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# the ACTivist

Ontario's Peace Newspaper

Published by the ACT for Disarmament Coalition • Volume 8, Issue 3 • March 1992 • Pay what you can

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## Women and peace

The Women's Peace Agenda Project is a conference which will be devoted to redefining the peace and human rights movements from a woman's perspective.

We have now set dates of October 30 to November 2, 1992, and decided to hold the conference in Peterborough, Ontario, where we have the support of the Trent University Women's Centre

Our workshop topics (barring urgent demand for others) will be:

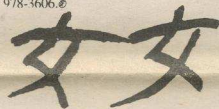
- Violence against women as a peace issue
- Systemic oppression and the peace movement
- Poverty as violence
- Violence against children
- Women and militarization, with particular attention to the situation of First Nations women in Canada
- Sexism and violence against

women within the peace movement  
 • Women's art and music against violence

The conference will be workshop-based, loosely structured, and emphasizing group discussion and strategizing. Some of the workshops will be open to both men and women — in other cases, there will be parallel workshops for men.

We are hoping for enough community support, and donations from interested people, that we will not have to charge a registration fee and the conference can be accessible to more people.

For more information, contact ACT for Disarmament, 736 Bathurst St., Toronto, M5S 2R4, or call 531-6154 or 978-3606. ☎



- Men and solidarity — opinion piece (page 2)
- Sexual abuse of women in prisons (page 6)
- Women working for peace in Serbia — and in Cambodia (page 7)
- Men singing against male violence (page 8)

## Canadian warship to the Gulf — again



A Canadian warship, HMCS Restigouche, has left Esquimalt, BC, heading for the Red Sea to help enforce the blockade against Iraq. Restigouche had been outfitted for duty in the Gulf War, but the war was over before it could leave for the Middle East.

French, Australian and American warships are already in the Red Sea, enforcing the trade sanctions imposed on Iraq by the United Nations 18 months ago, and still in effect. These sanctions cover all shipments to Iraq other than food, medical supplies, and humanitarian aid for immediate needs.

There is also a U.N. embargo on the sale of Iraqi oil, though the Security Council offered to approve the sale of \$1.6 billion (U.S.) worth of oil. Iraq rejected this offer as an infringement of its sovereignty.

Restigouche is a fully armed destroyer equipped with torpedoes, shells, and surface to surface missile. "It's a peacetime mission," says Cmdr. Dietmar Baltes. "But with the risk of sea mines, terrorist activity, or an escalation of terrorism, the crew has to be prepared for anything."

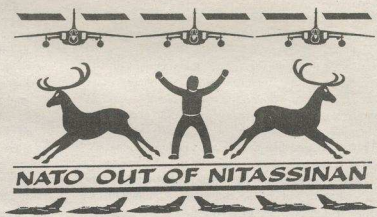
While Cmdr. Baltes seems somewhat overwhelmed with concern over Iraqi terrorism, some peace activists argue that continuing

sanctions at this point is a form of terrorism against Iraqi civilians.

"Only if sanctions are lifted can enough oil be sold to purchase necessary food and medicine and get the country operating again," says Rick McCutcheon of the Canadian Friends' Service Committee. "It is Iraq's children and vulnerable groups that continue to die because of these decisions ... We cannot continue to think of ourselves as a caring people if we do not respond positively to the plight of Iraqi children and other civilians."

Others argue, however, that we should insist on humanitarian aid being channelled to Iraqi civilians, but should not lift sanctions at this time. They point out that Iraq continues to commit gross violations of human rights on a regular basis, especially against the Kurds in the north; a United Nations Special Rapporteur recently submitted a report detailing "hundreds of thousands" of victims of torture and extrajudicial execution. Those who favour the continuation of sanctions also point out that there is reason to doubt that money obtained by the Iraqi government would be used to aid the people of Iraq to any great extent. ☎

## SUPPORT THE INNU



## Stop low-level flight testing over Nitassinan

Street outreach and petition blitz  
 at locations throughout Toronto  
**Saturday March 28**  
 Call ACT to get involved

**RALLY AND MARCH**  
**Saturday April 4**  
 Queen's Park, 1 p.m.

ACT for Disarmament, 531-6154



## THE ACTIVIST

Volume 8, #3

March 1992

Published monthly by ACT for Disarmament, 736 Bathurst

Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 2R4

Second class mailing registration #6769

Subscriptions are available with a donation of \$10 or more (\$25

for institutions or funded agencies) to ACT for Disarmament.

**Contributors this issue:** Stephen Dankowicz, Maggie Helwig,

Adam Keller, Susan Kranjc, Rick McCutcheon, Vannina

Sztainbok, Margaret Sumadh, Don Weitz, David Webster

Opinions expressed in this paper are not necessarily those of ACT.

## Talking Solidarity Blues

Okay, don't get us wrong. We really appreciate any steps that men take to overcome their own sexism and to work in support of women and our struggles. But any other solidarity movement requires a certain caution, and has to be open to a certain amount of criticism. And we have come across one recent initiative that we feel we have to say a few hard words about.

Here is a flyer being circulated for a National Gathering of Men, planned for the fall of 1992 in Toronto. The idea is for men to get together and talk about — to put it broadly — how they can “challenge and end patriarchy.” One of the key sentences on the flyer runs as follows:

“This event will provide ample opportunities for men, and the women who support us in change, to pursue to the direction(s) of their choice” (emphasis ours).

This is the sentence which floored a group of four women simultaneously in astonishment.

Point One.

We are not supporting you guys, okay? We have been doing that for generations. We have cleaned up your messes and made your coffee and nurtured your egos and raised your children and supported you until we can't stand it any longer.

If you want to support us as we work against the oppression that has been built into our social system, that's great.

And if you want to change yourselves, we are glad, and we will talk to you and explain what we need and how we see things, and hope that you'll listen and try to understand. We will work with you and appreciate your efforts. But we will only work with you side by side, not holding you up from behind. If you are still looking for someone to support you after all this time, well, it ain't us, babe. We ain't supporting you up no more.

Would you talk about working with “black people who support us in our work against racism?” We hope not.

Point Two.

Choice is a very tricky area to get into.

White men can, for the most part, choose what direction they want to pursue, and do it.

But if we were actually able to “pursue the directions of our choice” freely, there would be no more need for a women's movement. The fact is, we are not able. We need more than moral support. What we need now is real, live work for change in order to create the possibility of choice.

Similarly who are white women must understand that we have far more choices in our lives than native women and women of colour. Maybe we'll choose not to exploit our position of privilege — it is to be hoped that's what we will choose. But we can't pretend that we don't come from that background of privilege.

We know as women that choices are not equally available to everyone. We have to work to make those choices available.

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As we said, we hope that this is not seen as an attack. We believe that the men who put out this flyer have nothing but the best of intentions. We make these criticisms because we believe that — because we believe that you guys really want to do the right thing, that you will listen to what we are saying and pay attention.

It is a hard thing, coming to terms with your own position of privilege, the fact that you are, at least potentially, an oppressor, and it is something that many of us, as white women, are also trying to deal with. It requires a constant sensitivity to small things like choices of words and phrases. It requires, also, a lot of checking back with the people you say that you are in solidarity with — probably no men's group working against sexism can function except by regularly consulting women's groups.

We offer this in the hope we will understand each other better in the future.

—ACT Women's Collective

## OPINION



"CHANCE OF HUMAN ERROR! CHANCE OF HUMAN ERROR!" THAT'S ALL I HEAR AND I'M SICK OF IT... HELP ME WITH THIS DOOR, WILL YOU, IT SEEMS TO BE STUCK!"



Upon reading the ACTivist article 'Nato Jets on Innu Land.'

and several other articles on the subject. I became utterly outraged.

Low-level flying is destroying the Innu way of life and the environment. This is completely intolerable.

As the bicentennial of Christopher Columbus approaches, it is especially important to take some significant steps towards recognizing the rights of the Native peoples. The abolition of Nato low level flying in Labrador and Quebec would be

## Jo Peacenic

## Marcel Masse lost in Bermuda triangle

From our government lies department... Finance Minister Don Mazankowski's main advantage over predecessor Michael Wilson is that he kills us gently with a smile on his face, where Wilson seemed to take a perverse pleasure out of the pain he was causing. Certainly he doesn't have it over Wilson in the truth department.

Maz said he was presenting Canada with a nice, fat peace dividend following the demise of the Soviet Disunion. "Defence spending will be cut by a total of \$2.2 billion over the next five years," he snermed to a dozing House of Commons. But will it? The amount of cash going to keeping up Canada's laughable and unneeded military will be \$12.46 billion in 1992-93. That's \$230 million more than last year. What has been "cut" is the even bigger increases the Tories had been planning to make. More is less.

Maybe it's the new math.

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Least anyone think "defence" spending might be useful in defending Canada from some (as our friends in Washington would say) "re-emergent global threat," have a gander at a few of the things they're spending your tax dollars on. For starters, there's something called the Minister's Advisory Group on Defence Infrastructure. That's a panel looking into some of the country's unneeded bases, but with no mandate to recommend closing any of them. Budget: \$800,000.

one such step.

Alternative places to practice or the amount of noise created by the planes is not the ultimate issue at stake, mind you. The question is whether we need the planes at all. The answer is NO!

I am a concerned Canadian, anxious to make my voice heard. I would like to get involved in ACT's campaign as a way to do so.

