

**Trial By Media: Free The Five**

# OpenRoad

Issue Fifteen, Spring 1983 \$1.00

**Punks Pirates Peaceniks Tribes**

**Direct  
Action**

**George Woodcock  
on 'Gandhi'**

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**Wildcats Greenspace Speculums Graffiti**





**Sunday**

**Open Road**

Spring 1983

# TERROR

# PLOT

# TO DESTROY

# WORLD!

**Exclusive**  
**'Out of Control'**

## PIRATES

## PLUNDER

## AIR WAVES



Radio Caroline battling the (air) waves

They broadcast from ships at sea, from mobile vans, from dingy basements — anywhere they can feel safe from the long arm of the law.

● Unscrupulous radio

pirates are threatening to turn the airwaves into a free-for-all in which anybody with anything to say doesn't even bother to ask permission.

● And the material

they broadcast: it's enough to turn the heads of most, if not all, right-thinking persons.

● If the situation continues to deteriorate, it could lead straight to anarchy on the radio dial.

● For more of this Sunday Open Road 'shock report,' see Page Six.

### Thatcher

### Reagan

### Suicide

### Pact



A FIENDISH PLOT to destroy the entire world and everyone in it has been hatched by a bizarre international cult that worships violence and money, the *Sunday Open Road* has learned.

Unless the plotters are stopped, cult leaders Margaret Thatcher and

Ronald Reagan intend to climax the annihilation of the human race with a mutual suicide pact in their bunker hideaway.

At press time, the only serious opposition to the scheme is that of a rival gang of terrorists operating out of Moscow, which itself is racing towards the end of the world.

"They'll never take us alive," a defiant Thatcher told *Sunday*

*Open Road* sources close to the plot.

As a run-up to the big show, Thatcher has already whetted her appetite in Ireland and the Falkland Islands, as well as robbing the vast majority of the British population and depriving them of work.

Reagan, best known for his efforts to undermine democracy in the United States, has a long criminal record, including possession of

more than 30,000 nuclear warheads.

"One strike and they're out," said Reagan, proudly fondling his new Cruise missile.

The Thatcher-Reagan cult has local cells all over the world. In Vancouver, conspirators include Robert Bonner, leader of an extremist organization known as "B.C. Hydro," who has actually jumped the gun by ordering the despoilation of vast acreage by 2-4-D and other noxious substances.

### Shock Confession

## I CHANGED SEX ROLES

p. 8

### George Woodcock:

## 'GANDHI' ISN'T ALL DANDY

p. 21

**The whole sordid story**

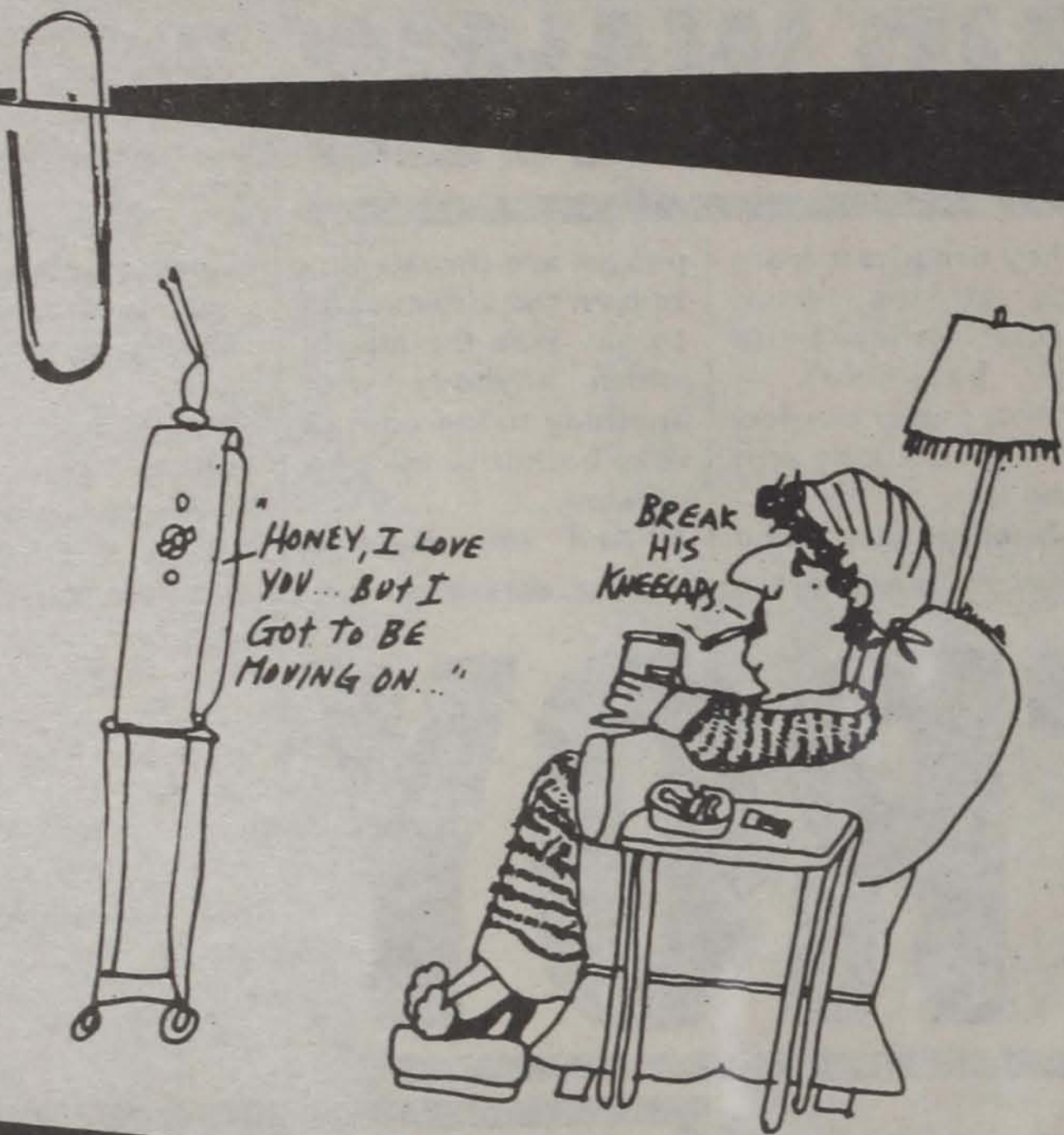
# GARBAGE CAN SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

**Pull-out section**



The Open Road welcomes correspondence and contributions (editorial and financial). Write to:

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Here's more .....

I don't have any money. Send me the paper for free .....

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The Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6R 4G5

## LETTERS

### Red Hot: Whodunnit?

To Open Road:  
Thurs. Feb. 3, 1983

**ONCE AGAIN, WE THE WIMMIN'S** Fire Brigade, claim responsibility for the firebombing of three Red Hot Video outlets in the early hours of Mon. Nov. 22, 1982. We are aware that the police are charging 3 men and 2 wimmin, arrested the other week along the coast highway, with the anti-pornography actions.

It is necessary for us to say publicly that there is absolutely NO association between any of those five individuals they have behind bars now, and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade. We would obviously not be the Wimmin's Fire Brigade if there were men involved. Everyone except the police seem to understand such basic logic! It is super-encouraging though, to see the positive response to our actions, from both men and wimmin.

Should we let the violence of rape, battering, racism, nuclear insanity etc. enslave us in apathy?? Wimmin understand that enslavement because that is how men attempt to keep us down. We chose our action to bring some desperately needed attention to the real horrors of both hard and soft pornography. It is only a start.

We are living in a totalitarian, male-dominated police state that attempts to crush all political dissent and non-conformity. We accuse the police of indiscriminately harassing and arresting five people and charging them with every crime ever committed or imaginable, simply because they, the police, are frustrated knowing that it is, in fact, us faceless thousands that are acting in opposition to the state's corruption.

We say, charge the police instead with indiscriminate violence and terrorism and illegal seizures. Charge them with enforcing laws of a system that has never responded to the rights of wimmin.

In our hearts, we all know what is right and just and we must stand up in opposition to the crippling of our common humanity. Act now for our children's future!

LOVE,  
Wimmin's Fire Brigade.

### Big Guns and Little Ones

To Open Road:  
regarding "terrorism":

**WHILE THE STATE PICKS** on five politically active individuals in an attempt to quash Direct Action, the real terrorist/criminals go untried; accumulating ever greater profits - posing ever greater threats to survival.

The quick and active local support for the five Vancouver individuals show that people fear this continuing war-mongering, environmental rape

and misogyny more than they fear the possible reprisals to themselves as a result of their support. We are not willing to stand back and let the state define the direction and tactics of resistance to the atrocities perpetrated by Capital - and we are not willing to accept that our little "guns" are more dangerous than their big ones.

The issues clearly spoken to by the actions and statements for which these five are accused reaffirmed our commitment to resistance, even if our tactics are generally less militant.

We do not glamorize the guerrilla tactics of which the five are accused - rather we understand that a response to immediate threats to our well-being and survival is the desire to act. For years we have been organizing peace coalitions, petitioning, leafletting, lobbying and demonstrating - and though our numbers have grown, many of us are frustrated by the apparent lack of effect on the powers-that-be. From these experiences it is no grand leap to understanding why others choose tactics of a more direct nature.

Our will to resist will only increase as the accused "terrorists" are processed through the "justice" system, as in an unjust society the just act is often illegal.

We urge our friends in the resistance movement to discuss the issues seriously, and for active groups to voice their concern for the fate of these individuals.

Indirect action  
somewhere inside Canada

## ON THE ROAD

**AFTER MANY DELAYS, OPEN** Road #15 is finally here. In this issue the focus is on direct action - not as a group, but as a way of life. The forms direct action can take vary, and we don't pretend to have covered all of them. Our discussion is not meant to be exhaustive, but suggestive. By showing how direct action is applied in certain spheres of life, it should become clear how it can be applied in all spheres.

We had already begun preparing this issue when five local activists were arrested on a variety of charges related to direct action (see p. 9). This issue is our way of showing them our support and contributing to the struggle. With all the media hysteria surrounding the arrests, we feel it's especially important that the nature and meaning of direct action be more carefully explored.

**WE HOPE TO KEEP OUR** readers informed of further developments in the case, but to continue publishing we need money. To cut costs we will be deleting from our mailing list anyone who has not contacted us since 1979 or earlier, unless you let us know you want to continue receiving OR (if there is a black star on your address label you are on the delete list, so write soon).

Donations are always welcome, and subscriptions to OR are 2 hours wages per year for individuals, \$25 per year for institutions and \$50 per year makes you an OR sustainer. For prisoners and those in need OR is free on request.

Back issues #2, 3, 6, 7, 11, 12 and 14 are available for \$2 a copy and #8, 9, 10, 10½ and 13 for \$1 each.

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# A Lifestyle of Action

## DIRECT ACTION MEANS never having to say you're sorry.

It could be a group of neighbors blockading a dangerous intersection or an entire workforce wildcatting over unsafe conditions. It could be some people starting a food or housing co-op to fight the high cost of living or a mutual aid group to exchange information on how their bodies work or how to become more assertive. Or it could be an individual learning how to "fight fair" with a comrade or friend, or launching a one-person campaign against offensive billboard images.

Whatever forms it takes, direct action means people taking direct control over some aspect of their lives on either an individual, small group or mass level, resisting the dictates of authority and circumventing the established channels of power. Instead of relying on bosses, bureaucrats, cops and politicians, people rely on themselves and their collective power, realizing that the great "problem solvers" are really part of the problem.

Direct action is different from "political" action, which is meant to influence or win power through indirect means, rather than to empower people. Political tactics include lobbying, bloc voting and symbolic protests and demonstrations. Sometimes, political action is the most effective means to solve a particular problem, especially if the opposition is so strong that direct confrontation would be suicidal. But in cases where direct action is appropriate, the implications for its use are vastly more far-reaching.

To take direct action is to assert your right and ability to make the important decisions affecting your life. It is to set your own goals and priorities—without asking permission, and without apologizing—and then to achieve them through your own actions, independent of and even in defiance of authority.

Direct action isn't just a tactic. It's the very means to create and sustain a free society. The only way to learn to be free is by acting freely.

### Political and Social

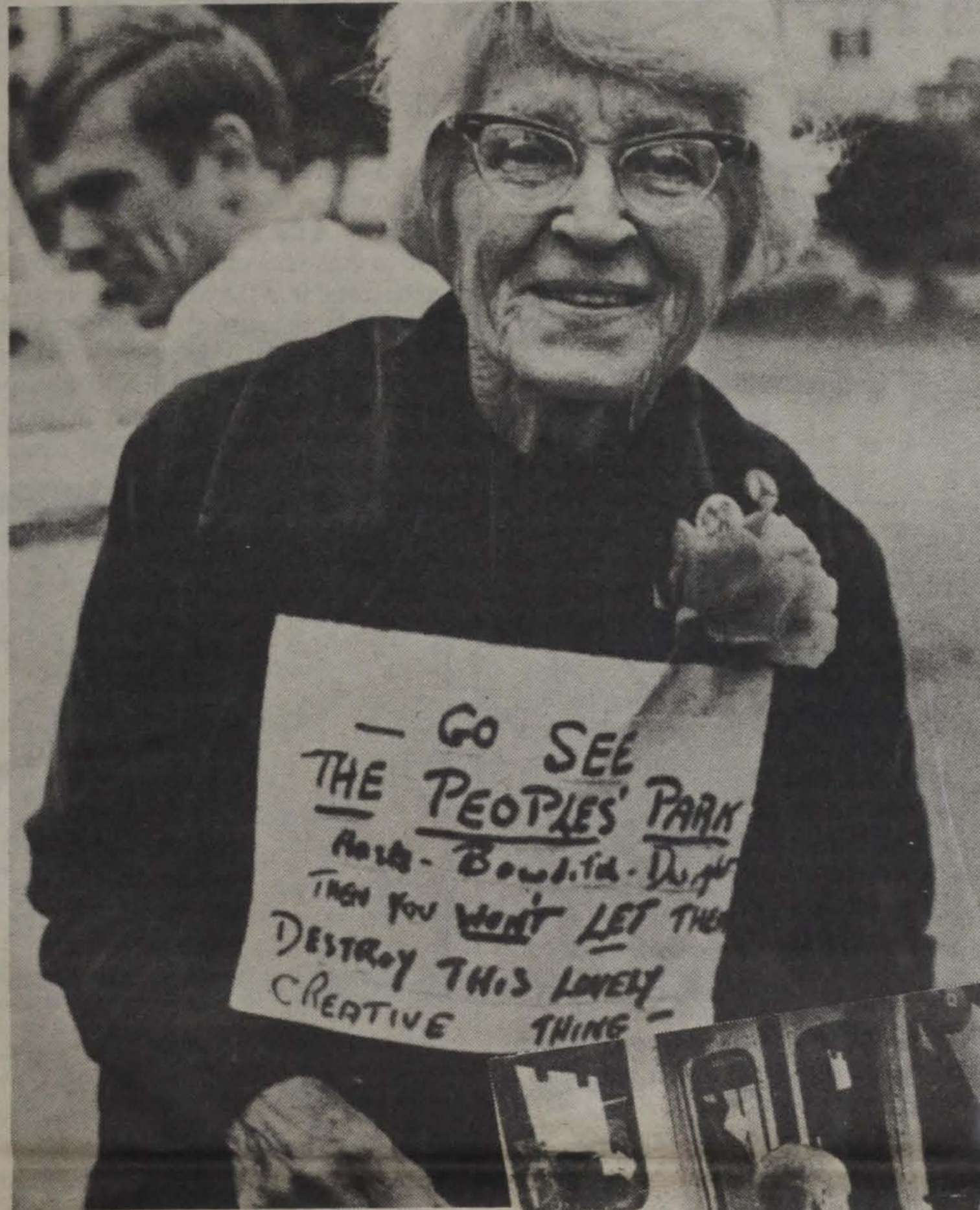
Direct action comes into play in two principal arenas of human activity, and all the specific tactics employed are unique to each arena:

- Confronting a hostile power (the "political" arena)—tactics include blockades, boycotts, sabotage, strikes, illegal marches and occupations.

- Rebuilding our lives (the "social" arena)—mutual aid and self-help groups, co-ops, alternative institutions, unique cultures and lifestyles, radical therapy.

Direct action gives people a sense of their individual and collective power. Feelings of solidarity and community are created between people working together to solve their mutual problems. Often, direct action campaigns lead to the formation of directly democratic, participatory organizations, like affinity groups, co-ops and decentralized federations.

These institutional expressions of direct action can serve as a model and basis for future society, a society



Building a People's Park and holding back fare increases.

without bosses or experts where people enjoy real control over every aspect of their lives, administering social life co-operatively without any domination or hierarchical power structures.

The essence of direct action is that it's "unmediated"; that is, no institution, professional or power centre performs the action (mediates) for you. But what, then, distinguishes direct action from the other forms of unmediated activity, such as civil disobedience, armed struggle, liberal and radical media pranks and even fascist strong-arm tactics?

The truth is, there's no clear line dividing them. For purposes of this issue of *Open Road*, direct action means activities involving ordinary people attempting to solve concrete problems caused by authoritarian institutions.

Direct action can be legal or illegal, violent or non-violent, depending on the circumstances and the people involved. Protest marches are usually forms of political action, but when they are declared illegal by the authorities, they can be transformed into direct action, a way for people to defiantly reclaim public space.

Civil disobedience can be a form of direct action, as the famous sit-ins and "freedom rides" of the black civil rights movement showed, but at other times acts of civil disobedience are mainly symbolic protests against something, rather than direct attempts to recover social and personal power over life. People engaged in civil disobedience often allow themselves to be arrested for disobeying

Because of the anti-parliamentary nature of direct action, it is sometimes confused with the strong-arm tactics of right-wing and fascist groups. However anti-parliamentarianism, should not be confused with anti-democracy. While direct action is in fundamental opposition to parliamentary democracy, direct democracy actually is a form of direct action.

Fascists are opposed to any form of democracy, direct or indirect. They are not concerned with empowering or liberating people, but with dominating and oppressing them. Their organizations are anti-democratic, authoritarian and run along para-military lines; their goals are repugnant whatever the tactics they may use. What distinguishes fascist groups is not their use of direct action, but their use of physical intimidation and armed violence against anyone who opposes them. These methods are quite compatible with State power, as the fascists themselves have proven many times, while direct action is profoundly anti-statist, anti-authoritarian and liberating.



authority, because they regard authority as legitimate and are only opposed to specific laws or policies.

### No Apologies

People taking direct action, on the other hand, see no need to apologize. Direct action is a far more subversive idea than civil disobedience; it is not meant to reform or influence State power, but to undermine it by showing it to be unnecessary and harmful.

As for armed struggle, it requires a completely different style of organization and commitment than does direct action. Not everyone is able or prepared to engage in urban guerrilla activities, while direct action ideally is something everyone can do. The goals of armed struggle are more long term, and its immediate effects are less tangible. Often armed struggle groups become separated from the people they are fighting for, while the essence of direct action is people fighting for themselves, rejecting those who claim to represent their "true interests," whether they be revolutionaries or government officials. But when people themselves resort to violence to protect their community from racist attacks or to protect their environment from ecological destruction, they are taking direct action.

The term "direct action" was first coined by working class militants ("anarcho-syndicalists") near the end of the 19th century to signify any immediate method of class struggle by the workers against their economic and political oppressors. These methods included general strikes, sit-down strikes, work slow-downs, wild-cat strikes, factory occupations, sabotage and boycotts.

The British Suffragette movement quickly adopted similar direct action tactics in its campaign to win women the vote. The pacifist and civil rights movements, beginning with Gandhi, have also advocated and practised direct action, especially non-violent resistance to authority.

Direct action is alive and well today. Its mass nature is reflected in such high profile movements as squatting, anti-nukes and Poland's Solidarity; its adaptability as a resource of the individual can be read in the statistics of everything from absenteeism to shop-lifting to sabotage; its potential to aid human growth is measured by the proliferation of mutual aid networks to smash stereotypes of sexism and to promote human liberation. In an era when the State, big business and professional agencies increasingly bid for control of human life and activity, it's nice to have an ace-in-the-hole.

