

OpenRoad

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Special Feature: The Politics of Bombs

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Prisons IWD target

DUBLIN, CA—Three hundred Bay Area women converged on Pleasonton Federal Prison March 5 in a loud and colourful International Women's Day "Celebration of Women's Resistance." FCI Pleasonton was chosen as the site of the IWD activities because of the increasingly nightmarish and repressive plans the US Federal Bureau of Prisons is currently mapping out for women political prisoners.

Last year, the bureau opened the now-infamous Lexington control unit—an experiment in psychological torture designed to break the spirit of women prisoners. Plans are now in the works to construct a similar and much larger unit for women in Mariana, Florida. Political prisoners across the states have already been targeted for transfer to Mariana.

US prisons currently hold more than 100 self-described political prisoners and POWs, at least 25 of whom are women. The US government has attempted to obscure the political nature of these prisoners by labelling them as criminals and terrorists. The IWD demo at Pleasonton was done to break the isolation enforced on women political prisoners and POWs by affirming them as a crucial part of the women's movement and models of women's resistance.

Wolf kill stopped

BC—Several hundred wolves received a stay of execution this year when a BC court ruled the government wolf kill program illegal.

Since 1982, government hit squads have carried out annual hunts aimed at reducing the wolf population in the province. The program was launched to benefit german and american business organizations setting up safari empires in BC wilderness areas. They hoped the wolf extermination would increase populations of moose, caribou, mountain sheep, and mountain goats for the convenience of trophy hunters.

Wolves were shot at from helicopters, trapped in leg hold traps, or poisoned.

As the wolf kill program was struck down, members of the US based *Earth First!* were preparing to interfere with it directly. The group was donated an airplane and planned to set up a base camp in the Muskwa wilderness from which to interfere with helicopter shooting.

Ohio 7 bail

BOSTON—Pat Gros Leveseur, one of the Ohio 7, was released here March 7 on bail by the US federal court. The 7 comrades and their support committees see Pat's bail as a first victory in their conspiracy trial. Bail was awarded when the prosecution failed to show evidence that Pat is a danger to her community.

The Ohio 7 are anti-imperialist activists on trial for seditious conspiracy in the US.

Art meets laundry

VANCOUVER—In various laundromats around town there is more to look at than the bulletin board or those red socks going round and round. At The Laundromat is "art/stuff inspiration and activism: moving stuff out of the galleries and into public spaces, like laundromats." The "stuff" is not traditional or boring, ranging from collage to junk art to stuff hanging by clothes pins.

Despite the bullshit in mainstream media (they named two women as "the brains behind it"), many women were involved from the start. It was to be a collective process although some of the "doers" are hesitant to call the process collective since the majority ruled. To them it was evident from the start not all the women involved had the same idea of what At The Laundromat could be.

Given this, the women still feel they're maintaining their personal ideals. These being accessibility; creating a venue for "women doers," reaching women in their everyday lives, breaking down the "art-official" mentality of professional artists (intimidation and pretentiousness often occurring in the art community), and doing stuff for the sake of sharing rather

Autonomy Centre opens

VANCOUVER—Welcome to a new anarchist and anti-authoritarian resource centre which opened here in February.

The Autonomy Centre, a snug space in the downtown area, provides local activists with a place to hold meetings and share information and resources.

Currently open several afternoons and evenings a week, the Centre has a library

containing anarchist books and a collection of anti-authoritarian periodicals published over the past decade.

There are books and magazines for sale, and information is available on a wide range of political goings-on, in town and around the world. Discussion nights and film/video nights are held monthly.

The project has potential to

greatly improve communication within Vancouver's anarchist community and to spark political discussion and activism. With enough involvement and inspiration, this potential will be realized.

For more information or to donate money or music, write the Autonomy Centre at Box 66102, Stn. F, Vancouver, BC, V5N 5L4, or phone (604) 688-6778.



Abortion decriminalized in Canada

VANCOUVER—In February this year the supreme court of Canada decriminalized abortion, ruling that women have the right to safe and legal abortions.

BC's premier Billy Vander-Slam then announced no abortions would be covered by BC medicare. In stating his anti-choice views he only

confirmed what many of us had suspected for some time; his mother didn't have a choice. He stated that he would do anything to "save the lives of the unborn." Too bad for the living poor, sick, or victimized women of BC.

Fortunately his views didn't stand up in the BC supreme court; they ruled in March that

the secrets couldn't block medicare funding.

One could well imagine Billy's medieval design on poor women in BC, hoping that they would be forced to wear chastity belts or stay indoors. Or perhaps paying homage to Billy's Fantasy Gardens would give us religious immunity.

than fame.

The women opened At The Laundromat with an open stage. Many women who had never shared their stuff in public before read poems, rapped or sang. "It was a no

star evening."

These women suggest that if you're interested in putting up any personal work to contact the local laundromat in your area and have fun and be active.



Large protests erupted in major cities across the states and internationally after Reagan sent 3200 combat troops into Honduras, claiming Nicaraguan forces had invaded the country. This was seen as a political move by Reagan to affect the US congress after they defeated a \$30 million aid package to the contras on March 3rd. During a five-hour protest in San Francisco on March 18, 250 people were arrested. Only 75 of those arrests were planned civil disobedience; the rest came when police corralled protesters up against a wall, ordered them to disperse, and then arrested protesters as they tried to leave.

Since then peace talks have taken place between the contras and the Sandinistas. There has been an agreement on a 60-day ceasefire, release of political prisoners, guarantees of unrestricted freedom of speech, and a promise not to punish exiled adversaries if they return to Nicaragua.

If the USA would keep their arms and noses out of Nicaragua there might be hope for an end to the seven year civil war.

Guerrillas acquitted

PARIS—After an 81-day hunger strike in a Paris jail, Action Directe members Nathalie Menigon et Regis Schleicher, along with Jean-Francois Gailhac, were acquitted on charges of attempted murder, alleged to have taken place in January 82.

The charge was dismissed against the three when the only witness to the incident, the victim himself who survived gunshot wounds, admitted in court on the 81st day of the strike that he had never identified the three as his attackers and that the police had forged his signature on the statement naming the three.

The three remain in prison on other convictions: Gailhac is serving 14 years for armed robbery in 1986, Schleicher life for the murder of two police officers, and Menigon was sentenced to 12 years for shooting at police in 1980. The Action Directe trial continues in Paris through the spring and summer; Jean-Marc Rouillan and other members of AD still face charges on a series of robberies committed in 1983.

German witchhunt

WEST GERMANY—On December 18, '87, West German police flexed their collective muscle against the feminist critics of genetic engineering and State immigration policy. Two hundred federal officers from BKA (German equivalent of FBI), assisted by local police, carried out simultaneous raids on 33 addresses in the characteristically efficient and thorough style of the political police. They claim the sweep was to unearth the activities of "Roten Zora" (Red Zora), a feminist women's guerrilla network.

In an execution aimed at painting a picture of State omnipotence, the BKA sealed off streets and forced their way, firearms drawn, into women's and family members' homes, private workplaces, and research/archive centres. Announcing the grounds for the raid as "Article 129a" (paragraph of the Criminal Code with wide applications concerning "terrorism"), they searched the premises without warrants, seizing radio and video recordings, personal mail, address books, mailing lists, and scientific material relating to human genetics, pre-natal diagnosis, and reproductive technology research. The grounds for the seizure of these documents was their "extreme condemnation" of genetic engineering. Twenty-three women were detained at police centres where they were photographed, finger-printed, questioned, and in some cases strip-searched, before being released.

In Hamburg that afternoon, Ulla Penselin remained under arrest, charged with "membership in the terrorist organization Roten Zora." On December 20, in Köln, Ingrid Strobl was arrested by the GSG9 Swat Squad after a two-day stakeout in her apartment awaiting her return, and charged with "membership in the terrorist organization Revolutionary Cells/Roten Zora." and suspicion of participation in the October 86 sabotage attack on Lufthansa to protest both the forcible deportation of women seeking asylum and the promotion of South-East Asia sex-tourism. The authorities announced dramatically that they have now cracked two cells of Roten Zora and, on February 18, 88, cross-country bulletins announce a search for four related "terrorists-at-large." This is not the first time that the Model Police State has brought a massive crackdown upon political activists but it is the first witchhunt to crunch down specifically on the women's movement.

Neither of these women are anonymous, but rather are well known and active in many feminist circles. Ulla Penselin has been running a community printshop in Hamburg for ten

years as well as organizing the network exposing population control policy and genetic technology. Ingrid Strobl has worked for seven years as a journalist with "EMMA," the widely-circulated liberal-feminist monthly, and campaigned for the rights of refugees and immigrants.

Both women are still locked down in prison, after being denied bail based on the prosecution's claims of "probable flight," and are confined under the 15-point program of "special regulations for political prisoners." The pivotal factor is the isolation, or "white torture," that has become the trademark of the German government's method of breaking down prisoners: non-association with any other prisoners (political or general); solitary one-hour daily yard exercise; 23 hours each day in a windowless security cell with empty neighbouring cells; screened lawyer visits; censorship of mail; a two-hour visit only once each month; restricted number of books; and wearing of prison uniforms only. And this even though they have not even been brought to trial yet but rather are merely charged, with evidence as soft as "conspiratorial meetings" in cafes in Ulla's case, and the purchasing of a clock in 1986 by Ingrid that has been linked to the exploded clock shrapnel found at the Lufthansa attack.

Since the charges have only weak evidence to back them



WEST GERMANY—Actions by Roten Zora and sister group Amazons won the day for striking South Korean textile workers last September.

West German textile multinational Adler agreed to the demands of the women's organizations after a firebomb campaign in solidarity with the South Korean workers, the majority of whom are women.

One of the largest German clothing manufacturers, Adler moved its production facilities to low wage "Third World" countries, especially South Korea and Sri Lanka. The company's continued profit-taking now depends on the exploitation of Third World women, who are forced to take poorly paid non-union jobs, with long hours and bad working conditions. A South Korean seamstress is paid as little as \$25 (Cdn) a month as

up, and the raids have netted little, surveillance and intimidation of the feminist community has escalated in the months since December 87, as the police search for further personal connections and turn the screws to find witnesses/informers. The authorities have created a new term—"Probable Attack Issues" which, when combined with their powers under Article 129a, gives them grounds for harassment of all aboveground legal work as well. This will be their strategy for trying to destroy the movements resisting reproductive technology, sex-tourism, and refugee deportation policy. Their intent is to silence all critics including journalists, lawyers, and health professionals and keep the community under siege.

Considering the high profile of the two suspects and the thin evidence against them, cause is created for questioning the timing of this witchhunt. Sabotage actions by Roten Zora had increased in the last two or three years, with often victorious results, greatly mollifying the police. Public awareness and sympathy grew for the women guerrilla's demands for justice. So the police responded with a power-play, both premature and miscalculated, to sow the seeds of suspicion in the public and fear among feminists. Certainly neither of these have been the result. A great solidarity has been generated among radical activists who feel the harassment is, in spirit, against all of them. Feminists who previously had not been aware of anti-imperialism came to post-raid meetings giving money and public statements which attest to wide support from women's

RZ victory

opposed to the \$700 she would make in West Germany.

Over the '87 summer months, the women working in Adler production plants in South Korea and Sri Lanka went on strike to fight against their intolerable situation, and called for support in West Germany.

Following a series of protest actions in front of Adler chain-stores, public meetings and information campaigns, Roten Zora moved into action. "Even we couldn't pass by the attractive discount markets of Adler: on the 15th of August nine Adler shops burned." Damages were estimated at \$17 million.

Responding to this action the company threatened to close their South Korean factory, laying off 1700 workers. Undaunted, on September 11th the Amazons,

ON THE ROAD

On the Road is where we generally tell our readers what's happening in the collective and how the current issue of OR came into being. It was a slow process putting out #22; lack of money and then energy caused frustrating delays. The collective had grown to ten people with the last issue. In the early summer we had a weekend "retreat" out of the city and made plans to revitalize OR. Things were fine for a few months and we began to write and gather material for a new issue. We were, however, unusually low on funds.

An early fall publication was delayed so we could make some money. We held some successful pub nights and a fundraising gig with four great local bands. The gig especially took a lot of effort and caused more delays. Finally we had some money but not much energy. A combination of burnout and work on other projects stalled completion of this issue. Several of us were distracted from the paper when we unexpectedly got jobs.

Enthusiasm remained low through the winter months, with fewer and fewer of us working on OR. Recently we've regrouped enough to put out the information we've been collecting; a mixture of older and new material. We're featuring a discussion paper which raises important ideas and questions about the role of armed struggle in the Canadian context. Help us further the discussion with your feedback.

We're not sure what direction OR will take from here, but we plan to continue publishing. We can use your input to help rejuvenate the paper; send us information, articles, letters, and/or donations. Subscriptions are still two hours' wages, or what you can afford; free to prisoners. Bulk rates available to anyone wanting to help with distribution. Thanks for your continued support.

cultural, service, and political organizations. In several German cities, they have sponsored workshops and conferences on gene technology, the traffic in Third World women, and women's struggles in the Third World. Large support rallies in Köln and Hamburg withstood intimidation and provocation by police, and defense groups for Ingrid and Ulla have been set up in these two centres.

In a country long familiar with guerrilla activity, the public need more than a few "coincidentals" to be convinced of any legal "guilt" and furthermore, much of this general public has been inclined toward sympathy for the actions carried out by Roten Zora. They have been operating since the mid 70s and, in conjunction with the Revolutionary Cells, have

carried out 250 attacks, all within the context of current political affairs. Direct action confronted issues of militarization, nuclear technology, Palestine, South Africa, asylum solidarity, and human genetics. During 1987, to support the long and painful efforts of South Korean women striking for better conditions in German-owned textile factories, RZ launched a series of attacks against eight Adler stores. Only then did the owners finally capitulate and rehire the women, raise the salaries, and meet all the women's demands. This success invoked the wrath of the government and its urge for retaliation reached maximum boil.

Are the authorities' claims of having paralyzed this women's resistance network or just police hype? To paraphrase an anonymous German feminist, "the structure of women's organizations, and Roten Zora, has always out-imagined the police." No, it is not likely that this first blow against RZ will be successful at cracking their invisibility or crushing the women behind bars.

The call from the defense groups is "freedom for Ingrid Strobl and Ulla Penselin"—nothing less than that. International publicity and support can help these political prisoners and the feminist community be strong against State attack. Write the women in prison to let them know their isolation is only physical. Ulla Penselin/Ingrid Strobl, c/o Ermittlungsrichter am BGH, Herrenstrasse 45a, 7500 Karlsruhe, West Germany. For more info, or to send solidarity letters and financial donations, write to the defense groups at: Stadt Revue, Maastrichter Strasse, 5000 Köln 1, West Germany, or Prozessgruppe/Schwarzmarkt, Paulinenplatz, 2 Hamburg 4, West Germany.

—Jill Bend



Gitksan—Wet'suwet'en land title case

One of the most important and unique legal cases involving native people in Canada began in mid May.

The extensive land title action launched on behalf of 54 Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs, resumed in Vancouver, on Monday, January 4th, '88. Their peoples currently occupy a total of 45 square miles of government-allotted reserve land.

The chiefs claim for legal recognition of their ownership and jurisdiction over

and delegations to assert this title have gone out from B.C. tribes to Victoria, Ottawa and London. In 1927, parliament made it illegal for Indians to raise money to pursue their land claims. That legislation changed the focus of Indian activities for some decades but when, in the 60's, they were faced with federal attempts to extinguish their status, Indigenous peoples vigorously renewed their efforts.

One unique aspect of the case is the

From such encounters come power, the land, plants, animals and the people all have spirit — they all must be shown respect. That is the basis of our law." He said his power is carried in his House's histories, songs, dances and crests. "It is recreated at the feast when the histories are told, the songs and dances performed and crests displayed. The unity of the chief's authority and his House's ownership of its territory are witnessed and thus affirmed by the other chiefs at the feast."

The histories of the houses are always being added to, he said. "The Europeans did not want to know our histories, they did not respect our laws or our ownership of our territories. This ignorance and disrespect continues." He added, "The purpose of this case then, is to find a process to place Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en ownership and jurisdiction within the context of Canada. We do not seek a decision as to whether our system might continue or now. *It will continue.*"

Lawyers for the case Peter Grant and Stuart Rush in their opening statement said in denying those rights the government is denying the very existence of those civilizations. Rush asked the court to accept Gitksan-Wet'suwet'ens' oral history to not be considered inferior to modern written history.

The Tribal Council estimates it will spend over five million dollars on this case. The Council charges that, in the absence of a political will to resolve this issue, the federal government will spend *double*, and the BC government *triple* that amount to argue the legalities.

The Tribal Council is operating a public information, legal coordination and fund raising office across from the court house at 865 Hornby. Having been forced to move to Vancouver, and on tight finances, they are working under extreme stress. If you want to help call 682-1990.



