

the ACTivist

Ontario's Peace Newspaper

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Canada aids Indonesian army

By MAGGIE HELWIG
The ACTivist

According to reports from a British journalist, Canada may be directly involved in assisting the Indonesian war against East Timor, by providing information on guerrilla encampments to the Indonesian government.

Max Stahl, the Yorkshire TV cameraman who filmed the Santa Cruz massacre last November 12, had spent several months in East Timor during the fall. In late September, he told *The ACTivist*, he met employees of an unidentified Canadian company in the eastern part of the island. They were engaged in taking extremely high-resolution photographs of the territory from fixed-wing airplanes, as part of a mapping project funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). They were mapping this particular area under the direction of the Indonesian government.

At that time, the FALINTIL guerrillas, the armed wing of the Timorese independence movement, were operating mostly in the mountains in this eastern area. Stahl believes that the Indonesian government had requested the Canadians to take their 'mapping project' specifically to this area so that they could obtain information about guerrilla positions with technology otherwise unavailable to them (the Canadians described their ultra-high resolution camera as one of

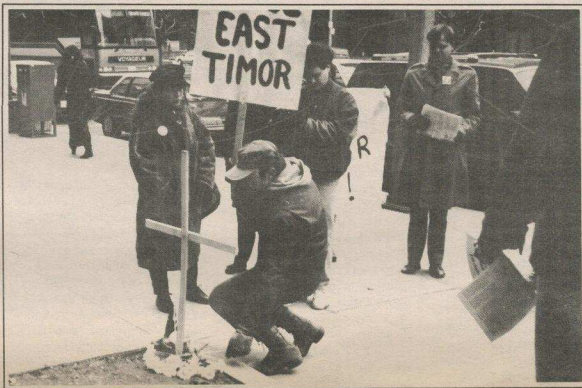
only two or three of that quality in the world). He believes that the Canadian government has either refused to examine the implications of their project, or is aware of the use to which it is being put but prefers to maintain a friendly relationship with Indonesia.

CIDA has claimed, when approached in the past, that they do not fund any projects in East Timor.

Though FALINTIL is a small and poorly armed band of guerrillas, the Indonesian army continues to wage a bloody counter-insurgency campaign aimed at wiping them out completely — as well as using the guerrilla movement as an excuse to brutally press the unarmed independence activists based in cities and towns of East Timor.

This is not the only case in which Canadian aid is being used to further the ambitions of the Indonesian government and military. Another CIDA-funded project involves building a road to Aceh, in the western part of Indonesia, where a separatist movement is being savagely attacked. The road would facilitate the transport of troops and weapons to this remote area. And CIDA is helping to fund a birth control program being inflicted on women in East Timor against their will (see *The ACTivist*, April 92).

Canadian activists are continuing to investigate Stahl's report, hoping to identify the company involved and obtain further information on the 'mapping project' and other CIDA projects in Indonesia. ☸



Demonstrators outside the Indonesian consulate on February 24. Photo: David Webster

Activists sentenced for Timor protest

Two Toronto women were found guilty of mischief on July 31, for throwing blood on the Indonesian Consulate last February, during a protest against continuing atrocities committed by the Indonesian army in East Timor.

Sixty-five year old peace activist Joanne Young was sentenced to three days in jail after she refused to pay a \$400 fine. Maggie Helwig was sentenced to one year's probation and 100 hours of community service.

Though admitting that the situation in East Timor is "a legitimate cause for concern," and that the blood was thrown "to express feeling of revulsion" after the Santa Cruz massacre, Judge H. Foster

felt that it was necessary to deter protesters from "going too far" in their efforts to raise public awareness and prompt the Canadian government to take action.

"As a Christian, I believe it is incumbent on me to bear witness to the killings in East Timor," Ms Helwig told the court, adding "I am willing to abide by the sentence of the court — I realize that if I was Timorese, I would be dead by now."

"When I look at the crimes that go on every day, I believe perhaps the authorities have got the wrong people this time," Ms Young said.

The demonstration last February 24 was held during the visit of Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to Canada. Young and

Helwig threw blood on the doors of the building as a symbol of the blood that has been shed in East Timor since Indonesia annexed the country.

Damage to the building was described as "minor and transitory."

"The real criminals here are not the people who threw their own blood on the Indonesian consulate, but the governments of Indonesia and Canada," said David Webster of the East Timor Alert Network's Toronto local group. "The Indonesian government is responsible for the deaths of thousands, and the Canadian government has helped to give them the money and weapons that has made the East Timor tragedy possible." ☸

Copters and cuts

In one of the more notable pork-barrels of recent Canadian history, Defence Minister Marcel Masse has forced through a massive and obviously unnecessary purchase of military helicopters, and awarded the bulk of the contract to a Quebec-based company.

The \$4.4 billion dollar purchase will outfit the Canadian military with a fleet of 50 high-tech EH101 helicopters, which were originally designed to combat Soviet submarines in the North Atlantic. Now that the former Soviet submarine fleet is dry-docked in Russian ports, officials from the Defence Department explain that Canada will require the helicopters to defend us against threats from such countries as Syria and Iran.

Turn to Helicopters, page 10



Hiroshima/Nagasaki: Never Again Join ACT's 'Days of Peace' Events

Friday, Aug. 7 — Films for Peace, 7-11 p.m., Cinecyle, 317 Spadina Ave. (rear). Featuring Oscar-awarding winning documentary **Deadly Deception**; also showing **Hunters & Bombers**, **The Burning Times** and **East Timor: Betrayed But Not Beaten**.

Saturday, Aug. 8 — Petition drive to eliminate nuclear weapons, at locations around Toronto, noon-5 p.m.

Sunday, Aug. 9 — Protest at General Electric Nuclear Facility, 1025 Lansdowne (at Dupont), 8 p.m.

For more information contact
ACT for Disarmament, 531-6154

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Opinions expressed in this paper are not necessarily those of ACT



After reading your paper with the insert on feminism (*The ACTivist*, March 1991), I'll try to explain to you the situation of Polish women, and my own situation as the only woman in my group, Objector Association. It took me some time to realize I almost need to write a book — and what's more, in English. I have at least three drafts I've tried to write.

Articles I've read in *The ACTivist* don't completely apply to our cultural situation. I mean, they do in their basic point — women are treated as worse than men, and treat themselves like that. But it is so much more true here than it seems like the problem just "doesn't exist", if you know what I mean. Nearly no one is aware of it. It's so "obvious" that women are created to cook and so on that there is "no such problem" and "no women troubles" (or rather, no awareness of "women troubles").

Even among the so-called intelligentsia who are aware of the issue you find much anti-feminism. That's why my way of fight must be very different than yours. I can fight (and I feel I am fighting) by my own life, not by any public ostentation. I can find so many things to fight for which seem less vain, useless, futile ...

In our society there is no public way to defeat anti-feminism. Even I am so much entangled in our culture that I find myself despising women rather than feeling a need to fight for their rights! If I sometimes speak in public in defense of women's rights, I always put it like, well, it's stupid, but let's just let them have this.

That's all for now with this problem. One more thank you for the letter, papers and interest!

Blanka Gosiorowska
Wroclaw, Poland

To the ACT Women's Collective: The enclosed letter is an attempt to open dialogue and allow survivors a voice on the issues of male violence. We recognize the legal difficulties you could face if you printed the names of alleged abusers of women and children. It has been our practise to block out the name of the offender.

Re: Talking Solidarity Blues, March 1992
 Congratulations! It's encouraging to see that there are activists in Toronto who are not only capable of recognizing hypocrisy but are actually willing to be critical of it — and in print!

But the most visibly ludicrous thing on this flyer [is] an abuser claiming to be a man working against violence to women.

We have learned from this men's group that XX volunteered to photocopy the flyer, and it was he who added the offensive passages and the cartoon. These men were surprised when they were presented with material that they also had problems with. It is no surprise to us that an abuser would have no respect for other men and no qualms about manipulating them for his personal interests.

Women's groups and so-called feminists have just endorsed Ken Hancock and the guys who are seeking \$300,000 to walk against violence to women. The men of the White Ribbon Foundation are looking for \$400,000. Meanwhile, women's services continuously face cutbacks and threats to funding. Female survivor groups have never asked for funding. Survivor groups have never received support or endorsement from any group. Our photocopies, for example, are paid for out of the food budgets of mothers on government assistance.

As you know, abusers are everywhere. Your doctor may be one. Your child's teacher ... your priest ... your babysitter ... your lawyer. There are as many abusers on the left as on the right. We've seen them at International Women's Day. "Supportive" women have also been abusive to survivors. Shattering the silence means naming them. We women have to share the identities of the batterers, the rapists, the abusers.



Pacific News Bulletin

Men's groups will have to develop processes through which they discover and confront the abusers among them.

It would be nice to think that the men's movement could attract abusers who sincerely want to examine and change their behaviours. It would also be very nice, and it would show little knowledge of the misogynist and no experience with the pathological liar or the sociopath. To join the men's movement can be an abuser's attempt at a cover. He may do this to win feminist approval, bolster his ego and silence his victims.

We believe that this is the type of situation that will pose the biggest challenge for men's groups. How will they identify abusers in their midsts? How will the abusers be challenged and exposed? Will men's groups develop rituals through which they will expect the abusers to acknowledge their actions, apologize and attempt to make

amends for their wrongdoing?

Justice for Abused Women has written: "It became clearer and clearer to us that women who speak directly about woman-abuse are threatening. First, they reveal that abused women are real women instead of denied and hidden stereotypes who live in someone else's backyard. Second, women who speak about woman-abuse in their lives invariably name woman-abusers. Women who name abusers also name the friends and colleagues of woman-abusers. Women who name abuse and abusers show us too much about our own participation in, and tolerance for, woman abuse and child abuse."

