

Mike Dukakis for President

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MIKE DUKAKIS ON THE ISSUES

TOWARD PEACE AND JUSTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Apartheid is wrong. In the context of the late 20th Century, it is the equivalent of slavery. Yet the South African government's token "reforms" have left the apartheid system firmly entrenched, as it continues to deny the vast majority of citizens the most fundamental political, economic and human rights.

South Africa also persists in its determined efforts to destabilize the governments and economies of many of its African neighbors. Despite international condemnation, it continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, defying world calls for free democratic elections to determine the future of that state.

To Namibia's north, the United States remains the only member of the United Nations — except for South Africa — not to recognize the Angolan government, while Angolan rebels, supported by the U.S. and South Africa, threaten American-owned oil refineries guarded by Cuban soldiers! And while the Reagan Administration insists that the Cubans leave Angola as a condition of South Africa leaving Namibia, our military aid to the UNITA rebels in Angola only prolongs the Cuban presence and the Namibian stalemate.

Throughout my public life, I've opposed apartheid and supported the cause of human rights and self-determination in Southern Africa. I'm proud that Massachusetts was one of the very first states in the nation to terminate its pension fund investments in South Africa.

I believe America can play a meaningful role in promoting the cause of peace and human rights in Southern Africa. But we must make our opposition to apartheid crystal clear. And we must take firm measures to demonstrate the depth of our concerns for the future of the entire region.

As President, I will:

- Promote democracy and human rights in South Africa by strongly asserting U.S. support for rapid and peaceful change, and by using tougher economic and diplomatic pressure in support of such change. We must stop sending mixed signals to the South African government and the oppressed majority, and start affirming — by word and deed — our total disapproval of the continuation of apartheid in that country.
- Encourage the development of non-racial leadership committed to a peaceful transition to political and social equality in South Africa. Leaders like Archbishop Tutu and Allan Boesak deserve our support in their struggle for human rights for people of all races in South Africa.
- Toughen U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa and seek multilateral agreement with our allies for a more comprehensive trade embargo against that country, in the absence of agreement by the South African government to enter into prompt and meaningful negotiations for the abolition of apartheid and the creation of a non-racial South Africa.
- Support the holding of internationally-sponsored, all-party negotiations for the abolition of apartheid and the creation of a constitutional, non-racial democracy committed to respect for the political and economic rights of all South Africans — talks that include the African National Congress.
- Call for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other political prisoners, and for the unbanning of the African National Congress.
- Strongly support international efforts to pressure South Africa to withdraw from Namibia, and to bring about free elections in that state.

- Stop U.S. aid to the UNITA rebels in Angola, recognize the Angolan government, and work towards creating conditions that will lead to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and improved relations between Angola and the West.
- Assist South Africa's neighbors, such as Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, to attain greater economic independence from South Africa, and to become less vulnerable to South Africa's military and economic pressure, and support the efforts of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to improve the lives of the 65 million Africans who live in its member states.

Change is coming in South Africa. The question is whether it will be peaceful and controlled or bloody and cataclysmic. We must not stand idly by while South Africa drifts toward chaos and bloodshed. We must do all we can to bring change to South Africa that is rapid and peaceful, and that provides for all peoples of that country and its neighbors those fundamental human rights and protections that America seeks for all the peoples of the world.

Cruise has been sited. Greenham is not what it was. The Geneva talks have started. CND faces a new situation.



CND's NEW ERA

Interview with
Joan Ruddock

by Sarah Benton and Bill Norris

Can we start off with the recent arms talks in Geneva, which people seem to be slightly optimistic about? What can these negotiations achieve?

Unhappily, none of us can be expecting very much though our hope is always that something could happen. The American administration's offer of arms talks was very much an election ploy by Reagan which he is now obliged to carry out. But it has been set up in such a way as to make failure much more probable – that the star wars programme will become the stumbling block, and if it does it will be possible for the Americans to say it was the Soviet Union that made the talks impossible.

Is it your view that for as long as Reagan is president of the United States, such negotiations are going to achieve very little in terms of arms limitation?

Not necessarily, because even in Reagan's presidency anything could happen. It's not impossible to imagine that there could be some sort of backlash in the United States, if it looks as though they won't make some concessions to the Soviet Union in terms of a star wars initiative. It's also possible, of course, that Reagan doesn't physically survive the term of the presidency. But if everything continues as during the last Reagan administration, then nothing significant will be achieved. Nonetheless I believe CND should make an input.

Within CND there has been a debate on and off for years over the relative blame of the Soviet Union and the USA for the arms race. In your view what are the fundamental differences between the Soviet and American governments' attitudes towards this issue? And what is your own personal view of the way the last CND conference tried to resolve the problem of allocating responsibility for the arms race.

I don't think, to take the second question first, that the conference was, even in the original resolution, trying to say that there was

equality between the superpowers in terms of the arms race. That wasn't what motivated the people who put forward the resolution, what motivated them was the fact that we were not seen to be criticising the Soviet Union when criticism was due as strongly as we criticise the US. Of course the recent history of the arms race has been that the United States has been the one that has actually created most of the difficulties in the process of trying to make controls and so the Soviet Union has been seen to be less to blame – I think quite rightly. But when we have criticised the Soviet Union, for example on the recent forward deployment in Eastern Europe, the message has not been seen to be getting across. Interestingly enough, when we had a demonstration that linked the USA and the USSR in the nuclear arms race, saying that both were responsible, it got virtually no press coverage. I think the concern is mainly that we were never being seen by the public to criticise the Soviet Union.

What defence objectives do you think the British government will pursue in the next few years? Do you think it achieved its main aims, like siting cruise here, in its first term of office, or has it got other major plans that it wants to get through before the next general election?

I think the Government is probably still very much committed to Trident and would like to get the Trident programme into a position where it could not be overturned. In addition, they are obviously continuing to give support to the total American strategy, even though on the star wars question it looked for a moment as though Margaret Thatcher was about to step out of line, but she very quickly backed down.

There are splits over Trident within the Conservatives and also within the armed services, many people in the navy being worried about the money being soaked up by Trident. Do you think there is any value to be gained from exploiting those divisions, should CND be adjusting itself to some quite right wing people who might be potential allies in the battle against Trident?

I don't think we have to adjust ourselves to those people but what we must do is decide that it's a political priority to lobby them, to make contact with them and be prepared to argue the simple case against Trident. Conference voted it as a priority but at the moment CND is finding it a bit difficult to adjust to new priorities, Cruise still dominates our thinking.

What must happen for that campaign to become the priority it needs to be?

As I think your question implies it's a different kind of campaign, it would involve a lot of intense lobbying, a tremendous amount of direct contact with MPs who are essentially very hostile to CND; it would involve our local groups, for example, in lobbying Tory MPs that are sitting in many of their constituencies, and it's not easy for a mass campaign that has focused very much on Cruise, Greenham and direct action to make the adjustment.

Lobbying requires quite sophisticated political skills, doesn't it? It's a small number of people, not a mass movement.

And there's always the fear that because we are committed to a very fundamental aim which is to remove all nuclear weapons, if you start dealing with an issue such as Trident, somehow we'll be

contaminated, that we'll lose our sense of direction. I think as long as you're aware of the danger, it's absolutely OK to do it and nearly everyone is aware of the dangers. But this can temper people's efforts or enthusiasm from getting on with that particular job. But it's important we do it because there is a great gain to be made there. Not just a tactical gain in being able to say that that programme has been cancelled due to the pressure of the peace movement. There's a huge gain because it is a major escalation in weapons, part of the whole new nuclear war fighting strategy that NATO has adopted. Stopping it would therefore have a wider NATO significance. Moreover, the Soviets have positively said they would do something if Trident was scrapped. It was a surprise to me, but it makes it even more useful.