Alison Doerksen  
Toronto

nuclear bomb for eastern Europe's sole remaining bastion of fascism. Yes, Canada's helping out. Now, not just by paying Romania to take our Candu nuclear technology, but also by training the people who will run the reactor. Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. is paying New Brunswick Power (which operates Atlantic Canada's only nuclear station at Point Lepreau) \$5 million to train the Romanians. All suggestions that AECL chose to put the Romanians in out-of-the-way New Brunswick are, of course, mere slander by anti-nuke types.

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Nuclear bombs are out, says President George Bush. Kinder, gentler killing weapons are in. The San Francisco Examiner recently spelled out some of the new weapons of "non-lethality" being pushed by Bush.

These include neural inhibitors that will short-circuit brainwave patterns with a bombardment of microwaves; very low frequency noises, below the threshold of the human ear, which with nonetheless sick anyone subjected to them; knockout gases; bacteria that will eat enemy oil supplies (any particular country spring to mind?); and "directed energy weapons" that will destroy vehicles and buildings by altering their molecular structure. This is touted as a great stride towards humanizing war by sources close to the president's golf club. It will not stand, George.

Anyone walking around Point Lepreau, N.B. could be forgiven for wondering why there are so many Romanians wandering the streets.

Well, they're "operations and maintenance staff" at Romania's Cernavoda nuclear reactor. That's the one that was built using slave labour by (the late) murderous dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, a project many say is aimed at getting a







## Words from an Innu elder

The Innu are protesting low level military flying over their land in large part because it disrupts their traditional way of life. Akane, an Innu elder, explains something about that way of life and what recent developments have done to it.

I was born at a lake called "Mishta Ashinit," near Tshenuaminu-shipu (October 25, 1934). We did not spend much time in Sheshatshit, as little as we could, because we felt that it's better to find food in order to survive.

In the summer times my parents and other old people who were with us made canoes, paddles, and when the winter came they made sleds, snowshoes. It's only recently that everything changed here.

In my childhood, I was always told that I should always hunt with my father, and I did that. There were times that we did not have food; the hunting was getting worse; no small animals around like partridge, no rabbit. It was winter time. It was a hardship and sad. I experienced it myself.

Today everything is here like stores, cars and everything. And in Sheshatshit near the church by the beach, that's where Innu people used to set their tents up because that's the only place that there were no trees.

In winter times when Innu people travelled, men really worked hard, they carried lots of gear. It was the same way in the summer times, when they travelled on canoes. They lived by hunting, fishing and trapping, and they travelled a lot.

Today I think everything is changed, it's not the same anymore but I do know that some people still very much respect their tradition. They still are in the country. But when we are in the community we are much like white people. That's where we use their words.

It's just like the whites are controlling our lives and we cannot see. And we don't realize what our ancestors did, especially the people who brought us up here to continue their ways.

Everything is totally confusing to me. In my childhood more people were happier in the country and did not want to stay in the village. Today is the opposite, more and more people are seeming to want to stay in the village for all kinds of reasons. Today it's hard to ask the young ones to go in the country because it is almost like they are taken in by white society.

And a long time ago, there were people that spent Christmas in the country, they would find something to eat and gather together to celebrate.

I think one of my best memories is having lived much of my life in the woods ... Nothing can compare with the time when I lived in the woods. Materially, things might be better, but life isn't the same.

## Dutch protest for Innu

TRIX VAN VUGT  
PEACE NOTES

Peace groups in nine different countries held protests in support of the Innu last December 10 (Human Rights Day). The Dutch Campaign Against War Taxes, of which the author is a member, was one of those groups.

Since our country is one of the three in Europe to practise low-level flying above Innu territory, we felt we really had to do our best on 10 December. We began by sending letters to our prime minister, the ministers of defence and foreign affairs, the chairs of the five largest political parties and the parliamentary chair, asking for an immediate stop to all low level flying. We no answer at all from the minister of defence, so we decided to visit him and get our answer in person. We decided that the best way

to make people realise the seriousness of the situation for the Innu would be to let them experience the problem themselves. In other words: let them hear the noise of a low-flying jet.

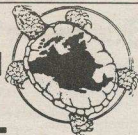
We intended to reproduce that noise at full volume (or as near as we could get to it), but that was not as easy as we first thought. It took a motor truck loaded with sound equipment (with a capacity of 5kW!) to produce about a quarter of the real volume of the jets. We knew we risked getting a fine for making so much noise, but we decided it would only emphasise the point of our action so took that risk.

Our reception at the ministry of defence was downright rude, because they were irritated by the noise. We did not get a decent answer to our queries — although we did get good press coverage.

We then walked to the Canadian embassy, handing out leaflets in the shape of an airplane, with our sound system still reproducing the jet noise, but at a lower volume. There were a lot of people whose first reaction was to search the sky for a jet that wasn't there.

At the embassy we got a friendlier reception and an invitation to come back for an answer later. Together with the Working Group on Indigenous Peoples (WIV), we plan to do so.

## Turtle Island Notes



### Native control of forest?

N'DAKI MENAN (Ontario) — The Temagami-Anishnabai are seeking sole control of 7,300 square kilometres of the Temagami forest. Chief Gary Potts announced on February 10. They would share control of another 3,100 square kilometres with the provincial government. The band would be a "regional government" over the area under their sole control, about two-thirds of the land they identify as their traditional homeland.

The Ontario government and the Temagami-Anishnabai have been developing a framework agreement for the administration of the Temagami forest since 1991, since the Temagami-Anishnabai lost their land claim case in the Supreme Court of Canada. But the judge admitted that the government had breached treaty responsibilities to the band and that this should be made good. Chief Potts says his proposal would address the province's unfulfilled obligations.

"We are talking about a new system of land management unique to Canada," said Potts. "We are talking about self-sufficiency; we are talking about self-government."

### Daishowa boycott broadens

TORONTO (Ontario) — An employee of Toronto's Pizza Pizza chain has quit in protest over the company's use of Daishowa paper bags. The logging company Daishowa has been clearingcutting the land of the Lubicon Cree, despite promises to the Lubicon, and Friends of the Lubicon has called for a boycott of Daishowa paper products, and of companies using those products.

Among the companies who have responded to the boycott and stopped using Daishowa paper bags or other products are: Ho Lee Chow, Cultures, NOW Magazine, Safeway Stores, The Body Shop, Knechtel's Grocers, the Toronto branch of the YWCA, and the Liquor Control Board of Ontario.

Companies which are still using Daishowa products, and which should be written to and boycotted, include: Country Style Donuts, Zehr's, Mr. Submarine, and, of course, Pizza Pizza.

### UN looks at native rights

UNITED NATIONS — The UN Human Rights Commission has prepared a draft of a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which proposes that "indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination in accordance with international law."

However, the Canadian government has "fought very hard to try to kill" any international recognition of indigenous rights, according to a law professor who is a consultant on the declaration. Canada took up "arrestance mode" in the 1980s, says Prof. Douglas Sanders.

Yet the pressure for the declaration is coming largely from indigenous groups in Canada and the United States. Canadian native peoples like the Innu and the James Bay Cree have been active at the United Nations for many years.



## Where Credit Is Due...

For the last two issues, we have run this graphic without crediting it — because we did not know who the artist was. Now that we have found out, we believe that he and the group that produced the image deserve proper credit. The artist is Dale Atkinson, and the image is one of many available from the Kai Slide Bank, a source of slides, slide shows and graphics for human rights and indigenous rights activists. The Kai Slide Bank is located at 304 Harbord St., Toronto, and their phone number is 535-4336.

## Feminism(s) and Cultural Resistance in the Americas

An International Meeting of the Union for Democratic Communications

Trent University, May 7 to 10, 1992

Contact A. O'Connor

705-748-1768, or fax 705-748-1795



## The peace process and the cycle of violence

By ADAM KELLER  
SPECIAL TO THE ACTIVIST

On the night of February 14, several Palestinians — armed with knives, axes and a pitchfork — succeeded in raiding an Israeli military camp, killing three Israeli soldiers, taking their weapons and getting away despite a massive manhunt launched by the Israeli army.

The army and the government felt alarmed. Yitchak Shamir urgently needed to wipe out this humiliation and present his nationalist constituency with a propaganda victory — and such a victory was soon procured. On February 17, the pro-government newspaper Ma'ar carried a banner headline reading, "Lebanese arch-terrorist liquidated in a brilliant IDF operation." The story detailed how Israeli military intelligence got information on the intended route for the car of Sheikh Abbas Musawi, leader of the radical Lebanese faction Hizbullah (God's Party), who IDF helicopters were immediately dispatched across the border, located Musawi's car and shot incendiary bombs at it; and how Air Force officers cheered and opened champagne bottles when they heard of the success of the helicopter mission. Only in passing was it mentioned that Musawi's wife Suad and his five-year-old son Hussein also perished in the burning car.

During the previous months, Israel's northern border had been relatively quiet. Propaganda apart, the late Sheikh Musawi was considered a relative moderate, as Muslim Fundamentalists go. A close ally of the Iranian pragmatist faction, he had cooperated in the release of Western hostages, designed to help Iranian rapprochement with the West. While launching occasional raids on Israel's "security zone" (which is, in fact, a strip of South Lebanese territory occupied by the Israeli army), Musawi was careful not to attack Israel's own territory. He also conducted intricate negotiations on an exchange of Israeli POWs held in Lebanon for the Lebanese prisoners incarcerated at the notorious Israeli-administered Hiam Prison.

