

NOAM CHOMSKY

LETTER FROM NICARAGUA

POLICE WIRETAPS

# OpenRoad

Issue Sixteen Spring 1984 \$1.00

**LITTON AND THE LEFT: COMING TO TERMS  
WITH DIRECT ACTION**



**LOOKING BACK IN ANGER  
THE SOLIDARITY SELLOUT**

**THE TRIALS OF THE VANCOUVER FIVE**

**WHAT'S HOLDING BACK THE PEACE  
MOVEMENT?**

THE LITTON BOMBING:

# Bomb fallout nukes cruise contract

ONE OF CANADA'S TOP military producers has lost a cruise missile contract — and management says Direct Action is to blame.

Litton Systems of Canada, whose Toronto factory was partially destroyed by a bomb attack in 1982, was not invited to bid on the guidance system for an advanced version of the cruise missile, Litton president Ronald Keating said in April. Keating blamed the loss on the persistent protest campaign that has focused

public attention in the past three years on Litton's government-subsidized production of cruise missile guidance systems for the U.S. Air Force.

"They (the protestors) are an irritant, they get a lot of publicity," he said, "And the Americans read every damn bit of it.

"Pressure from these people (protestors) is making the Americans look twice", he said, referring to the U.S.

officials who award the cruise contracts.

Litton has been the target of a variety of protest tactics, including sit-ins and campaigns to persuade workers to take other jobs. But the one Keating singles out for Litton's troubles is the dynamite-packed van that exploded outside the Toronto factory October 1982, leaving behind \$5 million damage and a communique signed "Direct Action"

"No one else has been bombed," Keating lamented after Litton lost the contract.

With the bombing, Litton's role as military contractor, already a focus of the Toronto peace movement, leapt into national prominence.

People quickly connected the bombing with another Direct Action event: the dynamite explosion that five months earlier destroyed a power station on Vancouver Island.

The movement has been felt

in other ways. Since the demonstrations began, Litton has spent millions on additional security for the Toronto factory. And Keating admits his hopes for a secondary contract with the U.S. Air Force could also be dashed by activists.

"We're not out of the running yet," he said, "don't screw up what we're trying to do."

Charged with the bombings are five Vancouver activists (see related stories, page 3)



NETHERLANDS:

## Pigs smash Wyers squat

THOUSANDS OF demonstrators clashed with police in Amsterdam February 14 as the state swooped down on the stronghold of the city's squatting movement, the gigantic Wyers buildings.

The squatters had occupied the buildings for two years, converting derelict factories into apartments, workshops, art galleries, cafes and concert halls.

From the inside of the ensuing riots, Nico James describes the unfolding of the day's events:

*At 6 a.m. the electricity was cut off. We stood, more than 1500 of us, packed solid in the big dark hall.*

*Outside, the whole area had been cordoned off by 1000 riot police and 2000 regular police. They moved in with bulldozers, water cannon, tear gas, truncheons, dogs and cranes.*

*The inhabitants of Wyers had decided not to resist, in order to use the the occasion to revive the squatting movement, instead of a police massacre.*

*It was incredible to see so many people, from all sections of the movement, linking arms and singing in the dark as the great doors came crashing down.*

*The first ranks of police who came in, before they started beating people up, used cameras. It took all morning to get us out, police grabbing people one at a time from the front rows and throwing them into buses, but the buses immediately got smashed to bits by the prisoners. After four busloads, the police gave up.*

*Just as the police began beating and attacking us, we went out all of us together and broke through their lines. There followed scenes of terror as police on horseback charged over people and beat us into sidestreets and out of the area.*

*Behind us, we left the whole block of Wyers already stripped. The coffee shop, bar, concert hall, etc. had been removed and everything of any*

*value taken to be used in other squats. The state vandals finished the job, smashing every window and breaking up the roof.*

*The police built a stockade blocking all access routes. Sporadic rioting continued throughout the afternoon. Those of us who wished to had a chance to fling bricks and run as the police charged up and*

*turn to page 2*



WYERS: "SCENES OF TERROR FOLLOWED"

JAPAN:

## Anarchist on death row

JAPANESE ACTIVIST K. Omori is waiting on death row to be executed for *thinking* the bombing of a government office was a good idea.

The office in question, located on the island of Hokkaido, was bombed in March 1976. Two people died. Five months later, Omori was arrested, after someone reported "noticing" Omori the night of the bombing.

Omori denied doing the bombing, though in his trial he

told the judge he supported the action. He also tried to punch the judge.

The legal case against Omori was weak, to put it mildly. No witnesses, no confession, no evidence (ordinary sugar and batteries found in his house were considered "Bomb components"!).

In fact the only link between Omori and the action is his support for the autonomy of an oppressed people, the Ainu of Hokkaido. The bombed office



PELTIER (R.) WITH SUPPORTER IN 1978

STARTS HUNGER STRIKE:

## Peltier to get new hearing

LEONARD PELTIER, THE American Indian Movement activist convicted of killing two FBI agents in 1975, was granted a new hearing April 4 by the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The evidentiary hearing, which will take place in the next two to three months, is a major victory in the two year campaign to win a re-trial for Peltier, who supporters believe is the victim of a FBI vendetta against AIM leaders

But for Peltier, imprisoned at Marion Penitentiary in Illinois, the victory has been

overshadowed by a more immediate crisis. Only a week after the hearing was granted, he and two other Native American inmates, Standing Deer and Rechaza, began a "Fast for Life." They said they will refuse all food until prison officials lift the ban on their religious practices.

"I am fighting for justice in a land where justice for my people is nearly impossible to obtain," said Peltier in a statement to the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. "Against these impossible odds I can only win if I have the power of The Great Spirit fully in my life."

Peltier's life is also endangered by prison guard violence. Marion prisoners have been locked down in their cells 23 hours a day since October, when two guards and a prisoner were killed. Peltier, Standing Deer and Rechaza have all been victims of the beatings by prison guards that are now routine at Marion. Standing Deer, 62 years old and suffering a painful back ailment, was beaten three times by guards in November.

Prisoners have also been stripped of all personal and

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K. OMORI

KEN DEYARMOND:

## Thatcher Fan Arrested

WHEN BRITISH PRIME Minister Maggie Thatcher came to town, all Toronto activist Ken Deyarmond wanted to do was protest against British complicity in cruise missile deployment and British repression in Ireland.

Now he's charged with assaulting three police officers and threatening assault against Maggie herself. He's also charged with possession of marijuana. For a man of unimposing height (5'3"), unarmed and not a pot smoker it's a sensational but unlikely feat, and the commercial media made the most of it, splashing his picture on front pages and feature newscasts right across Canada.

But almost no publicity has been given to this activist's attempt to explain what really happened. As anyone would suspect, Deyarmond's version of the day's events is a bit more realistic. While demonstrating as Thatcher entered her hotel, Deyarmond says he was pushed from behind into a cop. Two other

cops promptly picked him up, pulled his shirt and jacket over his head and carried him into the hotel security office. By that time he had been handcuffed, then threatened and assaulted.

"On the threatening assault (charge), the police say I

lunged at her (Thatcher). That's a lie and a fabrication," said Deyarmond recently.

"I did not lunge at Maggie Thatcher, as such an act would be akin to committing suicide. I am not guilty."

Deyarmond is particularly active with the Toronto support

group for the Vancouver Five (see inside stories) and a coalition to defeat attempts by the federal government to create another secret police to combat subversion.

### LATE FLASH

Ken Deyarmond has been sentenced to one year probation and 75 hours community service for possession of pot. He will have a jury trial September 25 for the other charges.

### THE BRINKS TRIAL:

## Life Terms for BLA Members

THREE MEMBERS OF THE Black Liberation Army have been convicted and sentenced for their part in the attempted robbery of an armored truck.

Judy Clark, David Gilbert and Kuwasi Balagoon, an anarchist working with the otherwise Marxist-Leninist group, were convicted of second-degree murder of two cops and a Brinks guard. Each received three consecutive sentences of 25 years to life.

All three gave political statements at the beginning and end of the trial, but otherwise refused to

participate in the court proceedings.

Balagoon was one of five Black Liberation Army members arrested October, 1981, during the attempted expropriation of the Brinks truck in Nanuet, N.Y. Three of the five, Clark, Gilbert and Kathy Boudin are former members of the Weather Underground.

Subsequent raids and police harassment of the black community resulted in Grand Jury indictments of ten other people as "co-conspirators." Six stood trial: two got 40 years for conspiracy, two got 12½ years for hiding a suspect and two were acquitted.

During the trials, 11 people have been jailed, some for more than a year, for refusing to testify before a grand jury.

Balagoon, a former Black Panther (charged in the 1969 Panther-21 conspiracy), objected in his statement to the passivity of American anarchists.

"It is a denial of our historic task, the betrayal of anarchists who died resisting tyranny in the past," he said. "...by not engaging in mass organizing and delivering war to the oppressors, we become anarchists in name only."

"As for me, I'd rather be in jail or in the grave rather than do anything other than fight the oppressors of my people."

Supporters can write to Balagoon at Attica prison: #83-A6216 Box 149 Attica N.Y. 14011 U.S.A.

## W. GERMANY: Radikal Editors Jailed for Dissent

THEIR CRIME WAS publishing articles that condemned state violence, criticised militarism and endorsed resistance against state repression.

Two West German comrades, publishers of the anarchist paper *Radikal*, have received 2½ year jail sentences for writing about state repression.

The two editors, Benny Haerlin and Micky Kloekner, were found guilty of publishing letters sent to the paper by the Revolutionary Cells, the anarchist underground that grew out of the Red Army Faction and the June 2 movement.

The court's decision was denounced by the journalists union of West Germany, which is worried that a dangerous legal precedent has been set. The union charges that the

verdict is an infringement of the freedom of reporters and investigative journalists.

For activists of any stripe, the broader implication is clear. Anyone who publishes stories from a perspective or organization to which the state is opposed can be convicted as a criminal — whether anarchist, communist, prison activist, environmentalist....

It's not illegal to publish or read anarchist papers — not yet! But the state has proven time and time again that it will take every opportunity available and every means at its disposal to make dissent a crime — as soon as that dissent proves to be an effective challenge.

Write letters of support to: *Radikal*, c/o Zeitungs-kooperative, postfach 420, Eisenbahnstrasse 4, 1000 Berlin 36, West Germany

### NATIVE OLYMPICS:

## Run For Autonomy

DENIED PERMISSION TO compete as a sovereign nation in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, Indians of the Six Nations are organizing their own Olympics.

Though the Native games will take place in Los Angeles just before the start of the international Olympics, the main event begins three weeks

## Omori

began with the brutal occupation of the island by the Japanese in 1868.

Though Omori is a Japanese, he's a supporter of the anti-Japanese campaign of the Ainu, who want the Japanese to leave their island alone. It's a situation analogous to that of the native people of North America: the Japanese took everything the Ainu had, used the men as slave labor, raped the women, and tried to kill them all off in wars.

The anarchist group WRI-Japan is trying to publicize his case and is asking for letters of protest to be sent to Japanese consulates abroad, to boycott Japanese companies, and for letters of support to Omori.

WRI-Japan also has another idea: write protest graffiti on Japanese Airlines (JAL) airplanes.

Send letters of support to: Akiyoshi Ito, Sakae So 203 Iwakura-Agura, Skyo, Kyoto Japan

earlier in Vancouver. On July 1, participants in "The Longest Run", a marathon tribute to Indian Olympian runner Jim Thorpe, will begin a gruelling 1300 mile run to Los Angeles.

At the end of the route is the Indian Olympics. But the most demanding athletic test will be the final days of the Run: a relay race over the last leg of the marathon, averaging 125 miles a day.

The events are part of the campaign to win recognition of the sovereign status of the Six Nations. Also at issue are the Olympic medals Thorpe won in the 1912 Olympics. The U.S. government has repeatedly refused to return the Thorpe medals to his family.

## Wyers

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down and armed plainclothes officers leapt out of the van and dragged people away.

Mostly it was local kids who fought the police, as will happen when they occupy Amsterdam.

By evening it was freezing solid again, as about 10,000 people gathered to protest the eviction. Led by 2 black flags we marched all over Amsterdam, as thousands of police circled us and waited.

Eventually a smaller group of about 1000 marched directly on the blockaded area around

## Peltier

from page one

legal materials. Access to the law library and typewriters is now suspended, a serious blow to Peltier and others who prepare their own legal work.

Peltier was convicted for the 1975 killing of two FBI agents in a shoot-out on South Dakota's Pine Ridge reservation, also the site of the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation. He had been a target of a secret FBI harassment campaign since 1972, when the American Indian Movement organised an occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. An attempt later that year to frame him for attempted murder of a cop failed when the trial ended in his acquittal.

The evidentiary hearing will examine material suppressed by the FBI during Peltier's trial for the Pine Ridge killings. Among the 12,000 pages of FBI documents obtained by the defense under Freedom of Information legislation is a ballistics analysis of the shell casing found near the dead FBI agents. Peltier was convicted on the assertion that the casing was fired from his gun, a claim which the ballistics report flatly contradicts.

"There can be no question that the withholding of this report denied him even the semblance of a fair trial," said Peltier's lawyer, William Kunstler, when the hearing was announced.

Peltier would like supporters to write to him, Standing Deer and Rechaza at Marion, demanding their transfer to a prison where they can practice their religion. He asks that letters mention all three names.

"This will keep us safe from prison guards," he said.

Mailing addresses are: Leonard Peltier, #89637-132 Standing Deer aka Robert Wilson, #01499-164 Rechaza, aka Albert Garza #49602-146 P.O. Box 1000 Marion, Illinois U.S.A. 62959

the ruined Wyers. As we came closer, we began smashing up the town in earnest. Banks, hotels, the palace and employment agencies were the main targets. A glass fronted Scientology church was completely wrecked.

But before we could seriously attack the police, dozens of busloads closed in behind us. As they fired tear gas we all melted away into side alleys and dispersed.

Sporadic street fighting continued. Charges and water cannon went on until 3 a.m. Then it was all over, but the feeling was that we had won, and a big upsurge in the movement is expected in the Spring.

### ON THE ROAD:

FINALLY, *OPEN ROAD* gets its shit together. We're the first quarterly to come out on an annual basis.

This was supposed to be our 1984 theme issue, but by the time we were ready to publish the whole Orwell thing had been done to death. Besides, it's been 1984 for years now.

*Open Road* has a new office and typesetting machine. Now we're broke. We'd appreciate it if our readers could give us a little extra this time to help pay for our new toys (and keep us in business). Now we'll have to come out regularly just to pay off our debt.

Subscriptions to *Open Road*

remain two hours wages per year for individuals, \$25 for institutions, and \$50 a year makes you an *OR* sustainer.

Back issues #2,3,6,7,11,12,14 and 15 are available for \$2 a copy, and #8,9,10,10½ and 13 for \$1 each.

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# Open Road

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ONE TRIAL DOWN; FOUR TO GO:

# The conspiracy in the courtroom

IN JANUARY 1983, FIVE VANCOUVER ACTIVISTS WERE arrested and charged with the firebombing of Red Hot (video porn) stores, the bombing of a B.C. Hydro power substation, and various conspiracy, arms and stolen property charges. Subsequently, they were charged with the bombing of the Litton factory in Toronto that produces the guidance system for the Cruise missile.

Since *Open Road's* last issue, the first of the five trials has begun. From September to December, 1983, legal arguments were presented before B.C. Supreme Court Justice Martin Toy to determine the admissibility of unlawfully obtained wiretap evidence. The trial proper, with the jury present, began January 3, 1984, with surveillance, wiretap and physical evidence presented by the prosecution.

Julie Belmas, Ann Hansen, Gerry Hannah, Doug Stewart and Brent Taylor remain in Oakalla prison where they have been held without bail for more than 15 months. In March, Gerry and Julie pleaded guilty to reduced charges (five counts for Gerry and seven for Julie) and they are now awaiting sentencing. For Ann, Brent and Doug the first trial has just ended (see *Late News Flash* on page six). The remaining four trials, including the Litton trial to be held in Toronto, are not expected to be finished before 1985.

Support work is continuing locally and internationally. Interviews with Ann and Brent have appeared in radical publications in North America and Europe, and "autonomous" publications have appeared throughout Canada detailing the events of the pre-trial, the trial, and the nature and history of direct action. Awareness is growing of the Five's case, as are the political issues involved in the case.

### LEGAL UPDATE

The first trial originally included the following counts:

- Conspiracy to rob a Brinks armoured car.
- Possession of restricted weapons
- Three counts of vehicle theft.
- Four counts of stolen property.
- Possession of explosives
- Breaking and entering

September 6, 1983. The *voir dire* (a hearing without the presence of a jury) began before Judge Samuel Toy in New Westminster, B.C. Supreme Court.

Because of the outrageous pre-trial publicity, Toy allowed the defense lawyers to question potential jurors about prejudice and impartiality. It is the first time in Canada that such a blanket "challenge of the jurors" has been allowed.

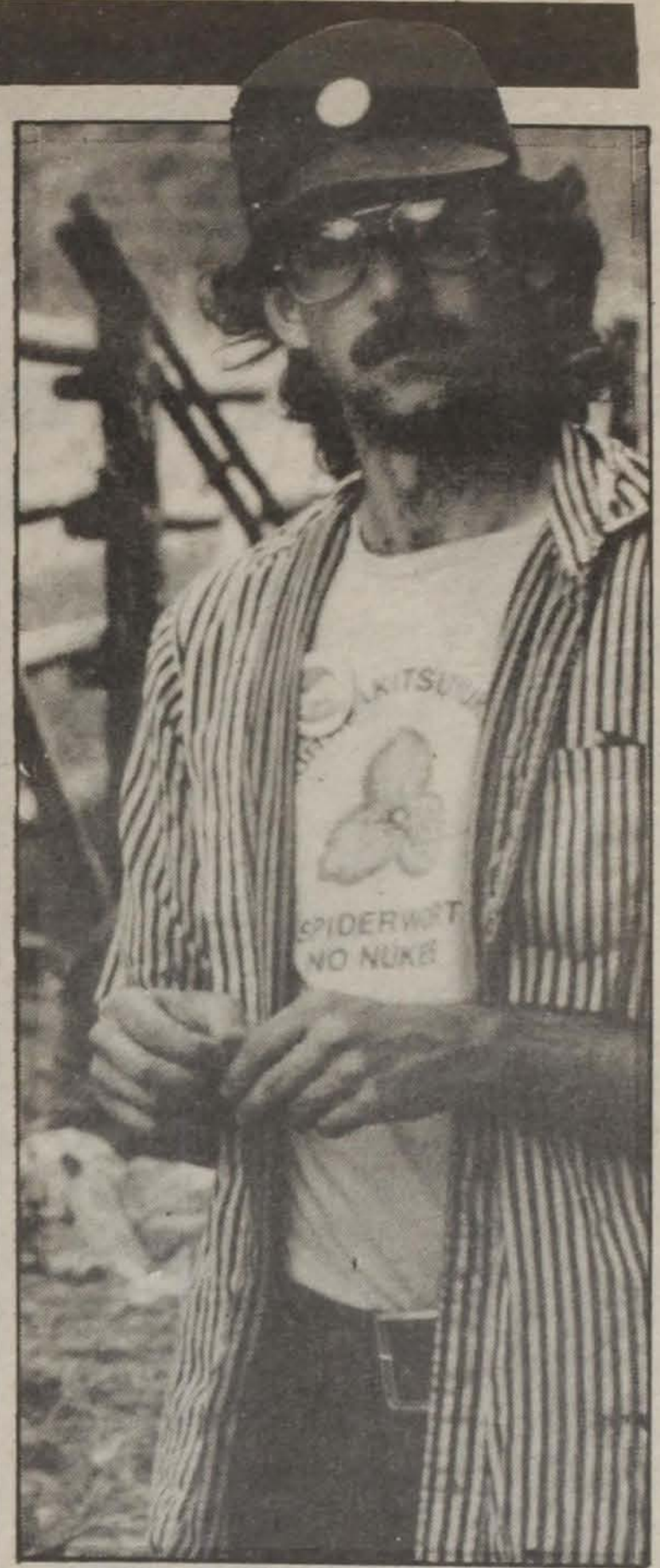
During defense questioning of a member of the secret service, "national security" was invoked a number of times to avoid answering questions about the extent of physical and electronic surveillance of the Five and others. Did the secret service watch the Red Hot Video firebombings? If so, who did they see? "National Security" means they don't have to say why, where or when special forces personnel tracked the Five, their friends and members of the left community, nor how much this is



JULIE BELMAS

regularly done. We do know that physical surveillance of the five began at least three months prior to their arrest.

Wiretap evidence was ruled admissible in the trial — even though it was obtained through *illegal* entries into the homes of the targets (in Canada its considered quite acceptable for cops to break their own laws to get evidence). There was a bug in the kitchen at Doug's apartment, and, at the house where the other four lived, bugs in the kitchen and bedroom. They had no phones of their own, but the phones of friends and neighbor-



BRENT TAYLOR

hood public phones were tapped. A video camera (capable of night-vision) was installed outside of Doug's house.

A cast of hundreds (literally) was involved in physical surveillance, bugging and the arrests. Police from at least eight different divisions of local and national, criminal and intelligence forces participated.

January 3, 1984. The jury was present and the prosecution began its case.

More information came out on police methods: up to ten trackers could be watching one person at any given time. Many of the trackers are women, or short men, or otherwise not in accordance with popular cop stereotypes; they drive around, ride buses and hang around in crowds while watching targets. Ordinary

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### ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE: I

## Even the walls have ears

Even though they tried to avoid discussing bugging, some of the testimony of the cops on the witness stand gave us clues as to what to look for. One police witness said that to give the precise location of a microphone and transmitter "is not in the public interest. We do not have many techniques and it would jeopardize present and future investigations by revealing where this microphone was installed."

And so we dutifully copied down all the specifics that did come out and hoped they might be useful.

The bugs planted in the kitchen of Doug's house and in the kitchen and bedroom of the New Westminster house were all placed below shoulder level. Two of the bugs were described as being "close to a wall but not embedded in it." (such as behind the cover of a light switch or outlet?).

The installation of the bugs involved "minor alterations" in a room, which were "repaired" in about ten minutes (such as replacing a

light socket fixture in a ceiling?).

A direct air passage is required to the "port" of a microphone, although baffling may be used as a partial covering. It seems that the required opening is about an eighth of an inch in diameter.

Bugs also need power. And although in Canada they're not allowed to hook up to your house power (this is theft of electricity, or some such thing) we suspect they usually do. Otherwise batteries are required and these take up more room, are harder to install, and need to be replaced every once in a while. This makes those little outlets and sockets quite convenient places.

The kitchen bug in the New Westminster house was apparently visible from the table, and if somebody knew where to look, "you might be able to see part of it but not the whole thing." There is speculation that the visible part of the microphone might look much like the head of a screw.

Sound quality and audibility on wiretap tapes indicate that mikes pick up conversation best when people in a

room speak in a normal voice with no movement or other sound in the room. The mikes amplify whatever sound is loudest and diminish background noise. Music, running water, laughter, simultaneous conversation, etc., all help to obscure who's talking and what's being said. but it's better to have sensitive conversations elsewhere — they also have fancy filtering equipment that's very useful in cutting out all that interference.

