

KICK IT OVER

No. 10 ~ SPRING 1984

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FEAR OF KNOWING



KICK IT OVER

Spring 1984 ~ \$1.50 ~ No.10

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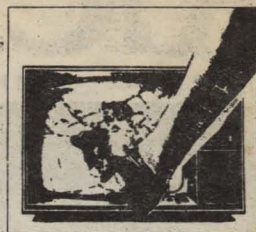
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BACK ISSUES STILL AVAILABLE

"In a time of universal deceit, telling the truth is a revolutionary act."

George Orwell

CONTENTS:

Prostitutes speak out	4
Socialism: It fails us now	6
Betty Crocker promised	9
Beyond Protest	10
Newfoundland: Against modernity ...	13
Grenada	14
No Name Party	17
A fable of men and dogs	18
Gotcha: a book review	20
Civilian Insecurity	21
When your friends freak out	24
Response to silence	26
Trivial pursuit of politics	27
Menstrual extraction	28
Letters	31
Puerto Rico	33

Readers' Notes

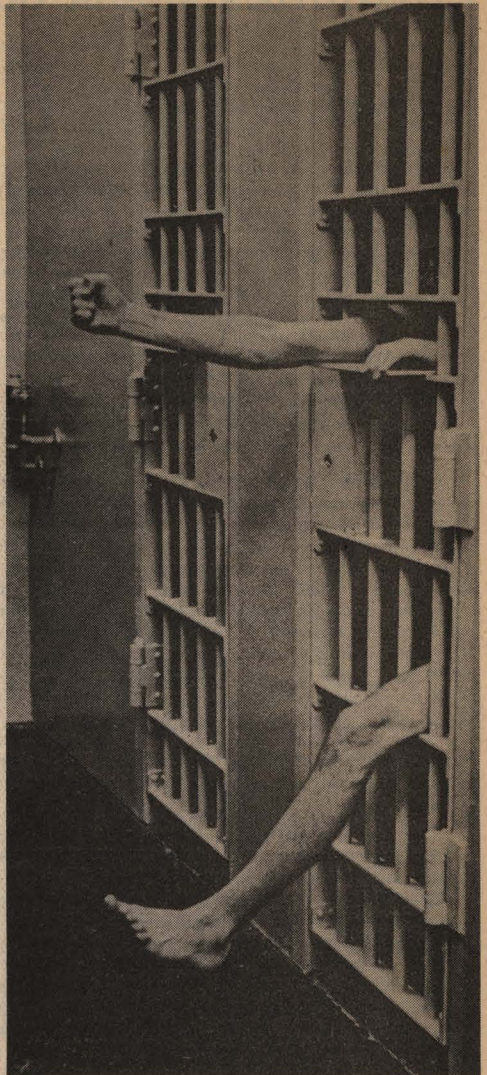
If you were wondering why we had Emma Goldman on the cover last issue and nothing about her on the inside, and why our "Health Issue" was a little thin on health issues, the reason is as follows: we originally had an article we were set to publish called "Would Emma Goldman Have Joined the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics?" This article dealt with Emma's involvement in the women's health movement, and described her efforts to help women take control over their own bodies. At the last minute, we discovered that one of the central anecdotes in the story was factually incorrect. This sort of took the wind out of our sails, and we decided to shelve the article.

Fortunately, all was not lost. Our original purpose in printing the Emma piece was to make a roundabout comment on the different approaches emerging with respect to women's health. This purpose was served admirably by Connie Clement's article, "The Case for Lay Abortions," which appeared in the December 1983 issue of **Women's Healthsharing** (Box 230, Station M, Toronto, Ont. M6S 4T3). This is the article we wanted, but lacked the necessary knowledge, to write. We highly encourage our readers to get a hold of it, and read it for themselves.

Another thing we wanted to mention is that, as our masthead says, we have no "party line," and hence anything that appears in **Kick It Over** is the opinion solely of the author, unless the article in question is signed by the collective as a whole. For those trying to get something published in KIO, keep trying! We're really quite open-minded about what we print. All we ask is that it 1) avoid rhetoric, 2) have something new to say, and 3) be reasonably well-written (there is no one "correct" style). We don't have a unified editorial policy; we all have different likes and dislikes.

If you submit ads, and we don't print them, it's not because we don't think they're important. Sometimes, we run out of space. Other times we don't have time to edit them all. But keep writing to us, and we'll try to make sure your project or publication is mentioned. Speaking of which, we'd like to congratulate **echolocation**, Toronto's newest libertarian newsheet. If you would like a copy, write to: P.O. Box 682, Station P, Toronto, ONT. M5S 2J0. Also of note is the new youth paper, **Scream!**, which comes out of Ottawa. For those interested, **Scream's** address is: 126 York St., Suite 202 Ottawa, Ontario K1H 5T5

And, finally, to our subscribers and contributors: if you send us money or material for publication, and don't hear from us, write us again! We're usually pretty good, but occasionally we slip up. Thanks.



HERB UPDATE

It appears that the government has temporarily backed down and will not be taking immediate action to ban or reclassify medicinal and food herbs, some of which were listed in our last issue. The federal Health Protection Branch is supposedly in the midst of drawing up a report, to be sent to interested persons. Based on the response to that report, a new report will be drafted. We'll try to keep you informed.

Prostitutes speak out: The right to say yes

by Alexandra Devon

While one can soft-peddle many types of non-conformity by alluding to socially acceptable precursors such as Gertrude Stein or Oscar Wilde, if one is gay, or Emma Goldman, if one is an anarchist, prostitutes have few "respectable" role models outside of fiction. For a prostitute to venture out of the shadows is to step into the harsh glare of the "moral" interrogation light.

Being a female prostitute means experiencing double oppression, as a woman, and as the least revered half of the "Madonna/Whore" dichotomy. It also means being an outsider, banished as she is to the dark alleys of "polite" society. She is the quintessential "other" for men and for women, for whom she is the potential "other" woman.

How have feminists treated her? Prostitutes have either been seen as victims or politically incorrect beings, sometimes supported but largely ignored.

Peggy Miller, organizer of the **Toronto chapter of the Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes**, is an unabashed prostitute who refuses to be pitied, judged, put down or ignored. At the Frazer Commission on **Pornography and Prostitution**, Miller read one of the most eloquent "feminist" briefs on behalf of **CORP**. While she did not deal with the issue of pornography or focus on the oppression of women, in general, her paper put forward a series of radical arguments which support the decriminalization of prostitution. In so doing, the paper exposed any attempts at either legalization or criminalization of prostitution as being hypocritical options which would endanger the rights, freedoms and lives of women engaged in prostitution.

There was a marked difference between the **CORP** paper's attempt to put prostitution in a social context and the approach favoured by groups such as the **National Action Committee for the Status of Women**. **NAC** brought out statistics showing that 50% of women who became prostitutes were previously victims of sexual violence, hence presumably, like Tess of the D'Urbervilles, "once a victim, always a victim". They further went on to assert that no woman wants to be a prostitute. From her seat in the audience, Peggy Miller uttered an unsuppressed laugh.

While, to their credit, **NAC** called for the decriminalization of prostitution, their approach was largely defensive and, from Peggy's reaction to it, somewhat out of touch with the way that prostitutes (those most directly concerned with the issue) want to present their case. After all, the question for most of the **NAC** executive is rather more academic than for the woman on the street. Undeniably many women are forced into prostitution because of a lack of other options. Even more are forced into a myriad of other low-paying, demeaning, boring, dangerous jobs where they may face



sexual harassment or otherwise have to sacrifice things which are important to their sense of self-worth. Presently the main danger for prostitutes comes from their persecution by the state and unscrupulous law enforcement officials and lack of control over the conditions in which they work, which makes them vulnerable to violence and exploitation by johns and pimps.

CORP's approach is not to garner pity for victimized women driven to prostitution. Rather they demand respect for a right to exercise a particular "choice" which, they point out, is not that different from other choices people make in this society,

We live in a world of commodities and usually the need to compromise the ideal to survive in such a world is accepted as a "fact of life". For the most part, individuals are able to determine their own kind and extent of compromise: the factory worker may spend most of his waking hours as a human machine, sacrificing his human potential for the security of a weekly paycheck; a woman may relinquish her name, body and anything else required in marriage for the security she feels it brings; an idealist is encouraged to "adjust" his "high standards" to facilitate his climb up the corporate ladder; the artist sells his creative integrity and the intellectual his intellectual integrity; a doctor or hospital can withhold critical medical aid or a businessman destroy urgently needed food as a matter of policy

if the price cannot be met. All these exchanges involve buying and selling, as commodities, those things we purport to hold dear; all involve compromising the "ideal" and all are forms of prostitution.

(A Position Paper by the **Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes** - Toronto chapter)

The victimization that **CORP** focuses on is not what societal forces might lead women to sell their bodies but why society sees fit to victimize prostitutes for choosing to trade on their most valuable "commodity" (What other work are women so well paid for)? So, why the "select" treatment **CORP** asks? Why do we "set apart one form of barter, by one of the barterers, for one commodity?" Society's stated reason is the protection from "moral corruption" or sin. **CORP** notes that if the ability to exercise "unemotional sexual activity and the barter for it is diseased, men do not appear to be handicapped or suffering for it." This is reflected in the fact that it is the prostitute, not the john who gets dragged into court. Like the "adulterous" women in Nathaniel Hawthorne's **Scarlet Letter**, it is always the woman who is branded with the scarlet A.

So much of social hypocrisy and sexual repression is revealed through attitudes toward prostitution and the prostitute. A man on the street interview, which followed a television interview with Peggy Miller, revealed the incredible hostility many men feel toward prostitutes. When asked whether prostitutes should be offered better protection from violence, most expressed indifference. One sneered, "They can take care of themselves." The male interviewer barely contained his rage when talking with Miller. At one point, he interrupted her saying "Have you ever considered that people just don't want you on the streets?" Not only men, but women too, heading various "concerned citizens" groups, express outrage, not at a society which makes everyone a commodity of one form or another, but at the "sin" of women providing a service "made necessary by the inbred hypocrisies and contradictions of the system" (Ellen Strong, "The Hooker", in **Sisterhood is Powerful**). Ellen Strong, a former hooker, comments,

It's quite an experience to turn a trick with a particularly objectionable individual, then open the newspaper the next morning and read what a pillar of the community and upstanding family man said creep is...There's nothing like screwing (and I mean screwing, not making love to) one of the Establishment's leading lights, and hearing the filth and hate pour out of his mouth, to give an insight into the basis of our revered society."

CORP rejects the "tyranny" of legalization and criminalization. Under criminalization, the prostitute is at the mercy of the courts and the police. Legalization makes the government the pimp, encourages sex ghettos and reinforces the "criminal" stigma of prostitution. **CORP** believes that legalization "creates a sexual slave where the government and men have complete control and reap most of the benefits."

The **CORP** brief ends with an appeal for decriminalization stating that, of the three courses of action, only decriminalization offers some measure of autonomy for the prostitute - the right to control her own body and the right to set her own terms of who, when and why.

Prostitution is a feminist issue. As feminists we have fought for and defended the right to say "no". Equally important is the right to say "yes" to whomever and for whatever reasons we wish. Whether one agrees with **CORP** that in trying to reclaim their sexual power, prostitutes were the first feminists, feminists must support their demand that they be allowed to control their own bodies and to exercise choice as they see fit.

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SOCIALISM: IT FAILS US NOW

by Ron Hayley

It occurred to me after I wrote this article that some readers picking it up might wonder: "why is he bashing socialists? Isn't everyone who favours social change basically a socialist, i.e. don't we all want to share resources more equitably?" Yes, of course. The reason I use the word "socialism" is because the people who embody the attitudes I describe here by and large call themselves socialists. Call this phenomenon what you like — "traditional leftism", "orthodox Marxism", I don't particularly care — but let's get clear that this phenomenon exists.

By going after "socialism," I don't mean to imply that anarchism is free from these faults either. Where anarchism and socialism have traditionally differed is that anarchists don't believe coercion and the use of government force can usher in positive change. Both anarchism and socialism have tended to overestimate the importance of economics, but, unlike the socialists, anarchists have not codified

ITEM: The Red Berets (a socialist-feminist song group) cruise by on a flatbed truck, singing to the tune of "What Do You Do With A Drunken Sailor?" The words? "Fight back and defeat them, fight back and defeat them, fight back and defeat them earl—ie in the morning."¹

COMMENT: Why is it that socialists, for all their "revolutionary" pretensions, are so stodgy when it comes to culture? The long boring leaflets, the drab presentation, the same use of colours (mostly red and black), the strident slogans, the dirge-like peace anthems, the 30's style agit/prop, the infatuation with the culture of a different era, and the general use of art as mere vehicle for propaganda. Even public speaking is an art, and yet most socialist speakers are about as inspiring as listening to the stock report while you drink your morning coffee. Usually, there's a relationship between form and content. That is, if the **form** of something is conservative, usually the **content** is as well.

Theodore Roszak, author of *The Making of A Counter-Culture*, wrote in 1969: "How many demonstrations have there been over the years: angry, vituperative, morally fervent displays which have been compounded of morbid breast-beatings and fierce denunciations...and which have won not a soul to the cause who was not already converted?" As an alternative, he cites an incident in 1968 which "an anarchist group called the Cartoon Archetypal Slogan Theatre (CAST) staged, as one of its many demonstrations, the 'capture' of a Fleet Street monument by actors dressed as U.S. soldiers. The players claimed the monument for the American Government and then comically set about recruiting everyone on hand who supported the war for the American Army. They finished by delivering a giant—sized draft card bearing Prime minister Wilson's name to No. 10 Downing Street."² Why can't we use **our** imagination?

ITEM: Trendy radicals pay \$500 to \$600 a head to go pick coffee in Nicaragua. The waiting list is 6 months long. Apply now while the supply lasts!³

COMMENT: The revolution begins at home! It seems socialists would always rather fight other people's battles than confront the difficult task of subverting the people of North America away from the consumerist lifestyle. If the "promised land" of socialism doesn't exist, the socialists can be counted upon to invent it. Apparently, the thought that there might not be any worthwhile "models" (and that we might have to create our own is too frightening to contemplate. Thus, erect a fact—proof screen to keep out any disturbing information that perhaps Nicaragua, or Cuba, or Grenada (before the coup) or Albania is not a workers' paradise, and work as hard as you can to get the franchise!