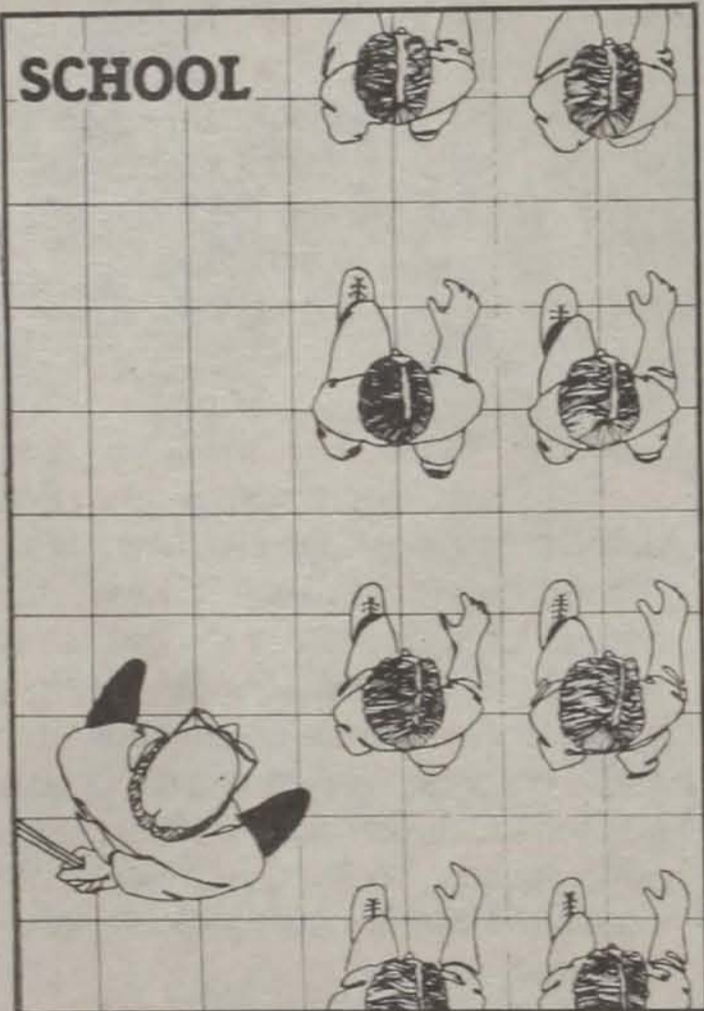


# Working it Out Giving Them The Gears

I was on my way to work the other morning when I was intercepted by the mailperson with a couple of letters for me. One of the letters didn't have a stamp on it. When I brought it to her attention she said "Don't worry about it," as they were having a dispute at the post office and they were encouraging people not to put stamps on and letters would be delivered regardless. Great. Went to grab the morning paper out of the vending box and found the door jammed open. Didn't have to pay. Out of smokes. Dropped into the local Safeway to see the cashier and ask how their dispute was going. Not well, and she charged me half price for the fags. Got on the bus and the driver put his hand over the fare box, "Nobody pays today." Finally made it to work and found that everyone was in the cafeteria on a sit-in because 50 people had been notified of job termination.

## AN UNLIKELY SCENARIO?

Maybe, but one which displays the variety of approaches and the ingenuity of workers when they decide out of frustration or inaction to circumvent the traditional avenues of protest. How many of us have faced management with but a simple request for a change here or there and been stonewalled? How many of us



**BECAUSE THE jobs are quite different, rotation helped break up the monotony. It also helped equalized the work, spreading the hard and easy jobs around.**

*Auto Worker*

have filed grievances to find that that is exactly what's happened - they've been filed? Or gone to union meetings and lambasted the executive for its inability to resolve outstanding grievances and other disputes? When we get fed up and frustrated enough at the back-sliding and inaction on im-

portant issues it's time to take issue ourselves by means of direct action.

If ever an environment offered the importance, the immediacy, the urgency and the comradery for direct action it is at the work-place. From the Wobblies of the early 1900's to the Spanish syndicalists of the 1930's to the factory occupations of May 1968 and today, direct action at the work-place has been an effective and inspiring means of attaining goals more effectively and immediately than if we had wallowed in the quagmire of conventional union wisdom and tactics.

As one anarcho-syndicalist writer expressed it: "By direct action, the anarcho-syndicalists mean every method of immediate warfare by the workers against their economic and political oppressors. Among these, the outstanding are: the strike, in all its gradations from the simple wage-struggle to the general strike; the boycott; sabotage in its countless forms; anti-militarist propaganda; and in peculiarly critical cases, such, for example, as that in Spain today (1930's), armed resistance of the people for the protection of life and liberty." (Rudolph Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, p. 136).

The kind of actions that one can undertake at the work-place are limited only by the imaginations of the workers themselves. What culminates in an all-out strike is usually preceded by months of negotiations between union and management with most workers prepared to stand by and wait it out while the lawyers and negotiators try to come to terms. However there's nothing like a little direct action to get things moving or more importantly to bring the conflict with the bosses onto the shop floor where we can exercise our own tactics and lay waste to the apathy and alienation that plague working people.

## Wait-And-See

In the initial stages of conflict the support of co-workers may not be immediately forthcoming, as for the most part they will accept a 'wait-and-see' attitude. In a great number of cases individual workers have not had the patience to wait out a union directive and have taken the initiative personally. In one such case the company involved was an electronics firm. Due to the intricacy of the work and the susceptibility for breakdown of the equipment produced, one-worker's attitude was that a disconnected wire here, a faulty part there, and the equipment would be rendered inoperable. An equally-disillusioned co-worker who happened to be one of the people who checked equipment for errors before the equipment left the plant was prone to let it through even if it malfunctioned. The damage to the company's quality reputation was somewhat downgraded, not to mention the repairs which were made necessary to returned equipment. These actions, while damaging, were, however, limited in that they were of a clandestine nature, and while personally satisfying to the individuals involved, were not sufficiently high pro-

file to attract the notice of their co-workers.

Co-operation and comradery with co-workers, even if only on a limited basis, is of the most importance if we are to move beyond acts of individual action and into the realm of collective action. In the case above, of working for an electronics firm, the workers were in a production line of twenty people, each assigned a very limiting, unstimulating and repetitive task.



**THE MILL BREAKS down probably a couple of times a week. People do it to keep the company from stock-piling, as well as to get a break.**

*Mine Worker*

Each worker took a turn at screwing up, thus making it more difficult to isolate the problem and consequently to isolate the worker responsible.

The emphasis with these actions was to reduce the productivity of the company and to vent the frustrations of the workers fed up with lousy working conditions and stalemated negotiations. For every job there is a unique way of reducing productivity and by far most of the tactics are of a more passive and less destructive type. Some of the more common and straight-forward acts which happen daily are employee appropriation of company goods, refusal to work in areas deemed unsafe, being late for work, etc.

Other actions which have been employed by disenchanted workers have included failure to oil machinery, sugar in a taxi fleet's gas tanks, machinery dropped onto conveyor belts and other acts which, if not shutting down a firm as effectively as a strike, have provided the workers with a temporary respite. These are actions which for the most part are done either individually or by small groups of workers and, while satisfying over the short term, are not truly effective unless they act as a catalyst or a boost to the larger body of workers and

provide encouragement to move on to larger and more sustained stoppages.

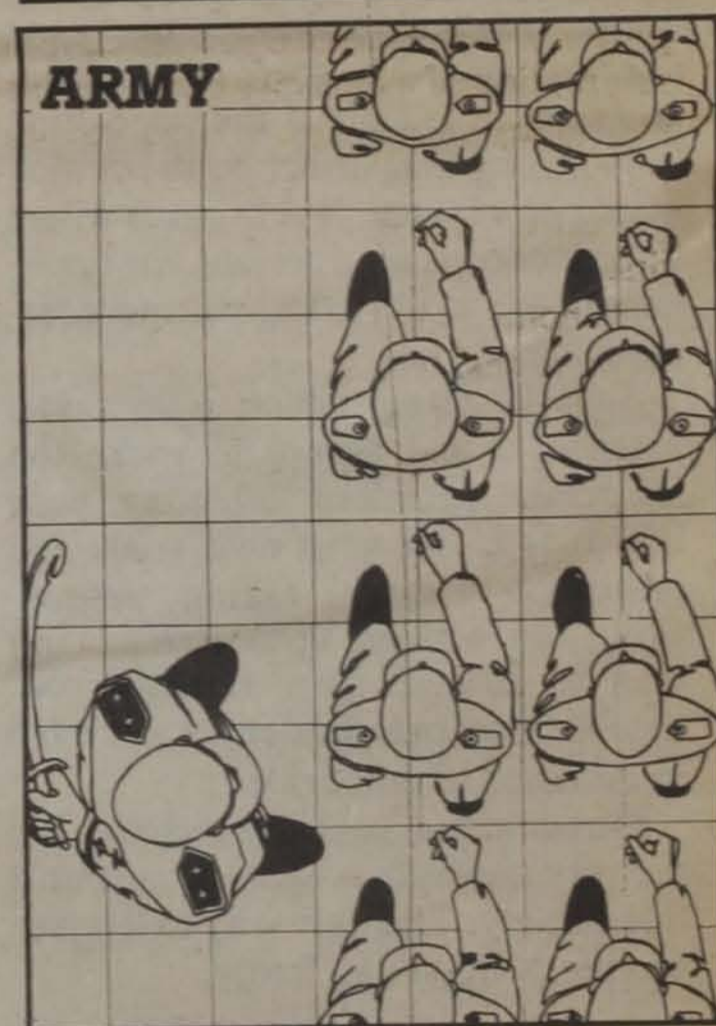
## Sit-downs and Wildcats

Of all work stoppages the strike is the one most often sanctioned by the union and therefore is a more 'official' form of direct action. The strikes which arise out of immediate grievances and result in work stoppages such as the sit-down strike or the wildcat, are more direct in their nature because they are called by workers spontaneously and most often without the approval of the union. Sit-downs and wild-cats have been called for such things as poor treatment of an employee by a manager, improper heating or air conditioning at the work place or for that matter any type of dispute that has taken too long to be resolved. But of the varieties of strikes by far the most satisfying, from an anti-authoritarian point of view, are those which see the workers defying the bosses by actively taking control of the work place and locking them out.

The revolutionary potential of such actions is clear from the comment of a telephone operator who was one of 15,000 workers in British Columbia to take part in occupying and running an entire telephone system in 1978 as a tactic in breaking a deadlock over contract negotiations:

"What happens when a decision is needed, when a crisis arrives? Some people feel comfortable with the old ways: putting up a flag to go to the bathroom, asking someone in 'author-

See page 23



**A WORKER ASKED the commandante if now that we were all military we'd receive the same salaries as they did. "Arrest that guy," came the reply... The commandante concluded, "and now I want everyone to shout loud and clear 'Soldier, long live Spain'." The railwaymen remained totally silent.**

*Wildcat Spain Encounters Democracy*



# Waking Up From The Urban Nightmare

**WHAT'S A POOR CITIZEN** to do, trapped in the urban wilderness, terrorized by landlords, speculators, rush-hour traffic and a city gone out of control? If you're in awe of the law, not much. But if you've got a yen for taking things into your own hands, then you can turn your street into a playground for Social Revolution - and perform a valuable community service at the same time.

From small towns to the megalopolis, the goal of direct action activists is liveable cities. The methods: unlimited popular resistance at levels that everyone can participate in.

We all know neighborhoods where peace and quiet has to be wrestled almost daily from four-wheeled death machines. On this front, credit must go to the often-unrecognized but heroic brigades of direct action-minded housewives and mothers who, when letters, petitions and all else have failed, will march into the streets head-on to stop traffic in highly-organized campaigns. (See centre poster in this issue of *Open Road* for a re-creation of a tent-city blockade imposed by a group of low-income mothers in a successful campaign to get an overpass of a dangerous rail line.)

Whether they're diverting traffic from a residential area or pressing demands for signal lights or stop signs, groups like these resort to a bagful of tricks to bring a halt to rush-hour madness.

Occasionally, under the light of dawn, backyard rubbish will be hauled out and transformed into an effective street barricade or speed bump to slow down racing drivers and let the authorities know the citizens want action. Hand-painted cross walks and neatly-lettered stop signs erected by neighborhood work crews are also effective. The unofficial means available as direct action options for improving the neighbourhood are all within organizing reach of even the meekest citizens' group.

Not only do citizens retake some control of their own streets when they take direct action, but also, the actions themselves help build a precious sense of community and solidarity, allowing neighbours to get to know and trust one another.

Lacking green space but know of a vacant lot? In the dead of night, inner-city green space commandos can transform vacant lots into welcome communal spaces full of potted trees, homemade benches, community food gardens, and playground equipment. The historic People's Park in Berkeley represented the ultimate expression of this do-it-yourself city-scaping.

The more community conscious might try to erect "tent cities" of custodians (just ordinary good-weather squatters) to help caretake these larger parks and gardens, protecting them from corporate vandalism. Battles over control of the prop-

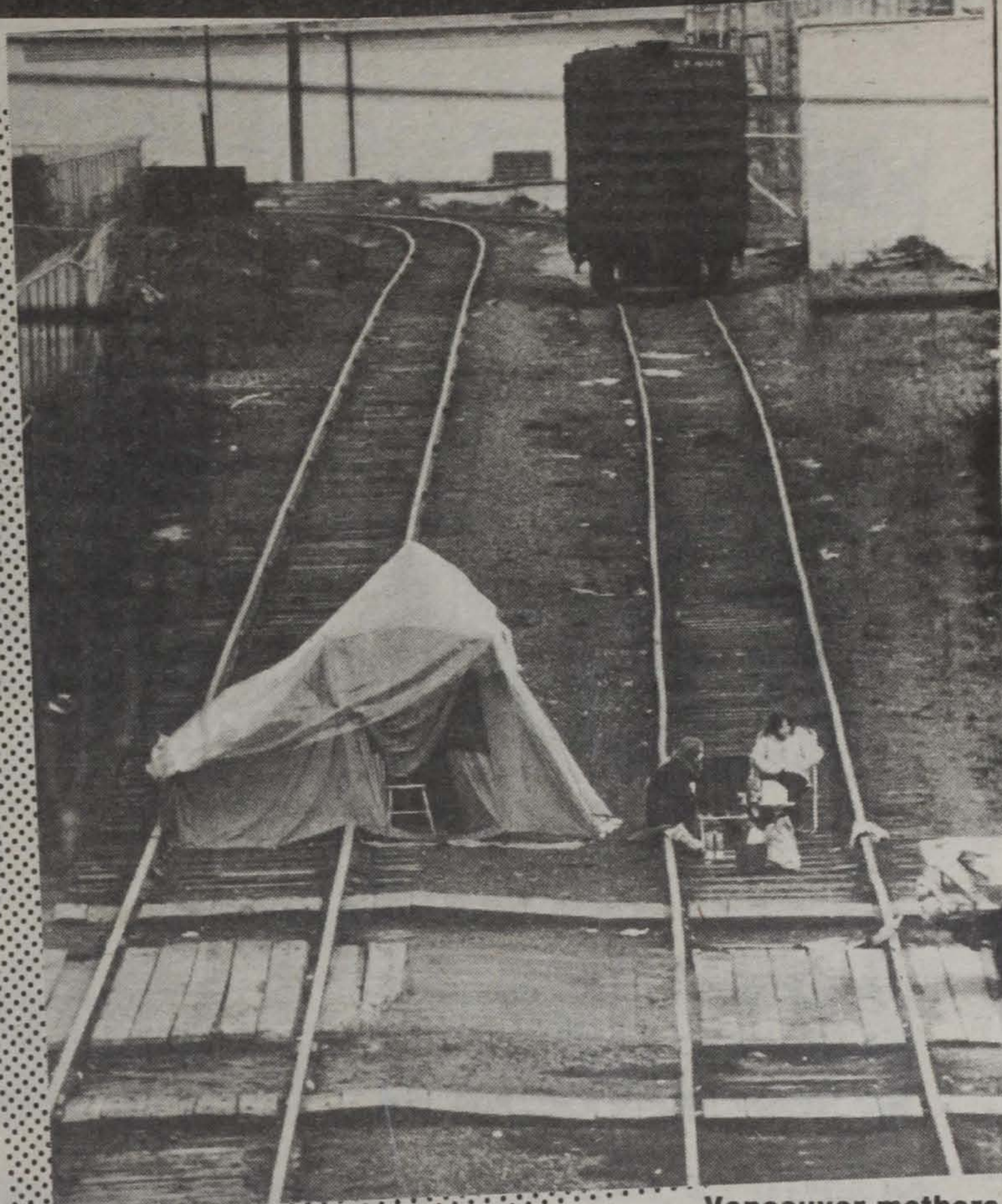
erty are inevitable, but as in any squatting campaign, good public relations pays off, especially in any showdown with the authorities.

## Squat or Rent?

Tired of endless tugs-of-war with your landlord over rent or repairs? Take a look at the do-it-yourself housing show across the sea (see *Open Road* #11, 12, 13). The homeless of Berlin, Paris and Amsterdam beat the high cost of shelter by squatting. Desperate for homes, they don't bother to distinguish between legal and illegal squats, they just take over empty houses and livable buildings.

Moving day (starting to squat) is lightning-quick; the more squatters the merrier (a collective squat is eas-

See page 22



Vancouver mothers blockade a dangerous railroad crossing.

# Grassroots On Rooftops

**LOISAIDA, A 30-BLOCK,** mostly Puerto Rican section of New York's Lower East Side, is packed with grassroots-controlled alternative energy projects.

Vacant lots are now cultural plazas and vegetable gardens. Abandoned buildings are now tenant co-ops. Loisaida has rooftop gardens, a community centre with solar heating, and scores of other environmental, educational and cultural projects.

The projects aren't "experiments" conducted by environmentalists. They are the result of former street gangs, schoolchildren and other people of a neighbourhood who must take direct action to make their community livable.

Local control, ownership and decision-making are crucial to the success of the projects. Alternative technology has gained a foothold in Loisaida because the people are involved. Other attempts to introduce alternative technology to the inner city - for example, the Community Technology experiments in Washington, D.C. - failed because the direction came from the top, not from the people who lived in the neighbourhoods.

Chino Garcia, coordinator of Charas, one of the community groups involved in Loisaida, said, "Some people...got the idea that the government would provide for them. But some of us came to understand that we had to do for ourselves if we really wanted to control what happens in our neighbourhoods."

The groundwork for most of the projects was laid over the past five years. Technical assistance was provided by a number of individuals and groups, including Buckminster Fuller, the Energy Task Force, the Green Guerrillas and the Institute for Social Ecology at Goddard College. This collaboration between environment-

alists and the low-income Puerto Rican community of Loisaida is unprecedented. The cooperation provides a strong argument against those who believe that environmental issues are irrelevant to inner city people.

But, as Angelo Gonzales of Charas says, "The solar energy is important to us, but it is the human energy that really counts." The importance of direct community participation in the projects is also underscored by Chino Garcia: "The outside must understand that the community will make the decisions about what goes on and that we will own and control whatever we build up."

## Spectre of Gentrification

Loisaida is not without its problems. The success of the projects has made the area much more desirable to outside commercial developers and the process of "gentrification" - the displacement of one income group by a higher income group - has begun. In Loisaida, young white people, artists and the declassé, seeking cheap

space, have begun to colonize the neighbourhood, playing into the hands of the speculators by displacing low income residents. They are giving the neighbourhood a "bohemian" atmosphere that attracts the middle class, which could replace them in turn.

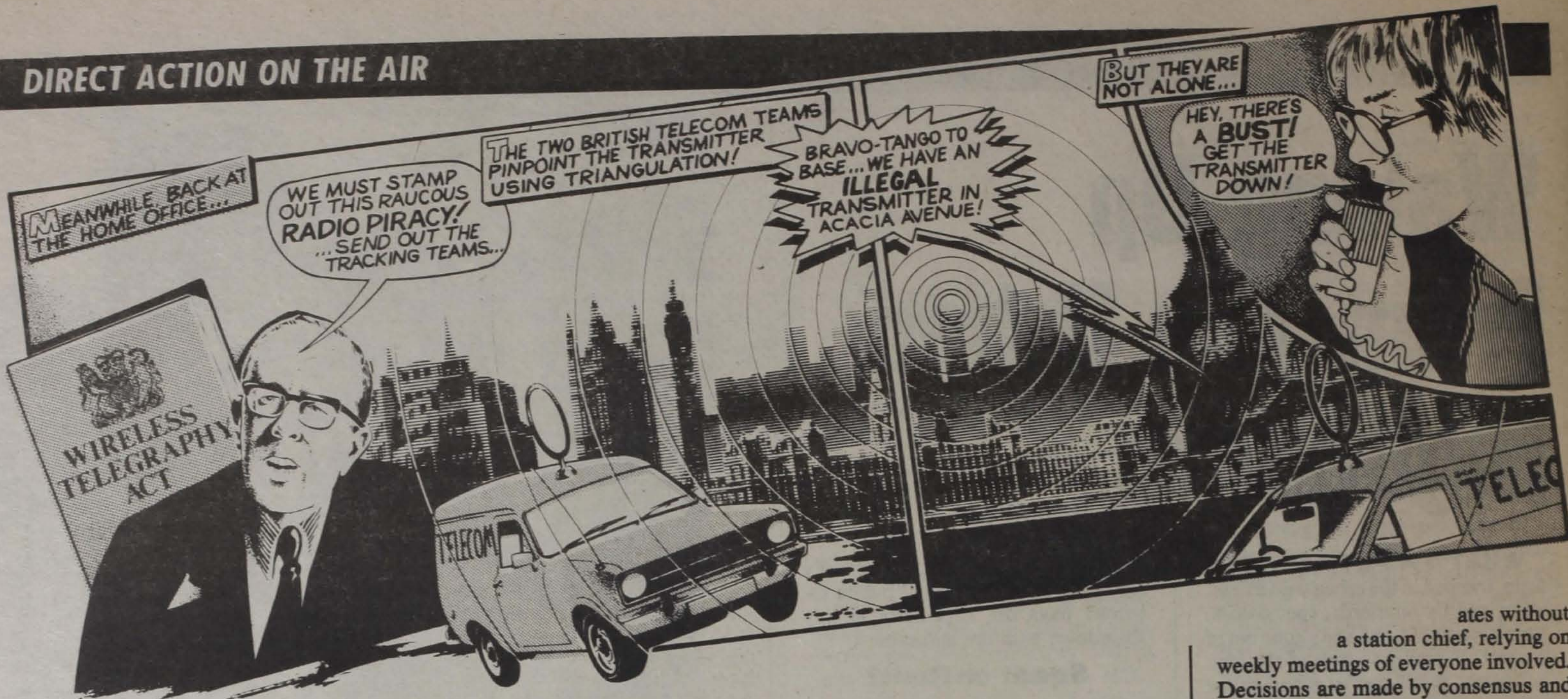
Banks, city government and the huge energy conglomerate Consolidated Edison are playing a role in uprooting the Loisaida process. Con Ed even refused to allow wind power from a renovated building to be used until they were forced to do so by the courts. Alternatives which allow communities to control their own development will not be permitted without a fight.