Glenis M. Barkey and Jenny Gonsalves
for C.A.R.E. (Committee to Access Rights and Equality)
Toronto

The purpose of this letter is

Jo Peacenic**Now hiring — Gulf War heroes**

We wouldn't have thought that "Operation Desert Storm," the U.S.-led war against Iraq, was the occasion for many acts of heroism. After all, it seemed to consist mainly of indiscriminate bombings, followed by a rapid destruction of the Iraqi army, a "turkey shoot" against fleeing Iraqi soldiers, and the bulldozing of hundreds more into a mass grave.

But the U.S. military begs to differ. The short-lived and one-sided war has been seized on as the occasion for an orgy of military self-congratulation. In all, the military has issued 3.5 million National Defense Service Medals to recognize "the outstanding performance of our armed forces in Desert Shield and Desert Storm."

But wait a moment — the math whizzes at the Pentagon appear to have overlooked the fact that only 500,000 American troops went to the Middle East.

Why the extra medals? Seems that all U.S. troops covered themselves in glory during the Gulf war. Even the ones who stayed home, or spent the war on R&R in the shabby towns around U.S. bases in the Philippines.

In fact, if you want a medal, just join up. The Pentagon's still givin' 'em out. And they plan to keep giving out medals until President George Bush gets around to declaring the war is over.

They say military intelligence is a contradiction in terms. 'Nuff proof?

to publicly disclose the controversy surrounding the accusations of past abuse and default on child support made against [one of the organizers of the National Gathering of Men] by his ex-wife.

On March 26, 1992, the above accusations were brought to the group by one of the members ... The disclosure came as a shock to all of us. There were worries about an abuser on the organizing committee, anger around not being told by XX and confusion around how to respond and proceed on this matter. In keeping with our pro-feminist stance we accepted [the woman's] accusations and validated her.

XX came to the following meeting with his wife and three letters of support from women. He apologized to the group, voluntarily stepped down from organizing and offered to stay away from the conference.

Turn to Readers, page 10

George Bush's re-election bid is in, to borrow a phrase from the President's own lips, deep doo-doo. And Bush looks ready to seize on just about anything to look like a bold leader. Take his recent announcement that the United States would stop producing plutonium and enriched uranium, the raw materials for nuclear bombs. A visionary step by a great man of peace, right?

Not really. You see, the American military has not been producing enriched uranium since 1964, or plutonium since 1988. They have enough to last out the century and more.

Meanwhile, Bush is much quieter on his decision to resume the production of tritium, which keeps nuclear bombs in working order, and his country's refusal to join France and Russia in a nuclear testing moratorium.

Moving from misinformation to farce, the Canadian Peace Alliance held a sparsely-attended convention this summer in Vancouver. Among the resolutions on the table was one calling for humanitarian aid to women and children in Iraq. Why not men as well, chorused some delegates. Why not indeed, the assembly agreed. Men were duly added. But the group drew the line when one delegate proposed adding humanitarian aid to Iraqi animals. Maybe it's because of the way those animals in the Kuwait City Zoo lent themselves to U.S. propaganda (General Norman Schwarzkopf ragging at the way Saddam Hussein treated the bears, etc).

Military jet crashes in Nitassinan

By SAUL CHERNOS
THE ACTIVIST

The pilot of a Dutch F-16 that crashed about 100 kilometres north of the Innu community of La Romaine, Québec, this past May 26 says he thinks his engine failed after he hit an "enormous bird".

The crash is the 12th involving military low-level flying since 1980. In 1990, there were two serious crashes—accidents in which it became clear that planes were flying well out of the allowed zones. One of these accidents involved two Dutch F-16s which crashed at 700 feet, killing one of the pilots and narrowly missing an Innu hunting camp; the other, the crash of a British jet, was only a short distance from two Innu villages.

According to *The Labradorian* newspaper, reporting on this May's crash, Major Jacques Jansen ejected from his F-16 after the engine overheated and he was forced to shut it off. By the time the pilotless aircraft crashed, it had started two ground fires at Lac Cobaz, which is about 200 kilometres south of Canadian Forces Base Goose Bay.

Jansen told *The Labradorian* he was following a junior pilot in training and both aircraft were about 500 to 600 feet above ground level when he hit the "enormous bird" and his engine failed.

But Dutch investigator Major Willem Tybosh said the bird was only a "rumour". A board of inquiry over which he presided determined that engine failure did occur, but concluded that the cause



Drawing by Innu Child Pam Hurley

was unknown.

Tybosh said that he "saw a few ducks at the crash site when I visited the site in helicopter... However, there are not many birds at the height of low-level flying."

Peter Armitage, a consultant who works for the Innu Nation, told *The ACTivist* there were no Innu at Lac Cobaz at the time of the crash. Innu from La Romaine set up camp at Lac Cobaz every fall, but hunt along the Québec North

Shore during the spring.

However, Armitage said that other Innu communities do travel inland during the spring. Innu from Davis Inlet and Sheshatash must hunt in the Lac Cobaz area.

He added that Québec Innu, like their counterparts from the Labrador portion of Nitassinan, are firmly opposed to low-level flying.

ACT for Disarmament is continuing a campaign in support of the Innu, currently building towards

a National Day of Action on October 24—the end of the 1992 flying season. We encourage activists to organize events in their own communities, from letter-writing to petition drives to rallies to non-violent civil disobedience.

More details on ACT's campaign will be forthcoming in *The ACTivist*. In the meantime, you can contact the Toronto office at 736 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2R4, or phone 416-531-6154.

Struggle over a mountain: the 'Columbus Project'

By SUSAN KRAJNC & AMIR HUSSAIN
THE ACTIVIST

In southeastern Arizona, there is a beautiful mountain glowing

with life amidst great desertland and heated human struggle.

This mountain is a "sky island," an isolated ecosystem which is like an island in the ocean. The

mountain is home to more than 18 species and subspecies of plants and animals found nowhere else on Earth.

This mountain is also a sacred

mountain to the San Carlos Apache Indians, site of traditional ceremonies and dances.

To the University of Arizona, this mountain is good for astronomy. The university is sponsoring a telescope called the Columbus Project with the Arctri Observatory of Italy.

The University of Arizona hopes to lay the telescope foundations on the mountain as "part of the celebration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery (sic) of the New World."

At this stage, the telescope project also involves the Max Planck Institute of Germany and the Vatican (whose telescope is being partly financed by the U.S. Air Force in the hope that the investment will have spinoffs for Star Wars).

Opponents to the telescope project have consistently lost in court. But the Apache Survival Coalition, consisting of Apaches and other involved persons and groups, continues to campaign against the construction of the observatory, in the courts and through other forms of protest.

For more information, please contact the Science for Peace office at 416-978-3606.

Turtle Island Notes



Elders arrested

CANOE LAKE (Sask.) — On July 1 — Canada Day — 30 Dene, Cree and Metis protesters, including some elders, were arrested by the RCMP at a non-violent blockade of a logging road.

The protesters were demanding an end to clearcutting in northern Saskatchewan, and joint control over northern forestry activity, with a viable plan for sustainable resource management. They had maintained a blockade since mid-May on Highway 903.

The elders in the camp had met several times with the provincial government and forestry companies, but were unable to obtain a commitment to sustainable forestry management from either party.

NorSask Forest Products has a 3.3 million hectare forest management licensing agreement with the Saskatchewan provincial government. This agreement covers much of the traditional lands of the Cree people.

Autobus de la Paix

MONTREAL (Quebec) — A "peace bus" carrying 35 teenagers, half of them native, will be travelling along the St. Lawrence River this month on a tour of Indian communities.

The bus tour, organized by the World Conference on Religion and Peace, is intended to promote friendship and respect between natives and non-native Québécois. Relationships between the two groups have been particularly strained since the Oka crisis of 1990.

The Peace Bus will visit the Algonquins of La Verendrye Park, Mohawks of Kanestake/Oka, Abenakis of Odanak, Atikameks of Weymontachie, Hurons of Wendake, Malectics of Viger, Micmacs of Restigouche, Innu of Betsiamis and Maloitenam, and — returning to Montréal — Mohawks of Kahnawake.

Army refuses to vacate

KETTLE POINT (Ont.) — A group of Chippewas set up a protest camp outside the military base of Camp Ipperwash in their continuing effort to reclaim their expropriated land. They had earlier served on eviction notice on the base. The notice was sent on to Ottawa.

"I can't just hand them the keys and say it's all yours," protested an army spokesman, saying the decision was up to Defence Minister Marcel Masse.



Innu community leader Bart Penashue helped ACT collect more than 400 signatures in support of the Innu at a Kashtin concert in Windsor. Bart is at the centre, flanked by Kashtin vocalist Florent Voliant and guitarist Claude McKenzie. Photo: Saul Chernos

"Democracy in our homes": women speaking out

On July 28, *ACT for Disarmament and Education Wife Assault* co-sponsored a forum on "Women, War and Violence". Below we print an abridged version of the talk given by *Marsha Sfeir* of EWA. The full transcript is available for \$2.50 (to cover xeroxing and postage) from *ACT for Disarmament*.

I'd like to begin in 1985, because in 1985, after twenty years of working in the peace movement in the U.S. and in Canada, I took a sabbatical. And I decided to spend that sabbatical in Latin America, looking at the kinds of education programs that were being conducted with women living in the shantytowns in Chile.

In 1985, Chile was still under a brutal military dictatorship. I spent most of my time in one particular women's centre that was in one of the poorest and most repressed areas of Santiago, which is a city of five million people. And it was during the period, listening to women's stories, that I first became involved in the issue of violence against women in women's relationships.

Because regardless of why women began to gather, and they gathered for a number of reasons, they gathered to discuss members of their family who had disappeared, they gathered to discuss the extreme poverty, lack of food and health care, that they were living, they gathered to learn to read and write, they gathered in support groups and parenting groups—but regardless of why they gathered, when they got to a point where there was a certain level of trust, they shifted from talking about the violence and repression that was being imposed on them by the state, to talking about the violence and repression being imposed on them in their homes. And their call became, "Democracy in the country and democracy in our homes," which is a call that women's groups have used in the last several years all over Latin America.

