management.

British Columbia is a hinterland in a country already dominated by the United States. When the world trade in lumber and minerals shifted and declined in the early 1980s, BC's resource-based economy essentially collapsed. Donation-funded "food banks" feed 70,000 a month out of a population of three million, and are found not only in traditionally poverty-stricken areas like downtown Vancouver, but in small logging and fishing towns throughout the province. The 14 per cent unemployment rate climbs to 21 per cent for youth under 25, and the minimum wage is the lowest in the country.

The provincial government, however, claims it knows the way to economic recovery. The Social Credit party has held power in BC almost continuously since 1952. Originally a right-wing, pseudo-populist party with a nifty monetary policy, the Socreds have charged into the Eighties re-armed with the ideology of Reaganite 'restraint', mega-project spending and centralization of government power, while their professed free-enterprise support goes to tax breaks for foreign capital.

None of this has been successful in pulling BC out of the hole, but wait—it's all part of a plan, and Expo 86 is the main component. The idea is to lure American and Pacific Rim capital to Vancouver, preferably in the form of high-tech manufacturing. To do this the BC government must provide huge tax concessions and drive down wages—and what better way than union busting, creating special 'economic development zones' exempt from labour laws, and beating the workers and everyone else numb with massive public sector layoffs and social service and education cuts.

The other option for the province is voting for the pro-labour leftist New Democratic Party in the upcoming election. But in BC's polarized political scene, economic questions take precedence. The Socreds' 'restraint', and their new concern for "cooperation between business and labour"—which in effect means unions not striking—to many people seems better than the NDP's generic program of social spending and broad promises of job creation.

Expo is a re-election strategy. The rhetoric surrounding it has been almost entirely regional and trade-oriented. "It will be good for BC, it will put Vancouver on the map, attract investment, create jobs for the next 20 years..." But we also can't forget just who it was who brought us this wonderful circus.

The new provincial logo, highly identified with the Socreds, is plastered over everything, including the new \$700 million transit system, and Premier Bill Bennett has made sure he and his friends are the most visible Expo-boosters in town.

They are certainly the most enthusiastic, and no wonder. The city of Vancouver had little or no input into many decisions around the fair, which is quite consistent with the Socreds' hostility to local autonomy. When city council tried to get the province to pass laws protecting poor and elderly residents of downtown 'skid road' hotels from being evicted to make way for tourists, they were refused. Free enterprise must have its way—and small business people like hotel owners make up a significant portion of the grassroots Socred vote. The strained relations between Vancouver and the provincial government were made public when the city's social democrat mayor was not even invited to the official Expo bash for Prince Charles and Lady Di.

come to Expo, make it a success, and then vote against the Socreds in the upcoming election. After all, who wants to be held responsible for the fair's failure by having a "negative attitude?" Certainly not the NDP, who have a fair chance of taking this election.

Many people in the left aren't going to Expo on principle, even if they could afford a ticket. But even among these Expo-bashers there's disagreement over whether it's okay to work there—not so much in shit jobs like frying burgers, which may be excusable in a province with a 14 per cent unemployment rate—but particularly in the cultural sector.

The role and responsibility of cultural producers has probably created the biggest rift in the more radical left. Should consciously political left wing performers like American folkie Pete Seeger or British progressive theatre group Test Department bring their message into this kind of context? Some people say no.

But a lot of other radicals waffle on this one, particularly if the performer is margina-



Expo has been a highly centralized and secretive project from day one, with management and financial decisions kept in the rarefied ranks of the Expo Corporation, the Social Credit party and their hand-picked group of corporate consultants. Expo, a public corporation, has yet to open its accounts to public scrutiny.

Expo is not just the capitalists having their party, not for those of us who live here. Every dollar we see put into Expo is a dollar taken directly from education and social services, and every time a politician says they are opening BC up for business, we know it's at the expense of organized labour and a living wage. When we see the disruption Expo has caused in our back yards, and the money that's been sunk into it and other money-losing mega-projects around the province, we know it's an assault on communities and local self-sufficiency. By extension, it's an assault on all the things that raise our spirits a bit when they happen, from workers' cooperatives to community-run daycare. Expo has taken away from its 'host city' to provide a party for tourists and a monument to the government.

So how do you oppose a project that came bulldozing through with no input allowed? Well, labour and the mainstream left are keeping quiet. The unions are busy fighting wage rollbacks and major concessions, while the NDP's final word was that people should

lized. "Political performers really need the money," is one line. Well, okay, but we all know there's limits. Seeger wouldn't play a Republican convention or a Tory fundraiser, which brings us back to the nature of Expo and its connection to the Social Credit party. By and large, people outside BC either don't understand it, or choose to underplay its importance.

"If the bourgeoisie builds a stage, one should stand on it," is what the man responsible for bringing so many political performers to Expo's 'Folklife' Pavilion says. But there's a difference between taking the stage and being offered a small corner of it so the bourgeoisie can claim all subcultures and points of view are represented. There is even a festival of independent recording artists that has snapped up some bands who, if not strictly political, have played benefits and even anti-Expo gigs in the past. Playing Expo has become a 'personal' decision, and no-one really wants to talk about the politics of it.

Another argument is that political performers can bring their message to tourists who have never been exposed to such material before. Is the content mediated by the context? Or is it, in the face of such a dearth of organized protest, the best we can hope for? And would these performers have gone on even in the face of vocal and cohesive public protest?



Even this debate, however, isn't really happening in the Vancouver community. Of course none of us like Expo, but beyond that there's a lot of unspoken disagreement, and it's helped stall protest and debate. If even progressive groups can't come to consensus, let alone the radical community or the mainstream left, there's not much hope of organizing a boycott or speaking out. The few groups hoping to do protests at the gates or get press coverage for anti-Expo sentiments have dissolved or are largely invisible. The biggest public outcry so far has been over the evictions of the poor from downtown hotels, but, while it's alerted people to the 'plight of the homeless,' the issue has been kept carefully away from Expo itself.

Another argument is that public protest could lead to the 'failure of Expo', thus hurting the economy and the very people we profess to be concerned about. If the point of Expo really was to make money and get the province out of debt, this might make sense. But Expo officials have already budgeted a 3 to 400 million dollar deficit. And the poor will be hit no matter how Expo does, because cutbacks and deficits are an integral part of Social Credit policy, not a temporary side effect.

So why was there so little protest? Well, besides the lack of wholehearted support from the radicals and the neutral stance of

continued on page 12

WITCHES AS WARRIORS

Harm no one, do what thou will
Shall be the whole of the law

attributed to anarchists and witches

by Jeniva

The idea that power and responsibility reside in the individual is a central concept to both feminist spirituality and anarchism. Some of us have combined feminist spiritual and anarchist ideas to strengthen our analysis of individual power and responsibility and to increase our energy for political work.

We've found that our spiritual and political beliefs start from the same place. In view of this, to deny the spiritual while doing political work, or to cultivate the spiritual at expense of another's political and economic well-being seems a contradiction.

It is always difficult to intellectualize something which is most meaningful on a gut level. Spiritual truths are known with the intuition.

To see how our work is rooted in the spiritual, we need to discuss the beliefs that we, as political activists, hold intuitively. These are the convictions which motivate our work, which show us power imbalances between individuals, within society, and within the ecosystem.

At the root of radical feminism, antiracism, environmentalism, and anti-authoritarianism is a wholistic view of the world as made up of elements which are interdependent, equally valuable, and ultimately harmonious in a state of freedom.

This is in opposition to the right-wing spiritual perspective which sees both nature and human emotion or passion as being essentially chaotic, evil, and in need of control by a structure imposed by authoritarian gods through men, their agents.

There is a spiritual element to our activities as well as our beliefs. As a political community we have myths, rites, and symbols which remind us of who we are, where we are going, and the values we share.

For example, we often gather together to study a common heritage of ideas and to hear stories about past struggles, defeats and victories. At other gatherings we demonstrate, sing, chant, and march together. This lets us sense our collective strength, build networks of solidarity, and raise our energy.

When we see an anarchy or women's symbol or a fist painted on a wall anywhere in the world, we draw strength from a sense of community.

Once we acknowledge this dimension of politics, we can consciously use spirituality to become stronger personally and to direct our efforts so that we become more effective politically.

Spiritual work has both tangible and

the medieval executioners tortured and murdered twelve million women. The witch hunters still torture and murder women: through rape, the enforcement of heterosexuality and tyranny over lesbians, sexual surgery, psychiatry, imprisonment in the family, and wife-beating. They destroy the witch in all women: those parts that refuse to submit to their emotional and legal regimes. The witch hunters cripple and kill because they are terrified of women. They fear all that is different from themselves, all that they are not, all the kinds of power they do not have.

intangible effects on political struggle. As we visualize living autonomously and responsibly in the world, we practise this new way of being. This helps to keep us based in reality by reminding us of what we're struggling for, not just what we're struggling against. Our

spiritual/political commitment demands that we move from envisioned goals to possible strategies and tactics to be enacted here and now.

The process of envisioning a better world gives us a deeper understanding of our potential and so increases the possibility of realizing that potential.

Anarchist mistrust of overt spirituality sometimes seems an attempt to protect our credibility as a movement. The accusation anarchists most often get is that we're 'unrealistic' or 'too idealistic.' And it's true that our theory requires a strong belief that people can be nonoppressive. This idealism is sometimes hard to admit. So we go to great lengths to show how rational and realistic we are.

In the name of being realistic we fall back on the Western scientific establishment to provide criteria for truth and knowledge. At the same time, we claim to recognize this scientific establishment as a tool the elite uses to carve up our Mother Earth and divide her people. In the name of being rational we suppress hope and become obsessively cynical. This cynicism is not only unwarranted but frequently leads to political arrogance.

Spiritual practitioners are also responsible for separating spirituality from politics. Having the time and opportunity to raise power and not acting to re-empower others is irresponsible.