Director David Diamond spent nine weeks last spring researching and writing NO'XYA' (OUR FOOTPRINTS), a play about ancestral land, working closely with the Gitksan Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council and actor Hal Blackwater. Gitanmaxx Band member Sylvia-Anne George as well as Edward Astley and Marian Brant also perform in the play. Gitksan elder Marie Wilson, as council historian, leads audience discussions after each performance. With an irony that is neatly spelled out to the audience, the white man asks his native friend, "Why do you people want to steal my land? You attack a man's land, you attack his life." NO'XYA did a 28 city tour of BC in '87 (they raised almost \$60,000 in support of the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en court action), and are now preparing a Canada wide tour for '88. they are still in need of funds to go on the road. To get in touch with Headlines Theatre Co., write #104 - 1955 W 4th Ave. Vancouver, BC Canada V6J 1M7 (604)738-2283.

Or go to courtroom #53 to show your support. You can also write the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Hereditary Chiefs, Box 229, Hazelton, BC, V0J 1Y0. Land claims ph. #(604) 842-6511.



Mary Johnson, a high chief of the Kispiox village.

photo from Mike McDonald's Electric Totem 87

22,000 square miles of territory in B.C.'s Skeena region sets precedent for Indigenous peoples throughout the world.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 stipulates that Indian land remains so unless surrendered. Most BC land, including the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en land has never been legitimately occupied, used, or even acquired through any treaty, agreement, rent payment, or even conquest.

Native people in BC have been opposing attempts to extinguish their title ever since the white people arrived. Starting in about 1850, letters, appeals

fact that the plaintiffs will be providing the main evidence. In other cases, lawyers and non-Indian witnesses were considered Indian experts. In this case the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en people will be the experts.

Hereditary chiefs addressed the court prior to formal opening statements (May '87). Delgam Uukw (Ken Muldoe), Wet'suwet'en hereditary chief said, "For us, the ownership of the territory is a marriage of the chiefs and the land. Each chief has an ancestor who encountered and acknowledged the life of the land.

It took the unfortunate deaths of five prisoners to finally close the doors of Pentridge Prison's notorious maximum security block, Jika Jika, in Melbourne, Australia.

Just after 4 p.m. on October 29, 1987 Robert Wright, 32, David McGauley, 30, Richard Morris, 23, all serving life for murder and Jim Loughnan, 37 and Arthur Gallagher, 29, both serving lengthy sentences for armed robbery began building a barricade of chairs, tables, mattresses and computers against the door to their six-cell unit. At about 4:15 they set it on fire. When firemen and screws finally cut through the steel security door the five were found dead of asphyxiation.

Simultaneously five prisoners in the other wing of Jika lit a barricade on fire but ripped it down when one was overcome by smoke.

Relatives of the five who died said that they had been told previously of the five's plan to protest the conditions at the max. Colleen Hunter, sister of Robert Wright, said she was told about it when she visited him earlier in the week. She said she told the Pentridge governor about her brother's statement but was told to write the attorney general's department. "They were all prepared to die," she said, "I tried to forewarn the prison officials, but they just wouldn't listen." Colleen also said that Robert had approached prison authorities and warned them. Prison screws and police at the prison refused to comment.

On the Wednesday evening prior to Thursday's fire, a prison source said that screws in K division (official name of Jika) were ordered to remove papers,

magazines and other flammable material from the day room. The message had obviously gotten through to the powers that be, given that how did five people die?

There have been other questions raised about the lack of intervention. The air conditioning wasn't turned on. The screw with the keys to the cupboard holding the oxyacetalene equipment was in another part of the prison when the fire started; and the door couldn't be unlocked. There was no sprinkler system (too "easy" for

the prisoners to activate) in K division. The prison's internal radio jammed with overuse because there were no procedures to restrict communication. Prison officers could not find flashlights. The shadow attorney general, Chamberlain, said he had been "concerned" about breaches of security for many months.

The typical sensationalism by some of the Australian media of a "suicide pact", or "fire directed at AIDS 2" after two prisoners with AIDS had been moved into the unit the morning of the fire, read

much like some true confession rag. One screw said a prisoner had screamed after the move "They're trying to kill us". Weren't they already?

The Prisoner's Action Group states very clearly "the protest that led to the Jika deaths was demanding the closure of that unit, changes to the methods of classification of prisoners and a full royal commission into all aspects of the prison system". Jeff Lapidos of the PAG was refused permission to attend a press conference called by the attorney general, Kennan. After scuffling with the security guards and being forcibly restrained, he was later granted a private meeting where Kennan refused to call a royal commission to inquire into the tragedy.

Jika Jika has been the subject of controversy since its opening in July 1980, largely due to the militancy of activists inside and outside the prison. It had come under the scrutiny of an official inquiry, the findings of which were so politically sensitive that the government didn't release the report. The PAG, however, obtained a copy of it through the Freedom of Information Act. The report found that the division was being used not for the purpose of security or protection but as a disciplinary weapon against prisoners seen as management problems, as opponents of the max had long argued.

Jeff Lapidos said all five victims had been held in K division because they had been long time protesters of inhumane prison conditions.

In September, we received information about a prisoner in Jika on a hunger strike. Peter Michael Reid approaching

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Mute minds allow death the belated closure of Jika Jika



Richard Morris (inset), David McGauley, Robert Wright, Arthur Gallagher, Jim Loughnan, the five who died.

Justice: Marion

United States Penitentiary Marion, in Illinois, has been locked down since November 1983. Prisoners are allowed out of their cells for only one to one-and-a-half hours a day and only under strict supervision. Cell searches, beatings, chainings to concrete bunks, punitive rectal probes, isolation, arbitrary inter-unit transfers, and incessant petty harassment by guards are commonplace.

In the following article, Marion prisoner Ronald Del Raine tells the story of the events which led up to the lockdown and the early history of the class action lawsuit contesting the lockdown.

Ronald's article is followed by an update on the more recent happenings at USP Marion.

At about the time strongman Ronald Ray-gun invaded Grenada, another invasion occurred here in the U.S. Federal Maximum Security Prison at Marion, Illinois.

It seems the super-efficient prisonrats allowed a convict, who had served many mind-numbing, monotonous years in their long term control unit, to slip out of his handcuffs and kill one of his guards. In spite of this, no block-wide cell shakedown or cessation of movements were ordered. This was highly unusual. Later that day, another con in the control unit got out of his cuffs and stabbed three guards, killing one.

A few days later, when the warden's executive assistant laid violent hands on a prisoner, the prisoner reciprocated. The warden called in riot squads from other prisons and unleashed them against all cell blocks, even though the control unit is separate from the rest of the prison.

On Nov. 7, 1983, we, in segregation, thought the 82nd airborne had mistaken Marion for Grenada. About two dozen helmeted and visored riot cops raided our tier. All of them clutched three-foot long metal-tipped clubs.

We were strip-searched, cuffed behind our backs, arm-locked and dragged out of our cells. Some had their heads thumped on the way; some got their "thump therapy" while propped against the hallway wall.

When we were returned to our cells, they had been stripped of everything: mattresses, blankets, toilet paper, medicine, address books, and personal belongings. Five boxes of my property were thrown away. The warden labelled this as "searching for contraband."

More beating took place in the cells. One prisoner, a few cells from mine, was beaten repeatedly on the testicles as they interrogated him about a hacksaw blade. When they couldn't beat the hacksaw blade out of him, he, another prisoner, and I were given rectal probes followed by multiple x-rays while they moved the cuffs behind our backs to different positions. But we were lucky. Two innocents from the control-unit who had cloudy x-rays were cuffed behind their backs and put into leg irons in the dry cell for four days until they defecated on themselves. None of us had anything on, or in us. In total, about half of the 65 prisoners in segregation were beaten that day.

After a few months a bulldozer uprooted all facilities in the yard. They were replaced by two cages where we can go for recreation time two hours per week, weather permitting.

We are escorted on all movements by club-carrying guards while cuffed behind our backs. Strip-searches, followed by cell "search and destroy" raids, lasted for about three years. Trips to the hole for

Building Resistance

The troops have kept their distance, but the struggle of Big Mountain continues. It's been almost two years since the U.S. government's deadline for the relocation of over 10,000 Navajo (Dineh) and 100 Hopi people living within the former Joint Use Area (JUA) in northeast Arizona.

The Navajo and Hopi have occupied and cherished the land in this area for centuries. In 1974, under pressure from corporate interests who want easier access to the mineral resources below the surface of the JUA, and under the direction of Arizona senator Barry Goldwater, the U.S. Congress passed Public Law 93-531.

Under 93-531 the surface land of the JUA was evenly divided (the old divide and rule trick) between the Hopi and the Navajo. A barbed wire fence was built between the two designated areas in 1977, and anyone caught on the "wrong side" was given until July 1986 to relocate "voluntarily." After that, federal marshals and the Arizona National Guard could be expected to be brought in to enforce the eviction order. That threat as yet remains unfulfilled and the traditional peoples living within the JUA continue to maintain a tenuous hold on their homes and way of life, and resistance continues to grow.

Short of calling in the troops however, the U.S. government has done everything else to smash the previously self-sufficient subsistence economy and traditional lifestyle of the Navajo and Hopi peoples. Public law 93-531 has confiscated 98 per cent of the sheep and other livestock which the Navajo depend on for survival. The building of any new structures or even the repair of existing homes is illegal. The water table levels in the Big Mountain area are now lower than ever, due to coal being transported away from the Peabody mine (north of the JUA) by water slurry methods. What water there is, is often contaminated after leaching through the tailing piles left by former uranium mining operations. There have also been regular low level flights of military aircraft over communities within the JUA since 1986.

Continued resistance to the relocation order takes the form of two basic strategies: legal action and direct action.

A First Amendment lawsuit, "In Defence of Sacred Lands", has been filed by the traditional Dineh in federal district court in Washington, D.C. The suit challenges the constitutionality of forced relocation by demonstrating the inseparable relationship between the land and the religious practices of the traditional Dineh. The suit calls for Congress to impose a moratorium on any further relocation activities; to establish a bi-partisan Congressional investigatory commission to conduct a study of the impact of relocation on the sociological welfare of the Dineh, as it infringes on their First Amendment right of religious freedom as well as violates the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978; and for Congress to conduct hearings on the land (throughout the JUA and Hopi villages) to determine viable alternatives to relocation.

It is hard to imagine that this strategy can succeed, since as some JUA residents have pointed out it was through Congress that the relocation order was initiated in the first place. However the lawsuit can be an effective educational tool to raise public awareness of the U.S. government's genocidal policies toward Native Americans.

The second strategy involves direct resistance by people on the land—such as the removal of half a mile of the dividing fence on July 7, 1986—and direct material aid to the people from outside support groups. These support groups provide foodstuffs, hard goods, medical aid and supplies; hold non-profit rug shows where total proceeds go directly to the weavers; form construction brigades to build community projects and to repair existing homes; and organize witness programs where outside people bear witness to the daily harassment inflicted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (responsible for carrying out the relocation order) on those fighting removal from their homelands.

Regardless of the outcome of the Sacred Lands lawsuit, the day to day realities of surviving on the land under the restrictions of Public Law 93-531, make this kind of direct action absolutely essential, as well as a highly effective form of resistance.

Sources:

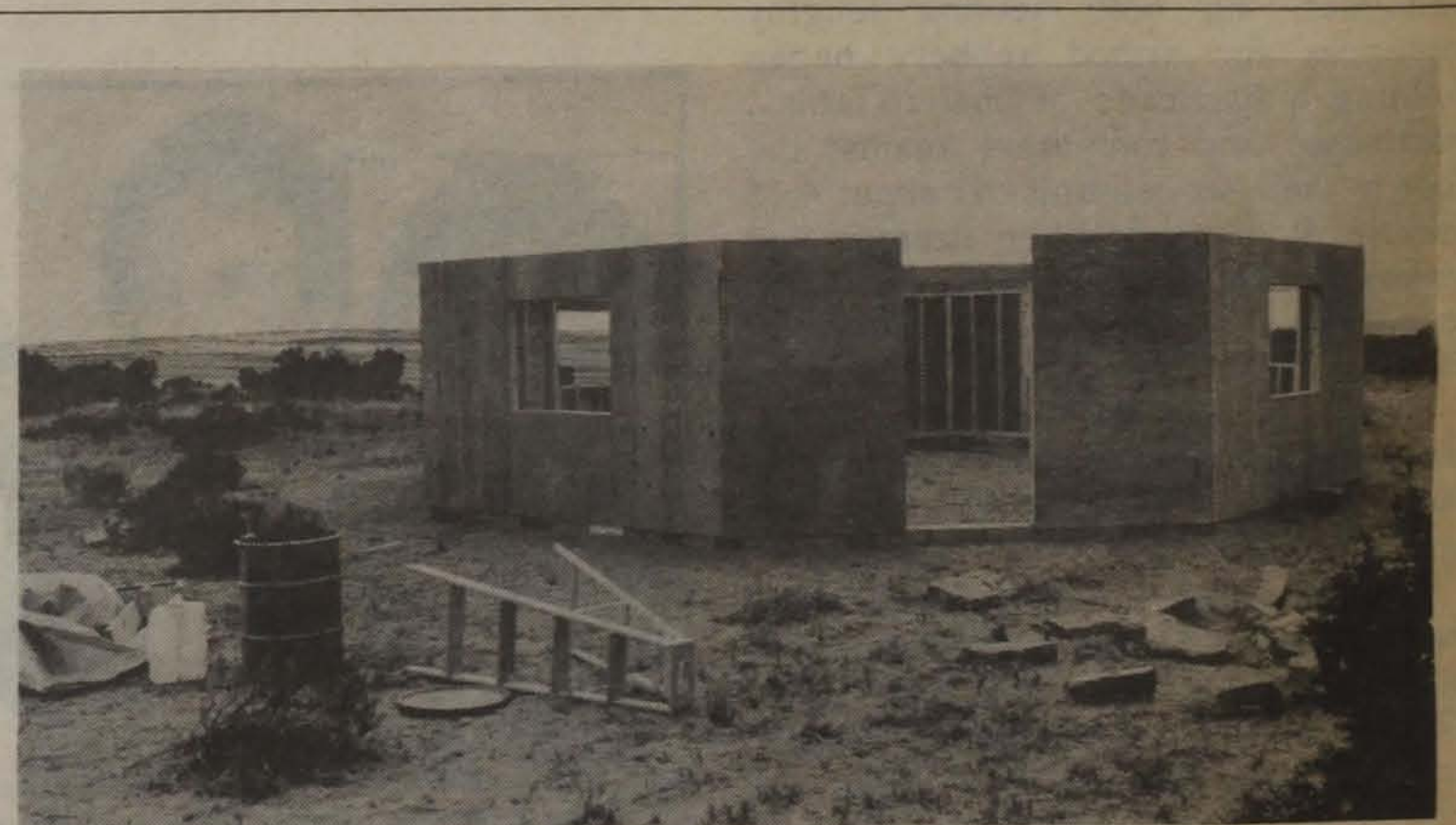
- Big Mountain News, Fall 1987, published by the Berkeley BMSG, 2121 41st Ave, Oakland, California 94601

- Geopolitics of the Navajo Hopi Land Dispute, by John Redhouse

Many thanks to Kathy of the San Francisco BMSG for all the info she sent.

For more information about forming or joining a construction brigade contact: Michael Streeter, Big Mountain R & R Brigades, P.O. Box 511, Forest Knolls, California 94933, USA (415-488-4626) Or contact the Flagstaff office at P.O. Box 22134, Flagstaff, Arizona 86002, USA (602-779-5236).

Send financial contributions for the Sacred Lands lawsuit to Big Mountain Legal Office, P.O. Box 1509, Flagstaff, Arizona 86002, USA. More info on the situation at the Big Mountain JUA can be found in OR issues 18, 19, and 20.



Last summer five people from California were able to offer the people of the JUA some constructive help in the struggle to remain on their land. At the invitation of the traditional community of Mosquito Springs, they formed a work brigade-style crew to build a 30-foot diameter round meeting house. Funding for the project was provided by the On the Land account of the Flagstaff office, the San Francisco BMSG and the People's Life Fund in Berkeley. The work brigade came supplied with whatever they needed for their stay on the land during the project. Once on the land they saw to it that the roundhouse was completed as quickly as possible, in the hope that if it was completed before the Bureau of Indian Affairs became aware of it, it would be less likely to be bulldozed down.

Because of the ban on building and repair in effect under Public Law 93-531, this kind of action is a good way to offer support to the people resisting relocation.