Of course, each revolution promises to be different from all the rest, but they have a nasty habit of turning out the same. And then comes the inevitable embarrassment of explaining how it is that the revolution got "betrayed" — as, say, in Zimbabwe, where the police state and foreign capital still rule, and where dissidents are hunted down by soldiers — only this time, trained by the North Koreans.⁴

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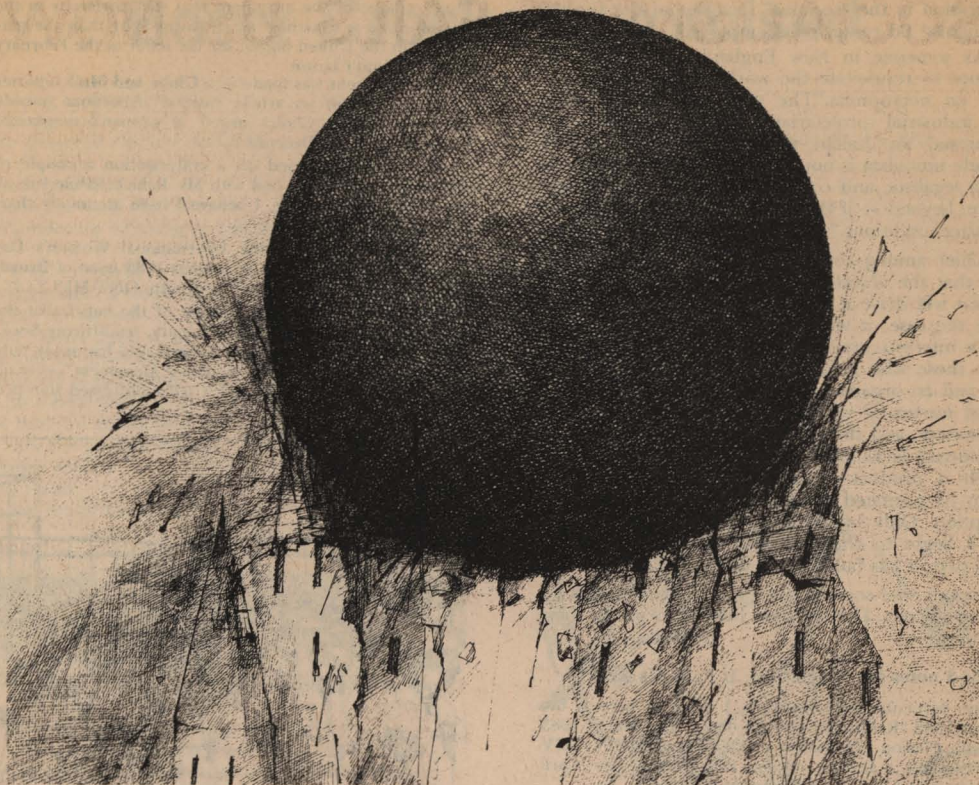
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ITEM: A friend of mine goes to a workshop and dares to suggest that "we are being held hostage by both superpowers." Horror of horrors! She is immediately called on the carpet and told in no uncertain terms the errors of her political thinking.⁵

COMMENT: Socialists lack integrity. They only oppose oppression when it suits their purposes. They have no scruples about claiming that day is night and night is day. Thus, the Soviet Union praises the Coard/Hudson bloodbath (the coup which overthrew Prime Minister Bishop of Grenada) as a "victorious people's revolution."⁶

ITEM: Judy Rebeck (a socialist), 'spokesperson of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics (OCAC) publicly accuses Connie Clement, author of "The Case for Lay Abortions", of "letting the system off the hook".⁷ Ms. Clement was arguing that conceivably abortions could be handled like home births — by trained women — without the aid of doctors. Says Rebeck, Ms. Clement is "way ahead of herself. The first issue is to get the medical system to provide greater access to abortion. To go another route (i.e. to encourage women to take control of their own bodies) is to let the system off the hook."

Privately, Ms. Rebeck questions the safety of lay

abortions, suggesting that it's better to leave abortions to the "experts". Here we see the alpha and the omega of the socialist vision. Leave the technocracy intact, and water down our politics to what can be demanded of the state!⁸

ITEM: In a letter in the November 1983 issue of **Broadside**, the socialist-feminist International Women's Day Committee proposes Choice, Jobs and Peace as the themes for this year's event: "Legalize Abortion Clinics and Stop Violence Against Women for the choice theme, No to Wage Controls and Unemployment, Yes to Affirmative Action and the Right to Unionize for the jobs theme; Refuse the Cruise and U.S. out of Central America for the peace theme."⁹

COMMENT: As usual, the issue of the patriarchy and women's oppression gets buried amid the stock slogans about jobs. Why are socialists so obsessed with economics? The surrealists of the 1920's called for 100% unemployment, and they were right. There's a whole mystification that the only way to produce food, clothing and shelter is through selling your labour power and buying it back in the form of commodities. Thus, the highest vision we could imagine would be to self-manage our own

oppression in the "socialist" factories of the future. No thanks! I'd rather be unemployed.

As someone in New England once said, "any attempt to resuscitate the workers' movement borders on necrophilia." The proletariat (particularly, the industrial proletariat) is a dying class. As Malatesta, an Italian anarchist, wrote in 1907: "Trade unionism is not, and never will be, anything but a legalistic and conservative movement, unable to aim beyond — if that far! — the improvement of working conditions."

Chief among the socialist mystifications is the idea that the objective "class interests" of the proletariat will drive it to overthrow capitalism. If this were the case, it would have happened long ago! One's interests are inseparable from one's values. Only those who possess organic forms of community and an organic connection to nature are capable of nurturing values which transcend present-day society, and the proletariat (as a class, not as individuals) lacks either of these. The proletariat is purely a product of capitalism. Its realm is the realm of alienated production and alienated consumption. Only by breaking outside of this realm can it begin to challenge the status quo. For the most part, it has failed to do so.¹⁰

In sum, the socialist doctrine can be summed up in one phrase: The socialists have a corpse in their mouth!

End notes for "Socialism: It Fails Us Now"

1. The particular demonstration I refer to here is the August 1982 "Refuse the Cruise" demo. The March 1983 Toronto Clarion (73 Bathurst St., Toronto, ONT M5V 2P6) contains a feature on the Red Berets. The April issue features a letter in response to this article.

2. pp. 150-153. A very important book. Theodore Roszak was one of the few writers who attempted to address the 60's on its own terms instead of forcing it into some hide-bound dogma.

3. This is based on information gleaned via my involvement in the peace movement in Toronto, and from a confidante in Burlington, Vermont. One of the Nicaragua alumni this person heard about found, much to his chagrin, that, instead of harvesting coffee, he had been chosen to build relocation camps for the Moskito Indians! In future issues, I hope to make available some of the analysis and criticism made of the Dandanistas (and of Marxism in general) by Akwesasne Notes, a radical Native publication, originating from the Mohawk Reserve in upper New York State.

4. I was involved in liberation support work for a period of eight years. The Zimbabwe African National Union (headed by Robert Mugabe) — now ruling the former British colony of "Rhodesia" — was the only one of the groups which the socialists considered could do no wrong. Others include the Vietnamese Communist Party, the Dergue of Ethiopia, the MPLA of Angola, and even Pol Pot of Kampuchea. I encourage our readers to investigate on their own how these "revolutions" turned out.

5. This occurred in a panel on "Women and Disarmament" at the Toronto Disarmament Network conference, December 10 and 11, 1983. The feminist panel which jumped on my friend ranged from unabashed socialist-feminists to self-styled "radical feminists." For a thor-

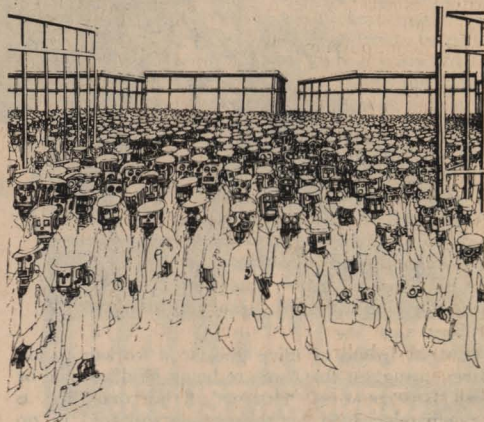
ough critique of the argument that the patriarchy in the Soviet union is somehow more trustworthy than the patriarchy in the United States, see the letter in the February 1984 Toronto Clarion.

6. This comment was made to a **Globe and Mail** reporter and appeared in an article entitled "Abortions outside hospitals, Health Clinics urged in women's magazine" sometime in mid-December.

8. My account is based on a conversation a couple of acquaintances of mine had with Ms. Rebeck. While I don't have her exact wording, I believe I have accurately characterized her position.

9. This is taken from the International Women's Day Committee's letter in the November 1983 issue of **Broadside** (P.O. Box 494, Station P, Toronto, ONT M5S 2T1).

10. For a more thorough critique of the belief that the proletariat is intrinsically revolutionary, see Murray Bookchin's **Toward An Ecological Society**, and his newly published essay, "Workers and the Peace Movement" — available from KIO for \$2.00 and a self-addressed stamped envelope.



HERBICIDE UPDATE

The address for contributions listed in Stephanie May's letter in the last issue of KIO is obsolete. Any money sent there *will be given to the forestry company*. Some of the plaintiffs chose to settle out of court. In order to get out of paying a half a million dollars in costs and damages, they had to agree not to pursue an appeal. Any money left over after they paid their legal bills was to go to the company.

Some of the plaintiffs are still interested in fighting, however. To aid them in their cause, send donations to Stephanie May, Margaree Harbour, Nova Scotia B0E 2B0. This money will go towards setting up a Canadian section of the international Pesticide Action Network, whose executive committee Stephanie is on. The fight is not over — please be generous!

Betty Crocker promised

As long as there's a recipe
i don't mind so much
the clustered chicken necks
on the stove giving off
the impression of
convicted men, the bacteria
of innocence refusing to boil away

A pinch of parsley
is suggested, a cloud of it
balm's my nerves
and i don't mind so much
as long as directions
adhered to guarantee
a taste treat that can't
be beat, an edible outcome
I vary the gas, the necks
wither exactly
as i recall
camp victim portraits

All the meat was coming free
from the intricate winding bone
collars when you called for your popcorn
and i nearly salted
and buttered it forgetful
of your brewer's yeast request
See how new methods collapse before habit

I sprinkle the curry
on the school of battered herring
(the dog emits a noxious stench of undigested
rubber hose, sauerkraut and onions)
I turn and choke, miscalculate
the cayenne falling
like freeze-dried blood

Betty Crocker promised but i don't know

Yet continue applying tried
and true tactics, clean the counter
of excess spice, dispose of the red herring
bones needing no
grim retaliatory breakfast chores, no skeletal sink
collages or brittle spines for teething on
No oven—fresh mushroom cloud muffins and hick-
ory
smokestacked ribbons of clove—riddled blubber
No nerve network porridge gone stiff from too
long
simmering on abstract heat

Zeus never dealt with such
sly prometheans, anxious to gain
their caucasian revenge, balancing micro—
chips on their shoulder, flipping egg—shell
economies sunny—side down
Ready to commit the necessary

And sorry

about the popcorn: what i thought was soya
sauce was dead pig grease

On other stoves in other kitchens
imagine the mistakes being made
Even as we speak new poisons
are being invented
by absent-minded cooks

Betty Crocker promised
it i'm getting suspicious



BEYOND PROTEST:

A radical critique of civil disobedience

by Gary Moffatt

A radical is by definition one who traces problems to their roots. In evaluating civil disobedience as a tactic for radical social change, we must question whether it goes to the roots of the problems which have created the arms race; this article will contend that it does not.

It should be made clear at the outset that the form of civil disobedience being considered is that practiced by the North American peace movement, consisting mainly of sitdown blockades of government and industrial targets. There may well be times when perception of social injustice is so pervasive that a Gandhi or a Martin Luther King can lead an effective civil disobedience campaign, but this is not the situation the peace movement is in. Enough people still believe in the arms race as a deterrent to war to enable politicians espousing this viewpoint to get re-elected; the peace movement's task is to shift a consensus, not to translate an already-achieved consensus into change as King and Gandhi did.

It is very unlikely that a campaign of repeated sit-downs will achieve this goal. While appearing to be radical, in that they represent a more complete commitment of the participants to changing government policy than the work of the mainstream peace movement, sitdowns fail to challenge and in some respects re-enforce the legitimacy of the military state.

Just as the nation state is unable to break out of its blind adherence to a traditional policy of trying to maintain peace by stockpiling weapons (despite the many failures of this policy), so the peace movement seems unable to break out of its blind adherence to traditional methods of attempting to change this policy.

These efforts have been based on the perception of the arms race as an aberration, a nuclear insanity which can be corrected as soon as the politicians and electorate can be made to see the error of their ways. Thus, the mainstream of the peace movement is preparing to direct its energies towards a "peace caravan" petitioning and lobbying of existing and potential MP's in the months leading to the next federal election. Another segment is blowing vast sums of money challenging the Cruise testing in the courts; they are so unable to conceive of alternative strategies that they have decided to attempt to carry their appeal to the Supreme Court despite their unanimous rejection by a five-judge panel.

All these efforts are doomed to failure. Any MP's we do persuade to defy party discipline by voting against military measures in parliament will sacrifice their future in that party and what they perceive as the chance to influence party policy, even though this chance of influence is largely illusory.

Corporations want militarization as a means of subduing the Third World. Any party which defies the corporations need not expect the millions of dollars it will need to win power in a federal election, and even the social democrats must woo these corporations (the "green parties" have not yet come close enough to power to face this decision, and probably never will.)

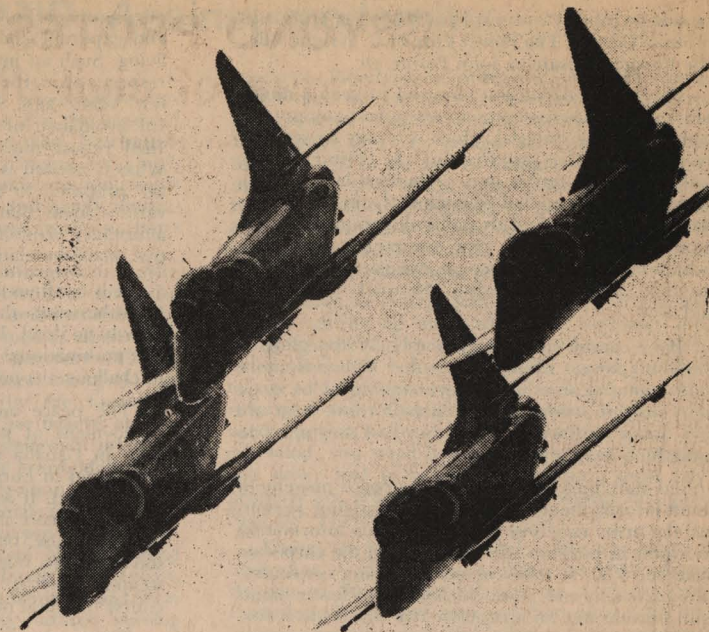
The more active peace supporters are also fighting the Cruise testing in the courts using the bodies of their members rather than the cash of their supporters to gain a "hearing" in court by conducting the sitdowns. The rites surrounding these sitdowns have become as solemn and ritualized as the Dance of Death itself—formation of affinity groups, training new participants, holding a party on the eve of the demonstration, doing the ritual sitdown and being carried away by the cops, jail processing, release from jail, holding of an evaluation meeting to scrutinize all aspects of the action except why it didn't change anything, court cases with the statements of conscience and inevitable convictions, the long months of fund-raising to cover the expenses incurred.

And what is the end result of all this expenditure of energy? Everyone feels good; the protesters have dramatized their dissent with Their Bodies, the police have maintained Their Authority and prevented any real disruption of activities at the target building, the judges have advanced their own careers by supplying the convictions and sentencing expected of them, the lawyers are counting their money, the corporations can proceed to create arms and profits.

