

Network is published from time to time by Gary Moffatt, who may be assumed to have written whatever material is not by-lined by somebody else. Its main goal is to produce discussion and reflection on the methods used by the peace movement and related social movements in working for social change, from a nonviolent anarchist perspective. Comment on or response to any points raised in Network for publication in a subsequent issue is welcome. Opinions expressed in any Network article are not necessarily shared by anyone else who writes in Network.

This is the second issue of Network to be published in 1984. The first was a booklength feature, The Eagle and the Jackal, which traced the history of U.S. aggression and Canadian complicity. As this issue was too bulky to mail, copies were delivered to the doors of most subscribers; if you didn't get yours please let us know. The Eagle and the Jackal is still available, free to Network subscribers and \$3 for anyone else. Additional material may be added through Network from time to time, due to its looseleaf format, and submissions are welcome.

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The Darlington Walk That Didn't Happen; why are we so hung up on rallies and sitdowns? Why Do Communities Fail?--shouldn't we begin asking ourselves why we can't live together? Power Trips Wearing Out the Greens; news on the green movement in Germany and California. What the Peace Movement Should Know About the Vancouver Five; what lessons should be drawn?

#### BLACK UMBRELLA AT 442 CAMBRIDGE

442 Cambridge Street will be the headquarters of the Black Umbrella, a coalition of anarchist groups and individuals in the Ottawa area. A library-reading room is being assembled anarchist and related publications will be distributed, a newsletter will be printed (look for the first in late June) and meetings will be held. Call or drop by for more information. Also, living space will be available at the end of August; inquiries welcome.

#### BENEFIT FILM PROBES SOCIAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

On Wednesday June 20 at 9:30 p.m. the Towne Cinema will show the film Born in Flames as a benefit for Youth Action for Peace. All seats are \$4. The following is reprinted from promotional material of the distributor, DEC films of Toronto, which begins by quoting producer-director Lizzie Borden: "everything has to fall apart before it comes together..."

BORN IN FLAMES is set in the future--ten years after a (Social-Democratic "revolution" in America. The film is not traditionally "Science fiction": there is no attempt to create a futuristic look because it is as much about today's world as it is about the future--posing the question of whether oppression against women will be eliminated under any kind of social system. The film opens during a period of disenchantment, when political ideals have been sacrificed to pragmatic realities. The Social Democratic Party that women had supported has not fulfilled its promises. The women in the film are not anti-Socialist. In fact, they see themselves as the true Socialists, whose hopes for an egalitarian society have been destroyed. They are opposed by the bureaucracy of the traditional Left whose governing structure inevitably reproduces white male dominance within the culture; to a "Socialist" government in which the role of woman as wife and mother has been reproduced in the workplace as well as in the home; and where any temporary economic advancement for women only reflects the opportunism of the government rather than a true desire for egalitarianism. These women are not satisfied by relative "progress" in a society where rape, prostitution and harassment still exist, where homosexuality is punished, and where "women's issues" such as daycare are seen as secondary concerns.

BORN IN FLAMES is fantasy in presenting a group of women who, confronted with the very "ordinary" oppression women have been experiencing for decades, refuse to take it any longer and become armed fighters against the government. Their position is that oppression against women is not eliminated automatically with "socialism"--not only do political values have to be concluded on last page of newsletter

This spring, I tried to promote an anti-nuclear walk through eastern Ontario terminating at the Darlington rally June 9. It fell through, partly because only a few individuals were available to take part and partly because the sponsors of the Darlington rally rejected a request for \$1500 to finance the walk, despite strong support from at least one member. This \$1500 was a small percentage of the money spent on either the June 9 rally or the June 11 civil disobedience action; I feel that the walk could have done a lot more good than either. I also feel that the lack of support for this relatively unused form of public education indicates that the peace and environmentalist movements are sinking into a dangerous rut, wherein the mainstream can think only of mass rallies and the "radicals" only of sit-downs. This concentration on one or two methods of communicating our ideas, out of the wide variety open to us, could be suicidal.

I am not saying that we should always do a long distance walk; this would be as stupid as always doing a rally or a sit-down. But consider the advantages of a walk:

- It involves us going to the public, whereas when we do a rally or a sit-down we are talking to ourselves and the fuzz.
- It demonstrates that our concern goes beyond taking a Saturday afternoon outing.
- It causes thousands to see us in person, always more effective than on a teevey screen sandwiched in between the other acts on the three-ring-circus news broadcasts. Those who wish to talk to us and get our literature have the chance.
- It gives our supporters in each community, large or small, that the walk goes through an opportunity to mobilize public support around the problems of arranging food, shelter and public meetings for the walkers as they go through town.
- It gives the walkers themselves a chance to further their knowledge through inter-action with each other and with the supporters they encounter along the way. A well-organized walk will create a learning experience for its participants, at the same time they are teaching others.