Musawi's assassination caused an abrupt change in the situation. His furious followers vowed revenge, and started bombarding the towns and villages of North Israel with Katyusha rockets — the heaviest such attacks since 1982. Fortunately, the inaccurate Katyushas failed to hit anybody, though Israeli civilian life along the border was seriously disrupted.

The Israeli artillery and air force retaliated by pounding the Lebanese side of the border, wielding an enormously greater firepower and scoring direct hits in dozens of Lebanese towns and villages. There was a massive exodus of refugees fleeing northwards, particularly after Israeli radio broadcast, in Arabic, a list of villages whose inhabitants were ordered to evacuate their homes "or suffer terrible retribution." All of these Israeli bombardments failed, however, to stop the Katyusha attacks, launched by small and well-hidden crews. Israel's Defence Minister, Moshé Arens, therefore decided to send ground forces into Lebanon.

Accordingly, Israeli forces

moved north, swept aside the road-blocks set up by U.N. peacekeepers, and proceeded to engage in a fierce battle with the Hizbullah fighters. In Jerusalem, this was officially declared to be "a limited operation with the limited objective of removing the threat to Northern Israel." Since nearly the same words had been used in 1982, to describe what then turned out to be a full-scale war, such statements failed to reassure the Israeli public. The Lebanon War had aroused the largest anti-war movement in Israeli history, and left behind a trauma comparable to "Vietnam Syndrome," not even the most nationalist Israelis relish the thought of repeating this experience. Thus, apprehension at the news from Lebanon mounted.

Also, a new Israeli invasion of Lebanon did not fit in with the United States Government's plans for the Middle East. Washington made its disapproval clear to Shamir, and the raiding Israeli forces were withdrawn from Lebanon with twenty-four hours. On the following day Syria, the new American ally, prevailed upon the Hizbullah to end the Katyusha attacks upon Israel — in which Damascus got the cooperation of Teheran, Hizbullah's patron. The new Hizbullah leadership agreed to the ceasefire, considering itself the victor in the exchange with Israel since the withdrawal of the Israeli raiders left the Hizbullah fighters in possession of the battlefield (three villages which were demolished and rendered uninhabitable during the fighting). The rocket attacks on Israel ceased, but no before the very last Katyusha landed at the Israeli village of Granot and killed five-year-old Aviya Elizada, whose father was too late in bringing her into the family air raid shelter.

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Though the escalation was defused in time, February's events once again demonstrate how easily the Middle East could burst into flame. The danger is all the greater considering that, so far, little or no progress has been registered in several rounds of Israeli-Arab talks at Madrid, Washington and Moscow. In talks with Lebanon, as in the ones with Syria and with the Palestinians, the main stumbling block is the total refusal by the Shamir government to withdraw from territories occupied in 1967 (in the case of Syria and the Palestinians) or in 1982 (in the case of Lebanon). Israel's ruling Likud Party regards the principle of Territory in Return for Peace — the only plausible basis for Arab-Israeli peace

— as total anathema.

The most obvious symbol of Shamir's annexationist policies is the continuing creation of Israeli settlements on confiscated Palestinian land all over the Occupied Territories — with the avowed purpose of making these territories a permanent part of Israel.

This symbol — and though it, the whole of Shamir's policy — is now under attack by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. Baker made it official: Israel will not get the ten billion dollars in Housing Loan Guarantees needed to absorb immigrants from the former Soviet Union, unless settlement activities are terminated. This constitutes a radical departure from the policies which the U.S. pursued in the Middle East over the past three decades, where enormous military, economic and political aid was given indiscriminately and unconditionally to the Israeli governments — considered to be a dependable ally against the "Soviet threat." With the end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union, such a threat no longer exists, and in Bush's "New World Order", Israel has far less importance than ever before.

For Israeli peace activists, this situation constitutes a dilemma. George Bush can hardly be regarded as an apt role of peace. Just over a year ago, a small group of Israeli peacekeepers picketed the American Embassy in Tel Aviv, continuing their active opposition to the Gulf War even while Tel Aviv was the target of Iraq seeds. Yet now, a bare year later, it seems clear that a convergence of interests has appeared between the Israeli peace movement and the Bush administration in Washington, and that this convergence is likely to continue as long as Bush maintains his vehement confrontation with Shamir. We, Israeli peace activists, could make use of this situation, which makes the Israeli public far more receptive to our message (since, in Israel, everything that comes from the United States gains much legitimacy). At the same time, we must never forget that the motives of Bush and Baker are very different from ours, and that American policy may change again, and swiftly, for all kinds of reasons. And if the U.S. government does continue on its present course, and Israeli-Arab/Israeli-Palestinian peace is achieved in the form of "Pax Americana", still our task is not done; we should still supplement whatever peace treaty is signed by politicians and diplomats with a "Peace from Below": an ongoing dialogue and human contact between Israelis and Palestinians, involving as many people as possible.

Adam Keller is an Israeli peace activist and editor of The Other Israel, published in Tel Aviv by the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace. He served several terms in Israeli military prisons for refusing reserve military service in Lebanon, for writing peace slogans on 117 Israeli army tanks, and for refusing military service altogether.

A free sample copy of The Other Israel can be obtained by writing to: **TOI Subscriptions and Mailing, P.O. Box 2542, Holon 58125, ISRAEL.**



Kurdish men in the "free zone" Photo: Kurdistan Report

## Kurds still under attack

Last year, the Kurds were the focus of world attention as thousands of refugees streamed out of Iraq under heavy fire, only to starve in the frozen mountains. But now world attention has turned elsewhere, while the Kurds continue to struggle against all odds for a homeland of their own.

Much of the enclave in northern Iraq that was placed under the protection of the United Nations and the U.S.-led coalition forces has become in effect a "Kurdish free zone," where the Kurds have been able to rebuild their homes and administer their own affairs on their traditional land. But they are attempting this under heavy pressure from both Iraq and Turkey, two governments which have been systematically attacking the Kurdish peoples in their countries for decades.

Turkish military forces have made repeated incursions into the Kurdish zone since it was established last spring; earlier this winter, the Turkish attackers napalmed Kurdish villages, claiming that they were bases for the Kurdish Workers' Party, a group outlawed in Turkey. Oddly, the Turkish government is making these attacks at the same time that it is declaring the "protection of the Kurds" to be a priority issue.

Iraq, meanwhile, is prevented by the presence of the coalition forces, and by the damage done to the country's infrastructure by the Gulf War, from making any serious military attacks on the Kurds in the north. Instead, they have imposed an embargo on food and fuel to the area. There are checkpoints at the borders of the "Kurdish free zone" at which all supplies are seized; wages and pensions in government-owned enterprises have been cut off; doctors, nurses, engineers, and all other civil servants are not being paid. Particularly given the destruction of the farmland by the war, the Kurds have been left almost entirely dependent on international aid agencies, and a severe winter has now slowed down this relief. And any kind of farming, foraging for wood, or sim-

ply travelling from place to place, is a hazard, due to hundreds of thousands of Iraqi-laid mines throughout the Kurdish area.

Despite all this, the Kurdish people in the U.N. established zone are closer than they have ever been to having their own territory, under their own control, and they are struggling to make it work, administering the area through a coalition government, rebuilding facilities with an all-volunteer engineer corps, and trying to move into replanting orchards and farms.

But there are also fears that the United Nations will soon pull out, and leave the Kurds once again at the mercy of Saddam Hussein, who has conducted campaigns of mass murder against them since he took power in Iraq. The United Nations High Commission on Refugees will be withdrawing from the Kurdish areas in the spring, and no other U.N. agency seems interested in taking over relief and reconstruction work. And the 500 U.N. guards are due to leave in the summer. The United States has not announced exactly what it plans to do with its troops in the area, but the Kurds know only too well that the U.S. is far from the most reliable of allies. And the lack of U.S. support for the Kurdish uprising last spring suggests that George Bush has placed the possibility of an independent Kurdistan firmly off his agenda.

For the moment, the Kurds simply want international protection; they want the United Nations, the United States, and any other western governments, to continue to keep the Iraqi forces out of the Kurdish zone. In the long run, though, says Massoud Barzani, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, "[we want] the world to deal with us as a political cause, not only a humanitarian one."

Now that they have some semblance of a homeland, the Kurds of northern Iraq will not relinquish it easily. But if the rest of the world loses interest in the Kurds once more, this half-independent nascent Kurdistan could easily be crushed, and one more blow levelled against self-determination for the Kurds. ☐





## Survival for tribal peoples

### Urgent Action

#### Paez Indians killed

On 16 December 1991 a group of Paez Indians, including women and children, were massacred in south west Colombia.

12 men, 4 women and 4 children were machine-gunned as they sat down to their evening meal. Another 20 Indians were seriously wounded. This was the most brutal Indian massacre to have taken place in South America in recent years. It is likely the killers were thugs working on behalf of the local landowner or drug dealers.

The massacre took place in the Cauca district of south west Colombia, an area which has seen violent conflict between Indians and landowners for generations. During the 1970s and 1980s Indian leaders there were regularly killed as the white landowners tried to prevent the Indians from living on the Indians' own land. Perhaps one of the most notorious murders was that of the ordained Roman Catholic priest and Paez Indian, Father Alvaro Ulcuc, as he was on his way to a baptism in 1984.