The only people who see any real challenge to the status quo in these rituals are the minority of cops who choose to use unnecessary brutality against those they are arresting. These cops want more than a ritual; they want to hurt people whom they regard as a threat. The protesters who get manhandled are usually quite taken aback to find themselves thus taken seriously; some even write Letters to the Editor protesting their treatment.

Generally, the protesters spend only a few hours in jail, are reasonably well treated and receive lenient sentencing, all of which proves that the authorities don't take their "threat" seriously. Compare their treatment to that given the Vancouver Five, Henry Morgentaler or anyone else suspected of seriously challenging the status quo.

If the worst aspect of North American style civil disobedience were that it does nothing to alter our course towards nuclear war, a case could be made for it in terms of it being a learning experience for the participants. Unfortunately, the lessons learned are the wrong ones and the cause of peace is



definitely set back by this form of activity.

First, it should be noted that civil disobedience participants experience a high rate of burn-out; after a few somewhat similar actions people tend to feel that they have "done their hitch" and somebody else can take over. Where are the people who formed the Committee of 100 in the early 1960's, or even those who went to Darlington in the mid-1970's? Sit-downs require a high level of commitment at the time they are undertaken, but there is nothing innate in the process which will sustain this commitment.

Basically, sitdowns reinforce faith in and respect for our political institutions. True, the protesters are expressing a feeling that "legitimate" methods of persuasion and protest have failed and something more is necessitated by the urgency of the crisis. But at whom is their message directed?

Fundamentally, towards the same old politicians and industrial leaders who have rejected the same message when delivered through "legitimate" vehicles such as petitions, delegations and poster parades.

Let us not delude ourselves that these sitdowns exert positive influence on the employees of the targeted building; the police usually manage to keep the workers and the demonstrators well apart, and by attempting to block these workers from earning their day's pay, the protesters have created a situation in which the workers are on the same

side as the police who make it possible for them to get to work.

The handful of people who have to listen to the pre-sentencing statements of conscience in courts could conceivably be impressed, but we could reach larger audiences speaking on soap-boxes. Nor are the cliché-ridden reports of the trials in the mass media likely to stir anyone to join our cause.

In the last analysis, the protest is being delivered to the same Authorities who have rejected it in other forms, asking them a bit more dramatically to change their policies. The very act of making this request (or demand if you will) assumes that those we are addressing are in a position to grant it, and reinforces the popular perception that they are so empowered. But are they?

I suspect that a radical study of the situation would reveal that they are not. Those who wield the real decision-making capacity in this society, the senior executives of the largest corporations, are incapable of changing the intrinsic nature of the multinational corporation, which requires it to continue to merge, diversify and expand; the moment it stops doing so it will be taken over by another multinational, and any executive who loses the personal taste for this sort of manoeuvring will be quickly replaced by someone else if the corporation wishes to survive. (Anyone who doubts this should read the report of the People's Food Commission or such books as **Profit Hungry; The Food Industry in**

Canada by John Warncock, **How the Other Half Dies** by Susan George, **The Power Elite** by C. Wright Mills, **The Vertical Mosaic** by John Porter, etc.

The sort of expansion required to keep a multinational afloat necessitates access to vast amounts of capital and raw material, which can only be secured by exploiting the resources of the Third World, both its raw materials and its human labour. Any movement for national liberation (from the ruling elites who cooperate with the multinationals) must be suppressed; this is the real reason for the USA's escalation of the arms race (as discussed in the article U.S. Nuclear Terrorism, Network numbers 3 and 4.)

If we cannot stop the arms race by appealing to those in power, what can we do? There is more than enough constructive work waiting to be done to occupy the time and talents of those who are now doing sit-downs because they feel they must do something meaningful.

To start with, members of the peace movement must inform themselves of the underlying reasons for the arms race and disseminate this information as widely as possible. We must expose the corporate state for what it really is, an increasing concentration of wealth and power in fewer and fewer hands with nuclear war an acceptable risk insofar as it furthers this goal.

Until this point is generally realized, little can be done to bring peace closer. This requires a more radical form of public education than the peace movement has yet been willing to undertake, both in terms of content (we need a fundamental critique of society) and method of presentation (we must devise new ways of reaching peoples' attention without antagonizing them.)

Secondly, we must begin in earnest to work on creation of an Alternative Society. This has been talked about for the last twenty years, and there have been several groups who have experimented with various economic and cultural alternatives, but by and large far too little has been accomplished.

The concept of an alternative society will remain largely rhetoric until we develop a strategy for making it possible for anyone who so wishes to make a living outside the System, rejecting dependence on either a salaried job or state welfare payments. We must make this alternative not only possible, but at least as attractive as working for the System. As long as people feel economically dependent upon the System, they will not feel free to challenge its fundamental policies.

But how do we free them from this dependence? It is unlikely that any of the existing models, such as cottage industries devoted more to ornamental than functional products or community development corporations, can fulfill our needs without serious modification.

The first order of business should be to establish an inquiry to pick the brains of the people in vari-

ous centres who have thought about this problem and experimented with various forms of making a living. Such an inquiry could be patterned in some respects after the People's Food Commission of a few years ago, though the Commission's careful avoidance of positive recommendations in its final report must not be duplicated in this case. What is needed is at least a handful of people who are prepared to take the time to sift through the various ideas that have been brought forward on alternative economics and come up with some positive recommendations.

If it confines itself to protest (civil disobedience or otherwise) the radical peace movement will shortly be dead. If it creates a serious alternative to the multinational controlled state, we can proceed to challenge its policies in earnest.

The peace movement, as a movement against deployment of nuclear missiles, is a spent force both in Canada where the Cruise will shortly be tested and in Europe where the missiles will shortly be deployed. It was never a very good idea for the Canadian peace movement to concentrate on refusing the Cruise, but since most of its participants are too young to remember the battle to keep nuclear weapons out of Canada in the early 1960's, this course of action may have been inevitable.

The peace movement must continue to do public education by whatever means are at its disposal. Civil disobedience and other forms of public manifestation can be useful when directed towards the goal of public education, rather than the myth of being able to change official policy. For short-term purposes, public education could will tip the balance against certain types of action by the state which bring total warfare closer, as it did in preventing the USA from nuking North Vietnam.

In the long run, however, only an entirely different social system can save us from total war. Starting a truly free school (run by the students) or democratic food co-op is an infinitely more radical act than blocking traffic at Litton or External Affairs because it combines a rejection of what exists with a determination to create something better.

There are many obstacles to creating such alternatives — our entire socialization process, starting with the patriarchal family and continuing into the school system and job market, is geared to making us competitive rather than co-operative, and we must overcome this conditioning by a conscious effort.

Towards Community Solutions To Sexual Violence

Friday May 11, Saturday May 12

Sponsored by:

Quacker Committee on Jails and Justice

with the participation of the: Rape Crisis Centre;
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NEWFOUNDLAND: Against modernity

by George Vokey

Who would believe it! Some Newfoundlanders still do -- especially the old folks. But the winds of change and "progress" are sweeping Newfoundland. Not only major cities are changing, but small, isolated communities are also riding on the clouds of progress. The change is swift, and barely noticeable, as the values and togetherness in the outports slowly dwindle.

And one can imagine how informed and sympathetic Uncle Joe and Aunt Mary are. And who can blame them? Hoodwinked and controlled by business, "politicians" and the media, since Newfoundland was "discovered" in the year 1497 by John Cabot (the Indians lived there, George!). The communist who got dumped by the faculty at Memorial University because of her beliefs, or Ann Budgell, the CBC reporter, demoted to radio because she asked then - Premier Frank Moores too many personal questions on television. These two rights (education and the media) are the most essential modes of freedom in any province.

A new menace is threatening Newfoundland and its way of life. Oil has been found off the coast, and plans have begun for industrializing huge areas of the province. With the fishing industry making up over one third of Newfoundland's natural resources, cries from a few environmentalists have risen but have since been ignored and forgotten. One oil slick could prove fatal to this fragile industry overnight.

Newfoundland outports today are more in style and modern, attempting to achieve a standard of living like everywhere else in Canada. It's very

apparent. Paved roads, instead of the dirty, dusty gravel ones we had to travel over only a few short years ago; streetlights hanging on every pole; two automobiles in every garage. It's beginning to be like America, or the rest of Canada -- losing its natural beauty and uniqueness, gaining smog, acid rain, and an ever-expanding population. Town councils have been formed and Newfoundlanders are paying dearly, thanks to funds sent from Ottawa and the provincial government.

To make us appear more civilized, the government is tearing up the newly paved highways and installing water and sewage in every home -- which we've never had before. We gladly waved goodbye to our old-fashioned way of life to get modern, reformed and rehabilitated. To hunt rabbit, you need a permit whereas you never had to before. To cut wood, you need a woodcutter's permit; again, you never had to before. Every citizen must pay property tax, school tax, water tax, sewage tax, garbage tax. There seems to be no end to it!

Things we took for granted -- like our beloved outhouses -- are no more. You can drive from Burgeo to St. John's and not see a single one. Everything is spic and span and controlled, with the highest unemployment and inflation in the country.

The people who lose most, of course, are the poor. This tragedy must be averted and dealt with. Not by the church, politician, or businessman -- who are only interested in a profit. It must be dealt with by a united will, so that everyone gets a fair and just share of the oil pie. Anything else should be "kicked over."



GRENADA: REQUIEM FOR A REVOLUTION

by Richard Swift

"Only ourselves can free our minds"

— Bob Marley

The United States invasion of Grenada has provoked justifiable protest — both in the Caribbean itself and from the Left in North America. The Pentagon has been developing contingency plans for such an invasion ever since the overthrow of Eric Gairy's corrupt Labour Party government in 1979 by the socialist opposition New Jewel Movement. Gairy's rule was marked by economic exploitation of Grenada by the developed countries and the use of the paramilitary Mongoose Gang to keep Grenadans quiet...

After coming to power the New Jewel Movement led by lawyer Maurice Bishop (whose father was murdered by Gairy) launched an ambitious pro-program of social reform and economic development for Grenada. They aimed at creating a new type of democracy rooted in the direct participation of people in the process of their own government.

The global military managers in the Pentagon grew increasingly restless with the social experimentation in Grenada and the radical postures adopted by the New Jewel Movement on international issues. The U.S. military launched a 'practice' invasion of Grenada in Puerto Rico codenamed 'Amber and the Amberdines' (Grenada and the Grenadans) in 1981 and the Reagan administration set the stage by characterizing Grenada as a Cuban puppet. Maurice Bishop however realized that the real threat Grenada posed to American interests lay in another direction entirely.

In a series of interviews and speeches Bishop accused the U.S. of wanting to control everything that goes on its backyard. For Bishop, Grenada posed an example for the people of other English-speaking Caribbean islands. The example being an economic alternative based on the mobilization of popular effort rather than industrialization by invitation. And a social alternative that emphasized people sharing weal and woe together rather than class polarization and poverty. And, finally, a cultural alternative that stressed the integrity of indigenous traditions instead of providing artificial colour for the tourist trade.

It should come as no surprise that the U.S. government would use any excuse to stop what was going on in Grenada. It would be wrong, however, for the Left to concentrate solely on the American role in destroying what was valuable in the Grenadan revolution. Indeed we should be quite suspicious of those who in the name of 'not wanting to play into the hands of our enemies' refuse to discuss and analyze the first phase of counter-revolution in Grenada. For in many ways the revolution in Grenada was already dead before the first Marines came ashore. They just buried the corpse. This is clearly testified to by the relatively light military resistance encountered by the invading

forces. This resistance seems almost token for anyone who witnessed the overwhelming popularity of the revolutionary process and the government of Maurice Bishop. The truth is that the Marines encountered a demoralized and confused population. The truth is that the revolution imploded before the first helicopter gunship ever circled over St. George's.

Why? This is the crucial question for "those who do not understand history are condemned to repeat it." There are a number of different descriptions of the exact sequence of events that led up to the murder of Maurice Bishop and of many of the others in the New Jewel leadership by their own military. What is important is not the exact sequence, but rather the underlying political tensions that created the crisis within Grenada's revolutionary movement.

A number of factors must be taken into account. First of all, external pressure and the hostile ideological climate in the Eastern Caribbean were important. A long list can be compiled of the military, economic and political pressures which were placed on Grenada. The cut-off of U.S. aid and the role of the Americans in blocking credit through the International Monetary Fund, etc. certainly had their effects. Military pressure and a hostile Western press campaign helped to create a siege mentality feeding paranoia and panic. A preoccupation with security and military means of defense took the place of a political defense of the revolution through deepening its popular support at home and asserting the legitimacy of its objectives abroad. Still, all revolutions are subject to external pressures and those on Grenada were certainly no more intense than elsewhere. While the political climate in the Eastern Caribbean was far from hospitable up until the coup by the "Provisional Military Council," there seemed to be an underlying consensus that Caribbean problems ought to be solved in the Caribbean. The New Jewel Movement (NJM) also had a remarkable record of attracting economic support from a wide variety of sources — Cuba, Libya, Western and Eastern Europe. So, in many ways, the NJM seemed to face external pressures less severe than those experienced by Mozambique, Nicaragua or Angola. Neither is there any evidence for the Soviet claim that Bishop's and the others' deaths were the result of a conspiracy by the CIA.

Another factor was the relatively low level of economic and political development in Grenada. An island of 100,000 odd people is vulnerable for reasons of geography alone. Added to this is a history of almost total economic dependence and a very heavy reliance on imports. This placed severe limitations on developing a more self-reliant economy.

The political circumstances surrounding the revolution also created difficulties. The NJM came to power not as a result of mass revolutionary uprising or a prolonged guerilla war but in a coup d'etat

involving only a very few people. While the NJM certainly had popular support it basically attempted to institute liberation from the top down. This is a task history has shown to be fraught with difficulties. It also meant an overworked and increasingly stressed leadership working eighteen hours a day. This was offset somewhat by the migration to Grenada of young politically aware people from the rest of the region who were attracted by the innovative nature of the Grenadan revolution.

While these factors helped shape events in Grenada there is one other that has been neglected in most explanations of the split leading up to Maurice Bishop's death and the first phase of counter-revolution. The political form of the revolution came increasingly under the influence of orthodox Marxist-Leninist ideas about forms of organization.

The Marxist-Leninist strait-jacket and the attempt to mould the NJM into a conventional Communist Party distorted the revolutionary potential of the situation in a number of ways. Grenada's tiny size contained advantages for the NJM as well as the obvious disadvantages. The potential for organizing such a small population into directly democratic forms of self-rule is not hard to imagine. Indeed this was one direction of the revolutionary process — a direction more compatible with the revolutionary populism of Bishop's wing of the NJM than with the more orthodox thinking of those around Finance Minister Bernard Coard. Not that these differences were as clearly defined as they are drawn here — they were simply different poles of political opinion.

From the very beginning, there was an attempt

This took a variety of forms — women's organizations, parish councils, trade unions, youth for reconstruction, friendly societies, and a popular militia. These organizations played an important role in Grenada particularly in areas as community and school improvement programs or in the literacy campaign. By and large, however, these popular institutions remained means of mobilizing support for the government rather than evolving into centres of political and economic power in their own right. There seemed to be a reluctance, at least on the part of some in the NJM leadership, to allow this evolution to beyond the bounds of state control. Without directly participating in the running of Grenada these popular institutions eventually became devitalized as the initial enthusiasm for the revolutionary effort began to fade. A crisis occurred that could only be resolved by extending economic and political democracy.