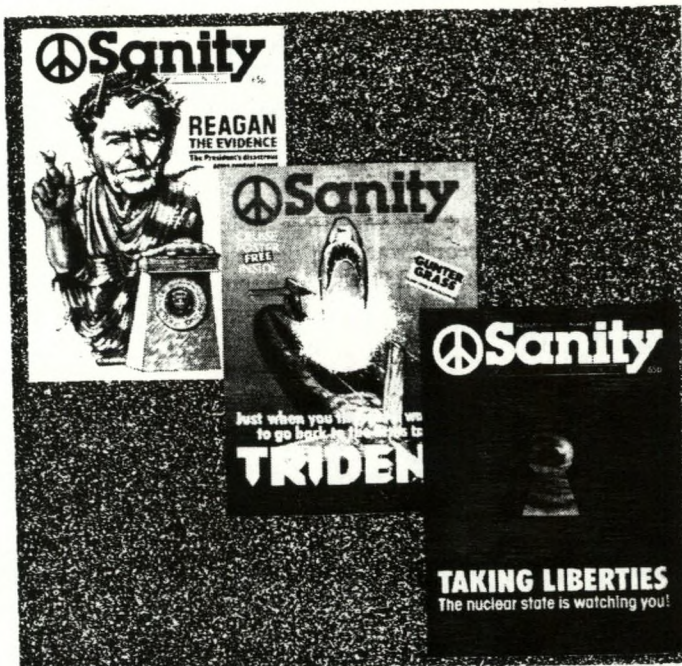
On this problem of CND getting more involved on different defence systems, to what extent should it try and tackle different forms of defence strategy?

The movement has been consistent in not adopting any alternative defence strategy or non-nuclear defence strategy, indeed any particular defence strategy at all. It has been content to adopt the position that the absolute priority at the present time is for Britain to get rid of nuclear weapons. People are very wary of trying to get the movement to adopt one particular position beyond this. Of course, a number of ideas have been articulated either in our publications or through surveys we have done of the membership. I know through speaking at many many public meetings organised by groups that the basic position for most people seems to be that whatever defence Britain has it should be one of non-intervention, that it should only be concerned with territorial defence. And from my experience the majority of people would accept some sort of conventional weaponry. A minority of the movement is pacifist and would not support any weapons, themselves, but they might well go along with it for the movement. That, I think, is broadly and necessarily the position. But we should contribute to the debate, and most of us believe that political parties are not in the same position. They need a programme.

One of the main barriers to further growth in CND's popularity appears to be the fear that Britain will be left without a defence policy. This was also a serious problem for Labour in the last election. Do you not feel that it is internal problems within CND which are preventing CND taking up a clearer line on alternative defence?

No I don't. It's true that there are internal pressures which would mean that any attempt to get the movement to adopt a policy would be very difficult and would expose us to a lot of attention in terms of internal struggle which would be undesirable. But I am sure that's not the reason for not doing it. The real reason is that the majority of people feel that it is not necessary for the campaign, it's not desirable for the campaign to actually have a specific defence alternative. What was needed at the time of the general election was not for people to vote on CND's position but on the policies of political parties. CND was not a party to the general election and never will be. So the problem, if there is one, about fear of defencelessness, is for the opposition parties, not for CND. It was the failure of the Labour Party to address itself to that question that was a factor in Labour losing the election. And it is for them to solve that problem.

CND, of course, is politically non-aligned. One of the ways in which it intervened in the last election was to ask people to go to their MP,



regardless of party, and put questions about defence to him or her and then vote according to the replies of the candidates on those issues. That had very little effect. Do you think it was a good election tactic?

We didn't ask members to vote on the basis of those questionnaires. What we were trying to do was to provide people with information so that they were informed when they came to vote. Obviously if they were supportive of CND they would be looking to find the candidate with the closest position. Now that is the kind of lobbying activity that should have been going on for several years prior to the general election. It's not something you can suddenly do at the time of a general election and expect to have any kind of impact. It was an important piece of information gathering at the time, but it's not political strategy. As you say, it has very little effect.

CND is finding it a bit difficult to adjust to new priorities, Cruise still dominates our thinking.

Do you think the debate about nuclear defence at the time of the election was irrelevant to the outcome of the election or did it play a part in how people voted?

I doubt if it played very much part in how people voted. But I think it has had a very serious negative effect on the position of the Labour Party vis-à-vis the defence question.

Why is that?

What people are most likely to have remembered about defence and disarmament is the fact that the Government managed to make fools of the Labour Party at the time of the election. People had a lack of confidence in Labour on this question, because clearly they couldn't argue the case, there were many different cases being put forward. It was the obvious way to make people

feel that Labour wasn't able to govern, that they couldn't be trusted with the nation's defence.

Is this because the Labour spokespersons themselves were ignorant or ill informed about the issues or that they themselves didn't believe in the policy that Labour had by the time of the election?

There were some people who were ill-informed, there were undoubtedly some people who didn't agree with the policy and, as we all know, Callaghan and Healey both spoke out indicating that they didn't agree with the policy. But more importantly I don't think, apart from Michael Foot, there was much enthusiasm for arguing the policy, because they were afraid of the domestic repercussions, they were afraid of people's reactions, they had swallowed the propaganda of the Government. They were unsure and unpractised in actually arguing the case. I understand that a decision was taken to give it a very low profile on the eve of the election.

Were you disappointed or surprised by that?

No, because I knew enough about what was going on. But if you've got a policy which is very hard to sell, and let's admit that from the point at which they were starting it was a hard policy to sell, the only thing you can do is go out and sell it hard. You cannot try to hide a policy on which you are perhaps most vulnerable, you have to go out and really campaign for it. So tactically it could not have been handled worse really.

If there was a general election tomorrow how much would the situation have changed?

Not very much.

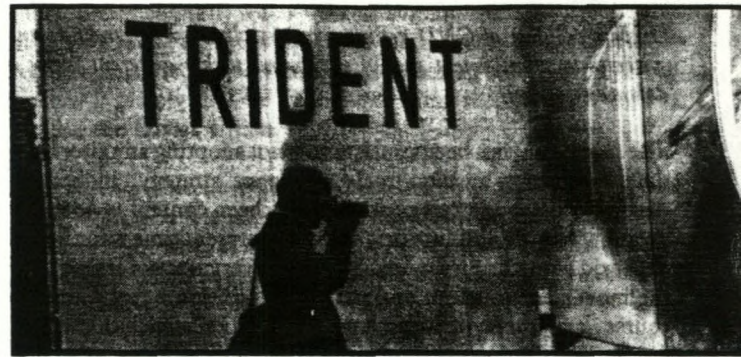
And if there was an election in two or three years time, what can be done to change the situation, what can CND do about that?

Let me say first what the Labour Party might do. If I were on the Labour Party National Executive Committee, I would be wanting a party campaign on defence and disarmament as the priority, because anybody who is involved in the labour movement can make a reasonable job of campaigning on unemployment, the health service, or education, it's the gut programme of every Labour politician, but they cannot easily argue about the campaign for disarmament. There's a huge need for education about how to campaign, about what the policy really means. As far as I know that isn't happening, and unless it does the party won't be in a better position. Now as for CND, it is trying to make its resources available to people in any party, including Labour of course, who are interested and prepared to accept us. It's in our interests to seek support within any party. I would be amazed, though delighted, if any of the major parties came to CND and said we'd like to talk to you about how we campaign on this issue. This reluctance is a bit surprising. If the issue is such a problem, such a dead duck, how could CND have grown in the way it has, how could it have the kind of membership that it's got? How could this be a major debate if it were an impossible topic on which to engage the public's attention? It couldn't have happened and that's why it seems to me to be defeatist when political parties say this is a policy we can't afford to go out and campaign on.

The implications of what you are saying seem to suggest two strategic aims: firstly, only the Labour Party is likely to enact a policy which

will allow non-nuclear defence to be a possibility, and secondly, that can only happen if the leaders of the Labour Party are in sympathy with it. Now the implications of that would appear to be that an enormous amount of energy has got to go into the Labour Party, agitating to make sure they stick to the manifesto, and elect the right sort of MPs and so on.

Labour wasn't able to govern, that they couldn't be trusted with the nation's defence.



Addressing CND rally - Hyde Park, Oct '83.

