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## UPCOMING EVENTS IN OTTAWA

- May 13-June 6: Public Education Campaign on the Canadian Prison System. Parliament Hill 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. (7 days a week), also sessions Thursday evenings 7:30-10 at the Glebe Community Centre. Our prison system is causing more crime than it prevents. You are welcome to drop by the Hill during the above-listed hours to discuss the need for prison reform with people who are longtime activists in this movement. They are calling for meaningful alternatives to imprisonment, review of parole eligibility after 10 years' in murder sentences, and effective means of protecting prison inmates against violence.  
Information: Claire Culhane 563-1718 or PO Box 3034 Stn D Ottawa K1P 6H6.
- May 31, June 3 & 5: The Human Condition. Unquestionably the greatest antiwar film ever made, this 11-hour Japanese film tells the story of a young WW2 draftee who chooses to cast his lot with the oppressed instead of the oppressors. Directed by Masaki Kobayashi. Presented at the National Film Theatre in three parts, each starting at 7:30 p.m.  
Incidentally, some other socially relevant films are on NFT's May-June schedule; you can get a copy at 75 Albert St. suite B-20. Screenings at 395 Wellington.

## MESSAGE FROM GARY MOFFATT, PUBLISHER OF NETWORK

After production of this issue, Network moves into suspension while I resettle in Toronto. At this time I'm uncertain whether it will continue in its present form or merge into a larger effort, but in either case I'm committed to continuing some form of publication and Network subscriptions will be transferred to whatever form it takes. Since most issues will no longer be available at Ottawa distribution points, readers who wish to continue reading it regularly in the Ottawa area are invited to subscribe at the rate of \$10 for 12 issues. In whatever form of continued publication it takes, Network will continue to present news and viewpoints relevant to radical social change. Please make out cheques to me as Network has no bank account, and mail to 442 Cambridge St. Ottawa K1S 4H7.

OUTLINE PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL DAYS OF RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN FOR JUNE OF 1986

by Ken Hancock

feedback requested: 9 Melbourne Avenue, Toronto M6K 1K1

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to begin to articulate the political and organizational foundations for a long term campaign of resistance (and alternative policy formations) to the commitment of the Canadian government to the escalating arms race. A substantial part of this paper is based upon the proposal that we spend the next fourteen months building for a Days of Resistance campaign for Ottawa. The aim of this action is to disrupt and obstruct the workings of a government which is clearly dedicated to the build-up of global militarism, and by consequence, the increasing insecurity of its own citizenry. People are asked to read the proposals, formulate additional ideas, etc. and gather in the near future to begin the actual work of the campaign. (see time line below)

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THE PROPOSAL

(1) That there is an essential value, in an age when one of our most serious "social diseases" is obedience to morally bankrupt authority, in the continuation of a publicly expressed campaign of nonviolent resistance. The focus of such actions may change. Our "ability" to organize may go through highs and lows, but a commitment to resistance politics is what, over the long run, is one of the fundamentals which bind us together.

(2) That, as Gandhi stated, the use of nonviolence as a tool of political struggle is in many ways an experiment. In this spirit, it is important to think of what we have learned via the Litton campaign. For example, instead of attempting to organize an action in three months, let us apply our energies over a much longer time period. This will give us the opportunity to build a campaign in ways that we have not been able to use in the past. The ability to work through institutions (church, labour etc.) and the possibility of an extensive educational campaign are within the scope of a longer term campaign.

(3) That many in the peace movement feel confused and lost as to the future directions of their work. The lack of political and moral autonomy (and confidence) leaves the population on the one hand dependent upon the State for action, but on the other hand more threatened by the official violence that is the basis of militarism itself. In terms of the peace movement, where the people, concerned about the survival of the planet itself, have been attempting to "negotiate" (through petitions, rallies etc.) the time has now come to force a point of policy change. It will be one of our tasks, within the scope of this campaign, to place the refusal to act on our demands, to place the burden for the breakdown of such "negotiations" upon the State. If the State continues policies which threaten its own population, then any further escalation on our part must be seen to rest squarely upon their shoulders.

(4) That despite this confusion many in the peace movement are ready to think about acting in new ways. It is our responsibility to organize a civil disobedience campaign which can involve people on many different "levels." We are asking people, given the almost total socialization of the culture, to do something which does not come "naturally" to people. Consequently, in the struggle for the "hearts and minds" of the people that is inherent in this campaign, it is very important that we appear to be many things to many people (patient, reasonable, angry, committed etc.) This is the reason for the grace period in the demands section of this proposal. The act of civil disobedience must make sense to peoples' own experience of personal and political alienation. Secondly they need to be able to name the sources of such alienation, take responsibility for it, and organize a plan of action for it.

TIME LINE PROPOSAL

May 35-Discussion of initial proposal among various groups; time for additional input, changes  
June 35-After re-articulation of proposals, a weekend meeting to set in motion actual organizing work; time for getting word out to wider constituency.

June-Aug 85-Writing and printing of initial literature (call letter, broadsheet, pledge of resistance, c.d. brochure, etc.) Build solid base for press conference, put together press kits.