When I came back to Canada, after that experience, I wanted to know how the stories I had heard in Chile connected with the stories of women's personal lives here. And so I began to look at some of the Canadian statistics on violence against women, and I'd just like to share a few of them with you, as a way of connecting it to some of the specific things related to military expenditures in particular.

In Canada, depending on whose study you use, 1 in 6 or 1 in 8 women are said to be victims of wife assault, although front-line workers tell us that those official statistics are actually too low. Every 6 minutes, in Canada, a woman is sexually assaulted. In fact, 44 per cent of us, at some point in our lives, will be sexually assaulted.

The impact that this has on women is that 80 per cent of women in psychiatric hospitals have been sexually or physically abused.

Battering is the major cause of injury to women both in the U.S. and in Canada. It's higher than autoaccidents, rapes and muggings combined.

62 per cent of all murdered women in Canada are murdered as a result of wife assault, either during the relationship or as a result of trying to leave that relationship. In one Canadian study, 83 per cent of 225 suicide attempts by women were by women who had been abused.

The sons of men who abuse are ten times more likely to beat their own wives. In one Canadian city, over 50 per cent of the young offenders had been exposed to wife assault in their families.

If we look internationally, we discover that it is violence against women that is the most pervasive and yet least recognized human rights violation in the world. Maggie referred to some of the kinds of sexual violations during war. We also find things like, during some of the studies we did in Chile, 80 per cent of the women living in the shantytowns told us that they had experienced physical, emotional or sexual abuse by either their male partner or a relative. More than 90 million African women and girls are the victims of "female circumcision" or other forms of genital mutilation, 50 per cent of married women are regularly battered by their partners in Bangkok, Thailand. In India, in the last three years—and this is a government statistic, and we know government statistics are much lower than in fact, the realities that people live—the government statistic is that in the last three years 11,259 women have been murdered as a result of dowry-related deaths.

In the U.S., a woman is beaten every 15 seconds. In fact, if you look at the country that has the largest military-industrial complex, you also find the country that has proportionately some of the most violent actions towards not just women, but men and children as well.

If we look at why women are forced to stay in some of these relationships, reasons like the lack of child care, the lack of subsidized housing, the lack of adequate job training, and we compare that to the kinds of expenditures that go on



Mary Hutchinson

all the time to maintain the military, I think we find, just at the level of money spent by governments, direct relationships to violence against women and to the forces that keep women in violent relationships.

If we look specifically in terms of the Canadian reality—in the 1990 budget, if you remember, [Finance Minister] Michael Wilson announced a cut of 1.8 million dollars, which had the effect of closing 84 women's centres. The reason given for that cut was that the deficit that the government was running up was so large that we could no longer afford to spend 1.8 million dollars on these 84 women's centres. And it became very clear, in those budget priorities, that Canada could not afford in fact to sustain life.

Because if you also look at the budget one year later, in February of 1991, what do we find during the Kuwait-Iraq war? Canada spent one million dollars per day for each of the three ships that we had in the Gulf—in other words, ninety million dollars per month. Enough to keep all the women's centres open for many years. The money is there for destruction, and power over, but it's not there for life.

One destroyer, in fact, they were brought home, and our organization could run for four years. One day, that's all.

The Canadian government spent a total of one billion dollars on that war, while cutting seven hundred and three million dollars from social programs in the 1991 budget.

If we make more concrete comparisons in terms of the impact this could have on women living in violence here in Canada, one of the main problems in terms of women being able to leave abusive rela-

tionships is that they have nowhere to go. Because there is not enough subsidized housing for these women, many of whom are outside the paid workforce, who are underemployed, to move into. If we look at the cost of one submarine, a regular submarine, not anything fancy like a nuclear sub, it could build something like 450,000 new homes in Toronto, at Toronto prices. I added it up on my little calculator. That's a lot of women who'd have someone

to go, along with their children.

There are no studies I know of that answer the questions Maggie alluded to, namely, does violence against women increase in intimate relationships during wartime? We know that violence against women in general increases during wartime. There have been no studies that indicate clearly whether violence increases in intimate relationships in the civilian population. And yet women say that their experience tells them that it does.

what's happened since the women went to the Ministry of Defence, because I haven't been in touch with her in the last few months, but it became very clear that the kind of fear and control that was created by the dictatorship meant that whatever women were experiencing in their private lives had to remain even more private than it does for most of the rest of us.

I recently met with a woman from Thailand. And she spoke very passionately about the sex industry in Thailand and its connection to militarization. The sex industry in Thailand first took hold during the Vietnam War, when the presence of the U.S. military bases there created a high demand for sexual services. In 1967, in fact, a treaty was forged between the U.S. and the Thai government that created even more demand by designating Thailand as the official "rest and recreation" spot for the U.S. military.

When the U.S. withdrew from Indochina in 1976, Thailand embarked on an explicit policy of promoting business tourism as a way to sustain what had become a massive service industry of hotels, bazaars, massage parlors, etc, that sprang up during the war. This form of violence against Thai women did not exist before the Vietnam war.

Thai women became one of the country's main exports. Lured by promises of good salaries and respectable jobs, many of the women accompanied middlemen to Europe, only to be sold into

"If you look at the country that has the largest military-industrial complex, you also find some of the most violent actions towards women, men and children"

And it is in fact absolutely clear that violence against women in general rises dramatically during war, and as a result of increased militarization worldwide.

It's also clear that women living with soldiers, or with police, or under dictatorships, find it harder to leave the abuse, and are more isolated, and live in constant fear not only of the individual man but of the entire system that supports him in his control over her.

In Chile, one of the women that I worked very closely with on the violence project is now working for a centre for information on women's rights. When they opened the doors of that centre in the winter of 1992, they were overwhelmed with visits by wives and girlfriends of the military and the police. They discovered, in fact, that there had been a massive system of torture of the women in the home and in their relationships. They had so much data, as a result of the women coming forth after the dictatorship fell, that they went to the Minister of Defence. We don't know, in fact,

prostitution or forced to work for slave wages for domestic servants. Still others sell Thai and other southeast Asian women as mail-order brides to men all over the world. For as little as \$5,000, industrial-world suits can purchase so-called "sexy, docile Asian wives".

Women, however, are resisting, in the Asian countries, both the increased militarization and the effect that it has on sexual violence in their lives. And one of the things that the women have explicitly asked of both Canadian and U.S. feminists is that in all of the work that we do have to be linking violence against women with the role that the U.S. military in particular, and all the countries such as Canada that comply with that, play in creating and maintaining the conditions that expand violence against women.

My time's almost up, so I just want to give one more particular example, and that is the amount of violence against refugee women. For refugee women, cul-

Turn to Turning, page 10

The Rio blues again

The United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development took place in Rio with much fanfare, but results that were qualified at best. The refusal of UNCED to discuss militarism as a contributing cause to the destruction of the environment — when, in fact, it can be shown to be the single greatest contributing cause — was simply the most outstanding of many problems.

The USA and its friends managed to control the UNCED agenda not only by

excluding militarism, but in almost every aspect of the deliberations. Below, we print a few of the critiques coming out after Rio, from grassroots activists on environmental, development and women's issues.

We also present a report from an ACT member who attended the NGO gathering held alongside UNCED.

(Note: there will be no more puns here about what was 'unsaid at UNCED', etc. Enough is enough.)

World Bank goes green?

By DAVID WEBSTER
THE ACTIVIST

The prevailing wisdom of the Earth Summit — that rich nations should pay to protect the environment of the South — is being challenged by one Canadian environmental group.

With all the hopes that were riding on the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, disillusion in the wake of the conference was probably inevitable. But few expected one of the main results of the Earth Summit, a new "green fund" to be administered by the World Bank, to come under fire as soon as it did.

Even before the summit, Toronto-based Probe International, a group that has traditionally worked closely with citizen-based environmental groups in the Third World, attacked the green fund concept. Probe executive director Patricia Adams called the fund a "pork barrel" that would "bankroll countries like Malaysia, whose governments have seized vast native land-holdings in the past decade and then doled out logging licences for them to favoured concessionaires."

Just days after the summit, the World Bank's claim that it could responsibly handle millions

earmarked for environmental protection took another blow with the release of a report condemning the Bank's role in the Narmada dam project in India.

According to Probe International, over one million people will be displaced if the Narmada project's over 3,000 dams are built. The Bank has been condemned for failing to "safeguard the human rights of thousands of people and to ameliorate the environmental impacts of one of the world's largest hydro-electric complexes under construction."

Unmoved by the report, the World Bank has already approved funds for a similar dam project in the central African republic of Malawi. The project "will destroy the fisheries which the local people depend upon and flood part of a local game preserve," said Probe's Peggy Hallward.

Probe International, along with a range of grassroots groups in the South, is calling for no "green funds" to be transferred to Southern governments that routinely place "development" ahead of the environment and their own people. "These governments are the problem," said Adams. The environment, she said, can be better protected by respecting traditional practices of local people, and giving assistance directly to them.



Celebrating Mother Earth at Rio's Global Forum

By ALOZ
THE ACTIVIST

My first impression of Rio on the drive into the city of that of an intriguing landscape marred by the obvious presence of soldiers every 30 metres or so, on either side of the streets and highways, overpasses and buildings, tinting rifles and machine guns. Uzis, tanks, and marching troops with blank expressions seemed to be everywhere.

The major military flex, it was explained to me, was to deter crime and protect the First World delegates to the Earth Summit. This explanation did little to make me feel at ease as I passed by the soldiers; nor did it help that a Canadian visitor to the Global Forum — the international gathering of non-governmental organizations that was held alongside the official United Nations Earth Summit — was shot in the mouth by a street

criminal. Meanwhile, the mass poverty apparent from the favelas that lined the mountains and the daily murder of street children was sickening.

