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the ACTivist

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Newspaper of the ACT for Disarmament Coalition • Volume 7, Issue 3 • March 1991 • Pay what you can

Gulf war costs still mounting

The Gulf War is over, they say, but the world is still counting the costs.

Officially, 100,000 are dead. People in Iraq and Kuwait put the death toll far higher: 150,000 civilians and 100,000 soldiers, according to the Chaldean

statements to the problems of the Palestinians, Kurds, and other peoples of the region, based on the recognition of all peoples' right to self-determination;

- Aid to civilian casualties and refugees and to reconstruction efforts in all countries affected by the war;

- Aid to efforts to restore the ravaged environment of the Gulf region; policies to reduce dependence on oil in favour of alternative non-nuclear energy sources;

- An end to the international arms trade, including a ban on arms sales to the Middle East;
- The establishment of a Middle Eastern nuclear and chemical weapons free zone as a step towards building peace in the region and towards building a world free of such weapons;

- The lifting of sanctions against non-military trade with Iraq, as the object of sanctions has been achieved.

We urge the United Nations, the Canadian government, and all other parties involved in the conflict to press for these points and ensure that basic human rights are respected throughout the Middle East.

We will continue to act to further these points, to educate Canadians about the Middle East and the issues behind the war, and to promote peace and human rights worldwide. ☸



ACTivist to publish monthly

THE ACTIVIST

Toronto's newspaper of peace and human rights is going monthly.

The ACTivist has been bringing Toronto exclusive coverage of the Gulf war, First Nations, disarmament campaigns, news of peace and human rights from around the planet, and much more for over

six years. Now, with its seventh year of publication, THE ACTIVIST is to be published once a month.

The lack of information during the Gulf War showed the need for alternative sources of news. The need is no less with war over.

Subscriptions are available with a minimum donation of \$10 to ACT for Disarmament. ☸

Canadian arms sales admitted

Clark releases report on direct military exports

By DAVID WEBSTER
THE ACTIVIST

Canada made direct sales of military equipment to 54 countries in 1990, including Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, according to the first annual Export of Military Goods from Canada report released in early March. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark said a report would be released every year "to demonstrate Canada's commitment to greater transparency in the arms trade — a transparency which is needed so that the world knows what the traffic in arms is."

The report does not include sales made to the United States — the bulk of production in Canada's branch-plant military complex — or indirect sales of component parts via a third country. Including such indirect sales would add Iraq, which has used helicopters powered by Canadian-built engines, and many others to the list.

Canada admits to having exported \$159 million worth of arms to countries other than the United States in 1990. Two thirds of the direct sales, which include everything from helicopter engines to training simulators to tear gas, went

Turn to Direct sales, page 3

editorial

Catholic Church in Iraq. In the end, the total may be shown to be even more tragic.

In Kuwait, the oilfields are still burning. It may be years before they are extinguished: experts say a minimum of 500 days of burning wells lie ahead. In the past, we could only imagine such an environmental catastrophe. Now it is reality.

Was it all really necessary? The withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait could and should have been achieved through non-violent means.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the world rightly condemned the aggression and imposed sanctions to force the troops to leave. But the chances for a peaceful resolution to the conflict, one which would respect Kuwait's right to self-determination, to determine its own future, ended when United States-led coalition forces began to bomb both Iraq and Kuwait, the country they claimed to be liberating. They created a wasteland, and called it freedom.

ACT for Disarmament welcomed the news of the ceasefire on February 28 which ended the war, though we wish that economic sanctions had been given time to take effect.

The coming weeks will be a critical time for the Middle East. ACT for Disarmament will be calling for:

- Free elections and democratic governments for Kuwait and Iraq;
- No long-term US presence or permanent US bases in the region; all coalition forces to be withdrawn as soon as logistically possible;
- A Middle East peace conference to negotiate peaceful set-

Ninth Annual Spring Protest for Peace



For a world without armies

Saturday, May 11

Queen's Park, 1 pm

Call ACT for Disarmament, 531-6154

Inside Peace

Arms show
a political
footballBy JO PEACENIK
THE ACTIVIST

Shed a tear for the ARMX weapons bazaar, showcase for the cream of the Canadian military industry. ARMX was already banished from 1989's roomy confines at Lansdowne Stadium — home of the Ottawa Roughriders and just a short limousine ride from the diplomatic quarter — to tiny Carp, Ont. (Carp is far from downtown, but the closest community that would have the arms merchants after Ottawa council voted them off city property.) Now the show has been postponed from its scheduled May dates to September. Military consultants and shoppers, it seems, are in the Middle East ogling the action.

What are we to make of the postponement? Could it have been intended to spare the government embarrassment while Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and External Affairs Minister Joe Clark carry out an international stage-hogging campaign for greater "transparency" in the arms trade?

ARMX, of course, has nothing to do with the government. Organizers **Baxter Publishing**, publishers of *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, postponed the bazaar entirely on their own initiative, they say. No government pressure could influence the flacks at Baxter, who are making a killing on their glossy magazine.

Well, not exactly true. CDQ stays afloat almost entirely on the largesse of the War Department. Of its 11,000 copies, 6000 — count 'em, 6000 — are snapped up by the armchair warriors at the Department of National Defence. Chief of defence staff General **John de Chastelain** is an ex-officio member of the CDQ board. Could there be any chance by a connection?

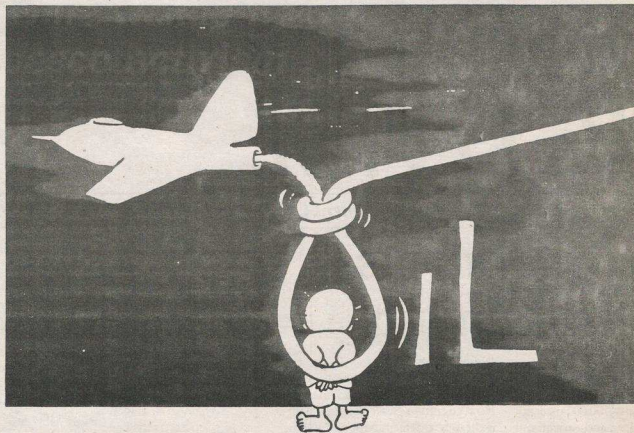
Stupid **Dan Quayle** quote of the month, made at the height of the bombing campaign against Iraq: "Either we continue to have Saddam Hussein, or we continue to have peace."

