

# THE ACTIVIST

The Newsletter of the AGAINST CRUISE TESTING COALITION

## Government manipulation of cruise issue revealed

By Steve MacDonald

In early September, a *Montreal Gazette* special report disclosed highlights of more than 500 pages of cruise missile-related government documents obtained under the Access to Information Act. These included diplomatic cables, memos to Federal cabinet ministers and minutes of talks with U.S. officials. The report sheds light on plans for further joint Canadian-American development of the Air-launched Cruise Missile (ALCM). In addition, it raises many disquieting questions about the manner in which government manipulates public opinion and restricts access to governmental debate on important international security issues to which the Canadian public ought to be privy.

The *Gazette* report confirms that three ALCM tests are planned in Canada between January and March of 1985, two of which are to be "free-flight" launches. According to the report, a briefing note prepared for former defense Minister Jean-Jacques Blais on March 8, 1984 states that "...up to six live launches per year could be conducted in the Canadian test corridor" in subsequent years.

Other areas of concern for the peace movement upon which the *Gazette* article sheds light are the nature and extent of future weapons testing under the CANUS agreement. A November 7, 1983 briefing note for former external affairs minister Allan MacEachen acknowledges that "the next generation of 'stealthy'-type cruise missiles" may have an "over-the-pole" capability. A *Gazette* interview with Washington defense analyst David Morrison (Center for Defense Information) discloses his

belief that "the U.S. will probably want to test in Canada its next generation, called the Advanced Cruise Missile (ACM) with a range of more than 3,200 kilometers and stealth or radar-dodging capability." When such a system is ready for deployment there will doubtless be a great deal of pressure on Canada to accept hundreds or thousands of the ACMs on her territory.

Morrison informed the *Gazette* of other military tests likely to occur under the CANUS agreement, including laser and other electro-optical weapons which could potentially be used to "visually disable enemy soldiers". Another system Morrison sees as likely to require Canadian testing is a system of strategic air defense.

Department of Defense officials withheld many of the documents requested by the *Gazette* and deleted sections of others, citing harm of international to federal-provincial relations and

the 20 year confidentiality of cabinet documents, says the report.

While the volume and content of the withheld and deleted documentation are difficult to determine, the information that was released to the *Gazette* was both voluminous and revealing. One series of documents discloses a low-key yet concerted effort on the part of the federal government, in particular the Department of National Defense (DND), to placate an

increasingly concerned Canadian public in the days following the announcement of the agreement to test the cruise in Canada. In the words of *Gazette* reporter Robert Winters:

"A picture emerges of the government knowingly taking on a hot potato, hunkering down to weather opposition and developing a secret communications plan to shape public opinion and defuse opposition."

For example, it is evident from a number of letters passing between the DND and Royal Roads Military College in Victoria, B.C., that an effort was made to ensure "a consistent response" to requests of college faculty in November of 1982 for information concerning cruise testing,

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## A STRATEGY

The Against Cruise Testing Coalition (ACT) is in the process of preparing a winter and spring campaign for its third year. To arrive at a strategy for "Peace Action '85" it was necessary to examine both the current political situation and to set short-term goals for the next year.

Below, we present this analysis, together with a brief description of the campaign.

The cruise testing issue has brought more Canadians into the streets than any other single issue in Canadian history. Over the past couple of years the peace movement has thus expanded to unprecedented size and strength.

Why then is there such a feeling of discouragement among many activists? There are those who have been active for a long time and are tired. There are those who are bored and long for something new. Then there are those who, even present, are more concerned with the construction of elaborate bureaucracies than with the building of a strong disarmament movement.

When we take a close look, we see a peace movement searching desperately for magical solutions and pat formulas. There are grumblings that large demonstrations have not accomplished anything and that it is time for something completely new and different. Most recently the "completely new" was the restoration of an unsuccessful relic from the past, a massive petitioning campaign.

The setting in of disintegration is further evidenced by the peace movement's turning to bureaucratic organizational schemes and away from straightforward public pressure campaigns. Thus, we have a situation in which peace hierarchies are flourishing while the real movement is allowed to die an untimely death. The movement is not and cannot be a small group of organizers who meet regularly in a hall somewhere. The real movement is the thousands upon thousands of Canadians who are willing to take a stand against the arms race.

When we examine the political situation we see a movement that is in very great danger of

being co-opted; of becoming so watered down and diffuse in its demands that, if the process continues, it will soon be invisible. It has of its own free will removed itself from the public eye and ceased to put real pressure on the Canadian government for disarmament.

This lull in the movement for disarmament makes no sense when public sentiment against the nuclear arms race is stronger than it has ever. Daily, there are articles in the papers and items on the electronic media reporting the latest in political doubletalk about peace. We can be sure that when politicians like

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## Nov. 11 Vigil

Peace Action '85 will be off to an appropriate start with this year's November 11th commemoration ceremony.

Please join us at the cenotaph as we remember all those who died in war and express our hope that no more will ever have to die.

The service will include representatives from many faiths and cultural backgrounds. A wreath will be laid by war veterans. Remembrance day is an important one for all of us who hope for a better future. Please come.

7 to 8 pm, the Cenotaph, Old City Hall.



Demonstrations, like April 28th's, are hard to ignore



Newspeak is alive and well in 1984 — even within the peace movement. On Thursday September 27th some copies of the October Peace Calendar reached the ACT office. The lead article by Lynn Connell on the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign reported on events that had happened in Victoria, B.C. and St. John's, Newfoundland, on Friday September 28th and Saturday September 29th. We are told who spoke, what was said and chanted, and what happened; all in an article that must have been written at least a week before these events actually took place.

Sadly, The Peace Calendar fantasy is a too typical of the way PPCC has actually functioned in the peace movement. From its very beginning, the Peace Petition Caravan "campaign" contained more hyperbole and hopeful fancy than substance. In fact, PPCC largely began by attempting to become a formal organization, and to get people in each town that it was already underway in every other town.