Besides bugs in rooms and on telephones, cops used bugs in a plant pot in a restaurant, near a table where Doug and a friend were sitting; and in the detention cells and the interview room, in the police station that the five were first taken to. They probably used other, still unknown, tricks as well.

To be completely safe, have those "sensitive conversations" on a beach or in an open field. Parabolic mikes work best when there are trees or buildings for the sound to bounce off.

For lots more of this scary information, get a copy of the CLASP bulletin listed in the Publications guide on page 23.



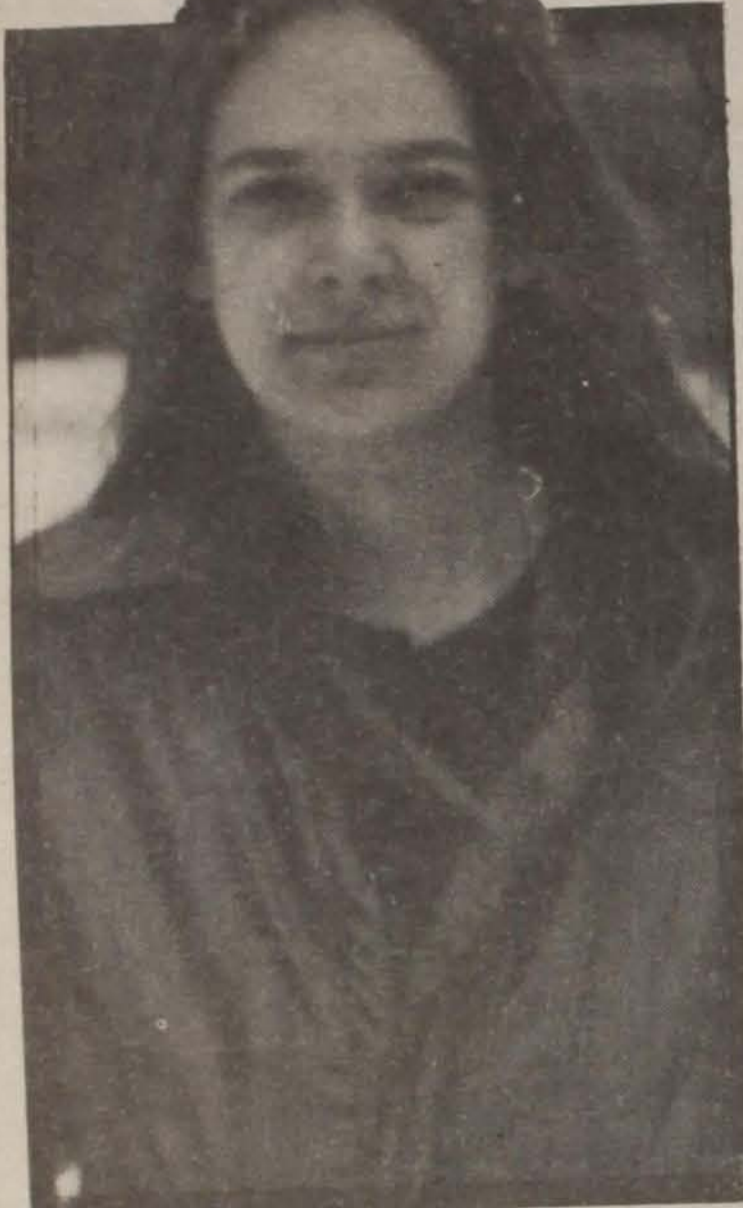
GERRY HANNAH

## THE VANCOUVER FIVE:

These passages excerpted from Writings of the Vancouver Five.  
See information guide on page 23.

ANN HANSEN:

# Feminist resistance vs. reform



ANN HANSEN

The majority of the white women's movement have taken on the cry for equal pay for work of equal value, more government daycare centres, tougher anti-porn and anti-rape laws, more government funding for women's groups, and affirmative action programs in business.

These demands are called reforms, because in themselves, they do not presuppose that the entire patriarchy must be destroyed for the intent of these reforms to be realized.

Some womyn believe reforms can liberate them, without the destruction of capitalism. For them there is a great hope of reforming the patriarchy, particularly in North America, if the womyn are white and willing to take on the male persona.

Some radical feminists see reforms as short term gains that will become the groundwork for a revolutionary movement to destroy the patriarchy. Too often their work towards immediate reform obscures their revolutionary aims and determines the methods they employ.

These reforms create a false appearance of equality which can be used as a weapon against the poor womyn who only experience poverty, violence and degradation. The middle class womyn, beneficiaries of reform, can then turn against the poor, claiming that the middle class have jobs, daycare centres and abortions and therefore the problem of the poor lies in their own laziness and incompetence.

Developing methods of struggle rooted in resistance does not mean we must reject all short term goals. Liberation is a long-term process built upon gains made little by little; when we fight for abortion on demand, or against pornography, we must do so within a revolutionary context. This means describing the problem from a radical perspective and using tactics that reflect our rejection of the male controlled legal, political and economic system.

If the initiative of change is to lie in the hands of feminists and radicals, then we must analyse and understand how the Canadian state and multinationals operate. We have to under-

stand the role Canada plays in the imperialist network, the strategic interests of the economy that keep Canada stable and the political weaknesses that we can expose.

Once we have this understanding, then we can develop strategies of action that have continuity and that are not rooted in a reaction to the most singularly obvious symptoms of the system. This way we can, over the long term, undermine the very structure of the system.

Ann Hansen  
Oakalla Prison  
1983

DOUG STEWART:

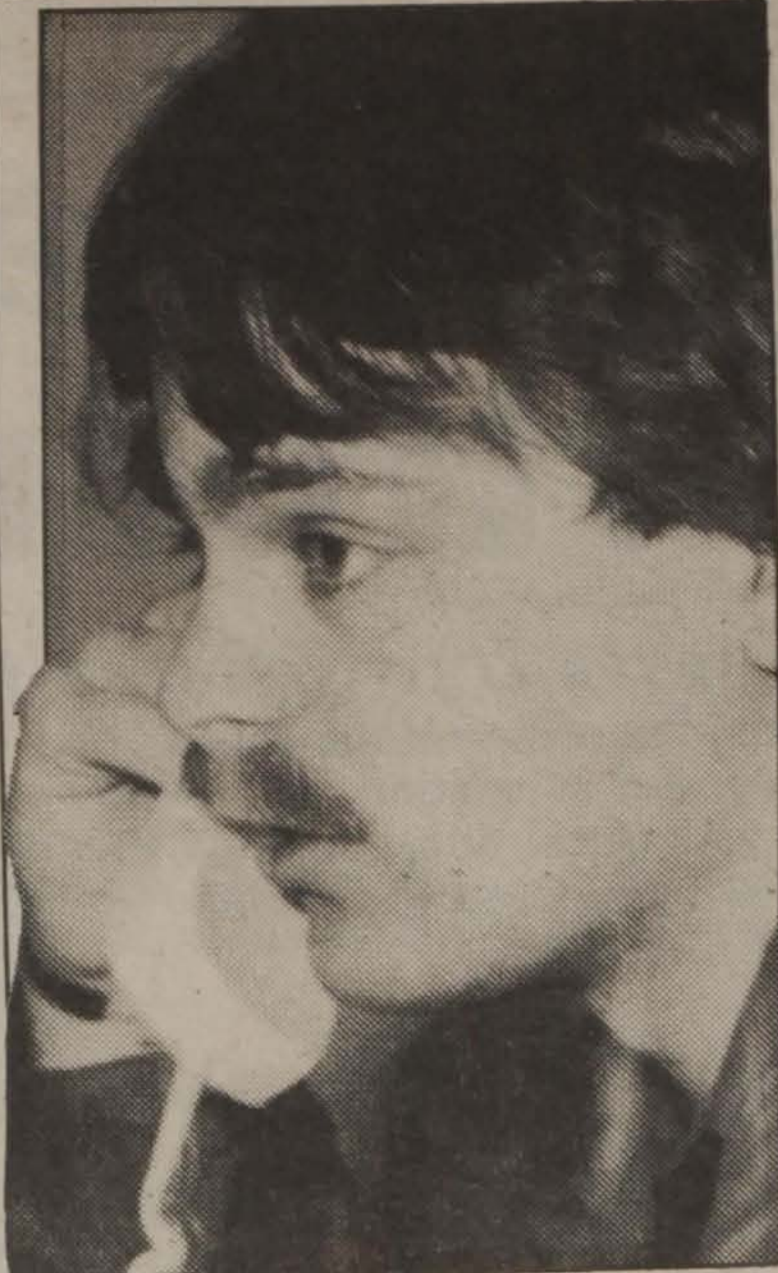
# Living in reality

In the last few years, tens of thousands of people have died in El Salvador — mostly guerillas killed by the army and peasants killed by the death squads.

What does that mean? Not much, I think, to most of us. We have an intellectual understanding of events in that sorrowful country, but I don't think we really *feel* the reality of that suffering and struggle taking place there.

For most political people there is an unconscious emotional distancing, an alienation and separation that prevents us from empathizing, from feeling the tangibility of what is happening.

We read a magazine article and are



DOUG STEWART

properly outraged, but in a few days we forget.

I think we should try to overcome this; we should make an effort to internalize the reality of fascism and guerilla war in El Salvador. Now, right now, there is someone just like us, with hopes and dreams and fears, being tortured or murdered or raped by Salvadorean soldiers. And right now, there is someone just like us sitting in the jungle with a rifle, watchful and waiting.

We are political people. These people are our sisters and brothers and their lives are real. We should grant them realness in our minds.

"The eyes are blind, one must look with the heart." There is a lot of

injustice in the world, a lot of oppression and suffering, and I think for most of us our understanding of this reality is very intellectual and abstract. We do not really identify with the existence and the pain and the resistance of the people we sympathize with.

I think that we, as political people, should seek a profound understanding of the world, going beyond remembrance of facts to knowing of reality, to a heartfelt identification with suffering people and struggling resistance fighters....

As we develop an identity with suffering people we will also come to identify with people in resistance. El Salvadorean guerillas, rape relief workers and American Indian Movement are all our sisters and brothers; if we can learn to empathize with the reality of their lives and work, and to carry that consciousness with us, we will have a powerful source of strength to draw on.

In time of depression and crisis we can be sustained by our connection with friends and comrades around the world.

If we make an effort we can see past the maps and numbers and into people's hearts and lives, and I think that this can have a great impact on our lives. I hope that we come to see the political work that we do, not just as an obligation, as what we think we should do, but also as what we want to do, flowing from our connection with people and our desire to struggle alongside them.

And mostly what I hope is this: that we look at our lives, at what we do and why, and what we could do, and that we always live in the real world, seeing clearly and feeling deeply.

Doug Stewart  
Oakalla Prison  
1983

## ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE: II

# Reach out and tap somebody

In the maze of offices that is the Vancouver headquarters of the Co-ordinated Law Enforcement Unit, RCMP constable Dave Hemm is on the phone to the security division of the B.C. Telephone Company. On a memo in front of him is your name, address and phone number. Bruce Funk, the B.C. Tel technical assistant at the other end of the line, accepts Hemm's request for a "feasibility study" on your telephone, jotting down your name, address and phone number. Soon after, he is at the telephone exchange which your line passes through, connecting your two wires to a special pair that leads directly to a police building. In the police building, in the "intercept room", a cop dials your number, and a police technician follows the test signal through the circuits, shutting it off just before it rings your phone. In a routine operation that can take as little as twenty minutes, your phone has just been "tapped."

It's not much like Hollywood. There's no specially-converted dry-cleaning van, no surreptitious entries into targets' homes, no miniature mikes in the telephone receiver. And certainly no legal battle before a reluctant judge. Wiretapping in B.C. is a lean, efficient process; Funk himself recently testified he had personally placed more than 400 wiretaps in the past four years.

Meanwhile, back at the intercept room, police technicians have set up the tape recorders. In the 'master' intercept room, a master tape is being made of all your telephone conversations. In the next room, a 'slave' tape is being made for police to listen to. The specialized recorders, called UHER 4000, are at every RCMP detachment, including at least 42 at RCMP headquarters and 48 at CLEU headquarters in Vancouver. For gathering legal evidence, one cop listens to every five machines in operation. For unauthorized work, the machines run unattended.

The tape recorders are activated by the drop in voltage in your telephone when someone picks up the receiver. The same thing happens when your phone rings. An interception device logs the date and time of the call and announces it on a digital display. Special amplifiers and isolators raise voice levels when necessary and cut out tapping noises from the recording.

Of course, wiretapping hasn't always been this easy. The old-fashioned, saw-it-on-TV methods—physically attaching bugs to telephone lines—were still widely used in Vancouver five years ago. One BC Tel source said at the time, "most hotels in downtown Vancouver are so infested with bugs that the switchboards were not working properly because the bugs were taking so much juice."

The recent flood of innovation in communications technology means even the procedure described above is obsolete. Many cities now have fully automated telephone switching, a computer system that makes wire-tapping even easier.

By typing your phone number into a computer terminal at the switching station, the cops receive a print-out of all your calls: date, time, duration and type of call. The easy availability of this type of information has spurred the development of a new electronic variant of an old surveillance trick: 'traffic analysis.' It's an analytical technique of interest to anyone who wants to understand the network of relationships in a community. By tracking the order in which phone calls are made within a group, an analyst can determine who works with whom, who is central in a call-for-action phone tree, and what patterns of influence exist.

The biggest police gain from automated switching systems is sheer volume. Thousands of calls can be simultaneously intercepted using modern monitoring technology. Although much of B.C.'s phone system is not yet automated, police here have the capability to monitor 500,000 phone calls at once. But the true extent of wiretapping may never be known. With the ease of high-tech wiretapping operations, a phone bug is now virtually undetectable.

THE POVERTY OF COFFEEHOUSE ACTIVISM:

# Litton and the Left



bullies. It is on this psychological level that the more broadly based day-to-day organizing is linked to the clandestine, isolated acts of militancy.

Such acts do bring about a polarization of society. People have to decide which side they are on, and the necessity of deciding can encourage thoughtful analysis and an increased understanding of our effectiveness. Too many self-styled radicals cannot face the logic of their own opposition and would like to maintain faith in the essential justice of the system.

The spontaneous response of most radicals, pacifists or not, was pure joy upon seeing the headlines the day after Litton. But upon sober reflection this emotional and political response was denied. They sought the security of thoughtlessness—and of rationalizations which disguised this—and were quick to condemn the perpetrators of this act.

The left in Canada, as the left in the U.S., grants the Rio Grande a magical power. The politics of the gun which are supported south of that river all of a sudden become adventurist when brought into the homeland. Repression is thought of as a psychological aberration of third world leaders even when it is understood that the fascist regimes are supported by America (and, somewhat more indirectly, by Canada). Do leftists think the enemy is different here? Do they not consider that the first people to pick up the gun in Nicaragua after the massacres of the thirties were probably condemned as misguided adventurists? Who gives the signal that the time is right for militancy? This tendency to support militant actions in direct relation to their distance from us is reflected by the white Americans who support the Vancouver Five but either ignore or condemn the Black Nationalists or the United Freedom Front or those convicted of the October 20th (1981) Brinks Robbery.

After the arrests of the Five a few people in the peace movement were principled enough to voice their support for them publicly, at some cost to their credibility among other peace activists. But most peace people ignored the situation, hoping it would go away.

Some "leaders" went so far as to actively cooperate with the police in their continued investigations. This is entirely consistent with the peace

MORE THAN A YEAR HAS PASSED SINCE DIRECT ACTION bombed Litton Systems Canada, Ltd. near Toronto, Ontario. Little has changed. Litton, still largely subsidized by the federal government, still churns out the guidance system for the Cruise missile. Testing of the Cruise missile in northern Canada began this spring despite massive public protests, and the trials of the Vancouver Five, who've been charged with more than 100 counts relating to the activities of Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade, slowly continue, apparently forgotten by all but a small circle of friends and other supporters.

For those of us who have been caught up in the dance of repression and resistance which has followed the bombings and the arrests of the Five, it is difficult to stand back and develop a clear analysis of this experience. The difficulty is compounded because the Five have opted for a legal defense and they are compelled to stay silent about subjects which might jeopardize their defense. In spite of these difficulties we would like to offer up a few observations.

The response of the left to the Litton bombing characterizes much of the left's weakness. With few exceptions social-democratic assumptions dominate the politics of all those who consider themselves radical.

On a national level, support for the New Democratic Party (NDP) remains a major topic of discussion. Hope springs eternal that the NDP can be won over to socialism in spite of its history of purging its radical elements. The recently attempted general strike in British Columbia illustrates that even those people who have rejected the NDP have no clear political alternative on a strategic or a tactical level. Political debate in Canada is stilted and insular.

Even many anarchists were slow to support the Vancouver Five—let alone supporting Direct Action. The response of some anarchists was guided by sectarianism and an attempt to put as much distance as possible between themselves and the guerillas who had seemingly taken anarchist ideas to a logical conclusion. One alleged anarchist went so far as to conclude that the bombings were done by police because they were well done and marginals, obviously, were not capable of such competency.

Much of the support that has come forward for the Five has been on a personal rather than a political level. There was a genuine concern for a

"fair trial"; that was better than nothing but missed the point. The issues raised by the actions, with the exception of violent pornography, that is: militarism, ecological destruction, the comfort of the left, were hardly mentioned in the discussions which followed the bombings or the arrests.

Criticisms of the Litton bombing were seldom more than a position that it is bad to bomb. One attempt to rationalize this position was the claim that the bombing alienated the working class. From what we saw, the only people alienated by the bombing were those in the left itself whose intellectual politics and comfortable lives were confronted by direct action. There was no massive outrage in the letters columns of the dailies or on the phone-in talk shows. This is not to say there was any real public support. Indeed the bombing was nothing more than another spectacular event in a world gone increasingly mad. A political action is not going to be understood in a non-political society.

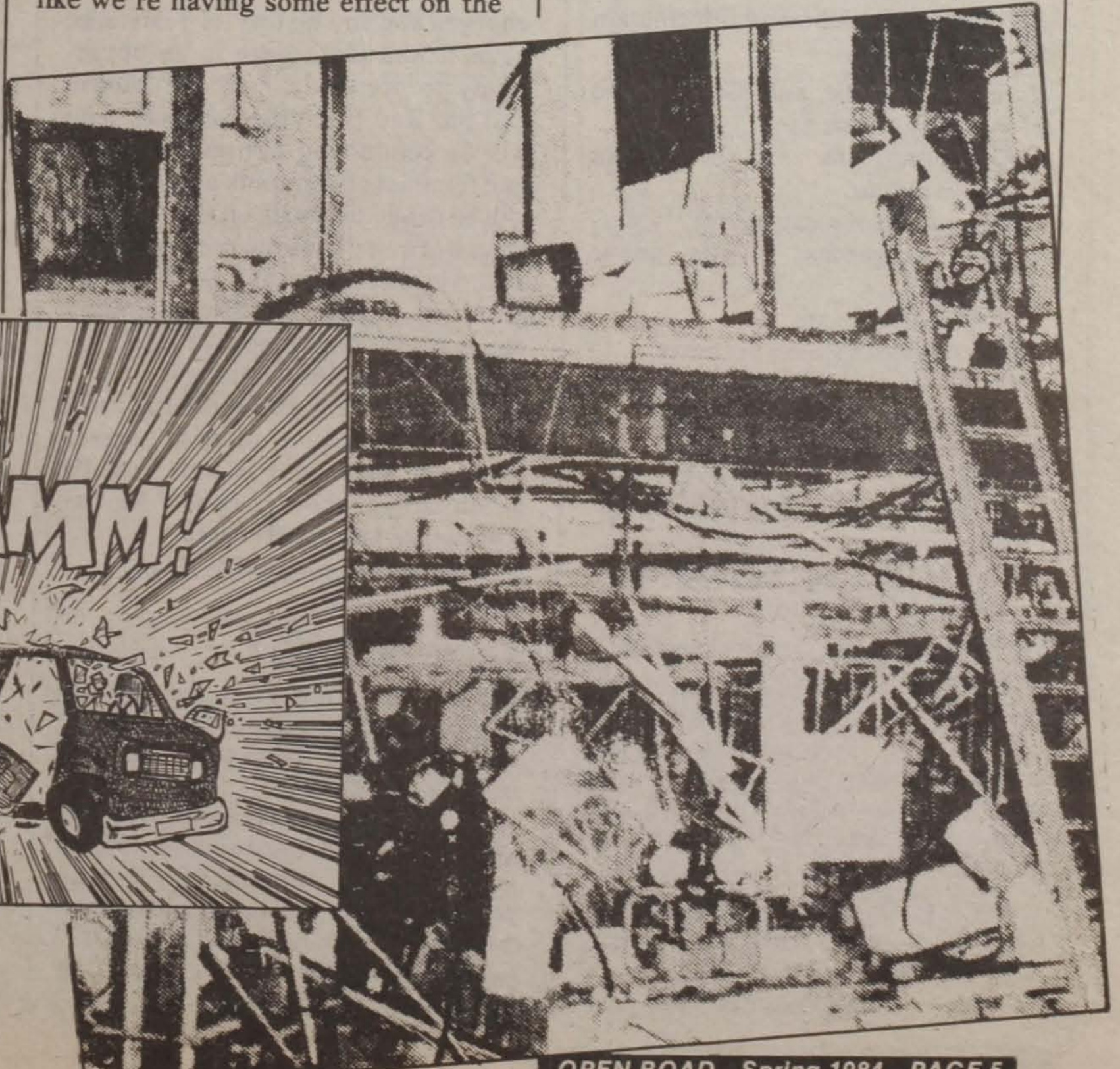
Some of the confusion about actions such as Litton comes from a kind of double-think about their intent. People easily accept that a single

demonstration will not stop the arms race but then they criticize a bombing because—on its own—it "changes nothing." And yet, obviously, no single act of protest, violent or non-violent, will ever, in isolation, bring us real peace. It is clear from the Direct Action communique and from the placement of the dynamite-loaded van, that Direct Action knew that one bombing of Litton would not stop the Cruise. (Although because of the mass protests and the bombing Litton was not awarded an additional contract for further development of the missile.) Direct Action did hope that the bombing would crystallize the opposition to the continued building of such machinery of death within the city. They did hope the action would focus national attention on Canada's involvement in the arms race. They did hope that the action—in the context of a larger movement—would eventually make Cruise production difficult for Litton. And they did hope to open up one more avenue of resistance and to demonstrate the possibilities of militant action. It is precisely such actions that can inspire and motivate people who do grass-roots organizing.

We need victories. We need to feel like we're having some effect on the



OCTOBER 1982: The Litton bombing left police poking through the rubble of the partially destroyed factory.



# Direct Action exposed Litton

strategy of appealing to a broad segment of the population. There is little overall critique of the state or of society as a whole. The major focus for this segment of the peace movement is the prevention of Cruise missile testing. Only the Alliance for Non-Violent Action (ANVA) among the major peace groups situates its opposition to nuclear war in a clearly anti-imperialist context.

The Toronto-based Cruise Missile Conversion Project (CMCP) had been focusing on the Litton plant for several years, working toward the conversion of its war-related production to socially-useful production. Factory gates were leafletted every week with messages about disarmament and the information that conversion of factories like Litton would create more jobs and promote the development of civilian technology.

