

Just as this issue was ready to be mailed, along came the revelations in the Citizen that a participant in recent Ottawa peace actions is a paid RCMP informer (perhaps "revelations" is too strong a word, since he had been under suspicion for some time.) However, the significance of Moxley's announcement should not be lost on the peace movement:

-It shows that those of us who see Canada moving towards increased police repression aren't as paranoid as some may have believed.

-Two weeks before the announcement, Solicitor General Kaplan said that Canada's security service is "not performing any surveillance on (the peace movement). They have no resources allocated to, there is no one being planted in the group. There is no one bringing information to the security service about it." (Citizen June 30.) Either the RCMP lied to Kaplan or Kaplan lied to the public. In either case, how can we believe Kaplan's assurances (or those of other politicians) that the new security force to be created under the proposed Bill C-157 will not be used against those peace groups that do not break the law?

-Moxley claims that he allowed himself to be recruited although he believes in the aims of the peace movement because he doesn't feel the peace movement should be involved with Soviets or others who "espouse radical change." He was instructed to watch for "members of (the peace movement) who might be considering illegal or violent action and (members) expressing disapproval of the nation's policies." Since all members of the peace movement disapprove of those policies which they perceive as increasing the risk of war, it is fair to infer that all peace groups and supporters are potential surveillance targets.

-Perhaps the police are trying to create friction between "respectable" and radical peace supporters. Fortunately, various tendencies within the peace movement are much more willing to work together now than they were 20 years ago. We must not allow any tactics of the state to alter this co-operation.

It should be stressed that none of the groups whom Moxley was sent to infiltrate is in any way "subversive." Those who broke the law by blocking entrances to Litton did so openly, giving advance notice of their intentions and reasons. If the police, who have carried out seven raids against the peace movement in Toronto and one in Ottawa in recent months, continue this reign of terror we can only conclude that they are trying to intimidate the movement out of open dissent, in which case there will likely be created some of the very "subversive" groups they claim to oppose, but may actually wish to encourage to justify increased police state measures. For these reasons it is essential that the peace movement support growing opposition to Bill C-157 and other police state measures. It is also necessary that the movement overcome the conservatism that has thus far led it to concentrate on a few basic themes such as refusing the Cruise without linking them to other social issues. Our role should be not to subvert the state and its institutions, but to work openly and forthrightly for their abolition.

NETWORK

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This issue focusses on civil rights and prison reform, the main feature being a report on the recent prison/cancellation conference in Toronto and an interview with Claire Culhane, one of the resource people at the conference. In recent months the peace movement has suffered several police raids in Toronto and one in Ottawa; several of its more active members have found themselves under police surveillance, and there are rumours that the police may frame some of them for the Litton bombing. Along with the USA and its other satellites, Canada is clearly moving towards a period of increased police/state repression as monetarism widens the gap between rich and poor. The peace movement must consider in advance what it will do when its members start being arrested or disappearing. It must also join the growing civil rights movement, which brings us to:

Ottawa-Hull Coalition Against Bill C-157

A number of Ottawa groups have joined together to fight bill C-157, legislation currently before Parliament creating a civilian security agency. Plans include a public forum on July 19 and a demonstration later in the year. Among sponsors are the Ottawa District Labour Council, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, the PSAC Area Council, the Civil Liberties Association-National Capital Region, the CUPE Area Council, Gays of Ottawa, Operation Dismantle and a growing number of others. All organizations sharing the coalition's goals are invited to endorse the coalition and send a rep to its meetings; a donation of \$25 per sponsoring group (more or less, according to affordability) is requested.

The opening meeting was addressed by MP Svend Robinson, who called Bill C-157 the greatest threat to civil liberties in Canada since the War Measures Act of 1970. Robinson, who along with NDP leader Ed Broadbent has been the most vocal critic of C-157 in Parliament, itemized the objections those concerned with civil liberties have to various points in the bill. It denies the key recommendations of the MacDonald Commission, which advocated setting up a security force, that no member of the force should be allowed to break the law and that parliament must have a role. By targeting "threats to the security of Canada," the bill definitely intends to place communists under surveillance and might also include peace supporters, separatists or supporters of third world struggles against U.S.-installed dictators. The security force is autonomous, and no cabinet minister can tell it to stop a surveillance. Anyone who publicly identifies a member of the force can be jailed up to five years, which means among other things that the mass media can't disclose lawbreaking by the force. Canada will exchange information with other states, which means co-operation with the CIA. Section 21 enables members of the force to break any federal or provincial law so long as the Director supports them, and provincial governments cannot prosecute infringements on their laws without federal co-operation. Robinson pointed out that if the bill goes through in the fall it will be in effect for decades, and that the Conservatives are unlikely to oppose it substantially unless there is a groundswell of public opinion against it. The Liberals are leaving Solicitor General Kaplan to carry the argument in favour of the bill, enabling the rest of them to pull back if there is sufficient opposition.

