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Issue 3, Vol.3: Summer 1987-50¢

the ACTivist

Newspaper of the
ACT for Disarmament Coalition
July-August -September 1987

NATO:

Meeting Mulroney's Challenge

by Dr. John Bacher

The peace movement now faces a unique opportunity and challenge in view of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's challenge to the NDP on the issue of Canada's membership in the NATO alliance. Speaking to a group of young Tories at the end of June Mulroney pledged that "Canada is not a neutral country" and threatened that "if Ed Broadbent proposes, as he is, to withdraw Canada from NATO, Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservative Party will fight the socialists from one end of Canada to the other." Mulroney's challenge and strategy appears to make the issue of Canadian alignment the critical one for the next federal election.

Although at first glance Mulroney's challenge would appear to offer the Canadian peace movement an historic opportunity to campaign for ending Canada's role in the bloc confrontation that runs the risk of suicidal nuclear war, tendencies both within the

NDP and the peace movement have together downplayed the importance of Canada's role in the Western alliance as a contribution to the arms race. Apart from non-aligned peace groups in Quebec, and pacifist groups such as the Alliance for Non-Violent Action, ACT for Disarmament is isolated among peace groups in urging Canada's withdrawal from the NATO alliance. Likewise, when a leading NDP member, Simon Rosenblum, attempted four years ago to reverse his party's opposition to the NATO alliance, he pointed out that the NDP's position was not shared by most peace groups in the country.

It is also strange that the strongest arguments for Canada to withdraw from the western alliance have come not from the peace movement but from defence analyst Gwynne Dwyer and retired Major-General Leonard Johnston. Dwyer has pointed out that Canadian withdrawal from both NATO and NORAD would be an important step in the dissolution of the bloc system since other nations would be encouraged by its example. He



urges an imaginative approach in which Canadian defence arrangements with the U.S. would be placed on the premise of a Canadian commitment to prevent Canadian territory being used as the basis for an attack on its American neighbour. Both Dwyer and Johnston have pointed out that Canada could afford such a neutral strategy if it was freed of the expense of maintaining troops in Europe; soldiers who would be killed instantly in the outbreak of a superpower conflict there.

At the very time when its policy is gaining respectability through Dwyer's nationally broadcast television series and the endorsement of a retired Major-General of the Canadian Armed Forces, the NDP leadership is waffling on the party's policies. NDP parliamentary National Defence critic, Derek Blackburn, pledged that under his party Canada would continue "the protection of the sea lines of communica-

tion to resupply our friends, our fellow democracies in Western Europe, should we go to high alert or heaven forbid a shooting war." Blackburn's hawkish tones even went so far as to accuse the Liberals under Trudeau's government of being responsible for letting Canadian equipment "degenerate", allegedly causing the Canadian navy to virtually rust away.

Both Blackburn and Broadbent have flip-flopped on defence policy. On one occasion, Blackburn suggested that under the NDP Canada would take "De Gaulle's path and only withdraw from the military arm of NATO. In response to Mulroney's attacks, Broadbent violated NDP policy on NORAD, stating that Canada under an NDP government would involve "a large Canadian role in NORAD."

One of the few NDP federal MPs who has strongly put forward the party's defence

policy is External Affairs critic Pauline Jewitt. She has confirmed Dwyer's analysis of the impact of Canadian withdrawal from NATO and also gives some valuable insights into why withdrawal from NATO is not campaigned for by peace groups who support the foreign policy of the USSR. To a meeting in St. Catharines organized by ACT for Disarmament - Niagara late last year, Jewitt explained how the Communist governments of Eastern Europe are terrified of Canada leaving NATO. Officials of these states, such as Poland and Hungary, told her that if an NDP government actually succeeded in getting 'anada out of NATO, it would cause overwhelming popular pressure to have their own states leave the Warsaw Pact. (Hungary actually left the Warsaw Pact in 1956 prior to its invasion by the USSR).

It is important for peace activists to tell the truth to the Canadian people about the importance of this country breaking from the military blocs in the next federal election campaign. The fate of New Zealand in the ANZUS alliance shows clearly how the United States will not accept as partners allies who insist on abolishing nuclear weapons from their defence strategies. After adopting a non-nuclear defence strategy New Zealand was effectively expelled from the ANZUS alliance; the same fate would await Canada if it took measures such as refusing weapons systems testing, or barred nuclear weapons from our ports. If the peace movement is able to convey such a message Mulroney's strategy could backfire if the next election was to put the bloc system, East and West, on trial.

HIROSHIMA-NAGASAKI DEMONSTRATIONS

St. Catharines August 8 @ 8 pm
Montebello Park to City Hall

Thunder Bay August 8 @ 7:30 pm
at Current River Park

Peterborough August 6 @ 9 pm
Candlelight Demonstration from City Hall

Kitchener-Waterloo August 9 @ 7:30 pm
Vigil at Victoria Park Island

Oakville August 6 @ 8:15 am
Die-in at George's Square War Memorial
August 9 from 1-3 pm
Vigil at Centennial Plaza

Toronto August 6 @ 8 pm
Candlelight Demonstration
from Bloor & Yonge
to City Hall Peace Garden



A-War Risk Increasing, Experts Say

By Peter Lewis
NY Times Press Service

The complex systems that keep the world's 50,000 nuclear warheads in check are increasingly vulnerable to false alarms, computer failure and human error, Soviet and U.S. researchers say.

Yet, according to a separate study, attempts to strengthen the systems by adding more technological safeguards could actually increase the chances of false alarms.

The issue of errors and uncertainty in the control of nuclear weapons was discussed in a

new Brookings Institution study and by Soviet and U.S. scholars at a meeting here in April.

The Soviet and U.S. researchers, drawing on their backgrounds in fields that included physics, psychology, computer science, weapons design and political science, concluded there was a significant probability that a nuclear war could start by accident unless there is a change not only in the technology that controls the arsenals, but also in fundamental perceptions about nuclear weapons and how they have changed the world.

"If we keep going along the present path, we're going to blow ourselves up," said Martin Hellman, professor of electrical engineering at Stanford University. "So we had better find a very different path."

The meeting was sponsored by the Beyond War Foundation, an international anti-war education group based in Palo Alto, Calif.

Defenders of nuclear control systems say they have worked adequately for more than 40 years since Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Have you considered making a major donation to ACT but thought you couldn't afford it? Have you decided to make a donation to charity instead, knowing you could get a tax reduction? Now, thanks to the Riverdale Greens, you can make a donation to ACT and get an income tax credit at the same time.

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Now supporters have two options—sending a check directly to ACT or sending a donation to the Riverdale Greens, saying you support peace. They will send an equal amount to ACT and mail you a receipt for income tax purposes.

We need your support. Donations from our members and sympathisers are essential for our work to be successful. Thanks to the Greens, you can now get a tax break.

Thank you Riverdale Greens!

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Letters



Dear ACTIVIST,

This is just a short note to tell you how much I enjoyed your last issue of the ACTIVIST - it was very enlightening. When I first started getting CPA material in the mail about a year ago, the impression I got was that it was a Soviet manipulated organization, and I

must confess my opinions of ACT for Disarmament were very much like those of People Against ACT for Disarmament.

My opinion changed however, after reading the last issue. I especially liked the article on the Charter 77 group, and the idea that "every person should have the right to work for peace, uncumbered by government interference."

Anyway, I thought I'd just let you know you've converted a skeptic. Keep up the good work!

Sincerely,
 Wayne Hall
 Dartmouth, N.S.

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**THE ACTIVIST
 SUMMER 1987
 (JULY, AUGUST, SEPTEMBER)
 Vol. 3, Issue 3**

c/o ACT for Disarmament Coalition (Toronto),
 456 Spadina Avenue, 2nd Floor,
 Toronto, Ontario, M5T 2G8

The ACTIVIST is published 4 times per year in Toronto by the ACTIVIST Collective, plus 1 special edition.
 The ACTIVIST is the newspaper of the ACT for Disarmament Coalition. Its purpose is to:

- 1) to present the views of ACT;
- 2) to provide a forum for debate within the peace movement, and
- 3) to act as a source of information on events and campaigns which are of importance to the peace movement.

Signed articles do not necessarily reflect the viewpoint of the ACT Coalition or the editorial collective. Contributions of articles and photos are always welcome. All articles may be reprinted without permission.

Subscriptions are offered to the ACTIVIST in yearly installments. We welcome subscriptions for 1 or 2 years. A regular subscription is only \$10.00 per installment. The rate for institutions and funded agencies is \$25.00 per year. Supporting subscriptions for individuals are \$20.00 per year. Larger donations are gratefully appreciated. For foreign subscriptions, please add cost of postage.

The editorial and production collective for this issue are the members of ACT Niagara and ACT Toronto. Special thanks to Blackbird Graphics of Toronto.
 Second Class Mail Registration # 6169

Uranium Mining and British Columbia

"Uranium consists of essentially two isotopes, U238 (99.3%) and U235 (0.7%)...Effective methods for the separation of isotopes have been developed recently...This permits, in principle, the use of nearly pure U235 in such a bomb, a possibility which has not so far been seriously considered. We have discussed this possibility and come to the conclusion that a moderate amount of U235 would indeed constitute an extremely efficient explosive."

(Extract from the Frisch-Peteris Memorandum, 1940)

by Susan Moore, ACT-
Vancouver

Canada supplies 1/4 of the world's uranium. 85% of all the uranium mined is exported. Canada is the world's Number One supplier. Prior to 1965, 30% of American bombs were built solely with Canadian uranium. Canada was also instrumental in the development of the Hiroshima atomic bomb through the Manhattan Project.