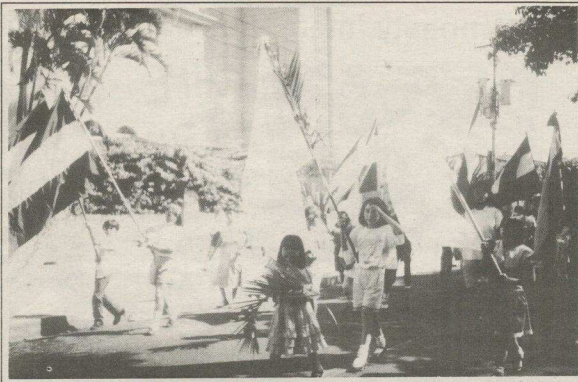
However, over the last couple of years there have been fewer killings in the area and there has been no Indian massacre involving so many people for a generation.

The murders took place in the north of the Cauca near the town of Caloté. A group of Paez Indians had settled there in recent years, on land owned by an old lady who was sympathetic to their plight. This land changed hands recently and it is thought that the drug dealers from a nearby city wanted to use it to grow the opium poppy which is replacing cocaine production in the zone.

On the night of the massacre 50-60 men armed with machine guns and with their faces covered entered the community and were met by about 60 Indians who were at the evening meal. The killers tied their victims up, made them lie on the floor and opened fire. There have been no arrests.

Please write to the President of Colombia expressing your dismay at the massacre. Urge the President to take action to demonstrate that those who murder Indians will be brought to justice, and note that conflict between Indians and others is a direct result of the denial of land rights.

Write to: Señor Presidente, Dr. Cesar Gaviria, Presidente de la Republica, Casa de Nariño, Carrera 8 No 7-26, Bogotá, Colombia.



Children in San Salvador celebrate the signing of the Peace Accords, January 16, 1992.  
Photo: Radio Venceremos

## El Salvador: what the accord means

By MARGARET SUMADH  
THE ACTIVIST  
WITH FILES FROM RADIO VENCEREMOS

The Peace Accords in El Salvador were signed on January 16, 1992, by the Christiani government and the FMLN, and the ceasefire came into effect on February 1. The product of the accumulated strength of the FMLN, popular movements and international solidarity, the U.N. sponsored negotiations and the Accords came as a result of almost twenty-five years of negotiations against a background of eleven years of cruel civil war. The agreements reached must be applauded in the spirit in which they have been worked out — they are the result of hard bargaining and cover a cross-section of the needs of a country decimated by war.

Such destruction as El Salvador has undergone makes necessary a new and fundamentally different approach to democratizing the country. Agreements have been reached in nine basic areas. What follows is a brief guide to these agreements; updates on the peace process will appear regularly in future issues of *The ACTIVIST*.

First, there will be extensive reform of the armed forces of El Salvador. The army will be subordinated to civilian authority, ending their power over the different branches of government. Their role will be redefined simply to defend against foreign aggression. The armed forces will be purged of those known to have committed crimes, and the legal impunity of the armed

forces will be abolished. The army is to be reduced by 50% within 2 years, while FMLN armed forces are to be demobilized by October 31, 1992. There will be an end to forced military recruitment and paramilitary groups (the notorious Death Squads).

Second, there will be four commissions set up to supervise the implementation of the agreement. COPAZ, the National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, will supervise the implementation of all political agreements. It has extensive powers of supervision and its own budget. It is made up of two government representatives (one from the armed forces), two FMLN representatives, and a member of each political party or coalition with members in the Legislative Assembly. The Bishop of San Salvador and a delegate from the United Nations Observer Mission, ONUSAL, will be observers. The Truth Commission, appointed by the U.N. Secretary General, will have power to investigate cases of gross violations of human rights that must be urgently resolved. The Ad-Hoc Commission for the Purgation of the Armed Forces will carry out an assessment of all members of the armed forces. And the Forum of Socio-Economic Plans will create and establish permanent dialogue between the government, unions, and private enterprise.

Third, there will be several important socio-economic agreements. Most importantly, land reform will be implemented, limiting property to 245 hectares. Govern-

ment land will go to landless peasants and small farmers. The current land tenure system in conflict zones will be respected during the interim period. International aid will go directly to communities, rather than to the government.

Fourth, the existing security forces (Treasury Police, National Police, National Guard, all of which are under the control of the armed forces) will be dissolved, and a new National Civil Police will be formed.

Fifth, the President's National Intelligence Directorate will be dissolved. The new state intelligence agency will be independent of the armed forces.

Sixth, both the government and the FMLN have pledged to implement completely the Human Rights agreements signed in 1990 — respect for civil political and individual rights, especially labour

rights, freedom of the press, freedom of association, religion and expression; and end to torture, disappearances, kidnapping, arrest without legal justification; respect for rights of refugees; freedom of movement in conflict zones guaranteed; all political prisoners to be freed at a date yet to be negotiated. A National Authority for the Defence of Human Rights will be appointed and a National Office of Human Rights set up.

Seventh, a Supreme Electoral Tribunal whose members are not members of any political party will be set up to determine electoral issues.

Eighth, the judicial system will be professionalized, the Supreme Court and the National Council of the Judiciary reorganized and made independent of the ruling party, and there will be a new selection procedure for the Judiciary.

Finally, the United Nations mission, ONUSAL, will supervise the situation closely and have wide powers.

There are some who oppose the peace negotiations. They are from the Treasury Police, Public Security, National Guard and the First Infantry Brigade. They have been trying to create a consolidated front with some members of the oligarchy and others.

The struggle is far from over. The Peace Accords remove the main obstacles to building a democratic El Salvador and a society based on principles of social justice. But members of the military, assisted by ongoing U.S. intervention, will continue to do what they can to limit popular participation in Salvadoran politics and maintain their economic privileges.

However, the Salvadoran people are hopeful for the first time in decades that they at last see the possibility of guiding their own destiny. ☺

## Penan arrested at logging blockade

The government of Malaysia is cracking down on the Penan people, who have been blockading roads in an attempt to prevent their traditional lands from being destroyed by clear-cut logging.

On February 5, Anderson Mutang Urd, the Executive Director of the Sarawak Indigenous Peoples' Alliance, was arrested under 'emergency laws' which allow the government to detain him without trial for up to two years.

Since then, emergency laws have been used to arrest an undetermined number of Penan who were blockading logging roads.

NDP Member of Parliament Svend Robinson was in Malaysia on a fact-finding mission shortly before the arrests began, and has spoken out against Malaysian government policy since. In return, the Malaysian government has made the rather unlikely accusation that Robinson was encouraging Penan blockaders to use poison darts against government officials. "Then, like a bird of passage, he returned to his comfortable home in Canada," said Primary Industries Minister Lim Keng Yaik. Robinson denied these charges. ☺



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## Rape as torture — Amnesty International on women in prison

By MAGGIE HELWIG  
THE ACTIVIST

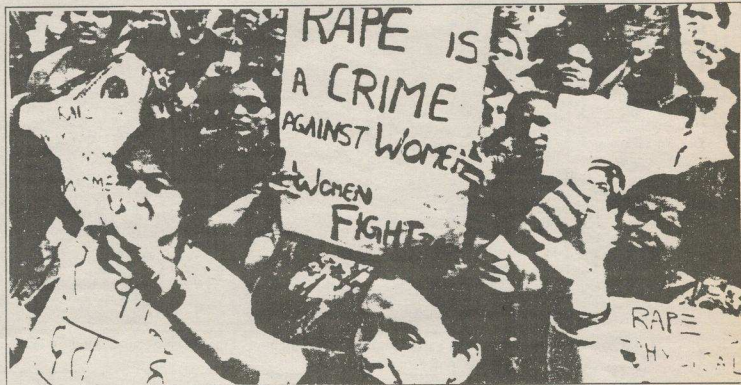
Last year at this time, Amnesty International published *Women in the Front Line*, officially declaring that human rights must include women's rights; and that there are particular violations of human rights that happen mostly or entirely to women. It was overdue but welcome, since Amnesty generally set the tone for the entire human rights movement. Now, with the release of their thin, but very important, report titled *Rape and Sexual Abuse: Torture and Ill-treatment of Women in Detention*, they have made a concrete step in defining what a concern for women's rights as human rights should mean. It is only too bad that Amnesty doesn't take the report as far as it could go.

The eleven-page document details cases, in the Philippines, Uganda, northern Ireland, Greece, Guatemala and other countries, of women raped by prison guards and police officers as a form of torture or as part of a routine of interrogation. "Yet many governments," the report notes, "persistently refuse to recognize that rape and sexual abuse are serious human rights violations... Many governments clearly regard rape and sexual assault as less serious offences than other human rights violations. This is a particularly frightening prospect when the perpetrators of these rapes are those same policemen and military personnel charged with the protection of the public."

In 1986, a Peruvian prosecutor told an Amnesty delegation that "rape was to be expected when troops were conducting counter-insurgency operations." Rape as an interrogation tactic has been reported in northern Ireland and Turkey, among other countries.

Women in Jammu and Kashmir, India, have reported widespread cases of mass rape during "counter-insurgency operations," and Amnesty says, "they appear to have been victimized simply because they live in an area where armed opposition groups are active." These Muslim women have organized large protests and demonstrations against rapes, and other abuses, committed by the soldiers and paramilitary forces; in March 1991, to take one example, hundreds of women demonstrated in Srinagar. At least 24 were injured by police batons and tear gas.