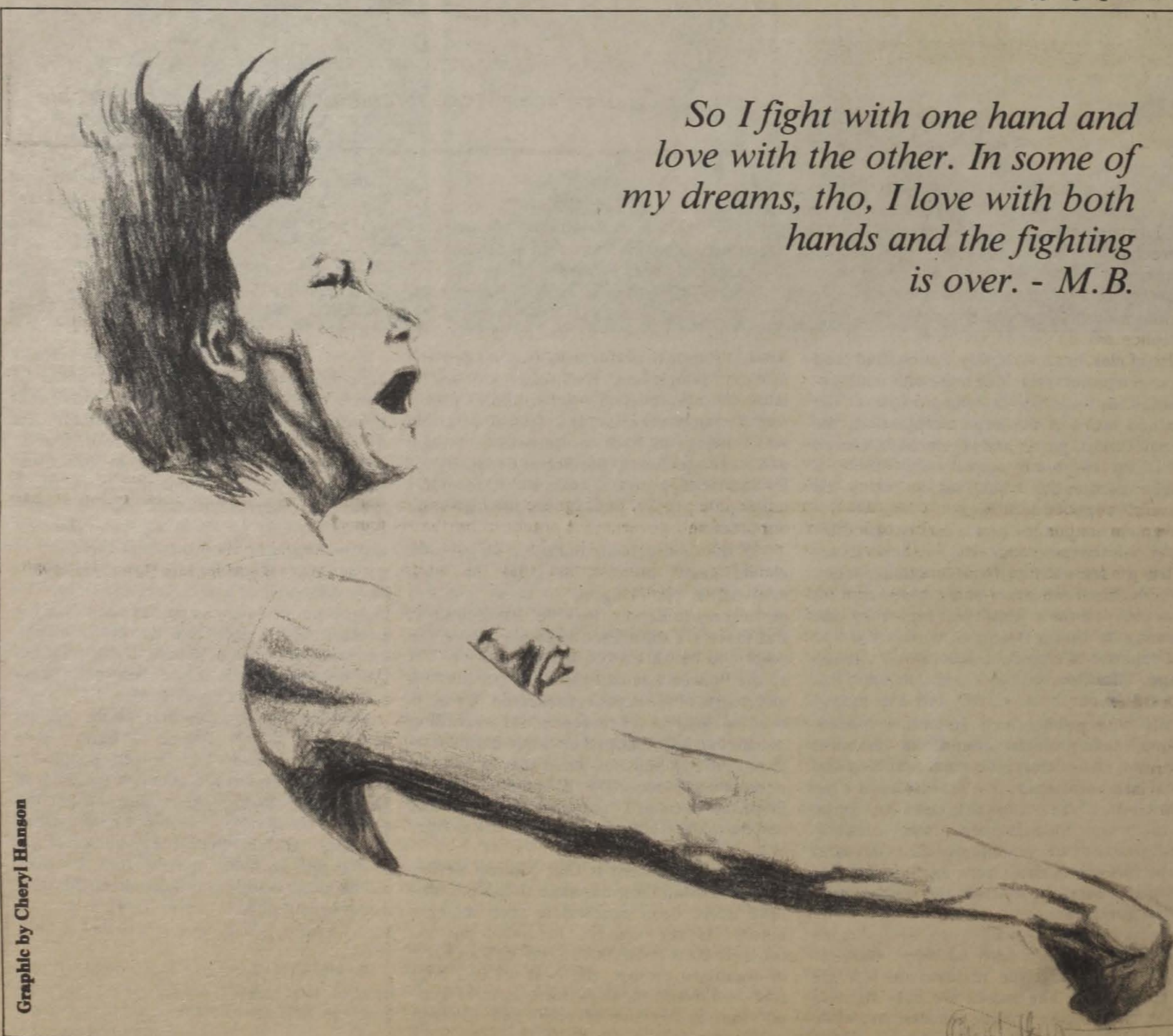
Segments of the women's spiritual movement ignore crucial struggles against oppression. While providing us with inspiration and important ideas, they stop short of the political activism their spiritual philosophy implies.

For instance, white women must look at the racism inherent in taking from native and black spirituality only what feels comfortable while ignoring the rage of people whose survival is based in linking spiritual and political action.

Taking responsibility for our privilege means even more than providing tangible support for oppressed people's struggles. It means that our spirituality is never taken out of its political context. As spiritual/political activists we must talk about war, strategies, and direct action.

We need to find a way of living as spiritual warriors. We hope this article has contributed to this process. We welcome responses.

*So I fight with one hand and
love with the other. In some of
my dreams, tho, I love with both
hands and the fighting
is over. - M.B.*



Graphic by Cheryl Hanson

BIG MOUNTAIN UPDATE

On July 16, 1986, we spoke with Corey Dubin, one of two media coordinators for the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee in Flagstaff, Arizona. He gave us this update on the Big Mountain struggle:

Although there were no direct Federal actions on the July 7th, what we are most concerned about is the ongoing relocation program and the escalating intimidation and terror tactics by the Hopi Tribal council and the United States government. For example, Hopi Tribal chairman Ivan Sidney has moved two members of wealthy Hopi cattle ranching families onto Hopi partition land in the Joint Use Area. They are setting up water diversion projects which are drying up the wells of the Dineh who depend on these wells for their survival. Hopi Tribal chairman Sidney has given the Navajo Nation 30 days with which to come up with a plan for the removal of those Navajo remaining in the Joint Use Area. However, Sidney has no legal standing with which to back up this demand. Sidney's demand is based on his belief that the Navajo are trespassers. However, under Public Law 93-951 the Navajo are clearly defined as 'relocatees awaiting relocation' and therefore cannot be designated as trespassers. We believe that Chairman Sidney and the Hopi Tribal Council is trying through intimidation what it does not have standing to do in the courts.

We are also very concerned about the actions of the United States government. There are regular low-level helicopter overflights of Navajo communities in the Joint Use Area. We are also seeing regular overflights of F1-11 fighter bombers in the Big Mountain area. These jets are flying at 200-300 feet at roughly 600 miles/hr. These flights, we believe, are designed to terrorize the population into leaving their homes. The Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee is again calling for the immediate cessation of these tactics by the Hopi Tribal Council and the United States government. We are also calling for the repeal of Public Law 93-531. That is the main focus of our efforts. We believe that the climate on Capitol Hill is improving on a daily basis for the passage of repeal legislation."



PRINCIPLES AND DIRECTION

Excerpted from *Big Mountain News* July, 1986

MOBILIZATION AND LOGISTICS:

This refers to the intense efforts focused on the July 7, 1986 deadline and beyond, and the possibility of government implementation of forced removal. The Mobilization will remain in effect until the Relocation Act is repealed. Several principles were defined:

1. There is presently NO call for a massive presence on the land by support workers for July;
2. Top priority are actions NOW which will best eliminate the possibility of any confrontation this Summer. Specifically pressure on Congress to repeal the Act would serve this need.
3. The essence of the mobilization is a commitment to **stand with the people**. This should be done within your own community and does not require your literal presence on the land.
4. Any call for a presence on the land will be issued ONLY through either the support network (via BMLD/OC) or by way of Fort Defiance (Larry Anderson). There may be a "limited" call for only those persons who have already experienced the "survival" nature of the Joint Use Area.



92 year old Askie Betsie, who is a medicine woman and active in the resistance against the forced displacement of her people.

Facing up to racism

Big Mountain support has brought together an extremely varied group of people in terms of backgrounds and purposes. There is strong feeling among 'veteran' non-Indian organizers that the main obstruction to solid support and solidarity is racism. This brief essay is directed from and to non-Indians.



The racism with which we must deal is both our own and that of the people we seek to educate about the issue. Without an understanding of both, our work becomes quite ineffective.

Our Own:

At one level, 'taking direction' from the traditional Native American leadership requires setting aside our white skin privileges, privileges which we may have limited awareness of.

At a more subtle level, racism becomes an issue whenever we are in the presence of the Elders or others in positions of giving direction to the struggle. In order to accurately perceive what the people are saying, or want, it is crucial to set aside our white industrialized training (obviously this implies not only consciousness of race, but also of class and sex). There is an interpretation required, which necessarily challenges our ability to "objectively" hear what is said, rather than what our training and backgrounds have prepared us to hear.

Dealing with our racism requires that we not insist that the traditional leadership work within our definitions, preconceptions, or even our language. It is a reality of indigenous resistance struggles that they take strength from their own language.

Finally, if we are honest about our own racism, and the difficulties of overcoming it, then we can better avoid self-righteous attitudes which also obstruct our organizing and educational efforts.

In Others:

If "the public" was free of racism, we probably wouldn't be engaged in the present struggle [no offense to marxists intended]. Racial arrogance is to be expected as we go to the public, and we have to know how to deal with it in a good and constructive way, or else not waste our time. Racism often appears in the form of cultural arrogance, but regardless, it takes place across the racial line and is racism. Here are some of the ways in which it reveals itself:

- * economics and lifestyle: "why don't those Indians quit living in the stone age?"; "Obviously they have to mine the coal."
- * presumption of the colonizers' version of history: "the marauding Navajo" and the

"depredations of the Navajo" were the Spanish/Mexican description of the Indian resisters. When non-Indians accept such definitions they distort and liquidate much of the history of the Southwest.

* the White Man's Burden: this myth presumes that it is up to the white man to solve any disputes (and decide if there are any) between Indian people, for instance Navajo and Hopi. A similar missionary attitude reveals itself when "sympathetic" observers attempt to evaluate such questions as "how these blithely presume that the Hopi should govern themselves with a "majority-rule" or "democratic system." Like white people. Both ignore the legitimate forms of self government practiced by these people for millennia. All such attitudes depend on the presumption that the white man's way is better.

* sheer hypocrisy: settling this dispute by removing Indian people when all other Indian land claims have been settled with money.

There is no simple formula for confronting these attitudes. If we as non-Indians want to bring about change in the American public's attitudes, however, we must set aside our own angry inclination to "let them have it" and consider the tools of humour, patience and compassion, while insisting on the seriousness of the situation. There will be no simple answers when the stakes are the relationships between the original Red inhabitants of these lands and the white newcomers.

Indian Racism?

The Native American leadership of the struggle has been forthright about racism occurring on all sides. But to insist on struggling over Indian attitudes towards whites is to insist on white privilege itself.

Most non-Indians have little experience of genocide, and little ability to evaluate the challenge faced by (especially) the younger Indian people who are under the threat on a daily basis. As a young Dineh resister offered at the Gathering, we will overcome our racism by working and sweating together towards the same goals.

"If the White man and their respective leaders had a heart, free of prejudice, why can they not visualize our plight and put themselves in our position? If they did, how would they react to the assault of one's culture and land if the Indians were to dominate and disrupt their order of harmony?"

Askie Betsie

From *Big Mountain News*, July 1986





XERO AFTER POSADA

MEAT AND MISOGYNY

by Hilda McKenzie

Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) was attacked as absurd, in a parody entitled *A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes*, because its arguments could be extended to rights for animals. The attacker intended to provoke derisive laughter at the expense of the concept of women's rights, but I think we should consider his claim more seriously. Our 'personhood' and rights were long denied out of sexism; we should be careful not to deny animals' rights out of speciesism.

Animals have a right not to be oppressed, because they are sentient beings and can suffer. I want to outline some ways animals are exploited, and explore some conceptual links between the oppression of animals and the oppression of women. Animal rights and feminism are complementary; both movements are necessary if we are to end the exploitation that oppresses us all.