In spite of future prospects, Loisaida has proven that an alternative exists. People can build relatively self-reliant communities that own and manage their own resources, that generate much of their own food, energy, decent employment and housing for all their citizens.

(From *Black and Green*, the journal of the New England Anarchist Conference: Box 373, Burlington, Vt. 05402.)







# Touch That Dial!

**ON JANUARY 24, POLAND'S** underground Radio Solidarnosc (RS) was broadcasting again, even if it was for only twenty minutes. It brought uncensored news and support for the nine militant Solidarity union leaders still incarcerated by the martial law regime.

The illegal broadcast was brief, but it was a victory in the struggle to keep dissent and the public conscience alive in Poland. It was the first word from RS since July 6, last year, when two Polish RS workers, Madame Romaszewski and Joanna Szczesna, and the Belgian anarchist Roger Noel were arrested while making illegal radio broadcasts in Warsaw.

Noel, who entered Poland with a Belgian food convoy, had been using his knowledge and experience in setting up portable "pirate" radio stations to aid the popular underground union movement. After his arrest, he was repeatedly interrogated and in the end heavily fined, released from prison and deported in December. Noel's two Polish comrades are still imprisoned facing sentences of 3 to 12 years.

The severity of charges against the RS workers underlines the seriousness with which the State takes its monopoly of the airwaves and its subsequent ability to control information, ideas and culture.

It has been said that freedom of the press is afforded only to those who own one. The same principle is even more applicable to radio broadcasting which until recently has been exclusively controlled as a private preserve of the State or the rich in every country of the world.

With the development of inexpensive portable broadcasting equipment, the use of the airwaves by ordinary people has been greatly liberated. However, actually using the *airwaves* has proved to be another matter. Where the monopoly situation has been challenged it has taken direct action — the uncontrollable proliferation of illegal broadcasts and stations — to change or circumvent the laws.

Illegal radio broadcasts were dubbed "pirate radio" when "Radio Caroline" began broadcasting in 1964 from a ship off the British Coast, challenging the strict State monopoly of the BBC. For three years off-shore pirate radio broad-



Radio, Radio, from the rooftops.

casts from Radio Caroline and a number of imitators, contributed heavily to the creation of a pop music culture until pirate radio was silenced by the Marine Broadcasting Offences Act in 1967.

The free radio movement in Europe got underway in a big way in Italy at the end of the '60s when illegal, low wattage, campus and neighbourhood radio stations managed to break the State's broadcasting monopoly. The result was de facto deregulation.

The Italian stations, established and disassembled at will, proved particularly useful in maintaining instant communication with the population during popular upsurges, student rebellions, the self-reduction movements and strikes which occurred frequently during the '70s.

## Radio Libertaire

The recent experience of the anarchist operated Radio Libertaire station in France is a good example of how to

get a piece of the airwaves and hang on. At the end of the '70s, after a long battle won by the proliferation of pirate radio stations, the French government caved in and legalized broadcasts by any group, movement or association regardless of their financial solvency or technical ability.

Since the Socialist government of Mitterand has taken power there has been a further explosion of stations of every type. The government, surprised by the magnitude and speed of the phenomenon, has been unable to close the floodgates — particularly since the new president of the Republic has himself participated in pirate broadcasts.

Radio Libertaire was initially set up by several militant anarchists in April 1980 as a libertarian station on I'le de France in the Paris Basin. A year later, funded with loans from militants and sympathizers they were able to set up a studio and broadcast four hours per day. Even today, with 114 hours of weekly programming the station oper-

ates without a station chief, relying on weekly meetings of everyone involved. Decisions are made by consensus and put into practice by affinity groups or teams, each responsible for its air-time or area of activity. Presently Radio Libertaire has 56 people who can more or less do all the necessary jobs to keep the station going.

Radio Libertaire is now in the top ten most popular stations in the Paris Basin but the situation is not so bright for many of the other 117 stations operating in the Basin who cannot maintain an audience of ten thousand or more. Radio Libertaire warns that the high operating costs of maintaining a non-pirate station will eventually allow a monopoly of the strong to once more emerge.

As it stands, Radio Libertaire is broadcasting seven days a week, to an officially estimated 100,000 listeners. It is the first anarchist radio station since WW II; prior to that the Spanish anarchists operated their own radio stations. Under its roof, Radio Libertaire regroups all strands of anarchist thought and opens its doors to all movements with similar struggles: anti-militarist, ecological, feminist, etc. They do not attempt to sweep their anarchism under the rug and they make a special effort to respond to their listeners suggestions.

## Pirate Radio

In England, where pirate radio got its name and then was snuffed out, there is now a redoubled interest with over 100 illegal stations operating in all formats. With numbers like these and the inability of the Home Office to control them it would seem likely that the U.K. government would bring in legislation similar to that in France — legality, but government regulation.

Unfortunately, this bastion of Western democracy and freedom seems intent on moving in the opposite direction by increasing the present penalty for illegal broadcasting from three months in prison and/or \$800 fine and/or seizure of equipment to a \$2,000 fine and/or the rest. In addition, they are contemplating two new offences 1) Deliberate Interference, and 2) Misleading Messages, with sentences of two years and unlimited fines.

One dedicated pirate, operating out of RBL station on the French coast, which beams programs into England, explains the situation this way:

"There is no loophole in the English law that gives the individual the right to transmit. People have been looking and there is no chance of deregulating the law like in Italy. This makes it very important that people make and transmit programmes — concentrated illegal pressure will pay off."

At present in Britain there is a 'Free

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# Shock Slogans and Token Tantrums

"WE WERE FRUSTRATED AT our previous attempts to play London gigs because of all the shit that got printed in the national papers about our last single 'How Does It Feel (to be the mother of a thousand dead).'"

A spokesperson for CRASS, one of the most influential punk rock groups in England, was describing a situation which faces many radical performers in the 80's. CRASS solved their problem using nonviolent direct action. With the help of friends they occupied the deserted Rainbow Theatre last mid-December to put on a free concert.

"It seemed important for us," the CRASS spokesperson said, "to do a London gig and we weren't prepared to play the Lyceum or anywhere like that mainly because it's the typical music industry thing with bouncers, high bar prices and everything else."

The planning for the concert at the Rainbow was derailed after only two days of occupation when police and private security guards, operating illegally, forcibly entered the theatre and ejected the occupiers. A second attempt at occupying the Rainbow only hours later failed.

Fortunately, CRASS and friends had a back-up plan. They occupied the vacant Zig-Zag club on December 18.

"The word flashed around the grapevine and by noon several hundred people were in the building and the festival had begun," reported *Freedom*. "The police tried to gain entry but were refused and contented themselves with standing about in pairs outside getting cold."

Inside the building, in typical CRASS fashion, the walls were draped with banners proclaiming various anarchist/pacifist slogans and causes. There were no attempts to restrict the movement of people in the club, everybody cleaned up after themselves and over a dozen bands each played 30 minute sets.

Bands supporting the occupation with their presence included: Faction, Omega Tribe, Lack of Knowledge, Sleeping Dogs, Apostles, Amebix, Null and Void, Soldiers of Fortune, The Mob, Poison Girls, Conflict, Flux of Pink Indians and Dirt.

CRASS, in a written statement included with their recent recording *Christ the Album*, expresses its hope that people still have the strength to change and that, "We can try to live in harmony with our friends and amongst the people and environment in which we move. We can try to be creative with the facilities that we and others make. We can learn to reject the stupid roles that we are told to accept: dominant males, submissive females, etc. We can learn to share and cooperate with each other, to give back to life what we have taken from it. . . . We can learn to reject the grey filth and shit that we are told is 'a fact of life'. We can demand and create something better."

"All these things, and a lot more, we can learn together with those who care and then, as individuals, we can go out into the streets and demand back the world we know exists beneath the layer upon layer of crap



Crass: music and action.

that history has piled upon it. . . . It's up to us, as individuals, together, to subvert the system that perverts our lives."

For some time now CRASS has been putting this philosophy into practice on a number of fronts. The recent occupations and free concert are only the latest actions in a continuum that began with the participation of some of the present band members in organizing the first free concert at Stonehenge in 1974.

## A thousand dead

The latest events followed in the wake of calls for charges of "treason" against the band members and the vilification of CRASS in the British press for the simple message contained in the band's last self-produced and manufactured record. CRASS had the audacity to ask Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher how it felt "to be the mother of a thousand dead" in the senseless Falklands conflict. Surely a treasonous act during the orgy of national self-congratulation on the British "victory."

A year earlier CRASS scandalized officialdom, and sent the sensation-mongering British press flapping, with the album *Penis Envy*. It was discovered, to the "horror" of the tabloids, that the heavily anti-sexist, pro-anarchist-feminist record was being subtly advertised in a glossy Brides-to-be magazine as an essential primer for what the future bride should know before tying the marital knot.

This "attack on the family and holy institution of marriage" embarrassingly lodged high on the U.K. record charts.

On another front CRASS lent its support to the successful Persons Unknown campaign, playing benefits and publicizing the phony case against five British anarchists. They released a record which provided background on the frame-up and featured the CRASS song "Bloody Revolutions" backed with "Persons Unknown," a powerful song by another group, Poison Girls, who share many of the same views as

CRASS. The entire proceeds from the sale of the record were set aside for the eventual creation of an anarchist centre in London.

CRASS took a different tack in 1981. Fearing that the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which was having a revival and organizing for a massive rally in Hyde Park, would degenerate into a soapbox for politicking Labour Party hacks and left-wing authoritarians, CRASS undertook an independent concert tour of cities raising all the radical issues involved in the nuclear question, not just disarmament.

## Redefining limits

While an increasing number of rock music performers (The Clash, Gang of Four, Dead Kennedys, D.O.A., etc.) have expressed a commitment to radical social change in their lyrics and public presentation they have generally worked within the conventions of the music business. CRASS, on the other hand, has also attempted to redefine the limits and methods of presentation and production.

CRASS for the most part avoids the commercial concert circuit, preferring to put on smaller gigs, on short notice, advertised through local record stores and gathering places. Handouts and various types of literature explaining the anarchist/pacifist viewpoint or commenting on the issues of the day are generally available at their concerts. They work with other less known bands and have set up a CRASS Records label to release their own material and that of an increasing number of like-minded bands. A number of the bands that performed at the ZigZag concert are on the CRASS label.

CRASS has gone one step further to insure that their material is not censored: they operate a record pressing plant to manufacture their own and others' records. When no manufacturer in England would press "Let Them Eat Jellybeans", a radical compilation album of North American underground bands, CRASS arranged for the record to be pressed at its

facilities.

CRASS uses the entire range of its activities as an example for others. They encourage those attracted to their performances to grapple with the ideas and methods of resistance and renewal directly. This contrasts with the usual music/culture industry's emphasis on high technique and vicarious consumption. The recent tendency by some performers to use "rebellion" and "revolution" as an element in stage shows, music packaging and promotional style domesticates the very notion of radical social change into something as disposable as the latest disco fad. The CRASS listener, however, can't effectively "like" the show or recording as mere entertainment without coming to grips with its content of anarchist participation.

## CRASS caution

Even so, CRASS cautions against taking too loose an advocacy of direct action tactics, saying:

"It is impossible and unwise to advocate 'direct action'. It is something that should be done and not spoken about. Each of us has our own level of fear and uncertainty and in taking direct action as a form of protest, we must be as certain as possible that we will succeed. It is foolhardy, unless we simply want to end up as martyrs, to attempt anything that we are not ready for. We must learn to overcome our fears gradually, rather than diving headlong into something that we find we can't carry through."

For those who find the music of CRASS unique but often abrasive, disjointed, and sometimes dirgelike, they have gone so far as to publish a book, on their Existencil Press, dedicated, "To those who might like the ideas but can't stand the music." *A Series of Shock Slogans and Mindless Token Tantrums* outlines the group's development from "hippy" roots to "punk" anarchist-pacifists:

"We had tried to demonstrate our sense of freedom with humour and love and we were met with violence and hate which we in turn attempted to combat with our reason and intelligence. We failed. We finally realized that the state, those who work within it and those who live beneath its authority, were the 'enemy of our freedom' and that we must look for ways other than well reasoned words with which to oppose them."

But the catalyst for action came in 1976:

"A year after . . . the Pistols released 'Anarchy in the U.K.', maybe they really didn't mean it ma'am, but to us it was a battle cry. When Rotten proclaimed that there was 'no future' we saw it as a challenge to our creativity — we knew that there was a future if we were prepared to work for it."

"It is our world, it is ours and it has been stolen from us. We set out to demand it back, only this time round they didn't call us 'hippies,' they called us 'punks'."

The CRASS book is available from: Existencil Press, PO Box 279, London N22. Costs about \$4. Or as a booklet included in CRASS's double record set: *Christ the Album*.

The *How Does it Feel* and *Persons Unknown* singles, the *Penis Envy* album as well as records by many of the bands that participated in the occupation are available from CRASS Records, c/o Rough Trade, 202 Kensington Park Road, London W11, U.K. or in the U.S.



# Nuclear Family Meltdown

by Fred Mobile

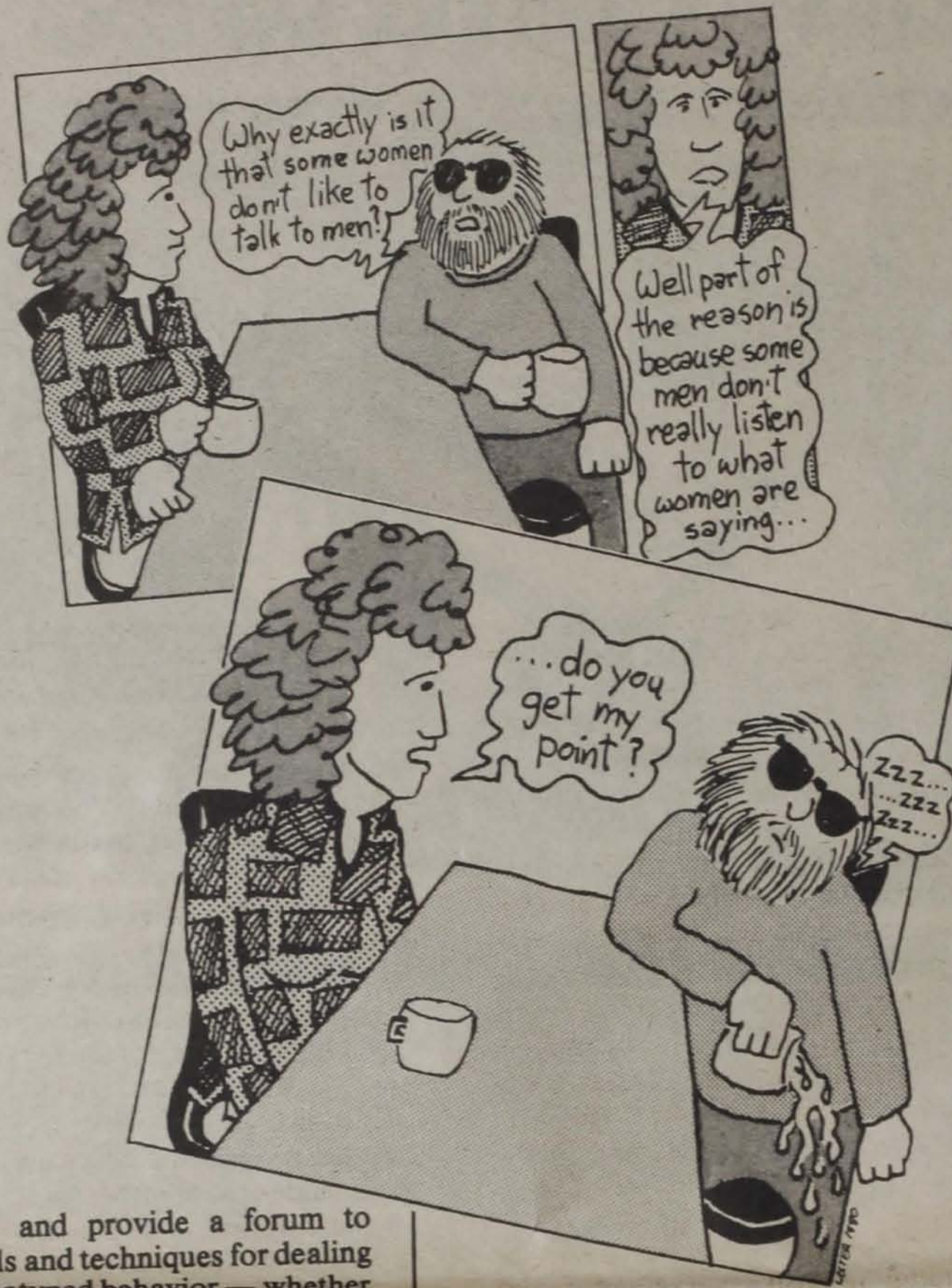
**CUT OUT THE MIDDLE-** man and you've got a head start in ditching the excess emotional baggage that's strapped on to you by your conditioning.

The middle-man can be a "professional healer," like a therapist, counsellor or shrink; an institution, like the nuclear family or pharmaceutical industry; or a power centre, like the boss, parents or even the State. Whatever form it takes, its function is to obscure and mystify the causes of people's personal problems and to impose an "external" solution — thereby robbing people of the power to analyze and dispose of their own problems directly.

Get a group of people together for mutual aid and support and your chances of jettisoning the surplus weight is increased immeasurably. It's being done all the time:

- Ex-mental patients, sick-and-tired of being belittled by professionals and bullied by mood-altering drugs, find they can finally function as stable and productive individuals by creating a self-help support network that includes co-op housing, peer counselling and democratic decision-making.

- Consciousness-raising and assertiveness-training groups, run on consensual lines with equal participation by members, help clarify the impact of sex roles on individual



behavior, and provide a forum to share tools and techniques for dealing with stereotyped behavior — whether macho or passive.

- Direct action can liberate turf — literally, in the case of the proliferating nude beaches — where more timid appeals to the State's benevolence would only have left the old hang-ups and taboos intact.

## Returning Responsibility

Slowly, with a lot of pain and anxiety, the movement for personal liberation is amassing a repertory of techniques which can aid in wresting power from the middle-men. These techniques return to the individual responsibility for his or her own behavior, and open up the possibility for understanding why we act so destructively. Traditional psychoanalysis and therapy is designed to help the unhappy individual "adjust" to an unjust and oppressive world; radical therapy, if it is really radical in its world-view, aims to assist the individual in overcoming unhappiness by empowering him or her to change the causes.

Peer counselling, gestalt process, bioenergetics — these are some of the techniques used. Constructive criticism is another — one that is especially well-suited to the theme of direct action.

Suppose you're having a hassle with a co-worker. His or her thoughtless practices result in more work for you (this has nothing to do with increasing profits for the boss). How do you handle it? Most people are afraid to confront someone else openly and directly. Instead, they resort to trashing the other person ("you're lazy, or thoughtless,") — which is generally guaranteed to elicit a hostile or resentful reaction; or they appeal to authority — in this case, the boss — to solve the problem for them. A third way is to just grin and bear it — not exactly a solution.

