

KICK IT OVER[®]

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No. 33 Spring 1994



**Do Anarchists
Tolerate Sexual
Harassment?**

Power Feminism

**Grandview Girl's
School**

plus

Haida Elder Interviewed

Alternative Economics

Eastern Europe

notes to our readers

This issue of *Kick It Over* looks at some aspects of the relationship between anarchism and feminism. Included are articles about "power feminism," the Grandview Girl's School (the infamous reform school for rebellious girls), and about how the Toronto anarchist community responded (failed to respond is more accurate) to sexual harassment in our midst. Short reports on a Women's Day action to shut down Bay Street (the heart of Toronto's business district) and the Lesbian Avengers, and a biography of long-time anarchist Anna Delso round out the section.

Also in this issue are a wide-ranging interview with Haida elder Lavina White, a discussion in response to Gary Moffatt's *Call to Form a Commission on People's Economics (KIO #32)*, and pieces looking at apocalypse, building a conservator society, and western aid to Russian activists.

Kick It Over has long been supportive of alternative movements within the former Soviet Union and East Bloc countries, and we've decided to feature more news from that region in our *Global Village* column, courtesy of Neither East Nor West; we strongly encourage our readers to respond to the appeals for letters and aid from activists in the East Bloc, and from the other places we report on -- it does make a difference!

Kick It Over has begun sending copies to Our Right to Know Braille Press, for inclusion in *Freedom Ideas International*, a quarterly 4-track cassette review of radical and minority publications from around the world. We encourage other magazines to consider giving them a free subscription; remember, not everyone has eyes who has ideas. Write to: Our Right to Know Braille Press, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217 USA (phone: 313-842-1804).

Our friend David Koven has informed us of the death of John Vattuone. A couple of years ago, *Kick It Over* sent out a fund-raising letter to our subscribers; we had run out of money and were considering folding the magazine. John answered our appeal by making two very substantial donations, which saw us through that cash crunch. We'll be running a

Kick It Over

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Articles do not necessarily reflect the views of all of the collective members; sometimes they do not reflect any of our views, but we think they are of interest.

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longer look at John Vattuone's life and politics in an upcoming issue.

Donations, of course, are always welcome. *Kick It Over* has received donations from: Deborah Y, John B, Don B, David N, Don A, Lloyd J, Robert K, and OPIRG-Peterborough. Thanks muchly -- we appreciate your support.

If you bought your copy of *Kick It Over* in a store, you will have noticed that we have raised our cover price from \$2.50 to \$3.00. We will be raising the subscription rate from the present \$9.00/year to \$11.00/year as of the next issue, so if you're thinking of subscribing, now's the time to do it.

We were joined in working on this issue by our friend Edan. Thanks to her for the good ideas, and to everyone else who has helped get this issue out.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

The *Kick It Over* collective is opposed to all forms of hierarchy and domination, whether right or left.

For us, revolution is more a process than an event -- a process rooted in the radicalization of individuals and in the transformation of everyday life.

Rather than make a principle out of violence or nonviolence, we believe in judging actions on their own merits.

We support acts of challenge and resistance to authority, and we encourage all efforts to develop models for a new way of living.

We are not a mouthpiece for an "official" anarchist movement. We prefer to go beyond the stock issues which

make up the "left agenda."

Since we are interested in the creation of a politics of everyday life, we attempt to draw out and popularize those implicitly radical values and lifestyles which we believe are pointing in the direction of freedom.

We do not identify with the "official left," which seeks to establish itself as a new ruling group. We identify with, and seek to give voice to, the largely unarticulated anti-authoritarian tendencies within society.

We are committed to spontaneity, by which we mean the triumph of life over dogma. Hence, we believe that freedom is in need of constant redefinition.

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Tolerating Sexism in the Anarchist Movement

How do anarchists respond to occasions of sexual harassment when they occur within our communities? A Toronto anarchist looks at her experience, and says we have to do better.

by Edan

I've considered myself an anarchist-feminist for a long time. Anarchism as a philosophy and way of life, as well as a political analysis, seems only logical to me. As a womyn, feminism is survival and natural. Thus the two combine and fit together for me into a coherent world view. I've always felt that the idealism of anarchism and the inherent idea that people are basically good (or, at least, could be) made sense. The anti-authoritarian perspective led me to be a prison abolitionist and to question the way we punish and administer "justice." All this is to explain why, several years ago, I had my faith in the anarchist "community" shaken, and why I was forced to re-evaluate how we, as anarchists, deal with problems which crop up in our communities.

I first met Ken, the man who sexually assaulted me, in 1986. My brother and I were looking for people to set up a communal house, and this man was referred to us through a friend. He was active in anarchist politics, as we were. We got together and considered moving into a house; him, his partner and their children, myself, my brother and another anarchist friend. This man was held in esteem here in Toronto since he had served time in jail, having been set up for political reasons.

After we first met, Ken began showing up at my place. He would come every day and sit on my porch. At first it didn't bother me, but gradually I began to feel uncomfortable. He continued to come by, and I took to pretending I wasn't home. I began to feel trapped in my own place. This went on for several months. I was going through a rough period. When my boyfriend went away Ken began to put on the pressure. One night he came by and I couldn't put him off. He sexually assaulted me, and I was so vulnerable I didn't feel able to fight back. He didn't seem to notice how bad I felt, or that I had problems with what he had done. His only question to me was whether I had minded the fact that he had no front teeth. I can't remember how I convinced him to leave, but he left. After that he continued to come around. I told my brother, who told him that we wouldn't move in together and why.

Ken continued to come around. He wanted to know whether the reason I didn't want him around was that my boyfriend minded. I minded! -- but that didn't matter. After I had my boyfriend and my brother forcibly remove him sev-

eral times, he left me alone -- after four months of almost daily harassment. I spoke to several close friends in the anarchist community, who said they would speak to Ken. This never seemed to work.

During the planning of the anarchist gathering of 1988, I found that, although many people knew what had happened, Ken was still welcome at meetings and gatherings.

After the gathering, the anarchist community began holding Town Hall meetings as a way of continuing the spirit of the gathering. The wimmin started having "teas," which were informal wimmin's caucus meetings. My involvement in mixed meetings dwindled because Ken always made me feel uncomfortable by staring at me. I felt that people valued his participation more than my own, and more than they disapproved of what he had done.

Through the wimmin's teas and friends, I became aware that Ken was stalking another anarchist womyn and had physically assaulted another. He stalked this womyn for three years. Many people in the anarchist community knew of this, yet did nothing. Eventually, the wimmin who attended the teas decided to take action. We went to an anarchist town hall meeting, told our story, and said that if Ken were not expelled from the town halls we would refuse as a group to attend. We demanded that he not attend anarchist meetings, demos or gatherings, but said that he could attend the men's anti-sexism group which was meeting at that time; at such time as they felt that he had acknowledged what he had done we would discuss his return to our community. The wimmin were questioned and disbelieved. Ken couldn't see what he had done wrong. But, finally, he was expelled for all events except the men's group meetings.

They worked with him for a year. At one point, the men's group and the wimmin's group came together for a progress report. The men felt that Ken had not yet acknowledged what he had done. We wimmin had been approached by some wimmin in the local IWW on behalf of a womyn in their group who was harassed by Ken also. With the information we gave them, he was expelled from the IWW. We decided to warn other groups about him. A man from the men's group reported to Ken what was said at the progress meeting of the men's and wimmin's groups. As a result of this, I received a threatening phone call from Ken. I felt vio-

lated -- no-one should tell the victimizer statements made by the victim! Eventually, the men's group got tired of banging their heads against the brick wall of Ken's refusal to deal with the issue, and asked him to leave. All this four years after I had been assaulted.

Ken went on to assault a young girl who hung around the punk scene. A womyn friend of hers beat him up in an alley with a baseball bat -- she had no political qualms to stop her, unlike the anarchist community which allowed Ken to stalk and assault wimmin in our community for four years with no retribution, in the name of anarchism.

I still call myself an anarchist-feminist, but no longer will I delude myself into believing that sexism doesn't exist in anarchist communities. Anarchist men can be just as sexist as anyone, and will defend one of their own until pointedly forced otherwise. Men in our community had no qualms in supporting direct action against rapists -- provided they don't come from within our ranks. All sorts of allowances were made for Ken because he was political. What hypocrisy!

Ken has since gone on to join with the Nazis here in Toronto. But, to end on a hopeful note, I think we all learned. Now, when a womyn says she has experienced sexual harassment at the hands of a man in our community, he is asked to leave; there is no run-around, no delays, and no questioning of the womyn's integrity. We have finally learned not to punish the victim, and that if we want wimmin in our movement we can't let things slide in the name of "understanding," "rehabilitation" or "anarchism." Anarchism is a way of life for me, and an anarchist isn't a rapist or harasser.

I think that one of the reasons behind the lack of action and concern around Ken's actions was the inherent sexism within our community. To deal with Ken would have forced the men to deal much more realistically and harshly with their own sexism and attitudes. Their complacency towards their own sexism and the sexism around them continues to be a problem even now. Men still seem to be anti-sexist when it's convenient.

As anarchists we have to

acknowledge the racism, sexism, homophobia, and ableism instilled in us by society. We do not stand apart. We also need to acknowledge our limitations. The experience with the attempted rehabilitation of Ken showed us that at this time we are not equipped to deal with rehabilitating people. At the same time, we cannot allow this inability to prevent us from acting upon anti-social behaviour. Perhaps expulsion from our communities is one way to deal with this. Hopefully we can develop further strategies, but for now we need to act against sexism.

I think that's where feminism needs to be more integrated into the anarchist perspective. We don't tolerate racists in our movement, why do we tolerate sexists?



THE LESBIAN AVENGERS

by Deb Ellis

The Lesbian Avengers is one of the latest direct action groups on the Canadian scene. Full of theatrics, with capes, wands and fire-eaters, the main item on their agenda is lesbian visibility. Group member Laurie Hall says, "To me, lesbian visibility means to be recognized as a person, without fear of discrimination, being able to be ourselves."

"Women's realities are silenced all the time," adds Vanissar Tarakali. "We haven't been part of recorded history. Women around the world have been silenced and rendered invisible."

Marnie Benson also sees lesbian invisibility as part of the larger oppression of women. What attracted her to the group is that it specifically focuses on lesbians, whose needs are often put aside or ignored by the larger women's movement and the male homosexual rights movement.

They are beginning to organize at a time when groups that make up parts of the social justice struggle are fed up with white, middle-class, heterosexual lip service to their issues, and are insisting on their rights to not always be second place in the revolution.

Lesbian Avengers originated in the United States, where there are seventeen very active chapters around the country. They have combined politics, art and humour with theatre to get their message across. As Laurie Hall says, "Our work is very theatrical and flamboyant to capture people's attention. We want to do things that haven't been done before. Visibility is the issue, and we're having fun doing it. It doesn't seem as scary if it's fun, but that doesn't mean we'll put up with the bullshit."

The Avengers' low tolerance for nonsense is reflected in their logo -- a bomb with a fuse lit. "We are women with a short fuse, and we're not going to take this crap that's being thrown at us," explains Marnie Benson. Laurie Hall adds, "The logo means 'Be the bomb you throw.' It can be a metaphor for the way we act."

The Canadian group, based in Guelph, Ontario, is actively recruiting. Members are joining from all over the province. "Ontario is moving in the same direction as the States," Laurie says. "There's a rise in homophobia. We are looking ahead to the future, and we want to be ready for it." To this end, they will be taking civil resistance training to better prepare themselves for direct action.

Although the Avengers' tactics and

theatrics have received much support from the lesbian and women's community, they do not appeal to all lesbians. Nor should they. The struggle for acceptance by the dominant culture -- hopefully leading to just treatment before the law -- is increasingly difficult, and requires some lesbians to work in arenas other than the street, and to be accepted in these arenas, if they are to be effective. However, the stone-throwing militant suffragists were also not widely embraced, yet they were essential to the process of gaining for women whatever emancipation we have today.

Direct action is about ignoring our fear of disobedience, or at least refusing to let that fear paralyze us from acting like full human beings. Lesbian visibility, whether it's eating fire on the steps of a government building or refusing to be ashamed of who we love, is an act of bravery in a world run by hatred and violence.

The Lesbian Avengers can be contacted by phoning 519-823-0327.



ANARCHIST AGE WEEKLY REVIEW

WOMEN SHUT DOWN BAY STREET

by Deb Ellis

On March 8, 1994, women with the Alliance for Non-Violent Action celebrated International Women's Day by shutting down the intersection of Bay and King Streets in Toronto, the heartland of Canadian capitalism. The action, called "Celebration Not Exploitation Of Women," was modelled after similar women's actions in the financial districts of New York, London, and elsewhere.

At the height of the morning rush hour, we gathered in the shadows of bank towers. After rallying awhile, we moved into the streets and took over the intersection, blocking traffic in all four directions. Police response was swift. Reluctant at first to arrest, they re-routed traffic until only the streetcars remained. The officer in charge asked that we move aside while the streetcars went through, then he'd let us have the street. I reminded him that we already had the street. The police continued their heavy paternalism for the TV cameras, trying to put a friendly face on tools of violence, then finally arrested eight of us on mischief charges. We were released later that afternoon.

The unfortunate reality of our action was that the people in power were not the ones who were inconvenienced. The rich and mighty always have someone to take the heat for them -- secretaries, butlers, foot soldiers, assistants. How much courage does it take to hide behind a poor or working



BECCA/ANVA

person? Perhaps the wealthy don't need courage. Perhaps they're too used to looking in the mirror; without it, they don't notice its absence from their reflection.

It was great to be back on the streets for International Women's Day, keeping up the tradition of noisy women raising shit in celebration. Eternally optimistic, we predict that more and more women will again feel at home on the streets, pushing back the backlash, and holding tight to the power and dignity that the patriarchy continues to try to take from us.

This was the ANVA Women's Collective's second trip to Bay Street; the first was in 1989. In the interim, we hopped the fence at Litton Industries during the Persian Gulf War, tried to take away Brian Mulroney's white ribbon at the

time of the Montreal massacre memorials, bloodied up the lily-white surface of the Supreme Court of Canada Building when the rape shield act was lifted, and did a Tour of Shame of Toronto's injustice system. We will continue to use creative non-violent resistance to strengthen ourselves and other women, and to help weaken the patriarchy's grip on the planet.

The Alliance for Non-Violent Action Women's Collective can be reached at: Box 235, 253 College Street, Toronto, ON M5T 1R5, Canada.

WATER ON FIRE

The Anarcha-Feminist Challenge to "Power Feminism"

by L. Susan Brown

Nearly fifteen years ago, Sandra Dijkstra asked the question: "Why did Betty Friedan, and not Simone de Beauvoir, become the prophet of women's emancipation in America?" (*Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan: The Politics of Omission, Feminist Studies* 6, No. 2, Summer 1980, p. 290). Dijkstra concludes that Friedan's liberal feminist "ideological disposition was more suitable" (p. 300) than de Beauvoir's existentialism. For this reason, Americans were more likely to accept *The Feminine Mystique* as opposed to *The Second Sex* as the appropriate guide to women's liberation. Today, I would like to pose a similar question about current American feminist writing: Why have the liberal feminists, Susan Faludi and Naomi Wolf, and not an anarcha-feminist writer, become the prophets of women's emancipation in America? While liberal feminism seeks to secure for women a bigger piece of the existing political and economic pie, anarcha-feminism wants to bake a whole new cake. As an anarchist, the anarcha-feminist challenge to sexism and other forms of hierarchy and domination appears to me to be coherent, reasonable and desirable, while the liberal feminist position strikes me as contradictory and fraught with problems. Why is it, then, that anarcha-feminism is consigned to the sidelines of feminist history while liberal feminism, at least in North America, gets the attention, press, and allegiance of so many? Like Dijkstra before me, I see the answer to this question in the "ideological disposition" of Faludi's and Wolf's work.

Susan Faludi's *Backlash* (New York: Doubleday, 1991) and Naomi Wolf's *Fire With Fire* (Toronto: Random House, 1993) have both received critical and popular acclaim as landmarks in recent feminist thought. Both books have been enormously "successful" financially, and are best-sellers in an area of writing that has historically been less than popular with the reading public. Faludi's *Backlash* is a long and detailed account of the many various "wrongs" that have been and continue to be perpetrated against the American woman, from low pay in the work place to discrimination against women by the press, government, academics and doctors, among others. Faludi argues that women's progress towards equality in the 1960s and 1970s provoked a "backlash" against them in the 1980s which continues into the 1990s. She meticulously documents the sexism of American society, a sexism that many would like to ignore or dismiss.

While the overwhelming feeling that Faludi expresses about women's struggle for equality is that of despair, Naomi Wolf in *Fire With Fire* projects a more hopeful view of

women's liberation. Wolf writes about the same sexism as Faludi, but instead of bemoaning women's lack of progress, Wolf celebrates what she terms the "genderquake" that is today shaking the foundations of male domination in America. For Wolf, women are on the edge of a revolution, and need only to flex their newfound political and economic muscles to achieve equality with men. Both Faludi and Wolf see power as the key; Faludi laments women's lack of power, while Wolf urges women to use power. Neither reject power as an undesirable or inappropriate means to achieve an end.

Wolf in fact proposes that the only thing standing between women and equality is their hesitancy to use power. She strongly and often persuasively argues that women must seize power and wield it for their own interests. She states right at the beginning of the book that in the United States, "if voting trends continue, women will have ten million more votes than men will" (p. 14) because women make up 51 percent of the population. She asks, "what is the point of settling for equality when women are entitled to true democracy, in which the advantage of our numbers makes us the single strongest force on earth?" (p. 52). For Wolf, the time has come for a new feminism, a "power feminism," that understands the use of power as legitimate and desirable, even as sexy. Women must wield political and economic power, says Wolf, in order to take their rightful place beside men. "For now is a time in which real change for women depends upon a willingness to engage with power with its seductions and responsibilities, democracy with its open conflicts, and money with all its pleasures and dangers" (p. 55). Wolf's words may seem extreme because they are a departure from most feminist writing which disavows the use of power; however, her approach merely takes the fundamental principles of liberal democracy and applies them to women. Wolf herself admits this at the conclusion of her book when she states: "Whatever feminism is to you, to me it is at heart the logical extension of democracy" (p. 320). As such, she argues that it is only reasonable for women to seize power to further feminist aims. She goes even further, however, and argues that unless feminists use power, the feminist project is doomed. "If we continue to distrust the power of our imaginations, our money, and our words, we hand over victory to those who want the majority to remain silent" (p. 320). In a certain sense, she is right. Given that we live in a liberal democratic society, and given that such a society is based on the exercise of power (economically, of the capitalist over the worker, and politically, of the majority over the minority), then if women want equality *within the system of liberal*

The necessity of

Revolution

The feminist movement's struggle for rights will never succeed in truly liberating women from the world patriarchal system. Only complete revolution will bring true liberation for all of humanity.



MANZANAR SCHMEGGMA/PUNCHLINE

democracy they must also learn to wield power effectively. This provides us with a clue as to why Wolf's work is so popular — it is a feminist position that is conceived *within* the current political and economic framework of liberal democratic capitalism, and those who accept this system as either inevitable or desirable will find *Fire With Fire* to be both comforting and reassuring. It is comforting because Wolf shows that women's rights are merely a subset of broader human rights within liberalism, and reassuring because she argues for the extension of those rights to women without challenging the fundamental basis of liberal capitalism. American readers can rest easy, in other words, because Wolf shows them how it is possible for women to join men as equals without changing anything else in society.

In contrast to the liberal feminism of Wolf and Faludi, anarchy-feminism, with its insistence that the use of power only leads to hierarchy and domination, challenges the very bedrock upon which liberal democratic capitalism is built. It is not a coincidence that *Backlash* and *Fire With Fire* enjoy best-seller status, while anarchy-feminism and other anarchist ideas are relegated to "alternative" newspapers and fanzines

with limited circulation. Anarchy-feminism's message is not reassuring or comforting. Instead, by opposing all forms of domination, whether it be the domination of women by men, of workers by capitalists, or of the minority by the majority, it strikes at the heart of liberal democratic capitalism and in so doing places everything about our society in doubt. When Wolf urges women to overcome their hesitancy and use power, she is merely proposing that women act upon the very values that surround them within liberal capitalism. Nothing could seem more "natural" for people who live in a power-laden society than to be people who live in a power-laden society than to be merely proposing to use power. Anarchy-feminism, on the other hand, urges all of us to repudiate power, to oppose it and destroy it, so that all may live in freedom. Nothing could seem more "unnatural" for people who live in a power-laden society than to be counseled to renounce power.