Aug 6 85-If possible, nation-wide press conference announcing campaign, our demands, and time line for action on their and our part.

Sept 85-Nationwide conference for direct action groups, and for further c-ordination of campaign.

Fall 85-Spring 86-Extensive nationwide educational campaign to include workshops, speaking tours, fundraisers. etc.

Jan 1 86-Deadline for government announcement for actions on our demands.

Jan 2 86-Press conference for groups involved in campaign to state our commitment, coming to Ottawa etc.

Spring-June 86-Continuation of outreach. Staff person for Ottawa for logistics.

June 86-Days of Resistance start. 3-5 day period where no civil disobedience will happen for leafletting, press conference, public speaking. Ongoing invitation to come to Ottawa. Nonviolence training, etc.

#### DEMANDS OF CAMPAIGN

- (1) Announce a three-year moratorium on the research and testing of conventional-biological-nuclear weapons in Canada.
- (2) A three year moratorium on the export of uranium and Candu technology.
- (3) Passing in the House of Commons, during the sitting after the Christmas of 1985 session, a bill giving all workers in Canada a conscientious objector status for the workplace. This law will be introduced via a Private Members Bill. It will give all industrial and non-industrial workers the legal right to refuse to participate in the research, testing or production of military systems. It will give all workers the right to full and balanced information about the arms race and about the particular weapons system itself in which the worker's labour is employed. This law will give all workers who refuse such work the right to job re-location and job re-training. No worker shall lose her or his job because of her or his commitment to peace. A special government fund, starting with the re-location of money now given to corporations to acquire military contracts, shall be put aside for such worker re-training. The government shall also announce the commitment of additional funds to this program.
- (4) Announce a date in 1986 for a national economic conversion conference. The goal of such a conference will be to begin to implement a short and long term policy process for the planned economic conversion of Canada's Defence Industry into an alternative policy which places as its priorities the economic rights of the poor, the homeless and the unemployed.

If these actions, based upon specific policy commitments to peace and not vague statements, are not forthcoming, then we pledge that we will call upon the Canadian people to join us in Ottawa in June of 1986 to obstruct the workings of the Canadian government. These actions will be known as the Days of Resistance. Until our demands are actually acted upon we see no other choice but to choose the survival of the planet and of future generations above the laws of any one particular political system.

#### FLEDGE OF RESISTANCE

I agree with the demands of the Days of Resistance Campaign. They offer, in the months between August 6 of 1985 and the day of January 1 of 1986 the opportunity for the Canadian government to act specifically and unilaterally upon the issue of peace. If this action is not forthcoming, I pledge to join the Days of Resistance by:

- Joining in the Days of Resistance in Ottawa in June 1986
- Organizing a nonviolent action workshop and/or speaking event in my local community
- Financially supporting a Days of Resistance Trial Fund
- Organizing a local support event during the Days of Resistance
- Phoning or writing my Member of Parliament during the Days of Resistance to voice my support for those involved in the campaign.

ALTERNATIVE PROGRAM

In order to present to the Canadian people our concept of a concrete alternative to present policies, it is proposed that, during the moratorium period, we would organize a People's Commission on the Arms Race. It would travel the country talking to the Canadian people, receiving presentations, getting input from those most affected by the arms race (the poor, unemployed, native peoples, the children) and input from alternative sources of scholarship to put together a non-aligned, non-militarized concept of foreign policy-security issues. Thinking about this could proceed over the next eighteen months and the commission could start in the fall of 1986. This could serve as an important local focus, formulate policy in a democratic manner, articulate a new vision for the future, travel extensively for various proposals, and not simply function as a screen for building a foreign policy on present assumptions and elite interests.

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DENIED RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, MILLHAVEN PRISONER ENTERS FAST

by Kevin Paul Doxtator #1042

Because I am being denied my basic human right to freedom of religion, as of March 28 1985 I am on a "spiritual fast." I am refusing all nutrients except water, the life source of all life on mother earth. It is obvious by the conspired efforts of Mr. Hayes and the security department of this prison that the simplest of religious freedoms will not be recognized for the Nishnabe prisoners of Millhaven Penitentiary.

On December 19, 1984 we were denied permission to have a sacred pipe ceremony. Then on February 5, 1985 I was informed by T. Cahill that Mr. Hayes denied our request to have sweetgrass in our cells. Not only is this a direct violation of the Canadian Constitution which guarantees all humans the right to religious freedom. I can only view this as a blatant act of racism directed at the Nishnabe prisoners of Millhaven Penitentiary. According to the Law-of-the-Land, the Constitution, we have the right to enjoy religious freedom because the rules and regulations of an institution do not supercede the Constitution. Because of the illegal kidnapping practices (forced transfers) that are allowed to take place in the federal prison system, I must state that if I am transferred out of Millhaven Penitentiary during my spiritual fast, my fast will continue until the administrators of Millhaven Penitentiary have agreed to honour the Nishnabe prisoners' right to freedom of religion.