Constructive criticism provides a relatively safe formula for fairly strong opinions without necessarily dumping on the other person. It targets the specific behavior that is objectionable ("you leave the gizmos in our common work area after you've finished using them"); it explains the effect on you ("I feel resentful"); it proposes action to deal with the problem ("I want you to put them away when you're finished"); and it explains the purpose of the criticism ("This will make less work for all of us").

Obviously, the criticism is directed at opening up real and honest relations among people who have a lot in common. It's got to be in the other person's interest (even if only dimly perceived and long-term) to respond to the criticism in a constructive way; the boss is not going to be too sympathetic to suggestions if the only pay-off is less work for the employees.

Constructive criticism and other techniques in use by radical therapy can be powerful tools in building solidarity and forging principled relations in ordinary life or in political struggle. Like other forms of direct action, you don't have to ask anybody's permission before helping yourself to them.

But take it a step further; how do crazy-making ideas get started in the first place? Why do people defer to authority (whether professional, physical or institutional) — even when it's against their own interests? Why do we seem to be forever hurting the ones we love — including ourselves?

There's no short answer, but it can be helpful to consider the role of the nuclear family as the essential institution that conditions people into authorized channels for relating to each other. The nuclear family pre-deter-

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# Meaning of the Tribes

*AN AFFINITY GROUP REPRESENTS a small - under a dozen - number of people committed to each other in their emotional and intellectual life, and in their political work. An affinity group is a direct, collective way for accomplishing tasks ranging from washing the dishes to occupying a nuclear site, as well as providing a secure and supportive environment for members to relate to each other outside society's roles. As such it forms the basis for one alternative to both the nuclear family and the hierarchical political organization. The following excerpt from Post-Scarcity Anarchism, Page 221-2, by Murray Bookchin, describes this revolutionary organizational form as it was developed by Spanish anarchists in the early part of the century and adapted for North American use in more recent times.*

**THE AFFINITY GROUP** form has features that apply to any social situation, and these have often been intuitively adopted by American radicals, who call the resulting organizations "collectives," "communes" or "families."

The affinity group could easily be regarded as a new type of extended family, in which kinship ties are replaced by deeply empathetic human relationships - relationships nourished by common revolutionary ideas and practice. Long before the word "tribe" gained popularity in the

American counterculture, the anarchists called their congresses *asambleas de las tribus* - assemblies of the tribes.

Each affinity group is deliberately kept small to allow for the greatest degree of intimacy between those who compose it. Autonomous, communal and directly democratic, the group combines revolutionary theory with revolutionary lifestyle in its everyday behavior. It creates a free space in which revolutionaries can remake themselves individually, and also as social beings.

Affinity groups are intended to function as catalysts within the popular movement, not as "vanguards"; they provide initiative and consciousness, not a "general staff" and a source of "command." Whether they link together or separate is determined by living situations, not by bureaucratic fiat from a distant center. Under conditions of political repression, affinity groups are highly resistant to police infiltration.

## Difficult to Penetrate

Owing to the intimacy of the relationships between the participants, the groups are often difficult to penetrate and, even if penetration occurs, there is no centralized apparatus to provide the infiltrator with an overview of the movement as a whole. Even under such demanding conditions, affinity groups can still retain

contact with each other through their periodicals and literature.

During periods of heightened activity, on the other hand, nothing prevents affinity groups from working together closely on any scale required by a living situation. They can easily federate by means of local, regional or national assemblies to formulate common policies and they can create temporary action committees (like those of the French students and workers in 1968) to coordinate specific tasks. Affinity groups, however, are always rooted in the popular movement. Their loyalties belong to the social forms created by the revolutionary people, not to an impersonal bureaucracy.

As a result of their autonomy and localism, the groups can retain a sensitive appreciation of new possibilities. Intensely experimental and variegated in lifestyles, they act as a stimulus on each other as well as on the popular movement. Each group tries to acquire the resources needed to function largely on its own. Each group seeks a rounded body of knowledge and experience in order to overcome the social and psychological limitations imposed by bourgeois society on individual development.

Each group, as a nucleus of consciousness and experience, tries to advance the spontaneous revolutionary movement of the people to a point where the group can finally disappear into the organic social forms created by the revolution.



Jan. 20/83, 10 A.M., a brooding West Coast morning. A brown pickup is heading north from Vancouver on the rugged Squamish Highway. Inside the front are two women and a man, in back under a canopy are two men. On an isolated, curving section of the road the pickup is flagged down by a "Dept. of Highways road crew." A large Highways dump truck is blocking the road, but all is apparently routine. Just another small rock slide.

As the pickup stops, another dump truck pulls in from behind. Instantaneously, the doors of the pickup are flung open by the "road crew" and the three people inside are forced to the ground with guns to their heads. At the same time, the canopy is charged, the back window smashed in, and a powerful blast of CS tear gas is power shot inside.

The two men scramble for fresh air and find a dozen weapons trained on them. They surrender and are dragged through the broken window to the wet pavement and handcuffed. SWAT personnel are still pouring from the dump truck and from a Hydro van parked nearby. Wearing fully-camouflaged combat fatigues, bullet-resistant vests and gas masks, and armed with CAR-15 assault rifles and riot shotguns, they look like soldiers.

As the situation stabilizes, more fully-combat-outfitted police begin to appear from the bushes and rocky hills at both sides of the road. More firepower, abundant overkill, capitalism's domestic commandos. Five people are arrested and charged with criminal activities resulting from alleged membership in an anarchist action group.

**FIVE VANCOUVER PEOPLE** are now awaiting trial on more than a dozen charges, each arising from an alleged series of high-profile urban guerilla actions undertaken in Canada in 1982 and supposedly in planning for 1983.

Whether they can get a fair hearing on the charges — even by the establishment's own rules of "justice" — is now in question, given the intensive-orchestrated campaign of vilifica-

# Trial by Media

tion waged against them by the authorities, with the more-than-willing compliance of journalistic hangers-on.

The style and manner of the arrest of the five (as described in their collective report above) were an early clue that the authorities hope to transform the legal proceedings into a political pageant and morality play aimed at alarming the citizenry and putting the damper on the distinctively-autonomous West Coast political movements that have flourished since the mid-1970's.

By their actions since the arrests, including intensive surveillance and harrassment of friends of the defendants, and of activists from Vancouver to Toronto, the authorities clearly see the possibility for a political show trial on a scale absent from Canada since the days of the urban guerilla Front de Liberation du Québec a decade ago.

The trial itself could last six months once it gets started — possibly in late spring or next fall. The authorities have told the news media that much of their case will involve the fruits of extensive surveillance — apparently wire taps and room bugs — but they have been exceedingly slow in outlining the particulars of the charges to the defense, as they are required to do.

Meanwhile, the five, who have pleaded innocent to all charges, face an extended stay in the remand units of the dungeon-like Oakalla Prison (Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre) in suburban Burnaby, awaiting the outcome of the interminable bail process.

While the five sit in Oakalla, the police and the Crown (prosecution) have been employing time-tested techniques — rumour, speculation, innuendo, bald-faced lies — to attempt to implant in the minds of the

public the spectre of an "anarchist" terror conspiracy composed of a network of "cells" across Canada bent on a rampage of destruction. Never mind that the defendants have said they do not identify with the label "anarchist" or any other ideological straitjacket — that would just derail the media bandwagon.

The five charged have all been politically active in the Vancouver area for a number of years on such issues as environmentalism, peace, native and prisoners' rights, feminism and popular culture (more details in accompanying story). They are: Julie Belmas, 20; Gerry Hannah, 26; Ann Hansen, 29; Doug Stewart, 25; and Brent Taylor, 26.

Each is charged with 12 to 15 counts, including the dynamite bombing of a B.C. Hydro electric substation on Vancouver Island; the fire-bombing of three Red Hot Video porn outlets, in Vancouver suburbs; conspiracy to bomb an oil exploration icebreaker under construction in Vancouver and the Canadian Forces base at Cold Lake, Alta., where the Cruise missile is slated for testing; possession of restricted firearms and explosives; and conspiracy to rob a Brinks truck.

Conviction on some or all of the charges could result in sentences of up to 25 years in prison.

## Every unsolved crime

"It sounds like they have dragged out every unsolved crime to clean up their books," said one exasperated defense lawyer when the list of charges was read out.

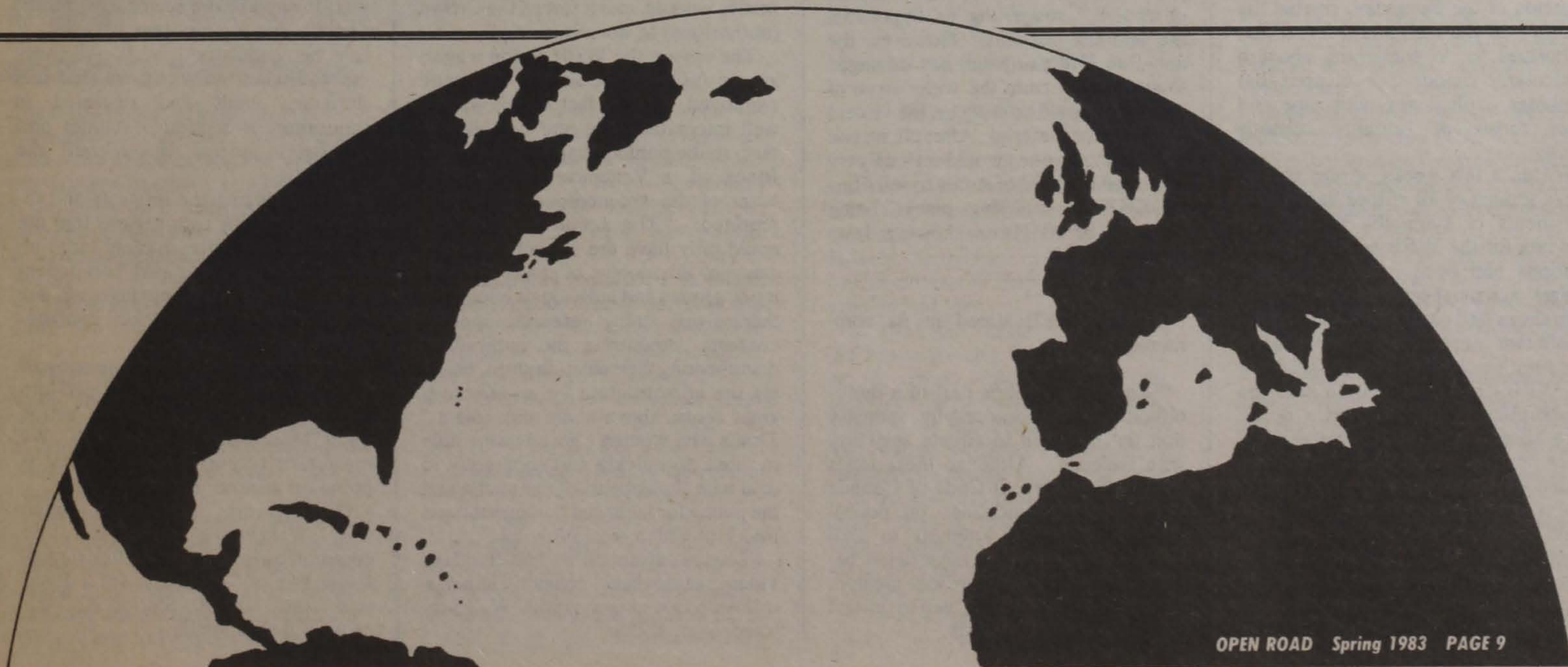
As well, police in Vancouver and Toronto have consistently hinted they want to tie the five into the dynamite bombing of a Litton Systems Ltd. plant in Toronto where parts for the Cruise missile are made. But as of press time (Feb. 18), the police have been content to merely implicate the defendants via the media without bothering to put anything in writing.

That's the way it's been since Day One. The morning after the arrests, the front-page headlines were screaming, "Roundup nets anarchist cell,"

cont. p. 15

Julie Belmas - Gerry Hannah - Ann Hansen - Doug Stewart - Brent Taylor

# FREE THE FIVE PROTECT THE EARTH





# 'Direct Action' Scores Twice

**TWO ACTS OF SABOTAGE IN** Canada in 1982 have been claimed in separate communiqués labelled Direct Action. Each of the dynamite attacks rates amongst the most destructive acts of political sabotage in North America in a number of years.

The first action was the dynamiting of a BC Hydro power substation on Vancouver Island on May 31. Four and a half months later in Toronto the Litton Systems plant, where electronic components for Cruise missiles are manufactured, was damaged in another blast claimed by Direct Action. Combined damages from the bombings are estimated at more than \$10 million. Both actions were directed against targets which have been the centre of great public opposition.

The destroyed substation on Vancouver Island was part of the controversial Cheekye-Dunsmuir transmission line. When BC Hydro announced plans in 1979 to construct the 112-kilometre, 500,000-volt electrical power line from the B.C. mainland to

Vancouver Island, opposition was immediate. People living along the line's proposed route were outraged that they had not been consulted or informed in advance. They were worried about the environmental effects of the line which would cut a huge swath through the country-side, emit electro-magnetic radiation, and require using dangerous herbicides to prevent undergrowth. Although the line was supposedly meant to bring power to Vancouver Island, it was also designed to transmit electricity back to the mainland, reinforcing suspicions that Hydro was planning to build nuclear reactors on the Island. A loose coalition of groups soon formed to demand a public hearing and to oppose construction of the line.

The B.C. government, which owns and controls B.C. Hydro, refused to hold a full public hearing, permitting only limited hearings on the specific route the line was to take. The government claimed the line itself was absolutely necessary and not open to debate.



Aftermath of B.C. Hydro bombing.

## Talk of sabotage

Almost from the beginning there was talk of sabotage. Residents along the proposed route removed surveyors' stakes and stood in front of bulldozers. In one incident, three protestors were physically assaulted by a contractor. In Aug. 1980, Hydro obtained a court injunction against the protestors and arrests were made.

Prior to the Oct. 14 attack on the Litton plant, protests there had involved various acts of non-violent civil disobedience, organized by the Cruise Missile Conversion Project.

A non-hierarchically structured

group dedicated to nuclear disarmament, CMCP (730 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ont.) has been working since 1979 to convert production at Litton to peaceful purposes. Besides mounting mass protests at the plant, CMCP has been leafleting workers at Litton to encourage them to work for conversion from the inside.

A large part of the plant was destroyed in the blast. Five hundred and fifty pounds of dynamite in a van parked outside the plant was detonated, causing \$5 million in damage and injuring seven people.

Direct Action claimed responsibility for the sabotage. In a communiqué, they apologized for the injuries. Noting that police ignored ample warnings, the communiqué says the bombing "was never meant to be an act of terrorism" against the workers at Litton, but instead was an attempt "to destroy part of an industrial facility that produces machinery for mass murder." Describing nuclear war as the culmination of "centuries of patriarchy, racism, imperialism, class domination" and technological civilization, the group called for mass resistance and revolt to "stop the power-crazed from launching their W.W. III."

Direct Action denied having any connection to CMCP or any other nuclear disarmament group.

The communiqué issued after Litton gives a detailed rationale for decentralized direct action campaigns against what is, after all, a globe-girdling war machine. One example:

"We believe that people must actively fight the nuclear war system in whatever forms they exist and wherever they exist. Although, in total, the nuclear militarization of the world is a vast and seemingly unfathomable and omnipotent network, it can be understood and effectively resisted when we recognize that it is designed, built and operated in thousands of separate facilities and industries spread throughout the world.

"By analyzing the interests and institutions in our own regions that are contributing to the nuclear build-up we find that the smaller component pieces of the nuclear network are realistic targets for direct confrontation and sabotage.

"Our opposition to the insanity of nuclear war must be transformed into militant resistance and direct action on a local and regional basis. We must take responsibility for what is going on around us!"

(For full texts of the Direct Action and Wimmin's Fire Brigade communiqués, send for Resistance, Issues #4 and 5, available for a donation from Box 790, Station A, Vancouver, B.C. Canada.)

# Porn Fight Catches Fire

**THE MOLOTOV COCKTAILS** launched by the Wimmin's Fire Brigade last Nov. 22 in the midst of a mass public campaign across British Columbia against violent porn succeeded in igniting more than just two of the porn shops that were their immediate targets.

By the timing of the action, and the clarity and forthrightness of the communiqué that accompanied it, the WFB played a role in having the entire campaign catch fire. Women's groups had been fighting for six months - lobbying, petitioning, writing letters - to pressure the authorities to take action, but they were no nearer their goal. The fire bombings, as an expression of frustration felt by many people, actually united most of the diverse elements of the campaign, riveted the attention of the media and forced the authorities to do something about a particularly vicious type of porn that combines explicit sex with rape and other forms of brutality towards women.

Within a few weeks, scores of women's groups of all stripes had issued statements of sympathy and understanding for the WFB action, demonstrations had been held in a dozen centres across the province, and six porn shops had closed, moved away or withdrawn much of their stock out of fear they would be the next targets of the WFB. Finally, a month after the fire-bombings, police raided a dozen porn shops and seized thousands of tapes, probably crippling the distribution system. A month after that, the first charge was laid - for violating the Criminal Code prohibition against combining explicit sex with violence. The immediate target of the campaign was a chain of porn shops called Red Hot Video, that got established in B.C.

in early 1982 and by the fall had grown to 14 outlets. Exploiting a loophole in copyright laws, Red Hot Video built up an inventory of video tapes for sale or rent that were pirated from hard-core porn films made in the United States. Many of the films depicted not only explicit sex scenes, but women being trussed up, beaten, raped, tortured, forced to undergo enemas by armed intruders and other forms of degradation. Typically, the victims are depicted as learning to enjoy the mistreatment and actually begging for more.

## Freedom of Choice

Red Hot Video masquerades its panderings under the rubric "freedom of choice," suggesting its opponents are anti-sex puritans. However, the anti-Red Hot campaign has managed to steer away from the wider issue of censorship by focussing on the violent nature of the material. After all, no one - or hardly anyone - would seriously try to defend the right of stores to sell films to KKKers depicting blacks being lynched, or to Nazis showing Jews being tortured.

As the WFB stated in its communiqué:

"Red Hot Video is part of a multi-billion dollar pornography industry that teaches men to equate sexuality with violence. Although these tapes violate the Criminal Code of Canada and the B.C. guidelines on pornography, all lawful attempts to shut down Red Hot Video have failed because the justice system was created, and is controlled by rich men to protect their profits and property.

"As a result, we are left no viable alternative but to change the situation ourselves through illegal means. This is an act of self-defense against hate propaganda! We will continue to defend ourselves!"

The WFB action and its aftermath was an intensely educational experience for many people who had never been involved in a public protest campaign before, and who had never really questioned the good intentions of the authorities. As one middle-aged woman, a housewife and active churchgoer, said: "When I first heard about the bombings, I said, 'how horrible, that violence will rebound against us.' I'm still against violence, but now I have to admit it brought results - it shut down the porn shops, where no other tactics worked, and it forced the Crown (authorities) to do something."

The reason the WFB action was so successful was not simply the tactic employed, but the fact that it was so well integrated into, and complimentary, to the public campaign. As B.C. Blackout, a Vancouver-based newsletter of the autonomous movement, reported: "The action of the WFB could only have the impact it did because of the months of spade work by many groups and individuals educating themselves, doing research, making contacts, pressuring the authorities, documenting their case - in short, building the infrastructure for an effective, grass roots, above-board movement. That's why women's groups were able to move so quickly and coherently to deal with the appeals of the media and the public for facts and commentary on Red Hot Video after Nov. 22."

(To stay current on the anti-Red Hot Video campaign, consult Kinesis women's newspaper, 400A W. Fifth, Vancouver, B.C.)





Improvement Association, the 381-day boycott integrated the city buses. (Their inspiration was, in part, derived from the actions of one Black woman, Rosa Parks, who refused to stand at the back of the bus when there was a seat available in the whites-only section — a convincing demonstration of the power of direct action by even one person at critical times.)

The civil rights activists' decisive break with legal tactics, however, came in 1960 when sit-ins swept the South. This tactic was first used by four Black students who sat at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. Organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), sit-ins resulted in thousands of arrests

**Young Lords.**

**Community breakfast programs.**

**Black Panthers.**



# No More Business As Usual

by Mathew Garth

*forget to negotiate, forget how to negotiate, don't wait for De Gaulle or Kirk to abdicate, they won't, you are not "demonstrating" you are fighting a war, fight to win, don't wait for Johnson or Humphrey or Rockefeller to agree to your terms because it's yours*

— The Black Panther newspaper, 1969

**THE HISTORY OF NON-white** people in America is a history of protest: from the Black Hills of South Dakota to the lunch counters of Mississippi to the orchards of South New Mexico.

Blacks, Native Indians and Hispanics have initiated forms of direct action that other activists have borrowed from, including the sit-in, alternative institutions and armed actions. They have used these tactics

not just in the political arena (to reclaim the "civil rights" that all North Americans are entitled to), but for social ends as well — to rebuild and sustain their unique cultures against a tide of white, consumerist domination.

