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East Timor: death and diplomacy

By DAVID WEBSTER
 THE ACTIVIST

The United Nations will send a special mission to East Timor, and countries around the world are reviewing their relations with the Indonesian regime of General Suharto, following a new series of massacres that have swung world attention to East Timor.

One in three Timorese have been killed since Indonesia invaded the tiny former Portuguese colony on December 7, 1975. But it's only been with the latest killings of hundreds of unarmed civilians in November — killings witnessed, for the first time by Western journalists, that the veil has begun to

fall from the brutal occupation and the eyes of the world have begun to open.

The chronology runs something like this:

Oct. 26: A planned Portuguese parliamentary mission to Timor, once the farthest outpost of the Portuguese empire, is called off. Portugal blames Indonesian authorities who have violated the United Nations-brokered visit agreement by banning Australian journalist Jill Jolliffe, an expert on Timor, from accompanying the parliamentarians.

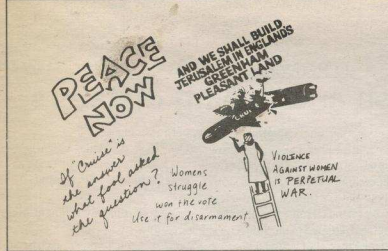
Oct. 28: Within 24 hours, Indonesian military authorities signal the end of Operation Smile in East Timor in favour of a new crack-

down: Operation Combat. Soldiers enter the Motael Catholic church in Dili, for several years a refuge for young pro-independence demonstrators, and shoot two men: Sebastião (Gomes) Ranel, 18, and Afonso Hendrique, 30. During the next two weeks, more killings are reported at Catholic churches in all parts of the country are attacked. "They are treating our church as the enemy," East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo says, condemning the new terror campaign.

Nov. 12: A crowd estimated at up to 5,000 gather at Motael to walk peacefully to the Santa Cruz cemetery in a religious procession marking the second week after the killing of Sebastião Ranel. Several



Setting our own terms



By MAGGIE HELWIG
 THE ACTIVIST

We all suppose that we know what we mean by 'the peace movement' — that is, we know that we are talking about a range of groups with a common agenda, traditionally including disarmament and global security. Some groups have challenged this narrow agenda, and put human rights and North-South issues onto the list of concerns. But, though there has always been much talk of the importance of women as peace activists, there has not been much attempt made to develop a women's peace agenda, or to examine the ways in which a women-centred feminist perspective could affect the peace movement mandate.

There are moves afoot now to change this. One of these is the Women's Peace Agenda Project; a group of women, including the ACT for Disarmament Women's Caucus, who have begun work on a conference devoted to defining — or beginning to define — what women in Canada think 'the peace movement' should be.

The issue of male violence against women figures high on the list of concerns. A large part of the conference will probably be spent discussing ways of incorporating anti-violence work into the activities of peace groups, looking at the different forms of violence against women that exist in our society (violence in the home, rape, economic violence, police violence), and brainstorming about ways of

dealing with this — what sort of actions peace and justice groups should be taking, and how, and who should be responsible for planning and implementing them.

We also hope there will be some sharing of experience (mostly in women-only sessions) around violence that women peace activists have experienced within peace groups, and thinking about ways to deal with the problem and end it.

We will also be talking about ways in which militarization affects women in particular — the question of prostitution around military bases, the role of the military in the spread of AIDS. We will look at broadening the definition of 'war' — for instance, forced birth control and sterilization as part of the war on indigenous people in Canada and in the Third World; or, simply, seeing the violence inflicted on women by their partners as a war in itself, a war which continues to claim many lives. And we will talk about positive alternatives — women and non-violent activism, women's art and music.

And we will like to include discussions of larger questions of systemic oppression that usually do not get dealt with at peace conferences.

We envision the conference as being very open, with free atten-

Western journalists are with the crowd. Indonesian soldiers open fire, shooting without a break for ten minutes.

American journalist Amy Goodman described the massacre a week later: "Young people, old women in traditional dress of East Timor, men, young men, little kids, and they marched up to the cemetery."

Goodman and Alan Nairn, a correspondent for The New Yorker, tried to put themselves between the soldiers and the crowd to prevent an incident. But, Goodman continued, soldiers opened fire.

"And these were truly defenceless people. They had nothing but some banners... and the commemorative cloth that they had for this young man, Sebastião, and they just kept shooting. With us, they beat us into a corner and sitting on the ground, the only thing we could say was, 'Please, we're from America,' and they kept beating us and then they went with the guns towards us, and we just pleaded and said, 'We're from America,' and I kept thinking that the guns that were pointed on us, the M-16s, were also from America because the United States provides the weapons for the Indonesian army in East Timor."

The Indonesian army says 19 are killed. Eyewitnesses put the toll at over a hundred, perhaps as high

as 200. Among the dead is Kamal Bamadhaj, a 20-year old New Zealand citizen of Malaysian descent. Red Cross workers try to rush Kamal to hospital, but are held up by three military roadblocks. Before they can get him to hospital, Kamal dies of loss of blood.

The Commander-in-chief of the Indonesian armed forces, Gen. Try Sutrisno, announces that "delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them... The armed forces is determined to exterminate anyone who disrupts stability."