But the CMCP campaign did not offer workers a viable alternative to their job security at Litton. The group's nebulous references to an English factory (Lucas Aerospace Ltd.) where workers drew up plans to save jobs and convert the factory to socially-useful production were not realistic. The campaign failed to address the immense power of Litton, its drive for profit, and the intense level of struggle which would be necessary for success.

Litton, a giant US multinational with a long history of anti-labour practices, finds its Canadian subsidiary profitable. In 1982 profits were \$7

million. This was a substantial increase from \$1.2 million in 1981. To entice Litton from war-making production would require offering an even more profitable project. Given the existing level of exploitation of its workers, this alternative is clearly not acceptable to anyone with socialist, let alone revolutionary, ideals. And given that virtually all capitalist production is war-related—indirectly through its product, its accumulation of capital and resources, or simply its strengthening of a system which requires wars in some form—the alternative would be a white-washing at best.

Yet to achieve even the conversion of Litton's production would involve a serious long-term struggle by the workers which could only happen within the context of widespread worker militancy. Litton would use whatever means necessary to prevent workers having control over production. There is no union at the Litton plant and the company is notorious for union-busting activities. If Litton were pressured it would simply close down its Canadian operation and open another one elsewhere—a common practice of multinational companies. And before it ever got to that point, the state would intervene to protect Litton's—and its own—interests.

To ignore these realities in developing protest strategies is either naive, or elitist and manipulative. It is naive to believe that Litton can be converted to a socially-useful operation without widespread social con-

frontation; elitist and manipulative if the organizers understand this but fail to make this understood by the workers and other participants in the struggle.

Or perhaps it is simply fear and avoidance. To face up to the ineffectiveness of many of our forms of protest would require either giving up, or committing ourselves to adopting the attitudes and the actions which could be effective. The lack of even intelligent discussion of the bombing indicates that this is the case. For to discuss this kind of action thoughtfully and realistically—even in order to conclude that it is not the most effective action for a given situation—would mean having to face the inadequacies and contradictions of current attitudes and strategies.

In any case, it is clear that the bombing did reveal Litton to Canadians in a way that pacific protest never did. The protests in the fall of

*“Just as it is appropriate that the U.S. should have to protect its government institutions with dump trucks, concrete barricades and other security devices... it is appropriate that Litton should have to guard its premises as well.”*

1982—seen by the organizers as a test of how the bombing had effected their campaign—were the largest and most successful to that time. But the moderate elements within Cruise Missile Conversion Project began to pull back from the idea of civil disobedience.

The bombing may have made CMCP's work more difficult in relation to the Litton workers. They were openly hostile because they felt the disarmament movement was not only threatening their jobs but their safety. They had to enter the plant through a guarded gate and a high, barbed-wire fence. However, just as it is appropriate that the US ruling class should have to protect its government institutions with dump trucks, concrete barricades, and other security devices to prevent attacks by anti-imperialist groups such as the Armed Resistance Unit, it is appropriate that Litton should have to guard its production facilities for weapons of mass murder. Forcing Litton to guard its premises has two advantages: it discourages people from working there, and it outwardly indicates the extent to which Litton's war production is found objectionable.

If the peace movement had recognized the significance of this increased security, instead of defensively blaming the bombing for its existence, they could have diverted the fear and the anger of the workers toward its rightful source—Litton.

The Toronto Alliance for Non-Violent Action has taken over the major role in organizing protests at the Litton plant. They organized a week-long series of protests at Litton last October in which 130 demonstrators were arrested for civil disobedience. One of their leaflets outlines the connections between nuclear weapons and third world intervention. They also criticize the stockpiling of deadly conventional weapons and the intervention of the state into the private and political lives of activists. They explain the link between money pumped into the war machine and resulting unemployment, and the

connection between militarism and the oppression of women.

Most mainstream disarmament groups channelled their energies into a peace petition caravan which transported petitions opposing Cruise missile testing to the Parliament building. They naively assumed that this campaign would be successful even though petitions have never altered government policy in the past. These types of campaigns only serve to strengthen the myth that the government represents the interests of Canadians through the facade of democracy.

The failure to recognize that the system requires third world exploitation by the multinationals, and requires ongoing investment in armaments, allows a pathetic belief in the system to continue. This was represented in the constitutional challenge to the testing program. Initiated by Operation Dismantle, a coalition of labour unions and peace groups, the challenge indicated a blind faith in Canada's legal system.

Given this reformist, social-demo-

## THE VANCOUVER FIVE (FROM PAGE 3):

### Van Five update

traffic cops cooperated with surveillance cops to do a “routine” driver's license check on Gerry and Julie to get a positive I.D. After their arrests, anything the five said to the cops was secretly taped so that a positive voice identification could be matched with tapes from the bugs. Also after the arrests, the cops got handwriting samples through elaborate set-ups (asking if they'd like to write down what they were being charged with, then taking away the handwritten list). Police also conducted illegal searches while gathering information before the arrests.

March 1984. Julie and Gerry plead guilty to five counts each:

- Conspiracy to rob a Brinks armoured car.
- Possession of weapons for “a purpose dangerous to the public peace.”
- Theft of three cars
- Possession of stolen property
- Arson of Red Hot Video in Port Coquitlam

And Julie pleads guilty to an additional two:

- Possession of explosives for a dangerous purpose
- Causing an explosion at Litton industries, Toronto

April 1984. Judge Toy says he will instruct the jury to find Doug not guilty of conspiracy to rob a Brink's truck.

The prosecutor had tried to argue that Doug was an aider and abettor to the conspiracy — but there is really no such charge.

May 1984. Verdicts on the first trial for Ann, Doug and Brent will come down. They will be sentenced, then go on to the next trial. Gerry and Julie

will also be sentenced (for them only once now) in May.

July[?] 1984. Trial II will be for arsons at three Red Hot Video stores (November 1982).

It is not yet clear whether the defense will be able to question potential jurors during the selection process as in the first trial. This could be crucial since defense surveys show that a lot of people are sympathetic to the intent—if not necessarily the method—of the firebombings.

Because of the nature of the charges and the history of resistance against Red Hot, there is an opportunity to present a political defense and put Red Hot Video on trial. Ann will be conducting her own defense, and feminist researchers and activists will be called to testify on the relationship between violent pornography and violence against women and children. There will be testimony about the ineffectiveness of legal protest prior to the firebombings.

Still to come: Trial III for the bombing of the Cheekeye-Dunsmuir power station on Vancouver Island. Trial IV for an armed robbery. Trial V for the bombing of Litton in Toronto.

See the information guide on p.23 for more on the Five.

### Late Flash!

After deliberating for four days, the jury has found Ann and Brent guilty on all counts of the first indictment. Doug was acquitted of all charges except weapons possession and on May 7 was sentenced to one day in prison. All are being held in custody pending further trials. The prosecutor has now decided to hold the trial for the Hydro bombing next, beginning June 11.

cratic character of the left and the peace movement, the absence of a significant response to the Litton bombing is understandable, although not acceptable. At least it serves to indicate how far it is still necessary to go before people in the peace movement develop a revolutionary, anti-imperialist consciousness.

### REPRESSION & RESISTANCE

A number of individuals and groups in Toronto and Vancouver received a taste of repression from the raids and harassment that began shortly after the bombing. Peace groups such as CMCP and some of their leading lights had their homes and offices raided. Certain people were singled out for harassment on the streets and at demonstrations. A total of eighteen criminal charges have been laid against people around the Toronto committee to support the Five. Wiretapping and surveillance have been extensive.

We could do without the harassment and trauma of the raids. But in general, the people subjected to raids came through them stronger and more committed than before. It is not that we haven't felt fear, confusion and paranoia (justified in some cases) but we have also learned that politics can be maintained under the watchful eye of the state.

A common criticism of militant actions is that it gives the police an excuse to raid and harass people on the left. It should be remembered that it doesn't seem to take much of an excuse to bring down the heat. The new Security Service Bill introduced by the Liberal government was justified by referring to the bombings, yet it had been prepared long before any bombings happened. Clearly the state recognizes that its repressive policies necessitate jumping onto whatever opportunities for justification arise. Unfortunately, even most leftists fall for this trick, and the left is divided as a result.

Politics of resistance is above all a  
turn to page 20



## The Sandinista Revolution

# Vanguard leadership and direct democracy

Dear Masses,

I'm sitting in a pretty town square beside a government building. Several hundred metres across from me is an old church in need of repairs. Covering the front of the church is an enormous red and black drawing of Sandino, the martyred hero of the Sandinistas who was killed by Somoza in 1934.

I'm staring at: 1) this guy feeding the turtles and alligators (some are just babies—really cute) in a little turtle/alligator pond. The turtles really go for the meat, but the alligators just sleep. 2) A bunch of pimply-faced soldiers, armed with Russian-made AKA rifles, who are just hanging out being vigilant. That is, they are talking and eating ice cream. Some crash out on a mattress inside the central band pavilion. 3) A bunch of little kids playing, or hustling food. One boy about five has just opened his fly and is peeing on the ground in front of everyone. 4) Lots of Nicaraguans hanging out or going places.

I'm acutely aware that I'm in a Soviet-dominated totalitarian police state. Well, not exactly...

I'm telling you this to introduce some of the perplexities and contradictions of Revolutionary Nicaragua. In fact, I'm not sitting in the park. That was just a cheap journalistic trick. Just as I was about to write this, some European friends came along and we chatted about—what else?—Revolutionary Politics. So now we are waiting for this large semi-public meeting on The Nicaraguan Family to begin. It's part of the weekly *Cara al Pueblo* (Face the People) where hundreds of invited delegates from certain areas have a televised meeting with certain Sandinista leaders. I'm part of 'the press' that was searched, stamped and bused here.

This revolution is a unique, Nicaraguan mixture of vanguard leadership and popular democracy. I hesitate to call it direct democracy. Without

going on for the 65 pages of impressions I've written down since arriving on New Year's, I'll try to explain what I perceive.

First, some history. Nicaragua was an underdeveloped country with 2.5 million people. Exploited and ruled by the Somoza family and U.S. imperialism, the only real opposition came in the early 1930s with Augusto Sandino, a campesino guerrilla leader, and his following. They kicked out the U.S. Marines but Sandino was betrayed and killed by Somoza. Until 1979, the Somozas ruled with absolute obedience to the U.S.

The next opposition came from the Sandinistas, a developing revolutionary guerrilla organization formed in the '60s. Tiny at first, they became the only united revolutionary organization worth noting by the late seventies. While there was widespread opposition to Somoza in the later seventies, only the Sandinista FSLN (Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional) was both organized and revolutionary.

To note: there were no autonomous working class, peasant, community or women's groups, of any significance, that weren't first organized by the FSLN. Which is to say that outside of foreign anti-authoritarians such as *No Middle Ground* (whose first article by Tom Wietzel on Nicaragua is an accurate evaluation), I haven't encountered any anti-authoritarian critiques here.

As I understand it, the FSLN developed the organizations that people fought, produced and lived by in their struggle during and after the revolution. Now, I see very little anarchist theory floating around in the literature, newspapers and general propaganda. Yet I wouldn't call this a dictatorship and it certainly isn't reactionary.

The FSLN controls the direction of the country and so far they are popular and sensibly progressive. The problem is that they are recreating a

benevolent State apparatus, and you know about benevolence: what they give, they can take away. Or repress.

The FSLN is characterized by well-meaning people who want to feed; clothe; educate; employ; deliver health care, recreation, culture, and equality to the society. And at the same time to fight off U.S.-backed contra attacks (daily), a bourgeoisie that is ripping off the country, economic blockades and devastation from Somoza, etc, etc. I'm not convinced that they want a communist society. I'm certainly not convinced that they are concerned with doing away with all domination.

So deals are made with the bourgeoisie to continue necessary production. Seventy percent of the economy is in private hands. What about the socialist and self-managed aspirations of the people? Is the FSLN suppressing that? Both yes and no.

No, because Nicaragua doesn't have a history of people desiring self-management. Ending National Guard brutality, capitalist farm exploitation and other severe abuses, yes. But the consciousness of a new life didn't go beyond basic rights and material

conditions. I don't know of any strong tendency desiring anarchist type organizations. Certainly not the FSLN, which is the vanguard.

Yes, because two years ago occupations and takeovers of factories or farms by the workers was declared illegal. (Enterprises were expropriated by workers when the owners ran them poorly or as rip-offs.) The reason given for this law is that expropriated farms or factories are usually integrated into the state economic apparatus, and the state couldn't handle any more 'businesses' because of the 'State of Emergency' of fighting off the contras. It's true that human and economic resources are needed to deal with the contra/U.S. attacks and the impending invasion. Also that the workers or campesinos don't know how to manage things and need the better-skilled help of bourgeois managers or new, state managers. Also that these workers' expropriations provoke counter-revolutionary forces and frighten the bourgeoisie (who are needed to continue production).

Well, we know the arguments against this: 1) the self-managing potential of people needs to be encouraged just like their new life skills in unions are; 2) a revolution stops short when it doesn't transfer power from the top to the bottom.

People insist that I'm being too hard. That, in only four years, the country has made great strides in the standard of living and in changing the oppressive social/personal consciousness of the people. That's true, and the change is something only a revolution could have accomplished. People are organized into various groups: unions, business groups, women's organizations, armies and community-based organizations, all of which are plugged into the State Council via delegates. The delegates are there to advise and to formulate policy. So it's not just the junta that decides—but ultimately it really is. How well this delegate democracy works is beyond my present knowledge.

How popular is the revolution and the government? I don't really know—actually no one does. Nicaragua exhibits a unified propaganda/media consciousness about fighting the contras and yanquis. There is also a reactionary newspaper that has little good to say about the FSLN or the socialist revolution. Called *La Prensa*, it outsells all the other newspapers. The two TV stations are FSLN controlled. They control one newspaper of the three dailies, several radio stations out of 30 and most of the tons of graffiti. I think the FSLN is very popular because they've done a good job of organizing this country along popular progressive lines that tend to benefit all rather than a few.

cont on page 8







cont from page 7

I've met plenty of people who are angry about the revolution because of food shortages and high prices. I believe this to be a wrong analysis on their part because the economic crisis is global and other countries don't blame the Sandinistas. In fact, Nicaragua has weathered the crisis better than any other Central American country—despite U.S. blockades and attacks.

Big in the news is the upcoming '84 election. This is being held to placate the bourgeoisie and the U.S. But *no one* I've talked to has even mentioned it as a concern. They have the government they want (even the U.S. ambassador here admits the Sandinistas would get 70 per cent of the vote today) and the popular organizations are a far better democracy than parties could be.

The people who are very supportive of the Sandinistas are those living along the border who get attacked by the contras, and many poor people whose standard of living is much higher since the revolution. This isn't to say that classes and poverty have been wiped out. No way. *Many* campesinos get only \$45 U.S. a month. About 10-15 per cent are malnourished—because of poor distribution of food in some areas, not because of no money to buy it. On the other hand, state bureaucrats' salaries go up to \$450 a month, and those working for private firms go even higher. I've seen lots of extreme class disparity.

But I don't see a classic police state. There are soldiers everywhere, and they are accepted as being part of the people. There is military conscription for young men. It's certainly an infringement of civil rights. However, in the absence of popular volunteer militias, it might be the only way to effectively provide an armed defence of the country and revolution. Soldiers here pay for everything—no freebies.

Soldiers or not, people are pretty lackadaisical about following rules.

Actually, I and lots of tourists and locals like the soldiers. We hitch-hike together. Sometimes army trucks pick me up. Besides border checks, security checks for press conferences with junta members or for entering state buildings, they don't bother you. And I understand the need for security.

If the state wanted to repress the people by force there is the army, and maybe they could count on the armed workers who maintain vigilance at their workplaces at night. Peasants and just about everyone living in border regions are armed, too. Certainly the state isn't afraid of a takeover by workers or peasants. The big public slogan last year was 'On the 4th Anniversary of the Revolution—All Arms to the People.' No repressive state would arm the people as much as this one does.

An interesting note about all these pistols and rifles. I haven't noticed anyone playing with them, like aiming them at things. You would think it would be a macho thing to fool around with 'em—but people seem to carry them only because they have to. However, there have been lots of accidents due to carelessness. So I'm told.

#### NEIGHBORHOOD POWER

The other night I attended a Committee Defense Sandinista meeting. Every neighborhood has a CDS which is a form of popular neighborhood power and an organization for defence. They meet every two weeks. Some have 'offices' that act as distribution centres for info and maybe goods. Kids and soldiers seem to hang out there shooting the shit.

My meeting was at a private house, outdoors. Slated to begin at 7:30 p.m., when I arrived at 7:25 I found only the family of the house there. But by 8 there were a couple of dozen people and so it began. This neighborhood, or 'barrio,' is composed of from three to eight blocks—depending on who I asked. There are about four families

per block. All working class or marginal.

I count about 30 people. Four are kids, 19 are women and nine are men. Ages range from teens to senior citizens. The leader is a woman in her forties—but age is hard to tell as people age quicker here than in our society.

Everyone who came got a chance to put in eight cents towards a raffle of six bars of laundry soap. (A little girl won.) Everyone looked and acted like plain ordinary folk. No one like us ('intellectuals') present. The woman leader opened up the meeting. Everyone stood up and someone shouted 'a 50 anos' with the united reply, 'Sandino Vive!' That's this year's 5th-anniversary slogan. (After 50 years, Sandino lives!) This revolution really honours its dead martyrs. Then, in a rather limp sing-along, they sang the national hymn.

OK, that embarrassing sing-along out of the way, the meeting began. They called each other *companera* or *companero*, which doesn't happen in everyday life here except with the trendy left. The leader called a man up to read the agenda and he either had trouble reading or couldn't read her writing. Point one was night vigilancy. She explained that everyone (?) had to do it every twelve days, not two weeks. I'm still not sure what this vigilancy is aimed at: street crime, contras or conditioning the people. Certainly it's cut down drastically the assaults against women. I've heard that Managua is a very safe city — although there are pickpockets on buses. I've seen women walk alone at night — something you don't see often in the U.S.A., land of freedom.

Point two was the Feb. 21st anniversary of Sandino's birthday or death. So the streets and lots should be cleaned up for the big party. Point three was about getting enough money from the different CDSes to buy a typewriter. People felt that asking \$8 from each CDS was asking a lot. Let me just insert that Nicaragua is a shit-poor country with few material goods — especially luxury items. But it's getting there slowly. Shortages depend on boat arrivals. Like ball point pens. Had 'em a week ago but couldn't find one today. Lots of toothpaste but no tubes from Costa Rica to put it in. No razor blades at many shops. Etc.

The last point was about getting food cards. These cards guarantee each Nicaraguan the right to buy 16 essential foods at a regulated low price. I don't know what the prices are. The cards are issued to counter speculation and rip-offs by food sellers. Anyway: the leader did a theatrical representation of how much hassle she had getting the cards from the bureaucrats.

Well, I keep asking myself, "where is the discussion?" The leader just runs through the points herself and no one discusses anything. But then, after everything was covered, several older women talked about the issues.

These were the dynamics of the meeting: the men didn't say much; the women freely interjected and none of them seemed shy about speaking; the leader was leader because she organized it all — she probably wasn't a state bureaucrat. No one had to raise a hand to talk; it was very relaxed. There was no voting nor even decision-making by consensus. Points were approved through lack of objection. Everything seemed very down to earth and I have to wonder how the CDSes delegate from a level of popular power to the more central state organs. No national politics were dis-

cussed. Nothing beyond their daily needs was mentioned. I'd have to attend many CDS meetings to understand what they're all about.

I was impressed that these ordinary people were comfortable in a meeting to organize part of their lives. This, for Nicaragua, is a big change.

The last event at the meeting was announcing the winner of the soap raffle, then we all stood up to sing the national anthem — which everyone did in a rousing, revolutionary spirit. The meeting over after 45 minutes, we chatted informally.

#### SELF-MANAGEMENT

To get back to the difficulty of self-management when coming out of a history of repression. I heard this bit indirectly from a campesino union organizer. He was trying to impress upon an American hospital worker rep that it's not easy to convince people they have a right to participate in the union and decide on work production — when before the revolution they could never file a grievance, organize safely, or look the Boss in the eye when talking with him. They would have to stare at the ground.

I want to finish with my observations on the revolutionary spirit. To my disappointment, the streets aren't filled with revolution. If you didn't know what happened, or what is going on, you might miss out on the fact that Nicaragua is one of the few countries in the world to have a popular revolution. People don't salute with the clenched fist, grab you by the shoulders and say, wild eyed, 'Que pasa companero?'. I don't see people struggling to redefine the sexual role models as is happening in our society. While much has changed for women, it's still a sexist society. Homosexuality is not open for discussion.

Frankly, the spirit is one of people struggling to survive under the incredible tension of a U.S. military assault. So life is hard, but overall normal. Actually, a lot of people have told me how proud they are of the revolution they helped make, and that they have wanted to make sure that I tell the American people the truth. What's great, too, is that the spirit cuts across age and cultural barriers. Old, young, hip or conservative, Nicaraguans have almost the best revolution they are able to have. But not quite.

So where do I stand? I'm impressed and I want to find out more. Nicaragua is a school and everyone is humble enough to admit they are students. Even the leaders.

Moreover, I feel that this revolution must be supported and defended. To this end, it's wonderful to see so many people from around the world here doing just that. Many are picking coffee or cotton to help with the labour shortage of this harvest. Two reasons for the shortage are army duty and the higher campesino incomes for some. So they're not working. Great!

Buy Nicaraguan coffee and get your distributors to supply it. And action against the U.S. imperialist state is always nice, for many reasons, eh?

Well, I hope this makes some things clearer.... When I first came down to Nicaragua it was to get a good slide show for agit-prop work in the U.S. But now I feel the need to study this revolution more, and I don't think anti-authoritarians are being sensible if they simply dismiss it as vanguardist. I believe it's possible to be supportive *and* critical at once.

Venceremos y amor.

# SPAIN'S FASCISTS THRIVING: Rose-tinted fascism

by Max Zwick

On December 3, 1982, the day after the Socialist, Felipe Gonzalez became President of Spain, a secret bunker was discovered in the basement of the Moncloa, the presidential palace.

The room was staffed by military intelligence agents and supervised by an air force lieutenant-colonel. It contained highly sensitive listening devices capable of monitoring every conversation in the building.

Since taking office Gonzalez, leader of the Partido Socialista Obrero Espanola (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) and the Socialist International, has been forced to take precautions against surveillance wherever he goes, including hiring security agents who specialize in countersurveillance and installing anti-bugging devices. The Spanish spy network is beyond the control of the president or of any part of the electoral process.

The Spanish intelligence network is a confusing mass of practically autonomous sections. Each is accountable to one of various powers, but none, it seems, to the elected government.

Control of the Centro Superior de Informacion de la Defensa is nominally shared by the Ministry of Defence and a council of military commanders, yet each branch of the military has its own espionage organization. Even the paramilitary national police, the Guardia Civil, has its own secret service, the Brigadilla.

The Policia Nacional, under the Ministry of the Interior, issues national identity cards, which all Spaniards must carry at all times. The Policia is run by the Comisaria General de Informacion, whose job is to control and identify citizens and foreigners inside Spanish territory.