If anarchy-feminism is so threatening to people who see the use of power as a necessary part of everyday life, then how can those of us who are anarchists persuade others of the reasonableness and desirability of our anarchist vision for a free society? Wolf's *Fire With Fire* gives us a clue to that question as well. For within her liberal feminist argument, side-by-side with the argument for power, a plea for individual freedom can also be found. While Wolf argues for women exercising economic and political power to achieve their ends, she also affirms the right of individuals to make choices and decisions about how to run their own lives. She speaks in terms of self-determination, choice, sexual freedom, intellectual freedom, and autonomy, for both women and men.

She advocates a feminism that "encourages a woman to claim her individual voice rather than merging her voice in a collective identity, for only strong individuals can create a just community" (p. 137); that "asks a woman to give to herself and seek what she needs, so she can give to others freely, without resentment" (p. 137); that "is tolerant of other women's choices about sexuality and appearance; believes that what every woman does with her body and in her bed is her own business" (p. 137); that "hates sexism without hating men" (p. 138); that "wants all women to express their own opinion" (p. 138); and that "knows that making social change does not contradict the principle that girls just want to have fun. Motto: 'If I can't dance, it's not my revolution'" (p. 138). She also states that "women have the right to determine their own lives" (p. 138). All of these sentiments are, liberal though they may be, compatible with anarchy-feminist principles. In fact, Wolf "borrows" Emma Goldman's famous anarchist "dancing and revolution" declaration about the necessity of maintaining a healthy sense of fun while making social change (without, however, acknowl-

edging the source of the quote. To make their books more "readable," both Faludi and Wolf adopt an informal style of attributing quotes, which sometimes results in no attribution at all. For Wolf, feminism is ideally both about power and about individual freedom. This dualism is contained within liberal thought as a whole; as C. B. Macpherson points out, "'liberal' can mean freedom of the stronger to do down the weaker by following market rules; or it can mean equal effective freedom of all to use and develop their capacities. The latter freedom is inconsistent with the former" (*The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 1). While liberal political philosophy supports the use of power through competition in the workplace and the legitimacy of power invested in government by majority rule, it also advocates the freedom of the individual to make life decisions and to maintain a sense of personal integrity and autonomy. The latter goal is also one held by anarchism.

Fundamental to anarchism is an unbreakable respect for the human individual. Both anarchism and liberalism honour the individual's right to be self-determined. Anarcha-feminism concentrates specifically on guaranteeing that such a right is extended to women. Liberalism and liberal feminism subscribe to what they term "individual sovereignty"; however, liberals undercut their commitment to individual freedom by advocating social and economic structures based on power. It is therefore possible to challenge liberalism on the grounds that such a philosophy subscribes to two contradictory views of society -- one where power is exercised through the competitive workplace and the state, the other where the individual claim to self-determination is paramount. Unfortunately, self-determination and autonomy is annihilated by bosses and legislators. Anarchism does not contradict itself in the way that liberalism does, as anarchism advocates structuring society so as to limit if not eliminate the exercise of power.

Thus, while liberalism and liberal feminism can be rejected by anarchists for advocating the use of power, anarchists can appeal to liberalism's more liberatory side in trying to build alliances and, ultimately, change society to better allow for individual freedom and expression. Anarcha-feminists and liberal feminists share a common concern of promoting individual self-determination. In *Fire With Fire*, Wolf, for instance, provides thoughtful feminist analyses with respect to women's sexuality, abortion, and censorship that dovetails with anarcha-feminist thought. Her outspokenness against the censorship (self-imposed or otherwise) that arises any time political correctness rears its ugly head is to be commended, as is her "anything-goes-as-long-as-no-onegets-hurt" approach to sexuality. Her discussion about abortion is one of the most thoughtful and honest considerations published by a feminist in years. Avoiding the same tired rhetoric spouted by feminists of all political stripes at countless pro-choice rallies, Wolf turns the discussion away from a simple support for abortion as good in itself and instead sug-

gests that while reproductive freedom must be guaranteed for all women, abortion itself should be conceptualized as perhaps necessary but not good. She argues that "the other side of reproductive rights is taking reproductive responsibility. This goes for men and women both... [In the 1970s and 1980s] the demands of defending abortion rights at the state level crowded out the individual's need to elucidate an ethical relationship to abortion and to decide how much he or she is willing to give up to avoid an abortion. I think we misunderstood: Our obligation to act publicly on behalf of choice did not preclude the responsibility we had, as people with a myriad of choices, to choose privately to at least try hard to avoid pregnancy" (p. 130). Freedom and responsibility: Wolf, like most anarchists, couples the two as a reminder that in order to live in freedom we must also develop a strong ethical base or we risk losing the very freedom we treasure and fight for.

The liberal feminist positions that Faludi and Wolf support in their respective writings provide useful insights for anarcha-feminists. Liberal feminism reminds us of the similarities and differences between liberalism and anarchism, and provides us with some common ground for our struggles against sexism. While anarchists rightfully oppose strategies to achieve women's liberation which involve the advocacy of power relationships, we can join with our liberal feminist cousins in the struggle to achieve individual freedom. Also, we can try to undermine liberalism's more hierarchical aspects by appealing to liberalism to live up to its own radical individualism. Faludi's exhaustive enumeration of the wrongs done to women by our society comes in handy when countering those who assert that feminism is unnecessary because "women are already equal." Wolf's discussions about the necessity of preserving freedom of the press and expression, the desirability of sexual freedom and diversity, the responsibility that must accompany freedom, and the joy and anguish that individual freedom entails, provide anarchists with a place to connect with others in our society. However, the reliance on and acceptance of power relations contained in liberal feminist work must be vigorously opposed, as any strategy for liberation that embraces the use of power to overcome power is doomed to recreate new power relationships in its stead. Fighting "fire with fire" only results in burnt fingers and ashes. Fire consumes itself and everything in its path indiscriminately. Water, however, is where we first came from; it heals us, soothes our thirst, and is the basis of all life. Anarchism proposes that we put out the fire with water, and start building anew from the ground up.

L. Susan Brown is a post-doctoral fellow in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. She has recently published a book on the relationship between anarchism and liberalism entitled The Politics of Individualism: Liberalism, Liberal Feminism and Anarchism (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1993).

Power Corrupts

The Grandview Girl's School Story

by KK Campbell

The images stand out in stark, surreal contrast.

Local newspaper stories, polished for public consumption, show long-haired girls merrily cooking in sparkling clean kitchens. Reporter copy gushes effusively about life here in Heaven.

But the image darkens drastically when the press departs. In this unbalanced world, a defiant young girl is dragged screaming from an isolation cell, having smeared the words "Fuck the World" in her own blood on a barren cement wall.

Heaven or hell? Certainly, the beatific 1970s press images served someone's needs, but not those of this girl. She and her fellow inmates had no prettified psychobabble illusions about where they were: Grandview, Ontario's most infamous "reform school." In 1933, government-run Grandview, located in Cambridge, was lauded as the ultimate in scientific care for society's wayward girls, aged 12-17. By the time it closed in 1976, it was synonymous with Hell.

Grandview's catalogue of abuses, sexual, physical, and psychological, is staggering. But only in 1991 were police investigations initiated. When the "school" was in operation, complaints were dismissed as the byproducts of "born liars." To date, investigations have resulted in charges against two former Grandview staffers -- a one-time NDP cabinet minister, and an internationally-known criminologist who served as the school's chief psychologist.

Analysis of Grandview has focused on *what* happened, not *why*. This is because the mainstream media works on the assumption that Grandview was just a "freak" of the system. But Grandview was no "aberration," no tragedy of poor administration. It was the systemic suppression of youth. It was the unmasked face of the State. Grandview was "order and good government."

Out Of Sight...

Grandview girls were "troublemakers," there's no denying that. Yet police investigations confirm that few girls committed actual crimes.

So why were they "locked up?" For not behaving as "good girls" should.

Former inmate Marlene, 39, has three children, ranging in ages from 20 to 7. In 1969, she was 14 and lived in Grandview.

"I was sent there because I skipped school, ran away from home -- what they called 'unmanageable.' Rebellious.

They wrote me off, saying I would never change," she sighs. Marlene doesn't deny she was a wild kid. "But I never committed any crimes. What I went before the court for was skipping school."

The federal Juvenile Delinquents Act (section B) permitted judges to unilaterally order a child taken into custody. Through a handy, catch-all label -- "unmanageable" or "incorrigible" -- the State possessed the power to incarcerate children on subjective grounds.

Lynn, 35, is also an ex-inmate. She lives in Toronto, though she is originally from Quebec. On her hand is one of three "homemade" tattoos from her Grandview stay -- a familiar-looking, stylized cross. "It means 'I done time.' You see guys in penitentiaries have it on their hands."

When she began running away from home, her adoptive parents tossed her back at the State. So family court branded Lynn incorrigible -- an enemy of the State, at age 13.

"I wasn't a criminal," Lynn says. "I had only been put in for running away. But the more I was locked up, the angrier I got. I was getting older, going through teenage years, and just got angrier and angrier. All I had done was run away from the people who had adopted me, who were hell to live with. And now here I was, getting locked up for another five years? What was my crime?"

It's a question asked by hundreds of Grandview survivors.

When 14-year-old Marlene escaped and ran to Toronto, she managed two weeks of terrified living in a rooming house before heading back to her eastern Ontario hometown. Her parents accepted her in and didn't notify the authorities. But the authorities nabbed her anyway.

"They got me in an alleyway and handcuffed me. Put me in the county jail overnight. They kept me handcuffed the whole way back. All along the highway. We'd stop in restaurants and they'd let me out to



go to the washroom, and I'd have to go through the restaurant with handcuffs on. I wasn't a criminal, but they made me feel like one."

The some 1,500 girls who passed through Grandview between 1966 and 1976 shared two common traits. None were daughters of CEOs; Grandview girls were almost universally products of working class poverty, sexual abuse, and/or broken homes. And all shared a "fuck you" defiance. "We were just a collection of girls who took no shit from anyone," Lynn says.

And that was Grandview's assignment: break them. Needless to say, such an assignment demanded military regimentation.

"From the time you got there," Marlene recounts, "you couldn't walk anywhere yourself. You had to line up to go to the dining room, you had to line up to go to the bedrooms. You had to say a little prayer before you ate. You couldn't give food to someone else. You had to take what they called vitamins before bed -- there was some fluid inside, don't ask me what. For relaxation, 30 girls sat around the common room with no games, no TV, nothing. You had to sit there beside people you totally despised. There was never privacy. Ever."

It often resulted in "institutionalization".

"I actually ran away, *back* to Galt," Lynn admits, with a bewildered shake of her head. "I couldn't handle being on the outside. It was overwhelming. I was told when to shit, when to eat, when to brush my hair. Then you throw me out and expect me to survive on a few bucks a week." When Grandview closed, having no one and no place, Lynn hitchhiked to California. Here, she started a prostitute career that would span nearly a decade.

Sugar 'n' Spice

Grandview's task was actually two-fold -- on the one hand, to break the recalcitrant; on the other, to create "good citizens," adherents to the dominant morality. First, Grandview aimed to inculcate in the girls a knee-jerk respect for one's elders, one's "superiors." In a 1973 interview, Grandview's chief guard, Mary Kozak (who the girls called "The Warden"), outlined the task as providing "a good parent image to the girls, which will help them to be respectful to the adult image." Image.

Secondly, Grandview endeavoured to convert discontented female youth into June Cleaver replicas. Thus did the local Kinsmen club's wife branch (the Kinette Club) devote time to teaching Grandview girls crocheting, or involve them in "selfless community work" -- all atop Grandview's existent hairdressing, typing, and kitchen skills curriculum.

None of which prepared the girls for what really awaited them: social stigma and poverty. But then, these programs weren't designed to help the girls, they were designed to help Cambridge feel better about all the "delinquents" so close to home. Which was the real point to

all those local newspaper feel-good articles about Grandview. Chambers of Commerce and property owners balk at backyard prisons. Grandview administrators needed to placate them. In one 1974 interview, deputy superintendent John Osborne admitted as much: "One of the objectives of (these programs) is to correct some of the negative images that the school has in the community."

To encourage socially-acceptable behaviour, Grandview's infamous "merit system" was born. Heralded by the government and mainstream press as "the finest concentrated approach" to treatment, it was really just reheated Skinnerian behaviour reinforcement -- do good, get a cookie; do bad, lose a cookie.

As with most bureaucratically-designed plans, the difference between conception and execution was enormous.

Theoretical Scenario: Girl performs properly -- makes bed, bakes brownies, doesn't swear. Girl gets merit points. Points collect. Girl graduates a "level."

Theoretical Result: After graduating three levels, girl released. Faster points collected, faster girl gets out.

Real-Life Scenario: Able to control points arbitrarily, staff-members hold absolute power. Girl loses points for unexplained reasons, more powerless than ever. Some discover real "merits" gained through sexual favours with staff. Craftier prisoners "pimp" for guards.

Real-Life Result: Girls schooled in deception, debasement, cynicism, slyness -- and the darkest, most hidden, sexual appetites of power.

"When I went in, I never knew about hookers or drugs," Lynn explains. "Sure, I was a hellraiser, but I was pretty straight about those kind of things." Marlene was a "pure, little virgin" when she went in. She says all Grandview taught her to do was lie with a smile.

Street Life

A myth circulates in the media that, today, Grandview girls would instead be living on the streets. It isn't completely true. The State still brooks no street youth, it's just a little trickier getting them "inside." The complex legal wrangling of "children's rights" makes the police less inclined to automatically sweep up visible street youth. Children's rights were practically non-existent in Grandview's day. No longer can the State whisk them away at a whim. Malcontent youth now come under the provincial Child and Family Services Act and federal Young Offenders Act. But the "criminalization" of kids continues.

Today, a troublesome 13-year-old girl can be removed from her home by the State and placed in a foster home. Should she continue the raw defiance, she'll be sent to a "more secure" group home. Should she continue resistance there, then we see how the system has changed. Before, she would have just been packed off to Grandview.

But now there are no more Grandview dumping grounds. Instead, the State must find legal grounds to incar-

cerate her. It either enrolls her in "mental health programs," or finds a criminal rationale -- perhaps theft, or assault, or disturbing the peace, etc., putting her firmly under the Young Offenders Act.

The State has manufactured its own criminal.

Grandview girls unanimously say they'd rather have slept in the streets than in cells. Street life, with its well-publicized abuses, was for them their *dream*. While the socio-economic injustices of society are great, they pale before the spectre of incarceration "for their own good."

Power Corrupts

No one consciously plotted to rape, beat, trick and steal the youth of these women. In fact, the system has many well-meaning people in it. *But it's just the way the State works*. In a culture that puts property above people, what a surprise that children who threaten property (theft, vandalism, etc.) are caged. "As long as you keep people locked away from the public eye, wrong will happen," says Elizabeth White, executive director of Elizabeth Fry Ontario. White is sure abuses continue today.

Art Sheil, executive director of Anago Resources, a private agency for "hard to serve" girls, says Grandview-style abuses, sexual and otherwise, stem from unlimited power. The staff who committed these crimes were not somehow "inately evil," and they probably never envisioned themselves performing such acts.

"Power also blurs the boundaries of where the victim can say no." Sheil contends part of the solution is helping youth understand *when* they can question authority.

Sheil looks to children's rights training as a safety valve. But it's a strategy requiring almost militant diligence, because the inherent power-mongering abuses of incarceration are magnified when children are involved. Further, such safety valves cost money and are sure to be under continual assault in the budget-slashing 1990s.

Some argue Grandview couldn't happen a-

gain, the current system is too well-padded, the epitome of modern care. But in 1968, when the NDP demanded an inquiry into rumoured Grandview crimes, the government scoffed. Didn't the NDP know? -- Grandview was the epitome of modern care.

Or look south. In the wake of the LA riots, the Bush administration launched the Violence Initiative. Dr. Fred Goodwin, director of the US National Institute for Mental Health, said inner cities' problems might be "genetic," not just socio-economic. Goodwin compared anti-social behaviour among lower-class kids to "hyperaggressive, hypersexed" rhesus monkeys. He proposed *preventive* programs.

And how does one "prevent" crimes? By rounding up "criminally-predisposed" youth in Grandview-like camps.

The Violence Initiative has been momentarily ridiculed out of existence by critics who decry its crude social control. But the Goodwins of the Western scientific community are ever at hand. When the lower classes threaten "order and good government," expect the upper classes to "discover" the Goodwins and their "scientific" justifications for oppression.

Grandview, too, used "scientific" justifications. But, when stripped of jargon, with what is one left?

No facility to help little girls cope with life, Grandview was a concentration camp for underclass troublemakers, to keep the streets clean.



Thus did the Ontario government, for the cause of order, reduce little girls to nothing, condemn young lives to oblivion, all with righteous certainty. Under the guise of "care," youths were corralled, caged, raped, roped, beaten, bought, berated, used and abused. Under the pretense of public benefit, girls were misjudged, mistreated, measured, molested, strip-searched, studied, teased, twisted and tagged, all the while ignored, deplored, drugged, filed, fleeced, trapped, bribed, brain-washed, isolated, scared and scarred; and when they ran, they were hunted down, rounded up, carted off and re-admitted, again and again and again, until finally made helpless, hopeless and homeless.

I'd tell the world to fuck off, too...

ANNA DELSO

by Doug Imrie

Anna Delso was born in Andujar in Andalusia on October 20, 1922, in her grandfather's house. Her mother Manuela and her father Francisco, who was a railway worker, lived in Madrid which is where she grew up. In October, 1934 there was a full-scale insurrection in Madrid. Anna was an eyewitness to it, and much of the street fighting took place near her home. When the Spanish revolution began in July 1936, Anna was fifteen years old and working as an apprentice seamstress for a wage of one peseta a day.

She took part in the evacuation of children from Madrid during the siege of 1936. Together with many children she traveled by truck convoy to Valencia, and from there to Vilanova i la Geltru by train. From the earliest days of the revolution, this industrial town had been completely self-managed. In the revolutionized areas of Spain women took an active and equal part in all aspects of public life, something that was absolutely unprecedented in Spain. In mid-1937 Anna, Pilar (her best friend), Consuelo Pujante and a woman named Carmen formed a group of the anarchist women's organization *Mujeres Libres* [Free Women] in the town. They also worked in a secular rationalist school teaching children. The story of *Mujeres Libres* has been told movingly in *Free Women of Spain* by Martha Acklesberg and in the writings of Mary Nash, among others. In the middle of the war her father was imprisoned in Modelo prison in Barcelona for a year due to a law passed by the Stalinist Negrin government, which outlawed the possession of firearms in all areas behind the front lines. Her brother Miguel fought as an anarchist militiaman from the earliest days of the revolution to the end of the civil war. He took part in the assault on the fascist-held Montaña military barracks in Madrid on July 18, 1936. He was wounded three times in battle. In 1939, he survived a botched fascist execution after his capture, coming to in a truck full of corpses. He spent many years in the Francoist concentration camps, but survived.

In early 1939, with the revolution destroyed and the Francoist army nearing Barcelona, Anna decided to leave the sanatorium at la Garriga where she was staying and make her way to the French border. On her way there she travelled through a war zone with her friend Ada, narrowly escaping death on at least one occasion.

Thousands of Spanish refugees who escaped



ANNA DELSO IN 1944, WHEN SHE WAS A MESSENGER WITH THE FFI IN OCCUPIED FRANCE.

to France were interned in concentration camps by the French government. Many died there of starvation, exposure and disease. Anna was imprisoned in the camp at Argèles-sur-Mer during the bitter winter of 1939-40. She was also interned in two other camps. All together, she escaped from these camps three times in attempts to rejoin her friend Dioni, who later became her companion for life until his death forty years later. She learned of her father's death in 1940 in a letter from her mother, who was still living in Spain. Dioni was forced into a militarized work brigade by the French State in 1939, as were thousands of Spanish refugees. He was to spend all the war years in it.

