

# the ACTivist

Ontario's Peace Newspaper

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## Somali women raped in refugee camps



### THE ACTIVIST

October in Somalia began with more battles between U.S. troops and Somali followers of Mohammed Farah Aideed; on October 4 about 13 U.S. "peacekeepers" and perhaps 700 Somalis were killed. Many of the Somali victims were women and children caught in the crossfire, though military men were quick to rush in and state that women and children can also be "a threat" and therefore deserving of death.

There was a brief renewal of clan fighting in Mogadishu on October 24 and 25. However, this was largely brought to an end by the nonviolent intervention of clan elders and Muslim leaders.

The elders walked towards the front line carrying tree branches as a symbol of peace; though they were driven back, the clan warriors did listen to the call of Somalia's leading Muslim cleric the next day, and end their fighting for the most part.

The strong implication that Somalis are in fact capable of resolving their own problems does not seem to have been entirely registered by the United States and the United Nations, who persist in the belief that their heavily armed soldiers will more efficiently bring peace to the country.

In fact, almost a thousand more U.S. land troops are expected to arrive in Somalia in the next few weeks, though Clinton has, at least, called off offensive operations for the moment. The main task of the soldiers at the moment seems to be assuring their own continued presence, including displacing the houses of Somali people in order to build their own roads, since it is no longer safe for their to travel by the existing road system.

Meanwhile, Somali refugee women

are being raped by Kenyan security personnel, according to a report from African Rights. The women are also vulnerable to attacks from bandits in the area.

About 200 cases of rape have been reported, but it is estimated that, given the heavy social stigma attached to women who report rape, the actual number is at least ten times more than that. The UN High Commission for Refugees has appealed for funds to have female police officers patrolling the refugee camps, and to provide gynaecological and psychological help for women who have been raped.

Many of the raped women may need to settle in other countries, since their families are often unwilling to take them back once they admit to having been raped, or if they become pregnant outside marriage.

The UNHCR apparently appealed for funds for this situation in June, but got no response from UN member countries. "The suffering of the refugees in Kenya is the forgotten part of the Somali tragedy," African Rights said in a statement released in early October.

The UNHCR apparently will not, however, take up the suggestion of African Rights that they exert pressure for legal action against Kenyan security personnel who have committed human rights abuses. The UNHCR maintains that the security forces are responsible for only a small part of the rapes (though it is not clear that a "small part" of at least 2,000 rapes is really very small).

Opposition parties in Kenya say that the government of Daniel Arap Moi deserves part of the blame for the violence in Somalia, for having supported the son-in-law of former dictator Mohammed

Siad Barre, whose period of rule largely devastated Somali society, and for allowing arms to flood from Kenya into Somalia.

African Rights and the Mines Advisory Group have issued a detailed report on human rights violations by UNOSOM, concluding that the UNOSOM troops have indeed become just another faction in the

## Toronto resumes trade with China

Toronto City Council has abandoned its trade boycott of China, just weeks after China violated the international moratorium on nuclear testing.

June Rowlands, the mayor of Toronto, visited China for ten days in late October, and returned promising trade contracts "worth tens of millions of dollars." Metro businessmen will be constructing "the world's tallest building" in Chongqing, design massive indoor skating stadiums, and sell millions of dollars worth of various goods and services. Rowlands did not, however, release all the details of the contracts.

Toronto City Council declared a boycott of Chongqing, Toronto's "sister city" in China, after the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989. But the relationship between the two cities was revived this summer, with City Council pleading the economic recession as an excuse.

The Chinese government continues to be one of the world's outstanding violators of human rights, repressing dissent within its own territory and waging a brutal military occupation of Tibet. (For more on Tibet, see previous issues of *The ACTivist*).

Though one prominent dissident, Wei

### New Statesman & Society

conflict, and that the solution must include demilitarization of the forces. The report can be obtained from African Rights, 11 Marshalsea Rd, London SE1 1EP, England.

*The ACTivist* will have more analysis of the transcripts of the Board on Inquiry into Canadian "peacekeepers" in Somalia in the December issue.

Jingsheng, was released in August — clearly as part of China's attempt to be chosen for the Olympics in the year 2000 — many others, including some involved in the Tiananmen Square protest, remain in prison. One of these prisoners, Wang Juntao, a journalist sentenced to 13 years for his involvement in Tiananmen Square, is now extremely ill with hepatitis.

Amnesty International recently released an appeal for another prisoner, Xing Jiandong, who has been forcibly confined in a mental hospital since September 13 for demonstrating peacefully outside the Australian consulate in Shanghai. Wang Juntao and Xing Jiandong are just two of the many prisoners of conscience in China today.

And on October 5, China detonated a nuclear device at the Lop Nur test site. This explosion shattered a moratorium on nuclear testing that had been observed by all the known "nuclear nations". This could potentially serve as excuse for either the United States or Russia to resume their own nuclear test.

The Lop Nur test site is on the lands of the indigenous Uighur people.

CONNEXIONS  
P.O. Box 158, Stn D  
Toronto, Ont. M6P 3J8

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**Contributors this issue — Editorial:** Daniel Ashini, Stephen Dankowich, Srdjan Dvornik, M Erskine, Maggie Helwig, Mary Hutchinson, Peter Jarman, Coban Tun, David Webster

**Production:** Maggie Helwig **Mailing and Distribution:** Maggie Helwig, Rob Hunter, Mary Hutchinson, Frank Showler

**ACT Chapters and Contacts**

**ACT Toronto**

736 Bathurst St.  
Toronto, Ont.  
M5S 2R4  
416-531-6154  
fax 416-531-5850

**ACT Oakville**

c/o OCCPEHR  
148 Kerr St.  
Oakville, Ont. L6K 3A7  
phone/fax 905-849-5501

**Victoria Contact**

Mac, Bee and Corinne  
8509A West Coast Rd.  
Sooke, BC V0S 1N0  
604-642-6759

**ACT Guelph**

PO Box 1302  
Guelph, Ont. N1H 6N6  
519-767-0313  
fax 519-767-1785

**Hamilton Contact**

Mary Hutchinson  
905-522-3650

**St. Catharines Contact**

Bruce Allen  
905-934-6233

**Peterborough Contact**

OPIRG  
705-748-1767

**Fredericton Contact**

Diane Terry  
506-472-2629

**Vancouver Contact**

Susan Moore  
604-988-3740

**CELEBRATE!**

**ACT for Disarmament's**

**11th birthday**

**Sat. Dec. 18, 7 p.m.**

**57 Berkeley St.**

**(near King and Parliament)**

**Fundraising**

**benefit party**

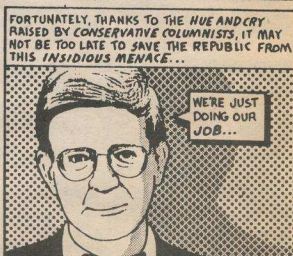
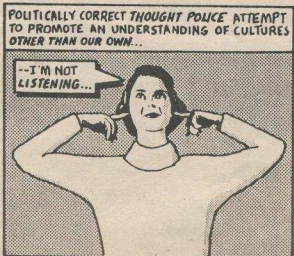
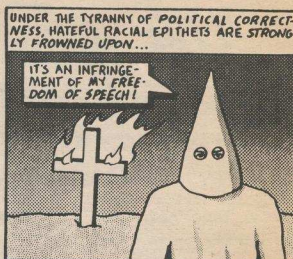
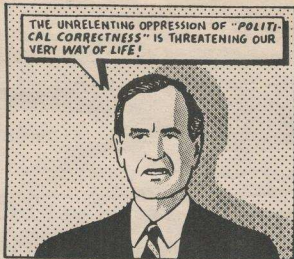
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**Refreshments served**

**RSVP if possible**

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**Jo Peacenik**

**Love me, I'm a Liberal!**

So Jean "Don" Worry, Be "Appy!" Chretien has sailed into Parliament with a huge Liberal majority, and a little red book with cute boxes for Canadian to check off, as they keep track of whether or not he lives up to his campaign promises.

Meanwhile, Presto Manson and Lucien Libre are battling it out for the Opposition slot. Prez, having failed to win the two-count-em-two Tory MPs over to Reform, and apparently failing to pick up any more seats no matter how often he makes them recount, is now planning to petition the House of Commons to make him the official opposition leader because ... because ... well, because he just wants to be.

In a similar move to convert the House of Commons from a kindergarten into a nursery school, Lucien has announced that if Ti'Jean does not buy the EH-101 helicopter fleet after all, he has to give Lucien a billion dollars. "If I had a billion dollars," to paraphrase the Barenaked Ladies — sorry, the Respectably-Dressed Women — "I'd buy off Québec."

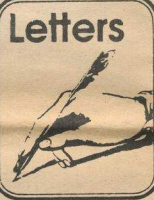
Jean "I Told You So" Charest and Elsie Who? are now facing off to decide who will lead the Progressive Conservative, while Our Kim is freed from all responsibilities and can return to dating extremely old men and doing line dancing. Sadly, she can no longer count on public funds, of which she apparently spent \$450,000 in July and August in order to attend barbecues around the country. It does get lonely there in Ottawa, it seems ...

Most sterling piece of media wisdom — the commentator on CBC who observed that "people in Alberta seem to like to vote the way they vote," an observation only equalled by Lily Munro's proclamation, after the Ontario provincial elections, "Well, there are a lot of reasons for this result, but I think the main one is the voters." A close second is the Tory apologist who informed Canadians that "incumbent governments are an endangered species in the western world these days."

Among the followers of Elvis Presley Manson who won their ridings is Paul Forseth, who referred to old-age security as "welfare for the aged." And in one of the ridings now being recounted, the Liberal candidate won by only 77 votes over Ron Mix, whose comment on access to abortion is "When a woman lays with the man she has made her choice."

Moving from the ridiculous to the sublime — controversy has broken out over Mattel's new line of Ken dolls. Earring Magic Ken, with his earring, his lavender vest, and what appears to be a cockring around his neck, has, one can only assume, finally come out of the closet after 30 years of 'dating' Barbie.

