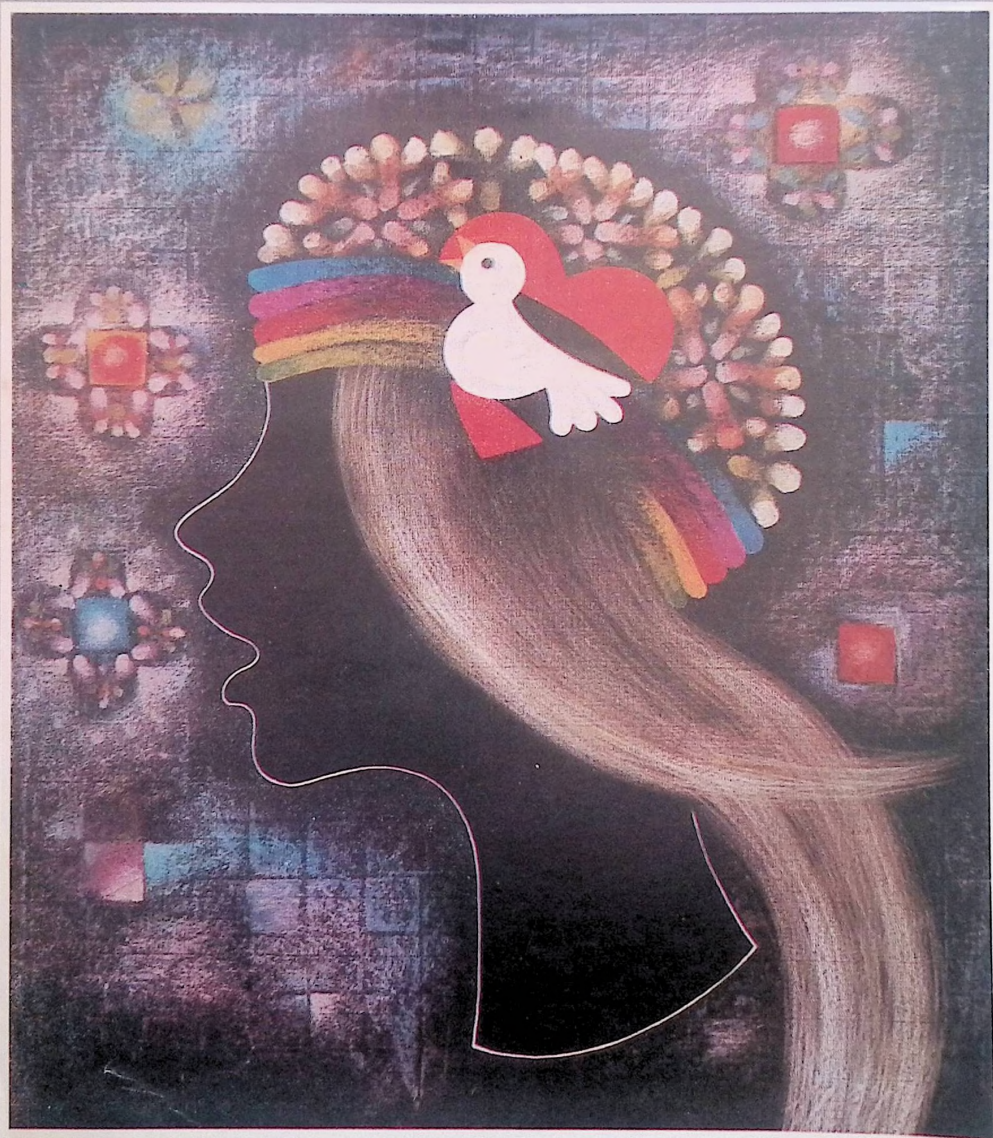


new perspectives

JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL





1 A section of the participants in the Second Vienna Dialogue-International Conference for Disarmament and Detente in Vienna in November 1983.



2 During the session of the Bureau of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council in Athens in November 1983, a public meeting was held to pay tribute to the Greek fighters for democracy and peace. General G. Koumanakos (Retired), Vice President, Movement for National Independence, World Peace and Disarmament (KEADEA), Greece, is addressing the meeting.



3 Participants in a mass rally held in Chapra (Bihar state) in India on the occasion of the Bihar State Conference of the All India Peace and Solidarity Organisation in December 1983.



4 Lorenz Knorr, member of the Board of Directors, German Peace Union (DFU) in the FRG, member of the World Peace Council delegation to India, addressing a public rally in its honour in Behrampore in Orissa state in December 1983.



5 Twenty-thousand Afghan women held a Peace March in Kabul during the United Nations Week for Disarmament in October 1983.

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The Non-Aligned Movement and the War Danger

ROMESH CHANDRA

IN MARCH 1984, it will be one year since the historic Seventh Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement was held in New Delhi. The World Peace Council has called for the observance of the first anniversary of the Summit during March with the holding of meetings, seminars and other events in different countries to highlight the work of the Non-Aligned Movement for the prevention of nuclear war, and for disarmament and development.

The first anniversary of the Seventh Summit, which was attended by heads of state or government of over 100 countries, will be an occasion to extend renewed support to the positive decisions taken in the political and economic declarations of the Summit.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, as Chairperson of the Movement, has repeatedly drawn attention to the gravity of the international situation. At the recent Indian Science Congress, she castigated those who talk of a "limited" nuclear war or of victory in such a war.

During the period since the Seventh Summit, the anti-imperialist non-aligned countries have acted on numerous occasions in the United Nations and elsewhere in support of initiatives on the key questions facing humanity today. They have put forward resolutions on the concrete issues of halting the arms race, against US aggression and intervention in different parts of the world, and for the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

In all such steps, the Non-Aligned Movement has had the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, just as major peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have received the support of the Non-Aligned Movement. This cooperation between nonaligned and socialist countries has again and again ensured an overwhelming majority for vital resolutions in the councils of the world.

This period has seen more persistent attacks than ever by the Reagan administration against the Non-Aligned Movement. These attacks reached new heights in the campaign led by the USA at the United Nations to condemn the informal summit convened by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi as the Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement, during the opening days of the last session of the UN General Assembly in 1983.

The Reagan administration has openly blackmailed and pressurized non-aligned countries to weaken their foreign policies and to follow the orders of Washington.

The last year has seen a sharp increase in US efforts to destabilize those non-aligned countries which dare to stand up against the US diktats.

During the Seventh Summit in New Delhi, the Reagan administration and its intelligence agencies did their best to sow division in the movement utilizing a handful of governments which appeared as little more than spokesmen for US imperialist policies.

At this moment in history when the danger of a nuclear war has reached unprecedented heights as a result of the Reagan administration's military build-up and aggression, the Non-Aligned Movement is playing a more vital role in defence of peace and national independence.

The World Peace Council has extended its full support to every initiative taken by the Non-Aligned Movement in the interest of saving this planet from nuclear annihilation and for the defence of the sovereignty, independence and integrity of independent countries.

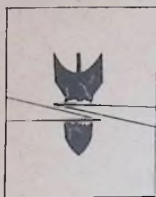
The attacks being made by the Reagan administration against the United Nations reflect the isolation which Washington feels as a consequence of the firm positions being taken by the overwhelming majority of member states of the world body.

President Reagan has announced the withdrawal of the United States from UNESCO precisely because the writ of imperialism no longer runs in the United Nations system. The United States government protests particularly against the efforts of the non-aligned countries to defend themselves against the lying propaganda of imperialist news agencies and press monopolies by establishing a New International Communication Order.

Long ago the notorious US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had called the Non-Aligned Movement "immoral." The Reagan administration may not use this word exactly in the same way, but it has launched a full-scale attack on the Non-Aligned Movement and the principal anti-imperialist countries which are its members.

Peace workers throughout the world are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that at the United Nations, as a result of the united efforts of the non-aligned and socialist countries, resolutions have been adopted on all the key issues for which the anti-war movement of today fights: for a stop to the deployment of new missiles, for a freeze on nuclear weapons, for the banning of nuclear war as a crime, for the prohibition of nuclear weapons, as well as other weapons of mass destruction.

The United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the worldwide peace movement together constitute the most powerful force which can defeat the evil conspiracies of Reaganism.



Radiation and Life

Use of Radiation for Weapons Destroying Humanity's Future

JAROSLAV DOBRY

SOLAR RADIATION is universally known to be one of the conditions necessary for the existence of terrestrial life. It creates favourable temperature conditions and serves as a source of energy for both climatic phenomena and the life processes of living organisms.

Man is a part of the biosphere. Owing to his intellect and with the aid of auxiliary energy sources, mainly fossil fuels, man became a major geological factor. Man's activity brings about huge changes in the life environment which in turn provoke thoughts about the significance of these changes for man's own future. It is understood that man occupies the highest developmental level due to organisms that have developed before him and that his further development will continue in close dependence on both abiotic and biotic factors of the environment. When seeking suitable strategies in further social development, man has to give thought to the laws of mass motion and conversions in the universe, including the origin and evolution of life, and has to contemplate the conditions of his own future existence.

The history of the universe is estimated at some 10 to 12 billion years. It arose in the so-called big bang in which hydrogen originated as a fundamental element and galaxies were formed. The primordial matter was then subject to the action of gravity, nuclear and electromagnetic forces. In greater stars gigantic pressures, temperatures and radiation levels aided in forming other elements. Thus about 7 billion years ago carbon, which forms the basis of the whole terrestrial biosphere, arose at temper-

atures of about 100 million degrees centigrade. These carbon atoms are in our own bodies. Temperatures of up to billions of degrees brought about the origin of a supernova. Its explosion gave rise to all other elements known from the Mendeleev periodic table. In a short time during the explosion about 1,400 types of nuclei were formed, most of them radioactive. This material, with nuclear radiation intensity which one can hardly imagine, expanded into space and gave rise, about 5 billion years ago, to our solar system. A token of the nuclear heat of the supernova is the heat in the earth's interior which causes volcanic activity.

Formation of Sun

The sun was formed as a giant atomic pile with a reliable pressure regulation. The radiation energy emitted by the sun arises from conversion of hydrogen to helium. This reaction made possible the origin and evolution of life on earth: now, in the hands of man, radiation energy is a serious menace to life.

The earth assumed today's form about 4.6 billion years ago. The radiant energy of the sun at the beginning of helium synthesis was about 30% less than today and increased gradually. In initial phases of the earth's existence, the intensity of solar radiation was thus insufficient to heat the surface of the earth above the freezing point. This temperature rise occurred due to the volcanic activity of the earth which also released carbon dioxide, water vapour, methane and other gases into the oxygen-free atmosphere. These gases absorbed ultraviolet light, giving rise to the so-called glasshouse effect. The resulting turbulent atmosphere, water, and favourable temperature range created suitable conditions for a longterm

chemical evolution towards live forms of matter.

Origin of Life

The views of the origin of life have undergone an intriguing evolution, too. About 5 thousands years ago Sumerians from Mesopotamia depicted their ancient legend on the origin of life from water on an alabaster vase. Babylonians and ancient Greek philosophers assumed that organisms arose from dead inorganic matter. The same idea was proposed by Aristotle whose views influenced human thought for almost two thousand years. It has now become quite clear that the origin of life was not the result of some "lucky coincidence", as held by some, but that it is a stage in the evolution of matter, a part of the general process of development of the universe and, especially, of our earth.

Elucidation of the nature of origin of life has not been simple. Many pieces of evidence had to be put together before the theory of a gradual transformation of inanimate to living matter was generally accepted. When the Soviet scholar Oparin published in 1924 his materialistic hypothesis on the origin of life as being due to chemical evolution, his opponents launched a vigorous campaign to suppress this hypothesis. Findings in meteorites indicated that the basic building blocks of living matter, amino acids, are also present in other parts of our universe even though the argument that these compounds could be due to terrestrial contamination could not be wholly refuted.

In the beginning of the fifties an experimental proof was obtained for the possibility of origin of precursors of biochemically important organic substances in the earth's atmosphere. The ancient atmosphere, simulated by a mixture of methane, ammonia,

JAROSLAV DOBRY

Dr., Institute of Botany of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Czechoslovakia)

hydrogen and water, was exposed to high pressure and electric discharges and amino acids were found among the products of the reaction. The experiment was described by the US scientist Stanley L. Miller in a modest paper in "Science" in 1953. Miller's proof of the Oparin-Haldane hypothesis is an example of how scientists from countries with different political systems, who share the belief in peace and development of scientific knowledge, supplement each others' work.

Similar experiments were repeated successfully many times, sometimes with application of nuclear radiation, but a definite end to discussions was provided by lunar expeditions which brought unambiguous proofs from space. Oparin, the father of the field of chemical evolution, received well-earned recognition at many conferences on the origin of life and the era of chemical evolution is also called "Oparin's era."