Nov. 15: Another 80 Timorese, witnesses of the Santa Cruz massacre, are forced to dig a mass grave at Bemos, outside Dili, and shot. Female members of the group are first raped. The following two days see two more massacres as the military tries to cover its tracks. In one, two children (aged one and five years old) are murdered.

Nov. 15: East Timorese representation to Canadian, page 6

Free East Timor!
 Vigil and interfaith event
 Saturday, 7 December
 1 PM
 City Hall Peace Garden
 Call 531-6154
 (Simultaneous vigils in
 Ottawa and Guelph)

THE ACTIVIST

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Stop arming Indonesia

It would be all too easy to look at East Timor and think of it as another tragedy in a far-off land: genocide, yes, but something we can do nothing about.

But East Timor isn't about itself. East Timor is about us. Canada, when the invasion happened, was one of the top investors in Indonesia. Companies like INCO and Bata Shoes had more money tied up in the Indonesian economy than even the United States.

Today, Indonesia trails only Bangladesh in the amount of Canadian aid dollars that flow to its government.

Canada has an economic pull in Indonesia that we don't have in Central America or South Africa. But successive governments have refused to use it.

Worse, we've even sold military equipment to Indonesia's military-dominated regime, issuing military export permits worth tens of millions of dollars directly (things like helicopter engines, electronic supplies, and the ammunition used in the 1975 invasion of East Timor). Through third parties like Britain, the United States and Australia Canadian companies have made millions of dollars more.

The worst offender is helicopter engine maker Pratt and Whitney Canada. But there are many other Canadian arms merchants among more than 300 Canadian companies operating in Indonesia.

Canadian government policy forbids military sales to "countries involved in or under imminent threat of hostilities" and "countries whose governments have a persistent record of 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." By allowing weapons-related sales to Indonesia, Canada is in violation of both these guidelines.

In 1984, External Affairs even organized a military trade fair in Jakarta to cash in on Indonesia's wars in East Timor, Aceh and West Papua.

According to José Ramos Horta, the overseas representative for the East Timorese resistance, Canadian-supplied weapons "play an important role in the war in East Timor."

All in all, it's not an impressive showing from a government that likes to talk about controlling the weapons trade and a country that likes to be thought of as a voice for international human rights.

In Toronto this September, the participants at the annual assembly of the International Peace Bureau unanimously called for a ban on arms sales to Indonesia. The European Parliament echoed the call in November. Where is Canada's voice?

— David Webster

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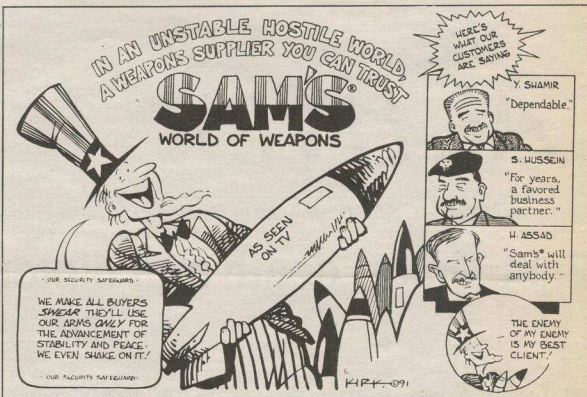
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Letters



I share Joan Burke's desperation at the state of the world. I'd like to explain to her that those who encourage, make and sell nuclear arms are not insane, nor criminal in any way they would consider criminal. They are acting inevitably, doing what they *must* do to survive in the business world as it is now

organized. The people who go to food banks or sleep in parks, and she herself, and I, live as society is now organized demands. I learned "at my father's knee" that capital must expand — continuously, or go to the wall. We keep reinvesting, or perish miserably, and we do it on the backs of others, on colonies and underdeveloped nations, or anywhere that holds out the promise of profits. "The hundreds of trillions spent on these weapons should have gone to farmers, hospitals and environmental groups." Sure, "should." But if a profit can't be made out of "farmers, hospitals, environmental groups," then the possessors of amounts of capital aren't going to put money there

— it would wreck the system, which those hundreds of trillions will go to support so long as there is more profit in nuclear weapons than in hospitals, or small farms or Mom-and-Pop stores.

It would take every country in the world to make a concerted effort to get rid of this system, and the world isn't ready to do it in my time — or in Joan Burke's. I have been voting for 62 years, I've seen the Russian revolution come in with hope, and depart ingloriously. Tell your children to hang in there, Joan. Continue to speak your piece, but don't hope to see the day yourself.

Mary Sims
Toronto

Jo Peacenic

Fast food, fish and fleeing dictators

The famed Moscow McDonald's has come of age — Russian activists held the first protest at the fast food outlet on October 16. The demonstration was organized by two new groups, the League of Green Parties and the spectacularly-named Initiative of Revolutionary Anarchists. Organizer Vadim Damier admitted that McDonald's had become popular in Moscow largely because "there are very few places where you can get a snack ... but we're trying to convince these people that they shouldn't take the path of least resistance. The Amazon forests are being destroyed in order to graze cattle that become Mac-thus and Mac-that."