Mattel spokespeople, however, vehemently deny that the new Ken is ... you know ... artistic. And rumours that a Fag Hag Barbie line is in production can just be silenced right now.



I was completely awestruck by the October edition of The ACTivist, especially by the cover article, 'You have to be willing to shoot: Canada in Somalia.' The board of inquiry transcripts produced some incredibly startling revelations into the brutal misconduct and systemic racism found in the foul ranks of Canadian 'peacekeepers'. I would like to know, however, how does one obtain such transcripts? Maybe this info could be published in a future edition of the ACTivist to inform readers of the accessibility of such information. It is a privilege for me to enclose my subscription renewal.

**David Fingrut**  
Toronto

The transcripts of the board of inquiry into Canadian peacekeepers in Somalia can be obtained by requesting them, on interlibrary loan, from your local branch of the Toronto public library. Ask for 'Board of Inquiry: Canadian Airborne Regiment Battle Group'.

Not all such documents are easily available to the public, but libraries can do amazing things sometimes, so ask there first, or try the Government Documents department of Roberts Library. It sounds too easy, but it works.

NET PUBL. (ARTIST) PROFILES: BOB HAYES/3 SF CHINA

## Oakville in action

The Oakville Community Centre for Peace, Ecology and Human Rights has set out on an ambitious fall program.

This month the Centre published the first issue of its newsletter, to inform members and supporters of upcoming events and give feedback on past events.

The Centre is one of six sponsoring organizations across Canada of the International Campaign for the Innu and the Earth. They held a rally on October 29, and joined the Toronto rally on October 30, calling for an end to low-level military flight training over Innu land. Volunteers are also making a peace quilt to present to the Innu nation — more volunteers with sewing skills are needed. The Innu Committee meets at the Centre every Tuesday.

A public forum is planned for November 11, at 7 p.m., on the theme of "Remembering War on Remembrance Day". Slobodan Drakulich of the University of Toronto will be the featured speaker.

Outreach is underway for the Third Annual Waterways Cleanup Campaign, scheduled for April 16, 1994. Help is needed to reach out to community groups, businesses, schools and neighbourhood organizations. People with artistic skills are

required to make posters and pamphlets. The Waterways Cleanup Committee meets at the Centre every Thursday.

An Anti-Racism Committee is organizing a series of public forums and planning an anti-racist theatre production to be taken to schools in March and April of 1994.

The Centre has also joined the international campaign to have nuclear weapons declared illegal by the World Court.

Last but not least, there are the regular Saturday Night Socials. Doors open at 7 p.m. every Saturday for Socials which run until 10 p.m. The cost is \$2 for members and \$4 for non-members. Among the upcoming Socials are: the Centre's first birthday part (admission free this night only) at November 6, with music by the Shadow Puppets; on November 20, Danny Beaton of the Mohawk Turtle Clan will speak and play traditional drums and flute; on November 27, Abe Barreto Soares, together with Aloz, will perform 'Songs for East Timor'.

The Centre's next General Meeting is on November 7, at 2 p.m.

Memberships for the Centre are being sold for \$20 for one person, and \$50 for families. If you buy a membership now, you will also receive a free Oakville



(l to r) Alaine Hawkins of Peace Brigades International, Nigel Chamberlain of North Cumbria CND, and an Australian delegate, attend a workshop on low-level military flight training at the International Peace Bureau conference, held in London, England, October 6-10. ACT representatives to the conference described the situation of the Innu and made further contacts and plans for the International Campaign for the Innu and the Earth. Stephen Dankowich then travelled to Wales to speak about low-level flight training, at the invitation of CND Cymru. Photo: Stephen Dankowich

Community Centre t-shirt. Members are not only entitled to a discount on admission to paid events, but have the use of the Centre's resources and library, and can take part in making decisions.

**Oakville Community Centre for Peace, Ecology and Human Rights, 148 Kerr St., Oakville, Ont., L6K 3A7, 905-849-5501 (phone/fax).**

## VIGIL FOR WOMEN VICTIMS OF WAR

### Saturday Nov. 25 7 p.m.

### Philosopher's Walk (off Bloor St. Near Avenue Rd.)

**Please bring donations for refugees from Bosnia and Burma**

**For Bosnia:** Vitamins (unopened bottles only; no Flintstones); soap; wool; books about feminist therapy, women and law, etc.

**For Burma:** children's books; English-language teaching books; notebooks, pens, pencils, non-toxic paints

**CASH DONATIONS TO COVER SHIPPING COSTS ARE ALSO NEEDED.**

**For more information, contact the ACT Women's Collective, 531-6154**

**ALL WELCOME**

## In Memoriam: Wilson Head

By STEPHEN DANKOWICH  
THE ACTIVIST

Our peace movement is stronger thanks to the wisdom of Wilson Head, who passed away on October 7, at the age of seventy-nine.

I last saw Wilson Head at the Oakville Peace Festival in 1992. The 2,000 people in attendance were riveted by his captivating vision of a global unity that starts in our communities.

The Peace Festival was held just one month after the racial turmoil of the Los Angeles riots. While Wilson was against the use of violence in any situation, he did feel relieved that the events at L.A. and Oka were forcing North Americans to face up to race relations problems. For decades, Wilson had been telling Canadians that Canada, its institutions, and its media, discriminated against visible minorities. After L.A. and Oka, most Canadians — even politicians — were publicly admitting that this is a racist country. A lifetime of work was finally being vindicated.

Raised in the racially-segregated community of Atlanta, Georgia, Wilson was born of mixed Black, Chero-

ke and white heritage. In 1959, the Heads moved to Canada, "to get my children away from a racist society." Here they found a "kinder and gentler" but perhaps even more insidious brand of racism.

Wilson, a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers), was a conscientious objector during the Second World War, and remained a pacifist all his life. His lifelong goal was to end all wars, and he argued that "you cannot have a peaceful world if people in local communities are warring."

The key to harmony for any community demands "that everyone must work to break down the barriers between groups." Wilson identified the key barriers as ideology, nationalism or excessive patriotism, religion, and stereotyping, all of which contribute to segregation, bigotry and hate.

Wilson worked with mentally challenged young people in the State Juvenile Diagnostic Centre in Ohio during the fifties, and arrived in Canada to become the director of Windsor Group Therapy. He led a successful campaign to desegregate a local golf course. In 1965, he

moved to Toronto as the Director of Social Planning for the United Way, and in 1970 helped to establish the School of Social Work at York University. In 1975, he founded the influential Urban Alliance on Race Relations, and remained director of the Alliance until his death.

But even among all his other community activities, Wilson found time to support ACT for Disarmament. He was a regular presence at ACT rallies and other events, spoke at ACT's 10th Anniversary rally, and contributed financially for many years. ACT is proud to have had such an eminent figure among our members and supporters.

Wilson worked hard to build links in the community through his principled insistence that "you have to have respect for your own community before you can reach out to others." Wilson Head had pointed us in the proper directions. Let's hope the peace movement helps carry his vision forward.

There will be a memorial service for Wilson Head at York University's Ross Building Senate Chamber on November 13 at 2 p.m.

## Jets not welcome in Nitassinan

Following is a statement sent by Daniel Ashini, the Innu Nation's Director of Innu Rights and Environment, to ACT's October 30 rally in support of the Innu. About 300 people attended the demonstration in Toronto, which also called for an end to clear-cut logging in Clayoquot Sound.

As well as this statement, the rally heard from Innu speakers Jackie Ashini and Kathleen Nuna. A giant stump from the Clayoquot old-growth forest was also present.

I know a piece of paper is a poor substitute for an Innu spokesperson, but I hope that this letter will at least convey to you some of our feelings about low-level flying in our homeland, Nitassinan. I'm sorry I couldn't be with you in person to participate in your rally, but I, and other Innu spokespeople, are very busy here with several pressing concerns.

In any event, let me start by simply thanking you all for coming out to the rally to show your concern for the future of Nitassinan, for the potentially negative impacts of low-level flying, and your support for the Innu people. Your ongoing support, and the hard work of the organizers of these rallies, is very much appreciated by the Innu people. I know that many of you have never had a chance to visit Nitassinan, to witness with your own eyes its majestic valleys, carpets of black spruce forests, serpentine rivers, and awe-inspiring aurora borealis. Had you spent even a minute in this beautiful land, you would understand instantly why we struggle so hard against military flight training and other industrial intrusions, and you would know that your protest actions are truly grounded in a deep appreciation for the earth and all its creatures.

With that as an intro, let me say that we are now at a crucial point in our fight against military flight training. After eight years of environmental impact assessment, the Department of National Defence is about to release a new Environmental Impact Statement. You will remember that the first statement was a real mess and received heavy criticism from independent experts retained by the Innu Nation, from the Environmental Assessment Panel, and several other agencies. Besides participating in this assessment process, we have also continued to oppose the flight training through direct action, through civil disobedience at the military base at Goose Bay and on the Minipi Lake bombing range. Many of our people have been arrested and spent time in jail as a result of these actions. In fact, I and close to 50 other people were back in court just two days ago (October 26) in relation to charges stemming from an occupation of the ramp at Goose Bay in September.

Our civil disobedience actions have been an important vehicle for

the communication of our concerns about the impacts of the flight training to national and international publics, and of course, many of our supporters have played a key role in helping to reach these publics.

With the release of the new Environmental Impact Statement some time in December or January, DND hopes to push ahead as quickly as possible to get the environmental review process finished with.

The Allied air forces, Happy Valley-Goose Bay Town Council, and the Newfoundland government are all pressing DND to get the environmental public relations job over with as soon as possible. To this end, changes have been made to the Environmental Assessment Panel, to replace formerly strong members who had the wherewithal to scrutinize carefully the research done by DND, with new members who are either ex-military and government bureaucrats, pro-industry consultants, or who have limited capacity to understand the complexities of the flight training. I am very concerned that the environmental assessment with this new panel in charge has become a white-wash, or just another public relations rubber stamp for the military.

What you have to remember now is that there are serious defects in what DND is doing to protect the Innu and the wildlife from the negative impacts of military flight training. You have probably heard that DND says that it can reduce the impacts of the flight training to a bare minimum by getting the Allied air force pilots to avoid our camps and concentrations of wildlife. However, DND promised to avoid these noise-sensitive areas before it had really made much of an effort to determine their location.