The two ways animals are most exploited are in farming, especially factory farming, and in experimentation. The meat sold in stores is from the bodies of animals who lived in modern intensive farming conditions. The suffering involved in their death comes only after a lifetime of imprisonment, discomfort, and pain.

Dairy cows, for example, live lives of repeated forced pregnancy followed by separation from their young, who are either killed at that point or confined for a few weeks under the conditions necessary to make their flesh marketable as high-priced veal. Veal calves are starved of essential nutrients and confined in small cages so their flesh remains pale and tender. Their cages must be made entirely of wood without even any nails within reach for them to lick, because they are desperate for iron. For the same reason, their heads are leashed so they cannot drink their own urine. They are not allowed any solid food.

Because dairy cows are defined as useful (to humans) only insofar as they produce milk, their lives are distorted to increase milk production. They are not allowed to be whole beings with reproduction and lactation as only a part of their lives. The same reduction of a complex being to its use for man occurs in the 'domestication' of women in defining us as wives and mothers to the exclusion of our other interests and abilities. Even if we are not literally domesticated in this way, we are pressured in general to be nurturing and motherly even at our own expense, to provide a constant stream of compassion and concern as exaggerated in its way as is the cow's constant production of milk.

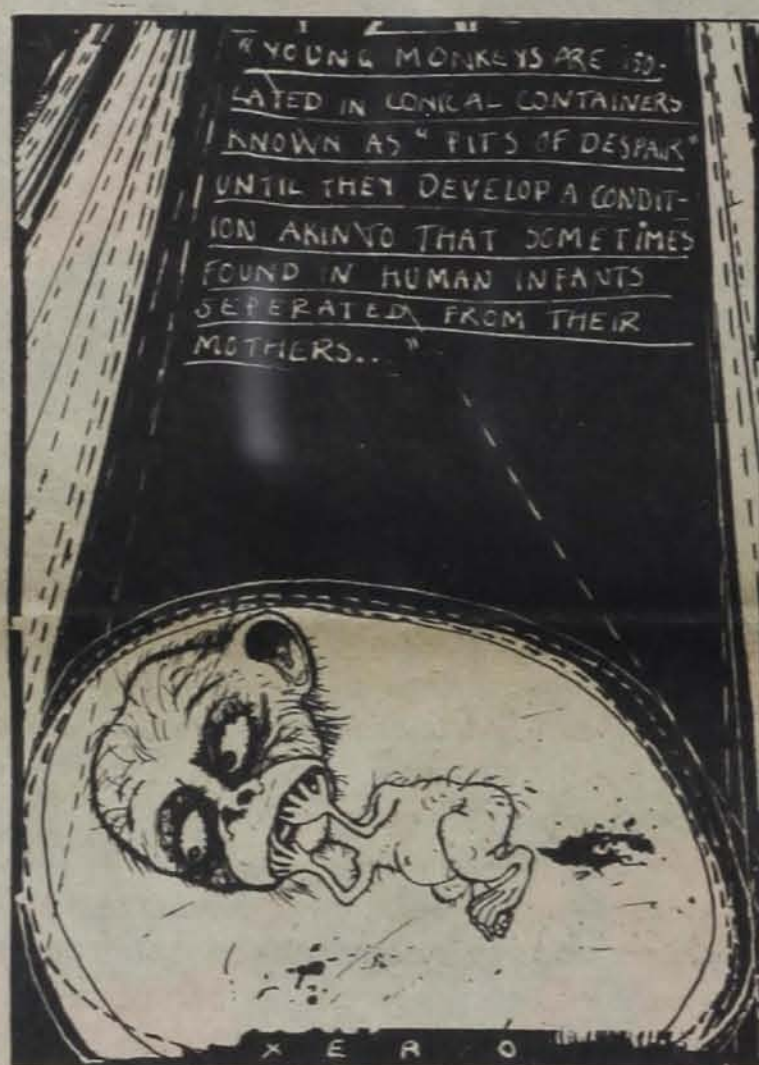
Ideologically loaded terms like 'meat', 'pork', and 'veal' disguise the nature of the things they refer to and the process by which they came to be. By conveniently isolating how animals are useful to humans, such words permit and encourage the use of animals as things, in much the same way that terms like 'piece of ass' express and uphold sexism and misogyny. A whole category of sexist terms — 'chicks', 'bunnies', 'hens', 'sows', 'bitches', etc. — debases women by putting us on the level of other, non-human, animals — who, it is taken for granted, are to be despised and mistreated.

As well as causing suffering to the animals imprisoned and slaughtered, the meat industry harms wild animals by taking over the land where they live. In Brazil and Central America, rainforest land is being cleared for the grazing of cattle. More than a

quarter of all Central American forest land has been destroyed in the past 25 years to produce beef for the United States. Animal-growing is a very inefficient use of land compared to plant-growing. Beef is the most inefficient: a cow must be fed 21 pounds of protein in order to produce one pound of protein for human consumption.

Like the meat industry, the scientific research establishment is large and profitable, and the suffering it causes to animals is widespread and extreme. Cosmetics and cleaning products are commonly tested on animals, using the Draize test (dripping solutions of the product into rabbits' eyes) and the Lethal Dosage 50 test (force-feeding substances to animals until half of the animals die).

Many animal experiments tell in scientific jargon what we knew all along, and what we could have confirmed in more harmless ways. One such series of experiments is H.F. Harlow's at the Primate Research Center, Madison, Wisconsin, in the 1960s. The researchers studied the effects of maternal deprivation and isolation, isolating baby monkeys for months, and concluding that "sufficiently severe and enduring early isolation reduces these animals to a social-emotional level in which the primary social responsiveness is fear."



The Harlow series of experiments is sometimes held up as an example of socially useful animal research, because after it was proven scientifically that babies thrive better if they are held and cuddled more, doctors and childcare specialists stopped advocating treating babies mechanically, feeding them only "by the clock" and picking them up only at certain times even if they cried between those times. The question that needs to be asked, though, is why parents were being told a generation earlier to resist their normal impulse to comfort their babies when they were distressed and feed them when they were hungry. Researchers like Harlow assume that children (and monkeys) are not beings with whose feelings adult humans could or should sympathize. Although this particular experiment confirmed what we knew all along if we had only listened to and trusted ourselves, the overall effect of such experiments is to strengthen the dependent, blind faith in science which induces the giving up of autonomous choice in relating to



each other according to what we think and feel is best.

Wild animals trapped and sold to researchers suffer the terror of being trapped and transported as well as whatever is done to them when they arrive. The situation of an animal captured in the wild and transported to a research lab is essentially the same as that of the character in Marlene Gorris's film *Broken Mirrors* who is abducted from a street to find herself chained in a cell by a man who photographs her and watches her dispassionately until she dies.

To me the most horrifying image in the anti-pornography film *Not a Love Story* was the front cover of *Hustler* magazine showing a woman disappearing into a meat grinder. Why was that image used to sell a magazine? What is its appeal? It expresses in an extreme form an attitude which runs throughout this culture: that women are animals and so are to be despised and used as non-human animals are. In this patriarchal view, the category 'animal' comprises all sentient beings except adult male humans. The 'human' or 'person' category, the only group whose members are accorded rights, excludes even some men, because of racism, and becomes even smaller in times of war, when enemy men are deemed sub-human.

As women we can respond in either of two ways to the suggestion that we are animals. We can deny it, and argue for our inclusion in the human category as equal partners with men and with a claim to oppress animals as much as they do and to be free from suffering oppression ourselves. Or we can agree that we (and men) are animals and decide that the oppression of animals, non-human and human, must end. The choice runs parallel to the choice we each make between trying for acceptance and 'success' as an honorary man, included in the power structure of our society, or rejecting this way in favour of ending the exploitative hierarchy and obtaining a decent life for all of us. In each case, if we choose to cut ourselves off from other oppressed beings and rise at their expense we do nothing to fundamentally challenge the system of oppression — we just rise

continued on page 12

I was a Libyan

"The first point of the conference was to kill everyone you didn't agree with; the second point was to provide arms to your comrades to they can kill everyone they don't agree with, and the third point was to make Gadaffi the leader of anything that's left."

The conference in question was held in Tripoli earlier this year, only days before mad dog Reagan's brutal attack on Libya: the words are those of Lorna, one of the women who went to it from Greenham Common women's peace camp. This is the story of how she, and Juley, (another Greenham woman) ended up going; what they found when they got there, and why they left before the conference was over.

On the morning of March 11th a letter arrived at Yellow Gate from the Libyan People's Bureau. It announced the conference, billing it as against facism, Zionism, racism and imperialism, and stating that there would be two tickets to Tripoli available to Greenham women. The letter arrived on a Friday, and the bureau had to be informed as to who was going on the Wednesday. Lorna and Juley went because:

"We were the only ones that wanted to, at least there were a couple of others that wanted to go, but they didn't have full British passports and their chances of getting back into the country after having been to an international terrorist conference in Libya were pretty slim."

So the two of them got in touch with the Libyans, picked up their tickets and packed their bags:

J: "I rang up my mum on the Thursday and said 'Mum I'm going to Tripoli tomorrow and she said 'Isn't that a bit expensive?' I said that colonel Gadaffi was paying and she thought that was okay."

"You're in a free country now", they were told as they arrived at Tripoli airport. "There will be no hassle at customs." When it was discovered that they didn't have visas their passports were taken off them for the duration of the trip. After hours of waiting at the airport playing spot the Gadaffi lookalike, they were taken to the hotel and had to wait until the early hours of the next morning for security passes, that never turned up.

The next day, after getting up early to get the essential security passes, they were subjected to a lengthy interrogation along the lines of 'what organization do you represent?' When told that they didn't represent any organization, but lived at a women's peace camp the guy who was asking the questions gave them a blank look and assigned a chaperone, to keep an eye on them. This was because, among other things, they were the only women to arrive without



The Animals Diary, Animus

Reclaiming our Protest

The advent of pornographic video tapes several years ago represented a marked increase in both the availability and violent nature of pornographic material, and brought with it a large scale feminist response. So much of this response appeared to involve a demand for new or stronger laws that, for many, being anti-porn became equated with being pro-censorship. The pornography industry capitalized on this in its defense, and furthered the confusion.

Today, three years after the height of the anti-pornography campaigns, the confusion persists -- and has contributed to the slackening of protest.

In particular, the confusion persists among anarchists. It allows anarchists, especially anarchist men, to stop short of examining the pornographic attitudes ingrained in our society and our culture -- and this includes anarchist culture.