Maybe he meant the President **George Bush's** peace of mind.

No sooner did fighting end than the vultures circled in on Kuwait.

Canadian companies wanting a piece of the reconstruction action wasted no time in writing a letter to Joe Clark demanding the lobby for them. One day after a tentative ceasefire was reached, the **Canadian Construction Association** called on "the Government of Canada to do all in its power to ensure that our construction industry is made aware of opportunities in the Middle East, and that our construction men and women are provided with the advice and assistance required to compete successfully." Translation: as one of the countries that bombed Kuwait to the ground, Canada deserves a cut of the post-war building boom.

"The only way [Canadian companies will] get contracts is for everybody involved to lobby very hard for them," said one Montréal engineer. "If the government just stands back and says 'OK private sector, go to it,' we will be left out in the cold." ☹



Naji al-Ali, Middle East Report

Media coverage helped to sell war

By SAUL CHERNOS
THE ACTIVIST

Newsroom objectivity?

A myth, at best, most likely a lie considering the strong pro-war slant in coverage of the recent invasions in the Middle East.

Take a typical *New York Times*. Columnists almost always seemed to justify the necessary "liberation of Kuwait".

Many Ontario small-town daily newspaper stories about the war failed to include statements that the stories have been approved by either Iraqi, American or other military censors.

It's as if they didn't want you to know. Or think about it.

Think about it:

Canadian foreign correspondents were almost uniformly excluded from United States-led press pools. Much Canadian cov-

erage, dependent on pool reporting, had a distinctly patriotic Yankee flavour as a result. Peace movements were ignored, marginalized at best by an emphasis on confrontations, arrests and actions. Rarely were the issues or points they raised given their due.

Blood and dead bodies were practically excluded from television screens. Violence was relegated to prime-time entertainment. Barely a drop of blood was shed in this war, to judge from the TV news.

Scant attention was paid to the international military industry, the corporate sponsors of the war.

Who cared, though. There were plenty of video games to keep viewers amused. A technocrat's war!
Our missiles were Patriots. Theirs were Scuds.

There were attempts at real reporting, but warrior journalists questioned the credibility of CNN's Peter Arnett.

Some reporters, denied access to combat zones in the Gulf, threatened to storm the front lines on their own. Yet they never did.

CBS' Walter Cronkite pleaded with the Pentagon to institute "a rational censorship program" that would allow the press to wander about on its own and have its copy reviewed by the military.

Pentagon spokesperson Pete Williams refused, telling Cronkite that modern, swift warfare makes it impossible to tell 1,400 reporters, photographers and technicians in the Gulf, "Y'all come to the battlefield."

Had journalists called a general strike or refused to relay censored news, they might have done the public a favour. A reporter's responsibility is to report the facts to the best of her or his ability.

Instead, the media played a public relations role for the Pentagon and helped advance the cause of war. ☹

Letters to The ACTivist

In closing I would add that the articles on native issues are of great interest to me.

Robert M. Meneray
Toronto

I was delighted to receive the most recent issue of *The ACTivist*, rerouted to my address deep in the heart of redneckland. It is a breath of reality and affirmation in the face of the facile sanctimony which surrounds me here. I am enclosing a cheque, too small for you, too large for me, but it will at least cover your costs in directing *The ACTivist* to my new address.

Pati Beaudoin
Alpharetta, Georgia

I recently discovered *The ACTivist* newspaper while visiting the peace camp in Toronto. I found it very interesting and informative, and think it is a wonderful idea to publish such a paper.

Unfortunately, information about peace marches, rallies and activities is not

A very sane, responsible and great little paper. You should all be very proud. Every once and awhile you feel despondent about the lack of sanity in the world, particularly in Ottawa, then along comes *The ACTivist* and you're comforted knowing there are like-minded people out there....

THE ACTIVIST

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The ACTivist collective this issue:

Maria Arraial
Mary Burch
Saul Chernos
Stephen Dankowich
Maggie Helwig
David Webster

readily available in London. I would like to take this time to subscribe to *The ACTivist*.... I have enclosed a cheque for ten dollars. I hope it will cover the cost.

Thank you very much, and let us all hope for peace throughout the world.
Connie MacKenzie
London, Ont.

It seems to me, from casual reading of your paper, that your editorial policy is Anti-Israeli, or Anti-Zionist.

I am a Zionist! The reason I am a Zionist is this:

A thousand years of persecution in Europe requires that Jews find a homeland of their own....

Peace will come to the Middle East as soon as the Arab nations, and the PLO, announce that they are no longer at war with Israel, and they sign a treaty with Israel recognizing its validity, and they exchange Ambassadors.

Your propaganda does not assist in this process.

Gordon Grove
Toronto

Pratt and Whitney: selling aircraft engines for the world's wars

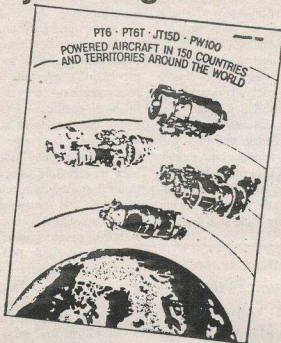
By MAGGIE HELWIG
The ACTivist

One of the most extreme examples of Canadian involvement in the international arms trade is Pratt and Whitney Canada, one of the world's major manufacturers of light aircraft and helicopter engines. They supply more than one third of the world market for these engines, and about 20% of their sales are acknowledged to be military. It is also known that sales Pratt and Whitney classifies as civilian have in fact powered aircraft used for military purposes (the most notorious case being the engines parts sold to Iran during the Iran-Iraq war, back when Iraq was our "ally").

The Pentagon is also a big Pratt and Whitney client — it is easily among the top ten Canadian contractors to the Pentagon. It is pretty obvious that engines sold to the Pentagon will be used for military purposes.

Pratt and Whitney has money constantly pumped into it through Defense Industry Productivity Program (DIPP) grants. Since the DIPP began, Pratt and Whitney has consistently been the largest grant recipient, getting \$70 million just in 1987. Between 1969 and 1988, total grants to Pratt and Whitney added up to about \$460 million, and have undoubtedly climbed since then.