When the Department started to conduct inventories to find out where wildlife concentrations are located, it found them all over the place. And when it started to implement some avoidance restrictions to prevent overflights, the Allies started to scream bloody murder. They told DND that they came to fly at Goose Bay because there were no restrictions on the activities, unlike those in Europe. They told DND that if it did not stop putting in all these avoidance restrictions they would pack their bags and go somewhere else. So as a result of this pressure, DND has been going back to the Canadian Wildlife Service and provincial wildlife agencies to get them to agree to watered-down avoidance measures. The Innu Nation has just released a study which looks at this whole process. It concluded, after an exhaustive analysis of documents obtained through the federal Access to Information Act, that DND is not designing the avoidance measures on the basis of scientific criteria, but through a pro-



**Innu protesters inside CFB Goose Bay** last September. The Innu and supporters surrounded Dutch F-16s, demanding an end to low-level flight training. Early in October, the Innu camped on Parliament Hill for a week, protesting the government's proposal that they be included in the Indian Act, a change which would represent a definite step backwards for Innu rights. The Innu also raised issues such as low-level military flight training, the need for the Davis Bay community to be resettled in a location of their choice, and the construction of the SMIII dam on Innu territory.

cess of political negotiation.

Now, this situation is clearly unacceptable to the Innu Nation. We had been encouraged to sit down and cooperate with DND and to provide the coordinates of our camps on the basis of DND's argument that the impacts of the flight training would be eliminated through the avoidance program. But this program is clearly not working; in fact it's a sham. We have no faith in this program whatsoever and see no reason to cooperate with the Department.

My message to you is that you must join with us in communicating to the Canadian public that DND's avoidance program is a sham. Inform yourselves about why it is a sham and tell the Canadian government as loudly as you can that the avoidance program is no good. Next, prepare yourselves to intervene in the upcoming environmental hearings. We are going to need your support at this time. Of course, the timing of these hearings is very important because they will happen just before Canada and its Allies start to renegotiate the terms of the bilateral agreements that permit flight training at Goose Bay. You must join with us in telling the panel and the Allied air forces that the training is not welcome in Nitassinan.

That's about all I have to say today. But let me close by again thanking you all for your participation in this rally and your ongoing support of the Innu people of Nitassinan.

Tshinashkumitan. ☸

## ACT member jailed

Susan Krajnc, a core member of the ACT Women's Collective, was recently sentenced to 21 days in prison and a \$500 fine for her part in a nonviolent blockade at Clayoquot Sound.

Susan, who was one of more than 700 people arrested for their attempts to prevent the clearcutting of one of Canada's last large stands of temperate rainforest (see her article, "Clayoquot Spirit, Clayoquot Summer" in *The ACTIVIST*, September 93), was sentenced on October 21, along with 20 others.

An earlier group of protesters had been sentenced to 45-60 days and fines of up to \$3,000. The decision to give the second group shorter sentences seems to have been essentially arbitrary (the

## U.N. office fails

The attempt of the Warrior-backed Mohawk Nation Office at Kahnawake to establish a permanent delegation at the United Nations has collapsed, with their representative disappearing and leaving behind at least \$200,000 in personal debts.

Richard LaFrance, who used the name Okwaoraken and claimed to be a Mohawk never, it now appears, even visited Kahnawake, and had no indigenous Canadian ancestry at all.

The Nation Office had cooper-

ated with the elected band council at Kahnawake in setting up the delegation, which seems, however, to have had no authorization from the Iroquois Confederacy, the traditional governing body of the Mohawks.

LaFrance's main activities were apparently attending conferences and speaking in schools. After increasing pressure to pay back debts, LaFrance vanished in July. "It is extremely embarrassing," says Nation Office member Kenneth Deer. ☸

judge reported that they were "better behaved in the courtroom") and largely based on the fear that there will not be enough room in the British Columbia jails for all those willing to face imprisonment to protect the forests.

It is also for this reason, presumably, that the people sentenced on October 21 were given the option of serving their time via 'electronic monitoring', a rather Orwellian form of house arrest. Some, however — including Susan — chose instead to go to prison.

As we go to press, Susan is being held in the Nanaimo Correctional Centre. More than 600 protesters are still awaiting trial. ☸

# Burma: it's up to us



Burma is a Southeast Asian country of 42-43 million people. It is bounded, roughly, by India and Bangladesh to the north-west, China to the north and north-east, Thailand and Laos to the east and south-east. The Bay of Bengal lies to its west. In size it is bigger than Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam combined.

Most Burmese are Burmans who live in a broad, fertile central plain bisected by the Irrawaddy River. Thickly forested mountains and plateaus surround this plain and are the homelands of six major ethnic groups, the Arakan, Chin, Kachin, Shan, Karenni, and Karen. These ethnic homelands comprise about 60% of Burma's land mass. Some ethnic groups have been in revolt against the government in Rangoon for more than four decades.

Burma is rich in natural resources — tropical hardwoods, gems, fish and oil. It was a major rice exporter until recently. Today its major foreign exchange earnings come from teak, fish and heroin. Oil and gas are being developed.

Burma was first colonized by the British in 1886 and became independent in 1948 under the leadership of Aung San (father of Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi), who was assassinated soon afterward. U Nu ruled as prime minister until 1962, when he was deposed in a military coup led by General Ne Win. Ne Win began a policy of extreme isolationism, non-alignment and neutrality, rejected investment from abroad and na-

tionalizing banks and trade. His regime became more and more extreme and brutal. Burma's economy collapsed. Ne Win is still believed to wield behind-the-scenes power.

Burma today is run by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), a military regime that seized power in 1988 following two years of mass demonstrations, initially nonviolent, by all sectors of Burmese society. They were protesting against the governing party, which was running the country into the ground. Rice prices went up by 400% in 1988. Burma, with all its resources, one of the highest literacy rates in the region and many rich and varied cultures, had been placed on the list of the United Nations' least developed countries.

The SLORC held multiparty elections in 1990. These were a stunning victory (457 out of 485 seats) for the democratic forces led by the National League for Democracy, whose founder, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was already under house arrest. Since then the SLORC has refused to transfer power. Aung San Suu Kyi, who won the Nobel Prize in 1991, is still under house arrest. Other prominent NLD leaders and elected members have been in prison for years.

In April 1992 the SLORC announced the release of political prisoners and that a national convention would be held to work on a new constitution. Since then it has conducted an international public relations campaign designed to attract foreign investment. This has had some effect. But Amnesty International (in *Myanmar: The eli-*

*mate of fear* continues, October 1993) believes hundreds of political prisoners are still detained or imprisoned after unfair trials. Thirty-seven of these are NLD members of the 1990 parliament-elect.

Rules for delegates to the national constitutional convention include restrictions of freedom of expression and assembly, according to an unofficial translation obtained by Amnesty International. Many delegates to this SLORC-controlled convention objected to SLORC's declaration that the army must have a leading role in all future governments. Nonetheless it is now feared that the new constitution will be rammed through so that in 1994, when the official term of the aborted 1990 election is over, a new SLORC-dominated election can be held.

SLORC spends a disproportionate amount (well over 60% of government revenues on the military and weapons imports. The army, now 300,000 strong, is expanding to half a million, although Burma's neighbours China, Thailand, India and Bangladesh are all friendly to the regime.

Human rights abuses committed by the military in ethnically controlled areas and in suppressing political dissent have led to a huge outflow of political refugees to border areas in Bangladesh, Thailand, China and India. Human rights observers on the Thai/Burma border say people are fleeing at a rate of up to 1,000 a day.

"... Few countries are so romantic as Burma or appeal so strongly to the imagination. Its long seaboard of about a thousand miles, its archipelago of about a thousand islands at its southern end, its great rivers, its forest-clad hills, its rich rice-fields laughing and swaying in the sunlight, its myriad pagodas, are a joy to remember ..."

—Harcourt Butler, in *The Silken East: a record of life and travel in Burma*, published 1904, re-issued in 1993 by Paul Strachan-Kissadale, Garmore, Scotland

"Burma, the country described in this book, occupies a remote corner of South-eastern Asia. Hidden away there in the folds of mountains which reach down like the fingers of a hand from the heights of Asia to the sea, it has had the leisure to develop a character and personality of its own. Its best friends in this sense have been these mountains, which have protected it on the one hand from the aggression of Indian invaders, on the other from the enormous absorbing power of China. Yet placed as it were between these vast millstones, it would be surprising had it escaped all traces of their contact. From India it has received the religion, which more than any other factor has moulded the Burmese people; from India there came to it the earliest impulse of civilization. The influence of China is less patent. On successive occasions Burma has been called up to resist with all its power the military aggression of the Chinese ..."

"[on Burmese men and women] ... (a) man with a fine physique, with a sporting nature that exults in athletic expression, in racing, swimming, boxing and rowing; (a) man whose mind is full of lively fancy, of wit, of creative power ... (a) man who shows love and good-fellowship; man who has fashioned for himself a goodly standard of life and lives well with little toil; above all (a) man whose being is permeated with philosophic contempt for the accumulation of material things, with a generous desire to bestow in charity and in good works all that is over and above his own needs ..."

"Burma, as in many other things, is in advance of more reputedly civilized countries in the status it accords its women. The infant marriages, the shutting up in walled houses, the polygamy, the harems, the social punishments of widows, the denial of spiritual rights, which prevail in the neighbouring continent of India, and whose terrible penalties cannot be denied, are unknown in Burma. Her women marry when they are of age, and when they have seen somewhat of the world; they marry, for the most part, whomsoever they will, and from love. They are not, save in exceptional cases, handed over as chattels to a man whom they know not; but they are courted and won. The Married Women's Property Act, a recent flower of our own civilization, and still unknown in France, has in effect been established for centuries in Burma. In this country, where women earn so much, women's earnings are her own. Divorce is easily obtained but seldom asked for."

—V.C. Scott O'Connor, *The Silken East*



This tabloid was originally produced as a supplement to the *ACTIVIST* Vol 9 #11, paid for by Canadian Friends of Burma. Opinions expressed here are not necessarily those of ACT for Disarmament.

