a case for non-violent resistance

CRUISE MISSILE CONVERSION PROJECT

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Introduction Paula Rochman

The Cruise Missile Conversion Project was formed in 1980 to resist the production of the guidance system for the U.S. cruise missile produced at Litton Systems Ltd. As the Project developed, so did our understanding of the 'problems' and the 'solutions'. This development has enabled us to understand and encompass in our work a number of related topics. And so, after five years, this handbook is an opportunity to bring together some of our learning, development, and reflections.

Our commitment to the workers at Litton in connection with the broader labour movement, our relation to and relationships within a society dominated by maleness, our need to challenge so-called defense arrangementsarrangements more condusive to military aggression than human protection, and our daily commitment to say NO to perpetuating the senseless and insame arms race are all interrelated topics. Therefore in our work, we have not separated them but rather tried to understand them together.

Crucial to all this, has been our commitment to a campaign of non-violence and resistance. In our struggle to resist the militarism that pervades our society, we look to history and are both inspired and enriched by the movements aroud Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Dorothy Day. While a handbook, such as this, can only begin to raise and address some of the questions of embarking on a nonviolent strategy of resistance, we do hope to showthat there is, theoretically and more importantly, practically another way of living in and relating to our violent society. We have choosen to hurl neither insults, nor rocks, nor bombs. Rather...

We have placed leaflets in the hands of the workers and managers at Litton, not to harass them but to show how sincere we believe that what they produce is wrong and we will not just let 'business as usual' happen.

We have gathered at Litton every year on Remembrance Day and Nagasaki Day to show that we are not naive about war and instead we demand the glorification of men being murdered and women being raped end, just as these violent acts must end.

There is nothing "shabby" or "shameful" about cruise missile protesters using Remembrance Day to call attention to our government's shabby and shameful decision to test the newest and most hideous nuclear weapon.---Veteran Richard Lunn We have done outreach to the community near the Litton plant not to ostricize but to show how a company in their city plays an integral role in fueling the arms race. We have gathered as women at Litton not to show our pretty, smiling faces but rather to challenge with out sisterly strength and anger, the maleness of our society, reflected by companies, such as Litton.

Although men like to fight, war is not inevitable. War is a crime committed by men and therefore, when enough people say it will not be, it cannot be. This will not happen until women are allowed to say what they think.--Nellie McLung

We have emphasized the need for Litton to undertake contracts which are socially useful, rather than continuing in war preparations. Our commitment to a peaceful working environment is reflected in our logo, a dove and wrench.

The money and talent wasted on the tools of war make it more difficult for us to achieve our goals, as the economy and society are turned away from production and directed instead toward destruction. It is vital for us, as a union, to speak out on the most basic issues facing us all. The need for peace is crucial. We must not stand by silently and let others make life and death decisions on our behalf. The voices of the working people must be heard.--Bob White, Canadian Director, UAW

We have placed our bodies in front of the gates leading into Litton to say NO MORE. While, we may need to write letters to our politicians, petition MPs and watch films which show us the horror of war, we also need to resist, to say NO MORE.

Unless we use the weapons of the spirit, denying ourselves, dying and rising with the Spirit of Life, we will go on fighting, and often from the highest motives, believing that we are fighting wars for justice, or self-defense. The situation is not going to be changed just by demonstrations...It is a question of living one's life in drastically different ways.--Dorothy Day

We hope this handbook will help you to understand some of the work of CMCP and its relation to the broader anti-war movement. We invite you to join us in our struggle to resist the war production going on at Litton and encourage this resistance to spread to every community.

Converting Litton: The history of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project

Rose-Marie Colterman

Rosemarie Colterman has been an organizer with CMCP since its formation five years ago.

In October 1979, Litton Systems Canada, Ltd. was one of two major companies contracted to build the guidance system for the US cruise missile. Shortly after this information became public, a number of concerned individuals joined together to denounce such production. A demonstration organized at Litton Systems Canada in 1980 was our first effort to show public opposition to Canada's involvement in the arms race. Those original eight met regularly each week to organize a campaign against Litton Systems. A genuine sense of unity developed as we shared meetings and meals together. It soon became apparent that an alternative to the military production was the essential focus and consequently the vision of "peace conversion."

The group has since named ourselves the Cruise Missile Conversion Project (CMCP).

CMCP has been working to convert Litton Systems Canada from military production to production which meets human needs. It is clear to most economists (and people in general) that military spending creates relatively few jobs, accelerates inflation and hinders the development of civilian technology. We do not believe the only alternative available to Litton is loss of jobs.

Within CMCP, a "workers and conversion" collective has been set up to organize the promotion of planned economic conversion to useful production. Different members of the collective have involved themselves in extensive study of the conversion issue.

Recently, the collective began setting up a "Litton Workers' Support Fund." The fund will facilitate Litton workers in their opposition to the building of the cruise missile guidance system by providing human and financial assistance. One of our goals will be for Litton workers to organize collectively within the workplace to convert the current military production to useful civilian production. A second goal will be to support workers who, in conscience, choose to pursue alternate forms of work. Supporting collective action for better working conditions and an increased voice in the decision-making process of the factory is a third goal.

Also, a team of qualified volunteers is now being pulled together to work on an Alternate Use Plan for the factory. It is hoped that engineers, scientists, students and unionists will answer the call. Response is strong already, and an alternative product has been suggested. People with some expertise will now have to investigate the viability of the alternative--an automatic accident avoidance system for civil aircraft and airports, a system being developed by the International Civil Aviation Organization already.

In addition to these projects, and as integral part of our work, we see non-violent civil disobedience as part of a public pressure tactic. We recognize that in using only traditional forms of protest in Canada, we limit ourselves to what we can achieve. To propose an alternative to the existing military industry we must be ready to put ourselves on the line by confronting the laws that protect that establishment. Much public awareness and support has come to us since our first act of non-violent civil disobedience in 1981.

In order for Litton to take initial steps toward conversion, the workers must first be unionized. For this reason, and since CMCP fully supports the rights of working people to have a say in what their factories are producing, we feel it is essential to connect ourselves with the labour movement. Currently, we are working on joint projects with some of the unions; for example the Peace Petition Caravan. In the past, we have been involved with unions by attending conferences that focused on peace and labour issues. CMCP also produces a newsletter (Jobs with Peace), an example of our outreach to the workers and sharing of vital information that connects peace issues with workers' issues.

Other projects and concerns of the collective include: community needs. assessment, conversion legislation, and solidarity with workers' struggles.

Equally important in our struggle for conversion is our awareness of conversion in a larger context. We feel it is necessary to redefine national security in order to dissipate the superpower rivalries. It is also critical to redefine national defense to bear the meaning non-violent social defense.

The members of CMCP share the vision of a society where companies will move away from the sole reliance on profit motivation to having more interest in worker and community needs and concerns, to redefine the criteria for production decisions to include a large change in values, environmental concerns, more appropriate use of technology and socially useful production. We have begun by attempting to challenge some of the existing values and redefine them in our personal lives. We are also working towards a future which will include democracy in the workplace. This will be initiated by working on humanizing the workplace through workers' autonomy and involvement in the production New and different methods must be process. developed to solve specific problems, such as safety, health and workers' dissatisfaction, sexual harassment, etc. Democracy in the workplace would also mean companies worker-owned and worker self-management.

The Cruise Missile Conversion Project agrees that having such visions and goals for the future involves vast changes in our society. We see our conversion work as part of the broader struggle of social justice, which would include racial and sexual equalities. We see ourselves as active members of a larger movement towards a more life-giving and peaceful society. Security cannot be bought by throwing money at the military as the superpowers are doing. Investment capital essential to future prosperity is diverted to non-productive military comsumption, leading to a spiralling decline,

Both of the superpowers are arrogantly militarist. Their rivalry, its substance buried in armed confrontation, has built and harnessed giant military-industrial complexes that thrive on each other and have gone beyond political control...

There is longer any such thing as "national security." There must be security for all, or none will have it. As an

internationalist, I would feel prouder if my country withdrew from NATO, stood tall among the meek of the earth at the United Nations, and ignored the hectoring of the militarists. The path of militarism leads not to security, but to annihilation. - Major General Leonard Johnson

A Z

COMMUNITY AFFIRMATION

WE, who live in the shadow of the mushroom cloud,

We, whose very bones and lungs are threatened even now by radioactivity Today declare our hope in the future.

FROM the diversity of our heritages, We have come to renew our belief in the holiness of the earth and sanctity of all life.

WE declare we are at peace with all people of good will. We need no leader to define for us any enemy, Nor to tell us what we need security for and defense against.

INSTEAD, we affirm that our earth's security rests not in armaments, but

In the justice of adequate housing and food In the justice of meaningful education and work,

In the justice of an economic order that gives everyone access to our earth's abundance

In the justice of human relationships, nourished by cooperation,

In the justice of safe, clean and renewable energy, instead of the perils of nuclear power. WE affirm people over property, community over privatism, Respect for others regardless of sex, race or class.

WE choose struggle rather than indifference We choose to be friends of the earth and of one another, rather than exploiters. We choose to be citizens rather than subjects, We choose to be peacemakers rather than peacekeepers, We choose a nuclear-free future, And we will settle for nothing less.

WE unite ourselves with sisters and brothers the world over,

To join together in communities of resistance to the nuclear threat.

We unite ourselves with trust in the Spirit of Life;

Justice and love can overcome the machines of destruction.

BEFORE us today are set life and death, We choose life, that we and our children may live. Let it be so.

Conversion Planning a Must

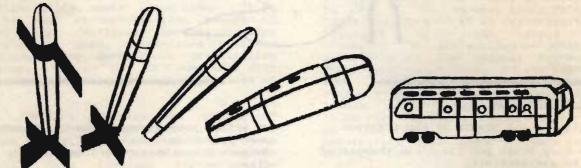
David Colins

Dave Collins has been an organizer with CMCP for several years.

"If we 'peacemakers' finally prevail against the 'warmakers,' we must be prepared for that peace, for peace is not an abstract concept, but a living reality, with security, budget, production and employment priorities of its own. The first price of peace is the responsibility to plan cooperatively and in coalitions for the coming economic domain." Angus Archer, NGO Liason for the U.N., February, 1984

If we are to understand and oppose the arms race, we must realize that it is as much an economic phenomenon as it is political or military. The arms race continues and expands primarily in order to create profits for multinational corporations out of our tax dollars. Military production is the most sure and steady profit-maker for these companies; they know it and love it. Many military producers (that is almost every large multinational) are now divesting themselves of their civilian sectors or moving them to the Third World, leaving a smaller ratio of civilian work to be performed by highly-skilled and expensive North American labour. It is well known that funding for the mx missile was recently approved in the U.S. Congress because of the job pay-offs in many representatives' home districts. A report was peddled around Congress by the pro-mx lobby (the producing contractors) during the funding debate, showing the number of jobs "won or lost" in each of the congressional districts by the decision on mx funding. With their re-election so dependent upon the local economic health in their district, the representatives were willing to sell out for temporary economic benefits of mx production. So, yet another highly-criticized and expensive new weapon has been pushed through government channels by the big business interests that will directly benefit.

We must take a look at these two realities, examine them, accept them and then work against them. They are two of the strongest reasons why the arms race continues--equalled only by anti-Soviet hysteria and the interests of maintaining a sytem of economic dominance over the Third World.



In particular, high technology weapons, such as the cruise missile, have an economic reason for existing long before a military strategy has been invented to incorporate them. In fact, the order was not placed from the Pentagon to McDonnell-Douglas, but rather vice versa. Much of our sophisticated weaponry is produced simply because it can be produced. The military function of the weapons has become secondary to technological and big business advances.

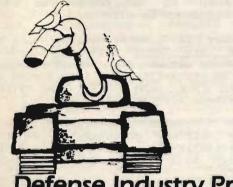
Another economic reality of the arms race is public and government support, which is given only under the threat of unemployment and economic hardship. The most constant public support for the arms race comes from many of those workers involved directly in the industry. For the military-industrial complex to survive, the assured support of these workers is required. William Winpisinger, U.S. national president of the International Association of Machinists, the union most involved in producing for the arms race, has described the military workforce as 'hostages,' and the ransom is jobs. Conversion planning is an effective orgainizing strategy for addressing these economic realities. By planning for alternative production at military sites, and through effective protest against financial interests, we can build alliances with unions and workers, and directly address the economic forces which fuel the arms race. With a coalition of labour and peace movements, we can meet directly the economic realities behind the arms race. Together we can challenge the war profiteering of multinationals such as Litton and GM. We must address government involvement in the arms race, but we must also realize why that involvement has been repeated time and time again. Surely part of the support comes from a false idea of 'security,' but much comes from the economic realities of military production.

What is involved

Three main job areas must be involved in conversion organizing--alternate use planning, worker support and labour issues. We must first begin the task of proposing an alternate line of civilian production. The importance that these proposals be feasible and site-specific cannot be overstressed. In order to win the support of workers and unions, conversion must be proven practical by showing concrete example after concrete example.

Planning in the peace movement must include people who have technical expertise--economists, engineers and labour analysts. We need to penetrate one of the most conservative bastions remaining--the engineering school. An alternative message must be heard along with the military recruiting drives. Technical people must be inspired to address the real problems of hunger, health and housing, not "how low can you fly a missile into the Soviet Union."

Secondly, we must build support systems and sentiment within the peace community for these workers. While we stand firm against the products they manufacture, we must hold out a supportive hand helping them to find



safe alternatives. It is surely not just for a middle-class movement to ask these workers to take all the risk alone. The industries in which they are involved hold little security and/or alternatives in the civilian sector. Financial and social support structures must be available to these workers before many of them will dare to speak out against the military and for conversion. We will need their support, and they needours.

Lastly and probably most importantly, the peace movement and labour movement must embrace each other's issues, for they are the same. Labour will never be able to achieve full employment in the present war economy, and they will never be able to unionize a healthy proportion of the workforce while multinationals control the economy. The peace movement will never be able to turn swords into ploughshares if the people who build the swords cannot feel the need and the opportunity to convert their capabilities to positive production.

Unions must be willing to take on the difficult task of organizing military sites--for without an organized voice, military workers stand little chance in converting.

The peace movement must show more support for union efforts, within the military and without--for without a strong unionized labour force in this country, the labour force in this country, the multinationals will maintain their control over industry and the military. We must work together to take the decision-making power away from the multinationals and give it back to the community and the workers.

Joe Mihevc

The support that arms manufacturers receive from the state is not negligible. From its beginning with Prime Minister King, it has been a "carefully nurtured child of the government." A host of government departments, agencies and programmes aid defense industries to obtain military contracts.

The kingpin of the government programmes, particularly from a conversion perspective, is the Defense Industry Productivity Program. In terms of financial commitment, this programme receives more dollars than any programme receives more dollars than any other department or programme that assists military industries. In terms of Canadian industrial strategy, it provides the mechanism of conversion from civilian production to military production. DIPP works along with DPSA: if DPSA defined the integration into US war production, DIPP defines the level of its integration. DIPP and DPSA represent the Canadian contribution and DPSA represent the Canadian contribution short-termism, to seeking the quick to dollar, while neglecting secure, long-term industrial development.

The increased commitment to DIPP by the federal government is easily seen by the level of support it has received from the government. Grants have increased from \$48 million in 1974 to \$169.2 million in 1983.

That DIPP even helps Canadian-owned firms is in dispute. The work of Project Anti-War of Montreal during the Vietnam War is very revealing. DIPP awarded more than \$458 million to 154 defense contractors in Canada between 1967-71. Of the 102 whose ownership were determined, 45 were American owned. They received \$224 million or 47 percent of the total grants. This seems to mirror the overall percentage of U.S. companies in Canada doing defense work for the Pentagon. Using the Canadian Defence Products and Canadian Defence Commodities, two glossy Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce catalogues that list Canadian defence products, Project Anti-War established more than half the traceable Canadian defence contractors were subsidiaries. Of 654 possible defence companies, 377 (51.6 percent) were traceable. Their breakdown is as follows: Canadians owned 34.4 percent (109 companies), the U.S. owned 54.6 percent (173 companies), other countries 11.1 percent (35 companies).

The amount of energy and money that the Canadian government invests in military production reveals how serious is its commitment. The evidence suggests, however, that war production, even of the high-tech variety, is occurring in a very specialized field, helps foreign-owned firms, to a high degree and entails an extremely high financial cost to taxpayers.

Canada: A reliable client state

Andrew Vanvelzen

Andrew vanVelzen has been actively involved with CMCP for three years.

"Canada is a country in the world where U.S. investments have met a most profitable and reliable climate." 1981 Annual Pentagon Report to Congress

"The U.S. is our greatest friend, neighbour and ally.Period." Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, TIME Magazine, September 17, 1984

Brian Mulroney is right, the U.S. is our greatest ally, but the real question is whether or not we have any choice.

Irritants such as acid rain, protectionist economic policies, marginal differences over foreign policy are just that; minor irritants that do not alter the longstanding fact that Canada is an American client state.

Canadian support for American policies, be it Central America or arms control, is assumed if not demanded. The U.S. has tremendous influence over Canada, our economic and cultural life. Our entire perception of the world is dominated by the U.S. It cannot be any other way. Canada matters more to the U.S. than any other country in the world. Almost half of all Canadian natural resources are owned by American companies, and in particular sectors this figure is much higher. Since 1964, the U.S. has invested more money in Canada than both Latin America and Europe combined. Half a dozen American companies are among the 15 top moneymakers in Canada. In fact, some of the largest companies in the world are actually Canadian subsidiaries of American-owned multinationals. An example of this is General Motors, Canada, which had sales of more than \$11B in 1984. Imperial Oil, a subsidiary of Exxon, the world's largest corporation, had sales worth over \$7.5B in 1983. GM Canada and Imperial rate #31 and #47, respectively, on the Fortune Magazine International 500 (a magazine listing the largest corporations outside the U.S.). in 1983, the U.S. and Canada did more than \$110 billion in bilateral trade. The U.S. trades more with Canada than with Western Europe and Japan combined. 75 percent of all Canadian exports go south of the border, with 25 percent of these being auto parts.

