

certain DAYS:
the **2012**
freedOm for
Political Prisoners
Calendar



COINTELPRO
repression & resistance, then & now

intro- ductions

the calendar: *Certain Days: Freedom for Political Prisoners Calendar* is a joint fundraising and educational project between outside organizers in Montreal and Toronto and three political prisoners being held in maximum-security prisons in New York State: Herman Bell, David Gilbert and Robert Seth Hayes. The initial project was suggested by Herman in 2001, and has been shaped throughout the 10-year process by all of our ideas, discussions, and analysis. During that time, many different individuals, including some in New York City, have contributed as members of the calendar collective. All of the current members of the outside collective are involved in day-to-day organizing work other than the calendar, on issues ranging from refugee and immigrant solidarity to community media to prisoner justice. We work from an anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-capitalist, feminist, queer and trans-positive position.

the context: Today's struggles against war, capitalism, imperialism and colonialism are rooted in the history of earlier struggles for justice, including the mass movements of the 1960s and 70s. Many political prisoners and prisoners of war featured in this calendar were organizers during that period: members of the Black Panther Party or the American Indian Movement, Puerto Ricans fighting for their homeland, or white anti-racist allies working in solidarity with oppressed peoples. Many of them have been in prison SINCE THAT TIME - 30 years or more. Yet these prisoners are not relics of past movements. They are still active in their political work, and despite the hardships of organizing in prison, they continue to organize for justice in the present day: justice behind bars and justice on the streets. This calendar is our tribute to them.

Free all political prisoners! Free all prisoners of war!

Robert Seth Hayes was arrested in 1973, after police opened fire on his apartment while he was home with his wife and children. This occurred as a result of the U.S. government's illegal Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO), in a climate dominated by portrayals of black militants as murderers and cop-killers. Seth, a former member of the Black Panther Party, was convicted for the death of a NYC transit cop and for the attempted murder of the cops who stormed his apartment. He received a sentence of 25 years to life, and is being held at Sullivan Correctional Facility in Fallsburg, New York. In 1998, Seth was diagnosed with diabetes, and has been struggling with prison administrators to get decent healthcare for his disease. Seth became eligible for parole in 1998, but despite an excellent prison record, Seth's sixth bid for parole was denied in 2008. You can find out more about Seth and listen to his solidarity statement with Six Nations here: www.sethhayes.org.



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Herman Bell has been a U.S. political prisoner for over 36 years. A former Black Panther, he was involved with political community work and subsequently went underground because of relentless FBI and police attacks on the Party. Herman was captured in New Orleans in 1973 and illegally extradited to New York to stand trial with Albert Nuh Washington, Jalil Muntaqim, Francisco Torres and Gabriel Torres on charges of killing two NYC police. Though the jury could not reach a verdict the first time, the NY District Attorney persisted and used many illegal tactics to obtain convictions for Herman, Jalil and Nuh. Herman was also a founder, along with Carol Dove and Michael Vernon, and core member of the Victory Gardens Project, a collaboration between inner city and rural community groups in the northeastern U.S., in which food, as the organizing tool, was grown and distributed free of charge back into the communities. In 2007, Herman was extradited to San Francisco for prosecution of a 38 year-old unsolved cop-killing case. He was charged along with Jalil Muntaqim and six other former Black Panthers, now known as the San Francisco 8. In July 2009, he pled to reduced charges and received 5 years probation. Herman maintains this was a strategic decision which would help the defense of the others and would allow him to return to New York and continue fighting for freedom. The plea in no way jeopardized the other defendants in the case. His decision paved the way for the dismissal of four of the SF8, once Jalil Muntaqim joined Herman in accepting a plea for probation.



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David Gilbert is a longtime anti-imperialist. He became active around the civil rights movement in 1960, and later organized against the Vietnam War. He spent 10 years as part of an underground resistance to imperialism. Working as an anti-racist ally of the Black Liberation Army in 1981, David and others were captured in connection with an attempted expropriation (theft for political reasons) of a Brink's truck in Nyack, NY. David was sentenced to 75 years to life and is currently being held at Auburn, a maximum-security prison in New York State. In 1986, David became active as an advocate and educator around AIDS in prison after his codefendant Kuwasi Balagoon died suddenly of AIDS while still in custody. He is the author of *No Surrender: Writings from an Anti-Imperialist Political Prisoner*. It can be ordered from AK Press, www.akpress.org, info@akpress.org, AK Press, 674-A 23rd Street, Oakland, CA 94612 USA. He also just completed *Love and Struggle: My Life in SDS, the Weather Underground and Beyond*, which is forthcoming through PM Press. He is also the subject of a mini-documentary, "Lifetime of Struggle," which is available from AK Press or the Freedom Archives (www.freedomarchives.org).



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Certain Days 2012

COINTELPRO: Repression & Resistance, Then & Now

The term COINTELPRO has become synonymous with the 'tricks of the trade' of state repression: surveillance of organizations and individuals, the use of infiltrators and informants, frame-ups, harassing or disproportionate use of the legal system, and outright physical attacks. While the term is widely used to describe repression of liberation movements, at least in North America, the history of the actual COINTELPRO program (described in the article below) – its details and the lessons to be learned from it – remain relatively unknown.

Recently, we have witnessed growing awareness of state repression of radical organizing in North America, although it is difficult to judge to what extent repression is actually increasing, and to what extent this reflects the success of the work to expose it. Certainly since September 11, 2001, the state has new tools – and new social license – to go after social movements and marginalized sectors of the population alike, perhaps comparable to the Red Scare climate of the 1950s, when COINTELPRO was conceived of.

In some ways, this is to be expected. Effective movements beget repression. That being said, resisting this backlash – directly fighting back (rhetorically, legally, physically, but also via a more general resilience) – is fundamental to the survival of liberation movements.

COINTELPRO 101

By Claude Marks, The Freedom Archives

"COINTELPRO" was the FBI's secret and illegal program to undermine and destroy the popular upsurge and mass movements for social justice that swept the U.S., beginning with the early civil rights movement and Puerto Rican independence movement in the 1950s, and continuing through the 1960s and 1970s.

Of course, repression against peoples of colour, poor and working people, and progressive organizations goes back hundreds of years, beginning with genocide against Native Americans and African slavery, as well as a war of conquest against Mexico and the colonization of Puerto Rico. Earlier in the 20th century, anarchists and socialists were imprisoned and deported; the Garvey movement was heavily targeted for destruction; there was also intense repression and infiltration against the Communist Party and progressive trade unions.

The name COINTELPRO comes from "COUnterINtelligence PROgram, and it was ordered by the infamous FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, to "misdirect, discredit, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize" progressive and radical organizations and leaders, up to and including outright assassination of leaders and key activists. Illegal FBI operations also included infiltration, wiretapping of phones, opening mail, break-ins, psychological warfare, grand juries, frame-ups, imprisonment, and a wide range of other surveillance, harassment, and intimidation operations. While COINTELPRO was an FBI operation, it now also worked with many other government and military agencies, local police, and right-wing organizations.

Illegal activities were directed at a wide range of groups and individuals, from Cesar Chavez and Martin Luther King to more militant groups and individuals, such as the Black Panther Party, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Revolutionary Action Movement, and Malcolm X. The most intense operations were directed against the Black liberation movement, and Native American, Puerto Rican, and Chicano/Mexicano movements, but also included the entire antiwar, student, women's movements, and left-wing organizations.

A total of 28 members of the Black Panther Party were killed by the police. Two days after the assassination of Martin Luther King in April 1968, Bobby Hutton was murdered by the Oakland cops. In January of 1969, the FBI exacerbated the split with the US organization and the LA Panthers, killing Panther leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins. In August 1969, two Panthers were killed in San Diego and in December of that year, the Chicago Police, under the direct supervision of the FBI, murdered Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, in Chicago. Between April and December 1969, police raided dozens of BPP offices throughout the country, causing extensive damage while arresting and framing many Panther members.

In the wake of the repression associated with the summer 2010 G20 meeting Toronto, with several cases of infiltration in both the U.S. and Canada coming to light in recent years, and with ongoing legislative changes giving government increasing power to surveil and disrupt us, the time seemed ripe to remind ourselves of the legacy of COINTELPRO, and resistance to it.

In putting together the Certain Days calendar, we always aim for a realistic balance between bringing to light social injustice and the challenges we face, and the inspiring work done to meet these challenges. It is important to speak of repression – to share examples so that we might learn from each others' experiences, and see the patterns and trends in the state's approach. But it is impossible to do so without also being struck by the many contemporary and historical examples of resistance. We hope that the information gathered in this year's calendar can help teach the difficult lessons we need to learn to weather the storm and also provide the inspiration we need to do so.

The Certain Days Collective: Amy Schwartz, Anna Mathen, Helen Hudson, karen emily, Nora Butler Burke and Sara Falconer

During the three years following Native American resistance at Wounded Knee in 1973, and more than 60 members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and their supporters died violently on or near the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. At least 342 others suffered violent physical assaults. The FBI compiled more than 316,000 separate investigative files on AIM members related to Wounded Knee alone. Over 562 AIM members and supporters were arrested for taking part, while another 600 individuals across the nation were charged for supporting the defenders, including Chicanos from Colorado. These 562 arrests resulted in the indictments of 185 people, many with multiple charges. In two years of trials that followed, there were only 15 convictions, mostly on minor charges. After several failed attempts with others, the government convicted AIM leader Leonard Peltier of the murder of two FBI agents at Pine Ridge, although there is no actual evidence, and there are growing demands for his release. The government's purpose was to disrupt the entire movement for Indigenous rights.

In the case of Puerto Rico, government repression and attacks go back to the colonization of the island in 1898, and continue to target the Independence movement up to the present. The U.S. brutally repressed the Nationalist Party in the 1930s, imprisoning many leaders, and by the 1970s had gathered files on 165,000 adults in Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican movement of the 1950s was one of the earliest targets of COINTELPRO. And recently in 2005, the FBI assassinated independence leader Filiberto Ojeda Rios.

The Chicano/Mexicano movement also grew and expanded greatly during these times, including struggles in the agricultural fields and for immigrant rights, student demonstrations throughout the Southwest, and a powerful movement against the war in Vietnam. It too was met with intense repression, including the assassination of student leaders. There were also numerous operations aimed against progressive, left, and radical organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as well as the entire antiwar movement, GI resistance inside the armed forces, the resurgence of the women's liberation and start of the gay liberation movements, the prison rights movement inside and outside the prisons, and many other organizations considered subversive by the FBI and other federal and police agencies.

The existence of COINTELPRO was discovered in March, 1971, when a still-anonymous group of antiwar activists found secret files when they raided a draft board that shared offices with the FBI in Media, Pennsylvania. They removed the files and released them to the press. While there were congressional investigations and some of these illegal activities were exposed, many of the crimes of COINTELPRO remain unknown. In addition to the highly destructive impact of COINTELPRO during those times, many political prisoners, convicted in the 1960s and 1970s, remain in prison to this day.

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including**

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We Are the
Crisis Collective

proceeds



**this
calendar is
a fundraiser**

*all of our proceeds will
be divided between
the following organizations:*

ADDAMEER (Arabic for conscience) Prisoners Support and Human Rights Association is a Palestinian non-governmental, civil institution which focuses on human rights issues. Established in 1992 by a group of activists interested in human rights, the center's activities focus on offering support for Palestinian prisoners, advocating the rights of political prisoners, and working to end torture through monitoring, legal procedures and solidarity campaigns.

addameer.org

THE NEW YORK STATE TASK FORCE ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

is dedicated to winning the release of political prisoners in New York prisons. All but one of these seven prisoners are past members of the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army and have spent about 30 years in prison. The Task Force includes representatives of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, New Afrikan Liberation Front, Jericho Movement and Resistance in Brooklyn.

NY State Task Force on Political Prisoners
c/o Malcolm X Grassroots Movement
1195 Bedford Ave.
Brooklyn, NY
11216 USA

(all cheques should be made to Malcolm X Grassroots Movement with NYSTFPP in the subject line).

THE FREEDOM ARCHIVES is a vital resource for documenting, preserving and promoting the history of radical movements. The archives contains over 10,000 hours of audio and video tapes chronicling the progressive history of the Bay Area, the United States, and international solidarity movements from the late 1960s to the mid-1990s.

The collection includes weekly news/poetry/music programs broadcast on several educational radio stations; in-depth interviews and reports on social and cultural issues; diverse activist voices; original and recorded music, poetry, original sound collages; and an extensive La Raza collection. The Archives features speeches of movement leaders and community activists, protests and demonstrations, cultural currents of rebellion and resistance. This oral history is available in a searchable database and the public can download programs and clips. The Freedom Archives is also committed to producing media to educate about the injustices of mass and political imprisonment as well as shedding light on the long history of resistance and liberation.

freedomarchives.org

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your project/group**

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Bulk orders (10+ copies) \$8 each
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updates

The Blue Afterwards: Mourning for Marilyn Buck by Felix Shafer

You've gone past us now.
beloved comrade:
north american revolutionary
and political prisoner
My sister and friend of these 40 years,
it's over
Marilyn Buck gone
through the wire
out into the last whirlwind.

During Marilyn's powerful memorial celebration in Oakland, California on November 7, 2010, it was revealing to hear members of the Black Panther Party tell how her underground skills helped them survive the onslaught of COINTELPRO.

Marilyn's tribute in New York was held a week later at the Malcolm X and Dr. Betty Shabazz Center in Harlem. As nearly 500 people jammed the room where Malcolm was assassinated, a moving message was read from political prisoner/pow and freedom fighter Sekou Odinga who was also convicted, in a separate trial, for the liberation of Assata:

She was someone who would give you her last without any thought about her own welfare. I remember one time when she shared her last few dollars with a comrade of ours, and later I was in her kitchen and opened her refrigerator to find nothing in it and almost no food in the house. I told her she had to let comrades know when she was in need, and stop giving when she didn't have it to give. But she never stopped because that's just who she was. [The entire essay can be found at marilyn buck.com.]