The 'scientific' Marxist-Leninist pole around the Coard faction put political emphasis on strengthening "revolutionary leadership". For this faction the formation of a unified Party and Central Committee became the solution to all major questions. This conception of politics limited discussion of many important issues to a narrow circle of government and Party people — at most several hundred individuals. This practice of "democratic centralism" (the Marxist-Leninist term for party rule) meant that differences on political direction within this limited circle could not be publicly aired. So it came as an almost total surprise to most Grenadans when Maurice Bishop — a man popularly identified with the fate of the revolution — was placed under house arrest for failing to respect the



decisions of the Central Committee. One observer in Grenada at the time reported that when some Party members went door to door to try and explain Bishop's detention the public response was total amazement. "What Central Committee?" "You should have asked us first." "We want to hear what Maurice has to say." The revolution had built up the expectation that people would be consulted, an expectation that ran against the grain of Marxist-Leninist political thinking. Eventually Grenadans in their thousands went to free Bishop ("No Bishop, No Revolution!") and set off a chain of events that resulted in the army intervening against the people and in the deaths of Maurice Bishop and many of those politically associated with him.

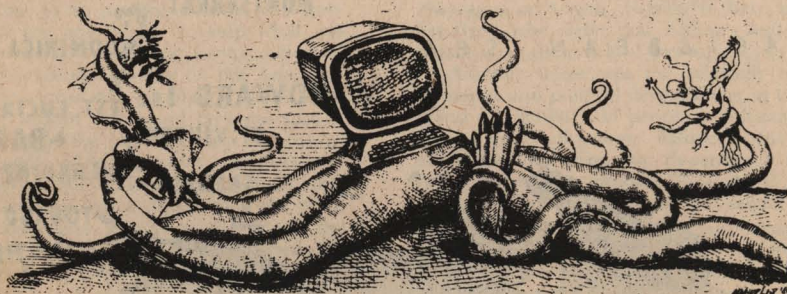
The actual content of the differences between Maurice Bishop and Bernard Coard remain obscure. References generally relate to the pace of the revolution but what this meant in detail is difficult to tell from a distance. What seems likely is that Bernard Coard was in favour of taking a firm (some might say **heavy**) hand politically. No concessions on such issues as elections, political prisoners, press censorship, and generally a very controlled top-down sense of what the revolution should be about. Coard and his followers were reportedly uneasy about plans for a new constitution and the creation of popular assembly. A loosening of top-down control put the revolution at risk by allowing those who might be 'politically unreliable' access to power. Maurice Bishop's attempts to find manoeuvring room with the Americans may also have made Coard suspicious as he favoured a more 'pro-socialist world' orientation. (Grenada supported the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the U.N. while Nicaragua for example remained neutral.)

Another element that should not be overlooked in the NJM split is the personality factor. According to political observers close to the scene, Coard was as anxious to lead the revolution as he was jealous of Maurice Bishop. He was a man who could dominate a meeting with rhetorical flourish. His formal training in economics and Marxism made him a formidable figure in the relatively undeveloped political setting of Grenada. It is difficult to weight political ambition as a factor. But it is clear that the Left is not immune from power grabs. The hierar-

chical structures of democratic-centralist organizations lend themselves particularly well to the politics of power play. Bernard Coard and his faction were able to gain a majority on the Central Committee and in the leadership of the Army. When Maurice Bishop balked at some of their proposals about the structure of leadership he was placed under house arrest, the way having first been prepared by disarming units of the army and militia thought to be loyal to Bishop. The stage was set for a serious showdown.

Another area that remains obscure is what kind of international support the Coard faction thought it could count on. Coard did spend several weeks in the Soviet Union the summer before the October coup. Whether this has any significance is again hard to judge although there is a history of Soviet attempts to make sure that there is 'reliable' leadership in charge of Third World socialisms (Afghanistan, Ethiopia, etc.). What is clear is that the Cubans and Fidel Castro were appalled by the coup and by Bishop's assassination. Whether these protests were aimed at a Soviet Union that had 'gone over Cuba's head' or just at other political groups in the Caribbean that might have sympathy for Bernard Coard's type of 'scientific' Marxism-Leninism also remains unclear.

An important thing to keep in mind is that by the rather arcane rules of democratic centralist organization the Coard faction was perfectly correct in their behavior. Once they had won a majority in the Central Committee and Party it was up to the others to step aside. It was only of secondary importance what the majority of Grenadans felt about the revolutionary process and its leadership. So, one thing that the tragedy of Grenada should clearly do is to raise the question of the appropriateness of Marxist-Leninist structures and methods as tools of liberation in a Third World setting. In Grenada's case it seems that Marxism-Leninism was a dangerous detour and an artificial forcing that destroyed the revolutionary potential of the Grenadan experiment. If the experience of Chile raised questions about the peaceful road to socialism, Grenada raises similar doubts about the usefulness of Marxism-Leninism as a vehicle for achieving freedom and social change.



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9. Form a new Crown Corporation called **Grasscan**. The western grain belt would be converted to hemp production, the output of which would be sold to the United States, since it is illegal in Canada.
10. Set up a new bureaucracy called **The Computer Investment Review Agency (C.I.R.A.)** with head offices at Schefferville, Quebec. Hundreds of people who were laid off by the **Iron Ore Company of Canada** could get jobs reviewing and vetoing any technological changes in business and government that would displace people.
11. Tax the largest corporations in Canada, the Governments.

Amalgamate all government departments into one. This would be called the department of government or **Irrelevance Canada**. The new department would be based on the fact that at present, one in four Canadians receive a government cheque. We would be able to have one civil servant per household according to present statistics. This government domestic would move in with you, set

up a desk in your living room, fill out a shopping list in triplicate and do other duties such as driveway maintenance and 'residential defence'. This practice has worked with our armed forces and could work with our civil service.

The **No Name Party**: We are not left because we are new and therefore there is nothing to be left over from. We are not right, because no one is perfect. And we are not middle of the road because we don't want to get run over.

Inside sources at parliament Hill in Ottawa have recently informed the **No Name Party** that our next federal election will be called in the near future to take place November the 1st 1984. This Halloween election be the first for the **No Name Party** to participate in and will also be the election where we will take enough seats to form a majority government.

Get Behind a No-Name!! People of Canada Unite!! You have nothing to lose but your paycheques, and everything to gain such as a nice thick RCMP dossier with your name on it!!

Vote early and vote often!

Contact Address: The No Name Party of Canada
140 Glendale Ave.,
Toronto, Ont.
M6R 2T2 (416) 533-2829



*Derw Narren lache Ich Allen
Denn mir Iren Holfen thun gefallen*

A FABLE OF M

In the travels of my youth, I wandered from place to place, seeking in the men and women I met the meaning of politics in the world.



Sitting by the Nile, I saw a man lead his donkey, the woman plodding behind. But while the donkey's back was bare of burden, the woman was bent double, carrying the firewood for the household. Puzzled by this entourage, I followed them back to their baked mud hut, half buried by the gritty sand that flew into my eyes. A television sat in the middle of the dwelling like a sacred shrine, playing the only and official channel of the government. Late into the night, the man talked of Islam and its divine laws, as a single lightbulb, illuminated by the Nassar American Dam, cast pallid shadows on his silent wife and children. Politics, he enthusiastically explained, was the dictates of religion.



In France, I met the working class. Men in blue overalls sat in cafes, spouting the rhetoric of marxist analysis over their early morning glass of wine. Agricultural communists, they threw a season's worth of crops on roads leading to the Italian EEC agreements. Guarding rotting tomatoes with sleek new rifles, their women stayed home to talk of babies. Politics, they explained, was class warfare.

Walking far into the mountains of Italy, I came across some teepees. Ragged men and women gathered round to meet me. Living in the wilderness, they ate only chestnuts and grasses, encountering civilization once a year when they mounted a show at the Paris Modern Museum, explaining to all who would listen about their tribal system. Politics, they argued, was a state of nature.



On my way home to Canada, confused by all these answers, I flew out of Amsterdam at the time of the annual squatters' riots. Punks in leather jackets and spiked dreadlocks played hide and seek with police battalions. In the square behind the National Art Museum, hundreds of people gathered to throw rocks at the army, dodging water cannons and gagging on tear gas. Onlookers described each side's strategy with interest. And as the crowd dispersed for a lunch break, some rioters suggested to me that it was an entertaining way to spend a day on unemployment. Politics, they argued, was a ritual, a game to be played.

Would I ever find a meaning, I despaired, that would make sense of this pot-pourri politics of country and place?

N AND DOGS

Back home in Canada, I was living with my mother. The lines at the unemployment office were long and boring. Walking through the city, I found torrents of office workers dressed in identical blue serge coats, streaming from Bay Street towards the Eaton's Centre in search of lunchtime entertainment. Occasionally, I would see an old man or woman, half frozen, ill clad, sleeping in the bus shelters. Politics, my mother explained, is the art of getting ahead. Be a lawyer, she said.



JIM ANDERSON

I had all but given up, when I heard from a grizzled old Newfoundlander at Dundas and Jarvis, that there was someone who might know the answer to my quest. His name was Yukon Jack, and he lived at the heart of our great Canadian mystic north. In a last-ditch attempt, I took a train to Sudbury and climbed to the highest slag heap around. It was there that I found, looking contemplatively at his smokestack view, old Yukon Jack.

"Yukon Jack" I called, "I have been searching the world in quest of a politics that makes universal sense."

"It's a dog's world out there," he cried back. More confused than ever, I returned to Toronto, disheartened, abject.



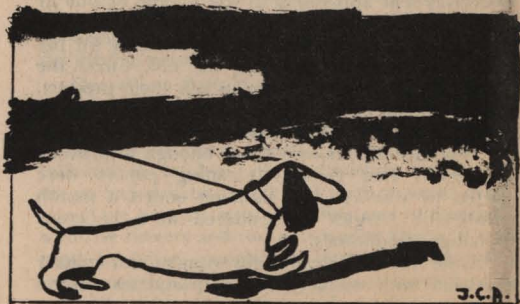
Gradually, I forgot all about politics, then one Sunday in February, I met a group of disheveled tramps at Bloor and Yonge. Bitter and cold in the late afternoon sun, they were demonstrating against the removal of a tramp's companion dog. It seemed, that the good citizens of our land were outraged that a man would keep a defenceless mutt, beside him in the frozen streets, while he slept wrapped warmly up in the newspapers from his newspaper stand. Taking the dog away to the Society for the Humane, they left the old man exposed, curled and alone in the winter cold.

Something snapped inside my lethargic ambivalent political stand. I raced to the Society for the Humane, interrupting a meeting of the Board of the pound, demanding in no uncertain fashion the return of the old man's dog. Looking up from their mahogany table, vaguely surprised, men in uniform suits, strange mannequins drawn in mind of some Disney design, replied:

"Little girl, we have more important matters at hand. It seems there is a crisis in our organization. For the sake of population control, we want to neuter all the animals in the kennel. But while it seems only just to spay all the females, we simply cannot, must not, condone a similar castration of our males."

Suddenly, the universal meaning of politics was beginning to make sense.

Spot Tuer



GOTCHA: A BOOK REVIEW

The **Sunday Sun**, the day after the anti-cruise demo in April, ran a headline referring to a "battle" along with a large colour photo of a bleeding counter-demonstrator. The bias implicit in this coverage should surprise nobody familiar with the paper; yet I was astonished at the reaction of a fellow I know who watched the march while at work on Bloor St. Although the march was an enjoyable spectacle, (he conceded) he found that the marchers were kooks and expressed dismay at their hypocrisy. The proof of his argument lay on the first page of the **Sun**.

Clearly, the paper had not told him what to think directly (this happens only on the editorial pages and advertisements), but who can doubt the power of the news media in influencing perception of even those events in which we actually participate? Of course, it is a rare treat to read in the papers of such an event, for only on these occasions is it possible to test directly the veracity of the coverage.

The Falklands Crisis (I'd call it a war - but this word remains in vogue only in the Middle East) is a good example of the type of media event where we must rely completely on the news media for information.

Robert Harris has provided us with an account of the Falklands media coverage in **Gotcha! The Media, The Government And The Falklands Crisis**. The book's title is taken from a headline of the **Sun** a British tabloid remarkable similar to its Toronto namesake. The headline refers to the sinking of the Argentine battleship, "General Belgrano".

Harris has broken his treatment into chapters concerning the Fleet St. press, the BBC, the Ministry of Defence (MoD) public relations dept., and the correspondents who were sent with the task force. The main thrust of **Gotcha!** is found in example after example of bureaucratic interference in the media and the news media failure to respond to these challenges.

In a fascinating chapter on the Fleet St. papers, we are shown their coverage of the crisis. The task force was sent apparently in the middle of one of Fleet St.'s own "circulation wars".

We are given, in grotesque detail, how (in the absence of actual news from the task force) the Tory papers used the crisis to sell their product. Meanwhile the Labour papers offered a feeble voice in opposition to Mrs. Thatcher's policies.

This "dissent", however, was enough to provoke accusations that these left-leaning papers were staffed by traitors. The situation ended a month before the "Argies" surrendered in a ludicrous exchange of editorials.

Aside from the obvious government and military obsession with secrecy, Harris postulates several other reasons for the extreme censorship the news media suffered.

The belief among military brass that television exposure would encourage dissent with the folks back home had many followers. This argument seems to be valid, yet surveys concerning this issue taken by **Newsweek** during the Viet-Nam war indicate that tv exposure caused Americans to become increasingly indifferent to the war.

Unlike the Army, which has had much experience dealing with the press during its occupation of Northern Ireland, the Navy seems to have felt that the best information policy was an almost complete news black-out.

It is interesting to note that in 1854, the charge of the Light Brigade was described in the **Times** 20 days after it had taken place. In 1982, tv film from the task force took as long as 23 days from filming to transmission. Harris attributes this to the non-cooperation of the Navy with the news media.

Perhaps the most malicious instances of censorship during the period can be seen as attempts to further the popularity of the Thatcher government, which spiked at that time, and remained high until the election held a year later. An example of this manipulation is evident at the time of the Argentine surrender. John Nott (secretary of state for defence) ordered a news black-out, leaving it up to Thatcher to announce the victory in parliament.

There are no biographical notes on Harris in the book but it seems to me that he is a journalist; he has a somewhat irritating tendency to flesh out the characters of his "story" by including irrelevant (and sometimes amusing) details.