In 1940, Anna's friend Julia was beaten to death in Modelo Prison in Barcelona for refusing to talk during a police interrogation. Anna later wrote a poem in Julia's honour, which appears in her autobiography. Anna's sister Dolores, who had been traumatized by German bombing raids during the civil war, was injected repeatedly with turpentine by nuns of the "psychiatric" hospital at Cien-Pozuelos in Madrid. These nuns calmly collaborated in the fascist repression that followed Franco's victory. Under the fascist dictatorship the children of "reds" who had been shot by the

regime were forced into religious orders.

In occupied France, Anna was a courier for the French Resistance and housed Resistance fighters of the FFI in her home. Her life was made especially risky because she had left her assigned place of residence without official permission, and had to live without identity papers as a result. Anna's phenomenal courage was typical of her, and also of hundreds of women in France from all backgrounds who faced torture and death in the fight against fascism.

Both her name and Dioni's appeared on the Gestapo's list of wanted persons. On two occasions an anonymous friend informed Dioni that he was to be arrested that day, allowing him to bypass his usual after-work shower and immediately head home on his bicycle. As a result both Dioni and Anna survived instead of being deported or murdered.

In her autobiography, *Three Hundred Men and Me or, Mark of a Revolution*, Anna mentions that during the period of the Liberation in France in mid-1944, Stalinists would go to into the Vichy prisons and systematically murder all political prisoners who were not Stalinists, including anarchists and socialists. Also, anarchist fighters in the French Resistance were repeatedly disarmed and murdered by Stalinists, who then blamed the atrocities on the retreating Germans.

In the spring of 1945, Anna became a delegate of the Spanish section of the SIA (*Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista*) for an area in Isère in southern France. She was the only woman member there. The SIA organized aid to all victims of fascism, including orphans, exiles and political prisoners. She and Dioni participated in the newspaper *Cara a Espana*, the organ of the Democratic Spanish Alliance (which the anarcho-syndicalist CNT had joined).

During their last months in La Salle-en-Beaumont, in France, Anna and Dioni learned through an anonymous friend that a Spanish Stalinist in their area intended to kill them both because they were anarchists. Antonio Serrano, a Spanish Stalinist who often visited Dioni's workplace, planned to murder him in cooperation with other Stalinists while he was on his way to work and then kill Anna to ensure her silence. Anna and Dioni managed to avoid the ambush.

Anna and Dioni emigrated to Canada in 1951 and settled in Montreal. Anna spent 37 years in exile, most of it in Montreal. Unlike many former anarchists and other radicals, she never conveniently saw the "error of her ways" and returned to the capitalist fold. During the whole time I've known her she has never cared a fig for official State-sanctioned morality, especially as it applies to women. Like many other anarchist couples she and Dioni never married, but lived together in a "free union".

She worked in the garment industry there in a unionized shop and played an active role in her trade union, although she was well aware of its shortcomings. She also participated in the life of the anarcho-syndicalist movement, especially among the community of Spanish anarchist exiles in Montreal. Anna finally returned to Spain for the first time

since her exile began in October, 1976, after Franco's death. At the time the CNT was just starting to reorganize publicly as a legal union and the anarchist FAI, which was considered a "terrorist" organization by the State, did not officially exist. If she had returned to Spain at any time during the Franco dictatorship and been discovered, she would probably have been shot as a "red". This was a standard practice of the Franco regime, of course.

Later, she took part in solidarity campaigns on behalf of anarchist prisoners in Spain and "adopted" two anarchist prisoners of the CNT whom she corresponded with regularly in the 1980s. She participated in the life of Alternative Bookstore, the anarchist bookstore in Montreal and in *La Nuit*, an anarchist paper published there, and helped the Cafe Commune, a self-managed anti-authoritarian cafe in Montreal, especially in its early stage before 1983. In 1985, she attended the founding of the American section of the anarcho-syndicalist international in New York City. Anna worked very hard on her biography which was published by the feminist publishing house Les éditions de la Pleine Lune in 1989. A brief biography of Anna has just appeared in the *Agenda des Femmes* (a feminist pocket calendar published in Montreal) for 1994. Anna remains active within the Montreal anarchist community.

I'll leave the last word to Anna:

"One can talk for a long time about experiences such as those we lived. The most important thing, though, is not having made the revolution, but having continued the struggle in the years since, each in his or her particular setting, or in many settings at once, without trumpet or drum."



THE MUJERES LIBRES NEWSPAPER. THE CAPTION READS: "WITH WORK AND ARMS, WE, THE WOMEN, WILL DEFEND THE LIBERTY OF THE PEOPLE."

PATHS TO SOCIAL CHANGE

Alternative Media

The growth of the alternative press has not been accompanied by a corresponding growth in the wider public's access to the alternatives. The Gap Media Project aims to close that gap, by searching for new ways to get the alternative press into libraries, reading rooms, schools and other public places.

From a start setting up newsstands outside a bookstore and a couple of library branches a year ago, Gap now has over 30 distribution sites in 6 cities, through which they distributed over 10,000 copies of various alternative publications. Future plans include establishing a subscription and fulfillment service for the alternative press, establishing a fund to purchase subscriptions to alternative papers for public and school libraries, and setting up reading centres. Gap's main focus for 1994 will be to encourage publishers to solicit funds specifically to fund outreach projects such as providing issues to Gap, and creating a joint subscription service directed to medical and dental offices (wouldn't you love to read *Kick It Over* in your dentist's waiting room!).

Gap is a volunteer-run project. Publishers can contribute to Gap's work by donating copies of each issue for free distribution to the public. Membership in Gap is open to anyone for \$15.00/year. Gap is seeking donations to their fund to reimburse publications for their contributions of free distribution copies. Gap Media Project, 1415 Birch Street, Yellow Springs, OH 45387, USA.



New Autonomy Centres

One of the more exciting developments within the anarchist community is the rise of the anarchist community centre. Various called reading rooms, info-shops, info-cafes, or autonomy centres, and operating as meeting places, hang-outs, libraries, and/or concert spaces, these centres have the potential to enable anarchist ideas to reach into a much wider community. While it is certainly true that these centres can become nothing more radical than another counter-culture gathering place, the best of them will move beyond that, and work hard to reach out into the more mainstream communities. In these days of mass disenchantment with the political process, such efforts have a vital role to play in the growth of the anarchist movement, from the isolated cliques that mark our efforts today, into a widespread movement that has the

potential to create real change.

Two of the many anarchist centres we've heard about are the Emma Center in Minneapolis and Infoshop Berkeley. Inspired by the article in *Kick It Over* #32 on anarchist archives, some of the activists at the Emma Center have started a library/archive of anarchist and other radical materials. They are soliciting donations of books, zines, pamphlets, videos and other materials covering such topics as feminism, lesbian/gay, people of colour, labour, counter-culture, as well as anarchism. Address contributions of materials or money to: Emma Center, Library Committee, 3451 Bloomington Ave. South, Minneapolis, MN 55407, USA.

Infoshop Berkeley is also working on building a library. Their project is housed in the Long Haul community centre, an activist centre started in 1979. Continuing the tradition of the Long Haul, the Infoshop will be a meeting, work party, events space for a wide variety of community-based groups from a range of political perspectives. Infoshop Berkeley is scheduled to open this summer. Contact them at: Infoshop, 3124 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94705 USA.

Organizing in Support of Native Struggles

The Fall/93 and Winter/93-94 issues of *On Indian Land* featured a two-part article on local organizing in support of native struggles. Support for Native Sovereignty plans to release an expanded version of the article as an information packet in the near future. The articles were full of excellent ideas and tips, so we recommend the packet to all those working around native concerns. Previously released packets provide detailed information on Big Mountain, the Western Shoshone, Sacred Sites, and American Indian Religious Freedom. Packets are available for \$5.00 each from: Support for Native Sovereignty, PO Box 2104, Seattle, WA 98111, USA.

Catalyst Collective

If we are to achieve a society free of the debilitating power structures we find around us at present, then we all need to take responsibility for our own actions. Our current ability to do this is limited in many ways by those with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo; one of the key problems is the control of information.

Without the right information we can't know what to do with our rubbish; we have to concede control of our health to those "experts" who have the knowledge; we can't

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prepare our children for their futures and have to let the institutions of the state "educate" (and mold) them. Catalyst Collective is a small group of people who are trying to spread useful information which can empower people to take control over various aspects of their lives. Recently we have taken over the production of *Green Line* magazine; this enables us to reach a wide range of people and provide them with the initial contacts and points of information they might need to change their lifestyles.

As a registered workers' co-op, Catalyst was formed in mid-1992. Karla and Andy had been involved in setting up a previous project, the Peoples' Trading Company, in Hull. This combined a business selling whole foods and ethical goods with information-spreading. The two areas began to diverge, and Karla and Andy left Peoples' Trading Company. With their friend Paddy, who runs a Vaccination Information service, they set up Catalyst, and began to spread the word with a mailout to hundreds of "alternative" environmental and co-operative organizations and groups. Those that responded sent in leaflets for display on our stall, which we set up at conferences, "green fairs," and so on.



We had a disappointing response to our mailouts; probably because people are happier if knowledge and information come to them from "experts." So the letter from a small group of "nobodies" must have got lost at the bottom of the "in" tray! Also, we don't fall into the usual category of campaigning organization: while acknowledging the importance of single-issue campaigning, we try to point out links among different issues. For instance, the barbarities of factory farming have as much to do with economics as they do with animal rights.

Co-operation is a strong theme for Catalyst. We are part of a network of radical co-ops in Britain called Radical Routes; as well as being a support network of like-minded people working for social change, Radical Routes has set up an ethical funding scheme. Instead of investing their money in the banks, ethically-minded people can buy loan-stock in Radical Routes. They gain interest on their money, and can withdraw with given notice. Radical Routes then lends this money to co-ops which are part of the network, so they can

expand or get started. Co-ops benefit from loans at a lower interest rate than commercial banks expect; in return, members of the co-ops perform the work necessary to keep Radical Routes going -- no-one "is" Radical Routes *per se*.

Our children occupy a major part of our lives -- we home-school and work from home. This breaks down the barriers between work and play. In this society we see a lot of alienation stemming from the way we shove children into school while the adults go to "work." Since the education system is designed to stream people into the necessary classes for capitalism to function, we feel that to participate would be to support the status quo. Personal experience supports this, with the character changes observed in the children who did go to school for a while.

So for us, Catalyst is a lifestyle, rather than merely a co-op or a job. Having the legal framework has enabled us to house ourselves and friends, albeit in rented accommodation at present, and gives some other advantages. But it is an umbrella under which we have come together to develop our own personal interests, and with the benefits of co-operation, expand. We know we haven't all the answers, and can't do it all ourselves. We don't want to lead a revolution; as our name suggest, we seek to help people find ways to achieve their own aims, and to take control of their own lives.

contributed by Krayg, for: Catalyst Collective, PO Box 5, Lostwithiel, Cornwall PL22 0YT, England.

Art for Change

Art (in the broad sense of the word) can have a profound influence on the development of a radical politics. This coming July, a School for Art in Politics will examine some of the ways in which this can be realized. Using materials from a range of artistic sources -- literary, musical, visual -- sessions will explore the connection between art and political consciousness and activity.

The School for Art in Politics is a project of **Speak Out, 2017 Mission St. #303, San Francisco, CA 94110, USA.** Speak Out ("the political speakers bureau") serves as a clearing house for groups looking for speakers and organizing speaking tours; they represent over 150 speakers.

The School for Art in Politics will be hosted by the Centro Cultural El Puente in Chiapas, Mexico. El Puente is a cultural centre dedicated to fostering understanding and appreciation among indigenous, mestizo, and international communities in southern Mexico. They can be contacted at: **Real de Guadalupe No. 55, San Cristobal de las Casas, 29230 Chiapas, Mexico.**

We Have to Wake Up!

an interview with Lavina White

by Don Alexander

Don Alexander: Lavina, when did you start getting involved with the issue of South Moresby? [South Moresby -- a part of the Queen Charlottes -- was the focus of conflict in the 1980s between forestry companies that wanted to log it, environmentalists who wanted to preserve it, and the Haida who wanted to assert their sovereignty.]

Lavina White: I've been involved in the Indian struggle all my life, and it didn't begin at South Moresby. I've been involved in making changes for our people for a very long time, and just trying to build the bridges of understanding so that we can have control of our homelands, our lives, and our resources. That's been my whole struggle all my life.

And I don't see it going anywhere yet, even with these constitutional meetings. They seem to be playing the same game again. It has to be *within* Canada, or within the federation of Canada. You know, they're trying to insist on that, and our people don't want it that way because, at some point, they [the whites] will dishonour their own treaties again. We can go to the international level, but if we come in within the confederation of Canada, then we can't do that, and they know that.

That's a game they're playing now. I don't know why. I don't think we will end up being a third level -- might be the third *order* [of government]. There's a difference. I was hoping we would end up with our own system of government, because we certainly haven't been able to fit into this imposed one. And because of the mindset of colonialism, there's no way it can ever change, unless you change the systems of government.

Really, things haven't changed that much from 100 years ago. I remember when I became President of the Haida Nation, one chief from the other village I come from, wanted the leader to be from his village, so there was a big stand made against me because of the laws of Canada. I wasn't allowed to live with my people after I married, because my husband's father was English, his mother was Kootenay. So, they lost their rights, and I was married before, and I married a Tsimshian. I married Indians both times, but I lost my rights anyhow. He was Tsimshian, but his parents had given up their rights.

So, the laws of Canada are very destructive to us, same as the activities of the governments, whether the federal or provincial. Very destructive -- the same mental attitude that existed 100 years ago still exists. The attitude of extinguishment of title for us is still very

strong. The attitude of genocide is still very strong.

I was the only woman involved in this, in the meetings, for a very long time. I was trying to stay in there, instead of joining a women's group, to show the young people that we have to take our place as we were. Because [in the past] we never separated things in our culture. All of the Indian nations within this province had the same kinship communities that we have. And for us to split away -- I really understood why the women involved themselves in a women's movement, because it was really necessary, and I was always speaking up for them. But I stayed within the mixed group, and I was the only one for a long, long time. I think the women now are coming to play a bigger role. I still have a few disappointments, like the women's groups that were talking about how they're treated by the men. I went through that -- it's not just by the men, it's by the councils. I'm going through the same thing at home, because I've been away a long time. By Canadian law, I've had to stay away. And because there's no economic base up there, a lot of people stay away. And what was the original question?

DA: When did you first get involved, or how did you first get involved in the logging around South Moresby, and when they were setting up the park?

LW: How did I get involved in the lobbying?

DA: Yes, because you mentioned that your role wasn't so much on the front lines, but that you played a lobbying role.

LW: When they were ready to take action in South Moresby, we got together and had a large meeting downtown here -- those from home, and those that were here, and some lawyers. And the only one that they asked not to go to the front lines was myself. They told me I couldn't go to the front lines, because I've always been active. And, so, if that was their wish, then I had to honour it, and so I went to Ottawa instead. And I had told someone in the environment movement that I wanted to get out to Ottawa, because of South Moresby. So, someone was kind enough to give me their ticket, and I went out there.

I had a hard time convincing a couple of people that are very prominent in the environment movement of what I was saying to the environment minister. I told him that they couldn't make a park out of the area because we have a land

issue that isn't settled yet. And he said, "Well, yes." He's talked to the Haidas and they agreed that it should become a park. And I said, "How many people

Lavina White is a Haida elder, and former President of the Haida Nation. She divides her time between Vancouver and Masset in the Queen Charlottes. The interview was conducted in 1992.

did you talk to?" And he said, "Oh, there were about five." I said, "Well, that's a problem! The people have to be involved in that decision, and I'm sure they're not going to agree with it becoming a park, because what I hear them saying is we must regain control of all of our lands."

You know, the young people that are involved now don't speak our language. So, they don't understand everything the old people say. So, I have an advantage there, because I speak and understand the language thoroughly. So, I understand exactly what they're saying in their own language.

DA: You said earlier that there's 100 plus years of experience with colonial governments and colonial bureaucracies. And probably the kinds of things that happened in those negotiations just underscored things that had already been learned before. But were there specific things that were vivid for you in terms of that experience? Specific things that stick in your mind?

LW: About the South Moresby issue? The thing that sticks in my mind is that our people put their lives on the line when they went out there. They didn't know what was going to happen to them. And, yet, when they offered the 38 million dollars that was going to be used for the island, who got it? Sandspit, which is a white community, Queen Charlotte, which is a white community. They're the ones that got the docks and the buildings and everything. And, by the time you add all that up, the money was gone. So, they were putting us through a farce again of making us come to the meetings and speaking on the money.

And we had some very hostile people at the meetings. I went to the mike and I asked them, "Where were you when the people were standing in South Moresby? Now you want money." But they weren't there. It's the same old system they use on us all the time, of dangling money in front of you, and hopefully people will go for it. And nothing came of it. Maybe one or two people will do all right by it. But I don't think anything's come of it. I know that the people who were the hereditary people from that area should have been involved in the meetings. That's what's wrong with what we're doing right now -- the hereditary people are being left out, except those who run for elections and get elected. And after a long period of time, even those that are hereditary and get elected will compromise certain things because their funding comes from government. It's a real horrible system, you know. Like, right now they're talking about treaty, and who are they talking to? They're talking to local band council governments, which are an arm of DIA



[Department of Indian Affairs]. So, really, they're talking to themselves.

They should be including the hereditary people, and making money available for them to attend these meetings, but they won't do that. I've brought it up several times in the large provincial meetings, with no results. They say "Oh yes, we heard you, and we put it into the papers, you can read it right here." It's all right, you write things down, that doesn't mean it's there. They don't put it into practice. They don't involve the hereditary people, but they say hereditary people have the right to be involved. They've got that on paper, in the task force. But they never implement it. They don't put it into practice. And so, if things go wrong, maybe it's just as well. If

things don't go right with this treaty with Canada, there's some hereditary people -- we've been getting together -- we're saying, if it doesn't go right, we're putting in a rejection on the whole thing.

And it's going to be doubly hard to break the mental attitude of those that are conditioned and the mental attitude of the colonizers. Which reminds me: at one point, I was at a conference up at UBC, and somebody said they were going to have a program for colonized people to get rid of the colonization in their minds, and I said, "Well, it won't work, because you're missing the other half." I said "The colonizers have been programmed, they have to be reprogrammed, because they have a mindset, and there's no way we can change that. It's up to you." So, there we were again, but I hope I live long enough to see the change in the world -- indigenous people are beginning to get organized, and I think that, to have the president of the States and our prime minister, Mulroney, standing on our lands and tell other people that they can't invade other countries is the height of hypocrisy.

I just find it so astounding that they don't realize. The Native people probably have some treaties down in the US, recent treaties of how they're going to co-exist, but still, there's a lot of restrictions. We're free people, you know, we were always free. And I'm old enough to remember what it was like to be free, that's why I fight so hard, and that's why it has to change in my mind. Younger people don't remember what it was like to be free, but I do. It was beautiful, and I think the world right now needs our kind of philosophy and our kind of systems.

And that's the other thing -- I try to build bridges of understanding, so they [white people] too can be themselves. I'm just as interested in doing that -- for the world's sake, for the environment's sake. I don't know if you make any changes, but I always see a little bit of it a few years later.

Every now and then, I hear my words coming back to me, which gives me a little satisfaction. I think that even two people, if they're determined to make change can -- and that's what I'm trying to do.

DA: Lavina, what educational experiences did you have in your own culture or in the white culture that might have had an impact on the way you've lived your life, or the way you've been involved in things.

LW: My mother was my teacher. She was the matriarch. She was my teacher and, when I really need her, I still feel her presence, good and strong, and I feel strong when I have to make a tough stand. She was a strong lady, very knowledgeable,



NATIVE BOYS AT A RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL IN THE 1960S

able. My father was a very traditional man. He wasn't allowed to go to the white man's school, when they first started taking children away, his grandmother wouldn't let him go. And he said he never really appreciated it. He felt bad that he didn't go, until he grew up and realized how fortunate he'd been to not go to the boarding schools that they had in place for us. My mother taught me my responsibility -- right from the cradle, we were taught. They don't sit you down in a classroom type situation, you learn by practice, everyday, what your role is.

