

Dragon



BAY AREA RESEARCH COLLECTIVE

NUMBER 10

SEPTEMBER 1978

New World Liberation Front
—an Open Letter to BARC—

Grand Jury Action in Seattle

Boston: the Fred Hampton Unit

Sentencing Statements of
Emily and Bill Harris

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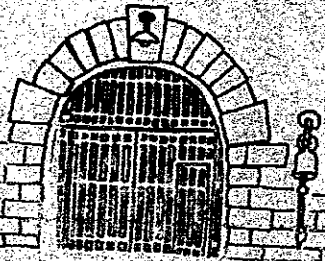


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CENTRAL COMMAND
NEW WORLD LIBERATION FRONT
OPEN LETTER TO BARC

In the development of aboveground communication bases to provide an alternative to the Berkeley Barb, the Bay Area Research Collective was one of the first to respond, with the Dragon.

Dragon has provided people with information about different underground activities but underground groups, as they develop, must establish their own communication bases. In this spirit - as an aboveground unit of the NWLF - TUG was manifest. This NWLF unit has been invaluable and the possibilities TUG opened up for above/under coordination, direction and unity are just starting to be explored.

We have moved to a new stage of development. TUG is an aboveground voice that is part of the NWLF, capable of representing clearly our attitudes and views, the theory that guides our actions, and the nature of the new order we are building. Our communications base has no illusions about where correct ideas come from. These comrades fully realize that only practice - guided by principled theory - is capable of drawing up our strategies, our tactics. They would never think of directing us how to move; suggestions, questions, but not directing.

Their concern for our security is

utmost in their minds and they understand the need for selfless service to the people. Our unity is strong and our bonds of revolutionary love are deep, even though we have never met face to face.

UNRESOLVABLE DISAGREEMENT

After reading and analyzing Dragon #9, we have concluded that it is in the best interests of service to the people for the New World Liberation Front to discontinue struggling to develop revolutionary dialogue through Dragon. We are not going to explore all the areas of disagreement; we will point out the major areas we see as unworkable at this time.

We cannot work with your lack of theory and practice as arm chair philosophers. An example is the stance you've taken toward Jacques and our Grand Jury strategy. We say to you: you are in no position to direct our struggle! You caution people to be wary in their dealings with the information relay followed by: "we say all this from a position of comradely support" rings hollow and false in our ears. We encourage you to study more fully the process of comradely criticism/self criticism so that you will not confuse divisive and subjective analysis with comrade-

ly support.

Grand Jury

As to the Grand Jury tactics, the section on security in this issue of TUG clearly shows the necessity of adopting the strategy we've formulated for the problem at hand.

Your position shows a lack of theory and practice that is necessary in order to draw up effective and principled strategy and tactics. From this lack of practice/theory, you would play right into the hands of the pigs by simply refusing to say anything, thus leading to jail and a temporary halt to revolutionary work when you knew nothing. How can publicly giving useless/no information and continuing to work to serve the people serve the interests of the pigs? We feel you are blinded by your individualist stance. You should be learning from our tactics!

Opportunism

Another example of how your determination to direct our struggle misses the people can be seen in your choice of what to print. You slanted Dragon to back-up your criticism of our stance on radical feminism/homosexuality. Many of the issues we've raised - particularly the question of radical feminism - are threatening to you personally and the overall perspective of our struggle is lost to you.

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It's almost like the case of Popeye when you said that there was no information about investigations into his assassination when there was. In Dragon #9 you said that most of the response to our statement was critical, yet you had letters in strong support of our stance from comrades from oppressed backgrounds armed with theory and practice. You choose not only to ignore these letters but you misled the people into thinking that there was little or no support for our stance except from the information relay and the TUG staff. This is what we call opportunism: using something when it suits your purpose and tossing it aside when it doesn't. You should adopt a standard so that these mistakes aren't repeated.

Feminism / Homosexuality

The letters you did choose to print in Dragon #9 - and the confused ideas in them - clearly indicate how much the issues of radical feminism/homosexuality and revolutionary theory need to be struggled with. One point that needs more thought on the part of gay people is: where does homosexuality come from? Is it an idea that drops from the skies? Is it innate in the mind?

Is it correct to say - as the lesbian collective did - that their "loving women preceded - and had nothing to do with - our practice with men?" We say no.

We say: homosexual behavior is a reaction to concrete social conditions in a capitalistic, degenerate, individualistic ("me-me") order and is directly tied to confusing, often painful experiences with the opposite sex.

Many people organized around sex-oriented issues feel the socialist countries of the world (such as China, Vietnam, Cuba) are sexually backward in their heterosexually oriented societies and that sexual freedom in this country is in the Vanguard. The most developed human behavior comes from the most socially developed countries. We have so much to learn from the liberated peoples of the world about how to relate more fully, more humanly, in order to build a socialist world. We must struggle to analyze all personal behavior that is a reaction to this dog-eat-dog order.

Mistaken Ideas

2 ideas came across in Dragon #9 that we strongly do not want to be associated with the New World Liberation Front.

The first is your choosing to print the cartoon on page 31 for whatever reason. It is a good example of how confused people are sexually:



This is not freedom of sexual choice. The perverted shit of a little girl and her female dog lover is the same mentality found in the Berkeley Barb. When there is more harmony between the sexes, there will be no

place for the sick humor this decadent order has manifest.

The "all struggle, no unity" cartoon on page 30 is obviously a statement you're making out of your own feelings. If you neglect studying theory and reaching out to learn from poor people, you're guaranteed to have many more "all struggle, no unity" days. We urge you to analyze your choice of graphics (many of them) and recognize the need for correcting this behavior.

The second idea is Ed Mead's suggestion that white people organize along sexual lines while others organize by race. We feel this is a reactionary stance that is not capable of developing the broad united base necessary to smash this unjust ruling class order and build a more human, socialistic order.

This concept shows reactionary sexist and racist attitudes. Analyze along class lines. Unity, not separation for poor/working class white people. Unity for all and with all poor/working class people. SEPARATION TO THE ENEMY. USE YOUR SAME TACTICS TO DIVIDE THE ENEMY; they are dividing the enemy now. Support unity among the people (masses).

To better explain the relationship of sexual analysis we say: the sterilization of one third of the women in Puerto Rico is not first a crime against women. We say that a crime is being committed by the U. S. ruling class against poor Puerto Ricans in the sterilization of one third of its women.

In the same way, butcher abortions are first a crime against poor people. Similarly, nightmare experiments with syphilis over a prolonged period on male convicts and poor black men is not first a crime against men but a crime against poor people by the ruling class. These are class issues.

Some articles in Dragon #9 said that poor/working people only balk at the words homosexuality and radical feminism in the way that they do communism. The implication is that - just as they will come to accept communism - they will accept radical feminism and homosexuality. The big difference is: poor/working people only reject the word communism, not the concept.

If you ask poor people what they

think of a communist society without using the word or other "saliva" words, they'll say: "sure, I'd love to see that kind of order here." You won't get the same response if you give the concepts of homosexuality and radical feminism without using the words; poor/working people reject the words and the concepts both.

We have no detailed reply about what we didn't cover in our statements (the positive side of the dialectic). Our purpose was to expose the dangers radical feminism/homosexuality pose to revolutionary organizing. We make a clear distinction between socialist feminism and radical feminism. We support socialist feminism to the fullest, this is toward total liberation.

We recommend that members of the Bay Area Research Collective study "Where do correct ideas come from?" and "Combat Liberalism" by Mao. Also, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Criticism and Self Criticism."

Drop all petty differences. Accent common bonds. Separate major issues from minor issues; know the difference between them and their perspective, one to the other. Serve the people.

7/76



FURTHER CRITICISM OF BARC...

A SAD DUTY

PEOPLE'S INFORMATION RELAY-1 NWLF

To have to criticize comrades publicly is a sad duty, one we might have tried to duck had we not been instructed by the Central Command to cover points better viewed from our perspective. PIR-1 criticizes itself for its reluctance/unwillingness to undertake this responsibility and offers the following response to Dragon #9 and the practice of the Bay Area Research Collective.

The first thing we would question is BARC's policy of publicly criticizing comrades instead of engaging in private dialogue. You were told that PIR-1 had a means of transmitting information to the Central Command and the Combat units and you certainly knew that you were welcome at PIR-1 for discussions of any length. The Central Command has always responded to BARC's questions and criticisms, even when it caused security problems or unnecessarily revealed strategy and tactics to the enemy. The questions you ask are often the same ones that would be asked by the pigs and you place the underground in the position of having to give up sensitive or secure information or look like they're trying to cover up a mistake. In one case you were told that raising a particular question would create just such a

situation and you arrogantly raised it anyway. We call this sensationalism.

A similar situation exists in your raising the question of Jacques' (and PIR's) tendency to get in the news at the expense of - as you put it - "the politics around which they are moving." It was explained to you in some detail that this resulted from two factors: a Grand Jury strategy that was dependent on media attention (neither Jacques nor PIR gave any interviews to the media until 2 days before the Grand Jury battle began) and the unfortunate tendency of the media to focus on individuals at the expense of the ideas (theory) which were the only thing that was important.

Every effort has been/is being taken to counteract the effects of these 2 factors and you were told that Jacques was now under instructions from the Central Command to turn over all media responsibilities to a sister on the TUG staff who would discharge them on a long range basis. Jacques was the first person to become visible to the media and because of this, was the one singled out for Grand Jury attack. It was necessary to make him even more visible in order to protect him. Since

You knew all of this, we must characterize your public attack as deceitful.

In your criticism of NWLF demand strategy you stated that "Aboveground organizers in San Francisco did next to nothing to take advantage of the initiative and strength the NWLF had developed" (in the parking meter war). At that time, a small handful of people were struggling to establish a practice while attempting to deal with enormous internal and external contradictions. We were receiving communiques for distribution in batches (3 at one time on one occasion) and posting them all over the city (Berkeley too). We were struggling to integrate a printing facility (none of us were printers) into our operations so that we could begin publication of TUG while trying to duck Grand Jury subpoenas. Twenty hour days were not long enough.

In spite of all our limitations (only briefly touched on here), we feel we were able to make a significant contribution to a successful campaign. We were able to establish a decision making process in the county jail to move on the underground's initiative and the problems encountered as well as the decision reached were described to BARC who used the information in Dragon.

We are not aware of what it was BARC was doing to "take advantage of the initiative" developed by our underground. We know of one mimeographed statement that we printed

and distributed throughout the area. We even designed a logo to go on the BARC statement and - if you'll recall had some difficulty getting your permission to reprint it since we didn't (still don't) even have your telephone number or address (except for the post office box) and it was your practice to either ignore our letters or take a month to reply. We must call this criticism both uninformed and arrogant.



Your criticism of demand strategy is identical to criticism offered by pigs and the pig media who do not read the communiques. You would characterize the campaign against PG&E unsuccessful and the demands unrealistic but the campaign is far from over and the demands will be met! PG&E spends a fortune protecting their far flung empire and so loses every day. They know our underground will attack again!

One of our strongest advantages is that the people's forces pick the target and method of attack. They will not be provoked into premature action; not by the pigs, not by Pop-eye, not by BARC. This is the essence of guerrilla war. We suggest that you study "The Art of War" by Sun Tzu (as recommended in communiques).

Your criticism of our dealings with the police is also uninformed. There was a period when our strategy for surviving the first few critical months of our existence included demonstrating that we had nothing to hide by answering questions put out by the pigs. There were, however, some important conditions.

The most important of these was that all questions and answers had to be in writing so that there would be a record for all to inspect. An additional condition placed on the San Francisco Intelligence and Bomb Squad units (who wanted to ask questions) was that they had to give information in exchange for the information received. They presented 4 written questions and we gave written replies plus 2 questions of our own. They backed out of the deal and submitted no further questions.

Jacques testified very briefly before the Grand Jury and his replies to the prosecutor's questions (the replies were not responsive to the questions) were given in writing. Photocopies of the written answers were distributed to the media 10 minutes after he left the Grand Jury room. He also testified briefly in open court and everything "said" was in writing. He also gave written replies to FBI questions. They couldn't think of any good ones to ask (they didn't think about 2-way information exchange which was all Jacques knew anyway) and left in disgust, not

following up on an invitation to return until it was too late.

You have warned comrades to protect their security by exercising caution in their dealings with PIR-1 and it is advisable that they do so but not for the reasons you imply. Because of our vulnerability to Grand Jury attack, it threatens our security to have secret information and there is no reason for such information to be given to us, except as outlined in the analysis on security in this issue. We are under intense surveillance, our mail is opened, nothing at PIR-1 is secure.