Canada supplies uranium to South Korea which has interests in the Baker Lake Mine in the North West Territories. We also supply France even though Australia stopped exporting uranium to them after the French began nuclear testing in the South Pacific. How ironic it is that we also send uranium to the USSR for refining. How ridiculous it is that we sell our uranium to the U.S. at a loss. Meanwhile, the U.S. is self-sufficient in the ore.

The Canadian government has often been accused of kowtowing to the Pentagon. This type of statement offends most Canadians. However, if this is not what we are doing, how can we explain taking huge losses so that the Americans can build bombs. Liton Industries was given \$20 million in grants and \$26 million in federal loans from the Canadian government to manufacture the guidance system for the cruise missile for the Americans. Uranium mining is so expensive that it is not profitable, so the

Canadian government subsidizes it too. Perhaps the Americans are smart enough to realize that there is no reason to face the huge losses when their Northern neighbours are willing to do it for them. Ontario subsidizes Denison, Rio Algom, and Elliot Lake mines. The Saskatchewan Mining Development Corporation (which is government run) is involved in over 300 projects. Kowtowing to the Pentagon? Very much so.

B.C. Soon to Re-Join the Canadian Uranium-Mining Club?

There are many who argue that B.C.'s stagnant economy demands that jobs be created through the renewal of uranium mining. Such a "jobs, jobs, jobs" mentality makes no mention of the recommendations of the May 1980 Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Uranium Mining. Its 20 month study into the question of uranium mining in B.C. provided numerous reasons why there should be no rush to continue and expand the uranium mining industry.

Some of the recommendations of the B.C. Commission were:

- that there should be geo-chemical testing on the behavior of uranium, thorium and radium.

- that there should be testing into the extent of the high levels of radioactivity which were found in rocks, soil,

water, vegetation and animals near the mines.

- there should be studies into the incidental lung cancer due to radioactivity found in animals.

- new radiation standards were demanded - Atomic Energy Control Board was to be held responsible, and there should be urine and blood tests done on all workers.

- long term medical surveillance was to be a condition of the continuance of the practice, along with extensive public discussion.

- it was found that there was a need for stricter standards regarding annual exposure by workers.

- there were studies needed into the increased incidence of lung cancer in workers - how extensive is the danger?

- environmental tests were

demanded prior to the issuance of a mining license.

- there was a heavy emphasis on public involvement.

- worker education programs were badly needed.

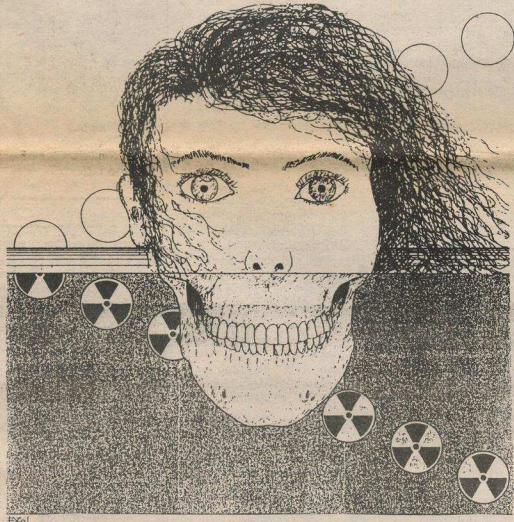
- studies showed that the waste was not being disposed of properly, but was merely being covered with topsoil and left to pollute the environment.

- there was to be a formation of an advisory council on occupational health.

- the commission wanted the government to take responsibility for enforcing strict regulations.

- proposed that more research was necessary in the public interest.

These are just a fraction of the recommendations put forward by the Royal Commission.



Mitterrand Protested

The following statement was issued to the press on May 28, 1987 by ACT for Disarmament (Toronto).

While the Superpowers are finally discussing some form of nuclear arms reduction, the French are pressing ahead in the opposite direction.

Last month, Mitterrand's Socialist opposition party joined with Chirac's

Conservative government to vote for an increase from 130 to 900 in the number of nuclear warheads pointed at the Soviet Union.

France's nuclear weapons policy is best illustrated by its aggressive testing programme in the South Pacific. Radiation released by over eighty tests at Mururoa and Fangatuafoa atolls have caused extremely high cancer rates and deaths in the

area.

Canada is a major supplier of uranium to France. The Canadian government has signed a bilateral agreement with France, ostensibly to prevent the use of uranium in nuclear bombs. French officials have stated, however, that they do not distinguish between material destined for civilian use and that for nuclear weapons. (The Norwegian govern-

ment recently expressed their suspicion that France is reselling heavy water to Israel, contravening their agreement). France is not a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

ACT for Disarmament calls upon the Canadian government to halt exports of uranium to France, while at the same time seeking to convert the jobs of those involved in the uranium

The Commissioners even requested an extension of time. They felt that the problems were so extensive that they needed to do more investigation before they could fully lay out the problems.

It is interesting to note that B.C.'s Social Credit government put a seven year moratorium on uranium mining even before the Report was completed and submitted. Effectively, this swept the entire study under the carpet. The government was obviously concerned about the expense of implementing all the recommendations put forward. Now, seven years later, the moratorium has been lifted and B.C. may soon be back in the uranium business. And, fueling the arms race. It is also interesting to note that none of the recommendations from seven years ago have been addressed or acted upon. They probably never will be unless we do something about it right now!

The peace movement must work to expose the dangers of uranium mining in Canada. It must educate Canadians about the implications of doing so. We can help stop the arms race by working to keep uranium in the ground.

mining industry.

Francois Mitterrand, as a representative of a country involved in nuclear terrorism is simply not welcome. The Canadian government, as a willing accomplice in the French nuclear weapons programme, must be called to account for its duplicity. The myth of Canada as a Peacemaker must be exposed as fraudulent.

Civilian Defense

by Chris Reid

The Canadian peace movement (to the extent that there is "a" peace movement) has been, to date, essentially an anti-nuclear weapons movement. Even the discussion of such topics as non-alignment and the links between nuclear power and weapons production has been avoided or suppressed - until recently. A healthy respect for diversity and debate now seems to be sweeping the Canadian peace movement. Indeed, it is no longer possible to avoid or suppress many of these "new" ideas since they are now endorsed or promoted by a growing majority of groups and activists. Civilian (or social) defence, while not new, is a concept which deserves widespread discussion.

The old distinction between nuclear and conventional weapons (the former being unacceptable while the latter are implicitly acceptable) has become, in the 1980's, increasingly irrelevant. Nuclear weapons for use in a "limited nuclear war" have been introduced. "Theatre" nuclear weapons which can carry nuclear or conventional explosives, nuclear mini-warheads and the neutron bomb all have relatively low explosive forces and are part of the shift away from the deterrence principle and towards a ("limited") nuclear war fighting strategy.

At the same time new "conventional" weapons using the latest in informatics and electronics are almost as effectively destructive as nuclear weapons. NATO has already replaced hundreds of tactical nuclear warheads in Western Europe with these new "precision guided munitions". It is now possible for the superpowers to destroy an entire continent, and perhaps the world, with "conventional" weapons.

For the peace movement this means that it is no longer

logical to be merely an anti-nuclear weapons movement. We must move towards a strategy of opposition to the development, testing and deployment of all potentially aggressive weapons systems - whether conventional or nuclear. It is simply unacceptable to propose conventional military defence as an alternative to nuclear strategies. It is this realization that has led to renewed interest in the idea of civilian or "social" defence.

(Civilian defence must be distinguished from "non-provocative defence" which may include elements of civilian, non-military resistance but which also includes the use of those weapons which are non-threatening to other countries i.e. short range fighter aircraft capable of defending national airspace but deployed so as to be incapable of attacking another country. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss both civilian and non-provocative defence. What is presented therefore is simply an outline of the concept of civilian defence.

Civilian defence is, simply put, the theory and practice of using non-violent military means to defend against aggression. Its proponents begin with the assumption that sustained occupation by an aggressor is impossible without some significant amount of collaboration or at least passive co-operation on the part of the occupied nation's citizens.

A planned, co-ordinated strategy of civilian defence involves several types of actions which may be grouped under two broad headings: "Denial actions" and "overt confrontation". Denial actions have been described as "intensification of the normal course of affairs under normal conditions". Denial actions involve the refusal to carry out tasks or obey the aggressor at every possible social and

economic level, while continuing to fulfill self-imposed tasks (which will benefit one's own citizenry but not the aggressor). In general, the more complex and economically developed a society is the more difficult it is for the aggressor to find qualified collaborators. Massive, co-ordinated refusal to co-operate will deny the aggressor control of the government and its administrative branches, the mass media, industry, schools and other social institutions. Specific tactics which may be included in the category of denial actions are: selective strikes, preparation by computer workers of alternative programs, disruptions of strategic computer operations, boycotts and designing of factories in strategic industries around a few vital hard to replace components which can be removed and destroyed.

"Overt confrontation" consists of actions such as strikes, sit-ins, factory occupations, demonstrations and the formation of parallel governments. These are often symbolic actions which aim for dramatic effect in order to keep the momentum of resistance up and demonstrate to the opponent and the world the strength and unity of the resistance.

The object of all civilian defence is to increase both the material and intangible costs of occupation to such a degree that the aggressor simply cannot maintain it. A unique advantage of civilian defence is that it may be used not only against foreign aggression but also against military coups. It is, in fact, a defence strategy which is based primarily upon the defence of a nation's social values (freedom, democracy, etc. ...) rather than merely the defence of geographical territory. It is also better suited to resisting an occupation which has already happened than is a military-based defence strategy.

Finally, by announcing to the world that any attempt to invade or seize control will be met by organized, non-violent resistance, a nation may deter



any potential aggressor.

Fine, but can it work?