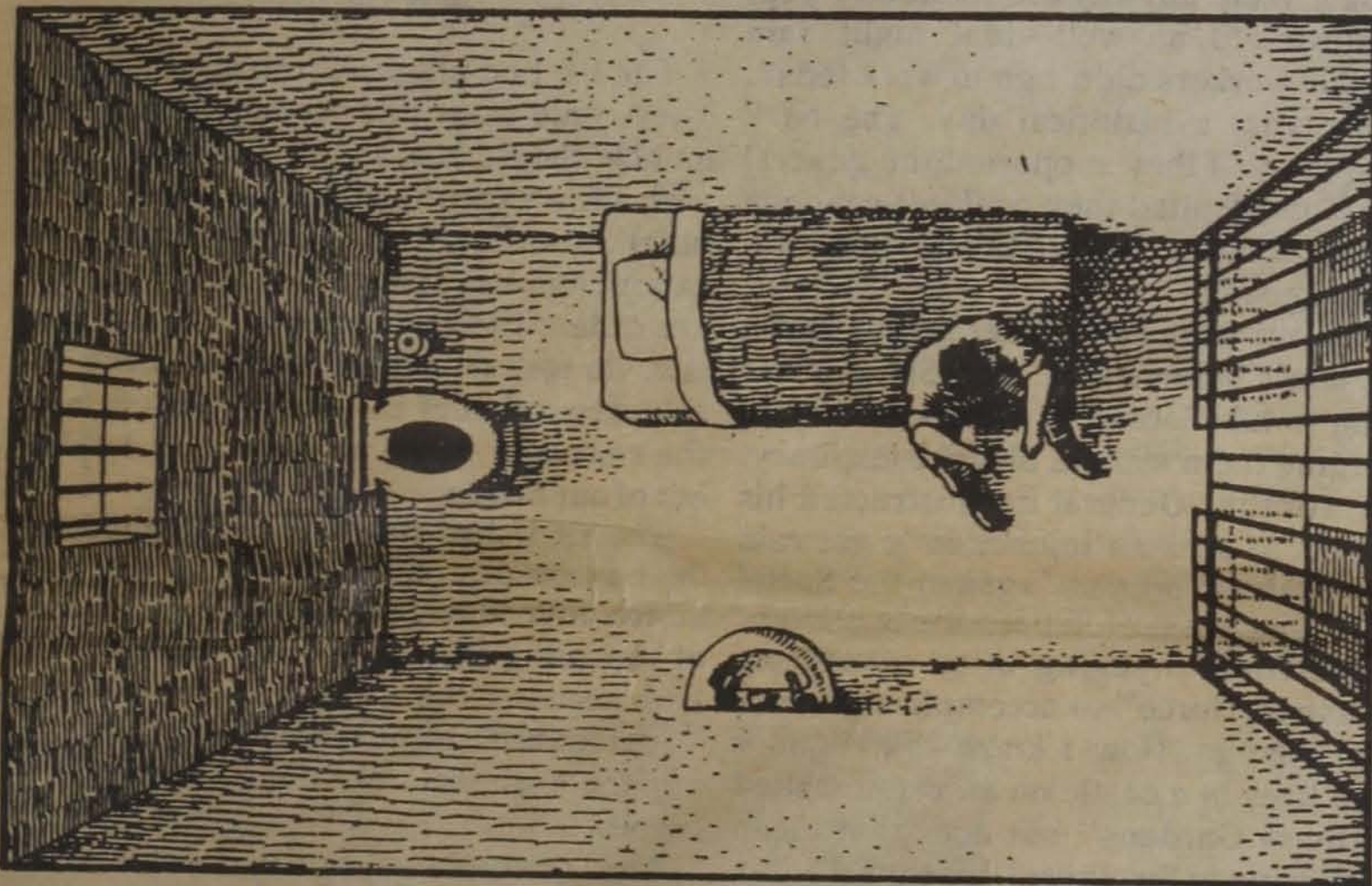
Prison Style

unknown reasons are commonplace. Christmas packages are no longer allowed.

On August 6, 1984, three prisoners' rights lawyers, Donna Koll, Nancy Horgan and James Roberts, filed class action lawsuit *Bruscino vs. Carlson* contesting the lockdown and the brutality with which it was being carried out. The motion they filed stated in part:

1. Plaintiffs move the court for an injunction restraining defendants from beating, torturing, and abusing plaintiffs.

2. In Nov. 1983, prisoners were removed from their cells one at a time, naked or dressed only in underwear, in handcuffs, by six or more helmetted, masked, shielded clubwielding guards... The guards shoved or verbally assaulted virtually every prisoner. They hit some once or twice. Still others were severely beaten with riot clubs, fists, and/or feet. Some were tortured.



3. ...Defendants policy...has included forced rectal probe searches in which a prisoner is held down by several guards and his anus is manually probed. Rectal probe searches are perceived as rape by prisoners...

4...policy...has included extensive, illegal strip-searches...

5...policy...has included the random, wholesale destruction by guards of prisoners' property, including...objects of great emotional importance to prisoners.

6...policy...has included the wholesale destruction and suppression of prisoners' letters to and from their families, friends, lawyers and others...

7. Over 90 prisoners have been brutalized between October 27 (1983) and this date.

Affidavits by expert witness regarding the counterproductive conditions and psychologically detrimental levels of stress and anxiety at Marion Prison were submitted with the motion.

In September 1984, our lawyers filed a motion for recusal (to challenge as prejudiced) of U.S. magistrate Kenneth Meyers and judge James Foreman. Both Meyers and Foreman had had secret meetings with prison administrators, and as a result could not be considered impartial, having absorbed the administration's opinions and beliefs regarding prisoners and staff at Marion.

Magistrate Meyers not only did not remove himself from the case in response to this challenge, but actually gave prisoners' lawyers a major tongue lashing for bringing it up. Undoubtedly the court objected to these lawyers, who with the help of other organizations

generated public scrutiny of the conditions here.

Meanwhile a massive, concerted agitation and propaganda campaign against prisoners, criminals (not the corporate or political kind of course) and Marion Prison in particular had been initiated.

In the midst of this campaign a few voices were also raised in support of prisoners at Marion and in condemnation of the conditions here. The American Civil Liberties Union National Prison Project effectively testified before Congress on our behalf. The American Friends Service Committee printed a booklet critical of the lockdown. National Public Radio aired a two part series consisting, in part, of convict interviews, which was fairly impartial.

The National Committee to Defend New African Freedom Fighters and the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican POWs held a demonstration near the prison. During the demonstration the riot

squad stood at full alert and we didn't get our one hour per day on the tier.

Over a period of time, the beatings decreased, the "rip and ransack" cell shakedowns lessened, perhaps partially due to the publicity. Conversely though the prison staff payroll has increased; and they now have one guard per prisoner here, a ratio which must be the highest in the world. And the publicity hasn't stopped frame-up trips to the hole or other petty harassment.

Finally, in January 1985, court hearings on a preliminary injunction began. About fifty prisoners, wrapped in belly-chains with handcuffs inside black boxes and in leg irons, testified concerning the systematic beatings, shakedowns, massive thefts of property, etc. The United States attorney stated that the prisoners fabricated stories about beatings and then forced others to go along, and actually it was the evil convicts who assaulted the peaceful correctional officers.

A surprise occurred when prison guard David Hale quit his job and testified that, yes, there were beatings and that he had participated in them. He said that senior officers told the guards to get together on their version of the events. Hale also said that he believed the administration welcomed the deaths of the two guards in October 1983 as it gave them an excuse to lock down the prison. (According to documents acquired by convicts here, circa 1980, a Bureau of Prisons task force, composed of various wardens, held a conference with the local Federal Judge concerning their prospective plans to lock down Marion prison. Of course neither the prisoners, their lawyers, nor

the public can discover the results of this unusual meeting.)

We thought that this forthright testimony from one of *theirs*, we might obtain judicial relief.

But this was not to be. In August 1985, magistrate Meyers issued an order denying the motions for preliminary relief regarding brutality and conditions.

In the introduction to his report, Meyers recited the usual litany of horrors concerning the despicable Marion prisoners. Regarding the beatings, he categorized two types. The first he labelled as "[3] instances of alleged abuses that never occurred..."

"The only claims of excessive use of force supported by the preponderance of evidence occurred on November 7, 1983. A former correctional officer, David Hale, kicked [two inmates]...The exact extent and nature of this episode is clouded by the obvious lack of credibility of David Hale...Furthermore, Mr. Hale's statement that [U.S.] attorney Ralph Friederich suborned perjury is, on its face, incredible...and tend[s] to corroborate this court's conclusion concerning Mr. Hale's credibility..."

"The second category of apparent cases is that in which appropriate force was used and that plaintiffs have embellished into a beating..."

What this fair and impartial member of the judiciary ruled was that all prisoners are liars, all "correctional officers" are truth-tellers (except when they testify for the prisoners; then they're liars).

Fulfilling his official role of guarding the guards at America's new Alcatraz, Meyers specifically denied the 90 or so beatings ever occurred (with the exception of the two that Hale admitted to).

Meyers denied the motion against rectal probes, as well as a long list of other motions contained in the lawsuit, concluding that "conditions at USP Marion, singularly or totally, are constitutional."

"[USP Marion] houses the most vicious, unmanageable, and manipulative inmates in our penal system...The court has been impressed throughout this litigation with the quality of professionalism of the administration and staff currently in place at USP Marion..."

"It is abhorrent that correctional staff and officers have been subjected to so many vicious and unjustified attacks on their integrity...The court is of the firm conviction that this litigation was conceived by a small group of hard-core inmates who are bent on the disruption of the prison system in general and of USP Marion in particular...This court will not be an accomplice to such an endeavor..."

Of the hundreds of court orders concerning prisons which I have read, none approach this one for sheer sycophantic deference to the prisonrats, and for eager willingness to officially legalize their blatant lawlessness.

Of course these ray-gun, rambo, macho-mania type prison policies outlined here only affect a few people. But the same tactics of lies cloaked in official pronouncements, deceit, distortion, half-truths and bombardment of the people with propaganda are used to continually confuse the public on larger issues.

Perhaps in three, four, or five years this lawsuit will wend its way through the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals and then at long last—dreamer that I am—some of these wrongs will be righted. Or perhaps another scenario will be enacted—dreamer that I am: Instead of the usual convict, ex-convict activities, such as



pills, punks, porno, peanuts, popcorn, pretzels, pool, and the pursuit of pleasure, some one will enact W.H. Auden's admonition: "Those to whom evil is done, do evil in return."

MARION UPDATE

In mid-December 1986, 17 months after U.S. magistrate Meyers submitted his highly biased report and recommendations in response to the first round of hearings, an additional four days of hearings were held on the *Bruscino Vs. Carson* lawsuit, this time before U.S. district court judge James Foreman.

Testimony during the hearing showed that there were no real improvements in the way prisoners are treated and that conditions at Marion have actually deteriorated. Unexpected reinforcement for the prisoners' case came from Dr. William Logan, a psychiatrist who had been commissioned by the bureau of prisons to do a \$45,000 study comparing the effects of conditions at Marion with those at Leavenworth on prisoners. Logan testified that he had found significantly higher levels of tension, stress, anxiety and anger among Marion prisoners. This supported the testimony of expert witnesses called by the plaintiffs (the prisoners). Unsurprisingly, Logan was contradicted by Marion prison staff psychologist Richard Urbanick, who

cont'd on page 11

REMEMBER! We're still here



support class struggle
& anarchist prisoners

all out for the General Strike

1987: the year of insurrection in British Columbia! The labour movement is attempting to overthrow the government! Wait a minute. Let's roll back the film and start again.

The Players:

—the Social Credit Party (Socreds) and its leader Bill Vander Zalm; a right-wing populist party which has ruled BC for 32 of the last 35 years.

—the New Democratic Party (NDP) and its leader Bob Skelly, later replaced by Mike Harcourt; a social democratic party which ruled BC between '72 and '75.

—the BC Federation of Labour; the main labour body.

—the Confederation of Canadian Unions (CCU); Canadian unions separate from the BC Fed.

—the BC Teachers Federation (BCTF).

ACT I

Here we are, in the middle of another exercise in futility, a general election. The Socreds are promising to lower the price of beer and to end the confrontational politics of the past. The NDP are promising jobs for all and apple pie. Once again the leaders are being marketed like breakfast cereal. Surely we, the people, can see through the scam.

It's now election day. Roll over and go back to sleep—maybe everyone else will do the same. Alas, it's not to be, the Socreds sweep. Tweedledum was packaged better than Tweedledee. Life proceeds as before; rain, then showers. Then—hey, what's this I read in the paper? A commission, headed by the Labour Minister, is to tour the province asking for submissions from interested groups to deal with the Labour Code. Funny, don't remember that as one of the election promises. Some union militants call for a boycott but the labour movement dutifully attends, along with the business community. Things don't look good, then they get worse. The price of beer goes up; the first promise broken. How dare they—I mean, they *did* promise.

ACT II

It's now April 2nd. Out of bed, brew a spot of tea and sit down to read the morning paper. What's this on the front page? A rewrite of the Labour Code. Check the date. Yep, it's the 2nd—not April Fool's Day. So I guess this is for real. Bills 19 and 20 have been tabled in the legislature.

Bill 20—the Teachers Profession Act—eliminates some of the job protections and benefits teachers had under the school act. Eliminates the BCTF and allows teachers to join unions or, to quote the Minister of Education, "show responsibility and join district associations." Forces teachers to join the government's new College of Teachers. Gives teachers the right to strike.

Bill 19—the Industrial Relations Reform Act—sets up a new Industrial Relations Council headed by a commissioner—Ed Peck. Eliminates the hot edict. Secondary picketing to be illegal. Allows union companies to start up non-union companies. This will virtually destroy the construction unions. Allows management to interfere with organizing drives and decertifications. Allows the commissioner to report to Cabinet on any dispute he deems to be a threat to the public interest and the government may then authorize the Commission to end the dispute and impose binding arbitration to ensure labour peace.

"Hitler decreed a law bringing an end to collective bargaining and providing that henceforth 'labour trustees,' appointed by him, would 'regulate labour contacts' and maintain labour peace. Since the decisions of the trustees were to be legally binding, the law, in effect, outlawed strikes."

p. 82, *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, William L. Shirer

If the commissioner deems a dispute poses a threat to the economy of the province, the health or safety or welfare of its residents, or the provision of educational services, he may call for a 40-day cooling-off period. And on and on it goes. An attempt to deunionize the province. The union movement and Teachers Fed were outraged.

The BC Fed, learning from the Solidarity struggle of '83 (see OR #16), took control from the start. They called public meetings and laid out the agenda, nipping in the bud any chance of militant action from below.

The BCTF called for a one-day work stoppage for April 28th, and an insurrection-work-only campaign—no more freebie afterschool activities. More than 70% of teachers stayed home that day.

The BC Fed meanwhile, along with the non-affiliated unions, were setting into place a "masterful" plan. They were going to boycott the Labour Commission and set about having a vote of the total membership as to whether they also supported this plan of inaction. They did, with a 96% vote.

Meanwhile, at public meetings, the call for a general strike was demanded by many, including the leader of the CCU. The BC Fed was calling for the removal of Bills 19 and 20 and consultation with labour and business to bring about a fairer Labour Code which would also bring about labour peace so that Capital would invest in the province.



Community groups, the militant left, and the anarchist movement were isolated. All planning and strategy was in the hands of the leadership. The meetings they called were poorly attended and so were the rallies. It was obvious something had to be done. After meetings with the government had failed to revoke the bills, they called for a "general strike," set for June 1st.

ACT III

Look out the window and what do I see? A nice sunny day to walk a picket line. The first general strike in BC in 60 years! What an exhilarating day! It's only for 24 hours, but if this fails the Fed is bound to call for another and another, aren't they?

Cross picketing is taking place, workers and teachers (many don't regard themselves as workers yet) aren't supposed to picket where they normally work just in case there are repercussions from

management. For two weeks we've been told how this action is illegal so the Fed don't want to take chances.

Never mind, it's a great day and off we go to our picket lines. Got to be there by 9 am. We pass small picket lines on our way. Blow of the horn to show solidarity. Just two of us on the line but what the hell—the feeling's good.

But what's this? Not too far away is a bridge bringing traffic into and out of the city and someone surely forgot to tell the truck drivers there was a general strike on—garbage trucks, delivery vans. I mean—come on, this is bullshit. Surely they're not all non-union or maybe they were exempted from coming out like the post office was. (Some truckers were also told they'd be fired if they didn't report for work.)

We spent the day picketing, after a while the exuberant feeling started to fade, what with seeing all those trucks and vans back and forth across that bridge. Well, anyway the TV news—yep, they worked as well—that night said 300,000 workers didn't go to work today. Wow, what a historical day. The NDP were asked if they supported the general strike and replied they couldn't condone illegal actions. Yech! Go to bed still feeling good.

Pick up a morning-after paper and I just don't believe this. The Socreds are going to take labour to court and they're charging them with an illegal conspiracy. The Attorney General has instructed his lawyers to seek an injunction to restrain future labour protests against the Social Credit government. It purports to prevent people from engaging in or advocating the use of "force" to accomplish government change. Now I know that Vander Zalm lives in a castle on an estate called "Fantasy Gardens" but does that mean we all have to live there? I mean, if I was going to use force against the government, I'd sure as hell *not* stand on a picket line at the end of a cul-de-sac doing it. What did I miss? Obviously nothing. The government waters down its injunction and it gets thrown out of court.

A number of workers get suspended from work for not going to work and the labour movement crawls back into its shell. Bills 19 and 20 get passed by the legislature, with the Socreds voting for and the NDP against. The NDP promised (another promise waiting to be broken) to rescind the bills should they ever get elected. The BC Fed goes back to doing what it knows best—it starts a petition asking the Socreds to withhold the bills. And life goes on as before.

Was the General Strike a success? Yes, it put thousands of workers on picket lines but it failed in its objective. "...most Vancouverites and visitors seemed to be little inconvenienced." *Globe & Mail*, June 2nd, 1987.

"General strikes of protest no longer upset anybody; neither those who take part in them nor those against whom they are directed. If only the police had the intelligence to avoid being provocative, they would pass off as any public holiday.