These frightening statistics are the essence of the relationship between the U.S. and Canada. Canada is dependent on the U.S. economically and is particularly vulnerable to economic sanctions.

This fact weighed heavily in the decision to test the cruise missile in Canada. Memos obtained by the <u>Montreal Gazette</u> under the Access to Information Act show that Canada was very concerned about possible economic sanctions that might be imposed by the U.S. When energy policies were introduced in late 1980 to help Canada become self-sufficient in terms of energy needs, the U.S. reacted with hostility. To please Wall Street, certain aspects of the National Energy Program were dropped in 1982.

The December 1982 issue of <u>Canadian Forum</u> cites overtures from Reagan to Wall Street to retaliate economically against Canada if Canadians were to pursue the strange notion of owning our own oil.

Investment policies like the Foreign Investment Review Act (FIRA), and the National Energy Program (NEP) are of great concern to Americans, as no spark of independence is allowed.

Former CIA director William Colby stated in a <u>New York Times</u> article (Aug. 7, 1983) that "Canada is very stable. There are not going to be revolutions but they passed a number of laws (i.e. the N.E.P.) that affect American business adversely."

The increased free-trade discussions of the new Mulroney government, will probably lead eventually to total bilateral free trade, which will only integrate the economies even more.

This economic integration also spills over into the military.

"Canada is the only country whose defense industry is considered to be part of the U.S. industrial mobilization base." (Claude Charland, a top Canadian External Affairs official).

"Our nations have, for all practical purposes, joined together in a North American Industry Defense Base."(James Wade, U.S. Dept. of Defense).

This integration happened shortly after WW II when the U.S. essentially replaced Britain as our colonial master. Canada was not to have any independence.



a case for non-violent resistance

Canada would be of the inefficient branch plant variety, in which Canada would be relegated to producing components for the American war machine.

NORAD and the DPSA symbolized the integration of defense industry and defense policy along continental rather than national lines. Ruth Sivard states that Canada spends less on military spending than most industrial countries, yet still has one of the worst productivity records. For all other countries, military and civilian production are inversely related. For example, Japan has had a low rate of militay spending but a high growth rate in the civilian economy.

In 1983, Canada exported more than a billion dollars worth of military goods to the U.S., and with continued subsidies from the Defense Industry Productivity Program ((DIPP) see section on DIPP) the Pentagon can continue to look for subsidized war production especially in high-tech areas.

"Let me get to the bottom line. I think that the potential here is great...the bureaucracy is very low, the government demands are good.. the political risks are minimal. (Dr. J. Neil Birch, ex-Deputy Secretary of Defense) The stability which the U.S. needs and Canada provides is an easy way of sharing the responsibility of running the world. No other country shares in such sophisticated defense work. The awarding of the guidance system for the cruise missile to Litton is one example of a lucrative and sensitive contract being awarded to a company operating in Canada. According to American Defense officials, Canada is a stable, secure neighbour that can be trusted with secret military research and development.

It is primarily for these reasons that Canada must remain an American client. Anti-war activists must not be naive when confronting the Canadian war machine but must realize that Canada is closely integrated into the advanced capitalist system; a system which is dominated by the U.S. and does not take lightly ay thought of unilateralism in foreign and economic policy. Activists must realize that Canadian policy is made in Washington.

Joe Miheve has been active in peace and social justice issues for several years. He is currently a student at the School of Theology in Toronto, and an organizer with CMCP. Joe is also a parenting father of Justin.

The Canadian government gives two reasons for entering into the DPSA. First, there was much money to be made by cashing in on the American war industry. Secondly, economies of scale, particularly with increasingly sophisticated modern weaponry, did not allow smaller powers to engage in the required research, development and production. Only larger superpowers could economically fulfill all their defence requirements on their own. It was reasoned that with DPSA, that Canadian firms should specialize in areas where they were competent and provide component parts for American weapons. Canadian firms were not to undertake any major weapon systems on their own. The Pentagon was to be the design authority and U.S. companies were to be prime contractors. The governments of both countries had the role of facilitating this trade relationships through import duty relaxation, waiving "Buy America" acts. assisting through information exchange and financing (see section on the Defense Industry Productivity Programme) Canadian firms in obtaining access to the market. What is exempt from production sharing are "off the shelf" items such as fuel, raw materials, transportation, etc., which in 1975 were estimated by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute to be valued at \$200 million a year.

In 1963, a very important clause was added to the pact providing for a "rough balance" of trade between the countries. This came at a time when Canadian exports to the U.S. were increasing due to the need for military supplies in Vietnam. Canadian sales of component parts would have to equal the cost of purchase of completed weapons systems.

Ernie Regher, a researcher with Project Ernie Regher, a researcher with Project Ploughshares, explains the difference in motivation between the two countries in entering into the agreement. For the Americans, the primary concern was the military security of North America. For Canada the matimatica Canada, the motivation was largely commercial--to obtain a financial, and industrial advantage by selling component parts to the U.S. and by being able to buy sophisticated weapons without undertaking all the Research and Development(R+D) costs. The American desire for military integration and control over the continent was achieved. "It means that on this continent it is the Pentagon that decides on the appropriate military responses to its perceptions of threats to security and it is the Pentagon that ultimately assigns roles to the armed forces of the continent." Whether Canada received industrial development, beyond a financial is short-term advantage, questionable.

The evidence, in fact, suggests the opposite: that it has had a negative effect on the Canadian economy in several ways. Many critics argue that Canadians, particularly Canadian leaders, have shortchanged themselves:

"Although the American pressures were often intense, they were always secondary since Canadian support was offered freely out of genuine conviction. If the Americans did a snow job on the Canadian leaders, the Canadian leaders did an even bigger snow job on the Canadian people. More crucially, they fooled themselves."

The Winnipeg General Strike and Peaceful Conversion

Wayne Roberts

Wayne Roberts is a freelance writer specializing in labour history.

There is no such thing as a free bomb, supply-side peace economists might argue. And that forms the basis of the demand of peace and labour activists for alternatives to a militarized economy and society. It has been a lasting alliance that can trace its roots to the grandaddy of Canadian labour's sense of historic mission--the Winnipeg General Strike.

Peaceful conversion lay at the heart of Canadian commitment to social reconstruction after World War I. And the hope that "in our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded goal" that "could bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old" inspired the solidarity of the most dramatic campaign of those years---the Winnipeg General strike of 1919.

The Winnipeg General Strike brought to a boil all the dashed hopes and bitter memories that had simmered over 20 years of western settlement. "J.R." of Dallas had nothing on the business elite that set the breakneck speed of resource expansion after 1900. "Ontario bushmen" they were called by strike leader Fred Tipping, this bumpkin dynasty full of the swagger and drive that comes from hard-pricing and quick-buck schemes.

A work force recruited from the bankrupt villages and towns of all Europe was sent underground into mines that had four times the death rate of similar mines in the United States. Above ground, they nursed the rheumatism, arthritis and tuberculosis that came from damp mining, in what miners referred to as "chicken coops," stack towns plagued by typhoid plagues and other diseases of overcrowding and substandard food and sanitary facilities. Their eventual revolt, historian David Bercuson tells us, "developed primarily out of the daily fight to survive."

Western cities were made in the image of these company towns. In the Winnipeg of 1906, for instance, only 7,784 people out of a city of 100,000 had enough property for the municipal vote. All western cities, according to Bercuson, "were tightly controlled by commercial elites who ran them like closed corporations." From that perspective, he argues, all western workers shared one common grievance--"powerlessness."

Powerless perhaps, but these workers were not passive victims. They came to "the last best west" to work for freedom and plenty, and when confronted with a blind alley of employers' offerings, they turned back to their own resources. These resources included the diverse heritages of the most cosmopolitan work force in the world, and the freebooting independence of highly skilled and articulate crafts-workers who "boomed" from town to town, carrying the latest of radical unionism in their satchels. By 1911, western unionists spearheaded the adoption of industrial union principles by the craft-dominated Trades and Labour Congress. In 1913, as the sabres of 1,000 militiamen rattled in Nanaimo and crushed a two-year miners' strike, there were plans for a British Columbia-wide sympathy strike. The same talk was heard from Fort William following a hard-fought strike of transit workers. As workers generalized about their common problems, they inevitably hit upon the idea of a general strike.

With the "Great War" of 1914, that kind of militance came out of the woods of resource camps and into the cities.

The war took 600,000 of Canada's most able-bodied men and put them into uniforms. There was more than enough work for all who stayed behind. Union membership soared as workers gained their nerve. The Trades and Labour Congress doubled its rolls to 378,000 by the war's end. This reflected a growth in scope as well as size; many of the new recruits came from industries previously untouched by unionism.

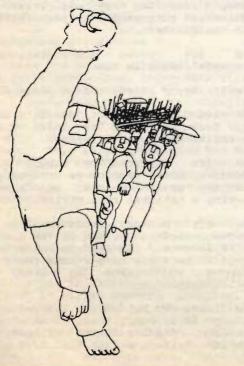
Runaway inflation of 10 to 20 percent per year was the inevitable companion of an economy fixated on the drive for guns, not butter. It was a new land of opportunity for speculators and profiteers. One textile manufacturer racked up profits of 46 percent in 1917, and candidly explained "our mill was not built for the glory of God or anyone else. It was built for the benefit of the shareholders." There was no gimmick, he claimed, for "if a man could not make money during the war there must be something wrong with him." The very day these remarks were reported, the government found enough wrong with labour organizers to arrest six leaders of the Winnipeg Strike.

The need to control inflation filled all people with a white rage against speculators, and directed their attention to the glaring double standards of government. The Methodist conference of 1918 condemned "special privilege," declared it unChristian "to accept profits when labourers do not receive a living wage," and upheld "the principle of the Golden Rule before the man who seeks wealth by investment."

Demands for nationalization of food packers and distributors were heard from all sectors of the population. The government itself became the butt of popular resentment."The political dynamite in this situation," explains historian Greg Kealey, "was the clear dichotomy between a government which refused 'fair wages' and conscripted manpower, and a government which allowed blatant profiteering and refused to conscript wealth." Winnipeg labour leader R.A. Rigg said no less when he railed against the government's decision to impose conscription in the last year of the war. "The interests of the nation are being subordinated to political patronage, political corruption and profit-making," he charged in the Manitoba Legislature. For Rigg, a house divided between war and social reform could not stand. "When people cry aloud for reform and threaten capitalist profits, the capitalists start a war. When people cry for old age pensions, women's suffrage, workmen's compensation acts, the capitalists start a war. The workingmen of one country have no quarrel with the workingmen of another country," he concluded. "The common enemy the world over is capitalists class."

Away from the legislature, Winnipeg workers hurled their defiance from the picket line. In 1917, three strikes had gone down to defeat before intransigent employers. In 1918, metal workers licked their wounds and joined forces in a common Metal Trades Council. And when City Council threatened to deny newly organized civic workers the right to strike, the new unionists were bolstered by a general strike call that forced City Council to retract. Winnipeg workers "had the honour of pulling off the first general strike on this continent," metal workers' leader R.B. Russell puffed his chest a year later, "and through the swiftness and unexpectedness of our combined action we beat the capitalist class of this city handsomely."

As radicalism found its echo in the work force, the federal government hired Montreal corporate lawyer C.A. Cahan to test the soundings of cross-country unrest. "The people are becoming daily more conscious of the bloody sacrifice and irritating burdens" of war, Cahan reported back in 1918, noting also "the growing belief that the Union Government is failing to deal effectively



with the financial, industrial and economic problems growing out of the war, which are, perhaps, incapable of an early satisfactory solution."

Incapable of finding a solution to the problems, the government shackled the population with a series of unparallel ed restrictions on their liberties. Even as the European war dragged to an end, the government forced through orders-in-council banning the use of "enemy alien" languages, outlawing 14 labour, ethnic and socialist organizations, and abolishing the right to strike. Unionists saw this September-October legislative marathon as nothing less than "Prussian at home" and "industrial conscription." Freedom at home was the last casualty of the war.

Nor did the government show any sign of letting up just because the war was ended. Soldiers were kept in Europe long after the November 11 Armistice. Some were sent to do battle on the side of the old order in the Russian civil war. The rest were stationed in Europe while the government prepared to demobilize them for the no-man's land of unemployment in Canada

Canada's soldiers had bit the bullet for four years, and had had it up to the teeth with the military. They did not take kindly to the small rations of poorly cooked food, or the busywork of forced marches to entertain their superiors. Several full-scale mutinies and riots gave evidence, as one brigadier put it, that "some agitators worked them up." One unit sat down for a rest in the midst of a 30 kilometer-a-day forced march exercise, just as General Currie was making his rounds by automobile. "Somebody threw a Mills bomb at his car and blew the tire off it, because the guy was angry," a sergeant sympathetic to the men recorded. Though ordered to stand up and continue marching, "the men stayed there and wouldn't move." This defiance earned the entire unit a quick ticket back to Canada.

Veterans returned to a heroes' welcome and parades, but slogans like "lest we forget" soon lost their shine. The veterans found few prospects for work. Those 600,000 safely dead got public acclaim, one bitter ex-private noted in his diary, but the jobless veteran "tramps the streets searching in vain for a job that will keep body and soul together. The living are almost outcasts. Those who have passed beyond are free of all misery and hardships. The returned soldier must carry on." But as the events of the next year, indeed the next decades would show, veterans would not sit back while they saw defeat snatched from the jaws of victory.

Veterans returned from the battlegrounds of Europe to see the battlelines of the greatest strike wave in the country's history--428 strikes causing 3,401,843 lost days. From one end of the country to the other, it was the year of bargaining dangerously. In the summer alone, 35,544 workers walked the lines in Ontario and 25,988 workers carried pickets in Quebec. In the west, 250 discontented unionists converged on Calgary in March to lay plans for a red-hot western caucus that could wrest control from the lukewarm reformers sitting at the head of the Trades and Labour Congress. They came to establish a caucus, they left with a manifesto and a mission to establish an alternative central, the One Big Union (O.B.U.). The conference laid plans for a June 1st general strike for the six-hour day, freedom of speech, release of wartime political prisoners, an end to restrictions on labour and socialist organizations and the withdrawal of Canadian troops from Russia. With Socialist Party leaders at the fore, the conference declared its long-term orientation "for the day when production for profit" would "be replaced by production for use." conclude that the strike is a revolution. A general strike committee of 300 is formed.

May 26: Public sector workers deny ultimatum to end strike, and are fired.

May 29: Police are ordered to pledge against sympathetic strike action.

May 30: From 8-15,000 Toronto metal workers hit the bricks in support of Winnipeg strikers.

May 31: Rambunctious veterans, meeting in a "soldiers' parliament," confront the Premier, and demand legislation supporting collective



Although the One Big Union as an organization exercised no direction over the Winnipeg General Strike, the same brew of postwar radicalism influenced both. In Winnipeg, matters came to a head on April 24, when construction and metal trade employers turned thumbs down on the demands of joint councils of unions in each trade. From that date on, progress was no longer markd by abstract manifestoes. It was recorded in day-by-day actions.

May 6: The Winnipeg Labour Council calls a referendum on a sympathetic strike, with demands for a living wage, the eight-hour day, and legislation guaranteeing the right to organize.

May 13: The votes are counted, 11,000 for a strike, 500 against.

May 15: At 11:00 a.m., 27,000 workers, including 3,000 clerks and stenographers, walk off the job.

May 17: Telephone workers, printers and telegraphers swell the strikers' ranks to 35,000. The Labour Council allows certain essential functions to continue, including the police, "by authority of Strike Committee."

May 18: Rev. Wm. Ivens tells a Labour Church congregation that the strike is the triumph of the man of Galilee.

May 21: Metal trade employers turn down the mayor's appeal to negotiate. Federal ministers of labour and the interior meet with employers' Citizens Committee, and



June 3: Vancouver workers strike, warning Ottawa against suppression of strike, and demanding soldiers' pensions, the six-hour work day, collective bargaining rights and nationalization of food processors.

June 5-9: Winnipeg's mayor bans parades, fires all but 16 police, enrolls 2,000 "specials." An untrained and hostile police force, recruited by employers' Citizens Committee, puts an end to peaceful relations with the strikers.

June 10: Crowd confrontations wifth "specials" ends in riot.

June 11: Mayor renews ban on parades.

June 14: Canon F. Scott, Canada's best-known army padre, ordered to leave town after pro-strike speech to veterans.

June 16: Minister of Labour Robertson, pressures metal employers to bargain with separate craft unions, and succeeds in blocking a national rail strike.

June 17: Having isolated the strike, Robertson orders arrest of the most radical strike leaders. Six leaders and a handful of Slavic workers are roused from their sleep at gunpoint and taken to Stony Mountain Penitentiary.

June 21: Bloody Saturday. Six jailed leaders out on bail, conditional on non-involvement in strike. Fearing strike collapse, veterans organize "silent parade." At 2:35 p.m. mayor reads Riot Act, orders crowd to disperse in 30 minutes.

Minutes later, mounted police fire 120 shots into crowd, killing two and wounding 30, charge into crowd and arrest 100.

June 23: Soldiers and mounties patrol the streets, their trucks mounted with machine guns. <u>Western Labour News</u> reports statement of veteran J.W. Jones: "Let us go over the top again if need be, for the emancipation of labour...Fellow worker-soldiers, how long are we going to stand by while sheltered behind our sacrifices of life and limb, prepare to imprison us...If going to France was in law and order, why is it unconstitutional to hit straight from the shoulder against unjustice in Canada?"

June 24: Western Labour News is banned. Acting editor J.S. Woodsworth arrested for seditious libel for printing this passage from Isaiah: "And they shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat;...and mine elect shall enjoy the work of their hands."

June 25: Labour Council declares the strike over, after winning face-saving agreement for a provincial Royal Commission.

There can be no denying the basic chronology or results of the strike. The most momentous effort of labour met with defeat. Labour's line of advance was breached. For two decades, employers had the upper hand in dictating wage concessions, "open shops," and other rollbacks of wartime gains.