For over a year now the Nishnabe prisoners have been repeatedly told by these sons of imperialist colonizers that our right to freedom of religion in Canada's federal prisons will soon be recognized by the new commissioners' directives. Kent Penitentiary in B.C., which is also a maximum prison, has already begun honouring freedom of religion to Vishnabe prisoners. So no longer can Millhaven Penitentiary use the slack excuse that a sweat-lodge is detrimental to the security and well-being of this prison. I have not submitted a proposal for a sweatlodge ceremony simply because we have already been refused to have sweetgrass in our cells, which would have been the easiest of requests for this prison administration to honour. I will break my spiritual fast once Mr. Ryan and Mr. Hayes have agreed to honour the Nishnabe prisoners' freedom of religion by:

- 1) Allowing the sacred seatlodge to be built as a permanent structure no later than June 85.
- 2) Opening up constructive communications with Burwash Native Peoples Project in order to have a sweatlodge ceremony at the completion of the sweatlodges construction.
- 3) Allowing all Nishnabe members of the Native Brotherhood group (Brothers of Time) to keep sweetgrass in our cells.

We are requesting nothing more than what some other federal prisons have already given the Nishnabe prisoners, their freedom to religion. Mr. Ryan and Mr. Hayes, I will wait no longer! I refuse to be denied to pray in the manner that was given to our people by the creator. If I am not allowed to enjoy the traditional teachings of our forefathers in this world, then I will enjoy the teachings with them in the next world. During my fast I pray for strength, understanding and guidance. Most of all I pray for the people. All my relations.

EDUCATION AS A SOPORIFIC ACTIVITY  
by Graeme MacQueen

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"...a government such as ours (or any other), which rests on the ignorance of the people, will never consent to their being really enlightened. It will sanction all kinds of pseudo-educational organizations, controlled by itself: schools, high schools, universities, academies, and all kinds of committees and congresses and publications sanctioned by the censor--so long as those organizations and publications serve its purpose, i.e. stupefy people, or, at least, do not hinder the stupefaction of people."

-Leo Tolstoy, "Letter to the Liberals" 1896

Educators often think of education as the process of transmitting knowledge. Some of us even like to think of educating as the prompting of insight, the awakening of minds. Of course these things sometimes happen during education, but much else happens too. Educating people involves bringing them up, rearing them, adapting them to the particular order (social, political, economic, cultural) in which they are to live. The word "educate" comes from the Latin educare, "to rear, bring up." Whatever else it may mean, to educate means to socialize. This is a standard observation, even a starting point, for much sociology of education. (1) This socialization is accomplished by a variety of means, including the inculcation of values, the cultivation of roles and the promotion of life strategies. And, yes, it takes place through the transmission of knowledge; but it also takes place through the transmission of ignorance. By "the transmission of ignorance" I do not refer merely to the faulty transmission of knowledge but to the passing on of meaningful functional ignorance, ignorance that is theoretically avoidable, that fits a pattern and is of use in maintaining a given order or set of values. It is useful to explore such ignorance transmission, because it conflicts with our self image as educators. Investigating apparent contradictions is a potent way to raise our consciousness. It is especially important that those of us who intend to teach about peace and justice undertake these investigations, for these are areas where the transmission of ignorance through education plays a crucial role.

Soporific education in the schools; education as conscription

In whatever schools students are made to revere flags, take oaths of allegiance, sing national anthems or in any other way promise to stand on guard for the state, conscription is taking place. But this conscription requires more than flags and songs: it demands the manipulation of facts and understanding as well. Here are three statements from a French school book of the late nineteenth century in which the process is crystal clear:

- The history of France proves that in our country the sons have always avenged the disasters of their fathers...
- It is for you, boys being educated in our schools, to avenge the defeat of your fathers at Sedan and at Metz.
- It is to make you good soldiers that your teachers instruct you in the history of France. (2)

If we bear this school book in mind we shall understand better the links between the Franco-Prussian war and World War I; and we shall understand better the attempt at vengeance against the Germans in the Treaty of Versailles, which directly links WW1 with WW2. It would be pleasant to think that such manipulation of history in the schools is a thing of the past, but it is not. (3) The myth-making continues, and in combination with other forms of socialization it turns the schools into a formidable centre of conscription. Jonathan Kozol says in reference to an American soldier involved in the My Lai massacre:

1-i.e. D.F. Swift, *The Sociology of Education*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968 p.8

2-quoted in Tolstoy's *Writings on Civil Disobedience and Non-Violence*, London, Peter Owen, 1967, pp 71-73.

3-for recent examples from U.S. school textbooks see William L. Griffen and John Marciano, *Teaching the Vietnam War*, Montclair NJ, Allanheld, Osmun & Co., 1979.