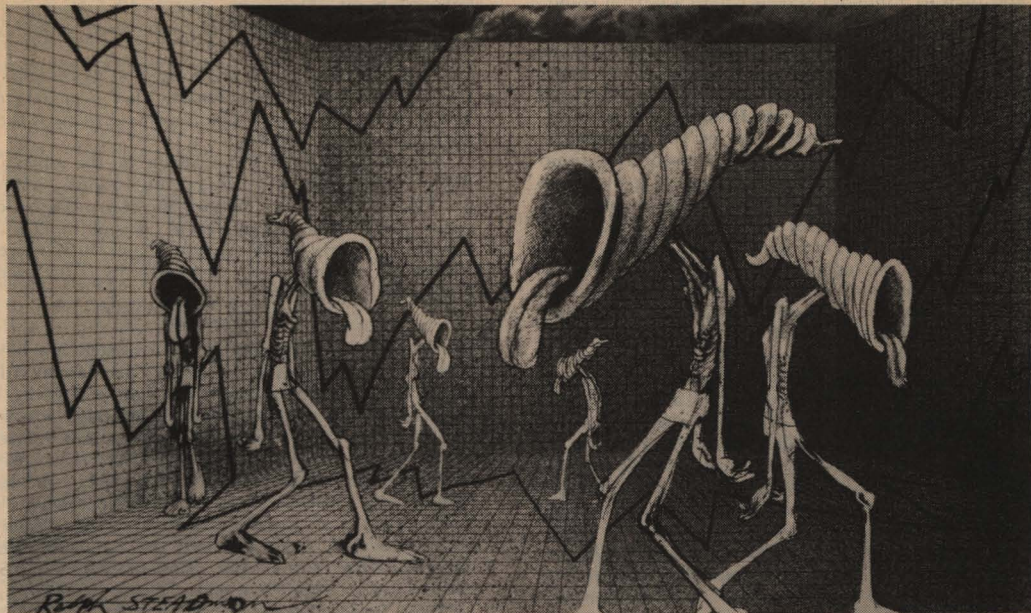
Harris' format of presentation led to confusion concerning the sequencing of specific events during the crisis. This and the lack of strategic/tactical issue coverage made it difficult to view the media problems in perspective.

The Falklands crisis media coverage (i.e. press releases from MoD propagandists, or "senior sources" to those who read the papers) will doubtless be remembered as a pathological case in media circles not only because of the censorship issue, but also because of the extreme isolation of the islands. Actually, the revelations of **Gotcha!** should surprise only the most naive of us. Still, I believe that it serves as an interesting case study and is a valuable albeit overpriced (\$10) book.



Civilian Insecurity: Big Brother under cover

Excerpts from an anonymous pamphlet called Bug Canada



SMILE. . . you're on candid camera!

In January, 1983 five Vancouver activists were arrested and charged with numerous counts including the firebombing of Red Hot (porn-video) stores, the bombing of a B.C. Hydro substation, and various conspiracy and arms charges. They were later charged with bombing the Litton cruise missile guidance system plant in Toronto. The Five, Julie Belmas, Gerry Hannah, Ann Hansen, Doug Stewart, and Brent Taylor, have been held since their arrests. Their trial is taking place in New Westminster.

There is a ban on publication of evidence by regularly published and financed media during the first part of the trial. There is important information of interest to activists in this "voir dire" part which might not come up again in the reported part of the trial.

The "voir dire" determines the admissibility of evidence. Numerous police witnesses have testified to surveillance methods, giving us a rare glimpse of the shape and extent of police intelligence gathering in Vancouver.

Among developments from the voir dire that people should know about:

- police illegally entered a house to plant bugs carrying revolvers and ready to shoot if interrupted.

- police and Crown prosecutors covered up details of the investigation including the partici-

pation of the **RCMP SECURITY SERVICE** long before other police became involved. Only an accident led to this discovery.

- "National Security" was invoked a number of times by police witnesses and many parts of the investigation remain murky.

- police are willing to commit up to ten or more officers to watch one person.

- there has been a first time ruling that police who apply for a wiretap authorization under the Privacy Act don't have to reveal previous Official Secrets Act wiretaps.

Surveillance can take a couple of forms — physical, and electronic. In the case of the Five, first the **Security Service (SS)**, and their **Watchers (I Ops)** and then later the **Vancouver Integrated Intelligence Unit (VIU)** and **Special 0**, and finally the **Co-ordinated Law Enforcement Unit (CLEU)**, were involved in surveillance.

Operations Posts (OP's) were set up near residences, sometimes in vans, and sometimes in nearby houses. "jump cars" were used to follow people when they left their houses. Teams of surveillers followed in tandem, often travelling on parallel streets and switching back and forth to avoid detection. One group consisted of five cars of **Special 0** with five drivers and two passengers. **Special 0** were used to follow people on buses. Anyone using counter-surveillance picked up more surveillers, as many as ten or more being used on one person.

At one operations post a closed circuit TV was set up in an attic. Equipped with remote pan, tilt, and zoom lens, it could cover a half-block area. Recording on tape, it sent a signal to the recorder and then to a monitor screen where a person could watch it. It was capable of night vision.

Photos of people were taken for identification purposes. At VIIU members of **Dissident Groups** checked their files of photos taken at demonstrations. RCMP Cpl. **Wayne Douglas** testified that he had attended a number of "public gatherings" where he spoke to a few of the accused from time to time. A regular part of his job is to gather bits and pieces of information which can be analysed for later use. His section maintains the "Anarchist File" and other files on political groups.

Electronic surveillance took the form of telephone wiretaps and bugs planted in houses. RCMP Sgt. **Ron Paull** of **Special 1** testified that he was involved with interceptions at three residential phones and five payphones (which were activated when a person under surveillance approached them). Intercepted calls were received at CLEU headquarters and taped on UHER recorders.

An authorization under the Privacy Act was needed. First, a verbal request was made by the investigators. The authorization was prepared by Constable **Larry Wilkinson** with assistance from Cpl. **Wayne Douglas** and a crown counsel. A 1295 form was signed by Inspector **Geoff Davis** with an appendix which outlined the requests for individuals and locations. A judge approved the authorization which applied to people wherever their location, including any phones they might frequent. It even applied to the Squamish RCMP jail cells where the Five were taken after their arrests.

Ann, Brent, Gerry and Julie were living at a house in New Westminster. On Dec. 21st, 1982, there was a preliminary entry to determine the best location for the bugs. The bugs were installed the next day. For the police, it was important that the house be secure when they entered it. All the occupants needed to be accounted for, and as far away as possible. The bugging involved numerous personnel to shadow the people, and pickets (guards) were stationed at nearby bus stops, street corners, and all other approaches.

Cpl. **Gisborne** of the RCMP Security Engineering Section picked the lock and went in ahead of the others to memorize the position of everything in the house so that he could restore them when the police left. He was followed in by two **Special 1** technicians, Cpl. **Robert Kuse** and Cpl. **Robert Myer** who searched boxes for "booby traps" and "detection devices such as voice-activated recorders." They then searched for locations to plant bugs.

Other police came in to stand guard. One of these, Constable **Yip** testified that police moved through the house slowly with their revolvers drawn. When asked by a defense lawyer what he would have done if they surprised anyone, Yip replied "I can't say. I might have had to act on

instinct." Defense: "Instinct to shoot?" Yip: "Probably."

These police were making an illegal entry. The authorization does not give them the right to enter anyone's home. They were prepared to shoot people in their own home if they interfered with this illegal break-in!

Photos were taken of the house and its contents. A few of the police went against their instructions and searched the house. The bugs were planted the next day in several rooms.

The bugs used are not available on the market. They are installed with "minor renovations", often in light fixtures. They employ an electro-magnetic signal that can't be intercepted to transmit to CLEU where tapes were made. Special 1 personnel made transcripts which were corrected by Constable **Ronald Morris** of CLEU.

The Cover-Up

The official state story of the investigation has changed several times as the defense has discovered more. The state has attempted to hide the involvement of its secret police and their intelligence role in this case. Their original story was that police stumbled onto people in November, 1982 and CLEU handled the investigation. But the crown had to turn over evidence to the defense including surveillance notes. By accident, in August, 1983, some Security Service notes fell into the hands of the defense. The crown now claimed that the SS entered the picture from Oct. 29th to Nov. 18th, 1982 in an intelligence gathering role. (Red Hot firebombings happened on the night of Nov. 21st-22nd, 1982). The crown claimed that VIIU took over on Nov. 18th when it looked like crimes might be committed, and CLEU took over from them on the 29th of November.

However, as police witnesses were questioned, the story changed again. There were SS surveillance notes dated after the 18th, and even as late as Dec. 15th. The police tried to claim that only one of the Five was under surveillance on the night that the Red Hots were attacked, and said that this person was nowhere near RHV's. They claimed that nobody else was under surveillance at the time (although "crimes" were expected). A BC-TV reporter had claimed on good authority that police actually watched the firebombings and evidence seems to support that idea.

It was hard to co-ordinate lying amongst so many police witnesses. Numerous contradictions emerged. Surveillance notes had sections blacked out. Constable **Larry Wilkinson** admitted that he had been ordered to do so although he knew that it would hamper the defense. References to **Special 1** and **Special 0** were taken out on the grounds that they are secret sections of the RCMP. Material on the role of the NCIS and VIIU was ordered blotted out on the basis of either being "sensitive" or "not applicable" even though these materials were crucial to the defense's ability to question the admissibility of evidence. If this isn't obstruction of justice what is?

The SS

The final stage of the cover-up became blatant when Cpl. **Andy Johnston** of the RCMP Security Service took the stand. A government lawyer sat alongside him and behind him sat Chief Superintendent John Venner of the SS and Assistant Commissioner Spooner of the RCMP. They were there to ensure that matters of "National Security" were not discussed.

When asked if SS surveillance had continued beyond November 18th Johnston invoked "public interest" in refusing to reply. When the question was asked a second time, the government lawyer invoked "National Security".

When asked about **SS I Ops** surveillance on Dec. 15th, 1982, Johnston tried to claim that it was accidental and two "targets of opportunity" were found who were not properly covered. There are detailed SS notes on the incident of four hours duration. During that time, the "targets" played video games.

"National Security" was also raised as grounds for objection when one of the defense lawyers asked if there had been SS wiretaps on people prior to Nov. 29th, 1982. The government lawyer later said that this raised a "matter injurious to the public interest." The same response came to a question about SS surveillance of friends of the Five in the period prior to Red Hot Video, and to several other questions.

By the end of the voir dire it was clear that "National Security", like patriotism, is the last refuge of scoundrels. It was also clear that it ranks higher than the right of the defendants to a "fair"(sic) trial.

The Security Service will soon become our new Canadian Security Intelligence Service if parliament approves new legislation this spring. They will have even more power and less accountability than ever if Kaplan's new security legislation is passed. Watch for more information on this.

"It's Legal"

Wiretap authorizations are made under two acts — the Privacy Act and the Official Secrets Act. Under the Privacy Act, they are granted to criminal police when they show need, and that they have exhausted other forms of investigation. They must fully disclose all relevant facts. Under the Official Secrets Act, the Security Service get bugging warrants from the Solicitor General.

In the case of the Five, the Security Service has invoked "National Security" as their reason for refusing to answer questions about wiretaps that they may have had on the Five and their friends. Judge Toy has supported this, and ruled that it is not necessary to disclose Official Secrets Act authorizations when applying for a Privacy Act one that there might have been an earlier one.

When **Larry Wilkinson** applied for an authorization he did not disclose any previous ones and in all likelihood had information withheld from him by other police officers. The judge has now

legitimised this cynical bending of the rules on full disclosure. He says that Wilkinson could not have disclosed information that he didn't have and therefore the issue of SS wiretap is out.

The defense has argued that wiretap evidence should be excluded as it was unconstitutionally obtained. Police entered houses illegally to plant bugs, and under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms we are protected from "unreasonable search and seizure". A recent Alberta Court of Appeal decision supports this argument. It says that a judge doesn't authorize police to illegally enter a residence when they are authorized to wiretap. Another decision, by the Supreme Court of Canada, rules that a Trial judge can throw out wiretap evidence if it has been illegally obtained.

You can't tell the players without a scorecard

A multitude of police organizations have taken part in the investigation and surveillance of the Five and their friends. These include:

RCMP Security service - They deal with security and gather intelligence on "spies" and "subversives". In B.C. they work from 1177 West Broadway. If Solicitor General Kaplan has his way they will soon become the Can. Security Intelligence Service.

I OPS or the **WATCHERS** — A section of the Security Service, they are especially trained at surveillance, are often relatives of police, and can be of any age and description.

NATIONAL CRIME INTELLIGENCE SECTION (NCIS) — Another intelligence gathering body of the RCMP, they have been little known until recently. In Vancouver they work from 250 West 7th Avenue and together with some Vancouver City Police personnel form the...

VANCOUVER INTEGRATED INTELLIGENCE UNIT (VIU) - did surveillance on the Five. A group of NCIS and VIU people make up **DISSIDENT GROUPS** which focusses on radicals, putting together files, and gathering information which is analysed to become intelligence.

CO-ORDINATED LAW ENFORCEMENT UNIT (CLEU) - special criminal investigative unit made up of RCMP and Vancouver City Police operating from 250 West 7th. They handled the "criminal" investigation of the Five in a **JOINT FORCES OPERATION**.

SPECIAL 0 a special RCMP section that does surveillance.

SPECIAL 1 - a special RCMP section that installs and monitors listening devices, often with the co-operation of **B.C. TEL'S SECURITY SECTION**. (Do not confuse with **I OQ**).

RCMP SECURITY ENGINEERING SECTION - provided a specialist in lock picking to assist the planting of bugs by Special 1.

In the voir dire some 75 police have either appeared as witnesses or been mentioned. This number does not include many SS people whose names have remained secret. (NAME LIST AVAILABLE FROM P.O. Box 6326, Stn. "A", Toronto)

When your friends freak out . . .

by Lilith Finkler

This article is intended as a common sense introduction to crisis intervention. As I indicate in the body of my article, it is based on my experiences and not on traditional social work theory. It is not authoritative, because there is *no* authority on human behavior.

Introduction

I am writing this article because I believe it is important to acknowledge "freak outs". As the patriarchy continues to fester and rot, it will take its human toll on those of us who, for whatever reason, are unable to cope emotionally in the current society.

I must emphasize my own perspective. I am both a victim of the social welfare system, an ex-psychiatric inmate, and an active participant (a mental retardation counsellor). I struggle daily with the contradictions of my own life experiences and my vision of a future society. I firmly believe that my own liberation will include the abolition of the social welfare system and its set of "experts" who come, most frequently, from the ranks of the sheltered upper and middle classes.

What is a Freak-Out?

All of us, at one time or another in our lives, have had to deal with friends or relatives who "freak out". This can be a particularly confusing and scary time if we are unsure or unable to cope.

First of all, what is a "freak-out"? I define it as a loss of contact with reality. "Reality", that is, as it manifests itself in a sexist, racist, classist and

homophobic society. The pressures of such oppression no doubt increase the desire to escape "reality".

A "freak-out" can take a variety of forms. It can include violence, paranoia, splitting, or simply withdrawal. In any case, we should keep in mind that those people who do "space out" (to use yet another colloquialism) are still human beings and deserve to be treated as such. Do not objectify our "craziness", but recognize it as one of a variety of possible reactions to societal demands for conformity.

Paranoia

Paranoia is loosely defined as an extreme fear of persecution. In this society, where extreme oppression does exist, just because you're paranoid doesn't mean they're not out to get you!

Rape victims, for example, go through a process of paranoia as a result of the original attack. They are often convinced that a man will jump out of every bush and sexually assault them. These feelings have been described by psychologists as a stage of "Rape Trauma Syndrome." Part of a common female experience now carries a psychiatric label.