Danger from Ultraviolet Radiation

Ultraviolet radiation, which was the main supplier of energy for synthesis of organic substances, became the main enemy of more sophisticated organisms. Life could proceed only in seas in certain depths, the ultraviolet rays being absorbed in superficial water layers. Mutual interaction of primitive photosynthesizing organisms with environment, in which active radiation was one of the major factors, gave rise about two billion years ago to better organized structures—green algae which, instead of oxidizing sulphur compounds, were capable of oxidizing water and releasing gaseous oxygen. Gradual biological formation of oxygen in water and its liberation into atmosphere made possible a rapid development of life and evolution of more complex living systems. The increasing level of oxygen in the atmosphere gave rise to ozone arising under the effect of short-wave radiation. Ozone was accumulated in the upper layers of atmosphere, forming a protective filter absorbing the lethal ultraviolet radiation. This resulted in creation of conditions favourable for transition of life to the sea surface and to dry land.

Colonization of dry land by blue-green algae occurred in the Cambrian era, about 600 million years ago. Plant chlorophyll absorbing the energy of solar radiation became the material basis of evolution of increasingly advanced organisms.

In the Mesozoic, flowering plants appeared, great reptiles spread throughout the world, and mammals and birds began to develop. At the end of the Mesozoic, about 70 million years ago, an equilibrium between the level of oxygen and carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, fluctuating around the levels still found today, was created.

In the Tertiary the division of continents and the character of organic life became close to today's state. Organic sediments

deposited in lakes and sea lagoons gave rise to fuels such as lignite. Vertebrates developed to be followed, at the end of the Tertiary, by the evolution of man. The Quaternary brought considerable changes in climate in the northern hemisphere. Several glacial and interglacial periods followed, affecting substantially the evolution of plants and animals.

Climatic fluctuations were probably due to changes in radiant flux from the sun to the earth, to space. Though the interstellar dust contains molecules necessary for the origin of life, it might well have been cosmic clouds which, on passing through our solar system, shielded the earth from solar radiation and thus caused sudden climatic changes which threatened the terrestrial life.

The phylogenetic evolution and its attendant selection pressure favoured such genetically mutated organisms which were in some way better suited for survival than others. This process led to an increasing complexity of the organisms. However, the increasing sophistication of living organisms was paralleled by increasing sensitivity to radiation. As shown by experiments with irradiation by X-rays and γ -rays, mammals are the most sensitive whereas microorganisms are the most refractory species. Insects are also highly resistant. Seed plants and lower vertebrates have an intermediate position between insects and mammals. The sensitivity of higher plants to radioactive rays was found to be directly proportional to the volume of chromosomes. Thus pine is sensitive to gamma radiation to about the same extent as man. The radiation which played a role in the synthesis of "food for life" is thus lethal for most extant organisms.

Military Use of Nuclear Energy

The cultural history of man takes up a mere three millionths of the time span since



Shadow of a person, sitting on the steps, who was vaporised by radiation from the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. "The first military use of the nuclear weapon showed that this road could lead to the extinction of the human race."

the appearance of life on the earth. The role of man should be that of a natural factor which should not appreciably disturb the dynamic equilibrium in biogeochemical cycles that has been attained after millions of years of mutual interactions of living and nonliving natural components. In his effort to utilize progressively more and more energy, man should take into account the price he will have to pay for his material affluence. Sufficient data and sufficient technical means are available for man to select a suitable strategy in his development, protect the ozone layer, the global heat regime, intactness of life environment, natural productivity of soils, diversity and stability of ecosystems, etc., since he cannot survive without a sufficiently stable natural environment.

One of the key problems at present is the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. The first military use of the nuclear weapon showed that this road could lead to the extinction of the human race.

Nuclear tests in the fifties caused serious damage to health and even deaths of some people, who were irradiated by fission products. It was shown that the impact of nuclear explosions on ecosystems was not locally limited but had a global character. Fission products migrated into high atmospheric layers and were distributed by air streams all around the world and then descended and returned to the earth's surface in the form of rainfall for several years. Biologically harmful radionuclides with long decay half-lives, such as strontium 90 and caesium 137, were cumulated in food chains and organs so that they could be detected in the body of every man. Progressive scientists from all over the world formed a united front and argued for the recognition of consequences that the increasing levels of radioactive radiation in biosphere bring for future human generations. This resulted in a moratorium on nuclear tests in the atmosphere and in high seas which, due to the initiative of the USSR, was adopted by certain nuclear powers as the only sensible alternative.

Some phenomena that occur in the universe could alter, due to their radiation impact, the life conditions on our planet.

Man should treasure and preserve the miracle of his own life and, having recognized the importance of radiation for his own existence, should use it peacefully and not try to accelerate natural processes by several millions or billions of years and develop sophisticated means whereby he could annihilate most of the terrestrial life today, and especially, annihilate himself.

In analogy to the coexistence of nuclear powers, which is the only sensible way considering the present nuclear potential, the human society should respect the principle of coexistence of man with nature. Only under adequate mutual relationships is nature capable of providing adequate life conditions for man.

Arms Build-up Makes Nuclear Holocaust More Probable

HOWARD L. PARSONS

THE MERE quantitative increase of an explosive substance increases in some degree the probability of explosions unless corresponding controls are instituted. From 1945 to 1983 nuclear bombs have increased from one to some 50,000, the average nuclear weapon is about 75 times the size of the Hiroshima bomb (close to one megaton or one million tons of TNT), some bombs have more than 1,000 times the destructive and radiative power of the Hiroshima bomb, and the 50,000 bombs in the world, a total of 16,000 megatons, are equivalent to the explosive power of two million Hiroshima bombs. Only 200 megatons of nuclear power are needed on each side to destroy the major metropolitan areas of the other.

What is the probability of a nuclear war? It is the sum of several probabilities: of physical accident to weapons; computer or human error; misinterpretation of signals coming from the enemy; independent initiative by a low-level military officer; a precipitating incident of terrorism or conventional war; a strike in anticipation of the enemy's; a first strike motivated by fear or by adventurism (Dr. Strongelove). Both experts and nonexperts estimate the odds of a nuclear war before the year 2000 to be fifty-fifty or greater. (See "The Prisoners of Insecurity. Nuclear Deterrence, the Arms Race, and Arms Control" by Bruce Russett. Published by W. H. Freeman, San Francisco, 1983.)

What have been and are the policies of the two major nuclear powers, the US and the USSR?

With the dropping of the first atomic bomb in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, the US launched the opening blow in the cold war—an event followed by the policies of containment and roll-back of communism, atomic blackmail and a systematic buildup of a nuclear arsenal rationalized by the myth of the Soviet threat, bogus charges of Soviet espionage and the spurious bomber gap and missile gap of the 1950s, and in the 1980s by the spending gap and the "window of vulnerability" in the land-based missiles.

Since 1945 virtually every major escalation in the nuclear arms race has been initiated by the US, with the USSR following with a similar weapon in about three to five years.

The theory of deterrence and security through "mutual assured destruction" has now been abandoned by the Reagan-led US government, which has replaced it by a much more dangerous policy. It has expanded Carter's Presidential Directive 59 which proclaimed an explicit policy of a limited, protracted, survivable, winnable nuclear war. (The policy of first-use of nuclear weapons has been held by all US administrations since Eisenhower's.)

Reagan's view is that the USSR's influence must be pushed back inside its borders, i.e., out of Poland, the rest of eastern Europe, Afghanistan, Africa, Cuba and Central America, Viet Nam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, etc.

To secure this objective, the US must achieve a clear superiority in military and economic strength. The goal is "to prevail". Robert Scheer has accurately summarized the goal of the Reagan ruling group "to intimidate, disrupt and eventually transform the Soviet Union by the threat of nuclear war". He speaks of the "very real likelihood" that this policy will lead to a "catastrophe" or an inescapable confrontation. (See "With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War", Random House, New York, 1982.)

Reagan's Nuclear Policy

Reagan believes that the USSR holds a superiority in nuclear weapons (which is not true), that "a freeze at current levels of weapons would remove any incentive for the Soviets to negotiate seriously", that they will be forced to negotiate from a weakened position, that they are "the focus of evil in the modern world", and that "a crusade for freedom" must be launched to bring to the USSR "the infrastructure of democracy" which will allow them "to choose their own way." So defined, the Soviet Union from the start can never be right and can never be trusted.

A seventeen year old student, Arela

Gross, reported this of her meeting with Reagan: "We ended by my asking what will happen if we did freeze. And he said, 'Well, you know who first suggested the freeze, the Soviet Union!'"

She continued: "So I said, 'Well, they'd be perfectly willing to comply, then.' And he expressed the belief that there must be something wrong with the freeze if the Soviets want it." (New York Times, 17 June 1983.)

Every military and economic decision follows from the premise that communism must be stopped. Secretary of Defense Weinberger has said: "You're making a terrible mistake if you try to adjust your defense budget to food stamps, harbor dredging and highways. It's the threat that makes the budget. You've got to build your budget on the Russian budget." (The New York Times Magazine, "Weinberger on the Ramparts by Theodore H. White, 8 February 1983.)

Reagan sees the main cause of the danger of war and of the arms race as "the Soviets' global desires" and "enormous and unparalleled military build-up." But Soviet armament, while one of rough parity with that of the US, is in fact inferior. Each of the generals and the admirals of the US Chiefs of Staff stated in 1981 that they would not trade their military services for any of the Soviet counterpart services. As for the Soviet military threat, Admiral Stanfield Turner, recently retired CIA director, said: "Nothing I have seen persuades me that the Soviet leaders' intention in building their nuclear war machines is to use it offensively." (New York Times, 13 March 1983.)

The existence and power of Soviet communism and of other communist systems in the world is surely a cause of the antagonism between it and the US, its capitalist allies and its subservient client states. This antagonism is therefore a cause contributing to frustration of class and national aims, fear of the other side and military defense of each side's interests. But the most vital question for states and peoples is whether this objective antagonism between very different economic-political systems must necessarily lead to nuclear confrontation and war—whether one side must "prevail" either by nuclear superiority so great that the su-

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terior power can dictate more or less its own terms to the other, or by nuclear holocaust. Reagan's position, an either-or mechanical position, seems to affirm this course as the only possible one.

The Soviet position, in sharp contrast, is a dialectical one of peaceful coexistence of antagonistic economic systems and continued economic and political struggle. This policy presumes the right of each people and nation, (a) to choose, maintain and pursue its own socio-economic system and (b) to be free from interference by other peoples and nations. In the case of the relation of capitalist and communist nations, it presumes in addition that these systems cannot be basically altered by the other's direct economic or military interventions and that any attempt to do so in a nuclear age runs the risk of destroying both systems now and forever. Thus while the material clash of capitalist and communist systems will remain essentially unchangeable until one or the other or both are transformed, this fact need not doom the human race.

Soviet Policy of Coexistence

The Soviets have recognized this consistently since 1946, the Americans intermittently—Roosevelt understood it and perhaps Kennedy to some degree before he was assassinated. This antagonism is a fact of history; if we cannot live with it, we will die in consequence of our failure to do so. To assert that we cannot live with it and to build up arms in the effort to escape from the antagonism and from a constructive and life-affirming response to it, i.e., peaceful coexistence, is already to take us down the road to doomsday. This is what Reagan is doing.

It is a naive and dangerous misperception in the extreme to see the global problem as one of absolute good versus absolute evil, as "knowing God" versus "totalitarian darkness." For that premise leads to the conclusion that defeat of the enemy takes precedence over saving the human race from final catastrophe. The bomb becomes the weapon of "salvation." (See "Indefensible Weapons. The Political and Psychological Case Against Nuclearism" by Robert J.

"Our supreme moral task now is to face and solve the problem of nuclear arms, the threat of holocaust, and the problem of creative dialogue on the basis of co-existence between governments and peoples of different social systems. This is the way to save civilization."

Lifton/Richard Falk; Basic, New York, 1982.)

Many liberal writers, incapable of imagining that the US must be as bad as it really seems on the arms build-up, contend for "equal responsibility" of the US and the USSR. But this is usually done by grandly refusing to condescend to the facts. Thus Falk refers—without evidence—to "substantial insights" in the US view that "Soviet development of an atomic bomb ahead of schedule was attributed, in part, to their espionage network" and "our image of the Soviet Union's world revolutionary crusade led us to suppose that its closed society was a potentially lethal weapon in the ongoing struggle for global supremacy."