Sundiata Acoli Remembers geronimo ji-jaga: geronimo ji jaga was a true "Top Soldier." Highly skilled in warfare, tested and proven on the battlefields of Viet Nam, he returned stateside to put his expertise at the service of the Black Panther Party, the Black Liberation Army and other select organizations of the era. He saved many lives. He made many soldiers. geronimo, or "G" as we called him, was our much beloved comrade, brother, hero and leader. He was also a father and husband who literally gave his entire life over to the liberation of Afrikans, here and abroad, and other oppressed people worldwide. He was all that - and yet he was one of the most forgiving persons i've ever known. It was part of his makeup, and his enigma. G fought to the end, he gave all that he had and we, Afrikans and others oppressed, are all the better for it. We are forever in his debt. May the Ancestors receive him with their proudest salute to a returning soldier.

Students for Justice in Palestine Condemns U.S. Government Witch Hunt: As students at over fifty American universities, we unequivocally condemn the abuse of grand jury subpoenas to chill the exercise of First Amendment rights by university students and anti-war activists speaking and organizing against Israel's continued oppression of the Palestinian people Since Septem-

ber 2010, the FBI has served at least 24 grand jury subpoenas on students and activists in a secret investigation that many have called a witch hunt. We call upon Attorney General Eric Holder and United States Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald to respect the civil rights and free speech of all those who support the Palestinian struggle for freedom by immediately withdrawing grand jury subpoenas, which threaten the First Amendment rights of students and activists around the country.

Anti-War and International Solidarity Activists Denounce FBI Infiltration: The anti-war and international solidarity activists who are being called before a grand jury in Chicago have learned that beginning a few months before the protests against the Republican National Convention in 2008 in St. Paul, Minnesota, a law enforcement officer infiltrated the Twin Cities Anti-War Committee (AWC)... It now appears that the investigation of the U.S. Attorney is focused on small donations to the daycare and women's center projects of the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees, an NGO registered with the Palestinian Authority with local offices in towns across the West Bank and Gaza... Steff Yorek, of Freedom Road Socialist Organization said, "We are appalled that we were infiltrated by police agents, targeted for our political organizing and views. This violates our rights to freedom of association and speech."

Message from Lucasville Five Supporters: *The Lucasville Five, five men sentenced to death for their leadership roles in the Easter uprising of prisoners at Lucasville in 1993, went on hunger strike in January 2011.*

First of all, thanks. When we visited the men on hunger strike at the Ohio supermaximum security prison in January, each brought to the visit a stack of letters from supporters all over the world. They are emphatic that it was this outpouring of support that caused Ohio authorities to take major steps toward equalizing conditions of confinement for all death-sentenced men at the Ohio State Penitentiary. Each of these prisoners - Siddique Abdullah Hasan, Jason Robb, Bomani Shakur (also known as Keith LaMar), George Skatzes, and Namir Abdul Mateen (also known as James Were) - is in the early stages of appeal in federal courts. They can expect to live several years before they are killed. We must help them use that time.

On Bradley Manning, Solitary Confinement, and Selective Outrage: Progressive online media sources have been burning with outrage over the conditions in which accused Wikileaker Bradley Manning is being held. Manning is in 23-hour-a-day solitary confinement at a Marine brig in Quantico, Virginia, denied sunlight, exercise, possessions, and all but the most limited contact with family and friends. Meanwhile, here at Solitary Watch, we've been receiving calls and emails from our modest band of readers, all of them saying more or less the same thing: We're glad Bradley Manning's treatment is getting some attention, but what about the tens of thousands of others who are languishing in solitary confinement in U.S. prisons and jails? According to available data, there are some 25,000 inmates in long-term isolation in the nation's supermax prisons, and as many as 80,000 more in solitary in other facilities. Where is the outrage - even among progressives - for these forgotten souls? Where, for that matter, is some acknowledgment of their existence? solitarywatch.com



Political Prisoners: A political prisoner (PP) is someone who is held in confinement for actions, support of, or membership in a group struggling for freedom from oppression, an oppressive government, oppressive governmental policies, or exploitation of peoples, animals or the Earth. PPs were politically conscious and active in liberation movements prior to their imprisonment. Some examples of PPs held by the United States include Virgin Islands political prisoner Hanif Shabazz Bey, black political prisoner Veronza Bowers, North American anti-imperialist prisoner Marilyn Buck and eco prisoner Eric McDavid.

Prisoners of War: A prisoner of war (POW) is a national combatant who is held in confinement for acts in support of people struggling for freedom, self-determination or independence from an oppressive, colonial or racist governmental regime or its policies. Jalil Muntaqim, Sundiata Acoli, and Antonio Camacho Negrón are three examples of POWs currently held in the U.S. prison system.

Politicized Prisoners: Many prisoners - such as Ruchell Cinque Magee, George Jackson, Alfred Woodfox and Herman "Hooks" Wallace of the Angola Three - were not initially imprisoned for their political actions but became politically conscious and active while in prison. The political activity of these politicized prisoners is accompanied by harsh state repression and these prisoners deserve recognition for their contributions to movements inside and outside the prison walls.

Political Imprisonment: We believe that all forms of imprisonment are political, as the so-called "justice" system and its prisons are state weapons of social control. In Canada and the United States, people are targeted by the police and sent to prison in the context of capitalism, colonialism, white supremacy and patriarchy. Law enforcement targets particular communities and particular crimes, while turning a blind eye to the criminal activities of the dominant class. This discrepancy is only exacerbated when the large mass of people lack adequate legal representation and are faced with disproportionately long sentences. As a result, more than 90% of U.S. cases end in a plea bargain, where defendants are forced to make a deal with the state in order to avoid the cost of trial and long sentences - whether or not they are guilty. It is therefore no surprise that Indigenous people, people of colour, youth and poor people are disproportionately represented in prison.

Women in Prison: There are well over 100,000 women in prison in the U.S. today and over 70% are mothers. The majority are in prison for economic crimes. The most typical convictions resulting in imprisonment for women are property crimes, such as cheque forgery and illegal credit card use. The "war on drugs" has also exploded rates of women's imprisonment. For example, New York State's female prison population increased by 500% from 1977 to 2003 - about twice the rate of males - overwhelmingly as a result of the 'war on drugs.' Of the women convicted of violent crimes, the vast majority were convicted for defending themselves or their children from abuse. In California alone there are 600 women in prison for killing their abusers in self-defense. Average prison terms are twice as long for killing husbands as for killing wives. 54% of women in prison are women of colour, and women of colour are the fastest growing population in U.S. prisons today.

ICE Detention Centers: ICE detention facilities in the U.S., and so-called Immigration Prevention Centres in Canada are but the latest way these countries imprison migrants and racially profiled people residing within their borders. From the imprisonment of citizens of Japanese origin in both the U.S. and Canada during WWII to the current systemic targeting and imprisonment of Arabs, Muslims and people of South Asian descent, imprisonment targets people who are deemed "undesirable" or politically threatening to the current social order. "Anti-terrorist," Islamophobic, and anti-immigrant State propaganda is used to garner public support to justify the wars at home and abroad on indigenous peoples, immigrants, refugees, people of colour, workers, poor people and social movements.

Addameer
www.addameer.info

Just Seeds
justseeds.org

Prison Justice
www.prisonjustice.ca

Prison Sucks
www.prisonsucks.com

Green is the New Red
www.greenisthenewred.com

The Freedom Archives
www.freedomarchives.org

Critical Resistance
www.criticalresistance.org

Prison Policy Initiative
www.prisonpolicy.org

Anarchist Black Cross Federation
www.abcf.net

Malcolm X Grassroots Movement
www.mxgm.org

Prison Activist Resource Center
www.prisonactivist.org

Kersplebedeb
www.leftwingbooks.net

4strugglemag
www.4strugglemag.org

Colours of Resistance
www.colours.mahost.org

ProLibertad Freedom Campaign
www.prolibertadweb.com

California Coalition for Women Prisoners
www.womenprisoners.org

Denver Anarchist Black Cross
denverabc.wordpress.com

Prisoner Correspondence Project
prisoner Correspondence Project

Journal of Prisoners on Prison
www.jpp.org

It's About Time: Black Panther Party Legacy & Alumni
www.itsabouttimebpp.com

The Sentencing Project
www.sentencingproject.org

Break the Chains
breakallchains.blogspot.com

National Jericho Movement
www.thejerichomovement.com

Chicano Mexican Prison Project
uniondelbarrio.org/laverdad/cmp

Tracking the Politics of 'Crime' & Punishment in Canada
tcp-canada.blogspot.com

Against Prison
againstprison.wordpress.com

The Louisiana Justice Institute
justiceroars.org

SOME WEBSITES WE LIKE

some books we like:

- **Love & Struggle: My Life in SDS, the Weather Underground, & Beyond.** David Gilbert. PM Press.
- **Green is the New Red.** Will Potter. City Lights Publishers.
- **Deep Green Resistance: Strategy to Save the Planet.** Derrick Jensen, Aric McBay & Lierre Keith. Seven Stories Press.
- **Marshall Law: The Life & Times of a Baltimore Black Panther.** Marshall "Eddie" Conway & Dominique Stevenson. AK Press.
- **Lucasville: The Untold Story of a Prison Uprising, 2nd edition.** Staughton Lynd. PM Press.
- **Defying the Tomb: Selected Prison Writings & Art of Kevin Rashid Johnson featuring exchanges with an Outlaw.** Kersplebedeb.
- **Floodlines: Community & Resistance From Katrina to the Jena Six.** Jordan Flaherty. Haymarket Books.
- **Resistance Behind Bars: The Struggles of Incarcerated Women.** Vikki Law. PM Press.
- **Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat.** J. Sakai. Morningstar Press.
- **Prison Writings: My Life is a Sun Dance.** Leonard Peltier. St. Martin's Griffin.
- **Imprisoned Intellectuals: America's Political Prisoners Write on Life, Liberation & Rebellion.** Ed. Joy James. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- **Forced Passages: Imprisoned Radical Intellectuals & the U.S. Prison Regime.** Dylan Rodriguez. Univ. Minnesota Press.
- **When the Prisoners Ran Walpole: A True Story in the Movement for Prison Abolition.** Jamie Bissonette. South End Press.
- **Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, & the Prison-Industrial Complex.** Julia Sudbury. Routledge.
- **Wild Poppies: A Poetry Jam Across Prison Walls.** (CD) Marilyn Buck. Freedom Archives.
- **A Soldier's Story: Writings by a New Afrikan Anarchist.** Kuwasi Balagoon. Solidarity.
- **Fascism, Blood in My Eye, & Soledad Brother.** George Jackson.
- **All Things Censored, v. 1.** Mumia Abu-Jamal. AK Press.
- **No Surrender: Writings From An Anti-Imperialist Political Prisoner.** David Gilbert. Abraham Guillen Press/Arm the Spirit.
- **Arm the Spirit: A Woman's Journey Underground & Back.** Diana Block. AK Press.
- **A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust & Denial in The Americas 1492 To The Present.** Ward Churchill. City Lights.
- **Igniting a Revolution: Voices in Defense of the Earth.** Ed. Steven Best & Anthony J. Nocella, II. AK Press.
- **Hauling Up the Morning: Writings & Art by Political Prisoners & Prisoners of War in the U.S.** Eds. Tim Blunk & Ray Luc Levasseur. Red Sea Press.
- **Let Freedom Ring: A Collection of Documents from the Movements to Free U.S. Political Prisoners.** Resistance in Brooklyn. PM Press/Kersplebedeb.
- **Can't Jail the Spirit: Political Prisoners in the U.S.** Editorial El Coqui.
- **Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice.** Paul Kivel. New Society Publishers.
- **Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground & the Politics of Solidarity.** Dan Berger. AK Press.
- **Words without Walls: Writing & Art by Women in Prison in Nova Scotia.** Books Beyond Bars. Halifax.
- **The War Before: The Writings & Speeches of Safiya Bukhari.** ed. Laura Whitehorn. Feminist Press.
- **Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West.** Dee Brown. Picador.
- **State of Exile.** Cristina Peri Rossi, translation & introduction by Marilyn Buck. City Lights Books.
- **Are Prisons Obsolete?** Angela Davis. Open Media.
- **Assata: Assata Shakur.** Lawrence Hill Books.



resources.

security culture

In order to resist repression, we must build stronger communities. Help us build a list of security culture resources on our website: www.certaindays.org/securityculture.

Here are some to start us off:

Security Culture: a Handbook for Activists
zinelibrary.info/security-culture-handbook-activists

Security Culture
zinelibrary.info/security-culture

Anarchistes pour des technologies solidaires/ Anarchist Tech Support (ATS)
we.riseup.net/ats-mtl

Security in-a-box:
Tools and Tactics for your Digital Security
security.ngoinabox.org

Communication Security
help.riseup.net/en/security

COINTELPRO Then and Now

Ray Levesque
j anuary



As played out in the Black Civil Rights Movement of the 60s and 70s, the f.b.i.'s counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) sought to repress black america's long standing demand for social justice in U.S. society. In calling for an end to segregation, racial discrimination, mob violence, and police brutality, black-americans were defying the U.S. Jim Crow apartheid caste system. Their demands for fair wages, access to decent housing, health care, education for their children, and just and fair treatment before the law served notice that they were no longer tolerant of their marginalized status in the land of their birth. It's not that blacks were violent in their demands, but that at every turn they made to improve their lives, they were met with violence. As regards to that, the f.b.i. would investigate the boy scouts, if it had anything to do with black folks.

COINTELPRO is a powerful, sophisticated government instrument of repression and social control. It was designed to repress; traces of it can be found back in the most ancient of times where the drama is enacted of "haves" against "have nots;" of weak against strong; of rich against poor; of who will be master, who will be slave; of who will be dominant, who will be subordinate.

It's fair to say that the Black Civil Rights Movement back then comprised a dangerous mix of disaffected social elements that posed a direct threat to both the hegemony of capital and its unfettered access to profits, and to the fiefdom of white supremacy and its historical cultural domination. Accordingly, the f.b.i. sought to crush this movement and the groups allied with it. Movement activists were covertly surveilled; their finances audited; backgrounds checked; employers and landlords interviewed. What indiscretions or infidelities came to light were skilfully used against them. Groups were set against groups. The weak and faint-hearted were turned against their colleagues. Well-placed news articles and not so subtle editorials cheered on this illegal f.b.i. activity. And much of the same activity goes on today.