Malatesta, 1920

But then how could a general strike of one day be successful in attempting to bring about political reform? In retrospect, it was simply a way of getting the rank and file to let off steam. While the CCU and various militants are still calling for another general strike, the mainstream union movement is quiet on the subject. It just ain't in the cards.

ACT IV

It's the end of July and the Socreds have just declared Bill 19 into law, all except three parts, which will only take minutes to sign and enact. The Industrial Commission Review Board is now a fact.

WHAT TIME IS IT?



The BC Fed plans a strategy of action. They come up with a 20-page document on how they'll boycott it. A total boycott with a few exceptions: unions can appear before the Board to fight for decertification, against decertification, or if they are ordered to. Don't want to break the law, do we? Of course affiliates have to ask permission of the executive first, not the rank and file. The process is totally out of our hands.

The CCU had decided not to endorse the boycott campaign because it will not be effective in achieving the ultimate goal of repealing Bill 19. A leader of the BC Fed accused the CCU leader of being "adventurist and irresponsible" in calling for a general election...reform, not revolt.

The mainstream press doesn't condemn the Fed's position, in fact it congratulates their reserve...planning for the next election. Keep it in the parliamentary forum. Reformism...reformism. Where do we do from here?.

The militants in the unions have to go into the community and the militants in the community have to go into the unions. That includes you, Anarchist! Apart we are nothing, together we are all. There are too many North American anarchists who struggle for the social revolution in their own space and fuck the social revolution for all. If we call ourselves revolutionaries we must struggle for that goal. While unions aren't perfect by any stretch of the imagination, much of the working class are in the unions and we cannot ignore this struggle. In this fight in fantasyland the anarchists are noted for their absence. The move from free enterprise to capitalism with a human face won't change unless we are there attempting to move it further...social revolution with a capital A.

"Today the most powerful force for social transformation is the working class movement (the trade union movement)." Malatesta, 1922

Although the situation was out of our hands from the start it wouldn't have hurt if we had neglected the vegetable garden for a while and put our ideas forward at the various meetings that were held for the union community.

So here we sit waiting for the unions to capitulate, wondering where the NDP is (planning for the next election) and blowing away slugs from the veggies...oh well, the revolution is thriving in my back yard...how about yours?

—Eddy Current

THE POLITICS OF BOMBS

This discussion paper was submitted to us by a reader. Although we don't all agree with the writer's position on what revolutionary activity is, we do feel the paper will begin a discussion on the role of armed struggle in Canada. It also points out lessons to be learned from the activities and trials of Direct Action.

The nature of the response to the article, "Julie Rats Out," in *Resistance 10*, and the discussion surrounding the letter to *Open Road 21*, indicate the degree to which we, as a movement, have not addressed the most basic issues raised by the actions of Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade, or the subsequent arrest and trials of the Vancouver Five.

It has been our tendency to treat this example of armed resistance within the boundaries of the Canadian state as if it were an isolated, unprecedented, and wholly ahistorical event. After all, with the exception of the FLQ in Québec between 1963 and '70, Canada has no modern experience of homegrown clandestine armed resistance—in fact, very little history of militant resistance of any stripe. It is our weakness that we fail to recognize that in this way Canada is not representative of every other major West European societies, but is in fact, unique. Most West European societies have developed and sustained an armed movement since the early 70s. If we are to understand the Direct Action/Wimmin's Fire Brigade/Vancouver Five experience, if we are to critically assimilate and build upon it, we must look at it in this broader context of resistance.

If we are to look at armed struggle as a serious option within the Canadian State, we must establish its potential purposes. These are: armed propaganda, sabotage—causing real material damage to the State apparatus and capitalism, posing the revolutionary option; laying the base for a future popular armed resistance.

Armed Propaganda

The coordination of urban guerrilla actions, including armed action, is the principal way of making armed propaganda. These actions, carried out with specific and determined objectives, inevitably become propaganda material for the mass communications system.

—Carlos Marighella,

Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla

All guerrilla actions are inevitably armed propaganda. The success of such actions as propaganda tools, however, depends on a variety of factors. The greater the degree to which the target of the action is associated in popular consciousness with some aspect of oppression, the greater the ease with which it can find broad-based support. If the target has been a clear focus for ongoing work on the part of the legal movement, the reason for the actions will be immediately clear, at least to those people aware of the issue. This will be especially true if the activities of the legal movement have failed to alter the behaviour of the target, despite an ongoing and consistent campaign. The timing in this case is important. Armed propaganda will be most effective if the legal movement has hit an apparent impasse.

It is equally important to the overall propaganda success of an armed action that workers not be en-

dangered. Any reticence regarding armed struggle within the movement will be reinforced by the injury or death of an innocent party, and any potential popular appeal will be completely precluded.

However, we must equally recognize that such injuries and deaths, as tragic as they certainly are, will always be a possibility in the context of armed resistance, particularly as the State often has a secret interest in allowing such incidents to occur (if not creating them) to fuel its propaganda war against the guerrilla. It must equally be recognized that all States, including the Canadian State, are daily engaged in genocide and violent attacks against Third World peoples, against other species, and against the earth itself. No error on the part of the guerrilla could begin to touch this daily violence, which has become acceptable as a structural part of our society to such a degree as to go on virtually ignored.

Beyond the actual action itself, the success in terms of propaganda depends, to a great degree, on the capacity of supporters in the legal movement to effectively do propaganda work. The action must become widely known and contextually understood to receive the maximum popular support. The guerrilla cannot be expected to do this, and by and large will not be in a position to do this. This job is the responsibility of sympathetic people in the legal movement.

Sabotage

Every urban guerrilla action directed at property is an act of sabotage. Whereas the legal movement can raise consciousness regarding a particular issue, as long as it is public and legal, it can do little to actually disrupt the ability of the State apparatus to carry through its intentions. Only a flexible, clandestine, armed movement is in a position to carry out relentless attack and sabotage, albeit in a limited form. Such sabotage, while it may not ultimately stop a project, slows it down and greatly increases the cost.

Posing the Revolutionary Option

The principle (is) that revolutionary action in itself, the very act of arming oneself, preparing, equipping, and pursuing activities that violate bourgeois legality, generates revolutionary consciousness, and conditions.

—a Tupamaro

The mass armed capability which will destroy the State has its beginnings in very small armed actions, and through these guerrilla actions the armed mass capability develops.

—Red Army Fraction (RAF)

By engaging in armed struggle, even in its most formative stage, the guerrilla raises the issues of militant armed resistance to the capitalist State from a dim theoretical concept to an immediate practical possibility. In doing so, the nature of left discussion is qualitatively changed. The possibility for revolutionaries to engage in effective armed resistance is affirmed. While this preliminary armed resistance will, de facto, receive only limited support, even on the left, this limited support is the potential nucleus for the eventual armed struggle that will be necessary for revolutionary change to occur in any nation-State.

As well as indicating the possibility for militant resistance, armed activity demonstrates the possibility of pinpointing the system's weak points, and attacking offensively and effectively, even from a perspective of relative weakness. By so doing the myth of the invincible State is deflated and new possibilities for resistance are opened up.

Urban guerrilla warfare aims to destroy the domination of the State by striking at single weak points, and to destroy the myth of the omnipotence of the State and its invulnerability.

—RAF

When carried out in a consistent way, guerrilla politics can be empowering to even the legal left. The guerrilla, because of its clandestine organization, is in a position to add a concrete dimension to the propaganda and agitation of the legal left.

In short, the guerrilla is an offensive position adopted by a limited number of comrades. The guerrilla is the revolutionary expression of our rage in the face of a seemingly monolithic and untouchable enemy.

Almost every example of urban guerrilla resistance has been subject to a litany of attacks from the "traditional" left. The most common and recurrent criticisms are that: the time is not right, and therefore, armed resistance is elitist; and, armed resistance brings down repression on legitimate left organizations and individuals.

Waiting for the Right Time

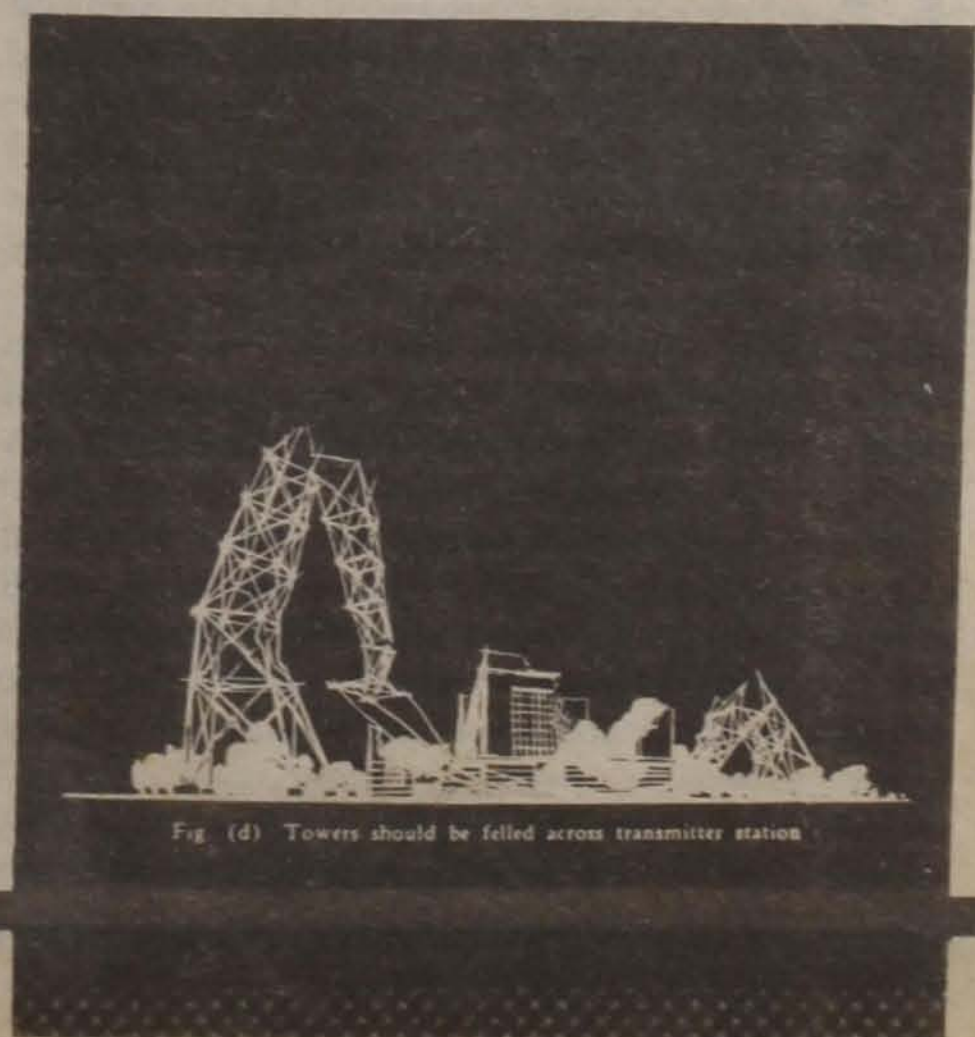
If there is not a reasonably prepared group, the revolutionary conjunctures are simply wasted or not taken advantage of.

—a Tupamaro

It would be wrong to engage in armed struggle only when the "the consent of the masses" is assured, for this would actually mean to renounce the struggle altogether, as this consent can be obtained only by struggle itself. True mass armed struggle can only take place when it is understood by the masses, however, the comprehension of the need for armed struggle can only be aroused through beginning armed struggle.

—RAF

The concept that when "the time is right" for armed struggle we will recognize it and by some amazing osmosis, absorb the information and ability we need to effectively wage guerrilla warfare is indeed a curious one. Clearly, if we don't begin now to prepare for the eventual armed conflict with the State, the State will take all necessary precautions to ensure its ultimate control before the point of crisis likely to motivate massive resistance in the First World actually occurs.



In fact, it is clear that the modern techno-police State is fairly advanced in this area. While we carry on our low-level, largely educational, political work, the State is busily developing the means of surveillance that will allow it to identify and, if necessary, monitor the movement and activity of each and every individual in this society. If we do not act now to organize effective clandestine opposition, the total surveillance State will be quietly placed in motion, perhaps curtailing once and for all the possibility of effective revolutionary upsurge.

Armed Resistance Brings Down Repression

Repression is indeed part of revolution, a natural anti-thesis, the always-to-be-expected defense/attack reflex of the beleaguered, toothless tiger.

—George Jackson

The concept that armed activity brings down repression on uninvolved people of the left is one of the more revealing statements to come from those opposed to armed struggle.

Such a perception presumes that somehow the State is willing to stand by and allow left opposition to unfold unchallenged as long as it remains non-violent. Clearly, this is not the case. While non-violent, legal organizing may not illicit direct intervention from the State, the police apparatus engages in constant intervention, infiltration, surveillance, and destabilization. Andy Moxley's work as an infiltrator in the peace movement stands as witness to this.

This statement further presumes that there exists some form of valid left activity that will allow the left to play an objectively revolutionary role without threatening their security vis-a-vis the State.

The unrecognized reality is that armed activity does not create repression. Repression is a structural part of the "techno-fascist" State on every level. Armed resistance simply brings it out into the open where it can be seen and understood for what it is.

Finally, the legal left often fails to realize that the primary motivation for raids, arrests, and other repressive actions against the legal left in the wake of a guerrilla attack is not to capture those who are responsible (the police know they won't be found in legal left organizations), but to drive a wedge between the legal movement and the guerrilla. The tragedy is that the legal left, by and large, falls right into the trap, often going on to do the State's anti-guerrilla public relations work.

If we accept revolution, we must accept all that it implies: repression, counter-terrorism, days filled with work, nervous strain, prison, funerals.

—George Jackson



Having established a general framework for evaluating armed struggle in First World urban environments, we'd like to turn our attention to the particulars of the Direct Action and Wimmin's Fire Brigade experience.

Cheekye-Dunsmuir Power Substation

On May 31, 1982, Direct Action bombed the Cheekye-Dunsmuir power substation. From both an ideological and a strategic perspective, this action was armed activity of the highest order.

As an act of sabotage it was very successful. The power-substation, which was just about ready to go into action, was rendered useless. Direct Action's four bombs caused more than \$5 million damage, necessitating the reconstruction of the substation nearly from scratch.

In terms of posing the revolutionary option, the action was well timed. The legal movement had spent

years petitioning, letter-writing, picketing, blockading, etc., without successfully putting a halt to Hydro's plan to develop Cheekye-Dunsmuir regardless of environmental or human costs. Direct Action showed that when the State closes all legal channels there still remain options for people who are opposed to the policies of the State, and these options can be exercised by small committed groups with few resources.

In propaganda terms, the communiqué was clear and concise, explaining simply why the bombing had been necessary. If there was a weakness in propaganda terms, it didn't lie either in the action or the accompanying communiqué; it is to be found in our inability as a movement to recognize the parameters of what had occurred and to widely circulate the communiqué and develop a discussion around it.

Litton Industries Bombing

As an act of sabotage, the Direct Action bombing of Litton Industries on October 14, 1982, was a massive success, causing an estimated \$7 million damage and eventually playing a role in creating the situation whereby Litton Systems of Canada was not invited to bid on the contract for the guidance device for the advanced version of the Cruise Missile. Litton President, Ronald Keating, made clear in April '84 that both public pressure and the Direct Action bombing played a role in knocking Litton out of the running. He said, "(Protesters) are an irritant, they get a lot of publicity, and the Americans read every damn bit of it. Pressure from these people is making the Americans look twice." He added, "No one else has been bombed." (He's got a valid complaint, someone ought to do something about that.)

Again, the communiqué was clear and concise. In fact, from a sabotage and propaganda perspective, it seems likely that the action would have been a success had it not led to seven injuries, some of them quite serious. The injuries were a result of the bomb exploding twelve minutes early (there has been speculation that police radios accidentally triggered it), and of security personnel and police failing to grasp the seriousness of the situation and evacuate the building immediately. As it was, the workers were leaving the building at the exact moment the 50-pound bomb exploded, leaving them open to maximum injury.

Direct Action released a communiqué taking responsibility for errors on their own part, as well as indicating actions on the part of Litton security personnel and the cops which contributed to the tragedy. The communiqué then went on to delineate all of the errors which led to the injuries. It is too long to reprint or summarize here, but it is well worth reading. It clearly outlines the errors Direct Action made and the degree to which the police and security incompetence contributed to the situation.

The police moved quickly to exploit any uncertainties in the movement regarding the actions. They mounted a series of raids against legal peace groups including the Cruise Missile Conversion Project, the Alliance for Non-Violent Action, and World Emergency, as well as against prominent individuals in the peace movement. These actions, clearly intended to drive a wedge between Direct Action and the peace movement were, in large part, successful, with some leading figures in the peace movement going so far as to cooperate with the police investigation and to publicly state their hope that Direct Action would be successfully apprehended. There were also laudable examples of individuals in the peace movement who clearly expressed their solidarity with Direct Action (and later, the Vancouver Five) in the face of State attacks.