Blacks have historically been North America's most visible minority. By the 1950's the limited effectiveness of longtime legal and legislative efforts had become clear. Despite decades of such action, Blacks remained disenfranchised in the South, judicial desegregation decisions were ignored and Black unemployment rose steadily during the supposed "relative affluence" of the post-war years.

The Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1955-56 kicked off the nonviolent direct action civil rights movement. Organized by Martin Luther King and the Montgomery

and made direct action the dominant civil rights tactic.

The sit-ins' disruption of "business as usual" sparked an all-out assault on segregation. Soon there were "read-ins" (libraries), "walk-ins" (parks and theatres), "wade-ins" (swimming pools and beaches) and "freedom rides" (bus terminals).

## Black Power

Although SNCC activists initially expressed the religious pacifism of King, they soon came to regard him as too cautious, and SNCC organizer Stokely Carmichael called for Black Power: control of their communities, schools and jobs.

In 1966 the Black Panther Party (BPP) was formed. The Panthers called for armed self-defense and they set up patrols to confront police harassment in the Black community. They also worked within the community to establish alternative institutions ("survival programs") that offered breakfasts, clothing, food and education. These programs served as a model for for much of the left and for the counter-culture's co-operative institutions.

The Panthers were eventually felled by State repression and internal

factionalism. In 1971, some ex-Panthers formed the Black Liberation Army (BLA), an armed action group.

While direct action tactics were taking hold in the Black community, a grassroots movement of cultural pride and racial solidarity began to reclaim Black history. Blacks achieved a new self-image as a result of direct action confrontations, the rise of new African nations and activists such as Malcolm X, who helped to instill a feeling among Blacks that "Black is Beautiful," after they had been told for centuries that it was worthless and ugly.

When a group of people is economically and culturally excluded from the mainstream, it is forced — for its very survival — to develop its own cultural forms.

Since these cultures are formed as a reaction to mainstream authoritarian cultures, they contain some rebellious anti-authoritarian values. This shared outlook creates an intense bond that's absent in white movements. As a result, groups like the BPP reflected the values of "brothers and sisters on the block" more organically than any white left group has ever reflected its "constituency." In a similar sense, the American Indian Movement (AIM) developed as a direct expression of the aspirations of many Indian People.

## Native Autonomy

Vern Bellecourt, an AIM organizer, pointed out why non-white movements maintain autonomy from the white left. "We strongly believe in separatism as an absolute. No one tells a fox he has to be a deer, no one tells a fox he has to be a robin, a blackbird or a muskrat. It's hopeless to try to change the whites; our energy is better spent rebuilding our own culture."

Like the Black action movement, Indian direct action has emerged since World War II alongside a cultural and spiritual renaissance. In the 1950's, a groundswell of protest stopped the Eisenhower administration's policy of shutting down reservations and driving Indians into urban slums.

In the 1960's, Indians in the United States rebelled against the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) system of tribal government, which had replaced traditional leaders and decision-making processes with corrupt elections and puppet leaders.

Part of the rebellion was a rebirth of long-suppressed traditions such as the potlatch, a system of redistribution of wealth through gift-giving among Indians, and traditional religion, which stressed a respectful, eco-conscious relationship to the earth.

Occupations have been a prominent Indian direct action. AIM organized the Trail of Broken Treaties, a nationwide trek that ended in the occupation of BIA headquarters in Washington, D.C.

The take-over of Wounded Knee in 1973, as a forceful and direct solution to land claims, shook North America and ignited a series of Native occupations.

The seizure of Alcatraz Island, the fight of Pit River Indians in California to keep their land, the Puyallup fish-ins in Washington State for fishing rights and the fight for an independent Dene Nation in Canada's North are all part of a cultural resurgence and a political battle.

In similar ways, Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers (UFW) provided the initial thrust for the

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A group of Vancouver mothers who had been pleading for months with authorities for an overpass of a dangerous rail line near their homes finally got quick results when they took direct action and pitched tents on the tracks, refusing to let any trains pass until they got firm guarantees for the overpass. The action helped unify the group of mothers, who went on to organize a community centre and food co-op for their neighborhood, and also served as a model for other local groups fighting for day-care and other needs.





# **DIRECT ACTION**

## **Speaks Louder Than Words**

Newsjournal available on request:  
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**OpenRoad**



# Conspiracy: Is To Breathe Together

by Progne Jones

## IMPLICIT IN THE CHOICE

by women to organize as women is a revolutionary directness. If direct action is an act of political expression outside the state-sanctioned, acceptable avenues, and without delegation of power to another, then the very act of a woman speaking with her own voice is direct—for the history of women is silence. To speak with her own voice to another woman is a conspiracy.

For our predecessors, the suffragettes, the avenues were clearly blocked. The entrances to the Houses of Parliament were barricaded not merely by statute but by cordons of police. The face of the state was clearly male and clearly brutal. The chivalric response to the hunger-strikes of imprisoned suffragettes was force-feeding. Despite repeated warnings from liberal "sympathizers" (both male and female), that the

escalation of militance to include arson and other damage to property would be detrimental to the campaign, the women chose a strategy of provocation. Having no representatives in the bastions of power, the suffragettes realized their strength lay in the disruptions which they could create outside.

However, the women's demands were addressed to a male audience, and effectively limited to a constitutional reform. When the door was opened, the movement, its cohesion dissipated by the war, lost its momentum. The women returned to their homes, ballot in hand, having won only the right to delegate their power to a male representative.

The Second Wave did not begin with a demand for women's rights. The sexual revolution, for all its rhetoric, had brought women in the left the "privilege" of greater sexual



accessibility.  
Not liberation, but a  
greater enslavement to the sexual

demands of men and of the contraceptive-producing corporations. Women were brought together by their work in the civil rights, student and anti-war movements of the sixties. Angered by the perpetuation of sex-roles in the movements of the new left, and by seeing their demands continually placed at the bottom of political agendas, women finally bid "Good-bye to all that." (Robin Morgan, *Going Too Far*).

## Pioneers in The Healthy Zone

"IN THIS COLLECTIVE WE take control of our own health information and we find that by letting women have free access to information as well as contribute research themselves, we are de-mystifying health care — and that's very empowering; it's a process women then apply to the rest of their lives."

The Vancouver Women's Health Collective, the oldest facility of its kind in Canada, is at the busy corner of Broadway and Granville streets. The large red sign with the collective's name reads: "Health for people, not for profit." In small rooms crowded with files and bookshelves women talk to each other about health matters, nutrition and kids, answer the steadily-ringing telephone, and do research on Canada's abortion laws.

Pat Deacon, a member of the collective of 40 women, and one of eight women on part-time salary (funding is from the B.C. ministry of health) fields inquiries on cervical caps as a method of birth control and the next chance for a woman to get into a group dealing with anorexia and bulimia (starving oneself or eating and vomiting to control weight). She discusses alternative treatments for a vaginal infection with a woman whose doctor simply prescribed drugs.

In a softly-lit room strewn with cushions and decorated with a wall-size fabric banner of a woman examining her vagina in a mirror, the collective's goals are stated: A "feminist, anti-capitalist group that is part of the women's movement," the collective is committed to researching and disseminating information on a broad range of health-related issues "with the emphasis on women becoming able to make their own decisions and be more in control of their lives."

The collective supports the right of a woman to terminate her own pregnancy, and "to help women take care of ourselves."

### Demanding better doctors

"We've also started speaking to young women in high schools because we feel the conditioning starts very early in a woman's life. Doctors still push the pill down the throats of young women." A life-sized poster of a woman depicts more than the dozen health hazards of the birth control pill — from migraine headaches to an increased risk of cervical cancer — and puts the collective firmly on record with respect to the Pill.

Many women come in and head directly for the "doctor directory," Deacon says. It is a "formalized grapevine" which represents hundreds of survey responses from women on medical practitioners, including psychiatrists, pediatricians, gynecologists, naturopaths and massage therapists.

"I really like the reassurance we're able to give women who come in here believing their negative experiences with doctors are all their fault, and find it's happened to most other women. There are doctors who are better and more of them are being forced to respond to the standards we demand," says Deacon. Copies of the collective files on doctors have gone to many other women's groups.

"Doctors trained in medical school for the most part know drugs and surgery, and that's all they know, so generally, we steer women to people who use, or are at least open to using, alternative forms of healing."

Cervical and breast self-examination are regularly taught by the collective, which prefers to emphasize prevention as a central theme to

health care. A pamphlet has been prepared on pelvic inflammatory diseases, an example of the directions the collective follows depending on women's experiences and interests.

Rebecca Fox and Robin Barnett have prepared a comprehensive report on a "feminist approach to pap tests," dealing with an examination designed for early detection of cervical cancer. The report states all the evidence the two women, spurred by their own abnormal pap tests, were able to gather. It includes a day-by-day journal of one of the women who heals herself and goes from a Class III result (the most alarming, indicating possible cancer) to a Class I (normal) by treating herself without surgery or drugs. The medical treatments, such as cryosurgery and cone biopsy, are outlined fully but the emphasis is on alternatives a woman can try herself. Concludes the report: "It is the individual woman who must, in the final analysis, make the decision about what to do. Western medicine puts that decision in the hands of the doctors."

Clearly, the health collective believes that control of health care does not belong in the hands of doctors. Women sometimes feel they're pioneers, breaking into the area of self-healing and control of their own health. Says Deacon: "But once a woman goes through that process of becoming in control of her own body, she's taken control of an important part of her life. Chances are she won't turn over authority again to the doctors and she'll pass on that strength to others."

The pamphlet on P.I.D. and the report on "a feminist approach to pap tests" may be obtained from the V.W.H.C. office, 1501 West Broadway, Vancouver, B.C., V6J 1W6.

### Coming Together

Hello Sisterhood. Women began to come together in small groups, a first step towards ending the silence. Through discussions, they found a commonality in their own experiences. The experiences were personal, but woven together they formed a pattern, a tapestry of women's oppression.

Through these early consciousness-raising groups women realized the importance of organizing from their own experiences, in their own lives—now. Not content to organize according to the male authorities of the right or left, the State or the 'counter-culture,' they set out to speak to other women. The small groups quickly took on the dimension of conspiratorial cells, as women prepared to set light to the imaginations of their sisters.

To break the silence, women had to find new ways of communication, ways to overcome the barriers of women's isolation from each other, by passivity, mistrust, poverty and fear. Excluded from the male-dominated media, women created new means of speaking to each other. The strategy was based on a revolutionary directness, unsanctioned and unmediated by men or the State.

### Colorful Actions

Some of the early radical feminist actions, such as the W.I.T.C.H. (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell) organized assault on the Miss America Pageant, set out not only to challenge the patriarchy, but to play on the news-event-oriented media. These colorful actions received top billing in news-

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# The Five: Who Are They?

## THOSE ARRESTED ARE

Julie Belmas, 20; Ann Hansen, 29; Gerry Hannah, 26; Doug Stewart, 25; and Brent Taylor, 26. Of the five, four grew up in the Greater Vancouver area, and Ann hails from Toronto.

Ann, Doug and Brent have been involved in the Vancouver or Toronto radical communities for several years. As individuals, some or all of them have been active in many different movements and struggles, including: the fight for political asylum for

Leonard Peltier, the Pacific Life Community and the anti-Trident campaign, Women Against Prisons, solidarity work for Third World struggles, various ecological campaigns, Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho-Marxist), anti-nuclear war and nuclear power, the Solitary Confinement Abolition Project, support for indigenous peoples' struggles, and some political journalism.

Julie and Gerry come out of the once-vibrant Vancouver punk rock scene, disillusioned by the lack of commitment there to work for radical change. Julie helped produce a magazine calling for radical activism, not posing; and later became involved in El Salvador solidarity and ecological activism. Gerry was a member of the Subhumans, a popular and consciously-political punk band that

played at many benefits for radical causes, including native struggles support, Rock Against Radiation, Rock Against Prisons and a Smash-The-State concert.

(To contact any of the five directly, write to them individually at Lower Mainland Regional Correctional Centre, Drawer O, Burnaby, B.C. V5H 3N4 CANADA).

## Media Trial

from p. 9

and press reports, quoting no one in particular, declared "The group is one of a number of loosely-knit anarchist cells with connections across Canada." One radio station, obviously infected with the enthusiasm of the day, told its listeners that "an eight-month campaign of bombing across Canada came to an end today with the arrest of five persons."

But those were just the Distant Early Warning signs. Later that same day came a police press conference. The arresting officers, representing Vancouver city police, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Mounties) and B.C.'s Coordinated Law Enforcement Unit (CLEU), proudly unveiled an arsenal of weapons ranging from automatic rifles to an emptied-out E.T. lunch pail, leaving the distinct impression that all the stuff had been seized in the pickup at the time of the arrests, or, at the very least, from the homes of the accused. In fact, as of this writing, no evidence has been presented as to where the stuff came from, or what its connection to the accused is.

When defense lawyers complained that the "evidence" was being presented to the press and the public before the trial — and even before the defense had had a chance to see it — one official spokesperson just shrugged and said, "Well, we have to give the press boys something to keep them happy."

Next it was Canada's garbage pail school of journalism — named after one particularly enterprising CBC-TV reporter who literally crawled through garbage in search of lurid details to titillate the viewers. He ripped off copies of personal poetry allegedly written by one of the defendants and read them on the air, and later he actually disguised himself as a "terrorist" and carried three sticks of dynamite into the shipyard where the icebreaker was being built in order to "test security." "I leave it to you, the viewer," he intoned. "Are safeguards stringent enough?"

### Like a plague

Other reporters descended like a plague on Vancouver's autonomous political scene, haunting bookstores and coffee bars, harrassing friends of the defendants. Each claimed to be more sympathetic than the next, and only wanted to do a fair and objective job on the "background" to the case, meaning exclusive gossip about the personal lives of the five. Numerous reporters were assigned to penetrate the mythical "anarchist" movement, but not a single one even bothered to ask what "anarchy" is supposed to be or how it works. No wonder they were never able to find a single live "anarchist" to display to the readers and viewers.

When friends of the defendants  
cont. p. 16



Julie Belmas



Gerry Hannah



Ann Hansen



Doug Stewart



Brent Taylor

# A Tale Of Two Cities

**A TALE OF TWO CITIES** — and their police forces.

For more than seven months, police based in Vancouver and Toronto rolled up a string of goose-eggs in their investigation of the Direct Action bombings. But that didn't stop them from attempting to implicate above-ground pacifist groups in a network of conspiracy that they hoped would discredit the anti-nuke and anti-war movements.

Even when, according to official reports, police in Vancouver were preparing to pounce on their chosen suspects, the cops in Toronto were busy raiding offices and homes that had no tangible connection to any of the suspects.

Police harassment of activists, especially in Toronto, was the result of their inability to fathom a 5,000-kilometre-wide "conspiracy" of anti-nuke and anti-war groups that make a principle of open, autonomous and non-violent activity.

The biggest laugh of the investigation must have been the remark by one Mountie on the West Coast that the investigation was going slow because "these anarchist groups are as hard to infiltrate as the bikers." Runner-up in the head-in-the-sand category goes to his partner's comment on why a posted \$125,000 reward had produced no snitches: "People's values are probably changing. Money doesn't mean as much to them anymore."

Possibly closer to the truth is the reported power struggle in the Mounties' security service between the gumshoe-oriented cops, who tend to investigate crimes after they have been committed, and the counter-intelligence spooks, who like to "anticipate" problems by infiltrating and provoking.

According to published reports (see *Ottawa Citizen*, Jan 10, 1983), the spooks have been taking a licking ever since they were caught with their hands in the cookie jar in the early

1970's during their strong arm tactics with the Québec nationalists, so they have been unable to operate as an effective anti-subversive force. According to these reports, the die-hards are waiting their day, secure in the knowledge that what goes down must come up — a cycle that has repeated itself several times since the Second World War. (Of course, the whole story of a power struggle could be a plant to lull "subversives" into a false sense of security.)

On the Vancouver end, the police investigation after the May 3, 1982 power station bombing for a long time consisted of local Mounties knocking on doors of activists in the boondocks and asking them to identify faces in crowd shots of demonstrations. Cops left no stone unturned in attempting to track down the source of the estimated one ton of dynamite used in the blast — no easy task in a mountainous province that records dozens of dynamite thefts a year from unguarded construction site magazines.

### Intense surveillance

After the busts, Vancouver city police and the Mounties said the suspects had been under intense surveillance for seven weeks. That corresponds to a period of increased harassment of other people in the city itself, including kidnapping one woman and driving her around in a car while attempting to blackmail her (by threat of criminal charges) into giving evidence against a friend (not one of the ones charged). Since the busts, harassment and surveillance — especially of friends of the accused — has been at a steady high level.

But it's the Toronto metro police that have taken their "political" role the most seriously. It became clear that they knew the raids were fishing expeditions when released police affidavits indicated that the cops had nothing more to go on than some

pacifist office files labelled "non-violent direct action."

Ken Hancock, a member of the pacifist Cruise Missile Conversion Project, whose Toronto home and office were raided, lost about eight shopping bags' worth of materials to the raiders, including his personal book and calendar. "There's the practical element to the raids, not just the psychological intimidation of peace activists," he noted later. "Part of it is to disrupt our work."

Another activist was snatched off a Toronto street on a bogus driving charge, driven around and questioned about the peace movement and the *Toronto Clarion* community newspaper. In nearby Peterborough, an activist who had attended a peace conference in Prague was arrested in a movie theatre washroom, told he was a member of Direct Action, threatened with a charge of attempted murder, interrogated for 12 straight hours in a tiny room — and eventually released without charge. (More details in the Jan. 15, 1983 issue of *The Toronto Clarion*, available for 50 cents from 73 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6 CANADA).

Despite their tactics, police in Vancouver and Toronto have yet to show any evidence obtained from informants — a strong indication that both communities, no matter how intense the debate is over tactics to fight nukes and war, have reached consensus over stonewalling the cops.

Legal information tip-sheets distributed widely in both Vancouver and Toronto have made the same point: No one is obliged to talk to the police in Canada unless you are under arrest on a specific charge — and then you only have to give your name and address. Police without a valid search warrant cannot enter your home unless you invite them in, or allow them to talk their way in. Be courteous, but be firm: "I have nothing to say to you until I talk to my lawyer."



Statement From The Five

# How We See It

**WE HAVE BEEN CHARGED**

by the Canadian criminal justice system with a variety of offences ranging from car theft to conspiracy to sabotage the Cold Lake Air Force base in Alberta. We would like to charge the Canadian government and imperialist corporate interests in Canada with crimes against the earth, attempted genocide of the native peoples, and responsibility for crippling the lives of the vast majority of the people.

For centuries now, the European imperialist economic system has expanded, extending its domination throughout the Western world until today we see it infesting every corner of the globe. Today imperialism has as its economic base multinational corporations with their offices, factories, and resource industries implanted in every country of the western world. Because these monolithic networks of industry generate most of the jobs and capital in any given region, they also have a great deal of influence over the government policy of that region through the economic power that

they wield.

Tragically, this economic system does not merely limit itself to the effect it has on how people make their living, but spills over and imprints its values and principles on every aspect of our lives. Through ownership and control of the factories, offices, mines, the entertainment industry, the mass media, and research and development facilities, the values of the multi-national corporations permeate our society so totally that these values and their accompanying way of life are not questioned by the people.

The relations of the marketplace, which are characterized by vicious competition and hierarchy, are reflected in our personal relationships where men dominate and control women and children. People in general are defined in terms of their relationship to the marketplace, rather than in terms of who they really are. The richness and depth of the human potential is stunted by the limits that the schools, jobs, and institutions of this society put on

## 'Be Strong And Resist'

from p. 15

complained about the police railroad and the trial by media, they were told by reporters that complaints aren't "news," and then were pestered for details on the make-up of the defense group.

All of which left the defense lawyers shaking their heads in disbelief. Said lawyer Stan Guenther: "I'm appalled by the coverage this issue has received. I'm really concerned about the right of these people to a fair trial. The police are attempting to try this in the press, but through inference and implication the press is portraying these people as terrorists who are guilty of the charges. I'm concerned that we will have difficulty finding an impartial jury."

Through it all, the defendants have managed to keep it together, presenting a united front of solidarity, and refusing to respond in kind to the outrageous provocations of the police and the media. Instead, they have urged their friends and supporters to keep up their spirits and to carry on the work of building a mass public movement for social progress. Especially in Vancouver, the ordeal has helped unify the movement behind the defendants.

At their first court appearance (typically reported as a circus by the media) the five attempted to rally the spirits of more than 150 friends who

jammed the courtroom to overflowing. "Lively Up Yourselves," they told their friends, quoting from a Bob Marley song, and "Be Strong and Resist." Within a few days, both phrases began appearing on buttons and spray-painted on walls all over town.

But the phrase that the five have asked the community to most keep in mind is Protect The Earth, a sentiment encompassing most of the issues the five have been involved with in their public lives.