In the wake of the 9/11 Twin Towers attack in New York City and the subsequent U.S.A. Patriot Act, the current incarnation of COINTELPRO finds itself with even more repressive powers. And

AIR MAIL

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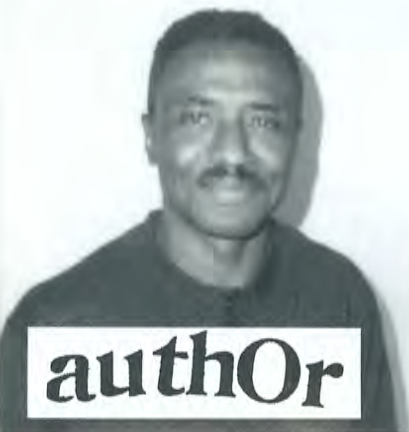
Calendar Committee
% QPIRG Concordia
1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd., O.
MONTREAL, QC
H3G 1M8 CANADA

the politicians, governors, policing agencies, and special interest groups that wish to fashion U.S. society (its institutions, behaviour patterns, and beliefs) in their exclusive image, have taken to these new powers like pigs to slop. Consequently, the political climate today is such that an authority can casually construe the most harmless, inconsequential statement or act as a conspiracy or threat to national security. It's a climate where people feel reluctant even to donate charitable dollars to humanitarian organizations lest their name appear on a government "terrorist watch list." Surveillance cameras abound in public spaces, and cell-phones, GPS-systems, credit cards, and personal computers enable that a plethora of information on U.S. citizens be gathered and stored. Why collect all this information if not for manipulative or sinister purposes?!

Hence, on the ground and in cyberspace, our increasing reliance on electronics renders us even more vulnerable to COINTELPRO's pervasiveness. Vulnerable to its "watch list" and to what it has already done to our civil liberties and personal freedoms. The push of a button (as punishment for resistance to its authority) could make all our pertinent information: our personal finances, records, credit cards, Social Security numbers, licenses, our very names "disappeared" from the stream of U.S. electronic social interaction. Does that mean the sky will fall? No! But it could well mean strangers at your door in the middle of the night, electrodes at your genital in a padded room, or worse.

Have we reached a point in our society where the rights we thought we once had no longer exist? And if so, why is that? Could it be complacency, insensitivity, preoccupation, could it be that we are too trusting of government, too accepting of what politicians tell us that we failed to see them "bend the knee" before the banks and corporations on Wall Street? We fail to see that it is they who have let loose on us the Darth Vader-like jackboots from walled citadels of no returns. Now don't that piss-you-off! Or does it?

Herman Bell is a political prisoner and member of the Certain Days collective. For more information about Herman, see his bio on the inside of the front cover.



authOr



Santiago Armengod is a Mexican printmaker, organizer and illustrator, who attempts to communicate the urgency of radical change through his artwork. He enjoys and spends most of his time working with projects and collectives he is part of: Justseeds, La Furia de las Calles, ZAM, Colectivo Cordyceps and ECPM68.



The Green Scare and Security Culture

We are under attack. The strategy of divide and conquer, used by those in power to undermine resistance and destroy egalitarian cultures for thousands of years, has its most modern and pernicious expression in programs like COINTELPRO. COINTELPRO and its ilk are different from older strategies not because they are always more subtle (the bloody assassination of Fred Hampton and many others makes this clear), but because they are more sophisticated in their understanding of radical psychology and the dynamics of social movements.

If we want to protect ourselves, our communities, and our planet, then we must arm ourselves with a similarly sophisticated understanding of their techniques and with the tools we need to defend our movements.

Like recent counterinsurgency doctrine, the COINTELPRO approach has two main objectives in dealing with liberation struggles. First, they want to disrupt our resistance movements and destroy them as effective fighting organizations. And second, to isolate active resisters—us—from the broader population we need for support and new members.

Internally, one of the best ways to destroy a movement is to break trust and encourage horizontal hostility—for people to attack their allies instead of their oppressors. Classic COINTELPRO tactics include fake letters to incite arguments between groups, conspicuous surveillance, and infiltration.

If COINTELPRO schemes are successful, then movements are broken into fragments, with fearful and isolated groups more occupied with attacking each other than with fighting those in power. Individuals are left paranoid, demoralized, and distracted. The subtlety of these methods allows liberals (among others) to pretend that we live in a peaceful and democratic society. Shooting protesters in the streets is a crude method of repression in comparison.

This brings us to the Green Scare, a government campaign over the last decade which has targeted radical environmentalists using harassment and grand juries, informers, prosecution, and long prison sentences. Daniel McGowan, Marie Mason, and Eric McDavid are among those imprisoned as part of the Green Scare.

Aric McBey is an author, activist, and farmer. He lives near Kingston, Ontario, where he has organized to try to stop prison farm closures and prevent prison expansion. He is the author of several books, most recently *Deep Green Resistance: Strategy to Save the Planet* (with Lierre Keith and Derrick Jensen).



February

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1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd. O.
Montreal QC
H3G 1M8 CANADA

The Green Scare offers a clear illustration of modern COINTELPRO tactics. With the radical environmental movement, federal agencies used agents provocateurs and informers to break trust. Externally, the government conflation of ecodefense with "terrorism" aimed to delegitimize activists and to rationalize mass surveillance and repression. The intent was to arrest effective organizers, to tie up community resources with legal struggles, and to intimidate environmental activists both moderate and radical. It's very important to note that fancy forensic techniques had virtually no role in the Green Scare arrests. Successful charges were based on evidence from informers and infiltrators. TV police propaganda like CSI would have us believe that we are constantly being watched and that forensic detectives will inevitably track down anyone who breaks the smallest law. The point of conspicuous surveillance and prosecution is to make us throw up our hands and say "They know everything; there is nothing we can do to fight back." To make us fearful, so that we will reflexively retreat at exactly the point when we need to move forward with courage and intelligence.

Countering COINTELPRO-style tactics requires that we adopt particular tools and practices. One of those is the clear division between aboveground and underground organizations, with the use of effective security culture on both sides. The principle of "need to know" is cornerstone of security culture; for example, no activist should know or ask about illegal, risky actions they aren't directly involved in. And no one should cooperate with or give information to the police.

Of course, security culture is mostly passive (that is, things not to do), and dealing with covert repression requires that resistance movements develop their own effective counterintelligence capacities. And lastly, we must rebuild genuine communities of resistance that can fight to win, and that can offer effective support and solidarity to those who oppose power, and especially to those who are captured or imprisoned in the struggle.

Shannon Willmott: In my life and in my painting I search for hope and beauty while battling deep feelings of scepticism about the future. At times, human intolerance and environmental devastation overwhelm me. My connection to friends involved in political struggle and my own interactions with authority contribute to the emotionally charged landscapes in my painting.

artist



John Graham and the Continuation of COINTELPRO Tactics Today

On December 10, 2010, John Graham was convicted in a South Dakota court of felony murder kidnapping but innocent of premeditated murder in the death of fellow American Indian Movement (AIM) member Anna Mae Aquash. John Graham, a Tutchone native originally from the Yukon, maintains his complete innocence, and has been sentenced to life in prison. Graham says that Aquash was his friend and comrade.

In the 1970s, John Graham participated in AIM organizing and land defense. Into the 1980s, he continued to struggle against uranium mining and the nuclear industry to preserve the land and indigenous ways of life. In the 1990s, Graham says law-enforcement visited him four times, trying to get him to sign false statements implicating AIM leadership in the death of Anna Mae. When Graham refused, the FBI said that he would face the charges instead.

The State alleges that Graham kidnapped Aquash and ultimately killed her in the hills of South Dakota in 1976. The government claims the motive for the murder is that AIM believed Aquash to be an informant who had knowledge of sensitive information – specifically an admission of guilt from then-fugitive and AIM member, Leonard Peltier, regarding the death of two FBI agents. The Aquash case is also aimed at reinforcing the conviction against Leonard Peltier. Peltier continues to maintain his innocence while serving two life sentences. Peltier said that he believes Aquash was killed because she was a skilled organizer and leader for indigenous people.

Anna Mae Aquash was a Mi'kmaq from Nova Scotia and a well-known, skilled organizer and warrior with AIM. In 1975, she said she had been threatened with death by the FBI. In 1976, her body was found on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. The original autopsy report, made by an FBI-contracted coroner, stated her cause of death as "exposure," overlooking a bloody bullet-wound in the back of her head. Claiming her body was unidentifiable, the FBI removed her hands for identification and buried her as a Jane Doe. When the hands were identified, AIM attorneys requested a second autopsy by an independent coroner, who quickly recorded the bullet wound as the cause of death.

The time from 1973 to 1976 on Pine Ridge is referred to by many as "the reign of terror." A paramilitary squad known as the Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOONs) operated on Pine Ridge. The GOONs were notorious for targeting traditional Lakotas and AIM members by shooting up homes, running people off roads and outright murder. The group was given ammunition and intelligence by the FBI themselves and many of their members were also reservation police officers.

Anna Mae Aquash, Leonard Peltier and John Graham all refused to falsely testify on behalf of the State. In return, Anna Mae was threatened with death by the FBI. "(The FBI) offered me my freedom and money if I'd testify the way they wanted," said Aquash when she was arrested in 1975. "I have those two choices now. I choose my kind of freedom, not their kind, even if I have to die." John Graham also chose this kind of freedom. Leonard Peltier said he was offered his freedom in exchange for false testimony against John Graham – he also refused.

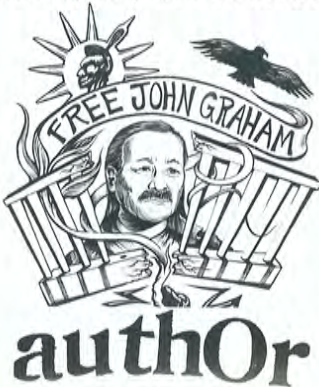
Prosecutors have stated that the so-called "investigation" is still open. In 2004, Arlo Looking Cloud, a Lakota, was convicted of aiding and abetting in the murder of Aquash. In 2010, another Lakota man and former organizer, Richard Marshall, was acquitted in connection to the murder.

The Aquash murder case functions to cover up the bloody history of the U.S. government's counterinsurgency campaign at Pine Ridge and against indigenous people. The trial brought no real resolution. If anything, the truth revealed at trial is that, despite the formal end to COINTELPRO, the government still aims to disrupt resistance movements and that those who dare to struggle are at odds with the State.

John Graham's lawyer has filed an appeal on both the sentence and conviction.

"We need to create a resistance so strong that when the United States corporations come for our people, we can tell them that they no longer have jurisdiction and force them to stop. Let's take back Mother Earth to set her free..." - C. Graham

This article was written by **Vancouver-based supporters of John Graham.** We began to support John during his extradition hearings here in 2004. Indigenous resistance to colonization is a source of inspiration in our struggles against industrialism, Capitalism and the State. Graham's history of resistance and his refusal to give false testimony to the State gives us strength. For us, solidarity also means continuing on with struggles against land destruction and exploitation, against the police and all prisons everywhere. In the words of Anna Mae Aquash, "Jails are not a solution to problems."



grahamdefense.org
ourfreedom.wordpress.com

Free John Graham, Honour Anna Mae Aquash Booklet (online):
anti-politics.net/distro

John Graham, #55101
South Dakota State Penitentiary
Box 5911
Sioux Falls SD
57117-5911 USA

march

A joint project of artist-activists **Jesus Barraza**

and Melanie Cervantes, Dignidad Rebelde is a space for collaboration and artistic skill-sharing that is grounded in a Xicana worldview and fueled by their collective desire to support grassroots organizing for social justice. Members of the Taller Tupac Amaru, a print studio based in Oakland, Barraza and Cervantes are committed to the Taller's mission of producing and distributing screen-printed political posters and fostering resurgence in the screen-printing medium for social change.



Resisting Repression of Dissent in the International BDS Campaign

In 2005, over 170 Palestinian Civil Society Organizations put forward a call for the international community to engage in a campaign of Boycott, Divestments and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel until it complies with international law. The BDS campaign has three basic demands:

1. the end of the occupation of Arab lands and the dismantling of Israel's apartheid wall;
2. full equality for Palestinian citizens of Israel; and
3. for Israel to respect the right of return for all Palestinian refugees.

People of conscience all over the world have heeded this call and mobilized BDS campaigns internationally.

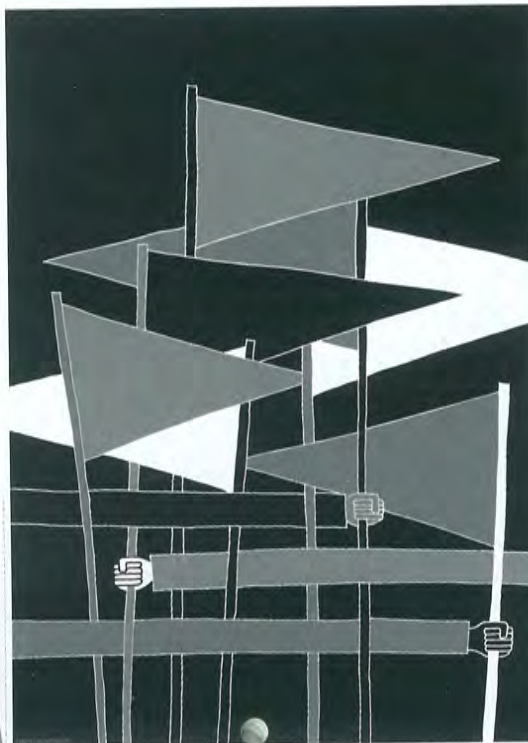
The rapid growth of the BDS movement has, however, generated not only support, but also intense repression, particularly in North America. These states are strong allies of Israel and are moving to silence criticism of Israel in order to protect their own military and economic interests. The repression has involved tactics commonly deployed against social movements, including surveillance, attacks on resources and moves towards criminalization.

In 2009, several pro-Israel legislators formed the Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Anti-Semitism (CPCCA), an unofficial body that launched an inquiry into something deemed the "new anti-Semitism" in Canada. By their own admission, the CPCCA was not focused in challenging actual anti-Semitism – the hatred of Jewish people – but with fighting criticism of Israel. The CPCCA is part of an international network of pro-Israel legislators from Europe and North America who are pushing to expand the definition of hate crimes in their own countries to include criticism of Israel. Should their efforts succeed, pro-Palestinian activists will face intense criminalization and even hate-crime charges.

authOr

The Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid

was formed in January 2006 as part of a growing, global movement against Israeli apartheid. We are a network of concerned individuals and organizations working to end this apartheid system and Canada's complicity in maintaining it. Our demands are based upon the July 2005 call from over 170 Palestinian organizations in support of a global campaign of boycotts, divestment and sanctions (BDS against Israel). We demand that Israel meet its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law.



