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the ACTivist

Inside

East Timor – Resisting Genocide

A special supplement on human rights violations in Indonesian-occupied East Timor – and how Canada is involved

Newspaper of the ACT for Disarmament Coalition • Volume 5, Issue 4 • Fall 1989 • pay what you can

Nuclear navies invade Vancouver

The "visit" of the nuclear-armed American aircraft carrier USS Constellation sparked a storm of protest in Vancouver between October 11-14. ACT for Disarmament organized a street protest which brought out 200 raucous demonstrators to Robson Square in the early evening of Friday the 13th. Earlier that day ACT had a frustrating and unproductive meeting with Associate Defence Minister Mary Collins. The meeting with Collins came as the result of a short but intense sit-in staged at her constituency office the day before by ACT members.

The Constellation skulked into English Bay under the cover of darkness in the early morning hours of October 11. As dawn broke that morning Greenpeace zodiacs joined a flotilla of boats from Save Our Seas and the Nanosee Conversion Campaign for a three hour water-based protest in thoroughly miserable weather.

Despite a large police presence two Greenpeace activists managed to climb the Constellation's anchor chain and unveil a flag bearing the international radiation symbol. The carrier's crew responded by blasting the two with a high pressure water cannon from no more than ten meters until finally being told to stop by police.

Greenpeace also maintained a 72-hour protest just 200 meters from the Constellation until the warship slipped out of town Saturday morning, a Greenpeace crew in chase.

The combined protests were the most vigorous opposition to the "visits" of nuclear-armed warships the city has seen since 1986, when the Vancouver Peace Flotilla led the resistance.

If Friday's meeting with Collins was any indication, however, the movement to stop the warships has a long way to go. The Minister made it clear that the government will continue to conduct business in its undemocratic fashion behind closed doors.

One of the Minister's

assistants informed ACT that Collins would not participate in an open dialogue in front of the press, breaking one of the deals that were made to end Thursday's sit-in. Collins then informed ACT that she would not be willing to participate in open public forums on matters of Canadian defence, thus breaking the second agreement reached at the conclusion of the sit-in. Suffice it to say that Mary had a little scam, little scam, little scam. The moral of the story is you just can't trust the government.

The meeting was not a complete waste of time, however. One of Collins' assistants finally admitted that there are negotiations going on to allow "visits" by Soviet warships to Canadian ports. Could it be that Mulroney will sign such an agreement while in Moscow in November? ACT Vancouver is currently pursuing more information on the matter.

Friday evening's protest was a noisy affair led by a lively throng of students from the Emily Carr College of Art. Speaker after speaker condemned the Canadian government for allowing nuclear warships in our harbours and for becoming more involved in the Pentagon's war-fighting strategy.

The protestors seemed to unanimously agree that whether it is in Beijing or Leipzig or right here in Vancouver, democracy begins, grows and flourishes in the streets.

While in Vancouver, the Steering Committee of the Canadian Peace Alliance held a press conference opposing the Constellation's presence.

• Brian Salmi



Lorne Bridgeman

ACT Toronto: New office, new momentum

Thanks to the generosity of the Ontario Environment Network and NIRV Nonprofit, ACT Toronto enjoyed free office space for several months this spring and summer. We have now moved into a larger (but more expensive!) office in the basement of the Energy Probe building. Our new address is:

ACT for Disarmament - Toronto
225 Brunswick Avenue
(1 block south of Bloor)
Toronto, Canada
M5S 2M6

The phone number, (416) 960-2228, remains the same.

Most of September was spent settling in, but we now have lots of new projects on the go - a rally and vigil in support of the Innu people's campaign against military flight testing was held September 29 and 30, followed on October 3 by an occupation of the Department of Indian Affairs, and more actions are planned - notably an alternative Remembrance day ceremony on November 11. Other plans range from opposing the latest excesses of the nuclear industry (trium sales, uranium mining at Cigar Lake, and more) to working for the release of prisoners of peace around the world.

New educational projects, an ACT for Disarmament leaflet and information package, and new peace buttons are planned. As well, the ACT High School Network is getting back into action - in Toronto and beyond. ACT plans to take an active part in the newly-established City of Toronto Peace Committee and to continue our effort to integrate peace with human rights and ecology.

New office, new plans, new momentum - but we need your help too. Please get involved, or help others to (\$!).
Peace.

Drop in • Get Involved

Open House:
Sunday November 12, 1-5 pm
225 Brunswick (enter off Sussex)

Every Thursday:
Volunteer Night, 4-9 pm

Non-alignment and the international peace movements

ACT for Disarmament has always been guided by a policy of non-alignment, critical of both superpowers and upholding the right to protest in all countries free of government interference. Although the non-aligned perspective has its origins in a Europe divided by forty years of Cold War, it by no means ignores the Third World (home of the Non-Aligned Movement of states).

Bruce Allen, the author of this look at peace movements which are breaking down Cold War borders, is a member of ACT for Disarmament and Neither East nor West and Canadian contact of the European Network for East-West Dialogue. He has attended several European Nuclear Disarmament conventions and is author of *Germany East: Dissent and Opposition, as well as articles on, Czechoslovakia and Poland.*

Years from now, activists and historians will look back on the 1980s as a time when the global peace movement experienced unprecedented growth and in which the very nature of modern peace activism changed. In both cases, developments in Europe will have proved central and decisive.

The Cold War took shape in Europe. The European continent has since been the single most important focal point of the resulting East-West confrontation. The Euro-missile crisis of the early 1980s was one clear indication of this. It was also the event which triggered the involvement of millions of Europeans and non-Europeans in the global peace movement.

