

# PLENARY AGENDA

35<sup>th</sup> Semi-Annual National General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students  
Wednesday, May 12, 1999 to Sunday, May 16, 1999 – Hull, Québec

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## Opening Plenary

### ✓1. Attendance Roll Call

National Chairperson Elizabeth Carlyle will call the roll of the membership to determine that quorum, the minimum number of member locals required to conduct business, is present.

### ✓2. Welcoming Remarks

National Chairperson Elizabeth Carlyle will provide welcoming remarks for the meeting.

### ✓3. Ratification of Plenary Speaker

The National Executive is recommending that Sylvia Sicufi be ratified as the Plenary Speaker. Sylvia has a long history of involvement with the Federation. She served as the Ontario Representative on the National Executive for the 1987-88 year. From fall 1989 to fall 1991 she worked as a Researcher in the National Office. Sylvia has chaired Federation national general meetings on four previous occasions.

### ✓4. Announcement of Proxies

The Plenary Speaker will announce all recognised proxies that conform to Bylaw II, 7. b. - Proxy Votes.

### ✓5. Adoption of Plenary Agenda

The plenary will consider the agenda proposed by the National Executive. Any changes or additions to the agenda may be made at this time.

### ✓6. Adoption of National General Meeting Agenda

The plenary will consider the agenda proposed by the National Executive. Any changes or additions to the agenda may be made at this time. – some schedule changes – Kosovo speakers & Demo.

### ✓7. Adoption of the November 1998 National General Meeting Minutes

The plenary will consider the minutes of the November 1998 national general meeting.

### ✓8. Consideration of Membership Applications

#### a. Applications for Full Membership

As per Bylaw I, 4 c. the plenary will consider, at this time, applications for full membership from:

- ✓ - College of the North Atlantic Students' Association;
- ✓ - Glendon College Students' Union; and
- ✓ - University of Ottawa Graduate Students' Association.

#### b. Other

- ✓ Dalhousie Grad Stud. Assocn. – remind recom for prospective membership.

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✓ **9. Presentation by Staff Relations Officer**

Joey Hansen, Staff Relations Officer, will make a brief presentation on the collective agreement between the Federation and its employees as it pertains to the rights and responsibilities of the employees.

*- revisiting of opening remarks. - Guests, Delegates report, documents.*

✓ **10. Introduction of Harassment Advisors**

At this time, Harassment Advisors <sup>627</sup>Tara Connolly and <sup>728</sup>Florence Loh will provide a brief orientation to the Federation's harassment policy which is contained in the policy manual.

✓ **11. Review of Standing Sub-Committees of Plenary**

As per Standing Resolution 1.1, the following sub-committees of the plenary are automatically struck:

- Budget Committee;
- Campaigns and Government Relations Committee;
- National Education and Student Rights Committee; and
- Organisational and Membership Development Committee.

*see pg. 4/5 of the Delegates' guide.*

The composition and role of the sub-committees will be explained at this time.

✓ **12. Preparation for National Executive Elections**

**a. Introduction of Chief Returning Officer(s)**

As per Bylaw 6.7, the National Executive has appointed Ashkan Hashemi, Ontario <sup>Grad rep on NE</sup> <sup>♀'s rep</sup> <sup>Francoph. rep</sup> <sup>S.O.C. rep</sup> Component Researcher, and Christine Bourque, Ontario Fieldworker, as the Chief Returning Officers for the elections to be conducted at this meeting. <sup>Sask rep</sup> <sup>NSol. rep</sup>

**b. Overview of Election Schedule and Procedures**

The Chief Returning Officers will provide an overview of the election schedule and the procedures at this time. <sup>see S. Resol. of that area</sup> <sup>Bylaw 6.</sup>

✓ **13. Consideration of Motions Served With Due Notice**

✓ **a. Motions Postponed or Referred by the Previous National General Meeting**

As per Standing Resolution 1.6 - Distribution and Presentation of Outstanding Reports, the plenary will consider motions having been referred to opening plenary.

✓ **b. New Motions**

The plenary will consider motions having been served with due notice. The National Executive will make recommendations on the course of action to be taken with each motion which plenary will consider.

*- Kosovo Motion - ref Cam.*

**14. Presentation of the Report of the National Executive** *- to Fri. / Clos. Plen.*

As per Bylaw V 2 f. the National Executive will present a report to the plenary detailing the work of the Federation undertaken since the previous national general meeting.

**15. National Executive Question and Answer Period** — ref to - Clos. Plen.

The plenary will have the opportunity to ask the National Executive questions on the contents of its report and other activities undertaken since the previous general meeting.

**16. Other Business**

**17. Recess**

**Closing Plenary**

**1. Attendance Roll Call**

The Plenary Speaker will call the roll of the membership to determine that quorum is present.

**2. Business Tabled from Opening Plenary**

Business carried forward from opening plenary will be dealt with at this time.

**3. Presentation of the National Education & Student Rights Committee Report**

The National Education & Student Rights Committee will present its report for consideration by the plenary.

**4. Presentation of the Organisational Development Committee Report**

The Organisational Development Committee will present its report for consideration by the plenary.

**5. Presentation of the Campaigns & Government Relations Committee Report**

The Campaigns and Government Relations Committee will present its report for consideration by the plenary.

**6. Presentation of the Budget Committee Report**

The Budget Committee will present its report for consideration by the plenary.

**7. Presentation of Reports by Caucuses and Constituency Groups**

**a. Caucuses**

**b. Constituency Groups**

**8. Other Business**

**9. Adjournment**





# **MOTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION**

## **35<sup>th</sup> Semi-Annual National General Meeting Canadian Federation of Students**

**Wednesday, May 12 to Sunday, May 16, 1999  
Hull, Quebec**



# Motions for Consideration

35<sup>th</sup> Semi-Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students  
Wednesday, May 12 to Sunday, May 16, 1999 — Hull, Québec

This package contains motions which are submitted, with due notice, for consideration at this general meeting. The National Executive's recommendations for action will be presented during the opening plenary session.

## 1. MOTIONS SERVED AS NOTICE AT THE PREVIOUS NAT'L GENERAL MEETING

This section contains motions which were submitted at the previous national general meeting, for consideration at this general meeting.

### a. Proposal to Expand the Definition of a Student Association

99/05:N01

#### MOTION TO AMEND BYLAWS

Local 89/Local 44

ref to OD. ✓

Be it further resolved that Section 3 of the Definitions in the Bylaws be amended to read:

A local student association will be taken for all purposes of these By-laws to mean an organisation of students which satisfies the following criteria:

- it is locally and democratically controlled;
- it is autonomous from other organisations; and
- it represents students at only one post-secondary institution.

or, the graduate students belonging to an organisation that fulfils these criteria and is comprised of both graduate and undergraduate members, not belonging to the Federation, provided that the graduate students have an identifiable infrastructure and some legal structure enabling it to enter into contracts.

### b. Proposal to Oppose Violence

99/05:N02

#### MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY

Local 75/Local 07

ref to N. Ed. ✓

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

##### Preamble

Whereas violence is a destructive presence which effects all people;

Whereas acts of violence disproportionately affect the daily lives of minority groups, the Federation denounces all acts of violence and recognises the right of all people to live in a violence free environment.

##### Policy

The Federation will work to confront, challenge and abolish violence and intimidation tactics perpetuated, engaged and sustained by corporations, institutions, governments, political jurisdictions, and individuals, against all people including but not limited to:

- violence against minorities including but not limiting to aboriginal peoples, peoples of colour, francophones, gays, lesbians, transgendered, bisexuals, peoples with disabilities, and peoples of differing socio-economic class and
- violence against women including but not limiting to physical and sexual assault, psychological and emotional abuse, and
- hate violence including but not limiting to phobias, racial, and discriminatory violence.

### c. Proposal to Support Autonomous Aboriginal Student Organisation

99/05:N03

#### MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY

Local 34/Local 61

ref to OD. or N. Ed. ✓

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

The Federation supports the establishment of an autonomous "national" aboriginal student organisation fully independent of the Federation.

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### 2. MOTIONS SUBMITTED BY MEMBER LOCALS

This section contains motions which are submitted with due notice for consideration at this general meeting. A seconder may be required for some motions during the opening plenary.

#### a. Proposal Concerning the Saskatchewan Component Fee

ref OD

##### 99/05:N04 MOTION TO AMEND BYLAWS

Local 73/

Whereas Bylaw VII, Article 1, states that "a provincial component shall be composed of all member locals within a particular province"; and

Whereas Bylaw I, Article 2.a.iii), provides for a provincial component fee; and

Whereas provincial component fees have been established for most provincial components for several years; and

Whereas there has been a Saskatchewan Component fee of \$.50 per student per semester since the formation of the Federation; and

Whereas it has been suggested that the Saskatchewan Component fee should cease to be collected merely because the incorporated entity, Canadian Federation of Students-Saskatchewan, was dissolved in fall 1998; and

Whereas there is no reason that the fee should not continue to be collected and used to fund Federation organising in Saskatchewan; therefore

Be it resolved that the following Standing Resolution be adopted:

##### SASKATCHEWAN COMPONENT FEE

The provincial component fee for full member locals in Saskatchewan shall \$.50 per student per semester, or \$1.00 per academic year, per local association individual member, pro-rated as per the practice of the local association with respect to the pro-ration of its membership fee.

#### b. Proposal to Eliminate Prospective Membership Fee

##### 99/05:N05 MOTION TO AMEND BYLAWS

Local 30/

Be it resolved that Section 2.b.v of Bylaw II be deleted.

ref OD

#### c. Remuneration of Full-time Members of the National Executive

##### 99/05:N06 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS

ref OD

Local 73/

Whereas the full time members of the National Executive-National Chairperson, National Deputy Chairperson and National Treasurer-currently earn \$2,500.00 per month; and

Whereas this salary has not increased for more than a decade; and

Whereas inflation during the past decade had significantly eroded the value of these salaries; and

Whereas the full-time members of the National Executive regularly work 60-80 hours per week in the course of fulfilling their duties; and

Whereas they incur greater costs as a result of working long and unconventional hours; and

Whereas by being full time they lost their student status and, as a result, have to commence repayment of any student loans they may have; and

Whereas the level of remuneration paid to National Executive members should be established by standing resolution; therefore

Be it resolved that the following Standing Resolution be adopted:

##### REMUNERATION FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEMBERS

The National Chairperson, National Deputy Chairperson and National Treasurer shall:

1. receive a salary of \$2,750.00 per month, prorated for partial months; and
2. have access to the extended health and dental plan available to the Federation's employees.



**d. Proposal to Adjust Small Budget Subsidy**

ref OD

**99/05:N07 MOTION TO STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

Local 73/

Whereas Standing Resolution #25, Scaled National General Meeting Delegate Fees, provides for reduced delegate and travel pool fees for member locals with budgets under \$150,000.00 per year; and

Whereas Standing Resolution #25 states that "a yearly inflationary adjustment shall be applied upwards to the subsidy ceiling"; and

Where no inflationary adjustments has been made in the past five years; and

Whereas many graduate and college member locals have annual budgets in the \$75,000 to \$200,000.00 range; and

Whereas there is a need to ensure that these locals can each afford to send a second delegate to Federation national general meetings; and

Whereas participation in the Federation has to be and appear to be affordable to prospective graduate and college member locals; and

Whereas, if the ceiling had been \$200,000.00 instead of \$150,000.00 for the previous national general meeting, the travel subsidy would have cost only \$1,483.86 more and the delegate fee subsidy would have cost only \$2,256.37 more for the 51 subsidised delegates; therefore

Be it resolved that reference to "\$150,000.00" and "225,000.00" in Standing Resolution #25 be replaced with "200,000.00" and "\$300,000.00", respectively.

**e. Proposal to Entrench Aboriginal Caucus Funding Mechanism**

**99/05:N08 MOTION TO STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

ref OD

Local 73/

Whereas the Federation has two functioning national caucuses – the National Aboriginal Caucus and the National Graduate Council; and

Whereas the National Graduate Council receives an annual funding allocation based on the number graduate students belonging to the Federation in a given year; and

Whereas the funding mechanism for the National Graduate Council is established by Standing Resolution and reads as follows:

One-quarter of the annual Federation membership fees paid by individual graduate students belonging to Federation member local associations shall be allocated to the National Graduate Council; and

Whereas the National Aboriginal Caucus also requires a funding mechanism which ensures stability and consistency in its funding from year to year; and

Whereas the number of individual aboriginal students belonging to the Federation is lower than the number of graduate students and, therefore, a higher per individual allocation is necessary; and

Whereas statistics on the number of aboriginal students attending each public college and university in Canada are widely available, thereby making calculation of the allocation relatively easy; therefore

Be it resolved that the following Standing Resolution be adopted:

One-third of the annual Federation membership fees paid by individual aboriginal students belonging to Federation member local associations shall be allocated to the National Aboriginal Caucus.

**f. Proposal to Repeal Bilingualism Requirement for Deputy Chairperson**

**99/05:N09 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

ref OD

Local 73/

Be it resolved that all references to "or National Deputy Chairperson" in Bylaw VI, Articles 1c and 1d, be removed; and

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Be it further resolved that all references to "and National Deputy Chairperson" and "or National Deputy Chairperson" in Standing Resolution 21 be removed.

### g. Proposal to Develop and Implement Full Congruency Plan

• 99/05:N10

#### MOTION

Local 73/

Whereas the need to have congruency of membership between the Federation and its provincial components was established as a structural principle of the Federation at the time of its founding; and

Whereas a complete congruency of membership has yet to be achieved; and

Whereas the Federation's strength and effectiveness are reduced as a result; therefore

Be it resolved that a plan for achieving full congruency of membership be developed and implemented by the National Executive during the coming year.

ref. OD

### h. Proposal to Oppose Use of Adam's Mine Site as Dump

• 99/05:N11

#### MOTION

Local 30/Local 20

Be it resolved that the Ontario government's plan to dump garbage from the greater Toronto area in the former Adam's mine site in Kirkland Lake Ontario be opposed.

ref Cam

### i. Proposal to Support Kurdish Leader Abdullah Ocalan

99/05:N12

#### MOTION

Local 23/

Whereas the head of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), Mr. Abdullah Ocalan, was abducted in Nairobi, Kenya on February 16, 1999 by Turkish Special Forces, abetted by the Israeli and United States governments, and was illegally transported to Turkey; and

Whereas Mr. Ocalan's abduction is part of Turkey's ongoing war against the Kurds, he should, according to the Geneva Conventions, be treated as a prisoner of war, not as being treated as a criminal suspect; and

Whereas international and non-governmental organisations, including Human Rights Watch, have documented the widespread use of torture in pre-trial detentions and serious violations of rights in Turkey; and

Whereas Mr. Ocalan may face the death penalty; and

Whereas the Turkish government has used military force to destroy over 3,200 Kurdish villages and displaces over 6 million Kurds since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923; and

Whereas the Kurds of Turkey continue to struggle for the political and cultural rights they have long been denied;

Be it resolved that a letter be written to the Prime Minister and the Minister of foreign Affairs urging them to:

- assist the (Red Cross) in making an immediate visit to Turkey to ensure the health of Kurdish leader Mr. Ocalan;
- take measures to insure a fair trial for Mr. Ocalan;
- take measures to insure that international observers are present at Mr. Ocalan's trial;
- send human rights delegation to investigate the current conditions of Kurds in Turkey;
- immediately stop selling arms and nuclear technology (viz. Candu reactors) to Turkey; and »

Be it further resolved that a letter be written to the Prime Minister of Turkey urging him to:

- assist the Red Cross in making an immediate visit to Turkey to ensure the health of Kurdish leader Mr. Ocalan;
- guarantee a fair trial for Mr. Ocalan;
- welcome international observers at Mr. Ocalan's trial;
- welcome human rights delegations to investigate the current conditions of Kurds in Turkey.

ref Cam

### **3. MOTIONS SUBMITTED BY CAUCUSES AND PROVINCIAL COMPONENTS**

#### **Ontario Component**

This section contains motions which are submitted, with due notice, for consideration at this general meeting by the Ontario Component. A seconder may be required for some motions during the opening plenary.

#### **a. Proposal to Amend Policy on Accessibility**

##### **99/05:N13 MOTION TO AMEND POLICY**

ref. N. Ed.

Be it resolved that the following policy be amended:

#### **Accessibility**

An accessible education is one which is open to all applicants who wish to attend a post-secondary institution. The Federation recognises that the class-stratified nature of Canadian society has worked to discriminate against the majority of Canadians in their attempts to obtain a quality post-secondary education. An accessible education should allow the individual student to pursue the education of their choice.

The Federation supports and will actively lobby for the:

- elimination of all financial barriers to a post-secondary education;
- elimination of tuition and other incidental user fees;
- elimination of differential fees including, but not limited to, those applied to visa and out-of-province students;
- right of students to receive a post-secondary education in the language of their choice, including, but not limited to, French, English, and Aboriginal languages;
- right of students to attend the post-secondary institution of their choice, without additional financial burden;
- elimination of all other social and cultural barriers to post-secondary education which affect people from an early age, including, but not limited to discrimination on the basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion, sexual orientation, gender, political affiliation, family status, or socio-economic class;
- removal of all conditions which might prevent disabled students from attending post-secondary institutions;
- right to the provision of universal, free, high quality child care;
- elimination of unnecessary impediments to program and course portability;
- elimination of barriers to accessibility resulting from geography;
- elimination of enrolment quotas; and
- implementation of a guaranteed minimum income for all students.

The Federation condemns any systemic discrimination in any educational setting, including but limited to streaming.

#### **b. Proposal to Amend Policy on Accessibility**

##### **99/05:N14 MOTION TO AMEND POLICY**

Ref. N. ed

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

#### **Democracy in Post-Secondary Education**

The student movement in Canada endeavours to exemplify in our own organisation and in our own work the democratic principles we advocate for post-secondary education and society as a whole.

The Federation supports three common democratic precepts essential to the full representation of Canada's students: the right of all student unions to constitute themselves as independent student associations free from all outside interference; the right to conduct our student unions according to the principles of internal democracy, majority rule, full member representation and full member participation; and the right to organise our student unions as unitary bodies.

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The Federation insists on student representation on all levels of advisory committees. All student positions must be filled by representatives democratically elected or chosen by the student associations, the Federation, or students.

The Federation urges student associations to organise information sessions for International students to aid them in achieving representation on any post-secondary institution's councils.

The Federation opposes any motion which restricts any student association from collecting fees as this is a direct violation of student democratic rights.

### c. Proposal to Amend Policy on Curricula

#### 99/05:N15 MOTION TO AMEND POLICY

N.Ed.

Be it resolved that the following policy be amended:

##### Curricula

The Federation supports curricula which takes into account a diversity of perspectives, including but not limited to the development of curricula:

- with a non-Eurocentric perspective to overcome institutional racism and the establishment of campus committees to address institutional racism within post-secondary curricula;
- which address the experience of women, identify gender issues, and accept feminist scholarship as legitimate;
- which address the experiences of lesbian, gay and bisexual people and which critically examine hetero-sexism within post-secondary curricula;
- which address the experiences of the poor, and address issues of class and the global distribution of wealth;
- which address environmental preservation, and critically examine the human-centred focus of society;
- which address the experiences of people with disabilities;
- which address the experiences of Aboriginal Peoples; and
- offered in the French language.

### d. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Student Assistance

#### 99/05:N16 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

N.Ed.

##### Student Assistance

The Federation opposes discriminatory student assistance regulations.

### e. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Graduate Students' Issues

#### 99/05:N17 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY

N.Ed.

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

##### Graduate Students' Issues

The Federation supports an adequate minimum stipend for graduate assistants, not including tuition grants.

### f. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Housing

#### 99/05:N18 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

N.Ed.

##### Housing

The Federation supports the improvement of government policies, in consultation with housing associations.

The Federation supports increased funding for co-operative and non-profit housing.

The Federation supports the implementation of policies, along with the dissemination of information, dealing with the improvement of existing opportunities for co-op housing to member associations.

The Federation opposes the practice of discriminating against students in housing.

