

This report is divided into three parts: looking first at theme, second geography and third organisational matters. The deteriorating finances of the WRI is the subject of the Treasurer's report - this deals with the activities organised from the office.

While some of the mass peace movements, and some WRI Sections too, are faltering, the International has spread itself more widely since the last Triennial. Perhaps it has also spread itself too thinly. Nevertheless, the great variety of participants at this Triennial is also a reflection of the progress WRI has made towards becoming a more global organisation.

The range of WRI's work has been facilitated by WRI's taking on a third full-time worker in London, and by our joining the twentieth century revolution in office equipment.

This period has also been marked by the loss of Myrtle Solomon in April 1987. She had been at the heart of the WRI for 12 years, rescuing the organisation from near-collapse in the late 1970s. We miss her greatly.

In Myrtle's memory, the owner of 55 Dawes Street has donated the building to the WRI.

## I THEMES

### 1. Conscientious objection

a) The UN vote: 1987 will also be remembered by COs around the world as the year when the UN Commission on Human Rights finally voted to recognise CO as a human right. This marked the culmination of a process which began with a petition campaign, launched by WRI in 1968, which collected 40,000 signatures to present to the UN Commission in Geneva.

Since the UN decision, WRI has circulated copies of the UN decision to many groups in countries where CO is not recognised.

b) Michalis Maragakis, Greece's first pacifist and politically-motivated CO, has focused attention on the issue as never before, both within Greece and internationally. In April 1987 alone, the month after his arrest, he received 55,000 letters of support.

Michalis has shown the power an individual's stand can have. Spiros Psichas and other COs are now prepared to follow his example, as Thanassis Makris has recently done.

Michalis has undergone a series of trials and imprisonments. His 4-year sentence has been reduced on appeal to 2 years and 2 months. Thanassis was imprisoned on 12 April and has since been sentenced to 5 years. Both went on hunger strike, Michalis for 69 days, endangering his life. They stopped when the government promised to introduce a law recognising CO immediately, but started again after Thanassis' sentence, on 1 June. The provisions of the new legislation are not yet known.

WRI, working closely with EBCO and Amnesty International, has played an essential role in mobilising international support. David McReynolds, Pietro Pinna and Veronica Kelly have all given evidence on Michalis' behalf. Thanks are especially due to Stelios Psomas and Spiros Psichas who have kept in regular contact with WRI.

c) Prisoners for Peace Day: The 1986 campaign pack included articles about the effects of the South African Emergency on ECC activists, a survey of CO in the countries of the Warsaw Pact; in 1987 it featured CO in Poland, the Plowshares movement, and news about Michalis Maragakis and the UN vote.

Some Sections received computer print-outs of the Honour Roll to help their preparations in advance of the final version. In 1987 even by modem!

Each year there have been actions, one of the most prominent in 1986 being in Oslo, where FMK held an all-night vigil with several other groups including the Methodist Church. In Britain, there has been good response to promotion in peace movement publications.

d) International CO Day - 15 May: WRI does not co-ordinate 15 May, but has provided briefings on Greece (1986), Yugoslavia (1987) and this year on Poland. This material has been widely reprinted or adapted and there have been actions in many countries.

From Yugoslavia, Marko Hren - who has been in frequent phone contact with the office; and has spent three weeks in London - and Gvido Zlatkes from Poland have been especially helpful.

e) Declaration against Conscriptio: Drafted at the Renkum Council meeting, this was circulated by Wolfram Beyer and has now been signed by 25 WRI affiliates.