Europe has also been the focal point of thaws in the Cold War. The high point of the early 1970s period of East-West détente was the 1975 Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe which initiated the "Helsinki Process". The Helsinki Final Act amounted to a charter for détente. Its immediate and negative effect was

to entrench the division of Europe into two rival military blocs.

More recently, the 1987 Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty removing land-based, medium-range missiles deployed in Europe has marked the current thaw in the Cold War. And it is Europe's peace movement that has developed the peace strategy termed "grassroots détente" or "détente from below", involving independent peace, ecological and human rights activists from both blocs.

This strategy for advancing the cause of peace by overcoming the bloc division of Europe through unofficial people-to-people contacts was initially synonymous with the European Nuclear Disarmament (END) campaign. The END campaign's manifesto was the 1980 END appeal. This appeal broke new ground by going beyond borders and calling for international struggle for a denuclearized Europe. The END appeal's explicit goal was the realization of a united, neutral and pacific Europe. This would be a new Europe rid of the nuclear blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Most importantly, the END appeal set out a "non-aligned" course for the European peace movement. Hence, it proclaimed, "We must learn to be loyal, not to the East nor West, but to each other, and we must disregard the prohibitions and limitations imposed by any national state".

Edward Thompson, a leading END spokesperson, later echoed this same sentiment when he looked back at what END was trying to do at the time. Thompson remarked that "we were going to attempt to make peace between citizens in contempt of the blocs and their ideologies". A powerful vision, one which changed forever the definition of "peace".

It was with such a perspective that END set out to actively promote détente from below as an indispensable complement to more

conventional efforts to promote détente through official diplomacy. Thus, END sought out and began a process of dialogue. By 1982, members of END has established contacts with Solidarnosc in Poland, Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, and independent peace groups and movements in East Germany, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

The most vital exchanges were between END representatives and spokespersons for the Charter 77 civil rights movement in Czechoslovakia.* Charter 77 began its dialogue with West European peace activists in 1981, and the views of both parties soon underwent changes as a result. Many letters, statements and expressions of solidarity passed back and forth.

One of the most important documents was the Prague Appeal. This set out Charter 77's vision of a united, democratic and peaceful Europe. Significantly, the Prague Appeal was written as a Charter 77 submission to the fourth annual END convention held in Amsterdam in 1985. At that event,

interaction between the West European peace movement and its natural partners, the independent peace, human rights and ecology movements in the East, reached a new height. One could now speak of a truly European movement for peace; one which had effectively gone beyond the blocs.

This merging movement was by now no longer focused exclusively around END. Many national peace movements and other activists concerned about peace were vigorously pursuing links with independent peace movements in the East. The Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council, CODENE in France, and many members of the West German and Austrian Greens were notable in this respect. Numerous groups appeared in Western Europe whose main focus was solidarity with independent peace groups in the East.

By 1985, the European Network for East-West Dialogue had also been established on the premise that a still stronger and more unwavering relationship between the movements from

below in both blocs was needed. The network was, and remains, a small loosely-knit organization with ambitious goals. It has contributed greatly to the process of détente from below. Among its accomplishments can be included "Giving Real Life to the Helsinki Accords", a joint statement drafted over several years of consultation by activists in both blocs, as well as neutral European states. More than 400 activists from countries across Europe and to a lesser extent North America attached their names to this historic document which stands as a milestone in contemporary European activist politics.

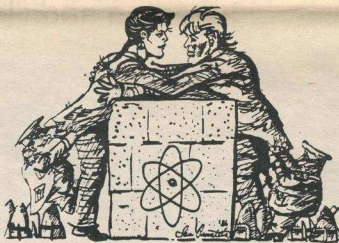
The Network has also been instrumental in organizing or helping to organize a variety of important East-West seminars and meetings throughout Europe. Some of these events have been held in East bloc countries despite great difficulties. The most notable of these were in Budapest and Warsaw and brought together many of the foremost peace activists from both halves of Europe.

Initiatives of this kind have taken on heightened significance in the late 1980s. Mikhail Gorbachev's rise to power in the USSR and his policies of glasnost and perestroika have greatly increased the prospects for a major political change in the East. Profound changes have already taken place.

Nonetheless, the most significant thing about the reform movement in the East is that it greatly enhances the scope for political action by independent activists and open the door to renewed worker resistance. Central and Eastern Europe is, as a result, alive with independent political activity as never before, and there is every reason to foresee this activity leading to even greater changes.

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BEYOND the BLOCS



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- High School Peace Network
- Nuclear Nations: Israel
- Christmas is for Pea ce

EAST TIMOR RESISTING GENOCIDE

A Refugee's Story

As Betty Sarmento tells it, it is a personal story. She is one of a handful of refugee survivors of Indonesia's brutal military occupation of the tiny Southeast Asian country of East Timor. Her sister, Maria Gorete Joaquim, was one of the thousands who have been killed in one of the world's most violent but least known wars.

In the words of Betty Sarmento, describing her time in Indonesian prison, "Maria Gorete... had cigarette burns on her arms and chest and had had electric shocks applied to her neck, ear and arms. We embraced and cried and that night we shared a cell, sleeping in the same bed. In my absence, she had been raped by the prison commander. She was 14 and a virgin and had resisted, but he had a black belt in karate."

Finally released, Maria Gorete began underground work for Fretilin, East Timor's independence movement. She was kidnapped from her home in Dili and flown over 100 km away by helicopter to be interrogated and finally shot behind a church.

At the time of her execution, Maria Gorete Joaquim was 16. Her story has been told because her sister escaped to Portugal. Thousands more stories will never be known.