If one deals with survivors of sexual assault, it is important to validate their fears. Sometimes, emotions are not expressed clearly, but appear as metaphors. One woman I know described an extreme fear of being buried. What she was really trying to communicate was her fear of her own "buried" feelings.

Splitting

"Splitting" refers to the experience of being both "here" and "there" and is often the result of an inability to deal with traumatic event. As with someone who is "paranoid", it helps to validate a person's sense of reality and try and understand the metaphors.

When people split is also helpful to focus on the concrete. Talk about things that people can see and feel, which includes food, clothes and books. This helps to reassure them that they can be "in contact".

They may also be emotionally overloaded, so diverting attention from a particularly painful event may not be a bad idea. This does not mean that one avoids the source of the trauma. It does have to be dealt with, but sometimes a break is necessary to offer a psychological rest.

Violence

Violence can be directed either outwardly towards others or inwardly towards the self. A desire to commit suicide often originates from deep feelings of worthlessness, of being unloved. Sometimes it can stem from a wish to punish someone else ("Just wait 'til I'm dead, then you'll be sorry!"). It is important to reassure the individual that they are loved and valued, and to encourage them in



their pursuits. We all need something to live for.

There are also cases of what I consider "legitimate" suicide; for example, people who fight to be taken off life-support mechanisms and to die a natural death. This particular desire comes out of a sense of self-respect and not from a desire for self-destruction.

Suicidal individuals will often take a dangerous substance in a moment of despair and try to call someone for help. If this happens to you, find out: a) where the person is calling from; b) what they took, both the chemical and the brand name if possible or just ask them to save containers; c) how much; d) whether they mixed it with something else (some drugs become fatal when combined!)

Try to calm your friend to the point where you can acquire this information. Then, arrange to meet at the closest hospital. They may need to have their stomach pumped and/or to have vomiting induced. It is very dangerous to suggest one or the other over the phone because different poisons necessitate different forms of first aid. Also, individuals may have specific health conditions which would affect treatment. While I'm generally leery of any "health"-giving institution, it is also important to recognize that hospitals do have the expertise to deal with certain crisis situations. We can gain knowledge of this area ourselves by taking first aid courses and by consulting literature from a poison control centre. Nevertheless, if you are not 1000% sure, don't risk your friend's life by offering dangerous advice.

If your friend is threatening to be violent (razor blades, knives, etc.) and you are in the house, try and talk to them first. Stay at a distance, both to protect yourself and so as not to threaten them. Talk quietly and calmly. Ask for the weapon (if there is one) while reassuring them that you understand and care about them.

If you have made a reasonable attempt and can do nothing, try physical restraint. Sometimes, this is exactly what a violent person wants and needs. They feel so out of control that they want someone to physically hold them down.

Other times, violence is the expression of intense anger and frustration. In a city like Toronto, there are few safe spaces for people to get angry, scream, yell, smash things, etc. Unless, of course, you have lots of money for primal therapy.

In addition, the real targets of our anger are frequently unavailable. How can we yell at our welfare worker if doing so jeopardizes our only source of economic survival?

How can we tear up pornographic images of women if, in our "violence", we are hauled off to jail and charged with destruction of private property?

Offer pillows, dolls, or punching bags to anyone

in anger and let them destroy these items. Let them vent their frustration for as long as it's necessary. I myself once hit a pillow for a full hour before I broke down and cried.

If a smoker refuses to hit anything other than you or themselves, offer a cigarette. It has an amazing calming effect.

Call the police only as a last resort. They will take your friend to the hospital and pump them full of drugs. For more information about ex-psychiatric inmates and their experiences, see the magazine **Phoenix Rising**, Box 7251, Station "A", Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1X9. In Toronto, call: 699-3194.

When the police come, express concern for the treatment of your friend. If you have any connection to a social service agency, mention it. The police will treat your friend with more care because they will be required to write a special report.

Contact the advocate at the psychiatric institution, in Toronto, most likely Queen Street Mental Health (sic) Centre. Make sure that the inmate-to-be is informed of their rights. As I wrote earlier, call the police only as a last resort. It's easy to get into a psychiatric hospital, but it may be very difficult to get back out again once you're in.

If you're friend is in a crisis, try to set up a regimen with others so that someone spends 2-3 hours with them every day. This rotation is important to prevent any one person from becoming resentful or emotionally drained. Involving a number of different people makes the individual in crisis feel cared for and less dependent on any one person. Ask your friend what they can do and what they will need to have done for them. This puts the "freaked-out person" person in a position of control, which is very important. So much of our anger and depression is due to our feelings of powerlessness.

Try to involve the individual in a self-help group that can deal with their specific problems, be it drug addiction, widowhood, incest, or any other painful experience.

Self-help groups are positive because members realize they are not alone in their circumstances. This encourages the formation of a strong support network and a political understanding of their particular problem.

Widows, for example, can share their experience of the mourning process while also recognizing that in this society no woman is considered complete without a man!

Self-help groups also circumvent the world of "experts" all ready to define neuroses, psychoses, etc., and frame our experiences within the medical model. This is not the least helpful to political activists committed to social change.

Response to silence

by Christopher Alice

Dreams of monolithic enemies fade into the dull nightmare of reality.

Misconceptions of radical feminism has disintegrated into rhetorical meaninglessness and still ideas are seldom freely given. Emotion is all too often carefully controlled under the watch of abstract theory.

Of hating men and women nothing changes. This is me in the past, my anger, my faer. I make no apologies. Silence or silenced my desires for freedom know no bounds. I am still angry but the circle must be broken. All power to women. All power to men except the power to bear arms.

This is the forward — February 28, 1984.

The famine in the Ukraine, Auschwitz, South Africa, nuclear weapons...we, all men are guilty of crimes unimaginable. Accusing fingers point at us and first a murmur, then louder and louder like a raging torrent — GUILTY! Truth and lies become meaningless in our self-confessed guilt — everything we used and still use against our past (present?) enemy is now used against us. We claim that "You are nature," and you respond, "Yes, hear the lion within us." I/we become afraid; you continue, "We are what you desire and what you no longer have." — and this is true, a summer day, a sun set, life...You mock us with truth/lies and talk of the

differences between men and women. Women live longer than men. Women are more nurturing. You tell us that you understand things better than we do — the attack continues. Our strengths and arguments, "men are stronger than women", "men are more intelligent than women," "men are able to run things better than women" (we were fools if we thought these were our strengths) become your strengths (and you are fools to accept them). And to these strengths you add other strengths. We are slowly being defeated on our own territory; territory (we?) I no longer want — but am forced to defend like a soldier under attack. My enemies become my allies.

Tears — seldom felt across cheeks rough with the stubble of conformity; you call us emotional cripples and I believe you for I have watched myself/us descend into logic so deeply that we have lost all connection with human feeling. (And you copy us with theoretical systems and ideas which label and categorize, provide motives and meanings to almost all thoughts and acts, and all but deny human feeling and imperfection.) We, who have denied women the right to be human discover that it is we who are not human, and you who are our slaves. I ask for freedom and receive no response. I commit a thousand transgressions, legal and social against my brothers (I never felt they were my brothers) and receive pain/watching/labelling/hate, and I reach out to you — once my model, my ideal to receive pain/labelling/rage/(caring)/silence. You speak, "We have no time for you", "Men always need so much caring, we don't have the energy", "Men always need so much caring, we don't have the energy", "You don't understand us, you will never understand us", "All men are guilty of rape." Silence. (Our past is our present, and no matter how we try some of our present will also be our future. Because you understand us we should accept your social theories and do what you say. We are scarcely worthy of being called human.) If we are brave we whisper, "What is the point of trying to be free?" (We have created our own lies and enemies.) You tell us to read books to understand you. (Is this what it means to feel emotion?) "GUILTY!" (We are all guilty; we are all perverts — and from somewhere someone reaches towards us to help us free ourselves.)

We try to listen to the wind and hear nothing for our ears are dead with conformity. We try to see the waves wash against the shore and see only what we are told we may see. We try to run naked in the dawn through dew soaked clover fields only to discover — ourselves pointing a gun at another man whom we have never met — with expressed intent to kill him; find ourselves on top of a woman tears running down her cheeks — penis slack inside her — spoils of war. Our strength is that it is we who are animals — acting like ani-



mals. It is we who are fools — it is we who are the enemy... (Which side are you on?) Know us not by lies — If DES affected men the doctors would have prevented its use long ago. (DES is now known to be dangerous to men, but this is not known by most doctors.) **Men don't care about other men.** Know us for what we are — \$60 and 2 minutes in the car for fellatio (we are so alienated from ourselves that all sex/love is the shooting of semen), emotional cripples, cripples as human beings (sex is 70 seconds of in and out, life is 70 years of kill or be killed); the only emotions we are supposed to feel are **anger** and **lust**. (Sometimes we sneak in happiness and sadness.)

There are some women who want to be equal to men. (Men are trained to be emotionally dead.) There are some women who want to take the place of men. (Women can do a better job — the means is fear, the object power, the result living death.) There are some women who want to be free. (Under socialism/communism we will all be free because we will all have the same economic resources. Economic resources are freedom. Under democracy we will all be free because we will all have equal opportunity to become rich. Money is freedom. Under anarchism we will all be free because people will be able to live with whomever we wish. Fear of isolation is freedom. Under feminism women, not men, will be free because women will no longer be second class citizens. Biology is freedom.) What is democracy, capitalism, anarchism, communism, feminism, socialism? (The answers are as numerous as people who care to answer.)

Somewhere there are women who believe that they can be free without men; not knowing that freedom occurs only when everyone is free! We (men) are slaves to ourselves. You cannot make us free (the idiot places a gun to another person's head and says to him — — "be free," and you cannot be free when we are not free.

Men can be made slaves (are we not already?) like you are now. (The difference is you are our slaves, we are the slaves of others.) We watch with awe, noting that after 15,000 years of slavery you are slowly setting yourselves free. (Maybe in 15,000 years it will be our turn, then yours, then ours, ending only when we free each other.)

Men care about other men as we sight each other in rifle scopes, ignore safety precautions in the workplace, ignore medical conditions which affect other men, socially train ourselves through school, laws, and other men, to become perverts, selfish, greedy, power-hungry, that the only way to survive is on the body of someone weaker than you. (All people do some of this — guilt and innocence, more oppressed and less oppressed are tools of the oppressor. Divide and conquer.) I am not men, I am myself. When I am no longer guilty, slowly I can change me and help make it possible for you to walk at night without fear. (Guilt over being male comes from having a woman ask you to walk her

home because she is afraid. When you tell me "You are guilty of..." this guilt becomes anger.)

Anger is for me, crushed by fear of anger. All men feel anger? Men should control their anger? Leaving fear and lust (joy and sadness), leaving almost nothing; almost an empty shell with the vague appearance of something living. Anger, sadness, joy, remorse, rage, happiness, fear, grief, giddiness, serenity, pleasure, depression, and a thousand other feelings slowly fill the shell. The period of emptiness is never unlearned, never forgotten.

I answer your cries of "GUILTY!" with "Guilty, Yes I am guilty." And your cries of "All men are the oppressor" again with "Yes" and all your accusations with "yes", and answer your comments of "We know we are right" with sadness. You have created your own divisions, have created your own enemies. You are losing your chance for freedom. Without you we can never be free.

I try to take hold of the hand offered to me — to go beyond my bitterness, anger, fear to listen to you, to try and understand. I ask to speak to you and be sold nothing.

I listen again to the wind and understand; within the silence there is the fear of a million dark streets. The wind blows with the anger of two billion slaves.

Revolution is not freedom. Revolution is revolution. Freedom is freedom. The response is silence...Terrorized I scream.

TRIVIAL PURSUIT OF POLITICS

1. Name one country which has used nuclear weapons for first strike purposes?
2. What was the communist revolution within the communist revolution?
3. Who besides Marx's wife bore him a child?
4. Who took the rap for Marx's illegitimate child?
5. Who uttered "Je suis anarchiste" on his death-bed?
6. What feminist had indirect dealings with the CIA?
7. In what communist country is homosexuality severely punished?
8. What anarchist ran for and was elected to parliament?
9. What famous anarchist operated an ice cream parlor in New York?
10. What were the occupations of Secco and Venzetti?

1. The U.S. at Nagasaki and Hiroshima. 2. Kronstadt. 3. Marx's maid. 4. Frederick Engels. 5. Jean-Paul Sartre. 6. Gloria Steinem. 7. Cuba, among others. 8. P.J. Proudhon. 9. Emma Goldman. 10. Shoemaker and fish peddler.

Women take control:

MENSTRUAL EXTRACTION

The following is an excerpt from "Quest vol. IV, no. 3 Summer 1978" entitled "Menstrual Extraction" by Lorraine R., Laura P., (illustration by Suzanne G.)

Menstrual Extraction is a procedure developed by the Los Angeles Self Help Clinic women in 1971 which gently removes the contents of the uterus by suction on or about the first day of menstruation. It is not a medical procedure performed by a physician as a service to women who request an abortion, and it is not a do-it-yourself abortion technique. Menstrual extraction is a home health care procedure developed by Self Help Clinic women who saw its potential for regaining control over our reproductive lives.

Menstrual Extraction Concept

We saw the possibilities of using the non-traumatic method for reasons other than early abortion. We had practiced on one another during our menstrual periods and we learned that introducing a four millimeter cannula into the os of the cervix caused very little pain so that it was unnecessary to use any anesthetic. We learned that simple sterile techniques were sufficient, since there was no breaking of the skin or scraping of tissue. We also learned that it was possible to extract the major portion, or all, of the typical menstrual period. This usually brought immediate cessation of the cramps and other uncomfortable menstrual symptoms. We decided to name this procedure menstrual extraction.

Materials and Methods

It was evident that women did not have equipment to do menstrual extraction, nor any way to get and safely use what was available. Vacuum aspirators are expensive, large and cumbersome, and produce much more vacuum than is necessary. We had practiced with a portable device used by Harvey Karmman, and were impressed with its simplicity (the plastic cannula attached directly to a plastic syringe). We found it difficult to manipulate, however, and it had the potential to accidentally reverse the suction, thus allowing menstrual fluid and possibly air into the uterus. We were concerned about potential complications that might result from reversing the suction. As a member of the Los Angeles Self Help Clinic, I saw that we needed a simple and inexpensively made device, which had built-in safety features. I invented the Del-Em to suit the group's needs. Vacuum is created in a small bottle which is attached to a small cannula that is inserted into the cervical os. An automatic valve attachment controls the direction of the air flow and locks in the pressure, eliminating any possibility of pushing menstrual fluid or air back into the uterus.

The Del-Em's safety features are particularly

important because of the constraints under which we operate. Opportunities to learn the procedure are dependent on a member of the group having her menstrual period. In spreading the technology to other communities, we are limited by the short time in which we can visit others or in which other women can visit us.

A woman will usually choose to have an extraction on or about the first day her period is expected. However, some women have extractions as much as two weeks beyond the expected date of menstruation.

Three women are the key people involved with extractions: the woman who is to have the extraction (she sometimes controls the vacuum pressure), a woman who observes the equipment for proper functioning, and a woman who inserts and moves the cannula. At times, other group members participate in order to learn the procedure.