### f) Networking:

WRI has liaised with other groups at events such as the European Parliament (Partito Radicale) Symposium on "CO and Conscientious Affirmation" and the annual international CO network meetings, which we have also publicised among all CO groups on our database. In co-operation with Amnesty International and the Immigration Advisory Service in Britain, the office hopes to begin an attempt to establish war resistance as a basis for asylum: this is particularly urgent for resisters to the Gulf War.

g) EBCO is now in severe financial difficulty and employs no staff. Maurice Montet represents WRI on the board, and the WRI office continues to maintain friendly liaison with this and with EBCO's former staff.

h) Quaker United Nations Office: We have had good contact with Martin MacPherson, the new person working on CO, and who did a lot of background work in Geneva for the human rights commission vote, and who has visited the office.

### 2. Women

a) The Women's Gathering on the theme "Feminism and Nonviolence", originally proposed for Spain, took place in Ireland. Most of the co-ordination was done from the WRI office.

A workshop-based event, the gathering achieved much wider outreach than the 1976 or 1980 women's conferences, with about 50 participants from 21 countries including Hong Kong, Thailand, Poland, Yugoslavia and South Africa. Special thanks are due to Gail Chester, Margaret Clark, Ellen Elster, Ulla Eberhard, Orla Ni hEili and Trui Masschelein. Reports from the conference are contained in the latest issue of WRI Women.

b) The first issue of WRI Women was edited by Linda Peirson and inserted in the WRI Newsletter; the second, a separate publication, was edited by Ellen Elster and produced in the WRI office in time for the women's gathering. The third, featuring reports of the women's gathering, was mainly edited and produced by Françoise Pottier and Shelley Anderson, with the WRI office handling much of

### 3. Wider implications of CO

a) War Tax Resistance: The WRI Newsletter has featured war tax and peace tax campaigning regularly since 1985, and has so far covered 17 campaigns in 14 countries. The office has had requests for information from as far away as the Iniciativa No-Violencia in Colombia.

The first international war tax conference was organised by Ohne Rustung Leben in Tübingen in September 1986, Veronica from the office representing WRI. The conference agreed to use the WRI Newsletter as the main communication point for international tax resistance network. The second international meeting will be this October in the Netherlands.

b) Refusing War Seminar - Conscientious Objection and Non-cooperation: an intense and stimulating seminar in Brussels in February 1987 was organised in co-operation with the Green Alternative European Link (GRAEL). Speakers included Ingvar Bratt, the Swedish engineer who quit Bofors, and a British scientist involved in the Star Wars Research Boycott. The Belgian military were later reprimanded in the European Parliament for electronic surveillance of this international event. A selection of the papers from the seminar is available in English, French and German. Thanks are due to Christine Merkel of GRAEL and numerous friends at the Maison de la Paix for their work on this, to Burkhard Doempke for arranging the interpretation for the first two days of the seminar, and also to GRAEL and the Italian Tax Resistance Fund for financing the event.

### 4. Social defence

WRI's next international gathering will be a seminar on nonviolent social defence in Belgium. Vincent Decroly is about to produce some working papers for this.

## 3. GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

### 1. South Africa

Despite the Emergency - which was declared in June 1986 and forced us to drop plans for a delegation to South Africa - the office has remained in close touch with the End Conscription Campaign since the last Triennial. This has been helped by visits to London from a total of 11 core ECC activists, and by Adele Kerstin and Anita Cromberg attending the Women's Gathering.

In conjunction with the Catholic Institute for International Relations in London and Matt Meyer of US WRL, the office was especially active monitoring ECC detentions and alerting the WRI network. We have also kept in touch with IFOR and have co-operated with the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR).

Sections have been keen to work on South Africa. Since the last Triennial, ECC people have toured the US, Sweden and Finland, COSAWR members the FRG, Italy and Norway, and many groups have shown the video "Marching Orders". The most ambitious project - a European speaking tour for representatives of the "Cape Town 23" fell through, despite Sections' enthusiasm, because of internal problems.