In 1920, a coup led by right-wing army officers overthrew the Weimar Republic and installed a military dictatorship. The "Kapp Putsch" was immediately met by a general strike which crippled industry and the bureaucracy. Newspaper workers refused to print Kapp propaganda and the establishment of a parallel civilian government was announced. Within days, troops and military officers began abandoning the dictatorship and siding with the legitimate civilian government. The coup collapsed through non-violent action.

In 1923, an attempted French-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr basin was met by such total non-co-operation and non-violent resistance by the German population that the invaders were forced to give it up.

During the Nazi occupation of Norway and Denmark, school teachers refused to teach Nazi propaganda. Attempts to indoctrinate the youth of these countries were eventually scrapped. The Danes and the Norwegians also sabotaged several strategic factories, thus denying use of them to the Germans and shut down several key government departments.

In 1961, French generals opposed to plans to give Algeria independence, staged a coup in Algiers, with the intention of invading France, overthrowing the French government and preventing the breakup of the empire. The French people immediately responded by staging a general strike in order to show their determination to resist any military take-over. When the strike spread to French workers in the colonial bureaucracy in Algiers, the coup collapsed after only a few days.

In 1968, the Soviet Union and four other Warsaw Pact countries invaded Czechoslovakia to put an end to popular reforms and "liberalizations" undertaken by the Czech government. An underground radio network was immediately set up to co-ordinate strikes and demonstrations and act as the voice of the ousted popular government which had sided with the resistance. The unified, non-violent resistance was so effective in obstructing the invaders that the Kremlin offered concessions. The Czech

political leadership then capitulated, entered into negotiations with the invaders and, as a result, the unity of the resistance was broken. The Soviets were then able to consolidate their control and renege on the "reforms" which had been offered. Had the non-violent resistance remained unified, it is conceivable that they could have permanently denied control to the aggressors.

Leaders of Solidarnosc, the ten million strong free trade union movement in Poland, were planning a strategy of non-violent resistance to a threatened Soviet invasion just prior to the declaration of martial law in that country. While unsuccessful in preventing the imposition of military dictatorship, the now illegal union survives today on the basis of a dues paying membership of some 500,000. It is still a force to be reckoned with in Poland and has succeeded in co-ordinating an ongoing non-violent resistance which has slowed and obstructed repression. Many Solidarnosc activists have expressed the view that a Soviet invasion was in fact deterred by the threat of massive, co-ordinated civilian resistance and that had planning for civilian defence begun earlier, the dictatorship might have been defeated.

More recently, the Duvalier regime in Haiti and the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines have been overthrown. This was accomplished primarily through the tactic of non-violent resistance.

In all of the above examples, civilian resistance was a spontaneous, unplanned reaction to invasion, repression or coup d'etat. Nevertheless, it has shown considerable power and a great potential for further development. Obviously a planned, co-ordinated strategy for civilian defence offers better hope for success than spontaneous action.

At this point consensus amongst advocates of civilian defence policies begins to break down. Many argue that the decentralization of economic, political and social decision-making is an essential pre-requisite to the deployment of an effective civilian defence policy since the participation and motivation of all citizens is necessary. Without such democratization, civilian defence is, at best, liable to be avoided by existing power elites as

continued on page 10



Giving Life to Helsinki

by Bruce Allen

Amidst the deepening "lull" in peace activism globally and the short-sighted tendency of some peace activists to respond by turning towards politically conservative strategies, like the Peace Voter Pledge Campaign in Canada, an important segment of the European peace movement and a small but growing number of North American peace activists have embarked on a bold, new course. To date, the single most important embodiment of this breakthrough is a document entitled "Giving Life to Helsinki". Commonly referred to as the "Helsinki Memorandum", the tract is the work of the West Berlin-based European Network for East-West Dialogue.

The text of the Helsinki Memorandum took a year to write and was finalized late last year. It was the product of a complicated process involving independent peace, human rights, ecological and social change activists in both halves of the divided European continent, the very people who have been instrumental in shaping the content of non-aligned peace activism in Europe and who have served as an inspiration to many North American peace activists.

As the authors of the Helsinki Memorandum see it they are looking for a new, more meaningful form of detente. This would be a detente with depth, one with "a firm basis not only on the governmental level but within societies". Such a detente would entail "grass roots contacts and common activities between groups and individuals across frontiers" which would "dissolve the structures of the Cold War" and prepare the ground for what the authors call a "Hot Peace".

The significance of all this can be appreciated by considering the kind of detente the world experienced in the 1970's. The focal point of that form of detente was squarely on the superpowers and their respective military blocs. It was a type of detente which was at best tenuous and, without question, doomed to failure from the outset. The process it entailed was subject to continuous strains and ultimately collapsed under the weight of developments like NATO's decision to deploy Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe, the ascent of Reaganism and the Soviet Union's genocidal war in Afghanistan. The result was a new era of intensified Cold War. Among the few tangible things which survived the collapse of the detente of the 1970's stood the 1976 Helsinki Accords and the Helsinki Process which emerged from them. This occurred despite the fact that the subsequent conferences attended by representatives of the States

which signed the Helsinki Final Act, and thereby kept the Helsinki Process alive, consistently degenerated into forums where the spokespersons for the member states of the two superpower-dominated military blocs continuously squared off, with each side employing its own self-serving interpretation of the meaning of the terms of the Helsinki Final Act.

Meanwhile, in spite of this political morass, the Charter 77 civil rights movement emerged in Czechoslovakia and seized upon the human rights provisions outlined in "Basket" or Section Three of the Final Act. It began to use these as a lever to press the Czechoslovak government to live up to its signed commitment to respect human rights. Subsequently, Charter 77's interest in the Helsinki Process broadened and attained greater depth. Charter 77 began to see the Helsinki Accords as a potential basis for a different Europe, one freed from the bipolar structure of international relations. This, in effect, meant realizing a continent liberated from the superpower-dominated status quo. This, in turn, entailed a "radicalization" of the Helsinki Process, as Charter 77 activist Jaroslav Sabata put it.

Logic such as this placed Charter 77 on a wavelength similar to the one embodied in the 1980 Appeal for European Nuclear Disarmament or END Appeal. The END Appeal had as its explicit objective the overcoming of the bloc division of Europe and the realization of a nuclear free and pacific continent "from Portugal to Poland". Similar thinking also permeated Charter 77's "Prague Appeal". It articulated a vision of a "democratic peace" in Europe and called for a mobilization of the Helsinki Process to turn it into a reality. Significantly, the Prague Appeal was presented to the July, 1985 END Convention in Amsterdam where the process of East-West Dialogue and rapprochement between independent movements in both blocs reached a new height. (See "East-West Dialogue in Europe", The ACTIVIST Vol. 2 No. 1, p. 7)

Collectively, the work of Charter 77, END's key role in facilitating the process of East-West Dialogue in Europe and the appearance of the Prague Appeal at the historic 1985 END Convention in Amsterdam set the context out of which the Helsinki Memorandum appeared and then met with a resounding response. As Dieter Esche of the European Network for East-West Dialogue has put it:

"The assent which greeted the memorandum - both East and

West - has far surpassed the expectations of its initiators. Among the more than 400 signatories from 17 European countries, the USA and Canada, are many noted activists in the peace and ecology movements, internationally famous scholars in various disciplines, peace researchers and writers, trade union leaders, senior clergymen, and a great number of politicians ranging from Social Democrats, socialists and communists to 'greens', liberals and Christian Democrats. Most significant of all is that so many East Europeans have added their names to the document, and here too the various currents of democratic opposition are represented - the list of Polish supporters being especially striking." (END Journal No. 26, p. 25)

Indeed, Western peace activists coming back from recent visits to Poland verify Esche's optimism about a new, increasingly positive attitude towards the Western Peace Movement in that country in particular and in much of the East bloc as a whole. This phenomenon effectively means that the vision of a non-European movement of protest and resistance directed against the bloc system cannot be easily dismissed. The basis for its realization is now falling into place and the Helsinki Memorandum with its expanding list of signatories stands as documented proof.

The tract itself is divided into several sub-sections which roughly correspond to the three baskets or sections of the Helsinki Final Act. Thus, the three baskets in the Final Act focus on security issues, economic issues and individual freedoms. The sub-sections of the Helsinki Memorandum focus on 'Detente from Below',

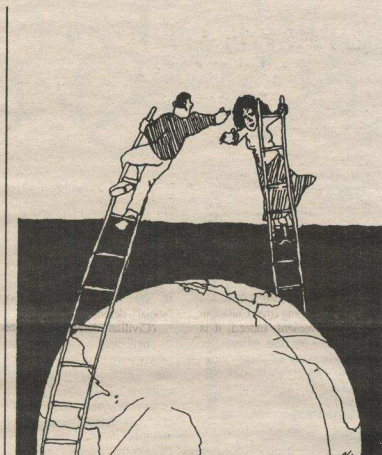
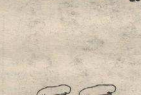


Illustration DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGNS no. 49, NOV. 1985

'European Security', 'Human Rights', 'Economic and Ecological Cooperation' and 'Cultural Cooperation'. The document concludes with a sub-section entitled 'The Europe We Envisage'.

A focus on independent initiatives as essential prerequisites for consolidating a meaningful and lasting detente extends throughout all of the document's sub-sections leaving little doubt as to why the 'Moscow Trust Group' could be the one name from the USSR attached to the list of signatories. Citizens' initiatives for peace and trust-building measures lie at the heart of the work of the independent Soviet peace movement which the Trust Group gave birth to.