**PPCC — a flawed launching**

In Toronto PPCC was first revealed to peace activists at a 10 A.M. meeting on Tuesday, January 3rd in a suburban UAW boardroom. It was introduced as a predetermined package of ideas, methods and structures run by an already existing self-appointed national committee in Ottawa. This is not the way to begin a popular movement.

Nationally, participants at the February PPCC founding conference in Winnipeg found themselves in the position of having made great sacrifices to attend,

# TRUTH and the PPCC

only to be presented with a fait accompli. It quickly became obvious that neither the demands nor the structures of PPCC were subject to amendment. Almost half of the delegates applied pressure to add a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze to the petition. This issue was sidestepped with the excuse that the petitions had already been printed, and the discussion finally silenced through a back-room deal.

There was also the repeated, angry question of who had made the decisions, and what authority they had to do so, which came up at nearly every session and many informal discussions in Winnipeg. Demands that the self-appointed national committee be opened up were resisted. When they finally became too strong to ignore, "applications" were accepted. Only ACT chairperson, Angela Browning, was added out of five aspirants. Then too, there was the question of what had happened to the approximately \$60,000 which the GLC had already given to the PPCC national office.

It should be noted that consensus was reached on one point, that any further attempts to create national structures at this time would be divisive and counter-productive. In spite of this agreement, PPCC pretended and continues to pretend that a national organization is desired by peace activists.

These aspects of the

Winnipeg conference were virtually ignored in the PPCC reports to Toronto audiences. Presumably it was feared that the hoped-for mass of eager door-to-door canvassers would be infected by the same critical nuclear weapons freeze as many of the Winnipeg discussions.

**local successes national failures**

The PPCC became the subject of a few heroic efforts in cities like Sudbury, Ontario, and Victoria B.C., which signed up a large fraction of the local population. There were also inspiring drives in small towns in which PPCC was the first real organized peace effort.

But in large cities, like Toronto and Montreal, it was counter-productive. Because it diverted unprecedented financial and political resources to organizations and individuals whose main concern seems to be the building of bureaucratic structures and careers within the peace movement.

In Montreal the main coalition of activists found themselves in much the same situation as ACT in Toronto. There arose a desire to continue and even expand an ambitious calendar of public and imaginative activities, as PPCC absorbed money and energy to no visible effect.

ACT warned of the danger,

from the very beginning. If the PPCC was going to be the exclusive focus of our activity, then where were the desperately needed money and energy for mass demonstrations going to come from? Would not our very record of success in mobilizing Canadians in 1983, at every fateful step towards cruise testing, count against us if we did not respond to actual cruise tests. Did not the historic size of ACT's April 23rd, 1983 demonstrations constitute a similar massive mobilization this year? We were concerned about the minimal interest the unions backing PPCC seemed to have in supporting these projects in 1984.

Nevertheless, the ACT coalition initially decided, after a full and open discussion, to support PPCC "insofar as it is compatible with our main strategy of clearly focused mass demonstrations."

ACT was hard at work organizing the April 28th Canadian day of protests against the cruise, while also attending all PPCC meetings. April 28th had originally evoked little interest from PPCC, but when some members of its Toronto steering committee suddenly decided that this would be good way to launch PPCC, we did our best to accommodate them.

**rewriting history**

This is what made one fabrication after another in the bulletin especially striking, that the Toronto April 28th demonstration was "organized by the PPCC." In fact, PPCC did not contribute a single dollar or person-hour to Toronto's

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# Tatyana Mamonova and Peace in the East

by George Latkiewicz

One of the most important, and fascinating, developments in the world-wide movement for peace and disarmament is the recent appearance of independent peace groups in the Eastern bloc and the resulting debate, especially among Western peace activists, as to its implications. Equally important is the dialogue that is being sought, and which to a very limited extent is beginning to take place between the movements for peace and social justice in the East and the West.

Unfortunately this dialogue with and debate on the East has often been quite confused. There are a number of reasons for this—certainly the situation itself is rather complex—but much more frustrating are the appalling difficulties in obtaining information and the many examples of deliberate disinformation. Despite these difficulties ACT members began discussing the independent East European peace movements in the fall of 1983. At ACT's February 1984 strategy conference a motion was passed, unanimously, stating that ACT shall seek to establish contacts with these groups so as to exchange information, perspectives and support with the ultimate goal of helping to broaden the international character of the peace movement and to lay the foundations for future joint actions." This led to a series of forums, workshops and public meetings on the subject which have helped make people conscious of the issue.



Obviously, the ultimate goal of joint actions with activists in the East is still a rather distant one. But it is not as remote as we may at first assume. For example, the West European peace movements have made significant progress in this respect, which publications like the END European Nuclear Disarmament Journal document. There is no reason why we cannot use their contacts, information resources, and experience to plan our own role in this field. A good example of this was the ACT public forum with Tatyana Mamonova that was held on Friday August 24th.

**exiled for protest**

Mamonova is a renowned artist and feminist who was exiled from the Soviet Union in 1980 because of her opposition to the USSR's military interven-

tion in Afghanistan. She has spent the last four years living in Paris and in the meantime, while she participated in the activities of the West European peace movement, the first known independent peace group in the Soviet Union was established in June of 1982. Thus Mamonova is not actually a spokesperson for an independent East European peace group. She can, however, play a role at least as important—she is a valuable resource for those in the peace movement who are trying to come to grips with the other side of the cold war equation.

The points Mamonova made during her visit shed some light on the situation in the other bloc and also suggested some fruitful concepts for our work in opposition to the militarism of our own society and government.