### 2. South and Central America

a) SERPAJ (Servicio Paz y Justicia) continues to be our main link in the area. Björn Lindgren attended the continental meeting in Peru in February 1986 on behalf of WRI. He is WRI's representative to SERPAJ-Europa, and Reinoud Doeschot and Veronica Kelly have acted as his alternates at meetings.

b) Visits: The office has arranged London meetings for visitors including Mercedes Butron from SERPAJ-Bolivia, Isolina Romero and George Porter from SERPAJ-Nicaragua, Adolfo Perez Esquivel (who cancelled his trip at the last minute) and Patricio Pietropaolo of SERPAJ-Chile. This has involved co-operation with London-based organisations - such as Quaker Peace and Service, the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development, the Catholic Institute for International Relations and Christian Aid. A new British support group should provide added back-up to the office around visits, urgent actions, etc.

c) Other: Some SERPAJ groups are now taking up the question of CO, and naturally turning to WRI for information on this. In addition, FOSMO in Argentine is campaigning against conscription and for CO.

Several people with strong WRI ties have joined the PBI escort team in Guatemala. In particular, Jean De Wandelaer, who spent eight months there before moving to El Salvador and now Costa Rica, has sent regular reports.

d) Working Group: a Stockholm-based SPAS working group acts locally.

## 3. Asia

The Vedchhi Triennial sparked the formation of a new Section in India, but in view of the large Asian participation at the Triennial, follow-up elsewhere has been largely disappointing since then.

There were two Asian participants at the WRI women's gathering (a Sri Lankan failed to get a visa). The office - with the help of the modem - publicised the detentions in Malaysia.

a) India: With a new Section (WRI India), and our new Chair based in Vedchhi, we expect to intensify our links. Two copies of the 1986 Triennial Report finally reached London a few weeks ago, but unfortunately the bulk won't arrive for another couple of months. Many Indians wanted to attend this Triennial, but WRI was unable to provide funds.

b) Sri Lanka: The situation has deteriorated so rapidly that we need to rethink our response. Sulak Sivaraksa, acting on behalf of PBI, IFOR and WRI, organised a meeting in Thailand between Sinhalese and Thai Buddhists. However, the peace mission envisaged by Devi Prasad and colleagues at the Gandhi Peace Foundation, and the training in Vedchhi for Sri Lankans planned by Narayan Desai on behalf of PBI, have not taken place. Jeevagathas supplies regular news of the situation and of the Nonviolent Direct Action Group's own programme, and gets support from some Sections, but centrally WRI's response has been weak.

## 4. Eastern Europe

The 1985-88 period has seen a blossoming of independent authentic peace groups in Eastern Europe, and WRI has played a full part in the network of Western movements pursuing detente from below.

a) CO: In the last three years, CO has emerged as a major issue for each of the independent peace movements in Eastern Europe, and a CO network is now growing within Eastern Europe. This spring, a joint East European CO Declaration was launched by over 400 members of independent groups. As nuclear disarmament movements increasingly find that they need a "demilitarisation" perspective on East-West questions, WRI has come to be seen as a vital resource.

b) Poland: A priority has been support for the Wolnosc i Pokoj (WiP - Freedom and Peace) movement, alerting WRI affiliates, and other organisations, to the emergence and then repression of WiP.

Howard Clark went to Poland twice in 1987: first to attend the WiP seminar in May and then in November for the WRI personal peace treaty delegation to Wroclaw. Five of the 8-person group were arrested and expelled, but treaties were drawn up and will be published.

At the official level, Howard has had four meetings, including one in Warsaw, with the international secretary of the Polish Peace Committee, and Michael Randle attended the Polish Institute of international Affairs seminar in November 1987.

One Polish woman managed to attend the Women's Gathering.

At the request of some WiP members, WRI and IFOR have been discussing organising introductory workshops on nonviolence training. The WiP people are interested to find out what Western practices are useful. The first workshop will happen just after the Triennial.

c) Other: David McReynolds has visited official and independent groups in the GDR, Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, Michael Randle was to have represented WRI at the June 1988 Charter 77 seminar.