In the case of the Darlington walk, the opportunities for learning experiences for the walkers would have been particularly numerous. The whole point of opposing Darlington should be to contrast the state's ideal of huge, centrally controlled, potentially lethal megaprojects with the anarcho-decentralist concept of small, locally-managed renewable sources of energy. (The state originated to regulate the damming of the Nile river; nuclear power plants with their expansion of centralized power and financing seem to complete the process of giving a few people authority over everyone else under the guise of meeting energy requirements.) The walk itself could have functioned as a community (with consensus decision-making, non-sexist work distribution etc.), thereby giving the walkers experience in being part of a community. It could have visited some of the successful community experiments en route (Bakavi, Dandelion, The Farm etc) as well as alternate energy projects started by communities and individuals. The walkers could also have read and discussed what Schumacher, Bookchin and others have had to say about the values of decentralized energy generation and community building. We could have examined the ways in which the energy shortage affects our daily lives (it's amazing how many environmentalists have lights needlessly burning in their own homes.)

In terms of public education, the walk could also have driven home an important message. It seems that one of the main reasons people are turning to rightwing governments during these troubled times is their equation of the left with increased government interference in peoples' lives. The social democrats have done little to allay these fears with their harping on nationalizing means of production (state control) as opposed to socializing them (workers' control.) Nonetheless, they could hardly be doing more to increase the state's role in our lives than our present rightwing governments are undertaking. The Davis government is a case in point. It has invented a fourth level of government (regional) whose bureaucrats we are now forced to obey and overpay along with the federal, provincial and municipal ones. It has consolidated small communities into large municipal units, often against the wishes of the inhabitants.

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It has created county school boards which take control of what happens in the school away from the community and places it in the hands of a few overpaid superintendents. The heavy hand of state censorship has fallen on more and more fields of artistic expression. To finance these and other outrages, a 7% sales tax is imposed which hurts those of low income especially hard as it is applied without regard to income. The current Davis plan to enlarge nuclear power and its accompanying bureaucracy, with the citizens paying the bills through increased hydro bills, is just one more manifestation of the government's tendency to centralize power. A well-thought-out public education campaign drawing attention to these facts, in which an anti-nuclear walk could have played a prominent role, might possibly get some people looking critically at this drift to the right.

All in all, an excellent education opportunity has been missed. Part of the problem lay in poor timing of the Darlington events; several high school students told me they would have walked had it been a few weeks later when school is out. I suspect that the planners asked themselves what would be a good time to do a rally and a sit-down, rather than asking what would be the most effective method of raising public awareness of Darlington and how it might be related to other social issues. Looking on the bright side, the unused posters did supply the scrap paper for this issue of Network.

#### WHY DO COMMUNITIES FAIL?

Previous issues of Network have set forth the viewpoint that the state, as an agent of the corporations, is too heavily committed to third world exploitation and arms building to be dissuaded by protest, and that those of us concerned with peace should therefore concentrate on self and public education and on building an alternative society as a model for basic social change. So how do we create this alternative society? Among community builders there is a pretty wide consensus as to the sort of society we want to build (participatory democracy, renewable energy, non-sexist work distribution etc.) and on the ultimate goal of a society based on confederations of small communities practising these ideals. Yet most of the attempts to create such communities, or even the affinity groups leading up to them, collapse in a few months or a few years, and even the successful ones have failed to establish the sort of networking that would enable communities to work together towards common ends.

This inability to retain commitment to one another is by no means unique to the community building movement; marriages and other forms of human association are also hard-hit. But the movement to create an alternative society will likely be stymied until we come to grips with this situation. Part of the problem doubtless lies in an over-optimism which causes those taking part to waive some of the fundamental prerequisites for selecting companions in the venture, i.e.

- a shared analysis of what social change is needed and how the members of the group will work and live together to bring it about.
- common agreement to a written set of principles outlining what the group expects from each member and what each member expects from the group.
- a mutual understanding of the conditions of living together; what standard of cleanliness will be maintained, how work will be divided, extent to which individual privacy will be maintained, degree of communalization of property and so forth.
- a commonly accepted strategy for furthering the group's ends.

Without these prior agreements, a group's chances of working together over a long period of time for common goals are most remote. The difficulties of finding enough people to rent a house or work a piece of land often tempt those starting such a project to waive some or all of these requirements. The easier it is to get a group of people together, the more easily it will fall apart in midstream when it fails to meet all the members' diversified expectations.