Among the countries which Pratt and Whitney has received permits (from External Affairs) to sell engines to directly are Indonesia, Egypt and Brazil. Indonesia has, of course, been engaged in a bloody war against the people of East Timor for over 15 years (see p. 5). According to José Ramos Horta, former representative of East Timor to the United Nations, the Bell 212 helicopter and the T-34C Beechcraft Mentor helicopters, powered by Pratt and Whitney engines, "play an important role in the war in East Timor". Helicopters are a classic "counter-insurgency" tool, especially useful in terrorizing civilians in rural and remote areas with aerial gun-



fire and lightning bombing runs. Pratt and Whitney is known to have sold \$10 million worth of engines to Indonesia in 1985, and a similar amount in 1986.

Up until 1986 — the last year for which information is easily available — Pratt and Whitney had made indirect sales to: Angola, Argentina, Chile, Egypt, El Salvador, Guyana, Honduras, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, South Korea, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Paraguay, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, the United Arab Emirates, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe. We can assume that they have continued to sell to many of these countries over the last four years; we know they have sold indirectly to Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, putting Pratt and Whitney engines on both sides of the Gulf War.

Pratt and Whitney-driven training planes supplied to Iraq, via Brazil and Switzerland, were converted by the Iraqi army into attack planes and used to deliver poison gas over Kurdish villages. Amnesty International describes the results of a chemical attack in April 1988 — "dozens of people, blistered and burned, stumbling silently from a stricken village ... choke" (one Kurdish survivor reported) "if it's mustard gas your

"If it's cyanide you get dizzy and skin blisters and your lungs begin to bleed and you drown in your own blood" ... [People arriving in the village] found a small boy and girl clinging to each other ... They had come under attack from an Iraqi helicopter and become separated from their parents. The parents had died but the children did not know this. They kept saying that when it grew light they would go and look for them. They thought it was night. They did not realize that they were blind ..." In one attack on a single village, 5,000 people were killed; and this was systematic and continuing policy. A memo from the military governor of Kurdistan ordered armed

forces to "prepare special attacks ... using artillery, helicopters and jets against as many of those possible existing in these prohibited areas [i.e. much of Kurdistan] during all times, days and nights."

In 1984, the Salvadoran Air Force began an expanded campaign of aerial bombing and strafing, using a US-exported helicopter fleet. This air war continues today. The helicopters sold to El Salvador by the US had Pratt and Whitney engines.

It seems, as well, that helicopters with Pratt and Whitney engines are being used to attack Tamils by the Sri Lankan Forces (Ploughshares Monitor, December 1990). In a July appeal, the Ja'fna Bar Association said Sri Lankan Forces were indiscriminately attacking women, children and men using "aerial bombardment, helicopter gun-ship fire ... helicopters flying at about 1000 to 500 meters strafe along the main roads, markets, villages and towns." The appeal also said that transport planes were dropping barrel bombs on houses, shops and churches.

The Sri Lankan military possesses only two types of helicopters, the Bell 212 and the Bell 412. Both are powered by Pratt and Whitney engines, and would have been obtained by a third-country sale, via the US. The Sri Lankan Air Force uses American Super King Air and Chinese Y-12 trans

port planes, both powered by Pratt and Whitney engines.

It would be possible to come up with similar accounts for almost all of the countries which purchase Pratt and Whitney engines. And as for sales to the Pentagon, according to Stephen Goose of the Centre for Defense Information in Washington, the helicopter is among the most important tools of the US Special Operations (i.e. counterinsurgency) Forces — forces we saw in action, for instance, in Grenada and Panama, and which are known to operate in Central America. Helicopters were also an important part of the "end game" American strategy in the Gulf War, becoming central just before the land war began, making "hit and run" raids behind army lines. The extent to which they were used against civilian targets may not be known for some time.

The Gulf War did not blow up out of nowhere. It could not have happened without an extensive arms build-up throughout the Middle East, or without arms manufacturers in the industrialized countries who saw their only chance of economic success as being another war. Until we understand, and work to combat, the long-term dynamics behind this war, including stopping the Canadian arms companies that helped make it possible, another war will come along to replace it, and it probably will not be long. ☺

STOP THE ARMS TRADE!

Rally and non-violent
civil disobedience action

Pratt and Whitney Canada

6375 Dixie Road, Mississauga

(at Courtney Park Drive, 5 lights north of Hwy. 401)

Transporation from downtown Toronto available

Monday, March 25, 11 a.m.

This action is being organized in conjunction with a blockade of Pratt and Whitney in Montréal.

For more information call 531-6154.

Shells to Iraq

The government of Canada says it contributed no military help to Iraq in the years leading up to the Gulf War, and certainly no help in the development of a chemical weapons arsenal. Information still coming out shows differently.

In 1987-88 a private Canadian company, Belcan Technologies Inc., had shells tested at the Defence Research Experiment Station at Suffield, Alberta. Belcan, a subsidiary of PRB S.A. of Belgium, involved former employee of Canadian arms dealer Gerald Bull. The shells tested were designed for Soviet-made M-46 cannon (of the type used by Iraq) and capable of carrying high-explosives or chemical weapons.

In February, 1989, PRB contracted with the government of Iraq to supply 230 tons of high energy artillery shell propellant. In 1989-90 it supplied Iraq, via Jordan, with 20,000 rounds of the type of shells tested at Suffield.

Canada authorized only one direct military sale to Iraq after 1980, 20 bomb disposal suits. But it appears that shells tested in Canada may have contributed to Iraq's chemical capacity, through inadequate tracking of exports and the use of Canada as a testing ground for chemical weapons. ☺

Information provided by the office of John Brewin MP.

Direct sales by Canadian companies documented

Continued from page 1

to other non-U.S. Nato countries. Most of the rest went to the developing countries of the South. Some highlights:

- Helicopter components worth \$4.3 million to Brazil, primarily for re-export (Brazil is the South's largest dealer in military aircraft).
- \$12 million, mainly in electronic and armoured equipment, to South Korea.
- \$10 million, including \$2.5 million in tear gas and toxicological agents, to Saudi Arabia.
- Electronic equipment worth \$4 million to Pakistan.
- Bombs and missiles to the tune of \$1.5 million to Thailand.

- Military flight simulators worth \$27 million to Germany.
- Flight simulators valued at \$1.2 million to Turkey.
- Electronics worth \$150,000 to wartorn Sri Lanka.
- Helicopter components and electronic equipment worth \$150,000 to Chile.
- \$500,000 in helicopter components to Egypt.
- \$150,000 to the United Arab Emirates.
- \$900,000 to Singapore.