Genocide and massive human rights violations have characterized the whole 14-year period of Indonesian military occupation. Up to 250,000 Timorese have died since the 1975 invasion - over a third of the population - as a result of war, bombings and war-induced famine. Hundreds of thousands more are being subjected to cultural genocide in Indonesia's other occupied territory of West Papua. In East Timor and West Papua, people are still dying today. Yet few Canadians have heard of the wars against the people of these territories.

Fewer still know of their country's support for the killing. If Canada was doing in Central America what it is doing in Southeast Asia, the outcry would be deafening. Yet Canada's diplomatic, economic and even military support for the generals who rule Indonesia - our government's collusion in the deliberate destruction of a people and their way of life - is met with silence. We Canadians must stop being a part of this atrocity, and speak up for justice everywhere.



Invasion and Repression in East Timor

EAST TIMOR was a neglected Portuguese colony from the early sixteenth century to 1975. In 1974, when a revolution in Portugal ended the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship, the resulting government announced a new policy of decolonization. In response to the new climate of openness, political parties were formed in East Timor, the two main indigenous ones being the Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of East Timor (Fretilin) and the Timor Democratic Union (UDT). A third party calling for union with Indonesia, Apodeti, had little support.

Concerned by Fretilin's growing popularity, Indonesia, East Timor's powerful neighbour, informed the UDT that it would intervene if Fretilin gained power. UDT responded by attempting a coup; seizing key installations in Dili (the capital) and Baucau. A bloody civil war ensued.

The UDT, once the most popular party, had by this time lost most of its support due to its initial reluctance to support full independence. Fretilin therefore won a decisive victory in only a few weeks. In this short time, however, 2000 to 3000 lives were lost.

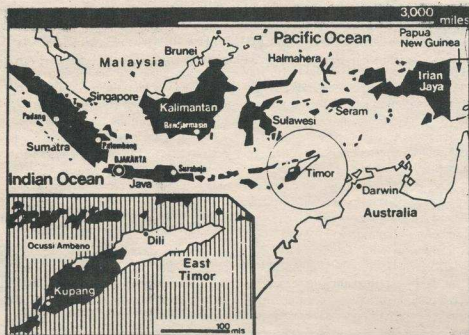
Fretilin continued to recognize Portuguese sovereignty and repeatedly called on the governor to return and resume the process of decolonization, a process that Fretilin leaders believed would take up to 5 years. Portugal's refusal to return forced Fretilin to form a de facto government. They governed for two months, from September to November 1975, in a fashion that neutral observers reported to be responsible and with strong popular support.

Indonesian border raids began on September 14, shortly after Fretilin gained

control of East Timor; on October 16 they captured to town of Balibó, about 10 km from the border between East Timor and the Indonesian territory of West Timor. On December 7, Indonesian forces launched a full-scale invasion, landing troops by sea and air in the principal towns of Dili and Baucau and dispatching a large force across the border. The Indonesian foreign minister, Adam Malik, estimated the number killed as "50,000 people or perhaps 80,000" although other sources estimated the number slaughtered to be higher. What followed is a continuation of one of the most brutal genocide campaigns still going on today - the slaughter of a simple mountain people who want nothing more than to live in peace.

DURING the Indonesian occupation, the country's economy, its crops and animals were destroyed. Thousands starved or succumbed to disease. Suspected opponents of the Indonesian offensive were rounded up and summarily executed. Many more were herded into "strategic hamlets" or resettlement camps to limit contact with Timorese guerrilla forces in the countryside. Hundreds have been held in detention camps, sometimes for years without charges or trial. 250,000 Timorese, a third of the island's 680,000 people have been wiped out over the years by fighting, executions and starvation. Indonesia completely cut off the island from journalists and foreign observers and refused unrestricted access to relief groups despite the rampant starvation.

In 1985, Amnesty International detailed "hundreds of killings of non-combatant civilians during and shortly after the invasion itself; the systematic executions of hundreds



— graphic by Richard W. Franke

About this Tabloid

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Invasion and Repression

(Continued from previous page)

of people who had surrendered to or been captured by Indonesian forces in 1978 and 1979; the 'disappearance' or killing of more than 80 men and women in 1980; the reprisal killing of some 200 villagers in 1983; and the killing of about 100 men in 1984 among the major human rights violations. Amnesty's latest study concludes that "human rights violations are going on out of sight of the official visitors allowed into the territory".

An aggressive birth control programme, for which Indonesian President Suharto has received a United Nations population control award, is another tool of genocide against the Timorese. Forced sterilization of women and compulsory abortions are said to be aspects of the programme. Most chilling of all, reports have recently surfaced of the murder of 200 children in Dili hospital by the administration of poison drugs in 1987 and 1988.

In 1987, the Indonesian "election" (in which no criticism of the government was allowed and all parties had to uphold Pancasila, the official ideology) came to East Timor. None of the three political parties - Golkar, the government party; United Development Party, a Moslem coalition; and the Indonesian Democratic Party, a Christian/nationalist party sponsored by Armed Forces commander General Benny Murdani - had any relevance to East Timor.

As in the 1982 "election", voters were not allowed a secret ballot but had their vote monitored. Only East Timor and West Papua were subjected to this. Not surprisingly, the government party won over 90% of the vote in East Timor.

Stranger still, 362,507 votes were cast by 362,144 voters. In Aileu district, the turnout was over 327% of the registered electorate.

The government's main candidate for East Timor was Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, who invited all foreign ambassadors to join him on his campaign tour. Most refused to get involved in internal politics, but the ambassadors of Canada, East Germany and Nigeria had no qualms about being seen backing Mochtar.

Encouraged by the success of their rigged elections, Indonesia declared East Timor open to foreign tourism and investment in January 1989. Visitors to East Timor still need permission from the

Government in Dili (a military puppet) and the Department of Police in Jakarta, but even such a limited declaration shows how desperate Indonesia is for international respectability, and how vulnerable to international pressure.