**human rights**

Most importantly she emphasized the necessity of recognizing the nature of the link between peace and human rights, and of debunking the idea that it is dangerous to talk about human rights violations in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In fact, each hawkish stance or action by one side leads to a similar response from the other. The hardliners of one side are often the best allies of the hardliners on the other because they provide each other with the justification for their own actions. Ultimately this

leads to the point where any rebellion against existing conditions in either bloc can be passed off as "subversion and collusion with the enemy".

The importance of this concept for the peace movement should be clear. One of the most common arguments we hear is that the Soviets are suppressing human rights wherever they have any influence and that we are stupid enough to want to disarm in the face of this threat. But it is in the very logic of this arms race which forces both superpowers to suppress the economic and civil rights of their citizens, pressure their allies into line, and ultimately leads them to see every spot of land and drop of water as of "vital strategic importance".

**60's liberalization**

Another point Mamonova raised was that it "is important to understand that the Soviet Union is not monolithic, either as a society or today, or as a society which has remained constantly one way throughout history." This counters the right-wing argument that the Soviet Union can never be changed from within since, as the argument goes, there are no forces pushing for change from inside that society and hence it is up to the West to "liberate" the people in the East by forcing the Soviets to comply with the

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# Science for Peace Forums

By Steve MacDonald

During the months of August and September, ACT was fortunate enough to have six members of Science for Peace (S4P) as speakers at our Friday night "Open Forums". These gentlemen were all professors at the University of Toronto, predominantly in that institution's science faculties. A long and distinguished list of speakers is available at S4P and ACT recommends highly to peace groups seeking expert speakers for their meetings those six which we were privileged enough to hear speak. The following is a report on the first of these presentations. Reports on the other Science for Peace Forums will appear in future issues of The Activist.

On August 10th, Dr. Jack Dalnity of the U. of T. Botany Department started off the series with a discussion of the nuclear winter hypothesis. Dr. Dalnity outlined the recent report by a team of scientists which included astronomer Carl Sagan. Their report predicts a 95% reduction in the average intensity of light reaching the earth and a temperature drop of upwards of 10 degrees Celsius (and possibly as much as 40 degrees) which scientists now believe would follow a nuclear exchange of any significant size.

These effects, expected to last anywhere from a few months to a year or more, would likely have the effect of rendering extinct most plant and animal species on the planet by interfering with the photosynthetic process by which plants manufacture energy from light, and by subjecting plants to temperature drops which they could not possibly withstand. Plant extinctions would result in animal extinctions as the food chain would be broken in many places.

The nuclear winter hypothesis is based on the projection, made from observing dust storms on Mars, that dust from nuclear explosions together with soot from wildfires and urban firestorms, once injected into the upper atmosphere in unprecedented quantities, would take many months to disperse to any appreciable degree, blocking out the majority of the sun's rays while it remained aloft. The high level of flammable materials in the cities of the Northern Hemisphere makes attacks against them particularly dangerous—a mere 100 Megatons dropped on cities could trigger a nuclear winter. The threshold for counterforce attacks (i.e., attacks on missile silos) is somewhat higher but still well within the limits of the superpowers' strategic arsenals.

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ness. Not knowing which way to turn, and with the absence of a highly visible peace movement, they are eager for words of comfort from the politicians.

We in the peace movement must insist on this process. Rather than giving in to less visible activities, we must continue to focus the strong public concern about nuclear arms, and direct it toward our own government.

In light of this analysis of the current situation, ACT sees the goals of the upcoming campaign to be twofold:

1. to continue to help build a strong disarmament movement in Canada, and

2. to continue to focus that movement on concrete Canadian issues and on the Canadian government while at the same time recognizing the place of the Canadian peace movement in an international context.

In order to accomplish these tasks we need to develop our strategy to a changing political environment.

## Focus

The first goal is self-evident and depends on the second for its implementation, since a strong disarmament movement must by definition be a focused one. What that focus should be is, therefore, the first question we must answer. There is no doubt in our minds that the focus of the campaign must continue to be cruise testing, at least for the immediate future.

There are many reasons for this. To start with, it is a question of principle. Those of us who were angered by this unprecedented Canadian leap into the arms race cannot cease to care when the prospect of that commitment still looms ahead. There was little expectation of stopping the weapons testing program before the very first test. That certainly would have been highly optimistic. Canada is much too closely tied to the American war machine for just a few demonstrations to have pried us loose from the arms race. We test opened rather than closed the chapter on American weapons testing in Canada. The continuing weapons tests are and will be Canada's most significant contribution to the arms race.

Cruise testing is also the issue that brought Canadians to the streets in unprecedented numbers, and made the arms race a household name. There is no other issue which is as important to the Canadian public and which can so directly confront our government's involvement in the arms race. First we must realize that issues and movements are not created, but are born out of public concern.

However, Canada must also take its place in the international disarmament movement. Although peace begins at home, we feel it is important to place cruise testing in an international context. Just as Canadians are not an independent foreign policy that does not tie them into anyone else's war machine, individual European countries, both East and West, must also have that right. European peace activists are no happier to see their nations turned into forward bases for American cruise and long-range missiles or Soviet SS-20s than we are to have Canada become a testing pad for the cruise. We must therefore make the links between the Canadian peace movement and struggles around the world for human rights and the right to peace. We cannot ignore the harassment of inde-

pendent peace activists and groups, both in eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. and in NATO countries, such as Turkey.

Finally, we come to the question of the present situation, namely, how to respond to the current downturn in public sentiment, but in public enthusiasm. Here too, there are no special formulas which will give people that feeling of solidarity and power that they need. Although it is important for the peace movement to be diverse in its activities, we see the most effective way to pressure the government for change and at the same time to show people their strength is to bring people together in one place at one time in public protest. We believe that these public demonstrations are vital, be they small or large, and that all will know that we have no intention of giving up.

We realize that to get large numbers out it will take more months of planning and outreach than it has in the past. As well, for people who are tired of always similar actions, it is necessary to provide imaginative activities and to bring them in conjunction with our mass demonstrations.