I came from the highest chief lineage amongst the Haidas -- Edenshaw. So, I always thought everybody got the same teachings. I didn't realize until not too long ago that only [aristocratic] lineages get that teaching of everything -- you're taught everything about an environment, about who's who and what's what, and it's to keep the natural order of things. Sad to say, we had three different classes of people, which I wouldn't want to see again. But all the rest of it I wouldn't mind seeing again. But three classes of people will never work for us.

The aristocracy were the ones that were trained to know what their responsibilities were. It wasn't for prestige, it wasn't for power, it wasn't for control, but for responsibility,

and that's the difference between imposed systems and ourselves. The responsibility that you feel is not just to the environment, but to all the people who come under your lineage; your kinship is extended.

I was taken to boarding school, and I was just going on to ten. I didn't know a word of English. It was hard. In fact, I didn't know how it had impacted on me, until when I was being interviewed on radio and they asked me when I was first aware of aggression from the government. I had to think -- the day I walked into boarding school, and they took my brother away from me, and I was never allowed to speak to him again. And I started crying. I didn't know it had impacted on me that way.

But it's a period of time that most of us don't care to talk about. Even if you weren't abused in any way, you were deprived of your childhood, and deprived of the kinship of your people. Denied your own culture, and denied your own family. It's still continuing to this day -- abducting our children and putting them through a process. It can't happen anymore! This is 1992, for goodness sake, and they're still doing it. Hard to believe.

In my mind, the educational system that exists now is [an] indoctrination system that prepares you for the system they've laid out for you. It doesn't teach you to use your mind. And, in our culture -- pre-contact -- our educational system served us very well. Like your grandmothers and your grandfathers taught you philosophy and principles that you live and work by. And the aunts and uncles taught you the practical things of life. Your mother and father aren't your teachers, except by example. And that's a tough one -- it doesn't sound like it, but it is -- because parents had to set an example, and that one was a real strict one.

DA: During the South Moresby dispute, the goals of the people you were working with and the mandate, was that pretty much unchanging throughout that time? You knew what you wanted -- basically you wanted recognition of the land claim, you didn't want a park, you wanted the logging to stop.

LW: Within the Haida Nation, there's a strong feeling of regaining control of all of our lands -- not just part of it -- all of our lands. And our lives, and our resources. Until that happens, there's no way we can even say we're self-governing people. That's what the federal government is having a hard time with right now. I think most Native people feel the same way -- that they have to have control of their own areas of homelands before they can be self-sufficient.

But, you know, they've depleted our resources so badly. That's one of the reasons I got involved in the environment movement, to try to create some kind of understanding that you can't go on just devastating the lands and the rivers and the seas -- something's got to give. Try to make them realize that Mother Earth is a living entity, that you can't just do what you want to her, and it's been a long, long struggle. You try and speak in a way they can understand, but that doesn't always happen, I guess. The systems

are failing all over the world right now. They think it's only the communist system that's going to fail. But the colonial systems are failing too. I think we have to have more people get together and talk about changes that need to be made, instead of letting it crash.

That's the kind of talk I gave in Eugene, Oregon at the Peace Conference: I said, "There'll be no global peace until there's global justice." I really believe that, and global equity in resources. But the colonialism still goes on. When they deplete this area, they go to South America to certain areas. It goes on and on and on under what they call "flags of convenience." But it's a system that's going to come to an end, very quickly, very suddenly. I've got to believe that to be able to go on, and I'm pushing for it [laughs].

DA: Were there certain things that people learned or experimented with in terms of strategies and tactics? I know that the disobedience was difficult for the elders because they didn't know what would happen. But when people did the blockade and the civil disobedience, was that something that people hadn't done before in recent memory?

LW: No, our people have always been strong, and they've always stood for things. It's just that the world is more aware of what's going on right now. They knew that, even if we took civil action, they would be criminalized by Canada's laws that can't deal with us unless it's criminal. And so they criminalized us when we took civil action to protect our lands or our resources. And somehow that's got to change.

I keep talking about that too, but I don't see any change, even in attitude towards that. Even by their own laws, BC still belongs to all of the Native people, yet we're at the bottom of everything. We don't have any jobs -- it's about 93, maybe 97% unemployed at the community level, because they made sure that the reserve level had no economy. Because if we had any economy, we might get strong. So, they're very careful about this. If they give you an economic venture, they'll make sure they don't give you enough money -- so you fail. They say it's because we don't know how to do it. Our people are very capable, and they can do anything. But, if you just give half the money that you need, of course they're going to fail. The attitude might change this time, I don't know. I really hope that we'll have a separate system of government.

DA: Were there certain things that you learned about the environmental movement that you'd like to share?

LW: About the environment movement? Some very prominent environment groups are neo-colonialist, which really surprised me. They're out to make parks. Their fight is to make parks, even during times when we're supposed to be working together to stop the devastation. There's a group that wants to control tracts of forest for themselves. It doesn't matter whose land claim it's in. There's a group that wants to take over the special areas of indigenous peoples, and to control them. You'd be surprised at who they are. I've gone to the meetings and stopped that one once, and now

they're all mad at me. They don't have many good words in my regard.

But those things go on. The environment people have their hidden agendas. They're there for one reason. And, because I can see it, they don't feel very comfortable or they don't like to see me on a panel. They don't like me to come into meetings. The same as in the Indian movement, they sometimes don't like to see me come in either, because I only have one goal. If somebody has a hidden agenda, I know it, and they feel uncomfortable.

DA: You mentioned that there was a decision that you, alone, should not go the front lines, that you should play a lobbying role. I presume that there was discussion in the group about who could play what roles most effectively and have a bit of a division of labour, so that people who had certain skills could use them, or other people could be conserved for other purposes. Was there a sense of trying to use people's gifts in different ways for maximum effect?

LW: There may have been. The only meeting I was involved in was when they told me I can't go to the front lines, and that's because I've been an activist for too long. They knew that they might grab me and throw me in jail, and they didn't want that. So, it was my decision that I'd go and talk with the minister[s].

You have to understand our culture. I remember one year I was going to run against Miles [Richardson, the current leader of the Haida]. I told him, and he said "Why don't you run for vice-president and then we can both get in, for sure." I said, "I can't, it goes against my culture." And he laughed, he had to laugh. He didn't have any answer for that, because women always held the highest positions in my culture. Matriarchs made all the decisions.

Mind you, they honoured each other: the chiefs and the matriarchs. The first thing you learn, as a child, is respect. Our ancient laws of respect and consent are still strong. They're very ancient laws, unchangeable -- still strong. You have to respect yourself, and respect the land. You have to respect people, and you don't impose yourself on any of those areas, without consent. They're very strong laws. It sounds simple to people, but you think about it, and if you look at the justice system, for instance, that was imposed on us, we find no honour there. And we find no justice there. I talked to a lawyer one day about our laws, our ancient laws. He said, "What are your strongest laws?" And I said, "Respect and consent." He had written several pages for something. Next time I saw him, he said, "You know, Lavina, you remember that stack of pages of stuff I had." I said "Yes." He said "I wrote it on respect and consent, and it's three pages, and it's more powerful than that other one" [laughs]. He said he found it so, he was quite amazed.

DA: You were mentioning earlier the fact that because there's no economic base there, people have to live away from home. How do people, who are still at home, how do they make their living?

LW: Oh, it's varied. The ones that live there -- there's no jobs there. And so a lot of our people, most of our people are in Prince Rupert, Prince George, Vancouver. I'm talking about *all* of the Native people, not just Haidas. They come to the cities, hoping to get jobs, and they find, when they get here, that it's not easy for an Indian to get a job. And it's not just because of the economics right now -- it's always been like that, and continues to be that way.

You know, a lot of people think that the Native people never had systems. Everybody takes it for granted we never had systems, and I just told you about our educational system. Well, in our systems, certain lineages had certain responsibilities. Like you don't learn too much about your father's side -- you learn all about your mother's side.

But in my Dad's lineage, they were the hunters, which means that the ownership of large areas of sea, land, rivers was theirs. Now, I hear people claiming different areas that they really don't have any right to. And between my Dad's lineage, which was a large area of sea, rivers, lands, mountains, and Edenshaw's areas, which were really large -- and then my grandmother, who was from Alaska, because Alaska was part of our lands too. They were cut away by the Americans. It's something we're going to have to resolve too, with the American government. We haven't really done that yet.

You got to remember there's two paradigms here. There's the Native paradigm, and there's the white culture paradigm. One of the reasons that they were able to take our lands and our rivers -- not only because of the decimation of our people, but because of our philosophies of sharing and caring. In spite of everything that's been done to us, that's still our strongest philosophy. So they were able to take away our lands and our resources, because of our philosophies. Even after all that's been done, we can never do the same thing to anybody, because it isn't within our philosophy to do that.

The other thing is I don't know if we could ever be really strong economic people, because of our philosophies of sharing and caring. That comes before anything, nobody thinks of profits first. The caring and sharing philosophy still exists, and so we can never be cold-blooded businesspeople. We are good business people, but we don't have the same [ruthlessness].

DA: *What are the greatest obstacles confronting the Haida Nation in terms of achieving the goal of controlling its own resources and sovereignty -- political, cultural, and economic -- and what are the needs, the kinds of resources that would enable Haida people to pursue that effort?*

LW: I think the greatest obstacles are the governments. They have a mindset that you can't change. The other is economic. We never have money because there's no economics at the reserve level. There's none whatsoever. Maybe the odd ones that go out to work nearby, like loggers. I was just saying recently, "It's time they quit logging on our island. It looks terrible from the air. As blind as I am, I can see stumps all

over." There were some musicians from the east coast, that came to our islands a little while ago, they were on the same plane as I was. And they were really noisy and happy. But, as we came over the island, they got quiet -- real quiet by the time we landed. We went across on the same limousine, and so we got to talking. They couldn't get over the devastation of our lands -- stumps everywhere. And that's why they got quiet. They just felt so bad about it.

DA: *So, really South Moresby is the only island that's not being logged, right?*

LW: Everything else inside is being clearcut. That was one of the reasons I was against making a South Moresby stand because I knew, one way or another, they would take it from us. I wasn't against the stand. I just couldn't see how it could help resolve our land issue. I said, "We'll deal with the *whole* land issue, not just pieces of it." Our land issue became a South Moresby issue for a very long time. I was worried about that, even when they first started talking about it.

DA: *It really diverted attention away from the big picture.*

LW: Yes, and it's never been the same since. All of the Indian nations are talking about healing processes, because of everything they've gone through. A lot of healing has to take place. But I don't believe it's going to take place until we're really in control of our lands. That's the only healing process I know of that will work. Outside of that, it's only a short-term vision.

The healing processes that they're putting in place now are very short-term. The inability to use our resources the way we used to use them is one that's been difficult, because it's outlawed for us. I got charged for doing something we've always done -- go out and get herring roe on kelp -- because I was a non-status Indian. I got charged, and I said "I'm glad you charged me, because now I can go to the Supreme Court." And so they dropped the case, they wouldn't go on with it. I wanted them to go on with it.

DA: *Do you have a vision that you'd like to see realized?*

LW: I've had a vision of our place, of our country that I can never let go of. And that's Native people having their homelands, and having control over their own lives. Absolute control over our lives, land, and resources. We have to have control. Otherwise, I don't see anything changing for us. That's the goal I'm working towards and will always work towards. And I'll never give up, and my children after me will take it up. If they don't resolve it in my time, it will be resolved later on.

But the thing that I find really terrible is that they plan to give us empty lands with no more resources. They've depleted the fish stocks, depleted the rivers where the habitats are. Everything, like the abalone, for instance. The only ones that had permits were white people from down the coast who came up into our lands and cleaned the abalone out in areas where they won't grow again.

We have to wake up. I think the whole world needs a

different head space right now, because of the environment crisis and the resource crisis. Look at how young we are [as a province], and we're having problems with work now. I said about four years ago, "I see a time coming when the money has to be made from restoring the lands and the waters and the air." We have to be serious about that, and people that are involved in it have to get paid well for changing things. But I think the whole world right now, because of the crisis we find ourselves in, really needs a philosophy like ours right now, in regards to the environment.

DA: You mentioned that earlier, that Native cultures have a lot to contribute in terms of really educating and changing the thinking of people all over the globe.

LW: You know, I'm hoping that's what happens, because we've always been looked on as the people that have nothing to contribute. And, now that we have a crisis, they're beginning to look, and I hope that they just don't do the same thing as is usually done. They want everything that is us, but not us. They learn everything that is of any consequence, like art -- they like our art form, they like our artifacts, they like our history -- but they leave us.

DA: They just pull it out of context.

LW: That's right.

DA: It's really kind of similar to the attitude towards nature.

LW: Yes, it is. We've been living here for thousands and thousands of years on our homeland, and we're still intact! That should really boggle one's mind. And then the shortness -- not even 100 years, 90 years, I think at the most -- and [our homeland] seems completely destroyed. I think that Native people should be, the indigenous people of each country should be involved in the decision-making when it comes to economics or environment, because we have a different outlook on our homelands than somebody that would come and it doesn't mean anything to them. But those of us whose roots are deep here should be the ones that make those decisions. I really believe that. That's the only way back.

I guess I can never walk away from this, because I was taught from the cradle that's my responsibility, as a person of lineage. I hope I never lose that sense of responsibility. It's difficult at times. It's like banging your head against a stone wall, but I think, because of the environment crisis that's happening now, things might change for us -- hopefully. I find it really strange that they're just discovering that earth is a living unit. They're just beginning to realize that everything -- it doesn't matter if it's underground, in the waters, or whatever -- every thing depends on the other.

And I was asking [a chief of the Kayapo people] that came from South America. He was talking to me, we had someone that could translate, and the first question I asked him was: "I noticed that you were sitting with the people, and you weren't up front when your uncle was. I'm real curious why you didn't go up with them, why you were sitting back. The reason I'm asking you is I think upon myself in the same situation. When South Moresby happened and peo-

ple were making agreements for a park, I wouldn't participate. Because I know that if that happens, and they take our people away from using those lands, the land begins to die, and if they take you people out of the forest, that's what's going to happen there. And I was wondering if you could talk about that." He smiled from ear to ear. He said I was the first one to know that, of all the people they'd talked to.

DA: I think that a lot of whites are reluctant to learn from the philosophy of Native people, because there's a whole idea that there can be a "technical solution" without having to change our attitudes and motivations.

LW: [She laughs] Science and technology is going to do it.

DA: We don't have to change.

LW: Science and technology will save us -- that's the mindset, and I think that's dangerous. It's not as if we didn't have any science and technology because we did. In our area, nobody knew the fish better than we did. We didn't go to school to learn it. It was a way of life for us, much as our religion is not a Sunday religion -- it's a way of life. And so they think we had no religion because...

DA: Because it didn't fit their categories.

LW: It makes it really difficult because we don't have separations in our culture. When I first came out into the [white] world, one of the things that really floored me was to see all these separations. Kids have their dances by themselves, adults have their dances by themselves. The learning comes the same way. It's different, absolutely different.

In a more recent conversation, Lavina emphasized that she and a number of her people are very concerned about the current rape of Haida resources. While a task force has been established to look at land claims, it will not produce an outcome for at least five years. In the meantime, land is being sold to whites, the fish and shellfish are being cleaned out, and the timber is being removed. Lavina fears the government will either try to hold the line at enlarging the present reserve, or else give back the islands shorn of resources.

The government is expecting the Haida to conduct the treaty process on government turf; Lavina feels the government should be made to negotiate on Haida soil, in their places of power.

She also feels that the armed forces base in Haida Gwaii should be shut down and the buildings converted to use by the Haida for health care and recreation. She cited an incident in which Haida children were terrified when army personnel told them they were going to drive the Haida into the sea. She would also like to see a return to the old policing system where a handful of police officers who knew the people well were employed, rather than the hordes of police who patrol the islands now.

Those who are seriously interested in working with the Haida may contact Lavina at: Box 353, Massett, BC V0T 1M0, Canada.

THE CONSERVER SOCIETY

by Ted Trainer

The essence of the required conserver society is the small scale, co-operative and highly self-sufficient local economy, in which we can reject affluence and economic growth in order to live well but modestly on far lower rates of resource consumption than we have now. Presently, 1/5 of the world's people living in over-developed countries are hogging 4/5 of world resource output, and living on a Gross National Product (GNP) per capita that is 45 times that of the poorest half, while 50,000 die every day from deprivation. This way of life is rapidly destroying the planet's ecosystems, and there is no chance that all people in the world could ever rise to it. By producing and consuming as much as we need for comfortable and convenient living standards, while cutting back on unnecessary consumption and recycling, we could halt this environmental destruction.

Small Is Beautiful

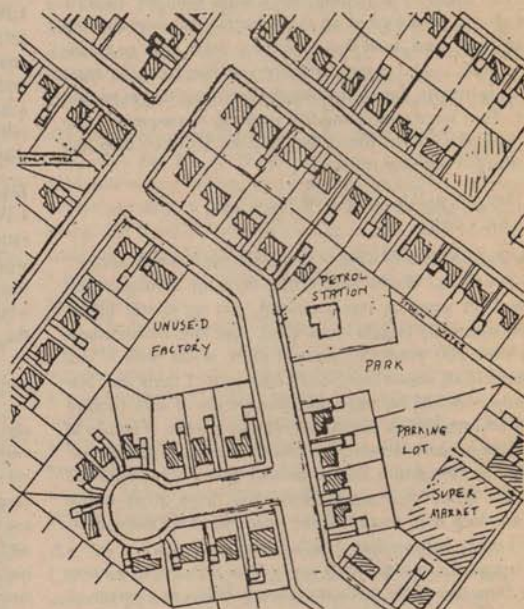
We must develop as much *self-sufficiency* as we reasonably can at the national level (meaning less trade), at the household level, and especially at the neighbourhood, suburban, town and local regional level. We need to convert our presently barren suburbs into thriving regional economies which produce most of what they need from local resources. There would be many small enterprises, such as the local bakery. Some of these could be decentralized branches of existing firms, enabling most of us to get to work by bicycle. Many could be backyard businesses engaged in craft and hobby production. In fact, a great deal of our honey, eggs, crockery, vegetables, furniture, fruit, fish and poultry could come from backyard industries. It is much more satisfying to produce most things in craft ways, rather than in industrial factories. We would, however, retain some mass production factories.

Many market gardens could be located throughout suburbs and even cities, eg. - on derelict factory sites and beside railway lines. This would reduce the cost of food by 70%, especially by cutting its transport costs. More importantly, having food produced close to where people live would enable nutrients to be recycled back to the soil through garbage gas units. Two of the most unsustainable aspects of our present agriculture are its heavy dependence on energy inputs and the fact

that it takes nutrients from the soil and throws them away.

We should convert one house on each block to become a neighbourhood workshop, recycling store, meeting place, barter exchange and library. We could dig up many roads,

A Typical Neighbourhood at Present.



The car takes 30-40% of the space.
Very little produced locally; heavy importation of food, clothing, energy, water.
Wastes have to be transported out, especially sewage.
People have to move out of the neighbourhood to work.
Not much community. Much isolation, privacy.
No responsibility for running, maintaining the area.
Little or no property owned and run by the community.
Need for high cash incomes in order to purchase.
A leisure desert.
No free goods, barter,
Little or no barter, swapping of surpluses, or free goods.
No working bees or community work days.