Objectively it would appear at the moment that only the Labour Party is likely to be able to form a government where non-nuclear defence becomes a possibility. But CND is committed to maintaining its links across all the parties. If we had said that only the Labour Party is of interest to us, the last election would have been a much greater disaster for CND than it turned out to be. But we've maintained our autonomy apart from the Labour Party and tried to campaign with any politician from any party who is prepared to have any contact with us. Because of this, I think our integrity was much more intact after the election than it would otherwise have been. So whereas Labour is likely to be the only party able to pursue such a policy in government, it doesn't follow that CND should only put its energies into the Labour Party. The position of the Liberals within the Alliance is very important. Most Liberals are actually supporters. It would be quite wrong for us to stop having any interest in the Alliance.

From the late 70s through to the last election, there was a very specific situation which no longer exists. The Left was fragmented, it could offer no major ideological lead, or indeed values about how society should be lived, and CND was there offering not just a lead on unilateralism but suggesting all sorts of other values about life. It wasn't a single issue campaign, it involved many more questions. There was a feeling that people would react against Thatcherism. Cruise had not yet arrived, so there was great hope that if it was prevented it would be an important success for the peace movement. And, with no serious arms talks on the agenda, there was every role for a mass movement to play. There was this tremendous moral upsurge. And one of the CND's great strengths is moralism, maybe a lack of politics but a great moralism. You can see now how all those elements came together in that period to create a very powerful, very spontaneous movement which didn't need a strong central leadership.

Since then there have been several failures. You have distanced yourself from the debacle of the general election, but it was seen by some as a failure. Cruise is here, the support around Greenham is significantly less. People who may have been very optimistic, perhaps

in an unsophisticated way, in the early 80s are probably slightly less so now, since Thatcherism didn't produce a great reaction against it. How important were these various conditions for CND's great growth and do they still exist now? If they don't, what sort of movement is CND going to be?

It was also to do with the growth of other radical elements during that period that weren't in the Left, that were elsewhere, such as the women's movement and the green movement. I accept what you are saying about the conditions being right for that growth to be possible, and the conditions are different today. We do have to ask ourselves where we go from here. We are asking ourselves that all the time. But what is on our side is that very large numbers of



people have not just felt these things, and perhaps gone out and done something like joining a demonstration, they have actually taken the trouble to join an organisation and become part of a structure. People have actually opted to federate, they haven't wanted to remain as 'X against the missiles' doing their own thing. Greenham is an exception to that, but it has become a huge federation in itself. The groups have wanted to affiliate to CND, and then, once in, gone on forming regional structures. There is a preparedness for linkage. Moreover, there is no reduction in the growth of the movement, there is no lack of enthusiasm because of the election. So there is an organisation there, an infrastructure that is self-sustaining both in terms of its willingness to campaign, enthusiasm for the cause and its ability to raise money on a very substantial scale. Given all that, it is possible to proceed from the kind of situation that you have described to a new situation. Now whether we can achieve that is a completely different question, I don't know any better than anybody else.

But if you look at the way in which resolutions came forward at the conference, and the way in which the national demonstration at Barrow on Trident was conducted, then there is a desire to be very realistic about what the movement is about. Barrow, for example, was very significant in trying to respond to the needs of workers who could become unemployed through cancellation, trying to think through in a more mature way than perhaps is usual, about the people who would be affected by our idealistic policies. It is extremely difficult to do. But we have got to be capable of doing more of that if we are going to sustain the campaign and move into a new era.

Moralism has been one of CND's great strengths, it's rattled the Tories more than anything. And it can be a way of involving people in politics who are normally quite alienated from it. A set of moral values is a form of access to public life which is not normally available to people if they have to argue the finer points of Labour Party policy. Now if you are saying that to a certain extent the conditions for that simple set of moral values have gone, we've got to be more realistic, which also means

being sophisticated, are we not talking about a different CND – one which is going to be more professional, more into parliamentary lobbying, more into going to Barrow shop stewards and having detailed discussions with them on production for social use?

It's actually doing all of those things . . .

But it's not something in which the ordinary grass roots member of CND can be involved, is it?

It's possible to have both things operating in parallel, providing you maintain sufficiently good communication throughout the movement. When you talk to local group people, they are generally in favour of the so-called professional things that CND has been doing. They want us to put resources into places where some of the power is, such as the House of Commons. Most people's moral fervour of wanting to get rid of nuclear weapons doesn't extend to saying that a person's job ought to go because I have my beliefs – so they want us to tackle arms conversion. But alongside that, we must sustain the tremendous enthusiasm in the movement, the kind of actions that anybody can do in their own community and the kind of big demonstrations that anybody from anywhere can come to. I don't think it's a choice. We need both.

So, as CND moves into a new era, what are the priorities, what is going to fall away and what is going to become more important?

We have to be much more considered about the mass mobilisation we attempt to co-ordinate. We ought not to be rushing into actions or print or whatever on a continuous basis because that's what we've always done. We are very action-orientated and this year we are going to be again, but a lot of people believe that we ought to be thinking what is the fundamental position to which we are trying to win people and do you best achieve that by a whole series of actions. So I would want some priorities which are about getting across the basic issues to people at a local level. Helping local groups to communicate on the doorstep about the immorality and uselessness of nuclear weapons and the case for unilateralism.

Greenham has almost disappeared from the media now. Is there any sense in which CND or you yourself would like to see it all quietly disappear because it isn't any longer a focus for mass activity?

There may be people who would like it to disappear. But I think it would be the ultimate triumph for the Thatcher government to rid Greenham Common of the women. It's very important to sustain a presence at Greenham, though it doesn't have to be a mass presence any more. The challenge to the Government is the fact that Greenham cannot be maintained as a secure military base. When Cruise comes out, through the links between the Greenham women and the Cruise watch in which CND is heavily involved, we can maintain our stated position that they will not exercise those missiles in secret. Now the media is clearly not giving the attention to it we would like. But it is still very important that we all know it is continuing and that the Government does not get into a position where it is able to say opposition has ceased.

How worried are you about the different competing political groups within CND?

I am much less worried now than I was some time ago. We had a number of struggles within CND that in my view were essentially sectarian.

Give me an example of one or two.

I think the controversy that surrounded the operations of YCND and indeed Labour CND were linked to sectarianism. But the broad based nature of the campaign asserted itself in the face of those difficulties, albeit very cautiously and in a very concerned way because once you have struggled to build an organisation it's very difficult for people not directly involved to know quite who to trust and what is going on. I think we have come through a period of some difficulty, though it never truly threatened the unity of CND itself, it was counter productive in terms of our effectiveness.

Speaking to you now as a Labour Party activist as well, what do you see as being the best possible option for the Labour Party in the next few years and what are your worst fears about what might happen in the Labour Party?

The best situation, from CND's point of view, would be if the Labour Party took a decision that they needed to popularise the defence policy which they have adopted, that they started to campaign vigorously at every opportunity and that they had a massive programme of education within their own organisation, and they tried to prepare themselves for fighting another general election where I am absolutely convinced defence and disarmament will be at the top of the agenda. The election is not going to be fought on the grounds that the Labour Party chooses. It will be fought on whatever grounds the Tories choose, because they are still likely to be in a much more powerful position. Moreover, if that kind of realisation was there, it would probably be helpful in terms of other aspects of Labour Party policy because they would



there is no place in the electoral system for a CND-type party

be creating a certain moral ground which does link with choices about the kind of society we want. It is possible to make very strong links with the health service and the cuts and everything like that. They could perhaps gain from the way in which CND has captured that ground – life rather than death. So that would be the best case. The worst case would be that it's just more of the same, the fact that we hear Denis Healey speaking out again suggesting it would be impossible to get rid of American bases without consultation, all that kind of shilly-shallying. If the only thing that really surfaces between now and the next election is a debate about the minimum demand, with no attempt to win the fundamental case and no attempt to develop the non-nuclear strategy, then that would clearly be the worst case and ensure losing the next election.

There is a very crucial debate on the Left in which some people, to put it extremely crudely, will look back on the last ten years and say it's been very dire, we've seen the Left shrinking and becoming more impoverished, and the Left is only going to survive if people sit up and recognise how weak it is. And on the other side people have said, nonsense the

Left has gone from strength to strength, look at CND for example. What do you feel about that general argument?