This list is far from exhaustive. Project Ploughshares, using more inclusive definitions of what constitute arms sales, says total

Canadian sales (including to the U.S.) were over \$1.5 billion in 1989. Key guidelines proclaimed by Canada on who can receive arms are routinely violated, Ploughshares says. Canada claims it will not sell to "countries involved in or under imminent threat of hostilities" but lists Indonesia, Malaysia, Morocco, Peru, the Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka and Sudan as recipients of military goods. Canada claims it will not sell to "countries whose governments have a persistent record of serious violations of human rights, unless it can be demonstrated that there is no reasonable risk that the goods might be used

against a civilian population." China, Israel, Kenya, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Zaire — as well as the countries above — are numbered among Canadian customers. ☺



As the war ends, the Pax Americana closes in

BY MAGGIE HELWIG
THE ACTIVIST

So the war is over. Now it remains to deal with the aftermath, in the Middle East and throughout the world.

The first thing that must be reckoned with is, simply, the devastation created since January 16. And the oil cloud from the burning wells and oil fields is expected to disturb weather patterns perhaps as far away as India, causing everything from flash floods to crop failures. It is clear that food shortages will become more severe in already impoverished areas of the world, and this will necessarily have political implications.

The Middle East must deal, as well, with floods of refugees—about a million Yemenis expelled from Saudi Arabia, Palestinians fleeing Kuwait and probably other coalition countries, and of course the countless Iraqis and Kuwaitis whose homes, towns and cities have been levelled by coalition bombs; some of them left to wander through a likely civil war in Iraq, others escaping to the dubious havens of refugee camps in Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Jordan.

In "liberated" Kuwait, the Emir is coming back with the US forces behind him. An unclassified Pentagon document obtained by Pacific News Service outlines their plans for post-war Kuwait—plans which, at the moment, look like they are being fulfilled. The document suggests that martial law will be in force for a minimum of three months, but perhaps for as long as a year, just as the Emir is now saying. The intention is that, during the period of martial law, press censorship will be total and security heavy, with aid from coalition forces.

Even after martial law is lifted, Pentagon planners intend the Kuwaiti media to revert to restrictions defined by a 1976 press law banning criticism of the Emir or "creating misgivings about the Kuwaiti economy". The report also states that there will be a major restructuring of the economy, including the introduction of new currency, the intent being to place economic control more firmly in the hands of the ruling minority.

In keeping with the spirit of this plan, the Emir has already announced that he will be deporting at least 10,000 "collaborators". Access to jobs, especially in high-level positions, will be limited more strictly to Kuwaiti citizens, who are a very small percentage of the actual population of Kuwait. Palestinians are now being rounded up for "questioning".

It is interesting that a senior Kuwaiti official has stated the Emir's intention to hold parliamentary elections. This is potentially, of course, very good news—if in fact, as some oppositionists had predicted, the al-Sabah

dynasty is shamed by recent events into giving up some of their hold on power, restoring the parliament, allowing women to vote, and making other reforms. It is possible that the disrupted state of the country will allow the democratic movement more leverage.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that the overwhelming fact in Kuwait right now is the US presence, and the one main lesson of the war is that the guy with the biggest gun always wins. If there is any likelihood that a real democracy in Kuwait would be hostile to US interests—and it is very likely that it would be—then there will be no democracy in Kuwait in the near future. Elections will perhaps take place under martial law, with only Kuwaiti "citizens" voting, allowing the appearance of democracy without the fact.

The same overwhelming US fact applies to Iraq. It does seem, and quite predictably, that Saddam Hussein will be overthrown very soon, and that is in itself no bad thing at all. The most likely outcome, however, is that he will be replaced by another and more pliable US puppet, as happened in Panama last year.

The situation with the present Iraqi resistance is not entirely easy to figure out from here. The western media has played up the involvement of Shi'ite fundamen-

talists — who must be acknowledged as a major factor in Middle Eastern politics, although a fundamentalist Islamic government would not likely be a big improvement over the Ba'ath regime. However, there are other reports which suggest this opposition is not simply a fundamentalist revolt, but a joint effort involving Shi'ites, Kurds and members of the democratic opposition.

Perhaps, indeed, the media picture of the revolt as Islamic fundamentalism alone is partly meant to excuse the notable lack of US enthusiasm for these dissidents. A Shi'ite-Kurd-democratic alliance would not promise to be friendly to the US, and there are other groups wanting to step into

"The main lesson of the war is that the guy with the biggest gun always wins"

the power vacuum now who have much closer ties with big business, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf Cooperation Council and the US. At any rate, Iraq is clearly heading towards a period of civil war, and the US is clearly not planning to leave any time soon. It is almost certain that they will control any final outcome, though the power of Shi'ite fundamentalism is also not to be underestimated, and the struggle may not be settled for some time yet.

The Palestinians seem likely to emerge as big losers. Reports of Palestinians cheering on Scud missiles—whether or not this is true of many—combined with Israel's genuinely admirable restraint during the war, have turned international feeling largely away from their cause and won Israel a much more favourable bargaining position. Palestinians both in the occupied territories and elsewhere are going to suffer reprisals as "pro-Saddam terrorists", and though it seems that some sort of negotiated settlement cannot be avoided, it will come at a time when Israel is in the strongest

tirely forgotten.

Anti-American feeling, especially among fundamentalist Muslims, will run high, and can be expected to cause splits between Arab countries—partly along coalition/non-coalition lines—and within these countries as well. The splits will emerge mostly between the wealthy Arab countries in the Gulf Cooperation Council, and the poorer countries like Syria and Jordan, some of whom opposed the coalition. And within the countries which joined the coalition, public feeling has often been violently pro-Iraq, surely motivated less by any love of Iraq than by hatred of the US and their own leaders.

It will be interesting to see what the reaction will be if a strong fundamentalist movement emerges in Iraq, when many in other Arab countries see their leaders as having sold out to the West. Iran, too, may well emerge as a serious power broker in the Gulf once again.

These conflicts are long-standing—but they are all greatly sharpened now. We can expect the entire Arab, and to an extent the entire Muslim, world to be divided, conflict-ridden, and weakened.

And this, of course, is exactly what the US wants, and perhaps was one of several reasons they were so eager to involve Arab countries in the coalition army. A

region ecologically and economically devastated, and seriously internally divided, is not going to gather the strength to mount any challenges to the New World Order, especially when they have seen what such challenges lead to.