In Canada, the focal point for repression has been in attempts to ban Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW) – an annual campus-based series of lectures aimed at educating students and the general public about apartheid in Israel. Student organizers have reported being denied space on campus through bureaucratic hurdles and the imposition of prohibitive security fees for (often unwanted) policing of their events. Organizers have faced threats and intimidation, but this violence is rarely taken seriously by campus administrations. In Ontario, the largest province in Canada, IAW was officially condemned by the legislature. Similar motions have been initiated in other provinces and federally, but without success.

Other attacks on Palestine solidarity activism have included: the de-funding of organizations critical of Israel; the denial of entry visas to Palestinian and pro-Palestinian activists; attacks on students and academics whose research is critical of Israel; attacks on queer pro-Palestine organizing; and, most recently, investigations by CSIS in Canada and the FBI in the United States into the activities of prominent Palestine solidarity activists.

The repression experienced by solidarity activists worldwide cannot compare to the constant threat of incarceration and assassination that Palestinian activists face. The resilience of the Palestinian struggle against the brutality of Israeli apartheid provides inspiration for activists around the world, who must resist repression and continue their fight against states that support Israeli apartheid.



artist

Josh MacPhee is an artist and activist whose work revolves around themes of history, radical politics, and public space. His most recent books are *Signs of Change: Social Movement Cultures*, co-edited with Darz Greenwald, and *Celebrate People's History: The Poster Book of Resistance and Revolution*. He also is a member of the political art cooperative *Justseeds.org* and a co-editor of *Signal: A Journal of International Political Graphics*. He lives in Brooklyn, NY.

Cointelpro.

20th Century Witch Hunts



december

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february

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january

Su M T W Th F S

1  first quarter 1959 - Cuban revolution victorious 1994 - Mexico: NAFTA signed; Zapatista uprising 1804 - Haitian independence is won New Year's Day Last day of Kwanzaa	2 	3 	4 	5 	6 	7
8 	9  full moon 1973 - San Quentin prisoners strike	10 	11 	12 	13 	14 1970 - CA: W.L. Nolen, C. Edwards & J. Miller murdered by Soledad prison guards 2011 - Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali flees to Saudi Arabia
15 	16  last quarter	17 1969 - L.A.: Panthers Bunchy Carter and John Huggins murdered 1991 - U.S., Canadian & other imperialist U.N. forces attack Iraq Martin Luther King Day	18 	19 	20 	21 2001 - U.S. anti-imperialists Linda Evans & Susan Rosenberg released 2001 - Teddy "Jah" Heath, former Panther, one of the NY 21, dies of cancer in prison
22 	23  new moon 2007 - San Francisco 8 arrested Chinese New Year	24 	25 1787 - MA: Shays rebellion. Farmers revolt against imprisonment for debt	26 	27 	28 1944 - Angela B. Davis born 1974 - Minnesota prisoners Union formed at Stillwater
29 	30  first quarter 1972 - Derry, Ireland: Bloody Sunday 1968 - Tet offensive begins in Vietnam	31 	"A contribution to the struggle against prison and its world," the website againstprison.wordpress.com chronicles prison-related news, documents unrest inside Canadian prisons, and provides analysis of prison society and the struggle against it. "As a structure, prison is being applied to manage the growing instability caused by war, economic crisis, ecological collapse and the elevated migration and social conflict that result as a consequence of the last hundred years of rampant capitalist exploitation of land and people. Recently, prisons have been constructed all over the world for migrants, with surveillance and isolation units, and we will see more pop up to deal with the growing number of people sitting behind bars - awaiting their trials."			



january

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march

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february

Su M T W Th F S

1

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4

<< www.certaindays.org >>

1960 - Greensboro, NC: Sit-in against segregation

1913 - Rosa Parks born
Mawlid al-Nabi (Sunni)

5

6

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11

○
full moon

1976 - Canada: AIM member Leonard Peltier captured by police

1997 - California: Norma Jean Croy released from prison

1968 - SC: Orangeburg Massacre, Police fire into crowd of anti-segregation protestors, killing 3

Mawlid al-Nabi (Shi'a)

2011 - Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak resigns, following 18 days of widespread protest

12

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17

18

◐
last quarter

1971 - Raiford Prison, FL: 63 peaceful hunger strikers shot

Valentine's Day

2003 - Oakland: After 35 years, Lil' Bobby Hutton's gravesite receives tombstone

2008 - ON: Algonquin spokesperson Bob Lovelace sentenced to 6 months

19

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25

●
new moon

1942 - 120,000 Japanese-Americans sent to internment camps

Civic Holiday (ATLA, SASK, MAN & ON)
President's Day (U.S.)

1965 - NYC: Malcolm X assassinated

2006 - Olympia, WA: Joyanna Zacher and Nathan Block arrested

1976 - SD: AIM activist Anna Mae Aquash found dead
Mexico: Día de la Bandera

26

27

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29
◐
first quarter

1973 - SD: Oglala Sioux & AIM seize town of Wounded Knee

1989 - Caracas, Venezuela: popular revolt against neo-liberal policies

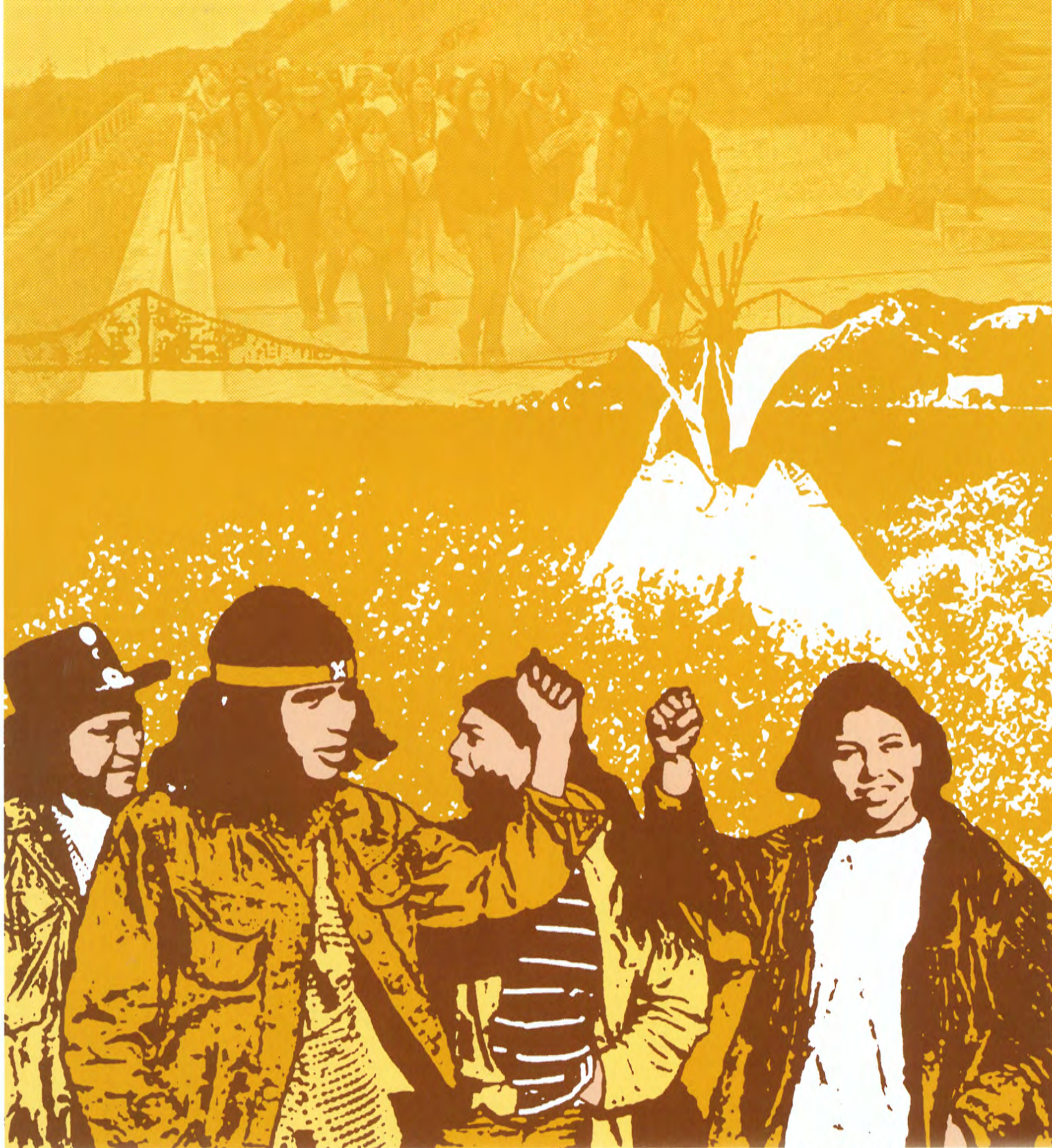
2004 - U.S. troops remove democratically elected Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide

114 people were preemptively arrested in the midst of a plan to shut down Ratcliffe on Soar power station (UK) in April 2009. Despite not being charged, most were given restrictive bail restrictions. Proceedings were dropped against all but 26. One of those not prosecuted was in fact an undercover police officer called Mark Kennedy. He is also accused of having sexual relationships with several of the women he was being paid to spy on. indymedia.org.uk

Indigenous Peoples Thanksgiving Sunrise Gathering on Alcatraz Island, November 26th 2009

ALCATRAZ

COMMEMORATING THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCCUPATION OF ALCATRAZ AND
GIVING THANKS TO THE CREATOR FOR OUR CONTINUED RESISTANCE AND SURVIVAL



february

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april

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march

Su M T W Th F S

In December 2005, Daniel McGowan was arrested by Federal agents in a nationwide sweep of radical environmentalists involved with the Earth Liberation Front — a group the FBI has called America's "number one domestic terrorism threat." For years, the ELF — operating in separate anonymous cells without any central leadership — had launched spectacular arsons against dozens of businesses they accused of destroying the environment: timber companies, SUV dealerships, wild horse slaughterhouses. With the arrest of Daniel and thirteen others, the government had cracked what was probably the largest ELF cell in America. *If a Tree Falls: The Story of the Earth Liberation Front* tells the remarkable story. www.ifatreefallsfilm.com

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1954 - Washington, D.C.: Puerto Rican Nationalists attack U.S. congress

2006 - SHAC 7 convicted & sentenced to 3-6 years

International Sex Workers' Rights Day

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full moon

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10

1857 - Dred Scott decision
1970 - NYC: 3 members of Weather Underground die in accidental explosion

1971 - PA: "Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI" raid FBI office exposing COINTELPRO documents

International Women's Day

1976 - WA: George Jackson Bridge member John Sherman liberated

11

12

13

14

last quarter

15

16

17

Daylight Savings Time begins

1976 - WA: George Jackson Bridge member Mark Cook captured

1988 - 500 Palestinian police resign in protest of Israeli policies

1973 - North Carolina Prisoners' Union formed

International Day Against Police Brutality

1791 - Denmark becomes first Western country to outlaw the slave trade

2003 - Palestine: ISM volunteer Rachel Corrie killed in by Israeli forces

1992 - Escaped Puerto Rican political prisoner Luis Colon Osorio is recaptured

18

19

20

21

22

new moon

23

24

2008 - The K16, aboriginal leaders opposed to mining on First Nations land, sentenced to 6 months

Spring Equinox

Human Rights Day (South Africa)

25

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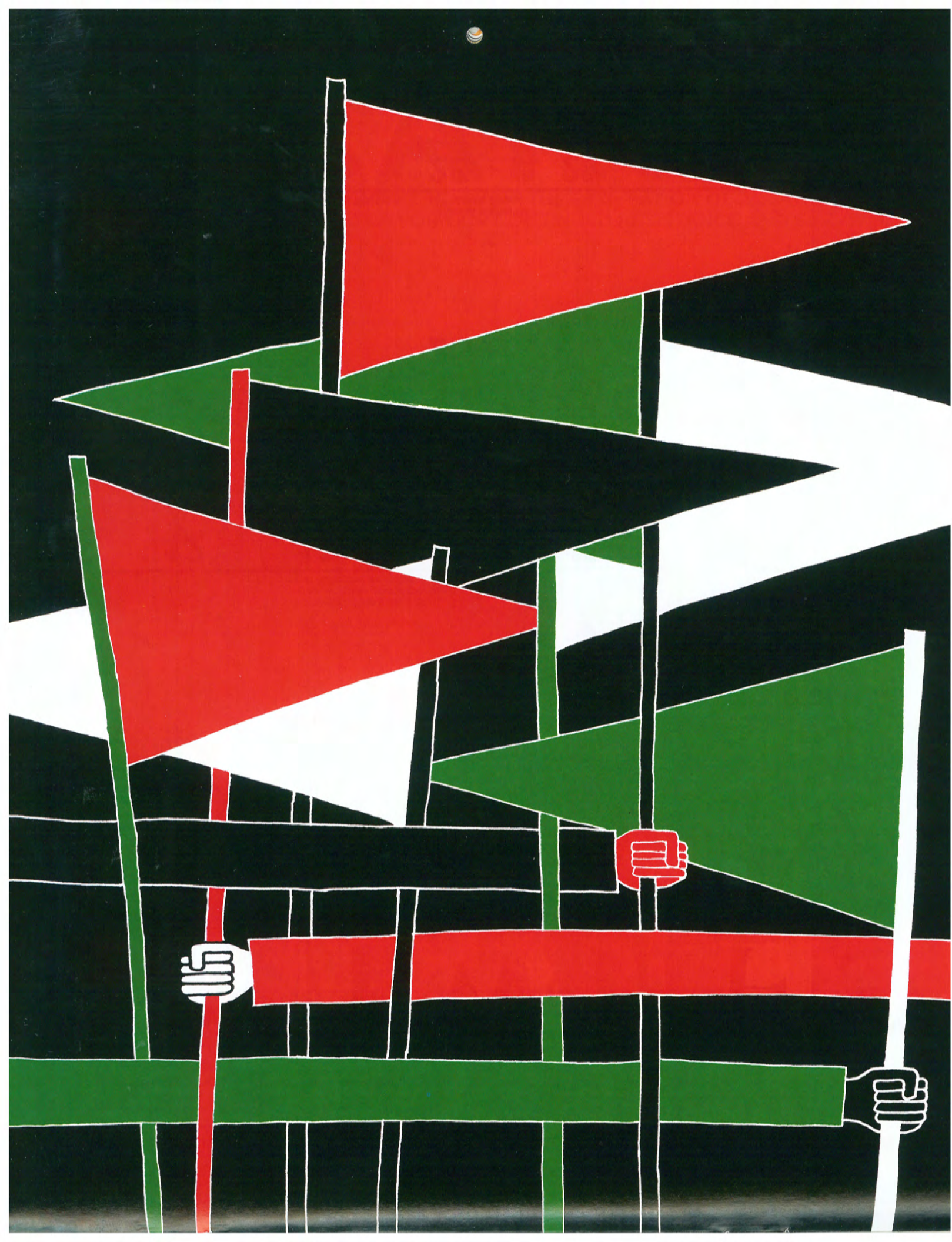
30

first quarter

31

1977 - NJ: Assata Shakur convicted of murder & sentenced to life + 33 years in prison