This man is six months out of public school. He is six months distant from the Glee Club, Flag Pledge, textbook, grammar exercises, Problems of Democracy. It is essential that we be precise. It is not the U.S. Army that transforms an innocent boy into a non-comprehending automaton in six months. It is not the U.S. Army that permits a man to murder first the sense of ethics, human recognitions, in his own soul, then to be free to turn the power of his devastation outward to the eyes and forehead of another human being. Basic training does not begin in boot camp. It begins in kindergarten. (1)

It should be obvious that ignorance transmission plays an important role in the recruitment of the young. The glorious, and therefore usually false, histories of the fatherland function to maintain a given order. But ignorance transmission does not work only through lies and misinformation; it can be more subtle. I recall, in my own public school education, being given the history of the formation of the British Empire. It was a grand process. History was a story and Britain both protagonist and narrator. That is, history was the autobiography of Britain, or, more precisely, the autobiography of kings, ministers and conquering heroes who "represented" Britain. We were given access to the experiences, the consciousness of these people. We heard their words and speeches, learned of their plans and frustrations. At the same time, access to the subjectivity of the conquered peoples (as well as of those British not among the power elite) was systematically denied. We were never given the feelings or the plans of the peoples victimized by imperialism--the native peoples of North America, for example, or the eleven million Africans sold into slavery to serve the colonial powers (not to mention the millions more who perished as a direct result of the slave trade.) (2) The imperial power, or rather a small group of people (mostly males) within that power, were subjects while the rest of humanity were objects. The British power elite acted; the various "natives" of the world were acted upon. What we have here is a rather more subtle form of ignorance transmission, one that makes use of, but also goes beyond, distortion of facts. We may call it "the systematic denial of the subjectivity of a group of people," and we can see that it is highly functional. The subjective life of the peoples conquered by Britain was real; I was denied knowledge of the details and even the existence of it; this denial of knowledge was crucial to my recruitment into the British Commonwealth. So ignorance transmission involves not only the manipulation of facts, or even categories of facts, but the formation of habits of non-perception. We may speak of learned non-perception, meaningful blindness.

The particular form of ignorance transmission discussed here has been of great importance historically. The inability to perceive the subjectivity, and especially the suffering consciousness, of peoples has regularly made it easier to oppress and annihilate them. It helped support slavery in the United States and serfdom in Russia. Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin contributed to the anti-slavery movement in the U.S. in part by simply showing blacks as subjects, and especially as subjects with the capacity to suffer. Peter Kropotkin, writing of 19th century Russia, described a similar situation:

Human feelings were not recognized, not even suspected, in serfs, and when Turgueneff published his little story "Mumu" and Grigorovich began to issue his thrilling novels, in which he made his readers weep over the misfortunes of the serfs, it was to a great number of persons a startling revelation. They love just as we do; is it possible? exclaimed the sentimental ladies who could not read a French novel without shedding tears over the troubles of the noble heroes and heroines. (3)

It has served racism well, and has contributed to some of the worst acts of genocide in history. Imperialism itself, usually saturated with racism, has been responsible for geno-

- 1-Kozol, *The Night is Dark and I am Far From Home* (New York, Bantam, 1977 pp 60-61)
- 2-Basil Davidson, *The African Slave Trade*, (Boston, Little, Brown & Co. 1930 pp 95-98)
- 3-Peter Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (New York, Grove Press, 1970 p.57)

cide on a massive scale. As Irving Horowitz says: "One of the fundamental characteristics of nineteenth century European imperialism was its systematic destruction of communities outside the "mother country"...The conduct of classic colonialism was invariably linked with genocide." (1) Ignorance transmission is not a thing of the distant past, either in general or as a component of state education. In 1965, for example, an official of the Boston School Department explained to Jonathan Kozol that he had been fired from his position as teacher in a Boston public school for having transgressed the rule that no poem "by any Negro author can be considered permissible if it involves suffering." (2)

My conscription to the British Commonwealth did not take place only through the formal teaching process, of course. We were given the usual songs-and-flags treatment as well. On one morning we might sing "O Canada" and on the next morning "God Save the Queen"--I remember these songs as virtually indistinguishable. (In some mysterious way, standing on guard for the true north strong and free involved helping God save the Queen when necessary.) On some mornings we were even allowed to sing the more inspiring "The Maple Leaf Forever," which told of "Wolfe the dauntless hero," who "planted firm Britannia's flag on Canada's fair domain." Mind you, I am talking about the period from the mid-1950's to the mid-1960's. Given the ongoing decline in Britains fortunes and the increase in a sort of pseudo-nationalism in Canada, less school time is being spent now on recruitment into the Commonwealth.

The conscription that takes place in the schools, which is helped along by ignorance transmission of various kinds, clearly is not simply a matter of being signed up for the army. The readiness to go to war, on behalf of the state or on behalf of the "mother country" (Imperialist power), is only the final test, not the full extent, of this conscription. Students are adapted and made loyal to numerous aspects of the social and economic order in which they live, including, for example, the capitalist economy and associated values and structures. Now, it is not surprising that students do not emerge from our schools with loyalties to Marxism, or to other ideologies that challenge capitalism. What is less obvious, however, is the extent to which they are trained to positive incomprehension of such ideologies. It is not a matter of students being denied a "course" in Marxism, but rather that the realities of class division, capitalism and imperialism upon which modern Marxism and other anti-capitalist ideologies take their stand are systematically obscured. Can someone who was taught, as I was, to perceive the non-European world as the bride ("Canada's fair domain") lying in wait for the British bridegroom "Wolfe the dauntless hero" possibly be said to have understood British imperialism? Can someone who has been taught what it feels like to imperialize but not what it feels like to be imperialized be said to have grasped the essence of imperialism? Our education is Cold War education. It gives people systematic and thorough incomprehension of the ideological bases of Eastern bloc countries. It is also counter-revolutionary education, for it is not merely Eastern bloc countries to whom terms such as imperialism and class oppression have meaning. To much of the Third World, now struggling to de-colonize (which includes attaining freedom from neo-colonialism), these realities are central. A person emerging from our educational system may hear a word such as imperialism as jargon, empty syllables; but to many in the Third World this term has precise, devastating meaning. The fact that we are educating our youth to be unable to understand the language of the oppressed would not have anything to do with the fact that we are in the camp of the oppressors, would it?