Meeting these conditions by no means assures the group's success, however. A second set of problems, harder to define and deal with than lack of consensus about means and goals but equally destructive of attempts to create social alternatives, comes into play when the members have achieved consensus. Basically, these problems are rooted in our present society's stress on individualism and competition, and consequent failure to produce people capable of socializing

effectively. From the paternalistic family unit through the school system and into the social and working mainstream, we learn to compete for parental affection, high grades, good jobs, social recognition (through skill in sports and in manipulating others) and ultimately for power, the ability to get others to do what we want them to. We learn to limit our acquisitiveness only by the need to manipulate those around us and avoid turning them off by excessive displays of greed. With this background, it is natural that we relate to our social change projects largely in terms of the ego-gratification we obtain from them, and abandon them when the reward seems insufficient. We are unable to refrain from backbiting, faction-forming and other manifestations of ego gratification that we have been taught to use. We have also been taught to mask our true feelings, basically to distrust even those we wish to be close to, so well that many of us tend to pull away from a group whose interrelationship is becoming so intense that the members find it necessary to discuss and explore some of their feelings.

How can we combat this tendency of our social conditioning to prevent us from combining effectively to create real social alternatives? There are no easy answers. We must work out a process for evaluating our relationships to one another and develop a field of study of individual-group relationships. Gathering the information already generated in this field by such groups as Movement for a New Society would be one of the tasks of the study of economic alternatives I have proposed for OPIRG and ANVA, and will undertake with a smaller group if they turn it down.

It is curious that one of the few interesting films of the past decade devotes its entire length to a conversation between two men in a swanky restaurant. The protagonist, Andre, has come to the same conclusion through experiments in mysticism and surrealist theatre that I have through political activism, that the great majority of people have been so numbed by the onrush of events in the 20th century that they have become robotized and incapable of thinking about what they are doing. Andre seems to regard this condition as irreversible, and is drawn to quasi-mystical communities such as Findhorn which, like the medieval monasteries, will preserve humanity's precious knowledge against the onslaught of the new dark age. Personally I'm not so sure it's irreversible (people aren't inherently stupid; our society conditions them that way) and am less attracted to Findhorn with its commercialism and fairies in the bottom of the garden than to those communities where the humans are relying on their own efforts to demonstrate that man-scaled societies can work. Once more of these experiments start succeeding, hopefully greater numbers of people will be attracted to them and a real social alternative will emerge. But to make this happen we've got to learn from our mistakes and not repeat them every time we set up another group living situation.

#### POWER TRIPS WEARING OUT THE GREENS

The 10th issue of Synthesis, an interesting social ecology newsletter from San Pedro, has considerable material about the growing green movement. The German Greens, having won seats in the Bundestag, are battling among themselves: "Some don't want to surrender their positions to replacements by midterm as had been originally agreed. One was forced to resign because his roving hands infuriated the feminist colleagues. Even a little power and prestige begins to corrupt almost immediately." In California, meanwhile, the tiny movement has already apparently split into two camps, the Green Party run by an expert media manipulator who grossly exaggerates its support and the Greens--Los Angeles, who have adopted a good points of unity statement emphasizing consensus democracy, peace and non-violence, ecology, social welfare and solidarity with all groups in substantial agreement with its points of unity. "We seek a society in which the needs of individuals, of communities, and of ecosystems are balanced and integrated, and in which economic resources are used consciously, democratically, and appropriately to further this end."

It is inconceivable that any social structure other than an anarchist one based on confederations of small groups could function in this manner. It is also inconceivable that an anarchist society could function without adherence to these points. It is time for the black and green movements to realize that they need each other; neither violence nor voting can produce the social changes we need.

On January 20th 1983, a brown pick-up truck heading north from Vancouver on the rugged S uamish highway slows for what appears to be a construction. As the pickup stops it is cut off by various vehicles apparently involved in construction. Immediately, the doors are flung open by the "road crew" and three people in the cab are dragged out at guapoint. Simultaneously the canopied back of the truck is tear-gassed and, as the two men in the back scramble for air, they find a dozen rifles trained on them. All the five people surrender peacefully. Meanwhile, combat ready police are swarming out of the surrounding bush and construction vehicles.

Those arrested were Julie Belmas 20, Ann Hansen 29, Doug Stewart 25, Gerry Hannah 26 and Brent Taylor also 26. All five have been active in various progressive movements. Besides the anti-nuclear and disarmament movement they have been involved in native peoples' struggles, third world solidarity work, the environmental and the wimmin's movement. Julie and Gerry came out of the Vancouver area punch scene disillusioned by the lack of commitment to radical change. Gerry is a veteran of the political/punk band The Subhumans.