The rally was said to be small but vocal. At least the McDonald's protestors managed to avoid the wrath of Boris Yeltsin. The erstwhile hero of democracy, having apparently run out of republics to declare war on, has now turned his attention to the independent press, in the process reviving laws used by his Communist predecessors.

Nezavisimaya Gazeta,

Russia's leading independent paper, and the liberal weekly Moscow News, were both warned, after reporting Yeltsin's discussions about the possibility of a nuclear strike on the Ukraine, that they had violated Article 5 of the Soviet Law on the Press. Under Soviet law, the papers could be closed down if they receive a second warning.

"The democrats loved us when we criticized the Communists," says Vitaly Tretakov, editor of *Nezavisimaya*, "but they can't stand it when we go after them."

The more things change...

Shed a tear for the plight of overthrown Ethiopian military dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam. As president of revolutionary Ethiopia, Mengistu was responsible for a cool several million deaths. (And a great friend of Canada, needless to say.)

Now, he's just another refugee. An innocent victim. Or so says the man who gave him safe haven, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe. Zimbabwe has been an example to the world by harbouring thousands of refugees fleeing war and famine

in Mozambique.

"Mengistu Haile Mariam is just one such," Mugabe said at the recent Commonwealth summit.

From our government lies department:

Over the summer, PM Brian Mulroney and his boy wonder, Environment Minister Jean Charest, promised a full environmental review of the James Bay hydroelectric disaster (oops, that's *development*). Scems fish are a federal responsibility, Charest said.

It's OK to flood out the Cree. But can't let those fish come to no trouble.

But in Paris for the Franco-phony summit, Mulroney came out swinging against European opponents of the megaproject. The government of Canada is doing all in its power to make sure the dams go ahead at James Bay, he told French reporters.

And anyway, Mulroney hastened to add, it's none of those Europeans' business anyway. What gives them the right to tell other countries how to behave?

Only Canada can do that. ☺

1991: ACT in action



From the Gulf war to the war against women, it's been a busy year for the peace movement. ACT for Disarmament has been active throughout 1991, recording a series of anti-war firsts: the first International Peace Bureau conference on this continent since 1906, the first illegal peace march in Oakville, the first events during the Gulf war to feature democratic oppositionists from Iraq and Kuwait, the first anti-Gulf war arrests during the first school strike and military counselling service since Vietnam, and more!
Coming soon: **Peace Action '92** — ACT's tenth year of action!

January 1, 1991 — The founding meeting of the Gulf Peace Team Canada is held in the ACT for Disarmament office; ACT members are among the founding GPT members

January 8 — ACT and Troops Out Now! blockade the U.S. Consulate; one person is arrested

January 12 — ACT Oakville organizes a rally of over 100 people at MP Otto Jelinek's office

January 15 — ACT and Troops Out Now! stage non-violent actions throughout the business district of Toronto, including an occupation of the Toronto Stock Exchange

January 16 — ACT/Troops Out Now! blockade Canadian Forces Recruiting Office in North York

January 16 and 17 — ACT Oakville holds protests at Otto Jelinek's office

January 29 — First Toronto-wide School Strike for Peace, coordinated by ACT Youth Network. A member of the Kuwaiti democratic opposition speaks at a teach-in at the 519 Church St. Community Centre



February — ACT officially opens Military Counselling Hotline

February 2 — ACT Rally for Peace in the Middle East draws over a thousand people. For the first time at an anti-war demonstration, a member of the Iraqi democratic opposition is among the speakers. The rally concludes with the opening of the Queen's Park Peace Camp, which remains for the duration of the Gulf War

February 9 — 80 people of all ages stage the first illegal march for peace in Oakville

February 21 — Second School Strike for Peace, Toronto and Oakville (part of International Student Day of Action)

February 28-April 11 — Troops Out Thursdays every week at the Apocalypse Club

March 2 — ACT "No Cruise No War No Tests No More" Rally

March 10 — ACT Teach-in in Oakville

March 25 — ACT, Troops Out Now! and the East Timor Alert Network hold a blockade and bloodpouring at weapons manufacturer Pratt and Whitney Canada in Mississauga; seven people are arrested

March 27 — ACT and ETAN sponsor the Toronto premiere of 'Papua Merdeka: Free West Papua'

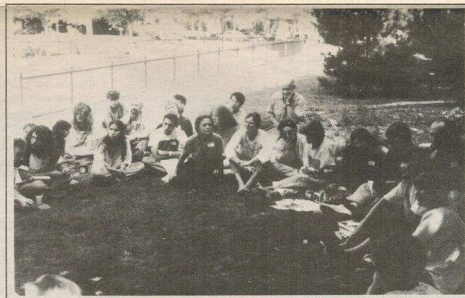
May 11 — 9TH ANNUAL SPRING PROTEST FOR PEACE: ABOLISH THE ARMY WORLDWIDE

June 2 — Fifth Annual Oakville Peace Festival at Coronation Park, Oakville

August 6-10 — ACT participates in protests at Tory convention

August 9 — ACT and the Toronto Disarmament Network hold Nagasaki Day commemoration and drumming vigil at the Convention Centre

August 17 — ACT protests the visit of the warship HMCS Terra Nova



An ACT volunteer will be calling you soon to ask for your support for our many campaigns. Please give generously!