It is, after all, noble to protest against further state intrusion into our lives. So long as opposition to porn is equated with condoning such intrusion, and with the moralistic attitudes of the church, the anarchist can avoid taking responsibility for his own pornography-based misogyny.

Anarchy is more than simply the absence of state intrusion. One basic tenant of anarchist ideology is that no human being has the right to dominate another or to advance his or her power or wealth at the expense of another. This freedom involves a responsibility to respect the rights of others and to be aware always of the consequences of one's actions.

Although this has been a guiding principle of anarchism, anarchist men have often been concerned primarily with gaining freedom for themselves -- and with it the freedom to use women as they please. Marquis de Sade, the famous pornographer and rapist-mutilator of women, was hailed by some anarchist-leaning intellectuals as a heroic freedom fighter and a victim of state/church oppression. The fact that de Sade was fighting for the freedom to promote and use violence against women appears irrelevant.

On the other hand, the feminist demand for state solutions to pornography poses obvious problems. The state can not be trusted. The corporate and church powers which guide it are not motivated towards ending the oppression of women.

Pornography is a multi-billion dollar industry, larger than the conventional film and records industries combined, backed by a powerful lobbying force. But pornography also perpetuates an attitude of male domination and of women as male property. This attitude has long been promoted by the ruling class and by the church, and with particular vigor, by the New Right.

The pornography industry and the New Right disagree only on how women should be dominated. The ruling class has adherents in both camps. According to pornographic ideology, all women belong in the 'public' (male) domain of objects to be used by any man as he pleases. According to church/New Right ideology, a woman belongs to only one man, who alone has rights to her and her children. This ideology has ensured male ascendancy through the institutionalization of the nuclear family.

In order to preserve its male domination, the church has fostered an attitude of puritanism amongst its rank and file. By laying down strict rules about sexual conduct, the church and the New Right promote repression of alternative sexualities as much as they condemn pornographers.

It is on this basis that the church and the New Right are pressuring the state to censor pornography. Inevitably, the state bends to this powerful lobbying group. When women see their own erotica and sexual/medical literature banned and say it is not what they wanted, the state justifies itself by pointing out that feminists asked for censorship boards. And feminists lack the financial lobbying force of the porn industry with which to counteract censorship laws in the courts.

Of course many feminists have come to recognize this. Unfortunately, as with anarchists, the recognition has often been accompanied by a tolerance for pornography. This tolerance also results from recognizing that pornography is not a simple issue. Pornography has been compared with racial hate-propaganda; and a great deal of it is hate-propaganda--even racial hate-propaganda.

If we define pornography as lies about sexuality, particularly women's sexuality, we then face the problem that there is no simple truth about sexuality. This is why the pornography/erotica debate exists, and, no doubt will continue indefinitely.

None of this, however, alters the fact that



Nicki Craft vomits Kellogg's Cornflakes and Nestle's Crunch bars (two sponsors of the Miss California Pageant) to dramatize bulimia/anorexia eating disorders. "If it's so disgusting, then why aren't they more concerned about the thousands of women who are sneaking off to do it quietly after every meal--just to be thin." The "Myth California Pageant" happens every year as protest.

Terrorist

men. Only twenty-eight of the six hundred delegates at the conference were women.

That afternoon they were taken off in buses to the first session of the conference. All the delegates were there, sitting in these comfortable armchairs with simultaneous translation headphones coming out of the sides, all facing a stage. They were issued with bits of paper with some suitable things to shout on them-- some of them anti imperialist chants, but mostly along the lines of 'Long Life to Gaddafi!' The hall was lined with guards--all women:

"dead elegant, young women in high heels and designer fatigues carrying machine guns..." All the doors were locked and this man gets up onto the stage and starts giving the build up to the entrance of the man they'd all been waiting for....Gaddafi.

During this build up the Libyans had started jumping up and down, trying to stir up the crowd and gradually everyone started to join in. "We sat there with our heads in our hands" When the man himself came in "woosh! everyone was up and jumping about... just like a wham concert. We both knew that neither of us were going to stand up and we felt a bit conspicuous... as far as we could make out, we were the only two that didn't..."

He spoke for three hours that night, finally leaving when he had to go and open an exhibition of his life. Juley removed her headphones for most of the three hours and just listened to his voice and the way he was speaking. Lorna listened to the translation:

"A lot of it I agreed with... but some of it was done for effect, it was totally unnecessary -- when he was talking about the situation of black people in Britain he didn't have to embroider. I mean the situation is bad enough without him having to make things up. He kept on going on about black people being forced to work down the mines which just isn't true -- it's white working-class men that work in mines in this country."

The Sunday and Monday sessions were a chance for the delegates to speak and altogether about forty were given their ten minutes. Each delegate started with a rant about how wonderful they thought Gaddafi was and how they would follow him to the ends of the earth.

"I gave up counting how many times we were addressed 'Dear brothers in arms...'"

Two women were actually given the chance to speak and one, who was described as 'incredibly brave' actually talked about sexism. She was from a students' organization in Austria and after the obligatory rant about

continued on page 13

an industry exists which profits from the portrayal of women, and too often children as well, as objects who enjoy being raped, degraded, mutilated, and otherwise fucked over. Nor does it alter the fact that the production and consumption of such images contributes to a climate where violence against women and children is condoned and encouraged.

Pornography is the right to freedom of expression carried beyond responsible limits. Because it violates on a psychological level, it is not as obvious as a loaded gun. Nonetheless, it is a tool of oppression. To oppose it is an act of defense.

Those supporting state censorship often use the same arguments, claiming that one's rights and freedoms are limited to the extent that they encroach upon the rights and freedoms of others. There is nothing wrong with this argument. The mistake is to give the state the right to decide what the limitations on our rights and freedoms should be.

Pornography is one of the tools used by the patriarchal/imperialist ruling class to retain its position. It is particularly vicious because it actually creates violent tendencies. Pornography makes men psychologically capable of rape. It is used to train the forces which repress us; it is used to turn boys into 'men'. It is used to destroy sensitivity to other human beings--women in particular, but combined with racism or homophobia, as it often is, anyone really. There's a good chance that the cop who bashes your head in at the next demo reads pornography. And an even better chance that the man who rapes you does.

As with all opposition to the ruling class, opposition to pornography has had both legal and illegal fronts. By legal front, I do not mean running to the state for solutions, but committing those acts of opposition not yet outlawed. These include withdrawing any personal support you might be giving to the porn industry, by not consuming or producing pornographic images or buying from

stores which sell pornography. They also entail analysing on a personal level the extent to which we have all absorbed the misogynist attitudes promoted by pornography -- like racist attitudes, these run very deep. Another aspect of the legal front involves educating through talking, publicly or privately, leafletting, demonstrating and organizing boycotts. On the quasi-legal front are actions such as posterings.

The illegal front is the realm of direct action against the pornography industry. Here in B.C. both the Wimmen's Fire Brigade (WFB) and Angry Women Rising have provided examples. Direct action can take many forms and involve different levels of risk. Some actions are aimed simply at causing minor inconvenience, such as crazy-gluing locks or chaining doors of porn shops. At the other extreme are acts aimed at causing major damage to pornographic merchandise, shops and distribution outlets. Acts such as the WFB's firebombings, which involve attack on property of the pornographers, are high risk and require care to ensure that no people are hurt. This is an important consideration in cities, where people often live over or near shops.

It was perhaps because of such considerations that Angry Women Rising chose to cause more localized damage by dumping chickenshit all over a Victoria pornshop's merchandise, after creating a diversion outside the shop. The broad-daylight nature of this action made it very high-risk, but AWR has never been caught.

Unlike lobbying for state censorship, all of these actions, illegal and legal, are empowering for those involved. These actions mean deciding that pornography is a tool of oppression, and doing something about it.

The patriarchal/imperialist ruling class is a formidable enemy. We must not allow ourselves to be co-opted by asking for state censorship, or by ignoring our responsibility to fight pornography.

Salvadorean people keeping the spirit alive

continued from page 3

The people of the countryside have been deeply affected by the war. Over 500,000 are internally displaced, having lost members of their families, homes, crops and livestock to the daily bombings. Interviewed in the refugee camps of San Salvador, they all had stories of the atrocities they had suffered.

Marina, a fourteen-year-old girl from Chatalengo, told us how her mother and

aunts were killed by government soldiers, hung from the trees outside her home. She and 10 other children were left motherless that day. Seven years have passed since her mother's death, but Marina still remembers all the details.

My blood ran cold when a man from Gauzapa related the story of 31 women, children and old people, who were herded

into a house, which was then set on fire with all the people inside. This horrific act was carried out during Operation Phoenix in April. Gross violation of human rights is still clearly a policy of the Salvadorean army.

The displaced people are also organizing. The Christian Committee for the Displaced in El Salvador, CRIPDES, held a two-day forum in May. They elected a national executive with representatives of eight departments and several refugee camps, and made plans for the return to their homes. They are asking for international support for their efforts, and have already carried out some re-populations, in spite of the danger in returning to the countryside.

The spirit of assassinated archbishop Monsenor Romero lives on in the courage of the Mothers of the Disappeared, Assassinated and Political Prisoners. They detailed the torture that is continuing, and showed us their photo albums of the mutilated bodies of sisters, husbands, daughters and sons. We asked what keeps them going, and they said it was their responsibility to find justice for the people in the photo albums, and for their families.

The women in Ilopanga Prison and the men in prison at Mariona also talked about their experience of torture. Torture is used in El Salvador to extract false confessions and the methods of torture are becoming more sophisticated. One woman said she heard a foreign accent from one of her torturers. She couldn't say for sure if he was from the U.S., but it is well known who teaches the new sophisticated methods.

Rosa, a nineteen-year-old former high school student, told us she was prevented from sleeping and deprived of food for ten days while an air conditioner blew cold air on her, and the questioning continued without stopping. She almost died from pneumonia, and still suffers psychological damage.

The three Mothers' Committees organized a march on May 10th, celebrated in other parts of the world as International Day of Solidarity with El Salvador.

Four days before the march, Laura Pinto of the Monsenor Romero Mothers' Committee was captured by the Hacienda Police. She

was held for two days, raped, beaten, stabbed in the abdomen, and dumped off in a downtown park. Despite this act of intimidation, 1000 people marched through the streets of El Salvador in commemoration of Mother's Day.