Present at the June 8 meeting were representatives of over twenty Ottawa groups who agreed after hearing Robinson to form the Coalition. Similar organizations are forming in other Canadian cities, and there will be opportunities for co-operation. For further information (including location of the July 19 forum, undecided at press time) call Peter Fleming evenings at 828-5830. The Coalition is open to all those calling for withdrawal of the legislation and an end to the surveillance by either civilian or police security agencies of groups seeking social change.

July 16-Ottawa Central American Group will demonstrate at Parliament Hill at 1 p.m. Information: Kate Laing 728-8426.
July 19-Peace walk leaves Kingston, will attempt to cross U.S. border at Gananoque July 23 for Cruise demonstration at Griffiss air base in Rome NY; will demonstrate at border when refused admittance. Info Peter Dundas, Kingston 1-549-7422.
August 6-Civil disobedience at Litton. Call Cruise Missile Conversion Project Toronto 416-532-6720.

GUATEMALAN HORROR MOUNTS

Massacres of entire Indian villages are becoming a common practise of right wing death squads sanctioned by the Guatemalan (and U.S.) governments. About 70% of the 7.2. million population of Guatemala are Indians, and the death squads are reducing this by killing 50-100 Indians per day according to a recent report in Akwesasne Notes.

Before being massacred Indians are often tortured; sometimes children are flayed alive. Winnipeg Free Press reporter wrote 4-6-83 after touring Latin American camps (Maureen Brosnahan): "One woman, not more than 30 years of age, huddled by a small fire in her mud hut in a southern Mexico refugee camp and relayed her tragic story in her Mayan tongue. She told of how she and her husband were escaping from their village, which had been burned, when they were confronted by Guatemalan soldiers on the road. Her husband and the child he was carrying were shot and killed. She was shot twice and one of the shots passed through her shoulder and killed her infant son whom she was carrying on her back. She was left for dead but other refugees who came upon her carried her across the border and into Mexico where she recovered.

"Another young man, the only survivor of a massacre in his village where 380 persons were killed, told of how 300 soldiers came into the village, asked to meet with the leaders, then lined them up and shot them. The soldiers then separated the men, women and children under 10 years of age into three groups. The women were locked into the church and the men ordered into the community hall. The soldiers then threw bombs into each of the buildings. He said the children were then taken and skinned and thrown into a bonfire, some of them still living. He and another man were the only survivors. Both tried to escape; he succeeded but the other man was spotted and shot by the soldiers."

It took the USA a long time, but it's succeeded in surpassing the cruelty of Genghis Khan and the Third Reich. In country after country, the CIA has taught police "counter-insurgency forces" the noble art of torturing prisoners. But what of those who dissent within North America?

B.C. FIVE PROSECUTED FOR THEIR POLITICS, NOT THEIR ACTS

In an interview with the Toronto Clarion (June 83), Stan Guenther, one of the lawyers defending the B.C. Five, says their treatment is an example of how prisons are used for political repression. The five prisoners are closely watched and isolated from each other, as well as from other inmates. Two of the defendants, Anne Hansen and Julie Belmas, remain in a closely guarded initial observation area in Oakalla Prison although the normal procedure is to transfer prisoners to a less restricted area. This treatment, says Guenther, is an "extreme" example of how the criminal justice system works when dealing with people who are politically conscious and against the state. Although what they are accused of doing amounts to property damage, the state considers them to be dangerous criminals; they face the possibility of life imprisonment. Clearly, they are "prosecuted for their politics and not their acts." Prisons are used for political repression, which entails subjecting all inmates to stringent security measures and disrupting inmate organizations by transferring leaders.