August 19 — ACT sponsors a protest at the University of Toronto Physics Building against Project Columbus, an observatory to be built on Apache sacred land

August 22 — ACT sends a delegation to the office of External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall to protest her acceptance of the coup in the Soviet Union

September 13-15 — INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU CONFERENCE and associated events, hosted by ACT and Voice of Women. More than 250 peace activists from 25 countries attend this historic event

September 19 — ACT Oakville takes part in the Take Back the Night March

October 8 — ACT presents a submission to the Citizen's Inquiry on Peace and Security, calling for the abolition of all armies

October 23 — ACT participates in the founding of the Toronto Region General Electric Boycott Committee

November 9 — First meeting of the Women's Peace Agenda Project, sponsored by ACT and the International Peace Bureau

November 11 — ACT participates in East Timor Alert Network demonstration at Indonesian Consulate

November 16 — ACT participates in East Timor Alert Network demonstration at Barbara McDougall's office

December 1 — ACT rally for Yolanda Huet-Vaughn and all prisoners for peace

December 6 — ACT Women's Caucus takes part in city-wide leafletting as part of the commemoration of the Montreal Massacre

December 7 — ACT participates in East Timor demonstration at City Hall



Photos (clockwise from top left): Rally against the Gulf War (Howard Breen-Needham), Nagasaki day rally at Tory convention (David Webster), IPB conference overflows 519 Church (Frederick Heffermehl), Apache support picket at U of T (Maggie Helwig), Phoners at the ACT office (Maggie Helwig).

Yugoslavia: anti-war activists find hard going

The bitter and complicated tragedy of Yugoslavia grinds on to what looks every day like a more awful end, and a recent report from Amnesty International announces that all sides in the conflict have deliberately murdered and tortured non-combatants. Even peace initiatives are too easily co-opted into nationalist fervour on one side or the other. Yet there are real peace initiatives still.

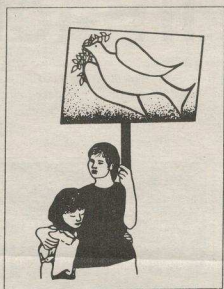
Many of these — not, perhaps, surprisingly — have come from women's groups. The uprising of the mothers of soldiers attracted world-wide attention; the vexed progress of the movement is an object lesson in the difficulties of organizing for peace in Yugoslavia now. Serbian mothers broke into the Serbian parliament in protest when the federal army attacked Slovenia; but when they travelled to Slovenia themselves, meetings with Slovenian mothers broke down in ethnic rivalries. And, despite many brave and extraordinary actions, the mothers have found themselves more and more used by the leaders of the different republics, gradually becoming nationalist groups. "If the women had succeeded in organizing across ethnic/national lines," writes Slavenska Drakulich in *Ms. Magazine*, "they could have destroyed the concept of the federal army ... [But] in a country where nothing is simple, even a mother's desire to save her son is used as a political tool."

In Serbia, where peace activism, though more viciously attacked by the government, is in some ways easier than in Croatia, some women have resisted the call of nationalism, and maintained a weekly vigil in Belgrade, silent, wearing black, holding signs saying simply "Women in Black — Against the War." And feminist groups in both Serbia and Croatia have issued statements "absolutely reject[ing] violence and war."

The Movement for the Culture of Peace and Nonviolence (MCPN) in Slovenia, of course, has a long history of peace work and a well-established resistance to co-optation by any one side in conflict, and has been an invaluable resource throughout the crisis. Now that Slovenia has apparently achieved a relatively peaceful independence, the MCPN is helping to spread information about peace initiatives in Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro, and providing support and networking. On October 25, the day the last federal troops left the Ljubljana barracks, they staged an occupation of the military buildings to "reclaim" them for civilian use.

Elsewhere, mere survival for peace groups is difficult. In Serbia, the Anti-War Centre in Belgrade was wrecked by men with hammers; tanks have been used against peace demonstrations; and several prominent peace activists have been arrested. It is rumoured that one, Nenad Canak, was shipped by force to the Vukovar front. Many of those arrested have been Hungarians from Vojvodina and Senta — in yet another aspect of this intricate ethnic conflict, Hungarians in Serbian territory are being conscripted en masse in an effort to eliminate this particular minority.

In Croatia, there is less overt suppression of the peace movement, but it is also much harder for activists to remain committed to a non-aligned, non-nationalist movement for peace, when they are, after all, living in a country under fire. But the Anti-War Committee Croatia in Zagreb continues



to function, despite feelings of depression and futility, and, says Christine Schweitzer of War Resisters International, "it is hardly possible to overestimate the amount of work they are doing." Composed of a variety of ecological, women's and youth groups, the AWCC has set up a Peace Centre to develop, promote and apply non-violent methods of conflict resolution, and to promote democracy and human rights.

Of course, large numbers of young men who are not necessarily associated with any peace group have refused to report for call-up; the Anti-War Centre estimates that 85% of draft-age men in Belgrade did not report. Both in Croatia and Serbia, this is extremely dangerous, and many draft resisters have now gone into hiding (conscientious objection is, in practice, recognized in Slovenia).