From the 60s onwards, new radical forces have been developing, much of it in pressure groups, culminating in the biggest one which is CND. That has constantly drawn people away from the Left in organisational terms, away from the trade unions, from the Labour Party, or at least has divided their time and interest. They've found it easier to develop their political enthusiasm in other groups than in the labour movement. In my view, not enough effort was made soon enough to change the kind of dead-handed bureaucracy and the hopelessness that existed within so many parts of the labour movement. By the time people decided that what was needed was really radical change in the Labour Party, a lot of ground, opportunity, time and people had been lost. And all that was seen to be happening then was a struggle about the rules and all that. Perhaps it is now possible that the people who have been spread out across all these radical movements and CND could be attracted into the labour movement, or at least brought into some kind of coalition with the labour movement, if the labour movement wants it, and is reaching out for this. But I don't think that is really happening. There are people within who are trying to make it happen, but it's very difficult for lots of people who are in the peace movement to find any connection with the local Labour Party or with their local trade union branch. Indeed when they try to go and talk with their local Labour Party or trade union branch they often find it quite difficult.

Would it be true to say that many of the people who are difficult to communicate with in the labour movement are on the Left?

That's right. There are some people on the Left who clearly feel that the Left should be concerned about class issues more than anything else, that there is a class war to be fought and won. They are not, as I see it, recognising that although in terms of British society there is indeed a class problem, a lot of the people in these other movements don't have that analysis.

To what extent did CND become the great attraction for radically-minded people because, out of all the available causes, it had the most appeal for women. For some time, many women had been seeking an entry into politics and they were peculiarly alienated not only by, if you like, certain dogmatic expressions of class politics, but particularly by bureaucracy and certain forms of discipline and rule making . . .

And, outright chauvinism. If CND had not had such a huge spontaneous flow of women into the movement in such numbers then obviously it would have been a different movement. There would still have been a movement for all the reasons we spoke about, the time was right and the issue was there, not just in this country but throughout the world. But there are peace movements in other parts of the world – the Japanese peace movement is a very good example – which are heavily male dominated, so it's not true that women made the peace movement possible, but there wouldn't be a peace movement with the character that it has.

As a member of the Labour Party and leading figure within CND, what is your view of the Communist Party and its role in CND?

I do recognise that it has played a role which is distinctive and useful. Within the peace movement the Communist Party has a very good record. Its members have participated on the basis of

maintaining a very broad base; it's campaigned by and large on an entirely non-sectarian basis. There are some signs now of individuals acting in what I would term a sectarian way, but most Communist Party members have, I think, given tremendous assistance to the development of the peace movement, because Communists are among the very few people who actually do work at political analysis and education, so are much more able and interested to inform themselves about the arms race and convey that to others.

In West Germany there's been phenomenal growth of the Greens in a roughly similar period and covering some of the issues that CND has taken up, and appears to have succeeded for some of the same reasons as CND - attracting young people who have rejected conventional parties, being much stronger on feminism, women and a critique of industrialism than is true of the Labour Party or social democratic parties. To what extent do you think CND's general values are ecologically linked?

It's difficult to answer because people to some extent make of CND what they want to make of it. We do have policies which relate to environmental questions but certainly not to industrialisation. There is pressure within the movement from some in Green CND to make CND more comprehensively green and that is a continuing tension. We have adopted some policies that are entirely acceptable to people in green politics, but we haven't got a green programme.

If the political parties of the Left fail to regenerate themselves, and CND does manage to sustain itself, are there not going to be increasing pressures inside CND for it to develop a more comprehensive set of values?

If we get into that situation then I think CND will ultimately become ineffective because we cannot be a political party, we cannot have a programme which is comprehensive. There is no place in the electoral system for a CND-type party to have any possibility of gaining any power. So what you would do, by trying to adopt more and more policies about more and more issues, is reduce the broad base of CND, reduce the number of people who will be prepared to continue as members and enormously increase the frustration. Because if you've no way of achieving your programme then ultimately people will become dissatisfied. Personally I have always been convinced that the task is to build a constituency for peace, for disarmament, for removal of nuclear weapons and the issues which relate directly to achieving that, which are about foreign policies. □

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Weshalb Ivan Toms die Kerze entzündete

Friedensfasten gegen die Gewalt und für die Gerechtigkeit

Am Abend des 17. September entzündete Dr. Ivan Toms in der Krypta der anglikanischen Kathedrale von Kapstadt eine Kerze. Sie brannte drei Wochen, solange wie der einzige weiße Arzt des Krankenhauses im schwarzen Wohnquartier Crossroads in der Krypta fastete. Er tat dies im Rahmen der südafrikanischen Kampagne zur Kriegsdienstverweigerung *End Conscription Campaign* (ECC) bis zum 7. Oktober, gemeinsam mit Harald Winkler in Johannesburg und Richard Steele in Durban. Eine weitere, mit Stacheldraht umwickelte Kerze wurde am 17. September aus der Krypta in die katholische Kathedrale von Kapstadt getragen, wo wie anderswo eine dreiwö-

von, daß gerade in der Situation des Ausnahmezustandes, wo die Möglichkeiten politischen Handelns stark beschnitten sind, dies eine der wenigen „legalen“ Formen ist, öffentlich seinen Widerstand gegen das rassistische Regime kundzutun. Dennoch: Die Regierung ließ es nicht bei Drohungen und Diffamierungen bewenden. Verschiedene ECC-Mitglieder wurden verhaftet, darunter der Verantwortliche für die Kap-Provinz, Michael Evans. Für ihn war dann sein Vater, der anglikanische Bischof Bruce Evans, aus Port Elizabeth zur Eröffnung des Fastens nach Kapstadt angereist. Mit messerscharfen Worten begründete er, warum die Truppen die Townships verlassen müssen: Sie

Sämann am Kap der Guten Hoffnung



Zeichnung: Wolter

che Fastenrallye begann. An ihr beteiligten sich Hunderte weitere Leute mit einem 24stündigen Friedensfasten, darunter Erzbischof Hurley, Bischof Tutu und Beyers Naudé. Der Arzt Toms und seine Freunde haben ihr „Fasten für einen gerechten Frieden“ mit der Forderung verbunden: „Truppen raus aus den Townships!“

Angesichts schlimmster Gewalttätigkeiten der südafrikanischen Armee in den Wohnorten der Schwarzen, wobei Mord, Vergewaltigung, brutales Zusammenschlagen und Auspeitschen an der Tagesordnung sind, wollte die ECC mit ihrer Fastenkampagne einen „massiven Protest gegen die Präsenz der Truppen in den Townships setzen und einen Akt der Solidarität mit den Townshipbewohnern, die die Last der Aggression der Armee zu tragen haben“.

Ihr Fasten für einen gerechten Frieden sieht die ECC als eine spirituelle und politische Aktion zugleich, Fasten und Gebet gehören zusammen, abgesehen da-

bringen nur Angst und Schrecken; kein äußerer Feind macht ihren Einsatz erforderlich; sie werden auf schwarze Mitbürger gehetzt, die mit ihren Steuern ihre eigene Belagerung finanzieren. Die jungen Soldaten kosteten ihr Gefühl der Macht über Leben und Tod in erschreckendem Maß aus und täten Dinge, die sie allein und woanders niemals tun würden. „Sie säen und ernten Haß, der dann nicht nur ihnen entgegenschlägt, sondern ihnen als Vertreter der Weißen gilt, wodurch viele, viele Bemühungen gerade der Kirchen um Dialog und Versöhnung zunichtegemacht werden. Sie lassen Feinde zurück und heizen die Gewalt an.“

Der Gewalt der Apartheid, die mit der Verhängung des Ausnahmezustands noch brutalere Formen angenommen hat, eine Alternative entgegenzusetzen, ist das erklärte Ziel des Ende 1983 gegründeten Komitees zur Kriegsdienstverweigerung (ECC). Diesem Dachverband gehören landesweit mittlerweile 42 Organisationen an, eine Reihe anderer haben sich der

ECC-Erklärung zur Beendigung der Zwangseinschreibung zum Kriegsdienst angeschlossen, darunter der *Südafrikanische Kirchenrat*, die *Katholische Bischofskonferenz Südliches Afrika* und die *Vereinigte Demokratische Front* (UDF). In der Erklärung wird eine echte Alternative zum Militärdienst gefordert, der bisher nur aus religiösen Gründen abgelehnt werden kann. Andere Verweigerer müssen bis zu sechs Jahre ins Gefängnis, es sei denn, sie verlassen illegal das Land, was in diesem Jahr schätzungsweise 10 000 Wehrpflichtige getan haben. Sie sind ohne jede Aussicht auf Rückkehr, solange der Apartheidstaat besteht.