#### The Charges

The five are presently facing over twenty charges ranging from conspiracy and possession of stolen property to sabotage and arson. Probably the most well-known actions these people are accused of are the Direct Action bombings which caused an estimated \$10 million damage. The first was the dynamiting of a substation on the Cheekeye-Dunsmuir hydro transmission lines. The fact that B.C. Hydro had not consulted or even informed people living along the proposed line in advance, and has subsequently refused to hold full public hearings, has made this project the focus of a four-year campaign. Besides the ecological effects from the huge swath being cut through the countryside, the emition of electro-magnetic radiation and the dangerous herbicides to prevent undergrowth, many believe B.C. hydro is building the line to transmit power from future nuclear reactors. The second Direct Action Sabotage was the October 14th 1982 bombing of Litton Industries in Toronto, where the cruise missile guidance system is produced. Litton is also involved in production of numerous other types of military equipment, and has one of the most repressive anti-union policies in North America. It has been the focus of a long campaign of civil disobedience and public education organized by the Cruise Missile Conversion Project (CMCP) and the Alliance for Non-Violent Action (ANVA.)

The arson charges stem from the fire-bombing of three Vancouver area porn shops claimed by the Wimmins Fire Brigade. The Red Hot Video outlets, bombed along with numerous other distributors of misogynist (womyn hating) material had also been the target of a major public campaign by wimmins' groups.

#### Trial By Media

Immediately after the arrests, the police took an unprecedented move in an obvious attempt to vilify the five. A press conference was held where members of the Vancouver City Police, the RCMP and the B.C. Coordinated Law Enforcement Unit (CLEU) proudly unveiled an arsenal of weapons, leaving the impression they are all seized from the pick-up at the time of the arrest or at the very least from the accuseds' homes. This took place before the defence attorneys had an opportunity to view the "evidence." In the days following the arrests, newspapers across the country ran headlines such as "Round Up Nets Anarchist Cell." Many reporters seized the opportunity to create a general hysteria, referring to the five as "accused terrorists" and charging them with the Litton bombing 2 1/2 months before the police did. In what has been unaffectionately nicknamed Canada's garbage can school of journalism, a CBC reporter sifted through garbage and entered a home where four of the five accused lived to read private journals and poetry over the air. Later the same reporter, going above and beyond the call of duty, disguised himself as a "terrorist" and sneaked into a shipyard with three sticks of dynamite to "test security." "I leave it to you the viewer," he intoned; "are the safeguards stringent enough?"

It is evident that the media response was intentionally provoked. Robin Bourne is the co-

ordinator of the RCMP, local police departments, and director of CLEU working in B.C.; he was deeply involved in the carefully engineered campaign against Quebec separatist sentiment in the early 70's. He is considered an expert on "terrorism" and attended a "special seminar" on the subject in Puerto Rico in 1978. As background documents from this conference point out, "In the matter of terrorism it is of vital importance that the media take a conservative line..." and "The media which has the power to aid as well as hinder the terrorists should never be permitted to demonstrate the terrorist as an ordinary human." In this sense the trial by media was effective, for little information on the background of the five as respected activists and "ordinary humans" was reported.

Fortunately, many civil liberties organizations and other groups, including the Canadian Civil Liberties Association and the B.C. Law Union, saw through the veil and have spoken out about the limited chances of the five getting a fair trial because of the police actions and slanderous media coverage.

#### Harrassment

As the media campaign to criminalize and dehumanize the Vancouver Five was winding down, a campaign of harrassment by Police in British Columbia and Ontario was just beginning. On December 6 1982, a member of World Emergency Peterborough was arrested in a movie theatre, charged with attempted murder and accused of being a member of Direct Action. After he was interrogated for twelve hours the charges were dropped and he was released. Two days later the offices of the organization were raided. In the following week the Toronto offices of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project and the Alliance for Non-Violent Action were also raided, and three members of the CMCP had their houses searched. In one case the police took eight shopping bags of material including a personal phonebook and calender. Most of this material has yet to be returned a year and a half later.

On June 13th 1983, a house in Toronto where people active in Vancouver Five support work and other work around prison issues including compilation of Bulldozer, a prison abolition magazine, was raided. The charges listed on the warrant were seditious libel (advocating the overthrow of the state by force) and sabotage of Litton. Neither of these charges have been laid, but a womyn living in the house who was not directly involved in the political work around prison issues has been charged with procuring an abortion and related "crimes." The charges were used as a leverage by the police to try to acquire information on the people living with her. Ken Deyarmond, as reported in the first issue of Scream, was charged on September 27 1983 with "threatening to assault an internationally protected person" and several other offences. He too is active in the Toronto area defence group.