**g. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Mature and Part Time Students' Issues**

**99/05:N19 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY**

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

N. Ed.

**Part-Time & Mature Students' Issues**

1. The Federation encourages post-secondary institutions in Ontario to provide services on campus on a nine a.m. to ten p.m. basis.

**h. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Services**

**99/05:N20 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY**

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

N. Ed.

**Services**

The Federation endorses any initiatives which eradicate the need for Food Banks; and until the need is eradicated, encourages members and non-members to participate in Food Bank activities, including the opening of food banks on campus.

**i. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Students with Special Needs**

**99/05:N21 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY**

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

N. Ed.

**Students with Special Needs**

The Federation recognises the right of accessibility to post-secondary education, including physical access as well as access to services and programs, for people with special needs, as defined by the Canadian Charter of Rights.

The Federation, in collaboration with campaigns to support students with special needs, supports member local actions to establish students with special needs groups on their campuses.

The Federation recognises education as an inherent right in the efforts of people with special needs to live independently and participate fully in the work force, not solely as a job training program.

The Federation encourages member locals to take positive steps towards creating a safe atmosphere for students with special needs on their campuses by: establishing special needs groups on their campuses in the form of associations or centres; providing resources (financial, moral support and otherwise); and promoting and educating their members on issues pertaining to students with special needs in post-secondary education.

The Federation opposes discrimination and harassment of any kind against persons with special needs, including but not limited to: access to housing, employment, provision of public services, transportation, and the accommodation of services.

**j. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Women's Issues**

**98/11:N22 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY**

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

N. Ed.

**Women's Issues**

The Federation supports the establishment of Harassment Grievance Procedure at local campuses.

**k. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Civil Liberties and Human Rights**

**99/05:N23 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY**

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

N. Ed.

**Civil Liberties, Human Rights**

The Federation opposes all forms of systemic violence and encourages awareness of its varied effects.

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Be it further resolved that the following policy be adopted under the heading Civil Liberties and Human Rights:

The Federation supports Black History Month celebrations during February of each year.

Be it further resolved that the following policy be adopted under the heading Civil Liberties and Human Rights:

Within higher education there should be no discrimination on the basis of age, race, religion, creed, national origin, language, gender, sexual orientation, marital status, disability or political affiliation.

**I. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Rights**

**99/05:N24 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY**

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

**RIGHTS**

**Workers' Rights**

The Federation supports the right of all post-secondary education employees to job security, good working conditions and an adequate wage; and Federation members will not be used by administration against other sectors of the post-secondary education community.

The Federation demands that members of Post Secondary Institution communities suffer no financial or academic penalties for respecting picket lines on campuses.

**National Graduate Council**

The following are motions submitted with due notice, for consideration at this general meeting, by the National Graduate Council. A mover and seconder will be required in the opening plenary.

**a. Proposal to Amend Eligibility for National Graduate Council Executive**

**99/05:N25 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 18, Section 6c., be amended to read:

**c. Eligibility**

A nominee for the position of Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson or National Executive Representative must be a registered graduate student and an individual member of the Federation.

**b. Proposal to Amend Duties of National Graduate Council Executive**

**99/05:N26 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 18, Section 7a. vi., be removed; and

Be it further resolved that the remaining articles be renumbered accordingly.

**c. Proposal to Amend Duties of National Graduate Council Executive**

**99/05:N27 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 18, Section 7d. viii., be amended to read:

viii. shall be responsible for coordinating production of the maintenance of the web site.

**d. Proposal to Amend Duties of National Graduate Council Executive**

**99/05:N28 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 18, Section 8f. ii., be amended to read:

ii. In rare and extenuating circumstances the National Graduate Council Executive shall consider an appeal to subsidise in full or in part the attendance of a member local which would otherwise be precluded from attending. Any such approval would proceed on an emergency basis and be subject to financial constraints. Funding for such delegates would not take precedence over any existing budget line items.

**e. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Unionisation of Sessional Instructors**

**99/05:N29 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY**

N. Ed.

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

**Unionisation of Sessional Instructors**

The Federation believes that unionisation and collective bargaining are fundamental rights of workers. The Federation encourages and supports the unionisation of workers because it recognises that unionisation is the best way to ensure the dignity, safety, equity and self-determination of workers. The Federation recognises that sessional and contract workers in post-secondary education are among the most underpaid and generally work without job security. In this climate of insecurity and underemployment the Federation supports the struggle of sessional and contract instructors to attain collective bargaining rights and certification as a union locals.

Any fair agreement between post secondary institutions and sessional instructors should include (but is not limited to):

- a. Wages and benefits in line with those of fulltime faculty and staff
- b. Access to research, technology and resources necessary for professional development
- c. Provisions for job security, seniority and reasonable notice of conditions of employment
- d. Provisions for reasonable class size and work load

**f. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Unionisation of Teaching & Research Assistants**

**99/05:N30 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY**

N. Ed.

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted:

**Unionisation of Teaching and Research Assistants**

The Federation believes that unionisation and collective bargaining are fundamental rights of workers. The Federation encourages and supports the unionisation of workers because it recognises that unionisation is the best way to ensure the dignity, safety, equity and self determination of workers. The Federation recognises that Teaching and Research Assistants in post secondary education are among the most underpaid and generally work without job security. In this climate of insecurity and underemployment, the Federation supports the struggle of Teaching and Research Assistants to attain collective bargaining rights and certification as union locals.

Any fair agreement between post secondary institutions and Teaching and Research Assistants should include (but is not limited to):

- a. Wages and benefits in line with those of full-time faculty and staff
- b. Access to research, technology and resources necessary for professional development
- c. Provisions for job security, seniority and reasonable notice of conditions of employment
- d. Contractual guarantees for graduate students of employment for the duration of the student's academic program
- e. Binding and enforceable policy that acknowledges that disputes in the academic workplace must not affect a student's academic and, in turn, academic issues must remain separate and autonomous from the terms of employment

**National Aboriginal Caucus**

The following are motions submitted with due notice, for consideration at this general meeting, by the National Aboriginal Caucus. A mover and seconder will be required in the opening plenary.

**a. Proposal to Amend Objectives of Aboriginal Caucus**

O.D.

**99/05:N31 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 17, Section 2., be amended to include the following:

- a) to support and uphold the Declaration of Aboriginal Student Rights

Be it further resolved that the remaining articles be renumbered accordingly.

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**b. Proposal to Amend Responsibility of Members in Aboriginal Caucus**

**99/05:N32 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS** O.D.

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 17, Section 3.c.ii, be amended to read:

- ii. provide delegate(s) from its Aboriginal student members for the purpose of voting in Caucus meetings;

**c. Proposal to Amend Scheduling of Special Aboriginal Caucus Meetings**

**99/05:N33 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS** O.D.

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 17, Section 4.c.ii., be amended to read:

- ii. upon receipt of a petition signed by (10) ten member associations.

**d. Proposal to Amend Rules of Order for Aboriginal Caucus Meetings**

**99/05:N34 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS** O.D.

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 17, Section 4.f, be amended to read:

The most recent edition of Robert's Rules of Order shall govern the conduct of all Caucus general meeting provisions, however the caucus reserves the right to temporarily suspend Robert's Rules of Order in favour of consensus building methods.

**e. Proposal to Amend Term of Office for Aboriginal Caucus Executive**

**99/05:N35 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 17, Section 5.b., be amended to read:

The term of office for:

- i. the Caucus Chairperson and National Executive Representative shall be one year, commencing upon the close of Federation semi-annual general meeting following election and expiring at the succeeding Federation semi-annual general meeting.
  - ii. provincial component Aboriginal Representatives shall be one year according to provincial component elections.
- O.D.

**f. Proposal to Include Provisions for Vacancy in Aboriginal Caucus Executive Positions** O.D.

**99/05:N36 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 17, Section 5, be amended to include:

**c) Vacancy**

In the event of a vacancy in the position of National Executive Aboriginal Representative, the Caucus executive shall appoint an Acting National Executive Aboriginal Representative from the Caucus Executive until an election can be held.

**g. Proposal to Amend Election of the Aboriginal Caucus Chairperson** O.D.

**99/05:N37 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 17, Section 6.a., be amended to read:

The Chairperson shall be elected at the annual general meeting of the Federation each year by the members of the Caucus.

**h. Proposal to Amend Election Procedures for Aboriginal Caucus Executive** O.D.

**99/05:N38 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 17, Section 6.e.iv., be amended to read:

- iv. In the event that only one nominee is seeking a particular position, member associations will vote either "yes" or "no" for the nominee. In the event of an affirmed "no" vote, the Caucus may re-open nominations exclusively for that position.



**i. Proposal to Amend Duties of Aboriginal Caucus Executive**

**99/05:N39 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

O.D.

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 17, Section 7.a., be amended to include the following:

- i. contact and inform all member locals about Caucus meetings;

Be it further resolved that the remaining articles be renumbered accordingly.

**j. Proposal to Amend Duties of Aboriginal Caucus Executive**

**99/05:N40 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

O.D.

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 17, Section 7.c., be amended to include the following:

- i. shall chair all Caucus meetings;

Be it further resolved that the remaining articles be renumbered accordingly.

**k. Proposal to Amend Assessment of Second Language Proficiency of Nominees for National and Deputy National Chairperson**

**99/05:N41 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

O.D.

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 21, Section 2.a., be amended to read:

- a) The Aboriginal Caucus shall notify the National Executive in writing, a minimum of six (6) weeks prior to a national general meeting, of a request to activate the Language Criteria/Evaluation Committee.

**l. Proposal to Amend Assessment of Second Language Proficiency of Nominees for National and Deputy National Chairperson**

**99/05:N42 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

O.D.

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 21, Section 2.b., be amended to read:

- b) The Language Criteria/Evaluation Committee for the Aboriginal language requirements shall be comprised of language speaker(s), the nominee(s), the National Executive Representative and/or the Chairperson of the Aboriginal Caucus.

**m. Proposal to Amend Assessment of Second Language Proficiency of Nominees for National and Deputy National Chairperson**

**99/05:N43 MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS**

O.D.

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 21, Section 2.c., amended to read:

- c) The decision of the Language speaker(s) shall be ratified by the Aboriginal Caucus and shall be final.

**n. Proposal to Amend Aboriginal Caucus Preamble**

**99/05:N44 MOTION TO AMEND POLICY**

N. Ed

Be it resolved that Section A.5 under the heading 'Preamble' be amended to read:

- 5. the right to self-identification as Aboriginal: including First Nation, Inuit, and Metis;

Be it further resolved that the last sentence of Section A under the heading 'Preamble' be amended to read:

The Federation supports the administration of public and social programs and services to Aboriginal Peoples through bilateral or trilateral government consultation process.

Be it further resolved that the following be added as bullet twelve under the heading 'Aboriginal Education':

- June 21 be recognized as National Aboriginal Day

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**o. Proposal to Allocate Funds to Aboriginal Caucus Budget**

**98/11:N45 MOTION**

Be it resolved that \$38,900 be contributed to the 1999-2000 National Aboriginal Caucus budget to support its goals and objectives.

*OD?*  
*Bud → OD.*

**p. Proposal to Develop Campaign Regarding Dudley George and Gustafsen Lake**

**99/05:N46 MOTION**

Be it resolved that a campaign specific to issues relevant to inquiries into both the death of Dudley George and Gustafsen Lake be developed; and

Be it further resolved that the campaign include, but not be limited to, faxing, letter writing, media work, national protests on June 21 (National Aboriginal Day), handing out relevant information with candy and working with Native Friendship Centres.

*Cam*

**q. Proposal to Develop Campaign on HIV in Aboriginal Communities**

**99/05:N47 MOTION**

Be it resolved that a campaign be developed addressing HIV in Aboriginal communities in conjunction with the current Red Cross ca. m.

*Cam*

**r. Proposal to Develop Campaign on Effects of Treaty Negotiations**

**99/05:N48 MOTION**

Be it resolved that an awareness campaign be developed in conjunction with the Access 2000 campaign highlighting the effects of treaty negotiations in Aboriginal communities.

*Cam*

**4. MOTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE**

This section contains motions which were submitted with due notice, for consideration at this national general meeting, by the National Executive. A mover and seconder will be required for each motion during the opening plenary.

**a. Proposal to Amend References to Women's Representative**

**98/11:N49 MOTION TO AMEND BYLAWS**

Be it resolved that all references to the "Women's Commissioner" in Bylaw VI be amended to "Women's Representative".

*OD.*

**b. Proposal to Amend Timing of Elections for National Executive Members**

**98/11:N50 MOTION TO AMEND BYLAWS**

Be it resolved that Bylaw VI, Article 2, be amended to include:

**e. Timing of Elections of the Students' of Colour Commissioner**

The election for the Students' of Colour Representative shall be conducted at such times as established by Standing Resolution.

Be it further resolved that Bylaw VI, Article 2, be amended to include:

**f. Timing of Elections of the Francophone Representative**

The election for the Francophone Representative shall be conducted at such times as established by Standing Resolution.

Be it further resolved that Bylaw VI, Article 2, be amended to include:

**g. Timing of Elections of the Women's Representative**

The election for the Women's Representative shall be conducted at such times as established by Standing Resolution.

*OD.*

**c. Proposal to Amend Procedures for Election for National Executive Members**

**98/11:N51      MOTION TO AMEND BYLAWS**

Be it resolved that Bylaw VI, Article 3, be amended to include:

**f. Procedure for the Election of the Francophone Representative**

The election for the Francophone Representative shall be as established by Standing Resolution.

Be it further resolved that the remainder of Article 3 be renumbered accordingly.

**d. Proposal to Amend Term of Office for National Executive Members**

**98/11:N52      MOTION TO AMEND BYLAWS**

Be it resolved that Bylaw VI, Article 4, be amended to include:

**f. Term of Office for the Francophone Representative**

The term of office for the Francophone Representative shall be as established by Standing Resolution.

Be it further resolved that the remainder of Article 4 be renumbered accordingly.

**e. Proposal to Amend Removal From Office of National Executive Members**

**98/11:N53      MOTION TO AMEND BYLAWS**

Be it resolved that Bylaw VI, Article 5, be amended to include:

**e. Removal from Office of the Students' of Colour Commissioner**

The Students' of Colour Representative may be removed from office shall be as established by Standing Resolution.

Be it further resolved that Bylaw VI, Article 5, be amended to include:

**f. Removal from Office of the Francophone Representative**

The Francophone Representative may be removed from office shall be as established by Standing Resolution.

Be it further resolved that the remainder of Article 5, be renumbered accordingly.

**f. Proposal to Amend Replacement of National Executive Members**

**98/11:N54      MOTION TO AMEND BYLAWS**

Be it resolved that Bylaw VI, Article 6, be amended to include:

**e. Vacancy in the Position of Students' of Colour Commissioner**

A vacancy in a position of Students' of Colour Representative shall be filled in a manner as established by Standing Resolution.

Be it further resolved that Bylaw VI, Article 6, be amended to include:

**f. Vacancy in the Position of Francophone Representative**

A vacancy in a position of Francophone Representative shall be filled in a manner as established by Standing Resolution.

Be it further resolved that the remainder of Article 6, be renumbered accordingly.

**g. Proposal to Adopt Electoral Procedures**

**99/05:N55      MOTION TO ADOPT STANDING RESOLUTION**

Be it resolved that the following Standing Resolution be adopted:

**ELECTORAL PROCEDURES**

**1. Electoral Committee**

The Electoral Committee shall:

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- a. consist of any Chief Returning Officer(s) appointed by the National Executive pursuant to Bylaw 6.7;
- b. be introduced to delegates at the opening plenary, and shall at that time:
  - i. review the election procedures of the Federation;
  - ii. list the positions open for election at that meeting; and
  - iii. provide information on how they can be contacted during the national general meeting.
- c. prepare and make available nomination forms for the open positions.
- d. coordinate and monitor the grill session for the at-large positions to be elected, pursuant to Bylaw 6.3a(iv);
- e. hold a mandatory meeting for all candidates running for at-large positions, prior to the grill session, to review the procedures governing the grill session and the elections;
- f. prepare separate ballots for each position;
- g. distribute the ballots to member locals associations that are present at the commencement of the voting period;
- h. count the ballots upon the completion of the voting;
- i. announce the results of the election during the closing plenary session, including the number of ballots cast for each candidate.

### **2. Nomination Period**

The times at which nominations open and close shall be set at the opening plenary session as part of the adoption of the block agenda for the national general meeting. Nominations for at-large positions shall be open for at least two and a half days.

### **3. Nomination Procedure**

To be nominated, an eligible candidate (as defined in Bylaw 6.1) must submit to the electoral Committee a nomination form signed by two representatives of member local associations present at the national general meeting.

### **4. Scrutineers**

Each candidate shall have the right to appoint a scrutineer, not seeking election in the same balloting, to observe the counting of the ballots.

### **5. Require Majority**

Pursuant to Bylaw 6.3.a(iii), a nominee must receive a majority of the votes cast in order to be elected. If:

- a. No nominee receives a majority of the votes cast, additional voted shall be taken until one of the nominees receives a majority or until the plenary re-opens nominations for the position;
- b. More than two nominees are running for a position, then the nominee receiving the fewest votes shall be dropped from the next ballot;
- c. Only one nominee is seeking election to a particular position, member locals associations shall vote either "yes" or "no" for the nominee.

### **6. Proxy Votes**

Where a member local association has duly notified the Speaker of the issuance of a proxy vote pursuant to Bylaw 2.7b, the proxy vote shall be entitle to a ballot in elections for at-large positions. The proxy vote shall only be entitled to a ballot in elections for Caucus and Constituency Group positions if proxy votes are permitted under the Standing Resolutions governing that group and if the proxy vote conforms to the guidelines in that Standing Resolution.

### **7. Elections in Caucus and Constituency Groups**

Where this does not contravene the Standing Resolution governing a Caucus or Constituency Group, the Electoral Committee shall oversee the elections of that group in a manner consistent with the guidelines of this policy. All elections for positions on the National Executive shall be subject to ratification by the plenary.

### **8. Authority of the Electoral Committee**

- a. on any matter relating to election procedures that is not specified with the Bylaws, Standing Resolutions or Operating Policy, the Electoral Committee shall have the power to make rulings;

- b. such rulings may only be overturned by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the plenary at the national general meeting, or in the case of a ruling relating to elections within a Caucus or constituency group, by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of that group.

**h. Proposal to Amend Policy on Student Aid**

99/05:N56

**MOTION TO AMEND POLICY**

N. Ed.

Be it resolved that the Student Aid policy be amended to read:

**STUDENT AID**

Insofar as the federal and provincial governments have chosen to provide student aid in the form of loans and not grants, the Federation supports the following policies on student loans:

**Student Financial Aid Program**

The Federation supports:

1. the provision of accessible and thorough information on student loans and on repayment options;
2. student aid line items being adjusted annually to reflect the costs associated with the attainment of a post-secondary education, and this adjustment reflecting regional differences in the cost of obtaining post-secondary education;
3. students having the right to renegotiate their Canada Student Loan on an annual basis;
4. an increase to the total borrowing amount/period under the Canada Student Loans Program.

The Federation opposes:

1. any privatisation of the administration of the Canada Student Loans Program;
2. the government's abandonment of the original objective of the Canada Student Loans Program - enhanced access to post-secondary education;
3. a Mission Statement for the Canada Student Loans Program based upon timely completion criteria for one's academic program;
4. the establishment of a Special Operating Agency to administer the Canada Student Loans Program;
5. the government's move to divest itself from the public responsibility of providing a 100% guarantee on Canada Student Loans;
6. any policy within student assistance programs which requires reassessment or repayment of student assistance, due to disruption of classes resulting from faculty/management or staff/management disputes;
7. any administrative fee being levied on student loans; the Federation supports the end of any such fee and the return of any such money collected to the students; and
8. the generation of revenue from the Canada Student Loans Program by any means.