Die ECC tritt für die Gewissensfreiheit ein, für die Möglichkeit zu entscheiden zwischen Kriegsdienst und einem gleich langen zivilen Gemeinschaftsdienst, der bisher sechs Jahre dauert bei zweijährigem Militärdienst. Sie stellt heraus, daß die Militarisierung und Zwangs-Rekrutierung die Gewalttätigkeit der Armee vergrößert hat, sowohl in den Townships als auch in den Nachbarländern Namibia, Mozambique und Angola.

Gegen die Gewalt des Militärs setzt die ECC mit gewaltfreier Aktion Überzeugungsarbeit. So hat sie ihre Fastenkampagne gestartet, damit die weiße Öffentlichkeit auf die Verbrechen der Armee in den Townships aufmerksam wird, damit auch Soldaten ihre Rolle in Frage zu stellen beginnen und sich weigern, als Besatzer in die Wohnorte der Schwarzen zu gehen. Vor allem aber sollen die von der Gewalt der Armee am härtesten betroffenen Schwarzen sehen, daß es Weiße gibt, die auf ihrer Seite stehen, sich von ihrem Leiden berühren lassen, mit ihnen solidarisch sind.

Begonnen am 17. September, dem von der UN erklärten *Internationalen Friedenstag*, endete die Fastenkampagne am 7. Oktober, dem ersten Jahrestag der Invasion südafrikanischer Truppen in die Townships. Ivan Toms und seine Freunde haben ein deutliches Zeichen gesetzt, für ein anderes, nicht-rassistisches Südafrika. Ihr Durchhaltevermögen angesichts der andauernden Bedrohung, in Isolationhaft genommen zu werden, ist auch von der Solidarität im In- und Ausland abhängig. Deshalb fordert die ECC die internationale Öffentlichkeit auf, ihre weitere Arbeit mit Fasten und Gebeten zu begleiten, ihre Ziele zu verbreiten und mit ihr dafür zu kämpfen, daß die Truppen aus den Townships verschwinden, daß der Ausnahmezustand aufgehoben wird und daß auf einen gerechten Frieden, in den Schwarz und Weiß friedlich zusammenleben können, hingearbeitet wird.

Edmund Arens

Anmerkung der Redaktion: Wer der ECC seine Solidarität und Unterstützung versichern will, wende sich an die *End Conscription Campaign*, P. O. Box 23364, *Joubert Park, Johannesburg 2044, South Africa*.

*Titel freundlichen Grüßen
Edmund Arens*

Südafrika

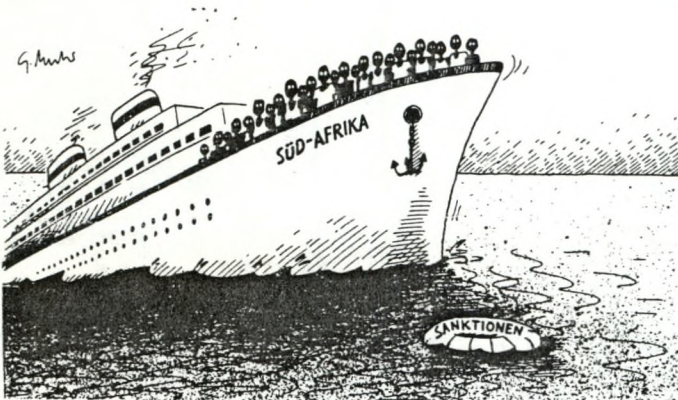
Der Gott der Bibel gegen den Gott der Panzer

Kairos-Dokument: Ökumenisch-prophetisches Zeugnis gegen die Apartheid

„Die Zeit ist gekommen. Der Augenblick der Wahrheit ist da.“ So prophetisch hebt ein Mitte September veröffentlichtes Papier an, das sich theologischer Kommentar zur politischen Krise in Südafrika nennt. Es trägt den Titel: „Die Kirche ist herausgefordert“.

Das nach dem griechischen Wort für „Zeit“ als KAIROS-Dokument bezeichnete Papier ist ein einzigartiges Zeugnis davon, wie engagierte Christen, herausgefordert durch die zunehmende Gewalt des Apartheidsregimes, im Lichte des Evangeliums auf die politische Situation ihres Landes reflektieren und theologisch in sie eingreifen. Es ist ein ökumeni-

Die Verfasser des KAIROS-Dokuments sehen vor allem drei Theologien im heutigen Südafrika wirksam, die sie genauer untersuchen wollen: die „Staatstheologie“, die „Kirchentheologie“ und eine „prophetische Theologie“. Die Staatstheologie ist die offizielle Theologie des Apartheidstaates. Sie ist „ganz einfach die theologische Rechtfertigung des Status quo mit seinem Rassismus, Kapitalismus und Totalitarismus“. Ihre vier Säulen werden einer ideologiekritischen Analyse unterzogen. Die Staatstheologie beruft sich auf das aus dem Zusammenhang gerissene Kapitel 13 des Römerbriefs und sieht darin die absolute christliche Lehre über den Staat, der von den Christen



Zeichnung: Mester

sches, basistheologisches, prophetisches Wort zur Lage. In mehreren Treffen von Theologen verschiedener Kirchen erarbeitet, wurde es nunmehr der Öffentlichkeit und den Kirchen übergeben zur Diskussion und Weiterführung. Bisher haben es 151 Personen aus 19 Kirchen unterzeichnet, darunter der Generalsekretär der katholischen Bischofskonferenz, Smaugalis Mkhathswa, der Generalsekretär des südafrikanischen Kirchenrats, Beyers Naudé und einige Pfarrer der staatstragenden Niederländisch Reformierten Kirche.

Die gegenwärtige „Zeit der Gnade und des Gerichts“ nötigt die KAIROS-Theologen zu der Feststellung, daß die Kirche geteilt ist, gespalten in eine weiße und eine schwarze und daß es innerhalb ein und derselben Konfession in Wirklichkeit zwei Kirchen gibt. Was das ganze noch ärger macht: „Wir sitzen in derselben Kirche, während draußen christliche Polizisten und Soldaten christliche Kinder zusammenschlagen und töten oder christliche Gefangene zu Tode foltern, währenddessen andere Christen dabei stehen und schwächlich um Frieden bitten.“

blinden Gehorsam und totale Ergebnislosigkeit fordere. Sie mißbraucht die Begriffe Recht und Ordnung, um das Unrecht der Apartheid und die institutionalisierte Unterdrückung zu verteidigen. Alles, was die gegenwärtige Ordnung in Frage stellt, wird als kommunistisch denunziert, wobei der Kommunismus als Inbegriff allen Übels und als Hölle auf Erden hingestellt werde.

Schließlich macht die Staatstheologie „bei ihrer Unterdrückung des Volkes immer und immer wieder vom Namen Gottes Gebrauch“. Am entlarvensten sei die gotteslästerliche Verwendung des Namens Gottes in der Präambel der neuen Apartheidsverfassung. Dieser Gott, so sagen die KAIROS-Theologen, ist ein Götze, es ist der Gott der Panzer und Spähwagen, das genaue Gegenteil des Gottes der Bibel. Somit erweise sich die von den weißen reformierten Kirchen getragene Staatstheologie nicht nur als ketzerisch, sondern als gotteslästerlich.