Supervision of electronic and radio communications is the job of the navy's secret service. The army investigates all matters concerning NATO and weaponry. The air force secret service, which deals with questions of "strategic" significance, is also involved in counter-intelligence.

Since the creation of the Spanish democracy in 1977, after forty years of military dictatorship under Franco, the greatest threat to "democracy" has been the constant prospect of a right-wing coup. This involves members of the virtually autonomous military caste, contingents of the extreme right in association with an international fascist network, ultra-conservatives with ties to the Catholic Church establishment, and business leaders whose interests are threatened by the recent leftward political shift in Spain. In the past six years there have been several attempts to overthrow the government. The most well-known attempt was on February 2, 1981, when the Spanish cabinet and all members of the parliament were held at gunpoint for eighteen hours by a band of civil guards led by Lieutenant-Colonel Antonio Tejero Molina.

During the trial of the F-23 conspirators, all the judges in the case were subjected to constant surveillance and harassment by the agents of the Centro Superior. Their phones were tapped, they were followed continuously, and they were photographed at odd hours. The purpose of the clandestine investigation was to dig up information that could be used to blackmail a judge to find a verdict

favourable to the principle figures in the rebellion.

Despite their misgivings about the Centro and its spies, the government of Calvo Sotelo gave the agency even more freedom from ministerial accountability. In September 1982, with all signs pointing to an overwhelming socialist victory in the October elections, Sotelo's government restructured the Centro, granting it virtual independence. The spy agency gained the right to investigate, without having to justify its actions, all political parties, unions, business groups and professionals. In this way the Centro could more effectively "obtain, evaluate and diffuse all necessary information to offset any danger, threat or aggression against the independence and integrity of the Spanish territory, and to assure the national interest." Official justifications aside, what had been created was a military organization with the right to do as it pleased.

In the days leading up to the national election of October 1982, when no one doubted the inevitability of a Socialist victory, an epidemic of political violence consumed the nation. It was a right-wing attempt to disrupt the elections and perhaps force a military takeover.

reveal them. The government, in any case, seems loath to press the issue.

Spain has been considered a paradise for fascist groups for the last forty-five years. Since their setback in the 1982 elections, two of the major 'ultra-right' parties, Fuerza Nueva and Frente de la Juventad, have disappeared from public view, but the 'ultra-right' is continuing its efforts to achieve a military dictatorship.

The movements of the extreme right have become more clandestine and mafia-like. Their strategy, now geared to destabilizing the government, is based on underground terror tactics.

Destabilization measures are being prepared with the support of top military figures and former members of Franco's secret service. The 'ultras' also operate with at least some co-operation from the security police, who routinely use Frente de la Juventad members as thugs to break up leftist rallies, since the police are not legally permitted to 'beat up the reds anymore.'

In March 1982 the confession of Manuel Rinero Banda, an 'ultra' in police custody, led to the dismissal of four men from the Guardia Civil. The Guardia members had led a violent 'ultra' organization in the Catalan

national Marxism.' The solution, they decided, was a 'strategy of terror,' including political 'executions.'

In Italy, Fascist International member Aldo Tisei has revealed that the Spanish secret service sent hundreds of weapons to Italian fascists in return for pledges to 'liquidate' members of the Basque revolutionary army, the ETA, living in Italy. Tisei also revealed that the assassination attempts against Chilean Christian Democrat leader Bernardo Leighton and Judge Vittorio Occorsio were planned by fascists in Madrid; machine guns for the action were provided by the Spanish secret police.

Faithful to its promise of offering the Spanish people a profound social change, the Socialist government launched a series of measures designed to make the image of the police more consistent with the ideal of a modern democratic state. The current Minister of the Interior promised to end the threat of another coup by restructuring the police, but he stopped short of challenging the absolute autonomy enjoyed by the secret service and the military command.

Still in effect is the harsh anti-terrorist law, which authorizes the police to imprison 'suspected terrorists' for up to ten days without access to a lawyer. A highly publicized move to establish habeas corpus — which would forbid the state holding prisoners without charge — has remained stalled in the Parliament since the early days of the Socialist government.



Electing a Socialist government hasn't buried 40 years of fascist rule.

The Centro Superior stumbled on to a plot to overthrow the government, scheduled for the day before the elections.

"Operation Cervantes," as the coup attempt was promptly dubbed, depended on the support of important military and civilian officials. The secret service had wind of the plan long before and seemed to be biding its time. But when a special force of the Guardia Civil finally swooped down on the conspirators, only a handful of petty military officials were implicated. The identities of the powerful who were backing the plan were never discovered.

Yet a list of the principal conspirators exists. According to a manuscript found in the apartment of Air Force Colonel Luis Munoz, the plan for Operation Cervantes linked key military officials with powerful civilians

Either their names are not known, or the secret service has decided not to

region. Their band was reported to have fired machine guns on leftist town halls, broken up union and political meetings, and burned cars, among other charges.

International support for the right-wing destabilization campaign came with the 1982 meeting of the 'Internacional Fascista,' or Black International. Key figures from the far right of Portugal, Italy, West Germany, Chile, Uruguay and Spain agreed to unite their forces to aid the destabilization forces in the Spanish military. The International also resolved to provide support for 'patriotic action' groups 'disciplined and determined' to do anything to achieve a military dictatorship.

Only months before the general election the International convention concluded that the fragmentation and weakening of the Spanish Right was about to 'deliver Spain over to the communists and the forces of inter-

Typical of the government crack-down is the case of the Fascist International. Italian neo-fascist leaders tried to organize a 1982 reunion in Madrid. Spanish contacts for organizing the meeting included 'ultra' activists connected with several of the most brutal incidents of fascist violence: the 'Caso de Atocha' killing of leftist lawyers, the 'Papus' bombing, and the 1980 bombing of a Paris synagogue.

When police arrested several members of the far-right in Barcelona and Valencia in connection with a multi-million dollar bank robbery, leaders of the International quietly disappeared and the meeting was moved to Andorra. Seen as a police blunder, the escapes were a severe setback in an investigation which could have snared the highest ranking Spanish fascists. To some critics however, the fiasco was a deliberate maneuver by the secret service to protect the fascist hierarchy.

DEFUSING THE ANTI-NUKE MOVEMENT:

# EAR plugs on

by Bill Horne

## THE AGE OF CONSENSUS

Three years ago, Vancouver had a small but vibrant anti-nuclear movement. It grew out of a community of ecologists, feminists, native rights activists, pacifists and anti-authoritarians who came together to organize, ad hoc, two annual anti-nuclear marches. Day-long workshops on related issues followed the next day. This coalition operated by consensus and managed to attract a few thousand people to its events.

Then peace became a respectable issue. Ronald Reagan started scaring the middle class with both rhetoric and deployment. News of secretly negotiated Cruise missile tests in Alberta leaked out and angered Canadians. As a result, planning meetings for Vancouver's third anti-nuclear march were packed with newcomers — as well as the Old Left, anxious to take advantage of renewed interest in the Bomb.

## THE RETURN OF THE VOTE

Heated debates erupted over taking an anti-nuclear or just an anti-nuclear weapons stand. The anti-nuclear people became marginalized. They held onto their 'correct' line, while others, including some Communist Party of Canada (pro-Soviet) members and supporters, were able to tap the popularity of peace-only, and win the support of moderates. Consensus began to break down in the large meetings, and in the confusion the peace-only majority made their move. They joined forces with the Vancouver and District Labor Council to establish an Executive (i.e. Central) Committee, voting it into power over a new organization called End the Arms Race (EAR). The name had the desired mass appeal and the number of endorsing groups swelled. Delegates from these groups became the Steering Committee.

It was a Popular Front for Peace; in many ways, an old CP manoeuvre that caught people by surprise. Few of the anti-nuclear or moderate independents had recognized the pro-Soviet people among the delegates from the various front groups, such as the B.C. Peace Council, and by then it was too late.

The silence and hesitation of the anti-nuclear people helped marginalize them further. Wary of damaging the coming march, or of being attacked for supposedly red-baiting, they refrained from voicing criticism publicly. No one wanted the media to exploit a split and pit factions against each other.

In spite of the rantings of right-wing columnists, the CP presence does not mean Moscow is controlling the peace movement — it's too much of a grassroots movement for that.

And it wasn't just the CP that took power. Many of their goals and methods coincide with those of disarmament liberals (small 'l' and large), while their political struggles are often waged together against the New Democratic Party (social democrats). Together, all these political interests have maintained EAR's bureaucracy and narrowness at the expense of independent peace groups and their potential to be a dynamic force for social change.

The politics of EAR are not unique to Vancouver, but its successes make it an interesting coalition to evaluate. The 1982 anti-nuclear march, re-named the Walk for Peace, drew 35,000, the largest Vancouver had ever seen, then 80,000 the next year. The numbers were probably as much due to church activists, the prevailing political climate and favourable media coverage, as to EAR's style of organizing.

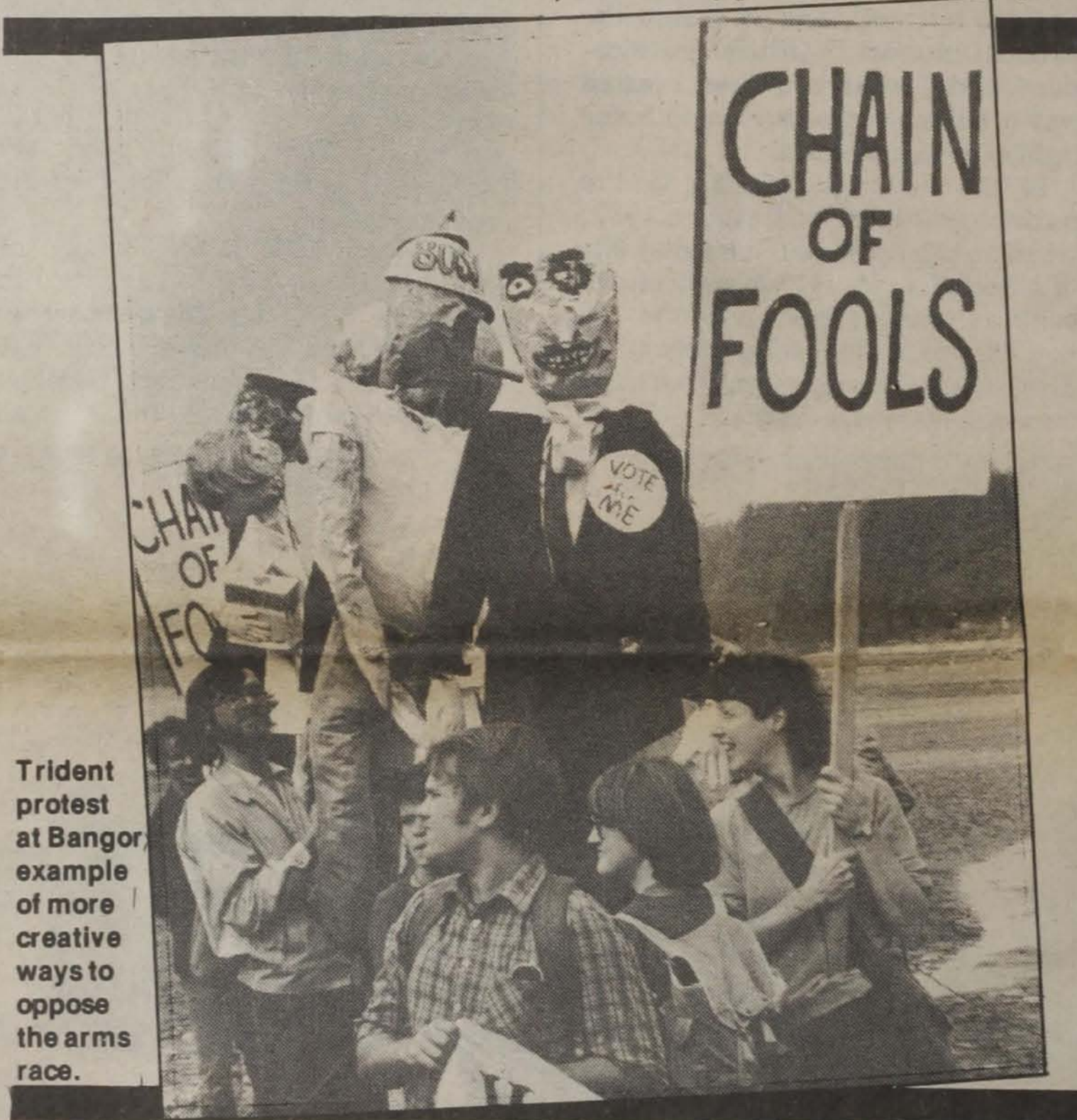
These demonstrations energized many people—new blood as well as the converted—and had an enormous impact nationally. However, many wonder about EAR's long-range

ability to maintain the numbers in the face of a deteriorating economy and Trudeau's diversionary 'peace initiative.'

## FALSE UNITY

EAR has never, even when challenged, taken a clear position of non-alignment with the superpowers. How can anyone realistically protest nuclear weapons by working with pro-Soviet groups who support the theory of deterrence?

By its omission of a non-aligned stance, EAR isolates nuclear weapons from the complex cold war dynamic in which they proliferate, increasing the



Trident protest at Bangor, example of more creative ways to oppose the arms race.

## MISSING LINKS

EAR's lack of a comprehensive basis of unity (beyond opposition to nuclear weapons) has been its main obstacle to inner peace and effectiveness. Despite its hierarchical structure, it doesn't even have a constitution. Its organizers maintain that a broad-based, lowest common denominator coalition attracts more people. This may seem like a realistic approach, but it has its limitations.

It's hard to cure a disease by treating only the symptoms and neglecting the causes, but, like traditional medicine, EAR plugs on. "If we can only get rid of The Bomb, we'll be okay." This is the so-called logic of politicians and generals who rationalize The Bomb by saying we've had peace for nearly 40 years, ignoring the many wars and millions of refugees hidden under the nuclear umbrella.

Similarly, EAR has taken The Bomb safely out of context. To do this it has scrupulously avoided addressing the links between nuclear weapons and interventionism, racism, uranium mining, native rights, and violence against women, to name a few. A critique of the role of the nation state, East and West, falls even further outside of EAR's frame of reference.

chance that EAR's work will actually reinforce that dynamic.

Some apologists say that raising the issue is unnecessary and divisive, suggesting that it might dissolve EAR's broad base. However, the only opposition to non-alignment comes from pro-Soviet delegates. If EAR really wanted to be as accessible to as many people as possible, it would declare itself non-aligned and boost its much sought credibility enormously.

EAR has sometimes argued against including peace-related issues in its events on the grounds that, while no delegates at meetings ever seem to oppose them, they might alienate some absent, unnamed endorser or potential recruit. This usually implies a moderate organization, like a church group. Yet the churches which form much of the backbone of the mainstream peace movement have progressive policies on most peace-related issues, including civil disobedience.

Despite its limited mandate, in practice, EAR defines some issues as acceptable (e.g. the economic effects of the arms race) and others as contentious. At times, this has led to heavy-handed measures.

At the Walk for Peace in 1982, Stringband, one of Canada's most

popular folk groups, was performing, and happened to play a song critical of uranium mining. This so infuriated EAR officials on stage that they pulled the plug on the sound system. Stringband was unable to finish their set.

Then there was the Peace Camp for Survival. Independent activists who wanted to inject some of the original zest back into the annual peace event, (on the eve of the 1983 Walk) set up a camp outside the American Consulate. It was a festive, overnight event with workshops, films, music and speakers, all on the issues that EAR preferred to avoid.

Unfortunately, they weren't able to reassure EAR that the camp wasn't intended to compete with the Walk. Later, they learned that the EAR Executive had tried, unsuccessfully, to prevent campers from joining the Walk by appealing to the city police to intervene. However, the Executive did manage to persuade a local TV station to cancel an appearance by camp spokespersons, because they might scare people away from EAR's Walk.

Holly Near and Ronnie Gilbert added a refreshing dimension to the 1983 rally, but later, the Executive edited from the official video a song about women in Chile, and the singers' remarks about the connections between peace and fighting racism, sexism, homophobia and the oppression of the disabled. The edited sequences would be available to member groups, but the official EAR promotional tape wasn't to alienate anyone. Silence met efforts to have the sequence restored with a disclaimer that the tape didn't necessarily represent the views of endorsing groups.

## "REFUSE THE CRUISE"

A mandate limited to nuclear weapons also limits what a coalition can accomplish. In its campaign against Cruise testing, EAR, like most of Canada's mainstream peace movement, has concentrated its efforts on publicizing the missile's threat to 'arms control,' and lobbying the government to stop the tests. So far, Trudeau has succeeded in deflecting the protests with his 'peace initiative' and rationalization of the tests as a NATO obligation. In fact, the cruise being tested in Canada is air-launched, unlike the ground-launched NATO version. It is not meant for use by NATO, but by American forces — most likely in third world intervention scenarios.

If EAR (and others) put the cruise back into context and began linking it with intervention or Canada's role in the Third World, it could dispel the myth about NATO obligations, while expanding the range of protest actions. The more comprehensive the analysis and strategy, the easier it becomes to bring issues home and take action directly and effectively.

## ENDS AND MEANS

EAR has a great fear of conflict. Differences that arise are glossed over—in the name of unity and peace—so political struggles take place below the surface, drag out meetings and hinder effective action. It's ironic that Steering Committee meetings have so often been cumbersome and frustrating for everyone, because EAR's founders promoted its hierarchical structure as more efficient than the consensus of the previous coalition.

It often seems that major decisions are *fait accomplis*. The Executive

turn to page 20

## THE MARGINALS STRIKE BACK:

# Peace breaks out from behind party lines

"WHO'S GOT THE RIGHT LINE ON peace?" It's a question some hard-core Canadian peace activists asked themselves as they debated organizing strategies for last October's anti-Cruise missile protests.

The "Peace Councils" of the retrograde Communist Party of Canada (Moscow brand) heavily influence and even control liberal disarmament coalitions from coast to coast. They were pushing a new wave of single issue, watered-down, authoritarian peace politics. It was their way to get the masses out walking the streets for peace.

The marginalized ranks of anti-authoritarian peace warriors who believe wishy-washy peace campaigns devoid of alternative politics go nowhere, got drowned out in the larger coalitions of most major cities. Except in Montreal, where war between peace groups had been declared.

Montreal activists gravitated to one of two umbrella peace groups, each organizing a mass action for the same day, October 22. The Grande Marche pour la Paix was initiated and controlled by the Quebec Peace Council. Like other Peace Councils across Canada, this was mainly a front group for Communist Party (CP) peace initiatives. The October 22 Committee, a broad-based independent grouping and decidedly anti-authoritarian, was the alternative.

Neither group was marginalized. Both engaged in classic popular organizing not geared toward militants alone. But the differences in structure and ideology were clear. So was a basic truth that came out of the experience: that an anti-authoritarian approach to organizing mass protests around disarmament (for whatever limited value they may have) is necessary, can work, and moreover, confirms the bankruptcy of other peace politics.

It began in April when anti-nuke and anti-war groups decided to form a looseknit alliance (the October 22 Committee) that would operate on consensus, with volunteer work committees, no paid organizers, no established executive and a commitment to organize a protest without politicians or media superstars.

Their declaration of principles was a simple, anti-Cruise/pro-disarmament statement, but it contained a significant new point. They denounced the existence of State war machines, east and west, and State harassment of activists:

"Internationally, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are attempting to divide the world into two competing power blocs. We reject this false division between people and oppose it in solidarity with the international disarmament movement, including the independent peace movement in the Warsaw Pact countries. We believe that for peace movements to be effective, individuals and groups must have the freedom to speak without harassment or intimidation either in NATO or Warsaw Pact countries."

Coincidentally, the Quebec Peace Council decided to rally Communist

Party troops and front organizations for their own mass protest on October 22. They had a traditional hierarchical organization, with an executive and paid office people, all staunch party members. They had a fuzzy line calling for disarmament north, south, east and west and made no mention of solidarity with any independent peace movements.

Organizing in parallel but quite apart from one another, both organizations lobbied popular groups for support. The double appeal caused confusion, but a slow public education process, nudged forward by the October 22 Committee, helped clear the air. The CP didn't want to discuss the differences publicly; they saw the whole affair as "divisive". But the October 22 Committee considered it useful, if not unifying, to have open public discussion about the difference between "aligned" and "non-aligned" peace positions.

In an open letter to the Montreal disarmament movement, the October

emphasize our opposition to the arms race as a whole, and its causes both in the East and the West... Independent protests must be encouraged in order to permit us to shatter the myth that protests only take place in the West."

For the day of protest, the October 22 Committee was organizing a massive human chain between the Soviet and American consulates. The Quebec Peace Council was invited to join in before their own scheduled afternoon demonstration but they refused, saying they would only participate if the chain of protest were changed to one of "friendship" between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Moreover, they continued to deny the existence of any independent peace movement in the East bloc, and wanted no mention of this in any protest.

The Peace Council also denied that it controlled the coalition it had set up, La Grande Marche pour la Paix, so in another open letter to the disarma-



22 Committee said:

"We suggest that the Peace Council wants to pass over in silence the contribution of the Soviet Union to the arms race. Hence its call for disarmament, north, south, east and west hides the significance of both the United States' and the Soviet Union's actions as the major contributors to the arms race.

"A strategic reason for maintaining our present position arises from accusations from Reagan, Trudeau and certain media that the disarmament movement is pro-Soviet. This image is used as a means to discredit our struggle in the eyes of the general public. While opposing Cruise and Pershing II missiles, we must also

ment movement, the October 22 Committee said:

"...despite your continual denial, La Grande Marche pour la Paix was initiated by and is organized by the Quebec Peace Council. This group is a member of the World Peace Council. Historically, the World Peace Council has been pro-Soviet either by limiting its attacks to the West only or through discussing disarmament questions in such a deliberately vague way as to deny that the Soviet Union plays any kind of direct role. In this instance your vagueness is both dishonest and manipulative. It weakens the peace movement by preventing it from developing a credible program based on a critique of both power blocs.

"We are threatened not only by

nuclear weapons but also by the ideologies of domination and control by both superpowers. The October 22 Committee is non-aligned with either superpower. If the peace movement is to develop a successful strategy against the arms race, it must analyze and condemn the roles of both the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. and their respective allies. As well, we insist on the freedom for peace activists to organize without harassment and independently of their governments."

Meanwhile, Montreal area popular groups were taking sides: traditional leftist groups wary of any criticism of the U.S.S.R., signed up with the Peace Council. The rest — including some 70 ecology groups, feminist groups, churches, community organizations, marginalized politicians, and people from the city's alternative community, went with the October 22 Committee.

By no means was the October 22 Committee a "radical" organization. Local anarchists, self-marginalized by their disgust for an organization that wasn't anarchist enough, stayed away. Feminist groups who endorsed the October 22 position didn't participate actively, consequently feminist critique of the military was absent.

According to one activist: "Although the Committee didn't integrate issues of sexism, third world intervention, nuclear power, and so on into the Cruise missile protest, this wasn't because there was any active opposition. It was more of a case of nobody pushing the issues hard enough. All the groups present would have been receptive to this if we took the time to educate people about them."