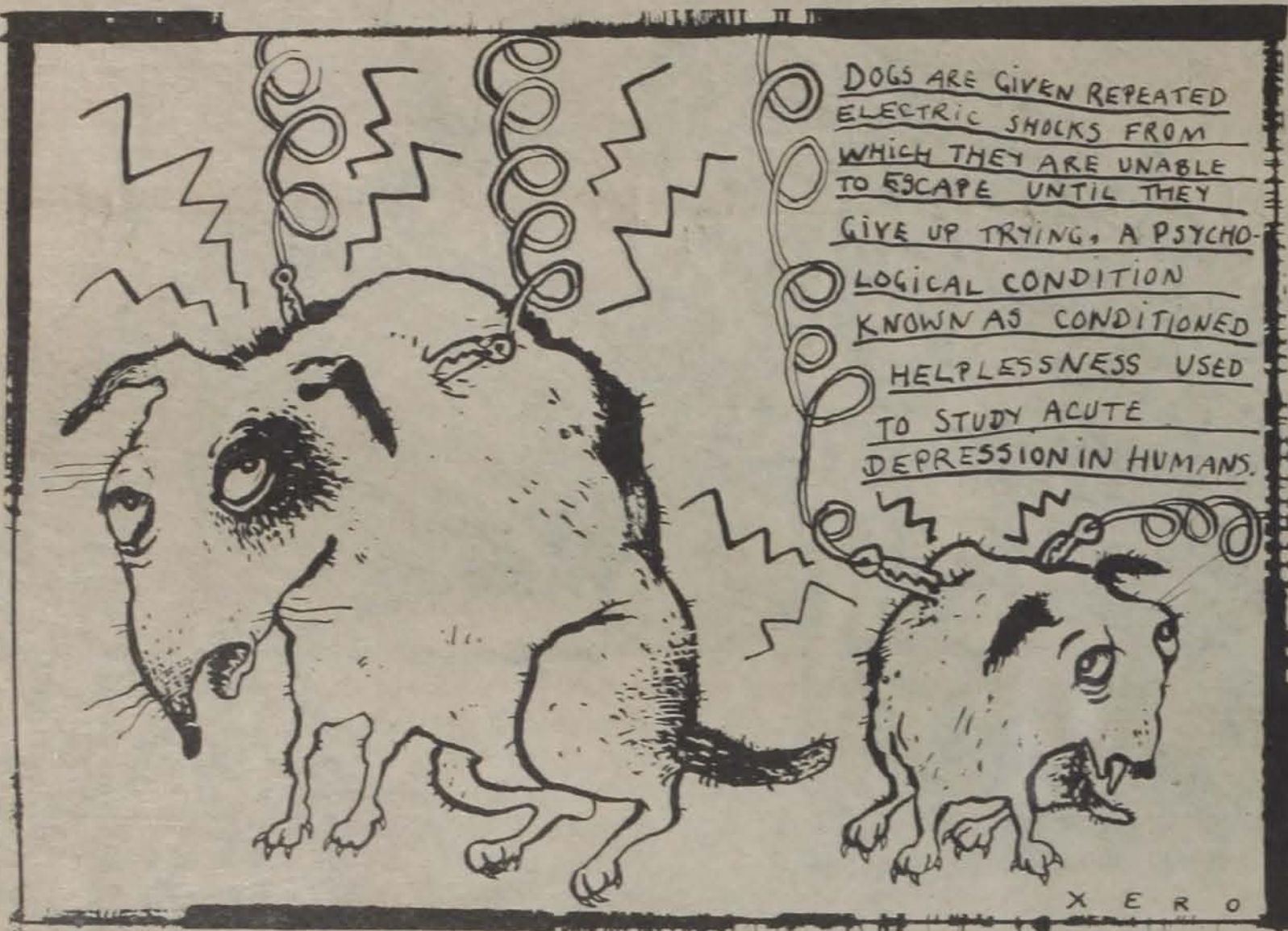
They demanded an end to the torture and the disappearances, to the bombings in the countryside, freedom for political prisoners, and the opening of the clandestine jails. "We demand that the government account for the disappeared," they cried. "Alive you took them. Alive we want them back."

As an international delegation we were asked to participate in the march. We carried a banner reading: 'Women of the United States and Canada demand respect for human rights and self-determination for El Salvador.' As we marched along the streets, I remembered the police on the corners, but I found my courage as I saw the determined strength of the women and children around me.

The importance of international solidarity was repeatedly stressed by the unions, the political prisoners, the students, the displaced people and the Mothers' Committees. International pressure limits some of the excesses of the security forces, and has resulted in the release of many people from the torture chambers. The economic assistance helps in these times of hunger, but most of all, hearing of the work done in other countries makes the people we talked to feel that they are not alone.

Two weeks in El Salvador was not enough to adjust completely to the terror that pervades the country. I doubt that one could ever completely adjust. But it was long enough to witness the strength and courage of the people as they continue to build in numbers and unity. No matter what obstacles are put in their way, they keep organizing and will win the struggle for freedom and justice. They deserve all the support that international solidarity can bring them.

By Patricia Hercus, member of Friends of AMES [Women's Association of El Salvador] who went on a six-woman delegation to El Salvador from Canada and the United States from May 1 to 18, 1986.



Animal Rights

continued from page 10

within it.

In a society which endorses a man/nature hierarchic division it is possible to feel safely superior, but this safety is an illusion. Membership in the 'human' class can be denied at any time. A society that is violent towards animals is violent, no matter how well-hidden the violence is. The movement for rights for animals is not a diversion away from concerns for human rights. Animal liberation includes human liberation.

Beyond overcoming our own speciesist ways of seeing and thinking, what should we do? The most obvious step to take is to stop eating animals — if there were no demand for dead animals they wouldn't be killed. Vegetarians can become vegan — giving up eggs and dairy products. We can avoid buying fur, leather, and products that have been tested on animals. (For a list of cosmetics and cleaning products not tested on animals, write Beauty Without Cruelty, address below.)

As the earth is vastly overpopulated with humans, an important decision concerning animal rights is how many children we produce: the fewer the better, from an animal rights perspective. (This should of course be an individual decision. We must oppose forced sterilization and all genocidal population policies.) It is often argued that 'overpopulation' is a misdiagnosed problem — that there would be enough food and other resources if they were shared equally. This

argument ignores non-human animals in the sharing. While it is indisputably true that much human suffering could be ended if resources were shared properly, it is also true that the 'settled' parts of the earth are extending over much of the earth's surface, and the human species has taken control of land which used to support a variety of other large mammals.

Even North America, although considerably less crowded than Europe and Asia, is overpopulated according to this broader perception. The prairies are not wild grasslands any more but cultivated wheat fields, not available now as habitat for other species. Forests that escape destruction by logging are being encroached upon by towns and highways.

The actions suggested thus far can all be done by us as individual people, and form a kind of acceptable minimum level of involvement: refraining from eating meat, choosing not to buy things made of animal materials or tested on animals, and limiting the number of children we produce. Other actions need to be done to actively challenge the oppression of animals, not just refrain from participation in it. One particularly successful action was done at the University of Pennsylvania's head injury lab, where researchers had inflicted painful injuries on baboons for several years. The researchers' videotaped records of the experiments were taken from the lab and given to People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, who edited the tapes to a half-hour video. The videotape got wide media coverage when a group of animal rights activists occupied the government office responsible for funding the lab. As a result of widespread unfavourable publicity, the lab's funding was cancelled. The effects of this action extend beyond the lab directly involved: a clear message was sent to the rest of the research community that such cruelty will not be tolerated. Copies of the half-hour video *Unnecessary Fuss* are available from PETA.

RESOURCES:

Feminism and Animals' Rights: Essays and Excerpts. M. Spiegel, PO Box 95732, Seattle, WA. 98145, USA. Cost is \$1.50. Highly recommended.

Animal Liberation. Peter Singer. Ballantine Books. Informative and comprehensive.

List of cosmetics and cleaning products not tested on animals. Beauty Without Cruelty, 175 West 12th St., New York, NY. 10011.

Unnecessary Fuss video. PETA, PO Box 42516, Washington DC 20015, USA.



Inside EXPO 86

continued from page 5

the social democrat contingent, a lot of activists have burned out opposing the government. Anti-budget rallies in Vancouver in 1983 drew as many as 85,000 from a regional population of a million, but the government refused to even make concessions. As well, the local McMedia have decided to become cheerleaders for Expo, and barely a negative word has been seen or heard since the fair opened. So although a few anti-Expo parties and festivals have helped raise the left's spirits a bit, the attempts at protest were factionalized and didn't collect much support.

But while our first concern is with Expo's impact on our city, we also shouldn't ignore what the fair is selling within its gates. The showpiece Expo Centre pays homage to futuristic and elitist modes of transportation (the fair's theme is World in Motion)—racing cars, hydrofoils, even space shuttles. The text accompanying the displays is dedicated to the individual, entrepreneurial spirit... "all progress arises from man's ingenuity."

The corporate presence is overwhelming. You can't walk ten paces without running into Coca Cola, Kodak or Esso. Concerts take place in the Xerox Pavilion, and those lined up to ride the monorail face a bank of video monitors displaying the logo of the company that built it. A huge lightboard sign projects selected logos right out of the site and into downtown. General Motors' 'Spirit Pavilion' presents a tableau of Native American culture, eclipsing the real native displays with its Hollywood technology. And the BC pavilion naturally features videos of Premier Bennett telling us how good Expo is for the

province.

"I wouldn't even be able to go to laugh at it," one woman said. "It's too serious. It's a vision of what these people want the future to be like, and people like me aren't in there."

Expo is also about consuming. The site contains 60 souvenir and retail locations and 75 food outlets, including five McDonalds. "Expo stands for what McDonalds stands for," declared Expo president Jim Pattison. "Quality and service, at a reasonable price." For those of us familiar with McDonalds' management tactics, low wages and unhealthy food, such comments go beyond irony. Expo is McDonalds.

If your political sensibilities are jaded enough that you can walk through Expo without getting angry or nauseated, you still must ask yourself what your presence there is accomplishing. Another 'click' of the turnstiles that enables them to call Expo a success? An 'alternative' presence that enables people to breathe easier when they see Expo really is for everyone—punks, anarchists and the poor?

This mega-project fever is nothing new, especially in economically marginalized regions. Whether it's Expo, the Olympics, or just billions sunk locally into dams and football stadiums, it works against economic self-sufficiency and community control. Capital and power remain in the hands of the investors, the economic order is undisturbed, and the government has a monument to its empire-building. If we can understand and predict the impact of these projects on our cities we can at least say no to the Official Version of a big, profitable party.



Herbal Abortifacants

It is not the intent of this article to dispense medical advice or to prescribe the use of herbs as a form of treatment. There are many experts in the field with wildly varying views. In the event you use this information without your doctor's approval, you are prescribing for yourself, which is your right, but the publisher assumes no responsibility.

to two trials. It usually takes 2½ to 3 days after the first dosage to work. Wait 4 or 5 days from the last day taken before repeating if there is no blood after 3 days. Blood flow is slow at first. There may be some cramps. It may not work for women who take doses of Vitamin C regularly. NOTE: It should not be taken by women with kidney problems as it puts stress on the kidneys in the elimination process.