# Freedom for Aung San Suu Kyi!



Five years ago, Aung San Suu Kyi was an Oxford academic, writer, wife and mother, busy with her day-to-day life and concerned about her country, Burma, mainly because of her heritage. Her diplomat mother was still in the capital city of Rangoon, and her famous father, the assassinated independence hero Aung San, is still revered by the Burmese.

Today, held in house arrest in Rangoon, Suu Kyi sees only two people regularly—a colonel from the ruling military junta, the SLORC (State Law and Order Restoration Council), and the woman who buys her food and other necessities of life.

But she has become a Nobel Peace Prize winner and a democracy activist who silently and symbolically represents to most of the world the Burmese hope that peace and human rights will one day be restored to their once-rich and cultivated land.

When she flew home to Rangoon in April 1988, to care for her sick mother, Suu Kyi flew into the eye of the political storm that has blown her life permanently off course.

Rice prices rose 400% in that year alone. Burma, once a major rice exporter with the region's highest literacy rates, had been placed on the United Nations' Least Developed Country list. Political tensions rose. Teachers, workers, monks, artists, even some government workers took to the streets to demonstrate against the ruling Burmese Socialist Programme Party.

On August 8 (now commemorated as "8.8.88") hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated in major cities. The police and army opened fire on them. Tens of thousands were killed, injured or driven into hiding.

"I could not, as my father's daughter, remain indifferent to all that was going on," Suu Kyi told her first audience, of half a million

people, outside the Shwepyithar pagoda on August 26, 1988. "This national crisis could, in fact, be called the second struggle for independence."

She was right. By the end of that year popular support for the BSPP had collapsed. Suu Kyi spent seven months touring Burma as leader of the National League for Democracy, talking to the disaffected ethnic minorities and winning from them respect and affection. She told them that the way to democracy lies in upholding human rights nonviolently, and that human rights are paramount. She also urged personal and collective discipline.

"It is not power that corrupts, but fear," she wrote later in her famous essay, "Freedom from Fear." "Fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it ... With so close a relationship between fear and corruption it is little wonder that in any society where fear is rife, corruption in all its forms becomes deeply entrenched.

"Public dissatisfaction with economic hardship has been seen as the chief cause of the movement for democracy in Burma ... But it was more than the difficulties of eking out a barely-acceptable standard of living that eroded the patience of a traditionally good-natured quiescent people—it was also the humiliation of a way of life disfigured by corruption and fear ..."

By spring 1989, support of Suu Kyi and her party platform had swelled enormously. The authorities, who had called an election for 1990, realized they could not count on the usually divided opposition to allow the regime to sweep back into power. On July 21, the day after a national commemoration of the date of her father's assassination, Aung San Suu Kyi was arrested. From that day she has been silenced except for her writings, and cut off from her followers and the rest of the world.

The following May the Burmese people went to the polls and voted in a landslide victory for the National League for Democracy, 392 out of 485 seats. Since then the

military have barred the winning party from taking power. Nearly all of those legally elected have also been silenced. They have fled, are dead or are under detention.

"As long as there are governments whose authority is founded on coercion rather than the mandate of the people," Suu Kyi continued in "Freedom from Fear," "and interest groups which place short-term profit above long-term peace and prosperity, concerted international action to protect and promote human rights will remain at

best a partially-realized struggle. There will continue to be arenas of struggle where victims of oppression have to draw on their own inner resources to defend their inalienable rights as members of the human family. "The quintessential revolution is that of the spirit ..."

Today the SLORC and its client interest groups around the world are placing short-term profit ahead of long-term peace and stability. Investment in Burma's riches continues recklessly, through support of what human rights activists have

called the world's most brutal military regime. Canada is both a strong defender of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in the international arena, and a keen exporter to her country's closest trading partners. The new Canadian government must clarify its position and strengthen its call for action to solve Burma's crisis, through UN-organized action such as sanctions and/or mediation. The SLORC cannot last forever. It is to our advantage to help Burma and the Burmese to regain their once-proud place in Southeast Asia.

## Burma as South Africa

By ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU

Four years after detaining Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, and more than three years since Burmese voters resoundingly rejected their rule, Burma's dictators are today pleading with the world for more time to prove their good intentions in denying their people human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) rode to power on the massacre of thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators in Burma in 1988. Despite repeated promises to restore genuine representative government to Burma, the SLORC's generals have ignored the results of a free election; imprisoned, tortured and murdered those Burmese who speak against military rule; and embarked on a massive arms build-up to wage war against Burma's minority peoples.

For these achievements, the SLORC asks not only the world's indulgence, for this path of repression and destruction, the SLORC demands the world's cooperation. Any country should have deep qualms about dealing with a regime universally condemned by human-rights groups and assailed by the UN for denying fundamental freedoms to its people. The SLORC's wanton destruction of Burma's rainforests and fisheries, as well as reported links to the immensely lucrative heroin trade, are further cause for concern.

Nevertheless, for many countries it remains business as usual. Those countries closest to Burma maintain vigorous trade and investment relations, and no government seems to be willing to take a stand and totally sever its economic ties. Even the massive SLORC onslaught that forced 300,000 Burmese Muslims to seek refuge in neighbouring Bangladesh has not prompted a strong response from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Some countries trading heavily with Burma claim deep concern over the situation there. Some diplomats privately express dismay at the SLORC's murderous nature.

But the public attitude, especially among Southeast Asian governments best positioned to persuade the SLORC to change, is far from helpful.

Only "constructive engagement", these nations say, will slowly persuade the SLORC to soften its harsh rule and join the ranks of civilized nations. China, meanwhile, provides the SLORC with all the arms and military supplies it needs to stay in power, a total of about US\$1 billion worth.

As a South African, I can claim some expertise on the subject of constructive engagement. For years, some governments claimed that the best way to deal with the apartheid regime in South Africa was by continuing to talk and trade. This gradualist approach, they said, would persuade the white-minority regime to share power and end its flagrant abuses.

Today the world knows what a failure that policy was. These things gave the apartheid regime the political will and economic sustenance to continue its repressive policies. Only when serious sanctions started to take a significant economic toll on my country did the road to real reform begin.

During these difficult years, our struggle had the active support of governments in Asia, and I cannot forget the strength and hope we drew from the backing of our friends around the world. I believe the people of Burma deserve the same consideration today, and that they should find it first among their neighbours, whose cultures clearly place enduring moral values higher than short-term material gain.

In March, in the company of six other Nobel Peace Prize laureates—including His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet—I visited Thailand. Our mission was twofold. First, we wished to draw attention to the continued detention of Aung San Suu Kyi. Second, we hoped to learn for ourselves the reality of the situation in Burma. Unfortunately, the SLORC refused us permission to enter Burma. Instead, we travelled to the Burmese frontier where we spoke with some of the thousands of Burmese who have fled military rule in their home-

land.

Their stories were sadly familiar accounts of suffering that seems to have no end. There was absolutely no evidence that the SLORC is implementing any policy different from the longstanding military solution to the public's demand for their human rights and freedoms. Five years of constructive engagement have only given the SLORC the confidence to maintain its repressive rule.

By now it is clear that the SLORC has little intention of giving up power. Top SLORC advisers have been touring Europe and the United States to denounce what they call "Burma-bashing". They say that new elections might be held early next year, after a SLORC-controlled constitutional convention completes a document the generals find acceptable and when the terms of those elected in May 1990 have all expired.

Censorship and the detention of dissidents will continue, they add, "according to the laws of Burma." We cannot forget the hundreds of prisoners of conscience who are still being detained. While some political prisoners have been released, such token gestures fall far short of complying with the unanimous UN recommendations.

It is now time to admit that the policy of constructive engagement with the SLORC is a failure, even as it failed to persuade the apartheid regime in South Africa to make more than cosmetic changes. ASEAN should take the lead in applying firm pressure on the SLORC to bring peace to Burma at last. An international arms embargo is a first step. Trade and investment restrictions should follow.

International pressure can change the situation in Burma. Tough sanctions, not constructive engagement, finally brought the release of Nelson Mandela and the dawn of a new era in my country. This is the language that must be spoken with tyrants—for, sadly, it is the only language they understand.

Reprinted from *Far Eastern Economic Review*

# The military and human rights abuses

By KEVIN HEPPER

In 1992 Burma's ruling SLORC military junta drew international attention and condemnation for two major reasons: their brutal pogrom against Muslims in Arakan State, which drove 280,000 new refugees into Bangladesh, and their biggest-ever offensive against the headquarters of the Karen Government and other pro-democracy forces at Manerplaw on the border with Thailand. This offensive used at least 20,000 combat troops backed by artillery and air power, but failed in its objective of capturing Manerplaw. However, in the process the SLORC cut a huge swath of destruction through the country, destroying villages wantonly and enslaving over 20,000 village men, women and children as munitions porters, human mine-sweepers and roadworkers. Thousands of these people died of disease and starvation or were brutally murdered by the troops as soon as they were too weak to work.

Faced with international condemnation and the threat of sanctions, the SLORC began making some "concessions" aimed at improving their international image, thereby hoping to continue receiving the foreign investment and aid they rely upon to fund the expansion of their army. These "concessions" have all proven to be meaningless — yet they have been successful in convincing other countries to adopt a "wait and see" attitude. To the outside world, the situation in Burma may appear to be quieter than in 1992, but inside, for the people of Burma, the situation now is more critical than ever before, and is getting worse.

The SLORC claims, in every international forum, that all military offensives against Burma's ethnic peoples have ceased. Quite simply, this is a lie. Although there has not yet been another major offensive against Manerplaw, many other smaller offensives have been launched throughout the country. The SLORC itself announced, between March 1992 and March 1993, the completion of six offensives, two each in the northern, northeast, eastern and southern military regions. These consisted of 311 heavy clashes and 1,082 minor clashes. Heavy fighting took place in October in southern Karenni state, killing some 20 soldiers of both sides. The very next day four SLORC battalions swooped into northern Karen state to attack the northern Karen trading post of Saw Hta.