At the same time, we know of nothing we have ever said or done that could pose the slightest threat to the security of BARC or anyone else while BARC has created serious security problems for 4 different aspects of the Front that have necessitated the formulation of whole new strategies. In view of these facts (all well known by BARC) we must view this criticism as unfounded and uncomradely.

In fact, there is nothing comradely about Dragon #9. All your criticisms were based on information that was either incorrect, distorted or partially suppressed and - as the Central Command has said to the Rolling Stone - half truths are also lies. Your statements were not comradely criticisms at all in spite of your hollow words about support, they were a broad attack against the New World

Liberation Front that was apparently motivated by a reaction to our stand on radical feminism and homosexuality.

SELF-CRITICISM

Of all the "criticisms" hurled at us by BARC, your charge of arrogance is the only one that seems to have any merit. We wish to assume an arrogant stance toward the enemy but feel that arrogant attitudes come to have a hold on the mind, even though they are assumed for a principled purpose. It is possible that we have unintentionally assumed an arrogant stance with comrades and this is a dangerous tendency that must be corrected. In our relationship with BARC, we have had reason to criticize ourselves about this error on a previous occasion as you might recall. We are struggling with this problem and wonder if BARC is doing the same?

We have concern for your lack of understanding of the process of criticism/self criticism and wonder if you are aware of this lack. You arrogantly offer biting and uncomrade-

ly criticism when you know nothing while rarely criticizing what you know best: yourselves. You limited your self criticism over an important matter of principle where you were charged with distortion and suppression of information and a deliberate attempt to mislead and deceive the people and discredit the underground (Popeye) to 2 short sentences and only then because it was demanded by the Central Command.

We urge our comrades in the Bay Area Research Collective to confront and resolve these contradictions to better serve the needs of the people and to begin a period of intensive study and practice of principled theory. If you do not so arm yourselves, you will continue to be used by the enemy and your fate will be dishonor and disgrace.

These words are offered with an aching reluctance for we know they will be painful to read, more painful to grasp. Comradely criticism is an act of love and we offer ours in that spirit, toward total liberation.

--PIR-1 NWLF

7/76

[The preceding statements from Central Command and PIR-1, New World Liberation Front are reprinted here in full from the third issue of The Urban Guerrilla, official voice of the NWLF -- available from PIR-1, 423 Oak Street, San Francisco, CA. 94102. Our response follows. ---BARC]

BARC'S REPLY TO THE NWLF

We will begin our response to Central Command's open letter to us by re-stating our purpose. Dragon, since we began printing it last August, has been our primary political voice; the voice is public. It is no house organ: central to its purpose is, and has always been, public criticism -- of us and of others, of practice and of practical theory. In response to the first section of the open letter (about the development of TUG) we must say that we certainly have no quarrel with TUG per se and readily accept the need of the NWLF to develop its own voice. Dragon, however, performs a different function. Our intention has been the development of public dialogue, a process of criticism and self-criticism, a forum for progressive people and groups to publicly engage in productive discussions of practical and theoretical differences and similarities centering primarily on issues involving guerrilla struggles in this country.

We feel that it is quite untrue for Central Command to suggest that we've attempted to "direct" their tactics or strategies. We have and will continue to make criticisms of what we think is wrong with NWLF strategies and theory, as we have and will with

others when we see political importance in so doing. We will also make suggestions from our perspective of how we think practice can be improved. We have never suggested that our perspective is, or should be, the same as that of an underground organization or of anyone else. Guerrillas must take final responsibility for their actions and therefore we presently, as in the past, readily recognize that their perspective ultimately directs their actions, as ours directs our actions. And so should it be.

We feel that we had substantial and valid rationale to warn people to be cautious in dealing with PIR, since in Dragon #8 we had in the strongest possible terms urged our readers to, "Read TUG, the voice of the NWLF." At that time we were not fully aware that, as is stated in TUG #3, "Nothing is secure at PIR-1." We did not want our readers, their names, addresses, etc., to be exposed to Grand Jury, FBI, or police scrutiny unless they knew quite well that PIR-1 would not protect their identities and security. If our statement of support rings hollow, believe that it is not; we will continue to support the progressive work of the NWLF and its communications section. But

our support will continue to be critical when criticism is called for. We must remain sharply critical of the "Nothing is secure at PIR-1" strategy. The criticism was practical and objective, not, as C. C. says, "divisive and subjective." We still assess the NWLF Grand Jury strategy as dangerous. Of course it is true that Grand Juries can, have been, and will continue to be used to jail progressive and revolutionary people and this does serve the state. But can we compare this to the damage done by talking to a Grand Jury? Can anyone know so well what information is useful or will be used -- even illegally in a set-up? Quite distinct from the Grand Juries' function of jailing people on contempt charges is their primary purpose: that of drawing up criminal indictments. Furthermore, can we assess the damage done through disunity to a non-collaborating movement? Doesn't this move at once undercut the strength of non-collaboration while undercutting support for the NWLF? Many people simply don't want their enemies, the state, to be privy to either the fact or content of correspondence and/or conversations with (even aboveground) members of the NWLF. As we said in Dragon #9, we repeat that this strategy appears to us both arrogant and in-

dividualistic -- as well as dangerous: one member of PIR-1 was indicted for threatening members of a Grand Jury. She has been released on bail.

Central Command goes on to call us opportunistic for misrepresenting the response we received concerning the NWLF statements on feminism and homosexuality. C. C. argues that we had letters in strong support of their position which we chose to ignore. We had two. One was from a PIR-1 staff member. This letter basically repeated the PIR, NWLF position; as it offered nothing new to the discussion, we chose not to print it. The other was from Ken Como. Ken told us specifically that his letter was not for publication. Elsewhere in this issue we've printed Ken's public response on the subject. It was and remains definitely true that most of the response we've received has been sharply critical of the NWLF position.

It may indeed be true that the question of where homosexuality comes from is important. It is a question that some gays have been and are struggling with. It is not a question that this collective is qualified or cares to answer. As we see it, more important to more of the gay community is the fact of and struggle against heterosexual and societal

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oppression of gay people. This collective chooses to judge practice on its basis in revolutionary theory as we judge theory on its practical success. We do not dictate sexual choice and see no purpose in doing so. We do not see homosexuality as reactionary, capitalistic, or individualistic. We cannot use China, Vietnam or Cuba as sexual-political models since those cultures and ours are extremely different. Those cultures began long before the countries' socialist liberation and still affect their cultural development, as do their basically agrarian economies.

As to our choice of graphics, we don't consider either of the graphics mentioned by Central Command to be of great importance or particularly telling of our perversion, degeneracy, lack of struggling with theory or lack of reaching out to learn from poor people. We don't expect that what is humorous to us will be humorous to everybody.

It is probably true that sterilization of Puerto Rican women is first a crime against poor people. However this leaves a couple of things unsaid: 1) it is always a crime against poor women; 2) it took autonomous women's groups to begin to organize against such crimes and they continue to do the most work against these ab-

uses; 3) rape is an example of a crime specifically against women by men (in the case of homosexual rape, it is usually the aggression of one man against another whom the rapist forces into a "passive/feminine" role). Rape cuts across class lines and occurs in all countries. It cannot be fit into a simplistic class analysis.

We take issue with C. C.'s statement that working and poor people reject the "concepts" of homosexuality and feminism. Actually, a great many poor and working people are gay and/or feminist. A considerable part of the gay and feminist communities are poor or working people. Furthermore, the fact that poor and working people accept or reject a concept is insufficient rationale for judging the concept's validity. Capitalist society has been extremely successful in creating reactionary character traits and ideology in every segment of our society. It is obviously not true that working and poor people are by definition revolutionary. Revolutionary consciousness develops through an understanding of personal oppression. All sorts of oppression are potential bases for that understanding. But no particular form of oppression guarantees revolutionary consciousness.

Central Command urges us to

"Drop all petty differences. Accent common bonds." We must point out that it is not we who have defined considerable portions of the revolutionary community out of our camp. We have attempted to maintain an ecumenical stand in regards to other revolutionary groups and people. We have maintained that in spite of differences with others (in this case with the NWLF) we, as revolutionaries are all fighting for

the common goals of survival and liberation. We offer criticism from our perspective that we hope will be useful in developing a strong and viable movement. Our criticisms of the NWLF have been practical; we have kept our common purpose and our common enemies -- capitalism, the state, political reaction -- in mind. We consider and greet the NWLF as allies against these common enemies.

SOLIDARITY, that is, harmony of interests and sentiments, the sharing of each in the good of all, and of all in the good of each, is the only state in which man [sic] can be true to his own nature, and attain to the highest development and happiness. It is the aim toward which human development tends. It is the one great principle, capable of reconciling all present antagonisms in society, otherwise irreconcilable. It causes the liberty of each to find not its limits, but its complement, the necessary condition of its continual existence -- in the liberty of all.

"No man," says Michael Bakunin, "can recognise his own human worth, or in consequence realize his full development, if he does not recognise the worth of his fellow-men; and, in co-operation with them, realize his own development through them. No man can emancipate himself unless at the same time he emancipates those around him. My freedom is the freedom of all, for I am not really free -- free not only in thought, but also in deed -- if my freedom and my right do not find their confirmation and sanction in the liberty and right of all men, my equals...."

... Solidarity then is the condition in which man can attain the highest degree of security and well-being. Therefore, egoism itself, the exclusive consideration of individual interests, impels man and human society toward solidarity. Or rather egoism and altruism, (consideration of the interests of others) are united in this one sentiment, as the interest of the individual is one with the interests of society.

-- Errico Malatesta

As allies, as equals, and in the interest of developing a truly revolutionary movement, we have answered C. C.'s open letter to us and, in this same vein, urge them to re-think their response and answer more fully and more openly the criticisms and analysis contained in Dragon 9.

We now turn our attention to the PIR-1 statement, "A Sad Duty". We will attempt not to be repetitive and respond to points raised by PIR-1 that weren't covered in the C. C. statement.

First, we are brought to task for "publicly criticizing comrades instead of engaging in private dialogue." We are compelled to ask where you have been for the last two years. Public criticism and providing a forum for public dialogue has been our stated and practiced purpose since we began Dragon. As we see it, the need for such a forum continues. We were offered private communication with Central Command but, at the same time, we were being told of the PIR-1 strategy of talking to the authorities -- from police to Grand Juries. We repeat, "Nothing is secure at PIR-1." We felt that "private" messages from us to people underground via a messenger who would divulge all s/he knew would be foolhardy.

We have taken and stand by a position of non-collaboration. If a messenger admits to transferring messages between C. C. and us, we are obviously set up for at least a subpoena. We chose to make our criticisms publicly. As to our creating security problems or unnecessarily revealing strategy to the enemy, we have

to point out that our analyses are based on publicly-known information and that we ask for response within limits drawn by security needs.

As for our criticism that Jacques Rogiers tended to put himself in the news at the expense of the NWLF's political moves, yes, it's quite true that we knew that Rogiers was no longer NWLF media spokesperson. But the criticism was and still is valid and educational. Since Rogiers chose to become so publicly visible through the media causing many people to question the strategy, we felt that a public criticism and/or self-criticism was useful.

Concerning our statement that aboveground organizers failed to take advantage of the NWLF's initiative in the campaign for improved health care in San Francisco jails, apparently we should clarify what we wrote. Nowhere did we mean to suggest that PIR-1 wasn't trying to utilize and devel-

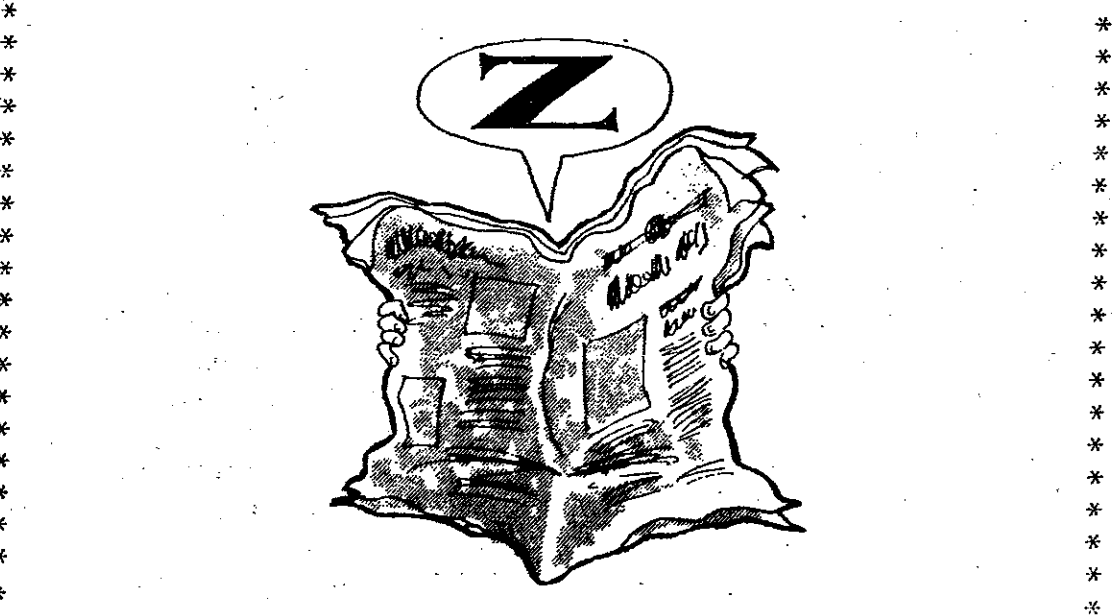
they chose not to discuss fully in public. They allude to "security problems" we've supposedly created for the Front. It is obvious that we cannot respond to these accusations; it is clear that in a public statement, discussions should be confined to public information. Nebulous allusions of this sort are confusing and can only add to rampant speculation. They serve no positive purpose.