**Assessment of Student Loans**

The Federation supports the assessment of Canada Student Loans based on educational expenses with:

1. no upper limits on amount borrowed;
2. living expenses that reflect the regional differences in the cost of living;
3. consideration of the realistic costs of post-secondary education above and beyond tuition fees and ancillary fees; and
4. accurate reflection of the incurred education and living expenses of full and part-time students.

**Student Debt Reduction and Remission**

The Federation supports:

1. a loan remission program for Canada Student Loans that is based on the amount of debt incurred;
2. an Interest Relief Program which covers those with insufficient financial means, including but not limited to the unemployed, underemployed, underpaid and those with childcare responsibilities; and
3. an Interest Relief Program that is available to student loan recipients at any time up to the retirement of their debt.

**Eligibility Requirements for Financial Aid**

The Federation opposes:

## **PAGE 16 - MOTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION**

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1. the rejection of Canada Student Loans applicants based on the applicant previously having defaulted on student loan repayments;
2. the application of parental or spousal contribution requirements to student loan assistance applications;
3. any increase from 60% of full course load as a requirement to be eligible for a Canada Student Loan; and
4. the inclusion of financial grants, awards and scholarships as income when assessing Canada Student Loan eligibility.

### **Student Grants**

The Federation supports:

1. the provision of grants to part-time students under the same criteria as full-time students;
2. a national grants program for students with disabilities that ensures access and fully funds students with disabilities for all additional expenses associated with the pursuit of their studies, in recognition of the systemic inequities faced by students with disabilities; and
3. all single parents having the right to adequate funding including grants that reflect the needs of the single parent family.

The Federation opposes:

1. the promotion of privately funded educational savings plans for post-secondary education such as the Registered Education Savings Plan; and
2. the use of merit-based scholarship programs, such as the Millennium Scholarship Fund, to replace a full and adequate system of national grants.

### **Part-time Students Financial Aid Program**

The Federation supports:

1. the eligibility of part-time student loan recipients for the same interest free loan period presently accorded to full-time students; and
2. a repayment period for part-time student loans that is equivalent to the period for full-time student loans.

### **Interest Rates**

The Federation supports loan repayment interest rates equal to the rate of interest rather than the nominal rate of interest.

The Federation opposes the application of commercial interest rates on Canada Student Loans.

### **Private Lending Institutions**

The Federation supports:

1. reform to the Canada Student Loans Program's loans negotiation process which will allow for flexibility of loan repayment in the event of insufficient financial means; and
2. advocacy and loan appeals processes being nationally accessible.

The Federation opposes:

1. lending institutions' inflexible repayment practices that encourage loan default; and
2. a federal government risk-sharing agreement with lenders (financial institutions) for the provision of student loans.

Be it further resolved that the following two sentences be removed from the "Funding Education" policy:

The Federation opposes the promotion of privately funded educational savings plans for post-secondary education such as the Registered Education Savings Plan.

and

The Federation opposes the use of merit-based scholarship programs, such as the Millennium Scholarship Fund to replace a full and adequate system of national grants.

Be it further resolved that the "Income Contingent Repayment Plan" policy be repealed and replaced with the following:

#### **Income Contingent Loan Repayment**

##### **Preamble**

Income Contingent Loan Repayment schemes were devised as a funding mechanism by economist Milton Freeman in the 1950s. This name is used for a wide variety of schemes whereby the level of monthly payments on a loan varies with the income of the debtor. Although on the surface these are attractive schemes that enable people to make payments according to their means, in practice the schemes are quite regressive. The longer the repayment period on the loan is, the more interest accumulates over that time, so people with lower incomes end up paying more in total than those with higher incomes pay, on a loan of the same value. People with low incomes may also be buried under their debt for many years under these schemes.

##### **Policy**

Because the varying loan payments levels are seen as making repayment of a loan more manageable for students after graduation, the schemes are invariably introduced in conjunction with or as a prelude to increases in the levels of tuition and other user fees that result in higher debt upon graduation. This makes the schemes a tool for shifting the costs of education from the society to the individual.

Be it further resolved that the following policy be adopted:

The Federation opposes, in principle, income contingent student loan repayment schemes.

#### **i. Proposal to Adopt Policy on Boycotts**

##### **99/05:N57 MOTION TO ADOPT POLICY**

N. Ed.

Be it resolved that the following be included under the heading "Boycott":

##### **Definition of Environmentally Destructive Policies and Practises**

The Federation recognises the following as environmentally destructive policy and practise:

- unsustainable harvesting of a natural resource;
- pollution of air, water or land with toxic substances;
- practises leading directly or indirectly to a reduction in bio-diversity;
- use of nuclear technologies;
- large-scale emanation of harmful radiation;
- production of new chemicals without adequate testing for toxicity;
- infringing upon the right of aboriginal peoples to continue to use lands and resources for traditional purposes; and
- harming of a site or thing that has historical or archaeological significance.

Motion on Kosovo - ref to Cam.





**Canadian Federation of Students  
Fédération canadienne des étudiantes et étudiants**

**THE WAR IN KOSOVO  
LA GUERRE AU KOSOVO**

- Information Kit, May 1999 – Trousse d'information, mai 1999

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**Canadian Federation of Students  
Fédération canadienne des étudiantes et étudiants**

**THE WAR IN KOSOVO  
LA GUERRE AU KOSOVO**

- Motion proposed by the National Executive for the May 1999 National General Meeting –  
Résolution proposée par l'Exécutif national pour la Réunion semestrielle, mai 1999



**Canadian Federation of Students  
35<sup>th</sup> Semi-annual National General Meeting, May 1999  
Motion for consideration in plenary**

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**The National Executive recommends that the following motion be referred to the Campaigns and Government Relations Committee:**

Whereas references in the Issues Policy Manual clearly state support for peaceful solutions to conflicts among nation states;

Whereas the war waged by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Kosovo contravenes the NATO treaty, the Geneva Conventions, and the Principles of International Law recognized by the Nuremberg Tribunal, all of which prohibit interference in the affairs of sovereign nations;

Whereas the current political situation in the former Yugoslavia has complex historical roots;

Whereas Kosovo and Yugoslavia have been ravaged by the unjust and illegal NATO-led war;

Whereas the war has only served to further destabilize the region and bring the 'superpowers' to the brink of a larger-scale military conflict;

Whereas NATO bombing has not led to peace but has only worsened the refugee crisis, and killed innocent people; and

Whereas there are students in Canadian post-secondary institutions that have families in the region that are directly affected by the war; therefore

Be it resolved that the NATO-led war in Kosovo and Yugoslavia be condemned;

Be it further resolved that the Government of Canada be called upon to withdraw immediately from the NATO-led war in Kosovo and Yugoslavia;

Be it further resolved that the Government of Canada and all ~~(other)~~ political parties represented in the House of Commons be called upon to demand an immediate end to the NATO bombings and any further consideration of military intervention in the area;

Be it further resolved that the Government of Canada ~~(and all other political parties)~~ represented in the House of Commons be called upon to advocate for and ~~participate~~ support? in peaceful political solutions to the conflict in Kosovo and Yugoslavia; and

Be it further resolved that member locals be encouraged to participate in events and to organize in opposition of the NATO-led war and of Canada's involvement in it; and

Be it further resolved that member locals be encouraged to communicate with and support students from all ethnic backgrounds affected by the NATO-led war in Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

- Nothing on ethnic cleansing?
- Self Determination?



**Canadian Federation of Students  
Fédération canadienne des étudiantes et étudiants**

**THE WAR IN KOSOVO  
LA GUERRE AU KOSOVO**

- Motion passed by the National Executive – Résolution adoptée par l'Exécutif national
  - News Release – Communiqué
  - Policies - Politiques





## **Canadian Federation of Students**

### **Motion passed unanimously by the National Executive on Tuesday March 30, 1999**

Whereas Canada began bombing Yugoslavia on Tuesday March 23rd as part of an organized assault by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO);

Whereas this is an act of war;

Whereas the Canadian government consulted neither Parliament nor the United Nations before taking this act of aggression;

Whereas this bombing constitutes Canada's largest war mobilization since the Korean War, and is the largest military operation in Europe since World War II;

Whereas the bombing has provoked further attacks on Albanians by the Yugoslav army, provoking a mass movement of thousands of refugees into Albania, Montenegro, and Macedonia, further destabilizing the region;

Whereas Immigration Canada has indicated that there will be no increase to the number of refugees Canada accepts from the Yugoslav area;

Whereas the bombing has solidified support for Slobodan Milosevic within Yugoslavia, and intensified nationalist aggression throughout the region;

Whereas this act of war will inevitably devastate Yugoslavia, damage the health of all Yugoslav peoples, and result in a high number of casualties of Yugoslav peoples of all backgrounds, as well as Canadians and many other peoples;

Whereas the bombing has played on the media's racist scapegoating of the Serbian people as a whole;

Whereas NATO members hypocritically continue to fund Turkey's 15-year old war on the Kurdish people;

Whereas NATO's act of war threatens to force the conflict to spill over throughout the Balkan region; therefore,

Be it resolved that the Federation condemn Canada's involvement in the bombing of Yugoslavia;

Be it further resolved that the Federation condemn Milosevic's war on Kosovo, and recognize that the NATO bombing will not stop the plight of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians, and other ethnic minorities in the region;

Be it further resolved that the Federation demand that Canada take a leadership role in finding a peaceful political resolution to the dispute over Kosovo;

Be it further resolved that the Federation issue a press release to this effect, encourage coalition partners to do the same, and support attempts to organize actions where possible;

Be it further resolved that member locals be encouraged to write letters, pass motions, and participate in and organize actions aimed at ending Canada's involvement in the bombing of Yugoslavia.

## **Fédération canadienne des étudiantes et étudiants**

Résolution adoptée à l'unanimité lors de la réunion de l'Exécutif national du 30 mars 1999

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Attendu que, le 23 mars dernier, le Canada a participé aux bombardements de la Yougoslavie dans le cadre d'une attaque organisée par l'Organisation du Traité de l'Atlantique Nord (OTAN);

Attendu que cette initiative constitue un acte de guerre;

Attendu que le gouvernement du Canada n'a consulté ni le Parlement ni les Nations Unies avant d'entreprendre cette attaque hostile;

Attendu que ces bombardements constituent la plus importante mobilisation de guerre que le Canada ait jamais constituée depuis la Guerre de Corée et la plus grande opération militaire canadienne depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale;

Attendu que ces bombardements ont contribué à de plus amples attaques contre les Kosovars d'origine albanaise par l'armée yougoslave, entraînant ainsi un mouvement de masse de milliers de réfugié-e-s vers l'Albanie, le Monténégro et la Macédoine, et contribuant à déstabiliser davantage la région;

Attendu que le ministère canadien de l'Immigration a annoncé qu'il n'envisage pas d'augmenter le nombre de réfugié-e-s en provenance de Yougoslavie que le pays accueillerait;

Attendu que les bombardements ont renforcé l'appui à l'égard de Slobodan Milosevic en Yougoslavie et ont intensifié l'agression nationaliste d'un bout à l'autre du pays;

Attendu que cet acte de guerre dévastera inévitablement la Yougoslavie, sera néfaste à la santé de tous les Yougoslaves, et risque d'entraîner la mort d'un nombre élevé de Yougoslaves de toute origine ainsi que de celle de Canadien-ne-s et d'autres peuples;

Attendu que les bombardements ont influencé le rôle raciste des médias qui ciblent l'ensemble du peuple serbe comme bouc émissaire;

Attendu que les pays membres de l'OTAN continuent, de façon hypocrite, à financer la guerre de la Turquie contre le peuple kurde (qui dure depuis 15 ans);

Attendu que cet acte d'hostilité commis par l'OTAN risque d'entraîner l'expansion du conflit à toute la région des Balkans;

Il est proposé que la Fédération condamne la participation du Canada aux bombardements de la Yougoslavie;

Il est de plus proposé que la Fédération condamne la guerre de Milosevic contre le Kosovo et qu'elle reconnaisse que les bombardements de l'OTAN ne contribueront pas à mettre fin à la situation désespérée des Kosovars de souche albanaise et des autres minorités ethniques de la région;

Il est de plus proposé que la Fédération exige que le Canada prenne la tête d'un mouvement visant à trouver une résolution politique pacifique au conflit au Kosovo;

Il est de plus proposé que la Fédération diffuse un communiqué à cet effet, en encourageant les partenaires de coalition à lui emboîter le pas et en appuyant toute tentative visant l'organisation d'initiatives à cet égard lorsque possible;

Il est proposé d'encourager les sections membres à écrire des lettres, à adopter des résolutions et à organiser des actions visant à mettre fin à la participation du Canada aux bombardements de la Yougoslavie;

## **PRESS RELEASE**

For immediate release

Monday, April 12, 1999

### **Students: No More Bombing, No Deployment of Ground Troops Against Yugoslavia Canadians Respond to Yugoslav Student Union's Appeal for Help**

**Ottawa** - The Canadian Federation of Students has condemned Canada's participation in NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia as an act of war that is hurting those it was supposed to help. The student organization calls on Members of Parliament today to reject proposals to deploy ground troops against the balkan nation..

"Students around the world the world have played a leadership role in the fight for peace and democracy," explains Elizabeth Carlyle, the National Chairperson of the Federation. "More particularly, we have received desperate messages from student leaders in Yugoslavia stating that NATO air strikes are only worsening the situation for civilians."

In messages recently received from the Yugoslav Student Union, a democratic student organization critical of the Milosevic regime, an urgent appeal is made to bring an end to the bombing and further violence threatened by the deployment of ground troops.

"If this continues, there will be more blood on both sides and only innocent will suffer," states the Yugoslav Student Union in a statement issued during the bombing, "In the name of Humanity and Human-Kind, please, try to make all your influence to stop this terrible thing wherever you can."

In the latest of several appeals, Yugoslav student leaders warn: "If this continues, innocent young people will die and warlords will stay on their positions, untouched. In short, those NATO strikes will create more humanitarian catastrophes. Please [we] appeal to all [...] students [to] start a human campaign against bombing!"

"As a member of NATO, Canada has gone to war without consulting Parliament and without consulting the United Nations. Now that Parliament will finally discuss Canada's role in Yugoslavia and the NATO strike, we urge all Members of Parliament to take a stand against the bombing and to reject proposals for the deployment of Canadian ground troops," states Carlyle. Canada must push for peaceful political solutions."

- 30 -

For more information contact the Federation at (613) 232-7394

Simone Saint-Pierre, Communications Coordinator, extension 23 or [media@cfs-fcee.ca](mailto:media@cfs-fcee.ca)

Elizabeth Carlyle, National Chairperson, extension 21, or [chair@cfs-fcee.ca](mailto:chair@cfs-fcee.ca)

*The Canadian Federation of Students, Canada's national student movement, is comprised of more than 400,000 students at over 60 colleges and universities.*

**National Office • Bureau national**

170, rue Metcalfe Street • 5<sup>th</sup> Floor/5<sup>e</sup> étage • Ottawa, Ontario • K2P 1P3  
Telephone/Téléphone: (613) 232-7394 • Fax/Télécopieur: (613) 232-0276 • [www.cfs-fcee.ca](http://www.cfs-fcee.ca)

## COMMUNIQUÉ

POUR DIFFUSION IMMÉDIATE

Le lundi 12 avril 1999

### **Les étudiant-e-s réclament l'arrêt des bombardements et pas de troupes terrestres**

*Les Canadiens répondent à l'appel à l'aide lancé par le syndicat étudiant yougoslave*

**OTTAWA** – La Fédération canadienne des étudiantes et étudiants a condamné la participation du Canada au bombardement de la Yougoslavie par l'OTAN comme un acte de guerre qui entraîne la souffrance de ceux et celles qu'il devait protéger. L'organisation étudiante demande aux député-e-s de rejeter aujourd'hui les propositions de déploiement de troupes terrestres contre la Yougoslavie.

«Les étudiant-e-s de tous les coins du monde ont joué un rôle de leadership pour préserver la paix et la démocratie, d'expliquer Elizabeth Carlyle, présidente de la Fédération canadienne des étudiantes et étudiants. Nous avons reçu des messages désespérés des leaders étudiants de Yougoslavie déclarant que les attaques aériennes de l'OTAN n'ont fait qu'aggraver la situation des civil-e-s.»

Dans des messages récemment envoyés par le syndicat des étudiant-e-s de Yougoslavie, organisation étudiante démocratique et critique du régime Milosevic, un appel urgent a été lancé pour mettre fin aux bombardements et à la plus grande violence éventuelle si des troupes devaient être déployées au sol.

«Si cette situation perdure, il y aura encore plus de sang versé dans les deux camps et ce ne seront que des innocents qui souffriront, a déclaré le syndicat des étudiant-e-s de Yougoslavie dans une déclaration diffusée sous les bombardements. Au nom de l'humanité et des êtres humains, nous vous prions de tout faire en votre pouvoir pour que cesse cette terrible situation.»

Le dernier des appels lancés par les étudiant-e-s yougoslaves était une mise en garde : «Si cela continue, de jeunes gens innocents mourront et les seigneurs de la guerre demeureront en place, intouchables. Les attaques de l'OTAN ne feront que créer une catastrophe humaine. Nous vous prions de faire appel à tous les étudiant-e-s en vue de lancer une campagne humaine contre les bombardements!

«En tant que membre de l'OTAN, le Canada a pris le sentier de la guerre sans avoir consulté le Parlement ni les Nations Unies. Alors que le Parlement s'apprête finalement à aborder la question du rôle du Canada en Yougoslavie et les attaques de l'OTAN, nous insistons auprès des député-e-s fédéraux pour qu'ils et elles se prononcent contre les bombardements et rejettent toute proposition visant le déploiement terrestre de troupes canadiennes, a déclaré E. Carlyle. Le Canada doit faire pression pour obtenir une résolution politique pacifique à ce conflit.»

—30—

Pour de plus amples renseignements, communiquez avec la Fédération au (613) 232-7394

Simone Saint-Pierre, coordonnatrice des communications, poste 23 ou [media@cfs-fcee.ca](mailto:media@cfs-fcee.ca)

Jennifer Story, vice-présidente de la Fédération, au poste 13 ou [dchair@cfs-fcee.ca](mailto:dchair@cfs-fcee.ca)

La Fédération canadienne des étudiantes et étudiants, le mouvement étudiant national du Canada, regroupe plus de 400 000 étudiant-e-s répartis dans plus de 60 collèges et universités d'un bout à l'autre du pays.

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- supports the creation and maintenance of quality, publicly funded service to provide for Language Signe du Québec/American Sign Language availability for deaf and hard of hearing students.

NOVEMBER 1998  
MAY 1991

## Pan-Canadian Principles

The Federation supports the creation of Pan-Canadian Principles, which would ensure a high quality, publicly funded and publicly administered, fully accessible, comprehensive and portable system of post-secondary education in Canada. The Federation defines the above term as follows:

- **Public Administration:** A Post-Secondary Education system that is nationally planned and governed on a not for profit basis;
- **Accessibility:** Post-Secondary Education would be available to all individuals with the capacity and desire to be educated and/or acquire skills, irrespective of their background; post-secondary institutions would be free of all user fees. A system of national grants would be available to students in need;
- **Comprehensiveness:** A public education system designed to ensure a complete range of options; university, community colleges, professional and vocational training, distance education and continuing and adult education;
- **Transferability:** Credits acquired would be transferable between all institutions in the country; all barriers between different types of institutions and provinces would be eliminated. This would not involve the complete standardisation of curricula;
- **Mobility:** All residency requirements for eligibility for student grants and awards would be eliminated.
- **Funding of post-secondary education for the province of Québec** must be subject to negotiations between Québec and the federal government. Until the agreeable settlement of the Québec/Canada relationship, the establishment of pan-Canadian principles must take into account the uniqueness of Québec as well as the Aboriginal Peoples.

NOVEMBER 1997  
MAY 1997  
MAY 1996  
MAY 1995  
MAY 1993  
NOVEMBER 1992  
MAY 1992  
MAY 1991  
MAY 1990  
OCTOBER 1990

## Peace

The Federation looks forward to the day when students have every access to curriculum and funding for basic research in Canada's post-secondary institutions that enable institutions to make valuable contributions to peace initiatives between nations and peoples.