Non-alignment is likewise characteristic of the entire document. No person aligned with either military bloc could fully endorse the contents of the Helsinki Memorandum as both sides in the Cold War are justifiably taken to task for a variety of reasons. Thus, military interventionism in the Third World is condemned, with examples cited, as are the failings of both blocs with regard to human and social rights, the possibility of Western Europe emerging as a new superpower and the logic of military detente. In addition, unilateral disarmament measures are upheld as is the need to explore strictly defensive military strategies. Nuclear power, the militarization of societies in each bloc and the ecologically destructive nature of both systems are likewise viewed critically.

Most interestingly, the Helsinki Memorandum touches on the German Question as did the Prague Appeal. Its authors favour having the two German states at the forefront of a new process of detente. However, they also recognize that, "the German Question is a European one and therefore any effort to solve it should be part of a democratic programme to overcome the bloc structure in Europe".

Taken together, the Helsinki Memorandum is an enormously important

document for the peace movement. It richly deserves the careful consideration and support of peace and other independent political activists in both blocs which it is now receiving but on a much broader scale. The Helsinki Memorandum likewise deserves to serve as a catalyst giving impetus to the kinds of initiatives it envisions as essential guarantees of peace on the continent where the Cold War took shape. Without them, the East-West bloc confrontation cannot be overcome. Nor can the nuclear threat engendered by it be rooted out. Simply stated, the Helsinki Memorandum, and the process which gave rise to it, constitutes the highest expression to date, in document form, of the real movement for peace in Europe.

Its text deserves widespread distribution in Canada given this country's membership in the NATO military bloc and the fact that Canada is a signatory to the Helsinki Final Act. The document similarly merits the active support of the pan-Canadian peace movement. Among the over 400 initial signatories to the Helsinki Memorandum, seventeen are mostly well known Canadian peace activists. This number needs to be increased dramatically.

Persons wishing to obtain the full text of the Helsinki Memorandum can get it together with a list of most of the original signatories from ACT For Disarmament - Niagara, P. O. Box 284, Main Station, St. Catharines, Ontario L2R 6T7. Please include a donation to cover photocopying and mailing costs. The text can also be obtained in the latest issue of Across Frontiers, P. O. Box 2382, Berkeley, CA. 94702 for \$2.50 U.S.

Canadians wishing to endorse the Helsinki Memorandum or make comments on its text and proposals can also write ACT For Disarmament - Niagara at the above address. These will be passed on to members of the European Network for East-West Dialogue.



Journey To meeting with

by G. Waldfrei

Editor's Note: This article was originally distributed as a pamphlet in the Federal Republic of Germany in January 1987. It was translated and edited for the ACTIVIST by R.C. Steimetz and P. Cizek. Full translations of open letters by Sergei Svetushkin, Irina Krivova, and Nina Kovalevna are available upon request from ACT for Disarmament (Kitchener-Waterloo).

Dear People,

Today I would like to talk about my five day trip to Moscow which I went on in December of 1986. The purpose of my trip (besides improving my knowledge of Russian) was to meet people from the Soviet peace and anti-nuclear Group for Establishing Trust between East and West. The Trust Group stands for dialogue between people on all levels - not just the governmental level. It supports unilateral steps towards disarmament and has also spoken out against the Soviet nuclear energy program. Of the twenty-five to thirty people active in the Trust Group, four are presently in

prison or forcibly confined to psychiatric hospitals.

On December 12, 1986 I flew from East Berlin to Moscow... since I have a few manuscripts hidden in my luggage which I want to give to members of the Trust Group, I'm terribly nervous while going through customs at Sheremetyevo airport. But my baggage isn't even checked and so I get through the customs barricade much sooner than I had hoped. Behind the barricade I meet my Soviet tour guide. I'm especially friendly because I know that she will become suspicious when I hardly show my face to her during the next five days.

The first thing in the morning, I go to the nearest phone booth and call Andrei Krivov. His address was given to me by people from the German Green Party who met with the Trust Group during their last visit to Moscow. Although everyone in the hotel has their own telephone, I prefer to use the pay phone outside. You never know...

Yes, Andrei says he feels like meeting me. We decide to meet within the hour at a subway station.

We meet at the subway station exit. At first glance, I

would guess he is exactly as old as I am. The two women accompanying him appear to be between twenty-five and thirty years old. At first, I'm astounded by the fact that he's wearing a Trust Group insignia. There's also a sticker on his handbag with the inscription 'Trust Group'. Both were made by Trust Group exiles living in the USA.

We go back into the subway station and take a train to the "Cultural Park" station. Vladimir Gleser lives close by and we intend to use his apartment for our meeting. Andrei begins to tell me his life story in the middle of the subway car. I'm surprised that he speaks so loudly that everyone standing nearby can hear. I notice an older man turn his head and smile mockingly, as if to say, "Wait until you're older, then we'll get rid of your idealism too".

Andrei tells me that he has just spent fifteen days in jail because of his membership in the Trust Group. Twenty men had to share an eight metre room. They slept in bunk beds and there was only one narrow aisle in the middle of the room. They weren't allowed to smoke (Andrei is a heavy smoker), they weren't allowed to read

anything, and writing materials were forbidden. The window was constantly open. This meant that when the outside temperature fell to twenty-seven below zero, everyone caught a cold. All the bugs didn't make life in the cell pleasant either.

If anyone misbehaved or complained about the conditions, he was put into a special punishment cell. This cell just consisted of bare concrete. Only at night was a cot brought in. This cell was "heated" to ensure that the temperature constantly remain below freezing. The length of your stay in the punishment cell was totally at the discretion of the guards.

Andrei caught a bad cold in prison. On December 1, the international day of the political prisoner, he went on hunger strike.

Now he has a few more days off, but he heads the day when he will have to return to work. He found out that a special meeting was called at the research institute where he works. His behavior is to be discussed at this meeting. Andrei already knows that his co-workers will denounce his activities in the Trust Group.

When we arrive at Vladimir Gleser's apartment, I discover

that Vladimir isn't there because he's visiting Anatoly Cerkassov in the psychiatric clinic. Anatoly had founded a Trust Group chapter in Kuibyshev with three friends a few weeks ago. Then, during a visit to Moscow, he was forcibly confined to the psychiatric clinic where he is being "treated" with psychotropic drugs. At present (December 1986), he is confined to the Moscow psychiatric hospital and is soon to be transferred to a hospital somewhere else in the USSR. That evening, I discover that Vladimir was only to speak to Anatoly through a glass window. Any other form of contact was forbidden by the doctors.

I also find out about the fate of Sergei Svetushkin (see Sergei's open letter). Sergei studied German at the Institute of Foreign Languages and was, among other things, an officer and interpreter for Soviet troops stationed in the German Democratic Republic. His fate is, in many respects, typical.

Because of the many social injustices he witnessed, he first tried to change society "from above". Thus, he joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and served in the

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES GROUP TO ESTABLISH TRUST BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

The Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and the USSR (known as the Trust Group for short) is an independent group of peace advocates in the USSR which has existed since 1982. Its first task was to proclaim the intention to promote the establishment of mutual trust between the peoples of the USSR and the USA by organizing what we called the "four-sided dialogue between the USSR and USA", that is, having the independent societies of both countries join in the dialogue of the politicians on an equal-rights basis.

In the time since the Group was founded, its activity has been expanded by new aspects which have necessitated this document.

PEACE AND MUTUAL TRUST

We believe that the reasons for the current tension in the world, fraught with universal nuclear destruction, are rooted in the lack of trust between countries and peoples. The way to eliminate this lack of trust and establish a stable peace lies, in our view, in having the peoples of both countries come to know each other, in changing the manner in which people of another world view are treated, in eradicating in people's consciousness the stereotype of the "enemy" imposed on them, and in overcoming the "barricade mentality." An important precondition for this is a belief in the essential absolute value of the human individual.

In order to realize these ideas it is essential to expand contacts between ordinary people in the East and West, eliminate governmental, political, ideological, and other barriers to East-West cooperation, and jointly resolve common problems. A cardinal increase is needed in the exchange of ideas, people and information in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [signed by 35 nations in 1975 and known as the Helsinki Accords].

Therefore, we are appealing to the governments of the USSR, the USA and other countries of the East and West with a call to take such measures as the following toward overcoming mistrust and humanizing international relations:

-- a tourist program for inexpensive travel in the countries of the West and East by exchanging homes;

-- a program that would enable people to receive books and subscribe to journals both from the West and from the East;

-- a program to exchange children between Soviet and Western families during school holidays;

-- exchange of hired workers;

-- exchange of a network of permanent cultural centers;

-- television discussion between politicians of both sides;

-- clinics for joint medical practice;

-- joint musical festivals for young people;

... and much, much more.

We see our purpose as follows:

-- to break down prejudices, sentiments and to oppose the expressions of xenophobia and chauvinism in our country;

-- to cooperate closely with activists in the peace movements abroad in order to overcome the mistrust towards the peoples of the USSR both in the West and in the Third World and in countries allied with the USSR;

-- to oppose the growing militarism of public consciousness, first of all, the system of so-called "military-patriotic education of youth";

-- to implant in the cultural ethos of society the anti-militaristic raising of children as an essential element of the humanization of social mores.

Taking into consideration all the complexities of contemporary international relations, we nevertheless insist in principle opposed to the presence of foreign troops in foreign territories: first of all, the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

It should be emphasized in particular that we do not set as the goal of our activity the promotion of any government in winning for itself trust in the international arena, including the government of our own country. We believe that only the efforts of an independent (nepodkontrolnoyev) society, of the ordinary peoples of the East and West can guarantee the establishment of a climate of trust and a stable peace. Genuine détente is possible only from below, through the growth of a world-wide revolution of grass-roots peace initiatives.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE

These two issues, in our view, are inseparably linked. It is impossible to speak about peace without also discussing human rights issues. In the same way, it is unacceptable to be involved with the struggle for human rights while relegating to second place the problem of preserving peace and eliminating the survival of humankind. This principle is laid down in particular in the Helsinki Accords.