In "A Sad Duty", PIR-1 compared us to pigs, said we asked the same questions as the pigs, said we were useful to the pigs four times. Pig-baiting is a most disgusting and divisive tool. When used by an organization closely linked with the underground, it takes on added significance: it

becomes dangerous. For this we call for severe self-criticism from the NWLF.

Central Command in their open letter make a call for unity while they continue to draw in their lines of ideological correctness to a point where all but PIR-1 and an undefined group of "poor/working people" are excluded. On the spectrum of political reality in this country, in the world, this sort of correct line-ism, while nothing new to the left, is inexcusable and politically suicidal for any of us. In their own words, the NWLF's call for unity, "rings hollow and false in our ears" and we urge extreme political re-evaluation.

- barc



THOUGHTS ON DRAGON 9 AND TUG 3

I have read Dragon #9 and Tug 3 both carefully a couple of times. There are definitely some good points in both & some bad. The issue of homosexuality & feminism are very controversial & ones that require careful consideration. To say that you are involved in the People's Struggle and ignore them would be impossible. But to say that involvement in the feminist and/or gay movements by itself makes one a revolutionary by itself is also impossible. This is like the misconception that all prisoners are revolutionaries. While I feel that all of us are political prisoners because the amerikan judiciary dispenses justice strictly on a class level, it is impossible for me to condone certain acts such as baby-raping etc. as revolutionary crimes.

The myth of the political aware prisoner is one of the most exploited in the struggle. How can anyone who has 3 or 4 good hustles & is having their family send them part of their wages, welfare or whatever, so they can live in luxury behind walls even be considered politically involved. Don't get me wrong, when I'm not in Max I keep myself in smokes, coffee and necessities but if I get a little ahead, I send a buck or two to support units or defense funds or at least



put it to use in the struggle. But for a prisoner to expect support from the struggle without giving, however possible, support to the struggle is wrong.

The same is true for feminists or gays. To set themselves apart as distinct separate units promotes strife. The very system which we oppose has raised us with a macho attitude which we have to overcome. It has also raised us to look askance at homosexuals but to overcome these attitudes we have to work in close harmony with members of these groups in order to understand them. But again let me clarify, I'm not saying embrace anyone because they are gay or female, but let their political beliefs and actions speak for themselves. No one will ever make me

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believe that a man-hating, ball-busting lesbian is a revolutionary but at the same time, no one will ever make me believe that Mizmoon, Camilla Hall & Susan Saxe aren't great examples of revolutionaries. The fact that a woman burns her bra doesn't make her my sister in struggle but I am convinced that Emily Harris, Bernadine Dohrn & Celia Sojourn (to name just a few) are. If one has doubts about gays&feminists, try integrating them into your group organization, etc. on a propation-type basis, if they are dedicated and sincere their deeds will speak for themselves and by the same token they will be willing to accept this type set-up in order to help you overcome your attitudes and hang-ups.

As for Ed Mead's suggestion "white revolutionaries organize along sexual lines," (see Dragon # 9), while I'm sure it wasn't his intention that strikes too close to both sexism and racism for me. Let's all carefully analyze Cuba's revolution and see if we can't all agree that we can ALL fight side by side sucessfully. Or better yet, let's closely analyze our own struggle; we are fighting the capitalist's dollar which buys them power, media, fascist kourts, etc. We can't afford to exclude anyone from our ranks. If this is to be a People's Revolution it must be composed of all the People. Any-

one who is oppressed needs our assistance, all oppressors are our enemies. To quote George Jackson, "I identify with anyone who hates just one fascist."

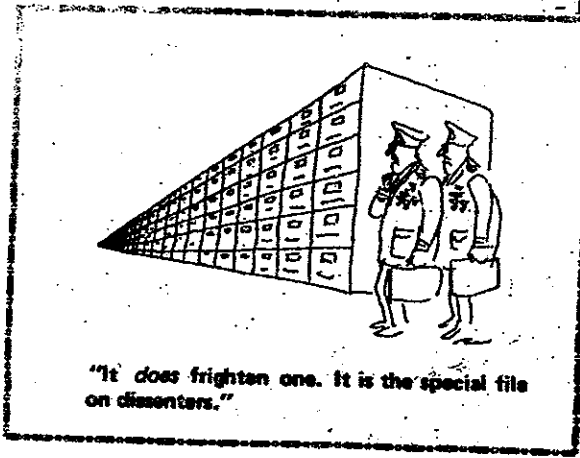
I appeal to both NWLF and BARC, that while being of different opinions to some extent, not to let it create disunity. Comradly criticism is necessary but when we allow it to split us, it becomes an imperialist victory. We have too many enemies to fight among ourselves. As long as we are swept along in petty squabbles among ourselves, we will be considered a joke; only after we have united shall our full potential become known. Let's make Unity our watchword and Victory our goal.

If you will look back over the years, the reason we are no further along than we are today is because we have allowed snitches & agent provocateurs to keep us at each other's throats. How long do we intend to be disrupted this way? If you can't bring yourself to trust certain people, avoid contact with them but never ignore their cause. If someone doesn't embrace your cause, embrace their's as an example. Everyone has a tendency to believe that their contribution and sacrifice is greater than anyone elses. But if we all give the most we are capable of, this will be impossible. Let's not think in

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plan & act on tomorrow. Again I say Unity, for United we are a force to be reckoned with; divided we are only a nuisance. Think about it. Let's make revolution a reality rather than a dream. ALL POWER TO ALL THE PEOPLE !!

Solidarity in struggle

Jim Parker #47910
818 Jefferson Ave.
West Virginia State Prison
Moundsville, West VA. 26041

lines of the women's movement, the gay movement, the poor movement, the black movement, the chicano movement, the Indian movement, the Puerto Rican movement etc. For all of these are good movements & while some of them may deserve priorities; who is qualified to judge? Let us only think of the People's Movement and then none can be left out or slighted. Or can we continue to argue over which deserves the most attention and the Tricentennial will see us still a few isolated groups at war with each other. The past is dead and can't be resurrected, let's learn from our mistakes and march on into the future. Who was right or wrong in 1975 will have very little influence on 1977. Eulogizing the dead or discrediting them serves no useful purpose. While we must remember & appreciate yesterday's sacrifices, we must

[This subsequent response was in reply to a letter we sent discussing Jim's article.]
...Now, if I may, I'd like to explain (not defend) the things you criticized about my statement. First, the term "man-hating, ball-busting lesbians". While this term may have been used in the wrong context, what I was trying to get across was that the lesbians who have absolutely no contact or use for men are not revolutionaries just because they are gay. I didn't mean to use the term as applying to all lesbians or to imply that I resented women being strong and independent.

About the trial basis use of gays and feminists--while this does reek of tokenism, I recommend this only as the last alternative for people who can't bring themselves to relate to or trust

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gays and feminists. I'll agree that it's not a very good alternative, but I feel it's better than total exclusion. The whole problem involves overcoming class induced attitudes and while I think everyone is in complete agreement they must be overcome, most people are at a loss on how to overcome them. I only used that as an example on ways to overcome them.

Actually I feel everyone accepted in a group (gay, feminist, white black, etc) should be strictly on a probationary basis. It would help weed out the provocateurs and snitches. The very idea that someone's sex or color affects their political beliefs is ridiculous to me.

Jim Parker

and moving right along...

After reading the response to the NWLF statement re: Feminism and Homosexuality in Dragon #9, its evident that these are questions that certainly needed to be raised and struggled with to give us all a clearer perspective, whether you agree or disagree with their statement.

I've noticed that nothing will cause such a shit storm as criticism of feminism, or analysis of negative, reactionary trends in that movement and that a woman waving the feminist-lesbian banner can say most anything she wants, no matter how incorrect without any criticism whatsoever. This was brought home to me sharply when Susan Saxe pled guilty for a "deal" in federal court and issued a statement on June 9, 1975 (parts of which were printed in the women's issue of Dragon).

The gross contradictions and obvious Bullshit all thru the entire statement was incredible, but even more incredible was that otherwise aware people such as Barc would print that statement without one word of criticism. Why? ! And the same for its readers, where was the "objective analysis" of the most insulting, blatant, Bullshit ever printed in Dragon? Certainly she is a Sister who has made some righteous Revolutionary moves and deserves all the help and support we can give her. But lesbian-feminist revolutionary or not, none of us are above criticism, yet because of that, otherwise aware, analytical people were totally blinded. For those who don't understand what I'm talking about, I urge you to read, or re-read that statement and it should be clear.

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lective wrote excellent letters defining themselves, and what feminism-lesbianism means to them, and how they live it. I only wish there were millions more, but as they themselves said, they were mainly dealing with what feminism Should be, or possibly Could be, not what it Is, right now. Even "Redstockings" agrees that the women's movement on the whole has been taken over by liberal reformists--most particularly white middle and upper-middle class women: women who have managed to divert and co-opt one of the most vital, strategic movements in the U.S. It's a fact that should be looked at and dealt with. I've never seen any evidence that the NWLF is sexist--on the contrary--nor did they make a blanket statement that feminism was reactionary, but merely examined (briefly) some aspects and trends that certainly are. I can't see any revolutionary group ever going back to macho sexism, or who wouldn't want righteous, Free, Aware, Strong Women who can think, act and move with the very Best. I think that's been proven positively--that women are and can be, besides the fact that they comprise much of the revolutionary Vanguard. The days of pushing women off in the corner are over, and that's as it should be. It's made us all freer, more effective and stronger, but we can't

allow that facet (feminism) to divert or divide us. Many radical feminist-separatists wish or think they can build a revolution around that issue alone. While it very often does bring women to a total awareness of class revolution, it's not revolutionary in itself. Yet it is, and should be, a strong facet of the totally revolutionary woman.

Which brings me to another point. I read often from diverse feminist writings about "Every movement for women's rights has been diverted into other struggles which appear more urgent at the time. We can't let this happen again." I can understand that from a historical perspective, but I think a clear look and close analysis of what's happening Right Now, right here in the U.S. will show that there's no parallel in history. Consider women's position at the time of the Russian Revolution, or at the time of the Chinese Revolution, or our own women's movement here at the beginning of the century. There's absolutely no comparison. The masses of women in the U.S. right now are awake and aware, and there's no way they'll go back no matter whether they're moderate, reformist, or revolutionary. Revolution comes at a time in the U.S. like no other country before it. The revolutionary movement here doesn't "divert" feminism, or say "put that aside until after the revo-

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lution." It's an integral, important asset to our revolution; it's not one against the other--it's One. None of us, women or men, can be Free under this system--it'll take a long, hard struggle and total Revolution to Win. Therefore, we need a total perspective. Not one narrow (but vital) aspect. No one would ask women to throw away their self-awareness, nor stop struggling against their own particular oppression. There's no contradiction there, we're fighting All forms of oppression.

Concerning homosexuality, I'm not very aware of what it is out there now to comment. However, in the prison environment, I've found with a few exceptions that they have far more serious and dangerous character defects than "normal" prisoners. Altho, as I said, I do know a few who I trust and respect. And I definitely wouldn't trust an overt role player, i. e. ; a man dressed like a woman, limp wristed and swishin, nor a supposedly "Woman identified Woman" bull dyke, dressed, acting and lookin like a macho man. If they're playin that role chances are good their whole thing is a bullshit role. By the same token, I know some truly Beautiful revolutionary women, who shared a very special love, and the physical aspect was quite natural and beautiful. Altho they weren't/

aren't "lesbians" in the strict sense of the word.