There have been important initiatives by support groups outside Yugoslavia, one of the most notable being the Peace Caravan organized by the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, which travelled through all the republics as a symbol of reconciliation. Though aspects of the Caravan have been criticized, particularly by Slovenian activists, it is at least a sign of concern and a sincere attempt by the non-Yugoslav peace movement to contribute to resolving the conflict. There have also been some activists from Europe and the U.S. who have done non-violence and conflict resolution trainings in Croatia and in Serbia.

"Hatred and destruction spread easily," says Christine Schweitzer in *The Intruder*, the newsletter of the Movement for the Culture of Peace and Non-violence, "but the idea of non-violence and democracy is contagious as well and powerful ... All times can be times for non-violent action if the people choose to act non-violently."

Search for peace in Croatia

By MARKO HREN

In November, *The Activist* published the first part of an article by Slovenian peace activist Marko Hren, in which he recounted his thoughts and experiences at the International Peace Bureau Conference in Toronto this September. In the second part, he tells us what took place on his return to Yugoslavia.

The train was on time — 8.50 pm. The station in Zagreb is in complete darkness. The whole town is in darkness. Even if Vesna had come to meet me, we could hardly find each other. A policeman says there was an air-raid warning a while ago and there is no public transport. The only way to go is by taxi, or walking. But there are fights in the town and snipers shoot all over the place — they say. The first taxi driver doesn't want to take me there, saying it was near the military barracks where the most severe battles are. I ask him to use CB radio to call another taxi: "CB isn't working, this is a war". Shit. CBs are the only things that always work. After half an hour another taxi comes and the driver is sceptical. "We will never arrive there, the roads are blocked in that direction". I ask him to go as far as he can and he finally agrees. He couldn't believe his eyes when we pass through all the main roads and drive there without any problems — except having to drive with the lights off. In complete darkness I find the right entrance to Vesna's house — pure luck!

After a short warm welcome, we both stare at the TV where Croatian president Franjo Tudjman is holding a press conference. He is talking about the peace treaty with Carrington, Milosevic and military chief Kadijevic. Tudjman's lack of respect for the treaty is shown by the papers he holds folded in his pocket; finally he gets the right one out and reads it. They all agreed to suspend fighting until noon the next day. A journalist asks how long Croatia will go on signing peace treaties when we all know that after each treaty the conflict escalates even more. There was no answer.

After the news, we sit down to have this wonderful party. And as soon as we sit down the battle in the neighbourhood begins. The mortar fire and shooting then last the whole night. Caviar and bombs. We talk, cannot sleep at all. We can only have a little candle on — there is no electricity. The house is trembling with the detonations. Vesna only says: "Sometimes I ask myself which movie I'm in. It can't be true."

This is the most powerful experience in her life, she says. I try to remember mine. And there it was: sitting in a shelter in Ljubljana two months ago. Ram had asked me to give him some water. "I have none", I said. He looked at me and repeated, "I want to drink", with his two-year-old eyes and mind. I strongly experienced the feeling of a parent who cannot give their children the basic things they need. What pain.

Wednesday, 18 September. Between two air raid warnings Vesna Terselic, another activist from Green Action, uses the opportunity to come over. We elaborate a project for establishing a Peace Centre in Zagreb. There will be a lot of work after the war. We are all aware of that. The sooner we start the preparations the better. And anyway — it is good to work in the middle of this panic. In the evening we call some more people. Only of them manage to come, both activists in the Anti-War Campaign, Zoran and Ivica. We work out seven headings for developing an active peace policy for the Croatian state: the use of language and the creation of enemy images; attitudes towards minorities; attitudes towards the federal military; revitalising democratic (parliamentary) institutions on the republican as well as regional levels in Croatia; revitalising cooperation and communication on parliamentary and governmental levels between Serbia and Croatia; Croatian foreign policy; and the support of civil initiatives for peace.

One Canadian peace researcher I spoke with opposes unconditionally any discussion about independence movements. She could not finish our debate. My view is that basically that we have to take these movements as existing reality, existing social forces. We cannot call their goals illegitimate; we cannot even say their ideas are bad. As long as there are authoritarian structures (like monolithic centralised states), there will be movements for independence — and the less they have the freedom to seek autonomy, the more they will request secession — and fight. Whether we want it or not, the borders are changing — qualitatively and geographically. Our role is to bring into the processes of disintegration and liberation the qualities of nonviolence and mutual respect.

We were all happy with the meeting and at midnight we noticed that we hadn't heard any shooting for a couple of hours. Silence — what a gift! We enjoy it and discover a value of times of peace. Go to sleep and sleep long.



Nothing new with NATO Summit

By STEPHEN DANKOWICH
THE ACTIVIST

On November 7 and 8, NATO heads of government met in Rome to decide its future strategy in the post-Cold War era.

An alternative NATO Summit Watch Conference was simultaneously organized by peace activists from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries. The Italian Peace Association invited ACT for Disarmament to speak about Canadian government involvement in NATO and to present a Canadian peace movement perspective on NATO.