I have said that the conscription the schools engage in is, in part, a soporific activity, and I have justified the use of the term "soporific" by referring to ignorance transmission. But public school education is soporific in another sense as well. It induces sleep not only in the intellect but also in the will. Probably the most powerful way this happens is not through the content of the lesson (even if we use the word "content"

1-Genocide: State Power and Mass Murder by Irving Horowitz (Transaction Books NJ 1976 p19.)  
2-Death at an Early Age by Jonathan Kozol, (New York, Bantam, 1968 pp201-202.)

to include the point of view from which facts are given) but through the "process" whereby the lesson is given, or the context in which it is delivered. We can use Marshall McLuhan's language and say that "the medium is the message" (the so-called content in a learning situation may be less crucial to what is learned than the medium in which the context is suspended) (1), or we can use more orthodox sociological language and speak of the social roles that are learned during the education/socialization process. Either way the picture is clear: if we feed information to a passive audience of children over a period of years they will learn, regardless of the menu (the content) to be passive consumers of information. (2)

Imagine a class of high school students receiving a lesson on democracy. Democracy is the content of the lesson. The process, however, will be largely determined by the institutional context within which the learning occurs, and the social roles, hierarchies and so on that are part of that institutional context. High schools are seldom democratic; many, in fact, are virtually totalitarian in their functioning. To the extent that the medium is the message, therefore, the students will be learning totalitarianism, not democracy. Furthermore, they will be learning to connect the word "democracy" with an undemocratic reality. They will end up with emotional attachments to the word "democracy" and to some concepts and practices loosely associated with this word but will in a deeper sense be conditioned to behave pretty much like members of an authoritarian state. In this way the conscription of young people is perfected. They are disempowered, and hence made into obedient and docile citizens, by the context in which their learning takes place, and their disempowerment is made complete by the fact that this context is largely unperceived--part of the hidden curriculum of the schools. "Hidden curriculum" is a term that has become widely used in works in the sociology of education to refer to the "norms and values that are implicitly, but effectively, taught in schools, and that are not usually talked about in teachers' statements of ends or goals. (3)

The university as a sporific institution

In the university we will not as commonly find blatant conscription; in fact, the impression is often one of unbiased enquiry, free thinking and pure research. Not only is the content of the lesson less parochial, but the educational process is also generally less repressive. Perhaps this is the educator's dream come true: pure knowledge transmission and awakening of minds? Unfortunately, this is not the case, as we begin to see when we examine the belief system of the academic subculture. This subculture, of which the university faculty constitute the chief members, propagates its values through university education. By sifting and shaping people through a meritocratic system it produces new faculty members and thus continually reproduces itself. (Some professors consider the preservation of the subculture their main educational task.) But beyond this it transmits its ideals and beliefs widely by educating and socializing people destined for other roles in society. Hence the belief system in this subculture is very important. The following ten propositions seem to be expressive of this system. Please note that I do not claim that these beliefs are always openly acknowledged, only that they are underlying, operative beliefs in the subculture. After each proposition I offer a counter-proposition:

- (1) Knowledge per se is good, and the more knowledge produced the better.  
Knowledge is seldom per se. In the actual world it is common for it to be controlled, "owned" by groups of people, in whose hands it may be irrelevant or destructive to most human (and other) beings. Increased production of knowledge is not, therefore, necessarily good.
- (2) To know something is to effect something, and to have written about a problem is to have dealt with it.  
To know something is to know it, period. Whether or not anything will be effected

1-Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media (New Yor, McGraw-Hill 1964, chapter 1)  
see also: Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, Teaching as a Subversive Activity (New York, Dell, 1969, Chapter 2 and throughout)

2-Harry Gracey, Learning the Student Role: Kindergarten as Academic Boot Camp in Holger Stub ed., The Sociology of Education (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1975 pp 82-95).

3-Michael Apple, The Hidden Curriculum in Stub ed. The Sociology of Education p. 269.



through this knowledge depends upon the answers to a number of questions, including: To whom will this knowledge be transmitted? Will they be encouraged to make use of it and shown how to do so? Will there exist the conditions (social, economic, moral, cultural etc.) appropriate to its being put to use? For similar reasons, to have written about a problem is to have written about it, period.

- (3) The job of academics, which is to produce as much knowledge as possible, is a noble one. Given the previous two points, the production of knowledge is obviously not always a noble task. The job of the academic, like many jobs, often does people (and other beings) more harm than good.
- (4) Academics and students know when they are doing their jobs well, and hence when they are living the way they ought to, by the rewards (grades, status, money) they receive. There is no correlation between job competence, however determined, and morality.
- (5) The natural divisions of the world, and consequently of knowledge about the world, are reflected in the internal division of the university into faculties, departments and fields.