As I entered the administrative building for the Global Forum, I could not help but notice a display of several newspaper clippings about the arrests of NGO representatives dragged away from the UNCED forum itself, drawing into question the "revolving door" policy of open

communication between the two conferences and the supposed exploration of different avenues of discussion. After warnings from other NGO participants, I decided not to try to attend UNCED.

Forum Global 92 was held in Parque do Flamengo on Flamengo Beach, with over 650 exhibit booths; more than 11,000 participants, press and speakers; representatives of more than 2,500 organizations from 150 countries; 350

scheduled separate meetings; and an estimated attendance of 250,000.

Over the course of the Forum, NGOs drafted "The Earth Charter", encompassing Declarations by Women at the Global Forum, Citizen's Commitment on Biodiversity, Treaty on Consumption and Lifestyle, NGO Treaty on Militarism, the Environment and Development, and several other worthwhile commitments.

Turn to Global, page 10



GE JESUS: The giant Christ the Redeemer statue on Corcovado mountain, above Rio, is illuminated nightly by hundreds of General Electric lightbulbs — symbolic, perhaps, of the contradictions of the Earth Summit. Photo: Aloz

Women at the Earth Summit: Defining ourselves, defining our role

PAM SIMMONS
NGONET/THIRD WORLD INSTITUTE

Principle 20 of the Rio Declaration promises women full participation in environmental management and development. There are, however, two unwritten conditions. Women are not given the option to refuse to participate, and their participation is to be channelled by states.

Agenda 21 says women are to be "empowered" to be environmental "managers"; women's status is to be improved; their potential is to be tapped and catalyzed into appropriate, consensual action; and their essential role in sustainable development will be recognized.

This is what is intended to happen to women. This is what women will be allowed to do. But where are the women in this? Where are the active, dissenting, powerful, self-respecting women? Many of these women do not want to be labeled "exploited" or to have their "potential" exploited. Many would resist being assisted to take "appropriate consensual action." Status will not, cannot, be passed out like manna from heaven. Status will be, and has been, fought for and gained through women's many battles, for votes and for trees, against violence and discrimination. This is participation. Who exactly will gain from women's participation in de-

velopment? Official development projects do not address the exploitation of women in export-processing zones, the sex tourism industry or agribusines. They do not question the basic sexual and international divisions of labour. Instead, they reinforce them, to ensure a source of cheap labour and economically dependent women.

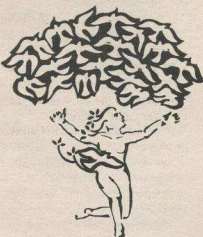
It is clear from UNCED rhetoric and agreements that governments and inter-governmental bodies will be responsible for steering us along the road to sustainable development. This is a problem for women. Such bodies are steeped in a patriarchal tradition that has not only excluded women from participating but has also mostly ignored women's interests except where they echoed men's. In too many instances the state has acted as an instrument of oppression against women, either by refusing to intervene in private matters such as "domestic" violence or by harassing women who dare to speak or act without the patronage of men.

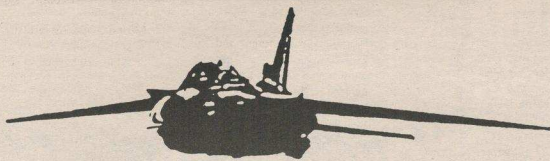
The Rio Declaration puts 18 principles before women are mentioned. Each principle assumes the existence of benevolent, neutral, representative states.

Robert Goodland of the World Bank, one of the supposedly "neutral" international bodies, in writing on the need for state intervention in population control, states

"poverty, abandoned babies, unwanted children, starvation, massive deforestation, extinctions and irreversible environmental abuse are greater evils and dangers than freedom of choice for women." But freedom of choice for women is a prerequisite for solutions to any of the above.

Women will play a vital role in future social change. But the role will not be conferred on them by official delegates at international conferences. The real issues will not be addressed by delegated management and participation within set parameters. The parameters are the issues, and women themselves will carve out their role in their everyday battles to conserve their environment and to win respect.





Disrupting the war games

By CHRIS SHERIDAN
THE ACTIVIST

The 19th Annual London International Air Show, which took place in London, Ontario on June 6, was greeted this year by a group of enthusiastic protesters, gathered to voice opposition to low-level flight testing over the Innu land of Nitassinan (Labrador and north-eastern Québec).

The demonstration, of about fifteen people, was organized by the London chapter of CASNP (Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native Peoples) with some members of the local Greenpeace chapter joining in.

While some of the world's most advanced killing machines, including the Stealth Bomber, stormed overhead, we held signs with slogans denouncing the use of Innu land for military activities.

As the traffic congested at the gates, most of us showed information flyers in car windows and talked to people about the reason for the demonstration. At the same time, we managed to collect a number of signatures on petitions addressed to Brian Mulroney, "Defense" Min-

ister Marcel Masse, and Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells.

One CASNP member, Harold Koehler, purchased a ticket into the show and walked around the area where the jets were on display for about three hours, with a sign saying "NATO out of Nitassinan".

It was a day in which learning was key, not just for those Air Show-goers, but for us as well. Many of the demonstrators were given the opportunity to see how deeply entrenched ignorance is in our so-called "free" society. While some Show-goers were quite interested to learn more about the issue, others voiced their outright distaste for the opposition to low-level flights. Comments like "Communists," "Get a job," and various obscenities accompanied many of the pro-military retorts.

Most people at least took information sheets which served to raise awareness and, hopefully, support for the Innu. Most encouraging was that people of all different social, economic and ethnic backgrounds lent their support to the demonstration.

One of the most interesting aspects of the day was the amount

of interest shown by young children. Many parents, who initially walked by without paying attention to the demonstration, returned to the gates to get an information sheet because their children had asked them so many questions as to why we were there. This illustrated the importance that children will play in future social change. Without prejudices or politically partisan ties, it seems that children are often the most interested in finding out the truth about issues like aboriginal rights.

It is important that demonstrations at local Air Shows continue across the country to display that support for the Innu of Nitassinan is indeed growing. Solidarity with the Innu Nation is becoming increasingly vital. The latest reports from Goose Bay indicate the town council's willingness to entice NATO into expanding its military activity in the area. As one placard at the demonstration read, "No One Can Be Free. Until All Are Free." We must continue to push for the freedom of all people in this country, including the Innu people of Nitassinan. ☸

No to military intervention in ex-Yugoslavia

The following is an excerpt from an open letter issued by War Resisters' International and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Since the war spread to Bosnia-Herzegovina, there have been widespread calls for military intervention.

Those of us who live outside the situation have a limited role. Our first task is to listen and to pass on what we hear. But on the question of military intervention, WRI and IFOR feel we should disagree openly.

Any use of military force — no matter how limited it is intended to be — introduces a different logic, a military logic offering a rationale for further, less limited use of additional military force. The experience of war shows the danger of escalation once a military intervention has been launched. What begins with small action — e.g. to secure the area around Sarajevo airport — might, if the Western troops get involved in heavy fighting, become a major military intervention.

Every decision to use military force strengthens the general argument in favour of the military-based so-called "New World Order". Since the end of the old East-West conflict, politi-

cians and the military from Western countries are looking for new roles for their forces. So they introduced the term "New World Order" and wrapped their military enterprises in humanitarian arguments.

If those attempts at the militarisation of international politics are successful, then the world will have lost a great — maybe unique — chance to change international politics towards some kind of peace politics. Therefore we are alarmed by the proposals to establish multinational rapid deployment forces to mount military 'peace-making' interventions.

We are aware that there remain other, untried possibilities for delivering humanitarian aid.

Finally, as pacifists we believe that there is always an alternative to violence. Of course, there are strong dynamics in favour of defending oneself with weapons if you are attacked. But it is not inevitable. As well as the possibility of not defending oneself (Rome for instance was declared an "Open City" during the Second World War), there is the alternative of nonviolent resistance (social defence).

In the West, the question of military intervention has now begun to dominate the discussion of

former-Yugoslavia to the exclusion of other forms of non-military action necessary to initiate a peace process and stop the war.

In our work, we remain committed to promoting action along the following lines:

- to urge perseverance with existing diplomatic efforts while seeking to extend the process
- to address the danger of the war spreading by recognising the rights to self-determination of Macedonia and the legitimacy of the representatives elected by the people of Kosovo, and sending international observer teams into those regions
- to make the recognition of the Third Yugoslavia conditional on Belgrade declaring an amnesty for war resisters and beginning negotiations with the independently elected representatives of the people of Kosovo.
- to support the peace movements in Serbia, Vojvodina and Montenegro.
- to seek humanitarian support for all refugees from former-Yugoslavia.
- to bring aid and care to all those victimised by war.
- to strengthen the peace-making capacity within civil society. ☸

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ACT joins War Resisters

ACT for Disarmament was accepted as a Section of War Resisters International at the WRI Council meeting in New York, July 19-24. ACT is currently the only Canadian Section of the international pacifist organization. The Centre des ressources sur la non-violence (Montréal) is an Associate.

WRI has two main projects at the moment — work in ex-Yugoslavia (for example, plans are now underway for a seminar on non-violent social defence to be held in Kosovo) and the Women Overcoming Violence conference that will take place in Bangkok this November. Canada will be represented at the Bangkok conference by Rose Gregoire of the Innu and three other Canadian women activists.

As well as business meetings, a series of political discussions took place during the Council meeting. July 19 was devoted to indigenous peoples' issues, with Steve McComber from the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, Francisco Cali from the indigenous people of Guatemala, and (oddly, for a pacifist organization) Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement. All three spoke about their perspectives on the 500 Years and on the current situation of their people ("Before, the white settlers were killing in the name of God," said Cali. "Now they are killing in the name of development."). It is good to see WRI looking at this issue, a relatively new concern for the mostly Europe-based network.