NOVEMBER 1992  
MAY 1992

The Federation is opposed to any cuts to social and educational programs in order to subsidise military spending.

MAY 1992  
NOVEMBER 1991

- appuie la création et le maintien d'un service de qualité et financé par l'État afin d'assurer la disponibilité de l'interprétation en Langage de signes du Québec/American Sign Language aux étudiant-e-s sourds et malentendants.

NOVEMBRE 1998  
MAI 1994

## Principes pancanadiens

La Fédération appuie la création de principes pancanadiens qui assureraient un système d'enseignement postsecondaire de qualité supérieure, financé et administré par l'État, pleinement accessible, complet et transférable au Canada. La Fédération définit ces principes comme suit :

- Administration publique : Un système d'enseignement postsecondaire sans but lucratif, planifié et dirigé au niveau national .
- Accessibilité : L'enseignement postsecondaire sera accessible à toutes les personnes ayant la capacité et le désir d'étudier ou d'acquérir des compétences, quel que soit leur milieu d'origine; les établissements d'enseignement postsecondaire seront exempts de frais de scolarité et l'on mettra en oeuvre un régime national de bourses d'études pour les étudiant-e-s qui en ont besoin.
- Caractère complet : Un système d'éducation publique conçu pour satisfaire toute une gamme d'options : universités, collèges communautaires, établissements de formation professionnelle, enseignement à distance et éducation permanente et éducation des adultes
- Transférabilité : Les crédits obtenus seront transférables entre tous les établissements partout au pays. Toutes les barrières entre les différents types d'établissements et les provinces seront éliminées. Il ne sera pas question d'uniformisation complète des programmes.
- Mobilité : Toutes les exigences associées au lieu de résidence pour l'admissibilité des étudiant-e-s aux programmes de subventions et de bourses seront abolies.

Le financement de l'enseignement postsecondaire au Québec doit faire l'objet de négociations entre ce dernier et le gouvernement fédéral. Jusqu'à ce qu'il y ait règlement satisfaisant des relations entre le Québec et le Canada, on devra tenir dans l'établissement des principes pancanadiens de l'unicité du Québec et des peuples autochtones

NOVEMBRE 1997  
MAI 1997  
MAI 1996  
MAI 1995  
MAI 1993  
NOVEMBRE 1992  
MAI 1992  
MAI 1991  
MAI 1990  
OCTOBRE 1990

## Paix

La Fédération attend avec impatience le jour où les étudiant-e-s auront accès aux programmes d'études et au financement de la recherche de base dans les établissements postsecondaires du Canada qui permettra aux établissements de faire une contribution précieuse aux initiatives de paix entre les nations et les peuples.

NOVEMBRE 1992  
MAI 1992

La Fédération s'oppose à toute compression imposée aux programmes sociaux ou éducatifs pour subventionner les dépenses militaires.

MAI 1992  
NOVEMBRE 1991

## Minority Language Rights

The Federation believes that discussion concerning issues of Francophone Canadians residing outside of Quebec should take place independently of discussion of issues concerning anglophones residing in Quebec.

MAY 1994

The Federation condemns the decision of any municipality declaring itself unilingual.

MAY 1991  
MAY 1990

## Multiculturalism

The Federation supports an immigration policy that further strengthens the multicultural nature of the Canadian Society.

The Federation denounces all government proposals and legislation and political party positions that undermine Canada's multicultural identity.

MAY 1995

## National Students' Day

The second Wednesday of each October shall be designated as National Students' Day.

MAY 1993  
NOVEMBER 1992

## Peace

The Federation supports all endeavour made by the Canadian government to support world peace and multilateral disarmament, and supports Canada taking a more active role at the United Nations to encourage self-determination for all nations.

NOVEMBER 1994

## People with Disabilities

The Federation declares that all people with disabilities have the right to equal access, to equal treatment in, and freedom from discrimination in employment, housing, and provision of public services.

The Federation:

1. declares that all students with disabilities have the right to equal access, equal treatment, and freedom from discrimination in post-secondary institutions; and
2. supports accessible and therefore free public transportation systems for people with disabilities which, wherever possible are integrated with existing public transportation systems; and
3. supports publicly funded home care for people with disabilities, which provides a stable working relationship between the caregiver and the person with disability.

NOVEMBER 1997  
NOVEMBER 1994  
MAY 1994

## Policing and Military Actions

The Federation is opposed to brutality in both Canadian policing and military actions both nationally and internationally including, but not limited to, actions officially classified as "peace keeping".

NOVEMBER 1997

## **Droits des minorités linguistiques**

La Fédération soutient que toute question portant sur les Francophones hors Québec doit être traitée indépendamment des questions touchant les Anglophones du Québec.

MAI 1994

La Fédération condamne la décision de toute municipalité se déclarant unilingue.

MAI 1991  
MAI 1990

## **Multiculturalisme**

La Fédération appuie une politique d'immigration qui renforce davantage la nature multiculturelle de la société canadienne.

La Fédération dénonce toute proposition gouvernementale, législation et position de partis politiques qui visent à miner l'identité multiculturelle du Canada.

MAI 1995

## **Journée nationale des étudiant-e-s**

Le deuxième mercredi d'octobre de chaque année est désigné «Journée nationale des étudiantes et étudiant.

MAI 1993  
NOVEMBRE 1992

## **Paix**

La Fédération appuie toutes les démarches entreprises par le gouvernement canadien en faveur de la paix dans le monde et du désarmement multilatéral. Elle invite le Canada à jouer un rôle plus actif au sein de l'ONU, en faveur de l'autodétermination de toutes les nations.

NOVEMBRE 1994

## **Personnes handicapées**

La Fédération déclare que toutes les personnes handicapées ont le droit d'accès à un traitement équitables et exempt de discrimination à un emploi, au logement et à la prestation de services publics.

La Fédération :

1. déclare que tous les étudiant-e-s handicapés ont le droit d'accès et à un traitement équitables, et à un milieu exempt de discrimination dans les établissements d'enseignement postsecondaire; et
2. appuie la prestation de services de transport public gratuits accessibles aux personnes handicapées qui, dans la mesure du possible, sont intégrés aux services fournis par le transport public existant; et
3. appuie la prestation de soins à domicile financés par l'État pour les personnes handicapées, qui offrent une relation de travail stable entre le ou la préposé-e aux soins et la personne handicapée.

NOVEMBRE 1997  
NOVEMBRE 1994  
MAI 1994

## **Actions militaires et policières**

La Fédération s'oppose à la brutalité des actions exécutées par les forces policières et militaires canadiennes, tant au Canada qu'à l'étranger, incluant les actions officielles dites de « maintien de la paix.

NOVEMBRE 1997



**Canadian Federation of Students  
Fédération canadienne des étudiantes et étudiants**

**THE WAR IN KOSOVO  
LA GUERRE AU KOSOVO**

- General Information – Renseignements généraux



# Why is NATO Bombing Yugoslavia?

Richard Sanders,  
Coordinator, Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT)

Here are some insightful and perceptive writings which present a variety of different, yet inter-related, theories regarding NATO's real reasons for bombing Yugoslavia. These quotations are excerpted from essays, articles, pamphlets, letters and statements about the war. The authors' views reflect a refreshingly complex understanding of the history, politics, economics and culture not only of the Balkans, but of the United States and NATO.

These perspectives are obviously at odds with the prevailing rationale for war which is being presented by NATO, the Pentagon, Canada's Department of National Defence, other NATO governments and military leaders, the mainstream media, and the many right-wing "peace activists" who have recently revealed themselves.

The predominant view, that hundreds of NATO war planes are bombing Yugoslavian infrastructure in order to protect human rights and to promote peace and justice, is presented to the public with almost complete unanimity by government, military and media sources. The intensity of NATO's attack on Yugoslavia has only been matched by the intensity of the media bombardment which the public in NATO countries have endured. This programming has been so incessant that the supposed truth of the "bombing for peace" or "humanitarian war" theory is very difficult for some to even question.

ian war" theory is very difficult for some to even question.

The struggle which the peace movement now faces is one of educating ourselves and others. A good place to start is to critique NATO's stated motives. We must develop a deeper understanding of the real reasons behind the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia.

During this war, the internet has played an unprecedented role in providing a venue for alternative perspectives which challenge the *status quo* version of reality. The world wide web has grown immensely since the Gulf War in 1991. Despite the mainstream media's general willingness to comply with NATO's worldview, the contradictions in their rationale for the war are slowly being exposed. Largely as a result of the internet, it has become increasingly difficult for economic and military institutions to wield their usual degree of control over the information which is made available to the public.

There is an immense body of historical evidence -- now readily available through the internet -- which supports the alternative analyses which are cited below. It seems likely that it will only be a matter of time before this war backfires on NATO. A major scandal is brewing just beneath the surface of millions of computer screens.

The tide is turning! Join the wave!

Many of writings below can be found at:

<[www.zmag.org/zmag/kosovo.htm](http://www.zmag.org/zmag/kosovo.htm)> (Z Magazine)

<[www.iacenter.org](http://www.iacenter.org)> (International Action Center)

## Noam Chomsky

CBC: You don't believe that the reason for the NATO action was to rescue the Kosovo Albanians from oppression?

Noam Chomsky: It is virtually inconceivable on rational grounds and there are simple reasons for that. One reason is simply Kosovo itself. Up until the US NATO bombing March 24th, there had been, according to NATO, 2000 people killed on all sides, and a couple of hundred thousand refugees. Well, that's bad, that's a humanitarian crisis, unfortunately it's the kind you can find all over the world. For example, it happens to be almost identical in numbers to what the state department describes as the last year in Colombia: 300,000 refugees, 2 or 3 thousand people killed, overwhelming by the military forces and their paramilitary associates, who the US arms. In fact arms are going up. That's the way the US, Britain and other countries act when there are humanitarian crises, namely they escalate them. Now, what happened in

Kosovo, well in fact it's the same thing. There were options on March 23rd, they chose an option which, predictably, changed the situation from a Colombia style crisis to maybe approaching a disaster, and that was a conscious choice.

CBC: Let me ask you what you think the motive was.

Noam Chomsky: One thing is that any kind of turbulence in the Balkans is what's called in technical terms a crisis. That means it can harm the interests of rich and powerful people. So if people are slaughtering each other in Sierra Leone, Colombia, Turkey or wherever, that doesn't effect rich and powerful people very much. Therefore they are glad either to just watch it, or even contribute to it, massively as in the case of Turkey or Colombia. But in the Balkans it's different. It can effect European interests and therefore US interest, so it becomes a crisis, any kind of turbulence. Then you want to quiet it down.

Well, how do you do it? The US flatly refuses to allow the institutions of

international order to be involved, so no UN, and that's pretty explicit. So they have to turn to NATO. Well, NATO, the US dominates, so turn to force.

So, why force? Well, several reasons, and here I think Clinton, Blair and others have been pretty honest about it. The point that they reiterate over and over is that it is necessary to establish the credibility of NATO. Now all we have to do is translate from newspeak.

What does credibility of NATO mean? I mean, are they concerned with the credibility of Italy, or the credibility of Belgium, obviously not. They are concerned with the credibility of the United States. Now what does the credibility of the United States mean? Well, you know, ask any Mafia don, he'll explain it. So, suppose some Mafia don is running some area in Chicago, what does he mean by credibility? He means that you have got to show people that they better be obedient or else, that's credibility.

Interview by Mary Lou Findlay, on As it Happens, CBC RADIO (April 16, 1999)

## Doug Roche

The enlargement of NATO is the critical backdrop behind all of the bombing mania. NATO expansion pertains to what Washington calls a "new strategic concept", an ambitious, expensive and potentially perilous new program to have NATO, under U.S. leadership, become the key player globally. This new blueprint for NATO not only sees it extending throughout Eastern and Baltic Europe, possibly taking in Russia itself, it goes considerably beyond this, as indicated by Zbigniew Brzezinski in his new book ("The Brand Chessboard"). He defines the alliance as part of an "integrated, comprehensive and long-term geostrategy for all of Eurasia," in which NATO would eventually reach Asia, where another U.S. led military alliance would connect Pacific and Southeast Asian states.

This is confirmed by recently announced plans for new relations with Southeast Asia in which the U.S. would acquire access to military bases in Asian countries in exchange for financial help to buy U.S. arms. The Pentagon's recently published East Asian Strategy Report defines this program as offering the United States "a credible power projection capability in the region and beyond."

Another component of this strategy is to counter any prospect of a purely European defense and security entity. Britain's former Conservative defense minister, Michael Portillo, recently criticized those European allies who want such a separate European defense and "whose wider project is to establish a European power bloc that offers the world alternative economic and foreign policy to America's."

The U.S. is determined to remain dominant militarily especially with the advent of the Euro-dollar, a strengthened EU and the growing potential for intense economic rivalry with Europe.

This was clearly spelled out in "The Defense Planning Guide, excerpted in a New York Times article, March 8, 1992 which said, among other things: "We must account sufficiently for the interests of the advanced industrial nations to discourage them from challenging our leadership or seeking to overturn the established political and economic order. ... we must [deter] potential competitors

from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role... We must seek to prevent the emergence of European-only security arrangements which would undermine NATO."

The projected expansion and transformation of NATO is globalization of U.S. military strategy paralleling economic globalization. The surface justifications for such a worldwide military presence include the need for the U.S. to be peacekeeper and policeman. Yet, this military muscle clearly will be used to protect and bolster U.S. corporate investments around the world in the face of growing resistance of people everywhere who are suffering intensifying poverty from the burgeoning global economic crisis.

What is at stake in Bosnia and Kosovo and in the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, is not only the expansion of NATO in the abstract. The basic underlying reason is the need to open up access for the transshipment of oil from the rich oil fields of the Caspian sea to Europe via the Danube and through the corridor in which Kosovo lies—a passageway to the Middle East for centuries, including for the Crusaders. Above all, the expansion of NATO involves guaranteeing continuing access to and control of the Caspian sea oil.

Ethnic conflict, now exploding in Kosovo, and the further Balkanization of the Balkans, also continues to be fed by the supply of outside funds and armaments which nurtures and plays upon ethnic and religious differences. But, the major contributing factors to the strife in the region are the expansion interests of NATO, the drive to privatize at cheap sale prices all the public enterprises of the former Yugoslavia, the need for an "oil highway," and the drive to weaken at will, the sovereignty of nations.

"The U.S. Drive for NATO Expansion" (Jan. 20, 1999) from the International Center for Peace and Justice News Service <icpj@icg.org>

## David Orchard

[Yugoslavia's] crime is that it is fighting to preserve its territorial integrity against an armed secessionist movement. Every other nation would do the same.

"Canada at War" *Globe and Mail* (March 26, 1999)

## Eduardo Galeano

This war, like all wars, serves as a giant display case for the exhibition and sale of arms. The prize offering continues to be the F-117, that began its devastating career killing Panamanians at the end of 1989. And anyone can take a tumble; not every marketing campaign is successful. One supposedly invisible F-117 suddenly became visible and was shot down. The accident cost U.S. taxpayers \$45 million dollars, not counting the weapons on board.

This war, like all wars, justifies military spending. The great Western powers, armed to the teeth, need clients. And they also need enemies. Not very long ago, at the beginning of this year, when the second war against Iraq was coming to an end, the Pentagon's generals warned: "Our stockpile of missiles is getting depleted." Immediately, President Clinton announced a \$12 billion dollar increase in the already immense military budget. This is 15% of the federal budget called, who knows why, Defense Budget.

"Confession of the Bombs" (International Action Center web site)

## Edward S. Herman

Past NATO policies have contributed to the ongoing violence and are part of the problem — their bombing strategy is the culmination of policies that have exacerbated the crisis. The bombing is not merely immoral and illegal, it is part of an ugly and destructive policy sequence rooted in self-serving geo-political strategies.

"Atrocities Management" (*Z Magazine* web site.)

## Howard Zinn

Now, with no Soviet threat, [NATO] is being artificially kept alive by again creating unreal threats. Its massive armaments cannot deal with the complex conflicts we have today — and Kosovo reveals this.

From "A Q/A initiated by Mother Jones Magazine" (*Z Magazine* web site)

**Please copy and distribute  
this document.**

## Mumia Abu-Jamal

NATO is but a fig leaf for American "interests," and the bombing of Yugoslavia is but a global demonstration of the ruthlessness of the American empire. A demonstration? The monstrous atomic bombing of Japan, after it was virtually beaten in World War II, was not a military necessity, but a political one, designed to demonstrate to the Russians that the U.S. was, and would ever be, boss. It was a massive, deadly demonstration.

So too, the Yugoslavia bombing treats Serbs as the U.S. treated Japanese during the war — as props to demonstrate the power of the empire.

It's about establishing who's "boss" in the next century. It's about keeping Russia in its place. It's about keeping the European Union under the thumb of Wall Street.

The bombing of Serbia is an echo of the bombing of three other countries in the past six months — of Iraq, Sudan and Afghanistan. And for precisely the same reason — to show that it can be done, no matter what so-called "international law" states. It is to instill terror throughout the world, in order for U.S. capital to institute what former President George Bush tried to do, but failed: to establish a New World Order.

Days before the bombing, NATO signed up Poland, Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic) as its newest members, thereby virtually isolating Russia. Only Serbia and the Yugoslav states have refused to join NATO — their bombing is their punishment.

"U.S. Out of Yugoslavia" (International Action Center web site)

## Michael Bliss

After the Soviet Union collapsed, there was no obvious role for NATO to play, and from a Canadian point of view a case could be made for winding down the military role of the grand alliance.

Instead, NATO is making war on a sovereign country to try to enforce its view of how that country's internal affairs should be arranged. It is acting as a kind of international police force, making the rules as it goes.

"Ashamed to be a Canadian" *National Post* (March 26, 1999)

## Coordinating Committee Green Party USA

NATO's intervention, the biggest military operation in Europe since World War II, is setting dangerous precedents. NATO is arrogating to itself the right to conduct aggressive out-of-area military interventions. Germany is re-establishing itself as a world military power again by conducting its first air strikes since World War II. These actions undermine the UN and strengthen the NATO military alliance as the world's military enforcer. They shift the balance of power in the world toward US and German imperialism.

The US and NATO are using the pretext of concern for the rights of Albanian Kosovars as a cover for advancing their economic and geopolitical interests. NATO's intervention is the US-led NATO imperialism intends to complete the dismemberment of the former multinational confederation that was Yugoslavia and transform it into a collection of easily dominated ethnic mini-states that are nothing more than NATO protectorates. Whatever its flaws, during the Cold War years Yugoslavia had remarkably carved out for itself a position of neutrality between the super-powers. It challenged both the Western capitalist and Soviet bureaucratic economic models with its experiments in workers' self-management and market socialism. It federated the long balkanized Balkans. It industrialized more successfully than any other undeveloped East European country. But in 1990, as the Warsaw Pact countries disintegrated, Yugoslavia was one of the last European holdouts against the neoliberal global order that the US and NATO sought to impose. Thus rebalkanization of the Balkans became the strategic objective of the US, Germany, and their NATO allies.

NATO's bombing in Yugoslavia is an escalation of this policy. US-led NATO imperialism wants to secure pipeline routes and access to Caspian oil and gas in former Soviet republics. It wants to expand profitable exploitation of cheap labor by global corporations. It wants to legitimize NATO's post cold war mission of being the world's police force, intervening anywhere unilaterally. It wants to extend US-led hegemony over the entire

Eurasian land mass. It wants to justify the enormous expenditures made on new weapons like the Stealth B2 bomber now seeing its first military action in Yugoslavia.

The first victim of NATO's military intervention are the pro-democracy movements that could begin the process of creating a multicultural democracy in the Balkans. The destruction of any such movements is precisely what the US-led NATO intervention intends, all the talk about humanitarian concerns to the contrary notwithstanding.