About 80% of Australians live here.

thereby increasing land area by one-third or more because we will not need the car very much when we reduce production and decentralize what's left. When we have dug up those roads, we will have much communal property so we can plant community orchards and forests and put in community ponds for ducks and fish. Most of your neighbourhood could become a Permaculture jungle, an "edible landscape" crammed with long-lived, largely self-maintaining productive plants such as fruit and nut trees. Especially important will be achieving a high level of local energy self-sufficiency,

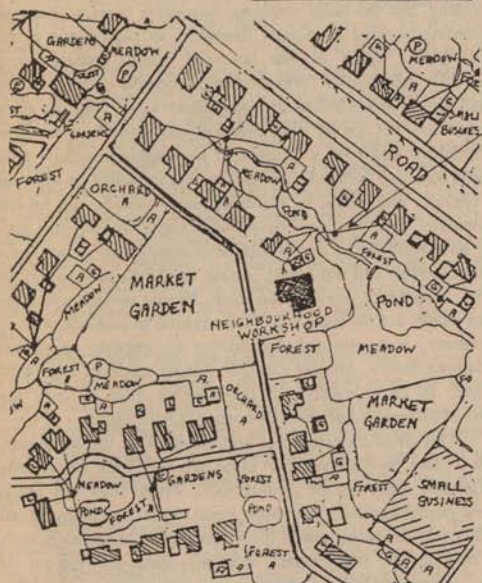
though use of alternative technologies and renewable energy sources such as the sun and the wind.

There would also be many varieties of animals living in these jungles, including an entire fishing industry, based on tanks and ponds. In addition, many materials can come from your neighbourhood. The many communal woodlots, fruit trees, bamboo clumps, ponds, meadows etc., would provide lots of free goods. Many areas could easily supply themselves with the clay to produce all the crockery needed. Similarly, just about all the cabinet making wood needed could come from those forests, via one small sawbench located in what used to be a garage. Instead, we import wood from Oregon and our coffee mugs are made in Taiwan.

There is immense and largely untapped scope for deriving materials from plants and animals that could be grown around where we live: bark for tanning, dyes from plants, tar and resins from distilled flue gases, wool, wax, leather, feathers, paint from oil seeds like sunflowers, and many medicines. These could be inputs to local hobby production and small businesses. Most of our building could be done by us, using earth. It is staggering that the typical Sydney home buyer has to earn well over \$300,000 to obtain a house (after taxes on earnings have been paid and the bank has taken back in interest three times as much as it lent), when you can have a perfectly satisfactory house for an outlay of less than \$10,000. (Don't tell me it can't be done -- I've done it!) Similarly water can be free from your own roof, yet the average Sydney household is paying over \$300 per annum for water and sewage services. These are good illustrations of the fact that the alternatives are there, but people just don't know about them.

One of the most important ways in which we'll be very self-sufficient would be in finance. Virtually all neighbourhoods have all the capital they need to develop those things that would most enrich them, yet this never hap-

The New Neighbourhood



Energy Sources

Windmills
Water wheels
Silicon cells
Woodlots
Solar ponds

Animals (A)

Industries

Small firms
Hobby production
Co-ops.
Owner operated.

Materials

Timber
Clay
Bamboo
Leather
Wool
Oil (nuts, olive)
Chemicals
Medicines
Water
Fertilizer
Wax

Greenhouses (G)
Home workshop (W)

- Many of the roads dug up and planted.
- Most back fences pulled down.
- Drains restored to landscaped creeks and ponds.
- Derelect factory site has become a market garden.
- Supermarket has become a decentralised small firm.
- Many small forests, meadows, ponds, orchards, vineyards, some private, some public.
- Much property owned and run by the local community, including woodlots, orchards, workshops, housing, libraries.
- Many energy sources, maintained by local committees.
- Many sources of materials.
- Many animals throughout the neighbourhood.
- Highly self-sufficient in food production, from backyards, local market gardens, and community sources such as orchards, woodlots, ponds.
- A leisure-rich area.
- A neighbourhood workshop on almost every block.
- Many small businesses, incl. hobby production.
- Many committees to run enterprises, cooperatives, services.
- All nutrients recycled to local gardens.

pens when our savings are put in conventional banks. We will form lots of small town banks in which our savings will be available only to be lent to firms and projects that will improve our town. Many neighbourhoods and towns are now starting their own banks and moneyless trading systems. Small communities must take control over and preserve their local economies in these ways or they will be destroyed by forces within the national and international economies. The big corporations can always supply things more "efficiently" and cheaply than a local small business, but if you let the corporations borrow all the savings and produce the goods, then they'll invest and produce in the few locations that maximize their profits, not in our town.

Communal And Co-operative

The third essential characteristic of the alternative way is that it must be much more communal and co-operative. We must share more things. We could have one stepladder, electric drill, etc. in the neighbourhood workshop. We would be on various rosters and committees and working bees to carry out most of the child minding, nursing, basic educating and care of aged and handicapped people in our area, as well as to perform most of the functions councils now carry out for us, such as maintaining our own parks and streets. We would therefore need far fewer bureaucrats and professionals. For instance, because all household wastes would be recycled through compost heaps and the garbage gas digester (providing fertilizer and gas to run fridges) we would need no domestic sewer system at all, and therefore no bureaucracy for this. We might all contribute a day a week to community work projects, such as maintaining the windmills, orchards and woodlots that provide our "free" goods.

When we eliminate all that unnecessary production, and shift much of the remainder to backyards and local small business and cooperatives and the non-cash sector of the economy, we will need to go to work in an office or a mass production factory only one or two days a week, so we could spend the other five or six working/playing around in the neighbourhood doing 1001 varied and interesting and useful things every day. The entire problem of alienated labour would disappear. It would be a *leisure-rich environment*. Suburbs at present are leisure deserts; there is not much to do there. The alternative neighbourhood would be full of interesting things to do, familiar people, small businesses, common projects, animals, gardens, forests and gadgets. Consequently, people would be less inclined to go away at weekends and holidays, thereby reducing national energy consumption.

Most important of all, there would be far more community than there is now. People would know each other and be interacting on communal projects. One would certainly predict a huge decrease in the incidence of social problems. It would be a much healthier and happier place to live, especially for old people. What's more, there would be a genuine

participatory democracy. Most of our local policies and programs could be worked out by elected non-paid committees, and we could all vote on the important decisions concerning our small area. There would still be functions for state and national governments, but relatively few.

Economic Implications

These changes are incompatible with the present economic system, which requires growth and inevitably deprives the poor because market forces always allocate scarce things to those with most effective demand. Market forces and the profit motive could have a place in an acceptable alternative economy, but the basic economic priorities must be planned according to what is socially desirable, as determined at the local level. Much of the economy could remain as a (carefully monitored) form of free enterprise carried on by small firms, households and cooperatives, so long as their goals were not profit maximization and growth. The new economy would have a number of overlapping sectors. One would still use cash, in one market forces would be allowed to operate, one would be planned, one would be run by co-operatives. One would involve barter and gifts (ie.- just giving away surpluses), one would have totally free goods (eg.- from the fruit and nut trees). There would be no unemployment, no poverty, no need for cash. People in each small region would use the resources of the region to produce what is necessary, with minimal dependence on imports or distant economic forces. Similar changes can be made in the Third World, as an alternative to encouraging them to seek the level of affluence that the rich countries have today.

This brief statement has concentrated on the big cities, where most people live. The same principles for sustainable settlement apply to the countryside, where they are much more easily applied. We must build (restore!) many small highly self-sufficient towns throughout rural areas, each with its own largely independent economy, each drawing on its local farms and dense forest gardens and each providing for itself cultural and leisure activities and community support.

Since a conserver society requires vast changes in our society's structures and systems, eg.- digging up lots of roads, relocating market gardens in cities, and phasing out whole industries, the most important thing to be done is not to change one's own lifestyle, but to help with the huge task of public education about the need for transition to a conserver society. It could take another 20-40 years before we have built the necessary level of public understanding, so get into as many discussions and arguments as you can!

This article is an abridgement of a pamphlet titled, The Conserver Society: The Sustainable Alternative to Consumer Society. Ted Trainer is the author of Abandon Affluence (Zed Books, 1985), and of the article Let's Save Our Town, which appeared in KIO #31.

Apocalypses Lost and Found

by David Bouchier

The anticipation of the end of the world is one of my fondest childhood memories. About twice a year, my parents would take me to the bombed and battered west end of London for a special entertainment -- a Disney movie or a musical. Leicester Square was a magnet for old men with a message, carried on sandwich boards or placards and spelled out in smudgy little leaflets they would thrust into your hand: "The End of The World is Nigh," or "Prepare Ye For the Terrible Day of Judgment." The old men looked so much like the prophets in my illustrated bible that I had to believe them. I never expected to be alive now, so close to the end of the twentieth century. I didn't think we'd make it to 1950.

It made strange sense to a child who grew up in the middle of the London blitz. My earliest memories are of being in the dark, damp bomb shelter, and hearing the German V2 missiles singing overhead. After the war, we had to swallow the idea of the atomic bomb, which sounded like a million V2s all bundled together. The end of the world seemed more like a certainty than a prophecy, and there was always the chance that it would come before tomorrow's math test.

I liked the old men for their reliability. Year after year, as I grew up, they stalked London's streets with the same message. Some died, and were replaced by ready-trained cohorts of new old men. The end of the world was always nigh in Leicester Square. In a puzzling universe, it was good to have some certainty, something you could always look forward to.

But the old men never delivered on their promise. Time passed, and the threat of the apocalypse receded, like the goals of a five-year plan, at just about the same pace. After a bumpy start, my generation grew up on a sickly diet of optimism about the future, which sat uneasily alongside our early apocalyptic dreams. The prosaic latter half of the twentieth century became a self-conscious prologue to the wonderful twenty-first. We were tantalized with promises of a future without hunger or want, without crime, without fear of illness or pain or even death, where the human race would spread its genius out to the stars, and science would bring utopia to earth. In the coming century, we were promised a ten-hour work week, pollution-free transportation, and an end to world food shortages, population problems, nationalism and war. In the coming scientific millennium, our sleazy cities would take on the polished look of sets from the movie 2001, and our crumbling industries would be reborn in the hi-tech image of Disney's EPCOT Center. The twenty-first century was held out as the glittering prize for surviving the tribulations of the twentieth.

Now we are in the countdown to the year 2000, and we

are beginning to get some glimpses through the gateway into paradise. How does it look? It looks like hell. After thirty years of Alfred E. Neuman's idiot grin, the presentation of apocalypse is back, and speaks to me like an old friend.

In the shadow of the third millennium, the veneer of American civilization is so thin that any teenaged drug dealer with an Uzi can poke a hole through it. The great cities that capitalism built are falling apart, and the ruins are sliding towards barbarism. The utopian promise of science has turned into a deep, pervasive dread of science. Altogether, the twentieth century has been a sobering lesson -- the kind that an old-fashioned schoolmaster would deliver with a smack on the head: "Wake up child, pay attention!"

What kept us cheerful through all this was the confident hope that it would soon be over. Vast arsenals of destruction rested in the hands of boys brought up on Saturday morning TV and comic books, commanded by men addicted to the sports pages. The end could not be long in coming. Now even this has changed. With the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, detente has become detumescence. The human race suffered a failure of nerve, and stepped back from the edge like a reluctant suicide. The chances of a nuclear holocaust are fading with the millennium.

This is not good news for everyone. Evangelists have to find a new *deus ex machina* to fulfil the Biblical promise of Armageddon. Somewhere out there in Washington State and Oregon, hundreds of nuclear survivalists are going grey in their bunkers, and wondering how long the canned tuna will last. All of us who kept the faith have to start worrying about pension plans and arthritis. To be fooled once by false prophets, as Lady Bracknell might have said, can be counted as a misfortune. To be fooled twice looks like carelessness.

But one should never underestimate the ingenuity of the species *homo more-or-less sapiens*. Like a conjurer recovering stride after a failed trick, humanity has produced and will shortly perform (no bombs up my sleeve) the nuclear-free apocalypse of the twenty-first century. As they say before the station break, "Now this."

"This" is the socio-ecological catastrophe that will finish the dream of modernity once and for all. "This" is the nightmare we have turned our back on all these years, while our eyes were fixed on a distant cloud no bigger than a mushroom. Unstoppable environmental processes alone will devastate the daily life of American suburbs and cities. Basic resources like water and clean air, fuel and food are under global pressure, which will become insupportable as world population grows by another billion in the next ten years. The industrial economy, drained by universal debt, is running on one engine. The only question is how long it can



JONATHAN STANGROOM

American people as the rules of *Wheel of Fortune*. But, until just the other day, they didn't give a damn. Mainstream American culture was always the most optimistic and future-oriented in the world. The American Dream was a sovereign remedy for pessimism and defeatism, especially when they came from wimpish foreign intellectuals. The Dream, in its primordial form, promised that the future would be better than the past, especially for Americans; that America had a great destiny to fulfil in the world; that reason and science and free enterprise together would eventually solve all problems, including inequality and scarcity; that the freedom and dignity of individuals was the primary social good; that the family was the primary unit of society and children our investment in the future; and, finally, that social status and self-respect could be found and communicated through the secure possession of consumer goods, which defined the standard of living and therefore the quality of life. In the shadow of the third millennium, these great truths stand nakedly revealed as the philosophical equivalent of cotton candy.

Very recently, I believe, and under the impact of multiple shocks, The Dream has lost its power to mask reality. There is a great cultural revolution in progress, a tidal change in American life from activism and optimism to passivism and pessimism, as easy and as seductive as the swing from credit to debt in the national economy. The change can be measured directly by public attitudes towards the future,

stay up. The worldwide gap between rich and poor is gathering stress like an earthquake fault, ready to release itself in revolutions, criminal anarchy and chaos. And then we have drugs, the ultimate self-fulfilling prophecy to push away the fear of the future. Drugs close the circle of our dependencies, and will probably seal our fate as a civilized community. The human race has risen to its level of incompetence, sliding by the wrath of God and the hysteria of nationalism, only to shipwreck on simple greed and social paralysis.

The good news about the new apocalypse is that it's guaranteed. You don't have to believe in religious fanatics, wild-eyed survivalists, and Russian generals, or old men with placards. You only have to read *Newsweek*, or your daily newspaper, or to watch prime-time TV documentaries about drugs, crime, pollution or the economic situation. The portents of catastrophe are lining up one behind the other in plain sight, like a planetary conjunction.

Future Trauma

All these horrors are as routine and familiar to the

trust in government, and planning for coming generations. It can be judged indirectly by trends in suicide, depression, violence, and other clues to the social state of mind.

Pessimism is justified and nourished by a crushing, daily weight of bad news, a message of fear, a relentless preview of disaster. Thanks to the heroic efforts of the mass media, we fear much more simply because we *know* so much more. Alvin Toffler coined the term "future shock" in the early 1970s; the 1990s have brought something closer to future trauma.

Trauma is foreshadowed in daily reminders of things we don't want to know, but cannot avoid knowing. More than any previous generation, we're committed to the self-conscious study of the future, the evaluation of risks, the scientific measurement of trends. We are infinitely more aware what the future will be like, but no more able to change it than Nostrodamus was. We already take for granted that our aspirins are double-wrapped against random poisoning, that our elderly relatives live surrounded by electronic security, and that there are large areas of our major cities where we simply dare not go. These are more like post-holocaust con-

ditions of anarchy than the routines of a civilized society.

The endless repetition of bad news has a deadening effect so that, for most people, the scope of the danger becomes literally unthinkable, and thought is left behind in a numb, downward spiral into fatalism.

Drowning in the Crime Wave
The Coming Crash
Our Toxic Trap
An Ecological Kristalnacht
Greenhouse Disaster Unavoidable
Drug Terror in the Streets

This is not quite the future as we would like to see it. Every society needs a golden age to measure its hopes against. In the eighteenth century, it was passionately debated whether the golden age was in the future or in the past. America chose the future as a utopia of personal freedom and infinite abundance. Yet all our hopes about the future are hostage to the stubborn facts of the present, and those facts tell us that there will be no golden age, nor even a liveable world, in the next century.

Nightmare of Paralysis

The word *destiny* has vanished from the American vocabulary, and even *planning* is beginning to sound a bit archaic. Our sense of time has been squeezed down to a myopic squint at the next election, the next balance sheet, the next stock market report, the next newsworthy crisis. Corporate and government borrowing beyond any possibility of repayment, the decline of personal savings, the shrinking birthrate, and the wholesale abandonment of the education system are all clues to the unspoken fact that we can no longer imagine a future continuous and consistent with the present. The crazed episodes of greed among the very rich in the 1980s may reflect their calculation that personal survival, this time around, will depend on the control of enormous resources.

What else but apocalyptic fatalism could explain the massive indifference of the American public to the federal deficit, to nuclear power plants, highways and houses built on earthquake faults, to the coming crises of health, energy, garbage, oil and water? We don't believe it's going to happen, because we don't believe tomorrow will really come.

The deep structure of our nightmare is not technological, but social. It is the nightmare of utter paralysis. There is no place in American society or politics for even the *thought* of making the necessary changes, and managing the social revolution that would follow. Of course, there are always surprises. It's possible that the famous American "can do" spirit will prevail, like Luke Skywalker, over the most dreadful combination of catastrophes. But *Star Wars* was only a movie, and Luke had The Force on his side.

So here comes the next millennium, with Obi Wan Kenobi and his magic sword nowhere in sight. The year 2000 is an arbitrary date, of course. It's not the true start of the

new century, as pedants will point out. But pedantry is irrelevant. Even in a secular, cynical age, the millennium has a powerful fascination. The myths of the twentieth century have been made in the shape of the technological utopia that lies on the far side of the year 2000. The closer we come to that date, the more remote our salvation by science appears. Something must happen, but what?

One can make guesses. The avalanche of books, articles, talk shows, conferences, college courses and TV miniseries about the millennium will drive whole nations to the brink of hysteria. Evangelical preachers will gather round the century's end like crows round a dead dog. Somebody will suggest changing the calendar. The planet will be unbalanced by the numbers of New Age people moving to Oregon with their crystals. Millennialism will make a comeback in a highly unpleasant form, blaming our fate on some convenient victim, dreaming some paranoid last battle of good and evil.

None of this will make any difference to our real fate. That fate, paradoxically, depends on faith. What we believe about the future matters desperately, because pessimism is the most reliable of all self-fulfilling prophecies. My own pessimism is built into my character, and I take a grim pleasure in it. But I can only do so because I've been buoyed up all my life by people who believe in the future, and who act as if the world can be changed. Unless there are more optimists than pessimists, there is no future worth talking about. Secretly, I've always wanted the optimists to be right, and I hope they are right about the next millennium. But, as a professional pessimist, I doubt it.

Interesting Times

These are going to be interesting times. History warns about the *fin de siècle* years, in which the twilight of the gods, the dusk of nations and the return of prophets will haunt the popular imagination. And, speaking of prophets, I have met the old man with a placard fifty years on and, as I always suspected, he is me. I never did like the look of the plastic brave new world of the twenty-first century. Give me an old-fashioned plunge into the heart of darkness any day.

There is also bad news. Sadly, there won't be much drama in the apocalypse of the twenty-first century. Instead of a big bang, we get a thousand creeping, life-destroying trends that add up to the cancellation of the future. Personally, I would prefer something with more pizzazz to it, something a bit swifter and more lurid. But I guess a prophet can't choose his/her apocalypse. When the ball drops in Times Square on December 31, 1999, I want to be there with my placard. The End Of The World Is At Hand. Prepare Ye For The Terrible Day of Judgment. I'm serious.

David Bouchier is a British-born writer and radio essayist. His most recent book, Radical Citizenship, was a study of community activism in US cities. Apocalypses Lost and Found is excerpted from his forthcoming book, Pessimism.

Patenting People

Survival International reports on a monstrous new project to collect genetic samples from "endangered" human populations from around the world. The Human Genome Diversity Project aims to collect samples of genetic material from as many as 700 different peoples under threat. The project is funded by the US National Institute of Health and organized by US and European universities. Needless to say, it has been shrouded in secrecy. Victoria Tauli-Corpuz of the Asia Indigenous Women's Network comments: "Why don't they address the cause of our being endangered, instead of spending US \$20 million... to collect and keep us in cold storage?" Survival International, 310 Edgware Road, London W2 1DY, England. The Asia Indigenous Women's Network can be reached: c/o Cordillera Women's Education and Resource Center, GARCOM-Baguio 752, PO Box 7691, Dapo 1300, Domestic Road, Pasay City, Philippines.