Why did Indonesia invade East Timor? Although West Timor was incorporated into the newly-independent Republic of Indonesia in 1949, Indonesia had never made a claim to the eastern half of the island prior to 1975. East Timor developed separately from West Timor with its own language (Tétum) and distinct political and religious traditions. Largely Catholic East Timor was not a good fit in Indonesia, the world's largest Moslem country.

oiligler from Darwin who happened to be holidaying in West Timor when the opening up announcement was made. I and two colleagues from ACFOA [Australian Council for Overseas Aid] followed in May when the opportunity arose during a visit to the region to make a brief, private visit for one day. We were, it seems, the first Australian NGO representatives to visit since ACFOA was effectively expelled by Indonesia ahead of the 1975 invasion.

Our visit was therefore an emotional experience. Given our long involvement with the issue, it was also spiced with a dash of suspense. Would we get in? What would we learn, if anything?

The answer to the first question was yes, no problems. Regarding the second, the visit, though brief, was surprisingly

Why then the invasion? Indonesia feared that if Fretilin continued with its policies of land redistribution and its broad based health and literacy programmes that it might set an example for neighbouring territories, so that they too might seek independence from colonial powers like Indonesia and Portugal. Indonesia and its colonies contain some of the world's most impoverished people with high infant mortality and illiteracy rates and some of the lowest wages in the world, despite the area's wealth of resources. This plight is now shared by East Timor under Indonesian control. Another reason for the invasion is that East Timor is rich in resources which include huge offshore petroleum deposits.

East Timor is still a war zone. The invading Indonesian army has been unsuccessful in totally defeating Fretilin. Documents captured from the Indonesian armed forces reveal that Fretilin still has a wide and effective network of support in numerous strategic hamlets and in Dili itself. Fretilin is still able to continue its just struggle because it enjoys such strong support. In an interview, Monsignor Montinho da Costa Lopez, Apostolic Administrator of East Timor from 1977 to 1973, noted that "when people look for Fretilin they should realize that Fretilin is everywhere. Fretilin is the whole people."

Rape, torture, starvation, disappearances and mass executions continue to be part of everyday life. Transmigration of the indigenous population and resettlement of farmers from nearby islands onto Timorese agricultural sites threatens to further weaken resistance to colonization. And yet hope for these courageous people is still alive. It is largely the support of countries like the United States, Japan, Australia and, yes, Canada, that keeps the Indonesian occupation going.

With a change in Western policy, East Timor may yet be free.

Further Reading

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FUNU: The Unfinished Saga of East Timor by José Ramos-Horta (Red Sea Press, Trenton NJ, 1987)

Timor: A People Betrayed by James Dunn (Jacaranda Press, Queensland, 1983)

East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism by Jill Jolliffe (University of Queensland Press, Australia, 1978)

West Papua: The Obliteration of a People by Carmel Budiarto and Liem Soei Liong (Tapol, London, 1988)

Suharto's Indonesia by Hamish McDonald (Fontana, London, 1980)

Towards a New Cold War by Noam Chomsky (Pantheon Press, New York, 1982)

The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism by Noam Chomsky and Edward S Herman (Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1979)

A Foot in the Door: A Visit to East Timor after the Opening

On January 1 this year, Indonesia's President Suharto finally overruled his reluctant generals and opened up East Timor to foreigners. This decision, of course, has nothing to do with allowing the East Timorese greater freedom of association or movement. The motives behind it are partly economic (Jakarta is heavily in debt and hungry for the foreign exchange brought by tourism) and principally political, being part of Indonesia's calculated campaign to improve its very poor human rights image and, in particular, to silence the critics who argue that denial of access is part of an elaborate cover-up of the situation in East Timor.

The first Australian to take advantage of the new policy is said to have been an

instructive.

Two impressions stand out. The first was our attendance at a Sunday mass in Dili along with a huge crowd of some 800 East Timorese. The size and deeply reverent demeanour of this congregation confirmed what we had heard, namely that, in the dark night of the soul, the East Timorese have turned en masse to the Church for protection and advocacy. The occasion was also very much an East Timorese affair. The Mass was led by a Timorese priest and was celebrated in their own language of Tétum. Not a batik shirt [a common Indonesian garment] was to be seen. Despite the overly sombre character of the liturgy, one felt very close to them in that setting, the only act of self-determination permitted to them by their Indonesian overlords. There was also time

to reflect (the ceremony lasted two hours!) that the faith the Timorese have placed in the international Church has not been borne out in practice, though there have been some notable exceptions.

A second lasting impression is what one might call, cynically, the "greening" of East Timor. On the Monday morning of our visit, the green uniforms of the Indonesian military were very much in evidence even to the casual visitor. We saw military helicopters in the sky and on the ground, 15 Indonesian soldiers beating up a colleague in the middle of the road, trucks of armed troops driving up into the mountains, navy craft unloading at the docks.

The most telling scenario, however, was the sight of a unit of Indonesian soldiers, guns held high, working out on a road near



Canadian Support for Genocide in East Timor

In response to the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution, re-affirmed annually until 1982, which recognized the right of the Timorese people to self-determination, freedom and independence. It condemned the invasion and called on Indonesia to "withdraw without delay its forces from the territory". This resolution passed 69 votes to 11, with 38 countries abstaining (among them Canada, the United States, Britain and France). Since 1980, Canada has voted against resolutions far milder than this one. According to our government, the East Timorese are different from the people of Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; they have no right to self-determination, their country is Indonesian.