(Men, of course, can be and sometimes are raped by police or security personnel); but this is less common, while sexual abuse of women is an almost routine form of attack. Perhaps this is because it pulls a number of power imbalances neatly together—the "state" versus the "dissident", the powerful man versus the weak woman, the jailer ver-



Women in India demonstrate against rape by the military and paramilitary forces. Photo: Amnesty International

sus the prisoner, the "sexual object" versus the "sexual actor." Raping men is a powerful tool of humiliation, but it is not so symbolically tidy; and it implies that the jailer, too, can potentially be "emasculated" in the same way as his victim. To rape a man is to tell him he is no longer really a man. To rape a woman is to tell her precisely that she is a woman.)

Unfortunately, the Amnesty report limits itself to cases of women who are arrested or ill-treated for political reasons. The fact is, however, that police and security personnel around the world quite commonly rape or sexually abuse women who fall under their "authority" in any way; and, just as Amnesty says, the governments involved often do not consider this a serious violation of human rights. Indeed, some of the more notorious cases have happened in Canada.

There was the case of Robin Voce, who was raped by two police officers in their cruiser when she was picked up for drunk driving in 1984, when she was 19 years old. She charged the officers, and was subjected to five years of legal delays and hearings in which her sexual and "moral" history were put on trial, until finally she committed suicide in May of 1989. The two officers were found guilty of misconduct and dismissed from the police force, but suffered no other penalties. The police staff supervisor who delivered the verdict said that he believed the officers did have sex with her, but that there was no rape, and Ms. Voce just "somehow convinced herself that she had been abused."

Robin Voce was able to bring charges against her attackers, even if it ended up

becoming a second attack on her. Probably the greatest number of women raped by police officers, however, are prostitutes, who don't have even this option.

There are a lot of men—especially men in positions of power—who think that, if a woman is forced by poverty to sell sex, she gives up her right to refuse sex ever again. And women who work on the streets are sort too aware that the police have declared a sort of permanent open season on them. Because they are, by the standards of our society, criminals, they have little choice but to buy the police off with sex on demand. If they resist and are assaulted or raped, they can do nothing about it.

There is also the acknowledged but little discussed prevalence of sexual assaults in prisons. This can run the gamut from male guards lifting women prisoners nightgowns while the women sleep, "just to have a look", all the way to outright rape. And the *Toronto Star* recently ran a series of articles on the women in prison who bargain with sex for small "privileges" like phone calls, or just to avoid other forms of abuse.

It is terribly important to remember that women who have "broken the law" do not thereby give up any of their basic human rights; women who must work as prostitutes to survive do not thereby become fair game for police officers. Of course, we know this, on one level. But on another level, everyone seems just a bit squeamish about taking up the cases.

Strong, vocal defense coalitions have formed—and rightly—around the several black youths shot by police in Toronto. Robin Voce was supported by some women, mostly the same front-line crisis workers who help so many survivors of rape and assault. But public support from "the movement" (and I include the women's movement) was sadly lacking, and surely contributed to the shame and isolation that drove her to suicide.

It is interesting, too, that the Amnesty report is one of the rare reports from a human rights organization in which rapes are condemned even when they are not associated with massacres. It is only recently, it sometimes seems, that rape is mentioned as a human rights violation on its own, even if the woman is not brutally killed afterwards.

In a violent society, in a violent world, the mechanisms of public order are all too often the mechanisms of institutionalized violence; and that violence always goes towards the weakest. Not only the women, but the women who are most vulnerable to attack, be they political dissidents or sex workers or poor women shoplifting to survive.

Rape and sexual assault are violations of human rights every bit as fundamental as murder and torture, and it is important that human rights organizations are starting to say this and act on it. All of us—the peace movement, the human rights movement, the women's movement—have some changes yet to make, but at least the changes are beginning to be made. ☺

## Activist's jail sentence cut in half after protests

After receiving a stream of letters in support of Dr. Yolanda Huet-Vaughn, who was sentenced to 2 1/2 years in prison for her refusal to serve in the Gulf War, the judge reviewing her case has cut her sentence in half, to 15 months.

In fact, Dr. Huet-Vaughn has already served almost that time in custody, since she turned herself in last January. However, the months she spent confined to a military base while waiting for her trial apparently do not count as "imprisonment."

The case was brought to a military parole board last month, but the Pentagon

has taken no action towards granting her parole. It is important that the pressure which led to Dr. Huet-Vaughn's sentence being reduced should be maintained; we have to continue to insist that she be freed immediately, and furthermore that the charge of "desertion" should be dropped.

Letters can be sent to: Mr. James Vick, Military Review Board Agency, Army Clemency and Parole Board, 1941 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, Virginia, 22202-4508. You can also phone Mr. Vick at 703-607-1504. ☺

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Women in Serbia

## "We do not give them permission"

STASA ZAJOVIC  
PEACE NEWS

(Belgrade) Throughout the postwar period, concern over women's social condition in Serbia and Yugoslavia has been reduced to an obsession with keeping up the working-class birthrate.

As nationalism replaced class struggle as the basis of political discourse in Serbia, this obsession with reproduction was transferred to the nation. With the 1987 "anti-bureaucratic revolution" [led by Slobodan Milosevic] a strange sort of sisterhood began to show itself on the streets. Huge crowds throughout the country shouted "we want arms" — in a sort of collective trance, united in hate and the desire for vengeance for Serbia's "offended nationhood."

In tandem with the cult of blood and soil, the new Serbian nationalists also summoned to life the symbolic mediaeval figure of Mother Yugoslavia — the long-suffering, brave, stoic mother of nine, offering her children up to death in the defense of the fatherland. Maternity is now to be seen as an obligation, not as a free option for women; the sexuality of women has to be controlled and reduced to procreation.

And this has been seen in increasingly militarist ("or national security") terms. The structures of militarised power now insist that the birthrate must grow so that the nation might defend itself in military conflict with other people.

Women are to be blamed for any shortfall in this sacred mission: "I call upon all Serbian women to give birth to one more son in order to carry out their national debt," stated one politician. Another, Rada Trajkovic of the Association of Kosovo Serbs, was even more explicit in viewing mothers' sons as cannon fodder: "For each soldier fallen in the war against Slovenia [June 1991]

Serbian women must give birth to 100 more sons."

### Men and Militarization

Before the massive wave of mobilisation for civil war, there were warnings in some parts of the country — such as Montenegro, known for its martial traditions — that men should be prepared to give up their lives for the fatherland and that anything less would be a blow to their masculine dignity. Men were expected to follow national tradition, whereby "in war not one Montenegrin man can be protected by a woman."

One parliamentarian stated that "we in Montenegro believe that a man who is fighting at the front and allows himself to be hauled back home by a woman should commit suicide at once." This perception that women were preventing men from fulfilling their national duty was reinforced in radio broadcasts from the Dubrovnik front, in which a high proportion of Montenegro's were involved. Soldiers would send greetings to their fathers, brothers, and male friends, but not to their wives or girlfriends.

## Cambodia: refugee women organize for change

YOK KALYAN  
WOMEN'S PEACE ORGANIZATION

Yok Kalyan is the chairwoman of the Women's Peace Organization, a group of women organizing in the Cambodian refugee camps. In this article, reprinted from WRI Women, she shares some ideas.

Today many countries are concerned about the complex problems of Cambodia, and mediation and discussions to solve these issues are taking place. Yet women do not participate. Women were not thought of.

And in Site 2, a camp for Cambodian refugees, women's issues such as rape, polygamy, polyandry, battering, etc. are not

considered at all... Happily, the number of men who wish to free themselves from this macho war culture is growing, and more are not ashamed of being protected by their mothers, wives, and sisters. A committee of women was formed in Montenegro in October 1991: "We raise the voice of protest against the private war which those in charge are making from their offices. They have sent their sons out of the country and on to the tennis courts, while our sons carry on being carried by force to the front and to their graves. We demand that these demented leaders, politicians, and members of the military resign immediately in order to save this country."

### Women as Soldiers

An increase in the numbers of women in the army is no indicator of sexual equality, least of all where there has been no corresponding democratisation of society. There are women in all the militias and national armies now active in former Yugoslavia, appropriating the most brutal patriarchal values.

Women members of the Serbian militias in Croatia do not occupy important positions in the military hierarchy. The frontline is for the men; the knidze or female militia, in the words of one member "occupy the administrative jobs, communication services, health, stores. We are simply replacing the boys who have gone into combat. But we too have passed the military entrance exam and we can help the boys at any moment."

A small number of Croatian and Serbian women fighters have gone to the front and have been rapidly converted into mythical figures, confirming what patriarchal history teaches us: that women enter history only when they have taken on masculine roles. The media celebrate these women as heroines when they kill the enemy; when women fighters from the other side are captured they are denounced as "monstrous women" and the like.

The first female battalion of the war was established in Glina, a Serbian-majority town in Croatia annexed to the Serbian autonomous region in December 1991. Members took the oath "we will fight against all of the Serbs' enemies under the protection of God" and heard male officers declare sentiments like "if our mothers should not have been heroines, they would not have given birth to such valiant children."

Patriotic women also fight on the "home front", of course. In Belgrade, women knit socks and gather winter clothing to keep the boys at the front warm. The pro-government media fawn on every evidence of maternal mobilisation, at the same time ridiculing the work of women in the anti-war committees and centres.