NATO was always been about keeping Europe safe for corporate capital by suppressing radical democratic movements internally as well as by repelling external threats — real or imagined — during the Cold War. Now NATO is transforming itself into imperialism's global police force. It is not in the interests of the majority of Americans, nor is it morally justifiable, for US imperialism, through NATO, to dictate to countries in the Eurasian land mass that they shall remain open to exploitation by US-based corporations.

"Stop the NATO Bombing of Yugoslavia" (*Z Magazine* web site.)

## John Pilger

When the US dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, the front page of the *London Daily Express* said: "This is a warning to the world." When American missiles and bombs attacked a sovereign European state last Friday, it was another clear warning to the world, with the message fundamentally unchanged.

The most powerful and rapacious imperial power in history will stop at nothing to secure its domination over human affairs.

Today, NATO, which of course is Washington, is bombing Serbia because the Milosevic regime — like Saddam Hussein in 1990 — has become uppity. The man is not following orders. He is not subduing the Kosovans as the American plan dictated. He has become all too flagrant, allowing his troops to slaughter people and leave their bodies to be filmed by Western television. More seriously, he is challenging the "stability of the region": the kind of false stability essential for an imperial power to go about its God-

given tasks.

US special envoy to the Balkans Richard Holbrooke has admitted, in effect, that the real reason for the bombing is "the credibility of NATO" — in other words, the credibility of American power. Since the end of the Cold War, the US has sought new reasons for maintaining NATO, which ensures US control over European military forces.

Since 1990, Washington has pushed for NATO to be used "out of area" and to act without UN approval: in other words, to usurp the role of the UN as the world's "peacekeeper."

However, these days, having attacked Iraq on and off for eight years, the US can no longer rely on the open support of conservative Muslim states. The imperial godfather is impatient to complete its main project following the collapse of its former rival, the Soviet Union — and that is to secure an oil "protectorate" all the way from the Gulf to the Caspian Sea, thus controlling most of the world's principal energy reserves.

NATO is to be the policeman of the new American oil protectorate, and we can expect to see more NATO (mainly Anglo-American) violence in support of this newly charted imperial hegemony. It is a bitter irony for the Serb regime that, while the US actually regards Milosevic as useful and is opposed to an independent Kosovo, the attack on his country is too good an opportunity to pass up. It demonstrates to the world what NATO is really for, in the same way that the 1991 Gulf "war" was as much a demonstration of American power.

"Uncle Sam's Secret Agenda"

## Edward Said

One needs to remember that since the US is a world, and not merely a regional, power one calculation that enters each of its foreign policy decisions is how the deployment of its military might will affect the US's image in the eyes of other, especially other competitive countries. Henry Kissinger made that point a central concern of his Indochinese policy when he undertook the secret bombing of Laos: your enemies will learn that there are no limits to what you are prepared to do, even to the point of appearing totally irrational. Thus the exercise of massive destructive-

ness wholly disproportionate to the goal, say, of stopping an enemy from advancing further, is a principal aim of this policy. Punishment is its own goal, bombing as a display of NATO authority its own satisfaction, especially when there is little chance of retaliation from the enemy.

A lot of this comes from the delusion that the US is the world's policeman.

Nothing of what the US or NATO does now has anything really to do with protecting the Kosovars or bringing them independence: it is rather a display of military might.

All this for the US to assert its will and to show the world who is boss. The humanitarian concerns expressed are the merest hypocrisy since what really counts is the expression of US power.

"Protecting the Kosovars" (*Z Magazine* web site.)

## International Action Center

Yugoslavia, like Iraq, is a regional power in a strategic area that the Pentagon and Wall Street corporations seek to dominate.

The truth is that these governments have in one way or another resisted the designs of the U.S. military and economic establishment to turn their countries into semi-colonies ruled by puppet governments.

It is the biggest corporations and banks that call the shots. Clinton or George Bush before him are simply the paid politicians who do the bidding of corporate America.

"Stop The Bombing of Yugoslavia! Money for Jobs & Education, Not War!"

This war will cost many billions of dollars, money stolen from housing, health care, education and other social programs. Each cruise missile costs \$1 million. The only ones who will benefit from this war will be the military-industrial complex and big business.

The real U.S./NATO goal is to break Yugoslavia into ever-smaller pieces and bomb its people into submission. The Balkans is a strategic region, a crossroads between Western Europe and the oil-rich Middle East and Caspian Basin. The U.S. has established, in only five years, mili-

tary domination of the former Yugoslav republics of Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia, as well as Hungary and Albania. The only hold-out has been what is today the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This is the real reason why Yugoslavia has become the target in the Balkans, just as it is the real reason that Iraq has become the target in the Persian/Arabian Gulf region.

"The US/NATO War in Yugoslavia: Eight Myths" (International Action Center web site)

## Michael Albert

(1)(a) Bombing sells weapons and tests them, of course, and it legitimates military expenditures as well, which is not inconsequential.

(b) The real effect of bombing is to stop behaviors before they get started. That is, bombing country A is really about telling country B through Z that they'd better not do anything to annoy us, because we are ready and willing to deliver bombs air express if they do. So, as a means to validate the threat of bombing in order that the threat curtails opposition before it develops, actual bombing certainly has a clear if vile logic. It is only ironic and not irrational that once undertaken, bombing's power to coerce policy actually often diminishes — or so it seems to me.

(c) In this case there is a bonus to bombing. The current bombing has been unleashed without even a pretence of UN ratification. As such it argues/establishes that the UN is no longer necessary...that there simply is no international law but, instead, whatever NATO (read the U.S.) thinks warrants bombs — actually does warrant bombs.

(2) But one of the strange aspects of the argument that the reason why the U.S. bombs with increasing frequency nowadays is to establish the RIGHT and even the DUTY to do so, as well as the expectation and thus the FEAR that we will do so — an argument that I think is valid — is, well, WHY?

That is, what is the independent policy value of having established our right to bomb and having convinced others of our inclination to do so? What does the repeatedly invigorated threat to bomb curb? What are we afraid others might

edly reinvigorated?

The answer is presumably any significant deviation from our will...but taking it a step further, one might wonder — unless one expects an unexpectedly high amount of deviation from our will in the near future — why have we over the past year or two seemingly increased our efforts to legitimate the idea that we are free to bomb at will and only too happy to do so? And why are we doing it even in a case where it runs the risk of costing a whole lot in increased turbulence in the region, as now in Yugoslavia?

(3) The obvious answer regarding Yugoslavia is that it is in Europe. That is, it is one thing to have chaotic ethnic strife (or, of course, desired and more calculated imperial repression) in other parts of the world. Elsewhere, if such conflicts kill 10,000, 50,000, or even 500,000, and even if they are a bit chaotic and they aren't actual manifestations of U.S. interests, so be it. But when the strife is in Europe, in the Balkans, there is the possibility it will ignite fires that threaten real U.S. geopolitical interests. That prospect, of course, has to be addressed. But how? The fact that on the order of 2,000 Kosovars have died, not tens or hundreds of thousands as is more typically the case, and that the totally predictable result of our intervention will be an escalation of their death and suffering as well as that of others in the region, is of little account. Rhetoric aside, human lives and humanitarian concern of course have nothing to do with U.S. policy. Yet if the U.S. is to intervene — what tools does it have? The answer, of course, is flying in the sky.

(4) But I want to try to take the discussion another step. Hahnel has recently elaborated on his recent series in *Z Magazine* regarding the results of the global economic crisis. My reading is that he is saying that the current global economic crises are leading to a process of "re-colonization" of countries like Thailand, Korea, Brazil, etc. The assets of various economies, in particular ones that have had some success in developing since WWII, are bought at fire sale prices. This is not junk being bought up, but real banks, real industries, real utilities, real mines, and so on. What had to be done with guns at the turn of the cen-

tury and was then undone, at least to a degree, with huge independence movements and struggles, is now being redone — but this time with legal and "non-violent" market exchange.

If this is so, can't we predict some plausible national responses of dispossessed but politicized populations, and sometimes even of whole states — in six months, a year, or two years? That is, can't we see coming from this purchase of other countries' infrastructures not only newly subservient co-opted governments to serve our corporations and banks in a modern variant of the colonial model, but also popular national resistance on a large scale?

(5) Now suppose we take this argument still one more step. What if there is an understanding in our government that increased resistance to U.S. plans around the world is indeed not far off in a much bigger form than it has presented itself in recent years, and arising in countries that no one would easily see as enemies deserving a violent response from us, save for having been warmed up with a lot of "training" as to our bombing rights and proclivities?

If Hahnel is right, then what he is saying has got to be at the center of government foreign policy making. And it seems to me it would lead to a view that there may soon be serious "dissident" fires to put out, or to quell, or to scare into remission, or best, to suffocate before they surface — fires where geopolitically important things, like the economic infrastructures that we have ripped off, are at stake. Fires where there would be no UN sanction...and so on.

"Some Thoughts about the Bombings and Their Meaning for Activists" (*Z Magazine* web site.)

## European Greens

NATO's purpose is to:

- (a) challenge internal questioning of the current purpose (and cost) of NATO itself.
- (b) reinforce the impotence of the UN.
- (c) remind the world community of the global military superiority of NATO member states, in particular the USA.

Cited in the Green Party USA statement: "Stop the NATO Bombing of Yugoslavia" (*Z Magazine* web site.)

## Diana Johnstone

For NATO had its own problem: to display its capacity for a "new mission" after the collapse of the "Soviet threat". It needed a *raison d'être*. The new NATO is to be a global intervention force, to be used to defend the interests of its rich member states anywhere in the world. Of course, these interests will not be explained to the public, oh no. For public consumption, NATO intervention will always be motivated by compelling "humanitarian" reasons. NATO will rush in with cruise missiles and stealth bombers to avert a "humanitarian crisis". Meanwhile, Kosovo provides a proving ground, supposed to produce marvellous results just in time for NATO's 50th anniversary celebrations.

From "A Q/A initiated by *Mother Jones Magazine*" (*Z Magazine* web site.)

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO needed a new excuse for pumping resources into the military-industrial complex. Thanks to Kosovo, NATO can celebrate its 50th anniversary next month by consecration of its new global mission: to intervene anywhere in the world on humanitarian grounds. The recipe is easy: arm a group of radical secessionists to shoot policemen, describe the inevitable police retaliation as "ethnic cleansing", promise the rebels that NATO will bomb their enemy if the fighting goes on, and then interpret the resulting mayhem as a challenge to NATO's "resolve" which must be met by military action.

Thanks to Kosovo, national sovereignty will be a thing of the past — not of course for Great Powers like the U.S. and China, but for weaker States that really need it. National boundaries will be no obstacle to NATO intervention.

Thanks to Kosovo, the U.S. can control eventual Caspian oil pipeline routes between the Black Sea and the Adriatic, and extend the European influence of favored ally Turkey.

"NATO's Humanitarian Trigger" (*Z Magazine* web site.)

### Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade

Tel.: (613) 231-3076

Fax: (613) 231-2614

Email: [ad207@freenet.carleton.ca](mailto:ad207@freenet.carleton.ca)

WWW: [www.ncf.carleton.ca/coat](http://www.ncf.carleton.ca/coat)

From: Michael Mandel, tel (416) 736-5039

Page 1 of 2

Press release  
May 7, 1999

**PRESS CONFERENCE**  
***Lawyers Charge NATO Leaders  
before War Crimes Tribunal***

**Friday, May 7, 1999 at 10:00 A.M.**  
**Shell Jacobs Law Offices**  
**672 Dupont St., Suite 401, Toronto**

A group of lawyers from several countries has laid a formal complaint with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia against all of the individual leaders of the NATO countries and officials of NATO itself. The complaint was initiated by professors from Osgoode Hall Law School of York University in Toronto -- where Tribunal prosecutor Louise Arbour was also a professor before becoming a judge. The group has charged **Bill Clinton, Madeleine Albright, Javier Solana, Jamie Shea, Jean Chretien, Art Eggleton, Lloyd Axworthy** and 60 other heads of state and government, foreign ministers, defence ministers and NATO officials, with war crimes committed in NATO's six-week old bombing campaign against Yugoslavia.

The list of crimes includes "wilful killing, wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health, extensive destruction of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly, employment of poisonous weapons or other weapons to cause unnecessary suffering, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity, attack, or bombardment, by whatever means, of undefended towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings, destruction or wilful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences, historic monuments and works of art and science."

The complaint also alleges "open violation" of the United Nations Charter, the NATO treaty itself, the Geneva Conventions and the Principles of International Law Recognized by the Nuremberg Tribunal (the latter of which makes "planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances" a crime).

Under the Statute "a person who planned, instigated, ordered, committed or otherwise aided and abetted in the planning, preparation or execution of a crime shall be individually responsible for the crime" and "the official position of any accused person, whether as Head of State or Government or as a responsible Government official, shall not relieve such person of criminal responsibility or mitigate punishment."

The complaint points to the bombing of civilian targets and alleges that NATO leaders "have admitted publicly to having agreed upon and ordered these actions, being fully aware of their nature and effects" and that "there is ample evidence in the public statements of NATO leaders that these attacks on civilian targets are part of a deliberate attempt to terrorize the population to turn it against its leadership;"

cont. p. 2



**NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN**  
**COMITÉ CANADIEN D'ACTION SUR LE STATUT DE LA FEMME**

**NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN**  
**COMITÉ CANADIEN D'ACTION SUR LE STATUT DE LA FEMME**

**NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN**  
**COMITÉ CANADIEN D'ACTION SUR LE STATUT DE LA FEMME**

**For Immediate Release**

March 29, 1999

**NAC CONDEMS THE BOMBINGS IN YUGOSLAVIA &  
CALLS ON CANADA TO PULL OUT OF NATO**

The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) is appalled by NATO's decision to declare war on the people of Yugoslavia. This act contravenes the principles of international law and only serves to further the geopolitical interest of the US and its allies in the region. The dangers of an all out third world war are real!

"History has proven how the impact of war on women and children is nothing short of devastating", said Joan Grant-Cummings, President of NAC. "The use of military weaponry will not only desecrate the country, but will seriously damage the health of its people, resulting in high numbers of human casualties, first and foremost of women and children."

"The only true road to peace is not by force and war, but through civil, political settlements. This latter path was not chosen and instead, NATO decided to flex its muscles and show how *might makes right*", continued Ms. Grant-Cummings. "The farce being told by Prime Minister Chrétien that NATO has the "moral imperative" and that this is a "humanitarian mission" to secure peace by going to war is preposterous, while it was the US and its allies who supplied the warring factions with their weapons in the first place."

"Canada's role in this war is shameful. How can we claim to be a peace-loving nation while we engage in such barbaric actions?" demanded Ms. Grant-Cummings. "Canada must end its membership in NATO and all military blocs."

The avenues for the pursuit of a political resolution to the dispute in Kosovo are still at hand. Canada, as Chair of the UN Security Council, can and must seek peaceful means to resolving this dilemma now! NAC calls on the Canadian government to demand the immediate cessation of NATO aggression and to press for a political resolution to the Kosovo problem under the auspices of the United Nations.

-30-

For further information, please contact:

Mariam Abou-Dib

Communications Officer

(416) 932-1718, x26

Secrétariat National office: 234 av. Eglinton ave east, Toronto (Ontario) M4P 1K5 Canada

Tél: (416) 932-1718 • Fax/télécopieur (416) 932-0646 • 1-800-665-5124 • Email/courriel: nac@web.net

opcin/hirpb 225

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Subject: [Fwd: entrevue de Chomsky]  
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Stop NATO's war in the Balkans!

Arrêtons la guerre de l'OTAN dans les Balkans!

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To: "reseau@lists.nothingness.org" <reseau@lists.nothingness.org>, nadine bachand <bashung@hotmail.com>, martin <petit.martin@uqam.ca>, Bob L'Aboyer <aboyer@dsuper.net>, Robert Gauthier <spires@globetrotter.net>, nonviol@colba.net  
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Voici la toute dernière entrevue qu'a donnée Chomsky  
sur la situation dans les Balkans,  
vendredi dernier sur les ondes de CBC.  
Vous remarquerez que le gouvernement canadien mange  
une grosse tarte à la crème dans le faciès du parle et ment de  
l'élémentaire.  
Benzoïde

"J'admets que le fonctionnement du capitalisme est sans rapport avec une quelconque notion de justice."

Friedrich A. Hayek, l'intellectuel libéral le plus fécond selon les fées cons du Québécois Libre.....

INTERVIEW by Mary Lou Findlay (MLF) with NOAM CHOMSKY (NC) As It Happens, CBC RADIO April 16, 1999

MLF: Do you think that, by in large, you and we are getting a reasonably accurate picture of what is going on in this war?

NC: I think the reporters on the ground, many of them, are producing quite accurate stories: the way the framework and the interpretation is another question, I mean inaccurate isn't the word for it, it is ludicrous.

MLF: Well tell us about that.

This is presented, well I haven't read the Canadian media, but in the United States and what I've seen of Europe, its presented as an humanitarian endeavor, and that is repeated over and over. Well, if anything is obvious, it's the opposite, it cannot possibly be considered by a rational person as having humanitarian motives.

MLF: You don't believe that the reason for the NATO action was to rescue the Kosovo Albanians from oppression?

NC: It is virtually inconceivable on rational grounds and there are simple reasons for that. One reason is simply Kosovo itself. Up until the US NATO bombing March 24th, there had been, according to NATO, 2000 people killed on all sides, and a couple of hundred thousand refugees. Well, that's bad, that's an humanitarian crises, unfortunately it's the kind you can find all over the world. For example, it happens to be almost identical in numbers to what the state department describes as the last year in Colombia: 300,000 refugees, 2 or 3 thousand people killed, overwhelming by the military forces and the para military associates, who the US arms, in fact arms are going up. That's the way the US, Britain and other countries act when there are humanitarian crises, namely they escalate them. Now, what happened in Kosovo, well in fact the same thing. There were options on March 23rd, they chose an option which, predictably, changed the situation from a Colombia style crisis to maybe approaching a disaster, and that was a conscious choice. The effects? Let me quote the US NATO commanding General, Wesley Clark: two days after the bombing he said it was "entirely predictable" that the reaction of the Serb army on the ground would be exactly as it was.

MLF: I must interject here and say that our own foreign Minister has said nobody foresaw the scale of Milosevic response.

NC: That's ridiculous, maybe they didn't foresee the exact scale, but when you bomb people they don't throw flowers at you. They react

F: Let me ask you what you think the motive was the.

NC: One thing is that any kind of turbulence in the Balkans is what's called in technical terms a crisis, that means it can harm the

interests of rich and powerful people. So if people are slaughtering each other in Sierra Leone, Colombia Turkey or where ever, that doesn't effect rich and powerful people very much, therefore they are glad either to just watch it, or even contribute to it, massively as in the case of Turkey or Colombia. But in the Balkans it's different, it can effect European interests and therefore US interest, so it becomes a crisis, any kind of turbulence. Then you want to quiet it down. Well, how do you do it? The US flatly refuses to allow the institutions of international order to be involved, so no UN, and that's pretty explicit. So they have to turn to NATO. Well, NATO, the US dominates, so turn to force. So, why force? Well, several reasons, and here I think Clinton, Blair and others have been pretty honest about it. The point that they reiterate over and over is that it is necessary to establish the credibility of NATO. Now all we have to do is translate from Newspeak, what does credibility of NATO mean? I mean, are they concerned with the credibility of Italy, or the credibility of Belgium, obviously not. They are concerned with the credibility of the United States. Now what does the credibility of the United States mean? Well, you know, ask any Mafia don, he'll explain it. So, suppose some Mafia don is running some area in Chicago, what does he mean by credibility? He means that you have got to show people that they better be obedient or else, that's credibility.

MLF: I want to ask you, to go back to the United Nations for a moment though, because..., and if I may bring up the Canadian arguments again, because Canada has long been a supporter, in fact, of UN, of international law, in every instance I can think of except this one. The argument our foreign minister and our Prime Minister give now, and in fact all of Parliament, is that, yes but, the UN is now a helpless organization, it could do nothing to prevent slaughters and massacres, therefore we had to do something, and, there is the UN Human Rights Declaration that gave them authorization.