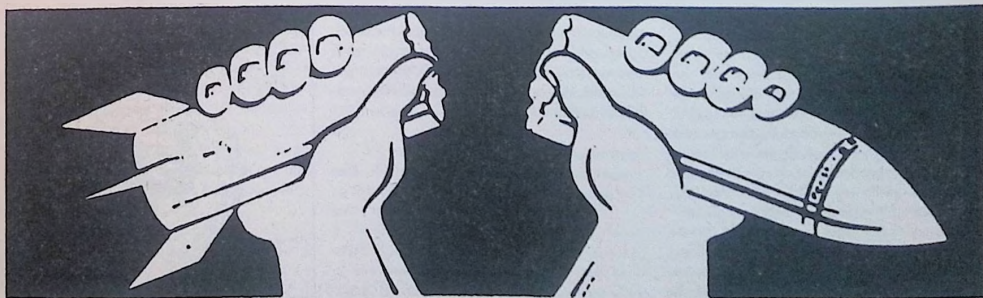
Russet writes of "the military-industrial complex in the Soviet Union", i.e., "state industrial managers" who "have interests in promoting the growth, power, prosperity and technological preeminence of the arms manufacturing plants they control", sharing interests "with their clients in the Red Army and Strategic Rocket Forces and with hawkish ideologues in the Communist Party." The result is that "the military-industrial complex of each country helps the other." Russet ignores the elemental fact that for US defense contractors, profits before taxes were 56 percent—higher than any in the civilian sector—for contracts given on a non-competitive cost-plus basis, whereas in the Soviet Union no such profiteering class exists and the costs of the defense industry are distributed among all citizens.

Boycott, embargo, subversion, economic and financial hegemony, military intervention, conventional war, limited and nuclear war are not the way to peace and development, nor are resistance to freeze, and nuclear escalation through laser and microwave weapons. The Reagan administration is pursuing such a policy in the Caribbean, Central America, South America, Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

The objective danger of war does not reside in the antagonism of capitalist and communist systems but in the direct relations between their states—relations of misunderstanding, mistrust, lack of negotiation and dispositions toward nuclear war. In this sense wars began not only in the build-up of arms but, as stated in the preamble of the UNESCO Constitution, "in the minds of men."

Renunciation of Offensive War

The principles of peaceful coexistence are: the renunciation of offensive war as an instrument of national policy; mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence, self-determination, integrity and equality of states; and the promotion of economic, cultural and other exchanges between peoples. Psychologically the path to peace calls for attitudes of good will, trust, good neighborliness and negotiation in good faith. That peaceful coexistence is possible was demonstrated during the detente of the 1970s. More



than fifteen arms control agreements from the Antarctic Treaty of 1959 to SALT II of 1975 are evidence that the US and the USSR need not be mortal adversaries. The Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the US and the USSR, signed by the two countries on 29 May 1972, affirmed the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and refraining from efforts to secure unilateral advantage.

Peaceful coexistence for developing nations means not only a halt and reversal in the arms race. It means a transfer of the people's resources from military to developmental uses—food, health care, jobs, housing, literacy, education, industrialization, energy resources. It means cancellation and lightening of the debt burden for many developing countries, a halt in the unjust fall in their exports, a new and equitable international financial and monetary system and control of the multinational corporations. It means the implementation of real equality for these nations and peoples in the global economy and community.

Dialogue among Adversaries

Dialogue at its best is creative interchange. (See "Man's Ultimate Commitment" by Henry N. Wieman, Carbondale; Southern Illinois University, 1958.)

When it is most valuable and fulfilling for each participant, when it is most able to save us, individually and collectively, from physical and psychic destruction and to enrich our personalities, to strengthen our communication and community, and to render more effective our knowledge and action, dialogue has the following characteristics:

— Receptive openness to the perspectives of the other and appreciative responsiveness to them. One cannot block out awareness of the other, however much one may fear, hate or otherwise oppose him or her. One cannot be closed-minded toward the other but must be ready, willing and able to attend to the ideas and values of the other in a sensitive, objective, fair-minded way. One must acknowledge and respect the real presence and thought of the other, letting that enter into one's consciousness without inattention, prejudice, foreshortening or distortion. Such openness by no means requires agreement or approval. But to the degree that we are not open to the other we cannot effectively deal with him or her with the ideas, issues and practical problems that concern us.

— Honest and full expression of one's own perspectives to the other. As one takes and receives, one must assert and bestow; as one acknowledges the stand of the other, one must take one's own stand. To do so means to be straightforward and authentic, free from dissembling and concealment. To express oneself is to make evident and known to the other one's feelings, thoughts, values, intentions and actions. It is to put into the interpersonal, objective domain what is

otherwise private, so that it may be considered, evaluated, criticized and changed. As one must be open to the other, so that one's expression may be known and communicated to oneself, so one must be open in one's own expression, for the sake of reciprocity.

— Maintaining equality between the participants is the give-and-take relation. Domination and submission, arrogance and servility, are deviations from the standard of equality, which demands mutual responsibility for the dialogue. Each party is responsible not only for his or her participation but also for the equal participation of the other and must therefore seek to correct excesses and deficiencies in both self and other.

— Progressive integrating of the perspectives exchanged, to develop a new synthesis of awareness in oneself and in the communicative relation, so that the participants can go on to common action on common problems. Innovation occurs primarily at this point in dialogue: creative insight and transformation emerge when the perspectives exchanged are sorted out and reorganized into new combinations, and as a result new hypothetical solutions emerge to be applied to the practical problems before the participants.

Creative dialogue is an important aspect of the effective method of the sciences—the complementary aspect is the give-and-take with the objects and events of nonhuman nature. Creative exchange is the way in which the young infant becomes socialized and humanized, and the way in which the child and adult become civilized.

Some say it is unrealistic to expect leaders of national states to sit down and engage in such civilized dialogue and to solve their problems in this way rather than through force, and that it is unrealistic to expect peoples of different classes, nations, races and religions to do so. But the fact is that it has been done and is being done. And the overriding fact is that if we do not do it soon enough and well enough, civilization will disappear forever from our planet.

Our supreme moral task now is to face and solve the problem of nuclear arms and the threat of genocide, the problem of creative dialogue between the governments and between the peoples of different social systems. It is to put into practice the civilized policy of peaceful coexistence, which is the carrying out into interstate relations the principles of equality, mutual respect, and cooperation exemplified in interpersonal dialogue. This is the way to be civilized, and to save civilization.

Hear My Voice

W. J. BROWN

*Do you hear my voice?
Do you hear it?
This is the voice of life.
This is the voice that has cried
for peace.
For an end to age-long strife.*

*This voice was born to serve
life's need,
To be moulded in mutual toil;
To talk in friendship,
To build and plan,
To murmur of love,
To laugh, to sing,
To speak for each woman and man.*

*Mine is the voice that stormed,
to be free,
To challenge the slave-owners' chains,
To speak against tyrants,
To rise as the serf,
To wrest from history our gains.*

*And mine is the voice that disciplined
slam,
That harnessed electric power,
That shattered the atom,
And ushered my world,
To the edge of this vital hour.*

*Listen!
My voice can croon a lullaby,
Or blast a million cradles in a flash.
Speak soft of babies,
Honor birth,
Or char ripe wombs to radio-active
ash!*

*My voice can command destruction,
Build abundance,
Erase disease,
Or bid germ-clouds scourge the land!
Explode a city,
Spread the desert,
Or make a singing garden out of
sand!*

*Do you hear it now?
Do you hear it?
Then speak, for peace is the choice.
Speak up for the future,
The triumph of life,
Speak up,
For you are my voice!*

W. J. BROWN
Member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council (Australia)



Accounting British and French Nuclear Arsenals in Over-all Agreement

HANS-PETER GOETZ

IN THE Geneva Soviet-US negotiations on medium-range missiles in Europe in 1983, the United States refused to take into account British and French nuclear missiles, too. The standard argument was that the British and French weapons were "independent" systems which, as it were, had nothing to do with NATO. Moreover, their number was so small that they were unimportant to the USSR. What is the fact of the matter?

Let's take first Britain's nuclear weapons and arms programmes.

Britain's intensive nuclear arms buildup in the 1960s and 1970s turned the country into a nuclear power with comprehensive and varied armed forces firmly integrated into NATO's target planning. In 1981 the then British Secretary of State for Defence John Nott wrote: "What is the importance of our contribution to the Alliance? Compared to the United States our nuclear forces, naturally, are small though they do play a role in numerical terms in several fields. So, for instance, we provide a considerable number of aircraft with a greater operational range available for the Supreme Allied Command of Europe for nuclear missions. And in the Eastern Atlantic we provide the majority of tactical nuclear weapons which are there at the disposal of the alliance..." (John Nott, *Modernisierungsbeschlüsse für britischen Nuklearbeitrag erhöhen Abschreckung des Bündnisses*, in NATO-Brief, Bonn, 2/1981, p. 3)

The centre-piece of Britain's nuclear force are four British-made nuclear-powered submarines of 7,500 tons each equipped with

16 American Polaris A3 missiles. The necessary nuclear warheads were developed in Great Britain. The number of unguided warheads per missile has been increased in the past few years from the original three to six as part of the Chevaline Programme.

A number of these submarines is permanently located at sea in combat position. In describing the employability of the submarines, John Nott stated that "a single British Polaris submarine could deliver to a target more explosive power than all World War II weapons combined."

In addition, Britain has several squadrons with a total of 55 Vulcan B2 nuclear medium-range bombers.

In its target planning, NATO has earmarked primarily these two components of the British nuclear forces for attacks against the Soviet Union. These weapons must therefore without doubt be attributed to NATO's nuclear medium-range potential in Europe.

Moreover, the British nuclear forces include:

— a regiment with US surface-to-surface Lance missiles, four regiments with nuclear artillery of various calibres (stationed in the FRG with the 1st British Corps) and four naval air squadrons with Nimrod advanced reconnaissance planes capable of delivering nuclear depth charges. All these weapons systems are scheduled for operation with US nuclear warheads within NATO's strategy.

— a large number of fighter planes equipped with British nuclear arms, four Jaguar squadrons and three Buccaneer squadrons (part of them deployed in the FRG).

— two Buccaneer squadrons and large units of nuclear capable assault helicopters of the Sea King, Wessex, Wasp and Lynx types for assault missions under the Su-

preme Allied Commander, Atlantic (SACLANT); 70 helicopters, for instance, carry new British nuclear deep-sea bombs with an explosive yield of 10 kt, half the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb.

There are plans for a considerable qualitative improvement and quantitative increase of the British nuclear potential within the next few years.

Britain Expands Nuclear Armament Programme

On 15 July 1980, the then British Defence Minister Francis Pym informed the public that the Thatcher government had taken a decision about the biggest British nuclear armaments programme, namely, the creation of a new fleet of carrier submarines to be equipped with American Trident I missiles. Information was given to the public only afterwards. The agreement between Britain and the USA was based on an exchange of letters between Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the then US President Jimmy Carter in early July 1980 (*The Times*, London, 16 July 1980).

To justify such plans the government once more resorted to the lie of a "threat from the East." "Factual arguments" were advanced which were very difficult for laymen in the military field to see through. John Nott, for instance, had explained that the Trident missiles offered a certain protection against further progress in the Soviet ABM systems.

This allegation which was meant to put the blame for intensifying the British nuclear arms build-up on the Soviet Union was a blatant lie. As all will remember, the Soviet Union's ABM system was greatly limited

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as a result of agreements with the USA in the 1970. An agreement achieved in the SALT I talks in 1972 and in an additional protocol of 1974 permits each country only one ABM system with 32 launchers. And this is still the number now deployed.

British Trident plans provide for a replacement of the present four carrier submarines by four to five new ones to be equipped with Trident II, a US first-strike weapon. The overall programme will gobble up a minimum of five to six thousand million pounds. The qualitative leap in Britain's nuclear attack potential is being highlighted by comparing the present Polaris missiles to the new Trident IIs:

Performance parameter of Polaris and Trident II

Type	Accuracy	Maxim. range in km	Warheads
Polaris A3	900 metres CEP	4,600	6 MRVs
Trident II D-5	90 metres CEP	11,000	14 MRVs

Abbreviations:

CEP—Circular Error Probability

MRV—Multiple re-entry vehicle

MARV—Manoeuvring re-entry vehicle

The first British submarines equipped with the new missiles are to be in operation by 1992.

"Each of the planned nuclear submarines would be able to reduce 192 targets in the Soviet Union to radioactive ashes." ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", 17 July 1980)

The more prominent of the British nuclear armaments programmes of the 1980s are:

- acquisition of 385 Tornado combat planes (co-production with the FRG and Italy) amounting to approx. 10,000 million pounds sterling, 220 of them designed as nuclear fighter planes. The main advantage of the Tornado is said to be its improved ability to penetrate enemy defences and to carry nuclear weapons to the target at low levels, in all weather conditions, at any time of the day or night. Tornado is to replace the Vulcan bomber.

- introduction of the nuclear-capable naval combat aircraft Sea Harrier to be deployed on aircraft carriers.

- construction of a uranium enrichment plant (gas centrifuge) to make Britain's nuclear submarines independent of US uranium deliveries in the long run. The site is Capenhurst in the Midlands and production is to start in 1985, according to "Süddeutsche Zeitung", Munich, of 13 January 1980.

As to the planned military role of the British nuclear potential, it should be stated that leading conservative circles in Britain positively reckon with the use of this potential despite their frequent verbal assertions that British nuclear weapons were merely "deterrents" against a possible aggressor.