There are many ways of dividing up the world and of classifying the objects and modes of knowing. The ways that have been chosen and concretized in educational institutions have depended not merely on the objective structure of the world but on a variety of other factors, such as cultural tradition and prejudice, the requirements of the economic order, and the interests of controlling groups.

- (6) A person can know only one thing well and should therefore "specialize." (Within the university pre-existing divisions readily indicate the possible directions of such specialization.)

People can know and understand many things, and they can know and understand a given thing well only when attention is given to its content and its relations with other things. Specialization is obviously valid in principle, but it is often used as a means of social control. Specialists frequently give up knowledge of, and control over, the context, significance and end use of their products.

- (7) The university is an ideologically and politically neutral institution. North American universities are, for the most part, well integrated into their societies. This means that they tend to serve the existing order well, being loyal to the state, loyal to the capitalist economy (1) and loyal to a world dependent on massive inequality and exploitation. The myth of the ideological and political neutrality of the university is an important one, however, bringing to university personnel the ignorance crucial for their co-optation.
- (8) Important social problems, especially "world" problems, are complex and difficult and need much research, and the only people qualified to do this are people with advanced degrees. After all, if such problems were not complex and difficult they would have been solved long ago and their solution implemented.

Some social problems, including "world" problems, are complex and some are not. Some that require neither degrees nor advanced training in order to be understood have not been solved--or have been solved but the solution not implemented--because it is not in the interests of controlling groups that this should happen.

- (9) Although the university is a meritocracy within a society that is supposed to be a democracy, this is not a problem. Meritocracy is the real meaning of democracy. Democracy is government by the people, not government by people with "merit." People trained to be good members of a meritocracy will be poor members of a democracy.
- (10) To know truly is to know objectively. This requires banishing, as far as possible, the subject (and hence "subjectivity") from both the knower and the known. Leaving your own mortal, fallible, feeling self at home and pretending to be subjectless is bureaucracy masquerading as the search for truth. It is the bureaucrat, the

1-~~each~~ has been written written on relations between the capitalist economy and schools ie Samuel Bowles & Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (New York, Basic, 1976) David Smith, *Who Rules the Universities?* (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1974) Randle Nelsen and David Nock ed., *Reading, Writing and Riches* (Between the Lines, 1978.)

"professional" who denies her/his subjectness and that of others, not the seeker of truth. People's inner life is part of the real world, and to ignore it is to choose to remain ignorant of what is real. Persons cannot truly know other persons unless at some point they commune as subjects.

Some of the original ten beliefs are probably held only by the academic subculture. They serve the function of co-opting and controlling this potentially subversive group. Others, however, are successfully transmitted beyond the subculture--in part, perhaps, because other institutions (including the schools) transmit the same or similar beliefs and hence join to impress them deeply on students' minds. It should be clear from the counter-propositions I have offered that I take issue with all ten beliefs and consider them soporific. They induce ignorance in people, allowing them to learn a great many facts while remaining innocent of the context and significance of this learning. This is meaningful ignorance transmission, which results in a state of mind where people either do not question, or question but do not act against, the current order. This order, I contend, is one which is built upon, and requires, war and injustice, and this means that the university's conscription of people is just as serious as the school's. Because it is more subtle, it may be even more dangerous.

I would argue that the cumulative effect of the ten propositions is to produce in people the conviction that they are doing what has to be done in the world when they are working competently at their occupation, assured of the goodness of this by rewards they receive. Such people will be able to do that one thing well and will be content to leave other issues, especially very important ones, to those with the relevant occupation and specialization--to experts, in short. For every problem there must, after all, be a corresponding expert somewhere. And the experts will give their objective, disinterested advice, after which the problem will be solved and all will be well. In these propositions I believe we begin to see what Kozol calls the university's "unique co-optive powers" and its "unique capacities for subtle and sometimes only half-perceived instruction." (1)

To conclude: the schools and the universities are not merely, as some like to put it, "knowledge factories;" they are also ignorance factories. They do not merely promote insight but also sleep, in the intellect and the will. When we teach and learn in this environment, we must strive to remain aware of this and to resist these soporific tendencies. This is especially true if we are so audacious as to tackle the issues of peace and justice. Of course there is a kind of peace education that is distinguishable from other areas of concentration in the university only by its explicit content and, to a lesser extent, some of its research methods. But if we are seriously interested in working towards peace and justice within the context of the university we must examine not only what we are teaching or learning, but how we are teaching or learning it. We must think not only about "peace" but about "education." If we agree that education in our schools and universities adapts people, not only through its content but through its process and its underlying belief system, to a world in which war and injustice are the norm, we will not be content to tuck on a new course or two to existing offerings with due effort to make them look respectable to colleagues and authorities, but will insist on challenging the central thrust of this education.

1-Jonathan Kozol, Free Schools (New York, Bantam, 1972 p.94.)