Among the participants in a recent conference on the abolition of prisons, held in Toronto by the Quaker Committee on Jails and Justice, was Claire Culhane. When I interviewed her in Ottawa a few days after the conference I recalled the previous time I had interviewed her, on a stormy winter day at the height of the Vietnam war when she and NFB producer Mike Rubbo had established a fast in a tent on Parliament Hill to protest Canada's complicity in the war (the Mounties weren't as tolerant of peace camps on the Hill then as now, and they had been forced to move their tent to St. John's Church.) This naturally gave rise to the question of links between third world exploitation and exploitation in Canada's prisons; we discussed this and other questions.

GM: I've heard it said--I forget by whom--that if two people commit similar thefts and one is caught, the one who serves time is more likely to steal again than the one who escapes. Would you consider this assessment of "prison rehabilitation" accurate?

CC: Yes, there is no doubt that prison makes a person more knowledgeable of crime while at the same time destroying the prisoner as a person. Prison is supposed to deter crime, protect society and rehabilitate offenders; it does none of these. It destroys inmates' power to cope with and adapt to society; they are denied the right to make any form of personal decisions or to function with any degree of personal autonomy while in prison, so they can't do so on release (often people are released right after spending two-three years in solitary confinement.) Yet incarceration is rising in Canada; there were 11,400 jailed at the last count in federal prisons as compared to 9,500 five years ago, plus another 14,000 in provincial prisons. Sentences are insanely long and the number of releases by the national parole board is decreasing. In provincial prisons, the prisoners are often unconvicted persons awaiting trial in jail because they can't afford bail. Programs to divert people from jail through alternative sentences aren't working. More people are being jailed for impaired driving.

GM: If prison increases the number of crimes, surely enlightened self-interest of the Canadian bourgeoisie would indicate changing this pattern.

CC: Locking people up reflects society's desire for vengeance, not a solution to the problem of their "crimes." Of course, we must ask what a "crime" is; one worker in Canada is killed every six hours, one is seriously injured every 17 seconds and a great deal of this is due to industrial and corporate greed, but we rarely hear suggestions to consider the industrialists responsible as "criminals." Most people equate "crime" with theft or assault on the street. Most of this sort of "crime" could be prevented by diverting funds from our major growth industry, prison, into preventive measures. Instead of teaching prisoners trades, or starting colonies for them in the north, we could do this for people before they commit acts that make them prisoners. Instead, we jail eight times as many people as does Holland, with over half our population. We have a lot of vested interests in maintaining jails; the prison bureaucracy, the legal system, supply services (in 1977 we spent \$13 million on food for prisoners,) the psychiatric professions and so on. Prisons are an effective social control measure; they provide cheap labour (\$1.60 a day) for such jobs as growing food and making mailbags. Also, it should be noted that officials are concerned about "cost efficiency": it costs \$50,000 per year to maintain a prisoner in jail, but in the case of women kept in maximum security this figure rises to \$62,000 because there aren't enough of them to make the operation cost efficient. Their solution to cost efficiency is to build more jails and fill them to capacity.

GM: We've all heard of the brutality inflicted on prisoners after recent suppression of a revolt at Archambeault; are such instances confined to maximum security

prisons, or do they occur in other types as well?
 CC: Physical torture happens everywhere that people have control over others; many of the suicides occur in minimum-security prisons due to mental and psychological treatment, often in the first period of incarceration. It's hard to obtain conclusive findings because statistics are not made available. Prison officials and guards enjoy total lack of accountability for what they do to prisoners; prisons operate as closed societies. The public should be able to monitor prison conditions on a regular basis and there should be an independent ombudsperson in each penitentiary, but this does not happen--there is a Citizens Advisory Committee but the officials can screen and reject members. At Archambeault there was a ten-day shutdown after the riot during which not even lawyers could get in (now prisoners can see their lawyers but are beaten severely by guards after each visit.) Later there were three separate investigations--Charles Kolb of the American Civil Liberties Union, Clark MacDonald, the moderator of the United Church of Canada, and a member of the International Federation of Human Rights. All found that prisoners had been tortured in various ways after the riot--held head submerged in toilet bowl, suspended from the ceiling until they fell unconscious, masterbated upon, forced to eat food that had been urinated on and so forth (a forth report, by Amnesty International, has not yet been released.) But Solicitor General Kaplan has refused all calls from these and other sources for a public inquiry. It's interesting that the Canadian government is now proposing a new security force which will have the same powers over all Canadians that prison officials now have over inmates--surveillance, mail opening, an Inspector General (same name as in prison) accountable only to himself, and so on. What has been practised on prisoners will now be practised on all, largely because society hasn't protested on behalf of the prisoners.