NC: Yah, well the UN Human Rights Declaration gives no authorization. It is perfectly true that there is a tension between the UN charter which bars the use of a threat or the use of force, and the Universal Declaration which guarantees, theoretically, the rights of people against oppressive states. But Canada doesn't care at all about that, nothing. Canada has a horrible record in that respect. For example, take Soroto's Indonesia, which is a brutal, murderous state. I think Canada was supporting it all the way through, because it was making money out of it. And we can go around the world, Canada strongly supported the US invasion of South Vietnam, the whole of Indo-China. In fact Canada became the, per capita, largest war exporter, trying to make as much money as it could from the murder of people in Indo China. In fact, I'd suggest that you look back at that comment by a well known and respected Canadian diplomat, I think his name was John Hughes, some years ago, who defined what he called the Canadian idea, namely "we uphold our principles but we find a way around them". Well that's pretty accurate, and Canada is not unique in this respect, maybe a little more hypocritical.

MLF: So, Professor Chomsky, has this action done any harm to the United Nations, and the advancement of international law or was it already a moot thing.

NC: Of course it has. You could argue that since the United States, the leading power in the world, has brazen contempt for international law, it doesn't mean much, but there is no doubt that this act is

another blow against a rather fragile system of world order. But that's, in a way, you could argue, the least of it. I mean it has  
caused extreme harm to the people of Kosovo, that is obvious. It has  
damaged, and maybe permanently destroyed, a courageous and  
promising democratic movement in Belgrade, which was the best hope of  
getting rid of Milosevic. And it has caused considerable disruption  
and danger in surrounding areas, including the Yugoslavia republic of  
Montenegro and also Macedonia and may spread worse.

MLF: Let me ask you a questions about our  
perceptions, rhetoric and manipulation then, because our opinion  
polls right now tell us that the majority of Americans and Canadians  
support this action and as far as I can tell they are doing it  
because they believe it is the right thing to do, that it was the  
humanitarian thing to do, that they are saving people.

NC: That's right, if you are told over and over again, morning to  
night, with close to 100% unanimity, thundering at you "we are doing  
this to save lives" you might tend to believe these absurd claims,  
although you know a moments reflection should demonstrate their  
absurdity.

MLF: Do you think that people are also effected by,... you  
see the interviews with refugees, including the people who were  
supposedly bombed by NATO by mistake, who say, well it was a tragedy  
of course but we don't care, tell NATO to keep on, we are with NATO,  
NATO's doing the right thing.

NC: Sure, I mean there are many people  
around the world who think you ought to bomb Washington.

MLF: But these are the victims who are saying carry on.

NC: Sure, the victims say it, I mean the victims in Turkey would be  
delighted if the US would stop arming the Turkish government and  
would bomb Anchora..

MLF: But, they have lost, as you just said... they are all refugees  
now and they are still saying it is the right thing to do.

NC: When you are a refugee, what you hate is the person who drove you  
out with a gun. Look, if people sitting in Toronto can't think  
through the fact that the US, Canadian, British actions escalated the  
atrocities, predictably, if they can't think though it, how do you  
expect a refugee on the ground to think about it.

MLF: There isn't unanimity in Congress about this, there is near  
unanimity in the Canadian parliament, if what your are saying is  
correct, how is it that everyone is so misled, so wooly headed about  
this?

NC: Not misled. I think the facts that I just described are  
quite plain. Why are they misled; well, for one thing, because we  
live in highly indoctrinated societies, with an intellectual class  
that is extremely subordinate to power, and since they are totally  
bombarded with propaganda about how its not our fault if the  
consequence of actions is an escalation of atrocities, they don't  
think about it.

MLF: Would you have done anything, or what would you  
have done...

NC: On March 23rd? Well, there were three choices. One was to act in such a way as to escalate the atrocities, that's the one that was chosen. A second choice was do nothing. A third choice is to act as to mitigate the atrocities. Now if you can't think of any way to mitigate atrocities the best choice was to do nothing. Now, was there any way to mitigate the atrocities? Well, I suppose there were diplomatic options that were open, the Serbian parliament passed a resolution on March 23rd, the day before the bombing, in which it said that they would not accept a NATO force, (hardly surprising, Canada wouldn't accept a Warsaw pact force) but they proposed that there be a move toward autonomy for Kosovo, and that. After that, there should be an international force. Well, is that an acceptable offer? We don't know, because the US wouldn't even pay any attention to it. But pursuing that offer, thought the mechanisms of world order such as the UN Security Council or neutral countries like India or others, pursuing that would certainly have been better than doing nothing and vastly better than acting to escalate the atrocities.

MLF: What do we do now?

NC: If a doctor is giving you medicine which is killing you, the first thing we would do is stop giving you the medicine, not give more of it. So the first thing we ought to do is stop doing what is harming the situation, the second thing we should do is hand over diplomacy and negotiations to some credible source, so hand it over to the Security Council, to neutral countries, maybe India, South Africa, Scandinavian countries, any one who hasn't completely discredited themselves, have them undertake diplomatic initiatives, and see if there is a way to resolve the distinction between, for example, the Serbian parliament proposal and the NATO proposal.

MLF: Do you think we are likely to do any of that?

NC: The US and Canada? Very unlikely, because these are "gingoist" countries, which are highly subordinate to power and where people don't stop to think through the consequences of what they are doing, unfortunately.

MLF: NATO, will be celebrating its 50th anniversary next week and they are all congratulating themselves on having found a new role.

NC: Yes, they have found a new role and a very ugly role, a role which has sharply escalated atrocities, exactly as they predicted, and caused extreme damage elsewhere, including the democratic movement in Belgrade, let alone world order. So if they want to celebrate that, fine, I'm not going to be celebrating.

MLF:  
Professor Chomsky, I thank you very much for talking to us today

USI, New Delhi, April 6, 1999

**THE FATAL FLAWS UNDERLYING NATO'S INTERVENTION IN YUGOSLAVIA**

By Lt Gen Satish Nambiar (Retd.)

*(First Force Commander and Head of Mission of the United Nations Forces deployed in the former Yugoslavia, 03 Mar 92, to 02 Mar 93. Former Deputy Chief of Staff, Indian Army. Currently, Director of the United Services Institution of India.)*

My year long experience as the Force Commander and Head of Mission of the United Nations Forces deployed in the former Yugoslavia has given me an understanding of the fatal flaws of US/NATO policies in the troubled region. It was obvious to most people following events in the Balkans since the beginning of the decade, and particularly after the fighting that resulted in the emergence of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, that Kosovo was a 'powder keg' waiting to explode. The West appears to have learnt all the wrong lessons from the previous wars and applied it to Kosovo.

(1) Portraying the Serbs as evil and everybody else as good was not only counterproductive but also dishonest. According to my experience all sides were guilty but only the Serbs would admit that they were no angels while the others would insist that they were. With 28,000 forces under me and with constant contacts with UNHCR and the International Red Cross officials, we did not witness any genocide beyond killings and massacres on all sides that are typical of such conflict conditions. I believe none of my successors and their forces saw anything on the scale claimed by the media.

(2) It was obvious to me that if Slovenians, Croatians and Bosniaks had the right to secede from Yugoslavia, then the Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia had an equal right to secede. The experience of partitions in Ireland and India has not been pleasant but in the Yugoslavia case, the state had already been taken apart anyway. It made little sense to me that if multiethnic Yugoslavia was not tenable that multiethnic Bosnia could be made tenable. The former internal boundaries of Yugoslavia which had no validity under international law should have been redrawn when it was taken apart by the West, just as it was in the case of Ireland in 1921 and Punjab and Bengal in India in 1947. Failure to acknowledge this has led to the problem of Kosovo as an integral part of Serbia.

(3) It is ironic that the Dayton Agreement on Bosnia was not fundamentally different from the Lisbon Plan drawn up by Portuguese Foreign Minister Cuteliero and British representative Lord Carrington to which all three sides had agreed before any killings had taken place, or even the Vance-Owen Plan which Karadzic was willing to sign. One of the main problems was that there was an unwillingness on the part of the American administration to concede that Serbs had legitimate grievances and rights. I recall State Department official George Kenny turning up like all other American officials, spewing condemnations of the Serbs for aggression and genocide. I offered to give him an escort and to go see for himself that none of what he proclaimed was true. He accepted my offer and thereafter he made a radical turnaround. Other Americans continued to see and hear what they wanted to see and hear from one side, while ignoring the other side. Such behaviour does not produce peace but more conflict.

(4) I felt that Yugoslavia was a media-generated tragedy. The Western media sees international crises in black and white, sensationalizing incidents for public consumption. From what I can see now, all Serbs have been driven out of Croatia and the Muslim-Croat Federation, I believe almost 850,000 of them. And yet the focus is on 500,000 Albanians (at last count) who have been driven out of Kosovo. Western policies have led to an ethnically pure Greater Croatia, and an ethnically pure Muslim statelet in Bosnia. Therefore, why not an ethnically pure Serbia? Failure to address these double standards has led to the current one.

As I watched the ugly tragedy unfold in the case of Kosovo while visiting the US in early to mid March 1999, I could see the same pattern emerging. In my experience with similar situations in India in such places as Kashmir, Punjab, Assam, Nagaland, and elsewhere, it is the essential strategy of those ethnic groups who wish to secede to provoke the state authorities. Killings of policemen is usually a standard operating procedure by terrorists since that usually invites overwhelming state retaliation, just as I am sure it does in the United States.

I do not believe the Belgrade government had prior intention of driving out all Albanians from Kosovo. It may have decided to implement Washington's own "Krajina Plan" only if NATO bombed, or these expulsions could be spontaneous acts of revenge and retaliation by Serb forces in the field because of the bombing. The OSCE Monitors were not doing too badly, and the Yugoslav Government had, after all, indicated its willingness to abide by nearly all the provisions of the Rambouillet "Agreement" on aspects like cease-fire, greater autonomy to the Albanians, and so on. But they insisted that the status of Kosovo as part of Serbia was not negotiable, and they would not agree to stationing NATO forces on the soil of Yugoslavia. This is precisely what India would have done under the same circumstances. It was the West that proceeded to escalate the situation into the current senseless bombing campaign that smacks more of hurt egos, and revenge and retaliation. NATO's massive bombing intended to terrorize Serbia into submission appears no different from the morality of actions of Serb forces in Kosovo. Ultimatums were issued to Yugoslavia that unless the terms of an agreement drawn up at Rambouillet were signed, NATO would undertake bombing. Ultimatums do not constitute diplomacy. They are acts of war. The Albanians of Kosovo who want independence, were coaxed and cajoled into putting their signatures to a document motivated with the hope of NATO bombing of Serbs and independence later. With this signature, NATO assumed all the legal and moral authority to undertake military operations against a country that had, at worst, been harsh on its own people. On 24th-March 1999, NATO launched attacks with cruise missiles and bombs, on Yugoslavia, a sovereign state, a founding member of the United Nations and the Non Aligned Movement; and against a people who were at the forefront of the fight against Nazi Germany and other fascist forces during World War Two. I consider these current actions unbecoming of great powers.

It is appropriate to touch on the humanitarian dimension for it is the innocent who are being subjected to displacement, pain and misery.

Unfortunately, this is the tragic and inevitable outcome of all such situations of civil war, insurgencies, rebel movements, and terrorist activity. History is replete with examples of such suffering; whether it be the American Civil War, Northern Ireland, the Basque movement in Spain, Chechnya, Angola, Cambodia, and so many other cases; the indiscriminate bombing of civilian centres during World War Two; Hiroshima and Nagasaki; Vietnam. The list is endless. I feel that this tragedy could have been prevented if NATO's ego and credibility had not been given the highest priority instead of the genuine grievances of Serbs in addition to Albanians.

Notwithstanding all that one hears and sees on CNN and BBC, and other Western agencies, and in the daily briefings of the NATO authorities, the blame for the humanitarian crisis that has arisen cannot be placed at the door of the Yugoslav authorities alone. The responsibility rests mainly at NATO's doors. In fact, if I am to go by my own experience as the First Force Commander and Head of Mission of the United Nations forces in the former Yugoslavia, from March 1992 to March 1993, handling operations in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia, I would say that reports put out in the electronic media are largely responsible for provoking this tragedy. Where does all this leave the international community which for the record does not comprise of the US, the West and its newfound Muslim allies? The portents for the future, at least in the short term, are bleak indeed. The United Nations has been made totally redundant, ineffective, and impotent. The Western world, led by the USA, will lay down the moral values that the rest of the world must adhere to; it does not matter that they themselves do not adhere to the same values when it does not suit them. National sovereignty and territorial integrity have no sanctity. And finally, secessionist movements, which often start with terrorist activity, will get greater encouragement. One can only hope that good sense will prevail, hopefully sooner rather than later.

Lt General Satish Nambiar  
Director, USI, New Delhi  
6 April 1999

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# À BAS LE SOMMET DE GUERRE DE WASHINGTON! DÉMANTELEZ L'OTAN!

— Déclaration du Parti communiste du Canada (marxiste-léniniste) le 23 avril 1999 —

CETTE FIN DE SEMAINE, pendant que les gens manifestent partout à travers le Canada contre la guerre de l'OTAN contre la Yougoslavie et contre la participation du Canada à cette guerre, les chefs des pays de l'OTAN «célèbrent» le cinquantième anniversaire de fondation de cette alliance militaire à Washington. Cette «célébration» s'accompagne d'une bruyante propagande anticomuniste qui déforme les faits en ce qui concerne les événements qui ont suivi la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Il ne s'agit pas seulement de justifier la création d'une alliance militaire agressive en 1949 et le «nouveau concept stratégique» qu'elle adopte aujourd'hui, mais aussi de sanctionner tous les crimes qui ont été commis durant la période de la guerre froide par les impérialistes américains et leurs alliés, y compris le Canada, sous l'enseigne du «refoulement du communisme». Mais surtout, il s'agit pour eux de déclarer à la face du monde qu'ils vont continuer de commettre ces crimes à l'avenir.

Cette déformation anticomuniste de l'histoire montre que la propagande de la guerre froide qui assimile le communisme au fascisme sert encore aujourd'hui à désorienter les peuples du monde et à les rallier aux visées impérialistes agressives de l'OTAN en Europe et contre les peuples du monde entier. Des considérations idéologiques sont invoquées pour justifier l'injustifiable pendant que les impérialistes américains cherchent à se placer à la tête du «monde unipolaire» et à ramener l'Europe sous leur diktat, en partenariat avec leurs «alliés», comme base pour ensuite conquérir l'Asie puis le reste du monde. Ce n'est pas sans raison que ces «célébrations» de l'OTAN ont pour titre «Sommet de guerre», les pays de l'OTAN sous le diktat des impérialistes américains y discutant d'une «guerre au sol» contre la Yougoslavie qu'ils ont déjà mise en mouvement.

Le PCC(M-L) fait appel à la classe ouvrière canadienne, aux femmes et aux jeunes de prendre vigoureusement position à la défense d'une démocratie conséquente, à la défense des principes qui permettent aux peuples de résoudre les problèmes en leur faveur.

Le PCC(M-L) dénonce le «nouveau concept stratégique» que l'OTAN a l'intention d'adopter à Washington. Selon ce concept, la «sécurité humaine» a préséance sur les droits des États-nations. Sous prétexte de s'ajuster aux «réalités de l'après-guerre froide», on invoque ce concept pour légaliser la violation du principe que toutes les nations, grandes et petites, sont égales et ont le droit à l'autodétermination. C'est pour légaliser la violation du principe adopté par l'ONU le 11 décembre 1946 qui

dit entre autres qu'en aucun cas l'aide à un autre pays ne doit servir d'arme politique».

Le PCC(M-L) fait appel à tous de s'opposer vigoureusement à l'accroissement de la production de guerre qui se fait présentement pour approvisionner l'OTAN, militariser l'économie des pays membres de l'OTAN et assurer des surprofits aux plus grands monopoles.

Lorsque l'OTAN a été créée à titre d'alliance militaire agressive, en 1949, les «nations d'expression anglaise» réalisaient leur objectif de créer un bloc de pays d'Europe occidentale, l'Allemagne de l'Ouest y incluse, contre les pays de l'Europe de l'Est. Les États-Unis mirent à profit l'industrie lourde de la Vallée de la Ruhr — la machine de guerre qui avait servi aux nazis et qui comprenait entre autres les ateliers d'armements Krupp, l'usine de pétrole et de caoutchouc synthétique IG Farben et les ateliers de chars Volkswagen — comme une des bases économiques principales de l'expansion américaine en Europe, à l'encontre de l'intérêt national des pays qui avaient été victimes de l'agression allemande. Si avant le début de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, ce furent les monopoles américains comme Ford qui financèrent Hitler au rythme de 8 milliards \$ pour s'emparer de l'industrie lourde de l'Allemagne et la transformer en une industrie de guerre, aujourd'hui les méga-fusions des plus grands monopoles du monde auxquelles on assiste sont faites dans le même but. C'est cela le «Plan Marshall pour le sud-est de l'Europe» dont parle Bill Clinton et c'est à cela que vise la prise de la Yougoslavie.

Comme le Plan Marshall appliqué par les Américains au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, le nouveau Plan Marshall dont parle Clinton pour le sud-est de l'Europe a pour but de soumettre ces pays au contrôle économique et politique des États-Unis qui cherchent à s'ingérer directement dans leurs affaires intérieures.

Le PCC(M-L) condamne le gouvernement libéral du Canada qui, au nom d'idéaux supérieurs et des «valeurs canadiennes», a entraîné le Canada dans la guerre et participe à ces abominables crimes contre l'humanité. Pendant que l'agression de la Yougoslavie par l'OTAN déstabilise toute l'Europe, le premier ministre du Canada déclare: «En cette année de changements et de défis, nous continuerons à travailler aux côtés de nos alliés afin de répondre aux crises actuelles et futures. Cette alliance s'adapte, accueille de nouveaux membres et renforce ses partenariats. Ce faisant, l'OTAN demeurera l'un des fondements de la stabilité en Europe et un pilier central des politiques étrangère et de défense du Canada.»

## À bas le Sommet de Guerre de Washington! Retirez le Canada de l'OTAN! Démantelez l'OTAN!

Pour contacter le Bureau national du PCC(M-L): 396, rue Cooper, pièce 405, Ottawa, Ontario K2P 2H7  
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# **INTENSIFIONS L'OPPOSITION À L'AGRESSION IMPÉRIALISTE CONTRE LA YOUGOSLAVIE! EXIGEONS LE RETRAIT DU CANADA DE L'OTAN!**

**– Déclaration du Parti communiste du Canada (marxiste-léniniste), 10 avril 1999 –**

LE PCC(M-L) FAIT appel aux travailleurs, aux femmes et aux jeunes d'intensifier leur condamnation et leurs actions contre l'agression impérialiste de l'OTAN contre la Yougoslavie et pour exiger le retrait du Canada des Balkans et le démantèlement de l'OTAN. Jamais la politique étrangère du Canada asservie à l'impérialisme américain a-t-elle été empreinte d'autant de lâcheté et jamais une campagne médiatique pour justifier l'injustifiable a-t-elle été aussi évidente que dans ce cas-ci. Non seulement le premier ministre, le ministre des Affaires étrangères et le ministre de la Défense ont-ils été complètement exposés les mains tachées du sang des peuples des Balkans, mais les autres partis au parlement, notamment les sociaux-démocrates, s'enlisent dans leur mauvaise conscience avec leurs tentatives de justifier l'agression contre des nations souveraines et la politique impérialiste qui dit que la force fait le droit.

Il est certain que les impérialistes ne réussiront pas à unir l'Europe. Les contradictions inter-impérialistes entre les États-Unis, d'une part, et les grandes puissances d'Europe de l'autre s'intensifient parce qu'aucune d'entre elles ne veut renoncer à ses propres ambitions d'exercer l'hégémonie en Europe comme prélude à la conquête de l'Asie et du monde. Entre-temps, leur bombardement de cibles civiles et cultu-

relles et la promotion de la haine nationale au nom d'idéaux supérieurs révèlent clairement leurs ambitions d'occuper la région à leurs propres fins.