And many other WRI members have been engaged in detente from below. Many accounts have been published in Sections' or Associates' papers, and the office has been called on many times to supply addresses.

But very few people report back!

## 5. The Middle East

**Working Group:** There have now been three mailings from the Middle East Working Group. The first was circulated in January 1987, shortly after Narayan Desai and convenor Andrew Rigby attended a conference on nonviolence in Amman, Jordan. In addition to supporting Israeli draft resisters and COs, The WRI Newsletter and Broken Rifle have publicised the work of the new IFoR Section (Palestinians and Israelis for Nonviolence), the anti-Peace Law campaigners and the Palestinian Centre for the Study of Nonviolence, including the attempts to expel the Centre's co-ordinator, Mubarak Awad. WRI was represented on the Boat of Return by Andrew Rigby and David McReynolds. Three representatives from Associate organisations were also on board.

But WRI and its Sections can be criticised for not responding more actively to the intense growth in draft resistance, and to the Palestinians' call for a boycott of Israeli produce.

**6. The Pacific:** WRI's involvement in the Pacific has largely been through articles in the Newsletter and through the networking activities of vice-chair Peter Jones, Charlie Scheiner and John Miller. All have been active in supplying the office with information about resistance to militarisation here.

## C. ORGANISATION

The Treasurer's Report discusses the deterioration in WRI's finances as core expenditure has grown and core income stagnated.

### 1. Section visits/ fieldwork

In 1986 Veronica spent two weeks in Spain visiting six groups. David McReynolds and Howard met with UPF and MOC in Paris. David later visited DFG-IdK in Hamburg, DFG-VK in Bonn, and IdK-Berlin, and Veronica attended the FoGA annual meeting. Myrtle had agreed to speak at the UPF annual meeting.

In 1987 and 1988, David visited many groups in the FRG. In October 1987, the executive met in Bonn to dialogue with DFG-VK, in particular about reservations the executive had had about the Olof Palme Peace March and WRI's delight at the successful outcome of this common action. Afterwards, David and Veronica each toured DFG-VK groups, David going south and Veron north. Howard attended meetings of IOT in Brussels and SPAS in Stockholm. There are plans for field trips to Switzerland and Portugal.

In addition, people from member organisations frequently drop into the office. (This can be very useful, but we'd like it if more people phoned first.)

## 2. Liaison

a) International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFoR): The IFoR and WRI offices are in frequent contact. Howard visited Jim Forrest after the Renkum Council meeting. Fran oise Pottier, secretary of IFoR, and Anita Kromberg attended the women's gathering, and Francoise (who celebrated her birthday in the WRI office) co-produced the latest WRI Women. We have been discussing co-operation specifically on Poland and Sri Lanka.

b) International Peace Bureau (IPB): David McReynolds is a Vice-President of IPB. John Miller represented WRI in Crete at the 1986 IPB annual meeting and seminar on military bases, Veronica Kelly at the IPB/Peace Union of Finland seminar on women and the military system. Olli-Alm represented WRI at IPB's 1987 seminar, and Bjorn Lindgren at its annual general meeting. The President of IPB, Bruce Kent, is based in London and has liaised closely over support for Michalis Maragakis and his "One World" walk from Warsaw to Brussels.

c) Peace Brigades International (PBI): Neal Bowen attended the PBI European annual meeting in Italy on behalf of the WRI, and Kristina Faxen the one in Lindkoping. Piet Dijkstra (PBI Europe) is in regular communication with the office about Sri Lanka, South Africa and now Palestine. Both he and Alaine Hawkins (PBI Central America Project) have visited Dawes Street. Jean De Wandelaer, who has worked with PBI in Guatemala and El Salvador, has been a valuable correspondent.

d) European Nuclear Disarmament: David and Howard have represented WRI at the 1986-87 Conventions, and Howard represents WRI on the liaison committee. The l.c. is a useful networking body but is poor at organising. WRI has arranged speakers at the 1987 and 1988 Conventions, and convened workshops on CO and war tax resistance.

e) United Nations: Lee Weingarten, WRI's representative to the UN in Geneva, and Maurice Montet of UPF should be thanked for attending the human rights session on behalf of the WRI. Lee has now passed on with relief the tasks of WRI's representative in Geneva to Michel Monod, but continues her involvement unofficially. We thank Lee for her work over the years.