2. An alternative to Vitamin C which may be used together with it (more effective) is **parsely**—fresh only, in the vagina. Change every 24 hours but it should work (if it's going to) within 12 to 15 hours after insertion. It may get smelly or hard to take out, but it is not dangerous. Method: Take fresh parsely (a handful), wrap it lightly in gauze and roll like a tampon. A string can be sewn on to make removal easier. Insert overnight preferably. This can be repeated without danger but usually works quickly if it's going to.

3. These are the most common herbal abortifacants, in decreasing order of effectiveness:

Black Cohosh—causes uterine contractions

Blue Cohosh—stimulates contractions and helps to slough off uterine lining

Penny Royal—stimulates release of oxytocin in the brain which is the hormone which induces contractions

Mugwort, Ginger, Yarrow—helps to slough off lining of the uterus

Saffron, Rue, Cotton Root Bark—stimulates contractions

Tansy, Southernwood, Squaw Vine, Golden Ragwort—stimulates contractions

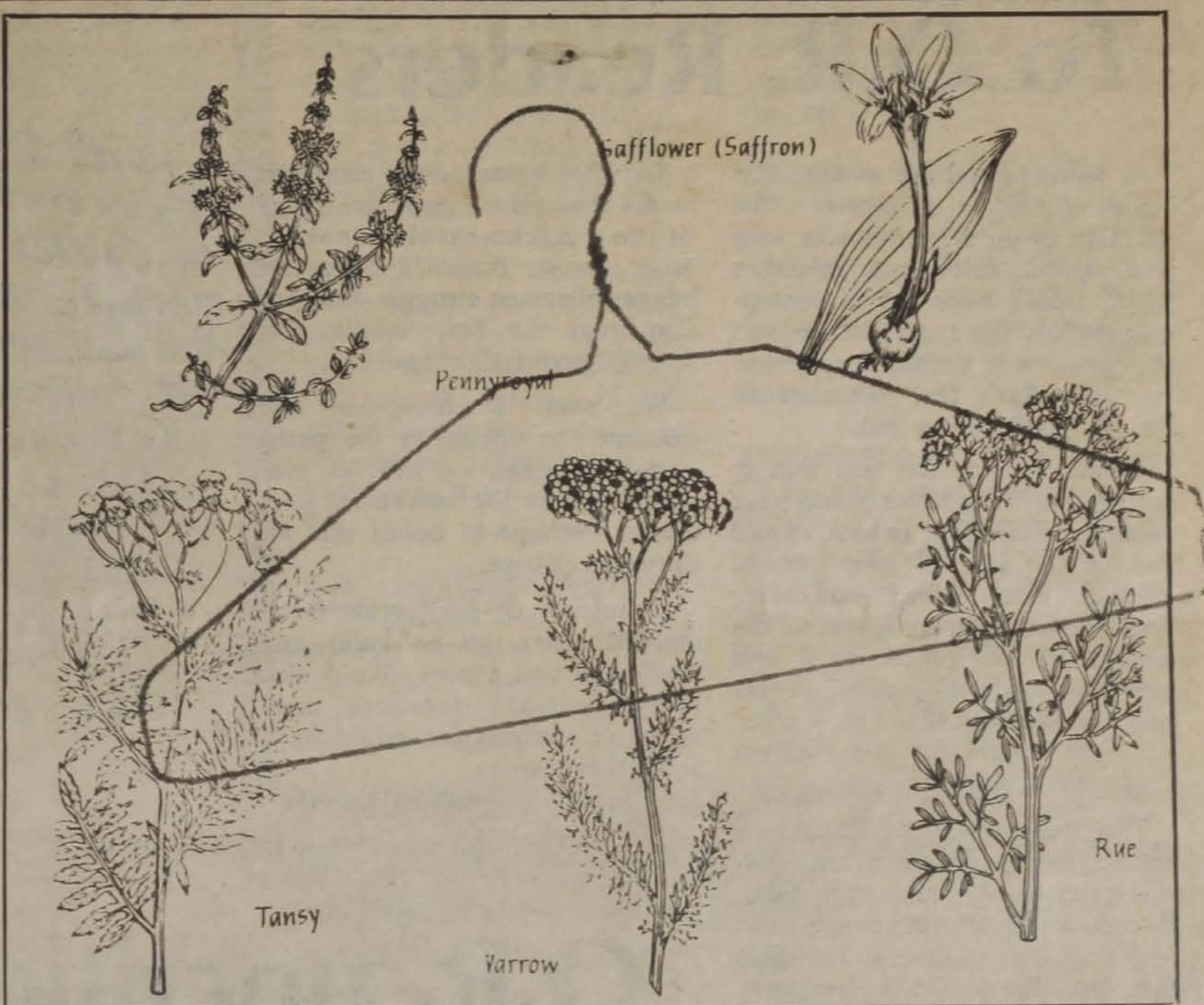
Any of these can be taken individually or in combination and may cause contractions and subsequent bleeding. They are most effective in combination. They are called 'emmenagogues' but have a different function in the body. That's why it's best to combine them, eg. one to slough off, one to stimulate contractions and one to tone etc. The general recipe for any of these is an infusion (tea) of one teaspoon herb per cup of boiling water.

This information is culled from 20 books on herbal remedies and from talks with herbalists and women in the States and Europe. It is not all that exists on abortifacants but the most persistent.

Any use of these herbs must be done in a careful way. Read the article thoroughly; be cautious. These herbs can be very potent. Do not use them in larger quantities or more often than specified. All work best in the first month of pregnancy or as soon as pregnancy is suspected. The herbs usually work approximately 40% to 45% of the time.

These methods are best used in a situation where you can have access to a mechanical abortion as a backup. Complications are possible with any miscarriage. There is the danger of an incomplete miscarriage or hemorrhaging. It is also possible that an herbal concoction which does not produce the intended miscarriage still damages the fetus. 1. This method is the best tried and proven. It is easily available and cheap with no known side effects: **Vitamin C**. Dosage is 6 grams for 3 days. It should be taken in small quantities, ie: 2 grams 3 times a day for 3 days. Vitamin C can be taken immediately after unprotected intercourse to prevent fertilization or as soon as pregnancy is suspected. It seems to work best if taken when, or just after, period is due but it has been effective into the first month of pregnancy. Basically the sooner it's taken the better.

The 3 day treatment can be repeated, but there is no known information on how often it can be repeated safely. Because no one really understands how or why it works, we limit it



Steep 20 minutes. Drink one cup of tea 4 times a day for 5 days.

A recipe that has worked best for women in Montreal, and has also been used in San Francisco and New York is:

- 1 tablespoon Penny Royal (fresh not oil)
- 1 tablespoon Blue Cohosh
- 1 tablespoon Yarrow
- 1 tablespoon Rue

Boil 3 cups of water. Add Blue Cohosh. Allow to simmer 10 minutes. Add other herbs. Remove from flame and allow to steep 30 minutes. Drink 1 cup every 4 hours for up to 5 days.

or (not together and is less effective): Saffron—1 gram per 1 litre of water. Steep 30 minutes. Makes 8 portions. Drink 1 portion every 2 hours for 1 day. Period may appear at the end of the day. If not do not repeat.

or American Indian recipe: Penny Royal and Brewers Yeast — 1 teaspoon Penny Royal per cup of boiling water. Steep 20 minutes. Add Brewers Yeast. Drink 1 cup every 4 hours for 4 days.

The first recipe is the best. The others have worked, but not as consistently. The herbs are potent. What may work for one woman may not work for another. If a woman starts to feel sick, she should stop taking the tea. Some cramps and any normal premenstrual feelings and aches are not dangerous, but feeling 'sick' is not okay. If the herbs are going to work, they usually do so after the first try. Two dosage periods are okay for all

the recipes except for the Saffron, but the dosages are not recommended more than twice and then only in the early stages, up to 8 weeks. (The herbs have worked for some women a bit later, this depends on the woman.)

NOTE: If any of these herbal remedies are unpalatable, any mint teas may be added to the recipe. Do not add more water, just the mint. Women should eat very lightly when taking the teas—vegetables and tea. Oil of herbs is much more potent and concentrated than dried or fresh herbs. All of these recipes are for dried herbs. Do not substitute oils for fresh.

"If I suspected I was pregnant, I would start with the Vitamin C, and then go on to the herbal concoction. I would do the Saffron last, and probably not try any of it after 8 weeks, unless I was sure of getting a mechanical abortion if the herbal abortion didn't work. I'd do the Vitamin C and the herbal recipe twice before the Saffron, and then I'd give up in favour of a medical abortion. I'd do everything I could to get an appointment for a mechanical abortion, even if I was trying the herbal recipes. The appointment can always be cancelled. Keep in mind that these herbs, if they work to induce abortion, could also be potentially damaging to the fetus. Only use these herbs if you are sure of having options other than continuing the pregnancy if they don't work."

After more than a decade of being suppressed, at last—the Big Book that tells you how the Yippies survived and spread under Nixon, Ford & Carter, making it into the '80's to drive Ronnie and Nancy nuts!



BLACKLISTED NEWS

- Including:
- The Secret History of the Seventies!
 - Campaigns, Conventions & Other Madness (The Dread Yippie Curse)
 - Plus! New Yippie! Manifestos
 - And The How-to-Revolt Handbook

And, after you've enjoyed BLACKLISTED NEWS, for only \$10.00 more, every couple of months you get an additional installment of the Yippie paper, OVERTHROW.



BLACKLISTED NEWS

Box 392, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013

- Here's \$13.95 Rush me my copy of BLACKLISTED NEWS
- Enclosed is \$10 for a year of the Yippie! paper, OVERTHROW

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Visiting the Colonel

continued from page 11

Gaddafi, she declared that the conference was meaningless because it didn't deal with the problem of the oppression of women. She got a standing ovation for it.

When I asked about the British delegation spokesman both Juley and Lorna started pulling faces and making vomiting noises. He was from the Workers' Revolutionary Party and apparently people kept on coming up to him and asking after Vanessa Redgrave!

"It was the same old shit — the powerful white man talking. He wasn't asked to, he pushed his way into it. One of the black members of the British delegation should have done it, they would have made a much better job of it."

One of the speakers got up and asked everybody who was ready that minute to answer the call of the Green Army to stand up.

"There we were me and Juley, bums firmly in our seats. I'd been leafing through my book of the life of Gaddafi and this bloke in front of us turns around and whips it out of my hands and stuffs it into his briefcase."