In a related case, the cell line of a Panamanian Guaymi woman has been patented in the United States. Patent Claim WO 9208784 A1 has been lodged by the US Secretary of Commerce for the Human T-Lymphatic Virus Type 2, drawn from the "immortalized" DNA of the Guaymi woman; the original blood sample from which the DNA was extracted is cryogenically preserved at the American Type Culture Collection in Rockville, Maryland. The official US position is that all life forms should be patentable. The Guaymi General Congress and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples have protested the patent claim both to the US government and to the intergovernmental meeting of the Biological Diversity Convention (adopted at the Rio Earth Summit). More information can be obtained from: Rural Advancement Foundation International, 71 Bank Street #504, Ottawa ON K1P 5N2, Canada.

Clayoquot Sound

Efforts to protect Clayoquot Sound from logging are shifting from civil disobedience to the economic front. A boycott has been called of MacMillan-Bloedel (partially owned by the British Columbia government) and New Zealand-based Interfor Corporation. Send letters stating your opposition to logging in Clayoquot Sound to BC Attorney-General Colin Gableman, and Premier Harcourt, both at: Legislative Buildings, Victoria, BC V8V 1X4, Canada. Contact Friends of Clayoquot Sound, Box 489, Tofino, BC

V0R 2Z0, Canada, for further information.

Over half the population of Clayoquot Sound belong to the Hesquiaht, Abousaht, and Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, who have never ceded the land to Canadian control. To support them in their struggle, contact: Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, Box 18, Tofino, BC V0R 2Z0, Canada.

Feminist Resistance in Serbia

Last December 10 -- International Human Rights Day -- the Autonomous Women's Centre Against Sexual Violence opened in Belgrade, Serbia. As well as working with women and children in refugee camps, the Centre plans to promote preventative work to support women and girls in taking control of their lives. In particular, the Centre will address the issue of rape as a social phenomenon.

In an effort to break the silence about the crimes of the regime under which they live, the Centre issued a statement crying out that "murderers, thieves and rapists rule this town. In this country, the concept of human rights doesn't exist -- women's rights even less so!... The feminists of Belgrade are calling on all women to tell their stories of personal suffering out loud, to speak about everything that has become unspeakable because they have kept us silent for so long." To offer support, contact: Autonomous Women's Centre Against Sexual Violence, Tirsova 5A, Belgrade, Serbia. Phone: +381-11-645-328; fax: +381-11-645-798. Remember that, because of the sanctions, only single-page letters can get through. (from *Peace News*)

Support Nigerian Anarchists

The Workers Solidarity Alliance and Neither East Nor West have organized an international campaign in support of the anarchist Awareness League of Nigeria. In 1992, four members of the Awareness League were arrested for their participation in nation-wide protests against the Babangida dictatorship. Two other members were arrested in 1993. While all the prisoners have been released on bail, charges are still pending. The state has continued harassment of the League, using such means as raids on members homes and offices, displaying member names in police offices, and the like.

For more information about the Awareness League, send a cash donation to Neither East Nor West-New York (address elsewhere in this column); letters protesting the ar-

rests and continued harassment should be sent to: WSA, 339 Lafayette St. #202, New York, NY 10012, USA. International money orders or UK bank cheques can be sent directly to: Awareness League, c/o Samuel Mbah, POB 28, Agbani, Enugu State, Nigeria.

Translators Needed

On Gogol Boulevard is looking for writers/editors and translators. Writers and editors should be conversant with current events in eastern Europe. Translators are needed for all the East/Central European and ex-USSR languages. This is important and timely work, so please only volunteer if you are serious. Contact: NENW-NYC, 528 5th Street, Brooklyn, NY 11215, USA; phone 718-499-7720.

Cuban Wants Contacts

On Gogol Boulevard has heard from someone who, after receiving a copy of the anarchist newspaper, *Love and Rage*, is asking for letter writers. Because of the Cuban dictatorship, people should be real careful in what they say and what they send. Ask him first if he'd like magazines, literature, etc. Write to: David del Pino R., calle: Julio A Mella #53, Reparto flora, Antilla Holquin, Cuba C.P. 82400.

Croatian Women Organize

Zenska Infoteka (Women's Infoshop) was founded in Zagreb, Croatia, in late 1992 and began operating in early 1993. The war in former-Yugoslavia has had a detrimental effect on the women's movement in the region; groups have split across national boundaries, and regarding their approach to the war.

Infoteka was established to preserve the knowledge and herstory of the region, and to document and analyze the current decline in women's economic, political and social choices and conditions. The governments of Croatia and the other ex-Yugoslav states are promoting the "glorified role of motherhood," and attempting to severely limit the options available to women. Infoteka will attempt to fight this regression through literature (translating feminist works into Croatian, setting up a library, and issuing a quarterly bulletin of theory and analysis), supporting and initiating activist pro-

jects, and providing space for the holding of meetings, conferences and forums.

They welcome all suggestions and aid. Contact: Zenska Infoteka, Berislaviceva 14, 41000 Zagreb, Croatia; phone 385-41-276-188; fax 385-41-422-926; e-mail zenskainfo_zg@zamir-zg.comlink.de

Hungarian Anarchists

In June of 1993, a small group of Hungarian anarchists met to form a national network. They hope to meet regularly, to discuss both theory and possible actions, and plan to publish a newsletter and a newspaper. They can be contacted at: Anarchist Federation of Hungary, Budapest 1399, PF. 701/800, Hungary.



ANARCHIST MEETING IN HUNGARY. BANNERS READ: THE REVOLUTION IS BEGINNING NOW INSIDE US! NO POWER TO ANYBODY! FREEDOM WITHOUT A STATE!

Selling "Liberation"

It's a funny thing, when national liberation movements finally win the right to participate in elections, and the solidarity movements of old have to convert themselves into party-political fundraisers. We've just stumbled across a press release from IMEX of Austin, Texas -- which claims to have the copyright on the initials "ANC." They're the people who do the North American marketing for the African National Congress (they've also copyrighted the whole name and the slogan "The People Shall Govern!") and will sell you a natty baseball cap, bum bag or frisbee with the ANC logo on it. There's also a watch "offered through IMEX's agreement with the ANC's official watchmaker" made (at levels of exploitation one can only guess at) in China.

Reprinted from: *Peace News*, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, England.

Co-operative Resistance in Guatemala

In the 1960s, land was earmarked in the northern jungle region of Guatemala for poor, landless *campesinos* to set up agricultural co-operatives. In more recent times, the army has attempted to drive the residents from their homes into Mexico to prevent them from helping guerillas. In 1982 the army slaughtered 324 villagers in a marketplace, and since then has burned down their communities every year. However, the cooperatives still survive, appointing and supplying food to teachers, agricultural workers and vigilantes who are posted to warn of the army's approach. The fields and crops of maize and beans are hidden far from the communities, though the army finds and destroys enough of them to force hunger on the communities.

The children contribute to the workload when the need arises, and take their lessons in the forest. Felix Perez, a teacher who has never completed his own schooling, having abandoned it to work in the fields at age 13, says: "Our struggle is not only to teach the children to read and write, but to give them a more humane education to ensure they do not grow up to be vicious people like those who force us from our communities." *New Internationalist*, 1011 Bloor St. West, Toronto, ON M6H 1M1, Canada.

US Political Prisoner

Eddie Hatcher is a native American political prisoner in North Carolina. In the 1980s, concerned about the rise in cocaine trafficking in his home of Robeson County, he investigated, and found evidence to link local business-people and police officials with the drug business. Native and black people were being jailed and murdered regularly for their alleged participation in the drug trade, while these officials remained free. Hatcher attempted to involve federal agencies in investigating the situation; instead of working to end the corruption, they conspired with the local officials to have him neutralized.

In an attempt to draw publicity to the situation, Eddie Hatcher and another Tuscarora activist, Timothy Jacobs, occupied the offices of the *Robesonian* newspaper. Their demands were: that the Sheriff's department and local judiciary be investigated; that the mysterious deaths of natives and

blacks in the county be investigated; that the recent death of a young black prisoner in the local jail be investigated; and that the two activists not face charges for their action. The state acceded to the demands; of course they reneged.

At his trial, Eddie Hatcher was denied an attorney, and was convicted and sentenced to 18 years. Timothy Jacobs received 6 years. In 1991, Hatcher was attacked by another prisoner, who has since claimed that he was contracted by certain prison officials to "take care of Hatcher." While in prison, Eddie Hatcher has contracted the HIV virus.

The Eddie Hatcher Defence Committee has called for a boycott of the state of North Carolina, and of its two largest furniture manufacturers (furniture-making and tourism are the two largest industries in North Carolina), Broyhill Furniture and Thomasville Furniture. For further information, write to: Eddie Hatcher Defence Committee, PO Box 1491, Hamlet, NC 28345, USA. Write in support of the boycott to: Broyhill Furniture Industries, c/o Interco Inc., 101 South Hanley Rd, St. Louis, MO 63105; Thomasville Furniture Industries, 401 East Main Street, Thomasville, NC 27360; Governor James Hunt, Office of the Governor, Raleigh, NC 27603.

Social Ecology in Uruguay

Social Ecology Networks are being formed in many parts of the world to promote and discuss the concept of social ecology, and an international Social Ecology Network is on the horizon. In Uruguay, for instance, the *Red de Ecología Social* (REDES) is a network founded in mid-1988 to do educational and political work "on the themes of social ecology and the environment." Doubling as the Uruguay section of *Amigos de la Tierra* (Friends of the Earth), REDES publishes a monthly magazine called *Tierra Amiga*.

REDES seeks to "advance the study and dissemination of human-scale models of development and address the needs of all people and the whole person, based on the principles of social ecology." It explores appropriate technologies, health alternatives and renewable sources of energy. REDES also organizes political actions around issues like acid rain, the greenhouse effect, the spread of toxic and radioactive wastes and species extinction. Particular attention is paid to offering the rapidly growing numbers of migrants from rural villages to the city a forum where its ideas can be discussed, as well as a laboratory where self-management and alternative projects can be researched, explored and demonstrated.

The core REDES members are part of *Comunidad del*

AL · VILLAGE · THE · GLOBAL · VILLAGE

Sur, a long-standing alternative-communitarian, anarchist experiment in Montevideo, and their farm within the city of Montevideo serves as a meeting place for interchanges between urban and rural groups and individuals, as well as the alternative movement in South America. Members study participatory democracy and do community organizing in their neighbourhood. The community exists by its own farming

and its cooperative publishing house, and is considering developing an Institute for Social Ecology in Montevideo. It is interested in exchanging both ideas and concrete experiences with groups and people from other parts of the world who share their commitments. (from *Green Perspectives*.) **REDES**, c/o Comunidad, Avenida Millán 4113, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Dear friends and sisters in the Network of East-West Women:

Women and draft resisters. They make a powerful combination. They are the spirit behind the *Zitzer Spiritual Republic*. It is often the women and the draft age men who take the leadership in grassroots war resistance movements. This has certainly proved true in the village of Tresnjevac in the Vojvodina region of northern Serbia.

In the spring of 1992, 200 young men in the village of 2100 received their military call-up papers to fight in the war against Croatia. The ethnically-mixed village, close to the Hungarian border, was widely opposed to the war, so the women in town organized a protest demonstration. Eight hundred people showed up, and they decided then and there to take a radical stand. The group refused to disperse until the military retracted the call-up and allowed the village's other men to return from the front or from exile. They based themselves in a local bar, pool hall, and pizza parlour called the Zitzer Club. The 200 young resisters camped out here for three months, provided with food and support from their families.

The Serbian-controlled government responded at first with threats. For two days the village was surrounded by tanks and troops. But eventually the military backed down, and with a few exceptions, the men have remained free.

While living at the Zitzer Club, the resisters put their anti-war spirit into a new idea. They created a "new country" they called the Zitzer Spiritual Republic, a country which, according to the constitution they wrote, is open to all people from any nation, race, or ethnicity who believe in the right of an individual to follow one's conscience. They adopted a national crest which depicts a pizza surrounded by three billiard balls, and they took as their national anthem Ravel's *Bolero*, which happened to be the only record around in the place.

Visitors from peace groups in nearby Hungary got the word out about the Zitzer Spiritual Republic, and their inspiration spread. In New York City, activists from the Balkan War Resource Group and Neither East Nor West made plans to form the US Embassy for this new country without borders. In August, 1993, Jill Benderly of the Network and

Dorie Wilsnack of the War Resisters League paid the village a visit and were able to meet the resisters and the women who organized the village's protest movement.

Much to their surprise, Dorie and Jill found that the Zitzer activists had little knowledge of how widely known their story had become. Except for the occasional visitor, they were cut off from communication with peace groups outside. Their isolation was made even larger by Serbia's controlled media, by the severing of telephone ties with Croatia and Bosnia and by the economics of village life under sanctions.

And so a computer campaign was hatched. With a computer and a modem, the anti-war activists in Tresnjevac could link up with the electronic mail network that is the lifeline of the peace movements in the Balkans. They would be able to get their story out around the world, and garner quick support if another political emergency arose. They would expand their own political awareness by connecting with local groups in other countries, as well as other former Yugoslav republics.

The US Embassy for the Zitzer Spiritual Republic kicked off the computer campaign with its inauguration at the rock club CBGB's on November 28. The Network enthusiastically endorsed and promoted this event and the campaign. One fourth of the funds needed were raised, and it garnered some excellent media coverage for the Serbian draft resistance movement.

We want to invite you to become a citizen of the Zitzer Spiritual Republic by supporting this computer campaign and making as generous a donation as you can. Let's create another example where women and draft resisters work together to turn the military on its ear!

Peace: Ann Snitow, Sonia Jaffe Robbins (co-ordinators, Network of East/West Women), Jill Benderly, Dorie Wilsnack.

Please make tax deductible cheques out to the *Aspect Foundation* (Canadian cash is fine) and mail to: **Neither East Nor West, 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215, USA.**

AGAIN TO THE CRISIS QUESTION

In this article reprinted from *Trety Put (Third Way)*, Sergey Fomichov discusses the problems facing eco-activists in Russia, and the role of western activists in both exacerbating and helping to resolve those problems.

by Sergey Fomichov

Resources (most of all, people, finances and time) of the current ecological movement in Russia (and not only) are seriously limited. With the exception of a few big organizations such as Greenpeace-Russia, the Social-Ecological Union, and a few regional ecological centres, the remaining ecological initiatives are more or less without a constant flow of resources to support normal working regimes.

This happens for one reason; the absence of any significant amount of native resources. Essentially everything that the ecological movement of Eastern Europe has currently comes from a Western source. Western aid is seriously limited, and gaining access to it is, as a rule, very difficult for the majority of initiatives. From this develops an inevitable dependence of the grassroots of the ecological movement on a small group of organizations consciously or unconsciously monopolizing the resources. This dependence seriously weakens the effectiveness of the ecological movement overall, increasing, really and also significantly, the effectiveness of the work of individual organizations and the concentration of resources. The minuses in such a situation are much more, unfortunately, than the pluses. And here is why.

Public Interests Not Served

In 1987-1991 the environmental movement of the Soviet Union was located in an unprecedented "splash of activeness." The reason for this activeness was the fact that the movement of that time operated more than anything else on *human resources*, which were more than adequate, thanks to the just-beginning political changes, still not transformed into economic changes. In other words, human resources dominated, and financial resources played a secondary role. In this case, the base, guiding power of the ecological movement consisted of the *objective needs of the population*. Problems were solved quickly, and not only when the public raised these questions. Without dollars, without computers, without finances and even without official registration, the ecological movement achieved results, which would now take decades to accomplish. Besides this, it is necessary to note that human resources had a local character and, for the most part, fed into grassroots initiatives.

With the changes in the country's economic situation, the structure of the movement was transformed. Human resources radically shrunk and shifted to a secondary place, and

finances started to dominate. Now, in order to work normally in the almost complete absence of people and the constant growth of the cost of living, the need for dollars has appeared. Only the Ecological West is able to contribute dollars. Only people connected with the Ecological West are able to receive dollars. In this instance, the main directing strength of the movement has changed. In replacing the objective interests of the population, the *subjective interests of the distributors of the financial resources* have arrived. Problems take longer to solve, and can be solved only when there is financing for their solutions. As it was earlier, human resources were the foundation; now, they are mobilized not directly, like earlier, but through the receipt of financial resources. It is forbidden to finance peoples' protests and therefore the movement began to "professionalize," not in the sense that it started to attract specialists, but in the sense that it attracted functionaries.

It is not worth it to tangle the subjective interests of the distributors of financial resources with their personal and selfish interests (that indeed also is an issue, but is dealt with further down). He who pays is he who places the music requests -- this is true, yet not everyone who pays is the mafia, or the CIA, or Siemens, but those ecological-oriented people living in the West. However, interests remain subjective and do not correspond to the objective interests of the population, which ultimately "places the Cross" on attempts to resurrect the former mass of the ecological movement. The principle inadequacy of subjectiveness is that it does not reflect the whole complex of ecological problems, which means it is not able to anticipate the ecological catastrophe on the global scale. Besides this, resources are being transferred from the poorly-funded sectors of ecological activity to the well-funded. Here it is possible to look at a few examples.

Protected natural territories, and in general, all that is connected with biological diversity, are becoming a key theme in the financing of projects of the Social-Ecological Union (SEU). Despite the fact that the active majority of SEU members stand on the principles of the founding flow of the movement (the preservation of the environment), the organization is still under the control of its creators -- Dopniki (members of the Druzhina Nature Conservation Student Movement) and Biodiversants (biodiversity specialists). As a result, if you consider the money spent on the operation of the organization and the development of the structure, a large

part of the financial means of the SEU are spent on the support of protected natural territories -- work which the government should finance and not citizen organizations. (Here I foresee indignation and a multitude of objections, and am prepared to answer them, but this does not concern the question of resources. The specifics of the financing structure of the SEU I touch on further on.)

This is, as they say, internal subjectivism, depending on the overall orientation of the leadership of these ecological formations. In the worst case it is allocated only for one organization. Then there is the external subjectivism, coming from those who pay, i.e. - those from the West. This already concerns the agenda of the movement.

Environmental education projects have acquired a special popularity. Roughly calculating, almost half of the entire Western financial support (especially from European countries) goes towards such projects. As a result of this, ecological initiatives in the former Soviet Union have entirely reoriented their work from nature preservation or the defense of the environment to education. The Western environmentalist does environmental education because the key ecological problems of Europe have been solved or are closer to their solutions. In such a situation it is possible to think of the nurturing of future generations. There is time (more accurately, Europeans think that Europe is located in another planet), and they carry their idea to our country, already having agonized over the places deteriorating from the violation of the ecological balance. Does this hamper the Russian movement? Undoubtedly -- in the case of a fire it is necessary to put out the fire and not give a lecture about fire safety.

The criticism of the anti-atomic movement, outlined below, is a delicate topic. Besides objective reasons (in Russia there are 26 widely-known reactors), the positioning of the atomic issue as a priority in the ecological movement of Eastern Europe was done for purely subjective reasons. From the point of view of the Western European observer, the nuclear industry represents the principal threat to Russia. It is so, but only if you look from the West. Frightened by Chernobyl, from which the centre of Europe received the pollution, international ecological organizations naturally consider this problem their first priority. They have done so that their egoism would not show itself; yet it obviously does. To the person living in the centre of Russia, something else is obvious. The nuclear industry without all doubt is dangerous and requires maximum resistance from citizen organizations. Yet, originating from local, as well as from global, interests it is possible to name not nuclear threats as the most urgent issue (as it carries a general, potential character) but the real, 24-hour pollution of chemical substances and any other toxic



substance and the daily destruction of forests.

The opposition against toxic pollution and the defense of the forests are carried out at the present time very weakly. For example, in the recent SEA bulletins the weight given to the atomic issue has grown so much that it is already difficult to read it as a general ecological publication. Moreover, this is the most widely-read source of information within the green movement.

If you look deeper into the problem, then, naturally, it is not worth it to argue over priorities, but it becomes necessary to try harder to change the political-economic system of this society, as the reason for all occurring chaos; yet our movement's understanding has not ma-

tured to this point.