David McReynolds is WRI's UN representative in New York.

f) European Parliament: Thanks largely to Christine Merkel and Bram van der Lek, WRI enjoys very good co-operation with the Rainbow Fraction in the European Parliament. Partito Radicale tends to make extremely urgent requests at the absolute last minute. They co-ordinate the interparliamentary group on CO; Howard represented WRI at their CO colloquium in Strasbourg. On South African questions, we have co-operated with the socialist group as well, where Dutch Labour MP Alman Metten is particularly active, and EBCO has successfully mobilised some socialists on the question of CO in Greece.

g) World Peace Council: the new General Secretary of the WPC, Johannes Pakaslahti, has visited David in New York and Howard in London. This is indicative of a change in outlook in the WPC, in response to the changing atmosphere in the Soviet Bloc. It was therefore agreed that Christian Schmidt should attend the recent WPC assembly in Czechoslovakia as an observer representing WRI.

The WPC office in Helsinki has invited the WRI executive to send a delegation there. This has proved impossible before the Triennial.

h) Other: WRI has been represented at events organised by the IPCC and the European Network for East-West Dialogue, and has good informal co-operation with them. We tend to have more contact with Pax Christi sections, especially in the Netherlands, than with PXI.

3. Publications

a) Periodicals: The WRI Newsletter continues to be our greatest networking tool, providing valuable information and systematically reporting on e.g. imprisoned war resisters and war tax campaigning. We have also improved its appearance, and now that we have been given a desk-top publishing programme, we hope to improve its circulation.

In addition to the Newsletter, since the last Triennial we have launched the bimonthly news-sheet The Broken Rifle (Le Fusil Brise, Das Zerbrochene Gewehr) and the twice-yearly WRI Women. We have yet to find a Spanish translator who can cope with producing El Fusil Quebrado. Some 17 publications responded to the pilot edition of the WRI Features Service; pressure of work has prevented any follow-up, however, and now it might be more effective to work through IFOR's Peace Media Project.

b) Pamphlets: Refusing War Preparations - this selection of seminar papers is now available in English, French and German, thanks to the team at the Brussels Maison de la Paix. Production of the Vedchhi Triennial Report by the Suruchi Ashram has just been completed: unfortunately, we have only received two copies so far. Peter Jones' pamphlet, The Militarisation of the Pacific, has just been produced by Chris Booth.

c) Translators: WRI's voluntary translators give us amazing service: Hilda Morris, Peter Geiger, Michael Lang, Dick Moore, Marie Caraj, David Stephens, Marcelle Lukes, Bernadette Ridard and Diana Speaight and Margaret and Anthony Lodge, and above all Margaret Curran.

4. Sales: Badge sales began rising again last year. A first supply of shirts from Spanish MOC proved popular and we've now produced a fresh range. We also plan to introduce WRI stickers for recycling envelopes. The Union of COs has produced a Triennial poster, and we have a stock of new Triennial biros.

5. Equipment

Changes in equipment have revolutionised Dawes Street. The 20-year-old duplicator continues to do service but it has been augmented by a photocopying machine which can reduce and enlarge. We also have two IBM-compatible computers now, and a wide range of software. This has made many tasks much easier, but the staff has had to spend time learning new systems. And with our modem, we have entered the world of electronic mail and bulletin boards and have instant communication around the globe!