This, in the larger picture, is surely the plan for the Pax Americana. Less emphasis on client dictators who can get out of hand and become troublesome and embarrassing; more emphasis on keeping everyone so weak, so split, that they cannot do much of anything at all. It is interesting that several Western leaders have come out with statements recently condemning the arms trade. It is partly public relations, of course, now that the extent to which the US and USSR armed Iraq is common knowledge, but perhaps it is partly true—perhaps the Western governments just want to keep all the arms for themselves now.

The New World has, for the moment, set in. It is time, now, to take stock and start to figure out what can be done about it—without creating new power blocs, without starting the old games up again. It is time for a strategy for creating a real peace outside the Pax Americana, a peace based on self-determination and true democracy, and on simply humanity. It will not be easy; it has never been easy. But we cannot let the New World Order triumph. ☐

Iraqi opposition ignored

SPECIAL TO THE ACTIVIST

An overlooked fact of the Gulf War was the democratic opposition to Saddam Hussein within Iraq itself, which had been campaigning for human rights for years without any support being given by countries like the United States or the Soviet Union. Here, in an article written before the ceasefire, an Iraqi dissident living in Canada tells how Saddam Hussein came to power. The author is a member of the Islamic Union of Iraqi Students.

As Iraq is plunged into a new series of power struggles, it is important to be aware of its recent history of coups within coups within other coups, and the role played by the superpowers in this.

On the night of 17 July 1968, a few tanks advanced toward the Republican Palace in Baghdad which was then occupied by Rahman Arif, the former President of Iraq. The coup d'état plotters were demanding that he relinquish power and surrender; he complied immediately. Iraqi radio proceeded to announce the coup d'état, without publicly declaring its nature, until total control had been gained over the Iraqi army.

The people of Iraq were stunned by the chain of events in which the military coup d'état

brought the Ba'ath party to power so quickly, especially as power was usurped without any confrontation. A black page was added to the country's history. Once again the superpowers had enforced a new rule over Iraq.

The name of Saddam Hussein, the present president, did not appear among the first members of the so-called Revolutionary Council. The Council stayed in power for 13 days only. Thereafter there was another coup within the coup, and the honeymoon of the Ba'ath party with the other coalition parties was over.

In 1979, Saddam Hussein took over and immediately ordered a campaign of terror, detentions and executions. Human rights violations have affected every section of the Iraqi population: Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans and other minorities. Amnesty International issued several publications during the 1980s describing the violations. The world did nothing.

Saddam's declaration of war on Iran in 1980, and his invasion of Kuwait in 1990, brought untold misery. Not less than a million Iraqi people died, or were wounded, maimed or disabled, in the war with Iran. The loss by destruction of property in Iraq, Iran and Kuwait and the squandering of Iraqi wealth for these wars has been incalculable. ☐



talists — who must be acknowledged as a major factor in Middle Eastern politics, although a fundamentalist Islamic government would not likely be a big improvement over the Ba'ath regime. However, there are other reports which suggest this opposition is not simply a fundamentalist revolt, but a joint effort involving Shi'ites, Kurds and members of the democratic opposition.

Perhaps, indeed, the media picture of the revolt as Islamic fundamentalism alone is partly meant to excuse the notable lack of US enthusiasm for these dissidents. A Shi'ite-Kurd-democratic alliance would not promise to be friendly to the US, and there are other groups wanting to step into

possible negotiating position. The Palestinians will receive the minimum they can be given, and any resistance afterwards will be seen as violating an internationally negotiated agreement. This, of course, will only aggravate the anger already generated by the war and by the dreadful house arrest the Palestinians suffered throughout most of it, and the result will surely be further violence.

Israel should also win itself a continued hold on Lebanon, as should Syria; although both Syria and Israel, like most of the coalition Arab states, will also be seen as owing one to the US. Certainly the massive foreign debts that the US forgave to pull the coalition together are not going to be en-

East Timor oil invasion overlooked

THE ACTIVIST, WITH THE EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK OF OTTAWA

The Gulf war served as a dramatic reminder of the power of oil in today's world. Oil has become a weapon again recently in the troubled waters of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was an almost step-by-step re-enactment of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. But in East Timor, the world has allowed a hidden genocide to claim the lives of 250,000 Timorese, over a third of the population. War and human rights violations are a daily reality—but so are pro-independence protests and resistance to the occupation.

In February, Australia and Indonesia finalized their signing of the Timor Gap agreement, which allows the exploitation of the offshore oil potential of the Timor Sea. Experts estimate at least a billion barrels of oil are there for the taking under the waters of the Gap between East Timor and northern Australia.

However, these waters are not Indonesia's to parcel off. The Timor Gap agreement, international legal authorities say, is in direct violation of international law. Under Article 73 of the United Nations Charter, the agreement violates the economic rights of non-self-governing territories. It also violates General Assembly resolution 3485 calling for East



Students protesting in Dili, East Timor. A new wave of young Timorese have been resisting Indonesian occupation non-violently for the past year and a half. [Photo: Jenny Groves]

Timor's people to be allowed their right to self-determination.

The riches of the Timor Sea are about to be stolen from the Timorese people for the benefit of others.

Now Portugal—recognized by the UN as the administering power of East Timor—has taken Australia to the International Court of Justice over the Timor Gap agreement. (Indonesia does not recognize the Court's authority.) The Portuguese application calls for a ban on oil exploration and reparations to be paid to the people of East Timor and Portugal. Australia says it will accept the World Court's decision but considers the treaty in force in the meantime—so the plunder can go ahead.

With the recent economic

decline in Australia and the continuing economic problems of Indonesia, the governments of these two countries are eager to sweep away the legal and moral

implications of the Timor Gap agreement.

How did East Timor come to be denied the rights extended to Kuwait? ☞

Thai coup unchallenged

Thailand's overthrown Prime Minister Chatichai Choonhavan was no model democrat, but he was the first civilian leader in years and one of the few Southeast Asian leaders not to be at war with many of his own people. On Feb. 23, he was toppled by a military coup led by General Sunthorn Khongsongpho. A crackdown soon began on student protesters. Currently 15 students are jailed.

Unlike the United States, Canada has made no move to condemn the new junta, despite its vaunted concern for human rights.

An unanswered question is the impact of the coup on the war in neighbouring Cambodia. Chatichai had led a peace campaign that alienated many Thai generals by dealing with the Vietnamese-installed Hun Sen government rather than blindly backing Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge guerrillas. The new junta has made no statements on Cambodia. ☞

Human rights watch: War-related abuses continue

•**Last Days of War:** While US soldiers fired on retreating Iraqi soldiers, the Iraqi forces leaving Kuwait torched an estimated 600 oil wells, some of which may continue to burn for years.