It was a turning point that turned the wrong way. Nevertheless, the drama and challenges of the strike have spawned a minor textbook industry, featuring armchair quarterback judgements on the errors of the strike. Former C.L.C. (Canadian Labour Congress) scribe Jack Williams claims the strike "had been to be no solution to labour-management differences."

At the other end of the political spectrum, Communist party historians, angry with strike and O.B.U. leaders who refused to join ranks, accused leadership of "syndicalist" illusions. Strike leaders, supposedly, rejected politics, and got caught with their tactics down when strike action alone was insufficient. This false accusation has been repeated often enough that mainstream academics take it as a point of departure for their own "more class-conscious than thou" condescension.

In this view, the strike's most published historian, David Bercuson, turns history upside down and argues the strike was defeated under the weight of its own illogic, not the weight of government repression directed against an isolated community. The "basic flaw" in strike leaders' thinking, he claims, was their naiveté in not recognizing a general strike as a "political weapon," which "must, to a certain degree, challenge areas of authority of legally constituted governments. The strikers were, therefore,



caught in a dilemma of their own making, and the result was crushing defeat."

For its part, the federal ministry of labour recanted 50 years after the event, and in July 1969 offered the benign tribute that "collective bargaining and industrial unionism, taken for granted in the world of labour today, were the main bones of contention in the strike." Winnipeg strikers "paved the way for the responsible collective bargaining and industrial unionism that we know today."

Both of these postures are wide of the mark. The Winnipeg General Strike will not stand up as a piece of pavement on the road to "responsible" collective bargaining. Though hysterical, former Tory Minister of the Interior Arthur Meighen enjoyed some of the insight characteristic of madness when he pinpointed the "irresponsibility" of Winnipeg-style collective bargaining defined by solidarity.

Meighen gave the House of Commons a lecture on the domino theory on June 2, 1919, when he exclaimed that if all workers stood behind one another in bargaining, "we would have every organization in the Dominion united and all asserting a united influence in every dispute that might occur. Can anyone contemplate such an event?" he horrified his audience. "Collective bargaining, unless you bring it down to some unit, is bound to reach that end...This is the perfection of Bolshevism." Meighen's mind had snapped, but he captured the significance of a scale of solidarity that has seldom been repeated in labour history, and which makes the Winnipeg strike stand out as an alternative model of union behaviour.

The view that the Winnipeg General Strike was inspired by apolitical or naive syndicalism doesn't stand up either. The major political leaders of both the O.B.U. and the Winnipeg strike were active socialists. They had long campaigned against the "American Separation of Labour" for its obsession with craft organization and its failure to build solidarity. They had campaigned even longer against the view that unions by themselves could effect the transformation to socialism. They valued unions as a an educational device which could awaken workers to their historic interests and potential. The strike, for them, was no syndicalist exercise. It was, editorialized the <u>B.C. Federationist</u> on May 30, 1919, a schooling in "passive tactics," on what we might now call civil disobedience.

Winnipeg strike leaders scrupulously followed a non-violent course of "peaceful idleness," and even held back from confrontational tactics as much as possible. They looked for tactics that might win the day, and that might, as the <u>Federationist</u> editorial argued, provide workers "a knowledge of their power..The issue is political. The workers must take the matter up on these lines, and wring political concessions from the master class, and beat them at their own game." Knowing this, it is ludicrous to say that Winnipeg workers learned the error of their ways and "turned" to politics in the 1920's; they had been turning to politics all along. The Winnipeg Strikers, in the words of Captain John Williams to the Manitoba Legislature, were "fighting against a New Family Compact compromised of a thousand bankers, railroad magnates, industrial barons, stockbrokers and government officials." That fight was not an equal one for another 25 years, when a cross-Canada movement for industrial unionism, in a country educated by another round of depression and war, finally broke through government and employer opposition. Significantly, that post-World War II movement put the key demands of the Winnipeg strike on the top of the agenda.

In July 2, 1919 words of Winnipeg's Western and Labour News were finally vindicated. "It can never be forgotten that over 30,000 workers struck not for themselves but for others... The workers are equal to the problem of the hour if they are given a chance. If they are not given a chance today, they are equal to the problem of working out a solution tomorrow."



IT ISN'T NICE MALVINA REYNOLDS

It isn't nice to block the doorway, It isn't nice to go to jail, There are nicer ways to do it, but the nice ways always fail, It isn't nice, It isn't nice, you told us once, you told us twice, But if that is Freedom's price, we don't mind. It isn't nice to carry banners, Or to sit on the floor, Or to shout our cry of Freedom At the hotel or the store, It isn't nice, it isn't nice, You told us once, you told us twice, But if that's Freedom's price, we don't mind.

We have tried negotiations And the small time picket line, Mr. Charlie didn't see us And he might as well be blind, Now are new ways aren't nice When we deal with men of ice, But if that's Freedom's price, we don't mind.

How about those years of lynchings, And the shot in Evers' back? Did you say it wasn't proper? Did you stand out on the track? You were quiet just like mice, Now you say we aren't nice, But if that is Freedom's price, we don't mind.

It isn't nice to block the doorway It isn't nice to go to jail, There are nicer ways to do it, But the nicer ways always fail, It isn't nice, it isn't nice, But thanks for your advice, Cause if that is Freddom's price, we don't mind.

Organized Women Win Strike for Union Security

Tom Joyce

Tom Joyce is an organizer with the Cruise Missile Conversion Project.

A 1978 strike by women industrial workers in rural Ontario is indicative of the continuous struggle that the trade union movement has had to wage this century. It was marked by a business-government-police alliance against workers and a mixed and determined array of tactics by the workers and their union, the United Auto Workers (UAW), in response.

CLOSED SHOP!...OPEN SHOP

Although the Fleck strike was in essence part of the overall struggle of women to overturn centuries of oppression, in narrower trade union terms it was a fight for the "closed shop," or union security. This issue centres around a union's ability to represent everyone in a bargaining unit AND count on everyone's support in disputes with the employer. The traditional "closed shop" won by the skilled trades in the 19th century, meant that everyone belonged to the union and benefitted from its ability to bargain for better working conditions. As workers have discovered, anything less than that is an open invitation to hostile employers to break union solidarity. Simply put, if everyone is not guaranteed similar conditions, some can be discriminated against (by sex, race, etc.) or some can be put in favoured positions to promote infighting and competition.

If we accept that on some level, if not totally, the interests of employers and employees (state/capitalists and workers) are divergent, then the closed shop is absolutely essential for unions to be on any semblance of equal ground in a dispute.

The UAW made union security a part of its bargaining demands with a strike of the Ford Motor Company in 1945. The now-famous car blockade of the Windsor, Ontario, factory resulted in the strike being settled by arbitration(binding agreement on both parties by a neutral third party) after a government inquiry. The Rand formula, named after the man who headed the Commission, was agreed upon. It allowed for union dues to be deducted for every person in the bargaining unit on the sound theory that everyone benefits from the union. On the other hand, no one was forced to participate in union affairs. Ford had made arguments of freedom of choice, and the right to work (during a strike) and other smoke screens to avoid a unified work force.

Thirty years later, Fleck management made similar comments about freedom of choice and right to work to insist that it would not negotiate union security. The company, a supplier of small parts to Ford and General Motors, was founded in the 1950s by James Fleck who at the time of the strike was deputy minister of the Ontario Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce.

Working conditions at Fleck were not unlike most small non-union factories. Wage rates in October 1977, when the union was certified (a majority of workers had signed union cards), were \$2.85 an hour to start, going to \$3.24 after 10 YEARS.Many of the 90 percent female work force were sole support mothers, thus having to make ends meet on less than \$100 a week. The factory itself was in a state of disrepair with toilets not working, rats and snakes abounding, cold in winter, sweltering in summer. Worse, machines were not maintained. Metal-stamping presses which did not have adequate safety precautions resulted in mangled fingers. Plastic moulding presses not tightly sealed resulted in hot squirting plastic which caused numerous burns.

And then there was the sexual harassment by supervisors. "We want management people who aren't a bunch of sex maniacs. They eye you up and down to see who's got a bigger bust. Just to be treated like a woman and a human being would be nice in this place."

Even on such basic conditions as these, Fleck management was belligerent; offering a 10-cent raise. But on the issue of union security Grant Turner, the company's vice-president and negotiator was adamant. Fleck would remain an "open shop."

On March 6, 1978, most of the 130 workers went on strike. Picket lines went up, but a company bus brought in non-striking workers. The strikers' only bargaining power--to shut off company profits--was threatened.

Early in the strike and, in fact, before it started, the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) played a major role in making the situation worse rather than helping to resolve the conflict as is their theoretical role. Three days before the strike, police officers lectured Fleck workers in the factory about picket-line behaviour. The company was trying to intimidate the workers. Fleck planned to stonewall efforts for union security by keeping the factory running.

During numerous picket-line scuffles, police attacked individual UAW members. A UAW international representative and a London Union Local President were charged with obstructing police, and as a condition of their bail were told to stay out of the township where Fleck is situated. (Protestors at Litton Systems will understand this police tactic.) The union appealed the condition and a county court judge overruled it as an unnecessary restriction of union activities.

Many other picketers were arrested.

The OPP deployed hundreds of police to escort strike-breakers into the factory and to counter, or in their view, deter mass picketing. During the five-month strike, the police admitted spending \$2 million. A police superintendent in charge of the operation later admitted to a legislative committee that the police overreacted. For what it was worth, they agreed to investigate themselves!!

As mentioned, James Fleck a deputy minister, founded the company, but in 1979 his 50 percent share was nominally owned by his wife and sons. Ontario Development Corporation, an Indusrty, Trade and Commerce creation, owned the industrial park where Fleck was situated. Charges that Fleck was in a conflict of interest contrary to provincial laws were ignored by the Ontario cabinet.

Bette Stephenson, then Minister of Labour, for months refused to investigate charges of unsafe working conditions or to press the company to negotiate in earnest.

WORKERS FIGHT BACK

When it became clear that the company was not going to negotiate a closed shop, the UAW organized the age-old tactic of mass picketing to try to halt production. Groups of 200 to 800 shut the factory on many days during the strike. Workers from UAW locals and large contingents of women came to support. With a large police force already present, confrontations were frequent. Picketers were arrested and there was some damage to Fleck property.

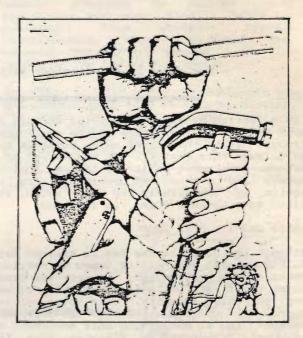
Other direct actions by the women strikers included picketing Ford and sitting-in at Bette Stephenson's office.

In mid-April, after unsuccessfully requesting that Ford cut off orders from Fleck, the women set up a picket line at Ford's Talbotville factory. Production was halted when UAW members refused to cross. The same day, Ford got a court injunction to stop the picketing.

In Toronto for hearings at the Labour Relations Board, Fleck strikers went to meet with the Minister of Labour. When she refused, 17 women sat in her office for three hours until she agreed to meet with them. The discussions resulted in Stephenson being quoted that their demand (for union security) was "reasonable...in today's society." An order to investigate working conditions was also won. As a result, five shuttle presses, two minimoulders and one cutting machine were ordered out of service. However, Stephenson denied that there were any political ties hindering the contract bargaining.

The workers also picketed James Fleck when he spoke at the University of Western Ontario.

Meanwhile, the union was using its clout to pressure Fleck through the Labour Relations Board, the Provincial Legislature, and the



courts.

It won permission from the Labour Board to prosecute Fleck negotiator Grant Turner, local MPP Jack Riddell, and a police constable. This preliminary hearing ruled that there was enough evidence to prosecute under the Labour Relations Act. Constable McIntyre was charged because of his pre-strike lecture; MPP Riddell for inflammatory public statements in an attempt "to destroy the union." This was the first decision ever against a police officer or MPP. Wide publicity and favour for the strikers were gained.

After many of the physical confrontations, workers felt no reluctance in laying charges against individual police for assault. A number were brought to court as a result.

In the public eye, the union continually charged that the police were overreacting and siding with management. Editorials in newspapers questioned the role of the police after legislative hearings brought out facts such as the use of 46 police to control a 50-person picket line, and the millions that were spent. Pressure was put on Solicitor General George Kerr to take over the in-house investigation from the OPP.

This array of tactics and the women's resolve finally wore Fleck management down and a settlement was reached in mid-August. The Rand formula was agreed to and 50-cent-an-hour raises won over a two-year contract. The union agreed to drop court action against the company and Fleck agreed to try and get charges dropped against picketers.

FIVE YEARS LATER

Wages have gone to more than \$5.00 an hour. Health care is now paid by the company. There is a sickness and accident plan, a drug plan, life insurance and other benefits which were just a dream before the union. Fran Piercey, local president, made these comments about the changes that occurred after the women organized.

"Now the workers tell the boss that if something unsafe isn't fixed, they'll refuse to work, just like the law says."

"The union gave us women self-confidence. We could stand up straight and tall and say to the company right in the eye, 'Look, mister, this is how we think it should be done.' The strike changed me completely. The union gave me a way to help others."

A NOTE ON VIOLENCE

Altercations between opposing factions of workers-strikers, their supporters and non-strikers point to the general lack of creative conflict resolution in our society which, in this case, was worsened by police interference.

They do not indicate that working people use "violent" means to attain their goals. As Shelley Douglas and Martin King have said over the years, confrontations initiated by social activists only surface and uncover the violence that permeates and poisons our communities. A broader definition of violence is needed by nonviolent activists to come to a fuller understanding.

It is a violence to the dignity of working people that they are not guaranteed collective bargaining rights. It is violence to women when they are subjected to sexual harassment by male supervisors.

Robert Such, financial secretary of the Talbotville Ford UAW local said, "The Union doesn't feel a great deal of responsibility for what happened and instead the blame should be laid on the firm for refusing to enter into meaningful negotiations to end the strike and give the women a decent wage."

For insights into property damage--that "violence" attributed to workers in the Fleck strike--see Phil Berrigan's thoughts elsewhere in the handbook.



Sisterhood is women caring Sisterhood Sisterhood is women sharing Sisterhood Sisterhood is women daring Sisterhood

Women,

When we care about each other, And we share with our brother, And dare to take a stand, that's SISTERHOOD



Women's Pentagon Statement

At the first women's march on the Pentagon since 1971, 1500-1800 women mourned, raged, chanted, and sang, joined hands and circled the defense headquarters' five sides. On this cold gray morning, November 17th (1981), women brought a carnival atmosphere to this drab stone mass, marconed in a sea of parking lots and highways, only twenty minutes from the White House. Huge puppets towered the crowd, fearsome painted faces expressed anger and grief, drums beat, and endlessly women twisted and turned yarn through the railings to weave the doors of the pentagon SHUT. The following is their statement.

We are gathering at the Pentagon on November 17 because we fear for our lives. We fear for the life of this planet, our Earth and the lives of the children who are our human future.

We are women who come in the most part from the northeastern region of our United States. We are city women who know the wreckage and fear of city streets, we are country women who grieve the loss of small farms and have lived on the poisoned earth. We are young and older, we are married, single, lesbian. We live in families, as students in dormitories, and some are single mothers. We work at a variety of jobs. We are students teachers factory workers lawyers farmers doctors builders waitresses weavers poets engineers homeworkers electriciansartists horseloggers. We are all daughters and sisters.

We have come to mourn and rage and defy the Pentagon because it is the workplace of the imperial power which threatens us all. Every day while we work, study, love, the colonels and generals who are planning our annihilation walk calmly in and out of the doors of its five sides. To carry out their plans they have been making 3 to 6 nuclear bombs every day. They have accumulated over 30,000. They have invented the neutron bomb which kills people but leaves property and buildings like this one intact. They will produce the MX missile and its billion dollar subway system which will scar the thousands of miles of our western lands and consume its most delicate resource--water. They are creating a technology called Stealth--the invisible unperceivable arsenal. They have just appropriated 20 million dollars to revive the cruel old killer nerve gas. They have proclaimed Directive 59 which asks for "small nuclear wars, prolonged but limited." They are talking about a first strike. The Soviet Union works hard to keep up with the United States initiatives. We can destroy each other's cities towns, schools, children many times over. Five other countries own at least one nuclear bomb. France will produce the neutron bomb. We are in the hands of men whose power and wealth have separated them from the reality of daily life and from the imagination. We are right to be afraid.

At the same time, our cities are in ruins, bankrupt; they suffer the devastation of war. Hospitals are closed, our schools are deprived of books and teachers. Our young Black and Latino youth are without decent work. They will be forced, drafted to become the fodder for the very power that oppresses them. Whatever help the poor have received is cut or withdrawn to feed the Pentagon which needs about \$500,000,000 a day for its murderous health. It will extract \$157 billion this year from our own tax money, \$1,800 from a family of four.

With this wealth our scientists have been corrupted; over 40 percent work in government and corporate laboratories that refine the methods for destroying or deforming life.

The lands of the Native American people have been turned to radioactive rubble in order to enlarge the nuclear warehouse. The uranium of South Africa, necessary to the nuclear enterprise, enriches the white minority and encourages the vicious system of racist oppression and war.

As we write this a warhead with the power of 750 Hiroshimas is blown out of its silo in a wood near a small town in Arkansas.

There is fear among the people, and that fear, created by the industrial militarists, is used as an excuse to accelerate the arms race."We will protect you ... "they say, but we have never been so endangered, so close to the end of human time.

We women are gathering because life on the precipice is intolerable.

We want to know what anger in these men, what fear which can only be satisfied by destruction, what coldness of heart and ambition, drives their days.

We want to know because we do not want that dominance which is exploitative and murderous in international relations, and so dangerous to women and children at home--we do not want that sickness transferred by the violent society through the fathers to the sons.

What is it that we women need for our ordinary lives, that we want for ourselves and also for our sisters in new nations and old colonies who suffer the white man's exploitation and too often the oppression of their own countrymen?