As proposed at the 1986 Council meeting, we installed a "Newline" answerphone to give urgent messages (these included material about Michalis Maragakis, South Africa, Guatemala, nuclear

## 6. Working Groups

Before Vedchhi, the idea of working groups was proposed as a way of devolving responsibility for WRI activities from the office, and increasing co-operation on issues between Affiliates. Some groups have only a nominal existence, e.g. nonviolence training. Some don't seem to produce very much or involve many people, others put work on the office.

## 7. Personnel

a) **Staff:** The years since the Vedchhi Triennial have seen changes at the WRI office. The departure of Will Todd, a part-time administrative worker, followed by Myrtle's worsening health, proved very disruptive for the smooth running of the office, especially because most of Myrtle's work was also on the financial and administrative side. Pajo Maple worked part-time for nearly a year, but for a total of about six months since the last Triennial, the office has functioned with only two staff. Matters have not been helped by British immigration restrictions. Having rather too ambitious a programme for such a small staff, and having a backlog of Myrtle's work to clear up, means that some matters which should be routine and regular have happened late or not at all. Now the office team has been completed by a third full-timer, Oili Alm, and is beginning to get into its stride.

b) **Volunteers:** The staff has been augmented by volunteers, in particular Kie Sebastian (until her return to the US), Michael Lang, Martyn Lowe, Martin Oddsocks, and more recently Pippa Marriott, Lisa Otter-Barry and Jim Huggon. We are grateful to them all for their contribution.

c) **Financial help:** We also appreciate the work of our Financial Agents - Colin Curtis, Philippe Dupont, John Falding, Ralph Di Gia, Stephan Knauer, Pietro Pinna and Gre Wijnobbel - and Ron Carley and David Evans, who has taken over from Ron as WRI's accountant and works in the office one day a month.

## CONCLUSIONS

WRI came out of the last Triennial with a great many ideas but no clear set of priorities. Subsequent Council and Executive meetings have failed to establish where the organisation should concentrate its energies. WRI should partly be seen as a network which will help members pursue good projects - strengthening the working groups is essential for this. Here the office must be seen as a resource - with more information coming in than we can monitor and more calls on us for solidarity, information and action than anyone can cope with. Acquisition of improved technology will help us play a fuller role here. However, the new Executive and Council will need to address some serious structural problems - about political priorities, about our budget and about decision-making between meetings of the executive committee.

But Myrtle Solomon died at peace, confident in the movement she did so much to shape.

The relation between the social-political context and campaigning for Peace

The labor of the MOC, that is, its level of activity and impact on public opinion, can only be evaluated taking into consideration the evolution of sensibility of society regarding our struggle for Peace. With the integration of Spain into the NATO the sensibility for pacifist ideas started to grow in all parts of the country, coinciding with campaigns in other countries against the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles. In 1985, it was announced that the referendum about whether Spain should stay in the NATO or not was going to be held in March 1986. As a consequence many Peace and disarmament groups started to appear and in order to coordinate themselves on a nationwide level they founded the CEOP (Coordinadora Estatal de Organizaciones Pacifistas). Their main goal is to campaign for the "NO" in the referendum.

The MOC participates in the CEOP representing the most visible and representative sector of organizations independent from political parties - many member groups were controlled by the Communist Party (PC), the Communist Movement (MC), or the Trozkists - and trying to unify the political opposition against the NATO with the more global fight for Nonviolence. MOC groups tried to introduce the idea that the Anti-NATO Campaign should be part of a wider Antimilitarist struggle. We tried to use the campaign as an opportunity to make people question not only the NATO but the army in itself. In this context, until March 1986, we lived in a period of hyper-activism: actions, speeches, debates, panel discussions, demonstrations, discussions in the mass media ... almost on a daily basis.