France's Nuclear Weapons

France, which started to develop its own

nuclear force only in the 1950s, today has a broad array of nuclear weapons and, according to statements by leading French officers, is to achieve the US and Soviet level of weapons technology by the mid 1980s. ("Süddeutsche Zeitung", 20 September 1979)

Since de Gaulle took office in 1958, France has attached strong priority to nuclear programmes in its armaments, for this purpose setting aside 222,000 million francs till 1978.

The present government is continuing along the same lines and whereas expenditure on the nuclear forces rose by 26.2 per cent in 1983, the military budget as a whole grew by 8.4 per cent ("Neue Züricher Zeitung", Zürich, 8 January 1983)

"The nuclear strategic forces of Britain are a system able to unleash more destructive power than was discharged throughout the whole of World War II."

The French armaments programme for 1984 to 1988, recently passed as a law, earmarks 30 per cent of the overall budget for the further extension of the nuclear arsenal. ("Der Tagesspiegel", West Berlin, 21 April 1983)

On 8 January 1983, the "Neue Züricher Zeitung" described the French nuclear force as follows: "The French nuclear potential consists of a strategic and a tactical component in which all three services are integrated. The 'force nucléaire stratégique' is a classical triad of ground-, air- and sea-based weapons systems while the tactical element is provided by air force fighter bombers, naval aviation and ground-to-ground missiles."

In detail the French nuclear force is made up as follows (all data from NATO's Fifteen Nations, Brussels, 1/1982, p. 28; "Neue Züricher Zeitung", 8 January 1983; "Le Monde", Paris, 22 April 1983; "Le Nouvel Observateur", Paris, 15 to 21 April 1983):

- Five submarines represent the main fighting force equipped with 16 M-20 missiles with a range of 3,200 kilometres and each warhead with a destructive power of fifty Hiroshima bombs.

- Other components are 18 ground-based S-3 missiles in hardened silos in the High Alps with a range of 3,000 kilometres. Present warheads with a destructive power eight times that of the Hiroshima bomb will be replaced by a type fifty times as strong.

- In addition there are 46 Mirage IVA

fighter bombers with a range of 3,200 kilometres equipped with nuclear bombs three times the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb.

Because of their range all these weapons systems are able to hit targets in the Soviet Union and are therefore relevant to the East-West balance of power in the field of medium-range missiles in Europe.

Moreover, France also maintains considerable tactical nuclear forces:

- 42 Pluton missiles (range 110 kilometres, one warhead);

- fighter bombers: 30 Mirage III, 46 Jaguar and 36 Super Etendard (an aircraft carriers), all armed with nuclear bombs.

Expansion of French Nuclear Weapons

France plans to continue the qualitative and quantitative extension of its overall nuclear arsenal. A sixth carrier submarine for nuclear missiles is to be made operational by 1985. A new missile has been successfully tested with which France hopes to reach out to MARV technology. This type, called M-4, is said to have a range of 4,000 kilometres and carries six warheads with a destructive power of eight Hiroshima bombs.

On 12 July 1983, the French Minister of Defence Charles Hernu presented the first M-4 nuclear warhead to the Navy. At the same time, he announced that the M-4 missile had gone into production. Four of the five older submarines are to be retrofitted with the new missile. In 1988 a seventh carrier submarine is to be built. The development of a new missile with a range of 5,000 kilometres is also planned for that year.

As far as ground-based systems of the French nuclear weapons are concerned, development of a mobile long-range missile will be continued to replace the hardened S-3 after 1996.

Nuclear capable aircraft will be equipped with a new air-to-ground missile, to be designed now, with a range of 300 kilometres and fifteen times the explosive power of a Hiroshima bomb per warhead.

This will also be the new equipment for the Mirage 2,000 N fighter-bomber (for nuclear attacks in all-weather conditions) which took off for its first flight on 3 February 1983 (NATO's Sixteen Nations, 1/1983, p. 100).

In the tactical field Pluton missiles are to replace Hades (range 450 kilometres) after 1992.

Intensive work is being concentrated on neutron warheads which come in a multitude of variants. Only recently the French Minister of Defence Charles Hernu underlined that no retreat will be made from neutron weapons plans: "It is out of the question to change this concept. If the President would one day have to order the mass production of this radiation weapon, then it would not be some sort of field artillery but a super-modern tactical nuclear weapon." ("Le Monde", 22 April 1983)

French Nuclear Tests in Pacific

In order to implement all these armaments programmes within the projected period and size, France unwaveringly continues its nuclear tests in a testing area in the Pacific, despite growing protests from littoral states. When the Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke visited Paris in June 1983 to bring about a cessation of French tests in the Pacific, the public was scandalized by President Mitterrand's refusal to do so. He left no doubt that France would not change its present practice of nuclear testing. ("Süd-deutsche Zeitung", 11/12 June 1983)

In 1981, the British White Book on Defence said in Paragraph 224: "We maintain an arsenal of modern nuclear forces able to inflict such damage on the Soviet Union that the Soviet leaders have to take it into consideration."

This is exactly what the USSR did with its justified demand to take these forces into consideration in Geneva.

As to an assessment of the actual strength of these forces another witness should be quoted. Peter Blaker, Minister of State in the British Defence Ministry declared at the 20th International Meeting of Military Experts held in Munich in early 1982 that he would hardly call the strategic forces of his country insignificant, since they were a system able to unleash more destructive power than was discharged throughout the whole of World War II. ("Europäische Wehrkunde/Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau", Munich, 4/1983, p. 162)

British and French Missiles and NATO

What now is the position as far as the link between the British and French medium-range missiles to NATO is concerned—something which is denied by the Alliance?

Back in 1974, NATO countries in the "Statement on Atlantic Relations" unequivocally expressed the view that these weapons must be added to the overall NATO arsenal since they helped to strengthen the total deterrence power of the Alliance. (NATO Handbook, Brussels, 1979, p. 88)

This statement, however, was not the end of it. The 1980 British White Book on Defence in definitive terms stated that the British nuclear force was at the side of the great potential of the United States. NATO welcomed particularly the British decision to buy the American Trident system as a contribution to strengthening the Alliance. (Communiqué of the Nuclear Planning Group, in Bulletin. Presse- und Informationsdienst der Bundesregierung, Bonn, 12/1980, p. 1,032)

As to France, the Western side has always pointed to the fact that the country left the NATO military organisation in 1966. NATO Supreme Allied Commander for Europe Bernard Rogers recently claimed that it was impossible to know how the French would use these weapons since Paris insisted not

only on an independent nuclear force, but also on its independent use. ("Frankfurter Rundschau", Frankfurt on the Main, 11 April 1983)

This argument too was no more persuasive, especially since Rogers himself had earlier made no secret of his conviction that France would join NATO in case of a war in Europe. (Reuter, London, 5 May 1982).

In any event the French government in a demonstrative way recently stressed its growing support of NATO and showed that there was not the slightest reason to doubt France's firm anchorage in the Alliance. In 1983 French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy declared on the occasion of the spring session of the North Atlantic Council, the leading political body of the Alliance, held again

"The West compensates for the SS-20 with the British nuclear submarines which nobody counts, with the French nuclear submarines which nobody counts, with the whole lot of British, US, French aircraft which exist but which nobody counts . . ."

after a seventeen-year break in Paris at the invitation of the French government: "Everybody can be quite clear about France's independence in the Alliance, but nobody can doubt its solidarity finding its expression in the latest efforts to reorganize its armed forces." ("Neue Züricher Zeitung", 11 June 1983)

"Die Welt", Bonn, 10 June 1983 was equally sure that France would "fulfil its obligations vis-à-vis the Alliance in case of a crisis or war."

After talks with François Mitterrand, Hans-Jochen Vogel, head of the SPD parliamentary group of the FRG Bundestag, stated to the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" of 26 January 1983 on the subject of the French medium-range missiles: "The French president has never made a secret of the fact—which is no sensation at all—that these systems were not targeted on England, Spain or America but on Eastern Europe, at the Soviet Union to be precise. The existence of these systems cannot simply be erased from one's mind."

Retired Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti, former Deputy Supreme Commander of NATO naval forces and former head of the French Mediterranean Fleet, said in an interview with FRG television on 19 May 1981: "The

West compensates for the SS-20 with the British nuclear submarines which nobody counts, with the French nuclear submarines which nobody counts, with the whole lot of British, American, French aircraft which exist but which nobody counts because they are not subordinated to NATO but the respective heads of state of the Atlantic Alliance. But they are part of the balance of power. Here the cards are marked."

Soviet Demand Justified

The Soviet side had repeatedly pointed to the unacceptable Western positions in Geneva. Yuri Andropov, CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, stated in an interview with the FRG news magazine "Der Spiegel" in April 1983: "They want us to fail to see the more than 400 warheads on British and French sea- and ground-based missiles targeted on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The Americans and, after them, representatives of other NATO countries call the British and French missiles systems of 'deterrence'. Let us assume this were true. But then the question arises, why are France and Britain awarded the right to deterrence and we are denied the right to have our own means of deterrence and to have exactly the same number as the French and the British." ("Pravda", Moscow, 25 April 1983)

The Soviet Union has countered the destructive position of the USA with a constructive approach which might form the basis for a mutually balanced and, therefore, acceptable compromise. The Soviet Union has reiterated its determination to negotiate a solution excluding a new missile arms race by putting an additional moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union and reducing part of the existing Soviet potential.

With its proposal of 21 December 1982, the Soviet Union pointed out the way to achieve an agreement in Geneva which would preserve the approximate military balance of forces in Europe and visibly reduce medium-range missiles accumulated in the East and the West. This proposal contained the Soviet Union's readiness to reduce the number of its medium-range missiles to that of the British and French missiles, at the same time negotiating ceilings for nuclear fighter-bombers of the USSR, the USA, Britain and France on the European continent and its littoral waters.

The Soviet Union had also clearly stated that in case of a continued blockage of the Geneva talks and in case of a possible start of the deployment of US missiles in Western Europe, it would not stand idly by and watch any change of the existing approximate military balance of power on this continent.

It is the Soviet Union's principle, however, to continue to strive for a negotiated settlement.

Building Nuclear-Weapon Free Zones in Europe

G. KOUMANAKOS

ONE OF the main objectives of the peace movements is to work for a nuclear-free Europe. Regional nuclear-free zones, thus, should be seen as a part of the process leading to this goal.

A nuclear-free zone is a delimited area which, by definition, has been declared as free of nuclear weapons. The zone states will guarantee that their territories, or part of the territories within the zone, will have no nuclear weapons, and the nuclear powers will guarantee that they will never use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the zone. The term "nuclear weapon" usually means nuclear warheads and bombs. This is, for example, the definition used in the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 and in the Tlatelolco agreement of 1967. By this definition the prohibition of nuclear weapons within a nuclear-free zone applies to the nuclear charges and nothing else. It is in return for this prohibition that the nuclear powers are expected to give "no-use" guarantees.

One can, however, argue in favour of an extended definition covering parts of the nuclear weapon systems other than the explosive charges. Vital installations and equipment, which can support a nuclear attack, will be considered a threat in times of crises or war. If they cannot be effectively destroyed by conventional means, they may be subject to nuclear attack, despite all guarantees. To the extent that there exist such installations or such equipment within the zone, this will impair the credibility of the zone arrangement. The above argument

indicates that one might use the term "nuclear weapon" in a wider sense, covering more than just warheads and bombs. However, it is difficult to find an extended definition which is sufficiently precise to be suitable for legal use.

It is to be noted that various types of installations and equipment can be used for many different purposes and that their actual importance for nuclear warfare in many cases can be discussed. This is a strong argument for retaining the restrictive definition of the term "nuclear weapons" directly to the nuclear explosive charges. To the extent that it is desirable to prohibit installations or equipment not directly or specifically connected with nuclear charges, this can be done by collateral agreements which in each particular case specify precisely what is to be covered by the prohibition.

The guarantees, already mentioned, shall be legally binding and shall not be abandoned or amended by unilateral decisions. This can be achieved by a common treaty signed by all involved parties, by a set of separate declarations, or by a combination of the two, e.g., a treaty between the zone-states and separate declarations by the nuclear powers as in the case of the Tlatelolco agreement.

In connection with a nuclear-free zone, a control apparatus should be established to ensure that the parties involved fulfill their obligations.

The major aim of nuclear-free zones is detente. By removing the threat of nuclear attack on or from certain areas, such zones will contribute to reducing tension between the power blocs, which in turn may pave the way for further confidence-building measures. Nuclear weapons are nuclear targets. To remove such targets will reduce the risk of having one's own territory devastated in

case of war. However, this is not the major motivation for establishing nuclear-free zones. Nobody should have illusions about the possibility of making his own little corner of Europe a sanctuary in a future war. The main purpose of nuclear-free zones, as of all good security policies, is to prevent this war.