In their first message to the community, the five (in the words of one of them) said:

"I really hope that whatever comes together around this case will be really positive, constructive and a good learning and working together experience for all involved. As far as I'm concerned, this case isn't about anarchy, or civil rights, or methods of struggle. It's just part of the struggle, and the important thing is to maintain the primacy of the struggle to protect the earth and strive for liberation."

Support work is now underway to prepare a legal defense, raise money and educate the public around the idea of Protect The Earth. Groups and individuals are encouraged to work autonomously, as long as they subscribe to the above principles, and to work in a non-hierarchical, non-exploitative manner.

For more information on how to help, or to send donations, contact Free The Five Defense Group, Box 48296, Bentall Station, Vancouver, B.C. V7X 1A1 CANADA.

human growth from womb to tomb. The possibilities of becoming a multifaceted individual are virtually non-existent.

In the industrialized society, the value of all living things is defined by their profit value in relation to business. A person's value and identity are determined by their job, their economic role, so if they are unemployed by the system, they are considered useless and a burden.

### Cheap labour

People in the so-called Third World are only valued as a source of cheap labour. The indigenous peoples are not only considered valueless on the marketplace because they refuse to be culturally-integrated, but are also seen as a serious liability to the system because they resist the encroachment of industrialization on their land. Indigenous and Third World peoples who resist integration into the industrial society become targets of insidious genocide programmes through forced sterilization, forced relocation, starvation, terrorism, and torture.

All living things are objectified as though they were consumer products produced by god's factory in the sky. Women are sexual commodities, used to both sell consumer products through their sexuality as well as to provide sex for men. If a child should result from the woman's role as sex object, then she is used as a housewife, a slave labourer in the home.

Men have always ruled societies throughout history. There is a direct correlation between the brutal reality of men's domination of women and the formation of the exploitive values and structures so extensive and basic in the world today. The importance of the struggle against the patriarchy is critical, for it is the only hope for the liberation of half the population. We must embrace the vision of feminist theory and see all other theories for social change as grossly inadequate if they are not based in a radical critique of the patriarchy.

### Treated as commodities

In the western techno-patriarchy, living creatures are not respected and valued for their existence, but are treated as commodities. Seals are pelts, cows are beef, deer are game, dogs are pets, and unwanted pets are vivisection material.

To industrial man, the natural world is a resource base to be used for industrial development. For example, forests that cannot be used for the forest industry are considered wastelands. The value of trees as homes for a myriad of living creatures, as a binding force for the earth, and as aesthetic beauty, is not recognized by industrial man.

This one-dimensional, simple perspective on life is conditioned into us from birth so that as adults the concepts of industrial growth, development, progress and profit are no longer questioned. We have become industrial consumers who are incapable of respecting the earth or realizing the rich potential as human beings within ourselves. We have become divested of the ability to think deeply and independently, and robbed of the spirit to revolt!

We have lost out interconnectedness with, and respect for the ecology of life. We are unable to recognize that the survival of life is obviously threatened by the technological path. We must adopt a strong position of resisting the modern technological

state, opposing industrialization and fighting large-scale resource extraction. The scale and character of human working activity must be determined by basic human needs and by a deep respect for all living beings and habitats, not by greed, consumerism and species superiority.

The modern State's ability and power to influence, brainwash and control human beings has been greatly extended through advanced technology. The dominant character of the State permeates all areas of human activity, even the very psychology of people. Increasingly, people in regions where the technological State has extended, feel not so much dominated as dependant upon the artificial world that the modern State is creating.

Throughout the world, imperialism and State power is protected by nuclear arms; the monster of the military-industrial complex. The vast array of research and development facilities, industries and armed forces bases that make up the military-industrial complex, are a self-perpetuating and powerful force in the industrial State that is capable of influencing government policy in favour of increased weapons spending. Nuclear weapons development is not only a product of the military complex's continual momentum to expand and build new weapons systems, but is also the final solution to the threat that Third World liberation movements pose to American and Soviet imperialism.

### Nuclear threat

By and large, the peace movement attributes the nuclear arms race to an irrational mutual ideological conflict between U.S. and the U.S.S.R. However, since the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in 1945, the threat of nuclear war has almost exclusively been directed against the Third World countries in the midst of liberation struggles, such as Vietnam, Cuba, Korea . . . Any major nuclear confrontation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. will inevitably be the result of an escalation stemming from superpower interference in a country where an oppressed people are struggling to free themselves!

How long are we going to remain spectators to the rape of the earth by mining, lumbering and rampant industrial development? How long are we going to tolerate men's domination of and brutality towards women? How long are we going to allow the government to continue to participate in the escalation of nuclear terrorism? How long are we going to allow the mindless institutions of this industrial society to impoverish our minds, bodies and spirits? Are we going to continue in our unquestioning belief in the capitalist/materialist gods of industrial development, profit at all cost, and high technology?

The fundamental orientations of anarchism, feminism and environmentalism are equally essential in the quest for a liberated society. We must truly integrate these trains of radical critique and practice, in order that all manifestations, including the philosophical precepts of the imperialist techno-patriarchy can be rooted out.

It is time that we awaken our spirit of revolt and free our minds from their shackles so that we will be capable of the wonderful task of building a strong, militant resistance movement to free the people and protect the earth!

Oakalla Prison,  
February, 1983



Interview With A Social Saboteur

# Action is Addictive

Information and communication are two essential arenas of combat in the struggle to be free. Those who control either or both have the upper hand in the battle.

The Open Road, the anarchist press and numerous other autonomous journals, newspapers, info-collectives, and radical media outlets, represent a small but energetic resistance against the virtually unrestrained Goliath of the establishment media. However, the information and communication resistance can require a great deal of economic and technical resources, tedious organization and upkeep and collective compromising. All too often, the result is a sinking feeling that what has been accomplished is too little, too late.

Here we have an interview with a comrade who has an alternative direct action prescription for those who are bored or unsatisfied by the standard radical methods of presenting information and ideas. The medicine prescribed is effective, immediate, direct, and most significantly, it personally satisfies the individual — at least until the next dose is necessary.

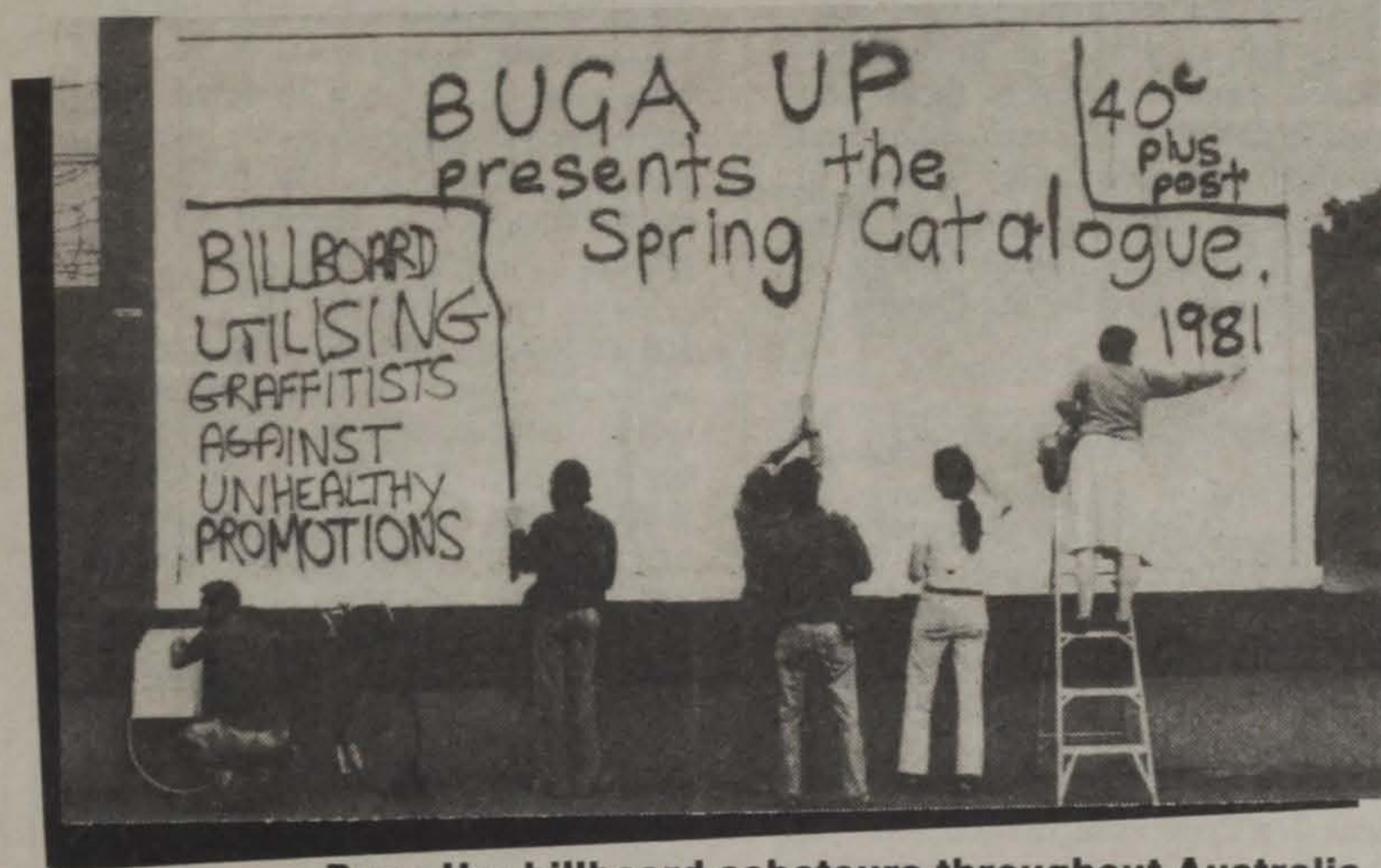
While many may disagree with this comrade's views, they are those of an individual who has developed a fulltime lifestyle of subterranean political activity: graffiti, spray-painting, social sabotage/street theatre and participation in demos and confrontations of one sort or another.

**Q: What do you think you're accomplishing with all this graffiti, disjointed activity, etc.?**

A: It may be random but it's not disjointed. It gets the issues out. People who might not otherwise think about issues, or who might feel that no one else was thinking about them, see the graffiti. It marks territory, it shows that certain areas have a lot of rebellious-type people living in them. The activity encourages people to learn to work together at night and move about in clandestine ways. I'm a firm believer that action makes revolutionaries. The more action of any type you're involved with the more emotionally committed and bonded you are to more action.

A lot of what we're actually doing right now is really public relations, propaganda. Agit-prop is what they would have called it in the 30s — trying to awaken people. That's all I've really been inspired to do. I don't think I, personally, or anybody I know, can do a hell of a lot more at this point.

I think people should be working right now on confrontational politics, towards breaking up the social consensus, towards activating people that aren't right now involved with social protest. I like to expose the system, unmask it, strip it of its authority and its phony legitimacy and show it for what it is. Also, a lot of my motivation, and I think that of a lot of people oriented toward direct action-type activities, is the unprecedented situation we are operating in: the drive towards nuclear war and total annihilation.



Buga Up: billboard saboteurs throughout Australia.

**Q: You're involved in fairly individualistic activity. You get an idea and shoot it out into the universe, no meetings, no organizing...**

A: I hate meetings, I try to avoid them as much as possible. Most meetings are actually useless, just a form of politicking among the organizational types within the meeting. I think the best way for people to work together in groups is around action. When that happens everything becomes much clearer and people can't fuck around as much for their own organizational agenda, which you see a lot of at meetings.

As for ideas, a good slogan or mode of activity can really take off. A local friend thought of "Mutate Now — Avoid the Post-Bomb Rush." It was interesting to see how it developed from an in-group joke, in-

to bathrooms with felt tips, out onto the streets, then on Christmas day in broad daylight a giant one was painted near the Cambie Street bridge here in Vancouver. Then it apparently shot out to Boston, New York. Then it appeared in France and the rest of Europe. I saw it the other day on the cover of the *Globe and Mail*. There were bumper stickers from L.A. It was an idea whose time had come. If graffiti has a creative, humorous or poetic dimension it can get a good response from quite a wide range of people.

**Q: What other forms of activity can your brand of direct action take?**

A: One of the people I admire, not so much for his political knowledge, but for what he does, is a particular artist who goes around putting abstract, new wave art and constructions all

over Vancouver, you can see them everywhere downtown. It seems that with a little ingenuity you can make things like the giant two block long graffiti novel in New York. In town, I've seen some neat stencils which say, "I have nightmares about nuclear death," and show people supposedly zapped onto the wall by a nuclear flash. I like to see stuff like that.

In a different vein, I hope the Public Nauseau Display that happened (in Vancouver) a while back will be repeated in some form or other when the Queen visits Canada. That action was organized almost spontaneously by people who were disgusted by the thought of a massive tea party organized for those two degenerate fools, Up-Chuck and Die, and their Royal Wedding. People went down to express their disgust, mixed up cans of various kinds of vegetable soup to simulate vomit and walked around the royal tea party barfing amongst the monarchist ladies who blew their cool and became quite violent. There has to be some radical counterbalance to these official spectacles to show not everyone is living in a complacent fog.

**Q: A lot of dissatisfied people, who don't view the world as intensely as you, would probably be embarrassed to do some of these actions themselves.**

A: A lot of people are embarrassed. Confrontation is embarrassing, you have to get over that. The fact of forcing an issue. But, it's also fun! And, it's also addictive. The way I live and the risks I take are certainly not for everybody, but with the economic deterioration you can make a decision to be creative and combative about your poverty. What have you got to lose?

**Q: Do you see a growing number of people engaging in this type of activity?**

A: I really believe the people in power will bring it on themselves.

See page 20

# Up Against The Wall

In Vancouver, political graffiti, spraypainting and postering have turned the city's walls, power poles and construction site fences into the billboards of the poor. Whether it's the visual pollution—the authorities' view—or popular art and expression seem to be irrelevant. Just about every morning there's new evidence that somebody's been up against the wall getting out the word.

How do they get away with it?

"Well, for spraypainting, it's the later at night the better," says a veteran. "I try to avoid the shift changes when the cops are coming and going from the station. That's when there's the most cops out roaming around looking for action."

For postering: "The ideal time, at least in the winter here, is four or five in the afternoon, just as its getting dark—a lot of people in the streets, you get lost in the shuffle. Late at night you stand out too much for the repetition of putting up a lot of posters.

According to one accomplished wall artist it is generally better to work in groups. "I always try to work with at least a couple of other reliable



people. I've gone out in groups of ten or twelve people openly doing graffiti even with the cops tracking you. It's kinda interesting."

It's always more fun to be the spraypainter than the lookout. "The lookout has to be constantly looking for cars, looking over the headlights for the outlines or colorings of cop cars. Once you're at the wall you're free. There's something joyous and

liberating about putting your thoughts up there."

Most nights you go out you have some contact with the police just because there's so many around. You can minimize that with lookouts, signals or whistles, but, if you're out there, you will run into the cops."

What do you say when you're caught black handed spraying your favorite slogan?

"I've been caught, but I've gotten out of it by being cool, not having the cans on me (dump them anywhere) and having a plausible rap," says a regular graffiti artist. "What I do is walk right up to them rather than standing by the wall gawking. I think some of the police are actually amused by the graffiti and anarchists in general."

"Taking care of business, the adventure, and the fact that so many people get to see a message they might normally never see, is a powerful incentive," notes yet another wall painter. "Besides, how else are poor people going to compete with Madison Avenue and the mass media? We've got to keep it up."



# Clamshell Clampdown

by Rudy Perkins

**THE SPARK FOR DIRECT** action in the American anti-nuclear movement began in the Upper Rhine Valley of Germany, in 1975, with the occupation of the proposed nuclear plant site at Wyhl. Tens of thousands of people ripped up the barbed wire surrounding the Wyhl site, drove off 3,000 police, and set up an occupation which lasted many months. Because the legal channels had failed to protect them, an alliance of local residents, farmers, young environmentalists and French and German leftists took direct action - they overturned the authorities' decision by halting construction themselves.

The Clamshell Alliance would borrow heavily from Wyhl, for inspiration and image, while casting aside Wyhl's substance. The American movement that Clamshell initiated soon drew its image, inspiration, methods and goals from Clamshell, not from Wyhl. These methods were, in many ways, the opposite of direct action, even anti-direct-action.

In the summer of 1976, despite several years of legal battles to prevent it, the construction permit for the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear plant was issued. A new phase of opposition to the plant began, with the formation of the Clamshell Alliance by a group of

Quakers, environmentalists and conscientious leftists. From the beginning a conflict emerged between those who wanted to organize a real occupation attempt, and those who wanted to organize a symbolic sit-in for purposes of arrest and moral display, in the style perfected by the Quakers.

## Lost Opportunity

In August, 1976, a small number of critical activists watched the spectacle of marshalls trained by the Quakers holding people back from going on to the site, because they had no "non-violence training." At this early stage, the Seabrook site had no fences and no construction, but the opportunity for a preemptive occupation was quickly lost.

Due to the hard work of Clamshell organizers, the growing consciousness of the dangers of nuclear power, and the natural interest in the exciting promise of an "occupation," two thousand people went to Seabrook in April, 1977. Since the Clamshell organizers had prohibited cutting the fence to get into the construction site, and had even ruled out climbing into the site or blocking the access roads, the two thousand demonstrators found themselves sitting-in on one of

the plant's parking lots. Although the ensuing arrests and mass incarcerations proved to be a unifying and inspirational experience for the alliance's membership, the futility of the parking lot sit-in was not lost on a number of Clamshell activists.

As the preparation for 1978's effort got underway, the old conflicts resurfaced. When the Clamshell leadership, in a deal with the New Hampshire attorney general, sold out even a limited plan for symbolic arrest, in exchange for a 3 day legal rally June 24-25, 1978, hundreds of Clamshell members felt betrayed. The radicals had claimed that the strategists of symbolic arrest were implicitly supporting the State, that they were weakening peoples' ability to act directly to protect their own interests against State/corporate policies and ploys. After June 24th many more in Clamshell realized that the danger of the State is not just the violence it can exercise, but also the cooperation it can evoke.

## Seriously Divided

At the Clamshell Congress in March, 1979, the alliance was seriously divided. There was strong, probably majority, sentiment for calling a direct action occupation. But Clamshell did not operate by majority

rule and so ended the congress without such a call.

## Three Mile Island

When T.M.I. began its partial melt-down, thousands of people came to Clamshell wanting to know what they could do to stop nuclear power. The organization as a whole had no answer. Rallies were hastily organized by some of the locals, including a 5000 person demonstration in Boston on a few days notice. Everyone's energies were temporarily directed to the May march in Washington. If Americans would ever have supported illegal, mass direct action ("taking the law into our own hands") on the nuclear question, it would have been in those few months after T.M.I. Yet the conservatives in Clamshell still refused to call for an occupation of the Seabrook site. The radicals were forced to set up the separate Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook (CDAS), with a small core of Seabrook residents and several whole Clamshell locals (including the largest, Boston) participating. Valuable time was lost in this reorganization, and the effort was further held back by Clamshell conservatives and even some well-known anti-nuclear personalities actually organizing ag-

# Reflections In The Barrel Of

**ON AUGUST 12, 1982,** about 50 protestors, two sailboats and several smaller boats made their way out of Oak Bay in Washington State in an attempt to blockade the arrival of the U.S.S. Ohio, the world's first Trident submarine. They were met by 99 Coast Guard vessels and several hundred personnel. Most of the arrests began long before the sub arrived, and long before anyone actually broke any laws. David Firman helped co-ordinate water rescue activities and water safety training for the blockade. He and Bruce Hoeft were dragged out of the medical boat while attempting to inquire after the health and safety of the first blockaders arrested.

## AUGUST 12, 1982:

I was lying face down on the rough deck. My feet were bare and my toes bleeding from being dragged along. I could feel a breath against the soles, silent communication from the blockader who lay behind me. At my head stood a young man with red hair, freckles and an M16. He shifted his weight nervously from foot to foot.

The preparations for the blockade provided us a real opportunity to practise our nonviolent beliefs. People had come from all over the United States and other Pacific countries to resist the arrival of the first Trident submarine. There was no obvious basis for affinity within this new community but we had determined to be there together when the sub arrived in its home port. The concept of the action was almost poetic, if a little absurd: A string of small rowboats, led

by two 50-foot sailboats, resisting the awesome force of the 600-foot Ohio.

Through months of preparation we had created a community based on consensus and mutual trust. Actual planning for the blockade had been going on for maybe a year. Small groups of potential blockaders spent weekends in retreat, exploring the very real consequences of a commitment to nonviolent action.