On March 12th, 1986, the day of the referendum, the Spanish Peace Movement suffered the biggest defeat in its short history. However, we believe that the sensation of failure is only real if we start from the expectations created by the polls which had predicted a victory of "NO". Naturally we also feel very disappointed about the fact that Spain is going to stay in the NATO, but we still think that the campaign was worthwhile because our aim was not only to win the referendum but to increase the consciousness of society against war, and in this we succeeded. In other words, one thing is to mobilize progressive people of very different backgrounds (political, religious, intellectual, and professional) trying to make them join a campaign, but to pretend with this campaign that the majority of the population votes against the recommendation of a government which had gained the absolute majority in the last elections is a different story. If we take into account that a big percentage of the population has no other information access than the one offered by television and that during the campaign all the News broadcasting was completely controlled by the government, it is fairly easy to understand that especially the social sectors with a low cultural level (still a majority in Spanish society) were the ones who voted "YES". Besides, when the polls predicted a victory of the "NO", the government turned the referendum into a plebiscite: the president announced that he would resign if the result was going to be "NO"; in other words: NATO or Chaos.

All this helps to understand the final result of the referendum. It is no surprise, therefore, that the places where the "NO" was majority coincide (Cataluña and El País Vasco) with a major cultural level and with a minority position of the government party PSOE regarding nationalistic parties.

But whatever other reason there were, the context for campaigning for Peace changed radically after the referendum. On one hand many of the campaigning groups disappeared because of frustration. The CEOP tried to survive focusing its activities on the American bases on Spanish territory and the military training areas. Since the referendum it has lost a lot of its political power. On the other hand, however, the work of shaping the political consciousness among people effected during the campaign was quite successful.

Since the Anti-NATO campaign it has been much easier for us to promote our campaigns and whenever we have talked with associations of citizens, teacher unions, school-boards, political and religious groups about subjects like tax objection, peace education, or C.O. we have found that people now are more sensitive to all these subjects and there is generally more readiness to get involved.

Lately, the subject about which public opinion has been highly sensibilized is military service. The latest polls showed that most young people but as well as some of the military people themselves were against it.

B) The MOC convention of May 1986

The first MOC convention took place in 1979, two years after its foundation. Since then many things had changed: C.O. was no longer persecuted, a law regulating C.O. had finally appeared in Dec. 1984, the number of groups had multiplied all over the country, antimilitaristic consciousness in society had increased due to the referendum campaign, and above all the MOC did not work any longer only on C.O. but as an antimilitaristic movement the MOC was working in several fields concerning Nonviolence: tax objection women and militarism, antimilitaristic campaigns (NATO, bases, militarisation of society, ...), and Peace education. So the convention was necessary to discuss all the above mentioned subjects. The convention was celebrated in May 1986 in Madrid.

C) The C.O. Law (LOC)

The Spanish C.O. law was approved in Dec. 1984. It is more or less a copy of other C.O. laws that exist in other European countries: it states a recognition board, a substitutory service up to twice the time of military service, among other similarities. The first part, the recognition board CNOC (Consejo Nacional de Objeción de Conciencia) was put into effect in June 1985.

Several associations and political organizations appealed the Law for not being constitutional. MOC's response to the Law was a collective declaration which we directed to the recognition board. The main goal of this declaration was to defy the government by massive civil disobedience. The reaction of the CNOC however was the acceptance of the collective declaration in which we announced our civil disobedience (not to do the civil service). This way they avoided the confrontation with the rapidly growing number of collective objectors.

The first repression took place in 1986/87 when two people objected during military service. As a consequence they were declared "prisoners of conscience" by Amnesty International, the first ones after the Franco Regime.