The establishment of nuclear-free zones is one among other means of halting the ongoing preparations for nuclear war in Europe. The price for making one part of Europe nuclear-free must not be the deployment of nuclear weapons elsewhere.

In principle, every nuclear-free zone in Europe should be open-ended. Any zone plan for a given region should be designed to permit extension to neighbouring areas. Moreover, any two zone plans for different regions—even when geographically separated—should be coordinated to facilitate merger at a later stage.

Nuclear-free zones in Europe will have the features of buffer zones where it is essential to reduce the tension between the power blocs. Such zones can comprise non-aligned states, as well as countries belonging to each of the two blocs. But in the initial phase we should not try to include parts of the superpowers own territory. If we do this, we will face problems similar to those which have blocked all previous attempts at nuclear disarmament. The idea is to make a new start in areas which allow for progress. This is particularly important in a period when all disarmament negotiations are stalemated and there is a growing hostility between the superpowers.

Regional Nuclear-Weapon Free Zones

There are three regions which offer good possibilities to become nuclear-free zones. The Nordic area, the Benelux countries and the Balkans.

All Nordic countries have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Hence they have renounced the right to possess nuclear weapons of their own. Sweden and Finland are neutral countries. Norway and Denmark, though they are in the NATO, do not allow their allies to deploy nuclear weapons on their territory in peace time. The Benelux countries are in a somewhat different position than the Nordic countries, since they already have nuclear weapons on their soil. But in these countries there is a strong public opinion demanding that these weapons be removed. This in itself is an important factor which makes the establishment of a nuclear-free zone a political issue.

In the Balkans, a pivotal role is played by Greece. This country has been under strong US dominance for the last 30 years and harbours important military installations, including nuclear storage facilities serving both the US and NATO. However, the new PASOK government has announced a more independent policy reducing the Greek involvement in nuclear strategy.

G. KOUMANAKOS

General (Retired), Vice President, Movement for National Independence, World Peace and Disarmament—KEADEA (Greece)

This makes Greece a natural starting point for a Balkan-zone comprising its northern neighbours, and with the possibility of later extensions in the Mediterranean area.

In those parts of Europe which are most densely stockpiled with nuclear weapons, and threatened by further deployment, one should give priority to efforts aimed at an immediate halt to nuclear rearmament, and to changes in the defense posture aimed at an elimination of the role played by nuclear weapons. In this connection, it is particularly important to remove all tactical nuclear weapons from areas near the dividing line in Central Europe, which would be instrumental in the escalation from conventional to nuclear warfare. What is needed is to start a process which can prepare the ground for nuclear-free zones even in those regions which are heavily nuclearized today.

The aim of creating nuclear-free zones receives encouragement and support from international organizations, international treaties and agreements.

In accordance with Article VIII of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the second Conference was held in Geneva in 1980 for the revision of this Treaty. One of the most significant issues was regional denuclearisation. (Article VII of this Treaty proclaims: "Nothing in this treaty affects the right of any group of states to conclude regional treaties, which may ensure the total absences of nuclear arms from their regions.")

The participants agreed that nuclear-free zones, which have already been created, actively contribute to the security of these regions. For instance, special satisfaction was expressed over the halt in the spread of nuclear arms in Latin America, following the Tlatelolco agreement, signed in Mexico in 1967 by 21 Latin American countries. It should be taken into consideration that the results are significant, despite the fact that the main aim, that is the denuclearisation of Latin America as a whole, has not been achieved—because Argentina, Brazil and Chile, countries with substantial nuclear activities, are not associated with the treaty.

Undoubtedly there was a general desire at the conference as well as a clear indication of the possibility of establishing such nuclear-free zones in other parts of the globe. Such zones would completely fulfill the security aims of the NPT treaty, and could be signed even between one interested country and the International Atomic Energy Agency, because the main aim of the NPT, when it was signed, was not simply to ban the spreading and construction of nuclear arms—by any other country, apart from the nuclear powers in that period—but also the spreading of nuclear arms in general. Therefore, the basing of nuclear arms by the nuclear powers on the soil of countries without nuclear arms is tantamount to the spreading of nuclear arms. During the conference, special mention was also made of the 10th Special Conference of the UN General Assembly, which, in paragraph 59

of the Final Document stated: "Efforts should be made so that suitable negotiations can be carried out to ensure nuclear free zones against the use, or threat of use, of nuclear arms."

Therefore, the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) itself, its revision in Geneva in 1980 and the 10th Special UN Conference permit and promote the establishment of nuclear-free zones through joint agreements.

Denuclearised Region in Balkans

Let us now turn to the Balkans again. Already, Greece has started talks with President Zhivkov of Bulgaria, President Ceausescu of Rumania and Prime Minister Mrs Planinc of Yugoslavia.

The basic idea is to have a joint agreement—an agreement which would include the Balkan states—to be signed by the respective governments. It is something, certainly, which is within the bounds of achievement. But the matter is not that simple. Each of these countries has its own alliances and obligations, or as far as we are concerned, its own problems. Let us start there.



Greece believes, knows, sees and agrees that it has no problem from the north. It has good relations with all its northern neighbours and consequently it has no reservations in proceeding to an agreement for a missile-free and denuclearised Balkan region. But there are certain problems that arise in the east. Of course, we have repeatedly stated that we desire a relation of good neighbourliness with the Turks and have no claims whatsoever on them—apart from a just settlement of the Cyprus problem. We have stated, however, that we do not accept any discussion concerning our sovereign rights. Consequently, it is up to the Turkish side to put a final end to any tension so that we may proceed to a consolidation of peace and friendship between the two peoples.

If we exclude this matter which concerns our country alone, we believe that there is a more general issue, which concerns in the same manner, or in almost the same manner, other countries in the Balkan region. Each Balkan country must have mutual un-

derstandings, or negotiations in relation to the obligations it has with regard to third countries. This, perhaps, may be the biggest problem. As an example, Greece has the problem of US bases. This is a matter that concerns only Greece and the United States. To the extent, as we hope, there will be a final agreement and a time-table for the removal from Greek soil of these bases, which are in foreign hands, matters will be facilitated from the Greek side.

As far as our neighbouring countries are concerned, they have to clarify their obligations or ties with their friendly or allied powers. If this is done, the next quick step would be a joint agreement for a denuclearised region in Europe, that is in the Balkans. The question that arises is, what will happen if all the Balkan countries do not agree. Even if this is a negotiable subject, I believe we could say that in this case also, each country will have the right to proceed unilaterally towards denuclearisation. We certainly seek the multilateral nuclear disarmament as the sole guarantee for peace in the region.

I am confident that there will be understanding from all sides and that we will reach the final stage of such an agreement. The Balkan region is a sensitive one. It is the point where the two worlds meet peacefully and which geographically unites Europe with Asia. Particularly, in its southernmost section, Greece, through the Eastern Mediterranean, it is the door to Africa and the ante-chamber of the Middle East. Therefore, its denuclearisation and the removal of missiles would have particular significance for detente, and, we hope, it would be the forerunner of a more general denuclearisation of Europe.

Danish Peace Movement's Call Withdraw New US Missiles from Western Europe

VILLUM HANSEN

THE DEVELOPMENT of the Danish peace movement can best be summed up by quoting two figures. In December 1979, we were a few thousands in the streets of Copenhagen to say "NO" to the new US missiles to be deployed in five European NATO-countries. In October 1983, more than 200,000 with determination chanted "NO" to the 572 missiles to be installed in these European countries. Of these 100,000 demonstrated in Copenhagen. (Denmark has a population of 5 million.)

The Social Democratic Party, the largest party in Denmark, and other smaller parties responded to the growing awareness of the people of the nuclear menace by showing clearly their reluctance to endorse the NATO decision of December 1979.

In December 1982, a clear Parliamentary majority in Denmark had compelled the minority Conservative government to stop further appropriations for the construction of sites for the new NATO-missiles.

On 26 May 1983, the Danish Parliament took a very important step by adopting a resolution which outlined the following four points:

1. The West should be prepared to extend the INF negotiations and set a new time limit.

2. During the negotiations, no deployment, nor preparations for it, should take place, so that the number of intermediate range missiles may be frozen in Europe.

3. The French and British nuclear weapons should be taken into account in the negotiations, and the INF and START talks should be merged so as to freeze the strategic weapons also.

4. The primary goal should be to reduce the SS20s to a number that would avoid the deployment of new US missiles in the West.

On 3 November 1983, the Danish Parliament expressed its dissatisfaction with the way the government had presented the Danish position on nuclear missiles to NATO and demanded that the government implement actively the resolution of 26 May 1983.

On 10 November 1983, another resolution was passed. The Social Democratic Party demanded that the government collaborate actively with the other northern countries in Europe to establish a nuclear weapon-free zone in northern Europe.

It must be added that the Danish Trade Union Congress had asked all its members to make a five-minute break in work on 22 November 1983 as a protest against the new NATO-missiles, of which the first were scheduled to arrive in West Germany on that day.

We in Denmark are in a different position than our friends in the other NATO countries. We are not going to have any NATO-missiles deployed on our territory. We have a consensus between the majority of the

VILLUM HANSEN

Chairman, Joint Committee for Peace and Security (Denmark)



Over 100,000 people demonstrated in Copenhagen against the deployment of new missiles in Europe in October 1983. Photo by Finn Svensson.

The Sound of Peace

JOHN HANLEY MORGAN

*This is the sound of peace, the word of life,
For peace and life are one:
name the speech.
And it is here, our rich variety
of continent and island articulate.*

*We speak for the unborn of the earth
that they may have their share
of future years,
and for the young through whom
that future comes,
for all who treasure
every people's
dream:
a world of peace rich with
work and love.*

*This is the sound, compound
of consonant and vowel,
patterned resonance of breath.
Behind the sound, the strong
and eager heart
beating out its steady metronome.*

*This is the sound of peace,
the word of life,
for peace and life are one,
one is the tongue!*

JOHN HANLEY MORGAN

President, Canadian Peace Congress;
Vice President of the World Peace
Council (Canada)

population and the majority in Parliament in opposing the NATO missiles.

We have a feeling in common with all other Europeans. We will also be victims in an eventual so called "limited nuclear war", which could be the result of the present US and NATO military strategy. Therefore, the Danish peace movement's most important task at present will be:

— to demand the withdrawal of the new US missiles already deployed, which is in accordance with the decisions of the Danish Parliament,

— to stress Denmark's traditional refusal to receive any nuclear weapons and, consequently, Denmark withdrawing from the membership of the nuclear planning group of NATO,

— to continue to work, together with other Nordic countries, for a Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone, in concert with similar plans for the Balkans and the Iberian peninsula and the proposal of the Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme for a denuclearized zone on both sides of the border between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries.

Nuclear War will Engulf the Whole World

HONESTO L. CUEVA

THE NUCLEAR sword of total annihilation is dangerously and precariously hanging over our beautiful planet. While one may concede that the menace of nuclear war is not as imminently acute in Asia as it is in Europe, there can be no limited nuclear war.

In this context, what is most disturbing is the propaganda spread by the US mass media that war in Europe would be confined to Europe alone, and that it would not embroil East Asia or the Far East. The western media also try to brainwash people into believing that a nuclear war can be limited and is winnable. But the idea of a limited nuclear war is a dangerous illusion. It is a barbaric concoction to justify the unjustifiable, to rationalise the irrational, to make thinkable the unthinkable. We all know that war escalates, that a local war can trigger off a nuclear war, which in turn can detonate a global war, a war in which there will be no winners but only losers, no victors but only victims. In fact, it will be a war where the living will envy the dead. If this happens humanity will be bidding this planet farewell.

We cannot provide boundaries to conflicts and wars, much less to a nuclear war. This was proved in the Second World War which engulfed 40 countries killing 50 to 55 million people, and leaving about 35 million people wounded, of which 20 to 25 million were permanently crippled. The war that started in Europe ended in Asia.

President Carter had himself admitted in unequivocal terms that "if nuclear war were fated to break out, there would be a very great likelihood of its growing into a far larger conflict."

In other words, a nuclear war would be merely a nuclear detonator—the initial opening stage of a conflict that would inevitably escalate.

There is another aspect of a nuclear conflict which must be taken into account. It relates to the countries, like the Philippines, which have US military bases containing nu-

clear weapons. In the event of a US-Soviet nuclear war erupting in Europe, or the Middle East or the Indian Ocean, or North-west Asia, or any other region of superpower confrontation, far removed from the Philippines, our Filipino people will be at the receiving end of Soviet retaliatory missiles, because of the Clark air base, the Subic naval base and other US military installations in our country.

This is the chill warning which was given by the Philippine Peace and Solidarity Council to our people during the UN Disarmament Week in October 1983. The warning was given by representatives of the PPSC during their extensive tour of several provinces of the Philippines, including those which are nearest the US Subic and Clark bases. This message to our people was concerned with nothing less than the very survival of tens of millions of Filipinos.