In Karen state alone SLORC launched three main offensives in the past year: at Tee Moo Khee, Maw Pa Thu and Saw Hta. The latter two were completely unprovoked. At Maw Pa Thu, SLORC attacked Karen 7th Brigade Headquarters and captured it after a month of heavy fighting.

They captured Saw Hta within days of their attack, but continued fighting into January 1993 in their push south.

At the moment fighting in Karen state is limited to isolated clashes, as is always the case in the rainy season. Serious fighting could begin in early November, the start of the dry season. Indications of a heavy onslaught coming this year against Manerplaw and other Karen locations are the continued stockpiling of ammunition and fortifying of last year's positions, and the strengthening of supply lines and conscripting of labour to build new roads. SLORC seems to be simultaneously preparing for full-scale war against its ethnic minorities, and conducting an international public relations campaign — hoping the world's attention will drift away from Burma.

## Human Rights

As the SLORC becomes more entrenched, the human rights situation, particularly for non-Burman minorities, is worsening.

In the last Manerplaw offensive at least 20,000 Karen and Burmese were kidnapped in villages and city streets, to serve on the frontlines, usually as porters. Thousands were murdered by SLORC troops as soon as they were too sick or weak to carry loads. In Karenni state, in March 1992, more than 15,000 people from 76 villages were ordered to move into internment camps within one week, or be shot on sight. Villages were burned, the entire area was declared a free-fire zone. Local people were then forced to build camps at Deemawso and Pruso; at Deemawso there was one standpipe for water, for 7,000 people. No one was allowed to wander from the camp, but no food or medicine were provided. Several people were shot dead when outside the camp looking for food. Many more died inside the camp, of disease or starvation. One thousand people at a time were taken out for the one-day march to the Loikaw-Aung Ban railway line to serve as slave labour for a month at a time. Women, and children as young as 12 years old, were made to break and carry rocks to build the railway embankment. Witnesses estimate that at least one person a day died of maltreatment. This project is part of the SLORC's border area programme and was partly funded by the United Nations Development Programme.

"We are doing it for them. But for now people must suffer by putting in labour," explained SLORC Lt. Col. Than Han to the media. "People are dying every day. It's the normal thing."

Refugees from this and similar projects, especially in Shan states, continue to flee to Thailand. Farmers testify that SLORC is confiscating their prime land to make military farms, forcing farmers into poor

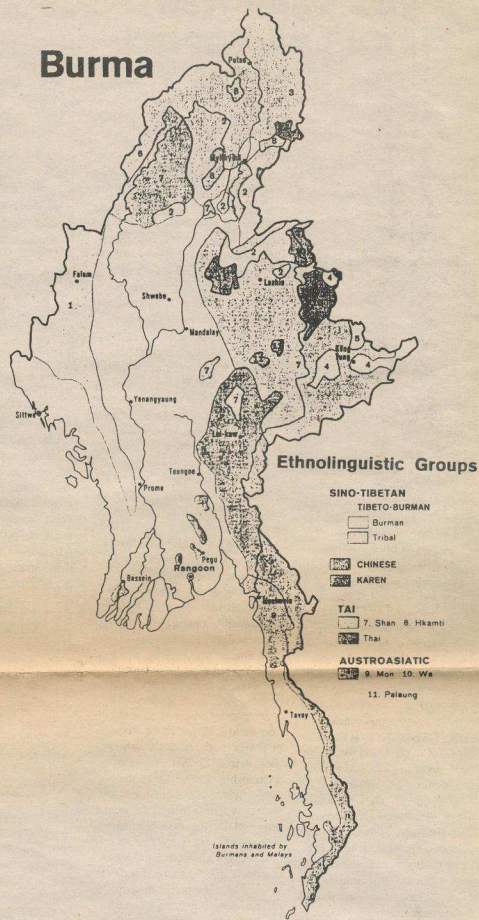
land and hiring them back as slave labour to work on their former farms. SLORC is increasing its troop strength in Shan states three to five fold, and forcing villagers to build their camps.

Escaped Shan farmers also testify about the fast-growing opium trade. They consistently state that SLORC — rather than trying to stop it — simply collects taxes on it. This tax is 10% of each farmer's crop, payable in opium. Many of these farmers are themselves opium addicts. When asked why they are not suffering after serving several months as SLORC porters, they explain that senior SLORC officers always carry a steel box of opium on these marches. This is regularly distributed to the porters to keep them going. They only get a handful of rice to eat each day. When they can no longer work or carry loads they are left to die, or beaten to death. Border people see their bodies floating down the Salween river, many with their hands still tied behind their backs. Some farmers testify that they have seen SLORC officers confer with known opium exporters, offering the use of military convoys for opium transport.

But the worst of all human rights abuses are now occurring in Karen state. SLORC troops are sent behind army lines, into civilian areas, with orders to terrorize and subjugate civilians in preparation for the coming offensive. These troops, mainly from 99 Division, roam through the large crescent-shaped region from Papun district in the north to Pa'an in the south, through central Thantou district. All men, young or old, found inside or outside villages are captured, interrogated and beaten. They are usually accused of being Karen soldiers and ordered to hand over a gun or be executed. Hundreds have been murdered like this over the last six months.

So all the villages are empty of men. The women, children and elderly are left to try to support themselves and protect their homes and belongings from SLORC troops.

## Burma



Often SLORC troops become angry when they can't find men, and loot or burn village homes and food supplies, which they call "food for the rebels." Then they order villagers to grow more food and send it to the army camps. The army provides nothing. Villagers must build and maintain roads, sweeping them for mines ahead of military convoys by driving carts filled with stones over them. If a mine explodes in the area SLORC demands huge financial compensation.

Karen state villagers who escape to the border say they have never before, in the 45 years of civil war, seen such systematic and brutal repression. Women, old and young, are raped, often with their children present or in front of the whole village. The troops then take younger women to serve as porters. Even pregnant and nursing mothers are taken, often having to carry a baby on their front and 30 kg of

munitions on their back.

Even in central Burma conditions are increasingly desperate. The hated army must rely on forced conscription to attain its target of half a million men. In some areas villages must supply one new recruit per month — failure to do so can mean destruction of houses and food supplies. The number of economic migrants to Thailand has swollen. New refugees state that even their civil servants can barely afford enough plain rice to feed their families daily. They speculate that if food and commodities prices go much higher another uprising will occur.

Clearly, foreign investment in Burma is counter-productive. It will only help the SLORC regime, not the people of Burma.

Kevin Hepper is a Canadian human rights activist living on the Thai-Burma border.

# About Canadian Friends of Burma

Our goal is the establishment of democratic government in Burma with full participation of all opposition groups.

Our objectives are:

- freedom for Aung San Suu Kyi
- arms embargo on Burma
- trade and economic sanctions on Burma
- de-seating of SLORC at the UN General Assembly or withdrawal of its right to vote
- humanitarian assistance to the people of Burma and Burmese refugees

CFOB has a contact list of 400 people and organizations around the country. Its executive committee includes delegates from Burmese expatriate organizations and Canadian non-governmental organizations representing human rights, international development, students, religious and other citizens' organizations. It seeks to achieve the above goal and objectives by lobbying government and building grassroots strength through mass participation.

The Burma crisis now: it's up to us

## International investment in Burma

Gas and oil finds in the Gulf of Martaban are stimulating corporate investment (and confidence) in Burma, for example from Texaco, Unocal and Total. A proposed overland pipeline to Thailand alarms environmentalists.

CFOB is part of the new Coalition for Corporate Withdrawal from Burma, based at Franklin Research and Development Corp, Boston. Shareholders of companies with interests in Burma will raise questions at annual general meetings; the business press is being alerted, and pension fund managers will be asked to examine portfolios for investments in Burma-related corporations.

**IT'S UP TO US** — please take supporting action: look at any investments you may have with companies that do business with the SLORC regime; ask

about pension funds; avoid consumer goods from corporations (e.g. Texaco, PepsiCo) that deal with SLORC, however indirectly; tell these companies why you are concerned.

## SLORC's continuing war against the Burmese people

There have been many offensives by SLORC against the border people, despite the junta's claim that military offensives have ended. SLORC continues its atrocities against the Burmese people in central as well as ethnic areas. It uses forced labour, village "re-locations", crop thefts, beatings and rape to strengthen its positions in Karen state in preparation for dry season assaults. Up to 1,000 people a day flee these conditions daily. The Thai army is said to be increasing its border forces.

CIDA, through its International Humanitarian Assistance Fund and Inter Pares, is donating \$76,832 to the Burmese Relief Centre for humanitarian aid to refugees in the border areas.

**IT'S UP TO US** — to get this money we and other NGOs must raise the first \$8,200. This will fund mobile medical teams and Dr. Cynthia's medical clinic in Mae Sot. Make out your cheque to ICAE-Peacefund Canada for a tax receipt (note on it "Burmese Relief Centre").

## The United Nations' failure to act

Again this year the SLORC represents Burma at the UN General Assembly. Yet the junta defiantly ignores the United Nations' resolutions calling for a return to democracy and respect for human rights in Burma. As well, SLORC uses its membership in the UN, and the presence in Burma of UN specialized agencies such as the United Nations Development Program, to shore up its waning credibility among the Burmese people.

CFOB is addressing these contradictions, and suggesting options for action in a brief to the Canadian delegation to the UNGA. We expect support for this brief from



members of the Canadian Burma Working Group.

**IT'S UPTO US** — once more we ask CFOB members to write the UN and their MPs to express their dissatisfaction that the illegal SLORC occupies Burma's seat at the United Nations; to request that the Burmese seat be declared vacant until the democratic forces can occupy it; and to ask the UN to declare a total arms and trade embargo against the SLORC regime.

## On a more cheerful note

This November 25 Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, now in his fifth year of house arrest by SLORC, is being awarded an honorary degree by the University of Toronto. CFOB, the Canadian section of PEN International and the Law Union of Ontario are collaborating with Burmese activists in Toronto to celebrate this event and spread broader awareness of the crisis in Burma.

**IT'S UP TO US** — we need your continuing support to continue our work on Burma, to pressure the Canadian government to take a more activist policy, to continue raising awareness among the Canadian people, to keep networking with the Burmese and NGOs.