In einem weiteren Schritt wird die „Kirchentheologie“ der englischsprachigen Kirchen und ihrer Führer einer Kritik un-

terzogen. Sie sei zwar gegen die Apartheid, aber in einer unkritischen und unproduktiven Weise, wobei sie immer wieder auf stereotype Gedanken zurückgreife. Sie predige „Versöhnung“ als Schlüssel zur Lösung des Konflikts, sehe aber nicht, daß sich ein bis an die Zähne bewaffneter Unterdrücker und ein wehrloser Ausgebeuteter nicht einfach versöhnen lassen. Dagegen wäre es „total unchristlich, um Versöhnung und Frieden zu bitten, bevor das gegenwärtige Unrecht abgeschafft ist“. Keine Versöhnung ohne Gerechtigkeit, ebensowenig ohne Umkehr, wozu das Apartheidregime nicht die geringste Bereitschaft zeige.

Die Kirchentheologie appelliere an die persönliche Umkehr der Politiker, statt zu erkennen, daß strukturelles Unrecht nur durch radikale Strukturveränderungen beseitigt werden kann. Sie rufe zur Gewaltlosigkeit auf und verurteile alle Gewalt gleichermaßen. Mit solcher Neutralität aber stütze sie den Status quo und helfe dabei, die unbarmherzige Gewalt des Staates fortzusetzen. Als grundlegendes Problem der Kirchentheologie sehen die KAIROS-Theologen das Fehlen einer Gesellschaftsanalyse an, ebenso das Fehlen einer angemessenen politischen Strategie.

Demgegenüber klagen sie eine biblisch begründete und praktisch bestimmte prophetische Theologie ein. Nach ihr ist gegenwärtig in Südafrika nicht einfach ein Rassenkrieg im Gange, sondern ein Klassenkampf zwischen einer Minderheit von Unterdrückern und der unterdrückten Massen des Volkes. „Unterdrückung ist Sünde; mir ihr lassen sich keine Kompromisse schließen. Sie gehört abgeschafft.“ Das gegenwärtige Regime wird als tyrannisch identifiziert, als ein Feind des Volkes und ein Feind Gottes. Es sei auch nicht reformierbar, sondern müsse abgeschafft werden. Es ende, wie der Ausnahmezustand zeige, im Terror.

Gibt es angesichts dessen eine Botschaft der Hoffnung? „Die Auseinandersetzung und der Kampf müssen in den nächsten Monaten und Jahren verstärkt werden, weil es keine andere Möglichkeit gibt, das Unrecht und die Unterdrückung zu beseitigen. Aber Gott ist mit uns. Wir können nur lernen, die Werkzeuge seines Friedens zu werden und sei es bis zum Tod.“

Die KAIROS-Theologen fordern ihre Kirchen auf, sich auf der Seite der Unterdrückten am gegenwärtigen Kampf zu beteiligen. Dies könne geschehen durch Unterstützung der Kampagnen des Volkes vom Konsumentenboykott bis zum Streik. Wenn es Zeit ist, müsse die Kirche beim zivilen Ungehorsam mitmachen. Sie fordern ein veränderndes kirchliches Handeln gerade auch im Bereich ihrer spezifischen Dienste. „Die Kirche muß vermeiden, eine ‚dritte Kraft‘ zwischen Unterdrücker und Unterdrücktem zu werden.“ Keine Bastion der Vorsicht und Zurückhaltung solle die Kirche sein, sondern Menschen herausfordern, inspirieren.

Edmund Arens

State Department Reports Systematic Abuses'

An in-depth study commissioned by the U.S. State Department concludes that the violence in which a conservatively estimated "100,000 civilians have been murdered over the past two years in Mozambique is not been random or spontaneous but is "systematic and coordinated" by the anti-government, South African-backed Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo).

The report was prepared for the department's Bureau for Refugee Programs by a consultant, Robert Gersony, who spent three months (January-March 1988) interviewing 166 refugees and displaced persons in camps in Mozambique, Tanzania, Malawi, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The charges and the pattern of activities described by Gersony correspond to previous accounts presented by Mozambicans and foreign observers, but his report is the first to be based on extensive interviews by the same investigator with such a large and dispersed set of eyewitnesses.

Spending one hour or more on each interview, Gersony talked with randomly selected individuals at 25 camps for refugees and displaced persons - almost half of whom were recent arrivals.

Those interviewed came from 48 different districts in Mozambique and from all parts of the country. Seventy-two percent were interviewed outside Mozambique.

The 169 refugees who had arrived at the camps in 1987 or 1988 described a total of some 600 murders of civilians, overwhelmingly attributed to Renamo forces, including shooting executions, knife/axe/machete killings, burning alive, beating to death, forced asphyxiation, forced starvation, forced drowning, and random shooting at civilians in villages during attacks."

Renamo undertakes no political mobilization, and, according to the report, "the only reciprocity" offered by the movement to civilians "is the possibility of remaining alive."

The interviewees provided "strikingly similar" accounts of the violence and of life in Renamo-con-

trolled areas, the report says. Villages are frequent targets of indiscriminate slaughter, looting and kidnapping. In Renamo-controlled areas, the local population is compelled by the "bandits" to grow food and used for portage, with death or severe punishment befalling the uncooperative, the weak, or those attempting to escape. Fifteen percent of interviewees reported patterns of systematic rapes by Renamo, while only one rape complaint against a government soldier was reported. About 3% of the killings were attributed to government soldiers and 3% to "unknown parties."

Although he heard "serious complaints" about abuses of authority by individual government soldiers, Gersony found no pattern of large-scale misconduct by Frelimo troops, whose human rights record has "shown a marked positive course" in recent years. Renamo's conduct, on the other hand, appears to have

worsened," Gersony concludes.

The report stresses that the interviewees were certain about their identification of the perpetrators, thus contradicting the view of some analysts that much of the killing in Mozambique is the work of disaffected peasants and unaffiliated criminals. "It appears from this field research that violence by 'freelance bandits' does not account for more than occasional, isolated instances of the high level of reported violence," Gersony says.



Renamo metes out severe punishment to uncooperative, weak and innocent Mozambicans. Anders Nilssen/AIM

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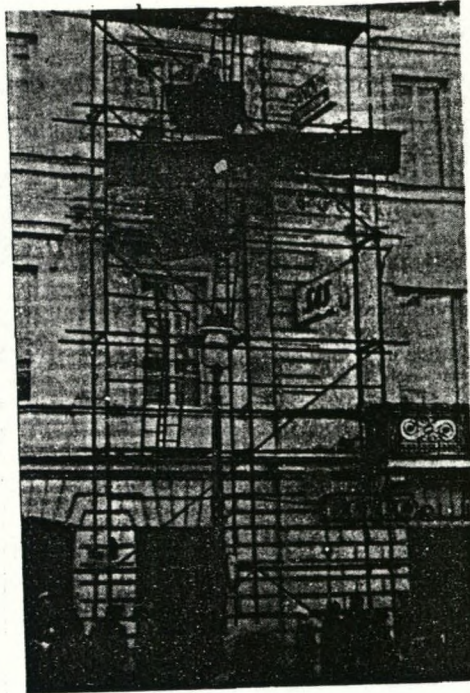
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Cover photo: Stephanie Urdang

Roofing and hunger-striking

To mark Prisoners for Peace Day, WIP activists in Gdansk, Krakow, Szczecin and Wroclaw did "roofing" actions. Typically, "roofing" means climbing onto the roof or up scaffolding on a building in a public place, sometimes with banners, sometimes in fancy dress, and then throwing leaflets down to the crowd that gathers.

From 13-27 December, 20 WIP activists took part in a hunger strike in support of imprisoned COs in Poland and elsewhere. The main centre on this occasion was not a church but the flat of Roland Kruk (Warszawa 02-793, ul Raabego 6/2). Roland, said to be the first person to refuse the military oath (although he was not punished for it), was arrested in November for climbing up scaffolding in one of Warsaw's main shopping streets to demonstrate for the right to CO.



DUTKIEWICZ BEATEN

Slawomir Dutkiewicz, a CO arrested on 12 November 1987, is reported to have been beaten in prison. Dutkiewicz was on hunger strike, and according to WIP he was being forced by pipe.

He was sentenced on 9 December to 27 months in prison for "evading military service". In fact, he had applied for socially useful civilian service as an alternative to military service.

As the main organiser of the September hunger strikes for CO, Dutkiewicz is a leading figure in WIP in the Bydgoszcz area.

Slawomir Dutkiewicz
Bydgoszcz,
ul Walecznyck 2/23 (home address).