Also, while it is very important to look to, and learn from the poor/working class, I've found thru extensive experience that at least to begin with, people relate to and move from their own oppression, and except for the very rich, it's not hard to show anyone, from whatever strata in this system, the very real oppression they live under--it's just wrapped in a different package. Then from there, once they've opened enough to see their own, they'll be able to see and relate to All people's oppression (just as what happens often in the women's movement, etc).

Concerning the NWLF Central Command--I think a lot of reaction from their statements was as much the manner of How they said it, as much as what they said. It hits many people as authoritarian "Commissars" pronouncing a dictate to the people. I would ask them to analyse this. It's an easy trap to fall into, and one that comrades underground who are moving and takin' care of business have to be vigilant of. Just as "Field Marshals" and "Generals" are Bullshit terms--we don't need that. But for those of you who would overly criticize or attack the NWLF--it wouldn't appear that there are any armchair generals in that spot. They are mostly

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writing from practical experience and revolutionary practice. They've learned by doing, criticized themselves, have struggled Hard, and done a lot, and have stayed Free for years. That says a whole lot in itself.

My special Love and Regards to the comrades in Seattle who are fighting the grand jury witch-hunt there and all comrades in struggle.

Resist in Freedom
Ken Como
July 9, 1976

Note: As with many articles in Dragon written by other folks, BARC doesn't necessarily agree with all positions expressed. We specifically reject the use of the expression "bull dyke" when used in a derogatory manner. Sexist, racist, and classist attitudes often appear in our language and we need to become more aware of how this oppresses other comrades.

--BARC

an open letter to central command, n w i i

Dear brothers and sisters,

Tug #3 has finally clarified the core of your attitudes towards gaypersons. In reading your original statement, I thought you had incorrectly assumed that womanpersons and gaypersons were demanding that everybody drop everything and concentrate exclusively on helping them end their oppression; while you were over-reacting by incorrectly demanding that they drop everything and concentrate exclusively on poorpersons. I also acquired the notion that you were trying to warn others of the dangers of reactionary behavior to the movement while you were at it.

Instead, I find you are totally unqualified to say anything about gaypeople because you know nothing about them. You never bothered to find out the truth. To state that "homosexual behavior is a reaction to concrete social conditions... and is directly tied to confusing, often painful experiences with the opposite sex" is a lie. To state "the most developed human behavior comes from the most socially developed countries" is a lie when applied to gaypeople: China kills them; the Soviet Union 'rehabilitates' them (when they're dumb or courageous enough to be found out); Cuba also denies their existence.

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I assumed you knew a few fundamental facts, when the reality is that you don't see gaypeople as they really are. You see them as you 'feel' or 'believe' they are. Most 'feelings' and 'beliefs' originate in our pig upbringing and training. They are suspect. They need thorough examination and comparison with reality before they can be accepted as truth.

Anthropologists and historians have yet to find a human society where there is one exclusive form of sexual expression (i. e. all hetero, all homo, all anything). What they HAVE found is that all humans are sexual and, in the absence of repression or oppression, will express their sexuality across a broad spectrum.

In a face to face discussion with members of PIR-1, much ado was made over the fact that gaypersons don't know and therefore can't explain the "Why?" of their homosexual orientation. It is equally valid to ask straightpersons to explain why they have a heterosexual orientation. This is a mis-

direction and indicates that you have confused the origin of a person's sexual orientation with the origin of a person's oppression because of his/her sexual orientation. Many gaypersons get hung up in this misdirection for a while until the reality of their repression forces them to reconsider their plight and, based on that, their priorities. Getting to the roots of whether or not they're people, whether or not hetero's are justified in labelling them as crazy, as freaks, as people to be lined up and shot were correctly deemed as more important priorities.

Are they the products of our sick, imperialistic society? Emphatically no. Gays have been with us at least from the beginnings of humankind as far back as we can go.

Will they gradually disappear under a new humane socialistic order? Again, no. The overwhelming evidence of history, anthropology, sociology and sexual research indicates that a successful cultural revolution would most



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likely result in the freeing and enrichment of the people through the acknowledgement and teaching of the realities that surround sexuality and sexual expression.

NOBODY knows just exactly what factors determine a given individual's sexual orientation. What IS known is that it is determined long before he/she is capable of having either painful or confusing sexual experiences: before the age of five, in fact. It is also KNOWN that a person's basic sexual orientation is not subject to change through either subjective (inner) attempts on the part of the individual or through outside Establishment influences. The only thing that changes is the outward expression or non-expression of a prescribed behavior.

Poor/workingpeople are not as mythified about gayness as you think; they show more curiosity than revulsion when talking about gaypeople or the concept of same sex love; and so are their reactions when they meet a 'real live' one. They tend to live and let live and don't indulge in the privileged class game of 'some of my best queers are friends', either. Insecure Middleamerika peti-bourgeois who are neither too poor and oppressed to understand nor rich enough to not give a damn are the ones who have faints and fits over gaypeople. They do the Enemies dirty

work (always have), and one piece of shitwork is to enforce and reinforce the heterosexist nuclear/consumer family that is essential for the continuation of capitalist imperialism by any means necessary, including the oppression of women and the elimination of other than heterosexual expression.

"But what about...?" I'm sure by now you've started to wonder about the contradictions, seeming contradictions and contradictory situations that either you or



other comrades have noticed, experienced, commented on, or speculated about.

"What about prison? A lot of people turn gay while they're locked down. That doesn't jive with what you said about being bi or straight or gay by the time you're five." As I stated earlier, we are born sexual first and the rest comes after. I should also have added that only a small number of people are/have been/will be exclusively straight or gay.

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Most fall on a broad spectrum in-between. When your're locked down, you're docked down with a lot of other people. Solidarity against the pigs generates love as well as anger, and an intimate relation between two men or women can be more than "simple" sexual relief or dominant/submissive behavior: it can also be mutual like and respect carried to its logical and ultimate conclusion. For some, it is an acknowledgement/discovery that they are, indeed, gay. But prisonpeople who weren't (b)latently gay before they were locked down will eventually return to their basic sexual orientation when they're back out.

"What about the military?"

There's less than you think and more than the Enemy would like. Militarypersons have more freedom of access to sexuality unless they're under prolonged combat conditions and then what I just pointed out in reference to prisonpeople holds true, too. Especially when you and your buddy share the same tent and a lot of time saving each others asses. A similar things happens with revolutionarypersons.

"What about the manhating/fearing dykes and the womanhating/fearing faggots?" Yes, they do exist: their sexual orientation is their primary identity. The majority of gaypeople see themselves as

people first, possessing a genetically determined sex second, and as of a given sexual orientation, third. But the heterosexual determinism of our society and all the repression and shackles that go with it forces them to protect the gay part of themselves. From protecting that part, it is only a short step to seeing themselves as only that part instead of seeing that part as a part of a whole. Until they can consciously denounce the idiocy of religion and law and affirm the gay part of themselves as a facet of the gem of their personhood they cannot step forth into a fuller reality. The manhater/fearer and womanhater/fearers are small but vociferous. Their extreme attitudes are so obvious that the establishment uses them to confuse everybody about the first majority.

You must see gaypeople as people: you must the sex out of the homosexual stereotype you've built. This is what they're fighting for because until they can remove the legal and social stigma that's been dyed and wheatpasted all over them, until they can walk down any street in USNA hand in hand without automatically winding up in jail they cannot function very effectively in any movement other than their own. Unless they refuse to be bought out and choose to fight instead. Many have chosen the

latter and many are following the example of the first to "come out". That's why you see gay contingents like Bay Area Gay Liberation (BAGL), Gay Latinos (GALA), Gay American Indians and the June 28 Coalition working on and demonstrating around July 4, Palestinian Self-determination, Independence for Puerto Rico and many others. They were there. The unbought. The strong ones who have a broader perspective.

As with any oppressed people, the beginnings of their self appreciation and self-worth were also the beginnings of both gaypeople and womanpeople's ties with a wider political consciousness. This dyke's evolution to revolution is not uncommon and might serve as an example: my dad told me about the fall of the unions to their leaders by default. In the Aerospace Workers I learned the reality of how to dehumanize from both bosses--Uncle Boeing and Big Daddy Union. When my braver sisters made me free enough to find out for sure how I felt towards women, I found out and it wasn't the end of the world. I found out that gays aren't going to make it by themselves. I found out women aren't going to make it by themselves. I found out nobody can make it by themselves. I found out we aren't going to make a peaceful transition.

These are some of the most ba-

sic things gaypeople and womanpeople have learned about themselves and their oppression. This is new, valid information you haven't had before. Please use it to deepen your understanding of these people.

Freedom through truth!

Dyke Daughter of a CIO Organizer

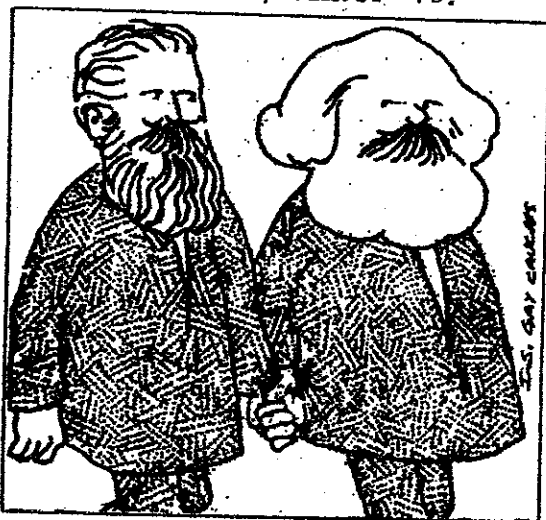
Reading list:

Lesbian/Woman, Del Martin & Phyllis Lyon

Sheila Rowbotham, Doris Lessing, Juliet Mitchell, Andrea Dworkin, Marge Piercy, Rita Mae Brown, and Kate Millet on the subject of feminism/socialism and gay/socialism.

Quest, a feminist quarterly- esp. the issues titled Money, Fame and Power, Processes of Change, Revolution.

Issues in Radical Therapy- esp. issues on Lesbianism and special issue on Power, Winter '75.



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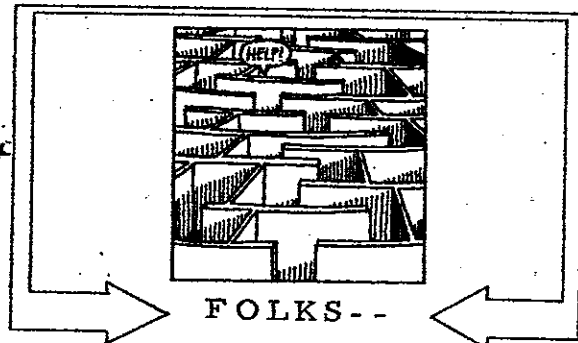
O. K. A.

A POINT OF CLARIFICATION



Some of you have asked us about literature you've recieved from "O. K. A.". We'd like to make it clear that O. K. A. is not part of BARC or part of Dragon, but is however, using our post office box address (with our permission).

We realize this is a confusing situation, but would ask comrades to note the distinction between O. K. A. and BARC, and to address all questions, feedback, and criticism to O. K. A.



You may have noticed that Dragons aren't showing up very regularly in your bookstores and mailboxes, that we've slowed down somewhat. Those of you in correspondence with us may have noticed delays in our responses to your letters. The truth is that we've had to slow down; we just can't get to everything that we have to do. Some members of the collective have money-making jobs--necessary for our individual and organizational survival. Others put full time efforts into the production of Dragon, keeping up with the mail, keeping on top of our political situation. We're all doing what we can. But please, if we don't answer your letters promptly, or we answer them tersely, it is because there is always more work than can be done.

Also, we have to make another pitch for donations. We are still turning out the paper on our trusty gestetner mimeograph. Printing 1500 copies of a forty or fifty page journal on a mimeograph is primitive if not insane. The drain in

KNOW THE ENEMY
and know yourself;
in 100 battles
you will never
be imperiled.

sun tzu

recon

Monthly newsletter on military affairs:
Pentagon Planning, Strategy & Tactics,
GI Movement, 3rd World Struggles, CBW,
\$3/year for movement and GIs, \$10/year
for institutions and sustainers to
RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Phila., PA 19134.

time and energy is enormous-- printing, collating, stapling, folding and mailing all by hand. To have the thing printed will require a great deal more money--regularly--than we're now getting. Many of our readers are in prison, undoubtedly most are poor (we don't seem to appeal to rich folks),

so any of you who can shoot us some extra bucks on a regular or irregular basis, please do! This is the only way we can have more time for that ultimate source of correct ideas--political and social practice.