Please take out a \$25 membership in CFOB, urge your friends to become members, and consider an additional donation to our work.

# Taking action

Recommendations for immediate action by the world community to restore democracy and human rights to Burma — excerpts from Canadian Friends of Burma's brief to the Canadian Delegation to the 1994 United Nations General Assembly. The full brief is available from Canadian Friends of Burma, 145 Spruce St #206, Ottawa, Ont, K1R 6P1.

1. Another stronger General Assembly resolution, listing human rights violations and calling on the ruling regime to take immediate action. This resolution should ensure that the UN's Special Rapporteur on Burma has enough staff and money to do his job properly.

2. A recommendation for **voluntary sanctions** by the General Assembly, including arms, oil shipments, and freezing Burma's assets abroad. Such sanctions could be a tool to encourage negotiations among the UN, the democratic opposition, ethnic minorities and the SLORC.

3. General Assembly should sponsor a **fact-finding mission** led by a newly-appointed High Commissioner for Human Rights.

4. General Assembly to authorize the Secretary General to set up a process to work towards mediation.

5. General Assembly should resolve the **contradiction** between SLORC's refusal to heed all UN resolutions and the presence in Burma of UN specialized agencies such as the UN Development Program.

6. General Assembly should review Burma's UN status as a **least developed country**, which allows it to benefit from multilateral and concessional assistance. This review should specifically address whether benefits deriving from LDC status genuinely assist the people of Burma.

**Precedents:** there are good international precedents (e.g. Haiti, former-Yugoslavia, South Africa, Somalia) for all these actions except the last.

**Canada's Interests:** Canada's direct investment in the Asia-Pa-

cific region is around \$10 billion, larger than our investment in Europe. Our trading interests are focussed in the fastest-growing areas which include Burma's close trading partners, Thailand, China, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia and Korea. This trade includes military exports. Yet trade demands stability. The acute security and humanitarian crisis in Burma now requires Canada to take a lead in finding a way to restore democracy and human rights to Burma. Only then will our brave words on the international stage match our real interests in this part of the world.

# Boycott

The following are some of the publicly traded companies in Canada and elsewhere that have corporate interests in Burma. We encourage you to write. Contact CFOB for more names and addresses.

**Falconbridge Limited**  
Frank Pickard, CEO  
Suite 1200, 95 Wellington St. W.  
Toronto, Ont, M5J 2V4

**Pratt and Whitney Canada**  
Dave Caplan, President  
1000 Marie-Victorian  
Longueuil, Québec, J4G 1A1

**Liton Systems Canada Ltd.**  
Thomas J. McGuigan, President  
25 City View Drive  
Etobicoke, Ont., M9W 5A7

**PepsiCo**  
PepsiCo World Headquarters  
Purchase, NY, 10577 USA

**Sears, Roebuck**  
Edward Brenback, President  
Sears Tower  
Chicago, IL, 60684 USA

**Liz Claiborne**  
H.L. Falk, President  
1441 Broadway  
New York, NY, 10018 USA

**Amoco Corporation**  
H. Lawrence Fuller, CEO  
200 East Randolph Drive  
Chicago, IL, 60601 USA

## CANADIAN FRIENDS OF BURMA

Yes, together we can stop Burma from slipping into deeper crisis.

Here's what I will do:

take out a membership in CFOB for \$25

Name and address:

donate to the Burmese Relief Centre

write to corporations that deal with Burma; stop doing business with or investing in them

Please send your contribution to Canadian Friends of Burma, 145 Spruce St. #206, Ottawa, Ont. K1R 6P1



# Governments and guns

BY PETER JARMAN  
PEACE NEWS

During the bloody events at Moscow's Ostankino television tower and the White House, Alexander (Sasha) Kalinin was one of those arrested and briefly jailed. Why Sasha, a Moscow city councillor, was arrested is anyone's guess. While a sharp critic of Yeltsin's methods and policies, he is well known in Russia and abroad as an articulate advocate of nonviolent social change. I spoke to him four days after the Moscow battles.

Sasha told me of the several attempts he made in the days leading up to October 3 to prevent the bloodshed. He knew there were thousands of sub-machine guns in the City Hall as well as in the Russian White House and the Mayor's office. He went over to the Danilovsky Monastery to urge the Russian Orthodox hierarchy to appeal for those guns to be placed in safe custody, but was only able to see a priest who was not in a position to respond.

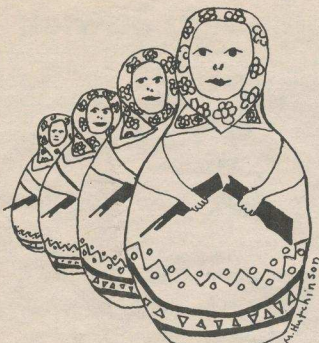
Later, at 3 p.m. on that fateful Sunday afternoon, a squad of self-appointed paramilitaries marched from Kaluzhskaya Square across the Krymsky Bridge and past Zubovskaya and Smolenskaya squares to the White House. "They should have been stopped," said Sasha, "but the police just gave way as if they were obeying some master plan devised months ago." (It must be said that conspiracy theories abound in Moscow at present; everyone seems to have at least one to account for the unexpected scale of the violence.)

The squad managed to reach the White House while from the Mayor's office opposite — a modern skyscraper that was the Comcon building in Soviet days — defenders fired mostly blank rounds or rubber bullets as hostile forces approached.

Sasha feels that it was at that moment that criminal decisions were made by the White House leaders.

"Up to that point," said Sasha, "I was one of their staunchest supporters. But their leaders, Rutskoi and Khasbulatov, issued the fateful order to storm the Mayor's office and then the Ostankino TV centre [or the Television Tower, as it is often called; it is the tallest structure in the city]. The Mayor's office offered little resistance. I was standing by watching it all.

"Then I spoke with the two commanders of the White House troops, Colonel General Makashov, who stood against Yeltsin in the presidential elections, and Dunaev. They could not be dissuaded from the mad attempt to seize the TV centre, which I felt would be quite visible from the military point of view and would severely weaken the defence of the



White House."

The battle for the Ostankino TV centre began at 7:30 p.m. and lasted until 6 a.m. by which time army forces loyal to Yeltsin were in firm control, and 62 people in and around the center were dead.

Shortly after 9 a.m. on the following Monday, the storming of the White House began.

"This also was a criminal act," said Sasha. "There was some provocation from the White House defenders, but the onslaught had a criminal ferocity." They are still counting the dead. As of five days later, the number is 193, including the victims of the TV and another media center.

"Criminals," Sasha said of the Yeltsin team, his voice full of dismay and anger.

I asked if he would be running for City Council in the December election. "Have you read the new electoral law?" he asked. Before I could answer he swore that he could never stand with such a law.

"Won't you continue to care for your constituents, at least until December?"

"They're drunk with Yeltsin now. They are like Stenka Razin in the old Russian legend. When they wake up in a few weeks' time, they'll find out that they drowned the princess in their stupor."

"Is the princess the constitution?" I asked.

"Yes," he said. "It was not perfect. It was drawn up in the Communist period, but it was a good constitution that provided people with a guarantee of jobs, housing and social security. Now what have they got?"

"But that constitution promised all kind of things like an alternative to military service, but there was no law to go along with these promises," I reminded Sasha.

"OK, but how am I going to defend two conscientious objectors in the courts next week if I have not got that constitution behind me?"

"So the peoples' deputies in the White House were right to impeach Yeltsin for suspending parliament contrary to that constitution," I enquired.

"Entirely right," said Sasha.

"According to article 121, clause 6, Yeltsin should have been dismissed immediately. Yes, those people's deputies were a mixed bunch. Okay, many were just Party secretaries. But many others were voted in on their individual merit. They were pretty naive and incompetent to begin with, but gradually they became sharper and were able to follow even the intricacies of their budget."

## Abuse of justice in Croatia: the Dalmatian Action case

On September 28, a bomb went off in the offices of Dalmatian Action, a "regionalist liberal-democratic" political party based in Split, Croatia. This was one of a number of terrorist acts that have taken place around Split in the recent past. Eleven people have now been arrested and charged with the bombing — however, bizarrely enough, nine of those eleven are members of the leadership of Dalmatian Action. Human rights groups in Croatia suspect that the bombing is being used as a pretext for an increasingly severe crackdown on political pluralism in the still-new state, and are deeply worried about the involvement of the army in the case.

The arrests of the DA leadership were apparently the result of a "confession" by the first suspect arrested, Jurica Gilic, a young man who suffers from epilepsy and worked as a janitor in the DA office. Gilic has since retracted his accusations, saying that they were result of beatings and intimidation during his interrogation. Indeed, one of the DA members arrested due to his "confession" was the man he had earlier requested as his lawyer. Gilic is now without any legal representation at all. It is also reported that he had been beaten by police on the street several days before the bombing.

No clear reason has ever been given as to why Dalmatian Action should wish to blow up their own office.

Croatian police say that

"But that budget was so huge that it was a danger to them, so I went out and tried to get home. After a few yards I was stopped and arrested by three armed soldiers. They handed me over to the police who took me to their main station in Petrova. The police wanted to see my papers and I showed them my attestation as a City Councillor. They smirked and looked at a list of wanted persons. One of the policemen hit me on the lips. 'You're too educated,' he said. 'I spat blood onto the walls. We'll use your head to clean it up,' another policeman said hitting me with his baton. They held me in a room for about half an hour and then said I was free to go. But there is a curfew, I said. 'Go,' they said, 'we want as much room here as possible for the others who we shall arrest this night.' I went outside and fortunately was able to get to the Metro without being stopped again.

"There's a fine distinction between an authoritarian and a totalitarian regime," Sasha concluded. I suggested that what Russian needs is a civil society.

"Civil society? It was strangled at birth."

"By whom?" I wondered.

"By them," Sasha said, as we parted company.

"It was close to the curfew that had just been imposed. There was no time to get home, so I went to spend the night at the offices of

when the apartments of the DA members were searched, weapons were discovered. However, the search was carried out without any witnesses present, and the alleged weapons have never been publicly displayed or described.