Later in the week, there was an interesting panel and discussion on nationalism, with presentations by Narayan Desai of India, Rafa Sainz de Rosas of the Basque territory of the State of Spain, and

Jacques Boucher and Maggie Helwig of Canada. The debate also saw valuable contributions from Marko Hren of Slovenia, Trini Leung of Hong Kong and others as the participants tried to examine the relationship between nationalism as a positive impulse towards



the self-determination of peoples, and nationalism as a potential source of fratricidal war.

"The important thing is not what you call it... it's the process," said Rafa. "And the first step is knowing who you are." While insisting on the importance of "self-identity in collective terms" he also pointed out that "when we speak about the struggle for liberation in ethnic contexts, we accept things which we would reject in other contexts," forms of war and violence which would otherwise be seen as clearly wrong.

Trini Leung noted that the Communist government of China has employed almost the exact same argument against Tibetan independence that the Canadian government has used against Québec separatism — that the large and diverse country will be hopelessly split and weakened, leaving it open to invasion (either military or cultural) by the United States.

The next WRI Council meeting will be held in July 1993, in Verona, Italy.

ACT for Disarmament is accepting donations to ensure the participation of the Canadian representatives in the Bangkok women's conference — several thousand dollars is needed for their transportation. Donations can be sent to ACT for Disarmament, e-marked "Bangkok conference." Contact Maggie Helwig at ACT for further information. ☸



Members and supporters of ACT for Disarmament protest the visit to Toronto of General Norman Schwartzkopf, the commander of the U.S. forces in Iraq and the primary architect of the Gulf War. Schwartzkopf addressed a group of business and political leaders on June 17, during a conference called 'Success Strategies for the 21st Century'. About thirty people attended the hastily-organized demonstration. Photo: Maggie Helwig

Making peace at home

By MARY HUTCHINSON
THE ACTIVIST

In the attempt to build a peaceful, non-violent society, much of the work must be done at the neighbourhood level. Only if we can build independent, community-based methods of conflict resolution between individuals, can we hope to create a larger society that operates by these same principles.

In a city such as Toronto, where people come from many different cultural backgrounds and need not to live all their lives in the same neighbourhood, neighbours often ignore or barely tolerate each other. When something goes wrong — for example, a new next-door neighbour practices the tuba for eight hours a day or puts up a fence annexing a few feet of someone else's property — there is too much mistrust and not enough communication for them to fix the problem themselves. What is to be done then? If one takes the other to court, it will probably be expensive, certainly inconvenient, and they will probably dislike each other forever afterwards.

Besides, the purpose of the court system is not so much to find the best solution for both parties as

it is to find a winner and a loser. And the court system almost invariably favours those who have money for lawyers, and who belong to the same culture, race, class and sex as the judge and the people who invented the system.

What is needed is a service to help people understand and feel more comfortable with each other, so they can work together to solve their own problems.

St. Stephen's Community House offers such services free of charge to residents of Toronto. They rely on volunteer mediators whose backgrounds are matched as closely as possible with those of the disputants. The 67 volunteers speak 16 languages and represent 24 different cultural backgrounds.

This panel of sympathetic volunteers, different but cooperating with each other, sets a good example for the disputants. Last year, 62% of St. Stephen's cases were between people from different racial or cultural backgrounds, and people from 33 different ethnic groups were served. This variety of viewpoints is probably the biggest advantage of such mediation services in enabling the disputants to communicate their concerns.

The first step in the mediation

process involves visits to the homes of both disputants by volunteers from the community who are from similar backgrounds. All disputants have a chance to tell their stories in

the privacy of their homes, at a time convenient for them. Of course, people feel much more at ease in familiar surroundings, and this gives them the feeling that the community cares. At this time, if they agree to try the mediation services, the process is explained to them so they will know what to expect.

The second step is a hearing in a neutral place in which each person has an opportunity to tell his or her side of the story to a panel of three volunteers. Then the disputing neighbours begin to speak directly to each other. The role of the panel is not to pass judgement but to help them identify the key issues and communicate them to each other. The panel aids them in brainstorming to come up with a solution, which must be agreed to by both parties. Mitra Ghalamain of St. Stephen's explains the advantages of this kind of conflict resolution:

"One advantage is that it is a win/win situation, rather than using the adversarial system where one or both loses. There are compromises but there are also situations where both get what they want. That is the ultimate goal of conflict resolution, but in reality people do realize that they must give something up."

When people come to their own solution they feel empowered, and if they do have to give something up they realize that it was their own decision and have an understanding of why it was necessary. They have also learned valuable communication skills which

they might use in conflict situations in the future.

Most disputes are resolved in one or two sessions, very quickly compared to cases taken to court. Out of the cases in which both parties agree to follow the mediation process, 85 to 90% come to a successful agreement which is written out and signed by all. Usually a follow-up is done to make sure the agreement is working out.

More than half the conflicts mediated by St. Stephen's are neighbourhood disputes; the rest are landlord-tenant, intra-organizational and interpersonal. Interpersonal disputes involve friends, co-workers and siblings — when the problem is very personal, as in most cases of couples or children and parents, it will be referred to a family therapist.

To raise funds for the free services, the Conflict Resolution Service at St. Stephen's offers seminars to government and non-profit organizations on mediation and other conflict management skills.

These workshops range from 3 days to an hour and half long, and are designed to be relevant to the group being addressed.

This sort of community-based service is an example to other public programs. It represents the community rather than the ruling class, and reduces the need for policing and control-based programs. We need to cut down on unnecessary stress and intimidation and work for solutions which empower people to care about their neighbours and neighbourhoods.

THE INDONESIA KIT

by Elaine Brière and Susan Gage
illustrated by Dan Devaney

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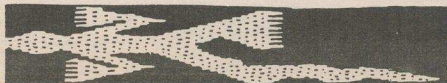
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Documenting our history: the Nanoose campaign

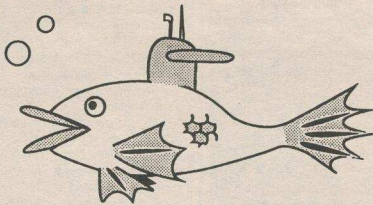
Submarine Dead Ahead!

By Kim Goldberg
Harbour Publishing
pp. 159

REVIEWED BY BRIAN BURCH

One of the problems that movements for social change have is a difficulty in maintaining a sustained, focused campaign. The peace movement tends to be bandwagon driven, jumping from campaign to campaign almost at whim. Two of the major exceptions to this have been the Cruise Missile Conversion Project and River Group's efforts at Litton Industries, a conversion campaign that lasted over a decade, and the Nanoose Conversion Campaign, which has been working for the conversion to peaceful use of one military testing site since 1984. While a history of the Litton campaign has not been published, Kim Goldberg's history of the Nanoose Conversion Campaign is a powerful reminder of the strength and effectiveness of a sustained initiative for peace.

The Canadian Forces Maritime Experimental and Test Ranges



(CFMETR) at Nanoose Bay is a major site for U.S. testing of naval nuclear and advanced 'conventional' weapons systems. From testing of torpedoes to improving military underwater communications systems, U.S. naval and to a lesser extent Canadian naval forces depend upon Nanoose to improve their offensive, war-fighting capabilities. The Nanoose Conversion Campaign is seeking an end to the use of the CFMETR site for military purposes and its conversion to non-military, peaceful purposes that would provide employment and research opportunities.

Goldberg devotes a great deal of effort to examining the hazards the CFMETR creates even if its

services never result in more effective killing tools. From the visits of nuclear powered vessels that are leaking radioactive waste into heavily populated and environmentally sensitive areas to the possibility of a submarine being snagged by a fishing net, CFMETR is a danger to its neighbours. These dangers are overlooked by the Canadian and U.S. governments.

By establishing the risks involved in weapons testing Goldberg shows the desirability of conversion. Too often peace and environmental issues are judged against misleading economic indicators. An exposure of the real costs of war production is an effective tool in the building up of a more peaceful

society, and is a highlight of Goldberg's book.

The history of CFMETR and the litany of dangers inherent in military testing, deployment and development, is used by Goldberg as a framework from which to hang the history of the Nanoose Conversion Campaign. Goldberg provides us with the story of an organization that has gone through a number of changes, from being a small, grassroots organization that used leafletting, civil disobedience and outreach to touch the consciences of CFMETR employees and neighbours, to a group that is more institutionalized and working for change with more established forces. *Submarine Dead Ahead!* documents this transformation quite well and with sympathy. It is unfortunate, however, that this change from a grassroots movement to an institutional voice was not examined in more detail.

The strongest aspect of Goldberg's work is her outlining of success stories of conversion projects. Short histories of how military bases and weapons plants were converted to peaceful uses show that conversion initiatives are

not impractical dreams, but effective ways to use human and technological resources. Tying these histories with statements of support from labour movements shows a way for conversion efforts to be successfully achieved.

If I have a criticism of Goldberg's efforts, it is that she tried to accomplish too much for one book. A history of an organization, a practical outline for a long-term campaign for social transformation, and an outline of a social problem, each deserve a separate book, and by trying to link all these concerns and topics together into one book of much less than 200 pages, Goldberg has forced herself to leave out much that could have been said. And in jumping from popular history to social analysis she occasionally takes leaps that leave people behind.

Kim Goldberg's *Submarine Dead Ahead!* is an important book that helps to keep the history of the peace movement in front of our eyes. Some of the problems faced by those advocating conversion are brought out and some solutions advocated. While not a handbook, it certainly is a useful guide. ☺

Out of the darkness

Cry of the Invisible:

Writings from the Homeless and Survivors of Psychiatric Hospitals
Ed. Michael A. Susko
Conservatory Press
pp. 334

REVIEWED BY DON WEITZ

Cry of the Invisible is more than the soul-shattering cry which I unfortunately have heard all too many times from hundreds of psychiatric survivors. This is an intensely personal, dramatic and moving collection of stories, poems and illustrations from over twenty such survivors, as well as some sharp critiques from a few supportive and dissident health professionals.