INFANTICIDE

And they put all the bright ones  
into one class  
the way the other big cities were doing  
and gave them a teacher  
whose favourite subjects

were neat writing  
and religion  
who killed Cock Robin?  
she did  
with her little Biblical quotes  
and practise the perfect SSS

-Joan Finnigan

10

NORTHERN SASKATCHEWAN SURVIVAL GATHERING AND BLOCKADE OF THE RABBIT LAKE AND COLLIN'S BAY  
URANIUM MINES, JUNE, 1965

At its most recent meeting in Hamilton, the Alliance for NonViolent Action decided to support the June survival gathering in northern Saskatchewan; supporters from Montreal and Toronto will participate in the events, and support action in local communities has been requested. Additional information may be obtained from Philippe in Montreal (514-495-4088), Scott in Toronto (416-537-8022, or John Graham in Saskatoon 306-955-3159. The following information is from the gathering's promotional leaflet:

There will be a Northern Survival Gathering on the Wollaston Lake road, near the gate to the Rabbit Lake and Collin's Bay uranium mines from June 9-14, and a blockade of the mines will begin June 14. All concerned people are invited to participate. The Collin's Bay Action Group (CBAC) was formed in December, 1984 with the purpose of co-ordinating the Gathering and Blockade. The Action Group is working closely with people from the nearby Native community of Wollaston Lake.

The Lac La Hache Chief and Band Councillors and the Wollaston Lake Local Advisory Council wrote an open letter to all concerned people in June 1985. They stated, "It is important that we act now to stop uranium mining and exploration before the environment is destroyed. We urge your community organization to support our protests and organize your own protests against uranium mining and exploration." The anti-uranium movement in Saskatchewan has for years tried other methods. Formal delegations and submissions to the provincial and federal government have failed. Protest marches have also failed. The corporations that own the uranium mines continue to expand their operations and refuse to take responsibility for the problems they have already created. We now appeal to people internationally to attend the gathering and join the blockade as the next step in our continuing opposition to the newkiller industry. An industry which is inherently violent and destructive, which inflicts violence on workers and people through the release of radiation, which disregards the basic human rights and land claims of the Native people, which pollutes the environment with radioactive waste that will be deadly for generations, and which fuels a newkiller arms race that threatens the very existence of life on this planet.

During the 4-day gathering in advance of the blockade workshops will be held on; local peoples' concerns, the international newkiller industry, appropriate development, and preparation for the blockade. We aim to interfere with operation of the mine and the corporations that run it. We plan to stop work at the Collin's Bay open pit mine that is scheduled to hit the main uranium deposit by mid-summer; and we plan to stop operation of the Rabbit Lake uranium mill six miles away that has been contaminating Wollaston Lake since 1975. All traffic into and out of the uranium operations will be stopped by nonviolent civil disobedience. Our peaceful action is a contrast to the inherent violence of the newkiller industry and the police state it creates. We will break the law openly and collectively with full knowledge of our actions and the consequences they entail. The power of the corporate government will not deter us since our opposition is based on legitimate moral concerns.

The blockade will be a rolling blockade, meaning there is no planned end. To enable it to continue as long as possible we are scheduling each group's arrival time. All people who attend the blockade will need to be in an affinity group, a structure which is the basic survival action and decision-making unit. All people who go must attend a short workshop, to enable them to understand the aspects of the blockade which are essential for it to be part of a successful campaign against uranium mining. There is a lot of work to be done. We will be very busy spreading the word and raising funds. If you can help, or would like to be put on our mailing list, please contact us as soon as possible. Our mailing address is: COLLIN'S BAY ACTION GROUP, Box 3183, Vancouver BC V6B 3X6.

As recounted in an earlier Network, it was a highly disappointing occasion for me last fall to attend a meeting of representatives of various Ottawa groups concerned with the Third World that had been called to discuss responses to a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua; all they could come up with was to write letters to MPs before the event and hold a poster parade after it. I had already given up on the coalition of Ottawa peace groups, which has limited itself to standard lobbying techniques through the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign and is currently supporting the disastrous concept of a centralized, government-funded peace movement coalition. In fact, it has slowly sunk in during the past winter that there is no group of people in Ottawa that I can work with which shares my commitment to basic social change as a prerequisite for peace or disarmament. The only hope was a branch of the Alliance for Nonviolent Action, but it collapsed two years ago when most of its members decided to devote their energies to the liberal peace movement or to separate groups for youth and women. Since then the youth group has kept active; reading such publications as *Scream* I get the impression that they have worked out an excellent analysis of what is wrong with society, but no idea of what sort of social system they want to replace it with and still less a concept of how to get from here to there. Given the inevitably high rate of turnover in all-youth organizations, I suspect that their chances of holding enough people together long enough to develop such an analysis are slim. The women's group has also held together, but since its departure from ANVA due to personality problems I have no way of knowing how well if at all its analysis is progressing.