Love,
BARC

DRAGON: 'Militant Reformism'

July 4, 1976

At a time when the left was close to collapse, due to its sheer authoritarian dreariness, the use of small-scale bombing has regained for it some attention.

On the other hand, many of us feel the need to strike back against an insane world in the interests of our own sanity, and hence look for allies. Thus we have met, in person and in the pages of Dragon, people who have restrained their criticisms of the prevailing leftists. Respect for militant actions has tended to diminish critical thought. But at the same time, the violent dissatisfaction that is felt against all oppression brings forth deeper and more explicit criticism of all hierarchical groups, including "radical" ones.

What has seemed to dominate Dragon is nothing more than a

militant reformism, in the service of demands such as the lowering of PG&E rates a few pennies. Further, the reformists never act from their own misery, but claim, in true vanguard fashion, to speak for the starving masses (of which America is unfortunately a little short). In fact, even this may be stating their case too generously: is the (largely symbolic) bombing of a Safeway market, in order to advance one trade union over another, even significantly reformist?

The latest issue of Osawatomie (June-July), dedicated to Cuba (where political and sexual dissidents are imprisoned), conveniently reveals the anti-revolutionary in a single sentence, which exhorts us, "as did Ho Chi Minh," to "apply the radiant sun of Marxism-Leninism." This is no doubt the same "radiant sun" which saw to the slaughter of the

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Kronstadt soviet in 1921, when a free, anti-authoritarian communism was proclaimed there, which disarmed and betrayed the Shanghai proletariat in 1927, which murdered the Hungarian revolutionaries in 1956, etc., etc. The elitism and opportunism of marxist-leninism could fill volumes with its crimes against freedom. As for Ho Chi Minh, whose friends now preside over the bureaucratic-totalitarian state of Viet Nam, we recall his infamy in crushing the Saigon insurrection of 1945 and the peasant uprising of 1956.

Though the would-be commisars of the left prefer to remain ignorant of the real opposition developing in the U. S. against capitalism--the revolt against work (sabotage, absenteeism, turnover, anti-unionism, wildcats), the growing

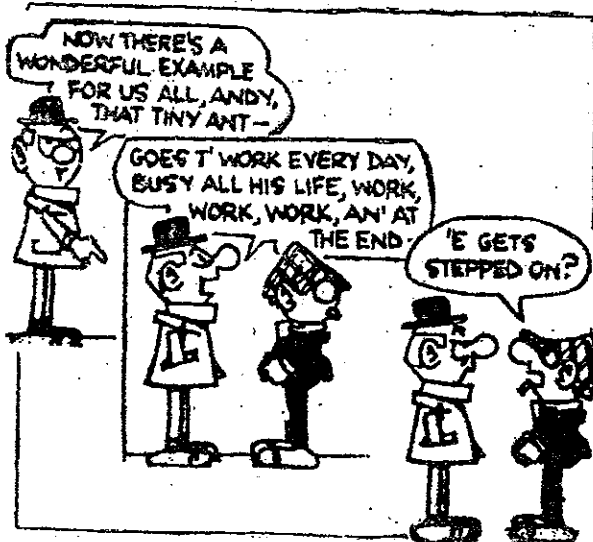


"Go ahead. PUT your faith in the American people!"

refusal to vote, diminishing respect for property (rising anti-corporation sentiment, vandalism), mounting hatred of school, etc. -- the coming crisis is evident in the daily papers (not to mention the worried reports of insurance institutes, 'think tanks,' and official agencies). What they likewise wish to ignore is the general desire for an end to all aspects of oppression: parties, ideologies, leaders, governments, wage-labor, to name a few basics.

For us, only acts based on our desires for an end to all restraints, expressing the whole of the problem, will enable us finally to breathe like human beings.

(correspondence welcomed)
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 P. O. Box 40256
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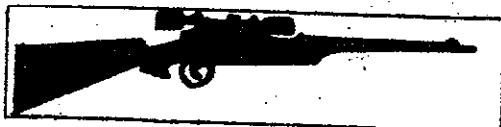
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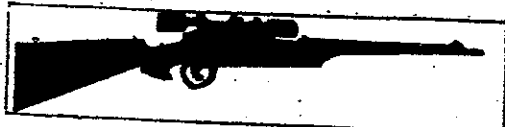
ARMED STRUGGLE - REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD ?



Being in Philadelphia; land of Frank Rizzo and "the Drummer" (the alternative paper that makes the Berkeley Barb look like "Le Socialiste"), I find Dragon is my only source of news of the urban guerilla/underground struggle in this country. Thanks to all who keep it going; writers, correspondents, revolutionary fighters, all who contribute in the spirit of criticism and furthering the growth of a theoretical and practical political struggle.

I write specifically in response to and questioning of the unfinished draft of Bruce Seidel's (see Dragon 8). The forces that murdered Bruce cannot erase his strength, the effect he surely had on the comrades he fought with and those who read his clear words even now.

My questioning concerns the stated belief that all forms of revolutionary struggle are developed around the axis of armed struggle. The study I have done of Marxist/Leninist thought, the actions I practice come from the understanding that all forms of struggle are equally as important to the furthering of the revolution.



Different stages of revolutionary struggle deem different tactics and forms necessary in the promotion of capitalism's inevitable defeat. All movements toward revolution must be used- each by those suited most to the specific tactic/skill/action. This basic Marxist requisite Seidel recognizes but then he promotes armed struggle. I shudder to think that those comrades involved in armed struggle see themselves as the vanguard--because realistically, publicly they are not. No one is paving 'the path to the final defeat of imperialism; the building of socialism.'

I write in sincere hope that someone will respond to my seemingly simple argument. For sure, it is not a new one--but still one I feel has not been satisfactorily answered or dealt with by those of us (strengthened and educated not only by our lives and shared experiences, but also study and belief in the fundamentals of Marxism) involved in class struggle in any of its many forms.

In Unity,
Deb

SEATTLE

news update, grand jury resistance,
the brigade

In the last issue of Dragon we printed an article on the events surrounding the arrests and trials of Ed Mead and Mark Cook and the Seattle investigations of the George Jackson Brigade and Seattle's radical community (Dragon #9, 'Seattle Under Attack,' pg. 43). For the most part the information in that article was taken from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, a straight daily paper. We have witnessed again and again the lies, distortions and inaccuracies of the straight media, but used information from the Seattle P-I because we felt it was important to let people know what was happening in Seattle and we had almost no other information available to us at that time. Our most serious error was in not naming our source; that is, not warning our readers that our information came from the straight press. Since that time, we've received feedback and more accurate information from folks in Seattle -- we hope this input will continue and increase.

Several incorrect statements contained in Dragon #9 have been

pointed out to us. Briefly, they are: We said that four women subpoenaed before the Seattle grand jury (Katie Mitchell, Kathy Hubenet, Brenda Carter, Michelle Whitnack) had all worked at the Left Bank Bookstore in Seattle. CORRECTION: Kathy Hubenet never worked at Left Bank, and had not lived in the women's house raided by the A. T. F. for several months before the raid.

CLARIFICATION: The May 19th demonstration in Seattle was not a demo against misuse of the grand jury in issuing conspiracy indictments against Mark Cook, Ed Mead and John Sherman, but rather a demo in support of those refusing to talk to the grand jury. ALSO: Brenda Carter's statement to the grand jury was not primarily a condemnation of grand jury violation of constitutional rights; the point she was making was the grand jury's function as a protector of the status quo, and as a tool for stopping people dedicated to radical change.

Hopefully the following article will clarify any other inaccuracies printed in Dragon #9.

GEORGE JACKSON BRIGADE: TUKWILA BANK ROBBERY AND
SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

JAN. 23, 1976: GJB makes an unsuccessful attempt to rob a Tukwila, Wash. bank. Bruce Seidel is killed by police; Ed Mead and John Sherman are captured.

MARCH 10: John Sherman escapes with the help of a comrade; a guard is shot during the escape.

MARCH 12: Mark Cook (not a Brigade member) is arrested at his home.

APRIL 22: Ed Mead is convicted of the Tukwila bank robbery, aiding in the robbery and using a firearm during the robbery.

AUG. 6: Ed Mead is convicted on federal charges of participating in the Tukwila bank robbery and in the escape of John Sherman. Mark Cook is convicted on the same charges; they each get 25 yrs. for bank robbery, plus 5 years on related weapons charges. In addition, Mark is given another 5 yrs. for a conspiracy charge that included involvement in Sherman's escape.

For reasons of space, we can't run down the details of Ed and Mark's trials. It's clear, however, that neither man was able to present an adequate defense -- as in most political trials, the judges and prosecutors worked hand-in-hand to severely limit the defenses' ability to present their case, and in Mark's case used paid informants to strengthen the government's frame-up. Ed has identified himself as a member of the Brigade. His de-

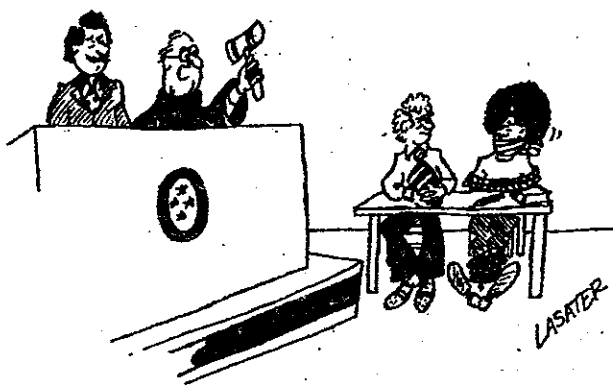
fense was insanity: he told the court that "Living in a racist, sexist and imperialist society has had a direct effect on my emotional development." The judge threw out the insanity defense after ruling that Ed had "failed to offer evidence of a mental defect or disease at the time of the robbery." (from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer). The judge also refused to allow parts of Ed's testimony, including testimony about Ed's childhood.

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"GENTLEMEN, I'D LIKE YOU TO MEET THE PROSECUTOR. HE'LL BE SITTING UP HERE WITH ME DURING THE TRIAL."



GRAND JURY RESISTANCE

An important part of the recent events in Seattle has been the investigation of the radical community by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) and the FBI by means of surveillance, raids on various houses and an active grand jury.

Michelle Whitnack has been in jail since July 20 for her refusal to cooperate with the Seattle grand jury. The state is now trying to frame her on charges that she was a "lookout" for the Jan. 1, 1976 Laurelhurst bombing claimed by the Brigade. Following are excerpts from a July 24 letter from Michelle.

Compañeras y Compañeros,

Well, looks like the forces of evil are finally managing to get their act together here in Seattle. They convicted Ed Mead, as you know, of course; they convicted Mark Cook on a straight fabrication case -- a warning for anyone who slips into the naïvete of thinking innocence is any protection from the law; and they finally threw their first grand jury witness in jail Tuesday 7/20 (myself). In fact, they're making noises about pulling a frame-up

In Mark Cook's case, the prosecution used two known heroin addicts and two paid informants to bolster their case. "Eyewitnesses" were repeatedly shown pictures of Ed (they were unable to pick him out of a photo line-up), then later gave conflicting testimony at the trial.

"Both defense committee members and Mark Cook think he got less than a fair trial. It's not hard to understand why: the main witness against him was a heroin addict who received personal gain for his testimony, the key witness for the defense was not allowed to testify, two officers were taken off the case after they were unsuccessful in proving Cook's presence at the crimes, and eyewitness identification was spurious and contradictory." (Northwest Passage, July 19 - Aug. 8).

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on me, too -- for the bombing of the Laurelhurst substation: Hi, Mark.

I last saw [Ed Mead] on 7/6, while his federal trial was in progress. He was mostly tired of the charade and anxious to get it over with and get where he was going -- and, I suspect, depressed by the lack of friendly faces in the courtroom; the community is paranoid, not without reason, I guess. But Ed keeps fighting. Always has and, I suspect, always will.

I can't offer much information regarding Mark Cook, as he seems to be rather well under wraps. A reporter told me that he's in the men's half of the same jail I'm in now. His case is being appealed.