O MOSCOW

with The Trust Group



army. However, as an army interpreter in the German Democratic Republic he became disillusioned and quit. After that, he drifted aimlessly for a long time until he joined the Trust Group in 1986.

Upon Sergei's entry into the Trust Group, his difficulties with the Soviet state began. The KGB made it impossible for him to find a job. At the same time, he was promised a good job and an apartment on the condition he leave the Trust Group. He rejected the offer, and was still unable to find work. Anyone without a job in the Soviet Union is considered a parasite since officially there is no unemployment. Whoever leads a "parasitical life" is subject to punishment under the law. And that's what happened to Sergei. In November 1986, he was arrested by the militia and is now in prison.

Towards noon, I decided to say good-bye. However, I say that I would very much like to come back again in the evening. Fine, everything's settled.

When I show up that evening, I'm quite surprised that over twenty people have gathered in Vladimir's apartment. I wouldn't have thought that contact with people from the West was this

important to them.

The people here are all very different from one another. There are young men with long hair, older gentlemen in suits, some Russian Jews, a Second World War veteran who lost both his legs in the war, as well as several Christians. A couple from Latvia is also here. They occasionally drive to Moscow to meet with people from the Trust Group.

Because of the many personal stories that interested me so much, I wasn't able to get around to discussing political questions as much as I would have liked to. It is, however, worth mentioning here that the Trust Group doesn't consider itself strictly pacifist. But most of the people I talked to told me that they oppose not only nuclear weapons, but all weapons. Some Trust Group members are conscientious objectors and others are opposed to military service in principle, but have resigned themselves to having to do their time in the militia. Nicolai Khranov, for example, refused to do his military service. As a result of this, he was sentenced to jail for one year (he was lucky, the usual sentence is five years).

The next day, Irina Krivova,

Andrei Kriviv's wife, hosts a birthday party. I can hardly describe the atmosphere of this celebration. I was very impressed how the people here know how to have a good time despite the fact that many of their friends are in prison or psychiatric hospitals, despite Chernobyl and environmental destruction, despite the war in Afghanistan...

Even though the drinks ran out after about an hour (of course there was tea available past midnight!), the mood couldn't be spoiled. I especially liked the fact that there was so much music that the people played by themselves. The guitar was passed around and almost all the songs were original compositions. I was most impressed by Lyosha. Although he used a lot of slang in his songs and I understood very little of the words, I thought he was the best singer that I had ever heard. I was terribly upset that I hadn't brought my tape recorder to Moscow (next time I'll remember).

In Moscow, people who want to exchange money illegally or buy something Western from you often approach you on the street. I always said no to these people

because I told myself that I'm already doing things that might cause trouble. I have no desire to get into trouble just for money.

However, one of these people who approached me somehow charmed me. He was so sweet and kind that I just couldn't shake him off. We made a date, and I visited him one afternoon at his house. His name was Shenia.

Shenia is eighteen years old and isn't really a political person. But perhaps he is more typical of Soviet society than people in the Trust Group. Right now, his major worry is the military, in which he

doesn't want to serve. He's especially afraid of having to go to fight the war in Afghanistan. His unwillingness to go to Afghanistan isn't politically motivated. Shenia simply has no desire to sacrifice himself for a war he doesn't understand. His brother, whom I also met, was sent home prematurely from Afghanistan because he was wounded twice. Shenia has already been informed that he will be drafted next year. Now his only hope is that he will be stationed in the German Democratic Republic instead of Afghanistan.

Sergei Svetushkin's Open Letter To his Arrest

Moscow, September 18, 1986

"Even in prison, I will continue to agitate for the idea of Trust between nations. I am convinced that human reason will triumph - perhaps only in the generation after us. That future time will be on our side, because millions of people will then support the idea of Trust - it is the only alternative which humanity has. At present, humanity is still in a juvenile phase, but I believe we can prevent war and that we're capable of solving our remaining problems".

Note: On November 25, 1986, Sergei Svetushkin was arrested. According to paragraph 209 of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic's penal criminal code, he has been found guilty of leading "a parasitical existence".

Peace in the world and peace within society depend on one another in the most intimate fashion. On the one hand, irreproachable observance by the authorities of human rights cannot help but have an impact on the elimination of mistrust in the international arena. The mistrust that is experienced towards a government that violates human rights is also extended towards ordinary citizens. Observance of these rights by governments will further the development of trust between peoples. On the other hand, trust-building measures between peoples and putting into practice "detente from below" will inevitably promote the normalization of the climate of international relations as well. For those of us who are living in the USSR, this is particularly important.

While advocating human rights as well as peace, it is impossible to limit oneself to any one country. The world is indivisible just as humanity is indivisible. Therefore, we are for opposing all violations of human rights in any corner of the globe.

In our own country we consider the following to be essential:

- irreproachable adherence to the constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens;
- an amnesty for all prisoners of conscience, that is, persons deprived of their freedom because of their convictions, if they did not use or advocate violence;
- changes in the legislative and judicial-executive practices in the USSR with the objective of preventing opportunities for the persecution of people for their convictions;
- complete abolition of the death penalty;
- guarantee of the "right to pacifism," that is, establishment of alternative civilian service for persons who are unable, for reasons of conscience, to serve in the army;
- exercise to the fullest extent of the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence both outside one's country (unimpeded departure and return) and within one's country (the dismantling of the system of obligatory residence permits).

While noting the internal political aspect of the problem of trust, we also insist here the necessity for the free (nepodkontrolnaya) circulation of ideas and information, since the prolonged absence of freedom of information inside our country leads to a gulf of misunderstanding among entire groups of the population.

PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT, PROBLEMS OF THE 'THIRD WORLD' AND DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

The problems of preventing a world-wide ecological catastrophe have never been more critical. The immense resources which are presently being spent on producing the newest types of weapons could be successfully applied to resolve these ecological problems.

By the same token, joint international programs to meet world needs could serve as the most effective means of establishing trust in the world.

By cutting military expenditures, many internal problems could be dealt with in the USSR, for example, the food shortages, the housing problem, and women's issues. A radical improvement in the social security system could be made, particularly for disabled and elderly.

The problems of conserving the environment are as severe in the USSR as in any of the other developed industrial countries. Therefore we oppose not only the military but the ecological threat, in particular, the industrial pollution of our atmosphere, soil and water. We also oppose agricultural methods that can lead to irreversible ecological damage as well as the plunderous exploitation of the natural resources of the animal and plant world.

The catastrophe at the Chernobyl nuclear power station which was unprecedented in scale, forced us to re-evaluate the dangers ensuing not only from nuclear weapons, but from atomic reactors used for peaceful means. In this connection we feel it is essential, at a minimum:

- to review all current programs of atomic energy for the purpose of adopting more effective safety measures.
- to shut down and cease construction of any new reactors of the RBMK type;
- to guarantee the accessibility (transparentness) of atomic energy to international oversight by both governments and publics.
- to allocate additional resources for the creation of alternative non-nuclear energy sources (sun, wind, tides).

Conclusion

The Trust Group is an informal association of citizens who share the above principles. It is not an organization and does not presuppose "party discipline," or strict membership, or the presence of a leader. It does not have an obligatory program of action. The degree of activity of each person is determined by himself or herself, both concerning actions taken in the framework of the Group as well as actions taken individually, by one's own desire. By the same token, the degree of responsibility the Group takes for each of its activists is determined separately in each concrete instance.

In its activity the Trust Group tries to cooperate to the maximum degree both with Western peace movements as well as unofficial movements of peace activists in the countries of Eastern Europe. Only by joint efforts can we build a stable, just and secure world, a world without war, violence or oppression.

Moscow
April 1987

Rock the Boat!

by J.G. Ramsay

On August 22, 1987, an American warship will be docking at Toronto's "nuclear weapons free" harbour. The American policy to "neither confirm nor deny" the presence of nuclear weapons makes the visit a violation of Toronto's official nuclear weapons free policy. The Toronto visit is just one of the stops that the ship will be making in its tour of the Great Lakes this summer.

The purpose of such visits, according to the U.S. Chief of Naval operations, is to "have a material impact around the world in stabilizing peace, reminding friend and foe alike that we are able and have the will to defend the interests of ourselves and our allies."

For those of us who do not

feel "defended" by a 445 foot frigate equipped to carry cruise and standard surface to air missiles also designed for nuclear warheads, there are a number of activities planned in port cities in Ontario.

In Toronto an ad hoc coalition of groups has formed to protest the Hazard's visit. These include: ACT for Disarmament, Greenpeace, the Toronto Disarmament Network and Voice of Women. A flotilla is being organized for Saturday August 22nd to greet the ship as it attempts to dock. Please. If you have access to a boat of any kind we would like to hear from you!

On Sunday, August 23rd, there will be a demonstration starting from City Hall at 2:00 pm. It will walk down to the harbour to rock the boat.

Contact TDN at 535-8005 for details.

Ironically, Oliver Hazard Perry was an American naval commander in the war of 1812 who "distinguished" himself by attacking Fort George at Niagara on the Lake, thus assisting in the invasion of Canada.

Charlene Roycht, public relations manager of Toronto's Harbourfront believes that "having the ships visit is a good step in public relations to show that we have these things if necessary". She added that if "demonstrators want to come down here, fine."

For more general information contact ACT Toronto at 9602228 or the Voice of Women at 5379343. See you the weekend of August 22-23. Rock the Boat!