Nothing new with NATO

In Rome, NATO declared that it had transformed itself. The sad reality is that there is nothing new at all.

NATO clings to its past doctrine of insistence on nuclear deterrence and the preservation of a strategic balance with the Soviet Union. It argues against further disarmament agreements in the nuclear, conventional and naval fields. In Rome, NATO reaffirmed its "right" to the first use of nuclear weapons — or the ability to settle conventional wars by using nuclear weapons.

The NATO Summit did not address the main problems facing Europe. NATO took no action for the denuclearization of Europe, did not propose any substantial reduction in military expenditures, made no commitment to transforming military bases for civilian use, and missed a historic opportunity to liberate resources for urgent social, environmental and development needs.

Why is NATO still around?

NATO's inability to transform itself dramatically is a consequence of the political maneuvering now

taking place between the United States and the European Community (EC). The non-results of the Rome Summit demonstrates clearly that, for now, the US position has won out. NATO remains as it was during the Cold War while maintaining US capability to politically dominate Europe.

The US was able to maintain control over NATO in two ways.



First, the US denied any other institution a determining role in the development of a new security framework for Europe, whether that be the European Community, the Western European Union (WEU) or the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Secondly, NATO now talks about "possible risks" rather than "threats." There are three perceived "risks."

- An unstable Soviet Union. NATO fears the continued presence of Soviet nuclear and conventional weapons, the potential disintegration of the Soviet Union into several states, and judges it as an unreliable partner for forging a new security framework for Europe. The Soviet circumvention of the November 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE) can jeopardize future arms control agree-

ments.

- Difficulties raised by the transition to democracy and market economy in Eastern and Central Europe, which are compounded by the many border disputes between different nationalities and ethnicities in the region.

- Destabilizing developments in the Middle East. Here, it is argued that the Gulf War dramati-

cally provided an excellent example that events outside Europe, and particularly in the Middle East, are as important to European security as were threats to Western Europe from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

Do any of these three "perceived risks" really constitute a military threat to West European security interests? Arguably not. If there are any real threats to its security, they are very limited and non-threatening.

The scenario of a massive Soviet invasion of Europe is no longer a possibility since it lost its own military bloc, the Warsaw Pact, and entered its deep, free-falling economic crisis. No longer is there an east-west ideological and military confrontation.

Equally, it is difficult to see how the economic problems and ethnic-religious minority tensions in Eastern and Central Europe can place Western Europe on a military alert. The problems and tensions are largely internal or regional with little likelihood of spilling over into a pan-European dimension.

And, in the Middle East, no state currently possesses the military capacity to attack Europe. Many previously very anti-Western Middle East states are now talking to the West, hoping to improve

their relations (for example, Syria, Iran and Libya).

The reality is that, implicit in its usage of the concept of "risks", NATO's reason for existence is no longer relevant. NATO is a dinosaur left from Cold War times. It can contribute in no way to the new security system in Europe.

The European security future

Yet to emerge is a final pattern for European security. Many European governments and organizations have rallied anew to NATO because they still see the world in Cold War terms and are cautious in approach; because they take care not to alienate the US; because they have developed no new consensus regarding the future interplay between WEU, EC, CSCE and NATO; and, most importantly, because West European policy makers clearly wish to restrict a new security framework for Europe to West European or Atlantic institutions.

This latter point is illustrated primarily by the shelving of the CSCE. The CSCE is the only pan-European institution capable of bringing together all 36 European states, Canada and the US, to create a new security framework. Development of a bold vision for European security via the CSCE threatens western hegemony over European development.

At the same time, expansion of the military role of the WEU within NATO, or the development of a European "pillar of defence" including the creation of a West European Army within the confines of the EC, threatens US influence in European political and military affairs.

In Rome, NATO heads of government also deliberated over the establishment of a "rapid intervention force." On short notice, it could intervene with massive power around the world. This overt strategy was jettisoned at the last moment in Rome.

But maybe, NATO leaders simply decided not to make public the "rapid reaction forces." During the Gulf War, WEU demonstrated that it could coordinate with NATO to great effect. Perhaps NATO has secretly decided to employ "rapid forces" on a case-to-case basis. Or will WEU become NATO outside of Europe? This would be the only role for WEU that the US would

allow. And let's be clear about this — this is not the defence of Europe; it is about European intervention outside of Europe.

Role of peace movements

While western leaders deliberate between maintaining a costly NATO or a European Community with quite dangerous pretensions to military and even nuclear strength, peace movements should advance a third way forward for a new security framework for Europe.

We must continue to provide solutions to the real questions of what kind of security we want for Europe, what kind of defence, how much money would be spent on it, and what the real threats are to European security. Solutions will not be found in debating whether security and defence should be organized in NATO, WEU or EC. The CSCE remains the sole institution capable of bringing all Europeans together.

That's the reason it is being marginalized.

To transcend the Cold War, peace movements must continue to challenge the axiom that military power is an essential, useful and legitimate means for achieving political goals. War can never be an acceptable response to conflict.

We must demand a non-nuclear Europe, a region of peace and security. Non-offensive strategies must be practised, within a network of minimal national defence systems.