1988 was chosen by the government to put into effect the second part of the Law: the substitutory service PSS (Prestación Social Sustitutoria,

The Law had been declared constitutional by Spanish Constitutional Court in Oct. 87). Thus the CNOC started to reject the collective declaration from February 1988 on. This change of attitude concerns above all young objectors. However the government faces the problem of almost 10.000 collective objectors already recognized. To get rid of the problem, they are thinking about an amnesty for all c.o.s who had been recognized before Jan. 1988. This way they want to demobilize the strong total resisters' movement dividing it into "old" and "new" c.o.s (from Feb. 1988 on). In order to avoid such an amnesty the MOC has decided that all "old" c.o.s should renounce to their c.o. status. On March 5th several hundred c.o.s renounced to their status initiating a campaign for what the MOC calls "reobjection". If this reobjection was accepted by the CNOC all these people would be subject to conscription again. Thus they would recuperate their individual political power to be able to disobey a law and they would be in the same situation

as the "new" c.o.s. who keep on sending the collective declaration which is no longer accepted. However, there are many doubts that the CNOC will accept reobjection and therefore it will be very important that many "new" total resisters join our movement otherwise it will be very hard to face government repression.

By focusing on the "new" collective objectors we want to take back the confrontation point back to the very first moment when the c.o. refuses his conscience to be judged by the CNOC.

(Today's c.o. figures: about 30 000 c.o.s, around 60% are Jehova Witnesses, 35% are organized by the MOC, and about 5% have objected legal according to the Law)

#### D) Women and militarisation

Although this topic had been neglected for quite some time - most of our efforts we had to dedicate to other campaigns - it has always been one of the subjects we consider most important. Now that the Spanish government approved a law which allows the voluntary incorporation of women into the army, we do have a very concrete subject on the basis of which we will try to make people aware of this important step of militarisation.

The law which was approved recently ( 88) under the cover of "equal rights" has got quite some publicity. The MOC responded with a campaign of (preventive) objection to the army, denouncing the real motives for this law, and the role of the army as fundamental pillar of patriarchal society. In order to keep most women from joining the army we are trying to work together with feminist organizations as well as other groups and organisations. One of the positive effects our campaign has had is that in some places more women join the MOC groups or form their own anti-militarist groups.

#### E) Peace education

Peace education is a topic which is becoming more and more important in public opinion. This is due to the activities of many groups and organisations. The MOC has tried to contribute to this positive development by participating actively in the Permanent Seminar for Peace education, by elaborating material for teacher unions and by organizing seminars on Nonviolence training and education.

#### F) Tax objection

The first Tax Objection campaign was started in 1982. Since then the MOC has organized such a campaign every year. It basically consists in not paying the percentage of budget assigned to Defense and dedicating this money to an alternative project. We are aware that the percentage of money we refuse to pay is only part of the real Defense budget, but the money part is only one aim of our campaign. The other main goal we try to achieve with tax objection is to spread the idea of civil disobedience. We want to make people think about the of Defense: whose defense?, what is defended?, from whom we have to defend ourselves,...; we want people to take up their own responsibility again for what they are ready to defend. During the last couple of years the number of tax objectors has been increasing and this year we expect another record. We have been trying to work together with trade unions, political parties, religious groups and independent groups. It seems that especially the religious communities are very interested in this field and they have made quite an effort to promote tax objection.

#### G) Peace Brigades International

For the last two years members of MOC groups have been participating in project and activities of Peace Brigades International (PBI). In the 1987 tax objection campaign one of the alternative projects the money could be sent to was the PBI project in El Salvador. Thus we could combine financial support with spreading information about PBI activities, especially in Central America.

#### H) Other Activities

For the last three years we have lanced or participated in several other campaigns: Army Day (Día de las Fuerzas Armadas), Military Training Area Badenas (Polígono de Bardenas), Free Objectors (campana libertad sobrevenidos), (American) Bases OUT (Bases Fuera), Objection of Reservists (Devolución de Cartillas), etc.

We have also participated in several international meetings of objectors (Icom 87, Germany:Kriegsdienste Verweigern 88, among others) and we have supported the international solidarity campaigns with Greek and Yugoslavian and Polish objectors (1986,87, and 88 respectively). Last not least there is to mention that three members of the MOC are waiting for their trial after admitting that they are the authors of a book about military service which is considered to be an insult to the Spanish Army.



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