Within weeks of the invasion, Canada extended a \$200 million line of credit to Indonesia—the first of several. And Canadian dollars have continued to flow into the Indonesian "investor's paradise". 125 companies have invested over \$1 billion. Two-way trade in 1986 amounted to \$355 million, and is still growing fast as Canada turns more and more to the Pacific Rim.

Our official aid organization, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), has earmarked over \$310 million over the next five years for Indonesia, the largest non-Commonwealth recipient of Canadian aid. With Canadian aid tied to the purchase of Canadian goods, this aid benefits Canadian corporations far more than the poor of Indonesia. Government corruption ensures that much of what is left ends up in the hands of Indonesia's ruling generals.

The Canadian government vigorously supports military sales to Indonesia, despite an official policy against arms sales to human rights violators or countries at war. From 1984 to 1987, military export permits valued at \$34.8 million (more than \$10 million a year) were granted by the government to Canadian arms dealers.

Most weapons used by the Indonesian army are American-supplied. But Canada's part is no small one. According to José Ramos-Horta, Foreign Minister of East Timor during its brief period of independence, Canadian weapons "play an important role in the war in East Timor". A few real or potential Canadian arms sales:

- Pratt & Whitney Canada, the top recipient

of government grants (\$52.5 million in FY 1982-3 alone) through the Defence Industry Productivity Programme among all Canadian arms contractors, has built aircraft engines for the Indonesian air force, especially useful for counter-insurgency warfare as practised in East Timor. In 1980, Indonesian Research and Technology Minister BJ Habibie invited Pratt & Whitney to set up overhaul facilities in Indonesia.

- DeHavilland has supplied the Indonesian air force with seven DHC-3 Otter troop transport aircraft.
- General Motors of Canada has been authorized to sell light tanks to the Indonesian army.
- Valcartier Industries has supplied ammunition for use in East Timor.
- Levy Auto Parts Company provides military vehicles.
- Litton Systems has sold radar equipment for use by security forces.
- Leigh Marshland Engineering (teleprinter, security equipment), Valleyfield Chemical Products (ammunition), Irvin Industries (parachutes) and Canadian Marconi (military radios, radar, navigation systems for helicopters and planes) have made sales

with military or security applications to Indonesia.

A government-sponsored Canadian arms show in Jakarta in 1984 featured aircraft equipment from Spar Aerospace, Vega Helicopters, CAE and DAF Indal, surveillance systems from Raytheon, artillery computers from Computing Services, and more.



- Atomic Energy of Canada Limited and Babcock & Wilcox Canada operate in Indonesia under the terms of a 1982 Canada-Indonesia Nuclear Co-operation Agreement. If Indonesia decides to develop nuclear weapons, it will have been with Canadian assistance to its nuclear industry.

one of Dili's markets. As the yelling, sweating, armed men ran down the middle of the road, Timorese walking to market quietly stepped to one side, eyes down, to let them pass. For me, it was a moment of truth, a painful reminder that power does come from the barrel of a gun and the Timorese know it.

The door to East Timor has been unlocked after 14 years. How wide it will open and how far outsiders may venture into the room will only be revealed by testing the decision. One can only hope that among the tourists and opportunists who will undoubtedly make their way there, there will be a healthy representation of the sensitive and well-briefed.

• Pat Walsh, ACFOA Human Rights Office



A CALL FOR JUSTICE

THE DESTRUCTION OF A PEOPLE

West Papuans faced with cultural genocide

"Where else in today's world would the dictum be accepted that a people were too primitive even to be free?"

— Papan writer Paul Grocott

THOUSANDS of black refugees, most of them women and children, trudged their way through overgrown jungle, close to death from exhaustion and hunger — and, if they were lucky, they made it across the border alive. There they faced cramped conditions in makeshift refugee camps; in one, two thousand refugees were squeezed into an area which normally supported only 150 people. Unwanted by the host country, they had nothing to look forward to but an uncertain future in the camps, or repatriation to a home too dangerous to live in.

This scene occurred in the spring of 1984, when more than 11,000 people left their homes in West Papua (on the western half of the island of New Guinea) for the faint promise of sanctuary in neighbouring Papua New Guinea. The West Papuans were fleeing the Indonesian Army. According to eyewitness reports compiled by a Catholic church official, Indonesian soldiers were beheading villagers, raping nuns and committing other atrocities in a drive against the Papuan resistance.

The West Papuan refugees were the latest and certainly most visible casualties of a campaign of cultural genocide which has lasted over 22 years.

AFTER INDONESIA became independent in 1949, the only part of the former Dutch East Indies to remain in the hands of the Netherlands was West Papua (the other half of the island, Papua New Guinea, was a British colony and is now an independent nation). This rankled the Indonesian leaders, who were eager to eradicate the area's last vestige of Dutch colonialism. In 1962, Indonesia threatened to invade West Papua with 75,000 troops, although the actual invasion, when it came, involved much smaller numbers of paratroops and marines, and was spectacularly unsuccessful.

Under pressure from international leaders such as President Kennedy, the Netherlands ceded West Papua to the UN to oversee decolonization. In 1963, the UN gave West Papua to Indonesia, on the condition that Indonesia conduct a vote in 1969 to ensure that the people of West Papua determine their own future.

Meanwhile, it had already become abundantly clear that the West Papuans viewed themselves as a distinct people, and that they desired to be politically independent. While Indonesia is dominated by Javanese, who have Asian features, the West Papuans are similar in appearance and culture to the black Melanesians of the Pacific islands. Thus the Indonesians met with hostility and resistance when, after 1963, they began to seize control of West Papuan political and social institutions. From the first, the Indonesians sought to replace the indigenous black culture with a more Javanese way of life. After the right wing took power in Indonesia in 1965, these efforts intensified.