Peace Action '85 is a six month campaign consisting of both small and major protest actions which culminate in large April demonstrations.

This major campaign is designed to generate enthusiasm in Toronto, and hopefully in other parts of the country as well. Each event in the course of the campaign will be a building event for April, but at the same time we will retain the flexibility to react quickly and imaginatively to every cruise test, as it occurs. By launching the campaign now we should have enough time to gain the momentum required for a strong turn-out in the spring.

We hope that similar actions, to complement this campaign, will be organized in cities and towns across the country. To that end we are now in the process of networking Peace Action '85 nationally and are appealing for widespread support. Together we can make it known that Canadians want peace, not cruise missile tests.

## Scheduled Events:

**Nov.**  
Remembrance Day ceremony at the Cenotaph, Old City Hall.

**Dec.**  
Delivery of a Christmas message for peace.

**Jan.-Feb.-Mar.**  
Although the exact date of this winter's three cruise tests are unknown, we are planning a strong reaction to each of them. One is to be a "Saturday after" demonstration and the other two are to be smaller, highly dramatic events.

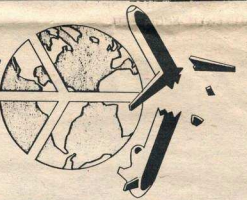
**April**  
ACT will organize a major spring protest in Toronto, as it has for the past two years.

There will be two major fundraising events. Tentatively to include an internationally prominent guest lecturer and a benefit concert.

Please join us and make Peace Action '85 a success. Now more than ever the time to act for peace is upon us.

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# PEACE ACTION '85



Reagan and Mulroney talk about peace. It is because the political climate in their respective countries forces them to do so.

It has been clear for a long time now that the Trudeau government acutely felt this movement's pressure. Our effectiveness was recently shown by the results of ACT's candidates' survey, conducted prior to the federal election. We found the liberals to be confused and frightened by the issue of cruise testing. A large proportion of their candidates refused outright to answer our questions (see "Who Opposes the Cruise?", on page 2).

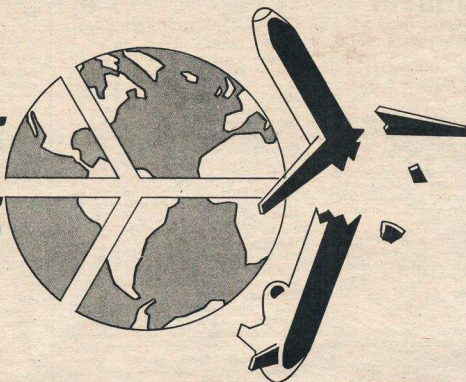
However, we now have a Conservative government in Canada. This is a government which has not yet felt any direct public pressure on disarmament issues. This was also clear in the ACT survey results. The PC candi-

dates were not afraid to say they supported cruise testing. They were also not afraid to be blatantly hypocritical, by claiming at the same time that, if elected, they would work for disarmament.

What both the present and the past governments have in common is the determination to divert and placate what until just a few months ago was a strong, focused movement pressuring for concrete steps towards disarmament. What better way to assimilate such a movement than by pretending to adopt its concerns? Unfortunately, if present trends are any indication, they may well succeed, and with the help of parts of the peace movement itself. The public is confused by these developments. People want disarmament, but since the first cruise test went ahead, they feel a sense of powerless-

**THE HOUSE**  
**FALL COFFEE**  
**OUT PEACE**  
**SHELTER**  
**FRIDAYS AT 9 \$3 362-0354**  
**370 QUEEN ST. EAST (AT PARLIAMENT)**

# PEACE ACTION '85



Peace Action '85 demands ACTION for disarmament. This means visibly showing that Canadians want ACTION, not words, to reduce the threat of nuclear war. It means being confident that our combined voices will eventually have an effect on government policy. If we are to have the kind of effect we want, we must continue to raise our voices in public protest. We must not give up at the beginning of the long term campaign to stop American weapons testing in Canada. With three more cruise tests scheduled for this winter, it is up to all of us to let the government know that this madness will not be tolerated.

## Peace begins at home.

Canada is contributing to the arms race by agreeing to test a nuclear weapon, the cruise missile. Canada could effectively slow the development and the deployment of this destabilizing new weapon simply by refusing to be the testing ground. By doing so, we will also assert our right to an independent foreign policy and, along with the countries of Europe, refuse to be pawns of either superpower. We cannot wait for the negotiations of superpowers - it is the right of every nation to have security and peace. The threat of nuclear war does not constitute security.

## Peace is a human right.

The nuclear "alliances" do not defend anybody - they turn the countries of Europe and North America into the "theatre" of nuclear war and us into its victims. People, both East and West, have the right to work for peace and to expect their governments to respond. Thus the right to peace and the defense of human rights are inseparable. In our opposition to all nuclear weapons, including both the cruise missile and the SS-20, we support the right of independent peace groups in Eastern Europe and in NATO countries like Turkey, to organize in freedom from repression. It is only the pressure of people in all countries working for peace that can stop the nuclear arms race.

# END CRUISE TESTING END the Nuclear Threat - Peace is a human right.

Nov 11 Remembrance Day ceremony  
Dec Christmas peace action  
Jan  
Feb **REACTION** to each cruise test  
Mar  
April **SPRING PROTEST**

### Be a Peace Action Activist!

PEACE ACTION '85 can only work with your help!

I want to get involved       My group wants to get involved

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Phone (\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ Post. code \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose:  \$100     \$50     \$25     \$10     other \_\_\_\_\_

The peace movement relies on your financial support.  
Please give generously. Help make PEACE ACTION '85 a success.