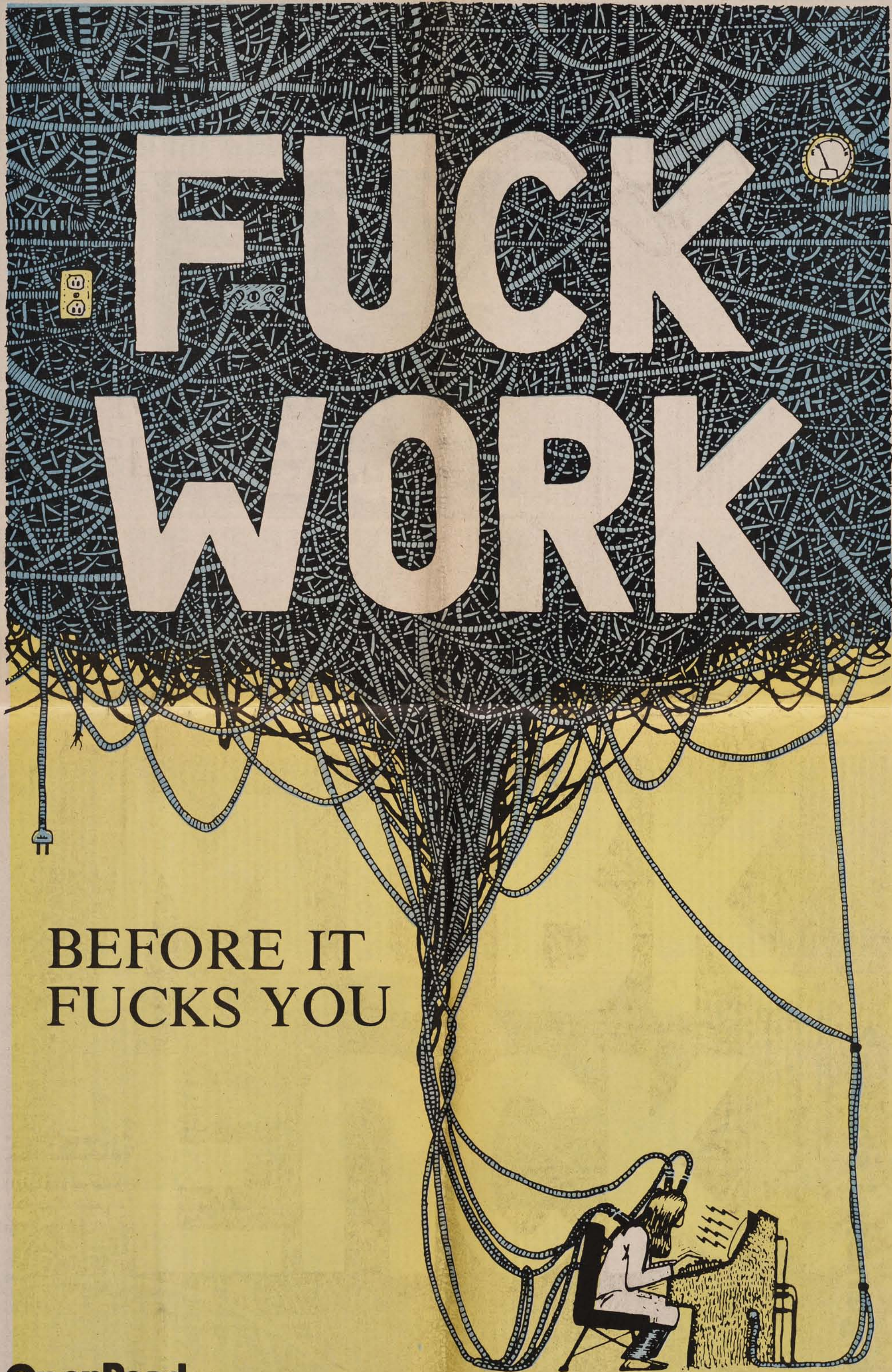
On the actual day of protest, people noticed a qualitative difference in the atmosphere and style of the major protest actions. The October 22 Committee's chain of some 15,000 people — big for Montreal — was marked by a certain festivity and joyfulness. It wasn't just another boring leftist function. For a short time it actually erupted into a spontaneous takeover of the streets.

The CP's dull afternoon march of some 8,000 had the usual marshalls keeping the leftists marching in line.

As well as the human chain, the October 22 Committee organized two days of civil disobedience outside Canadian, Soviet and American targets. The 39 arrests were no big deal on the international scale of civil disobedience numbers, but occurring as they did in the context of a mainstream Canadian peace coalition, they were something of a breakthrough.

As one observer commented: "Montreal showed the rest of Canada that people who oppose CP peace strategies don't have to slink off into silence and obscurity."

For further reading, don't forget: *Alliance for Nonviolent Action: Civil Disobedience Handbook* (from 730 Bathurst St., Toronto, ONT, \$2); *Beyond Survival — New Directions for the Disarmament Movement*, ed. Albert & Dellinger (South End Press); *Our Generation Against Nuclear War*, ed. Roussopoulos (Black Rose Books); *Peace in the East: Dossier on the Unofficial Disarmament Movement in Eastern Europe* (Box 835, sub 11, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, \$2); *Protest Without Illusions*, by Vernon Richards (Freedom Press). *Towards A New Cold War*, by Noam Chomsky (Pantheon); *War Resisters League Organizers Manual* (339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, \$8). NY 11202.



BEFORE IT  
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Poster by Stuart Morris

SOLIDARITY INQUEST:

# Who's afraid of the general strike?

*The fiercest fight undertaken by working people, minorities and the poor since the start of North America's economic downturn in the mid-seventies — that's the Solidarity movement of British Columbia, on Canada's west coast. Drawing on a long history of frontier-style labour militancy and California-style counter-culture politics, there were large scale mobilizations — demonstrations of up to 70,000, a near general strike — and more human scale actions, like the take over and running of an institution for the retarded by the staff [Tranquille], the occupation of the street in front of the Welfare Minister's home by hundreds of women and children who served lunch and sang songs [Gracie's Luncheon], and an impromptu take over of Premier Bennett's office.*

*For the time being, the strike wave has subsided. But as the five anti-authoritarian activists taking part in the following Solidarity roundtable make clear, there are clear lessons to be learned.*

**Ken:** During the strike and the activities leading up to it, it seems many people engaged in their first really extra-parliamentary political activity.

I think that the extent of the protest was pretty stunning. For a time there, everywhere, in every community, there was something going on. There was solid participation, at least on a rally level, and there was pretty good support on the strike level, including community support for the people on strike.

**Pete:** Well, the Socreds gambled that the labour movement, which is basically social democrat on top, would just have a few demonstrations and petitions, and then gear up for the next election.

What really impressed me in the first phases of the struggle was the Lower Mainland Anti-Budget Coalition, which was formed just a few days after the budget came out. One of the things that was stressed at the very beginning was that they didn't want the social democratic NDP (New Democratic Party) to be part of that coalition, because the NDP's position was, 'Don't do anything now — wait for five years, remember what they're doing to you now, and vote for us five years later.'

People at the first meeting said, 'no way! If that's your line we don't want you part of this coalition.' In fact, at the first Anti-Budget demo at BC Place, the NDP weren't allowed to speak.

**Vicki:** Labour actually wanted the Coalition to call that one off because they had planned their demo for a week later in Victoria. That was the first faceoff, in a sense, between community groups and labour, right there, and community groups won, and said, 'no, we're going ahead.' And so there was some balance in the power.

**Diane:** Looking back at the way the coalitions were organized, politically and structurally, I think it was a mistake that there was such a split between Operation Solidarity and the Solidarity Coalition. We lost out because — let's face it, there wasn't a push from the rank and file of either community groups or the labour movement that could have democratically built those coalitions.

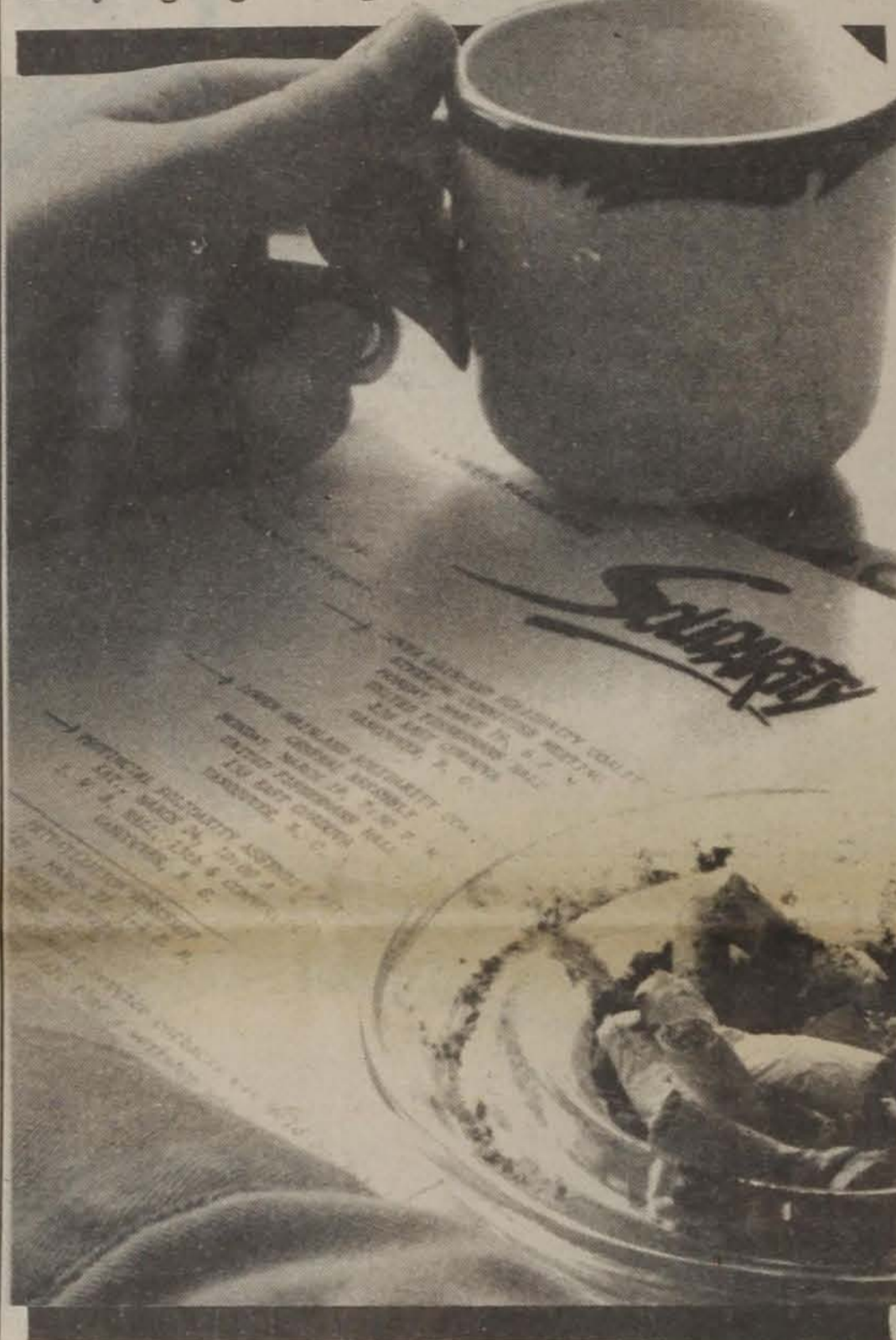
I think where we also lost was in terms of co-ordination and getting to know each other on a rank and file level in the community groups and in the labour movement. What happened was that people — more so in the labour movement, the way unions are structured and run — people felt that they were already affiliated to Operation Solidarity. Their president or their business agent, or whatever, was going to Solidarity meetings for them, so they didn't have to turn out at the coalition meetings. That was a real mistake.

The coalition meetings were left more to community groups, with the odd union person there. Most of the union people I know, including myself, went to coalition meetings more on a community basis rather than as delegates from a union. There is nothing wrong with that, but a lot of people active in Solidarity, at least on the workplace level, didn't come to the coalition meetings. That was a real shame, because there were many political issues to be learned there. There are also ways of organizing that unions can learn from community groups and vice versa. We

should have fought more for the integration, rather than the separation, of community and labour groups.

**Ken:** I think that runs against what the labour movement executive wanted. What they want basically seems to be an 'executive' mobilization, when they just call for rallies and protests from the rank and file, but the rank and file doesn't actually participate in what's going on.

What screwed up their idea of mobilizing people executively was the fact that the community got involved to such a level, that groups like Women Against the Budget started doing things that were independent, more creative and more interesting than just going to a large rally someplace.



I think massive rallies and demonstrations have their place, but the more interesting community stuff really freaked them out because the community was operating independently of these executive type decisions, pushing things farther than they really wanted to go.

That's why I think in some ways the labour union executives wanted to close the whole thing down, rather than allow it to take on a whole other trajectory, towards a general strike, which they thought we probably would have lost. But they were more scared that people themselves were pushing this, that a general strike was becoming a more popular demand.

Kube [leader of the BC Federation of Labour] actually said, 'Well, we have the choice of either running the government or stopping. So we decided to stop because we didn't want to run the government.' That is the fundamental social question. In my opinion, it hasn't even been brought up in British Columbia for years, and I think some people were actually thinking what the logical consequences of their actions might be. They probably got pretty scared, just as scared as the executive. I just don't think that the trade union people, at least in the executive positions, wanted that much community support or mobilization.

**Vicki:** It's really true that the labour leadership wanted control, total control, over the coalition, and was quite disturbed at independent action. The Lower Mainland Coalition was always a burr in the side. It developed most of the ideas — the October 15 march, that came from the floor of the Lower Mainland Coalition, which labour then kind of took over. If it hadn't been for the Lower Mainland Coalition a lot of things wouldn't have happened, a variety of creative community actions and larger, mass-mobilized ones.

But you have a couple of problems here: you have the problem of never getting labour to be an equal part of the coalition, and you have to find ways to get more of the rank and file involved so that we can touch that community in a larger way.

Within the coalition there was an incredible organizing problem. The thing moved so quickly, and then there was labour moving in and trying to dominate. From a kind of internal conflict there came a big meeting, which actually was the beginning of the formal coalition.

What happened there was very interesting. The whole community got very involved in the Lower Mainland Solidarity Coalition, and in the meantime and behind the scenes, the Provincial Solidarity Coalition was being organized. We weren't paying a lot of attention to the provincial. A lot of strength and support and a couple of hundred community groups were involved with the Lower Mainland Solidarity Coalition, getting democratically elected representatives from their community groups. In the meantime, Kube kind of became King of the Provincial Solidarity Coalition, and that coalition was not very heavily representative of our community. It had provincially based groups but not a lot of groups with a real grass-roots community to them, and a lot of decisions were made there.

We had an opportunity to have more power which was lost because of the composition of that coalition. By the time we caught up to it, realizing what had happened, events were moving so quickly it was too late.

**Ken:** How did Women Against the Budget feel when they were publicly chastized for their Gracie's luncheon, which I think was one of the most impressive things that came out of it. It was really creative, it was actually fun and meaningful to be there. I thought that it took the struggle in the correct way — right to the doorstep of some of these people who are making these decisions about people's lives. Yet it seemed like the Solidarity type people, all of a sudden started stabbing it in the back.

**Gail:** It was red baiting in a sense because the people who mostly condemned us were labour leaders. They know damn well when they're in an embittered battle with the employer that they will do all sorts of things to win that strike. And that includes picketing in front of a scab's house or an employer's house. You could name off a whole bunch of different things which are illegal.

To me it was just baiting, it was feminist baiting. They made excuses like they didn't want to do that to the Socreds because they didn't want people doing it to their homes or hassling their children or that sort of thing, but that wasn't it. There was something else — it was because they felt it was something that was getting out of their control and in a sense maybe they were testing us, to see how far we could go, that sort of thing.

**Vicki:** The labour movement entirely not only chastized us, they boycotted us. There were very, very few trade unionists there at all.

I think they were more than testing. I think they were terrified. I think that the trade union movement really does not know or did not know the women's movement, and really had no idea how much power or how much control the women's movement had. At that stage of the game, it was a total unknown, and they were scared.

**Pete:** Well, the trade union leadership is used to dealing with people who they can tell what to do: 'Tomorrow, you picket. The next day you go home and we'll phone you and tell you when to picket again.'

So when you've got community groups, who they've never had to deal with before, coming up with their own initiatives, not only with Grace's soup kitchen but also the sit-in at Bennett's office, that's out of their control. And if they can't control it, and if they don't organize it, they're going to dump on it.

**Vicki:** It's really classic in terms of the tactics that they adopted, you know, the mass rally, but also the petition campaign. We were talking about it the other day, where are the petitions? The petitions have disappeared. No one knows where they are, they haven't all been collected.

Two things that I recall really stick in my mind. The first is the petition campaign, and Jean Swanson saying, 'Well, we're going to go for a lot of signatures. If we get them we'll present them and if we don't we'll let it quietly die;' and the other one had to do with the October 15 rally.

We had complained that there was no buildup for this rally; they had taken over publicity and where was the money and the buildup? They did none and we said, 'What's the problem?' They

## THE (ALMOST) GENERAL STRIKE:

said, 'Well, you know, we don't want to build it up too much. It should be a mass rally or the Socreds won't watch and won't pay attention. So we're not going to build it up in case it's a failure.' If you can believe that, and that has been a guiding kind of principle of their control and activity and general ineffectual behaviour.

The four year strategy has meant that every independent action was undermined or invalidated and then taken over, and even that in the hope that it wouldn't be a success.

**Ken:** I think people actually did win a lot because it wasn't crushed definitively. I think many people realized that we do have strength, and there are many people who are willing to mobilize outside traditional channels. I think that if this kind of thing develops again, that that is what has got to be emphasized, because the existing channels aren't interested in making those kinds of mass mobilizations.

**Vicki:** I think that being on a steering committee of the Lower Mainland Coalition I have to feel some cynicism and dismay. Being at the centre — I don't mean in a hierarchical way of being at the centre of those committees, but working actively as a representative — and working so hard, the betrayal was terrible, brutal. We were treated to a display of inhumanity, insensitivity and just outright rudeness that I don't think I've ever experienced yet in any other political group. So we were appalled by all that.

I know a lot of people in this province have come to see the word 'Solidarity' and view the coalition as their own, as a vehicle for protest, as a vehicle that they may not directly participate in but which symbolized for them a struggle that they relate to.

I hope there's a way that we can now continue to build on that, and yet somehow work with it so that we don't get treated so badly as we have in the past.

**Gail:** I think that the people who have in their life the least power felt the most success, because they felt for the first time that their voice was being heard, that their protest, their frustration, was being supported. What the leadership did to them didn't mean that much. But what happened to them was there were 60,000 people on the street with them, for the first time in their lives. Everytime they picked up the paper people were voicing things for them. What happened in the end was really sort of minimized, because for the first time in so many years, for the first time maybe in some people's lives, they felt they were part of a group that was taking some power. And that's what overwhelmed me about it.

**Diane:** The settlement did not have to happen. The potential was there to — who knows, in terms of bringing down the government. I don't think we're politically mature in BC. I mean, people were terrified to talk about that possibility. On the one hand, who were you going to talk about it with — social democrats versus all spectrums of the left. Because of that sectarianism, we couldn't even cope with those kinds of questions, like what happens if we do bring down the government. I really think that situation had a whole gamut of possibilities.

**Pete:** If the people in BC can bring down the Social Credit government, and get the feeling of power, that they have control over their lives, then they can bring down the NDP —

**Gail:** And the leadership of the trade union movement!

**Pete:** — they can bring down all of them. Any hierarchy which does something they don't like, dump them. And eventually do away with the hierarchies.

**Ken:** The labour leaders were actually more afraid of people in the Solidarity coalition than they were afraid of the government, because as soon as people get this idea that they can take control, that they don't have to listen to these guys, that they don't have to accept these kinds of situations, then there's a whole new ball game.

That's why I think that there was a real lack of imagination in Operation Solidarity. They would start condemning the independent actions, whereas I thought they should have escalated the strike. Then they could talk about decentralizing to individual activities, to mobilize the people in their own individual areas. They have people in their community centres, they could take over those areas and use them as social centres and different things like that.

It would have put it onto a whole new terrain, because obviously the government was going, through attrition or somehow, to get people to go back to work. But you can get out of that level of confrontation by totally decentralizing on a much

broader basis than what was going on — and on a much more terrifying basis.

**Diane:** It also makes it harder for the army to attack.  
**Ken:** Exactly. The stuff like Tranquille, the occupation, and a lot of other things that went on, to me were the most inspirational, and they were the real scary things. If more people had done it, and if Operation Solidarity had been stressing that this is where the strength lies...

We are living in a certain society and a certain world situation, and it's obvious they're not going to let the trade union movement take over the social organization. They didn't do it in Poland, they ain't going to do it here at our level of social combativity.

They're not going to do that, but the point is that what we're engaged in is a long process which is to try and involve people in society again, to try to get them to feel that they have some power.

The only way you can really do it is by joining with other people, having a coalition and cooperation with lots of people. We've got to start bringing forward those alternatives and keep emphasizing not individual, but decentralized, not uncontrolled, but independent activities. Because that seems to be the only way that there's going to be a general change in society. And that's what I thought I saw little bits of at the beginning, and that's what I think inspires some of the younger people. They see that there are things you can fight back about.

**Vicki:** It's not just the independent actions that had the leadership terrified. It was the support actions during the strike. I mean, it was the community that brought down the schools of Vancouver! And particularly —

**Diane:** Overnight! In an eight hour period.

**Vicki:** It was all organized in two hours. The whole community, particularly Women Against the Budget, played a really large role. Between WAB and the Lower Mainland coalition they covered every school in the city, and we were told later, by Kube, that our services were no longer required. Next job action would be union only. No thanks for community support.



August 1983: soup's on at Gracie's luncheon.

**Pete:** The teachers thing scared the shit out of the labour union leadership. They did not expect the teachers to come out in the masses that they did. And that caught them totally offguard. Because they expected the teachers to maybe not go out, and then maybe the strike could de-escalate right there and then.

The way the program was set up for the general strike, there were three or four days between each new group coming in. Which allowed for what looked like, from the beginning, a means to de-escalate.

**Diane:** I don't know about that, because it seems to me that the whole escalating plan wasn't feasible from the very beginning. It wasn't economically feasible for a lot of people. That's not what they had in mind, to bring down the government, anyway.

I think everybody was surprised about the teachers, including the BC Teachers Federation themselves. But I don't think they put the teachers there because they wanted it to look bad, because they do have to save face to a certain extent. They don't want the strike to dribble out on its own accord. In some ways I think they'd rather not get smashed but use the excuse of injunctions or something like that.

**Vicki:** What's happening with Solidarity now is that they've risen in the last little while (Spring 1984), doing press releases and that sort of thing. The labour movement is quite terrified of the provincial labour code amendments, which could come down further on in the spring.

If some of those amendments get through it really means the end of organizing and the end of a lot of strikes for many unions. If you don't have the power to go on strike, or at least to promise or threaten a strike, you don't have any negotiating power for a contract. You're basically as good as nothing.

I just get the feeling that they want to quickly do as much repairing between the community groups and themselves right now because they might be put in the position again of having to do job action.