Luckily for Lorna and Juley, this was not the only memento of their trip: they were also issued with a Gaddafi bootlace tie, keyring, and set of postcards.

By the end of the third day, all those ready to answer the call of the Green Army were getting down to the nitty-gritty of forming an

international network. It was decided that the next day be spent forming a secret committee and drawing up the binding terms. Juley and Lorna decided not to go.

There were two sessions that day — one in the morning and one in the afternoon — and so our two heroines lay in bed, munching rolls smuggled from dinner the night before, until the bus going to the morning session was safely on its way.

Shortly afterwards they got the first of their phone calls from Hassan who was the man in charge of organizing the conference, wondering where they were. He told them to be ready at seven because their flight left at nine. They left on Wednesday and the conference didn't finish until Friday. Among the treats that they didn't regret missing was a tour of all the military bases which they later found out had been on the agenda for Thursday.

L: "One thing I thought: there's people that would sell their grandmothers to be here, and here we are, not appreciating it in the slightest..."

Soon after they got back, came Reagan's bombing raid on the city they'd been in. Juley and Lorna then embarked on a series of actions against U.S. bases in this country involved in that act of state terrorism, culminating in delaying a NATO military exercise whilst actually in court for redecorating Welford's bomb silos.

To O.R. Readers

As some of you are aware, this issue of OR is a reprint. The decision to do a reprint was long and painful, aside from mistakes which would have led to misrepresentation, the main change was the omission of a letter in response to "Julie Rat's Out" (Resistance No. 10, in OR Spring '86).

Some of us at OR feel that to have printed this letter would have fuelled polarization (which should not be the role of in-movement media), rather than advancing constructive political debate on the actions of the Vancouver 5 and armed struggle in general. In this process some questions have come up as important for in-movement analysis and debate.

The tone of the Resistance article has been seen as self-righteous and dehumanizing Julie. How do we express our despair and anger at the additional hardship that Ann, Brent, Doug and Gerry will face as a result of Julie's statements while maintaining an understanding of Julie and her situation?

What needs to be questioned is how did she forsake her previous ideals? Is this through victimization by the powers that be and/or a lack of responsibility and understanding on everyone's part, (hers, her comrades and friends)?

At issue here is the solidarity between those that have been imprisoned and those on the outside still able to tear down walls. How should we deal with the situation when an imprisoned person abandons the struggle for whatever reason, by whatever process? How can we minimize risk to the struggle from any who might trade sides?

We need to look at what tactics are used to victimize political prisoners and how they are in turn used to victimize others. How can we avoid being victims when the state comes knocking on our doors?

As individuals, how do we maintain an attitude that acknowledges our own potential and the power of the whole, rather than seeing inspiring activists as isolated heroes, martyrs or villains (if they let us down)?

Friends,
I greatly enjoyed reading issue #18 of **Open Road**; as always, it was crammed with well-written, hard-hitting items and engaging photos. I was particularly pleased by your coverage of some of the direct actions accomplished by revolutionaries in Europe, and the updates on the Butlers, Leonard Peltier, and the Vancouver Five. As you noted, Julie Belmas' sycophant fawning before the court is another classic example of how the System extends its controlling tentacles by squeezing 'cooperation' out of those who fall into its grasp.

The review on **Emma Goldman** was very entertaining, and whetted my interest in the book, which I'm going to read for sure. You mentioned a book called **The Outlaw's Bible: How to Evade the System Using Constitutional Strategy** in your 'Books Received' column. Sounds interesting...I'd like to see a review on that one!

Looking forward to your next issue.

M.T.
Detroit, MI, USA

To what extent does anarchist media romanticize an elitist image of the "macho-revolutionary"? How can we evolve and present images of armed struggle different also from the State/media promoted "terrorist" image?

We need to recognize and examine the effects of the patriarchy, in which we live, on ourselves and on the movement as a whole. Perhaps in doing this we can make change.

If you're really curious about the omitted letter, let us know and we'll mail you a copy. We'd also like to hear any questions, comments or analysis you might have about these issues.

—some OR workers

... Well I could do some research on women's prisons in Canada and explore the methods used to attack the will and sanity of our political prisoners BUT I've only got so much space and Julie DID rot out and I'm Best at attacks

Personally I've been overnight several times in women's detention centres for doing C.D. It didn't break me - I can't see why it broke her. She even gets a real cot to sleep on we had a big waffle iron...



This was submitted with the request that we publish it as a letter.

O.R. uncritical of guerrilla groups

Open Road asked **Resistance** to respond to this letter.

To **Open Road**:

I have been a subscriber to **Open Road** since its inception, but I do not plan to renew my subscription.

As I recall, the original intent of **Open Road** was to be an eclectic periodical, supplying news of anarchist activities globally, as well as providing anarchist analyses of continental and world events. It was also meant to provide a forum for varied discussion of theory and practice. You have strayed so far from your original purpose that **Open Road** no longer appears to be an anarchist paper.

1) You are apparently unable to distinguish anarchism from other movements of the left. This is certainly reflected by the inclusion of that foolish little insert, **Resistance**. (Technically, I suppose, **OR** and **Resistance** are two separate papers. Both, however, come in the same package.)

Please tell me what the Fighting Communist Cells have to do with anarchism. What relationship does the Prairie Fire Organising Committee or Ligne Rouge have to anarchism?

2) You fail to heed lessons of very recent history: besides being almost completely ineffectual, groups (and mentalities) like the above are the crowning pinnacle of elitism and stalinist vanguardism. A very revealing exposition of the elitist mind, for example, can be found in the article 'Julie Rats Out': 'The (police) use of informers...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 kind of activity (i.e. armed struggle).' What kind of presumptuous shit is this? Presumably, those who engage in armed struggle, or other so-called clandestine activities, are 'mature', while the lowly and unenlightened peons who involve themselves in more mundane projects are not.

3) The fact that you embrace any group that labels itself 'underground' or 'guerrilla' destroys what little anarchist credibility you have. A 'mature' politic discerns between projects that are effectual and those that are counterproduc-

tive or inimical to concrete and substantial social change. The Weather Underground accomplishing nothing of real value; ditto the Vancouver Five. Or remember the Symbionese Liberation Army, and their demand for seventy dollars' worth of free food for every poor family in California? Aside from the sheer asininity of the SLA's demands, one has little difficulty understanding how some people easily concluded that the group had been a CIA trump card.

But my purpose is not to make accusations about who is a cop and who is not. The issue here is the bullheadedly stupid (or naive) position taken by the Fighting Communist Cells (and, by implication, endorsed by **Open Road**) concerning the 'mythology of effects': '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...'

Any sensible activity, while addressing causes, must necessarily also consider effects. To fail to do so is to fail to understand historical processes and revolutionary dialectics.

I refer again to very recent history. The Vancouver Five succeeded in getting themselves put away for a very long time. Instead of striking a Blow Against The Empire, the V5's actions allowed the apparatus of the state to create a neat little excuse to increase surveillance, political repression, and dirty tricks all across Canada. The SLA succeeded in transforming themselves into steaks, well-done. The state's power consolidated itself a little bit more.

Open Road assumes a priori the virtues of a particular leftist rhetoric without even minimally or self-critically examining the theoretical (or lack thereof) bases upon which that rhetoric is predicated. The is rigid dogmatism. This is True Belief in an abstract construct. It is the psychological underpinning of religion and mysticism. I find **Open Road** to be unreasoned, uncritical, and reeking of heroic Che Guevarism. I find it to be not a paper in tune with the activities, hopes, aspirations, struggles, or even traumas of real people in real life; instead, it has become a narrow

mouthpiece of the extraparliamentarians who would seek to become revolutionary specialists and the future representatives of all the

rest of us.

My money is better spent elsewhere.

B.K.
New York, NY

Resistance replies

In response to your letter, there are several points that should be made clear. Up to this issue, **Open Road** and **Resistance** have been totally distinct in terms of editorial policy. The **OR** collective has had no say in the contents of **Resistance**; it has only helped out on the production and distribution of the paper. The underlying concept of **Resistance** was to provide communiques and analysis of the armed struggle to people who would otherwise be incapable of acquiring this information. While supporting the idea of armed struggle is a necessary element in the revolutionary transformation of society, **Resistance** stated that it did not support all of the positions taken by the groups that had their writings included, especially in the matter of the party and marxism-leninism. PFOC and Ligne Rouge obviously have nothing to do with anarchism, no one ever said they did.

Regarding the CCC, it is important to recognize that they are a very recent guerrilla organization, and that without the communiques printed in **Resistance**, people like yourself would be forced to rely on the capitalist papers to get an idea of where they are at. Whether you disagree with them or not, the reproduction of their statement has served a valuable service.

Putting aside your disparaging comments about the usefulness of armed struggle (a worthwhile topic, but that would take too long to get into here), what needs to be addressed are the comments about the article 'Julie Rats Out'. **Resistance** has never claimed that armed struggle is the only or most important struggle; 'political and emotional maturity' is meant to describe a condition of being in which a person has the depth of experience, political understanding and self-knowledge that when confronted with a crisis is not suddenly shaken to the core. It could describe anyone, whether they be the most extreme pacifist of guerrilla. The reality of the guerrilla experience—the ever present danger of capture, imprison-

ment, death—demands that those who engage in it know themselves and what they are doing.

Julie was a very courageous person to become involved in the activities of Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade. But, being placed suddenly in a threatening situation where a lengthy prison sentence was all too likely, that courage was not enough. It is quite understandable that she broke down—she was involved in something over her head, and the state has had many years of practice breaking people. She is not solely to fault; with greater insight from others perhaps she never would have gotten involved.

Yet the fact remains that she was involved, and by signing a confession implicating Brent, testifying at the appeal on the activities of her former comrades, and telling the most outrageous lies about the structure of the group (the whole leader/soldier concept pushed by the prosecution) she has acted in the interests of the state.

With her successful attempt to get a lighter sentence she has hurt her former comrades, as well as the militant movement as a whole. For anyone who shares the politics which the other members of Direct Action attempted to develop here in Canada, it is clear that it is no longer possible to have anything to do with her.

For those that oppose this politics, for those that thought the work of Direct Action must have been the cops' because it was too 'professional' (and everybody knows how anarchists are so incompetent), for those who like to see the cops before a demonstration to make sure everything goes according to plan, for those who think it is ok to turn on your friends and to denounce what you've been working on together in the front pages of the daily newspaper, for those people no doubt Julie is a godsend, a tool to be used to discredit and divide support for militant resistance. But there will always be those who play into the hands of counter-insurgency.