Send to: ACT - The Against Cruise Testing Coalition  
370 Queen St. E., Toronto, Ont, M5A 1T1. Tel: 362-0354

# Government

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by demanding that all DND requests be passed on to DND headquarters. Evidently, E.S. Graham, the college's principal, complained in a letter to a former professor that the order's mention of "consistent response" meant that "the party line is presented *virgo intacta* (intact)" and that "appropriate experts" at the DND and college are reduced merely to public relations puppets parroting their master's words, whether they be lies or not."

Here are some other highlights from the released documents pertaining to the influencing of public opinion, as summarized in the *Gazette* report:

- June 16, 1983: DND Col. P.G. Harle says headquarters would not really be "so deeply involved" in the cruise arrangements except for "the political sensitivity" of the tests.

- July 22, 1983: DND Brigadier-General A.C. Brown tells the Pentagon that "a lengthy negotiating period" for final agreement would serve neither the best interests of the project, the DND, nor the DOD (U.S. Department of Defense)."

- October 17, 1983: D.B. Dewar, Deputy defense minister, writes to his staff that "the government's public relations campaign for cruise tests, 'emphasis has been placed on the provision of information and reasoned argument rather than confrontation with (the) emotional approach employed by activists of the anti-nuclear movement.'"

- A speakers' resource book has been distributed "to military speakers and other influential and well-disposed persons" who comment publicly. "The spread of understanding is planned through the use of argumentation to opinion molders", says the memo. Consultants were drawing up plans for how to best approach "particular segments of the public such as women and children."

Members of the public were not the only ones wooed by this supposedly reasoned and informed argument:

- December 12, 1980: R.R. Ledesma of the Pentagon tells DND he can give briefings "if there are some skeptical individuals with whom you must coordinate the CANUS trade agreements within other Canadian government agencies."

- July 22, 1983: The Pentagon writes to the DND to thank it for "sustained support and co-operation in securing your government's approval of the ALCM test request, despite the political sensitivity of the program in Canada."

What are we to make of all this?

Firstly, we should ask why the Canadian Department of National Defense sees its duty as lobbying the Canadian government on behalf of the U.S. Department of Defense. Can this perception of its duty possibly serve the interests of the Canadian electorate? Or is it the constituency whose wishes the government of the day, and any of its ministries, are mandated and duty bound to implement? Or is the interests of the U.S.-Canada military-industrial complex which are being served?

In this regard, we should also ask why the July 22, 1983

DND memo speaks of the best interest of the project and of the U.S.DOD. What about the best interest of the Canadian people? The inference which can be drawn from this statement is that the DND sought to present the public with a *fait accompli* as soon as possible so as to keep any lengthy and informed debate from scuttling the agreement.

Secondly, in regard to the reasons given for withholding information, is more importance to be attached to relations between Ottawa and Western Canada (or, for that matter, foreign) capitals than to informing the Canadian people of arrangements to test a weapon system which threatens to undermine any future formal negotiations on nuclear arms control? Furthermore, on the question of cabinet documents, how else can the public gain any insight into the debate of our elected representatives? Other than through the scrutiny of these documents, when the only public source of such information, Hansard, contains no clues because the issue was never debated in the House of Commons? Whatever the rationale for the availability of these government privileges as a means toward freeing ourselves from the crisis, the debate justifies their being waived.

Thirdly, we should be concerned about the non-disclosure or at least the downplaying of ongoing tests of strategic air defenses. Why has the public not been informed that strategic air defense of North America is only likely to be necessary in the event of deployment of ALCMs to enhance or range out its strategic bomber fleet or of a strategic cruise missile like the U.S. Advanced Cruise missile. Nor are we told that such tests and developments could probably be forestalled through the simple expedient of unilaterally halting the continued development of the U.S. cruise program and challenging the Soviets to follow suit.

## MAMA MONOVA

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West's demands. Mamonova would like to see a period of liberalization in the Soviet Union which not only helped raise her own consciousness and that of many of her generation but also clearly demonstrated that it was for change within that society.

One of the reasons why Mamonova is such an interesting interpreter of the East for the activists of the West is because of her own political perspective which is so rare among Soviet and East European emigrants. Not only is she a feminist but she defines herself as a socialist. "I remain convinced that socialism is more progressive than capitalism" she states, but "the Soviet Union cannot really be called a socialist state because many of the progressive ideals which it was founded have no bearing in its bureaucracy and repression. Its fundamental ideals are simply not being expressed. It's doubly dangerous to consider the Soviet system socialist. First because it isn't true, and then because the right wing in the West uses the example of the Soviet Union to scare people away from taking socialism seriously".

Another danger in looking at the Soviet Union in such an ideological light is that it

lends credence to the perspective that there are two fundamentally incompatible systems, one of which must inevitably destroy the other. This perspective implies that everyone must pick sides and cheer on the race for the technology which will allow one side or the other to "win" a nuclear war. Such a concept is even more ludicrous and dangerous than the babble about deterrence where, in the fashion of an Orwellian nightmare, millions starve, and the deaths of entire nations is dictated by "enlightened" leaders in the name of "peaceful co-existence".

We know that in both the East and the West many people are aware of the threat of nuclear annihilation. They would rather see the world "end to the arms race", "a nuclear arms freeze", or a "reduction in the nuclear stockpiles". However, we must also realize that even most of these people honestly believe that one side is better than the other and that, therefore, they need to have "parity" with the other side for fear of free defense and to protect all that is good in the world.

This is not surprising when we consider that these are the official policies (i.e., "deterrence") of both superpowers and that therefore a tremendous amount of resources go into maintaining and perpetuating these ideas. Thus, to be truly effective, the peace movement must help make the public at large realize that neither side is particularly interested in liberating all of humanity in every way, and especially that nuclear weapons can neither defend us nor liberate anybody else. With this achieved we will have gone a long way towards not only eliminating this threat to our survival, but also towards freeing ourselves from a situation where the very condition of our survival, as dictated to us, is becoming more and more intolerable.