The resistance became more organized and militant under the banner of the OPM (Free Papua Movement). Outlawed since 1963, this pro-independence group was initially dominated by politicized intellectuals. But as Papuans have been increasingly forced to adapt Indonesian clothing, language and education, ordinary village men and women have become involved. With resistance came repression. Between 1962 and 1969, it is estimated that over



West Papuans at refugee camp in Papua New Guinea: facing an uncertain future.

30,000 people were killed by Indonesian armed forces.

IN 1969, a vote (called the 'Act of Free Choice') was held to decide whether West Papua would become independent. It was a travesty of democracy. Indonesia hand-picked the 1,025 Papuan "delegates" who were permitted to vote, and many of these people privately informed foreign reporters that they had been intimidated into voting for integration with Indonesia. One incident was reported in an Indonesian-controlled newspaper in the capital, Jayapura: it concerned a Major Soewondo, who "rounded up" 200 village leaders to warn them: "I say I will protect and guarantee the safety of everyone who is for Indonesia. I will shoot dead anyone who is against us — and all his followers." In some instances the threat was fulfilled, as Indonesian troops and supporters took part in looting, burning of houses, and killings.

In mockery, the vote became popularly known as the "Act Free of Choice." Afterwards it soon became apparent that the world had abandoned West Papua to Indonesian oppression. Indonesia moved to consolidate its position in its new province (now named 'Irian Jaya') by introducing a new technique to destroy native culture: transmigration.

"I can change a human race by intermarriage between the races... in a few generations hence there will be only a single Indonesian race from Sabang in [northern] Sumatra to Merauke in the south of West Papua."

— President Sukarno

Transmigrasi is the Indonesian name for its policy of shipping Asian-Indonesians to West Papua by the thousands and settling them on land confiscated from the local population. There are already 220,000 Asian-Indonesians living in West Papua, of whom 60,000 are official transmigrants, and if Indonesia reaches its goal of moving up to a million transmigrants to the area by 1989, the 800,000 native West Papuans will soon be numerically overwhelmed in their own land. In some regions they are already outnumbered.

The official justification for initiating the transmigration policy was to relieve overcrowding on Java and the other islands of central Indonesia. But the

effect — and the real purpose — is to destroy the indigenous culture, and thus the resistance to Indonesian rule. Isaac Hindom, governor of the province, made no attempt to disguise the true nature of his government's motives when he enthusiastically described to reporters how transmigration would "develop" the "backward" people of Papua. Mixed marriages between natives and Asian-Indonesians, he said, "will give birth to a new generation of people without curly hair, sowing the seed for greater beauty." Significantly, the term "Papuan" — which literally means "kinky-haired" — is now banned by the Indonesian administration.

Indonesia claims it is trying to aid in the economic development of West Papua. But the development programme is clearly intended to supplement both the transmigration scheme and the Indonesian military's reign of terror against the OPM and rebellious villages. The native Papuans certainly do not benefit. Highways and roads are concentrated along the border areas (and in the resource-rich regions) where forced resettlement is taking place, and where consequently popular resentment is strongest.

One example of robbery-by-development is the Tenbagapura copper mine, gouged out of a mountain the Papuans hold sacred. The mine employs 3500 people, but only 500 of these are native to the province. Papuan employees are not allowed training for jobs at the mine itself, nor to live within the mine compound, nor to shop in the compound stores, nor to send their children to the elementary schools. Instead, they are restricted to the dirty and low-paying jobs of garbage and sewage disposal. "The army maintains an elite well-

armed force in the town," observed geologist-writer Robert Milton after a recent visit to Tenbagapura. "Their only purpose is to protect the mine and the town from the native population."

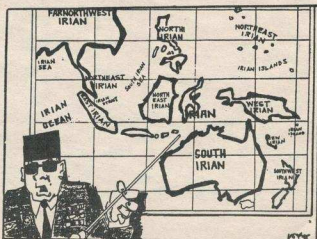
Canada is apparently contributing to the misery in West Papua. According to an article in the Fall 1984 Cultural Survival Quarterly, a United Nations Development Programme team reportedly composed of Canadians is now working on transmigration in West Papua. Furthermore, the World Bank (in which Canada is the eighth largest shareholder) is considering an Indonesian proposal to finance West Papuan transmigration, including a specific budget to relocate native peoples.

It is interesting to see this soulless attitude reflected in an article on West Papua in the May/June 1985 issue of *Equinox* (a glossy Canadian magazine similar to *National Geographic*). The article, written by Canadian photojournalists Patrick and Baiba Morrow, is a "portrait" of the Dani people of the Balim Valley in West Papua. The Morrows failed to criticize Indonesia's policies of cultural genocide — of which the Dani people have been among the hardest hit. Their interpreter-guides were government collaborators, and judging from the tenor of the article the Morrows never made it difficult for them by asking any awkward questions about Papuan life under Indonesian rule.

In November 1983, three months after the Morrows had visited, the Indonesian press reported that over 200 people in the Balim Valley had died of starvation. Another 5000 were in a "critical state" of malnutrition. Indonesian authorities claimed that it was nearly impossible to bring aid to the famine-stricken valley due to its inaccessibility (although it was evidently not so inaccessible that it could not be reached by Canadian magazine writers).

THE OFTEN malnourished refugees across the border in Papua New Guinea are having only marginally better luck than the people left behind. In the summer of 1984, 54 refugees (mostly the very young and the very old) starved to death at one refugee camp after food aid from the government of Papua New Guinea dried up. The international publicity generated by their deaths helped pressure Indonesia into reluctantly allowing supervision in the repatriation process by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Since then, some ten thousand West Papuans have voluntarily returned home. The majority of refugees remaining consider themselves to be indefinitely, if not permanently, displaced from their homeland; and, while debates rage on about where they should go, they live in the squalor of the makeshift camps — nervously awaiting their fate.