La classe ouvrière doit demeurer extrêmement vigilante et doit vigoureusement condamner l'utilisation de l'alliance militaire agressive qu'est l'OTAN contre les peuples des Balkans. La paix dans les Balkans sera établie seulement lorsque les impérialistes auront été chassés de la région. La classe ouvrière de ces pays doit trouver les moyens de transformer la guerre fratricide mise en scène par l'impérialisme en une guerre anti-impérialiste de libération. Il est du devoir de la classe ouvrière et du peuple du Canada de les soutenir et d'exiger que leurs organisations ouvrières et populaires prennent décidément position contre l'agression et la guerre. Ils doivent condamner l'utilisation du prétexte d'un soi-disant «devoir moral» alors que tous les faits prouvent que le conflit a été machiné par les impérialistes tandis que leurs firmes de relations publiques et leurs médias ont pour rôle criminel de tenter de justifier cette agression. C'est la seule façon de contrer l'arrogance médiévale de l'impérialisme qui dit que la force fait le droit, un principe qu'aucune personne progressiste ou démocratique ne saurait jamais accepter.

**Condamnons l'OTAN, cette alliance militaire agressive!  
Exigeons le retrait immédiat du Canada de l'OTAN et le démantèlement de  
l'OTAN! Condamnons la promotion de la haine nationale et du chauvinisme de  
grande puissance! Que cesse tout de suite le bombardement et qu'on ne laisse  
pas les troupes au sol s'introduire en Yougoslavie!**

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## **NON À L'ENVOI DE TROUPES AU SOL EN YOUGOSLAVIE! QUE CESSE L'AGRESSION DE L'OTAN!**

**– Déclaration du Parti communiste du Canada (marxiste-léniniste), 11 avril 1999 –**

LUNDI LE 12 AVRIL, les ministres des Affaires étrangères de l'OTAN se réunissent à Bruxelles pour discuter de la crise créée par suite de l'agression de l'OTAN contre la Yougoslavie. Les libéraux de Jean Chrétien ont annoncé qu'il y aura un débat au parlement à ce sujet. Les députés auront le droit de donner leur opinion mais le débat ne mènera à aucune

prise de décision en ce qui concerne ce que doit faire le Canada.

Ces développements ont lieu dans le contexte où s'intensifient de toute évidence les contradictions inter-impérialistes au sein de l'OTAN et cela veut dire que toute escalade de la guerre de l'OTAN en Yougoslavie représente un grave

d'anger pour la paix mondiale. Il est extrêmement urgent que la classe ouvrière et le peuple du Canada intensifient leurs actions pour exiger que cesse immédiatement le bombardement de la Yougoslavie et qu'aucune troupe au sol ne soit déployée. Le Canada doit se retirer de l'OTAN et cesser de faire le sale travail des impérialistes américains.

Le ministre des Affaires étrangères Lloyd Axworthy a laissé savoir qu'il demandera à l'OTAN d'utiliser les forces au sol pour envahir la Yougoslavie. En fait, dès le 7 avril le ministre de la Défense du Canada, Art Eggleton, avait révélé en conférence de presse que l'envoi de troupes au sol au Kosovo faisait partie des plans de l'OTAN depuis le début et que le Canada favorisait l'action au sol pour occuper le Kosovo sous prétexte de «protéger» la population albanaise. Prétendant agir pour de nobles idéaux, le gouvernement canadien fait la promotion d'une haine bestiale contre les Serbes et du chauvinisme de grande puissance des États-Unis et autres impérialistes.

Le vendredi 9 avril, le président russe Boris Eltsine, parlant à la télévision nationale, a dit qu'une invasion du Kosovo par l'OTAN pourrait provoquer une guerre dans toute l'Europe et même une guerre mondiale. Il a dit: «Je l'ai dit à l'OTAN, aux Américains, aux Allemands: N'optez pas pour l'action militaire. Sinon il y aura certainement une guerre en Europe et probablement une guerre mondiale, ce qui est inadmissible.» Le premier ministre de Chine Zhu Rongji a également dit aux médias canadiens: «Si nous décidions de refuser de reconnaître la souveraineté d'un pays, j'ai bien peur que cela conduise à une guerre mondiale.» Cela montre que la lutte pour la domination mondiale a repris des plus belles et que la situation est lourde de dangers.

Entre-temps, les porte-parole du NPD s'efforcent de brouiller les cartes en suggérant qu'ils s'opposent au bombardement de la Yougoslavie par l'OTAN, mais qu'il ne serait pas possible de respecter la souveraineté des nations ou la loi internationale parce que, disent-ils, ça ne marche pas. Tout comme en Europe, où la majorité des partis ou des coalitions au pouvoir dans les pays qui participent à cette agression meurtrière de l'OTAN contre la Yougoslavie et à l'offensive impérialiste néolibérale sont des partis sociaux-démocrates, au Canada la social-démocratie joue son rôle traditionnel de

conciliateur en tentant de justifier l'agression impérialiste au nom d'idéaux supérieurs.

Le Canada joue le rôle de préparer l'opinion publique au Canada et à l'échelle internationale en faveur du prolongement de l'agression militaire de l'OTAN vers une guerre au sol. Autrement dit, il fait pour l'impérialisme américain ce que l'impérialisme américain n'est pas en mesure de faire lui-même directement, pendant même que des hélicoptères Apache américains, qui servent à une invasion au sol, sont déployés dans la région.

Il est évident que l'agression de l'OTAN dans les Balkans, avec les impérialistes américains jouant le rôle de premier plan, représente une grave menace pour la sécurité en Europe et la paix dans le monde. De plus, les faits prouvent que l'exode actuel des gens du Kosovo, qu'ils soient albanais, serbes ou autres, n'a commencé qu'après le début du bombardement de la Yougoslavie par l'OTAN. Il n'y a aucun lien entre le nettoyage ethnique et le début de l'agression de l'OTAN. Dès que les bombes ont commencé à déferler sur la Yougoslavie sans qu'il y ait sur les lieux d'observateurs internationaux, les conditions étaient prêtes pour le déclenchement d'une intense campagne de désinformation totale au sujet des événements au Kosovo. Pendant même que le monde entier voit que l'OTAN bombarde des secteurs habités par des populations civiles et des monuments culturels, les porte-parole de l'OTAN accusent la Serbie de bombarder des immeubles à appartements à Pristina et d'en blâmer l'OTAN.

L'anarchie et la violence déclenchées par l'OTAN et les forces réactionnaires dans les Balkans soulignent clairement le besoin que les peuples se mobilisent et exigent que cesse le bombardement et s'opposent vigoureusement au déploiement de forces au sol. Le PCC(M-L) fait appel à tous les Canadiens pensants de s'opposer courageusement au chantage émotif qui dit que nous «avons l'obligation morale» de nous opposer à Milosevic, qui serait le seul responsable de la crise en Yougoslavie. Cette crise a été créée par les puissances impérialistes qui ont toujours soutenu le chauvinisme grand-serbe à leurs propres fins. La paix dans les Balkans ne peut être garantie qu'en chassant toutes les puissances étrangères de la Yougoslavie.

**Exigeons que le Canada cesse tout de suite sa participation à cette agression!**

**Non à l'escalade de la guerre contre la Yougoslavie!**

**Pas un seul jeune canadien pour la guerre impérialiste!**

Pour communiquer avec le bureau national du PCC(M-L):

396, rue Cooper, pièce 405, Ottawa, Ontario K2P 2H7

• Tél: (613) 565-6446 • Fax: (613) 565-8787 • Courriel: [office@cpcml.ca](mailto:office@cpcml.ca)

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Author: Fernando D'Alessandro  
Source: Socialist Appeal <socappeal@easynet.co.uk>,  
<<http://www.marxist.com>>, <<http://www.socialist.net>>

On 3rd April 100,000 people marched in a demonstration in Rome against the NATO bombing campaign in Yugoslavia. A week later another demonstration of over 50,000 took place. There is a lot of opposition to the NATO bombing among the workers and youth in Italy in spite of the government's support.

There was a demonstration about 3,000 strong at the Aviano air base in Northern Italy. This is one of the bases the NATO warplanes are using. The demonstration was brutally attacked by the police who waded into the demonstrators with truncheons and fired tear gas cannisters. There is widespread opposition to the bombing among the students, but even more important have been the developments in the labour movement.

On Thursday, 22nd April, over 600 shop stewards gathered in the Milan CGIL trade union headquarters to take part in a national assembly called by forty factory councils. The meeting called on the national leadership of the three main trade union federations (CGIL, CISL and UIL) to organise a general strike against the war. They also decided to organise a series of mass meetings in the factories on the question.

What happened in the town of Massa, in Tuscany, is an indication of how the movement could develop. The official unions, CGIL, CISL and UIL, organised a four hour provincial general strike on 19th April. This was the first serious strike action called by the trade unions against the war. The national leadership seems less prepared to organise a serious movement, but the pressure could build up, especially if ground troops are sent in.

The number of people on the demonstration was 5,000. A large number of school teachers were there with a banner that had had some lines from a Bertold Brecht poem: "Among the vanquished the poor people went hungry, among the victors the poor people went hungry." Prior to the demonstration teachers and students had organised meetings in the schools on the war.

Apart from the teachers there were also blue collar workers from the factories, government workers, the pensioners union, the railway workers and the workers from the marble quarries of Carrara. Significantly, there was also a delegation on the demonstration from the SIULP (the police

trade union!).

this took place despite attempts on the part of the PDS (Party of the Democratic Left, one of the two parties that emerged from the split in the old Communist Party back in 1991) leaders to convince workers not to take part in the strike. As the provincial secretary of the CISL pointed out, "In taking this decision [to call the strike] I believe that the trade union movement has remained faithful to its traditions."

The PDS led government is using all its energies to convince the workers and youth of Italy that the bombing is for a just cause, but as the bombing intensifies, and especially if ground troops are sent in, opposition will grow.

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Title: Broad Italian Protests Against NATO Bombing

Date: 22-APR-1999

Source: compiled from many short reports from Italian activists

[A short overview of protests in Italy against the NATO bombings of Yugoslavia. Follow DAMN for more detail of anti-war demonstrations, from Italy and elsewhere.]

Demonstrations against the war in Yugoslavia throughout April have made protest of this war known in Italy. Italy, a NATO alliance member, has seen as many as 100,000 of its citizens come together to reject the war in the Balkans. The demonstrations have occurred throughout Italy: Brindisi, Taranto, Milan, Piacenza, Bari, San Piero a Grado, Aviano, and of course Rome. Many of these demonstrations have taken place outside U.S. or NATO bases. The largest of these demonstrations to date occurred in Rome on April the third. Groups announcing their presence such as pacifists, gay and lesbian organisations, the youth wings of major left parties, and Kurdish protesters (who proclaimed themselves "against all ethnic cleansing") indicate the broad spectrum of citizens involving themselves in these actions. The success of the April seventh call of the official unions for a "path of negotiation and peace," whose attendance reached 40,000 plus, indicates the anti-war movement also has strong union support. Other forms of protest have included short work stoppages and concerts. With the diversification and promulgation of the anti-war movement in Italy it seems that while the bombing continues in Yugoslavia so too will the protests.

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Return-Path: <grad@cfs-fcee.ca>  
Delivered-To: chair@cfs-fcee.ca  
Date: Thu, 22 Apr 1999 01:15:01 -0400  
To: ngc-cned@list.cfs-fcee.ca  
From: Michael Temelini <mtemel@PO-BOX.MCGILL.CA>  
Subject: 15,000 demonstrate in New York City  
Sender: owner-ngc-cned@list.achilles.net  
Comment: To get off of this list, mail an "unsubscribe" command to  
Comment: ngc-cned-request@zeus.achilles.net

From:kwadneuf@club-internet.fr

15,000 demonstrate in New York City on Sat., April 17 against  
U.S./NATO bombing of Yugoslavia

Demonstrations in 100+ other cities

Issue Emergency Call for NATIONAL MARCH ON THE PENTAGON June 5, 1999  
Outraged over the NATO bombings of civilians on a tourist train and a  
refugee convoy in Kosovo and the ongoing bombing of Belgrade, tens of  
thousands of demonstrators throughout the U.S. and around the world  
marched on April 17 to demand "Stop the U.S./NATO bombing of Yugoslavia!"  
In NYC, 15,000 protesters marched past the missions, consulates, and  
government facilities of the United States, Germany, Britain, France, and  
Italy--all members of NATO.

At the event, anti-war organizers announced the formation of a national  
Emergency Mobilization to Stop the War, which has issued a call for a  
National March on the Pentagon on Sat., June 5, 1999. The mass protest  
will begin at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and march to the steps of the  
Pentagon in Washington, DC.

The growing list of endorsers for the event includes: former U.S.  
Attorney General Ramsey Clark; Bishop Thomas Gumbleton; Rev. Lucius  
Walker, Jr, Exec. Dir., IFCO/Pastors for Peace; Edith Villastrigo, Leg.  
Dir., Women's Strike for Peace; Rev. Djokan Majstorovic, Serbian Orthodox  
Cathedral of St. Sava, NYC; Geronimo ji Jaga; Manning Marable; Brian  
Becker and Sara Flounders, Co-coordinators, International Action Center;  
and many others.

The call for the march on the Pentagon states in part: "Now, as the  
bombing and its terrible toll escalate, the threat of a U.S. invasion of  
Yugoslavia looms. A ground war will mean the deployment of hundreds of  
thousands of troops.

"Now is the time to act! We are urging you to join us in the newly formed  
Emergency Mobilization to Stop the War. Hundreds of thousands of us  
marched against the U.S. war on Iraq in 1990-91. We continued to work  
against the sanctions that have killed more than 1.5 million civilians in  
that country. Now, the Pentagon is embarked upon another bloody  
intervention, in violation of all international law, and against the  
interests of the people of the  
Balkans and the people of this country as well. We must act urgently to  
build a broad and deep movement that says 'NO' to this madness."

International Action Center  
39 West 14 Street, Room 206  
New York, NY 10011  
email: iacenter@iacenter.org  
http://www.iacenter.org  
phone: (212) 633-6646  
fax: (212) 633-2889

Return-Path: <grad@cfs-fcee.ca>  
Delivered-To: chair@cfs-fcee.ca  
Date: Fri, 2 Apr 1999 23:56:32 -0400  
From: ngc-cned@list.cfs-fcee.ca  
From: Michael Temelini <mtemel@PO-BOX.MCGILL.CA>  
Subject: Judy Rebick on Canada's bombing of Yugoslavia  
X-MIME-Autoconverted: from quoted-printable to 8bit by centaur.achilles.net id XAA06518  
Sender: owner-ngc-cned@list.achilles.net  
Comment: To get off of this list, mail an "unsubscribe" command to  
Comment: ngc-cned-request@zeus.achilles.net

Column by Judy Rebick

Our country is at war. For the first time in a generation, Canada is dropping bombs on another country. And if my morning paper is to be believed, ground troops will likely be next. Where was the debate that authorized this? Given the complexities of the situation in the Baltics; given the military complexities, which every retired general in the country has been outlining at length on radio and TV talk shows; given Canada's historic support for U.N. leadership, how could it be that all political parties support the government's participation in NATO bombing raids against Yugoslavia? My experience is that when there is all party agreement on something this important, Canadians had better watch very carefully. The last time it happened was the Charlottetown Accord.

Slobadan Molosevic is a brutal, power-mad nationalist who has committed horrible war crimes, especially in Bosnia and deserves to be tried for them by a world court. If something could be done to stop further atrocities in Kosovo, I would probably support it. But is that what the bombing is really about? From all reports, and it is difficult to get accurate information now that foreign journalists have been expelled, Bosnian army savagery against the ethnic Albanians has gotten much worse since the bombing began. Unquestionably the flow of refugees has massively increased since the bombing began. Rather than isolating Molosevic, the NATO attack has united Serbians around the world behind his leadership. Even those who originally fled his regime are now demonstrating at U.S. embassies around the world.

The argument is that we had to do something. We could not just stand by. In a brilliant analysis distributed through the Internet famed U.S. anti-war activist and scholar Noam Chomsky says, "One choice, always, is to follow the Hippocratic principle: 'First, do no harm' If you can think of no way to adhere to that elementary principle, then do nothing...Diplomacy and negotiations are never at an end."

There is no question that at least in the short term the NATO bombings are doing great harm. Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy sluffs off questions about the increased violence on the ground by saying it would have happened anyway. How could he possibly know that.

Truth is always the first victim of war and Kosovo is no different. I have been listening very carefully to news reports. One morning the CBC radio reporter was talking about the exodus of refugees and the terrible atrocities that were occurring. Yet when he talked to actual refugees, they talked about their fear of violence and the burning of their homes. Forcing people to leave their homes is a terrible thing but it can hardly be called an atrocity.

One atrocity that has been widely reported was the rounding up and slaughter of twenty teachers. It turns out that this report came from the Kosovo Liberation Army with no independent confirmation. Accepting information from the KLA about what Serbians are doing in Kosovo would

be like accepting information from the Khymer Rouge on what is happening in Cambodia.

The history of Kosovo and the KLA is also being distorted. A 1987 report in the New York Times warned about civil war in the Kosovo area of Yugoslavia. Here is reporter David Binder's analysis of the situation a little more than ten years ago: "Ethnic Albanians in the government have manipulated public funds and regulations to take over land belonging to the Serbs...Slavic Orthodox churches have been attacked...Slavic boys have been knifed and some ethnic Albanians have been told by their elders to rape Serbian girls...The goal of the radical nationalists among them, one said in an interview, is an "ethnic Albania that includes western Macedonia, southern Montenegro, part of Southern Serbia, Kosovo and Albania itself...As Slavs flee the protracted violence, Kosovo is becoming what ethnic Albanian nationals have been demanding for years, an ethnically pure Albanian region, a Republic of Kosovo in all but name."

I quote this at length not to minimize the crimes of Milosovic but to illustrate that we are only getting one side of the story.

Finally this NATO attack is illegal in international law. The UN Charter bans the use of force unless explicitly authorized by the Security Council after it has determined that peaceful means have failed or in self-defense against armed attack. The argument made is that Russia would never allow an attack against Serbia so NATO had to act. Now as Russian warships move towards the Balkins and NATO talks about moving ground troops into the area, maybe the UN Charter makes sense. Unless all major power agree, violence should not be used. The risk to world peace is too great. We are on the edge of what could become a terrible war in Europe. It is time to demand some truth telling and some vigorous debate in Parliament before we take even one step further.