Those arrested are allowed to talk to their lawyers only in the presence of the police, making any meaningful communication impossible. The wife of one of the men says that she has been told that several of them have been beaten. They will be brought before a military court for their trial, as only military courts in Croatia can hear charges of "terrorism".

The eleven person arrested, Slatkov Nimanad Ben Djercic, is unknown to members of Dalmatian Action, and there seems to be no information available about him.

This case has raised considerable fears among human rights groups about the intense authoritarianism of the Croatian state, and the close links between the military and the government. These fears have been increased by the eviction, on October 24, of Mira Ljubic-Lorger, president of Dalmatian Action and wife of one of the arrested men. Military personnel threw her out of her apartment, cheerfully admitting that their action was, in fact, illegal.

"Without an independent judiciary, without a free press to keep their eyes on the repressive apparatus of the state, without a 'due process of law' open to the

public — what will happen, and what is the future of human rights and political pluralism in Croatia?" asks Srđjan Dvornik of the Anti-War Campaign Croatia. "Every support from outside, upholding a fair legal procedure and presumption of innocence of the arrested, is welcome and extremely important ... [Without international support] we cannot do much to help victims of repression."

The names of the nine DA members arrested are Zoran Erceg (Secretary of DA), Srećko Rafanelli, Bozidar Marusic, Dragan Antulov, Vedran Antonjivic, Ivica Ancic, Srećko Lorger, Miro Bogdanovic, and Edo Dekovic, previously Gilic's lawyer. Please write letters expressing your concern about the case, demanding that they be allowed private visits with their lawyers, and that they be tried in front of a civilian, rather than a military, court. Mail or fax letters to:

Dr Franjo Tujman, President of the Republic of Croatia, fax 011-385-411-443-075; Stipe Mesic, President of the Parliament, Markov trg 5, 41000 Zagreb, Croatia, fax 011-385-411-443-522; Nikica Valentic, Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia, fax 011-385-411-277-082; Gojko Susak, Minister of Defense, Trg kralja P. Kremirina IV br.1, 41000 Zagreb, Croatia, fax 011-385-411-450-236; Stjepan Herceg, Public Prosecutor, fax 011-385-411-516-289.

# Speaking first: Palestinian and Jewish women now

By MARY HUTCHINSON  
The ACTIVist

Dr. Suha Hindiyeh-Mani is the director and a core founder of the women's studies centre in East Jerusalem, whose mandate is to improve the condition of Palestinian women by providing such services as child care and classes in subjects from basic literacy to accounting, and by editing a monthly Palestinian women's magazine, *Al Mar'a*.

Hada Lahav is a member of *Israel's Women in Black*, a founding member of the Women and Peace Movement, an initiator of *Challenge* magazine, and was editor of the banned newspaper *Hanotzotz-Sharara*. She is now a main co-ordinator at the Al-Baqa cultural centre and mother's school in Galilee.

Both women visited Toronto in September, where they were interviewed for *The ACTIVist*. They spoke about the recent agreement between the PLO and the Israeli government, the Al-Baqa centre, and the issue of domestic violence. Throughout the discussion, they addressed the difficulties of Palestinian and Jewish Israeli women working together from backgrounds of unequal power and privilege.

When asked to say what was foremost on her mind at the moment, Hadas explained that she had just been thinking about the order in which they were asked to speak at a conference they had just attended in Montreal; that always Suha, as a Palestinian, was asked to speak before Hadas. Suha had not noticed this, but Hadas did, and was pleased.

"I am sensitive to it because it is a great weakness of the Israeli left to accept the priorities of Israel in the Middle East and any kind of agreement, any kind of solution should (by these standards) be based on the priorities of Israel in the Middle East. That is why they are so happy with the new agreement. It seems it will perpetuate forever and ever the priorities of Israel on the Palestinians and obviously on the other Arab states as they are much more 'backward' than Israel and have much less support from the west."

"I think it's not who is preferred or given priority, whether Palestinians, Arabs or Israeli, but what runs within their (the west's) interests," said Suha, explaining her theory of the power structure. "If, for example, the Arab world is well-developed countries, then the people of the Arab world might topple their regimes and eventually, by toppling their regimes, it means that the power is in the hands of the people who will stand in opposition to American intervention; while Israel, being a small state in the Middle East, serves



Heather Spears

economically the interests of the United States and of the west as a whole. Not only economically but militarily as well, and they want to keep a police force in the area."

Hadas then had another reason why she speaks first is important to her. She explained that it is impossible to build a democratic women's movement in Israel without having a Jewish/Arab women's movement and building bridges between Jewish Israeli and Arab women. First of all, she said, the Jewish Israeli women must give up their privilege and not expect that the Arab women who are coming to their activities would have to speak Hebrew.

"I would rather call what is called by Israel 'Arabs within Israel' — I would rather call them Palestinians," Suha specified. "Not because I want to call them Palestinians, but because they are Palestinians. It's a different issue than Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories. They are not better off than us..." — "Sometimes it is even worse," interjected Hadas — "... but for us Palestinians in the Occupied Territories it's a bit different because we look at Israel as the occupier. And here is the power relationship — Occupier/occupied."

"I remember it was the second or third year of the Intifada there were some kind of house visits where some of the Palestinian women used to go to Israel and speak to Israeli women and I remember the first time I went ... and the minute I was coming up the stairs, I was going into an Israeli house, I thought I wanted the earth just to open and swallow me up because I had never been in an Israeli house, and to me, having been brought up since childhood living in East Jerusalem which was not occupied; my father telling me that we did have a house in West

Jerusalem and orchards in Israel and one day we will go back to Palestine ... still these things internalized in me, although I'm for peace, but a just peace ... I felt that I could not go because I felt inside me I might be going into a house that originally was mine, or my friend's, my relatives', etc. It's not easy.

"Now when we started to go for conferences with Israeli women abroad I think the westerners were sensitive to this issue. Probably giving opportunities for Palestinians to speak first to show some kind of reconciliation. They felt that there is a power relationship between Israeli and Palestinian women, although Israeli women are in solidarity. I am not ready to go with a right-wing woman to a conference, because if she is going to tell me she wants all of Israel including the West Bank I might not know what to do."

Of Rabin's current image in the Israeli women's movement Hadas said, "He is the great hero of everyone but this is because they think he brought them peace. The question is if he really brought them peace or if he forced the Palestinians to subordinate themselves to his terms. They are different ... Rabin was the victor."

Suha was more tentative in her comments. "I don't find that there is a winner in this agreement. None is a winner. But maybe in the long run Israel is going to benefit from this agreement." One wonders if her reticence on this topic is a result of years living under occupation. To criticize the agreement would be to criticize both the Israeli government and the PLO. Later in the interview she described an example of the intimidation she faces as a Palestinian woman which Jewish Israeli women do not generally have to face, although, she said, Hadas might be given a hard time because her political position is known. "I get

the feeling they don't go through what I go through passing the Israeli airport. They don't go through the search that I go through, the interrogation that I go through. 'Where are you going? Who are you meeting?' I was once asked coming back. 'Have you met anybody from the PLO? Have you been to their offices?' They are not usually asked these questions."

In July this year, the Al-Baqa cultural centre, where Hadas works, was faced with some persecution by the police. Hadas made it clear that the centre is not a political centre but a place for cultural activities. There is a dance group and a school for Palestinian mothers, as well as a forum for discussions with Palestinian writers and poets. She described the reaction of the community to a celebration the centre initiated for the Muslim holiday of Id al-Adha. "We invited all the people of the village to celebrate and we had a dancing group and a singing group. It was very nice. For years the leadership of the Arab world was by the Communist Party. I respect it very much ... but it has the old-fashioned idea of bringing ideas from outside and forcing them on the people. The people said that for years we had International Worker's Day, International Women's Day, November Revolution Day, but we never had a holiday for ourselves, for Muslim holidays." The dance troupe ended up losing their best dancer and their singer after some of the members were called to the police station for "clarification." One of the members was threatened that his brother could not return to school in Italy and his visiting uncle would be sent back to Lebanon, if he did not quit the centre. That member refused to quit, but the harassment was stopped after a petition was signed by dozens of Israeli artists and writers, and international organizations faxed

protests to the government.

When asked about connections between domestic violence and militarism in Jewish Israeli society, Hadas said that she had heard of some studies which connect military service, war, and domestic violence, but was not knowledgeable on the issue. She mentioned that she felt that Palestinian women in Israel would never talk about domestic violence.

The Palestinian women's studies centre in East Jerusalem, of which Suha is director, was the first to initiate a conference on domestic violence. Suha reminded us that domestic violence is all over the world, and that sometimes it has been used by the media against Palestinians and Arabs, and that there might be even higher rates of domestic violence in the west. "The responses I was receiving from Palestinian women before the conference was that it might not be the right time to discuss such an issue because we have other problems to think about. The over 100 women who attended the conference agreed that there is no right time to start to discuss domestic violence, the minute we start to discuss it is the right time. We started coming to acknowledge that there is domestic violence in our society, but because of culture, customs and norms it is not easy for women to speak of violence that she faces at home from her husband." Suha also related research which she had heard about at the conference from a woman who did studies in the area in East Jerusalem. She said that the research had found that violence cuts across class and religion. "One of the things that she has found that is really interesting is that during the Intifada large numbers of men were beaten, shot down, disfigured, etc. One might have thought this would make them more violent towards their wives. Less violence was found inside the home because there was violence outside the home," (or, perhaps, because when a society acquires a sense of purpose and pride, domestic violence usually diminishes). "But we cannot deny the fact that there is domestic violence in our society and we are trying, through women's centres, to counteract this problem."

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# EAST TIMOR UPDATE

Number 27 — November 1, 1993

## Canada accused of "hypocrisy" on Timor

"Canada is one of the most hypocritical countries in the world," according to the overseas representative of East Timor's resistance movement.

José Ramos Horta, special representative of the National Council of Maubere (Timorese) Resistance (CNRM), made the comments at an awareness benefit sponsored by the East Timor Alert Network in downtown Ottawa and attended by an estimated 1,000 people. He told the Ottawa Citizen that "Canada has one of the most immoral policies in the world when it comes to East Timor." Canada speaks up for small countries like Haiti and Kuwait when it has nothing to lose, he added. But when it comes to Indonesia, "which is a big trading partner, Canada shows its true colours — utter hypocrisy."