We must call for the democratization of the United Nations, beyond Security Council vetoes.

And, mostly, peace movements must play a major role in the development of a peaceful culture within civil society. In this way, we can contribute to making governments and military alliances redundant and help usher in the era of global harmony and prosperity, free from the threat of war.

Arms trade

As well as sending a delegate to the NATO Watch Summit in Rome, ACT had two members in attendance at the SANE/Freeze Working Conference on the Arms Trade in New York Oct. 31-Nov. 2. Speakers ranged from Asoka

Bandagara, who spoke of the need for a non-violent feminist perspective to counter the "dominant mechanistic paradigm," to Raul Sohr of Chile, who analyzed the role of Third World countries like Chile and Brazil in the arms trade. ACT member Maggie Helwig spoke about East Timor as part of the Arms Trade and Human Rights panel, while Allen Skye participated in a workshop on media.

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Canadian response to East Timor massacre muted

From page one

tative at the United Nations, José Luis Guterres, begins a visit to Canada, asking "Why doesn't Canada join the civilized world in denouncing brutality in East Timor?"

Nov. 18: External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, makes the strongest-ever Canadian statement on East Timor, telling the House of Commons that "we condemn both the violation of human rights in this particular instance but also the ongoing situation for the people who live there," and announcing a review of Canada's economic aid to Indonesia, valued at over \$50 million a year (Indonesia is the second-largest recipient of Canadian aid). McDougall, however, is "too busy" to meet with Guterres, in Ottawa the same day. Beryl Gaffney, head of the all-party Parliamentarians for East Timor, points out that "previously Canada has voted against United Nations resolutions calling for self-determination (and) lobbied to have the issue removed from the agenda."

Nov. 21: The Netherlands suspends aid to Indonesia.

Nov. 22: The European parliament votes overwhelmingly (167 to 7, with 4 abstentions) to end all arms sales to Indonesia. Britain, a major supplier, says a ban "would not be appropriate at this time."

Nov. 22: The Australian Workers' Union bans Indonesian ships from Melbourne harbour. The union boycott of Indonesia continues to tighten.

Nov. 28: The Indonesian government inquiry into the Santa Cruz massacre, headed by former military man M. Djaelani, arrives in Dili. José Ramos Horta, external spokesperson for the East Timorese resistance, calls the inquiry "the same as asking Pol Pot to investigate human rights abuse by the Khmer Rouge."

Nov. 28: UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar pledges to start an impartial UN investigation, telling reporters it is now important to "work so the Timorese can have the government and legislation they desire."

Nov. 28: José Ramos Horta says "dozens" of young Timorese are being abducted and taken to East Timor's own "killing fields" at Taci-Tolu each day, where they are beaten or shot by soldiers.

Nov. 29: External Affairs says it has delayed a decision in its review of Canadian aid to Indonesia.

(East Timor Update returns next issue)

Tribunal charges U.S. with war crimes

THE ACTIVIST

Is the United States guilty of war crimes?

The question wasn't being asked internationally, where the focus has been on the war crimes of Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime. But a group led by former American Attorney General Ramsey Clark felt that the US was the big war criminal during the Gulf conflict, and launched an international tribunal to tour the world listening to criticisms of American government conduct. One such hearing was held in Toronto last month.

"The reality is the war has unleashed such colossal forces that it will take many years to recover," said Dr. Atif Kubursi, a McMaster University professor and sometime consultant to the United Nations. The war's effect on Iraqi society was that it "destroyed the work of three generations and the livelihood of three generations to come," he added.

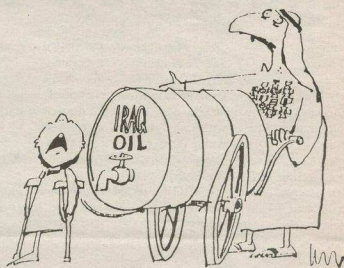
According to Kubursi, all of Iraq's oil exports for 40 years would be needed to repair the damage wrought to the country in the space of less than two months.

Dr. Rosalie Bertell opened her testimony with a description of the murderous consequences of Iraqi government attacks on Kurdish villages in 1988. "All this was widely documented," she told 200 tribunal participants, "and I'll tell you, there was no response (from Western governments). I was very frustrated trying to get information through."

Toronto physician Robbie Chase, a member of the international study team that went to Iraq after the war's end, testified to a 380% rise in infant mortality in 1991 from previous years, based on his survey of 1,100 Iraqi mothers. The number of children killed skyrocketed in the Shi'ite south and Kurdish north, where bloody fighting raged after the conclusion of the US-Iraq conflict.

Also testifying in Toronto were reporter Paul William Roberts, eyewitness Charlotte Paquette, Zuhair Kashmeri (author of *The Gulf Within*, a book on the treatment of Arab Canadians during the war), University of Toronto professor James Graff, and others. Sessions have also been held in Hamilton, more than 25 cities in the U.S., Egypt, Turkey, Hong Kong, Japan, London, Paris, Stuttgart and Stockholm.

Meanwhile, the highly-respected Human Rights Watch has issued a report which finds all sides in the Gulf conflict guilty of war crimes.