We feel it is clear that the majority of women are on the side of peace. They are convinced that they can offer the historical female alternative: nonviolence in place of violence, life in place of death. Stasa Zajovic, an elderly refugee from a Serbian village in Croatia, told me that "we women ... should have united like them [the military] — we could have made a peace accord in no time at all."

### The Mothers' Movement

With the end of the war in Slovenia in early July 1991, human rights — above all, the right to life — lay in ruins throughout Yugoslavia. In such a situation, women burst on to the political scene, demanding the right to live. On 2 July, a parliamentary session in Belgrade was interrupted by several hundred parents, mostly conscripts' mothers. This was the first civil society initiative against the war in the federal capital, and the first to protest against the abuse of women's reproductive work by the state, nation, army, and party. "Men are the controllers of the war and of our sons. We do not give them permission to push our sons forward to kill one another."

As a result, the very role — reproduction — which marginalises women in their private lives has had the effect of converting them into active participants in the political life of the nation. So the patriarchal divide between the personal and the political is weakened; the personal has become the political in this war. The mothers' movement has contained all the ingredients for a militarist's nightmare.

On the other hand, the mothers' movement has been subject to different types of manipulation by political structures. A part of the mothers' movement has been used — both in Serbia and Croatia — for patriotic propaganda. It is easy to exploit the sentiments of mothers whose sons' lives are in danger. The soldiers' mothers at times feel confused, internalising the struggle between the "patriotic" sentiment which underlies official propaganda and the desire to save their own sons.

Yugoslav women have been linked together in a feminist network since 1987; they have managed to maintain solidarity and plan joint activities ever since, rejecting the policies of divide and rule. Over the past four months normal communication has been almost impossible, with the cutting of telephone lines, post, and transport between the republics. In spite of such obstacles, feminists — Serbians, Albanians, Croats, Slovenians, Hungarians, and Montenegrins — are united in organising against the war. Joint protests, such as the weekly "Women in Black" demonstrations, are a product of this unity. ☸

considered at all...

In Site 2 we've also faced the loss of women's rights in other sectors, such as in legal matters, where the police have often ignored or set back women's rights. Some parents compel their daughters to take husbands, and forbid them to study. These matters lead women to great sorrow and some decided to commit suicide.

Women of conscience must lead the way for the next generation. For this reason, a group of us have set up an organization in Site 2. We want to foster self-confidence, confidence in our nation and a sense of community. We don't want to see women as a garden or a flower decorating male leader-

ship. We don't want women to be oppressed mentally or physically by men. Some ideas from old traditions have to be changed.

First we would like to care for abandoned children, feed them and teach them to be good citizens and care for others. We also want to educate prostitutes who are often depressed and also help women supplement their incomes, since so many problems come from their inability to earn a living. We don't want women to depend 100% on others. We have often met and exchanged ideas and opinions about women's problems. On May 17, 1991, we decided to give ourselves the name "Women's Peace Organization" and to formalize our initiatives. ☸



## KO:leKTIV projects

By MAGGIE HELWIG

Well, yeah, you can't get away from the same questions over and over again. KO:leKTIV is this band made up of five guys who sing almost nothing but songs about violence against women, and here I am again trying to come up with some way of evaluating these things; I mean this is suddenly such a trendy thing to do, and so often it gives me a bad feeling, but how do you know ...

It is maybe not politically good or even useful to say so, but in the end it comes down to the people. In the end it comes down to the fact that I know two of the guys in KO:leKTIV real well, and I have seen them interacting with women and men, and I have worked with them and talked with them, and they're for real. They have worked hard on themselves and their own conditioning and behaviour, and they would be the first to admit that they're hardly models of perfect male feminism, but they are really really trying. So it comes down to that, the reason I

think KO:leKTIV is a good thing. And I'll overlook a few small incongruities ("I hate those fucking macho assholes!" screams the lead singer, hurling the mike stand across the stage) and recommend them as a positive men's initiative against violence.

Anyway, they're a GOOD BAND, dammit.

Mark Murray, the singer, and Chris Hind, the guitarist, were members of the late lamented Extended Circle (not to mention the equally lamented direct action group Innu Rights Now!), and there are pretty strong similarities between their earlier band and this one — they even sing some of the same songs. Mark still screams and howls and leaps and pounds his fists on the ground and hurls himself off the stage. And Chris still stands motionless and nearly expressionless near the back of the stage and plays hard, fast guitar. KO:leKTIV has added a keyboard, though, and uses more complex drum lines. Mark has called it an "industrial ska band" and there is some ska in the rhythm.



The songs — they hand out lyric sheets at their gigs, by the way — are mostly loud and high-velocity, slam-dance type songs; but there's also the slower, sinister, terrifying 'Crime', a song about incest that leaves me so shaken up that every time I hear it start I want to say, oh, no, don't play that one ... KO:leKTIV is not an easy-listening band.

The point is, though, they actually do have a chance of

reaching guys who haven't heard all this before. And they don't pull any punches. And if they do get through to some kid who's thinking to stomp somebody on the dance floor or slap his girlfriend around, and they make him think — well, that's worth it.

Not that's it's all grim. There's also the song that's composed entirely of great lines from David Lynch movies. Even if you don't need or want to hear

anything politically correct some nights you can see KO:leKTIV for the music and the sense of humour. Whatever. You should just see them.

On this note: KO:leKTIV actually refused to play at an NDP event on the grounds that it wasn't good anarchism. They'll be playing a benefit for Aftermath, a group for survivors of sexual abuse, sometime soon, though. Watch for it. ☺

## Against the attack on the brain: a new collection

### Electroshock:

#### The Case Against

Robert F. Morgan, ed.  
IPI Publishing Ltd.  
pp. 80  
\$10.95



REVIEWED BY DON WEITZ

This is a thoroughly researched, hard-hitting, empowering and very readable book — an updated version of the original 1983 book simply and starkly titled *Electric Shock*. The shock doctors/promoters call this psychiatric atrocity ECT, "electroconvulsive therapy." If anything but therapeutic or safe, and you'll soon find out why. This anthology is essentially a call to action to abolish this brain-damaging, mind-disabling procedure still masquerading as a "treatment" for "depression", "manic-depressive psychosis" (the new euphemism is "bipolar mood disorder") and even "schizophrenia." ECT was first introduced into Canada and the United States in the early 1940s, imported from fascist Italy.

*Electroshock: The Case Against* is particularly timely in light of the steady and alarming increase in shock "treatment" in both Canada and the USA. Since no health ministry publishes shock statistics, we can only estimate the total number of Canadians subjected to this atrocity annually at about 8,000. In the USA, shock critics have fairly estimated the figure as close to 100,000 per year. No person gets only one shock — seven

or eight is par for the course. You get twice as many if you're labelled "schizophrenic."

The contributing writers in this dynamic collection of anti-shock critiques include psychiatrist Peter R. Breggin, author of *Toxic Psychiatry*; the first neurologist John Friedberg, the dissident neurologist to publicly condemn "ECT" as brain-damaging and unethical; journalist Berton Roucheé, who wrote one of the most biographical accounts of a shock survivor; Leonard Roy Frank, a shock survivor himself and editor of the critically-acclaimed *History of Shock Treatment*; and psychologists Bertram Karon and Robert Morgan who rightly compare ECT to lobotomy.

The damning critiques of Breggin, Friedberg and Frank are

emotional blunting, and deaths caused by shock. Thanks to these courageous investigators, we now know that the brain damage resulting from the "treatment" is predictable, permanent, unethical and tragic. Breggin's brain-disabling hypothesis — that is, that ECT "works" by damaging the brain — is unfortunately all too true. The real but hidden purpose of ECT (as well as psychosurgery — lobotomy — and the chemical lobotomies euphemistically called "major tranquilizers" or "anti-psychotics") is social control, mind control. Scary but true.

My main criticism of this otherwise outstanding and powerful work is its omission of a few significant political struggles against shock in both Canada and the USA.

The psychiatric survivor/anti-psychiatry movement in North America and Europe is totally opposed to and actively resists this atrocity. Since the 1970s, it has held many protest demonstrations, particularly in California, New York, Syracuse, Boston, Portland, London (England) and Toronto. These protests are continuing and are usually linked to similar protests against psychiatric drugs and psychosurgery. I hope a book about these important human rights struggles, led by survivors, emerges

soon.

*Electroshock: The Case Against* should be required reading for all psychiatric survivors, and all those mental health professionals, right wing "mental health" groups (e.g. Ontario Friends of Schizophrenics and the National Association of the Mentally III), medical students and psychiatric residents who still believe that "ECT" is a safe, effective and life-saving treatment. Abolishing this crime against humanity is long overdue. ☺

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## Appealing for global peace

By STEPHEN DANKOWICH  
THE ACTIVIST

The Toronto Appeal for Peace was launched February 17 by Mairead Corrigan-Maguire, a Nobel Peace Prize winner and a director of the Canadian-based World Council for Global Cooperation.

The Toronto Appeal is a clarion call to reduce military spending around the world. It appeals for tax dollars to fund better education and health care, at home and abroad. It demands the restoration of human rights and guarantees for civil liberties of all. The Appeal sounds a new call for fair and rational use of Earth's scarce resources to overcome poverty and the ecological crisis.

The Toronto Appeal understands all of these problems as interlinked. Support for the peace dividend can help fund globally interlinked solutions.