15 May: Focus Poland

■ International Day for Conscientious Objection - 15 May will this year focus on Poland.

■ WRI has prepared a briefing - available in English, French and German - about the situation of COs in Poland today and historically.

POLISH COs IN PRISON

Mariusz Bajda
from Szczecin, arrested December 1987.

Piotr Bednarz
81-361 Gdynia, ul. Msciwoja 9 m.3.

Jacek Borcz
from Kolobrzeg. Arrested November 1987, sentenced to 3 years in December.

Marek Czachor
from Gdynia. Arrested 12 November 1987.

Krzysztof Gotowicki
81-107 Gdynia, ul. Plk.Dabka 51 kl.5 m 8.

Oskar Kasperek
from Poznań. Arrested 27 April 1987, sentenced to 2 years in August.

Leszek Klepacki
from Krakow. Sentenced to 1,5 years in May 1987.

Piotr Rozycki
from Bydgoszcz. Arrested 16 June 1987, sentenced to two and a half years in July.

Kazimierz Sokolowski
ul. Widok 9/12, 66-400 Gorzow WLKP.

Wieslaw Soliwodzki
from Przasnysz. Arrested 3 November 1987.

Wojciech Wozniak
from Szczecin, arrested 23 November 1987, sentenced in January to 27 months.

Piotr Zdrzywicki
a Buddhist from Lodz, sentenced to 17 months.

IN PRISON

FINLAND

Tero Laine
Toijalan yōvankila, Mustanportintie 4,
37800 Toijala: 10 months from December 1987.

Ahti Nio
Suomenlinnan työsiirtola, Suomenlinna C
86, 00190 Helsinki: 9 months from November 1987.

Ilkka Tapio Silo
c/o Union of COs, Peace Station, Veturi-
tori, 00520 Helsinki: 9 months from
January 1988.

F R GERMANY

Katrin Knobloch
JVA Schwäbisch Gmünd: 28 January to 15
March, for her nonviolent direct action at
the Mutlangen Pershing II base.

FRANCE

Nicolas Dubourg
40e Régiment d'Artillerie, 11ème Batterie,
Caserne militaire de Suippes, 51601
Suippes. Arrested on 6 November after
applying too late for CO status (he had
been misinformed). He was sentenced to 40
days plus 10 days to think things over,
and when he still refused military service
this sentence was repeated - even though
40 days of military prison are the legal
maximum.

Fabrice André
Prison militaire, Caserne du Sgt Blandon,
37 rue du Repos, 69007 Lyon.

Frédéric Aréno,
Philippe Hannetelle,
Michel Lebailly,
Thierry Maricourt
and others, who destroyed their military
papers in solidarity with total resister
Christian Frigout
have been fined 1,000 francs each.

GREECE

Petros Satiris
Agrotiki Filaki Kassandras, Chalkidiki, is
one of the 283 Jehovah's Witnesses serving
4-year sentences for CO.

HUNGARY

Zsolt Locsmandi
a Catholic from Sopron, has been sentenced
by a military court in Győr to 33
months' imprisonment.

Military service for theology students has
now been reduced from 18 to 12 months,
as for other students.

IRAQ

According to the Lebanese paper 'Al-Amal'
the Iraqi authorities have published a
ruling that deserters from the war against
Iran, or draft resisters, will be publicly
hanged by their parents. Up to now they
were executed in prison.



ITALY

Giuseppe Coniglio

a Sicilian anarchist: 14 months for total resistance. Contact: Qualcosa da dire, Via de' Conciatori 4r, 50122 Firenze.

Stefano Mattone

a Waldensian total resister, has been sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment. He claimed that military service is incompatible with a Christian vision of life, that alternative service longer than military service (20 months to 12) was unconstitutional, and that the Defence Ministry being responsible for COs' trials and for civilian service was both unconstitutional and contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights. The (military) court disagreed, and gave him a longer sentence than Jehovah's Witnesses usually get (1 year). ('L'Incontro')

Renato Paris

from Trento was given 8 months' suspended sentence for "insulting the flag" by publishing antimilitarist poetry. He and other peace activists will be tried for showing the film "The desert lion", which shows atrocities committed by the Italian army in Libya.

Giovanni Scuderi and**Patrizia Pierattini**

of 'The bolshevik' paper, have lost their appeal in Florence. Their offence was to print "if Italy attacks Libya, we'll invite the soldiers to desert". 11,000 people signed a petition of support, including Domenico Gallo, tax resister and magistrate, who was then summonsed.

A new parliamentary 'group for peace' is preparing initiatives on CO and the arms trade.



NETHERLANDS

Water Hensen

HvB, Keizersgracht 4, 8911 KJ Leeuwarden.

Piet v.d. Merwe

HvB, Wenckenbachweg 48, 1096 AN Amsterdam.

SWEDEN

Calle Montell

KVA Haga Box 629, 151 27, Södertälje: 8 Feb - 8 April. After doing military service some years ago, Calle was called up for reserve training, refused, and spent one month in prison. As he can legally spend four months in prison for refusing, he may

SWITZERLAND

Markus Fässler

Gmünd, 9052 Niederteufen: 6 months from 20 December 1987.

Roland Kropf

Gmünd, 9052 Niederteufen: 6 months from 6 January.

Ueli Lüthi

St Johannsen, 2525 Le Landeron: 10 months from 20 December.

In the first 9 months of 1987, 25 COs were sentenced to 3-12 months of prison, while altogether 601 men refused military service in 1987 - 59 more than in 1986. This makes a total of 8,971 COs since 1968.

An estimated 5,500 more were discharged from the army on psychological grounds, while twice as many were exempted on medical grounds. ('Friedenszeitung', Postfach 6386, 8023 Zürich and Amnesty International.)



USA

Helen Woodson

Plowshares activist imprisoned until 11 November 1996, has been transferred: H.W. 141242, M.C.F. Shakopee, Box 7 Shakopee, Minnesota 55379.

In 1987, over 120 people served - or are serving - from two weeks to 17 years in jail, while hundreds more served lesser sentences.

Arrests for anti-nuclear civil disobedience in the USA and Canada in 1987 equalled the record total of 5,300, reached in 1983 when Euromissile deployment led to massive demonstrations in North America and Europe.

Arrests were made in over 180 actions at more than 70 sites. About 400 were for protests at nuclear power, uranium mining and related projects.

'The Nuclear Resister', PO Box 43383, Tucson, AZ 85733, USA.

USSR

Viktor Dragunsky

a Jehovah's Witness in Estonia, was sentenced on 22 September 1987 to 2 years' imprisonment for CO.

Petras Grazulis

a Lithuanian Catholic CO, was sentenced on 2 February to 10 months for refusing reserve duty. He also renounced the military oath he'd taken years before when doing military service. He is reported to have been beaten and gagged at his first hearing, while 200 peaceful bystanders outside the court were charged by police with dogs. Protests to: LitSSR, 232600 Vilnius, N. Gogolya 45, Prokuratura LitSSR.

The following list was compiled by Nikolai Khramov (Moscow, 115407, Nagatinskaya nab, 58, korp. 2, kv. 119; tel: 1176895). Please send encouragement to the COs' families.

Valery Bezhan

c/o Ukraine, Obl. Odessa, g. Rasdelnaya, ul. Kievskaya 70 (his relatives). Religious CO arrested and sentenced in 1986.

Evgeny Denisov

from Tadzhhikistan, arrested in 1985 for collecting signatures against the war in Afghanistan.

Vsevolod Filipev

Moscow Trust Group member. No news of his whereabouts from June 1987.

O. Finskov

from Kazakhstan. Religious CO arrested late 1985 or early in 1986, not to be released before 1989.

N. Get

religious CO arrested end of 1985 or early in 1986. Not to be released before 1989.

P. Heys

religious CO arrested in 1986 and sentenced to 3 years. Previously imprisoned 1983-86.

Leonid Hromov

from the Tartar autonomous republic. Arrested early in 1985 for destroying vehicles destined for Afghanistan.

V. Hrun

from Kazakhstan. Religious CO, arrested late 1985 or early 1986, not to be released before 1989.