After the woman who is to have the extraction places herself comfortably on a table or bed, other women in the group perform a pelvic examination to determine the size, location, and characteristics of the woman's pelvic organs. Certain signs are watched for, such as advanced pregnancy, infection, or other problems. Because the group has frequent opportunities at regular meetings to become familiar with one another, a basis for comparison has been established so that any contraindications are more easily recognized.

The Del-Em consists of a plastic 50 cubic centimeter syringe that has a valve on the end. The valve prevents air from being injected into the uterus. The syringe is pumped until it becomes difficult to pull the plunger. Air is removed from the bottle in this way creating a vacuum.

The cannula is carefully inserted through the undilated cervical os. Often, the inner cervical muscle can be felt against the cannula. If the slender flexible cannula bends, forceps can be attached to the middle of the cannula giving it more stability. Sometimes a stabilizer is attached to the cervix so that the uterus does not move with the movement of the cannula.

The woman who is having the extraction will tell the other women when she feels the cannula touching the back wall of her uterus. She will continue to relate what she is experiencing as the cannula is moved back and forth making sure, however, that it remains fully inserted. The menstrual material appears within the cannula after a short time.

The cannula is moved within the uterus until either no more menstrual material comes out or the woman having the extraction says she wants to stop. The tubing attached to the cannula is clamped off to avoid any unnecessary discomfort of suction as the cannula is removed through the cervical canal.

Results

Most women do not experience excessive discomfort. Women experience different degrees of cramping during the extraction. Sometimes, women can feel strong cramping when the cannula is inserted through the cervical canal. Most women feel strong cramping at the end of the extraction as the uterus contracts. Menstrual extraction discomfort or pain is seldom as severe or intense as the discomfort or pain from abortions that are done by electrically powered suction machines.

Daily phone contact is the common follow-up method until the group meets again. Infections, which in our experience have been rare, are recognized by a rise in temperature to 100.5 degrees F. or more for 8 or more hours. Pain or cramping in the lower abdomen may be felt as well. It is important that if an infection occurs, the woman receives antibiotic treatment.

Sometimes a woman may have strong cramping in the couple of days following the extraction and pass clots or retained tissue. We have found that passing of the clots or tissue can be aided by gently massaging or pressing the lower abdomen and uterus.

If the woman believes she may have been pregnant, the group will pour the uterine contents into a shallow pan looking for chorionic villi*. They are yellowish with branch like structures and are quite different from menstrual fluid. If there were no signs of a pregnancy, the extracted material will be studied in order to better understand the composition of menstrual fluid.

We are often asked about complications, such as uterine perforations, hemorrhage, infection, retained tissue, cervical incompetence, uterine prolapse and air embolism. These questions arise out of confusion of menstrual extraction with abortion techniques performed by physicians. People incorrectly assume that we use dilators, large rigid can-

Note: Webster's defines these as "highly vascular embryonic" membranes that are associated with the "formation of the placenta."

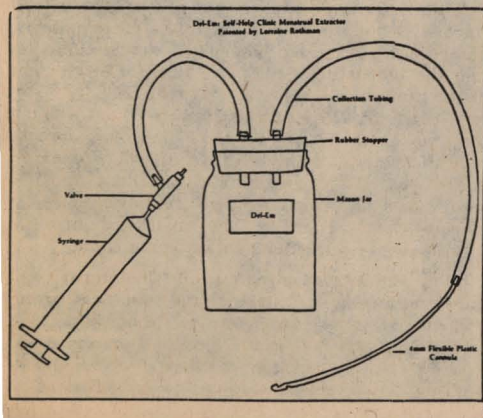
nulas and curettes.

Most women who have access to legal, reasonably priced abortions have chosen to do menstrual extraction only if they were part of an on going group and had done menstrual extraction previously, have missed their periods by a few days, and, because of their familiarity and knowledge, were reasonably sure that no contraindications existed.

Menstrual extraction is a self help technique and therefore is based on and develops the technical and psychological resources of the women who practice it. Menstrual extraction is most commonly done to eliminate the general nuisance of menstrual flow and to relieve menstrual pain, including such symptoms as cramps and lower back ache. It can also be used to reduce the need for abortion. As a form of woman-controlled medical research, menstrual extraction is a means of gaining and sharing with other women information about our bodies and our periods; for example, it can be used to control some of the many variables of a normal menstrual cycle in order to test certain hypotheses concerning the cause(s) of cramps. The experience of learning and practicing the menstrual extraction procedure also helps us to break down the mystique of medical practices.

To read editorials in medical journals would be to learn that menstrual extraction is performed by doctors on women as a paid service, when in fact the term correctly refers to a technique developed seven years ago in which lay women in small, advanced self-help groups extract each other's menstrual periods.

Menstrual extraction is not done by a woman on herself, which would be difficult and dangerous; this common misconception implies an individualistic solution which entirely misses the importance of the group in the self help movement as a source of information—sharing and support. All the women in a menstrual extraction group have done self help together over a length of time and are familiar with their bodies and the normal health status of each woman. Every woman has her own period extracted and learns to extract other women's periods: there is no distinction between practitioner and patient, since each woman takes all roles in turn and literally cares for her sisters' →



ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN NEWS NETWORK BULLETIN

A new bi-weekly publication to help network the ACTIVIST community. Words, articles, pictures, and cartoons are combined with info on events, actions, and organizational meetings. 8 pages of reality are yours for \$12 a year or \$1 per month. The AANN Bulletin is available from P.O. Box 915, Station F, Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2N9.

bodies as she does for her own.

The fact that menstrual extraction is still an experimental method must be clearly understood. This is true not so much because of the known side effects which are negligible so far, but because of those as yet unknown which might occur within a large group of women over a long period of time. Women involved in self help research would not perform a procedure on ourselves that we did not feel to be safe. On the other hand, without long-term data on the side-effects of menstrual extraction, it is not a procedure that can be recommended unreservedly to every woman. Instead, its experimental nature requires that we work in skilled groups with careful observations and evaluations of our bodies' functioning. This is well understood by all participants, and each woman can formulate her own criteria for deciding whether she wishes to experiment on her own body in this manner.

Menstrual Extraction as Birth Control

Menstrual extraction used as a birth control method is not the same thing as endometrial aspiration, pre-emptive abortion, menstrual induction, minisuction, or early uterine evacuation, all terms for a very early abortion-type procedure. This procedure is a single aspiration to remove a possible pregnancy, preformed by a physician on a woman in the role of passive patient.

Menstrual extraction on the other hand is done in the context of a self help group where the "patient" is in fact the active and controlling subject of the procedure. The extraction is also probably one extraction in a series of regular monthly extractions and would have been done whether or not there was a chance of pregnancy. Many women see

menstrual extraction as an ideal contraceptive technique or back-up method. In contrast to other birth control methods, it does not interfere with sexual intercourse, does not change the body chemistry and does not require the continuous use of a device or substance which can cause continuous side effects. Moreover, it is easily accessible and highly effective, and is under the control of the woman herself who is not dependent upon a physician for its use.

The use of menstrual extraction for birth control is important politically. Many women, including some who are not in need of birth control themselves, wish to develop their skill in using the technique in order to make this option available for more women. Given the always tentative legal status of abortion in this country, it becomes preferable to develop our own technology and health systems as an alternative to dependence on men (law-makers, doctors, priests, etc.) for access to abortion.

*In reprinting this article (excerpts) from the feminist journal **Quest**, we are not advocating or endorsing this technique, nor is it complete. As with many procedures and substances that women's bodies are subjected to, there is little or no information regarding possible long-term effects. A problematic feature of menstrual extraction, discussed in **Vaginal Politics**, is that an incomplete removal of the contents of the uterus may force women to undergo the more physically traumatic D & C operation. Menstrual extraction, which was hailed during the early seventies in a wide range of publications from **Ladies Home Journal** to feminist magazines has all but disappeared from discussions of women's health. We welcome any opinions or information our readers may have on this issue.*



LETTERS

Pot gone to pot ...

After seeing number 8 of KIO I felt I had to respond to "The Politics of Pot" article.

I first smoked dope when I was twelve or so. That was around the time of '72 election here in the States. The Vietnam war was still going full swing. At that time marijuana, like acid rock, was something threatening to the conventional morality and was seen as a rejection of the culture and values of the middle class.

I remember the set-up in Junior High very clearly — there were the "freaks" who smoked pot and there were the short-haired types who were violently hostile to pot-smokers. If you smoked pot it (somehow) implied that you were a "rebel"; if you rejected this society's drug morality it was supposed to imply that you rejected **all the rest of its morality.**

And nothing could have been further from the truth. As I passed through high school dope, like alcohol, became a socially accepted way of fucking yourself up. What's so revolutionary about that?

For a period of about three years I was a very heavy pot-smoker. Like a lot of my friends who smoked, I had a very heavy psychological dependence on pot. I got to the point where my use of marijuana wasn't just another point of my activity, it was a crutch, a way that I could sedate myself from what I felt at school, and at the minimum wage job I had to work at after school.

I still smoke pot. I use a lot of drugs: coffee (especially espresso!), tea, beer, wine. Got a headache? Take a couple of aspirin, or "tylenol". Snort a little crank before going to a rock concert, or just to see what it's like maybe sometime you should try cooking yourself a fix.

Depending on the situation it might be fun to get loaded or it might be a bad idea. In any case, it isn't much to base your understanding of the world or the entirety of your politics on.

To quote "Potts" and "Reefer", "one problem that the devoted toker always faces is how to maintain supply." When are various kinds of drugs a small and enjoyable part of your existence and when is it an activity that dominates you, perhaps a part of what keeps you from fighting back and experiencing life as a profoundly rebellious, sensual and liberating act?

When is it an issue of personal choice and when is it a part of the apparatus of social control? I haven't got any answers, I just know there a lot of questions to ask.

True, it's not accurate to compare dope to amphetamines or smack. It won't kill you, but among the many benefits of marijuana are paranoia, listlessness, depression and an inability to communicate. Getting fucked up can be fun but that doesn't mean any of us should go romanticizing it as a miracle-worker and bringer of adventure and subversive community the way that "Potts" and "Reefer" did in their article.

How many people out there have been to one of the highly touted "Yippie smoke-ins"? I used to live in the Washington, D.C. area and I've been to two of the "smoke-ins" at Lafayette Park, across from the White House.

Ms. Potts and Mr. Reefer described the smoke-ins they've been at as "militant". Well, at Lafayette Park the scene you get treated to is one of several hundred apolitical "stoners", listening to stupid heavy metal rock, many of them racist, sexist, homophobic jerks with Confederate flags on their shirts, "getting rowdy" by picking

fight with each other and celebrating the oh-so-revolutionary virtue of getting really wasted.

What an achievement! Such militance! One hell of a challenge to authority and capital! Rockefeller and Andropov must be shaking in their boots! Well, perhaps Potts and Reefer have been to different smoke-ins than me.

What did happen to the "counter-culture"? In the United States in the late 60's, the **social movement** that Yippies were **only** one part of was very much like that of the "Provos" in Holland, or like the actions of the New York "Motherfuckers" — an anarchic, life-affirming attack on the basis of contemporary society — an attack on authority and the commodity.

The revolt that existed in all parts of the world in the late 60's was the most widespread kind of subversion since the revolutionary wave in the years before and following World War I.

In other places, such as France in May of '68, or in the anti-Leninist and anti-Maoist aspects of unrest in China, the rebellious actions were more widespread and extended throughout all levels of society.

Here in the U.S. the rebellious movements that grew out of the Civil Rights movement and the anti-war movement had a lot of radical aspects to them. The riots of black people in Watts and Newark and Detroit were an explicit attack on the **commodity**. When people seize goods or distribute goods and services collectively on a large scale without the mediation of exchange value they were (or are) breaking down the basis of capitalist distribution. That's part of the reason why squatting and other activities of the autonomist youth movements in Western Europe in recent years can seem so threatening to the social order there.

Mong many people in the '60's there was a rejection of the most pervasive myths of bourgeois culture: its repressive sexual morality, the work ethic and work itself, traditional religion, and patriotism.

The rebellion was communicated through the culture of rebellious youth; by their music, by the way people tried to get out of this barbaric society altogether. By living communally, by leaving the cities and trying to live in a way that isn't separate from the natural environment. By people changing the way they related to their friends and loved ones. Those kinds of actions in people's personal lives are a real rejection of the social patterns of this society.

A close look at the 60's and where they had their limits is an important part of understanding how to respond today. I felt that "The Politics of Pot" article tended to glamorize selling dope as some kind of romantic outlaw activity. Anyone who has been involved in those aspects of the market economy that are repressed by the state knows that the underground capitalist economy is very rough and vicious, full of all kinds of rip-offs.

A big failure of the political people in the counter-culture was that they didn't separate their serious political activity from the hustles of street life, thus making it easier to be set up for harassment by the cops from the outside and by snitches and power-tripping con artists from within. A lot of us have to get by by working in the underground economy (selling dope, turning tricks, etc.), but it isn't a glamorous way to exist; it's just another aspect of our oppression in a capitalist and authoritarian world.

I have several friends who were in the Yippies or were politically associated with the Yips. A lot of individual Yippies might be very anarchist-inclined, but a lot of people have disassociated themselves from the Yippies

in recent years because the Yippie "organization" is hierarchically controlled . . .

Take a look at the Yippie newspaper **Overthrow**. The only analysis you get about the world today is long-winded essays on various conspiracy theories and uncritical support for Marxist-Leninist hoodlums of the small-scale "Brinks-robber" types or the more wholesale Sandanista-F.M.L.N. variety.

People's activity doesn't become revolutionary just because cops and bankers disapprove of it, but because it is qualitatively different from the world around it. How many times have you heard some landlord or stockbroker try to tell you how "cool" he/she is by virtue of the fact that they smoke pot? You could hardly ask for anything more minimal and un-revolutionary than a movement based around marijuana.

For an end to a world based on buying and selling,
Linda Kronstadt

Here we go again . . .

Dear KIO,

After reading your rather hostile and aggressive response to my letter in KIO no. 8 I decided that any further exchanges on the subject of the Anti-Pornography Movement (APM) were likely to be counter-productive. After all, I would expect a snappy one-line editorial put-down from the **Toronto Sun**, I did not expect this form of disrespect from an anarchist publication. But, in light of Walter Heiss's provocative, distorted and insulting letter published in KIO no. 9, I have decided to respond.

I am glad to see that KIO has discovered the uses to which ellipses can be put in order to indicate the omission of material in an item . . .

On the subject of Walter's letter: as I thought I made clear in my letter to KIO published in no. 8 I was not objecting *per se* to the publication of the second letter, what I was objecting to was the manner in which *both* letters were treated. I refer to the editing out of the paragraph criticizing the APM's rejection of all criticism in the first letter and the omission of the first paragraph of the second letter which indicated it was a personal addendum to the letter submitted for publication. If you had taken the trouble to *ask* if you could publish the second letter I would most likely have agreed as it only elaborates on points raised in the first letter. My other option would have been to combine the two into one. It should be obvious from the above that I do not regard the second letter as being in any way "eye opening" or a clarification of my "real position," as Walter would have it. Nor is it, if you will take the trouble to read it, an exposé. Although at least here Walter shows a remarkable perception of your own dubious motives.