Red Hot Video Firebombings

The November 22, 1982 firebombings of three Red Hot Video locations in the lower mainland of BC was far and away the most popular armed attack of this period. This action was extremely successful, reducing one outlet to ashes and seriously damaging a second. In the third case, the incendiary device failed to ignite. It was also an action immediately embraced by all sections of the women's movement as one which expressed their rage. Groups as diverse as the BC Federation of Women and the Montréal-based Feminist Coalition Against Pornography publicly embraced it. It was soon clear that women recognized in this action the final option when faced with the total intransigence of the State.



In spite of the unfortunate injuries at Litton Industries, the Direct Action and Wimmin's Fire Brigade campaigns of 1982 were, by and large, effective on all levels. As propaganda the actions and communiqués were extremely pointed and effective, interlocking well with large-scale public campaigns. We wish to reiterate that any shortcomings on the propaganda level were in large part based on the lack of recognition by sympathetic people active in the legal movement of the necessity for distributing the communiqués and encouraging discussion about them and the strategy they represented. It was not until the injuries at Litton that the movement began discussing Direct Action and their strategy, and those of us who wished to defend the strategy were forced into an intensely defensive position, a very poor position from which to begin such a complex discussion. Retrospectively, it was a major error to let the positive example of the Cheekye-Dunsmuir bombing pass with so little attention. The fact that the Litton bombing was destined to be Direct Action's last action further complicated matters because we were still in the middle of the very complex discussion surrounding that action and the injuries at the time of the arrests.

The Arrests

The arrest of the Vancouver Five, on January 20, 1983, was, when looked at retrospectively, almost inevitable. The quantity of organizing those five individuals had to do in isolation made it virtually certain that they would manage for long. Nonetheless, it appears as if they made certain errors that indicate an inadequate understanding of police tactics. These errors must be recognized, examined, and understood, so as to be avoided in the future.

The fact that they continued to live in the Vancouver area and continued to maintain contact, even at a very low level, with some friends was a complete misjudgement of circumstances. Clearly, if and when the police pinpointed them as suspects, friends and acquaintances would be put under surveillance. At that point it was only a matter of time until the police came in direct contact with one or more of the Five. If one is to believe the police version of the surveillance that led to the Five (although certain parts of the police story are totally implausible) then this is exactly what happened.

There are lessons to be learned from the information available regarding the nature and style of the police investigation. It is clear that they are more aware of where individuals are at ideologically than we sometimes give them credit for. They were able to draw up a pool of suspects reasonably quickly, and although this pool contained many individuals who were totally uninvolved, it appears to have eventually provided the key connection that led to the Five, after which it simply became a matter of collecting the necessary information. It is clear that they are capable of sophisticated surveillance. They claim to have had as many as eight to ten cops surveilling a single suspect at times, and they claim to have been able to place Brent in Calgary at a certain time due to a "paper trail" which he left. It is also clear that they are willing to overlook criminal activities if they are holding out for a bigger bust. They clearly let several possible stolen vehicle arrests pass, and quite probably watched the Red Hot Video firebombings, while holding out for a more major arrest.

Some of the lessons to be drawn from this are clear. Comrades engaging in illegal activity on this scale must be prepared to go completely underground, which implies severing all contacts with their previous milieu and friends. Such contacts, while emotionally and psychologically significant, are suicidal from a security perspective. Police surveillance is sophisticated. If comrades involved in clandestine work are to avoid it, they must practice sophisticated counter-surveillance. Primary to this is a capacity to remove themselves from the areas where investigations are likely to start. And, of course, it is clear that any sense that the police are aware of one's activities, particularly any direct contact with the cops, however seemingly innocuous, requires that the guerrilla disappear and destroy everything that might allow the cops to trace them. All of this implies a highly developed network.

The urban guerrilla presupposes the organization of an illegal apparatus, in other words, apartments, weapons, ammunition, cars, and identification papers.

—RAF

It appears that by remaining in the Vancouver area, by maintaining contacts with friends, and by ignoring significant brushes with the law, the Five greatly facilitated their own ultimate arrest.

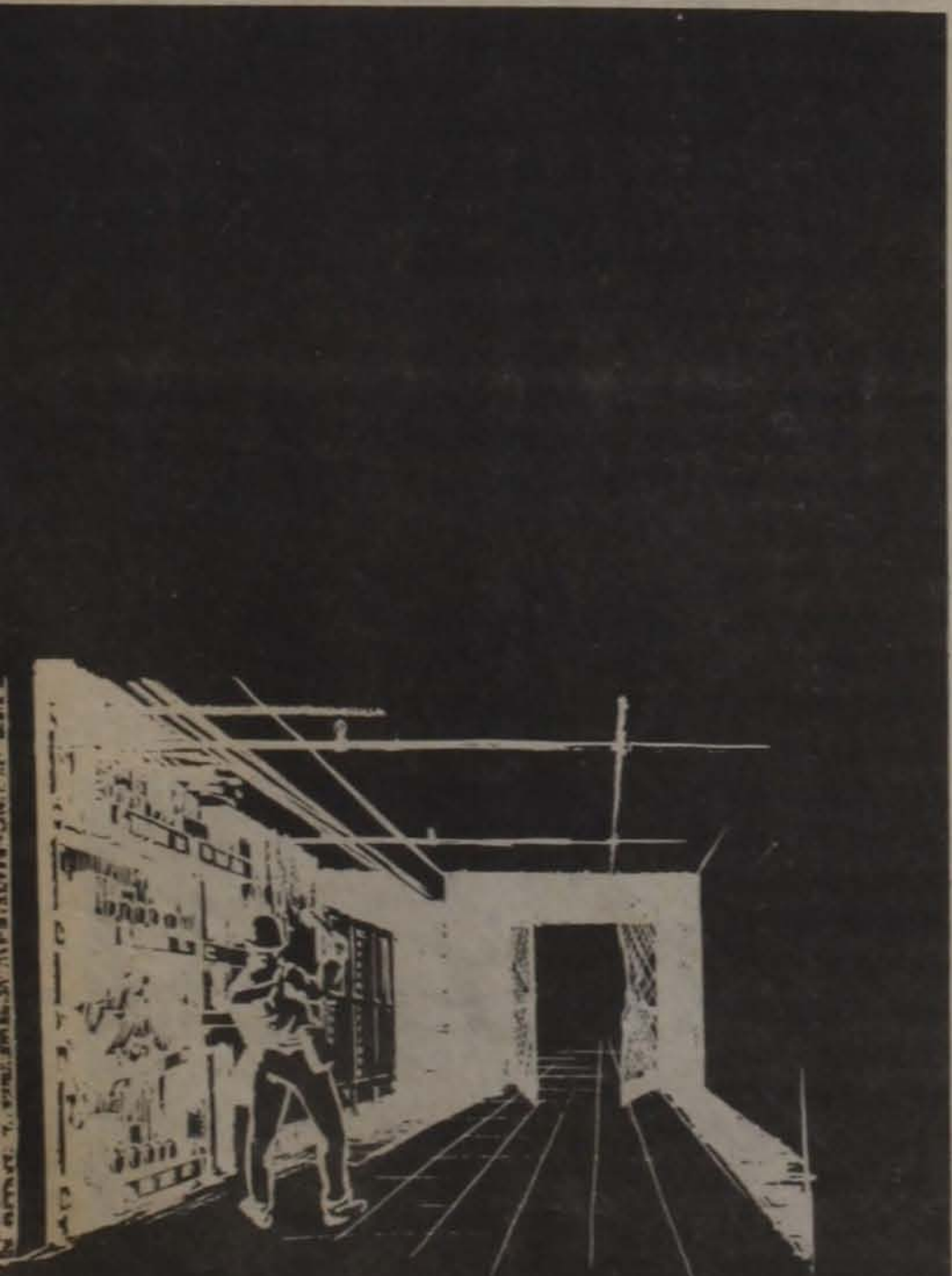


Fig. (b) The amplifier and transmitter panels should be destroyed

The Trial

If the military situation is difficult from the first moments, the political situation will be no less delicate; and if a single military error can wipe out the guerrillas, a political error can check their development for a long period.

—Che Guevara

While certain tactical errors may have contributed to the arrest of the Five, their ramifications for the strategy of armed resistance were minor. It was the errors committed by the arrested comrades and those of us who did defence/support work that served most to defuse the importance of the contributions of Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade to resistance in Canada.

The approach of the Five to the legal system and the trials was a serious political misjudgement. By denying responsibility for the actions, rather than defending the actions and approaching the trials as a vehicle for a discussion of the issues and the role of armed struggle in a First World country, they completely abdicated any control over the trials.

By hedging their bets on minimizing their sentences, the Five put themselves in a situation where they could not actively use the trials for propaganda purposes without threatening their legal strategy. In so doing they promoted several erroneous perceptions. First of all, they de facto recognized the right of the courts, and by extension, the State, to judge their actions, rather than pinpointing the role of the legal system as a pillar of class injustice before which no equitable judgement can ever be expected, and least of all in a case of armed resistance. Secondly, the integrity which they lost by denying responsibility for their actions, lost them the support of certain sections of the public—including the jury. These errors were further compounded by the fact that they ultimately placed the case in the hands of lawyers and hung their hopes on legal challenges regarding the legitimacy of wiretaps, and similar details of legal protocol. Such a statement of faith in the legal system served only to contribute to further mystification surrounding the theoretical "neutrality" of the courts, and by extension, the State.

The response of supporters was to adopt the liberal demand of the "right to a fair trial." The more we worked with this demand, the more we boxed ourselves in politically. If the Five were maintaining their innocence and we were demanding a "fair trial," then we were de facto blocked from engaging in the primary discussion regarding the actions and role of armed struggle in Canada. If questioned regarding the actions, we were forced by our line to treat the issue of armed struggle as secondary or even inconsequential. Although the Five did resist this, they did so in a weak fashion.

We know that if there was such a thing as fair trials and justice—we would walk free. But there is no justice and we will not receive a fair trial. Yet because it is sometimes possible to exploit the contradictions inherent in the bourgeois democratic legal process (which result from the need for lawmakers to appear fair and legitimate), we will be participating in the courtroom facade to try and minimize the legal attack against us.

—Julie, Ann, Gerry, Doug, Brent
"Free the Five Newsletter"
March 13, '83

It was not until issue 7 of the "Free the Five Newsletter," issued November 16, '83, that four of the Five first publicly opposed the "fair trial" strategy, which by that time had been going on for nearly ten months.

Much of the political work done around our case has been centred on the process of "right to a fair trial," and abuses of process by the media, police, and prosecution. We would like to see the political work done on our case centre around what we consider to be the real issues: environmentalism, feminism, anti-imperialism, and radical activism.

—Ann, Gerry, Doug, Brent

However, in spite of these statements the defence/support milieu failed to change gears. We continued to orient our work around State excesses and illegalities, dispensing information, but refused to engage in the central debate: What is the role of armed resistance in Canada? How can militant resistance be constructed here?

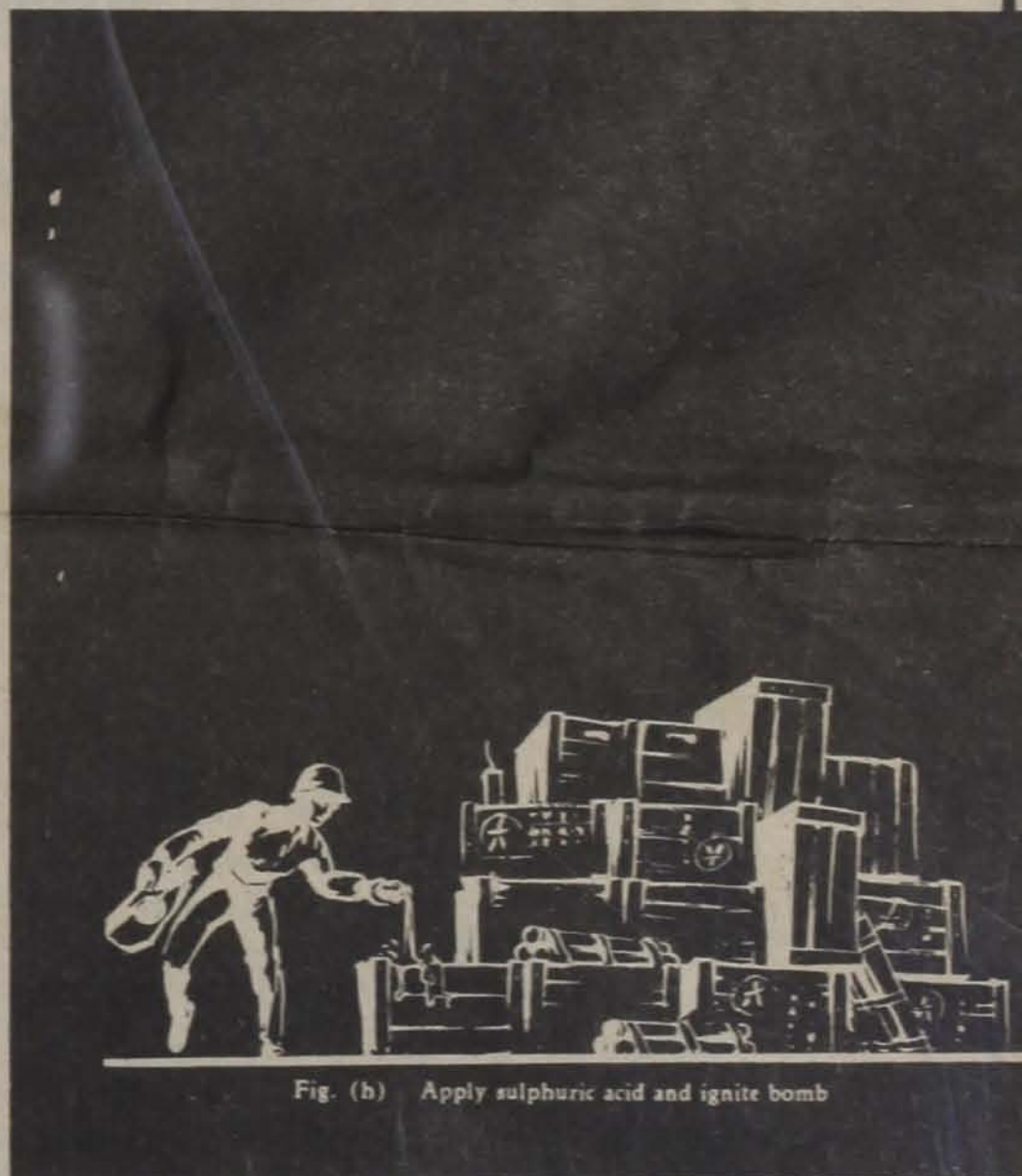


Fig. (b) Apply sulphuric acid and ignite bomb

If we are to attempt to pinpoint the reasons why we failed to respond positively to the situation the arrests and trials presented us with, several weaknesses become apparent. Both the prisoners and their defence/support committees failed to see the judicial experience, both the courts and prison, as an integral part of the armed struggle. The Five failed to take the lead in using the courtroom as a platform for propaganda and the prison as a central element in the confrontation between oppression and resistance. For our part we fell into the trap of believing we could somehow save our friends if we dwelled on the contradictions within the State's legal system and downplayed the armed actions of Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade. The liberal deviations that occurred in this scenario were never rectified in any important way because no shared conception of politics in general or of the trials in particular ever evolved between the Five and their supporters. Because there was no solid political analysis of the situation coming from the prisoners and the supporters failed to evolve one, the possibility of using the trials to build support for the armed struggle was lost.

The situation worsened when the guilty pleas were filed. On March 17, 1984, Julie and Gerry pleaded guilty. Julie pleaded guilty to conspiracy to rob a Brinks armoured car, attempted arson of the Port Coquitlam Red Hot Video, car theft, possession of explosives, possession of weapons dangerous to the public peace, and bombing Litton Industries. Gerry filed the same guilty plea, less possession of explosives and the Litton bombing. On June 4, '84, Ann pleaded guilty to the Cheekye-Dunsmuir bombing, the

Litton bombing, possession of explosives, and possession of weapons. Ann had already been found guilty of conspiracy to rob a Brinks armoured car, possession of explosives, possession of weapons, possession of stolen property, vehicle theft, and breaking and entering. On June 8, Doug pleaded guilty to the Cheeky-Dunsmuir bombing and Brent pleaded guilty to possession of weapons and possession of explosives, having already been found guilty of the same charges as Ann in the first trial.

While the desire to put an end to dead time faced in endless trials is understandable, especially given the fact that the outcome of the first trial was hardly a victory from a legal perspective. The guilty pleas left little to be recouped politically following the almost exclusive focus of defence/support politics on the "right to a fair trial." Particularly damaging was Gerry's decision to accept a guilty plea on the Wimmin's Fire Brigade actions as part of a plea bargain. This was particularly disorienting as the Wimmin's Fire Brigade had been generally recognized as an all women's group and the action as an all women's action. Gerry's decision to plead guilty purely as a practicality, while understood by those supporters closer to the decision-making process, was not necessarily so clear for the broader political community watching the trials, some of whom were taken aback. (We had done such an effective job of our "right to a fair trial" campaign that some people in the political community actually believed the Five were persecuted innocents and in the face of the guilty pleas, felt their trust had been betrayed! This is rather a large statement of how effectively we buried the key issues in our defence/support work.) And it was left unclear whether the Wimmin's Fire Brigade had actually been a statement of women's resistance, or simply Direct Action using another name for reasons of political efficacy. Given the massive popularity of the Wimmin's Fire Brigade, particularly in the women's community, to introduce such unclarity was a political error.