To many the situation looks rather dismal. Mamonova, however, remains hopeful. "Before every dawn there is a night. I have been in Europe and taken part in the peace movement there and have watched people's spirits drop as the rocks have been put in place on both sides, despite the mass demonstrations. But it is very important not to give up and to keep on striving".

There are in fact several good reasons for being hopeful. Certainly two of the most important are that the peace movement is broader than ever before and that it is developing a strategy based on a realistic international perspective.

## TRUTH

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April 28th march. ACT spent months on it and did everything from training and supplying marshals to negotiating permits and buying collection garbage bags for the demonstration.

The fact that Toronto P2CC wanted credit for a demonstration did not do work on is an example of its pretense to be the whole peace movement. The Toronto P2CC is pushing for a national coalition. The Canadian peace movement has owed much of its success to its spontaneity and diversity. This is what has made it possible for us to confront government policy quickly and imaginatively at each step towards cruise

testing. This is what can stop the cruise. The last thing we need is the dead weight of a national organization that would pretend to speak for the Canadian peace movement. It was fear of exactly this that motivated the consensus against any attempt to form a national coalition out of the P2CC by the activists gathered at Winnipeg.

## P2CC misses the vote

The P2CC failed in its promise to build the peace movement. The expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars and countless hours did nothing to alter the public perception that the peace movement, which was so visible on the streets and the new in 1983, had virtually disappeared by the summer of 1984.

P2CC also failed in its prime aim of affecting the elections. In fact it was the very freeze demand that was excluded from the petition which repeatedly made the headlines during the election campaign. Also, the crucial issue of cruise testing gained some publicity through ACT's candidate survey (see Candidate Survey article).

As time went on, it became increasingly clear that P2CC was a campaign only in name. Money was being spent in large quantity, and meetings still regularly heard glowing reports. However, estimates of the impact of the whole effort was consistently inflated. To the press, to the public, and to the politicians, P2CC was little more than a rumour.

## the numbers game

From the very beginning participation rates were exaggerated. In a February 28th P2CC letter sent to Metro area peace groups, the number registered at the conference suddenly became 300. The official reports of the number of canvassers actually gathering signatures in Toronto is an additional example: sometimes "a thousand", sometimes "five hundred", and sometimes "fifty or a hundred".

The actual number of signatures gathered is revealing. In Toronto, tens of thousands of dollars, two staff people, an office, and endless meetings produced barely over 30,000 signatures. In Vancouver, petitioning did not really start until well after the April 28th walk, and the total number of signatures remain far fewer than the number of people who came out to protest at the P2CC office in Ottawa, site of a national office which spent over \$100,000, petitioning did not start until August.

## begging for peace?

Unfortunately, it doesn't really matter. In the end, this petition, the focus of much hope, time and money, will only gather dust in Ottawa offices. As history shows us, from the time of the English Chartists to the ninety-million signature petition presented to the UN in New York in 1952, petitions do not work. Petitions do "Ask, beg, supplicate; formal written supplication from one or more persons to a king or sovereign according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary. We have the right to demonstrate.

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# QUÉBEC

continued from page 2



the previous year

the establishment of a congress to permit activists in Quebec groups to collectively discuss actions and directions to be pursued.

The choice of actions to be undertaken revealed a need that we will be doing a simple appeal for security and protection against the risks of nuclear war. The new anti-war movement as expressed in the COOP seeks to transform the feeling of fear and moral indignation in the face of the politics of rearmament in an analysis of relationships of power and privilege in our society, and seeks to reverse these relationships and eventually eliminate them.

Parallel to these developments was the beginning of the "Peace petition Caravan Campaign" (PPCC) in Quebec. It was the Quebec Peace Council and certain unionists that were most active in this campaign, rather than the groups belonging to the COOP.

The establishment of a Quebec branch of the PPCC took place within a "Quebec conference on a cross-Canada conference held in Winnipeg, February 25, 1984. At the conference, the organization of this campaign, as well as future strategies of the Canadian peace movement, were discussed. Once back in Montreal, the Quebec participants of the Winnipeg

brought together 12 groups and/or federations for a meeting on February 13, 1984. The goal of the meeting was to form an "operational coalition" having the specific task of sponsoring and promoting the petition in Quebec.

At this meeting no provision was made to allow for the content of this petition in order to place it in more of a Quebec context. For example, the Quebec section of the PPCC failed to question the role of the military base at Bagotville, the Ottawa expropriation project of 100 square kilometers of land at Lac St-Jean for the testing of F8s and other military hardware, and the fact that about 50% of all Canadian arms producers are located in Quebec.

Although they wished to participate in this kind of exercise, many Quebec groups were uncomfortable with the lies of this type action. Above all, these groups were reticent of the central role that the Quebec Peace Council assumed in the organization of this campaign in Quebec, as well as the uni-directional (top-down structure) that excluded straightforwardly the exchange of ideas and the contribution of groups towards rearranging the content of the petition to make it more applicable to Quebec.

The setting in place of an Executive Committee of the PPCC in Quebec has come to confirm the hesitations of the non-aligned groups, since it came about almost

## TRUTH

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The failure of the PPCC to produce any results was due to its tactics and structure; despite many sincere efforts by individual activists, the hierarchical and artificial nature of the campaign as a whole had turned it into a gigantic and wasteful detour for the peace movement. This failure was also due to the many exaggerations, distortions and outright lies that accompanied PPCC.

The nuclear arms race that daily brings us closer to annihilation is built on lies and deceptions. Lies about the real purpose of first-strike weapons like the cruise and Pershing-2 missiles have been the common currency of the Reagan regime. Our own governments simply parrot these, adding further misinformation about Nato and our obligations to it. Surely the lies told by both super-powers about the altruistic and "defensive" nature of their bloody interventions in the affairs of other countries; be it the U.S. throughout Latin America, or the U.S.S.R. in Afghanistan; have reached the point where they must nauseate any thinking person.