The heart of this amazing anthology is personal testimony — the survivors' own stories and poems. They speak of raw and searing pain, deep suffering, humiliation, rage, and — miraculously — love and hope in the midst of psychiatric oppression. Most contributors have experienced not just the psychiatric crimes of forced drugging, electroshock, solitary confinement and/or involuntary commitment (imprisonment without trial or public hearing), but years of homelessness and childhood sexual and physical abuse. These writer-survivors are the real heroes, who have survived both psychiatric and socio-economic oppression. Many, as victims of



What do you do when you are always dying, but you never die?

Verla 23

physical and sexual violence, were also oppressed by their families and 'friends'.

The riveting and poignant contributions shatter the common psychiatric/bureaucratic myth that homelessness is just another "symptom" of "mental illness" and expose psychiatry as the disabling, brainwashing, and fascist force it really is.

It's a minor miracle that the stories do not read like one long horror story. For this, we must thank Michael Susko for his sensitive editing.

Although organized around headings ("Wandering", "Invisibility", "Wounded Since Childhood", "Quest" and "Advocacy") the book looks and reads like a rich, multi-coloured mosaic. The stories, poems, drawings and illustrations all seem to fall into place somehow,

a living whole.

Perhaps most, if not all, of the "Advocacy" section — a collection of critiques of the "mental health system" by prominent professional critics — could have been left out without weakening the larger, more personal survivor sections; however, no doubt students and researchers will appreciate its inclusion.

Cry of the Invisible is a work of real commitment, honesty and love, and I treasure it. The

book deserves to be widely read and discussed by many, including those professionals who still believe in the medical/mental illness myths and lies. Perhaps Susko's next book will feature survivor-controlled advocacy and self-help groups and other humane and empowering alternatives to the endemic psychiatric fascism erroneously labelled "the mental health system."

Don Weitz is the co-editor of the anti-psychiatry anthology *Shrink Resistant* and a member of *Resistance Against Psychiatry*, a group which has organized a number of demonstrations against electroshock, most recently on July 14. R.A.P. continues to stage anti-psychiatry events, as well as distributing information. They can be contacted at 416-532-2731. ☺

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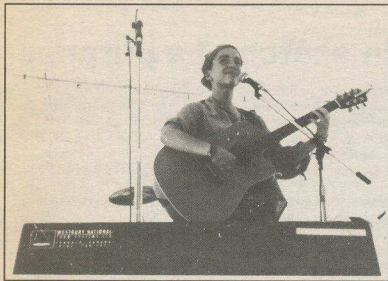
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Ani DiFranco at Mariposa. Photo: Maggie Helwig

Mariposa 92: frozen folk tunes

By DIANE TERRY
THE ACTIVIST

The sun didn't cooperate with this year's Mariposa Festival, and this had a lot to do with the poor turn-out. Those who couldn't bear the winter-like weather missed out, unfortunately, on a lot of great performances.

Ontario Place is not the best location — it's too large for a feeling of intimacy — but it does make the Festival more accessible to more people.

One of the highlights of the show was meeting up with the Keith Hancock Band, from Manchester, England. They signed ACT's 'Support the Innu' petition and promised to help raise awareness in England.

Mariposa continues, though, to have trouble handling the concept of roots artists who are not either white English-speakers, or black men who sing specifically blues music. Last year's efforts seemed vaguely tokenistic; this year they seem to have given up on the whole thing, with the indefatigable Shingoose hanging in as the sole native performer, and Amir

Koushkhani and a couple of dance troupes representing the entire eastern hemisphere.

The Festival did include in its line-up a really amazing and creditable selection of feminist performers — bringing in Ani DiFranco, Ferron, Beverly Bratty, Meryn Cadell, Kathleen Yearwood and others, all on the same weekend, is a striking success (although putting Ani DiFranco in a workshop called 'Ladies' Choice' was a mistake). One question, though — several of these women are very out-of-the-closet lesbians. Was it their choice to leave any possible suggestion of this out of the program, or was it the Mariposa management? Just asking.

Anyway, with luck the Festival will get better cooperation from the weather next year, to help get people out and keep this important concert event alive. Due to the disastrous drop in attendance created by the frigid winds, the Mariposa Foundation is in financial trouble and will be organizing a series of benefit events to ensure their continued existence — *The ACTivist* will keep readers posted when more information is available.

On thought and action

Unarmed Forces

Graeme MacQueen, ed.
Science for Peace/Samuel Stevens
pp. 132

Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence

Shelley Anderson and Janet Larmore, eds
War Resisters' International
pp. 146

REVIEWED BY MAGGIE HELWIG

There is an almost disturbing similarity between these two books in their basic conception — both the proceedings of conferences on nonviolent action against various forms of violence, edited into book form, but internationally focused; including some of the same contributors (notably Julio Quan and the omnipresent Gene Sharp); both, in fact, using the same tones-of-brown colour scheme and pictures of Palestinians holding up V-signs on the cover.

The two cover pictures, however, are strikingly different, in some ways that pretty much encapsulate the differences between the two books. On *Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence*, we see a crowd of young men and women, chanting, waving their arms, faces full of anger and joy and determination. On *Unarmed Forces*, there is a single very young girl in extreme close-up, one eye bandaged, her small hand held out in a touching and rather sad appeal.

It is a beautifully composed photograph, and *Unarmed Forces* is a very skillfully assembled book. The result of a conference held at McMaster University in Hamilton in 1989, it was not published until last month, and it

is clear that a good deal of care and thought went into selecting a few speeches to be reprinted, after editing to make them more of 'a book'. *Nonviolent Struggle*, on the other hand, was published in 1991 after a conference which took place in Bradford, England in 1990, and shows all the signs of a rush job — some pieces printed in question and answer format, some as essays, some as transcribed and barely edited speeches, and the whole thing concluded by a long and essentially point-form essay by Brian Martin on "Arguments and Actions" for social defence.

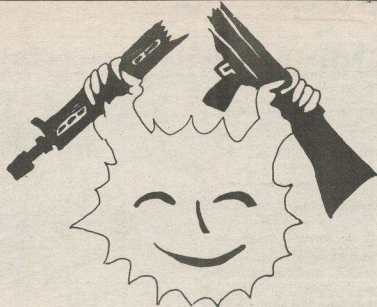
Finally, it depends what you want out of a book. *Unarmed Forces* is a better read, first of all. It is more thoughtful, in some ways. Many of the pieces have a more vivid sense of the people speaking, and their own feelings about the place of nonviolence in their lives and work. It raises in a more systematic way some of the philosophical problems in nonviolent action — for instance, the relationship of nonviolent activists to the 'structural violence' of systematic starvation in Central America and elsewhere.

Having attended the McMaster conference, however, I know how much was left out to create this thoughtful, finished

impression, and I am sorry for the loss of many valuable if not so well-organized panel and roundtable discussions. I particularly regret that the hastily-organized workshop on women dealing with violence in their own lives does not appear in the written record of the proceedings.

For anyone concerned to put ideas of nonviolent defence or nonviolent social change into action, *Nonviolent Struggle* is going to be a considerably more useful tool. The sort of half-finished feeling which makes it less, well, intellectually pleasing than *Unarmed Forces* also challenges the reader to keep thinking. It is not a final word on anything, but a sharing of some experiences, some ideas and some strategies — very much concerned that these strategies should be used.

Ideally, I suppose, one would be able to have both books available, and use them to bounce off each other in all sorts of potentially interesting ways. Given that most of us probably can't have both, I would give a slight edge to *Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence*. It is not such a good read — and *Unarmed Forces* is a very good read — but it has a bit more of a chance of making something actually happen in the world. ☺



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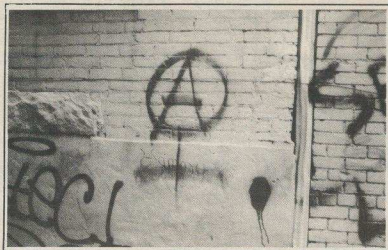
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Maggie Hewitt

Turning grief into rage: women resisting violence

From page four

tural attitudes combine with the perils of flight, as they leave the particular countries that the war exists in. And this combines to make sexual violence particularly devastating for female refugees. It's estimated that 80 percent of the world's eighteen million refugees are, in fact, women and girls. We don't tend to think of refugees as gender-specific, and I think for many of us our consciousness is of the male, political, having been in prison, having been tortured, refugee whose name is circulated, etc, when in fact 80 per cent of refugees are women and children.

Refugee women are subject to sexual violence and abduction at every step of their escape, from flight to border crossings to life in the camps. Those escaping without a man are often sold into prostitution without their knowledge. Even when the immediate threat of rape is gone, the stigma of violation lingers on. Many refugee women who have been raped are shunned by other members of their community. For example, in southeast Asian countries, a husband will often reject his wife if she's been sexually violated, because she's perceived as having been used, violated or "left over" by the rapist. In fact, there's a Vietnamese proverb about rape which summarizes the sentiment by saying, "someone ate out of my bowl and left it dirty."

What we find as a result is that there's a link between the rape and torture of refugee women as they're escaping, and the subsequent violence in the home that many of them experience. Especially if the man has been forced to witness this level of degradation in his family, the effect this has on him in terms of his self-perception and his perception of those women, fosters a violence which those women continue to live in their own home.

I want to end with a group resisting this level of violence in the Philippines, a coalition of women's groups called GABRIELA, and I want to quote a member of GABRIELA who's a survivor of military abuse. She says — "We have turned our grief into rage. We will no longer be pushed against the wall of repression. We shall continue to educate and mobilize in our commitment to change our society, to liberate our women and people. We have identified the sources of our pain, and we know for certain that finally, we shall overcome."