The struggle Walter alludes to at the Librarie Alternative bookstore was real enough but I'm afraid his rather peremptory attempt to personalize it as a struggle against "my ideas" seriously distorts a complex situation. This is a point which even Walter has partially conceded since your publication of his letter. The struggle/debate had three distinct phases centering on three separate publications: R. Yves Breton's magazine **Civil Disobedience**, **Boredom** and **Dada Processing**. The **Civil Disobedience** episode was relatively minor, the **Boredom** affair is by now probably overly familiar to you. Unfortunately the third phase, the debate over **Dada Processing**, by far the most interesting and through which a tentative resolution of the controversy within the bookstore was reached, has

not been broached in your pages. This publication also contained "objectionable" although somewhat less "visceral" nude shots. We were lucky in that the publisher, in response to our queries, sent us two lengthy and detailed letters on his motivations for including the material.

In the debate over this publication one bookstore member modified his initially rigid position while another was moved to take a more critical viewpoint towards radical feminism and the APM in general. The collective unanimously decided to replace **Dada Processing** on the shelves. On the whole, although several distinct positions on the APM remained within the bookstore collective, I found the debate stimulating and useful. The tentative resolution of the question within the bookstore (i.e. that neither the APM nor "No Censorship" line would prevail and that these matters were subject to discussion), from my point of view, was more than satisfactory.

From the above you may be able to garner some sense of the shock and anger I felt at Walter's gratuitous characterization of me as someone who had been "exposed", as having "sexist opinions." Particularly as Walter chose to communicate this evaluation of my character through a **Toronto** magazine rather than in person. Perhaps insults come more easily to some people "in print."

In closing I would like to take the opportunity to comment on what I feel is the beginning of a disturbing trend. I refer to the use of the term "sexist" as a casual epithet to choke off debate and render all contrary opinion automatically illegitimate. This trend is present as a not too subtle sub-text in most of KIO's published work on the APM and has recently become explicit in Walter's letter. In my opinion such a use of the term cheapens and degrades a valuable analytical tool for partisan purposes. In such circumstances the term "sexist" threatens to become as meaningless and void of real content as the term "anti-socialist" is for Stalinists.

Remember to chew all ideologies three times before swallowing.

Steve Ellams
Montreal, Quebec

Direct action for peace

Dear KIO,

I agree with Alexandra Devon's editorial **Whither the Peace Movement?** Voting for peace is absurd — people have been voting for peace for years and look where it has gotten them. The CND in England put great effort into the Labour campaign and when they lost it it was seen as a setback for the peace movement. If all this electoral effort went into direct action tactics it would be more effective. I see electoralism as a tactic by the right wing of the peace movement to diffuse things.

As for the Russians — when a small group of us carried signs and handed out leaflets that said **World War III — Die for Exxon and the Kremlin!**, the response was very positive, with only one exception, that being an ancient CP member. It's really important to show how the two rival imperialisms feed off each other's militarism and not fall into the trap of supporting one gang over the other. The leadership of the official peace movement in Canada (unlike in Europe) softpedals the Russians — I'm not altogether sure why rightwing Social Democrats and Stalinists work hand in hand but they always do — the latest example being the Solidarity sell-out (in British Columbia). Perhaps, it's because they have a lot in common — namely the need to keep people like us in line.

Yours,
Larry Gambone

PUERTO RICO: The evolution of a colony

by Julia Sorel

Puerto Rico has been a colony subjected to foreign interests since Columbus planted his flag there in 1493. The island was invaded and exploited by the Spanish in the pattern common to Latin America; brutal invasion, a plundering for gold, and then the setting up of a plantation and slave labour system. The final conquest of Puerto Rico by the United States of America began in the Spanish-American war of 1898. Accusing the Spanish of sabotage for the blowing up of the U.S.S. Maine in the Havana Harbour, in April 1898, the United States waged a war promoted by the hysteria of the Hearst and Pulitzer newspaper chains, justified by the government's ideology of 'manifest destiny.' When the war ended in the same year it had begun, the United States had gained control of Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, Guam and Hawaii.

The U.S. reinforced its rule over Puerto Rico by imposing an English—language educational system. The English language was considered a primary source for the "democratic ideals" the United States was benevolently bestowing upon Puerto Rico. Racist U.S. politicians initially considered Puerto Ricans "unworthy" of U.S. citizenship. They changed their tune a month before their entry into the first world war; passing the Jones Act, which imposed U.S. citizenship. Twenty thousand Puerto Ricans were drafted before the war was over.

The Puerto Rican's were quick in protesting this economic and ideological stranglehold. Strikes were widespread in Puerto Rico throughout the early decades of this century. The Nationalist Party, founded in 1922, became a major force in the resistance movement. Led by Pedro Abieú Campos after 1930, it proposed that the "whole arsenal of revolution" be directed against the colonial system. The Nationalists developed a political—military organization to unify Puerto Ricans. They pursued a strategy of calling international attention to their situation while using armed struggle to increase by every means possible the cost of their exploitation to the U.S.

In 1934, thousands of sugar workers — virtually the only employed people on the island — left the fields in a massive general strike. Business was paralyzed, towns liberated. The island was turned into a battleground as the U.S. crushed the strike. By 1935 the crisis was so severe the U.S. saw fit to appoint ex—army general Blanton D. Winship governor. Winship's first step was to appoint counter—insurgency expert E. Francis Riggs to the office of police chief.

Riggs armed his men with automatic weapons and ordered them to "make war, war, war against the Nationalists." The police force carried out cold blooded murder until February of 1936 when two Nationalists assassinated Riggs. The two were immediately arrested and murdered and the attack con-

demned by the U.S. President and Congress; but the assassination elicited solidarity and support from many in Latin America.

Throughout the second world war, Puerto Ricans continued to resist through political and trade union activity. The United States, however, had other plans for the island. Up until this time Puerto Rico had been economically exploited and used as a military outpost.

The U.S. government considered the crushing of the independence movement to be central to the success of this plan. In April 1950 President Truman sent his Secretary of Defense, Louis Johnson, to Puerto Rico. Johnson met with the governor and demanded that the Nationalists, who had been regrouping in recent years, be once again imprisoned or killed.

The Nationalist Party learned of these plans and went on the offensive, staging militant rallies and demonstrations. Still, the raids and murders began in October.

In the face of this crisis, the Nationalists concluded that the time was ripe to attempt an armed uprising. Their strategy was to divert and disperse the government forces and to liberate a mountainous area in the countryside, beginning with the town of Jayuya. Unfortunately the Nationalists were forced to launch their attack a few days early, after the Puerto Rican police and the FBI found out about their plans and began to make arrests. On October 30th, 1950, Nationalist forces stormed and secured the Jayuya police station and proceeded to the plaza where they raised the Puerto Rican flag over the U.S. Post Office and proclaimed Jayuya the first free territory of the Second Republic of Puerto Rico.

The insurrection spread across the island and lasted for six days. The United States called the conflict a civil war, while U.S. planes bombed Jayuya, U.S. tanks invaded the mountains and



patrolled the streets, and U.S. trained, financed, and armed National Guards attacked villages and towns. Poorly equipped and outnumbered, the rebels were shot, or arrested and imprisoned.

Two Nationalists in New York City acted to expose the U.S. war on Puerto Rico and initiated the Puerto Rican armed resistance in the United States. Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola travelled to President Truman's temporary residence in Washington DC and opened fire. During the fighting Torresola and a security guard were killed. Collazo was wounded, imprisoned, and denounced as a lunatic assassin.

In the wake of the armed uprising and the attack on President Truman, the island was subjected to vicious police repression, with many killed and thousands jailed. Nevertheless, the U.S. changed the name of their economic plan for the island to "Fomento" (meaning to promote or develop) and moved to implement plans for a Commonwealth arrangement with Puerto Rico. On the surface all was well, and the Yankee star was on the rise, but rebellion still brewed in Puerto Rico as elsewhere. On March 1st, 1954 — the anniversary of the Jones Act which imposed U.S. citizenship on Puerto Ricans in 1917 — four Nationalists attacked the U.S. Congress. Five members of Congress were wounded before the attack was overcome. Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero were arrested and imprisoned. At this time the U.S. government inaugurated the strategy of not recognizing any sort of political prisoner while at the same time giving political maximum sentences.

Textile mills boomed in Puerto Rico throughout the 1950's, employing mainly women. Puerto Rico had been early targeted for birth control, with pilot clinics opening in 1927. The birth control pill was tested on the island, only to be removed from the market and replaced with sterilization when the pill was declared "safe" for use in the U.S.

In an economy which offered employment to women more often than to men, Puerto Rican women were often faced with the choice between children and a job. As well, because of their doubly-colonized status, they were especially vulnerable to the coercive mystifications of the medical profession. Puerto Rican women have reported being pressured into sterilization before an abortion or after a birth and being told that they had cancer and the operation would save their lives. Colonial officials told some that their welfare payments would be cut off if they refused the operation. Most doctors didn't bother to explain the significance of the procedure, so that many women learned of the consequences months or years afterward. (Puerto Ricans are the most sterilized people on earth: today forty per cent of women of childbearing age and twenty-five per cent of men have been sterilized.)

In the early sixties the textile mills deserted Puerto Rico for the Dominican Republic, where the wages were even lower. Petrochemical and phar-

maceutical industries moved in, enjoying massive tax breaks and employing mainly North American technicians and engineers. Unemployment rose and many Puerto Ricans were forced to migrate to the U.S. (altogether one million Puerto Ricans migrated to the urban centres of the United States between 1940 and 1970).

With the Cuban revolution in 1960, Puerto Rico's showcase role became even more important and efforts to prevent independence activities were stepped up. J. Edgar Hoover initiated the FBI Counterintelligence Program in Puerto Rico in August 1960. COINTELPRO consists of adopting wartime counterintelligence methods and applying them to domestic groups. (The program was already in use against the Communist Party in the U.S. and would later be applied to the entire range of groups involved in the upsurge of the 1960's and early 1970's in the U.S.) As well, thirty-thousand right wing Cuban *gusanos* (worms) were settled on the island where, with the help of their friends in the CIA, they became involved in organized crime and some of them formed a military group which carried out bombings and assassinations against both the Cuban government and the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The combination of COINTELPRO and *gusano* activity, along with riot training for the police and National Guard, led to tortures, arrests, and deaths among the growing independence movement. As was the case elsewhere, the 1960's brought students and youth to the forefront of the struggle. An anti-draft movement rose early on the island, along with armed groups and popular organizations. In the U.S. the Young Lords Party, founded in New York City's *el barrio* in 1960, scored great successes in community organizing, militant struggle, and anti-war work.

During the same period, Puerto Rico was being extensively explored for mineral deposits by the U.S. multinationals Amax and Kennecott and the United States Department of Mines. They found many deposits of "strategic" minerals, without which it is impossible to manufacture the sophisticated armaments necessary for modern warfare, whether conventional or nuclear. As a result, a new phase in the colonial exploitation of Puerto Rico was planned: the 2020 Plan, so-called because it is slated to begin in 1985 and be completed in the year 2020. All departments of the U.S. government coordinated their responsibilities in the preparation of the plan. It calls for eleven industrial parks to be created around the coastline for environmentally destructive primary industry. A large-scale foundry/refinery complex is planned, to process minerals not only from Puerto Rico but from other countries as well (arrangements are already being made with Chile, where Kennecott Copper was a force behind the 1973 **coup** that overthrew Allende and where last year workers in the copper mines repeatedly demonstrated their resistance). More than 26 per cent of the fertile land is set aside in the plan for the military and other uses of the U.S.

government, and extensive mining is planned for the interior. Also required is the construction of an infrastructure: highways, railways, communications, water systems, etc. These are already being implemented.

Independence groups lobbied the United Nations Decolonization Committee throughout the 1970's. They argued that the plan would wreck ecological havoc, and force further migration while a small workforce lived tied to the mines in the interior. They also argued in support of the armed independence groups operating on the island and in the U.S. and exposed the U.S. repression of the independence movement. In 1980, the Decolonization Committee upheld these arguments, stating that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States and therefore Puerto Ricans have the right to end the colonial relationship "by any means at their disposal."

In response to growing opposition from both legal and underground groups, the U.S. government has attacked the independence movement through the grand jury system. Grand juries were ostensibly developed to ensure that individuals and groups under FBI investigation would not be subjected to harassment. In practice, grand juries work hand in hand with the FBI to persecute their victims.

The federal grand jury attacking the independence movement seeks to gather information relating to clandestine groups and to criminalise and imprison members of the public support networks through accusations of participation in or links with clandestine groups. The U.S. Attorney General's Guidelines for the FBI on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations, issued March 7, 1983, allow the FBI to maintain computer files on "associates of terrorists" in order to establish a "pattern of criminal activity." FBI director William Webster greeted the new guidelines happily, "A helpful change made by the new guidelines would permit the FBI to monitor organizations which may be temporarily inactive but whose prior record or stated objectives indicate a need for continued federal interest..." At the same time, the Attorney General himself observed that "having consistent investigative standards for racketeering and domestic security/terrorism investigations should help to eliminate any perception that actual or imminent commission of a violent crime is a prerequisite to investigation."

The newest wave of repression in Puerto Rico has been accompanied by the government of Carlos Romero Barcelo and his New Progressive Party, whose seven years in office have been the most corrupt in the island's recent history.

Romero has been under attack from within his own party and from the opposition dominated Puerto Rico senate since 1978, when he praised the police murder of two independence activists. The two had been set-up, and exposure of the cover-up has revealed massive corruption and federal

complicity. The U.S. Justice Department has been implicated and Romero himself has recently come under investigation. The U.S. seems to be willing to let the Romero government collapse, and even to smear themselves to a certain extent in the pursuit of internal instability which would allow them to replace the present colonial government with a more docile one. For as Jeanne Kilpatrick, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, has maintained: "Puerto Rico is neither a domestic matter, nor an international matter. It is a geopolitical bastion of the United States." With the economic help of the 2020 Plan, and the political manoeuvres of the FBI the United States will solidify its hegemony over the Central America-Caribbean zone.

It is up to us, the people of North America whose lifestyles and governments depend upon this repression of Third World independence movements, to recognize our complicity in these seemingly remote politics of the Caribbean. Armed with an understanding of the situation which reaches beyond the ideological and censored news of our "national" newspapers, we must make an effort to disseminate this alternative information. Support work and publicity promoted in North America for the independence groups will make repressive manoeuvres by the United States more difficult and more embarrassing. And by understanding the nature of economic, ideological and social oppression from which the Puerto Rican's suffer as a colonized island, we can begin to make the connections with the inequities and repression which occurs in our own countries. The example of Puerto Rico is not so far removed from our industrial northlands. Black and Latin colonies in United States and American cities, Native reserves, and increasing powers for the police as well as widespread poverty are all evidences of a "third worldization" on an internal scale. The future of all those colonized by the interests of the moneyed, the powerful, and the rich, depend on our awareness and our commitment to changing the nature of our own government's repressive regimes.

Sources

History up to 1977 was primarily taken from **Puerto Rico, the Flame of Resistance** by the Peoples Press Puerto Rico Project, People's Press, San Francisco, 1977

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Up to the minute information and details of the 2020 Plan from various leaflets and publications produced in the United States.

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