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Women's Agenda

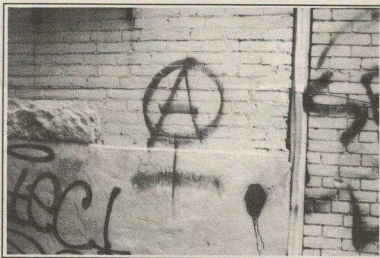
From page one

dance, and very participant-based; a lot of facilitated workshops and not a lot of 'panels of experts.' We expect to be funded largely by donations — so in this and many other ways we need the help of all interested women, and men, to make this a reality. We hope to hold it in a non-Toronto location, though we have not chosen a host city yet.

Part of the purpose of the conference will be to prepare materials that can be sent to the War Resisters International Women's Conference in Thailand (see "Setting our own terms — internationally", this page). We will be mostly an Ontario conference, so we are hoping that other regions will organize events as well. The Women's Peace Agenda Project is sponsored by ACT and the International Peace Bureau — we are seeking endorsements from other organizations.

Right now, the planning meetings are open to women only. Interested and sympathetic men will be able to participate in later stages, however, and we will be encouraging men to organize workshops for themselves to take place at the same time as those workshops which will be women-only. A number of the workshops and sessions will be open to men, since we hope to encourage the men in the peace movement to begin incorporating our concerns into their work.

If you can work on the conference; if you can make a financial contribution; if you have ideas, or know of other women we should be in touch with; if you think your community could host the conference — please contact the Women's Peace Agenda Project, c/o Maggie Helwig, 736 Bathurst St., Toronto, M5S 2R4, or call 531-6154. Any cheques should be made payable to Women's Peace Agenda Project. ☐



On December 6, the ACT for Disarmament Women's Caucus will be taking part in the commemoration of the 1989 Montréal Massacre by leafletting the Bathurst and Bloor subway station from 12-2 pm. We will also be at the vigil at Queen's Park at 5 pm, and at 6 pm at Philadelphia Walk, U of T, at 6 pm. All women are invited to join us there.

Setting our own terms — internationally

"Women Overcoming Violence: redefining development and changing society through non-violence" is the theme for the fourth War Resisters International Women's Conference, to be held in December, 1992. The conference will provide an opportunity for activist women from many cultures

the struggle against military bases, and against sex tourism and forced prostitution, which traditionally flourish around such bases. Indeed, one of the Bangkok organizations working on the conference is EMPower, a prostitute's self-help collective in the Bangkok red-light district. Other groups in Thailand involved in the conference are Friends of Women, which provides support for victims of rape, forced prostitution, domestic violence and unfair employment practices; COPDEV, which works for people-oriented peace and development, and has protested against arms fairs in Thailand and for the rights of Burmese refugees; the Foundation for Women, which does public education and provides counselling for women in need; and the Association for the Advancement of the Status of Women, which operates emergency homes for destitute women and children.

Key themes will be women and militarization, women defining our own development, and women and non-violence. Participants will include Khmer women refugees from Cambodia, a representative of the Maori Women's Centre in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Women in Black from Israel, Karen women from Burma, a member of India's Chipko movement, and — from Canada — an Innu representative of the Sheshatshit Women's Group. Participants will consider not only the impact of war and militarization on women's lives,

and the problems for women in current 'development' policies (led in this by women who have firsthand experience); they will also develop means to challenge militarization and elite-based development models non-violently.

Women Overcoming Violence aims to raise the issue of violence against women to a place of higher importance in the war resistance movement and to build a strong international network of pacifist women activists. The conference will be a safe space for women to come together and share experiences and dreams.

The number of women attending the conference is necessarily limited (only 150 women, active in grassroots activism in their countries, will attend), and preference will be given to women from the Asia/Pacific region and to indigenous women. However, the conference is designed to have wider influence. Each woman participating will be involved in preliminary local meetings (such as the Women's Peace Agenda Project in Ontario), and will conduct follow-up tours and activities in support of her return.

If you are interested in more information, can help sponsor a woman to attend or help with fundraising, or would like to apply to attend yourself, the Canadian contact is Maggie Helwig, c/o ACT for Disarmament.

T-shirts and buttons with the conference logo should be available soon. ☐

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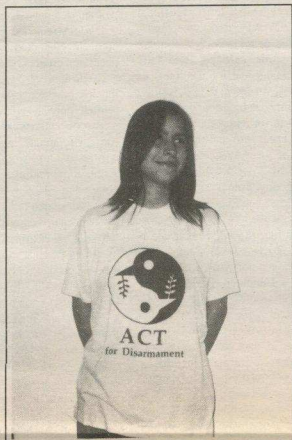
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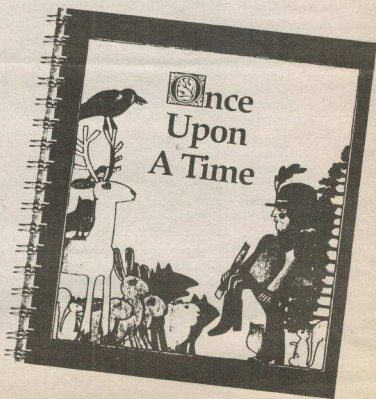
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