WARSHIP VISITED

ACT for Disarmament (Toronto) circulated this press release on May 16, 1987:

Captain David H.M.S. Fife
Toronto Harbour

Dear Captain Davis:

A group of us have come to the H.M.S. Fife today to express our concerns about your ship's visit to Toronto. We work with various organizations around the city concerned with peace and social justice issues and would like to outline some of the problems we have with the H.M.S. Fife's presence in Toronto's designated nuclear-free harbour.

Yesterday, your ship's Duty Officer would neither confirm nor deny the presence of nuclear weapons aboard. In a sense, this question is irrelevant given NATO's integrated war fighting strategy.

From a report in yesterday's Toronto Star we learned your ship may be sold to Chile. The possibility that this warship might be sold to a country with one of the world's worst records of human rights abuses is disgusting. We urge you to prevent your government from making such a sale.

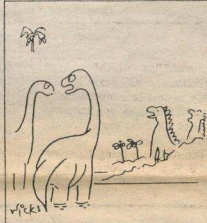
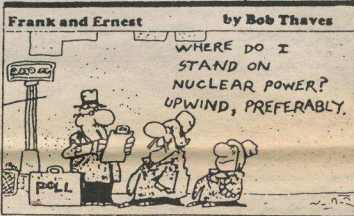
The technology before us is certainly impressive, and the crowds here attest to the obvious attraction. It is of great concern to us that there are large numbers of children who traditionally visit warships in

port, and who are in awe of such military might. They are admiring weapons designed to kill people. The billions spent on these destructive weapons surely could better serve humanity's basic needs. Right here in Toronto Harbour there are some ten thousand homeless people whose basic necessities such as housing and food could be met by the cost of running this ship.

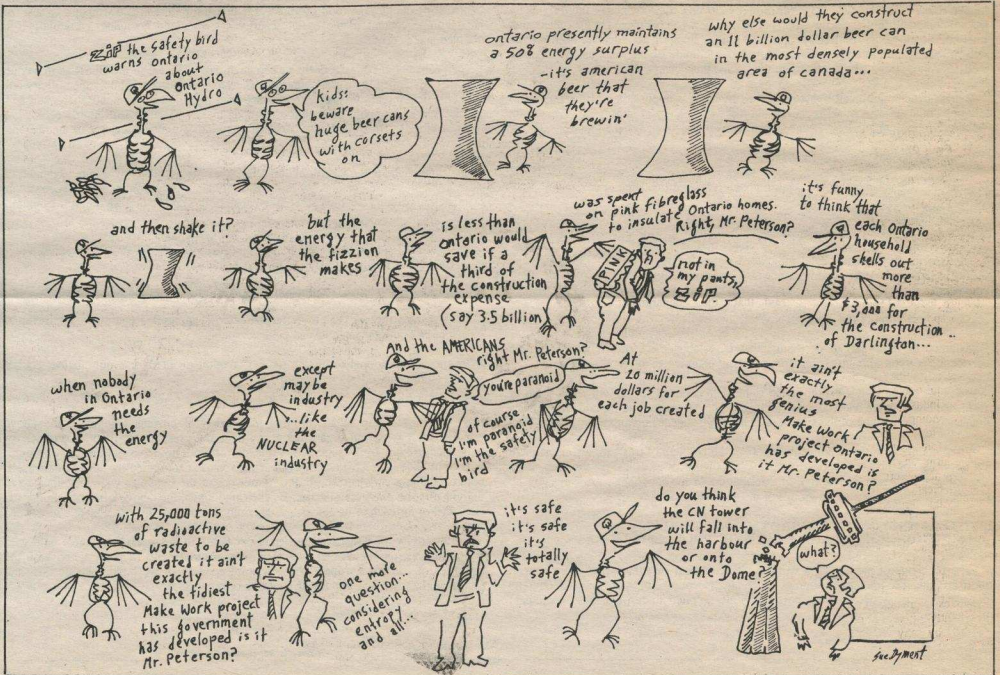
The glorification of militarism is well illustrated in the port visits that foreign ships regularly make to our ports. It is profoundly disturbing to witness the number of people who come to see such ships, without connecting the object to its objective. We feel strongly that your visit serves to weaken and endanger the very society you are sworn to protect.

We hear you and your crew no ill will, yet must impress upon you that, ultimately, you must take responsibility for your part in perpetuating the myth that peace can only be achieved through the barrel of a gun. Extricating yourselves from the military complex is a long and difficult process, and so we would ask you to begin thinking about methods of conversion now.

Please think about what you are doing and the values you are promoting.



"Don't be silly. As long as both sides are strong and powerful, there's no way we'll become extinct."



by Brett Hopf

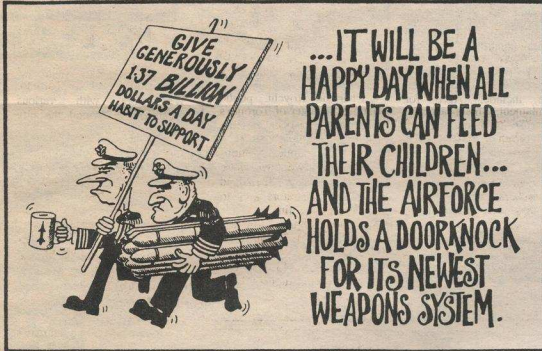
The cruise missile is the most notorious symbol of Canada's participation in the arms race. However, cruise missiles are not new weapons. The first cruise was the V-1 used in WWII. The first generation of nuclear-armed cruise missiles were deployed during the 1950's. These missiles were large, highly inaccurate and mechanically vulnerable. They were abandoned in favour of the less expensive, more accurate ballistic missiles.

Development on cruise technology advanced very slowly through the late 1950's and early 1960's, because the U.S. was concentrating on improving its ICBM arsenal. The U.S. greatly stepped up the pace of development after the 1967 sinking of the Israeli destroyer "Elath" by a Soviet SS-N-2 anti-shiping cruise missile.

The second (present) generation of cruise began in 1972 when the U.S. Navy began designing a Sea-Launched Cruise Missile (SLCM). The TOMAHAWK, designed by the General Dynamics Corp., became the frame for the SLCM and the Ground Launched Cruise Missile (GLCM). The Air-Launched Cruise Missile (ALCM) evolved from Boeing's Subsonic Cruise Armed Decoy.

Both the ALCM and the SLCM have the same nuclear warhead (W80), which has a yield of 200-500 Kt. The GLCM warhead (W84) has a much lower yield (10-50 kt).

CRUISING ALONG



making deployment in Europe more acceptable to Europeans by decreasing the potential for collateral damage with its use.

Despite claims by the military that cruise missiles can be used conventionally as well as nuclear-armed, the fact

remains that ALCMs and GLCMs are NOT dual-capable; they cannot be conventionally armed. SLCMs are the only one of the three that are dual-capable.

The ALCM is being deployed on B-52 and B-1 bombers; 12

ALCMs on external wing pylons on the B-52G; 12 on wing pylons with 6 more internally on rotary launchers, along with 4 nuclear free-fall bombs on the B-52H; and 22 ALCMs on the B-1.

The GLCM is carried on

transporter-erector-launcher (TEL) vehicles. Each ready missile is stored in an aluminum canister in one of 4 tube launchers on each vehicle. A typical GLCM firing unit is comprised of 4 TELS (16 missiles), 2 launch control vehicles, 16 support vehicles and 69 personnel.

The SLCM is deployed on various classes of destroyers, cruisers, nuclear submarines and all reactivated battleships.

The ALCM and GLCM will be used against enemy airfields, command centres, air defense centres and nuclear power plants in Eastern Europe and the USSR. The SLCM will be used against land targets which are primarily naval-related, such as ports, shipbuilding yards, etc. There is some consideration being given to converting conventionally-armed HARPOON anti-shiping cruise missiles to nuclear-armed, to be used against all surface ships, including surfaced submarines. The HARPOON is currently deployed on all surface ships, hunter-killer attack submarines, as well as all Anti-Submarine Warfare aircraft and on the B-52G.

The Soviet AS-15 ALCM, currently deployed on the Backfire, Bear D and Bear F bombers, is roughly the same as the U.S. ALCM, although the AS-15 reportedly has a range of 500 miles more than the U.S. ALCM.

Watch for the third generation, intercontinental supersonic "stealth" cruise missiles, coming soon to a theatre of operations near you.

Beatty Promises: More Arms Spending

The following news release was issued by the Department of National Defense. It speaks for itself.

TORONTO -- Perrin Beatty, Minister of National Defence said today (June 12, 1987) that the credibility of Canada's defence commitments to its allies is largely dependent on the existence of a healthy defence industrial base.

In a speech to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association Beatty said that the ability to sustain Canada's Armed Forces during a protracted conflict "will require that Canada has a defence industrial base capable of responding, and responding quickly to the needs of our armed forces and those of our allies during an emergency."

Beatty also described the recent creation of the Defence Industrial Preparedness Task Force, which in conjunction with industry and other government departments will explore the capacity of Canada's defence industrial base to provide assured supplies of strategic material.

Beatty cited the problems faced by any one country

attempting to supply all its required material, and the diminishing NATO technological advantage over the Warsaw Pact. Advocating closer arrangements with our allies, he said: "The best possible solution to these problems is to take a cooperative approach to research, development and production". In addition, Beatty said that "the department, working in conjunction with other government departments and the private sector, will be pursuing policies designed to increase research and development capability in Canada".

Talking about new equipment for the Canadian Forces, Beatty also stressed that while the primary objective of defence programs is defence itself, there are also significant economic and regional development benefits. "Defence affects all industrial sectors coast to coast, involves both major firms and the small business sector. In recent years, there has been a concerted effort to maximize the domestic economic impact of those procurements and to

increase the domestic share of capital expenditures. The government plans to strengthen this trend in the future", said Beatty.