— Julia Morrison



Sukarno:
"Now,
according
to our map..."

Corby Trindad/Philippines Herald

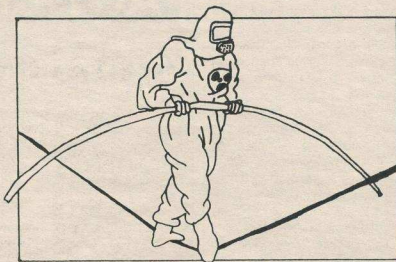
Cigar Lake: leave it in the ground

Well, here we go again: yet another uranium mine proposal.

This time the location is Cigar Lake, Saskatchewan. The problems of uranium mining are by now well known. However, Cigar Lake is unique in a number of ways.

The devout dogmatic businessmen who seek out uranium see only dollar signs when they close their eyes at night. Profits! Profits! Profits! But even by these standards, mining uranium is not merely immoral and environmentally dangerous, but totally absurd. It is not profitable! There is so much uranium stockpiled on the planet that Canada is selling the ore at depressed prices. Canadian mines are subsidized by the government, and without this subsidy they could not survive.

Cigar Lake creates new problems as well as compounding some old ones. Northern Saskatchewan already shows the highest level of contamination by certain radioactive substances in the world. The provincial Saskatchewan Mining and Development Corporation - now merged with fellow uranium giant Eldorado Nuclear as Cameco and facing privatization - is involved in over 300 uranium mining



projects.

Cigar Lake has proven to be a real "hot-bed", both literally and politically. The site has uranium deposits 70 times richer than any found previously in the world, with the ore grade 500 times richer than that at Elliot Lake. Such a find lights up the eyes of the executives who run government-subsidized mining projects.

On June 26 of this year Greenpeace and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) called for full public hearings on Cigar Lake before work continues.

The USWA represents 80% of Canada's uranium mine and mill workers and has traditionally been at odds with environmentalists. In this case, however, USWA believes that the risk of lung cancer to workers at Cigar Lake could be hundreds of times higher than at existing mines. A team of French scientists recently reported that "a person standing unprotected in a shaft at Cigar Lake will breathe enough radon gas in four hours to guarantee a fatal dose of radiation".

The Cameco Corporation plans to mine Cigar Lake using the

same methods as those used at previous and existing sites. USWA believes that with such high concentrations of ore these methods will prove inadequate and its workers will be in effect human guinea pigs. Greenpeace is pushing for Canada to revise its "acceptable exposure" limits for radiation, which are now ten years out of date.

The federal government also plans to "shalt" the environment with Cigar Lake. Usually when corporations want to embark on mining projects, dam building, or other activities involving resource exploitation, Environment Canada conducts an Environmental Impact Assessment. But according to the government, Cigar Lake is a matter of energy policy and has no connection with pollution and the environment, proving once again what an educated bunch the Tories are.

Next stop, nuclear weapons. The guilty parties in this case have indicated that all uranium mined at Cigar Lake will be exported. The major client for the ore is the United States (who else?) with most of the stock to be taken up by other nuclear weapons states (past clients have included France and South Korea). The already unacceptable level of Canadian uranium in the world's nuclear arsenal can only rise, and rise dramatically, as a result. Oh, what a bunch of happy peacekeepers we are!

So, what can we do to stop this? Although it is only a first step, letters can be written to federal Energy Minister Jake Epp at the House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., KIA 0A6 (remember, no stamp required). Next you can get in touch with a group in your area

working on the issue - ACT for Disarmament, Greenpeace, and Energy Probe among others would love to hear from you. A third and very important act is to tell people (friends, co-workers, fellow students etc.) and encourage them to write and get involved.

Rumour has it that the number one concern of Canadians is the environment. If it really is yours, we're waiting for hear from you...

• Susan Moore

Non-alignment

(Continued from p. 2)

The significance of this for the peace movement in the West, including Canada, cannot be overstated. The reform process in the East has the capacity to alter the course of human history. Canadian peace activists have no choice but to come to terms with it.

This will require our movement to recognize the need to actively join the process of détente from below. We must become an integral part of an effective peace strategy suited to the world of the 1990s. Events are rapidly demonstrating that the independent peace movements from below are destined to shape the political future of the East, so we must relate to them, to their desire to transform their respective societies and their aspirations to reconstruct a more peaceful world. For it is in association with them that we will be able to effectively end the bloc confrontation by making détente an irreversible process and accelerate our collective efforts to realize the demilitarization of our endangered planet.

• Bruce Allen

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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 as well.

The RIVERDALE GREEN CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION supports our work for peace, and now has a policy of turning over to ACT any donation it receives from people wanting to support the peace part of its programme. With Ontario election laws, such donations are seen as donations to a political party (since the cheques are made out to them) and thus entitles you to an income tax credit for having donated to a political party.

Donations to political parties are better tax write-offs

than donations to charities. This is because the first \$200 gives a 75% rebate on your income tax form.

ACT is composed of members with a number of different political views. The general membership accepted the offer of the Riverdale Greens because it gives people making major donations to ACT some way of receiving a tax benefit for supporting us. It does not tie us or you to the Green Party.

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We need your support, donations from our supporters are essential for our work to be successful. Thanks to the Riverdale Greens, you can also get a tax break!

ACT encourages all individuals who would like a receipt for political contributions to send a cheque denoting their area(s) of interest(s) to RIVERDALE GREENS CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION whose policy is to send ACT monies earmarked for Peace, directly, wholly, and exclusively to ACT.