Ramos Horta and ETAN representatives also met with officials from the department of external affairs and the Canadian International Development Agency. Both government agencies have a history of silence in the face of genocide committed by the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor.

External has fostered Canada-Indonesia trade and investment ties. Trade is projected to exceed \$1 billion for the first time in 1993, according to Statistics Canada. Canadian investments in Indonesia, meanwhile, are probably at least double that figure (one Canadian company alone, Inco, has investments worth \$1 billion).

ETAN is calling for a push to get the new Liberal government to end its support for the Indonesian occupation of East Timor by (1) announcing a ban on weapons sales to Indonesia, (2) slashing aid until East Timor is given its right to self-determination, and (3) supporting peace talks under United Nations auspices that would include representatives of the East Timorese people.

The new minister of External Affairs will be announced in early November. Letters can then be sent, postage free, c/o House of Commons, Ottawa, Ont., KIA 0A6. Please also send a copy to Parliamentarians for East Timor, c/o David Kilgour MP, at the same address.

### Thanks, Ray!

The recent Liberal sweep resulted in defeat for Ray Funk MP (Prince Albert-Churchill River), who has been a leading member of Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor for several years. Ray's office



mailed out the ETAN newsletter and provided extensive office support, without which ETAN's work would have been that much harder to carry out. The support of Ray Funk, and other PET members who are not back in the new parliament will be missed.

Parliamentarians for East Timor will carry on with its lobbying work, however. Fourteen PET MPs from the Liberal and New Democratic parties are back in this session, and we hope to sign up many more.

### Security tightened for massacre anniversary

Indonesian armed forces in East Timor have once again tightened security to prepare for November 12, the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, the capital of East Timor. In that massacre, the first to be filmed by Western journalists, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on an unarmed crowd, killing 273 women, children and men.

Regional military commander Brig.-Gen. Theo Syafei said his soldiers had found posters calling for a demonstration to mark the

massacre's anniversary, and vowed troops would be prepared to halt peaceful protests or guerrilla attacks.

Indonesian authorities announced last summer that all combat troops would be withdrawn from East Timor by the end of October, leaving only ten "territorial battalions." These 5,000 soldiers — who can and do fight if necessary — are in fact engaged in low-intensity conflict and control of the people on a village level, with a military administration that parallels civilian authority.

Meanwhile, rapid-deployment combat troops can be deployed overnight from bases in Indonesia to anywhere in East Timor, according to Tapol (the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign). This was done during October in the Baucau region of eastern East Timor, where guerrillas have been particularly active lately.

### Flag dissent

An East Timorese student has been charged with "public display of hostility towards the government" for ripping the Indonesian flag on the eve of Indonesian independence

day celebrations in August. Alberto Rodrigues Pereira, 21, faces up to seven years in prison, plus an additional two years and eight months if convicted of property damage.

Many East Timorese refer to the Indonesian flag, which is divided horizontally into red and white stripes, as the "blood-and-bones" flag.

### Red Cross returns

The International Committee of the Red Cross has resumed its visits to East Timorese political prisoners, but is still having "difficulties" in obtaining free access. "We have resumed our activities but have not been able to do it regularly and completely as we did want," said Red Cross president Cornelio Sommaruga. He blamed the Indonesian military for continuing to obstruct access.

Sommaruga said Red Cross officials were having particular difficulty moving freely among the civilian population of East Timor, a violation of the fourth Geneva Convention, which guarantees free movement among populations of occupied territories.

### Postcards to Xanana

Solidarity activists in Portugal are asking people from around the world to send a message of support to jailed East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão on November 20, one year after he was arrested by Indonesian soldiers.

The "Freedom for Xanana, Freedom for East Timor" commission is asking for post cards, letters of support, or other appropriate messages, to be sent to Xanana at his Indonesian prison. For the address, please call ETAN/Toronto at (416) 531-5850.



## Remember East Timor Massacre

### Vigil for Peace in East Timor November 11, 2 p.m.

### Vigil continues until 9 a.m. on Nov. 12 at the Toronto Indonesian Consulate (425 University Ave., S. of Dundas)

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## 'Red Emma' and sexuality

**Emma Goldman: Sexuality and the Impurity of the State**

By Bonnie Haaland  
Black Rose Books  
pp. 202

REVIEWED BY M ERSKINE

I first read about Emma Goldman in a book that had her massaging the cars—marks from some deflatable and uncorrected woman, till an unseen male observer came, literally, out of the closet behind them. Fiction, and not great fiction, either (apologies to Doctorow admirers). By contrast, this book, *Emma Goldman: Sexuality and the Impurity of the State*, is jargon-laced, unliterary non-fiction; pulling Goldman herself partway out of the closet, perhaps its boldest endeavour.

Many people seem fond of Emma Goldman without knowing much about her. As myth, as popular fiction, she's endearing: "If I can't dance, I won't be part of your revolution." My own antidote to idealizing this spirited woman is a reminder of her support for Berkman's shooting of Henry Clay Frick, though this may work in reverse for others... it seems natural that an anarchist def classification: ironic, and tediously academic, of Haaland to spend so much time labelling Goldman.

Haaland sets Emma Goldman's ideas of sexuality beside those of her contemporaries, and those of the author's contemporaries. This could be a fruitful approach, but after slogging through pages of social construction theorist Jeffrey Weeks' taxonomy of sexology, merely to understand that Emma Goldman would now be termed a "libertarian naturalist essentialist", for example, ya gotta wonder.

The book's skim milk if you don't know much about Goldman and wish to learn more. It will tell you that Goldman envisioned both sexes living in the sphere of nature/instinct/desire, because she saw the alternative for both as enslavement to an emotion- and libido-stifling State, impure beyond reform. It won't give you a vivid example of the State's impurity, of a hint of the shape Goldman's ideal communities, reconstructed in harmony with people's internal desires, might take.

And, if you're looking to round out your "Sex, My wren" (the Victorians funny about) file, it's still slim pickins'—one of the arguments against barrier methods of contraception was that they prevented "healing" and "soothing" male fluids from bathing the female reproductive organs! Hee. But that's about it.

Now maybe it's not fair to look for



entertainment value in what is a book of sociological research/women's studies. But is it that rich as education, either? Sometimes Haaland's looking at a file, and not a life: imagine taking someone to task for having changed an opinion over 16 years?!

While obviously influenced by deconstruction's focus on binary tensions, Haaland only highlights the plate-tectonic rub of Goldman's theories of sexuality against her practice of it in one chapter, and then only as it relates to her relationships with women (because that's the unmined vein?).

The author does expose some interesting paradoxes, however.

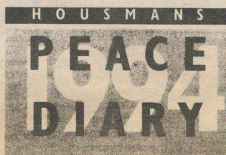
An amusing example involves how Goldman, in rejecting the idea of women entering the public sphere, ended up sounding like the American conservatives of her time, though for "metaphysical", not economic, reasons.

An important example involves Goldman's use of male models for women's emancipation. She was, as one journalist put it, "about eight thousand years ahead of her age" (an age which prided itself on its newness), and still somewhat blindly rooted in the old soil. Among the first to declare sexual liberation the key to social freedom, Goldman's view of the form this liberation would take was somewhat fettered by the androcentric views of the sexologists like Freud and Ellis whose ground-breaking work so inspired her, and of course coloured by her own desires.

What today seems a simplistic view of power's existence only in some monolithic soul-destroying State, led Goldman singing past the fact that power imbalances exist in personal relationships, too, that there is some question that sexual liberation can be women's liberation, and no question that pro-sex, heterosexual women are vulnerable. Goldman's fulfilled woman, you see, is necessarily involved with a man (or men) and has borne a child (or children). An advocate of birth control, this was in part as it would lead to "better children", and she pitied women who were not mothers. She apparently treated lesbianism as a sort of consolation-prize option, something Haaland points out jibes oddly with some of Goldman's intense relationships with other women.

One effect of setting Goldman's theories in historical context is that we realize how much she stood alone, even among the innovators of her day, even among the feminists and anarchists of her time. Around her, America began its love-affair with efficiency and standardization. The suffragette movement would not embrace a woman who put anarchism before feminism and declared the vote "just not worth having"; who saw emancipation as a spiritual awakening. Mostly-male anarchist contemporaries were mostly-disapproving of her insistence on the centrality of sex and feminism to anarchism. (Kropotkin called her "loose" because of it: sex and politics connected? The idea!) In this light, her refusal to compromise an Edenic vision (women, and men, freed to follow their hearts, please themselves and care for each other, nurture their children, in communities free of hypocrisy), looks even more admirable. In this light, is it any wonder she painted in undeniably broad strokes?

OK, I confess I did learn more about Emma Goldman. And speaking of wonders, it is one that her Blakean glorification of desire sometimes does shine through this thin, well-meaning, balanced, abstract book. So read the eight-page conclusion. It's neat. (And on anarchy, yet.)



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## Orders to rape in Burma

A researcher/activist on Burma has reported evidence that SLORC troops have been specifically instructed to rape and impregnate ethnic minority women.

The researcher says that on a recent visit to Manerplaw, the area held by the resistance, he interviewed a number of refugees who reported that radio transmissions of such orders had been intercepted, and that they had also seen them issued in written form. This is believed to be part of the SLORC's genocide campaign against ethnic minorities. He further notes that women who become pregnant outside of marriage, even if it is the result of rape, are permanently ostracized.

Some students in Manerplaw even claim that SLORC soldiers are rewarded for rapes, at rates depending on the age and education level of the women raped.

If these reports are correct, it is further evidence that rape can, in fact, be used systematically, as a planned strategy, in wars with a strong ethnic component or where forms of genocide are being carried out. While this has long been suspected, it has so far been only in Bosnia that specific orders to rape appear to have been given.

The researcher's reports also note that desertion from the SLORC army is massive. Most of the soldiers are forced conscripts, and often unwilling to carry out the atrocities that are a large part of their duties.

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