We want enough good food, useful work, decent housing, communities with clean air and water, good care for our children while we work. We expect equal pay for work of equal value.

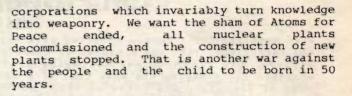
We want health care which respects and understands our bodies. We want an education for children which tells the true history of our women's lives, which describes the earth as our home to be cherished, to be fed as well as harvested. We want to be free from violence in our streets and in our houses. The pervasive social power of the masculine ideal and the froed of the nornographer have come together to steal our freedom, so that whole neighbourhoods and the life of the evening and night have been taken from us. For too many women, the dark country road and the city alley have concealed the rapist. We want the right returned, the light of the moon, special in the cycle of out female lives, the stars and the gaiety of city streets.

We want the right to have or not to have children, we do not want gangs of politicians and medical men to say we must be sterilized for the country's good. We know that this technique is the racist's method for controlling populations. Nor do we want to be prevented from having an abortion when we need one. We think this freedom should be available to poor women as it always has been to the rich. We want to be free to love whomever we choose. We will live with women or with men or we will live alone. We will not allow the oppression of lesbians. One sex or one sexual preference must not dominate another.

We do not want to be drafted into the army. We do not want our young brothers drafted. We want them equal with us.

We want to see the pathology of racism ended in our time. There can be no peace while one race dominates another, one nation dominates the others.

We want the uranium left in the earth and the earth given back to the people who tilled it. We want a system of energy which is renewable, which does not take resources out of the earth without returning them. We want these systems to belong to the people and their communities, not to the giant



We want an end to the arms race. No more bombs. No more amazing inventions of death.

We understand all is connectedness. The earth nourishes us as we with our bodies will eventually feed it. Through us, our mothers connected the human past to the human future.

With that sense, the ecological right, we oppose the financial connections between the Pentagon and the multinational corporations and banks that the Pentagon serves.

Those connections are made of gold and oil.

We are made of blood and bone, we are made of the sweet resource, water.

We will not allow these violent games to continue. If we are here in our stubborn hundreds today, we will certainly return in the thousands and hundreds of thousands in the months and years to come.

We know there is a healthy sensible loving way to live and we intend to live that way in our neighbourhoods and on our farms in these United States and among our sisters and brothers in all the countries of the world.





Man's material resources tend to be less vulnerable to nuclear attacks than man himself... The resource basis would exist for making output per worker larger postattack than it had been preattack. Whether this actually possibility would materialize...depends on how successful society was in overcoming the disruptive effects of attack. But the fact remains that, taken as a whole, resources would have been depleted in smaller proportionthan the human population. In this sense, then, nuclear war could be expected to increase per capita wealth. And if cirumstances were such that the increased stock of capital per worker could be utilized effectively, higher output per worker would mean that GNP for the nation as a whole would also be higheron a per capita basis.

from the RAND CORPORATION

On Property Damage

Phil Berrigan

Phil Berrigan first became involved with the anti-war movement during the Vietnam war. In the late 1960s, Phil and a number of other people, were involved with entering draft board offices, and removing and destoying draft files. In 1980, he and seven others were arrested for damaging the nose cone of a mark 12A missile. The film, "In the King of Prussia", was based on this non-violent act of disarmament and the subsequent trial. Phil has supported the CMCP in a number of ways, including acting as a witness during trials for many of the people arrested at Litton.

The Bible considers the universe and all its materiality as belonging to the Creator, to God. Human beings "own" nothing, have title to nothing. "Private" property is a perversion, an aberration from the divine intention, and from the divine law, i.e., "love your neighbour as you love yourself." (Mt., Romans 13, The Letter of James).

Love in the Bible is equivalent to justice. And so, one cannot love while being unjust. And without love of those in need, one cannot love God. The two great commandments which sum up the law of God, are synonymous. Love of God, and justice toward the poor mean the same.

In light of the above, the theologians of the early Church used to teach that superfluities of property amount to robbery from the poor. God directed that we be stewards and caretakers of creation so that the basic needs of all be answered. When one disobeys this and concentrates on the amassing of possessions, which is to say satisfying "wants" rather than needs, then one robs from those whose needs are unsatisfied. Peter Maurin, one of the founders of the <u>Catholic</u> <u>Worker</u>, wrote, "There is enough (in the world) for the needs of all, but not for the greed of all."

One disobedience prepares for another. There is no such entity as "private property" and the laws protecting private property, be it corporate property or government property are anti-laws. Such legislation and its judicial backing merely indicate a civil (dis)order of disobedience and rebellion against God's order. Moreover, they lead to something even more grievous, the perversion of materiality to defend robbery or to extend robbery. Officialdom calls these murderous means property also--property to defend "private property." The military means betray a willingness to kill another in the defense of this "property" and the laws which protect it.

The American standard of living and "way of life" is morally indefensible according to the Bible because it neglects God's law of compassion and justice. It both causes and remains aloof from global realities of malnutrition and starvation, including the deaths of tens of thousands of children daily.

As for "swords" or "bombs", the Bible insists on conversion as in Isaiah 2, Micah 4, or Mt. 5. Everything depends on a new relationship to the weapons; that is to say, converting them to ploughshares. Conversion of spirit while the weapons continue in existence is impossible. So the measure of spiritual conversion is conversion of weapons to ploughshares. Only this frees the spirit of the will to kill under certain circumstances; frees the spirit from the idol of the weapon; and truly disarms the person.

Dan Berrigan pointed out, during the Ploughshares 8 Trial, that nuclear weapons were not property at all. Property is that which is complimentary to human life. He called the mark 12 A anti-property with no right to exist. In reducing the mark 12 A to scrap, we destroyed its spiritual slavery over us, we transformed, from injustice to justice: turned from a life cluttered with and beset by enemies to one in which we have no enemies. Or at least, initiated the process of this liberation.



In court, the law insists that those who ready the suicide of humankind have a "right" to do this, whether politicians, generals, or arms makers; and that those who resist them have no legal standing. To this end, they neglect any reference to divine law, Nuremberg or local justification defenses--either outright or in preventing such arguments from going to the jury. In doing so, the legal and judicial systems set themselves up as arbitrators of injustice, the legalizers of mass suicidal weapons and as the enforcers of an illegitimate political system.

Early War Crimes of WW III

Dr. Rosalie Bertell

After Hitler came to power in 1933, the Nazis made the city of Nuremberg the site of their annual party congresses and the capital of their anti-Semitic propoganda. It was here, in 1935, that the Nuremberg Laws were first promulgated, depriving German Jews of civic rights.

It was fitting, therefore, that after the Second World War, Nuremberg was chosen as the seat for the international tribunal on war crimes. At these famous trials the principle was established that the wanton destruction of civilians is a violation of international law, and that individuals may be held responsible for violations of this law even when they are following orders of their government.

It is also fitting that in February, 1983, another Tribunal was convened in Nuremberg to gather scientific testimony regarding preparations for mass genocide in a nuclear war. Rosalie Bertell was asked to give testimony to these hearings.

Dr. Bertell has done research on the effeccts of low levels of radiation at the Roswell Park Memorial Cancer Institute in New York. She is a consultant to the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Currently she is involved in research on the health impact of uranium mining and mine tailings on native Americans and recently gave testimony at the Nuclear Free Pacific conference.

It is important in these Tribunal deliberations not only to look to the past with remorse and to the future with fear, but also to face the present with honesty, courage and compassion. World War II did not start suddenly with the 1939 outbreak of hostilities. It began for the Jews in 1933. Episodes such as forcing the Jews to clean the streets of Vienna with toothbrushes, an event which evoked laughter from the Viennese spectators, served to prepare the way for the concentration camps and gas chambers.

I wish today to expose publicly the brutalization process now taking place in preparation for World War III. It is hoped that we will be able to abort the brutalization process and prevent the further escalation of violence against the people of the earth and the life-supporting earth itself.

UNLIMITED NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY CHALLENGED

It is an understatement to say that we live in a time of crisis. A crisis moves inevitably toward breakdown or a breakthrough to new understanding and behaviour. We are at a point of termination of a primitive stage in human development, the stage of national sovereignty. This stage has been characterized by the nation's right over the life and death of its citizens. The right of nations to wage war, demand military service, give out death sentences and produce weapons of mass destruction has been hardly challenged until recent times. Both war-making between nations and human rights violations within nations employ violence or force as a basis of human relations, and both are being rejected globally as suicidal and counterproductive modes of human behaviour.

War-making needs to be relegated to the history books, along with castle-building, fortification of cities, duelling, cannibalism and slavery. The nation's right to destroy its own people or those of other nations for some political advantage is as outrageous today as was the old custom establishing a male's right over the life of his spouse and children. The crisis caused by national sovereignty must be resolved by a further breakthrough to new modes of interpersonal relations, or a further social breakdown will take place with corresponding anarchistic challenges of authority. Some wish to avert social breakdown by action risking a clash of arms leading to nuclear holocaust, while simultaneously re-asserting the nation's sovereignty. This is hardly an acceptable handling of the situation. It serves merely to delay the crisis.

I would like to place before the Tribunal some examples of the gross violations that are perpetuated by nations against their own people as they prepare for nuclear war. The cases involve the French Polynesia, Kwajalein and Eniwetok in the Marshall Islands, and the area near Chelybinsk, U.S.S.R., in the Ural Mountains. These stories expose some of the early victims of World War III. To ignore their plight is to cooperate with the brutalization process which prepares the world for nuclear holocaust. By so doing, one accepts and cooperates with the assumption that nations have life and death rights over subjects.

GROSS VIOLATIONS CITED

The French have been testing nuclear weapons in French Polynesia since 1966. Last year, in the first of 96 detonations on the Island of Moruroa, the coral pedestal collapsed, causing a major tidal wave, and the Island began to sink into the Pacific Ocean. France has merely moved its testing programme to another island, and is allowing the plutonium and other long-lived fission products to pollute the spawning ground for the Pacific fisheries. The people of Polynesia have never been informed of or protected against the dangers of fallout from these nuclear tests. The French government has prosecuted Polynesian dissenters, jailing them in France, and three months prior to the beginnning of testing, they suspended the publication of Polynesian health statistics. Recently France has refused cooperation with the World Health Organization study of cancer in the Pacific Islands. It is clear that the human rights and health of Polynesians are being sacrificed for France's military programme.

The Kwajalein atoll is the testing ground for U.S. missiles. Right now, MX missiles are being fired from the Vandenberg Air Force Base in California to the atoll, 4,200 miles to the west, to test the accuracy of the system. About 8,000 people from Kwajalein are being forced to live on the 66-acre island called Ebeye. Almost all vegetation on that island has been destroyed and the people are forced to import 95 percent of their food. About 6,000 Micronesians are living in four-room cinderblock apartments, with 30 to 40 apartments sharing one kitchen and bathroom. About 2,000 Micronesians are homeless, living on the beach in shacks. The lagoon water has a bacteria count about 15,000 times above the World Health Organization's emergency level. There are serious epidemics of TB, malaria, dysentry and other infectious diseases. The health and life of KwajaleinIslanders are being sacrificed for U.S. military aims.

Eniwetok is an Island of the Marshalls more polluted with radioactive fallout than Bikini. The U.S. Department of Energy has officially declared it uninhabitable due to radioactive contamination from U.S. weapons testing. Last summer, the people of Eniwetok returned to their island in spite of this prohibition. The people had decided that because of their own experienced ill health, and the birth defects they saw in their children, they were dying off as a people. They wanted to die on their own home island. One woman described the babies as "a bunch of grapes"-no faces and only buds where arms and legs should be. The culture, health and future of these islanders has been sacrificed for U.S. military aims.

The Soviet Union experienced a major nuclear accident in 1957-58, at its nuclear weapons production facility near Chelybinsk. Thousands of people were seriously injured and many died. The victims have not been allowed to contact other radiation victims so they would have at least this small shred of human comfort in their suffering. Soviet military policy keeps outside concerned persons from assisting these people, sharing with them the experience of other victims and learning from their tragic experiences.

I would like to recruit nurses, doctors and radiobiologists to go to these places and assist all of these victims. I believe that we must make their plight visible to the people of the world to begin to heal these open sores on the face of the planet, as a prerequisite for peace. I am willing to begin to organize such an effort, but need money and personnel.



More than 1,200 nuclear bombs have already been detonated, and the numbers of victims globally must already be in the range of 17 million. The British have set off bombs in the Christmas Islands and Maralinga, South Australia; China and India have exposed their own citizens to radioactive fallout, and the United States has endangered the whole northern hemisphere with more than 600 nuclear blasts in Nevada. Soviet tests at Novaya Zemlya have endangered the people and fragile life support system of the Arctic region. The Lapps, for example, are estimated to have more nuclear material in their bodies than any other people of the world with the possible exception of the Pacific people of Bikini and Eniwetok.



EARLY VICTIMS OF WORLD WAR III

Let me attempt to estimate the numbers of early victims of World War III, beginning with Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

155,521 - immediate civilian fatalities;

- 2,140 pregnant women with their children killed;
- 400 aborted embryos and fetuses;
- 147,033 civilians who died between September 1945 and January 1950 from bomb induced injuries;
- 1,523 children born with severe congenital
 malformations;
- 200 microcephalic and severely mentally retarded children;
- 1,384 children with milder congenital malformations;
- 3,500 to 13,500 cancer victims among survivors;
- 1,000 to 21,600 genetically damaged offspring each generation (after equilibrium) until death of the family line.

The Hiroshima and Nagasaki victims number about 328,000. Genetically damaged children will continue to be born and in their turn produce damaged offspring for generations to come. The production and testing of nuclear weapons since 1945 has resulted in even more deaths and casualties:

- 1,680,000 to 3,600,000 embryonic, fetal and infant deaths
- 1,140,000 to 8,730,000 cancer victims(some of whom die in precancer states);
- 10,000 to 320,000 children with severe congenital malformations;
- 2,870,000 to 5,750,000 children with milder congenital malformations;
- 170,000 to 7,120,000 genetically damaged children each generation (after equilibrium) until death of the family line.

The global victims of fallout from nuclear testing are estimated to be almost 16 million, with genetic damage being passed on from generation to generation until the family line dies out.

Between 36,700 and 78,300 new victims are generated each year by nuclear weapon production, by the "routine" pollution of the uranium in nuclear mining and refining, enrichment, nuclear power plants, reprocessing, transportation and waste disposal activities. If one posits a gradual increase in the level of weapon production from none in 1943 to today's level, this means that over the past 40 years, weapon production has caused some 2.3 million radiation victims. This estimate includes the miners and nuclear workers whose radiation-related illnesses have never been acknowledged by either governments or industry. Most victims were unaware of the killing substances added to their air, water, or food.

Even the list of close to 20 million victims fails to include the hundreds of thousands of people killed in recent wars supported by superpowers desirous of buffer nations or spheres of influence. Hundreds of thousands of others have died of hunger and malnutrition because of the inordinate global spending on weapons. Millions are homeless or in need of medical care, education and jobs because of the distorted national preoccupations with war-making.

The prognosis for the world, given this self-destructive and earth destructive behaviour, is poor. As nuclear powers increase their own pollution because of distorted military short-term thinking, the people of their nations will give birth to more physically damaged offspring. These offspring will be less able to cope with the increasingly hazardous environment. Thus, a death process is underway, even if there is no catastrophic accident or nuclear holocaust. Just like individual reactions to personal death, so society reacts to species death with the typical stages of denial, anger, barter and finally, it is hoped, realism. For those who have reached the fourth stage there is no more pretense that "things are normal," "the world is enjoying peace," or "one must believe the experts," The stance is to attempt to heal the possibility of mortal wounds, or to sit with the dying earth. Honesty is the fundamental medicinal approach.

HEALING ACTIONS

Let me suggest a few healing actions which we might promote to relieve the crisis of our time and to allow for recovery of the planet and political/social reorganization in non-suicidal directions:

- We must no longer cooperate with war-making, threats of war and fear of war. Nations must be held accountable to International Law, and not allowed to silence internal peaceful dissent or randomly kill their own or other people in the name of "military security."
- Scientists must be supported economically and humanly, to enable them to reveal the lies and disinformation being publically condoned to support "military superiority."
- 3. We must explore the possibility of a new permanent United Nations Non-Governmental Assembly, initially composed of those Non-Governmental Organizations already affiliated with the U.N., and a gradual phaseout of the U.N Security Council.
- 4. We must demand that the Statutes of the International Court of Law be amended to recognize international churches and professional organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations and International Labour Unions as legal persons able to bring suit or be brought in a suit before the court, so that we may begin building the infrastructure of a peaceful world.
- We must begin to creatively build a peaceful, decentralized economy with international rules to govern movement of people, trade and commerce, global currency, environmental protection and peacemaking.
- 6. We must call upon the United Nations to establish a global public sector or to recognize neutral nations willing to take an oath to work for global good rather then their narrow national advantage. These bodies must supervise the disarmament of the five nuclear nations so that it will proceed swiftly, credibly and reasonably.
- 7. We must consciously develop feminist principles of consensus decision making, cooperative interpersonal relations and avoidance of confrontational stances at all political and social levels. This implies national, social and political reorganization against lying, social injustice, economic tyranny, human rights violations, and reckless pollution of air, water and land.
- 8. We can understand the crisis of our time as a death of exaggerated nationalism and the birth of global community. We can reject fear and choose life!!

Nuclear Power: Nuclear Bombs

The Editors of the Nuclear Free Press

Orchestrated Naivete

The nuclear policies of the developed world--including Canada--have always rested on three key ideas: that there is a technical dividing line between the peaceful and the war-like atom, that this "great divide" can be defended with a system of international safeguards, and that nuclear energy is indispensible to both the developed and the developing world.

Four decades of experience have proven that these ideas are complete illusions, and that the myth of the peaceful atom was contrived--by industry and governments--in a spirit of commercial expediency and orchestrated naivete. In the meantime, the spread of civilian nuclear exports has proven to be the fastest, cheapest and most secretive way for nations to launch new nuclear programmes.