The Ohio arrived on August 12. In Oak Bay about 100 people shared the tasks of making food, talking to reporters, monitoring radios and fixing boats. At the encampment and in Port Townsend others maintained communication with spotters along the sub route and worried over countless rumours about the sub's whereabouts. In Seattle, still others were finalizing the details of legal support and were preparing to greet any arrested blockaders and their supporters after the action. I felt fortunate that my support role, water rescue and first aid, kept me close to the blockaders waiting on the boats.

## Confidence challenged

It was August 12, and the submarine had come. Lying on the deck of the U.S.S. Point Glass in the cold drizzle I found my confidence challenged. Every gun wielded by the Coast Guard threatened my future. The immediacy of the power of that cold piece of metal in a shaking human hand cannot be romanticized. It was real, very real, and fear tugged at the roots of my soul.

I wondered at myself, almost

angry. I wanted to resist the imposition of this fear that shook my resolve. I looked at the red-haired guard and his gun.

His gaze met mine and his eyes were uncertain, embarrassed. He whispered, his voice shaking in the wind. Something about - I don't care what you do, I'm not shooting anyone. The enormity of the Trident loomed again and pierced my anger. The presence of the Ohio had put a gun in a hand that didn't want it. A sadness settled in as the fog began to lift.

The establishment of increasingly restrictive security zones had moved the blockade into the open waters of Admiralty Inlet and blockaders now faced a penalty of up to 10 years in jail and a \$10,000 fine for entering these waters. The Navy's zeal in "protecting" the submarine had made it legally possible to be arrested for sitting in a house on the side of the Hood Canal, watching TV.

I surveyed the scene. Blockaders were scattered around the deck, bound at the wrist and ankle. The Coast Guard were everywhere but only a couple still kept guns at the ready. A steady drizzle made me glad I had a wet suit to keep me warm. The Pacific Peacemaker was tied up alongside, her crew handcuffed to the railing. Ahead of us the Ohio had slipped into the fog on its way to the base.

## Monster of the Pacific

We passed close to the new monster of the Pacific. Another touch of irony - after expending so much



**"I don't care what you do, I'm not shooting anyone," says Coast Guard officer as his cohorts hose down protestors.**





ainst the occupation effort.

On October 6, 1979, three thousand people showed up to try and occupy the Seabrook plant. We had agreed not to bring weapons and to keep our tactics non-violent, other than that we had placed no restrictions on how we would try to enter and

occupy the site. We had agreed the point was not to get arrested (and fewer than 20 people would be arrested during the whole action). Actions were planned and roughly coordinated through a democratic structure of affinity group representatives. Using tactics that seemed an incongruous mixture of the Japanese Zengakuren militants and the Quakers, we jostled with over 500 state troopers and National Guard, but we never got into the construction area to establish an occupation. After three days we called it off.

Some people argued that we needed a long educational campaign to prepare more people for direct action, that no further action could be called until a broader base was built. Others felt the strain of creating a new organization (CDAS) and the occupation attempt in such a short time had been too much. Some blamed the counter-organizing that had damaged our credibility. Some argued that an incipient and defensive bureaucracy had crept in, centered around Boston, alienating potential support. Some felt our tactics had become too militaristic. Some disputed the usefulness of the plant, and particularly the core construction area, as a worthwhile "target." Some condemned the residual pacifism/passive-ism of too many who came. Some criticized the sluggishness of our decision-making and communications procedures. Some said there were just too many cops.

In retrospect, I see that there was some truth in almost all these criticisms. However, I think our failure at Seabrook, and the failure to date of direct action to develop as a vital

approach to stopping nuclear power in the U.S., has to do with a number of issues more fundamental than any of these criticisms. These issues, which are obviously easier to see in retrospect, would have been very difficult for us to have admitted to at the time. They include the following: 1) Mass direct action is most likely to occur and succeed where there is a *community* or *economic* tie between thousands of people; where that tie places them in roughly equal risk if they do not act, in equal risk if they do; where that tie opens continuous communication and collective development of ideas; where a *collective* learning of the lessons of each phase of their struggle can take place over a period of years, even decades. (I am thinking here of the recent farmers' "penny auctions"; the miners' wildcats, the factory occupations from Flint to Lordstown, the Solidarity movement in Poland . . .)

Failing such direct ties, a keen political consciousness is necessary, one that understands the common social, economic and environmental position of all the working and oppressed people of the country, of the world. This seems to have been the case at Wyhl.

2) In the U.S., despite T.M.I., the danger of nuclear power remains too abstract for most Americans. For most, nuclear power does not seem a danger "clear and present" enough to justify the apparently extreme measure of direct action. Though ongoing and causally-clear, death, injury or severe material privation are not the only things which motivate people to action, they play a significant role.

3) The anti-nuclear power movement was already in decline in the U.S. by October '79. The drop in numbers in the anti-nuclear marches in Washington (100,000 just after T.M.I., 30,000 a year later) is just the most graphic display that the American movement had past its crest. I'm not sure anyone has a good explanation for why this had happened.

4) The ideology of Quakerism/pacifism and its trappings deformed the American anti-nuclear movement from its birth, and tried (fairly successfully) to permanently foreclose the option of mass direct action.

### Time to Dissolve

Unlike most groups, CDAS knew when to dissolve. Its activists have, for the most part, retreated back into small group projects or personal endeavors.

CDAS took an attempt at mass direct action further than any other American anti-nuclear group has done so far. Yet it failed to achieve its goal. What remains in this country of the anti-nuclear power movement seems to have "returned" to legal battles and the tactic of symbolic arrest. At best, in some of the blockades attempted here and there one can see the glimmer of a direct action approach—the attempt to stop the madness ourselves.

Outside the U.S. the story remains a little different. From dock strikes refusing to handle nuclear materials, to bombings of atomic facilities, to small boats blockading nuclear-related ships, to occupations of waste dump and plant sites, thousands of others are engaging in anti-nuclear direct action. If til now we haven't discovered Why! in the U.S., at least it's good to see that Why! still exists in so many other places and people.

## Conspiracy

from p. 14

papers all across North America, providing the movement with many thousands of dollars of free advertising. Women put billboards to their own use, amending sexist messages. (On one billboard mattress advertisement, which depicted a woman reclining seductively on a bed promising, "We can improve your night-life," a woman in London spray painted, "Join Lesbians United ☸.") Women occupied walls with graffiti, invaded newsrooms, employment offices, and the streets, took back the night, and spoke out against rape. Rather than fighting to write the news, they made it.

Simultaneously women began to organize together to do something about the immediate problems in their lives. To regain control over their own bodies they started health collectives and self-help abortion groups. To deal with the violence in their lives they founded rape crisis centres, transition houses and incest survivor groups. To address their problems as mothers and workers, they built cooperative daycare centres, feminist trade unions and support networks for women in non-traditional jobs. To fight their double oppression they organized as black, disabled, jewish, lesbian and native women.

Most groups developed as collectives based on anti-hierarchical, skill-sharing principles. They saw their work as both dealing with the problems faced by individual women, and as communicating their experience and analysis to other women. They did not seek to help women as much as to empower them.

### Fighting Back

As women in the anti-rape movement rejected police advice against fighting back and began to learn how to defend themselves, those in the movement at large took up self-defence tactics. Women fought back. To fight back against nuclear annihilation they encircled the Pentagon and Greenham Common army base. To fight back against the pornographers they burned stores, glued locks, smashed displays and covered cinema screens in blood-red paint. To fight an attempt by the State to close down an abortion clinic in Holland, hundreds of women occupied the clinic and blocked entrance by the authorities. Some women have fought and killed their batterers and rapists.

The strength of this wave of the women's movement is not only its tactical flexibility but its commitment to reaching out to all women, to connecting the totality of women's experiences. As we expand our understanding of the depth of our own oppression and of the power of organizing from where we are, we translate our rage into a revolutionary anger. Our demands are upon ourselves and other women.

Concessions from men and from the State will be sought and will be won, but the scale of the changes we require will always reach far beyond that which they are prepared to concede. We are not waiting. We are speaking with our own voices and are translating our demands into direct action in every aspect of our lives. To witness the carnage, the violence each and every one of us experiences is to understand that direct action is not a prerogative but a necessity.

## A Gun

by David Firman

energy on keeping us so far away, the coast guard had voluntarily brought us so close. I could see the Ohio reflected in the barrel of every gun our captors held.

It was obvious that in some lives at least, the events of the day had had an effect. Men and women trained to believe in force had been shaken by the refusal of the protestors to accept the power of the guns the coast guard wielded so openly. Eyes were shadowed and confused.

Even the skipper deigned to engage in dialogue. Perhaps he sensed the disturbance in his crew. A simple exchange of words put the situation in a remarkably clear perspective.—I've been a peacekeeper for twenty-one years.—I'm a peacemaker, there is an important difference.—That difference is why I'm up here and you're down there.—I don't think you have the strength to be down here.

The skipper stepped back and hastily retreated to his cabin. The difference was important. It seems absurd to be a peacekeeper when there is not yet a peace to keep.

Finally the decision came through. Fourteen of us were to be charged. I was one of them. Only two of the Pacific Peacemaker crew were to be charged and the rest refused to cooperate with their own release in solidarity with their friends.

Pan-Am Security Guards soon arrived, in full riot gear.

They boarded the Peacemaker and calmly explained what was to happen. They removed the crew, one by one, in great pain. These people were supposedly free, in a supposedly free country. Yet those who claim to be

responsible for maintaining the myth of that freedom watched passively at this demonstration of abuse and brutality. The maintenance of the nuclear arsenal is paid in human suffering.

### Demonstrators and Supporters

The courthouse was surrounded by demonstrators and supporters. They pressed against the side of the bus and reached out as if to dissolve the metal and glass between us.

Things began to move quickly now. Fourteen hours after the arrests we were in court. The judge was relaxed and some of the time kept his tongue planted firmly in cheek. He read—the people of the United States against. . .—and the gallery rose and called out—here! The judge demanded silence and threatened to clear the court. It didn't matter, the point had been made.

A lot of the charges were fabrications, some so obviously fictitious that they drew surprised reactions from both police and the gallery. The prosecutor looked nervous. Finally it was over. We were to be released on personal recognisance to return to plead in a few weeks.

On August 13, the prosecuting attorney began to backpedal. He noted that the full penalty of the law did not apply in this case and that some charges might be reduced or even dropped. On August 20, all the charges were dropped without prejudice, meaning they can be reintroduced at any time.



## Graffiti Interview

from p. 17

Basically people are driven to action by the intransigence of the system, the cogs that keep it running, and its apparent inability to change.

I fully expect to see more politicians and authorities spit on by disgusted citizens. That would definitely be a positive trend. When you see them come gladhandling this election give 'em a glob. I also believe you can fight City Hall and the Welfare Department. It's amazing how wimpy these bureaucrats and functionaries really are when you confront them directly. I'd like to see mobs of unemployed going into the legislatures, the City Halls, the Social Service Agencies and demanding action. I don't expect they would get any. If they then went into the supermarkets and department stores en masse and took what they wanted they would get action.

Just a few weeks ago some people at the Food Bank (a charity service which provides free groceries once a week for people who are starving in Vancouver) line-up were trying to get everyone together for a march to Safeway. They had enough bags of food that particular day to cool things out, but who knows what will happen in the future? I think the organizing around the Food Bank is one of the reasons why City Hall has just decided to start funding the project.

**Q: Was there anything specific that particularly turned you on to direct action?**

A: Pieings. Seeing people pushing pies into the faces of pompous authority figures. There haven't been

any in Vancouver lately, but 7-11 (all-night grocery mart) never closes and there's always somebody running around who deserves a pie in the face. I think the pieings were effective in turning a whole lot of people on to creative action. That was part of a viable period around 1977 that came in with punk rock, anarchy, Groucho-Marxists, which we're still seeing the repercussions of today. That's what turned me on to activism again, seeing things happen, the graffiti, the actions.

**Q: Are you trimming your sails since recent publicity around the group calling itself Direct Action broke?**

A: Everyone in anarchist circles is being a lot cooler now because there's a lot more surveillance and police presence. We could all learn a lot from the experiences in the last couple of years of folks in West Germany (during the repression of the urban guerrilla movement) or Britain (during the Persons unknown frame-up) about how to operate in the community under siege by the police and the media.

**Q: What do you say to people who may oppose nuclear war just as strongly as you do, but who choose moral witness, non-violent civil disobedience, and do not seek confrontation as a means of struggle. Wouldn't your attitude threaten them?**

A: I think a lot of people who are bearing moral witness are doing just that, they're not in any way attempting to change the system. They are making a token protest. You see a lot of that in the peace and anti-nuke movements — civil disobedience is often a way of choreographing protest for easy arrest.

People who might otherwise be involved in constructive activities are

being diverted into Gandhian style protest. He's really being promoted now by the established powers: books, a movie, numerous articles.

**Q: Why isn't direct action applied more often by people with radical, or even revolutionary ideas?**

A: Well, a lot of people who call themselves revolutionaries are not going to revolutionize shit. The fact is, once you engage in direct action, you feel good and want to do it again. But, you've also become an Enemy of the State and the accumulated files limit your options in society after a certain point.

Actually, a lot of people who go around calling themselves leftists, Marxists, whatever are seriously planning to be part of the government in the future. They certainly don't want to put down the idea of government or make a practice of using direct action to humiliate the authorities. Their idea is that at some point somebody, like the NDP (Canada's social democratic party) will get into power and they'll have good jobs and be able to pass along their version of how people should live.

**Q: What is it that drives you to continually take the risks direct action seems to imply?**

A: On a day to day basis, I try to take as my motto Jonathan Jackson's (prison activist George Jackson's brother who was killed in an attempt to free him from prison) statement "If I don't do some damage every day, I get these headaches." I try to look back at the end of each day to something I've done to actually attack the system, even if only in a small way. At this point my interests are inimical to those of the system, directly opposed to it. It just worked out that way. I wouldn't have thought that as a kid. I used to be a patriotic Canadian boy, like everybody else.

## Personal Politics

from p. 8

mines the role of each member — the patriarchal adult male, service-oriented adult woman and consumer-obsessed and powerless children (in training for their adult roles). As long as the institution of the nuclear family holds sway in a mediating position, it's almost impossible for men, women and children to establish direct and unmediated relationships. Their behavior is distorted and self- and other destructive.

### Production and Consumption

The nuclear family was exposed a long time ago by Marxist research as the economic foundation for capitalist society — both as a mechanism for the transmission of wealth through inheritance and as a unit of production and consumption. But its function as an ideological horsecollar has only more recently come to be perceived with some precision.

Wilhelm Reich, the Austrian revolutionary psychoanalyst whose life's work was aimed at enhancing the autonomy of the individual, has written how the nuclear family imposes compulsive marriage and sexual repression as the "authorized" ways of building relationships. From those two acts of self-denial flow the hang-ups, lies and alienation that prevent authentic personal inter-action.

Reich wrote: "As the economic basis (of the family) became less significant, its place was taken by the political function which the family now began to assume. Its cardinal function...is that of serving as a factory for authoritarian ideologies and conservative (character) structures. It forms the educational apparatus through which practically every individual of our society, from the moment of drawing his first breath, has to pass...it is the conveyor belt between the economic structure of conservative society and its ideological superstructure."

Attempting to build a relationship outside the nuclear family can be a form of direct action, since the individuals have to learn to deal with each other in the absence of assigned roles. A whole spectrum of liberated lifestyles now manifests itself (see the accompanying article on affinity groups, as one example). No wonder the New Right is so flipped out over abortion, gay rights, equal pay, day care and other similar issues: it's not that they're "immoral" in themselves, it's that they weaken the hold of the nuclear family. After all, as the Right knows so well, if people learn to stand on their own two feet, it becomes that much harder to steamroller them.

(For a short introduction to some key Reichian concepts, from an anti-authoritarian perspective, check out *The Irrational in Politics*, a pamphlet produced by the Solidarity Collective in England, and published by Black and Red, Box 9546, Detroit, Mich. 48202. For a clear explanation of constructive criticism — although beware of the anti-anarchist smears and the heavy Leninist "leadership" bias — have a peek at *Constructive Criticism: A Handbook*, by Gracie Lyons, published by Issues in Radical Therapy, Box 5039, Berkeley, Calif. 94705.)

## DIRECT ACTION ON THE AIR

# Hope For Radio

from p. 6

the Airwaves' movement which is dedicated to deregulation, or at least, breaking the government's monopoly control of broadcasting.

"We will get community radio but it will be a compromise," says a skeptical pirate at OUR Radio station, operating out of London. "It will be made very expensive to get a licence and to rent a transmitter... there is very little the government can do in the face of a lot of people broadcasting. The government will be forced to legislate."

"Unfortunately, the way in which they will do it will maintain the monopoly. There is an information embargo in this country and as long as there are a limited number of licenses around, the government will manipulate that."

Why are governments so afraid of free radio?

According to pirates at Andromeda Independent Radio, operating out of Manchester, "The government is frightened of change, a change in who controls information. Ultimately access to radio by ordinary people in a community means quick access to each other. The organizing power that sort of communication wields could be very potent."

At OUR Radio, they believe the authorities recognize the subversive potential inherent in popular control of radio.

"People often draw parallels between the freedom of the press and radio but it's

really not the same. It's easier to start a newspaper but there are major problems involving distribution and capital which restrict all but the rich. Whereas radio is much simpler and cheaper and gets the message across quicker, so it is seen as potentially more dangerous, as a direct threat. Certain views and attitudes are not allowed to be heard by large amounts of people."

As a spokesperson at Radio Zodiac, operating in the London area, points out, the only way to free the airwaves is, "not to form committees, like London Radio Workshop, but direct action. Go out and break the law if the law is wrong."

"We are encouraging — through the Free Airwaves campaign — a proliferation of stations. We hope that these will pressure for some form of legislation to set up the system we want, We take our lead from France and Italy where illegal pressure seems to have paid off."

### Inundated With Nausea

The situation, that gives rise to pirate radio stations in Europe and other areas, is different in North America. The North American airwaves are swamped by nauseating radio stations controlled by corporations or governments. The problem is to compete on a massive level with a media Goliath that already has a strangle-hold on the consciousness of

society. We are plugged into an all-pervasive electronic prison that manipulates the way we view the world.

Progressive minded people will have a difficult time breaking the cultural hegemony of the dominant powers but the calculated biases and repressive nature of the existing media may yet create its own communication void that human scale media like pirate radio could fill. In North America it also seems possible that the advent of cheap video cassettes, large format viewing screens, community video libraries and cable television capabilities could change the whole way communities exchange radical information.

As it stands, the words of Elvis Costello's song "Radio, Radio" ring truer here than anywhere: "Radio is in the hands of such a lot of fools, trying to anaesthetise the way that you feel... They say you better listen to the voice of reason, but they don't give you any choice 'cause they think that it's treason."

An excellent article on the technical details of setting up your own radio station is featured in the Cienfuegos Press, *Anarchist Review* #5: Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney KW17 2BL, U.K. About \$6.

'Free the Airwaves' Campaign: 35 Maresfield Gardens, NW3, U.K. has advice and technical information on pirate radio stations. As well they should be able to give the addresses for the stations mentioned here.



# 'Gandhi': The Price Of Glory

by George Woodcock

**LIKE ANYONE WHOSE** life and ideas were affected profoundly by the example of Mohandas Gandhi, I watched the film that bears his name with very mixed feelings, both with regard to its form and to the way it has distorted, in the interests of the present Indian political establishment, the last and in some ways the most crucial period of Gandhi's life.

Let me begin with the film itself. Considered as a cinematic drama, it is deeply marred by its inner conflict between intimacy and grandiosity.

However prominent the role that history and his own political clear-sightedness may have given him, Gandhi remained throughout his life an astonishingly private and independent person, obeying his inner imperatives rather than those of party or movement, and living with a quirkiness and an eccentricity that no leader dependent on the support of an organized political party would have dared to adopt. Gandhi did not have to wait for the liberation of India to become a free man, governed only by his personal morality. It is the strength of that morality, combined with an extraordinary sense of political strategy and timing, that explains his long ascendancy over the movement for Indian independence.

The intimate Gandhi, the eccentric and warm-hearted man of principle, is admirably portrayed by Ben Kingsley, whose absorption of the personality of his character is an exceptional triumph of acting. The process by which Gandhi, the tongue-tied and rather naive young lawyer, found within himself, through struggle and suffering, the stubborn fighter he eventually became, is paralleled by the way in which, as the film goes on, one sees Kingsley becoming absorbed into the personality he represents.

It is not a matter of physical likeness, for Kingsley's facial resemblance to Gandhi is not in fact very close; in the earlier passages of the film his long face and kind eyes remind one as much of that other just man, Orwell, as of Gandhi, and at no times does even the best makeup give him the appealing chapfallen ugliness of Gandhi's old age.