ACT General Meeting

Wed. Aug 12, 7 p.m.
736 Bathurst (basement)
531-6154

General meetings are held the second Wednesday of every month

light of all the war going on on this rather fragile "space-ship" Earth let's pen and publish the right words. *They may actually help.* And following are some of the best I've read; they are from a speech given by International Peace Bureau President Bruce Kent at a centenary reception in Berne, 29 November, 1991.

"It is a conviction that war is not an answer to human conflict any more than cannibalism is an answer to human hunger."

Kindly help spread Mr. Kent's words worldwide.

Stan Penner
Landmark, Manitoba

Helicopters in search of a purpose

From page one

The expenditure of \$4.4 billion against the nebulous menace of Syrian submarines, especially following closely on the heels of extensive cuts to social services, has drawn widespread criticism even from such unlikely sources as money-market traders on Bay Street, and *The Globe and Mail*.

Shelagh Day, of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, points out that the cost of the helicopters could have almost completely financed the national child care program recently cancelled by the federal government.

One of the few voices raised

in support of the helicopter purchase was Alex Morrison of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, a right-wing think-tank. He praised the Defence Department for being "a good corporate citizen," cancelling other projects in order to free up the money for the helicopters. He sees the EH101s as strategically important against the "resurgent global threat" which the military establishment so fervently hopes to discover.

It is widely assumed that the EH101 deal, like the \$1 billion light-helicopter purchase rushed through earlier this year, is an attempt by the avowed Quebec nationalist Masse to benefit his

home province. Of the \$3.2 billion, from this purchase, that will go towards work in Canada, \$947 million will go to Quebec — mostly to the American-owned, Montréal-based Paramax Systems. The rest will be divided between Ontario (\$690 million), Western Canada (\$698 million) and the Atlantic Provinces (\$496 million). \$364 million has yet to be allocated. The \$1 billion light-helicopter contract went entirely to a Québec firm, Bell Helicopter of Mirabel, Qué.

Besides Paramax, firms involved in the helicopter contract include General Electric (Ontario and Manitoba) and IMP Aerospace Ltd. (Halifax).

Global Forum: linking the issues

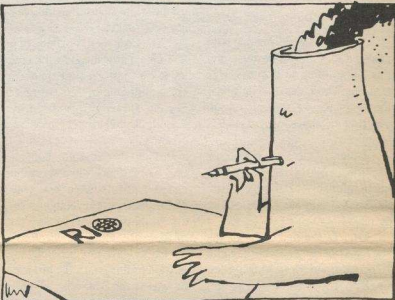
From page five

Some of the material produced by the NGO Working Group on the Military, the Environment and Development is available for \$5 U.S. from the International Clearinghouse on the Military and the Environment, PO Box 150753, Brooklyn, NY 1121, U.S.A.

At the ACT for Disarmament booth, I distributed merchandise and literature, and collected hundreds of signatures on petitions in support of East Timor and the Innu people of Nitassinan, and promoting the General Electric Boycott.

Myself and Tadeu, an American who translated for me, linked the East Timorese struggle to Brazil by explaining that East Timor has a majority of Portuguese-speaking people who are Catholics; and connected the struggle of the Innu to the repression and devastation that indigenous peoples of South America suffer at the hands of greedy corporations and First World developers.

Several representatives of anti-nuclear groups were astonished by the extent to which General Electric is involved in the nuclear weapons industry, and wanted to investigate the degree to which GE was destroying the Third World.



Len Mumukshupras

We tried to express our belief that true, substantial and lasting solutions to our environmental problems could not be found until the practice of militarism is abolished. A person's environment also encompasses the social and political atmosphere to which we are subject within the great web that connects all aspects of the environment.

I believe we succeeded in communicating our concerns as the petition sheets filled. I now know why I had come to Rio.

We also made contacts to help

towards building ACT's International Day of Action for the Innu, planned for April 3, 1993.

The Global Forum concluded with a massive concert celebration on Flamengo Beach. Brazilian bands filled the air with exotic rhythms and verses telling how we can save the planet if we all work together. The wonderful music pulsed as a lunar eclipse darkened the sky. We sang and danced in celebration of Mother Earth.

This article is part of a much longer piece available from Aloz in Guelph, 519-767-1781.

Our readers just keep writing

From page two

This has been a very difficult process for all of us. It has forced us to look at ourselves, other men and our relationships to each other. We are now creating a process of accountability.

John Volpe
National Gathering of Men
Toronto

It is said that the pen is mightier than the sword. In

I find it very ironic that the lead article in your June 1992 issue honours Professor Sulak Sivarakas of Thailand, while the editorial attacks the group in North America that most actively practices his "non-violent people power", the pro-life Rescue movement. I often wonder when human rights activists, who do such a great job of exposing and opposing the many civil rights violations in our world, will wake up and start to struggle against the greatest human rights abuse of our time, the legal dismembering and poisoning of over fifty million preborn babies worldwide per year. It also strikes me as

ironic that a paper so concerned with truth and fair judgement accuses pro-lifers not only of the bombing of the Morgentaler clinic but also of the 102 abortuary bombings in the States. This in spite of the fact that a) there has been absolutely no evidence that pro-lifers bombed Morgentaler's; b) of the 42 people convicted in the States only two were anti-abortion activists; and c) no pro-life organization has been linked to any of the bombings.

Callum Beck
Toronto
(Ed. note: The opinion piece (not an editorial)

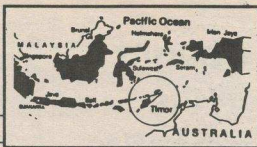
published in the *June ACTivist* does not, in fact, accuse any "pro-life" organization or anti-abortion activist of the bombing, though the writers did suggest that some of the tactics of "pro-life" organizations encourage a climate of thought which can contribute to creating such incidents.)

After receiving your fine newspaper free for several months, my conscience got the better of me and I decided to cough up 10 bucks for a subscription. Keep up the good work.

Aaron Doyle
Toronto

EAST TIMOR UPDATE

Number 13 — August 3, 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: ETAN Vancouver 104-2120 West 44th, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2. ETAN Toronto: PO Box 562, St. P. Toronto, M5S 2T1. ETAN Ottawa: PO Box 2002, Stn D, K1P 5W3.

(Regional contacts list next month)

Ontario East Timor conference held

The East Timor Alert Network launched several new campaigns at a regional conference in Toronto on August 1. The 31 participants from ten communities agreed to organize a national action and release an open letter to the Canadian government on November 12, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre (in which Indonesian soldiers opened fire without provocation on a crowd of East Timorese civilians, killing between 100 and 200 people) and to focus on a speaking tour of universities in September and October. Other actions agreed to included a demonstration during the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Indonesia in September; a petition to Bata Shoes to divest from Indonesia; pressure on universities to consider human rights in their dealings with Indonesia; a project linking community/campus radio shows that cover East Timor; a popular education kit aimed at high schools; and petition drives to collect 5,000 signatures as pie in ten communities in Ontario.

Speakers at the conference included Abé Barreto Soares, a Timorese refugee now representing the National Council of Maubere (Timorese) Resistance in Canada and Liem Soi Liang of the London-based Indonesian Human Rights Campaign (Tapo).

For more information on any of the campaigns, contact ETAN/Toronto.

Timor massacre survivors jailed for "subversion"

On Nov. 12, 1991, a crowd of thousands of unarmed Timorese civilians marched to the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili to lay flowers on the grave of slain independence activist Sebastião Gomes. Indonesian soldiers opened fire on the crowd without provocation, killing at least 100 people. The Indonesian government promised to punish the guilty. Two generals were fired and replaced with more hard-line generals. Ten soldiers were court-martialed, and sentenced to jail terms ranging from eight to 18 months. Eight Timorese survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre, meanwhile, have been jailed for "subversion" or "anti-government activities" for periods ranging from five years to life.

Two survivors of the massacre were jailed for subversion. Gregório da Cunha Saldanha received a life sentence, while Francisco Miranda Branco was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Six other Timorese activists were found guilty of "publicly expressing hostility towards the government" and sentenced to jail terms ranging from five to ten years.

In Jakarta, Indonesia, two Timorese students, João Freitas da Camara and Fernando de Araújo, were found guilty of subversion and jailed for nine and ten years respectively for organizing a demonstration on Nov. 19, 1991, in protest against the Santa Cruz massacre. Three more were sentenced to shorter jail terms for expressing hostility towards the government.

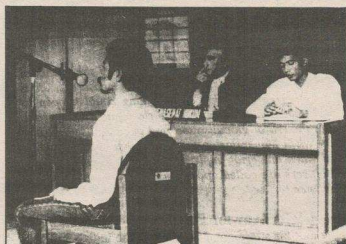
Amnesty International, Asia Watch and other human rights groups have condemned the harsh sentences imposed on non-violent demonstrators and declared them prisoners of conscience. Portugal has been particularly strong in calling for the Timorese prisoners to be freed. US Senator Patrick Leahy said the Indonesian government had "perverted justice," and even close Indonesian ally Australia said it was "disturbed at the apparent discrepancies so far in the sentences that have been administered for civilians and the military." Canada, in contrast, has welcomed the verdicts.

In East Timor, hundreds more youths arrested since November, but not charged with subversion or expressing hostility, are still being held in groups of two or three in isolated "slave houses and torture chambers," according to José Ramos Horta, external representative for the Timorese resistance movement. The Indonesian government says they are "receiving mental guidance."

US Representatives cut military aid to Indonesia

The House of Representatives voted unanimously on June 25 to stop funding the Indonesian military. The vote came on an amendment introduced by Ronald Machtey (Republican—Rhode Island) and Tony Hall (Democrat—Ohio) which removes \$2.3 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) for Indonesia from the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1993.