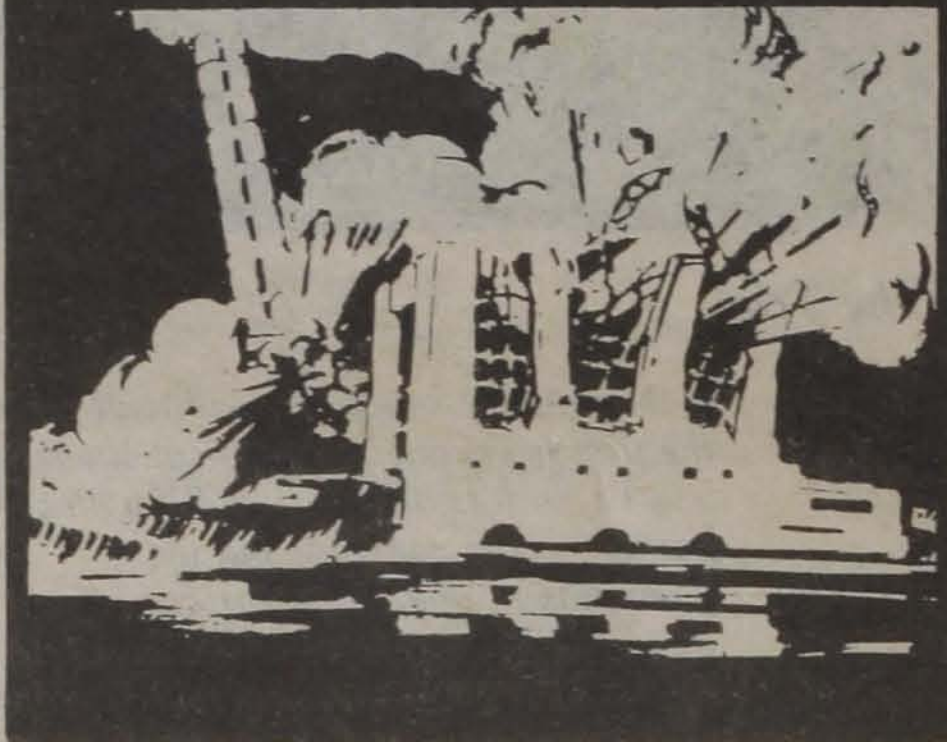
It was not until the sentencing that the first real political statements came from the Five, and this was one and a half years after the arrest and nearly two years after the last action. On June 5, '84, Ann read her statement. This long, eloquent, and powerful statement said, among other things:

In the beginning when I was first arrested, I was intimidated and surrounded by the courts and prison. This fear provided the basis for the belief that if I played the legal game, I would get acquitted or get less time. This belief obscured my vision and fooled me into believing that I could get a break from the legal system. But this past eight months in court has sharpened my perceptions and strengthened my political convictions to see that the legal game is rigged and political prisoners are dealt a marked deck.

Even though I knew that a few militant direct actions would not make the revolution or stop these projects, I believed it was necessary to begin the development of an underground resistance movements that was capable of sabotage and expropriations and could work free from police surveillance. The development of an effective resistance movement is not an overnight affair—it takes decades of evolution. It has to start somewhere in small numbers and whether or not it grows, becomes effective and successful, will depend on whether or not we make it happen.

Finally, on June 25, '84, Brent was sentenced and made his sentencing statement. A brief portion follows:

Illegal activities were one part of my activism in the struggle, against the injustices and threats to life manifest in modern industrial civilization and the political and economic system of imperialism. The overall purpose of any illegal activity I was involved in was to further develop the struggle and thereby contribute to the possibility of a better world—one in which all people can finally live in freedom and international unity. Even if this does not come about in my lifetime, it is my hope that one day our future relatives will live in such a world.



The sentencing statements were powerful political statements and were received as such. As good as the sentencing statements were, coming as they did, at the end of a long and intense process, they did not serve as a rallying point for a discussion. Had such statements come early in the legal process and had the defence/support committees chosen to stress the politics inherent in the actions and accompanying communiqués, the political potential of the trials might have been realized. As it was, the political issues, quite simply, came to the fore too late.

The Appeals

A further blow came with Julie's decision to break with her former comrades and recant.

In an emotionally charged performance Julie used her sentence appeal to focus the bulk of the responsibility for Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade on Ann and Brent, particularly Brent, whom she identified variously as the leader and the planner. She claimed to have been harassed into the group, to have been young and impressionable, a state she described as an adolescent crisis, and to have been worn down and molded by constant pressure and abuse. She claims her seeming vigour for revolutionary activity, as it was recorded on the wiretaps and bugs, was not representative of her true feelings, but part of an effort to appear tough in order to ward off the constant criticism she was a victim of. She even went as far as to suggest she would have left the group, claiming she feared to do so after reading Marighella's *Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla*, where she claimed Marighella said anyone leaving the guerrilla must be liquidated.

It is important to note in passing that Marighella didn't say this. What he, in fact, said regarding the guerrilla was:

When he (a guerrilla) cannot face the difficulties, or knows he lacks the patience to wait, it is better to relinquish his role before he betrays his pledge, for he clearly lacks the basic qualities necessary to be a guerrilla.

While the purpose of Julie's patchwork story of lies, distortion, and paranoia was clearly to save her own skin, the quality of her story, the degree to which it fits into the standard State line on guerrilla politics, the degree to which it is tailored for counter-insurgency, indicate that she must have fallen victim to fairly intense police pressure, that she had been a pawn in the larger political strategy. The long sentence that Julie was given was doubtless part of a strategy to break her spirit so that she would be open to approaches from the State. In order to have this excessive sentence reduced, Julie was willing to engage in whatever grovelling was required and to portray her former comrades, particularly Ann and Brent, both of whom had sentence appeals forthcoming, as deranged and irresponsible, if not out-and-out remorselessly evil.

The outcome was predictable. Ann and Brent had their sentence appeals denied. Julie, for her part, received a five year reduction from twenty to fifteen for her propaganda role in the State's attack on Ann and Brent in particular, and the guerrilla in general.

Prison

With the end of the appeals came the end of the Vancouver Five as a public issue and the comrades withdrew from the public eye to serve their sentences. In Ann's case life, in Brent's 22 years, for Gerry ten, and Doug six.

As was the case with the trials, they have not used their prison time or the repression they face there as a springboard for a discussion of guerrilla resistance. Rather than asserting themselves as political prisoners in an ongoing way, they have assimilated themselves into the anonymity of the prison milieu. This has led to a situation where their courageous acts of resistance and their entire strategy as enunciated in the communiqués and the sentencing statements have been forgotten by all save a few tiny, isolated pockets of supporters.

To sum up, the Five and their supporters have thus far failed to play their potential role in advancing an understanding of armed struggle within the Canadian State. This lack is due to serious shortcomings in our political understanding of the elements at play. We failed to recognize and utilize the possibilities for advancing the strategy of armed struggle available in the trial process. In so doing, the opportunities opened up by the actions of Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade were lost. The mystifying demand of the "right to a fair trial," led nowhere and served to liquidate the key issue of armed resistance in Canada. Although the history of Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade has doubtless left its mark on the Canadian left, although the concept of armed resistance has been put on the agenda in a practical way so that it will never again be the non-issue it was prior to this experience, to date we have not really overcome the pacifying effects of the political errors we have made. It seems that both the Five and their supporters, having suffered this defeat, have turned away from the discussion of armed struggle to focus their energy elsewhere.

If we are to overcome the errors we have made, we must critically examine these errors, we must critically examine the events surrounding Direct Action, the Wimmin's Fire Brigade, and the Vancouver Five. As painful as it may be, we must pinpoint the errors and shortcomings of both the prisoners and their supporters and deal with them honestly. We can learn by studying the national liberation struggles of Third and Fourth World peoples in the Third World, Western Europe, and the USA, as well as by examining the history and current practice of the urban guerrilla movements in the USA and Western Europe. And, of course, we must face the responsibility of developing our own practice in Canada.

We have written the above not as an attack on the prisoners or their support community. We extend our love and solidarity to the imprisoned comrades who have contributed so much of themselves towards the realization of armed struggle in Canada. We also extend our love and solidarity to all who have worked to support the imprisoned comrades, and to all those who struggle for revolutionary change.

We cannot see any way to avoid certain criticisms given the current situation on the Canadian left. However, we have offered the above criticisms not as a personal attack on anyone, nor to create further divisions in the movement, but in the hope of creating a genuine discussion around the experiences of armed resistance and in the hope of aiding in pushing the struggle forward.

It is better to err acting than to do nothing for fear of erring. Without initiative there is no guerrilla warfare.

—Carlos Marighella

An anarchist response to AIDS

This article, by Bru Dye, originally appeared in the first issue of *AQUA* (anarcho queers undermining authority). We've condensed it for brevity.

Fear is political. In a climate of fear, power-mongers manipulate the situation for their own benefit; ideologues inflame their partisans in their efforts to promote their agendas; reactionary elements bleat about drastic measures being necessary in order to regulate and monitor individual behavior (perhaps to the point of detention) thereby maintaining social order for the "greater good."

The media have sensationalized the issue of AIDS from the beginning, combining blatant homophobia, subtle racism, dubious science and a smug, sex-negative moralism to reinforce their message of fear. Indeed, our alienated culture's fear of sex and fear of death have dovetailed neatly into one terrible, seemingly out-of-control disease. This has allowed bigots to exploit another conditioned fear—fear of difference. Once again they are claiming that difference (in this case, sexual difference) causes disease. In the case of AIDS, questions of race and poverty are intertwined with sexuality: racism and economic exploitation lead to poverty, which leads to conditions that foster disease.

The hysteria level is rising because AIDS is no longer perceived as being confined (not that it ever was) to gays, people of color, IV-drug users and prostitutes, but is spreading to what the Centre for Disease Control has called "the general population"—presumably meaning clean-living, straight, white people. Given this climate of fear, it's not surprising that frightened people, as they have been trained to do, look to so-called authorities for guidance and reassurance. Father Knows Best.

Being anarchist and queer, I don't think I am much burdened by a fear of difference. However, having been raised in a straight-ruled sex-negative society that alienates us from our bodies, I have experienced my share of confusion, guilt and fear concerning sex and intimacy.

from page 5

Harassment escalates

made such absurd claims as that all prisoners at Marion at anti-social and that anti-social personalities cannot experience anxiety. And, of course, prison officials touted forth the usual lies to give the impression that Marion prison isn't such a bad place after all, and even if it is, all those nasty prisoners deserve what they get.

After further delay, on February 24, 1987, judge Foreman issued a ruling upholding Meyer's recommendations and denying the requested injunction against the lockdown and the brutality with which it is being carried out. Apparently everything that's been going down at Marion is as American as apple pie and nobody's constitutional rights are being violated.

The Foreman decision has given the green light to prison staff to escalate the oppression of prisoners. Cell searches, rectal probes and petty harrassment have grown in intensity. Things like an extra pen, a large comb, or a pencil with an eraser attached have suddenly become contraband. Food has deteriorated. Water temperatures have been lowered. Inter-unit moves are being used in profusion, not only to isolate prisoners, but also to create suspicion and hostility.

The radicalism and passion of the gay and women's liberation movements have helped jettison much of that oppressive, moralistic baggage.

AIDS specifically, is often treated as a stigmatized death, as if people with AIDS have brought it upon themselves. Dis-



Vancouver activists attend anti-quarantine demo.

crimination, social ostracism, economic ruin, etc. means people with AIDS have become another oppressed group. Our society promotes a kind of "healthism" in which we victimize people who are ill and "blame the victims" for their condition.

I don't trust in the state to deliver us from AIDS. How can I, being aware of the state's do-nothing response to the disease when it was perceived as affecting only gays, racial minorities, and other "undesirables"? Furthermore, state functionaries (along with their religious and scientific cronies) have certainly done their part to whip up AIDS panic with their scare-talk of quarantine, mandatory blood tests, God's revenge on sinners, etc. And now the state, in its belated attempt to appear to be doing something, may be misdirecting its focus and bypassing possible medical factors involved with AIDS.

Official rejections of mail are up and political publications are often delayed or disappear entirely. Access to the very inadequate law library has been made increasingly more difficult. This restricted access, together with limitations placed on lawyer visits and on what constitutes legal mail, have severely curtailed the only real avenue through the court system left to prisoners: to pursue individual litigations. Prisoners who despite all this persist in litigations can expect to receive even more harassment than others from prison staff and little sympathy from the courts. And, by district law, a prisoner can not be transferred from Marion until he drops litigation.

Sources:

Various issues of *The Marionette*—a great source of info about the ongoing situation at USP Marion. It is edited by Marion prisoner Bill Dunne and distributed through *Bulldozer*, P.O. Box 5052, Stn A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Donations are appreciated and should be sent to the above address.

Both Ronald Del Raine and Bill Dunne can be written to at Box 1000, Marion, Illinois 62959, U.S.A.

The state bureaucracy has moved at a characteristically glacial pace in licensing drugs that can be helpful against AIDS. It plays politics with the drug-manufacturing corporations, who vie with each other for licensing priority because it spells huge profit. As a result, a

rapidly growing underground network of "guerilla clinics" has sprung up in which people with AIDS treat themselves with a variety of substances, some of which the medical industry has ignored because the substances cannot be patented and, therefore, no big profits are to be made.

Some believe the state itself created AIDS through military research to further germ warfare. Even now, to protect itself the state may be suppressing information about AIDS, the way it suppresses info about so much else.

I don't trust the state to provide liberated sex education. The authorities obviously realize that a guilt-free, sensually-open populace would have no need of them. To provide comprehensive sex education the state would have to accept that some young people are gay, and the loudmouth moralists would raise hell about that.

The one thing the state can be trusted to do is look after its own interests. That is why we are finally seeing some movement on AIDS after years of inertia. For, make no mistake, the state is perfectly willing to let people die (for example, the Tuskegee syphilis experiments on Blacks, toxic industrial wastes that cause cancer, nuclear weapons tests, protecting corporate "interests" in Latin America and elsewhere, the list could go on for pages). But, in the face of mounting public concern about AIDS, the state senses the need to move in order to justify its claims to legitimacy and to maintain its power and control. Now that the state realizes the disease threatens not just perverts but "national security", we are starting to see the giant stir. Also, unlike many of the leaders themselves, disease is non-discriminatory.

Where is the need for the state? Indeed, from the start of the AIDS crisis, it has been local community groups, mostly gay-initiated, that have moved swiftly to educate and to raise money while the state has been fiddling and playing its usual power games.

So finally the practical, personal question is: concerning AIDS, what can I do? Since I believe in decentralized, community-based solutions to problems, I can join others in my community who are working against AIDS in this time of great need and historical consequence. I can continue educating myself about the

Quarantine bill passes

In British Columbia, where grassroots groups have done a significant amount of education and support work on AIDS, the provincial government has launched a new threat.

A law passed in January gives the government power to quarantine anyone they believe might "wilfully, carelessly or because of mental incompetence" transmit HIV, the suspected AIDS virus. HIV testing and contact tracing can be imposed without consent.

Bill 34 was strongly opposed by much of Vancouver's gay community, prostitutes' rights and other women's groups, and some trade unions. They were only successful in making minor amendments.

When asked what would be considered "wilful or careless" transmission, Vancouver's chief medical officer said that for people who test HIV positive or who have AIDS it meant "clearly continuing to share needles or continuing to have sex."

Protests of the bill's passing included a disruption of the legislature by a local anarchist who has ARC (AIDS related condition). John Kozachenko was forcibly removed from the building after tearing up copies of Bill 34.

The law is expected to target gay men and prostitutes. Already, a young male prostitute has been ordered to take an AIDS test.

disease. Working through my fear of it, I feel more empowered to act against it. With the strength, love, and support of my friends, I can more openly face my own fears.

My involvement could include: educating others in non-judgemental terms about the disease and its prevention; assisting people with AIDS with their practical needs; taking part in direct action against those who would repress us; and (not least) affirming sex and pleasure in the face of the rabid moralism being spewed from different quarters, not just against gays and other vulnerable groups, but against anyone seeking control over their own body. For if I don't concern myself with these things, who will? The state? Don't bet your life on it.



Plans are underway for the third annual North American anarchist gathering in Toronto, June 1988.

The gathering will include many workshops, events, shows, conversations, food, action, and tons o' fun. Some of the plans so far include affinity group discussions on a great range of topics, forums on specific issues, skill sharing workshops, a Day of Action, cultural evening, and poster show.

Please get in touch for further details, send all your cash and valuables, and keep an eye out for more news. Smash the State and have a Nice Day!



Anarchist Circle

Rioters shot

Prisoners at Drumheller medium-security penitentiary in Drumheller, Alberta, Canada, staged the largest riot in the history of the prison last June.

Three of the four living units were extensively damaged by fire. Eleven prisoners were injured, four of whom were shot by guards. The prison administration claims that three of those shot were trying to escape. Later, prison staff were evacuated and an RCMP (federal police) emergency response team was called in to stop the riot.