But all this is forgotten as the film continues, since Kingsley so lives himself into his character's personality that one knows in the end that this is how Gandhi walked and sat, how he talked, how he even thought; Gandhi's wry humour, his quiet laughter, his naive vanities, his sidetracked sexuality, they are all there, and so is the honesty towards himself and the straightforwardness to others that made Orwell remark of him, just after Gandhi was assassinated in 1948, "compared with the other leading political figures of our time, how clean a smell he has managed to leave behind."

## Wide-Screen Conventions

It is a superb and memorable piece of acting, but the very intimacy with which Kingsley has explored and assumed Gandhi's nature contrasts with the lack of intimacy with which the film as a whole represents the India that Gandhi set out to liberate. The conventions of the wide-screen epic, to which the director Richard Attenborough has remained faithful,

have prevented this.

Except for scenes between individuals, we are always looking at life from a distance, seeing India from the windows of fast-moving trains, watching from some distant and elevated point mass events populated by hundreds of striding or struggling extras. The sense of being in the close heart of Indian life that one gets from the films of the great Bengali directors like Satyagit Ray or Mrinal Sen is absent.

In the process of epic aggrandisement, everything is oversimplified, whether it is Gandhi's painful relations with his own wife and family, or the complex human interaction between the British and the Indians, which is shown by Attenborough in grotesquely black-and-white terms, so that the former are always stage villains, whatever their personal qualities, and the latter always stage heroes, totally lacking in the vices of power-hunger and corruption that became evident as soon as they assumed power with the departure of the British in 1947.

Attenborough has not grasped the elementary truth of political psychology: that however good a human being one may be, power will make one act evilly. Gandhi's great wisdom led him to evade, even at the time of India's liberation, the temptation to assume power.

These flaws in Gandhi, and the more shocking distortions to which I shall shortly come, are largely the result of the political auspices under which it was made. The film could not have been completed without the wholehearted consent and co-operation of the Indian government and Indira Gandhi, who moreover contributed a great deal of the \$20,000,000 that the film cost to make.

For that kind of co-operation and financial subsidy the Indian government asked its price, which was a film that would not only glorify India as a nation, but would also suggest that the centralized militarist state it has become since 1947 is really the India that Gandhi fought for by entirely non-militarist means.

The masses of India are still among the poorest people in the world, not much less poor than they were when Gandhi identified his lot with theirs, and anyone who has known the country for a long time and has understood its problems is saddened in the 1980s to see that the great sea of poverty has grown broader and deeper, while the raft of newly rich exploiters that floats on its surface grows ever larger and more prosperous.

It is this situation that makes all the more despicable the irresponsibility with which the Indian government has recently paid enormous sums of mon-

ey for symbolic events by which the mass of the people are only marginally benefitted, if at all.

No less than 500 crores of rupees (a crore being 10,000,000), which is the equivalent of \$500,000,000 Canadian, was wasted on the Asian Games last November, at a time when hundreds of millions of Indians still do not enjoy the simple benefit of clean water, let alone adequate food. Beside this extravagance, the \$10,000,000 or so which Attenborough received from Mrs. Gandhi (and which was used largely to recycle superannuated British actors like John Gielgud, Trevor Howard and John Mills for stilted minor roles), may seem small enough, but it is still money taken from people who need it, to glorify people who do not.

## State Not Criticised

Clearly it was implied, even if it was not specified, that Gandhi should in no way offer a criticism of the state that Mrs. Indira Gandhi now rules. And so, at the end of the film, while we are indeed shown Gandhi courageously intervening to halt the mutual killings of Hindus and Moslems in Calcutta, we are given no inkling of the doubts he experienced and expressed after India became independent in 1947.

Nothing is said about his warnings that the Congress Party was being corrupted by the power it gained with self-government. Nothing is said about his recommendation that the Congress Party should be disbanded, its aim of India's liberation having been achieved, and be replaced by a Lok Sewak Sangh (Organization for the Service of the People), which would eschew political power and devote itself to moral and social reform and to creating the kind of agrarian commonwealth Gandhi had long advocated - a decentralized society based on the revivifying of the villages. Nothing is said about his warning that the "militarization of India would mean self-destruction." Nothing is said about his argument that "self-government means continuous effort to be free of governmental control, whether it is foreign or whether it is national" or of his assertion that "the ideally non-violent state will be an ordered anarchy."

Gandhi, in fact, wanted to create a libertarian and agrarian order, without an army and without a sense of national arrogance. He often called himself an anarchist, and in his vision of a village-based order, with a decentralized administration rather than government, he came very close to the ideals of Tolstoy and Kropotkin, both of whom he admired.

But all this was far from the intentions of men like Nehru and Patel, into whose hands fell the shaping of the new Indian state after the British went. They were intent on creating a nation-state like those established in nineteenth-century Europe, and in order to do this they not only retained the army the British had created (even with its old regimental formations) but also the British form of administration, so that when in the 1970s Mrs. Gandhi declared an emergency, she actually imprisoned her opponents under rules laid down by the British viceroys to deal with Gandhi

See page 22



The real Mohandas Gandhi.



## "In New York They Seized A Church"

from p. 11

Chicano movement.

The UFW grape pickers' march from Delano to Sacramento in 1967 appealed to the Mexican tradition of pilgrimages as a way to reclaim public space: from the march that led to the founding of the Aztec Nation to the peasant armies of Zapata. Chicanos joined the march by the thousands, and the resulting "Boycott Grapes" campaign mobilized thousands more.

The movement to reclaim Chicano land was dramatically revived in June, 1967, by the Land Grant Movement in New Mexico. About 100 armed Chicano farmers invaded the county courthouse in Tierra Amarilla to make a "citizen's arrest" of the district attorney. It was a symbolic move aimed at making people aware of the Chicanos' historic and legal claims to Southwestern land. More

Over two million Puerto Ricans live in America, mostly in Northeastern urban areas. In the 1960's, the Young Lords worked in the Puerto Rican ghettos to adapt many Panther-style programs. In New York they seized an empty church and transformed it into a people's community centre, setting up a free breakfast program, a "liberation" school and a

medical service program.

Although each non-white community includes a diversity of ideological stripes, they have generally steered clear of leftist orthodoxies. While classical socialist theory details class conflict, it does not deal directly with racism or the particular exploitation of non-white workers. As well, it's difficult for a non-white movement closely tied to its culture and history to identify verbatim with ideologies rooted in the white European experience.

The non-white movements go through lulls and energetic periods like anything else. Currently, they are active in the battles to drive the Ku Klux Klan off the streets, the bombs of the BLA and the Puerto Rican nationalists, the grassroots decision-making of Loisaída, the disruptions and boycotts aimed at South Africa and the continuing fight for their lands.

The battle will only intensify as Reagan rolls back the victories of the civil rights movement and the non-white unemployment rate rises considerably faster than the national average (more than 50 per cent of Black youth). The lunch counters may be integrated, but who can afford to buy lunch?

## Creating Free Zones

from p. 5

ier to defend). Districts with sympathetic neighbors close at hand are naturally preferred.

The better-organized squats even set up mass self-defence and self-reliance networks. In between the occasional street fight to defend their squats, the squatters find time to improve their homes, set up inter-squat resource groups, exchange information on maintenance problems, self-defence, potential new squats and generally contribute to the cultural and social life of the neighborhood.

Though they make great news copy, the widespread European squats haven't really fired popular imagination on this continent - yet. North American squatting is still being contained by the authorities as a "marginal" activity. When someone does take over an abandoned, empty house or building here it's usually done quietly, in desperation, without public knowledge.

More common in North America are rent strikes and short-term occupations. Tenants may collect the rent themselves or withhold it completely until their grievances get negotiated. Refusing to pay rent and, consequent-

ly, occupying the property are their only means of bargaining.

When big-time speculators come knocking at your landlord's door with a bulldozer and an offer to buy, the co-op alternative is sometimes the only way to secure the housing and preserve the neighborhood. Housing co-ops may not be exactly furious engines of social revolution, but they do represent a step forward in overcoming the traditional passivity of the tenant's role, and they can offer practice in collective decision-making and initiative.

Some well-connected citizens' groups actually buy out corporate slumlords, then convert the run-down housing into self-managed co-ops that they renovate. With direct financial and technical assistance from sympathetic trade unions and credit unions, and, when all else fails, from the private banking system and even the Welfare State's mortgage agencies, non-profit housing co-ops give a good yield in times of a housing crisis: like a stable home base from which the counter-attack can be waged.

The important thing is to keep the housing co-op collective property: not letting anyone accumulate equity (the collective accumulates this) so that the housing can remain accessible to those without money. This way, the housing is kept safe from any market speculation.

## DIRECT ACTION AT THE MOVIES

### 'Gandhi'

from p. 21

and his campaigns of mass non-cooperation with the Raj.

Perhaps the final horrifying irony in Gandhi's career was that after his assassination, his murderer was hanged according to British laws he detested, and he himself was buried with military honours bestowed by an army against which he had fought with all the weapons of non-violent revolution. The circumstance that the army was now Indian and not British made no substantial difference; it still represented the militarism he had long condemned.

#### National Glorification

The fact that this very funeral should be one of the first great crowd scenes in *Gandhi*, a scene presented without an iota of critical implication, sets the tone for the theme of national glorification which throughout runs parallel to the development of Gandhi's life as a non-violent agitator and strategist. None of Gandhi's statements that suggested his dismay at the direction in which Nehru led India after 1947 is included, and this shows how far Attenborough has been willing to edit the truth in order to make a film acceptable to Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

The fact is, of course, that it is not Mrs. Gandhi and her Congress Party who in recent decades have represented the tradition of her great namesake. That has been sustained outside the circles of power, by individual teachers and activists like Vinobe Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan, and by movements like Sava Seva, whose volunteers work outside the framework of government organiza-

tion for the regeneration of village life.

Yet despite the distortions I have indicated, the crucial message of Gandhi's life was too strong and clear not in the end to dominate the film, *Gandhi*. All power is vulnerable, and can in the long run be defeated by determined resistance. When governments and laws are manifestly unjust, direct action against them is necessary. But, since violence tends to be self-defeating and to lead to authoritarian structures, the best kind of direct action is non-violent resistance by civil disobedience and by non-cooperation. Such resistance, unlike violence, provides also the philosophical foundation for a society in which excesses of power can be eliminated.

Finally, demonstrated triumphantly in this film as in Gandhi's life, there is the lesson—a very anarchistic one—that nobody need quail before the power of the state, since individuals, in cooperations with others and even on their own, can deploy a moral power that changes the general mental climate and—ultimately—the political and social shape of the world.

Thus the film really carries two mutually contradictory messages. The first is that the nation is glorious. The second is that the individual will can in the end defeat all kinds of collective tyranny. At the present juncture of Indian politics, when Mrs. Gandhi's power seems to be disintegrating, the second message is probably that which Indian audiences will take to heart.

There is no doubt that Gandhi, carefully studying the psychology of his opponents, did more than any other individual to bring an end to British power in India, partly by making the system of Raj virtually unworkable by organizing mass refusal to cooperate, but also by making his opponents feel that their position was morally untenable. Thus he

demonstrated the effectiveness, in a specific set of circumstances, of direct action carried out without violence.

#### Nazis and Bolsheviks

It has often been said, as a challenge to the arguments of Gandhi's admirers, that the strategy he used may have worked against the British, but could not have worked against more ruthless oppressors like the Nazis or the Bolsheviks. But I don't think one can reasonably relate one set of circumstances to a completely different situation. Clearly every political situation will breed its own pattern of resistance, as the American civil rights movement differed from the Indian liberation movement.

It is entirely conceivable that if social democrats, the communists and the trade unionists in Germany had abandoned their feuds and taken the initiative with a well-organized non-cooperation campaign as soon as Nazism appeared they would have been able to put up an effective resistance. The fact is that, unlike Gandhi, they were obsessed with the hope of power, and set party interests above general interests, and did not have the courage to act until it was too late and their house was tumbling about their heads.

Gandhi acknowledged that in certain societies—including that of the Nazis—non-cooperation would entail a great deal more suffering than it had done under the British Raj, but he never saw the difficulty of the task as reason for not undertaking it. It was this unquestioning faith in the aims he set out to achieve and in his method of *Satyagraha* or non-violent resistance, as well as his lack of fear and of any desire for personal power, that gave Gandhi his extraordinary hold over the imaginations of the Indian people. And this, despite its faults and distortions, *Gandhi* well illustrates.

#### Human Blockade

But when no amount of well-organized neighborhood protests and organizing can stop the juggernaut of State or private capital, it's time to call out the Human Blockade. (Ideally, as the front-line defence to buffer the folks already occupying the disputed property).

Sure it can get uncomfortable sitting or lying down in front of a bulldozer or blocking an access road, day and night. During these times, normally property-respecting citizens have been known to tamper with demolition or construction equipment near the worksite to ease the pressure.

Once again European youth from Brixton to Milano have demonstrated their capacity to resist evictions and alien development of their communities. Temporary "free zones" or "free states" will appear out of nowhere in the contested areas, defined by street barricades that stay up as long as they can be defended. Within these frontiers, the concept of "Community Control" takes on exciting new dimensions, however shortlived. For once, the streets actually belong to the people, the neighbourhood actually protects itself. The State may call these moments "lawless," but they are actually periods of redefining community space and relations in a way no city planner would ever envision.

#### Stuck Without Wheels

Comfortably housed, but stuck without wheels? For urban dwellers, getting around on expensive, often inefficient, "public" transit can be a drag.

Cities like London, Vancouver and Milano have seen mass civil disobedience organized by angry commuters



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 who dared to board buses and subways in groups, refusing to pay anything, let alone the fare increase (See *Open Road* #8).

Flying squads of "don't pay" passengers would turn the bus or subway car into a theatre of protest, sharing the fare fight philosophy with passengers and drivers. Of course, these campaigns wither beside the heat generated by fast-stepping Guatemalans who burn buses in the streets during their fare fights.

Then there's the take-turns approach: Montreal transit users rode for free last year when militant drivers, stuck in dead-end negotiations, decided not to collect fares.

For sheer power of imagination, though, militant cyclists, or "bikesheviks" as they're sometimes known (see *Open Road* #11), peddle one convincing transit line, based on self-reliance. Bikesheviks from the radical *Le Monde a Bicyclette* in Montreal have done time in jail for trying to board the city subway system with their bikes in defiance of anti-cyclist regulations.

(Further reading: *Squatting - The Real Story*, by Nick Anning, et al; *The Politics of Urban Liberation*, by Stephen Schecter; *Neighbourhood Power, The New Localism*, by Karl Hess and David Morris; *Housing - An Anarchist Approach*, by Colin Ward; *Tenants Take Over*, by Colin Ward; *The Expropriation of Dwellings*, by Peter Kropotkin.

Periodicals:  
 Connexions: special issue on housing in Canada (427 Bloor St W., Toronto, Ont M5S 1X7);  
 Hebdo Co-op: special English language issue on co-ops in Quebec (137-45th Ave, #3, Lachine, Quebec, H8T 2L8 - \$1.50);  
 Le Monde a Bicyclette: 4224 Clark, Montreal, Quebec, H2W 1X3 - \$5 subscription.)

## Workplace Occupations

from p. 4  
 ity' for direction. But that's not good enough in this new situation; we now have an opportunity to stop and think and figure out how to run our workplaces according to our needs.

"For instance, what's the best time for people with kids to come to work? Before the occupation, the boss decided; for the last four days people have been deciding individually, switching their hours around, sometimes even bringing their kids along. But if the occupation is to continue, we are going to have to deal more seriously with this problem - we need collective action on childcare.

"In fact, we are going to have to develop a whole range of new forms for collective decision-making: general meetings of workers on each shift, floor, department, building; a flood of bulletins and other information; creative ways of involving people in directing their own lives." (Quoted in *Open Road* #12).

From individual actions to collective actions to total control of the work place, direct action in all its applications is a way of not only rectifying immediate problems, but of seizing and sustaining the means and directions of production, and of turning the emphasis of production away from that of profit to that of the individual's pride of accomplishment and social commitment in the products or services produced.

**WARNING:** There are numerous unscrupulous people around - probably even in your own neighbourhood - whose scandalous practice of helping themselves to whatever they need is obviously the sole cause of the outrageous prices the rest of us must pay to purchase our necessities.

## Cut Food Costs

# Bag Those Bargains

(Have you seen the cost of T.V.s lately?!)

These immoral freeloaders are proliferating wildly, and their bizarre methods of communicating with each other are surfacing even amid those of us who lead decent

lives. We reproduce this anonymously-manufactured "tip-sheet" here as a public service to alert honest citizens to the existence of these slimey lechers and to offer proof of the horrific deviousness of their acts.

## TAKE IT - IT'S YOURS!

Don't bother waiting until the revolution to get a fair share of the wealth! Take it now! From transit to entertainment, self-reduction can make your life easier (and cheaper).

Expropriate the expropriators next time you go shopping! Every year millions of people shoplift billions of dollars worth of goods; employee theft on the job is even greater.

Case a store, checking the layout and security before actually lifting something. Carry a bag to drop stuff into, or sew a drop bag inside a long coat. If the store has brown bags for produce, slip a steak under a bag full of potatoes. It helps to work in pairs, with one of you as lookout, or shoplift in large groups.

Other shopping strategies include purposefully damaging goods and then demanding a discount. Or, if an item is out of your price range, give yourself a discount by slipping a cheaper price-tag on it. If you work in a store turn a blind eye to self-reduction and, whenever possible, underbill customers.

On the way to the store take direct action against high transit costs. In automated systems, turnstiles can be jumped and ticket machines ignored. Some cheap foreign coins can be used in place of tokens and regular coins. Help other commuters by jamming ticket vending machines and fare boxes (a couple of coins stuck together with crazy-glue does the trick).

On busses with coin boxes, under-pay your fare in pennies or nickels--most bus drivers won't count the change. Always ask for a transfer. If you don't need it you can pass it on to someone else, or save it for another day. Separate double-faced tickets to get two for the price of one. Some bus passes can be copied with a colour-xerox--free rides for all your friends!

If you're dissatisfied with these measures, organize a fare fight. Encourage people to refuse to pay fare increases, print and distribute commuter credit slips telling the transit company to send the bill to employers and businesses. (See *O.R.* #8 for details of the Vancouver Fare Fight.)

Most people don't realize there are free movies playing almost anywhere every night--just walk in through a back exit while the last show's audience is leaving, or get a friend to open a door for you. Walk in with a popcorn container that you've picked up outside to make your entrance more convincing.

If you like eating, expensive restaurants can be quite cheap. After your meal, complain loudly about the food. Put a dead cockroach on your table. Refuse to pay. You just might get a free meal--and make sure to leave a tip. (It's not a good idea to sneak out without paying, as most restaurants stick their waiters and waitresses with the bill.)

Although the straight press usually isn't worth reading, it's never worth paying for. For a really "free" press, next time you buy a paper from a vending machine, remove all the other copies and place them on top for free distribution.

Take direct action against the rising costs of communication. A light coating of rubber cement on top of a stamp can be rubbed off, along with the postmark, when the letter is received. With electronic postal equipment you can get letters through with photocopied stamps or even drawings instead of the real thing. But if you've got that "long-distance feeling," check out the free credit card telephone codes in *Overthrow* (available for 50¢ from P.O. Box 392, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013).

Check out large construction sites for free lumber; snoop around industrial areas to see what's left lying around. With a little imagination you, and your whole neighbourhood, can get the things you need--from affordable housing to free beer!

## free beer forever!

Reproduced tip-sheet of the infamous Self-Reduction Brigade.

# For The Law-Abiding . . .

**OTHER FORMS OF CONSUMER** direct action exist which just happen to be legal. These include co-operatives, bartering and boycotts (remember Nestle). Through bartering you can avoid paying taxes by trading goods and services with other people. In some places barter networks and clubs have been started, but there are membership fees and the groups are usually run by free enterprise nuts. It's better to make your own arrangements in the growing underground economy, especially now

that the government is trying to regulate the barter clubs, too.

Consumer co-operatives are a more lasting and community-oriented form of direct action, although many people join them mainly for economic reasons.

Co-ops eliminate the need for a whole series of capitalist middlemen by buying direct (often from other co-ops). By buying in bulk, co-ops can avoid the waste and added expense of flashy packaging. Not only are co-ops

economically beneficial, most co-ops are democratically run and many are also organized non-hierarchically, with rotation of the various jobs and skill-sharing among members.

Co-ops can provide people with direct experience of alternatives to current styles of social and economic organization, educating themselves in collective decision-making processes and giving themselves more power to control the consumer aspect of their lives.





# We had a riot putting out the last issue,

but the bill was less exciting. How about doing a bit of your own looting? We could use the spoils. Like \$50 a year for a sustainer. Or, for the less adventurous, two hours wages per year would be fine. You'll get a subscription for sure.

I get the message. Here's two hours' pay: \_\_\_\_\_

I know you need more. Here it is: \_\_\_\_\_

This is extra for a gift sub for: \_\_\_\_\_

I'm adventurous. Make me a sustainer. \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G,  
Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6R 4G5