Cesar Chavez Day in CA & TX



march

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may

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april

Su M T W Th F S

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first quarter						

1968 - Memphis, TN: Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated

1980 - Chicago, IL:
11 Puerto Rican FALN Nationalists captured

1968 - Oakland, CA: BPP member Bobby Hutton murdered by police

Good Friday

Passover begins

1999 - 3,000 unarmed Zapatistas retake San Andrés from Mexican Army

Easter Sunday

Easter Monday

Holocaust Remembrance Day

1988 - NY: Japanese American anti-imperialist Yū Kikumura captured

2006 - ON: Millhaven Prison hunger strike and uprising

1971: ON: Kingston Penitentiary riot lasts 4 days; 2 prisoners killed

Last day of Passover

1965 - SDS leads 1st national march on DC against Vietnam War

Palestinian Prisoners Day

1977 - Leonard Peltier convicted of killing 2 FBI agents

1981 - Sekou Odinga gets life sentence for Brinks robbery

2008 - ON: Week-long standoff at Tyendinaga Mohawk territory; Shawn Brant and 11 others face charges

Earth Day

Freedom Day (South Africa)

2000 - Coxsackie, NY: Black Panther Albert Nuh Washington dies of cancer in prison

1899 - Warner, ID: 1,000 miners dynamite their mine protesting working conditions

1975: Saigon surrenders; Vietnam united

Two days before the Summit of the Americas in Quebec City in April 2001, members of the affinity group Le Mouvement Germinal were arrested on conspiracy and possession of explosives charges. The media-hyped "dismantlement" of the group was used to justify the heavy security during the protests. Germinal had been targeted by Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Sûreté du Québec, who set up a fake transportation business and posted opportunities job ads in the neighbourhood of a Germinal member seeking employment. Two undercover agents then infiltrated Germinal, one as the co-worker of the legitimate group member at the fake company, discussing politics on the drives between Montreal and Quebec City to gain trust. Five members of the group spent 41 days in pre-trial custody, and faced restrictive conditions after their release. All seven members of Germinal were eventually convicted, and sentenced to a period of house arrest.

BUILD A WALL OF RESISTANCE



Fireworks Graphics Collective/T. Forman

DON'T TALK ^{TO} THE F.B.I.

april

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june

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may

Su M T W Th F S

After 38 years, the government's case against eight former Black Panther Party members and supporters has almost completely unraveled. Only Francisco Torres still faces charges. The San Francisco Eight were arrested in 2007 on charges related to the 1971 killing of a police officer. Similar charges were brought in 1975, but tossed out after finding that they were based on police torture.
www.freethesf8.org

1 2 3 4 5 
full moon

1886 - International Workers' Day founded
May Day

1973 - NJ: BLA member Zayd Shakur killed by police, Assata Shakur captured

1970 - OH: National Guard open fire on student protestors at Kent State, killing 4

1973 - NJ Turnpike: Sundiata Acoli captured
Cinco de Mayo

6 7 8 9 10 11 12 
last quarter

13 14 15 16 17 18 19

1985 - Philadelphia: Police drop bomb on MOVE home, killing 11 people
Mother's Day

1970 - MS: Police open fire on student protestors at Jackson State, killing 2

2004 - Poet & activist Gloria Anzaldúa dies
Nakba Day

1954 - U.S. Supreme Court declares school segregation illegal

1890 - Ho Chi Minh born
1925 - Malcolm X born

20 21 22 23 24 25 26

1996 - Abdul Haqq released from prison

Journée nationale des Patriotes (QC)
Victoria Day (Canada)

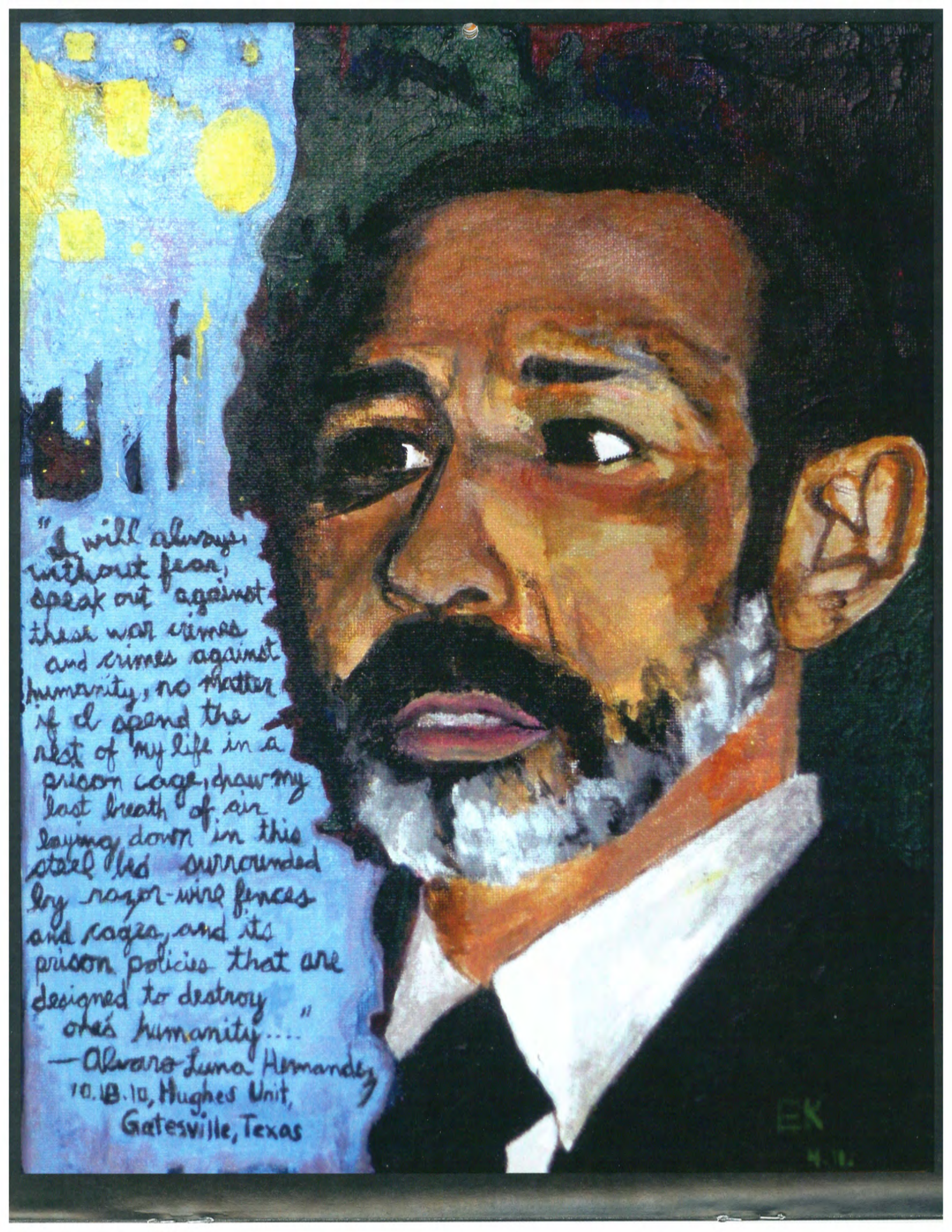
2001 - NC: Eddie Hatcher sentenced to life without parole

27 28 29 30 31

2008 - 7 aboriginal leaders (K16 & Bob Lovelace) freed from jail after blocking mining on their land

Memorial Day (U.S.)

<< www.certaindays.org >>



"I will always
without fear,
speak out against
these war crimes
and crimes against
humanity, no matter
if I spend the
rest of my life in a
prison cage, draw my
last breath of air
laying down in this
steel bed surrounded
by razor-wire fences
and cages, and its
prison policies that are
designed to destroy
one's humanity...."

—Alvaro Luna Hernandez
10.18.10, Hughes Unit,
Gatesville, Texas

may

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june

july

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Su M T W Th F S

June 11 marks the International Day of Solidarity with anarchist prisoners Marie Mason and Eric McDavid, who have the longest standing sentences of any environmental prisoners in the United States (close to 22 and 20 years respectively). It began as an international day of solidarity with Jeff "Free" Luers in 2004, when he was serving 22 years for torching three SUVs at a car dealership. Jeff won a reduction in his sentence and was released in 2009. But in the years intervening, the FBI carried out a series of indictments and arrests in an attempt to devastate the radical environmental and anarchist communities. Two of the people caught up in this maelstrom of repression were Eric McDavid and Marie Mason. This is a time to continue and strengthen the very work for which they are now serving so much time - to struggle against capitalism, ecological devastation, and the ever more diffuse forms of control in this prison society. june11.org

1 2

2007 - Joyanna Zacher & Nathan Block sentenced to 7 years, 8 months

1975 - WA: George Jackson Brigade bombs DOC headquarters in support of Walla Walla prisoners

2011 - Geronimo ji-jaga dies of a heart attack in Tanzania

3	4	5 full moon	6	7	8	9
	2007 - Daniel McGowan sentenced to 7 years 1972 - Angela Davis acquitted of murder & kidnapping charges 1989 - China: Tiananmen Square massacre		2000 - Kingston, ON: Prison for Women formally closes.			
10	11 last quarter	12	13	14	15	16
1997 - L.A.: Geronimo ji-jaga released after 27 years in prison			1971 - Classified documents on Vietnam (Pentagon papers) released 1983 - Toronto: Bulldozer prison abolition journal raided by police			1976 - Soweto, South Africa: 700 students killed in uprising against apartheid
17	18	19 new moon	20	21	22	23
Father's Day		1953 - Ethel & Julius Rosenberg executed by the state Juneteenth	Summer Solstice	National Aboriginal Day (NWT)		
24	25	26 first quarter	27	28	29	30
	St. Jean Baptiste Holiday (Quebec) Observed	1859 - San Quentin prison: Francisco Lallo leads mass breakout of Chicano & Indian prisoners. 40 escaped & 10 killed	1969 - NYC: Stonewall resistance 1905 - IWW founded			



june						
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july

august						
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Su M T W Th F S

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			○ full moon			
1977 - SD: Leonard Peltier receives 2 life sentences for deaths of 2 FBI agents			1977 - WA: George Jackson Brigade plants bomb at state capitol in support of striking segregated prisoners			
2011 - Indefinite hunger strike begins at Pelican Bay and other prisons throughout California	1963 - CA: Soledad prison food strike Canada Day observed		Independence Day (U.S.)			
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
			◐ last quarter			
	1971 - Terre Haute, IN: Prisoners stage 3-day strike Nunavut Day	1978 - NY: Women at Bedford Prison strike to protest beatings & harassment	1990 - Quebec: 500 police attack Mohawks in Kanehsatake	2006 - Israeli Defense Forces begin 33-day bombing of Beirut & South Lebanon		
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
				● new moon		
2010 - Marilyn Buck is paroled	1981 - New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Day			1848 - Seneca, NY: Women's rights convention	Ramadan begins	
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
				◑ first quarter		
			1898 - U.S. colonization of Puerto Rico begins			
29	30	31				

On July 1st, 2011, prisoners in the Secure Housing Unit in Pelican Bay State Prison in California initiated an indefinite hunger strike to protest inhumane and degrading conditions, including group punishment and long-term solitary confinement. The strike quickly spread to the general population of Pelican Bay, and then to 13 of California's 33 prisons. At the highpoint of participation, 6600 prisoners were refusing meals, with 2100 committed to a full and indefinite strike. Solidarity actions were carried out throughout North America, and in Britain and Australia. The hunger strike was formally called to an end at Pelican Bay on July 20th, 2011, when strike leaders accepted some small but immediate concessions, along with a commitment from the corrections department to review the policies in question. However, they called on supporters to continue solidarity actions in support of the demands.

See prisonerhungerstrikesolidarity.wordpress.com

**New Jersey State Prison
Trenton, NJ**

Hungry

*This Game
Is For Real*

**this is
rough**

The Real Deal

SOLITARY: isolated

Punishmen
Cell

*The
American Nightmare*

1-LEFT DETENTION
BARRON 11-95

Ojore spent 22 years day after day, week after week and year after year in NJ State Prison's Management Control Unit, without being charged with any infraction. I challenge my intern students to spend four hours in their bathroom, and they don't make it. Ojore not only made it, he managed to create, mentor and teach through what he called "propaganda," which he would send out to me to share. His social and political commentary on prisons, what was happening to him, and his refusal to be silenced by the horror of his circumstances now teach all of us. Ojore's process of creating collages was to assemble headlines, pictures and graphics from what few newspapers, magazines and catalogues he was allowed. No scissors were permitted in his cage, so he folded, tore and glued the pieces of paper that formed his commentary.