In the beginning

Canada's nuclear programme began during World War II with the race to develop an atomic bomb. As part of the top-secret Manhattan Project, Canada and Britain joined the U.S. in an all-out research effort which culminated in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Canada supplied most of the rare uranium ore used in the Manhattan Project, and shared the secrets scientists had uncovered working in heavily funded nuclear laboratories. Canadian research focused on designing a nuclear reactor that could produce high-quality plutonium for nuclear weapons.

The end of the war left Canada with a highly trained, elite group of scientists, as well as a brand new experimental research complex at Chalk River, 130 miles north of Ottawa. The centrepiece of this complex was a heavy-water, natural uranium reactor--the prototype of today's Candu.

These unique factors, combined with the mood of public horror which followed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, convinced the federal government to renounce the development of nuclear weapons, and instead launch an effort to find peaceful applications for atomic energy.

Throughout the 1950's and early '60s, this effort focused on Chalk River. There, scientists developed scaled-up versions of the wartime reactor design, and modified it to produce electricity. Despite serious accidents in 1952 and 1958, the work on commercial power reactors advanced quickly.

But even then there was a military side to Canada's nuclear programme. During this same period the Chalk River reactors were secretly being used to produce plutonium for the U.S. army. And, Canada's booming uranium industry was entirely dependent on military sales to the U.S. and Britain. (In 1959, uranium was Canada's fourth largest export product, after newspaper, wheat and lumber.)

Canada also launched a major effort to sell its newly acquired nuclear technology to Third World countries like India. The "Atoms for Peace" programme had begun in earnest.

Bombs in every basement

Until 1974, Canada's nuclear industry was largely successful in convincing the public that building a nuclear bomb was impossible for all but the wealthiest and most technologically advanced nations. As proof, the industry often pointed to the enormous expense and the concentrated expertise required for the Manhattan Project.

But in May 1974, India exploded a "nuclear device" using fuel it had produced in a Canadian-built and designed "peaceful" research reactor. The explosion shattered the myth of a peaceful atom, because the public suddenly realized that the material India used-plutonium-is produced by every nuclear reactor in the world. This makes every reactor a potential bomb factory. The public also realized that even a relatively poor, underdeveloped country like India could assemble the money and expertise to reprocess spent reactor fuel for plutonium.

Since then, a U.S. government report has concluded that a small secret reprocesing plant, built in less than one year and operated by a dozen technnicians, could produce enough plutonium for one nuclear weapon per week. At an estimated cost of one to three million dollars, the essential technology for making bombs is within reach of every country with a nuclear reactor of any type.

A second, more expensive and complex route to nuclear bombs is through uranium enrichment. Originally, the five superpowers had a monopoly on this technology, but recently countries like Pakistan and South Africa have proven that increasingly cheaper and more secretive techniques are being developed. These allow uranium to be converted directly into nuclear weapons material without the use of any reactor.

Paper safequards

Nuclear scientists and military experts have known since World War II that all nuclear fission reactors and all fissionable materials can be used to make nuclear weapons. For security reasons, therefore, an international system of strict safeguards is essential.

On the other hand, the commercial success of the international nuclear industry depends on the free transfer of nuclear materials and technology to anyone, anywhere--with a minimum of restrictions.

This fundamental contradiction--between safeguards and sales--is embodied in the



Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and it has plagued the United Nations agency responsible for enforcing the treaty, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Here are the key provisions of the NPT designed to prevent the spread of the bomb:

*each member country (except those already possessing nuclear weapons) is prohibited from developing nuclear weapons

*member countries are prohibited from transferring or accepting nuclear technology and material for military purposes

*all nuclear facilities in all member countries must be open to international inspection to ensure against diversion for military purposes.

But at the same time, the NPT provides a cover for the spread of bomb-making know-how and capability:

*member countries are encouraged to acquire and exchange "peaceful" nuclear information, technology and materials, including uranium, plutonium, research and commercial reactors, reprocessing and uranium enrichment technology, etc.

*each member country may purchase, construct, or test plutonium reprocessing plants, uranium enriched fuels, guided missile delivery systems, bomb components, etc. The materials just cannot be assembled as a bomb.

*any member country can withdraw from the Treaty on three months' notice.

Under the NPT, a country can be only hours away from detonating a nuclear bomb-and still be a Treaty signatory in good standing. A country may even have reached this position without being especially secretive.

Nor could the International Atomic Energy Agency hope to prevent clandestine actions leading to weapons proliferation. The IAEA has a small staff of "police" whose beat includes every nuclear facility and every kilogram of fissionable material in the world. The IAEA can detect little and prevent even less.

Clearly the kind of paper safeguards provided by the NPT are futile, or worse. Instead of increasing world security, they create a dangerous illusion of security--one which allows the atomic underground to operate in a cloak of innocence and invisibility.

Fuel for reactors and bombs

Uranium is a necessary component in all nuclear bombs.

During Canada's post-war uranium boom, that 's exactly how Canada's uranium was used--to arm U.S. and British atomic weapons. At the peak of production in the late 50s, the industry was producing 12,000 tons of uranium a year at mines in Ontario, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories.

By the early '60s, however, Britain and the U.S. had found alternative sources of their own for uranium. This caused a major collapse in the Canadian industry, and production fell by 75 percent.

In 1965, the government officially called an end to the export of uranium for military use, which at that time was merely an acknowledgement of the status quo.

However, the government also implemented heroic measures to keep the uranium industry alive, and to expand the export of uranium for "peaceful" purposes. These measures included a \$100 million stockpiling programme, and participation in a secret international cartel, which engineered a 500 percent increase in uranium prices.

Today, Canada, which has about one-fifth of the world's proven uranium reserves, is once again among the largest exporters, with markets in Japan, Europe, the U.S., South Korea and elsewhere. Eighty-five perent of all uranium mined in Canada is exported.

But, like the peaceful nuclear reactor, peaceful uranium is a myth:

*Most exported Candian uranium must be enriched for use in reactors requiring low-enriched uranium. However, the countries in which enrichment takes place--the U.S., Britain, France and the U.S.S.R.--also use their enrichment plants to create high-enriched uranium for weapons. In fact, these plants are primarily military installations. Since uranium originating from Canada is not kept physically separate from other uranium destined for bombs, it is only a bookkeeping fiction that Canadian

uranium is used for peaceful purposes only.

*Even if Canadian uranium were being used strictly for reactors, Canadian exports would still help to make other uranium available for use in bombs.

*Once Canadian uranium has been used in a power reactor, there is still a possibility that the spent fuel could be reprocessed to obtain plutonium for military use. Safeguards designed to prevent diversions are incapable of doing so.

*Finally there is the possibility that the "depleted" uranium left over after enrichment (mostly uranium 238) could be used militarily, either through re-insertion into a reactor to breed plutonium, or through direct use in hydrogen bombs to enhance the explosive power of the bomb.

Two sides of a coin

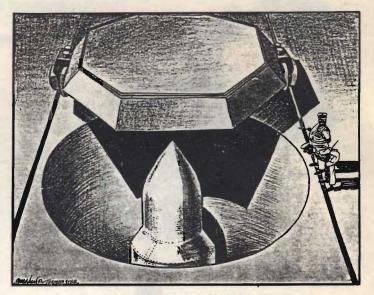
The peaceful and the military atom cannot be kept separate because they are not separate: they are two sides of the same coin. In Canada, as elsewhere, the civilian nuclear power programme owes its very existence to the military programme which preceded it--a programme which assisted the U.S. Manahattan Project and which gave France and Britain a head start on developing their own nuclear weapons.

Today, the peaceful atom provides a cover for the continuing manufacture and proliferation of the bomb. "Peaceful" uranium mines provide fissionable materials for use in nuclear weapons; universities with "peaceful" nuclear programmes teach the skills needed to design those weapons; and exports of "peaceful" nuclear technologies provide governments with the means to manufacture weapons of their own.

The conclusion? As a first step, we must stop proliferation by the only sure means at our disposal, by cutting of all trade in nuclear information, technology and materials of any sort.

As a nation which has expressed grave concerns about proliferation but which helped India to make its own bomb, Canada should lead the way by cancelling all further reactor exports and uranium contracts.

But for those who seek not just to contain the spread of the bomb, but to achieve global nuclear disarmament, there is an even more profound conclusion: the civilian nuclear power programmes of all the world must be dismantled. Only then will every uranium mine, every reactor, every reprocessing plant and every reactor, every reprocessing plant and every enrichment plant be clearly identified as a threat to humanity. Only then can we hope to kill the nuclear weed at its root, and prevent it from sprouting ever again.



"OFFICIALLY, IT'S A NUCLEAR REACTOR FROM CANADA"

The Candu as a bomb factory

Candu reactors have some special features which increase their attractiveness as bomb factories:

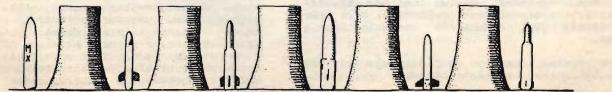
*Heavy water reactors like the Candu produce large amounts of relatively pure plutonium--more than other power reactor designs on the international market.

*The Candu is fuelled with natural uranium, which makes it particularly attractive for any country with access to its own uranium reserves. This eliminates the dependence on suppliers of enriched uranium who might get nervous about the potential for proliferation and cut off the flow of fuel.

*The Candu has an ingenious continuous re-fuelling system which allows fuel to be removed for plutonium reprocessing without shutting down the reactor or interrupting electric power service. This system makes it easier to divert spent fuel for military purposes without being detected.

Combined, these features make the Candu a good choice for governments with nuclear weapons in mind. The Candu is also the cheapest way to produce plutonium and electricity simultaneously--especially when Canada sells them at fire-sale prices.

Canada has sold Candu reactors to Pakistan, India, Taiwan, Argentina, South Korea and Romania. The only one of these countries which did not have a military government at the time of sale was India, and India used its reactor to make a bomb anyway.



Violence and Non-Violence: Nicaragua and Canada

Len Desroches

Len Desroches and two other members of CMCP went with eight other Canadians of <u>Witness for</u> <u>Peace</u> to live and work with the villagers of San Dionisio, Nicaragua, in July, 1984.

After a few long hours bent under a Nicaraguan sun any gentle breeze is a friend. I look down the steep slope of green corn and take in the awesome beauty of the surrounding tropical mountains. Breathe deeply the rich smell of the earth. A short break for some water. The jug passes from grandfather, to father, to son, to this Canadian brother. Then a strange sound breaks in--a plane above. We all look up. Pablo's father says to me: "I don't like them. They can bring danger." All that is good in Nicaragua is threatened.

Scars of past injustices and violence

The country is marked with reminders of past injustices from the decades of brutal dictatorship. The small plot of land that Cruz and Pablo now farm used to be but a tiny part of the large landholdings of just two wealthy families in the area. The agony I saw on the faces of the parents holding their baby as it died of diarrhea is a reminder of the painful struggle it has been to push back diarrhea from first to sixth place as a cause of infant mortality. Then there was the alert the other night when we were askd to stay inside: a small whiff of the stench of the Contra terrorizing.

Signs of an honest revolution

One of the ways of testing a revolution is to find those concrete signs that reveal who the revolution is benefitting. In Nicaragua there are powerful, impressive signs of a true revolution of values and priorities. There are the ones we have heard of concerning literacy, health, prison reforms. There are also subtle but profound expressions of the people's dignity: it is next to impossible to find even among the poorest people someone who is dressed in dirty clothes. The inner dignity shines through even when water and clothes are scarce.

Nicaragua: non-violence and Canadian violence

Maybe nothing better reveals our almost total misunderstanding of active non-violence as the belief in ourselves as a non-violent people. Let me attempt to clarify this by exploring two realities I encountered in Nicaragua--the omnipresence of guns and forcedconscription into the army.

But first it is absolutely critical to state with utmost clarity that the most destructive violence in Nicaragua is the U.S.-financed violence of the Contras who murder and destroy subsistence crops; the U.S. sponsored economic strangulations of the people; and the constant threat of a genocidal invasion. No internal violence can be justly understood outside this day-to-day brutality.

Let us look first at the presence of guns in Nicaragua. It has been quite revealing to have some Canadians presume that the presence of someone with a gun at almost every corner makes the Nicaraguan society obviously less non-violent than ours. But what would happen if I crossed the street from where I lived and broke into a house to steal a stereo? In a few minutes there would be a number of people with powerful guns--the police. We do in fact have plenty of guns in Canada. (In the United States an average of sixty people are killed every day by handguns!)

But there is an important question which reveals the kind of violence we are dealing with. What are their guns protecting and what are our guns protecting? It does not take long in a Canadian jail to discover that most people are from the poor class and most are in there for an offence related to property. In other words, our guns are used to protect property. In Nicaragua their guns are literally being used not only for defending themselves, but even more importantly, to defend their children.

What does the gun in Nicaragua tell me as someone trying to live out non-violent resistance? What does it mean when farmers put aside their farm tools and take up a gun to protect their children? The gun in the hand of these gentle, hospitable farmers represents not the failure of non-violence but our own repeated, global, historical failure to develop, year by year, decade by decade, powerful tools and methods of non-violent resistance to oppression. So the guns remain.



The gun in the hands of the Nicaraguan farmer also partially represents our failure here in Canada to take on our fullest share of the risks involved in this resistance. We have to go beyond "allowing" peaceful revolution to participating and taking our full share of the risks of non-violent resistance to dictatorships--through radical boycotts, denunciations, non-cooperation at whatever price...

These are my perceptions. I am not a Nicaraguan. So let the anguished words of a Nicaraguan brother on non-violence be heard and taken seriously. Miguel D'Escoto is foreign minister for the Nicaraguan people and a priest. These are his reflections in an interview of March, 1983: "No one has influenced my own life more than Martin Luther King."

"Eight years before the insurrection, after the earthquake, I talked to the archbishop. I don't believe that non-violence is something you can arrive at rationally. Not that it is anti-reason, but that it is not natural. The natural thing to do when somebody hits you is to hit them back.

But that spirituality and work with people's consciences has never been done. We have no right to hope to harvest what we have not sown.

Enforced conscription

"The revolution was won by the people and if the people care about the revolution there shouldn't be enforced conscription. Yes there are many positive things about the revolution, but the reason we talk about the negative things is because we really feel them." A young woman who fought in the revolution expressed the pain of enforced conscription for some. While I was in the village of San Dionisio I saw my friend



And I said, 'Archbishop, don't you see how this is going to explode?' 'Why don't we go into the streets? You lead us, armed with songs in repudiation for what has been done to our people.' 'If they do not shoot us, there will be a consciousness aroused internationally. And maybe the people in the United States will be alerted and will pressure their government so that it won't support Somoza, and then maybe we can be freed without the destruction that I see ahead.

And the archbishop said, 'No Miguel, you tend to be a little bit idealistic, and this destruction is not going to happen.' And when it did happen, the church insisted on non-violence.

The cancer of oppression and injustice and crime and exploitation was allowed to grow, and finally the people had to fight with the means available to them, the only means that people have found from of old: armed struggle. Then the church arrogantly said violence was bad, non-violence was the correct way. Pablo's own brother arrested for not wanting to join the army.

Again it is critical to remind ourselves that enforced conscription is a desperate response to the primary violence of the U.S.-backed contras. I do not hesitate to express great sympathy for the Sandinista leaders who must surely be the last to want to force their own people---even while in principle and in strategy I clearly disagree with any government anywhere legislating its people to take up arms. (In principle I disagree. Strategically I think it: is counterproductive.)

Deep down the Sandinistas must know that you can't force ā gun into someone's hand; that it is not the gun (what an arsenal the U.S. has in comparison!) but the revolutionary spirit of the Nicaraguan people--their willingness to die--that will make it forever impossible for the U.S. to enslave them without murdering every Nicaraguan woman, man and child in front of the whole world. It is that revolutionary spirit which needs to be supported and nourished. Not the gun as such. And yes, I would say that the truer the revolution, the more it should be able to explore revolutionary non-violent resistance in all genuine possibilities of resistance--e.g. organizing international boycotts.

And even strategically, there is no need to worry that this exploration will weaken the spirit of armed revolutionaries. I believe the onus is on us to show those farmers I met that there is a way more powerful than the gun to do revolution. Till then the Sandinistas surely know that the revolutionaries won't lay down their arms and let their children be enslaved or murdered.

I would say that the common point of accountability in a revolutionary commitment to a people in crisis is willingness to die for freedom, peace and justice. But it is not the right of any individual or government to dictate that my resistance can only be expressed in armed revolution--no more than I have the right to dictate to the peasants to drop their guns till I/we can offer a real process of revolutionary change to a people in slavery, as did Martin Luther King.

No one has the moral authority to legislate a gun into my hands. I would take up neither baseball bat nor gun nor cruise missile simply because a government legislated it--whether it be Liberal, Conservative, N.D.P. or Sandinista. Now, if, as in Nicaragua, the Canadian people were being threatened because they were, as a people, in the process of re-arranging their whole priorities to meet the needs of the poor in Canada, the old, the handicapped, political refugees, then I would be willing to risk participating in non-violent resistance.

But a simple lack of arms/army is certainly not full non-violence. Active non-violent resistance till death is not passivity. Passivity or neutrality in the face of slavery, murders, and dictatorships is a far greater violence than the violence of the poor who defend their children with their hands or machetes or guns. Martin Luther King was not passive in the face of slavery, lynchings, assinations and imprisonments.

Invading Nicaraqua; Building and testing the cruise missile

To look at Third World violence can help us see more clearly our own violence. We expect to be defended (minings, napalming, sabotage, invasions, overthrow of governments) by the U.S. war machine whose militarism, as Oscar Romero pointed out, is crushing the people. We are not only passively allowing the U.S. to do our killings for us, we are actively helping to build and test its shiny new weapons.

As we allign ourselves-over and over-with this violence by our own silence, cooperation or sheer apathy, we are seriously damaging our own humanity. The physical destruction of others and our own spiritual deterioration become one as we choose not to choose radical, active non-cooperation with this violence. The killing of the Nicaraguans becomes one with the starving of the poor by every single new navigational system that comes out of our flower-lined, tax-supported death factories such as Litton Systems on 25 City View Drive, Rexdale.