The other witnesses: no further moves by the gov't to recall the first four -- Jill [Kray], Mike [Withey], Peter [Lippman] or Joanne -- or Kathy [Hubenet], whose subpoena was dropped a while back. No move yet to recall Brenda [Carter], though the prosecutor tells her lawyers not to entertain

illusions of being off the hook. Katie's [Mitchell] June 29 contempt hearing halted suddenly when the gov't "found" her fingerprints on file elsewhere -- as she had told them they would, and where... and their demand for handwriting was dropped when she stipulated ownership of a diary. Her relief was marred by the fact that she had already stored all her belongings and sent her son out of state for the duration. Mair (prosecutor) promises her a new subpoena, too.

The Left Bank folks -- Wayne [Parker], Helene [Ellenbogen] and Paul [Zinsel] are presently involved in litigation over the search of the apartment where the guns and stuff and themselves were seized (in "hot pursuit of a car thief... ? ! ?). Their subpoenas are in suspended animation until this issue is resolved in court.

[BARC NOTE: On June 20, the home of these three members of the Left Bank political collective was raided by 6 - 8 Seattle cops who ransacked the apartment and



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seized personal property of the three, including their legally purchased and registered guns. The excuse for the raid was "pursuit of a car thief." Helene, Wayne and Paul were held at the police station where they were questioned by agents of the ATF. Grand jury subpoenas were issued for all three Left Bank'ers. An evidentiary hearing was held, and on Aug. 23-25 testimony to the effect that the search and seizures were illegal was presented. Wayne, Helene and Paul argued to have their subpoenas dropped and their property returned -- final arguments are scheduled for the 10th of September.]

My June 29 contempt hearing was also ground to a surprise halt when the extremely capricious and senile judge threw a small temper tantrum because the prosecutor had left him out of the fun of scheduling it. He ruled that I had to return to the grand jury before being jailed, giving me a three-week respite. I was subsequently resubpoenaed for 7/20 and succeeded in giving copies of a statement to the grand jurors in return for not forcing the marshals to physically remove me from the chamber. We then went into a "show-cause" hearing on my (as yet unspoken) refusal to give the handwriting and fingerprints and stand in a lineup, where we demanded the

right to explain to the grand jurors why I was refusing. The judge shot us down and, after "not-sentencing" (no set term, so it's not a sentence) me to jail, informed us that this had been our contempt hearing-huh? - for which we were unprepared right then, and legally should have had 5 days to prepare for.

As the marshals moved to handcuff me, Laurie Raymond (a sister who [went] on trial 8/3 for cutting a fence at the Trident Nuclear Submarine Base, with two other women) stood up in the audience and began to shout at the court. Marshals jumped her as she approached me, and we were both physically dragged out and thrown into a holding tank -- she by the hair, I by the handcuffs. They subsequently took me to City Jail, spitting us up, and charged her with felony assault on a marshal (3 yrs. /\$5,000 max.). My lawyer, John Ziegler, got her PR'd that night, to my relief.

I refused booking prints and mug shots on my arrival here, and was thrown in a 6X6 cell alone in the section normally reserved for mental patients. Things began to look up, though, when they finally gave me a blanket, soap, toothbrush, etc. and something to read (and later, writing materials). I've since

been moved in with other women, a vast improvement, though the jailers refuse to date to move me into the more "permanent" (less restrictive) cells, alternately explaining that I have a "bad attitude" and that I'm only here "temporarily" (i. e., "she'll talk").

[Because it was impossible to get a temporary restraining order before the scheduled line-up] ... I'm offered these three choices: participate in a lineup before a "witness" who has been shown my photo and I strongly suspect is being paid to finger me; refuse and have my refusal admitted as evidence of guilt in a trial if I'm charged; or be physically dragged in and disrupt the line-up, which will surely get me fingered by the "witness." Caught between a rock and a hard place, as it were. Mair obviously intends to make an example of me for future recalcitrant witnesses, as they did of Mark for future radical niggers.

Meanwhile, life goes on outside too: Laurie is struggling to support and care for our home (a big old house in the ghetto here, which we got only a week before I was jailed) and two kids, and arrange for same to be taken care of for the 1-1 and a half years we expect to both be in jail. Community people are com-

ing through beautifully with work and emotional support, but after months of grand jury battles ours is a community with near-exhausted financial resources. Those who want, and are able to, offer us financial support [to contribute to the support of our home and kids], send to:

Deep Freeze Life Support
System, Ltd.
P. O. Box 12497
Seattle, WA. 98111

I would welcome correspondence from folks; I've been keeping my sanity by writing 10 hrs. a day. Send letters for me to:

Michelle Whitnack
Women's City Jail
Public Safety Bldg.
Third and James
Seattle, WA. 98104

Folks up here are clearing out all the books they've already read from their libraries to donate to the jail library, and anyone else is encouraged to do likewise, if the 4th Class postage rates are still within poor peoples' reach. Books are best sent to: Pacem House

331 17th Ave. East
Seattle, WA. 98112

NWLF: You act so fine, don't let the differences of maintaining security - and your myriad

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victories - go to your heads or isolate you. I didn't write a critique of the "F&H" position because Left Bank, Emily Harris and Ed Mead said it all better than I could. But if indeed, as PIR-1 alleges, "Central Command" has never erred, I fear for all you folks who I love so dearly: we learn from our mistakes, and I don't believe you've ceased to learn like all the rest of us. Don't become arrogant and self-satisfied in your continuing success, as the enemy would like us to -- or develop "blind followers" who only take orders and believe the leadership is always right, like their armies. My deepest love and support to you, as always.

GJB: I'm real glad that if the Feds are going to try and hang one of your actions on me, it was at least one of the real nice ones. (I might even be flattered were it coming from a different direction; but I guess I'd have to correct the misapprehension, anyway, in all conscience.) I have to cop that I think a part of the respect I receive in here is due to a belief by some of the sisters that I am with you despite my protestations! Oh well... Thanks, Sherman, for the attempt to clear me/us. Course your word holds water like a sieve with the pigs, but the fact

-37-

that you tried does not go unappreciated; and while there are always those who blame folks who take action for the pigs' reaction, don't be convinced by their shrillness that their shortsighted view is the general rule. You look a whole lot better from my perch today than you did ten months ago, and I trust you're getting better still as time goes on. My greetings and solidarity. I trust Ed's tail won't rot in jail too long. (As we all know, the judge is merciful..)

My love and warmest greetings to all our comrades above and underground.

Love & Struggle,
Michelle Whitnack

It's clear from what we have heard and read that there are divisions among Seattle leftists over support for armed struggle and more specifically, support for the George Jackson Brigade. However, organized resistance to pig and grand jury harrassment of the community has been strong: apparently people have not allowed political differences to create divisions into which the government can drive its wedge of repression to permanently split apart and destroy the movement. We stand by our sup-

port for armed struggle and the Brigade, and we send our love and support to all members of the Seattle community in their fight against the disruption of their lives and their struggle

against the grand jury, the government, and the institutions of sexism, racism, capitalism and imperialism in this country.

-- BARC

A NOTE TO SNAPDRAGON

From Ed Mead

[The following is a response to a criticism of the George Jackson Brigade which appeared in Dragon #9.]

Thank you for your criticism of the Brigade. Criticism is always more welcomed when it contains self examination, as yours did. A Local bookstore collective once said the Brigade was made up of "sincere revolutionaries", that's the nearest the left has ever come to giving them a positive word or crediting them as people. Your letter to the G. J. B. [George Jackson Brigade] is the first time anyone from Seattle's aboveground has ever even suggested the possibility of a failure to support or communicate with their underground counterparts. Unfortunately, as reflected by the recent blasts against the Brigade by the N. L. G. , Morning Due, Northwest Passage, etc. , your views are not widely shared by Seattle's political community. The Brigade, not the F. B. I. , is now responsible for the current wave of F. B. I.

repression. It's as if people were afraid to stop attacking the Brigade, lest they have to take a look at themselves.

I don't want to get deep off into the criminal irresponsibility of Seattle's aboveground movement, but would instead prefer to address the bulk of this response to the most important of the questions raised in your criticism. In doing so it should be noted that i do not speak for the George Jackson Brigade, but rather as an individual who has some knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the subject of your questions.

Your first three criticisms go without saying. Of course folks doing armed work should not be doing aboveground work at the same time, and visa versa. But there are gray areas, transition periods

and the like, which sometimes make it difficult to achieve the perfect ideal. Money is one of the primary limitations on the degree of security an underground group can achieve. As far as your cautioning folks about not being guilt-tripped into doing dangerous work, i don't think that is really a problem. It has been my experience that one couldn't blast Seattle's left into disrupting their personal security and comfort, let alone guilt trip them into it. I've tried everything but force, and Bruce would not let me use that.

I can appreciate your cautioning Brigade members to watch out for careless, frivolous people, and to not let them get too close. But that's just rhetoric. The reality is that the left has given the Brigade little choice except to get its support from wherever it can. Words of caution not to catch a cold are of little comfort to someone you have just kicked out into the snow.

Difficult as it may be for much of left to believe, the Brigade is not so lacking in sophistication that they fail to realize information given to the press will promptly be in the hands of the police. Give these people a little credit, they have a better understanding of what the F. B. I. knows than you

do. And there is certainly nothing wrong with making public information already in the hands of the pigs. On the one hand there are security considerations, and on the other is the need to educate. The two must be balanced. It may have been a mistake to detail the circumstances around the bank robbery, i can't say for a certainty. The information i gave at my trial was part of the trial strategy, it was necessary to show the jury we had a surrender plan, and in order to accomplish this it was necessary to demonstrate that other aspects of the robbery were carefully planned. The information given by the Brigade was in the form of a criticism of itself. It is important that the lessons of an action be taught. We gave the pigs nothing of importance in doing so. The real matters of security have never been mentioned, but there is no way you could know this. You just assume that we are stupid.

Lastly, you say you are not satisfied with the Brigade's reasons for robbing the bank. The reasons given were the need to survive and fight. Perhaps if circumstances behind the robbery were put in a proper context you could better appreciate the need for expropriation.

The first thing you must understand is that under ideal conditions the urban guerrilla is part of a self-contained unit. In addition to the needs of most folks for food, shelter and the like, the members of a combat unit have a need for expensive weapons and other equipment. One afternoon of target practice, for example, will cost up to fifty dollars, a good bomb attack generally runs about two hundred dollars, and so on. Being a professional revolutionary, which is what Lenin and George Jackson say these "special bodies of armed men" [sic] must be made up of, leaves little time for employment. Then too, some Brigade members, such as Bruce and myself, were fugitives and could not readily risk working, even if there were jobs available. Yet people still had the need for food in their bellies and wheels under their asses, plus much more.

The next question is where this support is to come from. Material support comes from one or more of three places, each of which has its special disadvantages. The urban guerrilla group can go directly to the people for support and shelter. The drawback of this option is that there are substantial security risks involved in dealing with non-politicized elements. Then too, the

urban poor barely have enough for themselves, let alone enough to finance a small army. The second alternative is to draw material support from the above-ground left, that is of course if there existed a left willing to provide such support. The disadvantage of left support lies in the very real possibility of betrayal from the rear (opportunism being what it is). The last source of support lies in direct appropriation. The concomitant disadvantage of this means of support is of course the possibility of death or capture.

The Brigade started out by basing itself in the urban poor and working for wages where possible. The one year plan was to have two support networks: one in the poor and one in the left. The idea was to maximize the benefits of each, while paying special attention to minimize their respective disadvantages. Carlos Marighela said "it is impossible for an urban guerrilla to subsist or survive without taking part in the battle of expropriation." The Brigade's aim was to postpone the battle for as long as possible.

But the best laid plans. . . . Nearly a year had past and the left hadn't given an inch. Instead they refused to print revolutionary communiques, denounced every action,

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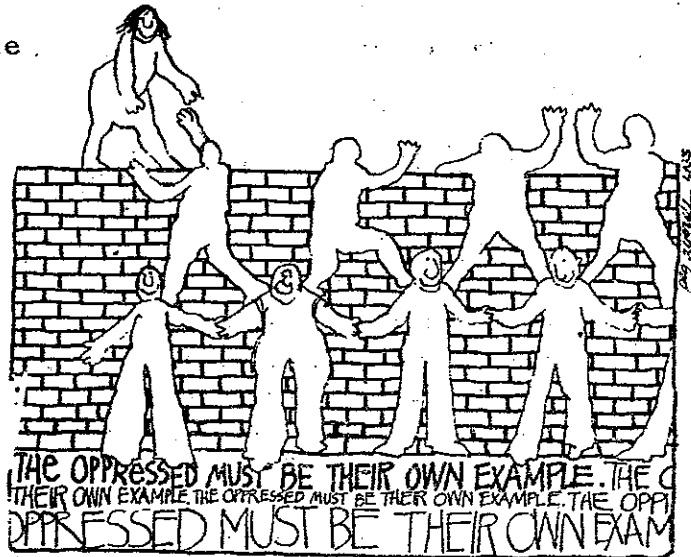
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and even petitioned and organized against the Brigade. At one point they demanded the group get out of town. Weather factions lead the attacks. The dream of harmonious development melted around them. Security in the base was weakening, poor people became disillusioned with the promise that it would all come together. These non-communists had risked their lives and starved their children in order to make the politics of Prairie Fire a reality. Their reward was a left who would not even back up their rhetoric with more rhetoric (encouragement was all that was really needed, the rest would have come naturally).