- Bonnie Kerness, American Friends Service Committee

july

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september

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august

Su M T W Th F S

In 1970, the feds framed Eddie Conway for the murder of a Baltimore City Police officer. He was 24 years old. They threw him in prison, took him away from his family, his friends, and his organizing, and tried to relegate him to a life marked by nothing but legal appeals, riots and lockdowns, transfers from one penal colony to the next. But they failed. Forty years later, still incarcerated for a crime he didn't commit, Eddie Conway continues to resist. *Marshall Law: The Life and Times of a Baltimore Black Panther.* akpress.org

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2009 - Sydney, NS: Donald Marshall Jr. dies

1945 - Hiroshima: U.S. drops atomic bomb, killing approx. 150,000

1990 - UN economic sanctions against Iraq begin

1999 - Laura Whitehorn released

Civic Holiday (Canada, except QC, NFLD)

7

1970 - Marin County, CA: Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas & James McClain killed during liberation attempt

8

1977 - NY: Napanoch Prison Rebellion against klan guards

9

1945 - U.S. bombs Nagasaki, Japan, killing approx. 80,000

International Day of the World's Indigenous People



last quarter

2010 - NY: Marilyn Buck dies of cancer

1999 - U.S.: 11 Puerto Rican political prisoners granted clemency

1970 - Tombs Prison, NY: Prisoners stage rebellion

Prisoners' Justice Day

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

new moon

18

1968 - Ohio Penitentiary: Prisoners take over for 3 days

1985 - OH: Prisoners take over super-max unit to air grievances over radio

Lailat al Qadr

1955 - NY: Strike at Comstock prison

19

20

21

22

23

24

first quarter

25

2003 - Anti-imperialist Kathy Boudin granted parole
Discovery Day (Yukon)

1971 - Soledad Prison, CA: George Jackson assassinated by prison guards

1831 - Nat Turner slave rebellion begins

1989 - BPP founder Huey Newton killed

1927 - MA: Anarchists Sacco & Vanzetti executed

2003 - NY: Black liberation fighter & political prisoner supporter, Safiya Bukhari dies at 53

Eid-al-Fitr

26

27

28

29

30

31



full moon

1970 - Chicano Moratorium Against the War. 3 killed by LAPD in anti-war protest



WITH UNDERCOVER
AGENTS, INFILTRATORS,
INFORMANTS

THE STATE TRIES TO
UNDERMINE OUR
MOVEMENTS

BECAUSE WE RESIST
BECAUSE WE ARE
STRONG.

august

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october

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September

Su M T W Th F S

"Above all, it is essential that we resist the temptation to so preoccupy ourselves with repression that we neglect our main goals. Our ability to resist the government's attacks depends ultimately on the strength of our movements. If we deal openly and well with our differences, covert action will not easily disrupt and divide us. If we show respect for the people we live and work with, and help them to fight for their needs, it will be hard for the FBI and police to discredit and isolate us. We will be able, instead, to draw support from our neighbours and co-workers and expose the political police to them. So long as we advocate and organize effectively, no manner of government intervention can stop us."

- Brian Glick, *War at home: covert action against U.S. activists and what we can do about it.* southendpress.org

1971 - Jackson, MI:
Prisoners form labour
union

2	3	4	5	6	7	8	 last quarter
1973 - New Orleans: Herman Bell captured	Labour Day (U.S. & Canada)						
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	 new moon
1971 - NY: Attica Prison Rebellion begins		2001 - NYC: Planes de- stroy World Trade Center, Bush's "war on terror" begins	1973 - Chile: U.S. helps overthrow Allende	1977 - South Africa: Steve Biko killed in prison	1971 - Massacre at Attica Prison: NY state troopers fire; prisoners & guards killed		
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	 first quarter
1982 - Lebanon: Massacre at Sabra & Shatila Pal- estinian refugee camps, hundreds of Palestinians murdered			1968 - Mexico City: Army invades UNAM university in response to protests		1971 - KS: State prison food strike	Autumn Equinox	
Mexican Independence Day	Rosh Hashana						
23/30	24	25	26	27	28	29	 full moon
1898 - Birth of the Puerto Rican Nation, El Grito de Lares		2000 - PA: Political pris- oner Jihad Abdulmumit released from prison	Yom Kippur			2000 - Palestine: 2nd Pal- estinian Intifada begins	
2005 - Puerto Rico: FBI assassinates Filiberto Ojeda Rios	Native American Day (CA)						

**They call me
An enemy of the State,
So I know I must be doing
something right.**

MARILYN BUCK

(Dec. 13, 1947–August 3, 2010):
Feminist, Artist, Anti Imperialist,
Revolutionary.

Served 30 years in
US prisons for her
commitment to the
liberation of all
oppressed nations
and exploited
people.

**MARILYN BUCK
PRESENTE!**



september

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november

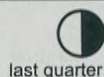
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october

Su M T W Th F S

1 2 3 4 5 6

7 8 9 10 11 12 13



last quarter

Day of the Heroic Guerrilla
Native American Day (South Dakota)
Columbus Day (U.S.)
Thanksgiving (Canada)

1968 - Mexico City: Tlatelolco Massacre, thousands killed during protest

2001 - U.S. begins bombing Afghanistan

1967 - Che Guevara killed in Bolivia

62008 - NYC: Jericho 10th Anniversary National March to UN

Día de la Raza (Mexico)

1970 - Angela Davis captured

14 15 16 17 18 19 20



new moon

1979 - DC: 100,000 people at 1st march for lesbian & gay rights

1966: Oakland, CA: BPP founded

1968 - Presidio Mutiny, military prisoners strike against Vietnam War

1968 - U.S. federal court prohibits use of whips on prisoners

1859 - WV: Abolitionist John Brown leads attack on Federal Armory

1969 - LA: BPP member Walter Tour Pope murdered by cops

1981 - Nyack, NY: Brinks robbery by BLA & allied anti-imperialists

21 22 23 24 25 26 27



first quarter

National Day against Police Brutality (U.S.)

1963 - Folsom, CA: Strike protesting 4 cents/hour wage

Eid-al-Adha

28 29 30 31



full moon

1984 - Millhaven, ON: Doug Stewart, of the Vancouver 5, ends 27-Day Hunger Strike

Halloween

1967 - Oakland, CA: Huey Newton arrested

"As angry as gender violence on the Left makes me, I am hopeful. I believe we have the capacity to change and create more justice in our movements. We don't have to start witch hunts to reveal misogynists and informants. They out themselves every time they refuse to apologize, take ownership of their actions, start conflicts and refuse to work them out through consensus, mistreat their compaer@s."

-- Courtney Desiree Morris, Why Misogynists Make Great Informants: How Gender Violence on the Left Enables State Violence in Radical Movements. makeshiftmag.com



O U V E R T

mind control

this title has no poem
we consider the hole of a bullet wound
the words were excised before it was written
its message was falsely arrested
its couplets stapled to a telephone pole
academics needed its space to sit on
curators used its paper for directions
its ink ran the wrong way
and the pen that wanted it
three fingers searching for nourishment's nipple
found not mother but
what can't be said



GERALD AND MAAS
EDITIONS/ATELIER
206 SAINT PATRICK ST
OTTAWA ON K1N 5K3
(613) 241-3372

october

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december

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november

Su M T W Th F S

[On CMUs/Communication Management Units]: "These are 70 stories of doctors allegedly breaching economic sanctions to deliver penicillin and insulin to children in need, or anti-war tax protestors, not stories of car bombers, hijackers, or the incidents that most of us have come to identify as terror-related. These are 70 stories that our government is ashamed of, and hopes to keep tucked away within these restrictive, secretive, purely political prisons, out of the reach of the media, out of the reach of visitors, away from the touch of their families and children, hampered by vetted mail, a lack of telephone communication, and — worst of all — severed from constitutionally protected rights of due process."

— Andy Stepanian, former SHAC 7 political prisoner. ccrjustice.org

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1855 - Osceola leads fight against forced Seminole removal

1979 - NJ: Assata Shakur liberated from Clinton Women's Prison

1950 - Puerto Rican activists attempt to assassinate U.S. President Truman

Day of the Dead (Mexico)

4

5

6



7

last quarter

8

9

10

1970 - NY: Rebellion at Auburn prison
Daylight Savings Time ends

1972 - NJ: Work strike at Clinton Women's Prison

11

12

13



14

new moon

15

16

17

1831 - VA: Slave rebel Nat Turner hanged

1887 - IL: Haymarket martyrs hanged

Veteran's Day (U.S.)
Remembrance Day (Canada)

1969 - Chicago: BPP member Spurgeon "Jake" Winters murdered by police

Diwali

Al-Hijra (Muharram New Year)

1983 - Mexico: The Zapatista National Liberation Army is born

18

19

20



21

first quarter

22

23

24

1803 - Victory of Haitian revolutionaries in anti-slavery & independence struggle at Vertières

1969 - Alcatraz Island: Indian occupation demands return of island to original inhabitants

1922 - Leavenworth Prison: Ricardo Flores Magon assassinated

Thanksgiving Day (U.S.)

Ashura

25

26

27

28



full moon

29

30

International Day Against Violence Against Women

1999 - Seattle, WA: Demonstrations against the WTO

DREAM RISE ORGANIZE

夢
起
組

Sueña. Álzate. Organiza.

Mangarap. Bangon. Mag-organisa.

رتب قم احلم

Fè Rèv. Leve Kanpe. Òganize.



november

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january

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december

Su M T W Th F S

1

On December 9 2010, a diverse group of nonviolent protesters across Georgia stood up for their rights, calling for decent wages, better social services and respect for their civil liberties. It didn't take long for the government to crack down on the demonstrations, however: the protesters were already in prison... The incarcerated have historically filled the dregs of the American workforce, an emblem of racial subjugation often invisible in the politics of labor and social policy. It was against this hidden legacy of exploitation that the Georgia inmates, with the support of the NAACP and other civil rights advocates, raised issues common to incarcerated people nationwide... Pointedly invoking the term "slave" to describe the circumstances under which they toiled, the strikers showed how historically entrenched racial divisions play out today in the black-white disparities throughout the criminal justice system. Still, Georgia protesters included Latinos and whites as well as blacks, in a joint effort to resist and challenge structural injustices.

- Michelle Chen, Georgia Prison Strike: A Hidden Labor Force Resists. inthesetimes.com

1955 - AL: Activist Rosa Parks refuses to give up bus seat, leading to bus boycott
World AIDS Day

2	3	4	5	6	7 last quarter	8
1859 - Abolitionist John Brown hanged		1969 - Chicago: Panthers Fred Hampton & Mark Clark killed by Chicago police		1987: 1st Palestinian Intifada begins	2005 - Daniel McGowan & Bill Rodgers arrested	
9	10	11	12	13 new moon	14	15
1981 - Philadelphia: Mumia Abu Jamal shot & accused of killing a cop Chanukah begins	Human Rights Day	1979 - FL: Puerto Rican POW Angel Rodriguez Cristobal assassinated		1903 - Ella Baker born	1972 - Framingham, MA: Women prisoners strike	1890 - ND/SD border: Sitting Bull (Tatanka Iyotaka), chief of Lakota Sioux, killed by soldiers
16	17	18	19	20 first quarter	21	22
1972 - Walpole, MA: State Prison run by prisoners for 4 months Chanukah ends	2010 - Mohammed Bouazizi sets himself on fire in protest of harassment by repressive state police, sparking massive protests across Tunisia				Winter Solstice	2005 - Bill Rodgers dies in jail of an apparent suicide
23/30	24/31	25	26	27	28 full moon	29
2006 - SF, LA: Former Panther & grand jury resister John Bowman dies			Kwanzaa begins Boxing Day			
		Christmas Day				

Michael DAVIS received this 1997:
Box 244
Graterford, PA 19426-0244

INMATE MAIL
PA-DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

may



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MAY 11 2005
MAILED FROM ZIP CODE 19426

AIR MAIL

Grand Juries: Tools of an Unjust Authority

I love calendars. In the real world I have them displayed on all walls available. I have women reading, Audubon birds, family pictures, African American Art, Larssen's Sweden, but most favoured is this one dedicated to my twin passions – political prisoners and the struggle for justice. I have always put it in the place of honour as a constant reminder.

Now that my surroundings have changed ... I am bereft of calendars. Federal Prison regulations forbid us to display any, and the only ones in our possession must fit on the door inside our metal lockers. Strange for a place where 'time' is the only thing that matters that we can't even count off the days. Could it be because the staggering numbers of prisoners in here have more time than can be contemplated by our feeble ability to maintain hope 10, 20 years, 30 years, Life, 5 Life sentences? Or is it part of the overall plan to isolate us from reality and keep us caught up in Prison Life? I am only sure of one thing – it is my politics and the thought of walking out of here under my own steam, no matter how many calendar pages I have to turn first, that keep me going.

The themes this year – the return of COINTELPRO and the repressive use of the grand jury are subjects worthy of our attention. We are always sensitive to infiltration of our organizational and activist groups, but COINTELPRO was special for its agents not only gathered information, they also disrupted and destroyed.

The grand jury is not as insidious as the infiltration by COINTELPRO but it has the same objective – destroy any organization

that is seen as a threat to the government status quo or gives hope and help to the oppressed.

A grand jury subpoena strikes fear into the heart of anyone who receives it because it is so personal and opens vistas of indeterminate federal detention as well as indeterminate sentences for 'contempt of court'. At its medieval inception, the grand jury, a group of twenty or so citizens, was a bulwark of freedom designed to protect a person from arbitrary detention by unjust authority. Now that same Unjust Authority controls the process and builds in penalties rather than protections. That subpoena must be answered and there are very few responses that protect constitutional rights except silence. After silence can come jail to seemingly coerce people to 'unlock' the jailhouse door by 'talking' (informing).

In the most recent manifestation (and it has been used countless times against movements in the past) there are now 23 activists who have been subpoenaed. The government claims to be investigating 'aiding terrorism', a widely cast net, (as I well know!). Indeed almost any activity on behalf of justice can be so designated and leave vulnerable contributors, membership and mailing lists to the scrutiny of the government investigators. This has already occurred in Palestinian and Colombian support groups, antiwar and Chicano activists. All of the subpoenas are being resisted. No one has appeared before a grand jury. No one is in jail – yet. It could just be a fishing expedition and they have gotten their limit by the seizures at the offices of various organizations. But – the game is afoot and those under attack need and deserve our utmost support in the year ahead and for the future.