The way to deal with such murderous illogic is most definitely not by deceiving those who turn to the peace movement for an alternative. Whenever we are less than totally honest, we greatly damage our cause and ourselves. We thus lose some of our credibility, first with an already skeptical press and public, and then with our own. Worst of all, we thus embark on a course of self-delusion that will make us ever more marginal to the real political process.

Peace cannot be built through pretensions of unity and the suppression of differences, nor through the falsification of numbers. Real peace will require solidarity between peace activists based on foundations of honesty and mutual respect for diversity. Only thus can the peace movement come to encompass the masses of active and critical people in all nations who wish to mobilize themselves if we are to survive.

solely through the efforts of the leaders and sympathizers of the Quebec Peace Council.

It wasn't until afterwards that a seat was allocated, more symbolically than otherwise, to the new COOP.

In the face of such a visible imbalance, where the voice of the collective groups for disarmament and peace risked being drowned out by out by that of the Quebec Peace Council, the COOP and many other groups preferred to continue with their own calendar of activities.

Having well-secured its control of the PPCC, the Quebec Peace Council organized a march at Bagotville for May 12, 1984 with the goal, it seemed, of addressing criticisms that the PPCC was not "Quebec" enough in its orientation. This action was not as successful as expected - less than 100 people attended, most of those being Montrealers and members of groups affiliated to the Quebec Peace Council and the Communist Party of Quebec.

As for the COOP, it organized a march on May 26, 1984 in Quebec City with the theme "For a Demilitarized Quebec". Approximately 1000 people from many groups and regions took part. Following this march, the COOP began planning the large march for the October 20th International Day of Protest. To organize this day, the COOP held meetings with all interested groups, including the unions, to establish an October 20th Cttee. Negotiations were undertaken with the PPCC (and its constituent groups) to discuss the possibility of having a shared, if not unified march on that day.

The divisions remain deep between the non-aligned tendency, such as that of the COOP, and those of the Quebec Peace Council and their allies who control the Executive Committee of the Quebec section of the PPCC. It may be that current discussions will indicate that the perspectives are irreconcilable, but at least it can be said that an effort was made.

## FORUMS

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According to Dr. Dainty, an additional environmental effect anticipated by the Sagan group is a marked depletion of the ozone layer of the atmosphere. This would enable extremely high levels of ultraviolet light to reach the earth's surface once the clouds of dust and soot finally dispersed. This effect, which would last for many years, would result in the blinding of animals, including humans, and in the impairment of their immune systems. Plants would have their photosynthetic process further retarded by the high levels of ultraviolet light, which would also have the effect of inducing mutations. All of this would occur at a time when those few plant species which survived the nuclear winter would be craving healthy growing conditions.

The plants in the Northern Hemisphere would suffer much more severely in summer than in winter. Those in the Southern Hemisphere would be extremely vulnerable all year 'round, as they are much less hardy in terms of resisting drops in temperature.

Any surviving humans in coastal areas looking to harvest seafood for human consumption would find that the abnormally low temperatures of the land masses combined with the relatively constant temperature of the oceans would create very turbulent weather conditions severe enough to preclude primitive efforts at fishing.

**ACT!** **THE**  
 **FALL**  
**OUT**  
**SHelter**  
**PEACE GALLERY OFFEE**  
**CENTRE Gallery HOUSE**  
**370 QUEEN ST. EAST**  
**(AT PARLIAMENT) 362-0354**

Are the bad rads getting you down?  
Drop in to the Fallout Shelter.

## Freedom Fighters & 3 Roberts

The weekend of September 21-22 was a busy one at the Fallout Shelter. At the Friday coffeehouse The Three Roberts gave a performance of their poetry on the theme of Peace. Their witiness and spontaneity captured the audience from the first moment on. Particularly memorable were Priest's "The new cruise protester", to the reggae accompaniment of Paul Dorby, and his enlightening "The colours of Bullshit" (1).

The next night the Fallout Shelter was vibrating to the political reggae of the Freedom Fighters at a special ACT party. Even the most unsuspecting activists were up on their feet dancing. They were such a hit that we're having them back on Friday, November 23rd for a special benefit party. Don't miss it! (Tickets \$5 at the door, \$4 in advance).

Another "don't miss": the ACT Nuclear Nightmares Halloween Party! Saturday, October 27th. Come in costume and take refuge at the Fallout Shelter! (\$3 donation, prize for the costume in the worst taste).

## GALLERY to open Oct. 24

The Fallout Shelter Gallery will open formally with a wine and cheese party on Wednesday October 24th at 8pm, featuring the collages, drawings and sculptures of Toronto artist Bart Snow.

The Gallery is the newest addition to the Fallout Shelter -- now offering visual artists the opportunity to express their message as well, contributing in yet another way to the international movement for survival!

## Calendar of events

- Oct. 27: (Saturday) - Nuclear Madness Halloween Party. Come in costume!
- Nov. 2: David Anderson and Rosa Anderson-Baker. Ethnic folk-music.
- Nov. 9: The Risk (band). Dance!
- Nov. 16: Jazz with the Nick Gotham Trio.
- Nov. 23: The Freedom Fighters, political reggae Dance & Party.
- Nov. 30: John Brown ensemble. Poetry, Folk-rock.

# what is ACT?

ACT was formed in December of 1982 to organize a campaign against the testing of the cruise missile. It is a coalition of people from all sectors of society who are concerned about the future of our planet and want an end to nuclear madness.

The reality of a possible nuclear holocaust and its devastating consequences for our planet are gradually sinking into our consciousness. There are millions of us both East and West who are demanding the right to live and to voice our protest against the forces which threaten our survival.