The alarm about US bases in the Philippines, serving as magnets for hostile nuclear missiles, was sounded by the late Senator Claro M. Recto in the early 1950s. At that time, the Filipinos did not feel alarmed, but the US embassy in Manila did.

Our thinking then was that nuclear war was something very remote, abstract and improbable, like the unlikely collision of a wayward asteroid with our planet. But today our people have come to realise that the danger of nuclear war is ever present, and that the threat of such a war breaking out has become very imminent. It would affect the Philippines also, especially in view of the US bases there.

The 40,000 hectares of our country's land, which comprises the US Clark Base, named after the obscure and now forgotten US Army Major Harold M. Clark, have various sophisticated military installations. The Clark base is the largest US air base outside the continental United States.

Similarly, the base in Subic Bay is the biggest US base after Pearl Harbour. In fact, the Philippines is a vital command communication and transport hub in USA's Pacific war machine, with several Filipino airports having runways which can be used by US nuclear bombers.

The US has been using nuclear diplomacy

ever since it dropped the first atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. This nuclear madness on the part of the USA was not even necessary to effect the surrender of Japan. It was already prostrate militarily and US planes could fly freely anywhere over Japanese territory.

The US dropped the atomic bombs not as military acts to end the Second World War, but political acts to start the Cold War. By dropping the bombs the United States had served notice on its allies and foes alike that it not only possessed this awesome military power, but it had also the willingness and readiness to use it to serve its interests.

The US has been using nuclear diplomacy since the first atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It has used the threat of using nuclear weapons no less than 20 times, notable among them were the threats made against Korea and China in the early 1950s, Guatemala in 1954, Cuba in 1962, Viet Nam in the sixties and early seventies.

A direct consequence of US nuclear diplomacy was the massive arms race that was escalated as a part of the Cold War. The US set up military pacts in different parts of the world and established military bases in every continent. All this was done to secure a Pax Americana.

These indisputable historical facts expose the aims of the USA fully—what it wanted in the decades after the Second World War and what it wants now, namely the unfettered access to the economic resources of the developing countries, which are militarily weak, and unchallenged supremacy in Europe and the world.

The US plans for a limited nuclear war are part of this global strategy of Washington for world domination. So every part of the world is under a nuclear threat and it has become crystal clear that a nuclear war cannot be limited. The people of the Philippines who understand this quite well are raising their voice against US plans for a nuclear war. They have also expressed again in demonstrations and manifestations their lifelong aspiration for the dismantling of US military bases in the Philippines and for making East Asia a nuclear-weapon free zone.

HONESTO L. CUEVA

Lawyer; Chairman of the Legal Aid Committee; member of the Philippine Peace and Solidarity Council (Philippines)



Potential Benefits of Collective Self-Reliance

Intensify Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in the second part of its Trade and Development Report 1983 has made a comprehensive review of the progress made in economic co-operation among the developing countries, and of the potential benefits that can arise from intensifying such co-operation. The Report throws new light on the possibilities of collective self-reliance among developing countries.

The UNCTAD Report points out that trade among developing countries during the 1970s was characterised by "outstanding dynamism", even when trade in mineral fuels is left out of account.

The UNCTAD Report states that further efforts to expand this intra-trade, especially if they were underpinned by complementary measures in the field of financial and technical co-operation, could bestow substantial direct benefits on developing countries by enabling them to accelerate their economic growth. This in turn would benefit the developed countries and, hence, the world economy as a whole.

Published here are extracts from the UNCTAD Report.

EXPANSION OF trade among developing countries as a manifestation of collective self-reliance is primarily a response to economic development needs, including the mobilization of resources for development. However, it has also been a response to difficulties encountered in exporting traditional as well as new products to their principal markets, the developed countries.

The principal constraint on the economic development process in developing countries is the size of their domestic markets. In many industries and/or in producing many specified products, most developing countries are unable to exploit the economies of scale to a point where they can operate the productive processes involved, even with protection, in such a way as to achieve acceptable quality at an acceptable level of unit costs. By opening up their markets to each other they can evolve a pattern of specialization among themselves and through this have much greater access to economies of scale.

Making use of the possibilities of trade among them, developing countries are able to push an import substitution policy of development much farther collectively than each of them can do individually. Econo-

metric studies, including several published under United Nations auspices, have shown that the productive structure of a country bears a close relationship to its level of real income per head and to the size of its population. This is especially the case concerning the volume of output of various manufacturing industries and the percentage share contributed by each to total value added. By expanding their mutual trade, developing countries can move their productive structures closer to structures characteristic of much larger economic areas. This, in turn, can enable them to raise their levels of real income per head.

Typically, developing countries face balance-of-payments constraints which frequently result in unemployed or not fully employed productive resources—in the first place labour, but often installed capacity and sometimes agricultural capacity as well. In consequence, to increase the degree of utilization of productive resources and thereby the gross domestic product and its rate of growth, the economy must be able to finance a greater volume of indispensable imports, in particular of raw and energy materials, semi-manufactures and capital goods. The studies referred to in the preced-

ing paragraph have also demonstrated that larger economic areas, having a more diversified pattern of domestic output, can survive and grow with lower levels of imports relative to their GDP.

Within the larger economic area, imports of each developing country would increase, but a greater proportion of total imports than before would originate in other developing countries members of the area. If these imports were paid for by exports to the other members, they would put no net burden on the payments balances of the member countries, who would find that their individual balance-of-payments constraints eased. It is in this sense that trade among developing countries becomes significant as an engine of growth. It has been argued that in the current world economic situation, the most promising prospect for developing countries to set this engine in motion is to boost trade with each other.

Impact of External Factors

There are strong factors at work, originating outside the developing countries, which tend to channel their international trade towards the maintenance and expansion of exchanges with the developed market-economy countries and, to a smaller but still important extent, with the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, rather than towards exchanges among themselves.

Various ties tend to persist between former colonies and their metropolitan centres, one of the most important being language and the educational and cultural impact transmitted by it. In a number of cases the trading enterprises are subsidiaries of firms established in the pre-independence period, and the international transport and communication network of many developing countries is often geared to the metropolitan centre

rather than to trade with its neighbours or with other developing countries.

Under the impact of unemployment in the developed market-economy countries the proportion of official aid explicitly or implicitly tied to deliveries from the donor countries also appears to be growing. Particularly effective in determining procurement sources seems to be the tying of technical assistance; this is often practised even in conjunction with financial aid which is itself wholly or partly untied.

Given their balance-of-payments problems, in placing orders for substantial packages of capital goods or for the bulk supply of staple food many developing countries assign decisive weight to the conditions of the credit the supplier is willing to provide. Suppliers located in other developing countries, even if they are competitive in terms of price and quality, are very seldom able to match the credit terms available from the developed market-economy countries.

Transnational enterprises centred in the developed market-economy countries exert a very significant influence on the trade orientation of many developing countries. Their subsidiaries or licencees in developing countries are frequently obliged to import products from particular sources in developed countries and to refrain from exporting to certain countries including other developing countries. While there have been some changes in this respect, partially as a result of government intervention, it is essentially only subsidiaries located in the industrially more advanced developing countries that engage in exports on any significant scale, whether to developing or to developed markets.

The foregoing remarks refer to trade in manufactured products. In respect of primary products transnational enterprises' activities have traditionally been oriented towards exporting to developed markets, but they also engage in a certain amount of intratrade among the developing countries.

Another aspect which has an influence on trade among the developing countries is the procurement policies of the World Bank, the regional development banks and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The projects financed by these institutions represent a market for capital goods which does not require export credit, eliminating one of the serious disadvantages facing developing country exporters. The share of developing countries suppliers in total disbursements from World Bank credits more than doubled during the period 1978 to 1982, to almost 18 per cent. Financial co-operation among the developing countries themselves could clearly create more favourable conditions for trade in capital goods among them.

Wide Scope for Financial Co-operation

Financial co-operation among developing countries (FCDC) constitutes a necessary—although not preclusive—area in which the

principle of collective self-reliance can find effective expression. Although the vast potentialities in this field available in the past ten years have only been partially utilized, progress in FCDC appears to have been more impressive and widespread than in other areas of ECDC, such as preferential trade arrangements, joint production ventures and technological co-operation.

The major impetus to FCDC over the past decade was undoubtedly provided by the emergence of surplus liquid funds in certain oil-exporting countries with low absorptive capacities. The aid flows to other developing countries which they undertook to finance and the national and multilateral institutions which they established to implement this aid, exceeded by far the corresponding efforts of the traditional aid donors, when measured against the respective national products, or—more appropriately, but less easy

“Financial co-operation among developing countries constitutes a necessary area in which the principle of collective self-reliance can find effective expression.”

to quantify—against the respective volumes of national wealth. However, the turn-around in the surplus countries' revenues combined with the continuing, if not rising, needs of their own development plans will necessarily reduce the long-term importance of these aid flows in absolute terms and restrict the group of countries in a position to dispense substantial concessional aid to a very small number.

In these circumstances, the remaining aid flows might well be re-oriented in such a manner as to meet needs which cannot or will not be met by the traditional donors, rather than to working essentially along parallel lines. The provision of relatively modest sums of additional working capital to improve the functioning of existing clearing and payments arrangements among developing countries would constitute a major step towards using the instrument of FCDC to promote trade expansion among the developing countries. The highly successful precedent set by the United States in 1950 when it provided working capital to the then nascent European Payments Union demonstrates the high degree of leverage of this particular type of external assistance.

Similarly, the concept of collective self-reliance would be strengthened through the

establishment of interest subsidization accounts with existing institutions, (or with the proposed South Bank), earmarked to reduce the interest rate of export credits on trade in capital and other durable goods sold by developing countries to the subsidized level applied by the industrialized countries.

Last but not least, the concept of FCDC should be broadened to cover the immense stock of loanable funds currently invested in the international financial markets by official agencies and private residents of developing countries. It must not be overlooked that a considerable part of the debt burden under which so many developing countries are now struggling was in fact financed by other developing countries through the intermediation of the large commercial banks. It stands to reason that these ultimate creditors should participate more actively than heretofore in finding a solution to this pressing problem in a manner that meets the legitimate needs and possibilities of all the parties concerned—debtors, creditors and financial intermediaries.

Intensifying Co-operation among Developing Countries

The dramatic impact of the recession 1980 to 1982 in the developed market-economy countries on the developing countries, slowing down their economic growth to an extent not experienced earlier, underlines the trade-growth dependence of these countries referred to in innumerable studies. The effect has been exacerbated by a debt service burden magnified by very high interest rates. This situation is contrary to the conditions of the mid-1970s when easy access to the international capital market made the developing countries on the whole independent of downturns of the economies of developed countries.

In view of the generally recognized likelihood of developed countries having shifted to a slower long-term growth trend compared with the 1960s and early 1970s, developing countries have to look for other markets for their exports to restore economic growth and the ability to service debt. The obvious markets to look for are, of course, amongst the developing countries themselves, markets which in a number of cases proved able to expand at high rates in the 1970s.

In effect, developing countries intratrade expanded faster than their trade with other country groups in this period.

Collective Self-reliance and Increased Self-sufficiency

One of the basic ideas motivating intensified economic co-operation among developing countries is to reach a high degree of self-reliance, in particular in the collective sense.

Self-reliance means an autonomous ca-

capacity for self-sustaining growth, i.e., the absence of a balance-of-payments constraint. The indicator used here to illustrate the self-sufficiency level consists of the ratio of the manufactured output of all developing countries, or of each developing region, to its total supply of manufactures (the latter measured as output plus imports originating outside the group of countries considered). This indicator moves quite modestly upwards with intensified economic co-operation, by only 1 to 4 percentage points.

This is because the boosting of intratrade has very little impact on the imports of manufactures. Hence, the self-sufficiency level of manufactures for the developing countries as a group remains around three quarters of the total supply. For Latin America and South Asia the figure is around 90 per cent, for East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa around two-thirds and for West Asia close to one-third of the total supply to the region.

It might sound surprising that growth improvement could be so significant with very small shifts in the self-sufficiency ratios. To understand this one has to recall that the basic economic problem of the developing countries is the constraint on the release of a high growth potential caused by the lack of foreign exchange for the purchase of essential capital goods. It is the diversion of exports which lessens the foreign exchange constraint. However, as the additional exchange is used for imports of capital goods from developed countries, the manufactured imports not only remain high, but even expand considerably in absolute terms. The latter fact explains, in its turn, the feedback generating a noticeable enhancement of growth in the developed countries.

The higher growth following from intensified co-operation among developing countries in the field of manufactures has, as mentioned above, its price in terms of a greater need for food. Given the constraints on the agricultural output potential this results in higher imports of agricultural commodities.

Two-thirds of the additional agricultural imports to developing countries would come from the developed regions. The foreign exchange to pay for these imports would, of course, encroach upon the gains acquired through intensified intratrade in manufactures.