Radical human rights attorney **Lynne Stewart** has been falsely accused of helping terrorists. On April 9, 2002, she was arrested and agents searched her Manhattan office for documents. She was arraigned before Manhattan federal Judge John Koeltl. This is an obvious attempt by the U.S. government to silence dissent, curtail vigorous defense lawyers, and install fear in those who would fight against the U.S. government's racism, seek to help Arabs and Muslims being prosecuted for free speech and defend the rights of all oppressed people. Lynne Stewart received a 28-month sentence in October 2006. She was out on bail until November 17, 2009, when the Second Circuit ruled on her and the government's appeals.

lynnestewart.org

Lynne Stewart
#53504-054
FMC Carswell
Federal Medical Center
P.O. BOX 27137
Forth Worth, TX
USA 76127



authOr

The poster was designed by **Fireworks Graphics Collective**

part of Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, in San Francisco, in the early 1980s. The graphic of the looming FBI agent was inspired by a book about posters from the Paris 1968 rebellions that featured a front-facing agent of repression. The poster's purpose was to inform people that they legally do not have to talk to the FBI, and that refusing to talk to the FBI or testify to Grand Juries are important ways of supporting our movements for social justice. It was one in a series of posters supporting members of the Puerto Rican independence movement in Chicago, New York, and Puerto Rico, who were being attacked by the FBI and being subpoenaed to testify at Grand Juries. Several people went to jail for refusing to appear at Grand Juries, but no one testified, and the Grand Jury was unable to break the solidarity of the movement.

BUILD A WALL OF RESISTANCE



artist

DON'T TALK TO THE F.B.I.

Incapacitating Activists: The Court System as Repressive Mechanism

june

In the late summer of 2008, eight anarchists (the "RNC 8") were arrested and charged with felony-level conspiracy and terrorism for our role in organizing protests at the Republican National Convention in Minnesota. We had been working as part of the RNC Welcoming Committee and affiliated organizations, developing a broad protest infrastructure. Though law enforcement falsely claimed that we intended to kidnap delegates and kill cops, the reality was that the major focus of our work for almost two years had been support for a strategy to blockade the convention on the first day. It certainly would have disrupted the RNC's dog-and-pony show but it was, at its core, merely a plan for large-scale civil disobedience.

The prosecution was the culmination of a multi-agency investigation involving multiple informants and extensive surveillance, costing the state well over \$250,000. A two-year support effort saw our terrorism enhancements dropped, helped to defeat the gubernatorial campaign of the county attorney prosecuting us, and ultimately resulted in charges being dropped entirely against three of us, with the remaining five each pleading guilty to a single reduced charge.

Our case was a typical example of state repression of dissent: preemptive arrests, targeting known organizers in an attempt to derail protests days before the convention had even begun, with the insidious sheen of "conspiracy" added for effect.

Conspiracy charges expand upon the traditional notion of crime; instead of condemning action, they criminalize thought and camaraderie, the belief that our world might change, and the realization that we can be agents of that change. Requiring no real evidence

to proceed, such charges create a convenient method for incapacitating activists, diverting limited resources towards protracted legal battles and threatening to terrorize entire communities into silence and inaction. And the danger is hardly limited to activists; the state targets the poor and communities of colour through the widespread implementation of conspiracy law in federal drug and terrorism cases, with similarly destructive effects.

Perhaps one of the best examples is the case of the Panther 21, in which members of the Black Panthers were accused of plotting to blow up various sites in 1969. The state fabricated the plot to tie up some of the most dedicated revolutionaries of the era. They weren't targeted because anyone actually believed that they intended to attack the botanical gardens, but rather because the accusation was all the state required in order to deploy its most effective repressive mechanism: the legal system. The 21 were acquitted, but only after being robbed of two years' time, their physical freedom and safety, and immeasurable resources and energy that might otherwise have furthered the struggle for black liberation.

Likewise, the eight of us weren't targeted because of sensationalized predictions of riotous protest. In St. Paul, we achieved something remarkable—an enduring feeling of cross-movement solidarity—and we were targeted because our work had the potential to grow into a real threat. The state believed that by painting us as "terrorists," they could isolate us and intimidate others into condemning our activities. Much to their chagrin, the spectacle of repression they created only gave us more opportunities to build and broaden our community of resistance.

As of summer 2011, the **RNC 8** case is over except for probation periods. Everyone but Erik continues to live in Minneapolis. Max organizes with fellow low-wage workers, and MARS, a collective working to open a community space. Rob works with food distribution collective Sisters' Camelot, and recently got his EMT certification. Nathanael works at a local elementary school, has gone back to school to get a degree in education, and is collaborating with friends to start a nature-focused Free School in northern Wisconsin. Garrett continues to work as a pre-school teacher, and is trying to pass on solidarity by supporting others who are under the thumb of the state. Monica is excitedly expecting her first baby, and organizing with the budding Minneapolis Childcare Collective. Eryn is looking forward to meeting his new daughter; he's also supporting locals who are resisting a grand jury, and finding new and exciting projects to dive into. Luce is still doing anti-repression work and prisoner support, and working on several political writing projects. rnc8.org



artist

Emily Kantar is an independent artist based in West Michigan where she works as a Certified Nurse's Aide. Emily is a strong advocate and supporter of political prisoners and freedom fighters in North America. In the future, Emily plans to continue to put forth her efforts in service of those struggling for freedom and against injustice.



Lessons from the Black Panther Party on Addressing Sexism & Building Stronger Movements

july

...The simple fact that the Black Panther Party had the courage to address the question of women's liberation in the first place was a monumental step forward. In a time when the other nationalist organizations were defining women as barefoot, pregnant, and in the kitchen, women in the Black Panther Party were working right alongside men, being assigned sections to organize just like the men, and receiving the same training as the men. Further, the decisions about what a person did within the ranks of the Party were determined not by gender but by ability. ...

It is extremely important that we remember that even though the Black Panther Party had established a built-in process to deal with male chauvinism in its ranks, the members of the Party were products of the society in which they lived. We struggled against those tendencies whenever possible, but they were reinforced by the larger society. ...

While the Party was dealing with the issue of politically educating its ranks, it was also feeding hungry children, establishing liberation schools, organizing tenants and welfare mothers, and establishing free health clinics. Simultaneously, the Black Panther Party was under attack from the local, state, and federal government. Offices of the Party from California to Louisiana, from Texas to Michigan—all across the country—were under physical attack. Panthers were being killed and imprisoned. We were not theorizing about struggle; we were in constant struggle on every level.

...[W]hile the primary struggle the Black community faces is against racist oppression and economic exploitation, we must still deal with the problem of male chauvinism and sexism—along with domestic violence—in our communities. These problems are not just problems that exist in the Black community, but in the whole of society. The problem for us is that we are having to deal with these issues simultaneously with the primary struggle.

The Black Panther Party put into place a mechanism for dealing with this—starting with political education and ending with bringing the responsible parties up on disciplinary charges. We must not be afraid of allowing the old self, rife with the negativisms of this society, to die

so that a new, more revolutionary and progressive self can be born. Then and only then do we stand a chance of destroying this oppressive society. It is with this thought in mind that we use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to correct the way we deal with each other. It is through study and practice that we strengthen our own self-esteem and gain the courage to challenge chauvinist and sexist attitudes we encounter as we struggle. Finally, it is through our social practice that we set the example to our community and advance the overall struggle.

The Black Panther Party may not have completed the task of eradicating sexist attitudes within the Party and in the community. But we did bring the problem out in the open and put the question on the floor. As we struggle against our primary enemy, it is extremely crucial that we remember that ours is a collective struggle, a struggle for human rights for all our people, men and women. As long as one of us is oppressed, none of us is free. We cannot, as women, struggle side by side with our male comrades for freedom for our people and then be oppressed by our brothers. Our struggle for freedom as a people must mean freedom for all of us. Freedom for men, freedom for women.

But the enemy of our people will not wait for us to resolve the questions of gender and sexism. We have to find a way to put all our cards on the table, to struggle together to cure the sickness and save the patient. Those of us who are truly about the work of making revolution and creating a revolutionary culture must be willing to die the death of a thousand cuts. We must exorcise those characteristics of ourselves and traits of the oppressor nation in order to carry out that most important revolution—the internal revolution. This is the revolution that creates a new being capable of taking us to freedom and liberation. As we are creating this new being, we must simultaneously be struggling to defeat racism, capitalism, and imperialism—and liberate the Black Nation.

- Excerpted from *The War Before: The Writings & Speeches of Safiya Bukhari*, Feminist Press, 2010.

Tom Manning is an anti-imperialist revolutionary who was active in the United Freedom Front, a clandestine anti-imperialist organization that carried out targeted bombings of corporate buildings, courthouses and military facilities and also carried out bank robberies to fund revolutionary projects. He was unjustly sentenced to 80 years in prison for killing a New Jersey state trooper in self-defense.

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artist

The life of **Yuri Kochiyama**, born in San Pedro, CA in 1921, spreads across the landscape of resistance in the United States. From her imprisonment as a young woman in a WWII Japanese-American internment camp, to her work with The Young Lords, Malcolm X, and the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, Yuri has dedicated her life to the fight for justice.

Yuri was sitting in the tenth row when Malcolm X was shot: "Malcolm had fallen straight back, and he was on his back. And so I just went there and picked up his head and just put it on my lap. People ask, 'What did he say?' He didn't say anything. He was just having a difficult time breathing. I said, 'Please, Malcolm, please, Malcolm, stay alive.' But he was hit so many times."



Since then, she has continued to fight, shoulder-to-shoulder with people of all races, for social justice, civil rights, and prisoners and women's rights in the U.S. and internationally.

Read more about about Yuri's life:

Passing It On, by Yuri Kochiyama. UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2004.

Heartbeat of Struggle: The Revolutionary Life of Yuri Kochiyama, by Diane C. Fujino. University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

In 1968, **Safiya Bukhari** witnessed an NYPD officer harassing a Black Panther for selling the organization's newspaper on a Harlem street corner. The young pre-med student felt compelled to intervene in defense of the Panther's First Amendment right; she ended up handcuffed and thrown into the back of a police car. *The War Before* traces Bukhari's lifelong commitment as an advocate for the rights of the oppressed. Following her journey from middle-class student to Black Panther to political prisoner, these writings provide an intimate view of a woman wrestling with the issues of her time—the troubled legacy of the Panthers, misogyny in the movement, her decision to convert to Islam, the incarceration of out spoken radicals, and the families left behind. safiyabukhari.com



Neutralizing Black Resistance: The Role of the Carter Era

august

...empire, by the mid-1970's, was well on its way to destroying the active radical youth forces of Black Liberation. It was also preparing to develop schemes to neutralize all independent Black organizing, because although empire had passed various civil reform laws and spouted rhetoric about racial equality and justice, there was no intention of enforcing them, nor of allowing any foundation to remain for a renewed round of Blacks organizing for resistance.

With revolutionary forces in Amerika on the rise and joining forces (e.g. Blacks, Native Americans, Wymyn, Students, anti-imperialists, poor whites, anti-war elements, etc.) the wealthy elite had to change the face of the empire's administration to a more modest, conciliatory and humane one, so they offered a democratic presidential candidate of "humble" origins (a peanut farmer) to promote a pretended policy of diplomacy, racial sensitivity, and concern for humyn rights – Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter.

Carter began his presidential term by pardoning most Vietnam war draft evaders (pretending to be a friend of the social forces who'd forced empire to abolish the draft in 1973), acting to broker peace in various Third World countries, and promoting his administration's agenda as one of supporting and protecting "humyn rights." However, events on the ground and policies implemented by Carter showed his concerns for decreasing U.S. militarism, for people of colour, and for humyn rights to be very different in reality.

Pertinent here are the secret measures passed under Carter to permanently destroy the U.S. Black movements for civil and humyn rights. Under counseling of Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter and the U.S. National Security Council devised and implemented a policy and study under National Security Council Memorandum 46 (NSC 46), in 1978.

The stated objectives of NSC 46 were to prevent domestic Blacks' awareness of and organizing against U.S. economic, diplomatic, and military ties to the openly racist apartheid regime of South Afrika; to prevent Black Afrikan governments from coordinated protests of this U.S./South Afrika relationship at the United Nations; to prevent "discussions on the U.S. racial issue at the UN ..."; to reduce and contain activities in the Black Movement that were once nationally coordinated to

merely local levels; to destroy all "organizational unity in the movement"; to create "sharp social stratification of the Black population and lack of policy options which could reunite them"; to "prevent" the development of "a national leader of standing comparable to Martin Luther King."

Specific methods proposed in NSC 46 to accomplish these ends include: developing "a special program designed to perpetuate division in the Black movement and...to encourage division within Black circles...to preserve the present climate which inhibits the emergence from within the Black leadership of a person capable of exerting nationwide appeal"; to prevent the development of any "durable ties between U.S. Black organizations and radical groups in African states," to "sharpen social stratification in the Black community, which would lead to the widening and perpetuation of the gap between successful educated Blacks and the poor, giving rise to the growing antagonism between different Black groups and a weakening of the movement as a whole"; the creation of a broader Black middle class to play against the masses of poor Blacks; to "take every possible means" to work through white labour unions "to counteract the increasing influence of Black labour organizations...including the creation of...adverse and hostile reaction among white trade unionists to demands for improvement of social and economic welfare of the Blacks"; and "support the nomination at the federal and local levels of loyal Black figures to elective offices, to government agencies, and to the court." The objective of the latter being "it would be easier to control the activity of loyal Black representatives (sic) within existing institutions," and so "the idea of an independent Black political party ... would soon lose all support."

Following the pattern from then to the present, we can very clearly see how – and that – these policies undermined and de-popularized truly revolutionary activities which posed a genuine danger to empire's power (e.g. how middle class Black "elites" were created and used to replace and undermine grassroots leadership, how the practice of armed struggle was demonized, how divisive schemes were implemented, etc.) These government tactics also demoralized the progressive movement.

- Excerpted from *Defying the Tomb*, Kersplebedeb, 2010

Kevin 'Rashid' Johnson is Minister of Defense for the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC). His book, *Defying the Tomb*, is available from leftwingbooks.net.