GM: In recent years the use of torture has become widespread in U.S.-dominated third world countries. The CIA established a school where police of the various military juntas were taught how to torture using political prisoners as guinea pigs in Brazil after the 1964 military coup, and it spread from there to other countries. Have you any evidence that the CIA may be behind this increasing prevalence of torture in Canadian prisons?

CC: No, though I know that about ten years ago there was an international police conference in Montreal which included a large display of torture apparatus. But we should be concerned. The psychological torture used in Canadian prisons is often worse than the physical, what with insanely long sentences and frequent use of solitary confinement. I've seen solitary confinement "Chinese" cells in BC--there's no light, no ventilation, often no blanket--just a bucket--in which prisoners are locked 23 1/2 hours a day, often for years at a time. Under the practise of "administrative dissociation" a warden can imprison a prisoner in solitary confinement without a specific charge, and renew this every thirty days without the victim having a hearing. Morale is also destroyed by the "gating" process by which a prisoner paroled for the last third of his sentence, which is mandatory under law, may be handcuffed at the jail entrance and brought back to serve the rest of the sentence. Instead of denouncing this illegal practice, Kaplan is changing the law to make it legal. When a prisoner is due for release after serving the entire sentence, incarceration can be prolonged by indefinite confinement in a mental institution. Psychiatric patients have no rights; anyone can be institutionalized under acts in every province requiring only the signature of two psychiatrists for indefinite incarceration. A person picked up by mistake or for political reasons would have as much trouble getting out as anyone else. We must also remember that a lot of proposals to "alleviate" growing incarceration come from people who have been co-opted by the government. For instance, Ezzat Fattah of the Simon Fraser University criminology department recommends "incapacitation without incarceration" under which devices are attached to monitor prisoners' movements so they can't leave

home. This is already being done. And a criminologist in California has recommended temporary removal of convicted persons' corneas to blind them. 5

CM: Several prisoners in India have been blinded. You wrote in a recent issue of Our Generation (v 13 no 2): "Penal institutions are a microcosm of the violent world which generates them, where each day over one billion dollars is spent on an arms race calculated to destroy us all." Recently there have been several police raids on antiwar groups, and Toronto activists fear the police plan to frame some of them for the Litton bombing. It seems obvious that the peace movement and the prison abolition movement should support one another, and I'm glad several peace activists were at the prison abolition conference in Toronto. Can you tell us something about it?

CC: Over 300 people attended, including some from Australia, Holland, the UK and USA. Their consensus was that abolition of the prison system is a necessary and realistic goal to aim for: we must deal first with immediate problems such as abolishing solitary confinement, abolishing the national parole board, abolishing long sentences and involuntary transfers, and making the system accountable to the public. It would be safe to estimate that 80% of the people now in prison could be immediately transferred to community rehabilitation programs, and another 15% prepared for a return to society by dealing with the problems that got them into prison, such as learning disabilities and hypoglycemia. We must also remember that 95% of those jailed had been in poverty. The 5% who could not be de-institutionalized at present could be detained in one humane institution. All this would cost less than our jail system now does. My own workshop at the conference recommended civil disobedience in front of the prisons after legal methods of citizens securing access to monitor conditions have been rejected. We must adopt the same sort of militancy as the peace movement.

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ABOLITIONISTS PREFER CO-OPERATION TO INCARCERATION
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..... excerpts from report by Rhonda Sussman in Toronto Clarion
Abolitionist Rev. Virginia Mackie proposes that prisons be abolished through a process of attrition which would gradually replace the prison system with alternative methods that are more just and humane. Mackie lists five steps in the attrition model: 1-a moratorium on the building of more prisons. This would force the system to consider the extensive use of alternatives. 2-decarceration, emptying prisons of all but the most violent and psychologically troubled. 3-excarceration, keeping the convicted out of prison by giving them community service sentences or by ordering restitution to the victim. 4-providing for victim-offender reconciliation in a caring environment. 5-restraint of the dangerous few in small residential facilities. The conference also offered a radically different approach to non-productive confinement-victim-offender reconciliation. Two such programs already exist in Canada, in Windsor and Kitchener-Waterloo, and a third is planned for Halifax. This approach involves trained volunteers and staff to help volunteers and offenders in negotiating compensation for the victim, such as