Nikolai Kisilichak

c/o 265410, obl. Rovenskaya, Berezovskiy rayon, st. Malinsk (parents). Religious CO arrested in 1986. Not to be released before 1989.

Yuriy Pastushok

religious CO arrested in 1986 and not to be released before 1989.

Yuriy Popov

imprisoned in psychiatric hospital: obl. Moskovskaya, Chehovskiy rayon, sr. Stolbovaya, d. Troyskoe, N.B. 5. Activist in "Free Initiative", a pacifist group, and arrested in 1984 on false narcotics charges.

Enn Tapto

c/o 202400, Estonian SSR, g. Tartu, ul. Anne 20, kv. 7 (wife). Arrested in 1986, sentenced to 10 years' camp and 5 years' internal exile for circulating appeals to make the Baltic republics Nuclear-Free Zones.

Sergei Troyanskiy

c/o Moscow, ul. Millionaya 14, str. 1, kv. 122. Tel: 169 8151 (wife). Arrested in 1986 on false narcotics charges, for being a member of "Free Initiative".

A. Ventsel

Kazakhstan, obl. Alma-Atinskoy, g. Talhar. Religious CO arrested end 1985 or beginning 1986, to be released by 1989.

Yaroslav Zajetskij

c/o Ukraine, obl. Lvovskaya, Sokalskiy rayon. Sihovolya village (father's address). CO arrested in June 1987.



First Spanish CO law faces total resistance

On 15 January 1988, after a three-year legal challenge by the ombudsman, the first Spanish CO law finally came into effect.

The first of the 24,059 COs who have already been recognised will probably be called up for alternative service in May or June.

At least eight COs, who applied for status after beginning military service and are considered deserters, can now be imprisoned at any time.

The law provides for: a tribunal to judge applicants' consciences; no recognition of political CO; punitively long civilian service; the same kind of disciplinary regulations for COs as for soldiers, and no possibility of CO during war-time - nor once a conscript has started military service. The state is limiting the right to CO, and to impose any kind of conscription - military or civilian - is unacceptable to many COs, who also object to alternative service taking away precious job possibilities.

MOC has decided to refuse legal CO status - because it doesn't recognise the government's right to give it, and in solidarity with comrades who've been refused it. COs are planning a campaign of "re-objection", sending the first batch of support letters to the government on 5 March, and the second on 21 April.

The Justice Ministry says it will be very firm in enforcing the law. There's a lot of sympathy for the resisters: many organisations who've been asked to employ COs, eg Caritas, will refuse in solidarity, while the daily 'El País' says the COs' "attitude of total resistance is understandable".

Protest through your local Spanish embassy, Members of the European Parliament, etc; and send support to: MOC, calle San Cosme y San Damián 24 2', 28012 Madrid, State of Spain.

WOMEN TOO?

Early this year, a bill is expected to propose voluntary military service for women in peacetime and, possibly, compulsory service in wartime. The government's Institute for Women has launched a publicity campaign claiming this as a step towards women's equality. Women's antimilitarist groups (Comisión de la Mujer del MOC, DOAN, Elx Violeta, the women in Milli-KK, etc) are planning their own campaign to explain why it isn't. Contact: Susanna, MOC Barna, c/o La Puça i el General, Cervantes 2 pral 1a, 08002 Barcelona; or Ana y Miriam, MOC-Madrid (see above).

"TOTAL RESISTANCE AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE!"

The Movimiento de Objeción de Conciencia (MOC) is organising a civil disobedience campaign, and large numbers of COs (about 60% of whom are Jehovah's Witnesses and about 35% members of MOC) are expected to boycott the law and face jail sentences. Though 19-year-olds will be called up first, it now seems that the government has decided not to amnesty the "older" COs. 2,500 are expected to be called up in 1988.



CARTOON:

1. CO isn't recognised as a basic right.
2. Someone else decides for me if I'm a CO or not.
3. They punish me for not going into the army with a civilian service which lasts longer than military service and takes someone else's job away



YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslav COs are subjected to long and repeated prison sentences, and details of many prisoners are not known. Many sentences were reduced by 1 year in an amnesty in November 1987. Many of the following are serving repeated sentences.

Samo Acko
from Maribor, sentenced to 1 year and 6 months.

Majcen Benjamin
from Maribor: 3 years.

Toni Bergaver
from Maribor: 1 year.



Janko Cehtel
from Maribor: 1 year 6 months.

Marko Lencek
from Ljubljana: 3 years and 6 months.

Rudolf Meden
Ljubljana: 3 years and 6 months.

Janez Novak
from Litija: 3 years.

Kukli Ota
3 years.

Miran Pavlic
from Radovljica: 3 years and 6 months.

Stefan Prapretnik
from Maribor: 2 years and 8 months.

Joze Rakusa
from Gornja Radgona: 3 years.

Darko Strus
from Kranj: 3 years. Previously imprisoned twice.

Darko Yalenta
Maribor: 11 months.

Rajko Yalenta
from Maribor: 1 year.

Dragan Yeljkovic
from Njegotin: 3 years and 6 months.
Contact: Peace movement working group, RK ZSMS, Dalmatinova 4, 61000 Ljubljana.

On 25 November 1987, Ivan Cecko and several Jehovah's Witnesses from Maribor lost a case in the Constitutional Court. They claimed the law imposing compulsory military service violates the right to freedom of thought, choice and religion guaranteed by the constitution. However, the constitution also says that national defence is the inalienable right, duty and supreme honour of every citizen, and the court found that as all citizens are equal before the law, none should be exempted from a legal duty. Religion, it said, is a private matter and should not be used for

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South Africa's End Conscription Campaign

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) is one of the few organisations left untouched by the recent government clampdown on anti-apartheid organisations and activists. However, ECC is still severely restricted in terms of the State of Emergency. It is, for instance, illegal to call directly for an end to conscription.

The reason why ECC and several other major anti-apartheid groups like the Black Sash and the Natal Indian Congress were left out of the recent round of 'bannings seems to be related to a government strategy of "divide and rule." All the organisations banned on 5 March are based in the "disenfranchised" African community. It seems, then, that the restrictions are designed to alienate these organisations from the progressive organisations based in the "enfranchised" communities - white, coloured and Indian communities - by allowing organisations in the latter communities relatively more "privilege" in terms of their ability to organise politically.

ECC continues to be a major force in the internal anti-apartheid struggle. Conscription directly affects every white family in South Africa - it is the one area in which whites have to "pay the cost" of being white and privileged. For many, the cost is too high. Being called up to defend apartheid is causing a major crisis of conscience among conscripts and their families and friends. Every year, thousands of conscripts *do not* report for service. A significant proportion of these are recognised as "religious objectors" and permitted to do a civilian form of national service in a government department. Of the rest, many leave the country, others go underground in South Africa. A few, like Dr. Ivan Toms, publicly refuse and face imprisonment (*see related story*).

As an organisation, ECC seeks to articulate and represent the views of those conscripts and their families and friends who do not support conscription in the current

South African context; it helps organise that community to undertake effective opposition to conscription and to call for full recognition of conscientious objection.

In February 1988 ECC held its first national conference since the State of Emergency was declared in June 1986. 140 activists from 14 branches around the country gathered for four intense days to evaluate the organisation, plan the campaign for 1988 and celebrate the fact that we survived 1987!

ECC's campaign for 1988 is a refocus on the "conscripted community" - conscripts both inside and outside the SADF - and their friends and families. The campaign has already begun, with support activities (vigils, public meetings, placard protest stands, formation of support groups, etc.) for conscientious objector Ivan Toms. It will continue with a focus on the legal rights of conscripts and conscientious objectors. A major emphasis in this period will be informing serving conscripts of their legal rights within the military. "Know Your Rights" meetings and a corresponding booklet are planned. In July and August (coinciding with the August military call-up) ECC plans to engage in various alternative service projects. These projects (building a crèche, for example) will be a concrete demonstration of our commitment to community service, and are intended to model viable non-military forms of national service. Ideally, the projects will take place in black living areas where the SADF has been active, so as to make the alternative nature of the ECC service all the more striking.

by Anita Kromberg, field worker with International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR).

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