We, Canadians can start at home. The testing of the cruise missile draws Canada directly into the nuclear arms race. The biggest contribution Canadians can make to disarmament is to

refuse to be an accomplice - to refuse to take part in the development and testing of new technology for mass destruction. Direct pressure must be put on our government to stop cruise testing.

ACT believes that through mass public protest we can involve the largest number of people in the peace movement and have a powerful impact on government policy. For this reason, ACT concentrates a great deal of energy on local and nationwide demonstrations.

ACT also responds in an immediate way to current events with focused, peaceful symbolic actions designed to raise public consciousness of the issue. There are also ongoing projects such as educational forums, public "speakeouts", as well as a weekly coffeehouse.

Toronto's action coalition dedicated to mobilizing Canadians against our country's increasing involvement in the nuclear arms race.

## ACT in ACTION

- 1983
- Feb 12: ACT mobilizes 5,000 in Toronto and networks demonstrations across Canada 45 hours after the announcement of the umbrella weapons testing agreement.
- Apr 23: ACT organizes historic march of 25000 against cruise testing, one of the two largest peace demonstrations ever held in Toronto. Networked across Canada.
- July 23: A nationwide protest against cruise testing in response to July 15 cruise testing agreement; 8000 in Toronto.
- Aug 6: The ACT coalition co-sponsors Hiroshima Day commemoration and protest.
- Oct 22: International Day of Protest - ACT co-sponsors Toronto anti-cruise march and rally, the other of the two largest peace demonstrations in Toronto.
- Dec 3: ACT holds a Santa Claus parade against the cruise and delivers a
- lively and colourful Christmas message for peace.
- 1984
- Mar 10: Demonstration in response to first cruise test. ACT had finally won the right to march up Yonge St. with a permit.
- Apr 28: Second annual Spring Protest. 15,000 Torontonians once again demonstrate against the cruise. This despite the fact that the first cruise test had already occurred. Persistence will win out in the end!
- Aug 6: Hiroshima Day commemoration and protest.
- AND NOW - PEACE ACTION '85!

## Do yourself a favour. Be a volunteer for peace!

ACT, like most peace coalitions, relies solely on volunteer help. And, like most organizations, we can always use more. We have a number of programs, committees, and projects underway and, as always, a shortage of people. **GET INVOLVED!** There's lots to do, whether you help on a one time only basis or get more involved in working on a project or a committee. In almost all cases no prior experience is needed. ACT needs your support.

Help make PEACE ACTION '85 a success.

Briefly, here is a description of ACT's structure and how to get involved:

**MEMBERSHIP IN ACT** - Anyone can be a member. Individuals have a vote if they have done some work in act.  
- Groups can send a representative to vote.  
- We ask that groups make a contribution commensurate with their means.

**MEETINGS** - are open to anyone  
- are normally held at our office, 370 Queen Street East unless specified otherwise  
- start at 7:30 pm.

**GENERAL MEETINGS** - ACT's highest decision making body  
- all committees report to the general meeting  
- are held every second Monday, 7:30 pm, at 370 Queen St. E.  
- next meetings: Oct 22, Nov 5, Nov 19

**STEERING CTTE** - made up of committee coordinators  
- meets in alternate Mondays  
- next meetings: Oct 29, Nov 12, Nov 26

**PUBLICITY CTTE** - does leaflets, posters, and button designs  
- organizes distribution of leaflets and posters  
- sends events listings to newspapers, radio, etc.  
- next meetings: Thursday, Oct 25, Nov 8, Nov 22

**EDUCATION CTTE** - responsible for forums, bookstore and the newsletter  
- organizes high school assemblies, university teach-ins and other public events  
- tries to keep track of relevant articles, essays and books  
- next meetings: Oct 30, Nov 20

**FUNDRAISING CTTE** - organizes all special fundraising events, such as parties, benefit concerts, speakers, film showings, etc.  
- next meetings: Oct 31, Nov 14, Nov 28

**PRESS CTTE** - press releases and press conferences  
- arranges for interviews  
- organizes building events to get public exposure before a demonstration  
- next meetings: Oct 28, Nov 11, Nov 25, all at 2pm

**OUTREACH CTTE** - liaison with the union locals, church groups, and high schools  
- keeps them informed of our events by supplying speakers or leaflets  
- next meeting: Wed. Nov 7, Nov 21

All these committees need people to take on major jobs of responsibility or simple tasks, such as delivering leaflets to a community group. Any help is appreciated. Attend a committee meeting to get an idea of what ACT does.

As well as committees, there are certain areas that also need help.

**FALLOUT SHELTER** - coffeehouse - set-up on Friday next at 7:00 pm  
- pick-up coffee, food and sound equipment  
- poster upcoming events  
- art gallery - staffing during afternoons  
- prepare for new showings and exhibits  
- bookstore - ordering new books and maintaining existing stock

**SPEAKOUTS** - We like to have four to five people with the ACT banner to sell buttons and hand out leaflets. As well, for those of you who like to speak, you are welcome to use a megaphone. These are held four times weekly.

**NEWSLETTER** - more help is needed in all aspects of its production, do you like to write, work on layout, or edit?

**OFFICE** - people are needed who can staff the office for an afternoon once a week

- we need a list of people who we can count on to do phoning, and those with cars to make deliveries.

Do yourself a favour. **Please get involved!** The more help you give ACT, the better chance for world survival. Help save your own life, help the peace movement!

PEACE ACTION '85 can only work with your help!

I want to get involved  My group wants to get involved

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Phone (\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ Post. code \_\_\_\_\_

The peace movement relies on your financial support. Please give generously.

I enclose:  \$100  \$50  \$25  \$10  other \_\_\_\_\_

Send to:  
ACT - The Against Cruise Testing Coalition  
370 Queen St. East, Toronto, Ont. M5A 1T1, Phone: (416) 362-0354