Mr. Beatty concluded that a strengthened defence industrial base is "part of the revitalization of our nation as one prepared to play a full part

in its own defence. We cannot contract out our security and retain our self-respect as Canadians".



continued from page 4
 merely a defensive complement to existing aggressive military strategies. Indeed, the defence departments of Sweden, Austria and Switzerland have done just that. At worst, according to this view, a civilian defence strategy unaccompanied by decentralized decision-making is doomed to fail.

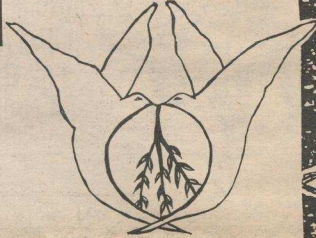
The other "camp" in the social defence debate argues that non-violent defence strategies should be promoted as simply being a more efficient alternative to military defence. According to this argument, civilian defence can be deployed within existing political and social structures. This group advocates a four stage approach to deployment of a civilian defence policy: 1. research into civilian defence in order to adopt it to a country's specific defence needs (it may, for example, be unworkable in the Canadian Arctic and require some combination of civilian

and non-provocative military defence); 2. public education, training and organizational preparation; 3. deployment of civilian defence alongside military defence; 4) complete replacement of military defence by civilian resistance strategy.

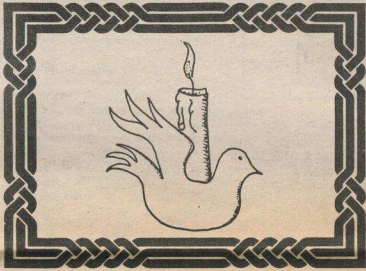
All advocates do agree, however, that a civilian defence strategy is capable of acting as an effective deterrent against foreign aggression or repression by an internal enemy. At the same time, such a policy does not threaten aggression against any opponent and is therefore unambiguously defensive. The inevitable result of uneven unilateral adoption of a civilian defence policy would therefore be a reduction in tensions and the risk of war.

It would obviously be premature for Canadian peace movements to endorse or promote civilian defence as a policy for Canada but research, education and debate should begin immediately - while we continue with our primary task of mobilizing Canadians against our government's complicity in the arms race.

NO



"Hungary will not be Hiroshima" - art from the independent peace movement, 1983



Three of the graphics being displayed on ACT for Disarmament 1987 Hiroshima-Nagasaki posters. From left to right, that of ACT Oakville, ACT Kitchener-Waterloo, and ACT Toronto.



MARCH

AGAINST

POVERTY



On September 5th, 1987, the London Union of Unemployed Workers will begin marching from Premier David Peterson's London, Ontario riding to Toronto. Our brothers and sisters from London will bring national attention to the crisis of poverty in Canada's financially richest province. On September 14th the marchers will be greeted by members and supporters of the Toronto Union of Unemployed Workers at the steps of the Ontario Legislature. At that time a petition will be presented to the government demanding an immediate increase of 25% in social assistance rates. Welcome the MARCH to your town:

THAMESFORD, SEPT. 5	HAMILTON, SEPT. 10
WOODSTOCK, SEPT. 6	BURLINGTON, SEPT. 11
PRINCETON, SEPT. 7	OAKVILLE, SEPT. 12
BRANTFORD, SEPT. 8	ETOBICOKE, SEPT. 13
ANCASTER, SEPT. 9	TORONTO, SEPT. 14

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

IN METRO TORONTO: Tim Maxwell, (416) 363-0304
 OUTSIDE OF METRO: John Clark, (519) 673-3402

LONDON UNION OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS



Toronto Union of Unemployed Workers
 ...organizing makes the difference.

Which Way Forward for ACT?

By Bert Keser, Gia Lim and Chris Reid

ACT was founded in December 1982 out of a conviction that cruise testing would be an important issue for Canadians. ACT was not created out of the need for yet another "peace and social change" organization; there were already plenty of political groups around. ACT was created as an organization through which "ordinary" people could demonstrate their opposition to Canada's increasing involvement in the arms race which the cruise missile symbolized.

This was most clearly articulated by Angela Browning, ACT's founding chairperson, who largely presided the rest of us. She has kept explaining over the years that "ordinary people" means people whose lives do not center on political activism, and people, as opposed to governments and "experts" that purport to represent them.

Thus, ACT stood for the Against Cruise Testing Coalition, an alliance of diverse people and groups around that single issue. We

were not too naive or too uninformed to know that there were many other issues, but, we understood and saw the need for a clear focus. Cruise testing was the most important symbol of Canada's increasing nuclear complicity, and of our government's spinelessness in the face of the U.S. ACT's 1987 cruise testing demonstrations, which doubled and tripled in the number of supporters, clearly showed that cruise testing is still the single most important issue in our struggle against Canada's involvement in the nuclear arms race.

Of course, ACT soon had to define policies on related issues. Our insistence on getting directly to the public through our Yonge Street speakouts and marches, which meant facing up to and overcoming continual police harassment, strengthened our belief, obviously shared by thousands who marched with us, that the right to peace is meaningless without the right to work publicly and effectively. And this experience, plus our faith in the power of "ordinary people" on both "sides", led us to support independent peace activism in

Eastern Europe. ACT was spectacularly successful in appealing to and mobilizing ordinary Canadians. As a result, many people, especially the press, saw us as "the" peace movement. We therefore had to show an alternative to such shameful positions as the request of some "peace and social change" groups that the NORAD renewal period merely be shortened. ACT also had to present a NON-ALIGNED alternative on such issues as the repression of independent peace activity in the East and on Chernobyl in the face of the unwillingness of such organizations to upset their pro-Soviet members.

In 1985, the Against Cruise Testing Coalition changed its name to the ACT for Disarmament Coalition, in recognition of the broadened range of concerns. But the surrounding discussions emphasized the need to continue to focus on Canada's increasing complicity in the nuclear arms race, and on cruise testing as its most tangible manifestation. The 1986 ACT Regional Conference resolutions were very much in the same spirit.

Many were worried with the intention of retaining a clear focus, and defining issues such as ACT's attitudes towards nuclear power in terms of the nuclear arms race. This was done so that an "ordinary" person could work with ACT to oppose the nuclear arms race - perhaps even tritium exports - even if they were still thinking about nuclear power. It has largely been the openness of ACT to such people, their involvement in preparations and financially, that has made our historic demonstrations possible.

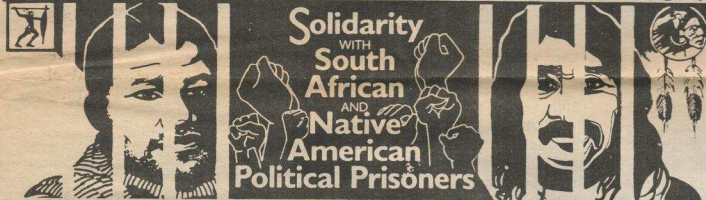
It is not that we were afraid to make the connections. Opening speeches by then ACT Chairperson, Angela Browning, at the end-of-march- rallies since 1983 have linked Canada's increasing nuclear complicity and the global arms race with the bloody foreign interventions of both superpowers; to repression of peace movements; to Canada's worsening economy and quality of life; to starvation and ecocide in the Third World. But, on leaflets, posters and other publicity, the appeal was always for people to come to a peace and disarmament march.

Therefore, ACT should retain its focus on Canada's involvement in the nuclear arms race, and the need for independent citizens' groups

East and West to co-operate in demanding that the nuclear threat be eliminated. ACT demonstrations themselves should confine themselves to the above issues. However, the ACTIVIST and public speeches can be used to make the broader connections. In this way, ACT can grow as a solid movement, capable of mobilizing ordinary Canadians to prevent nuclear war and to establish peace and freedom.

ACT should not undertake campaigns against Darlington, nuclear power or tritium transport - issues which appear to ordinary people to be environmental and public safety issues rather than peace issues. To include demands such as "Stop Darlington" or "Stop Tritium Transport" on a poster which also demands "Stop Cruise Testing" is to ensure that only the politically correct will attend such a demonstration. Such demands risk permanently damaging ACT's reputation as a peace movement rather than a "peace and social change" movement. ACT should undertake campaigns and actions in the coming year, which, to ordinary people are obviously and clearly related to Canada's participation in the nuclear arms race. We believe that can only be achieved through the united efforts of ordinary people East and West.

COME TO AN EVENING OF



THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE WILL FREE NELSON MANDELA AND LEONARD PELTIER

The Leonard Peltier Human Rights Fund needs support to make this tour a success. Plans are being made now to host an event in a number of cities, and there are still dates available in which events can be organized. If you would like to help with the tour, or want more information, contact The Leonard Peltier Canadian Support Committee.

Tour schedule:

- Saskatchewan September 12-16 306-653-3249
- Sudbury September 27-28 705-522-1970
- Ottawa September 29, 30, Oct 1, 2 613-564-5079
- Montreal Oct 3-5 514-842-7509

- Kingston October 6th 613-544-2382
- Guelph October 8 519-824-5165
- Toronto October 7-10 416-961-4704
- Six Nations October 12

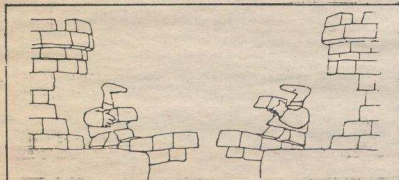
We need endorsements of support, volunteers to help with local events, publicity through newsletters.

This is the proposed schedule.