As is common after a riot, a number of prisoners were transferred from the prison. This time, however, about a dozen men were shipped to a 'special needs unit' (Protective Custody) in Prince Albert. Serious conflicts began to develop as a result of mixing PC prisoners with those from general population. Eventually, the Drumheller men received a transfer to Bowden, another medium-security prison.

PC ending?

In spite of the tension created by mixing general population and protective custody prisoners, the Canadian government has a plan in the works to phase out PC.

At present, making prisoners from population share a living space with PC's (informers, rapists, and those who have abused or murdered children) is a move guaranteed to increase stress and violence.

Some prisoners support the phasing out of PC, but say it must be done very carefully. The administration at Kingston Federal Prison for Women (P4W) showed no grasp of that concept in its handling of the issue last summer.

The few PC's at P4W serve their sentences in segregation because there aren't any other facilities separate from general population. In July, Gail Horii, the Chair of the Inmate Committee, made a recommendation for gradually phasing in PC's, one at a time, after discussions take place with the women on the range each would be moved to.

The administrations response was to fire Horii from her position of Chair. In protest, the rest of the inmate committee resigned.

Two PC prisoners were then abruptly moved to a range.

It's quite possible that the transfer of PC's to population is intended by the state to breed hostility. This would provide a rationale to increase security, and it might also redirect some of the anger that would be directed at the institution at the PC's instead.



Albert Atencio D-42442 is presently serving a two year sentence in the California Dept. of Correx. He is looking for info on how to contact some mail order music services that deal in hardcore/punk, which he will share with the several other hardcores incarcerated there also. Write him at PO Box 3535, Dorm 50, Bed 79, Norco, CA 91760, USA.

Several months ago, new information came to light in the anarchist circles supporting prisoner Jim Trimble (Framed youth condemned to die; OR #21).

Trimble was arrested with four other men in 1981 for the kidnapping and rape of two women and the murder of one of them. He received the death penalty while the other men, who could afford expensive legal representation, walked away from their trials or received light sentences. One of them has since allegedly confessed to rehab centre doctors that it was he and not Trimble who killed the woman.

Trimble: checking the facts

The original statement of his Australian support group obscured the fact that Trimble was involved in one of the sexual assaults saying: "Jim was found guilty of rape despite the testimony of one of the men that Jim did not have intercourse with anyone, and the admission from the prosecutor that 'there is no evidence that the defendant (Jim) raped her'".

The support group later revealed in a letter to the Toronto Anarchist Black Cross that Trimble did sexually assault one of the women. The Toronto ABC, who had become active in his defense, published a statement expressing their anger and sense of betrayal at the omission (see Reality Now #7). As the ABC explained, knowing the truth of the situation would have affected the amount of support work they did: "Despite the horrendous situation Jim is in, we simply wouldn't have taken his case above all others if we knew he was a rapist."

The revelation came as a disillusioning shock to some and has left us all with some things to remember about doing such support work.

First, we need to carefully check out who we're supporting to begin with. This is difficult because our movement's methods of gathering information tend to be rather haphazard. Some cases we hear

about and some we don't. The information we do get is of varying degrees of completeness, clarity, and accuracy. We're often faced with decisions like whether to publicize what appears to be a high priority case immediately or wait until all our questions about it are answered.

When there is time to get questions answered, how do we know whether a source is accurate? Sometimes a source's facts and analysis can be trusted based on past experience with them. At other times, we have to decide whether to invest time and energy on a case based on

reference to Trimble's "widowed and pension-supported mother"; a calculated appeal for sympathy. But we left it in the story.

The statement also said "Jim was found guilty of kidnapping despite the testimony of Ms. Melanie Newson, who was a friend of the victim, who said that she and Ms. Rogers had willingly entered the van with one of the other men to, in her words, 'party' ". This is misleading because whether the women willingly entered the van or not, it became kidnapping when they did not consent to stay.

info from someone unknown to us.

Obviously, it's best to have direct personal contact with the prisoner/accused when possible and that individual's information should be presumed reliable. It would be counterproductive to use the state's records to "verify" anything. However, we can keep in mind that there's always a chance that we're being lied to. People in desperate circumstances will sometimes lie. But, when we're in the role of supporters to someone else's struggle, we need to take some risks and presume honesty.

Risks are reduced using common sense and careful analysis of available information. In the case of Jim Trimble, we knew from the beginning that he was present at the scene of a brutal rape and murder. That makes him a participant, sharing responsibility for the act. (In my opinion, being stoned on angel dust doesn't lessen one's responsibility all that much.)

Since he was present, why be so surprised that he is a rapist himself? Here's where a little more common sense and further questions might have been employed.

More analysis of the original statement might have given us clues about where his supporters were coming from. A couple of us winced at the unnecessary

We at OR accept responsibility for passing on info about Trimble without sufficiently considering or verifying it ourselves.

Another lesson relearned: If we're going to prioritize our prison support work using related principles (anti-sexism, anti-racism, etc), it would be useful to do this more consciously, thinking about where these struggles conflict. In this case there's a conflict between being anti-prison/anti-death penalty and opposing male violence against women.

It remains true that Trimble has been thoroughly screwed around: framed for murder, sacrificed by his co-accused, abused by the prison guards, drugged on Thorazine during his trial, and victimized by the judge's homophobia.

For a lot of us, though, support for someone who has committed a rape is not a high priority in our prison work.

Trimble, however, seems to have found new support in the christian community. In a recent communication with the Toronto ABC, he said that he no longer identifies as an anarchist and maintains that god has forgiven him for his actions.

—Sadie J.

Kerley update

Cameron Kerley is slated to be paroled to a Winnipeg halfway house in mid '88. A Sioux Native, Kerley has been imprisoned more than four years for the death of his sexually abusive adoptive father.

He was adopted from Manitoba at age 11

by William Joseph Kerley, a single white man living in Wichita, Kansas. After surviving six years of sexual abuse, while drunk he killed the older man.

Sentenced to life in '83, his sentence was recently reduced to 20 years making him now eligible for day parole.

The latest in a series of campaigns calling for his release has been a factor in his being scheduled for parole. He is now receiving escorted day passes.

The following statement was written by women at Pentridge Prison, summer 1987. We're not sure of their situation now since the Jika fire; hopefully B Annexe is being looked into.

Dear Reader,

This is a bit of a downer letter but at the same moment, us female prisoners are far from being happy.

What we are concerned about is what's happening here now as apparently no one seems to know what is going on, what's happening here.

Last Thursday night a female prisoner tried to hang herself, she was pretty down. The screws, seniors and chiefs were told about the bad state of depression she was in, but as always they didn't give a shit. So last Thursday we heard this bang noise, and somehow we just knew what she was trying to do. Then we heard

this gurgling noise and her legs kicking, so we yelled out to the screws to get over to her cell and check her, and sure enough she was hanging there from the pipes above her cell door. Since the screws of the night don't have keys to cell doors, only to the locks of our traps, and the senior (the only one with the keys) was nowhere to be found for about twenty minutes, the screws had to put their arms through the trap to hold her up till the senior eventually got there. Now if she had decided to hang herself on the other side of her cell she would have been dead.

Last night another girl, XXX, came in the afternoon hanging out from a \$600 a day habit. She was given nothing but a tiny bit of valium, which is shit-all with a habit like that, so she was pretty sick and pretty down. The screws were told of this girl's condition, but as usual, don't give a shit. Anyway, after lockup at about 9

o'clock, the H.A. who gives out medication was asked to please check on her as we were concerned about her condition. He went to her cell but it was too late, she had already hung herself and died.

That's four now that we know of that have died from hanging themselves. The females do their time a lot harder than the men in every way. We have a tiny yard, we have no big oval to run around in, we have no big inground pool, etc.; the men have all these things (if they aren't in the max). We are confined to this small area 'the Annexe' and that's it.

The rules and regulations are getting worse as the weeks go by. We are now even getting blackbooked for leaving our own TV's or lights on. Girls are getting loss of privileges just for wearing dressing gowns on muster because it's so cold where we muster.

We don't belong to this men's prison.



BLACK & BLUE is the magazine of the Anarchist Black Cross (Melbourne). In Australia one year sub \$1, overseas \$5. Free to all prisoners, You can contact the B&B by writing to P.O. Box 257, Collingwood, 3066, Australia.

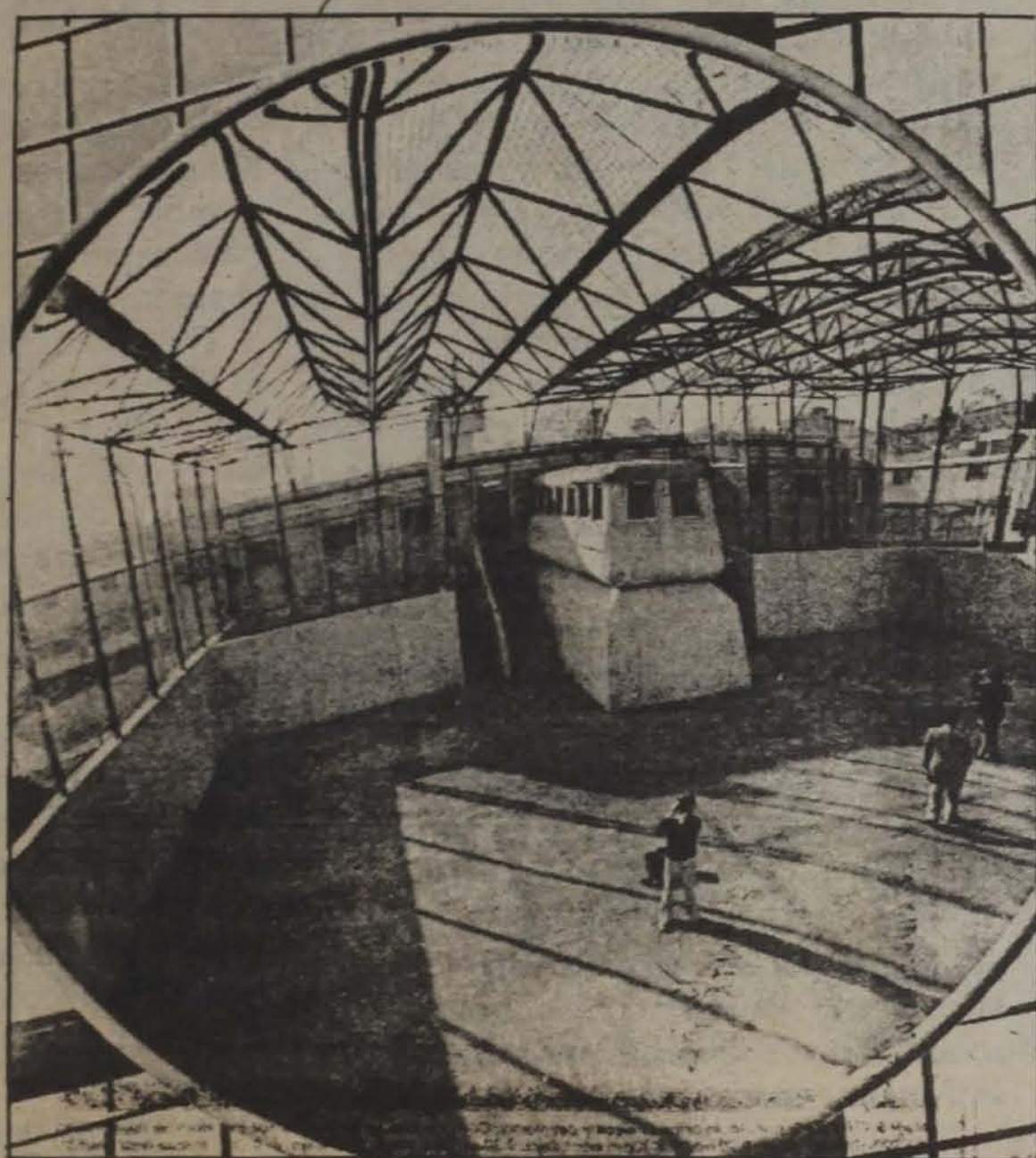
...from page 3

Jika Jika fire

his 50th day, had been confined in the max since his arrest in the middle of 86' connection with the bombing of a police station. Even though he had not been convicted of any crime (on remand) he was still being held in Jika Jika.

At the same time Gallagher, Wright, and McGauley had chosen another strategy - that of bronzing up (smearing) shit. Bronzing up draws on the tradition

established by political prisoners in H Block, Long Kesh, in Northern Ireland in the late seventies. The three had been bronzing up the doors and walls of their cells since the middle of March. They were also putting shit in the air conditioning system. Due to the ensuing health risks other convicts had to be moved from the unit and prison screws were reluctant to work there. They had been seeking a full independent inquiry into Jika to investigate the real function of the division. As the PAG states; was it designed to break inmate activists with sophisticated, more readily disguised



The exercise yard at Jika Jika

psychological torture techniques, "techniques tested and refined by uniformed terrorists like the Pentridge superintendent Gerald Myers?" Myers principal qualification for the position was 21 years service in the US army intelligence corps.

Arthur Gallagher's experience is a poignant case in point. He had a long history of militant political activism in Pentridge, frequently embarrassing the administration with complaints to the minister and ombudsman as well as acting as an inside contact for the PAG. In March of '88 Arthur and eight others were accused of planning a mass escape.

has been the reason he was denied parole in the past.

RACISM

Racism permeates all aspects of life. Not only are Blacks more likely to be imprisoned, but serve longer terms, and are less likely to receive parole. Larry Joe Ross, TDC #338966 is fighting this struggle in Texas and desperately needs your letters urging his release sent to the Boards of Pardons and Paroles, PO Box 13401, Capitol Stn. Austin, Texas 78711, USA. Mention that he has been incarcerated for 13 years with a perfect record, has learned trades and received an education, and that you feel racism

BRAINISM

Former psychiatric inmate Don Weitz is soliciting personal or eyewitness accounts of forced psychiatric treatment or abuse which has occurred, or is still occurring, in psychiatric institutions, psychiatric wards of general hospitals, and "treatment" or "special handling" units in prisons across Canada. He is collecting this information to present to Amnesty International in London, England. Your personal account(s) should be

Though never formally charged Arthur was moved to Jika. The others were charged but acquitted. Arthur had been in the max ever since, moved there on grounds later proven to be spurious, in an obvious attempt to destroy his capacity for resistance and struggle.

The insidiously refined architecture of Jika Jika was such that a prisoner would find him or herself in absolute isolation; where food was passed in by unseen hands in a totally featureless environment devoid of nearly all forms of sensory stimulation. K division was so psychologically disorienting that screws on duty had been known to lose their sense of direction entirely and many demonstrated signs of severe psychological stress after shifts. If the screws with the freedom to come or go suffered so, there can be little doubt of the devastating effects on prisoners of a long period of solitary confinement.

Jika was never intended to be a section for "security risks" or "dangerous prisoners". Adequate facilities for such-classified convicts existed already in H division and in the high security section of B division. Its opening was, in the words of the PAG, "a direct response to a decade of prisoners' revolt; revolt demanding an end to the systematic brutalization and dehumanization of prisoners". The continued militancy of Gallagher and the other protesters culminating in the closure of Jika Jika demonstrates its failure to crush the spirit of revolt.

The prison officers' union had stated that the prison system was going to explode right across Australia and already since the Jika tragedy, Boggo Road Jail in Queensland has broken into a full scale riot, there have been disturbances at Parramatta Jail in Sydney, New South Wales, while in Melbourne there has been a dozen small fires with the screws entering the Pentridge jail in full riot gear on eight occasions.

Thanks to John of the PAG for sending the info on the Jika fire. The background info was from Black & Blue. For more info or to send your support write the Prisoner's Action Group, 247-251 Flinders Lane, Melbourne, 3000 Victoria, Australia. ph.#650-1455

fully detailed and specific and will only be sent to Amnesty with your written and signed consent. Write Don at 100 Bain Ave., #27 The Maples, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4K 1E8



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Anarchist Black Dragon

WASHINGTON STATE PENITENTIARY

Originally, the writers kept their identities secret. Eventually, some of them came out in the open and challenged repression inside the prison. One member, Carl Harp, was murdered on Sept. 5, 1981 (see O.R. #13). After that other prisoners associated with the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective were separated and sent to different prisons throughout the country.

Shane Green, a former member of the collective, is gathering back issues to do a 'best of' publication. #6 & 7 are still missing. Anyone wanting copies or info write to Mark Parker c/o PROJECT 1313, P.O. Box 1313, Lawrence, Kansas 6604, USA. Shane Green is now at Walla Walla; his mailing address is 628148 IMU E-7, PO Box 520, Walla Walla, Washington, 99362, USA.

We need some action done NOW before anymore of these poor buggers kill themselves. It's all too much for us to live with, with what's going on around us. We can't handle anymore of our friends committing suicide or seeing young girls slash their wrists. It's affecting us all mentally and we can't go much more. What is it that they want us to do, all die?

We can't write anymore as we're pretty down. We are asking for help, for you's and only you's can help us; protest outside the jail, anything.

Why was the woman who killed herself treated in the way she was; it was well known that she had said she would kill herself if sent back to jail?

Why don't some screws want the women moved? Are they making too much money out of the women being there?

Who in the government is profiting

from the women being kept there?