With all the love-power and truth-force in us, let us resolve to act in solidarity now as the war against the Nicaraguans goes on. Let us also discern and concretely plan our own response should my friends Pablo and Cruz and their children be invaded by this war machine that we continue to feed day by day. A 'death' machine from which we earn our 'living' here in Canada.

Is non-violence possible in Latin America?

Tested with arrest and torture Adolfo Perez Esquivel of Argentina could still say to the whole world: "I come from a continent that lives between anguish and hope. For this continent I live, the choice of the evangelical power of non-violence presents itself, I am convinced, as a challenge that opens up new and radical perspectives...To create this new society, we must present outstretched and friendly hands, without hatred and rancor, even as we show great determination and never waver in the defense of truth and justice. Because we know that we cannot sow seeds with clenched fists. To sow we must open our hands."

Cruz and Pablo know this about sowing. May more and more global, imaginative explorations of non-violent resistance eventually offer them and all farmers of the world more than guns for lasting revolution. A full non-violent revolution cannot be loaded solely on the aching, broken shoulders of Third World sisters and brothers.

Can we love radically enough to take on our complete share of the risks and sacrifices here in Canada? Can we begin to sow with courage, so that in some decade soon we will in fact be able to harvest revolutionary change born of the unarmed power of truth and love? Do we have the courage and the imagination to sow when most hands around us



We believe that in the process of liberation there must be agreement between ends and means. We share a belief in and a dependency on a spirit which nourishes us and gives us strength in the midst of our struggle in Latin America. - Adolpho Perez Esquivel, Argentinian Nobel Peace Prize Winner

Civil Disobedience: A law student's perspective

Al Hart

On October 24, 1983, an affinity group from Canada (including members of CMCP) joined in a civil disobedience action at Seneca Army Depot in upstate New York, as part of the International Days of Protest against deployment of the cruise and pershing II missiles to Europe.

The neutron bomb and wastes from the Manhattan Project are stored at Seneca. The base is also believed to be the transshipment point of the Pershing II missile and possibly the cruise missile to Europe.

The Canadian affinity group went onto the base to leaflet the soldier's barracks (see enclosure) and were arrested.

One of the persons arrested is a law professor at Queen's University in Kingston. The following article was written by a law student at Queen's. While written to address the particular dilemma a "legal professional" has in chosing to do civil disobedience, it in fact encompasses the general questions and criticism we all face when deciding to participate in non-violent direct action.

Last Monday, two graduate students and a law professor were apprehended after climbing over the fence surrounding the Seneca Army Depot in order to distribute leaflets to the soldiers stationed there.

The reaction of some law students were predictable, but nonetheless disappointing. "Stupid," they said. "Irresponsible." "A dangerous precedent."

But any decision to break the law is not one that is taken lightly, especially by a professional whose reputation is an important part of his or her ability to influence others. It requires courage and strong beliefs in one's convictions. The roots of civil disobedience lie in a reognition that the legally accepted options for political action are insufficient to achieve the goals of the action. People engage in civil disobedience for a number of reasons. They deliberately break laws in order to accomplish a specific goal which is restricted by a law unrelated to the values in question. In this case the goal was to which in question. In this case the goal was to communicate directly with soldiers by distributing pamphlets to them personally and engaging them in dialogue. Civil disobedience can also be used to expose the ultimate absurdity of the legal system, a system which punishes individuals for breaches of the peace, and yet tolerates, and therefore supports, the funnelling of millions of dollars into a military system which could ultimately destroy the very society that the law is meant to protect.

Thirdly, civil disobedience is resorted to when it is the only means of galvanizing certain segments of the public to take notice of an issue and consider it worthy of personal commitment.

It should be noted in this respect that the Canadian public seems to be the most apathetic of any in the world; it certainly lags far behind Europe in terms of public awareness and conviction.

And finally, the act of civil disobedience is intrinsically beneficial by pushing political activists to the limit of their courage. It forces an individual to decide whether he or she wants to continue to hold beliefs that bring him or her into direct conflict with the authorities.

There are arguments against the kind of action taken at Seneca. Had all lawful avenues been explored before the illegal action was taken? Should a law professr openly defy the law, thus encouraging others to break the law whenever it suits their ideology?

Regarding the first criticism, one wonders if any of the possible legal options are even worth considering. Run for city council on a disarmament platform? Kingston City COuncil has already stated that it does not consider nuclear disarmament a municipal issue, and it isn't clear that single issue politics is a desirable thing anyway. Write your M.P.? Write a letter to the editor? Make a movie? These options have already been tried by others, and the disarmament movement here still seems to be lagging behind those of other countries. (See section on legal actions attempted by CMCP against Litton.)

Something more seems to be needed before we get the massive demonstration of that support necessary for the movement to have any effectiveness at all. The movement needs to capture the imagination of more members of the public, and symbolic actions of the kind taken last week at Seneca can only help to make individuals reconsider their own positions.

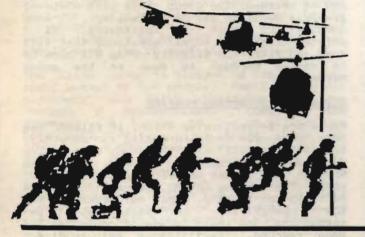
The preceding discussion hinges on one major assumption--that nuclear disarmament is a good thing. And this brings us to the most difficult argument against the kind of action taken last week in New York.

If an individual is so convinced that his or her beliefs force him or her to break the law, what is stopping anyone else from justifying even more serious activities for less meritorious causes? If everyone decides that it is all right to break the law, the argument goes, surely anarchy must follow.

The problem with this arguement is that it is merely hypothetical. It does not distinguish between different kinds of illegal activity:trivial breaches of the law do not necessarily inspire serious breaches. And, in Canada anyway,the state is sufficiently strong, and the people sufficiently deferential to authority, that the threat of anarchy is a remote one indeed.

The real danger is not anarchy, but complacency. We need people who are willing to stick their necks out and risk disapproval and legal sanctions. We need people who will question laws rather than blindly obey them. It would be unfortunate if the only response to actions of civil disobedience were embarrassment and censure.

After all, society will never move forward unless there are people willing to put themselves on the line in order to point out its faults.



We are here at Seneca Army Depot today in a non-violent appeal to you as soldiers in the United States Army to stop deployment of missiles to Europe.

We recognize that as a soldier you have both a greater responsibility and a greater burden than we. The burden is that the Army is your livelihood. In a time of unemployment as we have now, it would be difficult to give it up. However, in accepting the Army as your livelihood, you willingly participate in the use of military means to solve political problems. And, although in conventional warfare you are the one who pulls the trigger, in nuclear warfare you will not. The decision to push the nuclear button will be made by your superiors. The only time you can object is now--before the weapons are deployed.

Even your generals questions your role. They have written.

"Nowadays, a soldiers conscious of his responsibilty cannot separate his military duties from his moral sense. He must act according to his moral sense before it will be too late and before he will have to act under "binding orders." The first duty of the modern soldier is to prevent nuclear war.

General Gert Bastian (Germany), General John Christie (Norway), General Francisco da Costa Gomes (Portugal), General Georgios Koumanakos (Greece), General H.M. von Meyenfeldt (Netherlands), General Nino Pasti (Italy), Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti (France).

Democracy and Civil Disobedience

The following are excerpts from an article that appeared in the Canadian Bar Review. The article was written by Mark MacGuigan, then Professor of Law at Windsor University. He served as Minister of Justice in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Trudeau.

The formal existence of a system of democratic government is not an absolute guarantee of either democracy or social justice, and to the extent that ostensible democracy fails to recognize and heed the interests of powerless and even voiceless groups of citizens it ensures the emergence of social strife, including disrespect for the law as the dispossessed gather in voice and determination.

The experience of history, as well as the voice of reason, indicates that total compliance with the law cannot be expected where the legal system is unjust, and the greater its injustice the greater will be the negative reaction towards the law. Dean Allen rightly concludes that "modern experience with civil disobedience has again demonstrated that the justice of a legal order is not simply a desirable embellishment. It is, on the contrary, an indispensible prerequisite to the performance of its important functions. Civil disobedience, when it is true to its nature, is paralegal, moral and a contribution to democratic society. When it becomes unduly coercive or engenders violence, it is destructive of democracy. It is, then, a method with potential danger but with a more ready potential for good. The choice today for democratic societies in conflict areas seems not to be between obedience and civil disobedience. It appears rather to be an option between civil disobedience. In such a situation how many will say "nay" to civil disobedience!

Civil disobedience does not, however, need to rely for its justification on "scare psychology." As a genuine example of the principle of persuasion, it is a variant and acceptable form of the political process which is the heart of democracy. Democracy can ask no more of its citizens, when for reasons of conscience they cannot obey a law, dissent respectfully and peacefully. If also they do so dramatically and persuasively, democracy is so much the richer.

Consensus and Affinity Groups

Kath Buffington

Kath Buffington was a staff person with American Friends Serive in Upstate New York. She was involved with organizing the Seneca Women's Peace Encampment. This article is an from a publication of the Encampment.

Consensus does not mean that everyone thinks that the decision made is necessarily the best one possible, or even that they are sure it will work. What it does mean is that in coming to that decision, no one felt that their position on the matter was misunderstood or that it wasn't given a proper hearing. Hopefully, everyone will think it is the best decision; this often happens because, when it works, collective intelligence does come up with better solutions than could individuals.

Forming the consensus proposals

During discussion a proposal for a decision or course of action is put forward. It is amended and modified through more discussion, or withdrawn if it seems to be a dead end. During this discussion period it is important to articulate differences clearly. It is the responsibility of those who are having trouble with a proposal to put forth alternative suggestions.

The fundamental right of consensus is for all people to be able to express themselves in their own words and of their own will. The fundamental responsibility of consensus is to assure others of their right to speak and to be heard. Coercion and trade-offs are replaced with creative alternatives, and compromise with synthesis.

When a proposal seems to be well understood by everyone, and there are no new changes asked for, the facilitator(s) can ask if there are any objections or reservations to it. If there are no objections, there can be a call for consensus. If there are still no objections, then after a moment of silence you have your decision. Once consensus does appear to have been reached, it really helps to have someone repeat the decision to the group so everyone is clear on what has been decided.

Difficulties in reaching consensus

If a decision has not been reached, or is on the verge of being reached that you cannot support, there are several ways to express your objections:

Non-support--I don't see the need for this, but I'll go along.

Reservations--I think this may be a mistake but I can live with it.

Standing aside--I personally can't do this, but I won't stop others from doing it.

Blocking--I can't support this or allow the group to support this. It is immoral. If a final decision violates someone's fundamental moral values they are obligated to block consensus.

Withdrawing from the group

Obviously, if many people express non-support or reservations or stand aside or leave the group, it may not be a viable decision even if no one directly blocks it. This is what is known as a "lukewarm" consensus and it is just as desirable as a lukewarm beer or a lukewarm bath.

If consensus is blocked and no new consensus can be reached, the group stays with whatever previous decision was on the subject, or does nothing if that is applicable. Major philosophical or moral questions that will come up with each affinity group wil have to be worked through as soon as the group forms.

Roles in a consensus meeting

There are several roles which, if filled, can help consensus decision-making run smoothly. The FACILITATOR(S) aids the group in defining decisions that need to be made, helps them through the stages of reaching an agreement, keeps the meeting moving, focuses discussion to the point at hand, makes sure everyone has the opportunity to participate, and formulates and tests to see if consensus has been reached. Facilitators help to direct the process of the meeting, not its content. They never make decisions for the group. If a facilitator feels too emotionally involved in an issue or discussion and cannot remain neutral in behaviour, if not in attitude, then the facilitator should ask someone to take over the task of facilitation for that agenda item.

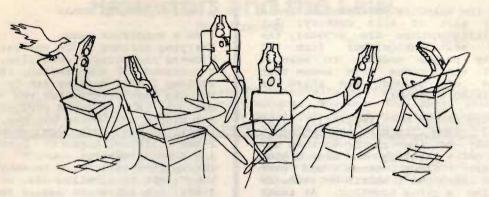
A VIBES-WATCHER is someone besides the facilitator who watches and comments on individual and group feelings and patterns of participation.

A RECORDER can take notes on the meeting, especially of decisions made and means of implementation and a TIME-KEEPER keeps things going on schedule so that each agenda item can be covered in the time allotted for it (if discussion runs over the time for an item, the group may or may not decide to contract for more time to finish up).

Even though individuals take on these roles, all participants in a meeting should be aware of and involved in the issues, process, and feelings of the group, and should share their individual expertise in helping the group run smoothly and reach a decision. This is especially true when it comes to finding compromise agreements to seemingly contradictory positions.

Large group consensus

It is sometimes difficult to formulate proposals that can be consensed upon in a



large group. It is often helpful for a small group to formulate a proposal after hearing the viewpoints of the whole group. Often it is helpful for people who have strong opinions or conflicting opinions to be represented in the small group. The proposal should ideally be written up beforehand--all should have time to read and think about it.

The large group is divided up randomly into small groups of 5-6 people. Small groups sit together, and relay clarifying questions through a spokesperson. Questions are answered. A minute or two of silence can help each individual to think about the proposal. A consensus process of identifying objections, concerns, etc. can continue on in the small groups. The whole group facilitators can check for objections, amendments, etc. When the group re-gathers concerns are stated and recorded. Changes are checked with the author of the proposal. The small group process may need to be repeated several times before the group as a whole can achieve consensus.

The role of consensus during an action

It is clear that consensus is a time consuming activity. It is therefore important for affinity groups to make their fundamental decisions prior to going into an action. Questions, such as: How do we respond to police activity designed to keep us away from the site of the action? What do we do if the action changes focus or scope at the last moment?, are best decided in advance.

In the event that unplanned for circumstances arise in the middle of an action, a quick decision-making process needs to be implemented. It helps to have selected a facilitator in advance. Obviously a recorder and a time-keeper are not needed.

It will be the facilitator's duty to quickly and succinctly articulate the problem to be discussed and to eliminate those points where agreement has already been reached. It is the responsibility of everyone in the group to keep the discussion to a minimum (remember you may have to act quickly). If your point has been made by someone else, there is no need to restate it. A calm approach and clear desire to come to an agreement quickly can help the process. Strong objections should be limited to matters of principle.

CONSENSUS

-Responsibility: Participants are responsible for voicing their opinions, participating in the discussion, and actively implementing the agreement.

-Self-discipline: Blocking consensus should only be done for principled objections. Object clearly, to the point, and without putdowns or speeches. Participate in finding an alternative.

-Respect: Respect others and trust them to make responsible input.

-Cooperation:Look for areas of agreement and common ground and build on them. Avoid competitive, right/wrong, win/lose thinking.

-Struggle: Use clear means of disagreement-no putdowns. Use disagreements and arguments to learn, grow, and change. Work hard to build unity in the group, but not at the expense of the individuals who are its members.

AFFINITY GROUPS

An affinity group(AG) is usually composed of 5-15 people who have either been brought together at a preparation in non-violence, by being in a local peace or women's group or other type of work, or because they are friends. In addition, many affinity groups choose to focus around a specific interest, issue or philosophy such as lesbians, women, healthcare workers, mothers or Quaker women. Affinity groups are the basic decision-making body of an action.

Affinity groups serve as a source of support and solidarity for their members. Feelings of being isolated or alienated from the movement, the crowd, or the world in general can be alleviated through the love and trust which develops when an affinity group works, plays, relates together over a period of time. By generating familiarity and trust, the AG structure reduces the possibility of infiltration by outside provocateurs.

The concept of affinity groups is not a new one; the name goes back to the groups of

affinidad of the anarchist movement in Spain in the early part of this century. But actually affinity groups are probably the oldest and most ubiquitous form of organiztion by people seeking to make a better world: what makes more sense than small groups of friends who share an "affinity" working together?

Affinity groups should meet regularly, or at least several times, before the action to build community in the group, work on the process, plan out a strategy, and have a good time together. Group names and even identification such as T-shirts or armbands can help bring a group together. At least one group meeting, preferably the one right after your non-violence preparation tegether, should be devoted to legal and jail preparation, in which everyone's questions, fears, reactions, emotions and attitudes are explored in depth. Also, if there is energy for it, an affinity group can practice their action strategy with other AG's, visit the site of the action, do fund-raising.

Principles of Unity

Simply put, principles of unity are a set of starting agreements for affinity groups. Every affinity group must decide within itself how it will make decisions and what it wants to do. This process starts when the AG forms. If an affinity group is forming to take part in the action, it will have to reach consensus on the Unity Statement of the action. Later it will decide what actions to create and what legal stance to take. If a new person asks to join the affinity group, they can find out what the group believes in and what they plan to do, and decide if they can share it. Some groups ask that all members share a commitment to non-cooperation, for example, or to non-violence as a way of life. Others might have less sweeping agreements.

A group cannot hope to reach consensus decisions without having some base of agreement. Once a basis is agreed upon, working out the details of specific issues and actions is not as difficult as one might expect, provided that there is a willingness to go along with a good idea even if it is someone else's.



I AM A DANGEROUS WOMAN

I am a dangerous woman Carrying neither bombs nor babies Flowers nor molotov cocktails. I confound all your reason, theory, realism Because I will neither lie in your ditches Nor dig your ditches for you Nor join in your armed struggle For bigger and better ditches. I will not walk with you nor walk for you I won't live with you And I won't die for you But neither will I try to deny you Your right to live and die. I will not share one square foot of this earth with you.

While you're hellbent on destruction, But neither will I deny that we are of the same earth, Born of the same Mother. I will not permit You to bind my life to yours But I will tell you that our lives Are bound together And I will demand That you live as though you understand This one salient fact.