**Gail:** I think that people shouldn't declare the whole thing a failure, because people's energy is never a failure. But it's important also that we analyze our mistakes.

I think you're quite right about the labour code. The labour movement in this province cannot survive this year if those amendments, as they are presented, go through. So unions are going to have to mobilize and fight that. And we're going to have to get back in there again, and we need to know how to do it better this time.

**Ken:** Okay, but is it in the sense that the community is going to exact some sort of commitment from the labour movement for going out there in support of them?

I think a lot of people feel, 'Why should we support those guys if they didn't support us, if they want to act in an autocratic and uncooperative sort of way?'

I agree with you, in some ways it was totally shabby the way people got treated by the labour movement, and now the labour movement wants to be everybody's pal again. But what are they going to do in terms of social issues?

**Vicki:** One of the real strengths of the coalition was Women Against the Budget, the tremendous feminist support. We're already well networked through the province, so we have

quite an extensive network of communication and organizing ability to draw on. I think women's skills provided a lot of the initiatives and backbone of the Lower Mainland Solidarity Coalition.

But I think we've got a problem. Kube has said that their big mistake was negotiating on social issues, that we (the labour movement) shouldn't have done it and we should never do it again.

We have to remain a unified political family in opposition to the right, but unity at all costs prevents us at times from moving when we must move to ensure that we are allies, not just in words, but in name. What is proven is that the leadership wasn't. The rank and file was certainly more supportive, both in the community and in labour.

**Diane:** One reason why WAB was sometimes semi-successful was we organized on a more democratic basis than many other groups. We didn't have single spokespeople. The group was more rounded, although, let's be realistic, there are some people who, for whatever reason, put more time and effort, who had a higher profile and that sort of thing. But on the whole, I think we at least make that conscious effort to try and organize more democratically than other organizations, to share the power.

Kim Irving: Photo

# The manufacture of consent

Noam Chomsky first came to public prominence during the sixties, both for his vocal opposition to US involvement in Southeast Asia, and for developing a revolutionary theory of language. He made his anarchist sympathies known in a number of essays, most notably, 'Notes on Anarchism,' which appeared in the New York Review of Books and as the introduction to Daniel Guerin's *Anarchism*, and later in Chomsky's own collection of essays, *For Reasons of State*. His most recent book is *The Fateful Triangle* — Israel, the US and the Palestinians (available from *Black Rose Books*, 3981 boul. St-Laurent, Montreal, PQ). Open Road did this interview with Noam Chomsky last summer.

OPEN ROAD: Today you are probably best known as a critic of US foreign policy. What sort of audience are you trying to reach? Are you afraid that you may just be preaching to the converted?

CHOMSKY: I'm aware of the danger, but don't feel that it is real. The major groups of 'the converted' — that is, the deeply indoctrinated with naive and immutable quasi-religious beliefs — are the mainstream elite intelligentsia. But they are much too well-disciplined to listen to anything I have to say, and they know of it, if at all, only through the fabrications of various party liners or their own incomprehension of anything that parts from doctrinal purity. The reaction among the various Marxist sects and the like is similar, and for similar reasons.

The audience I try to reach, and to some limited extent do reach is a different one: partly, activists of a less doctrinaire sort than the mainstream liberal intelligentsia and sectarian Marxists, partly the kind of general interested audience that one finds everywhere: around universities (primarily students), church groups, and so on.

I'm not trying to convert, but to inform. I don't want people to believe me, any more than they should believe the party line I'm criticizing — academic authority, the media, the overt state propagandists, or whatever. In talks and in print, I try to stress what I think is true: that with a little willingness to explore and use one's mind, it is possible to discover a good deal about the social and political world that is generally hidden. I feel that I've achieved something if people are encouraged to take up this challenge and learn for themselves.

There are a vast number of people who are uninformed and heavily propagandized, but fundamentally decent. The propaganda that inundates them is effective when unchallenged, but much of it goes only skin deep. If they can be brought to raise questions and apply their decent instincts and basic intelligence, many people quickly escape the confines of the doctrinal system and are willing to do something to help others who are really suffering and oppressed.

This is naturally less true of better-educated and 'more sophisticated' (that is, more effectively indoctrinated) groups who are both the agents and often the most deluded victims of the propaganda system.

OPEN ROAD: What position do you think North American anti-authoritarians should take with regard to Third World liberation movements, especially the more authoritarian, Leninist/Maoist type of movement? Do you think our first priority should be to simply oppose US imperialism?

CHOMSKY: The US has not been elected God, and has no authority to impose its will by violence in the Third World. Apart from the matter of principle, some familiarity with recent history shows clearly enough the effects of its benevolence, in Central America and the Caribbean for many years, in Southeast Asia, and elsewhere. Any honest person will therefore oppose and attempt to block such intervention, exactly as in the case of subversion or aggression by any other power.

This truism aside, our attitude towards Third World 'liberation movements' should be to find out and tell the truth about them. Where we can do something to defend people who are oppressed, to alleviate suffering or to expand the scope of freedom, we should do so, though the best we can do, quite often, is to keep our bloody hands out of their affairs. We should also try to offer

constructive assistance to people attempting to overcome centuries of misery and oppression, in part because it is just and right, in part out of a recognition of what the plague of European civilization has created as it spread through the world. Outside intervention regularly tends to enhance the authoritarian and oppressive elements in these movements, and in fact is often designed to achieve this end (Cuba and Nicaragua are two obvious examples).

It is not clear that there exists any way for most of the people of the Third World to overcome the enormous problems they face, which transcend anything in our historical experience. Whatever slight chance there might be for decent prospects are reduced or eliminated by the violence of the great powers, in part motivated by fear that successful development will take place outside of their control, with a 'demonstration effect' that will undermine their dominance elsewhere. These are some of the facts of the world that have to be faced. It is easy to preach to the Third World, a little more difficult to offer constructive recommendations.

*"Where we can do something to defend people who are oppressed, to alleviate suffering or to expand the scope of freedom, we should do so."*

OPEN ROAD: Has there been a resurgence of left-wing political activity in the US in the past couple of years?

CHOMSKY: First, the alleged decline of activism in the seventies was partly mythical. This was, after all, the period of the rise of the feminist and ecological movements, and much else. In fact, there remained from the sixties a proliferation of activist groups of many sorts, doing valuable work, generally locally oriented, and many new people joined or began afresh. As the state gradually returned to its natural stance of militancy, subversion and aggression after its partial failures in Vietnam, and as the economic crisis deepened, this activism quickly emerged to public view.

OPEN ROAD: Yet in *Radical Priorities*, you deny that either feminism or the ecology movement pose a real threat to capitalism — presumably the demands of both movements can be met within the capitalist system. Do you see any revolutionary potential in these movements, or do you think that the working class remains the most likely agent of revolutionary transformation?

CHOMSKY: The feminist movement, and to some extent the ecology movement, have, I think, had a significant and lasting effect on social thought and practice. But it should be recognized that capitalism can easily accommodate the idea that individuals are interchangeable tools of production and that the environment should be maintained to be exploited by the masters of the economic and political system. A radical and emancipatory movement is not necessarily anti-capitalist. There are many forms of authority and domination apart from those of the capitalist system; correspondingly, there are many forms of 'revolutionary transformation'. It doesn't seem to me a matter of 'one or the other', as your formulation tends to suggest.

OPEN ROAD: Isn't industrialism itself becoming obsolete?

CHOMSKY: Industrialism is far from obsolete. The vast majority of the human race has not even entered the industrial era, or has barely entered it, and in the advanced industrial societies the production of useful goods poses real and imminent problems. One major problem of advanced industrial societies — England, and now the US — is that the capacity for useful production is to a certain extent being lost, a fact that has been



emphasized for many years by Seymour Melman, among others.

OPEN ROAD: Do you see any prospects for a libertarian social movement emerging in the US?

CHOMSKY: Quite often, one tends to find libertarian elements in the various activist groups that are continually forming, disappearing, and transmuting into something else. One of the healthy aspects of American society and culture is the relatively low level of deference to privilege and a general skepticism about hierarchy and authority. I emphasize 'relatively'; there's a long way to go. The lack of any live socialist tradition or any party structure also serves to make the US different from other capitalist industrial societies in this respect: on the one hand, it leads to a lack of continuity at the intellectual or activist-organizational levels and a generally shifting and evanescent quality to much that happens here; on the other hand, it often leads to openness and innovation, which helps foster libertarian tendencies that often have quite deep roots, I think. I wouldn't hazard a guess as to where it will lead.

OPEN ROAD: Many of your political writings are directed against the 'new mandarins', the intellectual servants of American power and interests. Why do you think it is important to expose the collusion between intellectuals and the state?

CHOMSKY: It has been widely recognized for many years that 'the manufacture of consent' is a major task in societies where obedience cannot be ensured by violence. Whether they are aware of it or not, a substantial part of the intelligentsia commit themselves to this task. The result is a system of indoctrination that is often remarkable in its effectiveness.

The first step in freeing oneself from its grip is to recognize that it exists, to come to understand that the pretended objectivity and neutrality of social and political commentary, or simple news reporting, masks presuppositions and ideological principles that should be challenged, and that often collapse very quickly when exposed.

Until people free themselves from the system of indoctrination, they will continue to support the violence of existing institutions. If they can free themselves, they can often combat it effectively in countries such as ours, where the level of institutionalized violence is relatively low, for the privileged at least. So I think it is important to continually bring out the ongoing collusion, whether it is tacit and subconscious or quite consciously undertaken.



This is an unending task, since the major institutions and their servants naturally never cease to construct the perceived world in the form that suits their needs. It is a great mistake to believe that once the lies of the propaganda system have been exposed about, say, the Vietnam war, then it is pointless to take the topic up again. On the contrary, the intelligentsia will maintain their natural commitment to restoring the shattered faith and do so in the course of time, quite effectively if unchallenged.

**OPEN ROAD:** *As a self-described 'statistical error', meaning that people with your sort of political views are generally excluded from prominent positions in the US, how do you see yourself as an intellectual teaching at a major American university, in your role as a member of the very intelligentsia you criticize, and in relation to your students?*

**CHOMSKY:** In fact, I have very little contact with the so-called academic or intellectual community, apart from a few friends and colleagues. With regard to students, the matter is different. They are in a phase of their lives when they are uniquely able to question and explore. They haven't been completely socialized.

It is, in fact, quite striking to see how differently students and faculty respond to issues involving the university or the larger society. Take just one rather typical example. A few years ago MIT in effect arranged to sell about 1/3 of the nuclear engineering department to the Shah of Iran. When the scandal surfaced, there was much uproar on campus, leading to a student referendum that showed about 80 per cent opposed. There was also a series of well-attended faculty meetings (a rare event), which led to a vote in which about 80 per cent approved.

The faculty are simply the students of a few years ago, but the difference in reaction, on a matter of simple academic freedom apart from the obvious broader implications, reflects the fact that they are now a functional part of the institutional structure of power. It is that step towards acceptance and obedience that it is important to try to prevent. Once it has been taken, the rest is fairly predictable.

**OPEN ROAD:** *So you think a large American university is a suitable place for free education and independent thought?*

**CHOMSKY:** Insofar as the universities provide the opportunities for free inquiry and expression, it would be crazy not to make use of them, while trying to expand these opportunities. This can be done; it was done quite effectively, in fact, by the student movement of the sixties, one reason why it was so hated and why it is so maligned by the custodians of history, whose privilege and authority were threatened by the student pressure for free inquiry and who now have to mask their real fears by the pretense that the main thrust of the student movement was totalitarian, Stalinist, opposed to academic freedom, and so on. There is a whole literature of falsification on this topic, which is naturally very highly regarded in intellectual circles.

**OPEN ROAD:** *Anarchists, from Godwin to Goodman, have developed libertarian theories of education very critical of conventional, state-controlled education systems. Do you have any thoughts on this libertarian tradition of educational thought?*

**CHOMSKY:** I think it often effectively expressed crucially important values. Schools function in many ways as instruments of indoctrination, not only in the content of what is taught, but in the style and manner of teaching and organization, from the earliest years.

Students are rewarded for obedience and passivity — one result is that in the elite institutions, students are often pre-selected for these traits and are more effectively indoctrinated than elsewhere.

These are not laws of nature. It is possible in principle for schools to foster the creative impulses that are rather natural from childhood on and to encourage a constant willingness to challenge established doctrine and authority. In fact, this comes close to being true in advanced work in the natural sciences, though very rarely elsewhere. For just this reason, training in the natural sciences might not be a bad way to prepare oneself for a life of serious engagement in social and political issues.

A bit of personal good fortune is that up to high school, I was in such a school — one that was Deweyan, not libertarian in our sense, but that did encourage independent thought and self-realization in the best sense. It wasn't until I entered a city

high school, for example, that I discovered, to my surprise, that I was a good student. It was assumed in my earlier school experience that everyone was. Insofar as students were 'measured', it was not against one another but against what they could accomplish.

Such schooling is fundamentally subversive, in the best sense, and therefore rarely undertaken, but it is possible even within the institutional constraints of our societies as they now exist, and the effort to create and expand such possibilities merits much effort and struggle. This is most important within the state educational system, where the overwhelming majority of the population is educated, or dis-educated.

**OPEN ROAD:** *You have argued that your linguistic theories have revolutionary implications. Why do you feel that your theoretical work in linguistics is important, and what is the relation between that work, your political views and social liberation in general? In other words, what do innate structures and generative grammar have to do with human emancipation?*

**CHOMSKY:** A word of caution: I don't argue that my linguistic theories have revolutionary implications. Rather, that they are merely suggestive as to the form that a libertarian social theory might assume.

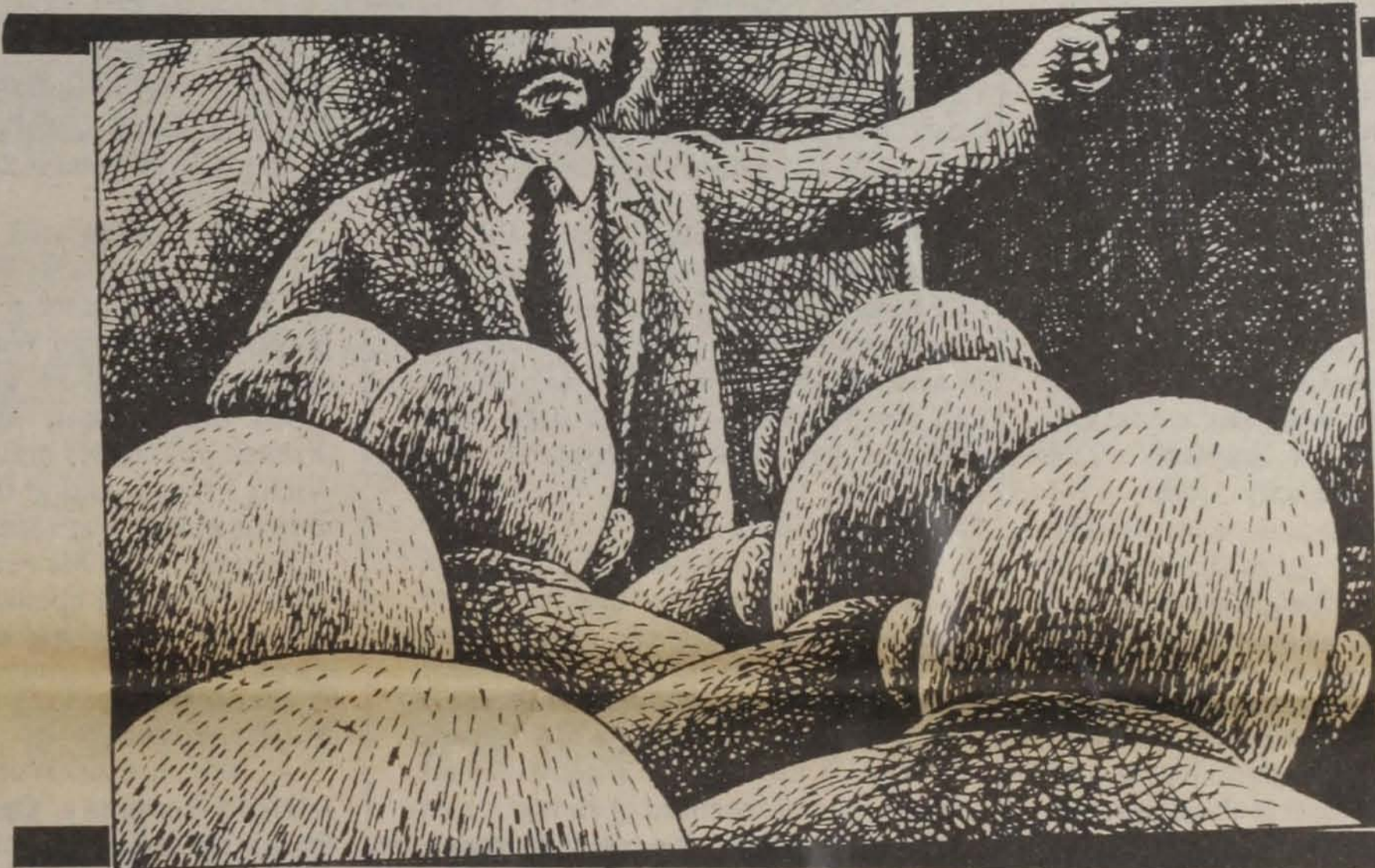
'philosophy', inspired by a vision of a future that is more free and more conducive to a wide range of human needs, many of which we are in no position even to identify under the intellectual and material constraints of our present existence.

We will each commit ourselves to the problems we feel most pressing, but should be ready to learn from others about the limitations of our own conceptions and understanding, which will always be substantial. It is only in this sense that anarchism can be a 'movement'. It won't be a party with members and a finished doctrine.

**OPEN ROAD:** *How did you come to embrace such ideas? Is it true you were influenced by the kibbutz movement in Israel when you were young?*

**CHOMSKY:** Yes, I was influenced by the kibbutz movement, and in fact lived for a while in a kibbutz and almost stayed on. I think there is much of value in the kibbutz experience, but we must also not forget (as I have sometimes tended to do) that the historical particularity of the kibbutz movement in Israel embodies many serious flaws, sometimes crimes. One should also explore other facets of the experience, for example, the kinds of coercion that arise from the need for acceptance in a closely-knit community, not a small topic, I think.

I can't really say how I came to be influenced by anarchist ideas; I can't remember a time when I was not so influenced.



One shouldn't claim more than can be shown. Surely one cannot simply deduce social and political consequences from any insights into language. Rather, it is perhaps possible to begin to perceive, if only dimly, how innate structures of mind may lead to an extraordinary richness of understanding, and may underlie and enter human action and thought. On this basis one may hope — it is only a hope — to be able to show, some day, that structures of authority and control limit and distort intrinsic human capacities and needs, and to lay a theoretical basis for a social theory that eventuates in practical ideas as to how to overcome them. But there are huge gaps in any such argument, something I've always taken pains to emphasize.

My own hopes and intuitions are that self-fulfilling and creative work is a fundamental human need, and that the pleasures of a challenge met, a job well done, the exercise of skill and craftsmanship, are real and significant, and are an essential part of a full and meaningful life. The same is true of the opportunity to understand and enjoy the achievements of others, which often go beyond what we ourselves can do, and to work constructively in cooperation with others.

**OPEN ROAD:** *You have described yourself as a 'derivative fellow traveller' of anarchism and as an 'anarchist socialist'. Just how do you see yourself in relation to anarchism as a philosophy, and anarchism as a movement?*

**CHOMSKY:** What I think is most important about anarchism as a 'philosophy' (a term I'm uncomfortable with) is its recognition that there is and will always be a need to discover and overcome structures of hierarchy, authority and domination and constraints on freedom: slavery, wage-slavery, racism, sexism, authoritarian schools, etc., forever. If human society progresses, overcoming some of these forms of oppression, it will uncover others, particularly as we move from confronting animal problems to confronting human problems, in Marx's phrase.

Anarchism does not legislate ultimate solutions to these problems. I see it as a rather practical

**OPEN ROAD:** *What, in general, is your opinion of Marx and Marxism?*

**CHOMSKY:** Marx was a person, not a god. The concept 'Marxism' belongs to the history of organized religion, and should not be seriously employed by a free and independent person. Marx was a major intellectual figure and it would be foolish not to learn from him or to value his contributions properly. He was, like anyone, limited in his perception and understanding. His personal behaviour (not to be confused with his thought) often left much to be desired, to put it mildly. There are also very dangerous and destructive elements in his ideas, some of which underlie the worst elements of Leninist thought and practice.

**OPEN ROAD:** *Just one more question: what does the future hold in store for Noam Chomsky? What are your plans, and your hopes?*

**CHOMSKY:** Let me rephrase the question and ask what the future holds for all of us. I see little reason to believe that the future will be very long. A cold look at the facts suggests that we are moving inexorably towards nuclear war, quite possibly arising from inadvertence, probably in the context of some third world conflict that engages the superpowers. This eventuality should not, of course, obscure the fact that much of the human race faces regular and unremitting disaster from hunger and disease, not to speak of back-breaking labour, miserable poverty and oppression. These facts, and facts they unfortunately are, yield the answer to the question, I think.

For reasons of personal sanity, and perhaps a measure of self-indulgence, I also expect to spend as much time and energy as I can on intellectual problems that have always intrigued me. It happens that my own professional field is in an extremely exciting stage right now, and may be approaching the first real 'scientific revolution' outside of the natural sciences. I sometimes have the mad fantasy that this goal will be reached just at the time that a nuclear war puts all such efforts to an end, but perhaps this is further self-indulgence.

# "Devoted to ideals of freedom"

by Abe Bluestein

*'I myself will not see anarchism in my lifetime. But it remains the long-range goal of mankind: a libertarian order instead of organized violence.'*  
Augustin Souchy (1892-1984)

**AUGUSTIN SOUCHY,** AN internationally known anarchist, died in Munich, January 1, 1984. He was 92 years old and had participated in or witnessed several revolutions in the western world.

I first met comrade Souchy on April 30, 1937, in Barcelona, where he was in charge of information in foreign languages for the the CNT-FAI, and I was an English language reporter. My wife-companion, Selma, and I arrived on that day expecting to witness a glorious May Day celebration in anarchist Barcelona on May 1st. Instead, we found that all celebrations had been called off. A great tension gripped the city. By Monday, May 3, the city was in the grip of its own civil war amidst, but quite distinct from, the major civil war against Franco.

The communist-controlled police had tried to seize the telephone building from the CNT and UGT, and the CNT had resisted. The whole city rose in support of the CNT. The nine-tenths of the city under CNT control were quiet and peaceful. The fighting was confined to the centre of Barcelona, where the government and armed forces, as well as political and union groups, were all concentrated.

I had started to learn Spanish on the way over to Spain two weeks earlier. Armed with grammar book and dictionary, I did not feel adequately prepared to be able to report on the complex situation in Barcelona. I



Augustin Souchy, 1983: Revisiting Aragon with Miguel Torres Ererra

therefore asked Souchy to help me prepare a report on the outbreak of fighting. Souchy's response was that he could not advise me what to report and that the CNT-FAI did not give any of its reporters guidelines and directives for their daily reports. I was compelled to prepare my own reports as I saw the situation.