The Brigade moved into semi-isolation and, after one more plea to the left, toward total self-sufficiency. Contrary to popular belief, the Brigade did not rob the bank out of fun nor out of a desire to "betray and endanger" the left. And i am sorry to all the critics who complain the robbery was "untimely" and an "unecessary escalation" of the struggle. The only excuse i can offer for such unpardonably selfish conduct is the fact that we were confronted with only two options: Disband and leave our fugitive members to their own devices, leaving the work of building the armed front to the

uncertain future; or to initiate the third alternative -- the battle of expropriation. The rent was due, the refrigerator near empty, our car was on its last legs, and equipment needs continued to grow. The choice could not be put off. We did what we had to do.

You argue that the pigs only lose the money temporarily, inasmuch



as they get it all back in the end. This is true, but what you fail to observe is that between the time we steal it and they get it back several things have happened. We are fed, made secure, meet equipment needs, and are able to carry on the fight. Plus we gain valuable combat experience. It would have been preferable to wait, but we were not afforded the luxury of such an option. The Brigade gave the left a year within which to come

to grips with the dialectical interdependence between its above-ground and underground fronts. But five years would not have been enough for those who do not really want revolution.

up for the kill. But of course i'm just a little bitter, which isn't lessened by the fact that nearly six months after Tukwila the left still can't get off the Brigades's back. Even you, snapdragon, cannot fathom the simple logic of expropriation, so you condemn it out of ignorance.

There is an old convict axiom that says never steal when you have to. The left forced the Brigade to violate this rule. The pigs shot Bruce, but Seattle's left set him

Thanks again,

Ed 4/16/76



While we're on the subject...

CRITICISM OF THE GEORGE JACKSON BRIGADE

We support the members of the George Jackson Brigade as people who consider themselves serious revolutionaries because we are all fighting a common enemy and must not reject our potential allies in that struggle. The Brigade's goal "to serve and educate the everyday person" (communique from the George Jackson Brigade, 9/18/75) is exemplary. To educate and raise each other's consciousness is one of the main functions of any active revolutionary. We recognize their individual and collective oppression, support their past organizing efforts within the prison movement and elsewhere, and accept the robbing of a bank as a means to finance revolutionary activities. Furthermore, we recognize the Brigade's efforts to

grow using the process of self-criticism. In that spirit we support those efforts as revolutionaries and offer our own criticisms.

Our primary criticism of the Brigade is the apparent unavailability of information regarding their theory and practice. We recognize the necessity for secrecy, especially at this time of heightened police action, however, communication with the above-ground population is vitally important. Without that communication it is impossible to discern individualistic acts from planned revolutionary activities. Communications thus far have been incomplete as to purpose and goals of the actions.

It is irresponsible of the GJB to assume a vanguard position and chastise the community for not

being as serious. Ed Mead's statement in the May 24th Northwest Passage, suggesting the Brigade will totally by-pass the left, appears to be an example of the attitude expressed in recent communications. Without knowing who we are supporting, it would be irresponsible to assume that the group willing to promote violent tactics, necessarily would be capable of leading the overthrow of the government or be able to rebuild the nation. If the Brigade wants support from the aboveground left, we must both struggle to establish communication which will work towards a common theoretical basis for action. The struggle should be made together, each action of any revolutionary individual or group complementing and building on other actions. The aboveground cannot be expected to merely follow the lead of, or attempt to second guess, an underground cell.

The aforementioned interview with Ed Mead is an example of the kind of communication we need to facilitate our common struggles. It is the only instance thus far where the Brigade's motives and goals have begun to be discussed. However, we feel it was past due. In that particular interview it was unclear whether Ed Mead was expressing the collective political line of the GJB, whether he was expressing his own opinions, or

whether the Brigade even makes that distinction.

It seems some of the Brigade's actions against Safeway were impulsive, rather than carefully planned in accord with conscious political theory. We say this because of the communique of Sept. 18, 1975: "We must transform our grief into righteous anger and our anger into direct action", and "the bombing was in retaliation for the capture of the four members of the SLA." Anger is important as an impetus for action, but the process has an intermediate step of theory which precedes action. A final analysis may then lead to refining the theory. Any revolutionary action would be deeply seated in carefully thought out political theory, and not simply in anger.

We make this criticism out of love and support, and hope it leads to further growth in communication among us.

A Seattle Collective



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New Dawn Infiltrated

Four members of the New Dawn Party were sentenced last Aug. 9th on federal charges of illegal possession and storage of explosive materials; Fred Sal-kind and Steve Scipes were given terms of five years each, Ellen Kesend two and one half years, and Janice Orson one and one half years (for a lesser charge of conspiring to move and store explosives). Fred, Steve, Ellen and Janice had pled guilty to the charges after the feds reduced them nine counts each, meaning a possible sentence of ninety years, to one count with a maximum of ten years.

The New Dawn Party, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist group, had a storefront bookstore in Berkeley and published a newspaper, The People United. In the course of investigations done in preparation for the probation reports; it was revealed that Daniel Gregg Adornetto, known as Chepito, (a member of New Dawn who had taken a strong leadership position) was apparently an FBI informant, as was Judy Stevenson, the woman

who owned the Richmond house where the explosives were found. Chepito, an ex-con with a long history of informing for narc busts had lied to members of New Dawn about his past activities and portrayed himself as a revolutionary "heavy" sucking them into his trap and their eventual bust. He was immediately separated from the others after the SWAT team raid (at the Richmond house), pled guilty and was given the maximum ten year sentence. Whether Chepito was double-crossed by his pig friends or is merely going to serve his time "on paper" remains unclear; his present whereabouts are unknown.

Members of New Dawn now serving time have received no support and little attention from the Bay Area left. Whether because of fear, mistrust or dislike of their politics and/or their (New Dawn's) support for armed struggle, their case has been largely ignored by other politicians. It's obvious that all members of New Dawn were not pigs or com-

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plete fools, and there are important lessons to be learned from their experience. Infiltration has always been a serious problem for leftists, and one we have not learned to deal with successfully.

Since their arrest, Fred and Steve have been evaluating their experiences and mistakes and we hope to have an analysis from them in a future issue of Dragon.

MARYLAND PENITENTIARY INTERCOMMUNAL SURVIVAL COLLECTIVE

A dire situation exists in the Maryland Penitentiary. Official corruption in the institution, such as selling prisoner's woodshop products etc., even wholesaling food, and covering up the sale to realize personal profit, has been met with prisoner organizing. Prisoners there have organized strikes, slow-downs, sabotage & expropriations. Over the past two years, institution officials have decided to change their tactics from instigating riots to turning prisoner against prisoner for individual political assassinations. In most cases the assassins are even unaware that they are being used. For example, officials have used "legal" and "illegal" drug addiction to coerce prisoners into murder.

An organizing group with the pen, the Maryland Penitentiary Intercommunal Survival Collective has been working to politically educate the population and to channel activities to productive areas. We join the MPISC in urging progressive people to

write or call protesting the situation there. They are especially interested in Baltimore-area groups investigating this increasingly perilous institution.

Mark A. Levin
Commissioner of Corrections
6413 Windsor Mill Rd.
Baltimore, MD. 21207

George Collins, Warden
Maryland Penitentiary
954 Forrest St.
Baltimore, MD. 21202
Phone: (301) 837-2135 Ext. 301

Please write and offer support to the men locked into this situation.

Thomas L. Gaither #115720
James Taylor #112900
954 Forrest St.
Baltimore, MD 21202

This information was provided by the MPISC; their statement is available from us.

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News from Boston

Since our last Dragon was printed in June of 76, there has been some guerrilla activity in the Northeast. Most information we have on these actions has come from clippings from the straight press (Boston Globe et. al.). Such information is often from official a. k. a. FBI sources. Therefore we urge readers to correct any misinformation on our part and supply us with any alternative information available.

On April 22, the Sam Melville/ Jonathan Jackson Unit bombed the Suffolk County Courthouse in Massachusetts demanding an end to step classification at Walpole State prison and a reinstatement of outside observers at Walpole (as well as three other Mass. state prisons). On June 20, the Middlesex County Courthouse in Lowell, Mass. was bombed to reinforce the demands. These demands and actions were another part of a long struggle around Walpole which since '72 has seethed with strikes, riots, and organized and unorganized inmate rebellion.

Step classification calls for 3 forms of confinement; a medium security A-section, a maximum security B-section (with a 21 hour a day lock-up) and a maximum-maximum security B section



block 10 which features a 23 and one half hour a day lock up. This move was implemented in late 1974 as an attempt by prison officials to regain control over the institution. Civilian observers, a liberal enough plan to bring to light the barbarity of life at Walpole began in May of 73 and was stopped around the time step classification was instituted.

The fourth of July weekend in Boston left headline writers gasping for ink. On July 2 an Eastern airlines plane was bombed as it sat unoccupied at Boston's Logan airport. On the same night a National Guard truck at the Dorchester Armory was likewise destroyed. The Essex County Courthouse in Newburyport, Mass. was hit as was a post office in Seabrook New Hampshire. A variety of groups reportedly claimed these

actions; "an unidentified militant group", the Palestinian Liberation Organization, some right-wing crank group calling itself the South Boston Defense League, and the Fred Hampton Unit which had previously claimed credit for a bombing on May 11 of a power co. in Maine. (see Dragon #9)

On the night of July 4th there was a bombing of a bank in Revere, Mass. by the Melville-Jackson Unit in solidarity with the mass movement for independence for Puerto Rico and the freeing of Gollazo, Lebron, Cordera, Miranda, and Flores (Puerto Rican nationalists who are the longest held political prisoners in the U. S. (This communique is available from BARC). Also on the 4th Anthony Aceto was busted after allegedly being followed by pigs from Maine to Massachusetts, getting involved in a high speed car chase, letting off two passengers, and found dazed and exhausted on the side of the road. Meanwhile up in Maine, Aceto's apartment was raided and Maine residents Everett Carlson and Kathryn Strout were busted; Carlson on bomb charges and Strout for furnishing marijuana.

Subsequently Aceto was charged with a bunch of explosive related offenses and Richard C. Picariello and Edward Gullion, allegedly associates of Aceto had warrants out on them for explosive charges.

It was then reported that Aceto was informing, stating in secret grand jury testimony that he knew the name of the Suffolk County bombers, gave details on the Eastern airlines and National Guard action, knew who made warning calls to the pigs. Aceto has since plead guilty to three counts of transporting explosives; the bombings at Dorchester, Logan Airport, the Essex County courthouse, the post office in New Hampshire, and intending to bomb Polaroid in Cambridge and the A&P regional headquarters in Boston. He will also appear as a prosecution witness against Carlson. For his collaboration, Aceto should serve no more than 5 years in a federal pen outside New England and will be given a new identity under the "Prisoner Protection Program", a gift from the Federal department of justice. Aceto is being held under very heavy security as befits a star witness.

On August 25 the Fred Hampton unit issued a communique concerning this situation. The kidnap attempt and expropriation they refer to in the beginning of their statement follows the typical FBI/police tactic of pinning any act they can think of on a guerilla group currently in the news. The SLA busts of September/75 credited the comrades with almost every bombing, killing, or unsolved bank robbery of the past year in

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California.

What follows is the Hampton communique no. 3 (which we had to edit for reasons of space. Copies of the complete communique available from us.) We urge comrades to show their support for the Fred Hampton Unit and the Melville/Jackson Unit.

The Fred Hampton Unit, Richard Picariello and Edward Gullion were not involved in the August 12 kidnap attempt and assault on William J. McCun Jr., president of Polaroid Corporation.

Fred Hampton Unit, Picareillo and Gullion also were not involved in the expropriation of weapons at the Danvers National Guard armory.

We have documented evidence as proof that Picariello and Gullion were not together and were miles from where the attempted kidnaping incident occurred. We plan on sending the evidence to an attorney when we can safeguard against any possible leads.