If the annexe is an example of how our jails work is it any wonder that Fairlea* was burnt the way it was? It also makes one wonder when the next jail is going to be burnt.

Was the women's permanent stay at Pentridge planned? When they planned the rebuilding of parts of Fairlea they knew about how many women they would have in custody after they finished. This would seem to suggest that they never had any intention in the first place of moving women out once they had them there.

CLOSE JIKA JIKA AND THE B ANNEX NOW AND WE MEAN NOW, NOT THE YEAR 2000.

From women in B Annexe

*Five years ago a fire at Fairlea Women's Prison caused the then minister for community welfare to move some of the women to Pentridge's B Annexe. This was then said to be a temporary move while what was burnt at Fairlea was rebuilt. Since then about 30 women have been held at the annexe and Jika Jika. During this period there has been four women committing suicide, dozens of attempts and numerous self-mutilations. The history of B Annexe and Jika has been one of brutality and repression, carried out by the ruling clique of screws working there.

-edited reprint from Black & Blue

Support the closure of B Annexe; write the Prisoner's Action Group or Women Against Prisons, 247-251 Flinders Lane, Melbourne, 3000 Victoria, Australia; phone 650-1455.

Shared ideas discovered on tier

Friends at Open Road,

I found an issue of your newspaper laying out on the tier the other day. What a surprise it was to me, when by chance I picked it up and started to read it.

I'm doing 13 years here in Calif. and I've been here in this joint for close to four now. Due to the extreme lack of reading material, it's not all that easy to find something worthwhile for my mind to devour. So you might imagine the grin I had on my face when I realized that I had found a paper that shared some of the same ideas and ideologies that I myself share, or at least of which I have been discovering that I believe in.

I have spent my life rebelling against "established society", or whatever it is that those in power call the devices that they use in order for them to sit on the fat part of their asses and count the money. The money (and power) that they horde at the expense of who they would call "the poor people."

For that attitude, I've become a criminal and a dope fiend. So these days, I sit around in my third tier cell and try to think back over my 29 years of life. I've never had an education or "proper" upbringing. I was raised in a housing project in Long Beach, Calif. Being the young white boy that I was, I learned how to fight. I took my education in the street, which is to say, I learned what I had to know in order to eat and to have something.

I've always been a warrior, and I've never took any shit from anybody. But these last few years I have tried to educate myself (and quit dope), while at the same time expand my awareness of what the hell is going on in the world. I've taught myself to read and write (a little bit) and from what I can see, it seems to me that most of the world's people are controlled by very few. And those very few seem to be dedicated to getting richer while keeping everybody else down.

I'm writing this kite because I would like to know if there is anybody who can help me obtain the knowledge I seek. And that is, what the hell is going on? I know that sounds naive, but I'd like to know. If you have any info, send it to me if you would. I've got no money so if you're one



Tom Keough/WIN.

of those money making outfits ... fuck you in your necks. If you're looking to let people know the truth, tell me cause I want to know. If you do respond, write me a letter and tell me cause these pigs at this joint screw around with our mail sometimes, and I would like to know if they are playing games with me, or if you all just shined me on. You can see I'm suspicious, but my life had made me this way.

Thanks for your time,
Chuck

C.F. Murdoch
C#76287 E-326
P.O. Box 600
Tracy, Ca 95376
U.S.A.

Bizarre happenings in the U.S.

Say future desparacidos,

Hopefully these words find allaya in the best of health and determined spirits...

Thank you for continuing to send the paper—which for me is something like letters from home, or at least where I'd rather be than this maximum security prison in northern California.

Perhaps you've heard about some of the more bizarre happenings here in the states...but a few are so very bizarre that you should take note.

It seems that 'death squads' from several countries are operating here. There have been several incidents which can only serve as as indication of things to come. The most recent event involved a series of kidnappings, torture, and (suspected) murder (no body) of Salvadorean refugees active in this

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country. Likewise, Taiwanese, Vietnamese, and Haitians.

Also a series of political burglaries related to groups whose focus is US out of Central America. This and the near constant gang conflicts involving "drive-by shootings" have done wonders for black market weapon sales, and the recent "freeway shootings" have really improved the zeitgeist of southern KKKalifornia. Capping this mess is the resurgence of "white supremists" or the coalition of neo nazizz into an organ as the "white aryan resistance" who are responsible for a series of violent incidents up 'n down this coast and are actively recruiting from the prisons, jails, military/police and some schools in major cities.

Meanwhile the states are constructing scores of prisons, camps, jails and considering "private enterprise" prisons so the brave new world appears to be just around the corner—perhaps after the civil war which is the stated objective of the neo whatever. But the truth be known, if anything really wild develops, the word is already out and the attitude about government is (especially taxation) such that it wouldn't take a whole lot for a vast array of people to make the break to self-management.

Otherwise, life out there in minimum security for the average North American is yet too kind and too full of disorienting addictions, distractions, or entertainments — even in the face of repeated events, and reportage which should serve to indicate that the recurring encroachment of corrupt authority can only be resolved no sooner than we become truly independent and self-sufficient.

Onward,
obiter dicta

Making waves despite repression

Dear Open Road,

I've been having problems with the administration because I've written a number of letters to the editor of a local newspaper attacking the criminal justice system.

This seems to be getting to the officials as they are trying to suppress me from any further activities and of course this only makes me the more committed to what I'm doing. Right now they have me locked down and have taken away a bunch of good time for expressing my opinion, in writing, to a few correctional officers who have attitude problems.

Right now, I'm trying to avoid being shipped out to another institution in some other state. This is a standard form of political repression for the Department of Corrections. Usually its into the Federal system where, as is common knowledge, they have become expert in the art of political repression. I've known a few individuals who have had this happen to them here all because they make 'waves' for the authorities. I don't know what will happen to me as a result of speaking out, but I'll be damned if I'll ever submit to this government sponsored political repression. I'm sure you can identify with me.

Well enough of my problems. I'll be looking forward to your next issue so until later.

In Solidarity,
Gary William Bornman
#91291, P.O. Box 100
Somers, Conn. 06071
U.S.A.

An era is remembered

November 30, 1987

The end of another era. All our children we remember; all things we do, we do for the future, and there they are.

Gordon Elliott, Sulsumptun, of the Cowichan Nation, made his "Journey to the Spirit World" beginning August 3, 1987; he was 43 years old. Of his life's work, different aspects should be remembered and carried on by various of his ten children.

"Daddy, what did you do?"

In all these years; and as the years go by, seems they go faster, pass and keep on going no matter what; we keep on learning, always learning, we keep on watching and helping the people, where we figure the help is needed. Three words come to mind: food, safety, and shelter. Always food, safety and shelter; for our children, all our children.

In the summer of '74, the fishing rights of the people were remembered. A weir was set up (built) on the Cowichan River, a weir as was always done in the days way back when. A weir to see the fish go by, and to take what's needed for food. A weir, to bring to the attention of the world, the plight of our people. The People of the Land; they live off the land. The land provides the fish, always have, for the people. Fresh salmon, trout, crab, clams, sea eggs, octopi, etc., all the fish of the people. Salmon for Survival / Survival for Salmon. As the ways of all our relations.

Then Big Bear came, and spoke of the sweat lodge. We came and smoked his pipe. He told the children of the four directions; the Grandmother Moon, our Father the Sky, our Mother the Earth. So when he began his (journey), the sweat lodge was remembered. Then in '78 it

was built in Deerhome. Emma was a baby, then, too small, we thought, she needed more help than we had. The help of the creator, the power of prayer. When we enter the sweat lodge, we crawl on all fours and remember the four-leggeds; we sit on our haunches and remember the bird people; we breathe the steam from the rocks and remember the fish people. We sit upon the branches of the trees and remember the plant people; we have our oldest living relations to help us, the stone people, plus the water, Water for Life. The steam and smoke carry our prayers, both spoken and unspoken, to the creator.

At first, all these things weren't remembered, we had a sweat lodge only in the begining. Then, after a year, Dino came. He began the teaching, the teaching of the sweat lodge and the ceremony of the pipe. The sweat lodge has always been open in Deerhome all these years since, at the peak, we had 14 sweat lodges in the valley, 14 for the people...

In Gordon's days, he was the second youngest of seven. His dad (one of seven brothers and one sister) and his grandfather always helped out when they could. Uncles worked for the people as well. The family always thought about food, safety and shelter for all.

This is from Della Rice, Gordon's wife. He is belovedly remembered by many. Della honours him in remembering all the relations and the culture he actively maintained and fought for, many times dealing with police harassment and the courts.

Reality Now is an anti-statist tabloid dedicated to exposing and confronting the people, institutions, and attitudes which control, attack and destroy our world and peoples. We focus on prisons and prisoners, Native struggles, the defense of our natural environment, direct action, and anarchist, feminist liberation struggles around the world. We also work as the Toronto branch of the Anarchist Black Cross in the defense of prisoners in need.

The continuation of our work depends on donations and subscriptions. You can help us advance this work by sending \$6 (in Canada) or \$7 (international) along with your name and address for a 4 issue subscription (free to prisoners). If you haven't already seen the magazine and want a sample, send \$2 and we'll send you the latest issue, or send \$3 for the past two issues. Please get in touch, smash the State, and have a nice day!

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don't shoot till you see the whites of their s

Take ten anti-authoritarian musicians, poets, feminists; including a sex trade worker and wrench turner/gear shifter, all lovers of life, top the combination off with madness, put them in an old funky bus heading for the wild blue yonder and an unshakeable desire to stir up trouble, thought and creativity and what have you got? The Black Wedge Tour '87.

Last year the Wedge went down the west coast from Vancouver to Los Angeles. This year the Wedge toured Canada from Vancouver to Winnipeg.

The '87 Wedge was Lynna Landstreet, Konnie Lingus and Prudence Clearwater, all of Mourning Sickness, and Bryan James, from Toronto. Norman Nawrocki and Dem Stink, from Montreal, make up Rhythm Activism. Peter Plate, from San Francisco. Jean Smith and Dave Lester as Mecca Normal and myself, the driver, from Vancouver.

"The Black Wedge wants to open up a whole new arena for activist resistance culture. The basis of the Wedge is; yes things need to change and yes, we can all be a part of that change. If you ask for a little you don't get alot".

As it turned out the Wedge opened up either a can of worms or a wellspring of inspiration depending on the city and who was on stage. We were at times faced with small audiences making it hard to gauge what effect the Wedge had, although small isn't bad; while crossing the Kootenay Lake ferry (a 45 min. ferry ride connecting the road from Nelson to Creston in B.C.) we took turns and hopped on top of the bus and read poems. Needless to say that was the most captive audience we had.

Victoria was a coming together; everybody got to see what each other's gig was about. The 40 or so people that came understood; they could do it too.

Vancouver had the largest turnout. There were also local guest appearances. Even though the show dragged out towards the end, it was good to see that the Wedge had no particular mold, format or elitism.

Kelowna was the first time we set up the lit table. David had already been doing a poster display. Having alternative media and artwork on hand was a good backdrop for what the Wedge was trying to accomplish. The mostly young crowd seemed quite baffled that the stereo-typical punk they assumed was going to happen didn't, we questioned their 'authority'.



In Nelson, Peter Plates' ability to give credit to the audience and speak with them put the show in perspective and was a consistency throughout the tour. "The city is a concentrated monument to politics, extracting life from an awareness of death. speed of life, speed of death, the decision for war or peace was made several moments ago, the outcome is recorded in an answering machine...."

Bryan James has an openness that lays bare personal experience within a political framework, sometimes it put people off but in Nelson he had us bent over laughing at ourselves. He says ideas come to him through the cosmos (t.v. set). "I'm sitting here blank, braindead by the t.v. set....watching every word that's read, believing everything that's said. Believing there's peace in war, believing there is life when i'm braindead."

Calgary took us by surprise. Shortly after we arrived a couple of us witnessed a beating of a native man, George, outside a bar by bouncers. While Konnie checked him over for damage, outraged I went in and confronted them and was immediately thrown out (what did I expect, an apology?) The Wedge was to play in the adjoining club. Well we did cuz the hotel was providing us with rooms and money, some of which went to

George. Some of the 30 or so people that drifted through could barely see past their noses, but some people listened and appreciated it. Dave Lester did an inspiring piece while fretting his guitar with a lit flashlight, sort of like punk jazzed Jimi Hendrix with a built-in light show. We kept our spirits up and had a great laugh in the morning amidst war cries; as we drove off we could see someone had spray painted "BLOOD ON YOUR HANDS" on their lily white wall, as was fitting for such a monied racist environment. On to Edmonton then. As was the case in every city, Mourning Sickness got a response akin to a love/hate relationship; their eccentric but simple electrified music either mummified people or brought them to life. They took turns with their instruments and sang their own songs. Konnie Lingus banged on scrap metal (part of it being a metal Kotex ad box) "You pity me working Yonge St. But would you pity me a welfare Mum in the pubs? Welfare Mums suck your tax dollars you say but I'll take my career over dependance any day! And I'll suck your yuppie cock for your hard earned bucks!" Lynna Landstreet picked away at a synthesizer, "Pre-Murder Syndrome's got a hold of me, I'm working myself into a killing frenzy. Pre-Murder Syndrome, my iron is

low, and I need to make some of your blood flow." Prudence Clearwater screeched on violin, "society sells her children in movies and magazines but wonders why they're raped, spare the rod, spoil the child, what do you use to muffle the scream?" Hopefully they'll get rid of the dubbed in music and in doing so eliminate some sound trouble and retain an authenticity. If you need shock treatment they're the ones to see.

In Regina Norman Nawrocki and Dem Stink wore dresses and got a wild response (as usual men can do once what some women do everyday and then get applauded for it). Norman's lyrics talk to everyday people and connects them to radicalism, what he does best, and questions those that don't want to be questioned, "We're the rats your Mama warned you about. We're coming out of the sewers...Have you hugged a rat today? Have you fed a rat today? Have you kicked a rat today?" Dem weaves a tapestry of sound, a skip and a jump around Norman's lyrics and helps bring the message closer to home.

We stopped off in Brandon for a break. Travelling over hill and dale, through fields and dust we finally arrived and were greeted by old anarchist friends. It was there we talked out our personal/political differences. The purge did us well.

Winnipeg was packed and everyone was well received. Jean Smith's performance showed her hard work and put everyone on the edge of their seats. "Don't shoot till you see the whites of their eyes. That was the order - an old order. Was it meant to ensure death or save ammunition? Distance, horse-speed and gunshot equation. Don't shoot till you see the whites of their eyes."

The lit table throughout the tour was a thermometer of what kind of interest was generated. People were either curious or relieved to see that discontent and a desire for change was happening outside their minds of city. Some people expressed a sense of alienation within their communities and saw the wedge idea as a potential medium for coming together.

"Every individual can be a point of resistance. Two people can form a line. With more you can make a genuine human wedge that can drive through the ugly walls of hate, misery and injustice that separates us from freedom." With these last words I'm curious to see what the seeds the Wedge planted bring forth.

—Nellie Bolt

New publications received

ENDLESS STRUGGLE a new local zine with lot's of energy. Analysis, inside bands and more, write #1-1145 Lily St., Vancouver B.C. V5L 4H5. 75 cents & two 37 cent stamps in Canada, \$1.25 Cdn. - N. America, \$1.75 US overseas, or trade.

NO PICNIC Jan. 88 a first; 50 cents. Second issue April 88; \$1.50. Good local and international, anti-authoritarian coverage. Subs \$4, free to prisoners. Write PO Box 69393, Stn. K, Vancouver, B.C., V5K 4W6

DECENTRALIZE First issue of this rag came out in the fall of '86. It's one woman's work at networking around decentralization and non-violence between the various groups whose common goal is 'radical decentralization.' Sub \$3 for four issues. \$6 overseas. \$1 sample copy. Box 106, 632 Cloverdale, Los Angeles, CA, 90036, USA.

MA! REVUE ANARCHISTE winter '87 # 15 - in french. Swiss anarchist magazine. Write Case postale 338, 1211 Geneva 4, Switzerland.

AQUA — ANARCHO QUEERS UNDERMINING AUTHORITY Great new rag includes "An Anarchist's Response to Aids." \$1 each issue, write AQUA, P.O. Box 1251, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013 USA

VOICES FROM WOLLASTON LAKE a book by Miles Goldstick, looks at the people of Wollaston Lake and the blockade of Eldorado (O.R. '86). Gives details on Canada's nuclear connections. Unfortunately there is a chapter on "Gandi at Collins Bay" by Jack Ross where he constantly measures Wollaston protestors against gandian philosophy, what a crock of shit.

NIEUWE KOEKRAND winter 87, 2nd. dutch & english edition — great fanzine from Holland. Articles, band interviews and publication reviews. There's talk the next issue may be a 7" compilation with zine about bands on record. \$3 per issue (80 pgs.) write Nieuwe Koekrand - Albert Cuypstraat, 100-1072 CX Amsterdam, Holland.

BOTTOMFISH BLUES — A VOICE FOR THE AMAZON NATION We received the first two issues of this paper. Looks good although depressing, but then it deals with racism, black genocide, and violence against women. No address given, if anyone has it please send it along.

ALPENZEIGLER - in german. #162-164 is colorful with home how to's and a feature on Tibet. Write Postfach, 5001 Aarau, Switzerland

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