There was continued US bombing of civilian areas until the ceasefire, and napalm was used against Iraqi frontline positions during the last week of the war.

•**War Fallout:** Most refugees who left the war zone before the ceasefire were entering Turkey or Iran—several thousand had arrived in each of these countries at the time the ground war broke out, as well as several hundred in Jordan and elsewhere. After a period of chaos during and immediately after the ground war, Iraq reasserted control over the borders and again began blocking refugees trying to escape. We have no way of knowing how many thousands may be on the Iraqi borders. Kuwaiti border authorities are also turning back some refugees who have made it past the Iraqi border guards.

Iraq and Kuwait continue to be without electricity, clean water or medical supplies to treat war casualties. Food is very scarce. In many areas refugees are unable to find any shelter, and the Red Cross is unable to provide any help to many parts of the two countries.

•**Iraq:** As of the beginning of the ground war, Iraq was reported to be blocking humanitarian aid to civilians. The situation now is less clear, but certainly access to humanitarian aid is not easy. The Iraqi government also would not permit the Red Cross to visit prisoners of war during the fighting. •**Kuwait:** As coalition forces take control of Kuwait, evidence of Iraqi human rights abuses during the occupation continue to emerge—although it seems also that these abuses were not as wildly severe as some Kuwaiti sources would have it. Torture and executions were obviously commonplace, but tales of babies being dumped from incubators appear to be propaganda. Since the "liberation", there are

reports that Kuwaiti forces are attacking and arresting Palestinians, on the assumption that all Palestinians were pro-Saddam, and that US forces are refusing to prevent this. One American soldier, when asked by a Toronto Star reporter why he would not stop Kuwaiti soldiers who were brutalizing a Palestinian civilian, responded, "This is martial law, boy." Yemenis, Sudanese and Jordanians may also be suffering reprisals.

•**Israel/Palestine:** The curfew on Palestinians, relaxed for a time, was reinstated after the outbreak of the ground war. They continued under complete house arrest until recently. Some were reported to have been killed by Israeli forces for violation of curfew.

•**Britain:** During the course of the war, more than 170 Arabs resident in Britain were rounded up in midnight raids and dealt with as "security threats" by a panel of judges in Pentonville Prison. There was no right of appeal. More than 80 were deported into the war zone.

•**USA:** Many US soldiers who applied for conscientious objector status had their cases blocked, and some were shipped out to Saudi Arabia while their applications were in process. At least two, Derrick Jones and Brian Spencer, were put on planes to Saudi Arabia in handcuffs and shackles (Jones had applied for conscientious objector status because, he said, he had come to believe that to injure another person was to commit an assault on the body of Christ. The army chaplain responded, "That's all right. They're not Christians."). Many soldiers who lay down their arms and refused to continue training or to be sent overseas are still in military prisons, including some in Camp Lejeune who are facing charges of conspiracy. One American soldier, who was imprisoned for refusing to prepare shipments of equipment to the Gulf, has been declared a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International. He remains in prison even now. ☞

Survival
for tribal peoples



The latest urgent action bulletin from Survival International. The full text of the urgent action bulletin is available from ACT for Disarmament.

Brazil: Mining threat

One of the world's largest deposits of cassiterite (tin) has been discovered on the already intensively mined land of the Urueu-wau-wau Indians in Brazil. The discovery is expected to bring floods of outsiders onto their land.

Timber companies have already moved into the region, whilst an even greater invasion will occur if rumours of gold and diamond deposits prove to be true. The numbers of Urueu-wau-wau have already been reduced by half over the last 10 years as a result of contact with outsiders. Meanwhile the Indians' 1,832,000 hectare reserve has in effect been abolished by the Brazilian government.

Survival International predicts that the cassiterite discovery will have a devastating effect on the Urueu-wau-wau, contaminate the water and degrade the land.

Uncontacted groups of Urueu-wau-wau are the most likely to be at the mercy of miners and loggers who vastly outnumber them and have used firearms in violent clashes with Indians.

The Urueu-wau-wau Indians inhabit the state of Rondonia in the central transition zone between Amazon rainforest and upland savanna. As hunter-gatherers they live in scattered groups and travel long distances to hunt and collect food. They were contacted by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) in 1981 when the area was opened up by road building and colonization promoted by the World Bank funded Polonoroeste project.

Please write a courteous letter to President Collor de Mello and to the Director of the National Indian Foundation, FUNAI, urging them to:

- 1) Delineate Urueu-wau-wau land as a continuous reserve as decreed in 1985
- 2) Remove all miners and settlers from Indian land
- 3) Set up a medical programme to combat disease brought in by settlers.

Turtle Island Notes



ALGONQUIN (Ontario) — A confrontation is brewing between environmentalists and natives over the use of Ontario's largest provincial park. Members of the Golden Lake Algonquin First Nation have been repeatedly arrested in recent years for hunting and fishing on land they claim as theirs (encompassing Algonquin Provincial Park and surrounding areas which include Parliament Hill). Now, Ontario Natural Resources Minister Bud Wildman has quietly ordered that no Algonquins be charged with violations of the Parks or Fish and Game Acts, in a move meant to improve the climate for land claims negotiations.

But some environmentalists are crying foul. "This is probably the most serious setback to conservation in the past 50 years," said the head of the Friends of Algonquin [Park]. Others say an "environmental horror story is unfolding in Algonquin." The Golden Lake Algonquins, meanwhile, say they've been guardians of the forest for thousands of years, and tourists aren't likely even to notice them.

Longfighter convicted

FORT MACLEOD (Alberta) — An Alberta court has declared Peigan Longfighter Milton Born With a Tooth guilty of seven weapons-related and obstruction of justice charges, though he has been acquitted of pointing a gun at a police officer, after a trial his supporters considered a kangaroo court.

Born With a Tooth fired two shots into the air in distress during a standoff with RCMP trying to stop a diversion of the Oldman River by the Peigan Longfighters Society. The Peigans tried last September to divert the river away from the Oldman River Dam being built for irrigation purposes by Alberta, back into its natural course, using a rented bulldozer.