"I never expected to leave prison alive. However, I've come to realize that this relatively tiny prison environment, these concentrated islands of oppression (the conditions within which I daily witness driving my peers helplessly into insanity), are a small interrelated part of a much greater oppressive whole. We prisoners must be reached and we must reach out. We must be educated into an understanding of our victim status, made to understand the function that the prisons serve, the nature of government in stratified capitalist societies. At the same time a much larger and totally committed effort must be made on the outside to confront the enemy power structure. This has been my message to the outside."



authOr rashidmod.com

Ojore Lutalo is a former New Afrikan Anarchist political prisoner. Ojore served 28 years in prison, sentenced for clandestine activities during the 1970s and 1980s. He served 22 of those years in isolation (no touch torture) in the Management Control Unit of New Jersey State Prison for entertaining thoughts that the NJ Department of Corrections/Homeland Security didn't approve of. Throughout his internment, Ojore created collages of political and social commentary on his situation and the neo-slavery of U.S. prisons.



artist



Fusion Centers: U.S. Intelligence Gathering and its Canadian Counterpart

You and your neighbours may be under surveillance by a Fusion Center. These centers are secretive organizations that bring together a variety of agencies to gather intelligence on U.S. citizens, in the hopes of detecting terrorist threats and criminal activity. They bring together agencies including the FBI, state and local police, the U.S. Military and sometimes even private contractors and multi-national corporations.

Dozens of fusion centers have emerged across the U.S. since the September 11th attacks. There will soon be more than 70 of these centers, with at least one in almost every state.

With no one agency in command, it becomes ambiguous as to which set of laws need to be followed, making it easy to evade privacy protections. For example, the U.S. military is not allowed to participate in domestic spying, but in a fusion center, they can ask the FBI or local police to do it for them.

Being highly secretive and lacking oversight, it can be difficult to determine what sorts of data mining and surveillance are employed by fusion centers. However, accounts of their activities are trickling out.

- The Virginia Fusion Center identified "Historically Black Colleges and Universities" and other educational institutions as "a radicalization node for almost every type of extremist group".
- The Maryland State Police, who work with Maryland's Fusion Center, used infiltrators to spy on anti-war and anti-death penalty activists, then placed many of their names on U.S. terrorist watch lists.
- A leaked memo for the North Central Texas Fusion System asked for officers to report on the activities of Islamic and anti-war lobbying groups.
- A fusion center in Minnesota provided intelligence on protests against the 2009 Republican National Convention. They painted a picture that led to arbitrary arrests and a police overreaction. With the help of four FBI informants, dozens

September

of charges were laid against activists. While many of these charges were dropped, some activists were convicted and at least one remains behind bars.

In 2008, a private contractor who was a member of Washington State's Fusion Center, told a congressional committee that "... companies like Boeing, Microsoft, [and] Starbucks, ... possess significant intelligence assets for support of their operations. ... It would be unfortunate not to capitalize on these assets in support of the 2010 Olympics." He was referring to the fusion center's operations as a means to gather intelligence for the Winter Olympics, which took place in Vancouver, Canada.

The Washington State Fusion Center worked with a Joint Intelligence Group (JIG) for the Vancouver Olympics. Although this temporary Canadian body has differences from its American counterpart, JIG is effectively based on the same fusion center model. The JIG incorporated local police, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the Canadian Armed Forces, and variety of other federal and provincial agencies in gathering intelligence on protests against the Olympics and other threats to the Winter Games.

Across Canada, there are also four permanent Integrated National Security Enforcement Teams (INSET), which bring together agencies to work on detecting terrorist threats.

A JIG was also established to gather intelligence in the lead-up to the 2010 G8 & G20 Summit in Toronto. The JIG placed undercover officers in protest groups, living as activists for over a year in advance of the Summit. These officers helped build a case against 19 activists who are standing trial on conspiracy charges.

Protest groups have always been the targeted by the state. The best way to combat this is to build strong social movements that can't easily be stopped by repression. But it is also important to understand and expose the changing nature of intelligence gathering, as long as it doesn't preoccupy or paralyze us to such an extent that it distracts us from our broader goals of struggling for a better world.

author

Tim Groves is a Toronto-based investigative journalist, researcher and activist



Kara Sieviewright is a writer, artist and activist from Vancouver who has worked with radical movements locally and internationally. More of her work is available at makerofnets.tumblr.com.



october

Setting the Terms of Liberation: Slogans and Resistance in the Civil Rights Movement

COINTELPRO was a lynchpin in the government's broad-ranging and intense response to tremendous advances by movements that were shaking the very foundations of the system. The dynamism, energy, and radical opposition of those movements embodied vast potential. That resistance, as well as the repression, contains important lessons.

Perhaps the most dramatic advance was encapsulated in the slogan "Black Power," which erupted in 1966. Like many whites in the civil rights movement, as this excerpt from *Love and Struggle* recounts, I was initially defensive about the new slogan; I would soon be challenged by, and grow, due to "Black Power!"

- David Gilbert, July 2011

The tutoring session ran late and night has already fallen as I walk to the subway. The street is unusually empty and eerily quiet. Suddenly there's a loud crash, sounds of glass breaking, and angry shouts. A crowd surges around the corner, mainly young Black men, with their eyes darting up and down the block like they're looking for a target. Is this the beginning of a second Harlem riot? I'm the only white person around, and I nervously scan the array of faces, trying to find one of my friends who can tell them that I'm a good guy, I'm on their side. But I don't see anyone I know, and it doesn't matter, as they sweep past me, heading down the street ...

Once my tension drains away, I wake up. Smiling, I appreciate the way the dream worked through my anxieties; whatever's happen-

ing, it's not all about me, one way or the other. That frees me to evaluate the dramatic new slogan politically—and it's starting to make a lot of sense.

When the slogan "Black Power" erupted in the summer of 1966, it sent shock waves throughout the country. First shouted by a SNCC field-worker, Willie Ricks, it became publicized and developed by Stokely Carmichael. Actually, the concept is much older. Richard Wright, for example, wrote a book in 1954 entitled *Black Power*, inspired by the struggles for independence in Africa. But the slogan became a breakthrough in 1966 because it expressed the necessity of moving to a higher level of clarity and struggle.

Despite my initial defensiveness, "Black Power" made fundamental sense to me on many levels. First, it expressed the basic reality that Black people had to develop their own leadership and set the terms of their own liberation. Second, it challenged us to organize a revolutionary consciousness within the white community, thus focusing us on our primary responsibility. "Black Power" also taught a very important political lesson: the need was not, as we had thought, to "shake the moral conscience of America." Those in power knew very well what they were doing. The point, rather, was to shift or overturn who had power—from the small elite on top to the vast majority underneath them. So the slogan "Black Power" also became a fountainhead for the development of a revolutionary tendency within the white student movement.

[Excerpted from *Love and Struggle*, forthcoming from PM PRESS, 2011]

authOr

David Gilbert is a political prisoner and member of the collective that produces the *Certain Days: Freedom for Political Prisoners Calendar*. For more information about David, see his bio on the inside of the front cover.



They call me
An enemy of the State,
So I know I must be doing
something right.

MARILYN BUCK
(Dec. 13, 1947–August 5, 2010):
Feminist, Artist, Anti-imperialist,
Revolutionary

Served 50 years in
US prisons for her
commitment to the
liberation of all
oppressed nations
and exploited
people

**MARILYN BUCK
PRESENTS!**



artist

We are the crisis is a collaborative design crew that creates graphics in support of political prisoners and anarchist movements worldwide.



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DA

Calendar Committee

Every effort towards freedom, justice, and equality – from secret-ing slaves through the underground railroad, emancipation, the right to vote and participate in society and government, the right to control our own communities and raise our families, the right to quality education, the right to decent housing, the civil rights bill itself, the right to be free from fear, oppression, and police brutality, the right to be treated with respect and dignity – has been met with threats to life, torture, death, confinement, lynchings, beatings, water hoses, cattle prods, legislation and laws, gerrymandering, racist policies, police violence, and COINTELPRO repression and assaults.

This COINTELPRO repression and assaults remains today in the form of a network of state and federal Homeland Security police agencies and the Patriot Act.

In the final analysis, the more things change, the more they remain the same. And the more they remain the same in this regard, the more the people need Jericho and the many more sister organizations fighting this noble fight. The National Jericho Movement continues to call for the complete amnesty of all political prisoners. In pursuit of this goal, Jericho calls upon all like-minded organizations to come together to form a Confederation of revolutionaries and progressives unlike any other in U.S. history to accomplish this task.

Every movement must fight for the freedom of its captives; and never abandon them!

is a Muslim, and former member of the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army. He has served 23 years in prison for political actions against the state to establish an independent nation for African-Americans and all peace-loving people in the U.S. Jihad is now free from prison and works in the community championing the rights of the poor, the working class, the disadvantaged, the youth and the elderly for justice, equality, and a healthier life. jerichony.org



an artist, John Bart a writer. Surviving social injustice for over fifty years we were silenced in the Seventies and started up Gerald and Maas to get our works out. With the people's leaders assassinated and jailed, it meant no protection against hostile controls. COINTEL-PRO was low intensity warfare against civilians in a program that moved the U.S. into fascism. We don't see a separation between art, politics and the survival of community. Our website, nightslantern, oriented to the prevention of genocide, carries a suppressed news page at nightslantern.ca/2011bulletin.htm. We make the posters together.



Cultivating a Community that can Resist Waves of Repression

Denver Anarchist Black Cross (DABC) was founded in the spring of 2009 to contribute to the defense of liberation movements from repression in local and international arenas. It has evolved to a collective of 17 members that organizes on several different fronts.

Our political prisoner support consists of monthly letter-writing nights, fundraisers, and keeping our PP/POW database as updated and comprehensive as possible. We have prioritized support for Dr. Mutulu Shakur because of his proximity to Denver. Thus we send him a monthly stipend, have organized several local fundraising and educational events, and make sure to stay in regular communication with him.

Building relationships with the political prisoners we support and studying the history of the movements they come from is also very important to DABC. Discussion with David Gilbert, Tom Manning, Jaan Lamaan, Bill Dunne, and Alvaro Luna Hernandez have particularly provided us with much critical insight. We are also infinitely grateful for the wealth of knowledge that Professor Ward Churchill has exposed us to over the years, whether it be through his seminal books such as *Agents of Repression* or the many lectures he has given in our community.

Other projects that DABC is involved with are taking root: things like bringing to the surface Colorado's radical legacies, a zine distro for Colorado prisoners, support for local communities terrorized by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and armed self-defense trainings. More information on these projects and everything else we are up to can be found at denverabc.wordpress.com.

Along with being active in these spheres of struggle, DABC has also invested considerable energy into cultivating a community built on relationships resilient enough to sustain waves of repression. We have learned a great deal from our elders and their revolutionary herstories: that the FBI and other repressive institutions neutralize our movements by manipulating egotism, internal divisions, and paranoia. Thus DABC has vocally committed itself to transforming these traditional weaknesses into our strengths.

Favianna Rodriguez

is a visionary artist on a mission: to create profound and lasting change in the world. It may seem an audacious goal, but through her bold and provocative art, Rodriguez has already touched the hearts and minds of millions on the most important social issues of our time: human rights, immigration, food security, climate change, and economic justice. favianna.com



december

This endeavour has been extremely difficult and DABC has been stumbling over itself the entire way, making seemingly every mistake in the book. This rocky road has exposed to us just how deeply inculcated we are with the colonizer's mentality. Yet, our mistakes have proven to be invaluable teachers and because of this, our collective remains intact and focused. And at the times when we feel most utterly lost, the humbling work of so many comrades across the continent has provided us with more advanced maps and compasses without fail.

The Nurturing Liberation project of DABC is a primary example of the collective's attempt to build a movement deeply rooted in community. Nurturing a movement that is multi-generational and family-inclusive is the guiding framework of the project. The project actively works towards this by providing childcare at local events and meetings of allies, having childcare available at collective meetings and kid-friendly events, and intentionally developing all collective members to be confident caretakers of children. A kids' space at our local radical social centre has also slowly formed.

As with all our other organizing experiences, we have learned a lot from our shortcomings and successes, and look forward to contributing them to larger international dialogue on cultivating a multi-generational movement.

The work of the Regeneración NYC, the Bay Area Childcare Collective, and Don't Leave Your Friends behind has produced much food for thought to Nurturing Liberation. They have given us much-needed organizing models and critical analysis.

We are honoured to be able to contribute our voice to this beautiful calendar and project. While we in Denver often feel uncertain about how to care and relate to each other, there is a solid foundation that is always certain and unwavering: the liberation of our captured sisters, brothers, and communities.

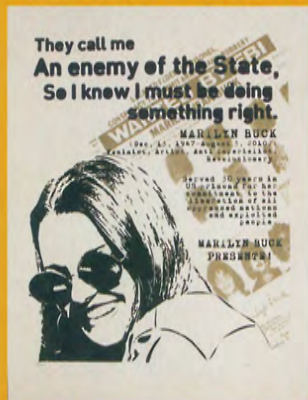
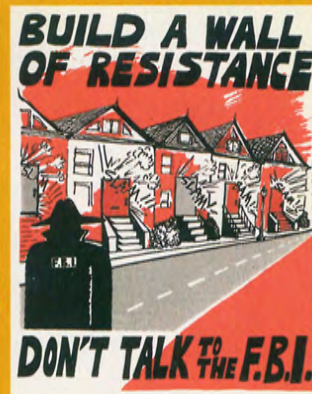
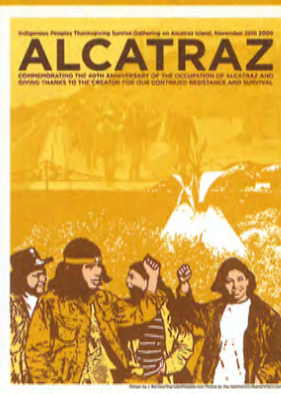
The Denver Anarchist Black Cross

exists to contribute to the defense of social movements, both internally and externally, working against oppression and for self determination. Historically, the Anarchist Black Cross has played a crucial role in mass movement defense. We wish to carry on this work and start to explore other avenues of movement defense that have historically not been a major focus of many ABC chapters. Support for political prisoners and prisoners of war, organizing against white supremacist and neo-fascist attacks, performing roles of security and physical defense, and organizing self-defense and legal defense on a variety of levels will continue to be a main backbone of our work. However, we wish to also focus on the internal mechanisms that affect movements and lead to their demise. These internal threats are used to split and destroy movements far before they even become a threat. We envision an ABC chapter capable of contributing to the strengthening of our movement by providing mental, emotional, material, and physical support to its members and their communities.

denverabc.wordpress.com

Denver Anarchist Black Cross
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Featuring Aric McBay * Favianna Rodriguez
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