Although non-binding resolutions have



João Freitas da Camara in court. His two defence lawyers are seated at the back.

passed at various times, this is the first time ever that Congress has taken substantive action to support the East Timorese people. The arena now moves to the Senate, which will vote in September on cutting IMET to Indonesia.

Indonesian armed forces commander, Gen. Try Sutrisno, attacked the House vote, saying "they should not use their yardstick to evaluate our performances (on human rights) because we have our own yardstick."

Indonesian army goes shopping in Europe

Despite a vote in the European parliament last year to ban weapons sales to Indonesia, two European Community member states are close to making lucrative sales to the Indonesian armed forces.

British Aerospace PLC has nearly completed the sale of 44 Hawk-100 and 200 training jets, despite a amount of censure tabled by opposition parties in the British House of Commons. Germany, meanwhile, has authorized the sale of a large part of the former East German navy to Indonesia. Fourteen landing craft, 16 fast patrol boats, and nine minesweepers will be sold in a deal expected to give Indonesia increased capacity to launch amphibious operations. The German foreign ministry said it authorized the sale because Indonesia is "not an area of tension or hostility."

In the United States, recently declassified documents have revealed that Indonesia re-sold several French-made Puma helicopters to Iraq in 1989, with the approval of the US State Department. Indonesia may also have been the conduit for other weapons sales to Saddam Hussein's Iraq prior to the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Canada silent at aid meet

The July inaugural meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) gave the Indonesian government \$4.94 billion in aid for the coming year, slightly more than the Indonesians had requested. The CGI is a new donor forum chaired by the World Bank that replaced the old Netherlands-based Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia when Indonesia refused to accept further aid from the Netherlands (which has a policy of linking aid with

respect for human rights).

Canadian representatives at the CGI meeting ignored appeals from the East Timor Alert Network and 16 Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor that Canada use the forum to advance its stated policy of linking aid and human rights. Canada will give Indonesia another \$46 million in aid this year, but is still maintaining its freeze

on \$30 million in further aid that was to be given to Indonesia. The \$30 million was frozen after last November's Santa Cruz massacre.

Last year's \$46 million aid package placed Indonesia third among all recipients of Canadian development aid.

Indonesia slammed at UN Decolonization meeting

Petitioners on behalf of East Timor outnumbered delegates to the UN Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization, which met in New York in July. For the first time, the committee heard eyewitness reports from East Timor, from American journalists Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn. ETAN was represented by Li-Ian Gibbons of Vancouver, whose step-brother Kamal Bamadaj was shot by Indonesian soldiers during the Santa Cruz massacre last November. Ms Gibbons was also speaking on behalf of her family and Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor.

The committee was also addressed by three East Timorese representatives, five international organizations (Amnesty International, Asia Watch, Pax Christi, War Resisters International, and the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor) and East Timor solidarity activists from seven countries. It is expected to make its recommendations to the General Assembly in early September.

Intimidation stepped up

The 10,000 Indonesian armed forces in East Timor continue to step up their security controls of the indigenous population. Indonesian army chief Gen. Edi Sudrajat set the tone for the army this month when he declared that "all kinds of separatist movements led by any group of extremists that want to divide the unity of the Indonesian Republic must be wiped out."

In one telling case, Timorese housewife Yonnia de Yesus Vargas Galochu was charged with slander in June for writing a private letter to the governor of East Timor alleging that security forces were planning to murder her imprisoned husband, José Antonio Joaquim, who is serving a 2-year sentence for taking part in an anti-government demonstration in early 1991.

Caught in the crossfire

By MAY PRIMERA
SPECIAL TO THE ACTIVIST

With my eyes closed, I could still feel the dust on my face as the "skylab" roared through the scabrous path and past the verdant groves. "Skylab" was the name the villagers had given the puny motorbike that could seat six people — one person in front of the driver, two behind him and two on each side of the horizontal slab of wood tied tightly to its rear like an outrigger. There are no traffic patrol guards this side of Southern Philippines. Only armalite-toting men in faded fatigues.

I came from Manila where the dirt is less organic, to the far bucolic south, to write a story about indigenous Filipinos who were driven away from their ancestral lands by the private army of a rich Chinese-Filipino businessman. I travelled for a day from Davao City to South Cotabato with two community organizers, riding on skylabs, walking on a hanging bridge and crossing the river on the back of a water buffalo. Our four-hour bus ride was interrupted by military men who searched the rusting vehicle and frisked the male passengers. "Last week it was the NPAs (New People's Army, the opposition guerrilla army) who were manning this checkpoint," the passengers said, casually laughing away the constantly threatened 'peace and order situation'.

I finally met the terrified indigenous T'bolis in a remote barrio building makeshift huts from palm leaves and sharing with each other what little food they could harvest from the land. They offered us delicious rice coffee and boiled cassava. Then the stories were told.

The T'bolis have lived in South Cotabato since time immemorial. It was they who named some of the towns and barrios here. They are among the 4.5 million members of some 40 indigenous communities living in the remote interiors of Luzon, Mindanao, and some is-



T'boli women, 'internal refugees' of the Philippines. Photo: May Primera

lands of Visayas. Like the rest of the indigenous peoples, T'bolis have a distinct language and culture. To escape colonization, some of these tribal folks withdrew to the hinterlands while others stood their ground successfully.

But their existence as distinct peoples of the Philippines continues to be threatened by land-grabbing lowlanders, the encroachment of multinational corporations, militarization, and so-called development projects of the government.

The T'bolis I visited were among the casualties of the government's neglect and lack of clearcut policies on ancestral land claims. They were victims of the government's lack of political will to go after violators of human rights, in this case the private army of a landowner created supposedly to protect property from communist rebels, but in fact used against these peaceable people.

The tribespeople told us how their straw houses were strafed five days before we arrived. When the frightened T'bolis came out of their houses clutching children and meagre belongings to their chests, the armed men poured gasoline on the huts and told the people never to come back. "If you come back, we will kill you all," one tribeswoman remembered the armed men as saying. About 300 families were displaced as a result of the vicious attack. When no one was reported killed, many were wounded

and at least ten were brutally beaten with armalite butts.

For three days and three nights they stayed in the woods, near a creek where the cows of the businessman drank. They were eventually found by the ranch guards and chased away with gunfire. "Even our children were shot at," they said. Cattle get better treatment here than human beings.

They dispersed in small groups and sought assistance from the church. Some travelled on foot for days to reach their relatives' homes, homes of people who have momentarily given up fighting for their land and have rebuilt in other remote areas.

The land of the T'bolis, from which they were driven, is 5,000 hectares of plains where hundreds of cattle graze. "As far as the eyes can see," Carlos Blusan, the tribesperson, described the land's vastness. Formerly called Lacag, it was renamed ANSA Farms, after the landowner and his partner.

The strafing and burning of the T'bolis' houses in November, 1990, was, at the time, the most violent of the series of demolitions since the beginning of the 1980s when T'bolis started reoccupying the land they believe to be theirs. Antonio Nocom, the businessman to whom the title of the land belongs, was said to have duped the tribal elders into signing away their land rights in the early 60s. The guileless tribesmen were made to

believe that the papers were just a permission for the businessman to raise a few goats on their land. "A week later, cows were brought in and the lowlanders started building fences. The fences grew bigger and bigger until our parents came home from the farm one day to find their houses demolished and fenced in," Blusan related.

But the stubborn men and women were unfazed. They kept coming back and rebuilding even as the keepers of the ranch kept destroying. The farmhands would lead cattle to the T'bolis' farms to trample and graze on their corn and other farm crops. They accused tribesmen of stealing cows and then beat them up beyond recognition. The tribe told the story of a man named Alex, whose flesh was sliced thinly with a bolo in front of his neighbours: "This is the way to slice a cow's meat," a T'boli woman, Neneng, recalled the man as saying while Alex screamed in agony.

The reality is, 20 per cent of the 60 million population of the Philippines own 80 per cent of the lands. Philippine governments, which have a long history of elitism, have been known to cater to the needs of the rich and their visions of industrialization. Thus, it stands impatient as wealthy and powerful landgrabbers drive tribal families away from the lands they have inhabited for centuries.

The survival of the indigenous

peoples' culture and way of life is imperilled by the government's inconsiderate policies of allowing the construction of various "development" projects like hydroelectric dams, without prior consultation with the local tribespeople. These projects, which invade ancestral lands, do not serve to improve the lives of the tribespeople. On the contrary, the structures have caused the destruction of their traditional way of life.

A friend of mine who works for TABAK — the Alliance of Advocates for Indigenous Peoples' Rights — wrote to me recently about the killing of one of the tribal leaders of the Lacag T'bolis. She also reported how the area — now declared by the military as a no-man's-land — was bombed by the same armed elements after the T'bolis tried to reoccupy it last year.

The creation of private armies is just one aspect of the militarization going on in the Philippines. In 1987, when peace negotiations between the government and the revolutionary group called the National Democratic Front failed to result in a compromise, the government adopted a "Total War Policy" aimed at wiping out insurgency by 1992. Thousands of troops were deployed and continue to be sent into areas believed to be occupied by the New Peoples' Army. Vigilante groups were formed including private armies to quell dissent and silence the poor peasants who are asking for land rights.

Cause-oriented groups, the churches and people's organizations are one in denouncing the senseless slaughter of the innocents caught in the crossfire of this bitter conflict. Non-government organizations committed to working towards genuine development for the people urge the international community to pressure the Philippine government to negotiate anew with the NDF and other rebelling forces for a just and lasting peace. It should be a peace based on the resolution of the fundamental problems of Philippine society that have spawned widespread social unrest. One that would take into consideration the issues that presently confront women, children, the environment and the indigenous peoples.

May Primera is a journalist from the Philippines, now based in Toronto.

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