The Peigan say that the Oldman is not just a waterway that can be dammed, it is a cultural and spiritual lifeline, and damming it would be an ecological disaster. There has never been an environmental assessment done on the dam project, despite federal orders that a review be conducted.

Born With a Tooth issued a statement that he believes in non-violence.

Siddon admits defeat

MUSQUEAM (B.C.) — Vancouver residents sharing a city peninsula with the Musqueam band and the University of British Columbia will soon be paying their taxes to the original people of the peninsula. More than 200 well-off homeowners, and two golf courses, lease their land from the Musqueam, in an arrangement the band council reluctantly went along with to raise money for basic reserve services. Now, an agreement between Chief Wendy Grant and Indian Affairs Minister Tom Siddon transfers \$1 million in property taxes from Ottawa to the Musqueam. "Our way has failed," Siddon admitted. "We thought we knew better, and in the name of the Crown we imposed a system of government upon the native peoples."

Land claim denied in BC

VANCOUVER (B.C.) — In a shocking decision handed down March 8, Chief Justice Allan McEachern of the British Columbia Supreme Court has ruled that the Gitksan Wet'suwet'en have no claim on their ancestral territory in northwestern B.C. McEachern declared that aboriginal rights exist only "at the pleasure of the crown." Angry native leaders vowed to protest this ruling. More next issue. ☿

Native peoples, restoring the Earth

"We are part of the Earth and the Earth is part of us"
— The Artists/Environment Forum

THE ACTIVIST

This year, Earth Day in Toronto will have a different outlook: one based on the links between indigenous peoples and the environment.

Project Indigenous Restoration will bring together native leaders, elders and traditional people from across Canada — from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island to Yukon — and internationally, from the Amazon to the Arctic. As one of the major Earth Day events to take place in Canada, Project Indigenous Restoration will give the public an opportunity to meet with these leaders in an atmosphere of cooperation and common concern for the plight of our planet.

The 3-day event will be focused on education and informing Canadians about "the sacredness and respect with which indigenous people have traditionally regarded the environment." It is being organized by The Artists/Environment Forum, which for three years has been working to promote environmental awareness in schools and among the public.

Some highlights of Project Indigenous Restoration:

Sunday 21 April — Sunrise ceremony at Queen's Park; Native speakers and drumming; Concert at the Royal Alexandra Theatre with Daniel Lanois and friends.

Monday 22 April — Over 50 elders, chiefs and traditional teachers will bring Earth Day to elementary and secondary schools around Toronto.



Innu elders Mary and Michael Pasteen in Sheshashit (Photo: Danny Beaton)

Tuesday 23 April — Public forum at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), with speakers including Chief Jacob Thomas (Cayuga), Rose Gregoire (Innu), Thomas Banyacya (Hopi), Leonard Viteri (Huron), Vern Harper (Cree), John Mohawk (Seneca), Chief Oren Lyons (Onondaga), Chief Daniel Ashini (Innu) and many others. ☿

Volunteers needed!

- Billeting for native leaders in homes
- Guides for April 20-24

- Transportation from airport and in city
 - Selling tickets for concert at Royal Alex
 - General volunteers (postering, publicity, help at events, etc.)
- If you can help, please call: Danny Beaton (Mohawk Six Nations), 921-0014.

The next Oka?

THE ACTIVIST

In a standoff reminiscent of last summer's Oka confrontation, tensions are on the rise between natives and loggers in central British Columbia. International Forest Products (Interfor) and Howe Sound Timber have been granted an injunction to remove Lil'wat people blockading a logging road scheduled to be built through an ancient burial ground on the western shores of Lillooet Lake.

At one time, there were 80,000 Lil'wat. Now, after a smallpox epidemic that arrived with the Europeans, there are just 140.

"The people that were dying from smallpox were burying each other in this area. My grandmother told me a story while we were cleaning fish that one guy was burying his wife and the next day he was being buried. About 70,000 or more were being buried here," said Lil'wat elder Bernard Dick. "The people that had the Indian doctor power came to this area to fast and pray, this is why there are some pictographs in this area, these are their visions."

Many of these visions have been destroyed by the progress of the logging road. Stones have been thrown at pictographs. So far, no stones have been thrown at people, but retaliatory blockades on the access road to the Lil'wat reserve have been held and tensions are building between the groups.

The Lil'wat have never signed a treaty with Canada surrendering any part of their land. They are arguing in B.C. court that Canada is in violation of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which commits the Crown to protect native peoples rather than take their land.

"A sacred gravestone on spiritually significant ceremonial land represents a last stand position for the Lil'wat people," said a news release from the Lil'wat People's Movement. Is this the beginning of the next Oka? ☿

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Oakville wakes up to peace activism

By TANYA WATERS
& RAMSEY HART
THE ACTIVIST

Contrary to what one might expect from Oakville, a town often perceived as a bastion of conservatism, there exists an active and growing peace movement. At the centre of this movement is the Oakville chapter of ACT for Disarmament.

In the past weeks and months, ACT Oakville has organized several protests and rallies, first against the low-level flight testing over Innu land, then against the use of violence to solve the Gulf crisis. On January 12, over 100 concerned citizens rallied in front of MP Otto Jelinek's office as part of a national day of protest to prevent the war. ACT peace activists returned to Otto Jelinek's office to protest the war on January 16 and 17. The highlight was on February 9, when 80 people of all ages staged the first illegal march for peace in Oakville. Enraged by the war, protestors took to the streets, marching from the Centennial Public Library to Jelinek's office and then on to the War Memorial on Trafalgar Road, blocking traffic on Oakville's main streets for more than an hour.

This action attracted the attention of many Oakvillians and at the next protest on February 16 there was both a small counter-demonstration of people supporting the war and an increased police presence. After a warning to remain on the sidewalk, protestors took to the streets, but were cut off by a police cruiser and forced to continue on the sidewalk.

On February 21, as part of a North American Student and Youth Action Day, students from three local high schools (Oakville Trafalgar, White Oaks and Blakelock) joined together for a march and rally for peace in the Middle East.

March 10 was a day of sharing information and ideas as ACT Oakville hosted a teach-in on the Gulf War. The 50 people there heard from Meta Spencer, editor

of Peace Magazine and Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Toronto, who spoke about the peace movement's response to the war. Dr. Robert Chase of the international Gulf Peace Team told us about the attempts to prevent the war by stationing peace activists between the opposing militaristic sides at a camp on Iraqi soil near the Saudi border. Dr. Chase encouraged us to collect donations and medical supplies to be sent to Iraqi civilians for humanitarian relief.