I am a dangerous woman Because I will tell you, sir, Whether you are concerned or not, Masculinity has made of this world a living hell, A furnace burning away at hope, love, faith and justice, A furnace of My Lais, Hiroshimas and Dachaus. A furnace which burns the babies You tell us we must make Masculinty made "femininity," Made the eyes of our women go dark and cold, Sent our sons-yes sir, our sons-To war, Made our children go hungry, Made our mothers whores, Made our bombs, our "Food for Peace," Our definitive solutions and first strike policies. Masculinity broke women and men on its knee, Took away our futures, Made our hopes, fears, thoughts and good instincts "Irrelevant to the larger struggle," And made human survival beyond the year 2000 An open question.

I am a dangerous woman, Because I will say all this Lying neither to you nor with you Neither trusting nor despising you. I am dangerous because I won't give up or shut up, Or put up with your version of reality. You have conspired to sell my life quite cheaply, And I am especially dangerous Because I will never forgive or forget Or ever conspire To sell your life in return.

JOAN CAVANAGH

Protestors and the Law

Peter Rosenthal

Peter Rosenthal, a mathematics professor at the University of Toronto, has been active in movements against racism, imperialism and nuclear weapons for many years. He has represented, as an 'amateur lawyer', many political defendants, including a number of those resisting Litton's production of guidance systems for the cruise missile.

There are several criminal and provincial offences that those protesting nuclear weapons and militarism may be charged with committing. We describe some of these offences below. We also discuss trial procedures, the process of arrest, questioning by the police, the effects of a criminal record and two offences that manufacturers of parts of nuclear weapons may be committing.

Criminal offences in Canada are those listed in the CRIMINAL CODE, a federal statute that is periodically revised. In addition to criminal offences, there are violations of provincial and metropolitan statutes.

THE TRESPASS ACT OF ONTARIO (which replaced, in 1980, the Petty Trespass Act of Ontario) is a provincial statute. The maximum penalty is a fine of \$1,000; there is no possibility of a jail sentence for an offence committed under this Act unless the fine is not paid. There is also the possibility that the court could assess damages of up to \$1,000. Furthermore, upon conviction, one can be placed on probation. A violation of a probation order could lead to a jail sentence of up to 30 days.

A person violates the Trespass Act by (without a right or authority conferred by law) entering premises when it is clear that such entry is prohibited or by refusing to leave the premises upon being directed to do so by the occupier. It should be noted that violators of provincial statutes have not committed criminal offences; a convicted trespasser is not a convicted criminal.

CRIMINAL OFFENCES are divided into two categories--summary (generally less serious) and indictable. A few offences can be summary or indictable at the option of the Crown(i.e. the prosecutor). The maximum penalty for any summary conviction offence is six month's imprisonment and/or \$500 fine. The maximum penalties for indictable offences depend upon the offence.

OBSTRUCTING A POLICE OFFICER IN THE EXECUTION OF HIS (sic) DUTY is in violation of Section 118 of the Criminal Code. This offence can be summary or indictable. If indictable, the maximum penalty is two years in jail. To justify a conviction for "obstruct police," it must be proven that the officer was acting within the lawful execution of his or her duty and that the defendant obstructed or attempted to obstruct the officer in the performance of that duty.

If people are participating in a blockade on a public street or blocking access to a plant producing war materials and they refuse to obey a police officer's instructions to clear the way, they may be charged with obstructing police. The same charge will likely be used where people encircle the arresting officer or the paddy wagons that will take people to jail.

A possible defense against an "obstuct police" charge is the argument that the officer was not engaged in any lawful duty (e.g. stopping a lawful demonstration and aiding a corporation in the commission of a crime are not within an officer's lawful duty).

CAUSING A DISTURBANCE is an offence under section 171 of the CRIMINAL CODE. This section relates to what is commonly described as "disturbing the police:" it has been one of the favourite charges against demonstrators, picketers and so on. The most likely way such charges might arise would be in a large demonstration that led to a disturbance, perhaps because a number of employees attempted to push through a picket line. In such a situation, demonstraters could be charged with "causing a disturbance by impeding other persons." This is a summary conviction offence.

ASSAULTING A POLICE OFFICER IN THE EXECUTION OF HIS (sic) DUTY is an offence under Section 246 of the Criminal Code. One way this charge may arise is where a group has decided to pass through police lines and where, in order to do this, they come into contact with an officer. This offence can be summary or indictable; if indictable, the maximum penalty is five years in jail.

COMMITTING MISCHIEF TO PROPERTY contravenes Section 387 of the Criminal Code. One can commit mischief by destroying or damaging property or by interfering with the lawful use of property. Mischief in relation to either private or public property can be an indictable or a summary offence; if indictable, the maximum sentence is five years in relation to private property, and 14 years for public property.

COUNSELLING A PERSON TO COMMIT AN OFFENCE and CONSPIRACY violate Section 422 and 423 of the Criminal Code. It is conceivable but highly unlikely that some such charge could be laid against persons organizing "civil disobedience." The penalties depend upon what offence the person has been found to counsel or to conspire to do.

CANADIAN RESIDENTS WHO ARE NOT CITIZENS face the additional possible penalty of deportation. The Immigration Act gives the authorities wide powers to deport, but in practice, minor criminal offences do not seem to lead to deportation. Persons in Canada on temporary (e.g. student, visitor, work) visas are much more easily deported than permanent residents.

TRIAL PROCEDURES depend upon the kind of offence. Those accused of violating provincial laws such as the Trespass Act are often given notices which they can just return with a fine (as for traffic offences) if they want to plead guilty. To plead not guilty, a trial is required. If an information is laid (i.e. the police officer submits the alleged offence to a justice of the peace), rather than an offence notice being given, then a trial takes place even if the defendant wishes to plead guilty.

TRIALS FOR PROVINCIAL OFFENCES take place in a provincial offences court before a justice of the peace. There is no jury. A defendant can represent himself or herself, or be represented by a lawyer or by an agent (i.e. anyone).

TRIALS FOR SUMMARY CONVICTION OFFENCES are held in provincial courts before provincial court judges. There is no jury. A defendant can appear personally or by lawyer or by agent.

TRIALS FOR INDICTABLE OFFENCES have two parts. At first, the defendant chooses a trial before a provincial court judge, or a trial before a higher court judge, or a trial before a judge and jury. If trial before a provincial court judge is elected, then the trial proceeds in the same manner as that for summary conviction offences. If either of the other modes are selected, then there is a preliminary hearing conducted at the provincial court to determine whether "the evidence is sufficient to put the accused on trial." If there is found to be sufficient evidence, then the trial takes place at the higher court; if not the charge is dismissed. A defendant can represent him or herself or be represented by a lawyer.



SENTENCING varies a lot from judge to judge. A first offender convicted of a minor criminal offence would likely be fined between 50 and 300 dollars; it would be very unlikely to be jailed for a first offence. A first offender can hope to be given a discharge rather than a sentence, which means that there is no conviction registered and no punishment. If the discharge is "conditional" then the defendant must satisfy the conditions before being discharged. If a defendant has a previous record, it is probable that there will be a stiffer sentence, and a real record might lead to a term of imprisonment (undoubtedly much less than the maximum possible for the offence). After the judge finds you guilty, and before you are sentenced, you or your representative will be given the opportunity to "speak to sentence." (You can even call evidence concerning sentencing). You might argue that you should be given a minimal sentence since your motivation was clearly not criminal.

WHEN YOU GET ARRESTED, it is the arresting officer's duty (under Section 10 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms) to inform you promptly of the reason for your arrest and of your right to retain a lawyer. Moreover, you should be told the specific offence without "unreasonable delay." If you are placed under arrest, you are legally required to respond to the officer's request for your name and address. If you choose not to, you will be detained until this information is obtained. You do not have to answer any questions about the offence or anything else. Usually it is not wise to answer questions or make statements to the police; you may not be able to imagine the uses to which they will put what you consider to be an innocuous remark.

DO NOT PANIC when you are taken into custody. It can be a frightening experience to be handcuffed, thrown into a paddy wagon and put into a cell. People often feel that they want to speak to a lawyer right away; in many cases there will be a large number of people arrested and resources will be such that this is not practical. For minor offences, most people will be released from custody within 24 hours or so, with or without the help of a lawyer. IF YOU WANT TO BE RELEASED YOU SHOULD CARRY ID WITH YOU. IF YOU ARE ALREADY ON BAIL OR ON PROBATION FOR A PRIOR OFFENCE, IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT YOU WILL BE DETAINED FOR A BAIL HEARING (or SHOW CAUSE).

BAIL can be offered at any of several stages. In general, an arrested person should be released from custody unless there are reasonable grounds to believe that the person will fail to attend court or will commit the same or another offence. You can be released by the police, or by a justice of the peace holding a hearing in a court. You are supposed to be brought before a justice within 24 hours of arrest if you are not released by the police. If you want your bail hearing to be successful, you should counter any claims by the police that you are not likely to attend court by giving evidence of your roots and responsibilities. This could include describing your job or your studies, the length of time you have lived in the city, family responsibilities, etc.

You will probably have to enter into a recognizance that you will forfeit up to \$500 if you do not appear in court, although it is possible (but unlikely) that you will be required to post the amount in cash in order to be released.

BAIL CONDITIONS may be as innocuous as requiring you to remain in the province, or

they may be very political in their nature. These could include not communicating with certain persons, not participating in further certain persons, not participating in further protests, not attending at certain places, and so on. It is important to make very strong arguments against political conditions, since they become standard conditions for everyone. You can argue against any such conditions on the grounds that they are not necessary to get you to that they are not necessary to get you to attend court or to prevent your committing an offence. Lawyers may be available to help you to make these arguements, but if you have reasons to expect that you will be held, and would like a lawyer to assist, it is best to arrange before the action for a lawyer to be available. Bail conditions can be appealed, either before or after you are released from custody. In most cases it is not worth the expense, however, since bail conditions remain in effect only until your trial. Should you refuse to sign the recognizance that you will comply with the conditions, you not be released. AT NO TIME WHILE YOU will ARE IN CUSTODY OR DURING A BAIL HEARING ARE YOU REQUIRED TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ALLEGED OFFENCE.

IF YOU VIOLATE BAIL CONDITIONS, you can be charged with "failure to comply" (Section 133 (3) of the Criminal Code). This can be either an indictable offence, with a maximum sentence of two years, or a summary offence. If the violation occurs while committing a new offence (e.g. if the offence occurs at a location that you have been ordered to stay away from), the "failure to comply" charge could be additional to the charge for the new offence.

GET SOME WITNESSES about the circumstances surrounding your arrest as soon as possible. While the best way to ensure that you will have witnesses to call upon is to arrange for them to be present at the action, you could also find out which other demonstrators witnessed your arrest. Even if you are planning to tell the court exactly what you did and you assume that you will be found guilty, witnesses might prove useful. The police evidence is frequently at variance with the truth, and if it is just your word against the police, you are not likely to be believed by the judge.

JUVENILES are those people who are under 16 years of age at the time of the offence. A juvenile found committing an offence is tried by a juvenile court, the purpose of which is claimed to be to give help and guidance to the juvenile. The trial procedures are similar to those for summary conviction offences, except that they are likely to be less formal.

Under the new YOUNG OFFENDERS ACT (2 April, 1984), the juvenile age was raised to a uniform 18 across Canada, to be phased in over the next year. In Ontario, any person who has turned 16 at the time of the offence is now an adult, but if they are still 18 as of 1 April 1985, they would be regarded as a young offender for an offence committed anytime before they turn 18. Under the new Act, young offenders are required to be informed of their rights on arrest, have the right to legal representaion, may be fingerprinted and be tried in a youth court.

A CRIMINAL RECORD can have many repercussions besides the penalty imposed by the judge. A convicted criminal may find it difficult to get certain jobs, to get visas to visit foreign countries, to get custody of his or her children, and so on. Moreover, a person who has been previously convicted of an offence is likely to get a much more severe sentence upon being convicted of a subsequent offence.

POLITICAL DISSIDENTS ARE OFTEN QUESTIONED BY THE POLICE even when they have not been arrested. If you are so questioned, you DO NOT have to answer. If you are questioned on the street and you do not want to continue the conversation, you can ask the officer if you are under arrest; if the answer is negative, you have the right to walk away. On the other hand, if you get a police officer annoyed and you have no witnesses, he or she might well create a situation where you may be convicted of "obstruct police," or the officer might push you around and then claim "assault." If you have witnesses, you are much more able to insist on your rights.



IF POLICE OFFICERS APPEAR AT YOUR DOOR and say that they want to just ask you a few questions, I would suggest that you say "I do not want any" and close the door. You need not admit a police officer into your home unless he or she has a search warrant or reasonable grounds to believe that an offence is being committed.

SOME ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN WAR PRODUCTION OR PREPARATION MIGHT BE COMMITTING CRIMINAL OFFENCES as well as crimes against humanity. So far the courts have not been receptive to our attempts to lay charges against such persons, although they have not been given any good reason.

LITTON SYSTEMS CANADA MAY BE COMMITTING CRIMINAL OFFENCES by producing guidance systems for the cruise missile. Under Section 79 of the Criminal Code it is an indictable offence to make an explosive substance or part thereof with intent to enable another person to endanger life. Also, Section 46 of the Criminal Code states that the indictable offence of treason applies to anyone who "without lawful authority..makes available to an agent of a state other than Canada... any article that he knows or ought to know may be used by that state for a purpose prejudicial to the safety...of Canada." We have been unable to find any lawful authority for Litton to produce guidance systems and send them to the United States; there is compelling evidence that cruise missiles represent one of the greatest dangers Canada has ever faced.

A POSSIBLE DEFENSE THAT PERSONS CHARGED WITH OFFENCES AS A RESULT OF ACTIONS AGAINST WARMAKERS might be is the defense of necessity. In some circumstances, activities that would otherwise constitute violations of laws are not violations because it is necessary to do them for some clearly vital For example, reason. if you entered someone's backyard to stop them from committing murder, you would not be guilty of

trespassing. In cases arising out of activities designed to force Litton to stop manufacturing guidance systems for cruise missiles, it could be argued (and has been, but so far unsuccessfully) that the defendant was attempting to stop Litton from committing the serious crimes discussed above. The defense of necessity is recognized in the and has been found to be common law applicable in modern Canadian courts. of the Criminal Section 27 Moreover, Codeprovides that everyone is justified in using a reasonable amount of force to prevent the commission of an offence that would be likely to cause immediate and serious injury to anyone.

Litton and the Law

Paula Rochman

Those who engage in civil disobedience are often told they should pursue 'proper legal channels'. But the proper legal channels do not always produce concrete results. This is not surprising considerring that many laws, both historically and presentlyaremerely a method of legalizing injustice. The institution of slavery, women being denied the right to vote, workers being denied the right to unionize were all conditions upheld by law. Today, we see those things as injustices; the laws which upheld them as wrong. We understand why actions had to be taken, outside the 'proper legal channels', to have these injustices changed. We also see today, in our country a legal system which says it will protect those who build weapons of mass destruction but prosecute those who resist this legalized insanity.

Further proof of the injustices of our justice system is shown by the exasperated attempts by members of the CMCP to have Litton Systems brought to court for their role in producing the cruise missile guidance system. Under the Canadian Criminal Code, CMCP alleges that Litton is in violation of two specific sections; Section 79 makes it illegal to produce an explosive substance (or any part of an explosive substance) which would enable another person to endanger life or to cause serious damage to property. The second Section (46) defines an act of treason when someone gives to another country an article which could be prejudicial to the safety or defense of Canada.

In 1981, at a trial for several people arrested at Litton, the allegation that Litton is in violation of the Canadian Criminal Code was raised. No action was taken by the Police or Crown Attorneys. In four attempts, since that initial trial, people have tried to "lay an information" before a Justice of the Peace. Laying an information is a legal process whereby any citizen can bring forward information, which they believe indicates a crime is being committed. It is important to note that it is not up to the citizen to prove the case, only to present a preliminary arguement. The Justice of the Peace can have an arrest made, order an investigation or dismiss the complaint.

The first attempt, in 1983, the persons

laying the information were told that more information is needed and they would be notified of the nature of further evidence that was required. He has still not notified them. In 1984, an information was laid and the persons were told they would receive a written decision within a few weeks. They are still waiting. In two other cases, the complaint was dismissed for lack of information. What information was needed was not indicated. The fact, that when laying an information one does not legally have to prove the case was seemingly ignored. Nor has any legal arguement ever been given as to why our allegation is wrong.

Since it would be unprecedented for citizens to launch their own criminal investigation, a demonstration was organized outside the Police Station near Litton. In a letter to the Police, members of CMCP outlined their frustrated attempts to have Litton charged, asked the Police to launch a criminal investigation and outlined what was needed to make the investigation complete. It was further pointed out that their motto "To Serve and Protect" had only been used to serve Litton by having resistors arrested for non-violently confronting Litton and that we wanted to know how they would serve and protect us. To the best of our knowledge, no investigation has been launched.

In addition to this, numerous people who have been arrested at Litton have raised in court their concerns that Litton is violating International Laws and Treaties, and laws of morality. Futhermore, at some point we must directlyquestion and confront a system which claims to be non-political but categorically and consistently serves only Litton's interests.

Not surprisingly, this has fallen on deaf ears. Members of the legal community, including judges and prosecuters, seem more concerned about maintaing the status quo rather than questioning the insanity inherent in it.



For many people participating in civil disobedience, this will be their first experience with the jail system--from behind the bars. For most who experience this, it is a shocking awakening to realize how the incarcerated are treated. Jim Campbell is an Editor with Bulldozer Magazine.

Former Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan is proud of the fact that more Canadians have been imprisoned during his four year term than any other comparable period in the last 30 years. The total number of people held within the federal prison system increased to just over 12,000 from around 9,400 in 1980. In a speech to the Canadian Bar Association just before the recent election, Kaplan acknowledged that violent crime is on the decrease, that the U.S. with a crime rate five times that of Canada only locks up twice as many people per capita. This gives Canada the dubious distinction of having the highest rate of incarceration for a given rate of crime in the western world. He continued by saying that prisoners onthe average serve longer sentences here than they do in the U.S.Kaplan seemed rather perplexed given this record that people would still accuse him of being soft on crime.