At no time during that critical week of internal fighting did comrade Souchy discuss with me, or any other foreign language reporter, what they were reporting or should be reporting about the crisis we were going through. I have never forgotten that experience of freedom of thought and opinion in those dangerous circumstances.

Souchy, along with a half million Spanish Loyalists, fled to France before the conquering Franco army in 1939. When World War II started, he was interned as an enemy German. With the German march to Paris, French anarchists smuggled him into Vichy France, and at the end of 1942, he was able to go to Mexico.

He continued his very active career as a writer and speaker, and gained recognition for his effective work against Nazism, anti-semitism, and dictatorships of all colors, black, brown and red.

At the end of World War II, he visited Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy and Israel, out of which came a study of the kibbutzim in Israel, *The*

*New Israel*, in which he concluded that they were similar to the anarchist collectives in Spain during the Spanish Civil War and Revolution.

In 1965, at age 73, Souchy accepted an appointment with the International Labor Organization in Geneva as a labor organizer and educator. He travelled around the world, primarily in primitive and undeveloped countries, setting up schools for workers and teaching workers how to organize unions.

In 1974, he went to Portugal to study the revolution after the fall of the dictatorship. In 1976, he came to New York to help mark the 40th Anniversary of the Spanish Revolution at a mass meeting in New York. And, in 1977, at age 85, he published his autobiography in Germany. It has gone through several editions.

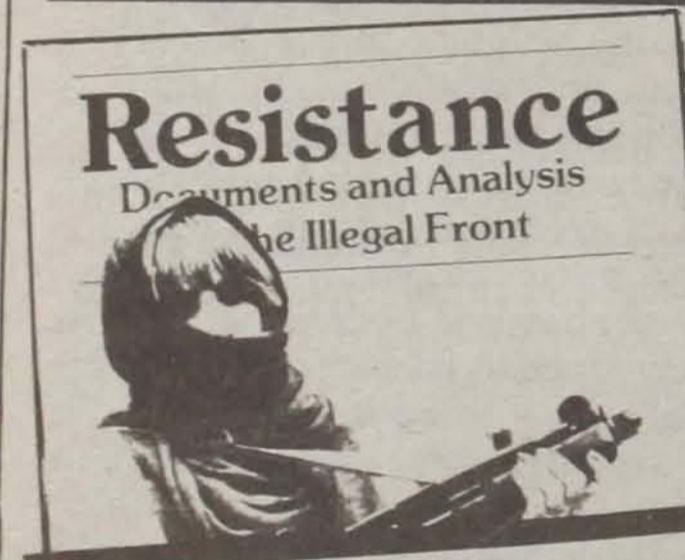
Souchy settled in Munich after his so-called 'retirement' in 1966. But, he was active until the end, speaking at universities and other organizations, as well as on radio and television. He travelled all over Germany, and a number of times in his last years, to Sweden, lecturing and writing, his major themes being anti-militarism and an appeal to the younger generation.

Although criticized by some anarchists as too moderate, Souchy never stopped speaking as an anarchist, contributing to greater understanding of anarchism, and helping to reduce prejudice and fear for the philosophy and ideals of anarchism.

I came to know Souchy personally and to work with him on two occasions: in Spain in 1937, when we worked together as reporters in foreign languages, and when I translated his book from Spanish into English, *With the Peasants of Aragon*, 1980-82.

Souchy devoted his life to the ideals of freedom, he lived that way, and he related to comrades and fellow workers in that spirit.

## ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS:



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by George Woodcock

IT WAS GEORGE ORWELL'S GOOD and bad fortune to write and publish *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* when he did, the first in 1945, the second in 1949.

Coming at a time when relations among the war-time allies were changing rapidly, and the USSR was being transformed from a beloved ally into a distrusted rival in the post-war balance of power game, his books immediately became popular. They seemed to give admirable ammunition for the propaganda side of the cold war.

Americans especially, who knew nothing of Orwell's radical affiliation, assumed that he was a cold warrior and anti-socialist. He had to write indignant letters from his deathbed to correct that impression. But even today American conservatives claim him as one of their own. Norman Podhoretz, the right-wing editor of *Commentary*, recently declared that if Orwell had lived until 1984 he would have been a radical-turned-Tory like Podhoretz himself.

Having no taste for speculating on what might have been, I will limit myself to showing why, while he was alive, Orwell was certainly not a cold warrior. And that he was a conservative only in the sense that most anarchists share, of being appalled by the uses made of modern technological developments in a capitalist world, and of wishing to find ways to preserve the positive social factors we have inherited from the past.

That, of course, is not very far from where Proudhon and Kropotkin stood, nor from all the anarchists who have emphasized the continuity in human history of the principle and practice of mutual aid.

The cold war emerged partly out of the long-term capitalist hatred of the USSR which had been temporarily diminished (or perhaps only disguised) during the period of alliance in World War II. And it came partly out of the territorial rivalries between the United States and the USSR which had developed when so much of the world lay up for grabs in terms of spheres of influence.

Orwell's anti-communism long predated the cold war and had different sources. It came from his having learnt, by direct experience in Spain during the civil war, the same lessons that anarchists like Goldman and Berkman and Voline learned in Russia in the years after 1917: that communism, as conceived by Marx, institutionalized by Lenin and stabilized by Stalin, had become a ruthless tyranny.

While rightly stressing the economic element in political developments, Marx disastrously neglected the psychological element in power structures. In advocating that the proletariat should take over state power from their defeated predecessors, he laid the foundations of a new tyranny, more efficient than the old because it enlisted technocrats into its apparatus.

Before he went to Spain, Orwell, like many British intellectuals of his generation, was rather naive about communism. He actually went to Harry Pollitt, the general Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, to ask for help in crossing the Spanish frontier.

When Orwell refused to commit himself to joining the communist-controlled International Brigade, Pollitt turned him down.



George Orwell, holding a white rabbit

## Orwell was no cold warrior

Orwell ended up in Barcelona as a member of the militia attached to POUM (the Worker's Party of Marxist Unity, which belied its name by quarreling with all the other Marxists). He went to the sleepy Aragon front with the POUM militia, but even then he hankered after the Communists. When he went down to Barcelona on leave in May 1937, he hoped to make a transfer to the International Brigades which were fighting on the more active Madrid front.

But his views and his life were entirely changed when, with the other POUM militiamen, he found himself fighting beside the anarchists against the Communists. A minor civil war had broken out in Barcelona when the Communists tried to seize the anarchist-held telephone exchange as a prelude to taking over the city. The incident began to open Orwell's eyes about the Communists. When his own party, POUM, was made the scapegoat for the recent troubles and its members were hunted down and put into prisons staffed by Russian secret police, he had no doubt where he stood. Eventually, he had to go on the run in Barcelona, hunted by the Communists, and he fled over the border into France.

When Orwell returned to England he tried to expose in the left-wing press the way the Communists were attempting to gain control of the Loyalist part of Spain and to destroy not only POUM, but also the anarch-

ists, because the latter took a line (which Orwell shared) that the Civil War could only be won by turning it into a far-sweeping socialist revolution. The Communists, dominated by Russian foreign policy needs, were taking a reformist line which they hoped would appeal to France and Britain and induce them to conclude a military alliance with the USSR.

Orwell found that the British left-wing press was entirely dominated by Communist fellow travellers, except for the ILP paper (the *New Leader*) and the small anarchist papers. He wrote his magnificent account of experiences in Spain, *Homage to Catalonia*, and had difficulty getting it published in 1938. It was so boycotted by the authoritarian left that the first edition of 1500 copies was still not sold out when Orwell died twelve years later.

Though Orwell abandoned his anti-war stand in 1939 and did support the British participation in World War II, he had his reservations about many issues. He never accepted the idea that, by becoming allies after Hitler attacked Russia, the Communist leaders had by some miracle become less tyrannical. He worked for a time at the BBC, where I first got to know him. Even then, though he had to maintain a rather restive public discretion because of his semi-official position, privately he left no doubt about his continuing opposition to Stalinist communism, which even then he regarded as a totalitarianism

no less bloodthirsty and no less repulsive than Nazism.

In 1943 he left the BBC, became literary editor of the left socialist paper *Tribune* (whose pages he opened to a wide variety of left-wing opinions including those of anarchists and pacifists), and started to write *Animal Farm*. His difficulties over publishing that book were as great as those over *Homage to Catalonia*. His own publisher, the oleaginous Victor Gollancz, had become a Communist fellow traveller and not only refused to handle the book but phoned up other publishers to warn them against it, as I knew from Herbert Read, then an editor for Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Some other publishers, even though they were not fellow travellers, thought it would be unpatriotic to bring out a book attacking the USSR when it was still an ally. Some extreme right-wing publishers might have accepted it, but Orwell instructed his agent not to negotiate with them. He wanted it understood that *Animal Farm* was an exposure of the evils of Russian communism, of the betrayal of the revolution, written from within the Left.

He thought at one time of publishing it himself as a two-shilling pamphlet and circulating it in leftwing circles, and he once sounded me out about the possibility of Freedom Press, the London anarchist publishing house, taking it on, but unfortunately nothing came of that. When he did find a publisher, it was one with impeccable leftist and non-communist credentials, Fred Warburg, who had published *Homage to Catalonia* and a number of other books critical of the communists from a left-wing point of view.

Warburg was made as a publisher, and Orwell transformed from a poor into a wealthy writer, by the change in the political weather when the war-time alliance fell apart and the cold war began to blow up between the USA and the USSR. *Animal Farm*—which about two dozen British and American publishers had rejected a year before—became an overnight best-seller. Its commercial success was crowned when it was chosen by the Book-of-the-Month-Club in the United States. But none of this affected Orwell's attitude. He did not, as some assumed, change immediately from being a libertarian humanist (what he called a 'democratic socialist') into a crypto-Tory. He remained, as he recommended other writers to become, 'an unwelcome guerilla' fighting his own campaign as a decent man against those who had betrayed the revolution. Inevitably the Right courted him, and when the Duchess of Atholl tried to rope him into the Tory-oriented League for European Freedom, he refused. He criticized the League for attacking Russian expansionism in eastern Europe while ignoring British Imperialism in India, and added: 'I belong to the left, and must work inside it, much as I hate Russian imperialism and its poisonous influence in this country.'

*Nineteen Eighty-Four* was a much more ambivalent book than *Animal Farm*, and has always admitted of varying explanations according to where it is read. In the Communist countries, where it circulates in samizdat editions, it is regarded as a satire on the USSR and its satellite neighbours—and indeed to satirize existing totalitarian regimes was one of Orwell's aims. But there is another aspect of the book that is not primarily anti-Soviet, and that is the way he meant readers outside Russia to see it. It was a warning to the west that

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# Lessons from Litton

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social activity, one which cannot take place on an individual or an isolated basis. Repression is meant to shatter the ties that unite us as collectives, communities, sex or class.

The threat of electronic surveillance or the presence of informers also imposes a partial silence on a community. Anything can be overheard. The home becomes the most vulnerable place of all. It becomes necessary to check the flow of ideas, observations, possibilities and jokes that are part of the process of the development of a collective and community politics. The spontaneous development of ideas becomes replaced by cautious interchange. Dialogue is replaced by furtive discussion. Ideas are driven into the privacy of the individual's head. It is becoming necessary for the left to develop the capacity to spread ideas

and information clandestinely.

The police in Toronto have long been known for their harassment and persecution of any who do not fit the norm of tight-assed anglo society. The robbery squad has been cited several times for their use of torture to secure confessions. The Caribbean, native, lesbian and street communities, among others, have suffered at the hands of the police. The left does not recognize the harassment of non-leftists as repression. In fact they barely recognize that it exists. It took the Litton bombing and the peace protests to bring the attention of the police to this community.

Discussion around the bill for the proposed civilian Secret Service is also bringing to our attention the attitude of the Canadian state toward the political community. The original bill was so offensive that most people thought the definition of subversion was broad enough to include almost anyone. The bill was withdrawn, a few changes were made to make repression slightly more democratic, and the new version is being proceeded with quietly.

The changes mean little to us. No matter how the bill reads and no

matter what party is in power, we will still be among those considered subversive—whether we're pacifists or not. The left unfortunately has not learned the lesson that repression is a function of the effectiveness of the state, not of legality. Canada was the only western country to declare martial law upon first experiencing "political terrorism" with the double kidnapping carried out by the FLQ in October 1970. Some 400 people were rounded up by a massive army and police operation in Montreal. Next time it will include us—no matter how many words we have put between ourselves and "the bombers".

If this sounds discouraging it is because we have learned some hard truths—about ourselves and about the society in which we live. But now that we have faced the harshness of the state, we will know better how to resist and how to organize. Now that we have seen where we are weak and self-destructive, we will know better how to develop effective and intelligent strategies.

At least I hope we've learned something. That we don't slip into a comfortable forgetfulness...until the next round. Survival is too crucial to be lost to thoughtlessness.

GEORGE ORWELL  
CONT FROM PAGE 19

within its own political fabric were contained those urges to power and those corruptions of communication that could lead to its special kind of totalitarianism. Ingsoc, the ruling doctrine of Oceania, was homemade, not imported from Moscow, and in inventing it Orwell was—in his own words—offering 'a show-up of the perversions to which a centralized economy is liable and which have already been partly realized in Communism and Fascism.' He goes on, in the famous letter he wrote from his deathbed to Francis A. Henson of the UAW: 'The scene of the book is laid in Britain in order to emphasize that the English-speaking races are not innately better than anyone else and that totalitarianism, if not fought against, could triumph anywhere.'

At no time did Orwell welcome the attempts of American conservatives—any more than their British counterparts—to draw him into their ranks. The fact that *Nineteen Eighty-Four* appeared when it did and was taken by so many people as good propaganda for the cold war, did not mean that Orwell himself had become a cold warrior.

The political perils he delineated in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* were not, in his view, confined to Russia; they existed, more disguised but perhaps for that reason more insidious, in the so-called democracies as well. Everything that has happened over the past 36 years has tended to bear out his warnings.

The most important insight of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which he shared with the anarchists, that the urge to power is more durable and dangerous than all ideologies, has been abundantly borne out with the decay of ideology in Russia and the increase in the number of regimes in the modern world that depend wholly on naked power.

American conservatives who imagine Orwell would have been on their side should ponder President Reagan's recent naming of the MX missile as the 'Peacemaker.' That, of course, is pure Orwellian doublethink. One of the leading slogans of the total state in his novel is 'War is Peace' and the Ministry of Peace in Oceania deals with making war.

Does Norman Podhoretz seriously think that Orwell, who called every spade a spade and every hypocrite a hypocrite, would ever have put himself in such company?

# EAR ache

CONT FROM PAGE 10

controls the agenda well and meetings generally consist of their recommendations and committee reports. There's little room for participatory decision-making.

Attempts at reform have been few. Minor requests, such as having a policy of chair rotation, or non-alignment, have not succeeded to date. The CP is disciplined; they always get a solid core of delegates to meetings, and they're good at using Robert's Rules to advantage. By contrast, non-aligned delegates have not managed to caucus enough people regularly to coordinate their strategy at meetings. Dissent has remained fragmented.

Some, wondering what reform would accomplish when the structure of EAR is part of the problem, have given up. The departure of many independent delegates has allowed EAR's patterns to continue. At the Executive election in January (a *de facto*, not constitutional event), all ten positions were filled by acclamation, as one by one, alternative nominees declined to run.

EAR's evolution from an ad hoc coalition to organize one event, to an ongoing coalition, has institutionalized its monolithic tendencies. However, its structural and procedural inertia probably come more from the peace movement's largely middle class makeup. A liberal approach duplicates existing social and political patterns in its methods of protest. In the case of EAR, this overlaps neatly with the centralization of the CP's organizing.

As a result, EAR's hierarchical structure is reflected in its function as a coalition. Each component is top-down:

**Structure**—the Executive steers the Steering Committee from above (although it's supposed to be the other way around);

**Focus**—EAR targets only The Bomb, situated at the top of the nuclear chain and a complex web of connected issues;

**Strategy**—EAR directs most of its efforts, such as mass rallies and petitioning, at politicians and diplomats at the 'top' of society.

Instead of empowering people, this vertical direction overwhelms them with despair, because it restricts their vision and energy to the enormity of The Bomb and The System. It increases mystification more than illumination. When working for peace feels like an all-or-nothing struggle, the burnout rate rises and activists lose their effectiveness.

It's unfortunate that EAR has not been able to utilize the diversity of its endorsing groups. Although they cover a broad base, what comes out of their coalition has been narrow; quantity has taken precedence over consciousness.

## LOOKING BEYOND

A more flexible approach should be possible. When EAR took the place of the preceding coalition and focused on nuclear weapons only, it began its practice of excluding many peace-related issues. Why not have a less restrictive basis of unity based on disarmament, non-alignment and an agreement to air peace-related issues? This would still bring together a wide range of groups under the banner of peace, without watering down the content of speakers, workshops and actions. It's a matter of trust and autonomy.

The Greater Victoria Disarmament Group (across the Gulf of Georgia from Vancouver) has done this successfully. Community-based, it gives priority to local speakers instead of imported experts and stars, and consciously raises connected issues. This year, Victoria's peace march began with a native ceremony. Native participation, a feature of Vancouver's first two anti-nuclear marches, has since been missing from the Walks for Peace.

On a per capita basis, events in Victoria have drawn numbers of people comparable to Vancouver, showing that it is possible to reflect a range of interests without losing mass support.

Ideally, a peace coalition could offer a spectrum of strategies as well as issues. Designing a variety of events that cover a range of action (e.g., from letter writing to civil disobedience) would allow people at various levels of awareness and commitment to plug in comfortably and learn from each other. This would ensure accessibility and alleviate the isolation radical

activists face when they lack support.

Two recent examples of this kind of integrated planning: the Trident Blockade in Puget Sound, Washington (August/82), where people could choose nonviolent direct action, affinity group support, vigiling or rallies; the October 22/83 Euromissile demonstration in Montreal, which offered a *chaine humaine*, workshops and civil disobedience.

One wonders whether or not EAR will some day evolve in this direction. In the meantime, what makes it worth working with EAR? Mainly the contact with the sincere people there, on the Executive as well as the Steering Committee. On top of maintaining an exchange of ideas, however limited, it also reduces the marginalization that has plagued dissenting groups.

At times, it's painful, but in some ways, EAR is a challenge. As a local microcosm of existing patterns of power and cold war rigidity, it represents an opportunity: dealing with EAR creatively might point a way toward moving from local to global solutions. Why stop at Ending the Arms Race?



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## NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

IN JUNE 1983 TORONTO POLICE raided a house as part of their investigation of the October 1982 Litton bombing. One result was that a woman living in the house, Colleen Crosbie, was arrested one week later and charged with procuring an abortion. She was offered a deal whereby her charges would be dropped in exchange for information about the political activities of others in the house. Colleen said no deal, and now she is fighting the charges in court. Because the police are withholding information used to obtain the original search warrant, the case may go to the Supreme Court. Legal costs are mounting, so donations can be sent to: The Right To Know Fund, account #733, Bread and Roses Credit Union, 736 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ont. More information is available from the Colleen Crosbie Defense Committee, POB 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, ONT M5W 1P7.

**CIENFUEGOS IS DEAD! LONG LIVE Refract!** Cienfuegos Press, long time anarchist publisher, has died and resurrected itself as Refract Publications. Refract has now come to the conclusion that 'anarchist publishing is not and cannot be commercially viable. If anarchist publishing is to survive it will only be able to do so with the goodwill and full financial commitment of those who believe that such a project is both necessary and useful.' If you would like to see the appearance of such books as *Musei-fushugi*, a history of anarchism in Japan, *Class War*, a collection of Camillo Berneri's writings, Luigi Fabbri's *Bourgeois Influences Over Anarchism*, and the forthcoming *Stefano Delle Chiaie*, an expose of international fascism, why not take out a subscription to Refract? A six month sub is \$25.00, \$50.00 for a whole year.

**EVER WONDERED ABOUT** dialectics and its relation to libertarian theory? Why not check out Joseph Deitzgen's recently reprinted classic, *The Nature of Human Brainwork: An Introduction to Dialectics*, available from Red Lion Press, c/o Spartacus Books, Box 2881, Vancouver, BC, for \$7.00.

**LIBRAIRIE ALTERNATIVE**, Montreal's largest anti-authoritarian, anarchist bookstore, needs help to pay off the store's debt. They carry a wide selection of anarchist books, magazines and newspapers (including *Open Road*). To continue this valuable service, they need your support. Contributions can be sent to: L'Association des Espaces d'Espaces Libres et Imaginaires, 2033 boul. St-Laurent, Montreal, PQ H2A 2T3, or visit them at the same address when you're in Montreal. *Vive l'Anarchie!*

**VISITING INDIA? DON'T MISS THE** Bombay Sarvodaya Friendship Centre, Shanti Kutir, Navghar Rd., Mulund (E), Bombay, which provides accomodation for visiting peace activists, organizes workshops on social and political issues in India, and generally strives to further Gandhian ideas of non-violence and social justice. The Centre would like to contact other groups concerned with peace, and would appreciate both financial contributions and any magazines, newsletters and books on peace, ecology, appropriate technology, energy resources and so on. Monetary donations can be sent by international bank draft to 'Bombay Sarvodaya Friendship Centre,' State Bank of India, PO Box 16094, Bombay 400 005.

**A WOMEN'S PEACE CAMP WILL** open in Northern Wisconsin, May 28, 1984, to protest the escalating arms race, and in particular, Project Elf, the U.S. Navy's first strike one way transmitter for the oncoming fleet of Trident submarines. The campers 'hope to raise consciousness about Project Elf and issues of special concern to women. We have in common the belief that the arms race must end, the desire for the world to be in peace, and the need to be actively and powerfully involved in this process.' The camp will be located near the Wisconsin Elf facility in the Chequamegon National Forest around Clam Lake. Donations and inquiries can be sent to: Women's Peace Presence, 731 State St., Madison, WI 53703.

**SEDITIONOUS DELICIOUS**, A NEW poetry magazine, is looking for submissions which 'scrumpiously subvert' statism, militarism, racism, sexism and all other bad 'isms,' celebrating pleasure, peace and poetry instead. Whether you want to submit poetry or read it, you can contact them at: PO Box 6981, New York, NY 10150.

## BOOK REVIEW:

# The invisible dictator

*The Social and Political Thought of Michael Bakunin*, by Richard Saltman. Greenwood Press, \$35.00

IT WOULD NOT BE AN exaggeration to say that this is the only book on Bakunin worth reading — which isn't saying much, considering how bad the others all are. What distinguishes Saltman's approach is that he actually takes Bakunin seriously.

Saltman begins by disposing of the superficial criticisms of the 'Paradox School,' those commentators who argue that Bakunin's thought is inherently confused, inconsistent and incoherent. He shows that the paradoxes of Bakunin's thought are largely the result of his critics' own inability to understand him.

Saltman argues that to understand Bakunin's thought one must recognise the Feuerbachian and Lamarckian philosophical framework upon which it was based.

Although Bakunin's intellectual debt to both Hegel and Feuerbach should be obvious, it seems strange to describe Bakunin as a Lamarckian when, as Saltman himself admits, there is no evidence that Bakunin had even read Lamarck. Bakunin simply held some fairly commonplace 19th century ideas about evolution that could be traced back, at least partly, to Lamarck (but also to Darwin, whom Bakunin had read).