- -30-

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Delivered-To: chair@cfs-fcee.ca  
Date: Fri, 2 Apr 1999 23:59:16 -0400  
From: ngc-cned@list.cfs-fcee.ca  
From: Michael Temelini <mtemel@PO-BOX.MCGILL.CA>  
Subject: Various Websites  
X-MIME-Autoconverted: from quoted-printable to 8bit by centaur.achilles.net id XAA06755  
Sender: owner-ngc-cned@list.achilles.net  
Comment: To get off of this list, mail an "unsubscribe" command to  
Comment: ngc-cned-request@zeus.achilles.net

#### USA/NATO/YUGOSLAVIA/KOSOVO WAR WEBSITES

Updated on March 28, 1998 Send new links to [iconmedia@iconmedia.org](mailto:iconmedia@iconmedia.org)

#### MAINSTREAM MEDIA

CNN: Strike on Yugoslavia  
<http://cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9903/27/nato.attack.03/index.html>

MSNBC: Special on Kosovo  
[http://www.msnbc.com/news/KOSOVO\\_Front.asp](http://www.msnbc.com/news/KOSOVO_Front.asp)

ABC: Coverage of Kosovo  
[http://www.abcnews.go.com/sections/world/Kosovo/new\\_kosovo\\_index.html](http://www.abcnews.go.com/sections/world/Kosovo/new_kosovo_index.html)

Washington Post: Balkans Special Report  
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/balkans/balkans.htm>

Reuters  
<http://www.reuters.com/news/>

Agence Press  
<http://www.afp.com/>

Libération  
<http://www.liberation.com/kosovo/index.html>

BBC: Kosovo Crisis, Balkan Flashpoint  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/special\\_report/1998/kosovo/](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/special_report/1998/kosovo/)

#### INDEPENDENT MEDIA

Anti-NATO web site  
<http://www.welcome.to/nato>

Common Dreams News Center  
<http://www.commondreams.org/kosovo/kosovo.htm>

eGroups: Kosovo Reports  
<http://www.egroups.com/list/kosovo-reports/>

Mother Jones  
<http://www.motherjones.com/mustreads/032299.html#TC>

Kosovo Dies For Independence, Out There News  
<http://www.megastories.com/kosovo/index.htm>

Press Now  
<http://www.dds.nl/~pressnow/>

Radio B92

<http://helpB92.xs4all.nl>  
<http://www.b92.net/>

Radio 21  
<http://www.radio21.net/english/headlines.htm>

Z Magazine on U.S./NATO Bombings  
<http://www.zmag.org/ZMag/kosovo.htm>

## BACKGROUND ARTICLES

Bombing Serbia is Dangerously Counterproductive, by Jonathan Power  
<http://www.transnational.org/forum/power/1999/03bombing.html>

Email Assist for Yugoslavia, by Leander Kahney  
<http://www.wired.com/news/news/politics/story/18765.html>

Frontline Documentary on Slobodan Milosevic  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/karadzic/trial/scharf.html>

Kosovo's Slippery Slope by George Kenney, In These Times  
<http://www.inthesetimes.com/kenney2309.html>

Net Dispatches from Kosovo's War, by Leander Kahney and James Glave  
<http://www.wired.com/news/news/politics/story/18755.html>

Notes on the Kosovo Problem and the International Community by Diane Johnstone, Dialogue  
<http://www.bglink.com/business/dialogue/diana.html>

Prospects for Peace in Kosovo by Howard Clark  
<http://www.nonviolence.org/wrl/nva0199-2.htm>

Yugoslav Net at the Brink, by Leander Kahney  
<http://www.wired.com/news/news/politics/story/18767.html>

## INFORMATION/ACTION CENTERS

Amnesty International: The Road to Kosovo  
<http://www.amnesty.org/ailib/intcam/kosovo/index.html>

Balkan Action Council  
<http://www.balkanaction.org/links.html>

Balkan Internet Resources  
<http://www.balkaninstitute.org/internet.html>

Balkan's Page  
<http://www.igc.org/balkans/raccoon/kosovo.html>

Central Europe Online  
<http://www.centraleurope.com/ceo/special/kosovow/intro.html>

Human Rights Watch: Kosovo Focus on Human Rights  
<http://www.hrw.org/hrw/campaigns/kosovo98/index.htm>

Institute for War and Peace Reporting  
<http://www.iwpr.net/>

International Action Center

<http://www.iacenter.org/>

TO NATO  
<http://www.iacenter.org/bosnia/balkans.htm>

Kosovo Crisis Center  
<http://www.alb-net.com/index.htm>

Kosovo Info  
<http://www.kosovainfo.com/ENGLISH.htm>

Kosovo Privacy Project: Service of Anonymizer.com  
<http://info.anonymizer.com/kosovo.shtml>

One World: Special News Reports  
<http://www.oneworld.org/news/reports/special/kosovo.html>

Transnational Center for Peace  
<http://www.transnational.org/new/index.html>

#### USA-NATO MILITARY AND MILITARY ANALYSIS

Center for Defense Information: Kosovo Site  
<http://www.cdi.org>

Cloud Cover Over Kosovo: Satellite Images  
[http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/kosovo\\_clouds.htm](http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/kosovo_clouds.htm)

Federation of American Scientist's Military Analysis Network  
<http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/kosovo.htm>

Jane's Defense Weekly  
<http://defence.janes.com/>

NATO  
<http://www.nato.int>

Pentagon's Operation Allied Force  
<http://www.defenselink.mil/specials/kosovo/>

UK Ministry of Defense: Kosovo

US Air Force News: Crisis in Kosovo  
<http://www.af.mil/current/kosovo/>

US Information Agency: Kosovo  
<http://www.usia.gov/regional/eur/balkans/kosovo/>

US State Department: Special Section on Kosovo  
[http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/kosovo\\_hp.html](http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/kosovo_hp.html)

#### YUGOSLAVIA GOVERNMENT

Yugoslavia Foreign Ministry  
<http://www.smip.sv.gov.yu/>

Yugoslavia Ministry of Information  
<http://www.serbia-info.com/>

Yugoslavia Official Web Site

<http://www.gov.yu/>

-  
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Return-Path: <owner-listemde@tao.ca>  
Delivered-To: chair@cfs-fcee.ca  
Date: Tue, 20 Apr 1999 16:01:11 -0700  
From: Benoit Renaud <coordon1@colba.net>  
To: MDE <listemde@tao.ca>, salami <salami@alternatives-action.org>  
Subject: [Fwd: Solidarite feministe]  
Sender: owner-listemde@tao.ca  
Reply-To: listemde@tao.ca

Return-Path: <zzoe@videotron.ca>  
Received: from sims-ha.videotron.net (faure.videotron.net [205.151.222.100])  
by mail.colba.net (8.9.2/8.8.5) with ESMTP id PAA17497  
for <coordon1@colba.net>; Tue, 20 Apr 1999 15:53:32 -0400 (EDT)  
Received: from 207.96.203.122 ([207.253.119.56])  
by sims-ha.videotron.net (Sun Internet Mail Server sims.3.5.1998.03.08.20.27)  
with SMTP id <0FAI005L774PD7@sims-ha.videotron.net> for coordon1@colba.net; Tue, 20 Apr 1999 15:51:00 -0400 (EDT)  
Date: Tue, 20 Apr 1999 15:55:15 +0000  
From: sonia <zzoe@videotron.ca>  
Subject: Solidarite feministe  
To: Benoit Renaud <coordon1@colba.net>  
Message-id: <371CA36A.2ED4@videotron.ca>  
MIME-version: 1.0  
X-Mailer: Mozilla 3.01 (Macintosh; I; PPC)  
Content-type: MESSAGE/RFC822

Received: from nothingness.org ([206.41.192.20])  
by sims-ha.videotron.net (Sun Internet Mail Server sims.3.5.1998.03.08.20.27)  
with ESMTP id <0FAI00MGF5TORF@sims-ha.videotron.net>; Tue, 20 Apr 1999 15:22:39 -0400 (EDT)  
Received: from lists.nothingness.org (206.41.192.23) by nothingness.org with SMTP (Eudora Internet Mail Server 2.2)  
Tue, 20 Apr 1999 15:20:25 -0400  
Date: Tue, 20 Apr 1999 12:55:19 +0100  
From: Claudie Lesselier <claudie.lesselier@wanadoo.fr>  
Subject: Solidarite feministe Copie  
To: Les P=?us-ascii?Q?=E9n=E9?=lopes <penelope@planete.net>,  
R=?us-ascii?Q?=E9s/ct/n=E9?=olib Liste <reseau@lists.nothingness.org>, Pajol Liste <zpajol@rosa.bok.net>,  
Brigitte Cassigneul <brigitte.cassigneul@femmes.net>, Prochoix <prochoix@yahoo.com>, La Gryffe <la.gryffe@hol.fr>,  
Acratik <acratik@club-internet.fr>, geronimo <geronimo@easynet.fr>  
Cc: Agnes Roukline <eliceeyna@aol.com>, Clementine <luce.oulan@worldnet.fr>, Louise Turcotte <lturcot@gamma.aei.ca>,  
Archives lesbiennes <archives.lesbiennes@wanadoo.fr>  
Errors-to: reseau@lists.nothingness.org  
Reply-to: reseau@lists.nothingness.org  
Message-id: <199904201155.NAA20525@wanadoo.fr>  
MIME-version: 1.0  
Content-type: MULTIPART/ALTERNATIVE; BOUNDARY="Boundary\_(ID\_ClhCHUW0Vh14nx7TWxrf3A)"  
Precedence: Bulk

> CE MESSAGE EST AU FORMAT MIME. Comme votre lecteur de courrier ne comprend pas  
ce format, il se peut que tout ou partie de ce message soit illisible.

--Boundary\_(ID\_ClhCHUW0Vh14nx7TWxrf3A)  
Content-type: text/plain; charset=us-ascii  
Content-transfer-encoding: 7bit

Nous vous envoyons copie d'un message que nous avons envoye aux  
organisations feministes et citoyennes de Belgrade et aux personnes  
individuelles dont nous avons l'adresse. Cette lettre peut circuler et etre  
rendue publique. Des feministes des associations de la Maison des femmes de  
is. Nous cherchons des adresses de groupes dans les autres pays impliquees  
un de leur ecrire aussi. Nous vous remercions pour toute reponse.

Message pour le groupe " Women in black" (Belgrade)

et le "Women'center (Belgrade) et pour les feministes de Serbie

Cheres amies,

Nous avons reçu des messages de groupes democrates et pacifistes de Serbie, dont le Centre des femmes et Femmes en noir et des messages de femmes individuelles. Nous savons que vous tentez de resister au nationalisme et a un regime autoritaire, et que vous condamnez la politique raciste de "purification ethnique" et de deportation. Ce sont pres de 800 000 personnes aujourd'hui chassees du Kosovo, et nous n'avons pas de nouvelles de celles qui se trouvent encore dans le pays.

Nous vous exprimons notre soutien dans une situation qui est si difficile dans le contexte des bombardements de l'Otan. Parmi nous il y a une diversite de positions sur la necessite d'une intervention militaire, mais nous considérons toutes que les bombardements aeriens de la Serbie n'aident pas le peuple kosovar, et renforcent le gouvernement serbe et les haines nationalistes. Particulierement terrible est la pensee que vous aussi, democrates et anti-militaristes et opposants de Belgrade, etes menaces par ces bombardements et que votre action politique se trouve dramatiquement entravee. Nous pensons qu'en fin de compte le seul espoir pour resoudre les conflits et restaurer la paix et la justice reside dans l'action des peuples, de la societe civile, des femmes, dans la solidarite citoyenne contre les divisions nationalistes, et non dans les armees et les Etats. C'est pourquoi votre existence et votre action en tant que groupes de femmes et en tant que individus est si important, et nous pensons a vous et espérons que vous surmonterez cette situation dramatique.

Si la vie, la liberte et les droits de tous sont en danger, cela est aussi le cas de la vie, de la liberte et des droits des femmes. Nous ne voulons pas distinguer et hierarchiser les victimes, mais nous voulons faire connaître le sort des femmes. Parmi les femmes deportees du Kosovo et rassemblees dans les camps de refugiees en Albanie ou en Macedoine, plusieurs ont temoigne avoir ete violees par des soldats ou paramilitaire serbes. Le viol continue donc d'etre pratique comme arme de guerre - et tres peu de chose est fait pour les victimes. Nous avons meme entendu le pape Jean-Paul II condamner l'usage de pilule abortive ou d'IVG pour les femmes qui seraient enceintes a cause de ces viols (mais il y a eu des protestations feministes contre ces declarations). Beaucoup de femmes sont seules, avec la responsabilite de leurs enfants - ce qui signifie aussi qu'il est probable que les hommes aient ete selectionnes en tant qu'hommes pour etre assassines pendant les deportations. La guerre est toujours plus de brutalite et de violence envers les femmes, plus de machisme et de sexisme lies a l'ideologie militariste et nationaliste, plus de division entre les femmes, en fonction de pretendues separations "nationales" ou "ethniques". C'est aussi plus de dependance vis a vis des structures patriarcales. C'est le cas notamment des femmes refugiees, privees de ressources, privees de leur autonomie, de leur identite, dans la plus grande precarite, dependante des organisations humanitaires. Parfois aussi leur situation est instrumentalisee par la propagande des Etats.

Nous nous efforçons de rassembler des informations sur la situation des femmes, et nous sommes a l'ecoute de toute information qui vient de groupes democratiques, feministes et progressistes de Serbie, Kosovo, Albanie, Bosnie et autres pays voisins. Si vous avez des messages, nous nous engageons a les diffuser, a titre d'aide aux forces anti-nationalistes. Nous voulons la reconnaissance du droit d'asile pour toutes les personnes persecutees, en raison de leur origine, de leur engagement politique, et en particulier de leur opposition au regime et a l'armee, durant le temps qu'elles le souhaitent avant de pouvoir revenir chez elles. Le gouvernement francais qui pretend faire la guerre pour des motifs humanitaires, est en fait particulierement xenophobe et reticent a accorder le droit d'asile aux personnes venues des Balkans. Meme de jeunes deserteurs de l'armee serbe refugies en France sont aujourd'hui menaces d'expulsion ! Quelques centaines de refugies seulement, soigneusement choisis, sont accueillis en France, mais cela n'est fait que grace a la pression de l'opinion

publique.

Nous espérons que ce message vous parviendra. Nous voulons agir avec vous même si nous sans que ce que nous faisons est bien peu de chose. N hésitez pas à nous contacter si vous le pouvez. Dites nous ce que nous pouvons faire, et comment nous pouvons développer les liens entre nous sans vous mettre en danger.

Des féministes des associations de la Maison des femmes de Paris (Espace d initiatives et de solidarite feministe). Le 19 avril 1999

English

To the groups women in black and Women'center (Belgrade) and to feminist of Serbia

Dear friends,

We received messages from pacifist and democratic non-governmental groups in Serbia, including the Women's center in Belgrade and Women in black and individual women. We know you are trying to resist against nationalism and an authoritarian regime, and that you condemn racist politics of "ethnic purification" and deportation. Now about 800 000 persons have been thrown out of Kosovo and we have no news from these who are still in the country.

We express you our support in a situation which is so difficult in the context of Nato bombings. Among us there are different positions about the necessity of a military intervention, but we all consider that air bombings of Serbia do not help the kosovar people and in fact give more power to the serbian government and to nationalist hatred. Particularly terrible is the thought that you too, democrat, antimilitarist and members of the opposition in Belgrade, are in danger because of these bombings, and that your political activity is hindered. We think that the only hope to solve conflicts and restore justice and peace is in the action of the people, of civil society, of women, in the civic solidarity against nationalist forces, and not armies and states.

That is why your existence as women's group and as individuals is so important and we hope you will survive and resist to this dramatic situation.

If life, freedom and rights of everybody are in danger, it is also the case for women's lives, freedom and rights. We refuse to divide and hierarchize victims, but we want to learn and inform about the situation of women.

Among women deported from Kosovo and staying in refugee camps in Albania or Macedonia, several testify having been raped by serbian soldiers or paramilitary. Rape is again used as a war weapon, and very few is done for the victims - we have heard the pope Jean Paul II condemn the pill or abortion for women victims of rape (but there have been feminist protest).

A lot of women are alone, with the whole responsibility of their children - that means also that men, as men, have been selected to be murdered during the deportations. War means always a growing brutality and violence against women, more machism and sexism linked with militarist and nationalist ideology, divisions among women on the grounds of so called "national" or "ethnic" borders, and more dependence from patriarchal structures. Women refugees, without any resources, deprived from their autonomy and from their identity, suffer particularly this dependence. Sometimes their situation is instrumentalised by state's propaganda.

We try to gather informations about the situation of women, and we listen to every information coming from democratic, feminist or other progressive groups inside Serbia, Kosovo, Albania, Bosnia and other Balkanic countries.

If you have any message, we will spread it as an help for anti-nationalist groups.

We want the recognition of the asylum right for every person who is persecuted because of their origin or their political activity and their opposition

to army, as long as they want before coming back to their country. The

serbian government, which pretend to be in war on "humanitarian" grounds, is in fact a really xenophobic one and is very reluctant to give asylum rights to people from the Balkans. Even young desertors from the serbian army, who asked for asylum in France, are in danger to be expelled. A few

hundred chosen refugees only have been received in Franc, and only thanks to pressure by public opinion.

We hope that you will received this message. We want to act with you, even if we know that what we do is very little. Try to get in contact with us if you can. Tell us what can be useful for you, and how we can developp our relations without putting you in danger.

April 19th 1999. Feminist women from associations in the Maison des femmes (Feminist initiative and solidarity center in Paris)

Claudie Lesselier  
claudie.lesselier@wanadoo.fr

--Boundary\_(ID\_ClhCHUW0Vh14nx7TWxrf3A)  
Content-type: text/html; charset=us-ascii  
Content-transfer-encoding: 7bit

<HTML>  
<HEAD>  
<TITLE>Solidarite feministe Copie</TITLE>  
</HEAD>  
<BODY BGCOLOR="#FFFFFF">

Nous vous envoyons copie d'un message que nous avons envoye aux organisations feministes et citoyennes de Belgrade et aux personnes individuelles dont nous avons l'adresse. Cette lettre peut circuler et etre rendue publique. Des feministes des associations de la Maison des femmes de Paris. Nous cherchons des adresses de groupes dans les autres pays impliquees afin de leur ecrire aussi. Nous vous remercions pour toute reponse.<BR>

<B><BR>

Message pour le groupe " Women in black" (Belgrade)<BR>  
et le "Women'center (Belgrade) et pour les feministes de Serbie</B><BR>  
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Cheres amies, <BR>

Nous avons recu des messages de groupes democrates et pacifistes de Serbie, dont le Centre des femmes et Femmes noir et des messages de femmes individuelles. Nous savons que vous tentez de resister au nationalisme et a un regime autoritaire, et que vous condamnez la politique raciste de "purification ethnique" et de deportation. Ce sont pres de 800 000 personnes aujourd'hui chassees du Kosovo, et nous n'avons pas de nouvelles de celles qui se trouvent encore dans le pays. <BR>

Nous vous exprimons notre soutien dans une situation qui est si difficile dans le contexte des bombardements de l'Otan. Parmi nous il y a une diversite de positions sur la necessite d'une intervention militaire, mais nous considerons toutes que les bombardements aeriens de la Serbie n'aident pas le peuple kosovar, et renforcent le gouvernement serbe et les haines nationalistes. Particulierement terrible est la pensee que vous aussi, democrates et anti militaristes et opposants de Belgrade, etes menaces par ces bombardements et que votre action politique se trouve dramatiquement entravee. Nous pensons qu'en fin de compte le seul espoir pour resoudre les conflits et restaurer la paix et la justice reside dans l'action des peuples, de la societe civile, des femmes, dans la solidarite citoyenne contre les divisions nationalistes, et non dans les armees et les Etats<BR>

C'est pourquoi votre existence et votre action en tant que groupes de femmes et en tant que individus est si important, et nous pensons a vous et esperons que vous surmonterez cette situation dramatique. <BR>

Si la vie, la liberte et les droits de tous sont en danger, cela est aussi le cas de la vie, de la liberte et des droits des femmes. Nous ne voulons pas distinguer et hierarchiser les victimes, mais nous voulons faire connaitre le sort des femmes. Parmi les femmes deportees du Kosovo et rassemblees dans les camps de refugiees en Albanie ou en Macedoine, plusieurs ont temoigne avoir ete violees par des soldats ou paramilitaire serbes. Le viol continue donc d'etre pratique comme arme de guerre - et tres peu de chose est fait pour les victimes. Nous avons meme entendu le pape Jean-Paul II condamner l'usage de pilule abortive ou d'IVG pour les femmes qui seraient en danger a cause de ces viols (mais il y a eu des protestations feministes contre ces declarations). Beaucoup de femmes sont seules, avec la responsabilite de leurs enfants - ce qui signifie aussi qu'il est probable que les hommes aient ete selectionnes en tant qu'hommes pour etre assassines pendant les

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deportations. La guerre est toujours plus de brutalite et de violence envers les femmes, plus de machisme et de sexisme lies a l'ideologie militariste et nationaliste, plus de division entre les femmes, en fonction de pretendues separations "nationales" ou "ethniques". C'est aussi plus de dependance vis a vis des structures patriarcales. C'est le cas notamment des femmes refugiees, privees de ressources, privees de leur autonomie, de leur identite, dans la plus grande precarite, dependante des organisations humanitaires. Parfois aussi leur situation est instrumentalisee par la propagande des Etats.<BR>