Prisons have much more to do with politics than with crime, or at least with its prevention. It is not politically advantageous for a politician to advocate a policy of leniency for criminals. Each horrendous crime, milked by the media for its sales value, fuels the public appetite for revenge. Longer sentences, harsher parole terms, the ending of mandatory supervision, and capital punishment are headlined as solutions to the problems of social violence. There is no more comforting talk about rehabilitation.

Prisons by their very nature are irrational. The purpose for which their continued existence is defended--protecting society and its property--is subverted by their products--men and women even moreembittered and hateful than when they were locked up. After years of living in the prison subculture where violence, tension and repressed humanity is the norm, where one must be willing and able to defend oneself to the death at the slightest provocation, prisoners are expected to return to the outside world and become productive citizens. Their experience of the society outside the walls is one of abandonment, deprivation, confinement and irrational bureaucratic control of virtually their whole existence. Yet upon their release, if they lash out in anger and unbearable hurt, it is seen as a personal failure and not as a reflection of the entire prison experience.

There is no doubt that violent crime is a serious social problem. It is not the intention of this writer to discount the real pain and suffering of the victims. The fear of violence, the fear of crime, is socially repressive in its own right, limiting and circumscribing the freedom of so many. The victims of crime are generally the poor, women, the non-white, the socially powerless. It is unfortunate that the politics of victimization have become the province of the right, and that they are making gains because of this. But the interests of the victims are not necessarily served by adding to the punishment and degradation inflicted upon the perpetrators of the actions.

There is no argument that there are people in prison who are truly dangerous. No one knows this better than the other prisoners who must live with them. But virtually everyone involved in prisons agrees that these people constitute only a small minority of prisoners. The prisons are filled with people who do not need to be there. Commissioner Donald Yeomans of the Correctional Services of Canada (CSC) stated in 1983 that "Incarceration should be used as a last resort...Sentences are too long...Incarceration is a luxury that Canadians cannot afford...." The guards' union at the local detention centres presented a brief to the provincial government that suggested that the problems of severe overcrowding not be met by building new jails. Rather, they suggested that the people who need not be confined to protect public safety simply be released.

Ontario Ministry of Corrections statistics show that 37 percent of all admissions in 1982 were for offences against property, 12 percent were trafffic offences, 18 percent for municipal violations, 14 percent for drug and liquor offences and only 7 percent for offences against people. In the federal system where people who commit the more serious crimes serve their time, 50 percent of the people have either committed crimes against property or "victimless crimes." Even for those considered violent offenders, many have only taken part in a robbery where no violence actually occurred. Ironically, murder is the least likely of all crimes to be repeated by an offender.

But what are the alternatives? Possibilities are endless. An improved economy with vastly extended social programmes to help those in need would, of course, be the most obvious since crime is so specifically linked to poverty. Most prisoners have a long history of being wards of the state, going from the control of children's aid societies to juvenile detention systems onto provincial and federal prisons. The question that we need to face as a society is not just how we should respond to the problem of the crime today but how we can stop producing the criminals of tomorrow. But with society continuing to emphasize economic self-interest as the primary motivating factor, violence as a major mode of entertainment and of masculine self-expression, and disrespect for women with their use and abuse as a male perogative, it is doubtful if the social roots of crime can be eradicated. Indeed, rather than being at variance with social values, it seems that criminals have often learned such values only too well. Their only problem is that they have failed to express their greed and violence in ways that are socially acceptable.

There have been many alternatives to imprisonment suggested and tried. These include community work orders where fines are worked off or which are used as the actual punishment; victim-offender reconciliation where restitution is paid back to the victim of a property crime, halfway houses where there is some control but people are able to continue their schooling or jobs, and programmes where time is served on weekends. The problem seems to be that such experiments are not being used to reduce the number of people going to jail since the statistics indicate precisely the opposite. Rather, such programmes are being used to increase the number of people controlled by the state through social workers/parole officers and to expand the correctional industry. Restitution is given in additional to jail time. Community work orders have to be served by those who might otherwise simply be given a stern warning. Mandatory supervision, which was introduced as a reform in the early 1970s, results in more than 50 percent of the parolees returnig to prison often for simple technical often for simple technical violations--drinking, being more than 25 miles from home, or associating with a known criminal, etc.

The logic of alternatives to imprisonment is such that everybody would benefit. The average criminals--who are usually quite young--would be spared brutalization and negative lessons of the prison experience. The resources now being squandered warehousing people could be used much more effectively in dealing with those who are truly violent. The taxpayer, who now spends an average of \$40,000 on each prisoner in the system, would face a substantially reduced bill. Everyone, including the guards and police, would benfit from a reduction in the level of hostility and hate both inside and outside the walls.



No one denies that prisons are in a state of total crisis. Between January 1, 1983, and January 31, 1984, there were 11 inmate murders and a further 221 serious assaults in federal prisons. In July, two guards were killed in Stony Mountain Institution in Manitoba. In a very short period, two prisoners were killed in separate incidents in Kingston and Laval prisons. In July 1982, three guards were killed and two prisoners committed suicide at Archimbault Prison outside Montreal. The retribution was so severe that it brought about an investigation by Amnesty International. Their report confirmed what two independent investigations had revealed; that prisoners had been tortured and beaten by the guards. Tear gas was used indiscriminately on prisoners confined to their cells. Men were striped naked and left for days at a time.Guards urinated on sandwiches and forced prisoners to eat them. Solicitor-General Kaplan, as the man in charge and ultimately responsible for this violence, refused to even admit that anything had occurred.

Yet the prison system lumbers on seemingly out of control. Sentences are getting longer, parole is harder to obtain, an increasing number of prisoners are doubled and even tripled up in cells designed to hold one person. More than 1,200 people are serving 25 year minimums without any possibility of early release. Programmes are cut back--even those such as free university education which are proven to reduce the rate of returns. And still the public asks for more.

As though violence and theft were some demons that could so easily be exorcised from society, it seems to comfort and console the average person to know that (some) individuals are suffering for their crimes. (Let us not even bother talking about who the real criminals are.) The increasingly impassioned debate on capitol punishment reveals much about social attitudes. Many of the advocates of hanging who are the most informed do not even pretend that death is any real deterrence. Approximately half of the killings in Toronto are murder-suicides. Revenge is the operant word. In a referendum in Massachussets in 1982, 75 percent of the voters called for a nuclear freeze, while 60 percent of the same voters asked for capitol punishment. What could be clearer? At least one-third of the supporters of the freeze want the state to kill.Debate with the mass murderers in the hope of convincing them of their errors, but kill the ghetto kids because they are outside the realm of the human community. And with such social logic--steal a fortune and they'll bestow you with cloying respect, steal a loaf of bread and they'll jail you--we expect the youth to know right from wrong.

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Bulldozer Magazine, POB 5052, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1W4 (subsriptions to Bulldozer Magazine are by donation) Shelley Douglass served a two-month jail sentence for a pilgrimage onto the Trident base along the railroad tracks on which missiles are delivered.

Jail Break

My cell is built of cinderblock and plaster; one wall and the floor are light gray, the other three walls a determined yellow. The door is burnt orange, with a square glass window and, lower down, a rectangular slot through which meals are passed. I have a metal bed, bolted to the wall, and a sink-foutain-toilet combination of stainless steel. The whole area is about seven feet by fifteen feet-if I walk back and forth 200 times I have walked about a mile.

I am two-thirds of the way through my 60 day sentence now. I have been in three jails. This one, Buckley City Jail, is by far the least unpleasant. It is very small and clean, and the people who run it are humane and even friendly. I've spent a few days in Pierce and King County jails this term--they are both huge, dingy and impersonal. Women are stacked upon metal bunks as though on storage shelves, and sedated 18 to 24 hours a day by constant television. There is no training, no education--except the constant bombarding of bored minds with constant propaganda. Everyone, it seems, chain smokes.

My little cell in Buckley is blessedly free from television and cigarette smoke. I am by myself, with plenty of time to read, write and study. This stay in jail has become a retreat; my only regret has been the lack of contact with other women prisoners.

Jail: jail is a place where people are stacked, stored and transported like boxes of soap flakes, a place where people are treated like things. When you're in jail your choices are taken away. Someone else decides where you will go, what work you will do, what hours you will keep, what food you will eat; even what books you will read and the temperature of your shower. In jail you are always open to scrutiny through bars or windows:reading, sleeping, using the toilet;studying,talking, laughing, crying--always there is the face that may peer in at you to observe. And in jail your desire for things--for books, visits, mail, phone calls an extra pillow--will be used to keep you in line, to keep you from rocking the boat.

Jail is just like the rest of our lives: the dynamic becomes more visible when the scope of vision is narrowed.

Jail is living in the Pacific and being moved from island to island by foreign governments so that your land can be used for nuclear testing. Jail is living in Latin America and being forced to grow cash crops while your family starves; jail is living in Asia and working at a factory for a few cents a day, producing goods that are then shipped back to the West and sold for a tidy profit. Jail is living in Canada or Europe and knowing that a nuclear war between the superpowers will be fought in your country--and you will most likely not survive.

Jail is living in any country in the world where you are not free to speak your mind, read what you please, decide issues for yourselves. Jail is living in a country which plans to have a minimum of seven percent unemployed, for the good of the economy. Jail is being non-white in a white-dominated world, female in a male-dominated world, poor in a wealth-dominated world, gay or lesbian in a world dominated by heterosexuals.

Jail is being part of the middle class and knowing that you have to keep your job and get ahead. Jail is believing that your worth depends upon what you possess. Jail is working at a job you detest, because otherwise you would have no money. Jail is being afraid to speak your mind honestly for fear of your neighbour's reaction. Jail is being afraid to let people who differ from you be free to live their lives. Jail is believing that your worth as a human being lies in your skin colour, your sex, your income level, your religious affiliation, your education.

Jail is whatever keeps us from being free to live together in love.

As I sit here in my cell and read I become more and more aware of the jails in which we all live. And I wonder how we are to be free of these jails; how can we be set free to live together in love?

I've watched many people come into Buckley City Jail. Responses to jail are very different. There are people who seem to try to sleep away time, and people who complain and blame their incarceration on everyone else. Some people read, some play card games, some spend a lot of time complaining about the jail conditions.Some people learn to "work the system" to their profit, while others seem to try to make the jail experience easier for their fellow prisoners. Some people accept the limits of the jail and enforce a discipline upon themselves so that the time is used wisely. Some people simply refuse to cooperate, fighting, screaming, kicking, "freaking out."

Going to jail, doing civil disobedience, isn't all that special or threatening. It's just something that has to be done in a world where insanity is legal. Civil disobedience is a fact of life. I hope we can learn to accept it gracefully. - S.D I am aware of reacting in all those ways to the various jails in which I normally live. The actual experience of jail, chosen in response to conscience, is comparative freedom. In choosing to make a statement of truth that puts us into jeopardy with the law, we deliberately break many of the bars that imprison us in our everyday lives.

Arrest, trial and jail test our inner resources, challenge our relationships, and risk our jobs, reputations, and our ability to make choices. It is a freeing thing to feel ourselves stretched in this way, and to see that many of the "necessities" of our lives are in fact bars on a jail which hold us captive and hold, as well, our brothers and sisters around the world.

The bars we break first are the bars of illusion. The first illusion to go is the one of our own separateness, our being somehow better or more deserving than other people. When we are thrown together with people in any big city jail we have to ask ourselves honestly if we are better able to cope with life, or if we are simply privileged people. When I hear the stories of the women in jail with me I admit that, given the circumstances, I might well be in the same place. It becomes very clear, very quickly, that we are sisters, and that we value many things:freedom of movement, love, our children..And these, my sisters, have less access to the good things of life because they are poor, born black or brown or Indian. They were born into that part of our society which is considered expendable. But they are not expendable: they are sisters.

The second illusion that is quickly lost is the illusion of our needs. We have so many needs these days, and most of them are illusionary. All of us here in Buckley City Jail survive quite well without varied changes of clothing, without sports and recreation equipmenet, elaborate cosmetics--without in fact, most of the things that the television in the trusty's room tells us we need to live. We have simple basic food and shelter. Our other true needs are unfulfilled here: meaningful work, close relationships, joyful play. Those are the things that we miss. And yet, even here it is possible for those needs to be filled.It can be meaningful to serve the other prisoners and to accept service; we find ourselves becoming very close. And our relationships with other people on the outside can still be strong. It is possible to list needs and require them to be filled; it is possible to let go of our needs and watch how they are filled by the Spirit.

I believe that many of the jails in the world today are the responsibility, direct or indirect, of middle class people like me. And the reason we create these bars around ourselves and build jails for the rest of the world, is that we live in the two illusions I mentioned above. We believe we are separate from others. We believe that we can live well while others suffer, and not share their pain. We believe that we need and deserve far more than our true share of the world. We act out these illusions, and in doing so we become oppressors of many of the world's peoples and sworn enemies of others. And we suffer; it is clear from reading any current newspaper that the illusions with which we live do not create a healthy, happy or a safe society, even for those few of us who are born privileged.

What is to be done?

I advocate a jail break. That is, I believe that we need to confront and break down the illusions that separate us, and then to dismantle the jail, the economic policy, the foreign and defense policies which imprison us all. For some of us it may be necessary and truthful to do this by taking a jail break, going to jail. For others--more sensitive, less busy, less oblivious--the bars will disappear without the help of jail cells. The bars of our invisible jails are far more powerful than physical bars, but I believe they can be broken. They are bars of ignorance and selfishness and fear, ere cted to shield and pamper our separate selves.

I believe that we can come to see those bars for what they are, to step outside our prisons and dismantle them as we go. We need, first, to understand the truth, for the truth makes us free. We need to experience ourselves as part of this world, living in it and at one with all its peoples, creatures with other creatures. And we need to see the harm done by the fulfillment of our illusory needs--the wealth of the very few, the poverty of the millions. We need to understand clearly the economic system in which we live and the maldistribution of the world's goods. We need to see as the world's poor do, that the arms race is a struggle between two giant consumer powers to control peoples whom neither has any right to control. Perhaps our hatred and fear of the Soviet Union arises when we see in them the mirror image of ourselves: we fear in them what we do ourselves.

I speak again to those like myself: the oppressors. Because we are the oppressors we have a tremendous amount of power to affect the world, and I believe that the most effective way to use our power for good...is to renounce our power. Our military and economic power is based on two illusions of our separateness and our needs. We overconsume and defend our overconsumption. This is true of European and other wealthy countries, and even of the elite segment of people in the poor countries. We need, quite simply, to stop. We need to look at our lives honestly from a world perspective, and begin to get rid of our jail bars. We need to stop consuming; we need to stop defending



consumption. I know some people who have a beautiful suburban home, a good, warm, open middle-class life, which they have come to see as oppressive to others and to themselves. They are in the process of divesting themselves of that lifestyle and that home. And, my friend writes, it has come to seem a trap: a trap that keeps them from living the truth. I know people who have found lucrative jobs also to be traps, and who have left the Naval shipyard or the Bangor base because their jobs and lifestyles had become jails for them. I know people who have refused to pay taxes, all or part, because they did not wish to support the jail which we hold around much of the world.

As we withdraw from our illusions and remove the bars we have created, we will need to build new lifestyles, new economic patterns, new ways of living. I believe that it is possible to build new ways that are based on truth: on the oneness of creation, the interrelationship of the human family, the sharing of resources so that everyone has enough. Gandhi put it this way:

"In our ashram there are no walls. The only walls we have are of various ashram disciplines. But, unlike prison walls, thay are intended not to cramp but to protect and give us greater freedom. It is only when we observe spiritual disciplines voluntarily that we experience real freedom. Armed with them, we can go anywhere, face any emergency, and never feel baffled."

For Gandhi, the first and most basic discipline was the complete dedication of one's life to the search for truth, or God, and the living out of the search in love for humankind. This complete dedication led to a community lifestyle of extreme small simplicity and selflessness: simple diet, simple clothing, manual labour, constant work for freedom and equality. I suspect that my life in Buckley County Jail is more luxurious than ashram life in Gandhi's India. And yet, there are countless stories and photos and even films showing laughter, joy, celebration among these communities. I think that in giving up the pursuit of self-fulfillment and wealth for a self-forgetful dedication to others, the ashramites found their basic needs met. They were fed and clothed, they had deep friendships, they had meaningful work. In surrendering power to control they foundnot only a full life, but a new power, more potent than the first.

The challenge before all of us who are "first world" people in any way is to do the same: to give up that in us which grips our privilege and to replace that selfish grasp with an open-handed understanding and a growing dedication to truth, to love, to other people. I believe that, like Gandhi, we will have a long struggle. But I believe that if large numbers of us could engage in struggle, the world would change, that drastically and quickly. The changes that such a revolution would bring about could hardly be imagined and ... they would truly be a jail break.



I had no, sense of being a radical making protest,

against a government, carrying on a non-violent revolution. I could only feel darkness and desolation all around me.... I would never be free again, never tree, when I knew that behind bars all over the world were women and men, young boys and girls, suffering constraint, punishment, isolation, and hardship, for crimes for which all of us were guilty....

Dorothy Day

The vision of CMCP

We see warmaking as the ultimate expression of all forms of oppression and abuse of power. The reasons why the arms race exists are deeply rooted in patriarchy (oppression based on sex), racism, and all other oppressions based on class or age.

When power and control are concentrated in the hands of the very few, the majority experience oppression and suffering. It is important that we end these oppressions amongst ourselves, for it is by working together in new ways that we can create a society where weapons are not needed.

As a collective we strive for full participation in decisionmaking by consensus, rotation of tasks and responsibilities, and a shared group process. We make no demands concerning the personal faith of each member and are open to finding new ways to nuture and celebrate the spiritual roots that are found among us.

Within the wider movement struggling for justice and peace the world over, we commit ourselves to the tradition of active non-violent resistance. This is the tradition of struggle of the suffragists, Ghandi, the civil rights movement, Dorothy Day and others. Its tools are those of authentic dialogue, boycott, leaflet, public education, direct action and, when necessary, civil disobedience.