On February 20th of this year Jerry Ferguson, a native womyn active with the Vancouver Five Defence Committee and a prison abolitionist, was picked up by the Vancouver City Police, beaten and interrogated. She was released at 3 a.m. and tailed by a police cruiser. There is presently a ban on publication of evidence around the trials of the five. The interrogation and abuse she received concerned a pamphlet containing "illegal" information gathered at the trial revealing the extent of police powers in Canada. People should know that the police are willing to commit up to ten or more officers to watch one person, that the police who illegally entered the home of four of the five defendants to plant bugs carried drawn revolvers (one said later they would "probably" have shot anyone they surprised) and that rhew has been a first time ruling that police who apply for a wiretap authorization under the Privacy Act don't have to reveal previous Official Secrets Act wiretaps.

Besides the practical element of intimidating activists and disrupting our work, there is undoubtedly a conscious effort being made by the state to indict people active in social change in the eyes of the general public. It is obvious by the reaction of some people that they are assuming that if an individual or organization is being investigated they must have been involved in the bombings.

#### Reaction

After the bombings many individuals and groups denounced these actions and offered in any

way possible to aid the authorities in capturing the "terrorists" responsible. It is unfortunate people forget so quickly the strategy that is repeatedly used to destroy perceived threats to the interests of the privileged. During the McCarthy era red-baiting, the state managed to acquire information to purge people from society by soliciting the aid of "progressive" people. When confronted with the question of communism, these people often became very didignant; "I'm no commie and to prove it I'll denounce them and tell you who is." When dealing with the issue of support for the five and the tactics surrounding their case, there are numerous things to be considered. The most important thing is probably clarifying what is "violence." Is damage to property that is bringing us closer to destruction violence? How do the liberation struggles in the third world fit in?

Another important point to clarify is our goal(s): Social Change or merely nuclear disarmament. As one prominent member of the "peace movement" recently stated "the military has nothing to fear from the peace movement." If this is representative, those involved in radical social change work do have something to fear from the "peace movement."

Something most have an inability to do is to internalize the experiences of oppressed people, and the collective agony all living things are experiencing with the destruction of our planet. People who are aware of how massively the state intervenes in our lives, the lives of others and our environment, and who have tried to understand these experiences on something more than an intellectual level will naturally feel the need to act. The tactics they choose will obviously be based on what they perceive to be the viable options. If people turn to clandestine tactics it is because those of us who believe in the possibility of building a popular revolutionary movement have not presented it as viable. This is our failing.

Free the Five; Free us all.

#### LEONARD PELTIER ON FAST TO DEATH

Akwesasne Notes (v. 16 #2) reports that Leonard Peltier and two other native American prisoners in the Marion Illinois Penitentiary are embarked on a fast unto death to protest destruction of their religious objects, denial of their right to practise their religion and inhuman prison conditions which include daily beatings of prisoners by the guards. If he dies, Trudeau who had him extradicted to the USA on demonstrably fabricated "eyewitness" affidavits will be partly responsible; his extradition of Peltier displays the same contempt for the native peoples' right to live that John A. Macdonald displayed when he turned Sitting Bull over to the Americans for certain murder.

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change, cultural values must change and become embeded in practice. The film is also fantasy in imagining women uniting with each other across race lines rather than with men of their own race. The groups of women in the film represent various conflicting ideological/cultural positions within the women's community: 1. A Women's Army, racially mixed, which sponsors rallies, demonstrations, and vigilante groups against rape and assault 2. A Black women's underground radio station, its roots in soul, gospel and reggae. 3. A white women's underground radio station, its roots in punk and rock. 4. A group of white female "intellectuals", newspaper editors working with the Party to define the "correct" position on women's issues.

The narrative of the film is disjunctive, cutting between these groups and establishing a sense of the world in which they live. After a leader of the Women's Army is killed by the government, the Army is forced into terrorist actions--seizing the media--radicalizing in this process all the other groups, who then begin to work together, the radio stations as the voice of the new movement, the editors as the political wing. Their armed activities are directed primarily against the media in order to appropriate the language, even for a moment. The title of the film BORN IN FLAMES is meant to suggest that even though an armed revolutionary movement may be impossible to sustain, it is not masochistic--it will survive as a thorn in the side of the culture. The film also expresses the hope that women will be able to work together, that the bitter conflicts that have existed within the women's community--between lesbians and heterosexuals, between women of different races--will one day disappear.