Mairead Corrigan-Maguire is from northern Ireland and one of only four women ever to win the Nobel Peace Prize. She won the award in 1977 for her efforts to put an end to the violence in Belfast between Irish Catholics and Protestants through non-violent means.

Corrigan-Maguire founded the Community of Peace People and organized peace rallies in Belfast, Dublin, London and other places, calling for understanding and dialogue. She herself was a victim of the violence, suffering injuries to her face and head. Three of her nieces, all young children, were shot to death by gunmen.

Corrigan-Maguire gave a riveting speech to the well-attended public forum at which the Toronto Appeal was launched. We must take money from military budgets around the world, she said. This is an easy thing to do: all that is lacking is the will to do so.

She argued that we cannot claim to be civilized when people are homeless and genocidal atrocities are tolerated. Rich nations have the moral responsibility to help liberate the peoples of the developing world, not out of charity but because we all constitute the

human family. The Appeal calls for world cooperation as the problems are bigger than any one country.

Northern Ireland can be viewed as a "living laboratory" of the real conflicts that the world will see more and more of, if ordinary people do not demand that all aspects of militarism be curtailed.

To Corrigan-Maguire, it is a myth that Catholics and Protestants are fighting each other in northern Ireland: "When people don't know each other, there is a fear. It's all right to be afraid, to have fear, but it can be overcome in courage. Out of fear, we scapegoat people. We need compassion, not sentimentality, but a feeling of closeness to the other person, taking responsibility for that other person and wanting to take responsibility."

Corrigan-Maguire advocates that we "be happy in our peace-making, be kinder. We are each precious. We need dialogue built on respect for the other person, to draw out the good in others. We need to teach non-violence at every level of existence, and particularly now when we are witnessing the rebirthing of a new humanity."

The Toronto Appeal for Peace acknowledges that there is a diminishing threat of nuclear war but that many wars rage on, making peace a long way off.

To get there, we must build a society that is capable of being different. Start where you are along this "hard, hard path of life."

In one of her many anecdotes, Corrigan-Maguire told us how moved she was when a visiting friend picked up a caterpillar and carried it gently to a nearby bush. He remarked, "I'm just helping it along it's way."

It's the little efforts of lots of people that will help us all along our way, making peace that much closer to reality.

Copies of the Toronto Appeal for Peace are available from ACT (\$1). To contact the World Council for Global Cooperation, write to 2472 Bayview Ave, Toronto, M2L 1A1 or phone (416) 432-4600.

## Ontario Peace Conference makes connections for 1992

After successfully reconvening at the International Peace Bureau Conference last year, the Ontario Peace Conference will take place in Oakville in 1992, from September 11 to 13, hosted by ACT Oakville.

The OPC is not a decision-making body, but rather a venue for activists from around Ontario to gather and share their experiences, ideas and strategies annually. "It's important for all of us to participate in the development of the peace network across Ontario," says Stephen Dankowich of ACT Oakville.

Below are a proposed theme and agenda for the 1992 OPC. Please remember that these are still only proposals — we still need your suggestions and input!

It is suggested that the theme for OPC 1992 would be "Building Peace Culture in Ontario: Working Together for Change."

The registration fee will be minimal as possible. The organizers have proposed a fee of \$20 prior to July 31 and a late registration fee of \$35. Fees include meals, billet in a local peace activists' home, and invitation to the social on Saturday night. Registration fees would be waived for anyone low on cash.

After a social Friday night, the conference will begin at 9 a.m. on Saturday with a full plenary, lasting until noon. The organiz-

ers suggest a go-around with everyone relating their work for peace in the past year. After lunch, the participants would divide into three information workshops. The topics suggested for these workshops are 1) Peace Education/Conflict Resolution; 2) How to Make Peace Visible in Your Community; how to organize a peace group, protest, resistance, who to outreach to, etc; 3) Building Peace Culture: what do we define as "peace"? how to establish domestic violence as a peace issue in Ontario.

Then there would be three activist-oriented workshops, with the suggested topics being 1) The Peace Movement and Indigenous Peoples; 1992; 2) The Peace Movement and the Canadian Constitutional Questions; 3) Economic Alternatives That the Peace Movement Could Advance.

At 5 p.m., when the workshops conclude, there would be a demonstration and a wreath-laying at the war memorial, followed by an evening social dinner and dance.

Sunday morning, from 11 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., would be devoted to reports from the workshops to the full plenary, and after lunch there would be small-group networking on issues and campaigns.

For more information about OPC 1992, contact Stephen Dankowich at the new ACT Oakville phone number, 844-4453.

The Applewood Centre presents

## Matthew Fox Thomas Berry and others . . .

April 3-4, 1992  
MATTHEW FOX



Friday Matthew Fox will speak on Creation Spirituality, drawing from the interpretations in his latest book of the same name. Saturday the topic will be "Liberating the Cosmic Christ in each one of us." Location: Metro Toronto Convention Centre.

April 24-26, 1992  
APPLEWOOD MEN'S WEEKEND  
"Creating Male Spirit"

Neil Douglas-Klotz, founder and director of the Centre for the Dances of Universal Peace, and artist, educator Joseph Kilikevici offer an alternative model for gatherings of men in this residential weekend.

Location: Ecology Retreat Centre, Orangeville

May 15-18, 1992  
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FOURTH ANNUAL CREATIVITY CONFERENCE

Waking up to our story,  
the human story, the earth story"

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Location: Geneva Park, Orillia

### FALL DATES TO NOTE

September 11-12 - Starhawk and Luisah Teish  
September 25-26 - Jean Houston  
December 4-5 - Sam Keen

### OF SPECIAL INTEREST

"Bly and Woodman on Men and Women" is the title of a six-part home video series. The ground-breaking production features author Robert Bly and analyst Marion Woodman dealing with the critical issues facing men and women today as they seek to deepen their relationships.

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Please send me information on the programs led by:

Mathew Fox     All upcoming programs  
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"Applewood 92" - our tenth anniversary year



## Peace Action Briefs

June 1992 will mark the 25th anniversary of the Six Day War between Israel and the Palestinians. An international group of peace activists will commemorate it with a six day "Walk for a Peaceful Future in the Middle East."

Co-ordinated in Canada by Muriel Sibley and Howard Breen-Needham of the Gulf Peace Team, the walk will start near Haifa, Israel and proceed through Jerusalem to the West Bank.

"We believe," says a group statement, "that a durable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has to be based on meeting the aspirations of both the Israeli and the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence, international recognition and security... We deplore all acts of violence and violations of human rights. We intend to affirm this demand on our way, by holding vigils outside prisons and other sites, where such abuses have taken place. We are particularly in solidarity with those — Israelis and Palestinians — who have lost their freedom or even lives for defending the cause of peace and justice through non-violent means."

The Walk is endorsed by, among others, War Resisters International, Bruce Kent of the International Peace Bureau, Adam Keller of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, and Mubarak Awad of Nonviolence International. The Canadian co-ordinators can be reached at Walk for a Peaceful

Future in the Middle East, R.R. #1 Site 11 C7, Gabriola Island, B.C. VOR 1X0, telephone 604-247-7464.

\*\*\*  
The City Council of Windsor, Ontario, has turned down a proposal to open a "recreational war games operation" in downtown Windsor.

An abandoned factory would have been converted to a "paintball" palace. In paintball, opposing players use carbon dioxide powered guns to fire paint-filled gelatin capsules at each other. The capsules explode on impact, covering the "enemy" with paint.

Peace activists, church groups and teachers lobbied against the proposal, explaining that it presented violence as a "game" and as an acceptable form of behaviour. The City Council was apparently convinced.

\*\*\*  
For the second time in 2 months, a group of Libyans representing the Families of the American Aggression Victims Society (survivors of the 1986 raid on Tripoli and Benghazi) demonstrated in front of the Palais des Nations in Geneva on Feb 19th. Their purpose was to prevent any further U.S. attacks on Libya over the Lockerbie bombing allegations. The Society was set up in 1988 and comprises families of over 400 killed and wounded. The group has had a meeting in Tripoli with a representative of the Lockerbie victims, and firmly renounces any connection with terrorism.



They are demanding compensation for the victims' families and an end to threats of state-sponsored terrorism against Libya.

Contact: Munir Sharmit, CP 3558, Tripoli, Libya. Tel:+218-21-39300, fax: 41420.

An International Committee for Solidarity with Libya will be organizing an International Day of Action on the anniversary of the 1986 raid, April 15. Contact: Wolfgang Schmidt, ISCL, Steingasse 16/1/1/3, A-1030, Vienna. Tel: +43-1-310-9103, fax: 310-9102.

\*\*\*  
The Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas has just released a new briefing paper on SEAFAC, a testing site for U.S. nuclear submarines located off the coast of Alaska. SEAFAC was opened last November, with

the consent of the Canadian government — the submarines will be passing through Canadian waters to reach the U.S. Navy facility.

In fact, this consent was superfluous, since the U.S. Navy has been using Canadian waters for submarine traffic since at least 1989.

The Trident submarines which will be tested at SEAFAC are implicitly first-strike weapons, and have long been a target of opposition by U.S. peace activists.

Opposition to SEAFAC itself has been widespread. The facility itself and the paths the submarines will take to get there violate the traditional lands of the Haida and the Tongass peoples. In August 1991, Friends of Back Island Alaska staged an action at Behn Canal (which the subs will

travel through) with citizens from Haida Gwaii, Prince Rupert (B.C.) and Ketchikan (Alaska).