So I'm off to Toronto, where the situation is slightly different; a person with any idea (however crackpot) can usually find six or eight others willing to work together on it, at which point either it catches on and a movement begins to form or it fails to catch on and the small group becomes an ingrown clique feeding on one another's frustrations. It is still too early to tell which of these fates lies in store for the people I plan to work with, but the fact that Toronto is apparently the only place in Ontario where a group can even hope to come and stay together around a concept of basic social change does not speak well for the chances of launching a broadly supported national movement in the near future. However, I've known for some time that it will take several lifetimes of work to bring about the basic social change which must precede disarmament, and that the most I can hope for in mine is to see a meaningful number of people pointed in that direction. So in my final epistle to the Ottawans I'd like to briefly summarize the argument I've been trying to advance in Network about what strategies the peace movement should be considering.

There are two different ways of interpreting the arms race, and since they call for different tactics of opposing it a decision must be made which interpretation to support. The first is to regard the arms race as an aberration, as nuclear madness; our leaders have somehow stumbled into a situation which they don't really understand, and each side continues to arm because it can't quite work up imagination to trust the other one a little. Nobody really wants to spend all that money on arms and set poorer nations to fighting each other but they see no politically acceptable alternative. (Holders of this viewpoint tend to hold both superpowers equally responsible, though there are groups that lay the primary blame on one or the other within this framework.) The opposing interpretation is that the leaders understand very well what they are doing, that the purpose of the arms race buildup is to give the USA such a predominance of destructive weaponry that no country will ever again defy its will as did Vietnam in the 70s (the USA threatened to use nuclear weapons on at least 20 occasions since 1945, mostly against third world countries, and the fact that Vietnam was the first country not to give in to U.S. demands under this threat is attributed by many to the fact that the USSR was for the first time able to reply to a U.S. nuclear attack by inflicting a similar amount of damage.) The USA has been consistently imperialistic since its wars with Spain and Mexico in the early 19th century (see bibliographic following this article) and most of the weapons it is now developing, including the

Star Wars concept, are designed to crush resistance in third world countries to U.S. demands for cheap resources (including labour) and deter other superpowers from interfering. In fact, the real U.S. leaders are not the politicians but the heads of the giant corporations who determine which politicians will be elected (since nobody can afford the cost of getting elected without their help.) The elected politician is ultimately responsible to the corporations, whose money is needed, rather than the voters who can stay home election day without changing the outcome (nearly half now do in presidential elections.)

These two interpretations cannot easily be reconciled; either our leaders know what they're doing or they don't. If they don't, if the arms race really is a mistake, then the tactics the Canadian peace movement has been using since its formation in 1959 are appropriate--lobbying MPs, circulating petitions and demonstrating to try to show that there is a broad basis of support for trying a new approach, limiting demands to one or two simple points to try to achieve this broad consensus etc. So far we've tried no nuclear arms for Canada, end complicity in Vietnam and more recently refuse the Cruise. However, if the reverse interpretation is correct these tactics are at best useless, and at worst harmful because they perpetuate the myth of parliamentary democracy. During the Vietnam war, Dean Rusk asked a delegation of withdrawal advocates that was briefing him on the background of the conflict to stop addressing him as the village idiot; he probably had a better understanding of why the USA was in Vietnam than did most of the delegates. However, it was his job as a politician to try to make corporate policy palatable to the public, by persuasion if possible or otherwise by calling out the militia (the U.S. government tried a lot of both.) In Canada efforts to obtain majority support were finally crowned with a Gallup Poll showing 57% opposing Cruise testing; this majority was quickly lost when the politicians explained that refusal would mean losing U.S. contracts and jobs in Canada. Neither side had approached the roots of the arms race, but the politicians had come a step closer than the peace movement by showing its link to employment. Since then the movement has tried to show the workers that they can have just as many jobs by converting industry, but the workers are reluctant to give up existing jobs for theoretical ones.

To see the arms race as a manifestation of U.S. imperialism it is not necessary to regard the political and corporate leaders as monsters; Bakunin pointed out over 100 years ago that office holders do not determine what they will do with their office, but rather the office determines what it will do with them. Any officeholder who challenged corporate wisdom would be quickly replaced, and those who are reform-minded usually manage to convince themselves that they can do more good working for change from within despite the lack of evidence to support this view. It is necessary to see the power they wield as evil, and them as our enemies while acting in the capacity of power-wielders. People who are routinely having children tortured to death in front of their parents in the ever-growing number of third world torture chambers will not be moved by petitions or demonstrations (be they poster parades or civil disobedience, which in North America is merely token resistance.)

So what tactics are appropriate? First, we've got to abandon our fear of radical public education. Once we abandon the delusion that a mass movement can be built up which will stop the arms race or end the repressive nature of U.S. capitalism, we can stop looking for a lowest common denominator of agreement and offer a sustained and cohesive social critique (the Right has been less afraid than the Left to do this for the past 25 years, which is one reason they're in power and we're nowhere close.) We must make people realize that there can be no peace without social justice. Secondly, we must network with other radical social change movements (ie those who want to abolish prisons instead of "reforming" them.) Finally, since we cannot hope for basic social change overnight we must create an alternative society which will meet our social, cultural and economic needs independently of the System. Socially and culturally we've made considerable progress towards this in the last twenty years, but economically we're still at the mercy of the state and the corporations. We must study and implement ways of liberating ourselves from this dependence.

## THE ARMS RACE AS A MEANS OF ENFORCING U.S. IMPERIALISM: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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