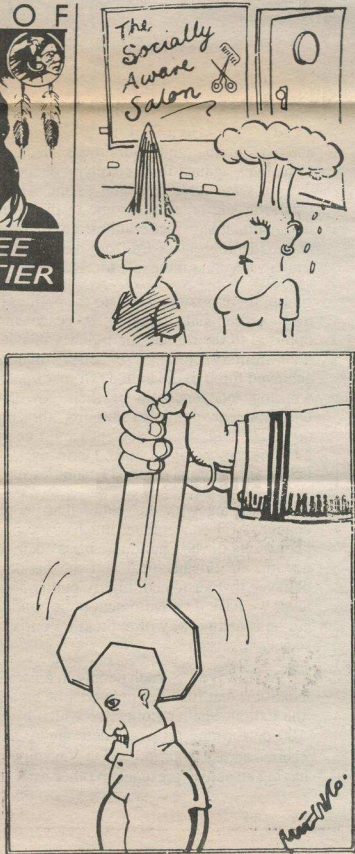
EVERYONE IS WELCOME!

For further information, please contact: The Leonard Peltier Canadian Support Committee, 456 Spadina Ave. 2nd floor, (416) 961-4704, Toronto.

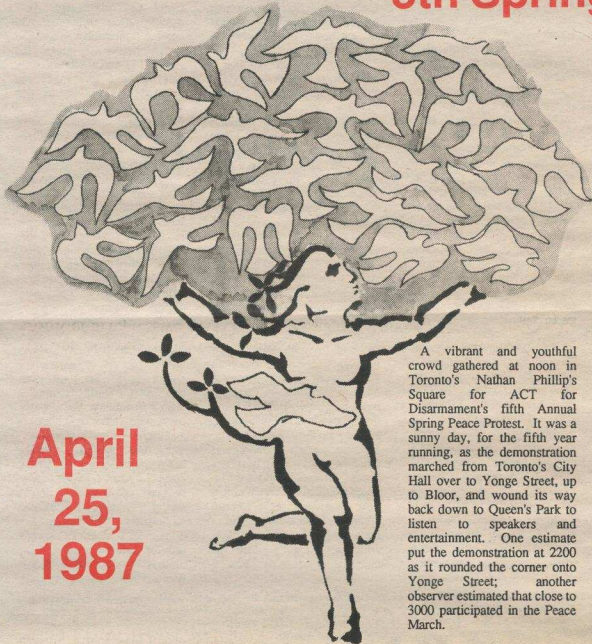
The International office of the Leonard Peltier Defence Committee, P.O. Box 6455, Kansas City, KS 66106 (816) 531 5774



Graphic by Cracow's well-known satirist and graphic artist Andrzej Mleczko, whose logo appears above.



5th Spring Protest for Peace One Year After Chernobyl



April
25,
1987

A vibrant and youthful crowd gathered at noon in Toronto's Nathan Phillips Square for ACT for Disarmament's fifth Annual Spring Peace Protest. It was a sunny day, for the fifth year running, as the demonstration marched from Toronto's City Hall over to Yonge Street, up to Bloor, and wound its way back down to Queen's Park to listen to speakers and entertainment. One estimate put the demonstration at 2200 as it rounded the corner onto Yonge Street; another observer estimated that close to 3000 participated in the Peace March.

by David Goodman

For the first time in a major Toronto peace demonstration, the themes of the day—calling for an end to weapon's testing in Canada from Nanooks Bay B.C. to Goose Bay Nfld, the halting of the construction of the nuclear reactor at Darlington as we remember Chernobyl, and no tritium transport or export—explicitly made the connection between nuclear power and nuclear weapons. The success of the demonstration in drawing out so many high school aged participants should be seen as a positive sign that addressing the nuclear question in the context of disarmament and a struggle against global extermination is natural and logical to the Canadian public.

It was not, as some purveyors of ACT orthodoxy feared, a demonstration of the "politically correct". In fact, many of those to whom this term might apply, the traditional left and the organized peace movement, were conspicuously absent.

Daria Ivanochko spoke for ACT for Disarmament-Toronto, reaffirming our

commitment to an integrated, non-aligned approach to working for peace. Other speakers were Irene Koch from the Nuclear Awareness Project, who spoke on nuclear power and tritium, Nomi Wall of Canadian Action for Nicaragua who appealed to the peace movement to address itself to the war in Central America, Sheila Holyer of Northview Against Nuclear Arms who addressed herself to the experience of high school students and the nuclear threat, and Jay Mason of the Canadian Alliance for Solidarity with Native Peoples who gave a rousing speech about the mining of uranium on native land and the resulting environmental destruction.

All in all, this April's demonstration was a positive and ground-breaking experience. While it was wearing for the over-extended activists at the centre of the mobilization effort, this demonstration did show that there is a creative direction for the peace movement of the late 1980's. It was tried with some success this April in Toronto and shall be realized with even greater success in the future.

What is ACT?

ACT For Disarmament is a non-aligned coalition of activist groups and individuals dedicated to mobilizing Canadians against their country's deepening involvement in the arms race. ACT began as the Against Cruise Testing Coalition and organized some of the largest demonstrations in Canada. It has since continued to focus on this issue as well as broadening out as Canada's involvement in U.S. military strategy becomes more inextricable.

But there is another side to the politics of ACT. As part of the international non-aligned peace movement, ACT is opposed to the militaristic policies of both superpowers and their military blocs. We believe that peace can only be achieved through the united efforts of people, East and West, working independently of their governments. ACT For Disarmament publicly supports the right of people to organize and work for peace, free from government interference, be it in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, the USSR or in repressive NATO countries such as Turkey.

In keeping with our belief that people can bring about change, ACT concentrates much of its energies on mobilizing people, both by building mass demonstrations and by networking on the local and the nation-wide level. ACT believes that sustained, highly public action is the strongest lever we have on government policy and that demonstrations are an effective way of expressing our view in a democratic society.

ACT strives to reach people in all walks of life. ACT is a coalition that includes networks of high school students and the Fallout Shelter Collective which has involved more than 100 performing artists. There are ACT chapters in several centres across Ontario, and in Vancouver. We anticipate having an active presence in other parts of Canada very soon.

History of Action

- 1983
- Feb. 12th — ACT networks demonstrations across Canada and mobilizes 4,000 Torontonians 45 hours after the umbrella weapons testing agreement is announced in parliament.
 - April 23rd — ACT organizes the historic anti-cruise march of 25,000 in Toronto and networks Canada's largest day of protest to date; about 125,000 Canadians in over twenty cities.
 - July 23rd — ACT co-organizes a nationwide (and U.S.I.) reaction to the Cruise Testing Agreement and organizes a march of 6,000 up Yonge St. in Toronto.
 - Aug. 6th — Hiroshima Day commemoration and protest.
 - Oct. 22nd — ACT co-organizes a demonstration on the International Day of Protest which again brings out 25,000 Torontonians.
 - Dec. 3rd — ACT puts the Santa Claus parade back on Yonge St. with a 1,500 person Christmas March for Peace.
 - Dec. 16th — ACT initiates a small but significant Queen's Park protest as part of the successful international campaign to free independent Soviet peace activist Olga Medvedkova.
- 1984
- March 10th — Demonstration in response to the first cruise test is networked nationally. ACT had finally won the right to march up Yonge St. with a permit.
 - April 28th — ACT's second annual Spring Protest attracts over 10,000 participants in Toronto and is once again promoted across Canada by ACT.
 - August 6th — ACT's second downtown Hiroshima Day March of 1,000 is led by federal candidates who responded to ACT's challenge to demonstrate that they really are prepared to act for peace.
- 1985
- Jan. 15th — First cruise test: Press conference and nationally publicized symbolic action at Toronto's Peace Garden.
 - Jan. 19th — "Saturday after" march — over 500 brave the cold.
 - Feb. 19th — Second annual Spring Protest draws over 200 people at a weekday, noon-hour protest at which they present pictures of their children to PC Party headquarters resulting in international press coverage.
 - April 27th — Third Annual Spring Peace draws over 4,000.
 - Aug. 6th-9th — ACT's Hiroshima Day candlelight march draws 2,500 people and is followed by a three day vigil.
- 1986
- Jan. 25th — 200 people brave miserable weather to protest the first cruise test of 1986 at PC Party Headquarters, then march up Yonge St.
 - Jan. 28th — ACT Niagara and ACT Kitchener-Waterloo hold protests against cruise tests in conjunction with ACT Toronto.
 - April 26th — 4,000 join ACT Toronto's 4th Annual Spring Protest for Peace. An unusually large number of participants were demonstrating for the first time.
 - May 11th — ACT K-W Mother's Day March attracts 300 people. This is the largest demonstration for peace ever held in Kitchener-Waterloo, showing the tremendous growth in the peace movement in K-W since ACT started there.
 - Aug. 6th-9th — ACT chapters in Toronto, Kitchener-Waterloo, Peterborough and Niagara hold actions on the anniversaries of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. These involve up to several hundred persons in each community.
 - Oct. 13th-19th — ACT organizes the historic East-West festival in Toronto and other locations in Ontario bringing together independent peace, ecology, labour and women's movement activists from both sides in the Cold War. Nearly 300 people take part.
 - Nov. 26th — ACT chapters in Toronto, Kitchener-Waterloo and Peterborough join the nationally networked BOOM Project to support the Innu struggle against NATO's low-level flight testing in Labrador.
 - Dec. 4th — ACT Toronto holds a public meeting with Dr. David Suzuki. Nearly 450 attended.
- 1987
- April 25th — Fifth Annual Spring Protest for Peace,
 - Aug. 6-9 — Hiroshima-Nagasaki demonstrations organized by ACT chapters in Kitchener-Waterloo, Oakville, Peterborough, Thunder Bay, and Toronto.