While emphasizing Marx's influence on Bakunin, Saltman completely underestimates the influence of Proudhon. Although Bakunin agreed with

## PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

*Black Star* — PO Box 153, Wolverton, Milton Keynes, Bucks, U.K. A 'workers journal for a free-communist society.' \$1.00 per issue.

*Affinity* — 215 Victoria Pde., Collingwood 3066, Australia. A new anarchist quarterly 'for the creation of a self-managed society.' \$8.00 per year.



many of Marx's criticisms of Proudhon's economic theories, he thought Proudhon had a greater understanding of and feeling for liberty. In fact, he described his own form of anarchism as 'Proudhonism, greatly developed and pushed to its furthest conclusion.'

Saltman does a commendable job piecing together the fragments of Bakunin's thought into a coherent whole, devoting separate sections to Bakunin's theories of freedom and social revolution and to his critiques of the state, science and capitalism. The problem is that after presenting Bakunin's ideas, Saltman never criticizes them or presents further arguments in their defence. But it is one thing to show that Bakunin's thought was coherent; it is another thing to show he was right.

This problem is most evident in Saltman's treatment of Bakunin's proposals for anarchist 'secret societies.' These societies were to serve as the 'general staff' of the social revolution, exercising an 'invisible dictatorship' over the masses in order to prevent counter-revolution. Not only are these ideas elitist, manipulative and authoritarian, but the societies themselves were to be organized in an authoritarian and hierarchical manner. Saltman is completely unconvincing in his attempts to defend this indefensible 'anarchist vanguardism.'

As a reconstruction of Bakunin's mature anarchist position this book is invaluable, showing it to be a sophisticated and coherent social and political theory. But as a critical evaluation of Bakunin's particular brand of anarchism, *The Social and Political Thought of Michael Bakunin* is simply inadequate.

## BOOKS RECEIVED:

*Against His-tory, Against Leviathan*, by Fredy Perlman. A critique of 'civilization,' detailing its progressive destruction of free, communitarian, myth-centered societies. From Black & Red, PO Box 2374, Detroit, MI 48202 (\$3.95).

*Community, Anarchy and Liberty*, by Michael Taylor. Taylor argues that only through egalitarian community can an anarchist society be sustained, and that such community is compatible with individual liberty. From Cambridge University Press, 32 East 57th St., New York, NY 10022 (\$8.95).

*The End of Anarchism*, by Luigi Galleani. An exposition of Galleani's militant, class struggle anarchism, critical of all reformism, unions and organization. From Refract Publications (formerly Cienfuegos), BCM Refract, London WC1N 3XX England (\$5.50).

*Fra Contadini*, by Errico Malatesta. A reprint of Malatesta's classic dialogue between two workers. From Bratach Dubh, BCM Box 7177, London WC1V 6XX England (\$1.75).

*Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, by Vernon Richards. A revised edition of Richards' critical look at the Spanish Revolution and the role of the anarchists within it, with a new postscript. From Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1, England (\$5.75).

*The Modern State—An Anarchist Analysis*, by Frank Harrison. Criticizes liberal and Marxist views of the state, presents the anarchist alternative and relates it to recent events in Poland. From Black Rose Books, 3981 boul. St-Laurent, Montreal, PQ H2W 1Y5 (\$12.95).

*Our Generation Against Nuclear War*, ed. Dimitrios Roussopoulos. A collection of articles against nuclear madness, by Noam Chomsky, April Carter and many others. Black Rose (\$14.95).

*People Without Government—An Anthropology of Anarchy*, by Harold Barclay. A study of stateless, anarchic societies, with reflections on their viability and durability. Refract (\$8.95).

*Quiet Rumours*. A collection of some of the best articles on anarcho-feminism, by Lynne Farrow, Peggy Kornegger, Marian Leighton, Carol Ehrlich and Voltairine de Cleyre. From Dark Star, 5 Caledonian Rd., London N1 9DX England (\$3.00).

*Red Emma Speaks*, ed. Alix Kates Shulman. A reissue of the most comprehensive collection of Emma Goldman's writings, with three additional articles and a new introductory essay. From Schocken Books, 200 Madison Ave., New York (\$12.95).

*The Revolution of Everyday Life*, by Raoul Vaneigem. A new translation of

the classic situationist work from the sixties. From LeftBank Books, 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101 (\$6.60).

*The Tyranny of Tyranny*, by Cathy Levine. A reprint of Levine's anarcho-feminist reply to Joreen's 'The Tyranny of Structurelessness.' Dark Star (\$0.75).

*Why Work—Arguments for the Leisure Society*, ed. Vernon Richards. A collection of articles criticizing the nature of work in capitalist society and discussing libertarian alternatives, by Berneri, Kropotkin, Russell, Woodcock and more. Freedom (\$5.75).

*Women and Revolution*, ed. Lydia Sargent. Various feminists discuss the 'unhappy marriage' of marxism and feminism. Includes an anarcho-feminist contribution from Carol Ehrlich. Black Rose (\$9.95).

*No Clear Reason—Nuclear Power Politics*, ed. Radical Science Collective. A series of essays on 'how nuclear techniques embody ways of controlling people in the guise of benign science but in the interest of the powers that be.' From Free Association Books, 26 Freegrove Rd., London N7 9RQ England (\$8.00).

*Vision on Fire*, by Emma Goldman. David Porter's skilfully edited compilation of Goldman's writings on the Spanish Revolution. From Common-ground Press, 546 Albany Post Rd., New Paltz, NY 12561 (\$7.50).

# Irish Anarchy

Dear friends,

*OPEN ROAD* CHOSE TO PUBLISH a dubious article (in *OR* #14) from an English paper about Ireland, while completely ignoring the consistent information put out by Irish anarchists. The article is simplistic, naive, and condescending, and your reprinting of it insulting. Here we want to take issue with some of the points raised.

The reason for emphasizing that there is a war going on in Northern Ireland is because of the massive propaganda drive by the British government that there is *no* war, that acts of resistance have no political content, but are perpetrated by "criminals."

The article fails to recognize any relationship between the general struggle against authority and specific struggles at the workplace, home, in an occupied country, etc. These specific struggles are the form in which the general struggle expresses itself.

Is the author saying that if revolutionaries take part in overthrowing an oppressor, they are responsible if an authoritarian regime consolidates power in the aftermath?

The author denounces the IRA as an "alternative police force." The police and Brits are not welcome in certain areas, but anti-social acts continue. In a society where the police are expelled, people turn to the organizations which have been set up for defence. Unless there is conscious and consistent work by revolutionaries, the old system will more than likely be reshaped in different clothes.

The problems of anti-social behaviour and retribution are political. There has been constant, but limited debate, in communities and papers. During the first hunger strikes, area committees set up vigilantes to observe and check on who was entering an area — was that intimidation or defence? Accusations of intimidation parallel, incidentally, the latest RUC propaganda drive.

The author uses the same line as many British revolutionary groups, defining the struggle as only about "national liberation" and carried out only by the IRA. The IRA are the product of a society whose corruption and violence are being challenged by them and others. Because they are not anarchist, does that absolve any political responsibility on the part of anarchists living in Britain to take up the challenge of imperialism?

The IRA are only part of the struggle against the Brits and the loyalist statelet. As well as other, smaller groups, there is a general, day to day, resistance which the article fails to mention. The hunger strikes crystallized this. Even the state and capitalist media portrayed that!

The arguments presented by the author are all escape clauses. They are reasons *not* to take up the issue of imperialism, of partition, of sectarianism, and of criminalization. Anarchists in Britain have a direct responsibility to face up to these things, because the political power and economic wealth of that country have been gained through imperialism.

More specifically, the armed forces of that country are occupying ours. They are supporting loyalist hegemony, which buys off one section of

the working class. They are also keeping a foothold in Ireland, so essential for NATO strategy. Anarchists in Britain have a unique opportunity, and responsibility, to do something about that. Rhetoric isn't worth the paper it is printed on.

All the best,  
E.  
For the Belfast Anarchist Collective

## No Slave

Somewhere in Greece, some day,  
some hour.  
Friends of *Open Road*:

I DON'T KNOW HOW TO START. First, I'm very interested about the 'five,' and I'll do my best to send your leaflet to Greek alternative magazines. But here I (we) have other problems.

The police hit students and soldiers (protestors against conditions in the army) *in*, I repeat, in the University of Athens. I don't know if you know, but here in Greece we have asylum in the universities. Ten years before, the junta did the same in the Polytechnical School if you remember, and now the same thing happens under 'socialist' rule.

The 'socialist' government wants to make the educational system more 'modern.' We all know that this means more pressure, more repression. It means that we have to be 'good students.' It means lessons-lunch-lessons-dinner-sleep-cinema (on weekends).

The 'progressive' parties like the communists say that the new law is very fine. We didn't expect anything else. Of course, I'm an enemy of the Nation (not only me), enemy of Socialism, because I don't (we don't) agree with the rules of the state.

I can't find any more words to describe to you exactly what happens, but I know that in Greece we are in 1984 (or close to it). It proves that Greece is a contemporary country.

Sometimes I feel the need to be a guerilla, but here is not the place for such things. I'll translate your leaflet and send it to the magazines, it's the least I can do.

Send my greetings to the 'five,' and tell them they're not alone. Especially to Gerry Hannah, because I like the Subhumans and he was one of them. Tell him that we'll never be slaves to the State's dick, but we'll cut the state's dick.

Anarchy or chaos,  
Christos  
Comrade from Kalamata, Greece

## Action on the agenda

Friends:

IF NOTHING ELSE, THE RECENT actions by Direct Action, the Wimin's Fire Brigade and the arrests of the Five have put the topic of illegal actions on the agenda.

The left has been forced to evaluate those actions of property destruction against the establishment and seems to be using a double standard at times. Such actions always engage the wrath of the state and the condemna-

tion of the mass media. The same is true for any illegal anti-establishment activity like banned strikes, etc. But because destruction of property — especially bombings — is so sensationalistic, it strikes attention regardless of the damage caused.

Many evaluate the bombings with the same criteria used to evaluate any other political activity such as strikes, but use a much higher standard in forming their final judgement. Was the action popular? (Strikes are often unpopular especially when they inconvenience people.) Did it help mobilize people? (Even strikes frustrate, burn out and demobilize people. The Canadian events seem to have certainly woken people up to the level of conflict possible.) Was the action done by elitists? (DA and the WFB didn't appear to be.) Often people will stereotype a group that does illegal actions and lump them in the same authoritarian bag as the Red Brigades, Weather Underground, some sections of the German groups, etc. Yet a strike is rarely denounced for being from a hierarchical union.

All things being equal, progressives usually give uncritical support to a strike, an occupation or workplace sabotage, while bricking a window or blowing up the plant panics them.

Of the bombings in Canada last year, each received a different reaction. For lots of people, the actions struck a responsive chord because they were audacious examples of resistance from our side.

The WFB action was probably the most successful on the local level because it came at the peak of the impending failure of a large legal public campaign to rid violent and sexist porn from the Red Hot Video stores. Molotov cocktails in two stores demonstrated that a group using simple illegal means could be an effective compliment. Also there was the pride and respect that the shutdown of the two stores came from us and not from the authorities. Most of the women's groups involved refused to denounce the firebombings. It seems they didn't have a strict passivist line.

The BC Hydro and Litton bombings each caused millions of dollars in damage, made news around the world, freaked out the state, but didn't get a lot of support from the main ecological and anti-cruise groups involved in the protests against the two targets. Of course the unfortunate injuring of seven people at Litton doesn't help our cause any. But regardless of the injuries, the actions upset the groups because of their strict passivist line. Only certain approved actions of protest are legitimate for them.

Another funny argument from the non-violence people is that violence in the form of property destruction is wrong. If that's the case, actions by the admired passivist Berrigan brothers and friends such as wrecking draft files or hammering nuke warhead nose cones are violent. So is cutting a fence to occupy a nuke site.

Let's face it, destructions scare most of us. They call the question — do we act on all our revolutionary possibilities, or limit ourselves to the usual legal strategies? How intensely do we want to be involved? Do we want to escalate the level of resistance? How far are we willing to go? Are we at war? This is not to say that only bombings pose these questions, but they are one fast way to do so.

What's disturbing is how many people spout revolutionary rhetoric, read and print literature and posters of sabotage, riots, trashings and guerilla actions, but reject that application for themselves in the here

and now. You begin to get the feeling that the more people don't "walk their talk" the more habit forming their avoidance of practice becomes.

Politics is the art of power dynamics. Illegal activity is one way to spook the enemy and empower ourselves. The vast sea of laws, both written and conditioned in our brains, are there to control us. But when we break the rules and resist on our own terms, then that control breaks down. It breaks psychological barriers for us, and often fucks up tactical control measures for them (as long as they don't catch us).

This doesn't mean that only illegal activity is worthy of radicals. No, simply stated, the illegal direction should be one of the varieties of resistance easily at our disposal.

In light of the arrests of the Five, it seems most of the evidence against them is wiretaps and roombugs. Some good advice being passed around is that this should remind us again to be extra careful and discreet about what we say, where we say it and who we talk to. Don't leave evidence on traceable items, or have them hanging around. Also, the raid on the *Bulldozer* house in Toronto taught them to keep their address books somewhere else, or at least a copy. Set up a support network to assist in successfully keeping the activity and participants out of reach of the law. Don't, don't, don't get caught! It's no good for you, drains so much energy from supporters in defence work, and wastes taxpayers' money in court and prison costs. Practice security seriously. It may be awkward at first, but after a while becomes second nature.

Lastly, spread the knowledge about the techniques necessary to do actions. In our "free" society, we can pick up radical smash-the-state ideology in any alternative bookstore. We can also pick up much of the know-how to do it — but not in those bookstores. The left practices a tremendous amount of self censorship when it comes to the practical how-to. Is that because if we knew how-to, we'd have a lot less excuses not to?

If people believe it's not necessary to acquire this knowledge and these materials now (the ol' "the time isn't right" argument), remember that when the time is right it will probably be too late. You won't be prepared and the opportunities for gathering will be too restricted. The state is getting ready, how about you?

The point is to get ourselves in position to make the changes we fantasize about. Illegal activity will probably be one method needed.

Chicken Little

## Real Violence

Dear *Open Road*:

"JUST WHEN I THOUGHT IT SAFE to read *OR* again..." along come a couple of disturbingly authoritarian articles disguised as feminism: Deena Jurwitz's "Pornography: The Ultimate Silencer" and Joni Miller's "Film Exposes Violence Against Women."

Calls for book burning, magazine slashing and store trashing are not helpful, nor part of a movement for freedom. Why are they presented as such?

"Violence against women is the ultimate silencer." Why divide us all along sexist lines? I think violence

against human beings is the ultimate silencer. The long faces who wrote these articles are a tiny minority of women who pretend to speak for all women. What a weird accommodation for an anarchist paper to make.

OR might better serve its readers by publishing some real information about real atrocities. The headless corpses, for instance, that know no sexual exclusiveness or distinction that keep turning up in Central America. If you are really concerned about the *pornography of violence* why not report on the Zionist outrages in Lebanon and the right-wing slaughter in Central America. This is real, not a *Hustler* magazine make-believe fold-out. Why don't these women put some energy into stopping something real happening in the real world instead of flying off aberrations, ghosts of reality?

As a former editor of an underground newspaper, I thought you might like to know that the government repression we suffered was coming from the same sort of do-gooder spirit these "feminists" use today. When a local judge impanned a Grand Jury to indict us for advocating the overthrow of the government, we responded with a "porno-biography" of the judge and a cartoon of him masturbating at his podium. We were judged hard-core pornographers and people were sentenced to six months for distributing the paper, and its possession was a crime.

At the trial art critics defended the cartoon, saying we meant to show that the judge derived sexual pleasure from exercising judicial sadism.

I don't defend snuff movies, but to class *Playboy* in the same category is puritanically ridiculous.

Best wishes,  
Chris Cooper  
Washington, D.C.

## The True Story

Comrades,

YOUR ARTICLE, "IN THE Beginning" (OR #13), contains an historical error.

The graphic symbol of the 'A' in the circle saw its beginning well before 1964, as your article states.

In 1956, at its foundation in Brussels, the *Alliance Ouvriere Anarchiste* (AOA) adopted the symbol:



which, after 1957, became:



and was adopted, consequently, by all the more or less anarchist groups.

The 'A' in the circle therefore saw its origin in the constitution of the AOA, November 25, 1956, in Brussels.

Salutations anarchistes,  
Maxime  
One of the founders of the AOA

## Listen to This

Companeros!

WE WERE REALLY GLAD TO HEAR from you. We knew something was wrong but as we hadn't heard from you our imaginations got to working and we thought that maybe they'd closed you down.

We know very well what it's like trying to get an issue out on time and how circumstances keep pushing the date ahead until months have gone by. We're two months overdue ourselves.

We are throwing a big bash here in Valencia with RADIO KLARA, a libertarian radio station which we also participate in. It's going to be a musical festival. We're hoping that from the festival we'll be able to buy a larger transmitter and pay some of the debts we've got.

We're getting a lot of press as a result and the Town Hall is behaving itself, so things look bright. For some reason the government and police are tolerating us so far (after closing down RADIO KLARA twice and being forced to back down because of the stir it caused).

We're feeling confident. Valencia is having a renaissance. Libertarian radios in other parts are not doing so well. And there are very few libertarian magazines and newspapers left. The dark ages ever since PSOE came to power.

Anyway, I thought you'd like to know a little about what's going on over here. We'd really like to know how things are on your side.

Well the wine I'm drinking has gone to my head and I see that I'm running on. The point is we're glad to know you guys are still at it and we look forward to collaborating with you in any way we can.

Salud, companeros!

Russell  
For *Malahierba*  
Valencia, Spain

## Booked Solid

Friends:

THANKS FOR THE SPRING '83 issue of OR. I am a prisoner of the state who must count on outside anarchists to send me reading material that I choose to surround myself with. I'll be released in a couple more years.

The things in most anarchist literature that keep me interested are writings by Kropotkin, Goldman, Malatesta, though sometimes I wish I had a broader library to choose from because it doesn't take me long to become associated with what I read. I'm still looking forward to another issue of OR.

So far you people have been great. In that I mean by your consistency in radicalism. I'm much interested in the Five.

Your brother,  
Steve  
Pacific, Missouri

## New Age Blues

Dear *Open Road*:

HAVING ARRIVED IN FLORIDA from the politically charged atmosphere of Quebec, picking up a copy of the *Open Road* sure does fight the New Age Blues. Again, a provocative and eclectic issue with a few neat graphics.

I'm amused at the anarcho communist vs syndicalist debate your Bookchin interview sparked. It appears almost academic as most activists I know don't label themselves, and seem to struggle in many areas of their lives.

For instance, I'm trying to get tight with my community here to better the fight against alienation — especially the ruling class's use of imprisonment against many members of the community. Monday nights are reserved for Ballroom dancing lessons so the next time I attend my union's Christmas party, I'll be able to make closer contact with my syndicalist allies. Contact dancing is also healthy provocation at marginaloid New Wave shows.

It's refreshing to see that the debate is around social action rather than navel karma improvement. This New Ageism that has swept over us is socially alienating. I bet its a capitalist plot. The ultimate of this alienation is the criminal injustice system, and our society is leading the world in that practice of devastation.

We may not be caged, but we're still getting fucked over by the criminal injustice system that claims to protect us. We all know it supports the crimes of the status quo. But it also maintains 'street' crime. Convicted people usually did their crimes in their community. People who do violent crimes against others are so alienated that hurting someone is not much of concern. In prison they are further socially ruined. What happens when they get released back to our community?

Sex offenders are smugly condoned by sexist society and occasionally are treated as criminals instead of people needing therapeutic help. In prison

they receive no beneficial treatment, and their victims are left to fend for themselves. These people eventually get released. Do you feel any safer?

People doing time for property crime are almost always poor. Prison won't help them get a decent legal job. After getting released back to our community, our employers most likely won't hire them. What are they going to do for money?

The large percentage of people in jail because they're poor, because they're aren't white, because they've been pushed out of our 'Great Society' — these people are our neighbors. The hidden number of families torn apart and on social assistance because of prison is just more spiteful capitalist economics.

This cynicism and contempt that the ruling class law and orders us about is *our* direct misery. To even protest is against the law if you don't play by their rules. It hits us 'where we're at,' exploiting us and our community while stripping us of the right to rectify our crime problems. The state oversees that.

So when I say that fighting the criminal injustice system is of utmost importance, it's because that system violates many areas of our lives.

You don't have to call yourself an anarcho-commie, an anarcho-feminist, an anarcho-worker or an anarcho-marginaloid to do something about it. Breaking down alienation by developing those essential personal and social connections among people will reduce crime within that community.

Using community-based alternatives to prison, such as restitution to victims, a job, education, meaningful treatment, etc. — we empower the community and its citizens to run itself, while diminishing the role of the state. Demand that your boss hire ex-cons and that your neighborhood be responsible by reintegrating these people (such as half-way houses). Fight the status quo which first sets up minorities and women, and then criminalizes their means of resistance and survival.

None of these acts are unrealistic — they're happening all the time all over. All together, they compose the only realistic solution to crime, prison and degradation — social revolution. That's what it's all about.

Love and rage,  
Ron Reed  
Gainesville, Florida

## PUBLICATIONS GUIDE:

- *The Five*: write them directly at Oakalla Prison, Drawer 'O,' Burnaby, B.C., Canada.
- *Writings of the Vancouver Five*: forty-page pamphlet of poems, drawings and political analysis by the Five. Available for \$1.50 from Free the Five Defense Group, Box 48296, Bentall Station, Vancouver, B.C. V7X 1A1.
- *Free the Five Newsletter*: available for a donation from Box 48296, Bentall Station, Vancouver, B.C.
- *Resistance*: issues 4 & 5 (Direct Action and Wimmin's Fire Brigade communiques), issue 6 (update on the Five) and issue 7 (update on the trial); for \$2 each, from Friends of Durruti, Box 790, Stn. A, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2N6 Canada.
- *D.O.A. benefit single, Fuck You* (by Gerry Hannah) b/w *Burn It Down!*; \$3 plus \$0.75 handling, from D.O.A., Box 65896, Stn. F, Vancouver, B.C.
- *Trial By Media*: one hour videotape, suitable for showing at public forums on the Five; available from B.C. Journalists for Accuracy in Media, 1868 Franklin St., Vancouver, B.C.
- *CLASP Bulletin*: info package on surveillance, police dirty tricks and

other 1984 nightmares; for a donation, from CLASP, Box 65369, Stn. F, Vancouver, B.C.


• *Bulldozer*: militant prisoner magazine with coverage of repression of Toronto supporters of the Five; available for a donation, from Box 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1W4.

• *Overthrow*: interview with Ann Hansen and Brent Taylor, Vol. 5, No. 3; \$1 from Box 392, Canal St. Station, New York, N.Y. 10013 U.S.A.

• *Cops Draw Guns to Plant Bugs*: autonomous publication detailing information on all aspects of surveillance of the Five, the police involved, the methods used. Available for the price of postage from *Open Road*.



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Spanish admiral Carrero Blanco's last ride.