The FBI and Polaroid Corp. fabricated the implication of Picariello and Gullion in the attempted kidnaping as a scheme to portray the FHU, Gullion and Picariello as dangerous terrorists to the public thereby creating an atmosphere of terrorist mystique around the two that would serve as a discrediting, subverting tactic and would justify the use of more FBI and police

finances, resources against groups opposed to fascism, and the FBI could justifiably kill Picariello and Gullion.

The FBI and the state SWAT force were overheard giving out orders to kill Picariello and Gullion. The FBI reported to the press that the two were "heavily armed". It was known that they were not armed.

The FBI terrorized the friends and families of Picariello and Gullion; the FBI tapped the phones of their friends and families; they raided houses and ripped some apart; they threatened people with jail terms for not collaborating with the FBI; they assaulted people by sticking guns to their heads and in the stomach of one person; they confiscated personal belongings in the raids--many people are under surveillance and their mail has been tampered with. Reports have been made about possible FBI involvement in a house break-in. The FBI has offered people up to 5,000 dollars for information and to infiltrate political groups.

When institutions serve only governmental corporate interests and not the peoples' interests, when institutions serve to oppress people and people can't change them by peaceful, legal means-- we feel it is the peoples' moral human right and obligation to smash these institutions by any means necessary" in order to bring

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about a social change where the people will control the government and the means of production and to meet the needs of the people.

It is at this evolutionary point that we chose the method of armed struggle and we see ourselves as part of an impetus and catalyst to create disorder and finally the destruction of capitalist institutions.

Actions we have taken against the capitalist state are not acts of terrorism per-se. No people have been hurt by our actions. We believe our extreme actions is a requisite to countering, curtailing extreme conditions of governmental terrorism.

If we are call upon to take action against government oppression again, we will do so without the risk of anyone getting injured.

We don't deny the unit's involvement in the protest against the bicentennial celebration. We refrained from issuing communique no. 2 in retort to the bicent. celebration because of indictments We plan on distributing a letter or

pamphlet with the contents of the communique covering a chronology of historical events of: 200 years of American genocide ranging from the genocide of the Indian people, slavery of black, neo-colonial and colonial control over countries such as Puerto Rico, the massacre of Ludlow, Pine Ridge, Kent State, Jackson State, Attica and all U. S. prisons, the genocide committed against the people of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Korea, Dominican Republic, Latin America, Africa. Imperialism is the cause of human and ecological destruction. It exploits the labor of people and their natural resources in this country and countries around the world, controlling them politically, economically and culturally. It has caused the starvation and deaths of millions of people. It has caused the wars and ecological destruction.

"You can kill a revolutionary, but you can't kill the revolution."

FRED HAMPTON UNIT



A NOTE TO DRAGON READERS --

We've had a number of requests for books, mostly from prisoners. Our personal and collective libraries can't meet the demand, so we're asking that folks who have good radical/revolutionary literature lying around serving no particular use send us whatever you can. In each issue of Dragon we'll print a list of currently available books. Anyone who wants a listed book can write to us and we'll send it off. It'll have to be done on a first come, first serve basis. Kindly address books and requests to:

Dale
BARC Literary Guild
P. O. Box 4344
Berkeley, CA. 94704

Please make requests for a book only after it's been listed as available. This will prevent the accumulation of mountains of paper to shuffle. We will try this book club on an experimental basis; any success depends on your help.

We do thank you,
Dale Barc

THE OPEN ROAD

"The Open Road is a newsjournal which is designed to reflect the spectrum of international anarchist and anti-authoritarian Left activities and to provide reports and analysis of popular struggles and social problems. It's great. Articles in the first issue include an interview with Martin Sostre, discussions of the George Jackson Brigade, the SLA, AIM, union organizing, info on struggles in Germany, Timor and lots more. Contributions welcome.

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

CALIFORNIA PRISONS

ON TRIAL

On June 27, Joe Remiro and Russ Little were convicted of attempted escape and assault on two prison guards. During the month long trial, they exposed the viciousness of life behind the walls of California's prisons. They described the brutal reality of living in filthy, airless "strip cells", with constant threats and intimidation by prison officials, guard brutality, racial warfare, stabbings, murder and suicide. Remiro and Little, who conducted most of the defense as their own attorneys, did not deny that they tried to break out of the Alameda County Jail, but they explained that the escape attempt was triggered by their belief that their lives were in danger in the custody of the Dept. of Corrections.

The day after Little and Remiro were arrested in January 1974, they were taken to San Quentin's Death Row and kept there for a month. Late one night shortly after they arrived there, a goon squad of guards come to Remiro and Little's cells, chained them and took them for a midnight tour of the gas chamber. Remiro told the court: "The guards locked us in there and just laughed at us.

They told us this is where we belong and where we would end up." After spending several nervous hours in the gas chamber, Remiro and Little were taken to Raymond Procnier's office (then, the Director of the Dept. of Corrections) and were offered a deal. If they would give information on the whereabouts of Patricia Hearst, Procnier would guarantee their safety. When they refused, Procnier warned them that they could either cooperate or die in prison.

In support of their defense against the prison system, Remiro and Little subpoenaed several convicts from California prisons to testify about plots by the administration to have them framed on charges and then killed in prison.

All six of the convict witnesses were chained and shackled during their testimony for "security" reasons, despite protests from the defense.

Albert Washington, an alleged member of the Black Liberation Army who was convicted last year along with two other black men of murdering two New York City policemen, said he began corresponding with Little and Remiro short-



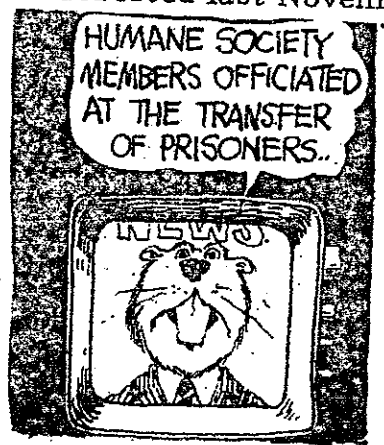
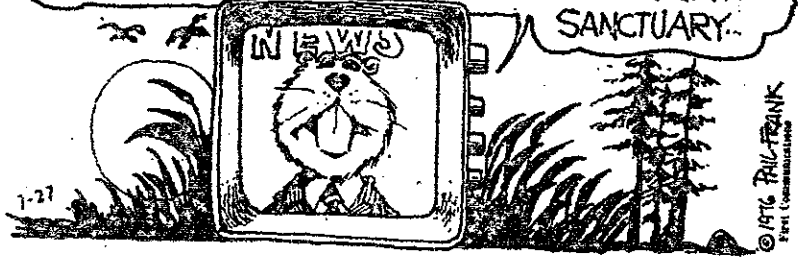
ly after their arrest. At first, Washington said, they discussed politics in their letters, but soon after, when a black prisoner named Raymond Sparks was drugged, tortured and murdered by guards at Folsom prison in October 1974, Remiro wrote increasingly about threats on his life and on the lives of all prisoners considered militant by the CDC.

When a second group of prisoners arrived, along with them came the largest security force ever used for a trial in the state of California. The San Jose Civic Center looked like a mini-Vietnam with at least 200 Sheriff's Deputies

surrounding the area, dressed in battle fatigues and carrying machineguns. Five helicopters circled above, and heavily armed sharpshooters stood guard on roof-tops with binoculars as far as a mile away. The heavy security was justified to the press by Undersheriff Tom Rosa, who claimed he heard "strong rumblings" that Remiro and Little and their witnesses were going to try and escape, possibly taking jurors as hostages. In the courtroom, the defense team was furious about the over-kill police state atmosphere and demanded a mistrial. The judge denied the motion.

The first prisoner led to the witness stand in chains that day was James "Doc" Holliday. Holliday was paroled last July from San Quentin after serving 14 years. Prison officials labelled Holliday as an organizer of the Black Guerilla Family, a clandestine prison organization, and used that as an excuse to keep him locked down tight in maximum security. Holliday was again arrested last Novem-

GOOD NEWS FOR MANY FOREST FAMILIES AND FRIENDS TODAY AS 35 FIELD MICE, RABBITS AND BIRDS FROM THE 'ANIMAL TESTING AND RESEARCH LABORATORY' WERE EXCHANGED FOR TWO BACKPACKERS AND A DIRT-BIKER CAPTURED IN THE BIG RIVER GAME SANCTUARY.



ber in Los Angeles when a SWAT team literally grabbed him off the street. He and another ex-convict, Michael Cowens, are charged with murdering two people they say they never even heard of.

Holliday testified that prison authorities at San Quentin felt threatened by Little and Remiro's alliances with the black inmate population. "Most of the guards are afraid," he said. "These two white guys come to the prison and all their friends are black. That's a very rare situation inside, and the guards didn't know what to expect. That kind of racial unity is a threat to them, because racism is their best tool to keep the prisoners at war with each other. Since they couldn't turn the blacks against Russ and Joe, the guards started telling the whites that they were nigger-lovers--hoping the white people would kill them."

Another prisoner-witness was Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, a former leader of the Southern California Black Panther Party and reported member of the Black Liberation Army. Pratt said the FBI visited

him several times in prison. They offered him half a million dollars, release from prison and safe passage to Algeria or anywhere he wanted to go in exchange for information about Hearst and Bill and Emily Harris.

"They said they thought the BLA was harboring the Harrises and Hearst," Pratt testified. "They told me if I was out on the streets they'd have no trouble finding the fugitives, because I supposedly had all the connections. So I just said, "Okay, then, let me out on the streets!"

Despite testimony about repeated death threats and attempts by the CDC to set up Little and Remiro, the jury found them guilty. The defense was hampered by court rulings which didn't allow them to use their fear of being murdered as a "legitimate" reason for the escape attempt. They are both back in state prison serving five to life on these charges and life for their conviction on the assassination of Marcus Foster. An appeal is being planned for their first conviction.

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meant the Phoenix Program, more than 20,000 people murdered--or to use the CIA term, neutralized. And why did the masters of war decide all those people needed to die? It was for being suspected of belonging to the National Liberation Front, an organization of patriots. For many thousands more, it meant years of torture and imprisonment in the tiger cages of Con Son Island. Those who escaped the Phoenix hit teams still had to contend with the search and destroy operations--for them it meant My Lai--which was by no means an isolated incident. In warfare, forceable rape is about as common as violent death. But that doesn't even count forced prostitution. Nearly an entire female population was forced to trick or starve. I really don't think there are any reparations that can make up for that.

That's a little bit of the taste of American justice that we gave the Vietnamese...

So I came home thinking it was up to me and others like me to explain what was really happening in Vietnam. Since the mass media was more concerned with pushing the government line than with digging for the truth, we went straight to the people. We formed an organization called Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Along with anti-war activities the movement included the struggle against racism and poverty. It became a battle



against the disparity of class divisions that has afflicted this society throughout history. It was idealistic and non-violent with a focus on creating a better world. But the government has never been able to tolerate such idealism so it created a program for sabotage. The response to the student movements against the war and for civil rights was the killings at Kent State and Jackson State. The FBI's contribution was their now famous COINTEL PRO or counter-intelligence program. By disagreeing with the oppressive policies of the government we became targets for FBI and police intimidation and harassment. We began to learn a lot about paid informers, infiltrators and provocateurs. Conspiracy trials and witch-hunt federal grand juries became a common occurrence. What was even worse, if you fell into the category of "potential Black Messiah"



ideas are a threat to the way the present social order is organized. What we believe in is a threat to the extreme luxury and piggish comfort of an avaricious class of people who refuse to allow the rest of us the freedom of bettering our collective quality of life.

There's no point in going into the specifics of the types of sentences that poor folks and dissidents get because we're about to see a good example of it right here. So Judge, bring on the jugglers and dancing bears and let's get this charade of justice over with.

you could end up dead or if you were lucky just locked in a cage.

Well, like I said earlier, I'm not too impressed by this system of justice. I frankly don't think that this judge or these prosecutors would recognize real justice if it came up and bit 'em on the leg. In a few minutes the judge is going to sentence us to long prison terms, supposedly in accordance with law. We will probably explain that we are being sentenced because we have committed heinous anti-social acts. But any of you who sat through this circus of a trial know that this really isn't the case. We have offended the State, not the people. We are going to prison not because we are a threat or danger to the people of this society, but because our

Bill and Emily Harris were sentenced to 11 years to life on charges of kidnapping, robbery and violations of the vehicle code. They now face charges in Berkeley for the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst and will be arraigned here on the 22nd of September.

(Complete copies of these edited statements are available from BARC.)