Changing the Movement's Structure

We return to resources. As already discussed, the change in the resource-flow into the ecological movement occurred not only in terms of its source, but also in its distribution. In turn, these changes have led to structural changes in the movement. If earlier the basic resource (people) was derived on the local level and by local initiatives, then the structure of ecological coalitions has been formed from the movement from below, and according to its needs. With the beginning of this decade, the structure of the movement was transformed. The absorption from below ended, and in place of it the humanitarian aid from above has been flowing in narrow streams. Now the structure has been modified in correspondence with the needs of the centre, which were mentioned in the second part of this article.

In the "hour-glass" of the movement it is possible to delineate a few levels: international and national centres, big and small regional centres, private ecological initiatives, and, finally, the grassroots movement, consisting of simple people, rendering the movement support with their participation in action and campaigns. The bottom level and part of the next level we have already lost. The activity of the alliance of radical greens and anarchic organizations can be seen as an example. In the 1989 action in Chapaevsk, close to 7,000 people participated from the local population, whereas in the more recent Lipetsk and St. Petersburg actions local activists were estimated in the ones. The "hour-glass" of the ecological movement in the last few years has significantly sifted and sifted, basically eating away at its numbers.

If you watch TV, maybe you have seen a certain style of western, elite restaurants where, when wine is poured, the wine glasses have the appearance of an hour-glass. The waiter fills the upper part of the glass and the wine pours

down through the funnel, filling one level of the glass and continuing down to the lowest level. This is roughly how the native ecological movement looks right now. While the Centre is not satiated with these computers, dollars and other grants, one drop will not fall down. The bottle is too small, and the aid has only reached the level of regional centres. Now it is essential that they become satiated.

The main office of the SEU in Moscow spends huge, according to local standards, amounts of money on the purchase of hand-made carpets, imported armchairs on wheels and other luxuries by appearance, imported thumbtacks and paper clips, and at the same time, in the provinces there is often not enough money for the most essential things. They are somehow required by some agreement with the Americans to have the most abundant office. It is necessary to send these Americans to the provinces to work for a few days without not only computers, but a table on which it would be possible to place a computer -- or an office. In the case of the desire of the leadership of the SUE, it would be possible to easily get around such limitations; however, the desire apparently does not rise.

In response to such accusations, they often answer, those who have the money are able to work and don't consider the money to belong to someone else. This shows only that the movement has lost the feeling of solidarity, and divided into corporate groupings. Money and the absence of unifying ideologies is destroying the movement. It is necessary to notice that, for those who now receive grants, it would not be so easy if the SEU did not have a multitude of working organizations throughout the former Soviet Union, but only consisted of the Moscow office.

Besides this, as Professor Yanitsky noticed, the real danger arises with "the overgrowing of the Eco-movement and most of all the Social-Ecological Union, a mass of organizations-politicians, not having an ecological orientation."

Ecological organizations, derived from citizen initiatives and the masses, are now being converted into closed structures. The resulting model of such conversions can be seen in Greenpeace, with five million members worldwide. It is a global fabrication, since these members, even in the case that a desire arises, are not able to influence the decision-making of their own organization. In reality, Greenpeace consists of a few thousand professionals (functionaries and specialists), with five million sympathizers or supporters.

In the opinion of many activists, there is nothing bad in such a set-up. The movement is a flexible organism, and constantly restructures itself in accordance with external conditions. A time will come and the lower level will resurrect itself.

Recent research indicates that activists of the movement are very passively dealing with the absence of a mass movement. One participant in a recent seminar stated that the expenses for the mobilization of human resources do not pay for themselves. Allow me to not agree with this. If the ecological crisis would not be so deep and if the ecological

movement would possess a massive amount of time for the accomplishment of their diverse goals... but the movement has nothing of the sort.

Rebuilding the Grassroots

The movement has been transformed according to certain parameters: the change of the character of a vital resource (instead of people -- money); the societal customer has changed (instead of the population -- Western sponsors); the character of the movement has changed (from a citizen movement to a professionalized movement); the structure of the movement has changed (from grassroots to centralized); the movement has lost its massiveness and its numbers have shrunk; the range of the groups' activity has narrowed. The consequences of such a transformation became the loss of a movement of activists and its effectiveness.

Allow me to give a few recommendations to those on whom depend the use of the movement's resources at the present time. First of all: as much as it is impossible to end the practice of top-down funding, it is necessary to shift to the direct financing of the lowest level of the movement, i.e. the local initiatives, and with the financing try to save the remnants of the grassroots, on which later it is possible to begin the resurrection of the mass movement.

Secondly, in order to ultimately not lose connection with the population, it follows to maximally support calculated initiatives for the conquest of public opinion (journalistic, radical, etc.).

Thirdly, it is essential somehow to keep afloat structures, capable in certain conditions of turning over into mass organizations without big losses of time on organization.

Fourthly, it is necessary to quickly come to the development of a unifying ideological conception of the ecological movement for the prevention of the further disintegration into narrowly-specialized centres, communicating between each other only in terms of finances. Moreover, this does not require special expenditures. In addition to the ecological training of children and the population, it is necessary for the greens themselves to receive something.

Finally, in a short period, it is necessary to prepare and initiate a counter-attack of the greens on behalf of all the positions lost in the last years -- atomic and other major energy, chemical production, forests, wastes and others -- before the movement finally converts into an isolated professional structure, i.e. before it stops functioning as a movement.

translated by Jennifer Adibi

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Building an Alternative Economics

a discussion

editor's note: Last issue, we published an article by Gary Moffatt calling for a People's Economic Commission to examine the reasons that the present economic system is working against most of the people, and to explore remedies in the form of reforming the present economic system and/or creating an alternative economy. We are printing some of the responses, along with some comments by Gary, in the hope of stimulating further discussion on this important subject.

Dear KIO:

I was intrigued by Gary Moffatt's article in *KIO* about setting up a "People's Economic Commission." *Libertarian Labor Review*, the anarcho-syndicalist journal, has an ongoing economics project and has been running a series of articles on anarchist economics. It is our feeling that the anarchist movement has not paid enough attention to economics, and has left this important subject to the marxists, liberals and free market radicals. Unless this begins to change, anarchism will never become anything more than a fringe movement, with nothing to offer to the ordinary person. Perhaps *KIO* and *LLR* might cooperate in promoting a more thorough understanding of economic issues.

There are some problems with Gary Moffatt's proposal, however. It begins with an assumption that leftists of widely divergent beliefs can somehow put these ideologies aside, and objectively determine what is wrong with the Canadian or North American economy. It is impossible to separate the question of bad economics without some sort of agreement on what good economics should be. For instance, Moffatt suggests that one of the functions of the People's Economic Commission will be to criticize government or corporate policies in terms of how many jobs they might create or destroy. Jobs are not an end themselves, however, and to suggest that people are necessarily better off because more jobs are available not only assumes that the wage system is good for workers, but also ignores important questions.

During the 1980s the political right made much of the fact that there was a big jump in the number of jobs because of the policies of Ronald Reagan. Yet most of these new jobs were low-paying service sector jobs. These new jobs were created at the same time as there was a net loss of good-paying manufacturing jobs. Thus, when the subject of jobs comes up, we must also ask what kind of jobs these are, at what standard of living (and working), and at what social or environmental costs?

Capitalist (free market) economists believe that the best economy is one which is most efficient at accumulating capital, arguing that the growing wealth must inevitably trickle down. Marxists believe that the best economy is one that di-

rectly raises the living standards of working people, as defined and controlled by a central planning agency. Both of these tend to be self-serving, the former mainly benefitting the capitalist owners, the latter, the state bureaucracy. Anarchists must clearly reject both these economic models. We need to offer an alternative which places emphasis not only on raising living standards (these standards being defined in environmental as well as consumption terms), but also emphasizes community control and worker self-management.

The choice of economic model largely determines what sort of data will be considered relevant. Choose the capitalist model and macro-statistics like rate of growth in GNP, interest rates, total number of jobs, etc., can be manipulated to show a healthy expanding system. Choose the marxist model, and likewise the data one collects will show that state intervention is required to save us all from the workings of the marketplace. Choose an anarchist model, and other factors, like the number of co-ops, unions and mutual aid societies, etc., will take greater prominence.

Therefore, instead of a general left-wing People's Economic Commission, I would suggest a more specific focus on anarchist economics. It could begin by trying to build an alliance between the anarcho-syndicalists and the anarcho-ecologists, those wings of the anarchist movement with the greatest concern for economic issues. Perhaps at some future anarchist conference a workshop could be held on the subject of economics, to get the ball rolling.

Fraternally,

Jeff Stein

Libertarian Labor Review

Box 2824, Station A

Champaign, IL, USA 61820

Dear Gary,

Your article in *KIO* #32, *A Call To Form a Commission on People's Economics*, interested me greatly. I agree completely with your concern that the left has lost its vision and that there is a great need to examine fundamental economic issues in the light of capitalist onslaughts. I've also enjoyed your earlier contributions in *KIO* on economic issues. Distance is an obvious obstacle, but I'm happy to help out in any way possible.

Perhaps I should tell you a bit about my perspective. In terms of promoting a society built around self-management, my special interest is in looking for goals that can be turned into transitional practices that build alternatives and also challenge oppressive social structures. I think social defence - nonviolent community resistance as an alternative to military defence - is one such goal, and another promising one is

demarchy. But in looking through economic alternatives, I haven't come across anything that fits quite as well -- perhaps because this is an area I haven't investigated quite as much, or perhaps because I haven't grasped some obvious points.

Some of the elements of a suitable economic alternative might be:

- getting rid of the idea of a "job" as a mechanism for allocating the economic product to individuals (it's a myth anyway, since many people do little work and obtain large rewards [eg. - capitalists]- while others do lots of work for little pay [eg. - homemakers]) and replace it with some system that ensures that everyone gets what they need and everyone has an opportunity to do satisfying work -- the difficult question is, what is the system that does this?

- undermining the privileges of the "intellectual class" (professionals, etc.) as well as those of capitalists and state bureaucrats;

- allowing diversity in social systems (eg. - via a canton system) while avoiding the worst extremes of inequality;

- promoting cooperation rather than competition, sharing rather than ownership;

- ensuring compatibility with social defence and not with military defence or, in other words, building on community support and having no reliance on any system of coercion (some preliminary ideas are in the last chapter of my book *Social Defence, Social Change*, London, Freedom Press, 1993).

I could go on, but this is enough for now. So, consider worker cooperatives, or local currencies, or free distribution of goods, or abolishing copyright, etc. All of these and others are useful avenues for action. Two questions can be asked in each case. Are they effective means for challenging the existing system and building a self-managing alternative? How can they be made the basis of grassroots action?

Obviously, these are long-term goals. I don't think social defence, demarchy or a self-managed economic system are likely in our lifetime, but they may provide the direction for useful action. Short-term perspectives may actually be less useful if they don't challenge or supersede the foundations of the existing system.

Well, I've given you enough for you to gauge where I'm coming from, and also for you to realize I'm still struggling and confused. I do hope to be looking more into these issues in the coming months. Let me know if there's any useful way I can be involved in your project.

Yours,

Brian Martin

Science and Technology Studies
University of Wollongong
Wollongong, NSW 2522 Australia

Editor's note: The following letter has been edited for length. Ellipses in brackets [...] indicate long deletions.

My guess is that Gary Moffatt's Commission On Peoples' Economics will not take off. This is because he has

misread the human situation, no less. We are not, first and foremost, economic animals. This economic delusion, bred of Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, Karl Marx and Lenin, has done incredible harm. It has killed the Left.

We are not naked apes. We can't fly, we wear no armour plate, we have no camouflage, we lack powerful teeth or tusks. Physically we are a pretty hopeless lot, or we would be without our saving grace, a brain that provides us with an inventive imagination which makes it possible for us to take our own future in hand self-consciously, and remake it as we would have it be.

We have enjoyed and suffered some 10,000 years of living in towns, civilization, in which the critical institution has been not the economy but the Army, the *avant garde* of Church and State, and empire built and sustained by the Army. The economy was for slaves, serfs and wage-slaves. "Our masters" were into arms, government, religion and the arts.

The fate of every organism is decided by the goals it pursues. Human goals used to be determined by eschatology, the Four Last Things; Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell. But we don't believe that any more. So today what are our Four Last Things? I take them to be the vision of freedom, justice, creativity and brotherhood. Appeal to those and people will respond; the appeal has to be personal-political. Economics is about ameliorating the conditions of our slavery at work until the Law of Surplus makes it possible to abolish that slavery by phasing out money and the market. We have to do that too, but it is not about the workings of the human spirit, it is secondary, and very specialist.

What do I know about making steel, motor cars, textiles, chemicals and the rest? Answer: nothing. Do I want to know? I do not. I know about my own neck of the woods and will take that in hand. I expect others to do likewise. What we all have in common is government, citizenship and possible beliefs as to a way of life with its shared joys and sorrows. We need to bring back philosophy in its original form, before it was ruined by dualistic philosophers, as wisdom-in-action. The sooner we bury economics deep-down the better.

We didn't say in our paper *Values and Visions* that "the present capitalist system will destroy itself." We only used the word "capitalist" once, and that was to demote it: "So long as money and the market exist, every economic system, including the most co-operative, will be some variety of capitalism." There are countless varieties of capitalism, some good, some bad, some indifferent. There are no other options. It is up to us to differentiate between them, promoting one and demoting another. At the end of the day, by virtue of surplus, we shall start to move out of economics altogether into a system of production and consumption, for which at the moment we have no name. I call it the gift economy.

All of us, today, live in both the market and the gift economies. If we are paid for our work then it is done in, and for, the market. If we do it for love, without pay, it is

done in the gift economy. The two co-exist. If you look at your own working day, you will almost certainly find that already you spend more time in the gift than in the market economy, taking evenings, weekends and holidays into account. We are closer to emancipation than we know! To find ways to work less for money and more for love is something we all can do. In that way we can build the free society now.

Then there are delusions of grandeur and the incredible damage they have done and are still doing. "How many of our natural resources should we (my emphasis) agree to export?" It is the wrong question. May I suggest an entirely different approach? It is that individuals in the context of groups look at their own expertise, resources, time and energy and ask themselves: What is within my/our range? What specific targets can we define in respect of which we might reasonably get results in the short, medium and long term? Then get on with it and deliver.

This does not imply any narrow parochial focus. You can take on the earth if you have the competence to do so. One way or the other, we have to cover everything from the micro to the macro. It will need a lot of people, and that means we have to solve the problems of structure and function. It is no use working in isolation -- that way lies defeat. And, further, we need a long line of limited low-profile successes. Without that there is no way we can build up the confidence that is indispensable.

So we can start at the best place -- the beginning. Do you have three like-minded friends? That will make four of you, and four is the essential number if work is to proceed. The number should stay in single figures. Forbid growth, permit and promote multiplication. Set up autonomous special purpose groups for single issues. Always keep the organization base at the human single-figure scale. This will then be the permanent check on the possible abuse of power in any larger-scale activity than circumstances might call for. Lay on some food and drink. These are not "meetings" (best not to use that word), they are gatherings, sessions, get-togethers, parties with a purpose. They are both deadly serious and fun. And they are not encounter groups designed to meet personal problems, these are units of direct democracy.

[...]

And what about the economy? There is nothing so

wrong with it that cannot be put right by countless piecemeal changes over an extended period. Massive adaptations are at hand at this moment. There are two massive problems to face. The first is structural: ever more sophisticated technology means greater and greater productive power with fewer and fewer workers -- a built in predisposition to chronic unemployment. This is the creative challenge created by the onset of surplus to which we have to find a complex of answers.

The second is the movement of western capital (and employment) to the Pacific Rim and the ex-Soviet empire in search of cheaper and more conformist work-forces. We have to rise to that one, too.

[...]

The need of the nineties is for direct, extra-parliamentary democracy up to and including civil disobedience and non-violent insurrection as and when need be. The object has to be the oldest and the best: the creation

of a free and just society in which we finally rid ourselves of those badges of servitude -- money, the market and coercion.

Peter Cadogan

3 Hinchinbrook House

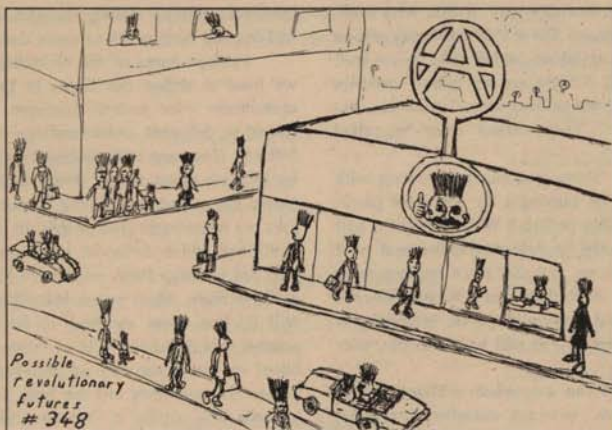
Greville Road

London NW6 5UP England

There is a danger when writing about "alternative economics," a danger which arises from the two completely different usages of the term. Some advocates of an alternative economics view the concept as little more than a means to reform capitalism, to avoid some of its worst elements and make it somehow more "green," "sustainable," or humane. For these people, building worker or consumer co-ops, or "green" businesses, is an end in itself. And the projects they create amount to nothing more than different ways of doing business.

Others, the minority, view the idea of an alternative economics as one small step towards the creation of a new, radically different society. Their projects are designed to find what little liberation is available within capitalism for their participants, while at the same time seeking to anticipate the world in which they'd like to live and work.

I've known Gary Moffatt for over 15 years, and feel confident that his approach to alternative economics is the



DAVID NICHOLLS

latter. Too often, however, he tends to accept all examples of alternative economics as equally useful; this was one problem I saw in his call for a peoples' commission -- there was no sense of a long-term vision. He wrote about jobs, about free trade, about co-ops replacing multinationals. He focussed, as he does too often, on "transforming the present system into one that (works)."

Well, the present system doesn't work, even by its own standards, certainly not by mine. And even if it did work, capitalism is still a horrible, horrible way of life, with nothing at all to be said in its favour. Peter Cadogan's suggestion that there are "varieties of capitalism, some good, some bad, some indifferent," is wrong -- there are no "good" varieties of capitalism. There may be some "less worse" varieties, but they are far from "good." They cannot even be called "indifferent."

Peter also states that "there is nothing so wrong with (the economy) that cannot be put right by countless piecemeal changes over an extended period." Well he's got it half right: capitalism can certainly be reformed piecemeal over however long a time we choose, but that's not because there is not too much wrong with it. Rather, that's because there is *so much* wrong with it, that we could go on reforming it from now until doomsday and it will *still* be a horrible, horrible system.

A simple standard we can use when evaluating suggested economic "alternatives" is to ask ourselves two questions. One, does this plan weaken capitalism, does it move us in the direction of a more liberatory society? Or, two, is it just another way of working within capitalism, of trying to make capitalism work? Any "alternative" that cannot be said to weaken capitalism's hold on us, that does not offer some glimpse of the world we want, is nothing more than capitalism in a different form.

My goal in working on *Kick It Over* is revolution. I want to contribute to the development of a politics of social change that goes beyond criticism of the existing order. To this end, I support and encourage efforts to develop models for a new way of living, with the emphasis on the "new." While it is certainly necessary to ground this politics in the here and now, it is also necessary to look beyond the present, and to offer some ideas for the shape of a future society. And I wonder what is "alternative" about any economics that fails to do this.

bob melcombe
c/o *Kick It Over*

comments by Gary Moffatt:

My thanks to Jeff, Brian and Peter for taking time to respond to my proposal. At this point, establishment of a nationwide or international commission seems a bit dicey, and I'm looking for people in the Toronto area interested in getting some sort of study group together. I would suggest that people interested in these questions attempt to do the same in their own areas, and that all of us get (or remain) in contact.

We can use *KIO* for this, and hopefully more ideas about people's economics will appear in future issues.

Jeff raises the interesting question of whether anarchists, Marxists and other leftists are too far apart in their thinking about economics to come together. Maybe, maybe not; personally I'd like to explore the possibility of working with other shades of opinion before opting to limit any inquiry in which I might be involved to those of anarchist persuasion. If some divergent opinions cannot be reconciled in the final report of a study, at least the options can be clearly laid out and readers left to make their own choices.