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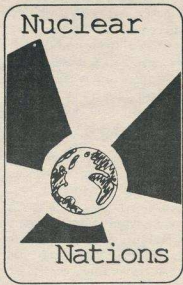
We start in September and end in May.

For more information or to arrange an interview, call (416) 867 2185.

China and the Bomb

The talk among the superpowers today is all of nuclear disarmament, an end to the Cold War, a more peaceful world. But there are other players in the nuclear game.

With this issue we begin a series on Nuclear Nations other than the United States and Soviet Union. The first installment looks at China; future issues will examine Israel, Britain and France, India and Pakistan, and South Africa.



A quarter-century ago, the People's Republic of China, which had always dismissed the Bomb as a "paper tiger," joined the nuclear club by becoming the fifth country to explode an atomic device. Since 1964, China has used its nuclear arsenal to become the third superpower, with a full line of state-of-the-art annihilation weapons.

China has preached self-reliance since its revolution, so a world of nuclear powers which excluded the Chinese - forced them, as they saw it, to shelter under the Soviet "nuclear umbrella" - was intolerable. At the same time as Chairman Mao Zedong publicly declared "the atom bomb is a paper tiger", China embarked on a crash nuclear programme and exploded its first bomb on October 16, 1964. Three years later, it added the hydrogen bomb.

Today, although it has less of every type of weapon than the

United States and Soviet Union, China possesses a complete set of nuclear weapons: intercontinental and intermediate range ballistic missiles, submarines equipped with nuclear missiles, and more than 100 H-6 nuclear bombers.

The 1964 Chinese entry into the nuclear club was cause for great fear in both the West and China's former patron, the USSR. But would China ever use the Bomb? Modern Western apologists, of which there are many even after the Tiananmen Square massacre, claim Beijing retains only a "minimal deterrent" to protect it from the superpowers. The same deadly logic has motivated every step of the US-USSR arms race.

Chinese nuclear policy has not been marked by any great respect

for peace: along with France, China has refused to join both the US-USSR-Britain Test Ban Treaty and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Indeed, China seems positively to encourage nuclear proliferation: it has helped Argentina, Brazil, Iran, Pakistan and South Africa in their attempts to develop nuclear weapons. China has fought border wars with India (a nuclear power itself since 1974) and Vietnam which could easily "go nuclear" if repeated. The current regime cannot be said to be one that respects human life - even that of its own citizens.

The nuclear reality of China has not affected the mass of the people as it has in other nuclear weapons states. For the most part, it is the territories of ethnic minorities that have been subjected to the nuclear presence. For 25 years, nuclear testing has been going on at Lop Nor in Eastern Turkestan (in official terminology, Xinjiang - Chinese for "Frontier"). Most uranium is mined in Xinjiang and the Southeast, where mines disrupt the lives of the hill people of Guangdong province and Guangxi Autonomous Region. A new uranium mine at Riwoche in Tibet has turned a sacred local site into an armed camp. Nuclear forces are concentrated at Lop Nor and at five missile bases in Tibet, including Nagechuka where a quarter of China's nuclear weapons are targeted against the 20 largest

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cities of India.

Although nothing has come of it yet, Beijing has also signed an agreement with West Germany to store German nuclear wastes in the Gobi desert and possibly in Tibet.

As with China's own nuclear wastes, environmental safeguards would be minimal, the potential devastation enormous.

• David Webster

People's Republic of China

First Nuclear Explosion: 1964
First Hydrogen Bomb Explosion: 1967
Weapons Systems: Most major systems, including ICBM and sea- and air-launched missiles
Uranium Suppliers: Self-sufficient
Arms Control Treaties: None

What is ACT?

ACT for Disarmament is a non-aligned coalition of activist groups and individuals dedicated to mobilizing Canadians against our country's deepening involvement in the arms race. We began as the Against Cruise Testing coalition in late 1982 and have organized some of the largest demonstrations in Canada. We have since continued to focus on this issue as well as broadening out as Canada's involvement in U.S. military strategy becomes more inextricable.

We believe that peace and ecology are inseparable. Thus we campaign against nuclear power, which fuels the arms race and poisons our environment. We cannot ignore Canada's increasing reliance on this dangerous technology.

As part of the international non-aligned peace movement, we are 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 work for peace, free from government interference, in both blocs.

ACT strives to reach people in all walks of life. In keeping with our belief that people can bring about change, we concentrate much of our energy on mobilizing people, both by building mass demonstrations and by networking on the local, national and international levels. We believe 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.

TO REMEMBER IS TO END ALL WAR

A ceremony to remember the victims of current wars including the 100th of Niixianian and to support ongoing resistance to these wars

Remembrance Day
Saturday, November 11, 1989
The Peace Garden, Nathan Phillips Square
2:30PM

Bar Penashur and Eric Andrew,
Imu youth from Niixianian
Ariene Mantle, Anti-Poverty Worker and Musician
Lennox Farrell, Rally Against Apartheid
John Willis, Greecepeace
Settsako Tharlow, Hiroshima Survivor
and a wreath laying for the victims of current wars
by members of the communities
affected by these wars
(organizations for identification purposes only)

Sunday, October 29, 1989
An evening as an Imu family
from La Romane, Niixianian,
with Kim Beady of Greenham Common
OISE, 252 Bloor Street West, 7PM
Contact: Toronto: Nat. Off. of Niixianian Culture - 537-9343
Tuesday, November 14, 1989
A blockade of the Department of War in Ottawa
A civil disobedience action, endorsed by the Imu,
to close down the building where the decisions
are being made to destroy the Imu culture
Contact: The Alliance for Nat. Values Action - 533-0819