For more information about resistance to the SEAFAC base, contact the Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas Resource Centre, Denman Island, B.C., VOR 1T0, phone and fax 604-335-0351.

\*\*\*  
8% of the money collected in federal income taxes goes to fund the Canadian military. Conscience Canada is urging anyone who is able to withhold that 8% and send the money to them, where they will hold it in trust until it can be used for promoting peace. For more information on tax resistance, contact Conscience Canada, PO Box 8601, Victoria Centre PO, Victoria, B.C. V8W 3S2.

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**AFTERMATH OF THE GULF WAR,** talk by Atif Kubursi, sponsored by the Marxist Institute, Wed. March 25, 7:30 p.m., Rm. 315, 4 Bancroft Ave. (north of College, runs west off Huron), U of T. \$3. or PWYC. 971-6281 for more info.

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- Canadian Voice of Women for Peace
- Centre for Peace Studies, McMaster University
- Radio for Peace International
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# EAST TIMOR UPDATE

Number 9 — March 1, 1992

*In December 1975, just ten days after declaring its independence from Portugal, the tiny southeast Asian country of East Timor was invaded by its neighbour Indonesia. In the decade-and-a-half since, 250,000 people — over a third of the indigenous Timorese population — have been killed. Genocide and massive human rights violations — everything from rape to indiscriminate killings to forced abortions — go on to this day. But so does the struggle for freedom of the East Timorese people. It is largely the support of countries like Canada that allows Indonesia to maintain its occupation.*

*East Timor Update is a monthly news service edited in Toronto by the East Timor Alert Network. Reprinting is encouraged, but please credit East Timor Update. Contact the Network for more information:*

*National/West: 104—2120 West 44th, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2.*

*Toronto: PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, M5S 2T1.*

*Ottawa: 2760 Carleton Cres. #511, Ottawa Ont., K1T 2N2*

*Eastern Ontario: 217 Gleggarry Rd., Kingston Ont., K7M 3J6.*

*Western Ontario: Dr Peter Eglar, Wilfred Laurier University, Waterloo Ont., N2L 3C5.*

*Québec: 1375 Sherwood Cres., Town of Mount Royal, Que., H3R 3C8*

## Action of the Month

Following the massacre of last Nov. 12 in Dili, East Timor, hundreds of survivors were arrested and accused of "provoking" Indonesian soldiers in firing on the crowd. In Dili, 37 are still imprisoned; thirteen students are to go on trial shortly for "being involved"; four of these are charged with subversion, which carries a maximum penalty of death. These show trials make a mockery of any pretence by Indonesia to be punishing the soldiers who ordered the massacre.

Please appeal for the release of all Timorese prisoners, especially those charged with subversion (Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, Francisco Miranda Branco, Fernando de Araujo, João Freitas da Camara). Write to President Suharto (Istana Negara, Jalan Veteran, Jakarta, Indonesia). Ask Canada to intervene on behalf of the thirteen (External Affairs Minister, Barbara McDougall, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ont., K1A 0A6). And if you're a student, get your school or student group to speak out for these Timorese students.

## Peace ship makes waves

Foreign journalists have been banned from East Timor by Indonesian military authorities, and "scores" of arrests of young Timorese are being reported in preparation for a "peace ship" that plans to land in East Timor in early March. The Portuguese and international students on board the Lusitania Expresso plan to lay flowers on the graves of massacre victims at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, where Indonesian soldiers gunned down as many as 200 unarmed pro-independence demonstrators last Nov. 12.

The ship, which left Portugal last month, is carrying former Portuguese President Antonio Ramalho Eanes (a former army general who played a decisive role in securing democracy in Portugal after the 1974 revolution and was head of state from 1976 to 1986), and over 100 students and journalists.

The Ontario Federation of Students has sent representative Genevieve Appleton, a film student at Ryerson Polytechnic, on the "Peace in Timor Mission."

In the weeks it has taken the Lusitania Expresso get from Portugal to the South Pacific, Indonesian authorities expelled American journalist Peter Goodman from East Timor and announced the territory was being "temporarily" closed to foreign journalists for the first time since 1989. Brig.-Gen. Theo Syafel, military commander for East Timor, set up a "special task force to safeguard the people's sovereignty and state from being undermined and provoked by the arrival of the Portuguese ship." — a task force that has already launched a new wave of arrests, according to sources in East Timor.

With some members of Indonesia's rubber-stamp parliament calling for the ship to be "sunk" if it enters Timorese waters, fears of further violence are running high.

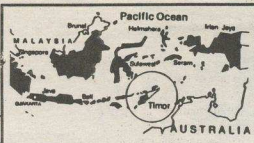
## Canada lifting sanctions?

Canada may soon restore suspended economic aid to Indonesia, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said after meeting Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas in Ottawa on Feb. 24. "I can see a time when we would alter the policy we have taken regarding aid... We believe the government of Indonesia is very strongly attempting to come to grips with the situation."

Canada suspended \$30 million in government-to-government aid in December to protest the Santa Cruz massacre, while leaving existing aid untouched. In 1991, Indonesia was third among all recipients of Canadian aid, getting \$46 million.

McDougall also accepted the report of an Indonesian government inquiry into the massacre. The inquiry panel, dominated by retired soldiers, called massacre victims the "perpetrators" of the violence. Its report has been rejected by Amnesty International as "fatally flawed and unacceptable."

Alatas has scaled down a high-profile damage-control tour to Western capitals in



Genevieve Appleton (left, with camera) at picket of Indonesian consulate, Toronto.

the wake of a public-relations disaster last month in London, when his news conference excluded all reporters with a Portuguese passport and his officials refused to accredit Jill Jolliffe, a correspondent for the London Sunday Times who has written extensively on East Timor. In Washington, Alatas' news conference was "by invitation only," while a joint appearance by Alatas and McDougall in Ottawa was kept a secret until shortly before it happened.

However, ETAN made sure the other side of the story was told, by organizing demonstrations at both Indonesian consulates in Canada. In Vancouver and Toronto protesters laid flowers and poured blood in memory of the hundreds who have died in East Timor since November and the more than 200,000 killed since Indonesia invaded in 1975. Both the opposition parties called on McDougall to keep the aid suspension in place and impose new sanctions.

## More atrocities reported

New details of atrocities committed by Indonesian soldiers last November have just reached the outside world, in the form of a handwritten note from a Timorese eyewitness. According to the note:

\* 189 Timorese were killed by Indonesian soldiers at Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November.

\* 36 were buried collectively in Hera.

\* A large number were buried in mass graves in Tacit-tolu and Tibar.

\* More than twenty were cremated in a "tank" in the military hospital in Lahane.

\* A large number of young people, boys and girls, were raped and killed.

\* On 14 November, four boys and three girls were murdered in Fatu-ahi. This was witnessed by many people in the area.

\* On 15 November, five young people were murdered in Kai-koli, Dili. The bodies had been cut in pieces and stacked into five bags and thrown into the local river. Witnesses reported this to the local International Red Cross delegate.

\* On 27 November, nine youths were killed and their bodies carried to Hera.

\* On 28 November, it had rained heavily. A box containing 20 human hearts was found by local people in the river near the Salesian Mission Bispo Madeiros. It had been washed down the river from the hospital backyard following the torrential rain.

\* On 30 November, Indonesia military cut off the ears of a 19-year-old because he did not have an identity card.

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## Oakville petition drive

ACT for Disarmament (Oakville) has just launched a petition campaign for East Timor, with the goal of collecting 5,000 signatures in Halton Region (about 1% of the region's population). Supporters in Oakville, Burlington and the rest of Halton are encouraged to contact ACT Oakville at (416) 844-4453. And we encourage similar local initiatives wherever you are! A petition text is available from ETAN or from Ray FUNK MP (House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6).



"The tragedy of East Timor is one of the most terrible of the modern period. The shameful complicity of the West is relieved only by the work of small numbers of dedicated activists, who have kept the issue alive, brought the story to a wider public, and pressured their governments to live up to the principles they profess. The East Timor Alert Network has been outstanding among such groups. Its work has already saved many lives, and if they can bring others to join them, may be living about a day when the people of this tortured land will enjoy the right to self-determination for which they have struggled with such courage."

— Noam Chomsky

Can you help? Please send donations to ETAN, 104—2120 West 44th, Vancouver BC.





## Help us build peace!

Okay, our office isn't literally under construction any more. But to maintain an active grassroots peace group, and build peace culture in Canada and around the world, we need your help and input.

Get involved in one of our six working groups: Native Rights/Innu Support; Prisoners for Peace; Local Wars/ East Timor; Violence Against Women; East-West Peace; or the General Electric Boycott.

Or make a donation to keep our work going. Any donation of \$10 or more gets you a subscription to The ACTivist, the monthly peace newspaper that you're reading right now.

Call 531-6154, or write to 736 Bathurst St., Toronto, M5S 2R4, for more information.

## ACT for Disarmament Chapters and Contacts

### ACT Toronto

736 Bathurst St.  
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M5S 2R4  
phone (416) 531-6154  
fax (416) 531-5850

### ACT Oakville

140 Cavendish Court  
Oakville, Ont.  
L6J 5S2  
phone/fax (416) 844-4453

### Peterborough Contact

PO Box 801  
Peterborough, Ont.  
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