Perhaps some of the obstacles would be eliminated if we tried to define our terms at the outset; often our disagreements over certain concepts, such as the isms, are rooted in different understandings of what the words mean. Jeff and Brian are both bothered by the concept of "jobs." If by jobs we mean people doing alienated work for others, I would agree that they should be eliminated. If, however, by jobs we mean work that people do in order to maintain their livelihood and self-respect, then our task is not to eliminate jobs but to make them responsive to the needs of those who perform them. Most people now feel dependent on jobs and will do just about anything to hold one; the only way to combat this dependency is to create an alternative economy based on co-operatively or individually owned small businesses. If anarchists are the only people prepared to work towards this, so be it, but we should attempt to reach as many communities as possible before confining our efforts to our own. Most of the people now active in the co-operative movement, for instance, do not consider themselves anarchists. I see lots of room for dialogue with such people. Although I despise capitalism as much as Bob does, I remain aware that it has enabled many more people to enjoy a "high standard of living" than any other system previously tried, primitive anarchism included, and that the only way to persuade a significant number of people to abandon capitalism is to demonstrate that a better system can work. If this means that Bob and others dismiss me as a liberal, so be it.

Peter seems to make the same assumption for which I criticized David Suzuki and others in my article, that "economics" is a science of social control by the establishment. In point of fact, economics encompasses all transactions and forms of commerce between individuals (or groups of individuals, such as a commune or the state). Politicians add to the confusion by thundering about "the" economy, as if there were only one. With the possible exception of Robinson Crusoe, each of us is involved in more than one economy, perhaps several at the same time -- the state's, the household, the alternative economy, the underground economy, etc. -- and we fail to understand how each of them works at our peril. Personally I don't think we're ready to replace the existing system with the giant potlatch Peter seems to advocate -- too many more people would take than give -- but I don't want to rule out any idea at this point, and perhaps this can be seen as a long-range goal.

ARCHIVES LIST

Due to an oversight, we neglected to include addresses for the many anarchist archives with Jerry Kaplan's article in the last issue (Preserving Our Past: The Anarchist Collections). **Kick It Over** strongly encourages, not only other anarchist publishers, but all anarchists who produce any kind of materials (leaflets, posters, music, videos, pamphlets, whatever) to consider sending copies of your materials to at least one of these archives. As Jerry noted, these collections enable us to "learn from anarchism's rich history... what individual anarchists really thought and said without having to rely on others' interpretations."

Centre D'Etudes Et de Documentation
Anarchiste (CEDA)
36, rue Sanche-de-Pomiers
33000 Bordeaux
France

Centre de Recherche sur L'Alternative
Sociale (CRAS)
Boite postale 492
31000 Toulouse
France

Centre International de Recherches sur
L'Anarchisme (CIRA)
Boite postale 40
13382 Marseille Cedex 13
France

Das AnArchiv
Hauptstr. 118
6730 Neustadt/Wstr.
Germany

Archivio Famiglia Berneri
Piazza dello Spirito Santo, 2
51100, Pistoia
Italy

Arkiviu-Biblioteka de Kurtura
Populhari "T. Serra"
Via M. Melas no. 24
09040 Guasila (CA)
Italy

Centro Documentazione Anarchica
Via Guido Reni 96/6
10136 Torino
Italy
this address is from a 1984 source

Centro Studi Libertari "Giuseppe
Pinelli"
via Rovetta, 27
20127 Milan
Italy

Biblioteca Franco Serantini
via. S. Martino n. 108
Pisa
Italy

Biblioteca Libertaria "Armando
Borghi"
via Rondanini, 20
4014 Castelbolognese
Italy

Centro de Documentación Histórico-
Social (CDHS)
Apartat Correus 22212
E-08080 Barcelona
Spain

Fundacion Salvador Segui
c/Sagunto no. 15
28010 Madrid
Spain

Anarchiv-(Anarchistisches Archiv)
c/o Libertäres Zentrum
Brombacherstr. 33
4057 Basel
Switzerland

Centre International de Recherches
Sur L'Anarchisme (CIRA)
Avenue de Beaumont 24
CH-1012 Lausanne
Switzerland

Centre de Documentation Libertaire
(CDL)
c/o Librairie La Gryffe
5, rue Sébastien-Gryphe
69007 Lyon
France

Alternative Gallery Archive
PO Box 20037, GR-11810
Athens
Greece

Centre de Documentation Max

Nettlau
15, rue Gracieuse
75005 Paris
France
this address is from a 1984 source

Anarchistische Dokumentationszentrum
(ADZ)
c/o Horst Stowasser
Postfach 2602
633 Wetzler-Lahn
Germany

Kate Sharpley Library
BM Hurricane
London WC1 3XX
UK

AA Project
PO Box 1323
Cambridge
MA 02238
USA



ALTERNATIVE GALLERY ARCHIVE

Radical Rags for Prisoners is a listing of publications produced by prisoners, aimed at prisoners, of interest to prisoners or prisoner-rights activists, or available free or at a reduced rate to prisoners. The list is available free to any prisoner or psychiatric prisoner from: J.C. Ragweed, 2336 Market St. #24, San Francisco, CA 94114 USA. Non-prisoners, please send a donation.

Kick It Over has a new UK distributor -- Active Distribution. Their 56 page catalogue lists books, pamphlets, magazines, comics, music, T-shirts, and more. Check 'em out: Active Distribution, BM Active, London WC1N 3XX, UK

Last August, the Fellowship for Intentional Community held a Celebration of Community conference/gathering in Olympia, Washington. They audio-taped their workshops and seminars, and are offering the tapes for sale. Topics covered include bioregionalism, group process, land trusts, alternative economics, health care, and eco-communities. For a complete list of tapes write to: Fellowship for Intentional Community, Box 814, Langley, WA 98260 USA. Also available are books and other resources.

The winter/94 issue of *Communities* magazine will be devoted to the Celebration of Community; single copies cost \$4.50, a 4-issue subscription costs \$18.00 from: Twin Oaks, RR 4, Box 169-D, Louisa, VA 23093 USA. The 1994 *Directory of Intentional Communities* is available from the same address (\$19.00).

Prisoners with HIV/AIDS Support Action Network (PASAN) is a Toronto-based coalition formed to help address the needs of prisoners with HIV/AIDS and to advocate for policies on HIV/AIDS in the prisons. Members include ex-prisoners and representatives from a variety of community-based organizations involved with prison and/or HIV/AIDS issues. PASAN maintains five guiding principles: Prisoners with HIV/AIDS have a basic right to maintain their health; Prisoners have the right to protect themselves against HIV infection; Prisoners have the right to keep their health status private; Prisoners have the right to informed consent with re-

spect to HIV anti-body testing and HIV/AIDS treatment; HIV/AIDS support, education and treatment programs should be run by community-based organizations who are allowed into prisons, and through prisoners' peer-support models. Prisoners and ex-prisoners, and those who wish to contribute help or funds should contact: PASAN, 517 College Street, Suite 327, Toronto, ON M6G 4A2 Canada.

Prison News Service is an eight-year old bimonthly newspaper of (mostly prisoner-written) news and opinion. They mail about 1500 free copies of the newspaper to prisoners across Canada and the United States. Up until recently, they worked on a pay-as-you-can for outside readers, but have been forced to begin requesting subscriptions. *PNS* is seeking new subscriptions and donations to continue their work. Each issue provides coverage of subjects such as political prisoners, institutional racism, HIV/AIDS, and control units, written from a variety of perspectives, as well as a regular listing of resources for prisoners and activists. Sample copies cost \$2.00, subs are \$10.00/year, from PSC Publishers, PO Box 5052, Stn A, Toronto, ON M5W 1W4, Canada.



Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, a former political prisoner at Marion, Illinois, has re-written *A Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross Network*, which was first published in 1979. In it, the history, purpose, and,

more importantly, steps toward revitalizing the Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) are outlined. The ABC was originally organized by Russian anarchists to aid their many comrades imprisoned by the Bolshevik regime. *Kick It Over* readers are reminded that there are scores of political prisoners in both Canada and the United States, all of whom are deserving of our aid and support. The pamphlet is available for \$1.00 from: Nightcrawlers ABC, PO Box 20181, Tompkins Square Stn., New York, NY 10009, USA.

In issue #31, *Kick It Over* published a pre-release review of *The American Indian in the White Man's Prisons: A Story of Genocide*, a book edited by Little Rock Reed of the Native American Prisoners' Rehabilitation Research Project. After a mainstream publishing house reneged on

their commitment to publish the book, it was picked up by a small Native American publisher. Copies are available for \$25.00 plus postage and handling from: **Uncompromising Books, PO Box 1760, Taos, NM 87571, USA.** (P&H \$3.50 book rate, \$5.75 first class in the US, \$4.50 and \$6.75 respectively in Canada.)

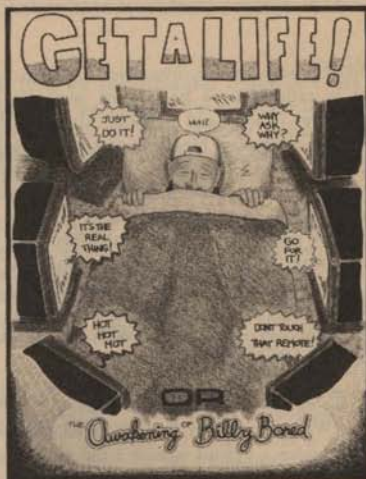
The War Resisters League is celebrating its 70th anniversary this year. This US branch of War Resisters International engages in a wide variety of peace and nonviolence projects and actions, ranging from providing counter recruitment resources for high school students, to sponsoring an annual 10-day organizers training program, to publishing books and pamphlets on peace and justice issues, to participating in civil disobedience actions around peace, justice and environmental concerns. They are funded largely by regular annual pledges, and have initiated their 1994 pledge campaign. To contribute, or for more details about their work, write: **War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012.**

BRAVE (Breaking Ritual Abuse and Ending Violence) is a group of women survivors, their friends, activists, counsellors and therapists who have come together to fight ritual abuse. They are organizing a two-day, women-only forum, May 28-29, in Toronto that will focus on social change through education and political action to end ritual abuse. Workshops will be facilitated by women who have survived abuse. There will be no medical or psychiatric models involved or applied in the forum.

The planning committee is seeking workshop ideas, as well as creative works (art, poetry, etc.) for exhibition during the forum. To participate, or for further details, write to: **BRAVE, PO Box 606, Stn. P, Toronto, ON M5S 2Y4 Canada.**

Flatland is a 10-year old mailorder distributor of books and "unusual lore." Their annual catalog has evolved into a "magalog," a combination catalogue and magazine, featuring 64 pages of reviews, listings and excerpts from well over 200 books, magazines, audio cassettes and pamphlets on subjects as varied as UFOs, conspiracy theories, radical politics, and media. This fascinating magalog is available for \$4.00 (US) from: **Flatland, PO Box 2420, Fort Bragg, CA 95437 USA**

Comic books are an increasingly-popular medium for political expression. Citizens for Media Literacy have released a new comic called *Get a Life!*, which is designed to help teenagers resist the influence of TV advertising in gen-



eral and Channel One in particular. Channel One is the so-called "educational news" channel that mixes news and information with a rather large dose of advertising; school boards across the continent are being pressured into adopting Channel One as part of their social studies curriculum. *Get a Life!* is a clever and humorous examination of the role TV plays in forming attitudes, and how young people can resist its influence.

Citizens for Media Literacy also has a resource list of audio cassettes on media issues and a newsletter. To receive a copy of *Get a Life!* send \$4.00 to: **Citizens for Media Literacy, 34 Wall Street, Suite 407, Asheville, NC 28801 USA.** Bulk discounts are available.

With operations in over 40 countries, including some of the most repressive, RTZ is the world's most powerful mining company. Their operations have uprooted and displaced native peoples, contaminated environments, and injured the health of workers by their flouting of safety standards. **PARTIZANS** is an international coalition of groups working to stop this destruction. Their just-published book, *Plunder!*, provides anti-mining activists with detailed information about RTZ, and with ideas for developing effective strategies for fighting RTZ and similar companies. *Plunder!* is available from a number of sources: **PARTIZANS, 218 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LE, England;** **Center for Alternative Mining Development Policy, 210 Avon Street #9, La Crosse, WI 54603, USA;** **Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa, PO Box 2258, Christchurch, New Zealand.** Since prices vary from country to country, write first.

WEED (Women and Environments Education and Development) is calling for a boycott of women's sanitary products made by Proctor and Gamble. Although all major sanitary product companies bleach their products with chlorine (which can cause health effects in users, as well as increasing water pollution), Proctor and Gamble has refused to provide information about their products to women's groups, and has cut off dialogue with the groups working to stop bleaching. Among the products being boycotted are *Always* menstrual pads, *Attends* incontinence products, and *Lux* and *Pampers* diapers. For information about the boycott, and for details about alternatives, contact: WEED, 736 Bathurst Street, Toronto, ON M5S 2R4 Canada.

"First we mourn, then we fight for change." This is the credo of the Women's Health Project. Initiated by women active against violence against women both domestically and in war-zones, the project seeks to raise awareness about sexual violence, to aid women victims of the wars in former-Yugoslavia and Somalia, and to help survivors heal and rebuild their lives and communities. They have an InfoKit available for \$5.00, and can be reached at: Women's Health Project, PO Box 4308, Stn E, Ottawa, ON K1S 5B3, Canada.

Video Forum bills itself as a "videography for libraries." Their first issue focuses on Native American videos. In addition to annotated listings of over 40 independently produced videos, and a list of Native video producers, this issue features articles on *Images of Indians and Introductions to Native American Cultures*. Available from: National Video Resources, 73 Spring Street, Suite 606, New York, NY 10012, USA.

A group called Nonviolent Alternatives is organizing programs on nonviolence and racism for this summer. The Wholistic Alternative: Gandhian Nonviolence in Theory and Practice is a 4-week program to be held in India in June. Also in India, for 6-weeks in July/August, Alternatives to Violence: The Gandhian Experiment. Learning Harmony with the Lakota: Unlearning the Dis-Harmony of Racism will be a 3-week program held in Lakota communities in South Dakota.

For details contact: Nonviolent Alternatives, 825 4th Street, Brookings, SD 57006, USA.

After a long hiatus, *Green Perspectives*, the social ecology discussion paper, has reappeared with a very exciting issue featuring reports from a wide range of social ecology-inspired projects from around the world. Included are articles about *Red de Ecologia Social* in Uruguay, *Trety Put* in Russia, *Society and Nature* in Greece, *Istituto delle Autonomie Locali e delle Minoranze* in Italy, and many more, all very exciting reading. *Green Perspectives* is available from: Social Ecology Project, PO Box 111, Burlington, VT 05402 USA. Single copies are \$1.00, 10 issue subs are \$10.00 (US), \$11.00 (Canada).

Hors d'Ordre (Out of Order) is a new theoretical bulletin that analyzes contemporary society from an anarchist perspective. It is published irregularly, as material is written, by a small collective in Québec City. Issues so far have discussed green capitalism, nationalism and Québec separatism, postmodernism, and student movements and the left. Write to: Collectif *Hors d'Ordre*, 64, rue de Maisonneuve, app. 4, Québec City, Québec G1R 2C3, Canada.

French-readers among us might want to check out the

Catalogue 1994 de la Librairie, from: le monde libertaire, 145, rue Amélot, 75011 Paris, France.

The Justice Alliance of Chattanooga, Tennessee, is distributing a little booklet called *Community and Self Defense*, which looks at some of the ways individuals and communities can protect themselves against crime and state repression. Copies are free, but send a donation to: Justice Alliance, PO Box 281, Chattanooga, TN 37401 USA.

The Brigid/94 (February) *Earth First! Journal* includes a scary account by Judi Bari of the events around the bomb attack against her and Darryl Cherney in May of 1990. The story will conclude in the Oester issue, at the end of March, by discussing the frame-up and the cover-up. Judi and Darryl have launched a civil rights suit against the FBI and the Oakland Police Department,

BEHIND THE BURNING CROSS: RACISM USA

This 30-minute video captures the spectrum of racism in the U.S., from Nazi youth, paramilitary groups and white power "Christianity" to the halls of government. It also shows several strategies for positive action. A *must-see* documentary for anti-racists. Price: \$15-25; \$50 for institutions. John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, 220-9th St. #443, San Francisco CA 94103.



and are seeking funds to help with their expenses. Make (tax-deductible) cheques out to: **Redwood Summer Justice Project**, PO Box 14720, Santa Rosa, CA 95402 USA. The *Earth First! Journal* is available for \$3.50/copy; \$25.00/year (US -- \$35.00 in Canada) from: *Earth First! Journal*, PO Box 1415, Eugene, OR 97440 USA.

Begun on February 11 with a sunrise ceremony on Alcatraz Island, a Walk for Justice on behalf of Leonard Peltier is travelling across the US. After a solidarity rally in front of the prison in Leavenworth, Kansas, where Leonard Peltier is held, the Walk will continue on to Washington DC. A rally there is scheduled for July 15. To make donations and to find out more, write to: **Walk for Justice**, Box 315, Newport, KY 41071 USA; fax 606-581-9458.

AK Press Distribution is one of the largest of alternative distributors in Britain and Europe. To better help their many North American customers, they have now opened a US office. To receive copies of their new North American catalogue, contact them at: **AK Press Distribution**, PO Box 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140-0682 USA. UK and European readers can still reach them at: **AK Distribution**, 22 Lutton Place, Edinburgh Scotland EH8 9PE.

AK is also a publisher of books and pamphlets. Some of their recent titles of interest include *Stealworks: The Graphic Details of John Yates, Which Way Forward for the Ecology Movement?*, a collection of essays by Murray Bookchin, and *End Time: Notes on the Apocalypse*, a novel by G.A. Matiasz.

The Institute for Social Ecology marks its 20th anniversary this year. Their summer program includes courses, lectures and colloquia on Community and Development, The Colonial and Neo-Colonial Roots of Ecological Crisis in the Third World, Feminism and Ecology, The Limits of Environmentalism, Ecological Economics, Environmental Racism and lots more. This year's annual Conference on Social Ecology will be held in Montréal, May 7-8, and will focus on Social Ecology and Municipal Democracy. For a copy of the program, write to: **Institute for Social Ecology**, PO Box 89, Dept. B, Plainfield, VT 05667-0089 USA.

In *KIO #31*, we reported on a project of San Francisco's Web Collective, to develop a *Direct Action Manual*.

The folks from the Web have just written us to say that they have abandoned the project, for a variety of reasons. They have requested that no more mail be sent to the listed address, and have issued a thanks and apology to all those who made contributions.

We want to tell you about an excellent new magazine we've recently picked up. *Indigenous Woman* is intended to appear at least twice a year, and will cover a wide range of subjects of concern to native women. The issue we have includes articles on infant health, the Blackfoot Community

College, nuclear waste dumping on native lands, crafts, as well as poetry, art and interviews. *Indigenous Woman* is a project of the Indigenous Women's Network, and comes included with membership in the Network. Native women can become voting members for \$15.00 annually; supporting (non-voting) membership is open to non-natives for \$25.00/year. Write to: **Indigenous Women's Network**, PO Box 174, Lake Elmo, MN 55042, USA

The Emma Goldman Papers Project has published a microfilm edition

of the *Emma Goldman Papers*, which is available at many libraries throughout North America and Europe. The EGPP, while not an archive itself, has collected facsimile copies from the various archives where the papers are held, and has created a 69 volume microfilm collection. They are currently working on an annotated selection of papers from the larger collection, to be available in book form in 1996. The microfilm edition of the *Emma Goldman Papers* is available at over 20 university and public libraries, among them being Cornell, Florida State, Harvard, Michigan, Northeastern, and Pittsburgh Universities, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the New York Public Library. If you are doing research into Emma Goldman's life and politics, this should be a useful aid. For a more complete listing, contact: **The Emma Goldman Papers**, University of California at Berkeley, 2372 Ellsworth Street, Berkeley, CA 94702.

INDIGENOUS WOMAN



A Publication of the Indigenous Women's Network
Volume 1, Number 11

LIFE CAN BE
MAG·I·C



WHEN WE START
TO BREAK FREE