Tom Ross
for Resistance

Dear Friends and Comrades,

It has been a long and difficult two and a half years since i was charged on September 27, 1983 with threatened assault against Margaret Thatcher. I was found not guilty, but guilty of two 'assault police' charges. My retrial appeal and sentence appeal were turned down.

My appreciation and heartfelt thanks to those who have supported me.

In solidarity
Ken Deyarmond
Toronto

Dear Open Road,

i just received my first copy of your newspaper...i'd like to say i enjoyed it greatly, but other than the articles on alternative housing, i found little to inspire.

the overwhelming majority of articles focused on anarchists/lefties who use their political beliefs to justify their acts of violence. left wing or right wing, smashing heads leads to the same thing: broken skulls. my aim is to enlighten heads, not smash them. if i

confirm someone's opinion of myself and my beliefs by resorting to violence to make my point, i am certainly not changing theirs. this is not to say that i side with the state; it is only that we should know better.

a true alternative aims to offer something better than the standards of present society. we have come to the brink of world destruction due to cult of violence.

if martin luther king had gone around throwing petrol bombs into buses and the like, would he have been taken seriously? would he have inspired so many?

blood and guns won't set you free/if your code of living is enmity/evolution is what we need/a transformation of word and deed...

peace and love are not just a couple of wimpy passwords for neo flower children...u.s. army or liberation army, the lies are the same...and the lies go on, at least until enough of us realise that we are being duped. i have faith that the day will come.

in peace
K.M.

GERRY HANNAH
SONGS FROM UNDERGROUND



Songs from Underground a cassette tape recorded by Direct Action member Gerry Hannah at Matsqui Prison, is available for \$5 (includes mailing) from: Songs from Underground, P.O.Box 34332, Station D, Vancouver, B.C. V6J 4P3.

CAMILLO BERNERI, UN ANARCHICO ITALIANO (1897 - 1937) and RIVOLUZIONE E COUNTERREVOLUZIONE IN EUROPA (1917 - 1937) 608pgs. p.b. pub. by Edizioni Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Piazza Dello Spirito Santo, 2 Pistola

AGAINST ALL WAR by Albert Beale. 64 pgs. p.b. L1.50 illustrated. A history of Peace News the British Anti-war paper, on the occasion of their 50th anniversary. dist. by Housemans Distribution, 5 Caledonian Road., London N2, U.K.

THE ANARCHIST WRITINGS OF WILLIAM GODWIN - ed. with an introduction by Peter Marshall. 174 pgs. p.b. 1986. An informative introduction to the work of one of the earliest

and most rigorous anarchist philosophers. Includes selections from his major theoretical works grouped by topic. Freedom press (address below).

WILDCAT - by Donald Roum. Intro by Philip Samsom. 48 pgs. p.b. 1985. The collected comic strip adventures of the famous anarchist cat, often seen in the pages of Freedom. pub. by Freedom Press (address below).

THE EMPLOYMENT QUESTION and other essays by Dennis Pym. 67 pgs. p.b. 1986. A collection of essays on the relation between freedom and organisation, community economies and other topics. L2.00 from Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, U.K.

Ohio 7 issued new indictment

In March of this year, the Ohio 7 were convicted of 32 counts of conspiracy to commit bombings in the U.S. The bombings, claimed by the United Freedom Front, targeted South African related corporations including IBM, South African Airways, Honeywell and Union Carbide as well as armed forces reserve and training centres.

Not satisfied with the original charges and sentences, the U.S. government issued a 3-count indictment in May against the Ohio 7 and another individual, Chris King. The indictment against the eight women and men charged them with being part of two underground revolutionary organizations: the UFF and the Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit. The charge includes two counts of RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) and seditious conspiracy. Previously, RICO charges were used primarily in cases involving organized crime; now the state is using RICO in its growing attacks on liberationists and revolutionary groups. RICO enables the state to obtain prison terms of up to 20 years, without the burden of proof required by the original conspiracy charge. Seditious conspiracy also carries a 20 year term.

With the new indictment, the 8 will be re-charged for the bombings that they have already been sentenced for.

The following letter was written to OR by one of the Ohio 7 after their arraignment hearings this summer. More information is available from:

The Ohio 7 Support Committee
Box 530, Cathedral Station
NY, NY, 10025

or read "Resistance is not a crime" by the Ohio 7 in *The Insurgent* (Vol. 2, N2), available from the Committee to Fight Repression, Box 1435, Cathedral Station, NY.

Greetings Comrades,

I am sending you all of our recent leaflets, as well as our arraignment press releases. I'm sure you have heard about our new indictment, out of Boston, Mass. We have 3 new charges — 2 counts of RICO and Seditious Conspiracy. The government does not give up! They are attempting to destroy the national liberation and anti-imperialist movements within the U.S.

In April, we were all sentenced in the Brooklyn, NY trial: Tom and Joan, 53 years; Richard and Ray, 45 years; and Barbara and I got 15 years. The UFF bombing charges were dropped against Pat, when she was indicted on these new charges.

Chris King was arraigned on June 17th, Barbara, Pat and I on June 23rd, and Ray and Joan on the 26th. They do not plan to arraign Tom and Richard until after the N.J. trial. The Judge in N.J. has ordered that they

not be removed from N.J. They are afraid if they are taken to Boston, they will fight to stay in Federal custody and go to trial in Boston first. That's not going to happen, but N.J. doesn't want to take any chances losing them!

The transportation of us in Boston on the day we were arraigned was a little unusual. After Barbara, Pat and I were arraigned, we were transported back to the airport by a U.S. Coast Guard boat. We were forced to walk down a long ramp and put on the boat. This was all done with us in chains and shackles. There were many Massachusetts State troopers with high powered weapons lined along the pier above us. Barbara's leg iron chain got caught on the deck, causing her to fall. She injured her ankle and has had problems with her neck and back. She was on crutches for a week and is recovering now. The marshals all put on life jackets, but said there were none for us. Not that any of us would have felt safer with one. With all of the chains and shackles I'm sure we would have sunk had we fallen over board — or what was more likely to happen, been pushed over board.

Ray and Joan were subjected to this boat when they were taken. Only the boat was not a U.S. Coast Guard boat, but a larger boat with Mass. State troopers in charge. These troopers were on the boat with their weapons out, and surrounded Ray and Joan. These weapons were pointed directly at them with at least one remark from a trooper about how he would take great pleasure in pulling the trigger. We have written the Judge, McNaught, in Boston, protesting this form of transportation and treatment. We have been informed that from now on we will be provided with life jackets. I guess this is their answer! We'll just have to keep fighting it.

We had also asked that our lawyers be appointed CJA. Most of these lawyers are the same ones we had in the Brooklyn, NY trial. They were appointed on July 2, but on the 3rd the magistrate revoked the appointments and informed us that they were appointing us local counsel.

So, needless to say we do not accept these lawyers and we can see that it is going to be a very long, hard fight ahead for us in Boston. It looks like every little thing is going to turn out to be a battle. It's really no surprise!

So this is what's going on with us. Five of us expect to remain here at MCC, throughout the rest of the year, but you can never tell — tomorrow we could be gone.

We send you all our greetings, and thank you for covering some of our NY trial in the paper.

In Struggle,
Carol Saurier Manning

NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

At the beginning of November the fourth congress of the 'Internationale des federations anarchistes' will be held in France. The Congress is called by the European sections of IFA, but open to everyone. The agenda will deal with: militarization, wars of national liberation, unionism, the press, etc. Information: Giorgio Sacchetti, via Andrea Doria no 12, 52100-Arezzo, Italy.

The Korean anarchist movement is organizing again, but due to state repression is still an underground movement.

Participants at a conference on 'Anarchy and Non-violence' in Padua in September last year, invite submissions on the subject; they may be compiling submissions or exchanging. Giovanni Trapani, C.P. 6130, 00195 Rama-Prati, Italy.

OpenRoad Back Issues

#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 [Photocopy Only]

#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

1988 - looking back/French Autonomists/Sa-Fi - revolutionary utopia/All in the Family/Women Fight Back/Against the flag/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/FLQ/Home Births/Anarcha Feminist poster

#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



#18 Spring 1986

Indian Land Struggles, Emma Goldman review, Butler & Peltier updates.

Resistance #10(special insert)

#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 Ghandi

#16 Spring 1984

Lifton & the Left/Peace movement/Van Five/Nicaragua/Orwell / Chomsky interview/The General Strike That Wasn't

#17 Winter 1984

Hookers organize / Beauty Pageant protest/AIM/Van 5/Occupied Hawaii/Zurich is Burning / Punk - DOA in Europe / Resistance #8(special insert)



#19 Summer 1986

Vancouver 4, Greece, Big Mountain, Mayday poster, Special housing supplement



#10 Summer 1979

Anarcha Feminist Edition/Dying for Work/Abortion/Pornography/Karen Silkwood/Repression in Europe/Coming Out/Unions/The Kite (Anti-Prison Inart.)

#11 Summer 1980

Rebel Feminists/CNT splits/Squatters in Amsterdam/Bikesheviks/Gulags in North America/Peace & Ecology movements/Anarchy, an Italian Model / Anarcho Comics [magazine format]

Back Issues

Priced according to quantities available.

#1*	.....\$7.00	#6	..... .75
#2	..... 1.00	#s7-10 1/2	.. ea. .50
#3	..... 1.50	#11	..... 2.50
#4*	..... 5.00	#12,18,19	... 1.00
#5	..... 1.00	#s13-17	... ea. .75

* photocopy only

Please add postage and packing: North America \$.90/copy, Overseas \$1.00/copy.

SETS (postage included)	Can.	U.S.	Others
A 2,3,5,6,11	.....\$7.25	\$7.50	\$11.00
B 7,8,9,10,10 1/2	..... 4.25	4.25	7.00
C 13-17	..... 7.25	7.50	11.00
D All except 1&4	..... 12.50	16.60	24.00

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

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO SEE THIS SIGN



SUBSCRIBE!

Let's face it. These ar tough times. Just when you need critical commentary to combat the increasing right-wing atmosphere, more and more papers are closing down.

Our bookstore sales do not meet their share of the costs. It is our friends who subscribe or support us as sustainers that keep us going.

Over the years, we have asked for **two hours pay** for a subscription (4 issues). This does not mean that we thing everyone is a worker or should be one. This is meant simply as a guideline.

This is issue N20. If you last subscribed at issue N15, 16 or 17, this *should* be your last issue. We cannot afford to mail notices to remind our friends that their subscription is about to expire. If you can't remember when you last sent us money, then please send us some now.

For ten years, you've shown your support. Let's make it another decade. We need you to see us through.

I get the message. Here's two hours' pay: _____

I know you need more. Here it is: _____

This is extra for a gift sub for: _____

I'm adventurous. Make me a sustainer. _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

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