By industrializing agriculture in developing countries this loss of foreign exchange could be reduced. The impressive release of growth potential following such a policy can be more easily understood in the light of its foreign exchange implications.

Conclusions of Report

Trade among developing countries during the 1970s was characterized by outstanding dynamism, which caused its share in world

trade to double and which more than restored the share reductions incurred during the 1960s. The growing importance of this mutual trade to the overall export efforts of the developing countries is remarkable. It becomes particularly evident when trade in mineral fuels is excluded, the figures showing that intra-trade in other products grew from less than 20 per cent in 1970 to nearly 32 per cent in 1981.

External payments constraints placed serious restrictions on the ability of most developing countries to maintain the rhythm of their imports in 1982 and even more so during the early part of 1983. (According to United Nations estimates, overall imports of developing countries fell by over 20 per cent between the first quarter of 1982 and the corresponding period of 1983, a decline affecting each one of the three major developing regions.)

"In the field of trade, initiatives already underway for a Global System of Trade Preferences among Developing Countries could usefully be complemented by fresh efforts in the field of financial co-operation."

This trend may have halted, if not reversed, the positive development towards greater economic interdependence which was registered during the 1970s. If such a trend reversal were to be confirmed, it would serve to emphasize the urgency of developing countries taking fresh initiatives to intensify the trade and economic links among themselves.

In the field of trade, initiatives are already underway to bring a scheme for a Global System of Trade Preferences among Developing Countries to the negotiating stage. This could usefully be complemented by fresh efforts in the field of financial co-operation, where surplus developing countries had already assumed during the latter part of the 1970s an important role in the direct and indirect financing of the balance-of-payments deficits of other developing countries. It is evident that considerable potential exists for taking further initiatives in the field of financial co-operation that could underpin future co-operation in the field of trade and in related areas, such as the establishment of joint ventures.

On the trade side, econometric models show that a significant reorientation of im-

ports of consumer and capital goods on the part of developing countries along with various positive feedback effects of such a reorientation could serve to accelerate the developing countries' aggregate growth rates in the period 1982-1990 from 3.7 per cent to 4.8 per cent per annum. A further reorientation towards greater collective self-reliance in the field of industrial inputs for the agricultural sector (appropriately spurred by an active agricultural development policy) would increase this growth rate to 6.4 per cent. However, this incremental growth would accrue mainly to those countries with a broad industrial base and would therefore require specific corrective measures for the others.

This report has concentrated on the direct benefits which increased mutual trade and financial co-operation would bestow on the economies of the developing countries. However, closer mutual trade and financial links could also yield indirect benefits in the form of increased bargaining strength vis-à-vis governments and enterprises in the developed countries. Thus, any developing country engaged in bilateral and multilateral trade negotiations would have alternative trading strategies to fall back on in case of inability to come to terms. Similar possibilities might also arise in the financial field.

These options towards effective collective self-reliance would need to be complemented by far-reaching policy measures to be taken by the developing countries as a group, to reinforce initiatives in the areas of trade and finance that have already been mentioned. In certain cases joint action in the fields of transport and communications are necessary before trade policy measures can become effective in stimulating mutual trade. Moreover, the potential for co-operation in the field of technology and technical co-operation in the broader sense of the term, has only begun to be tapped and is still limited to a small number of developing countries. The goal of collective self-reliance notwithstanding, many of the cooperative measures outlined in this report require support from the international financial institutions and the developed countries, the latter standing to gain from such a strategy that could ultimately result in more dynamic markets and growth for their own export industries.

The Western Media and Peace

GEORGES-ALBERT ASTRE

News is what's interesting,
not necessarily what's important.

— W. R. Hearst

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, sociologists, "decision-makers" of all kinds now agree that the messages put out by the mass media are far more efficient as propaganda agents than the lessons of any professional teacher.

Obviously, the peoples can be made to accept the prospect of a nuclear war if they have no inkling of what it is like and they believe that it would be "winnable", or if they are even more terrified by invoking daily the threat cast over them by some "adversary". And those very mass media have the power to create acceptance of conflict, to point the finger at an enemy, to induce fear of aggression. The discourse maintained by those who claim to inform society and to propagate Western "culture" is, therefore, crucial to the "Cold War International"; it is the product of sophisticated method, and detecting the mantras can prove quite difficult.

Let's give here some examples.

Paris, 16 July 1983: a two-column headline in "Le Monde": "East West agreement at last", with a slightly smaller explanation beneath: "35 countries, including USA and USSR, will sign the final CSCE document in Madrid". There follows an analysis of reasonable length which cites the clauses pertaining to human rights. But the agreed provisions on the non-use of force and an end to the arms race are summarized in six meagre lines and labelled "ritual declarations".

Nice, 17 July 1983: a big-circulation regional daily, "Nice-Matin", devotes 19 lines to the same event without once mentioning the content of the agreement! Instead it offers generous space to statements by the

French Chief of Staff General Lacaze to the effect that France should "be able to deploy a classic force at the side of the Alliance at the first sign of a European crisis or conflict".

The newspaper comments: "When it comes to defending Germany, France should, without a shadow of doubt, coordinate its plans with those of the Atlantic high command, thereby drawing one step closer to NATO". But the next page carries the re-assuring tidings that "the French forces are completely independent". The onus is on the reader to sort that out.

Whatever happens, the core of the message will hit home! So will the core of the "Figaro" (Hersant) message, which is somewhat more skilful. Here, certainly, the agreements are analyzed, but the headline is categorical—"Mirage at Madrid".

Of course, there is the television. France's most popular channel includes the "mirage" in its evening news programme—for four whole seconds.

There are countless examples, in every Western country, of distortions, of "pseudo events" which take the place of those affecting the survival or disappearance of the human race. Consider the manner in which the media passed in almost total silence in 1983 over the world peace forum in Prague, the international conferences held under the auspices of UNESCO and the UN in Paris to discuss the problems of education for peace and the problems that the South African regime is posing in its relations with Namibia. Consider the systematic exploitation of anything Lech Walesa chooses to do, or the importance attached to the victories of tennis stars and the state of the Tour de France.

Let us remember what a "medium" actually is—nothing more than an organ of transmission used by a "mediator" whose mission is to communicate a message elaborated in a very restricted, very powerful milieu, to a "mass" opinion; a self-appointed "decision-maker" dedicated to conveying and channel-

ing whatever it suits him to spread in the name of the major groups constituting that "mass", whose participation is indispensable (each group consisting perhaps of tens of millions or of hundreds of thousands of individuals).

Responsibility of Media!

The Cold War International has been dedicated for several decades now to its mission—to use all the media available to plug "true Western values", which have to be imposed throughout the world and which cannot be reconciled with the values of any civilization rejecting the North American model. That excludes peaceful coexistence and cooperation based on trust.

It is, however, rare for the members of this International to come out completely and openly about their intentions. Now and again one of them takes the risk. Mr Richard Pipes, for example, who is on the National Security Council in Washington, insisted that the United States would have no alternative in the '80s but to either persuade the Russians to give up communism or declare war on them. More recently Secretary of State Shultz stated that the main objective of the US arms build-up was to change the system in the Soviet Union. The "international Herald Tribune" made a note of this utterance, but few European newspapers published it.

After all, usually the media are expected to be less cynical than that. All they have to do now is devote themselves to an ideological and cultural offensive, a campaign to "win the minds of the people" in order to achieve objectives that have been clearly defined for the last 20 years at least.

Philip Coombs, the Under Secretary of State, who combines his office with Cultural Affairs in Washington, effectively asked the US Government in the early '60s to supplement the three traditional forms of international activity (diplomatic, military and economic) with a "fourth dimension", cul-

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tural relations. And when Ambassador Carl Rowan became Director of the United States Information Agency he confirmed that spreading the culture of the United States would help to realize US foreign policy objectives. That's our only aim, he said.²

The Kennedy Memo of 1963, which preceded Nelson Rockefeller's report on the use of the cultural weapon in Latin America by six years, was equally devoid of ambiguity: the US Information Agency was to draw widely on all communication techniques to influence public opinion and demonstrate the world leadership role that the United States had assumed for itself.

There was a degree of ingenuousness in the statement made by the USIA's Assistant Director to the House of Representatives in 1971. Although they were far from having the means to talk directly to the mass of foreign populations, he observed, they could try, through foreign leaders, to talk to those who controlled the mass media there, for in this way one could influence what the masses saw in the local media.

There is no distinction here between "culture" and "information"; no sociologist could be surprised by that. Let us simply make note of the fact that this kind of aggression has been perfecting its strategy and tactics uninterrupted for a number of years.

Project Truth—Project Democracy

We saw the birth in 1981 of the "Project Truth", whose main purpose was to disseminate unflattering information about the Soviet Union through all the world's media, while the Voice of America decided to "portray the USSR as the last of the great predatory empires on Earth".

Responsibility for operations so opposed to peaceful coexistence and to peace, which encourage public opinion to identify "the enemy", does not lie solely with the White House and those governments which take a similar line.

That is demonstrated by the fate of "Project Democracy", which was not exactly cheered by Congress and is giving way to a "Democracy Program" adopted under the cover of a "National Endowment for Democracy". The Program has significant roots: it was conceived by the Republican and Democratic national committees, the AFL-CIO, and the most influential organization of the big business community, the US Chamber of Commerce. Its aim is to disseminate prop-

aganda to every country, not about democratic structures, but about a certain concept of Democracy which suits the interests of the transnational corporations and fits in with their ideology.

This means that "private" bodies will take over the work for the official institutions in the Federal capital of the USA without in any way diminishing the responsibility of the US government. But, as Philip Geyelin writes in the "Washington Post", this is not quite the same as what happened last time, when the AFL-CIO "accepted covert CIA subsidies to finance efforts to organize strong anti-communist trade union movements around the world".³

The value of the relationship, between the mass media and power (or various powers) in the USA and most big Western countries, is virtually institutional, even where ideological pluralism and "freedom" of opinion appear to dominate. And it is in the nature of that power that we find an explanation for the nature and role of the media. In the United States, there are especially close links between certain big coalitions, certain "Think Tanks", and various networks, press chains and Hollywood studios. Carter could never have become President without the Trilateral Commission, backed by "Time" magazine and a number of the media. Nor would Reagan have entered the White House without the Committee for Present Danger (whose political line was expounded by Norman Podhoretz and his magazine "Commentary"), without the American Enterprise Association, the Moral Majority, the lobbyist Richard Viguerie and many other influential forces.

But let us not oversimplify things. These influential forces, which hold the real power in their hands and which, according to the given situation and often at the cost of severe internal contradictions, draw up the messages that are to be fed to Western citizens by a complicated relay system, are the very same forces which have been trying for decades to assert the hegemony of US super-capitalism by adapting it, where possible, to the changes taking place in the world.

The American Enterprise Association, for example, pulls the strings of 130 publications and transmits its programme "Public Policy Forum" on over 400 TV channels, tying that message in with its well-known magazine "Public Opinion". It is not entirely irrelevant that among the AEA ranks we find Mr Melvin Laird, ex-Defence Secretary and president of a study committee on military problems, and the Association displays a fair interest in nuclear missiles.

The manner in which power and the media penetrate one another is remarkable. The Rand Corporation under Director Donald Rumsfeld more or less controls the Pentagon itself (particularly as Mr Rumsfeld was once Secretary of Defence). It was Mr Rumsfeld who told "US News and World Report" back in 1976 that if action was not taken immediately to match Soviet armament, the USA

would find itself in an inferior position in the face of Soviet potential.

The role played by "US News and World Report" (a business weekly which has nevertheless changed its tone in recent years) was described excellently in 1979 by the American economist and geopolitician Howard S. Katz in his book *The Warmongers*.⁴

Proven Techniques

Since a nuclear conflict, for all the assurances of "victory", would doubtlessly remain unacceptable to ordinary people, the visual media in particular have another mission, which is to take the sting out of the horror, by peeling off the reality and, if possible, inducing a mental picture on the level of a simple spectacle, showing only the more fascinating aspects of the game.

Hence the confusion maintained with such remarkable agility by the Western TV companies and comic strips in that twilight area between science fiction and possible reality.

We have enough cases of the proliferation of television thrillers or "Star-Wars"-type films which accustom the imagination to the kind of cosmic belligerence (with an exciting scenario) that the President of the United States is beginning to consider, on the recommendation of one of his faithful advisors, none other than David Packard (of the famous Hewlett Packard Co.), who must surely have scented the fairy-tale budget provisions an enterprise like that would entail. When the media set out to accustom the mind to the unthinkable, their message actually derives its forceful effect from repeating the unthinkable a thousand times over. That is what has been happening with *Space Invaders*.