We also were educated about the history and politics within Kuwait. All agreed that ACT Oakville should continue to organize many future public forums.

Public response to our actions has been generally positive, indicating the breadth of support for peace in Oakville. At all of our protests, many drivers honked their horns and gave the peace sign. The local paper, the Oakville Beaver, has given full coverage to these important community events.

Our future plans include the establishment of a high school peace network, a centre for peace, ecology and human rights in Oakville, and of course the annual Oakville Peace Festival, this year on Sunday, June 2. Regular meetings every second Sunday will continue as ACT Oakville maintains the momentum gained in the past weeks and works to translate it into a permanent and lasting voice for peaceful solutions to the world's needs. ☺

Yool Ink

School administrations and some students in Oakville could be more sympathetic to raising awareness of peace activities. Unsympathetic students at White Oaks made an announcement cancelling a Global Awareness Cmte meeting, while teach-in posters were quickly removed from walls at General Wolfe. The establishment of a high school peace network will help to end these problems.



High school strike against war marches through downtown Oakville. (Photo: Oakville Beaver)

Ontario towns organizing for peace

By SAUL CHERNOS
THE ACTIVIST

Because of sheer population, Toronto might have the biggest ACT chapter. But great work is being done in other, smaller Ontario communities.

In Lindsay, more than a dozen people gathered in February to start a peace group. They reviewed information, asked lots of questions and are now deciding whether to become a full-fledged member of ACT or a contact group.

Many of those at the Lindsay meeting had already organized a demonstration during the early days of the Gulf war. About 30 people protested in a local park. Anyone wanting to get involved in the Lindsay area should call (705) 878-4784.

In Midland, several people are trying to organize a peace group. Midland was a hot spot during the war. As the United Nations deadline was fast approaching, about 800 students marched out of school and down to the constituency office of the local Tory MP, who supported war in the Gulf.

With Iraq out of Kuwait and the US-led forces beginning to

withdraw from the Middle East, folks in Midland are still hanging in, looking for more interested people to work with. For information, contact ACT Orillia, PO Box 611, Orillia St., Midland, Ont., L4R 3N3.

In Orillia, ACT continues to work with the local Project Ploughshares chapter. For information, contact ACT Orillia, PO Box 611, Orillia Ont., L3V 6K5.

Peace activists from throughout south-central Ontario will be gathering in Orillia on April 13 for a day-long conference. The idea is not to lose the momentum of anti-war activities. Activists are looking forward to building informal networks and alliances, so that a lot of good work is not done in isolation. ACT Orillia and ACT Toronto are contacts for the April 13 conference.

In the Brantford area, several people are interested in forming

an ACT chapter. Members are also working closely with that community's Ploughshares group. For information, call ACT's Brantford contact, (519) 756-2757.

If your group is doing similar work and you want to be an ACT contact or chapter, get in touch. For inquiries about forming chapters or becoming contacts in Ontario, contact ACT Orillia. We are willing to visit your community to meet with you. You can also contact ACT Toronto.

Remember, the war in the Gulf may be over, but war continues. We need you to stop the next one before it happens. ☺

Other regional contacts:
ACT Vancouver (604) 731-2663
ACT Oakville (416) 338-0813
ACT Niagara (416) 934-6233
Hamilton: (416) 546-1589
Peterborough: (705) 741-4848

Arrests at No Cruise demo

By MARIA ARRAIAL
THE ACTIVIST

The end of the Gulf war didn't mean the end of protest against Canada's involvement in wars. On Saturday, March 2, ACT Toronto held its annual No Cruise demo. Since 1983 Canada has been testing the cruise missile over the North — not over uninhabited wilderness, but over Dene land.

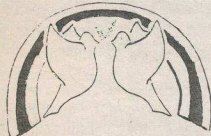
Cruise missiles are not defensive weapons. Their purpose is to destroy without being detected. Thirty per cent of their guidance systems are manufactured by Litton Systems in Rexdale, Ontario!

The demonstration began in front of Progressive Conservative Party Headquarters and was intended to march to the Queens Park Peace Camp. While the demo went on in front of PC Headquar-

ters, a group of activists began a sit-in on Richmond Street. After threats of arrest by Metro police, demonstrators began getting off the street. Before they had all stood up to the police arrested two of the activists — both young women.

The rest of the demonstrators proceeded along University Avenue en route to Queens Park. But a detour was made, and the march ended up at Police Division 52 where demonstrators demanded the release of the two women. It was decided to hold the demonstration there. Common sentiments among the speakers were disillusionment, frustration and anger at the government and police force, which have so little regard for the opinions of those they "represent" or "protect" respectively. The two women were eventually released to their parents without charges. ☺

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Ninth annual spring protest for peace + Support for the Innu and other First Nations menaced by militarism + Work against ongoing wars like East Timor and Lithuania + Abolition of the military worldwide + General Electric boycott + 1991 conference of the International Peace Bureau + Efforts to make conscientious objector status available in Canada + Raising awareness, through education and action, about the Middle East + High school organizing + Publishing Toronto's only peace newspaper + Joint campaigns with independent eastern European activists through the Helsinki Citizens Assembly + End cruise missile and other weapons testing in Canada + Work to halt the expansion of nuclear power in Ontario and uranium mining across Canada + get Canada out of the international arms trade + Make the links between peace, ecology and human rights + and more + and more

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Cathy Lummiss
(705) 324-2854

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Jenii White
c/o 437 King Street
Midland Ont.
L4R 3N3

Peterborough Contact

Ruth Gayle
(705) 741-4848

Classified

Papa Merdeka Free Papua — a new video about the hidden genocide in the Indonesian colony of West Papua/Irian Jaya (Peter Monet, 1991, 40 mins). Premiering in Toronto Wed March 27, 7 pm, U of T Galbraith building room 248, followed by East Timor: Betrayed But Not Beaten.

Lucas, Welcome home! I love you and missed you but AM angry you never called to say you were ok. Drop by sometime. Emma.

SHEILA. Met you at ACT rally March 2 and discussed sexism in peace movement. I'd like to meet and talk some more. Pierre.

ACT needs you! Volunteers needed for outreach, office work, fundraising, etc. 531-6154.

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Deadline for April issue: Wednesday April 3.



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Sat., April 13

For conference information and billeting contact ACT Orillia or ACT Toronto, or call Saul (705) 327-7809.