abolishing solitary confinement. Elaine Bishop, who is establishing a victim-offender reconciliation program in Halifax, talked about an alternative program in Massachusetts. In 1977, six of the most violent were removed from an institution for the violent mentally retarded to a house nearby. When they became violent, staff would hold them and talk to them gently. In time, their behaviour underwent radical change and all six are now living in halfway houses in the community. Conference participants know this kind of treatment isn't always appropriate, but those who worked in halfway houses agree that alternative forms of treatment can result in dramatic differences. Proponents of abolition see it as part of a long-term social change where individuals and communities solve their problems through co-operation instead of through government intervention. militancy as the peace movement.

STAN ROGERS SANG OF CANADA'S WORKERS

by Gary Moffatt

When I heard three weeks ago that Stan Rogers had been killed in a plane accident, my first thought was that cantankerous fate had removed the one person the Canadian folk scene could not afford to lose. Reflection has not altered this view.

Since the mercifully brief period in the 1960s when folk music was big on the hit parade, and teevee programs showed glazey-eyed college students clapping inanely to whatever kind of music was happening on the stage, the folk music scene in America has been divided into two camps. There are the traditionalists who play mainly "authentic" folk music that has been passed about in altered versions from unknown antecedents, and the singer-songwriters who play mostly songs of their own composition and show up at folk festivals while waiting for a chance to crash the rock-pop market. The latter group usually plays electronically amplified instruments; the former doesn't have to because it is appearing before very small audiences, except when they're sneaked in between commercial acts at festivals. Bridging this gap is a small number of particularly talented artists who try to write their own songs in the folk tradition, describing the joys and sorrows of the "folk" of today in much the same way as their anonymous forerunners of previous centuries. Among the better-known exponents of this type of music are Woody Guthrie, Ledbelly, Malvina Reynolds and Pete Seeger in the USA and Ewan MacColl in Great Britain. Rogers was really the only person in Canada doing this sort of thing, though others do dabble in it from time to time. Gordon Lightfoot wrote a "railroad trilogy" (ie three songs that couldn't make it on their own but might if strung together); Stringband wrote a nice piece about two boats burning in the Yukon, and so on. Buffy Ste. Marie has written very eloquently of the wrongs done the native people, but she doesn't do the folk scene.

Rogers took as his theme the Canadian working man. He had no overt political causes and wrote no antiwar songs (except perhaps Barrett's Privateers, though here I feel he is less concerned with making an antiwar statement than with depicting one more case of an average guy caught in socio-political machinery beyond his comprehension.) His material is heavily masculine; virtually none of his songs is about women, and his between-song banter with brother Garnet gave his performances a rather macho quality. Most of his better-known earlier songs deal with Maritime fishermen whose way of life is threatened by the corporate gigantism of modern society. Audiences were usually surprised to learn that he lived all his life in a suburb of one of Ontario's most polluted cities. Even the western orientation of his Northwest Passage album is at its most eloquent in describing a Maritimer working an Alberta oil rig while dreaming wistfully of his home "where the whales play free in the harbour." (Perhaps Farley Mowat would take a more jaundiced view of the freedom enjoyed by whales who find themselves in Maritime harbours.) In "the field behind the plough" he successfully empathises with the daily routine of the prairie farmer, though his material shows little awareness that the small farmer, like the fisherman, is being extinguished by the corporations (known in this case as agribusiness.) The workers in Rogers' songs rarely question their lot; they accept it and survive whatever the capitalists do to them with dogged determination to "like the Mary Ellen Carter rise again." This fatalism coupled with romanticism and sentimentality carries over to the love songs; "some must go and some must stay behind" says one lover explaining why "yours is the open road that I couldn't share, though the offer was there." Hardly a revolutionary social philosophy, but the North American working man is hardly a revolutionary. What Rogers has left us is a body of songs, some beautiful and several memorable, depicting the joys and tribulations of modern workers struggling to survive and preserve a bit of their integrity. I hope other artists will preserve this legacy.