Just as the hegemonic myth of "Superman" was disseminated simultaneously by cinema, television, comics and games sold in all US drugstores and European supermarkets, the *Space Invaders* games have been taken in hand by video electronics. Not one of the mass media has ever questioned the existence of that threat of aggression which the Soviet Union is supposed to be casting over the West (whereas the Soviet desire for peace has never been stressed by those media). But Texas Instruments have enabled *Space Invaders* to become a big hit (T.I. *Invaders*), with a degree of competition from Philips (*The Space Monster*) and a number of Japanese firms. Ideologically speaking, must we believe that Texas Instruments and those who seek to emulate them are completely naive?

Conspiracies against Peace

As Gutierrez Vega pointed out at the Aca-pulco Colloquium in 1979, the cultural industry does not simply diffuse ideology; it creates it, too. We can see clearly how it persists in devoting itself to these fearsome

enterprises; these conspiracies against peace, of which there are countless examples.

The cultural industry, which is also and above all an information industry, has long since perfected a specific type of discourse which permits all sorts of distortions and assumptions. A piece of ideologically exploitable "news" can gain credence for two or three days if presented in the conditional or attributed to "reliable" but not absolutely certain sources. One can, for example, suggest that a certain organization might have been responsible for some spectacular assassination attempt; eventually there will come a very brief disclaimer, but in no way will it neutralize the effect of the initial news! The "Bulgarian secret service" was accused of an operation like this for months, before the CIA itself advised putting a stop to certain accusations.

The report by the MacBride Commission shows precisely how the media can distort the general tableau of situations and events by highlighting events of no real importance and mixing them up with the ones that really matter, by presenting the news in a fragmentary manner and constructing a web of partial truths while keeping quiet about facts which are assumed "not to interest the general public", etc.³

More than any other mass-circulation magazine, we are told, the "Reader's Digest" has exposed the evils of communism and described the benefits of a system based on a free economy. It inspires, we gather, ideas, ambitions and hopes of the noblest kind, adding a stimulating appreciation of the wonders which surround us and of the fascinating panorama of world events. It is useful to know that the average copy of the "Digest" is apparently read by 14 people.

It is true that the politicians in Washington read the "Washington Post" more (90% of them), and that is a quality newspaper which often gives space to leaders of government circles a little worried about Reagan's warmongering. Public opinion in the USA, however, does not see much of it, no more than public opinion in France reads "Le Monde Diplomatique", whose analyses persist in being relevant!

And it is where this "mass opinion" is concerned that the strategy of artificial diversity, of pseudo-pluralism, with its systematic distortions and deliberate omissions, demonstrates its remarkable power.

By 1976, 1,061 US dailies (out of 1,765) belonged to "chains", some of which controlled 80 newspapers. These chains are often multi-media affairs which also own hundreds of radio stations and 200 TV stations (which in turn are mostly linked through their programmes to the three main networks, CBS, NBC, ABC). The concentration of news sources is striking: in Great Britain 9 papers out of 111 account for 60% of the daily circulation; in France the Hersant Group alone owns 17 dailies, including "Le Figaro".

Need for Cultural Dialogue

Clearly, building peace also means creating a New Information Order so that the press stops devoting a mere fifth of its contents to world problems and "news from abroad". (There are some daily regionals in France with large circulations which actually fall below this level!)

Building peace means that television programmes in countries which claim to be democratic should devote plenty of time to acquainting viewers with developing nations and peoples, with other civilizations (even if they have chosen a socio-political government that is not capitalist). Otherwise how shall we achieve cultural dialogue, international understanding, the obvious link between problems of underdevelopment, disarmament and human rights?

Industrial groups with their fingers in lots of pies have their hands on the film and telefilm industry, which actually explains many equally disturbing situations. "Star Wars" was recently sold in Australia for 2 million dollars by Fox (tied up with CBS). But the current owner of the famous Hollywood company is oil magnate Marvin Davis, while Gulf industry controls Paramount.

Cable television, which has the potential to bring cultural diversity will doubtlessly fall into the hands of the superconglomerates in the United States by 1985. Maximum "profitability", combined with the dissemination of the ideology of "Western" hegemony, is most likely to become increasingly the norm. Moreover, the system of cultural co-productions destined for the TV channels continues to develop in line with US requirements. It does not seem that the cause of international understanding and peace has much to gain from it.

The Heart of the Problem

What use would there be in citing endless examples? They can be found in all the "Western" countries and even in countries of the developing world obliged whether they will or not to receive these "civilizational" messages.

A study was presented to the 7th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly which explicitly condemned "the near monopoly on international communication, even between the various Third World countries, by the multinational companies, their domination of a large number of mass media in Third World countries, and their influence on almost all the mass media".

Encouragement for "free" radio and television stations, in the name of "freedom of expression", leads logically, shortly afterwards, in countries wearing the "democratic" cloak, to the elimination of those very fruits of diverse initiative, profiting the monopolies, whose options have little in common with the interests of the peoples.

New Information Order

So there really is a need to promote "a new, more just and efficient world information and communication order", a hope expressed in 1978 at the General Conference of UNESCO and the UN General Assembly.

That order would require governments "to avoid the dissemination of erroneous or tendentious information concerning armaments" and implies the need to "focus on the danger posed by the acceleration of the arms race" and on "universal and total disarmament under effective international control".

It would also imply something the MacBride Commission demanded, which is the adoption of a code of ethics by journalists at national level "on condition that these codes be prepared and adopted by the professional community itself".

The Press Councils (there are about 50 in the world at present) would equally prove that they can play an excellent role if the public and the professionals are represented jointly on these Councils.

Without question, it is in the USA that the media are most skilful at intoxicating minds. But how could anyone fail to stress that it is also in the USA that we find certain journalists (press or TV) who manage to persevere with the honest work of information and cultural dissemination in spite of the dominant choices taken by the system under which they operate. At the very least, certain organs of the press and certain television programmes reflect the preoccupations of influential milieux (certainly not minorities, though) in obvious conflict with the more dangerous tendencies of Reaganism. And the media research carried out by universities like Columbia deserves to be echoed in every other country. Is that a paradox? Not necessarily. But one must admit that there are many countries tamed to accept Pentagon directives where reading "Herald Tribune" or "Time" provides for more ready information about world events than ploughing through the national press. In fact, it is up to public opinion here to "take the initiative", and, of course, up to the educators, of every kind, to teach their pupils how to use the media well.

Analyzing Media Information

"Education should include an element of teaching regarding the big information media in order to help pupils select and analyze the information disseminated by these media." Since issuing this recommendation in 1974, UNESCO has never stopped emphasizing how important and necessary this teaching is. The World Education Congress in 1980 (under the organization's auspices) suggested training and refresher courses for journalists and information specialists because of the real need to strengthen the role of the media in solving major world

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problems, especially mutual international understanding, disarmament and peace. And this combination of action in the education system and in the media is now discussed in UNESCO's medium-term plan (1984-1989).

The seminar organized by the NGOs in November 1982 on the "Cultural Message of the Media", attended by high-level experts from various regions of the globe (and by leading UNESCO figures), similarly stressed the urgent need for education of this kind.

To be specific, obviously this education would call for both more research centres at higher education level and also more basic study in primary and secondary schools of the processes of distortion, mystification and alienation undertaken against peace and international understanding by the visual and printed media.

Reading Critically

Any analysis of the "discourse" that is used must be coupled here with an analysis of the contents. Sociologists and specialists in the problems of "civilization" know what a deep interest is shown by our university students in these investigations.

But, first, children can and must be introduced to the idea of reading critically those formidable messages fed to them consciously or unconsciously each day. Some weekly exercises spring to mind. Let me be so bold as to suggest a few here:

—The class can study the connotations suggested by the headlines of a newspaper, which bestow on a particular piece of "objective information" a meaning it would not otherwise have.

—The teacher can show how an often insignificant occurrence is used to obscure a real event the same day (500,000 people demonstrating for peace are visibly more important than the victory of a tennis champion).

—The class can look at the way a television news programme has been "put together": the order in which the news is presented seems fragmentary and accidental, but is usually the result of a skilful and technically inoffensive operation designed to eclipse something or impose a certain evaluation. (Video is a vital aid here.)

—The pupils can carry out a methodical study of pejorative, denigrating connotations attached to certain images of "alien"

civilizations: the adjectives used, cryptic context, juxtaposition of advertising images for commercial ends, and wording in itself hostile to any form of equity in the representation of these "different" nations, which, sooner or later, will have to accept that they must rally behind the values of the universal West.

—At a relatively advanced level, the class can show how a political message hostile to true international understanding is expressed, first of all in low key in a political science magazine with a very small circulation, and then blown up through all kinds of transformations depending on the different social groups involved, so as to reach the "masses" who are being courted by a particular cause. (Example: to convince opinion that Japan is a loyal ally of the West and a definite partner of the Western military alliance. It might be expressed by some military experts in the Pentagon, in an otherwise highly intelligent file published by "Time", or in a best seller being cleverly promoted everywhere by the name of Shagun).

The results of any work of this kind would clearly have much to gain from monthly publication in one of the pedagogical magazines and, if possible, in leaflet form for wide distribution.

Of course, one has to work in both directions: prudent use of the media can be achieved if trade unions, parents' associations, religious denominations and a number of NGOs build up enough pressure to induce the people responsible for the "messages" in the press and on TV to play their part in this education process which is international in its implications and, today, an essential priority.

The monopolies will doubtlessly continue their offensive, in spite of the positive achievements that have already been made in certain fields: diversification of press agencies, for example, through the creation recently of agencies in developing countries. It would certainly seem that new transmission technologies (satellite, telematic, cable) will require such big investments that a concentration of institutions "manufacturing" messages is bound to occur wherever governments favour the idea.

This makes it all the more necessary to step up the pressure of those "public opinions" in whose name so many "mediators" claim to be expressing themselves. There is an urgent need for all radio stations and television companies to start providing proper information so that people begin at last to think about the unthinkable, by which I mean the reality of nuclear conflict. It is crucial to publish decent files, and to organize equally decent debates to find out more about where the values of civilization converge with due respect for cultural identities, and to cast light on the meanings of concepts which are bandied about in an ambiguous and mystifying fashion: freedom, individualism, equal opportunity, Western values, etc.

We are not asking for every programme and every daily newspaper to be transformed into a school for peace. We are asking for an end to the concerted enterprise in alienation by systematic non-information with regard to the major problem of our day, at a time when people of all countries are being confronted with the same question: do we or do we not prefer planetary destruction to peaceful coexistence between different systems and the economic and cultural cooperation which can only spring from a new world order? And beyond any doubt that first of all implies the establishment of this new information order which fills certain people with a truly scandalous fear.

Notes

¹ Cf Yvon EUDES, *La Conquête des esprits—(L'appareil d'exportation culturelle américain)*, Editions F. Maspero, Paris 1982.

² In: *An American Foreign Policy Reader*, ed. by H. H. Romsom, published by T. H. Crowell, New York 1965, quoted by Yvon Eudes, op. cit., p. 50.

³ Article by Philip Gayelin, "Some sea ground for skepticism", published by the "Washington Post", which appeared in the *Herald Tribune* of 26/6/83.

⁴ Howard S. Katz, *The Warmongers*, Books In Focus Inc., New York 1979.

⁵ The wording of this and other statements quoted here appear in the Report of the MacBride Commission, published by UNESCO, Paris 1980, p. 367.



Western Support Sustains Apartheid in South Africa

LOTHAR KILLMER

A MONSTROUS machinery of army, police and law enforcement agencies, plus a package of 200 racial laws, prop up the inhumane system of apartheid. A record of 500,000 arrests and about 100 executions annually, apart from the toll of about 600 persons who allegedly "perished" in custody in the last ten years—in other words tortured to death during interrogation—are indicative enough of that regime's ruthless terror within the country. All this goes hand in hand with ever more brutal aggression against neighbouring African States.

It is clear that the regime could not survive public unrest among the black population, the increasing number of strikes, the actions of the ANC liberation movement, the people's repugnance of apartheid, were it not for the massive political, financial, economic, scientific-technical and military support afforded it by major NATO members.

This collusion has been visibly reinforced since the Reagan administration took office and declared a "new policy of positive engagement" vis-à-vis South Africa. The US administration let it be known, through its Africa expert in the Department of State, Chester Crocker, that South Africa was by nature a part of the West and that it constituted an important and integral element of the Western world's economic system.

The enormously broad gamut of rich mineral resources, the super-low labour costs in the country's system of exploitation, as well as the strong repressive machinery, have made South Africa, for quite a long time now, an Eldorado for financiers and investors. Well over 3,000 transnational corporations have, in defiance of repeated UN calls for sanctions against South Africa, set up businesses between the Cape and the river Limpopo in anticipation of maximal profits.

Relations between the US and South Africa

can big business establishments have deepened at a particularly fast rate. They engulf all sectors of economy, and most specifically arms deals banned under relevant United Nations decisions. The American Space Research Corporation, for example, sold to ARMSCOR of South Africa 20 per cent of its shares and, above all, the licence for a long-range 115-mm artillery system with nuclear capability, inclusive of 300,000 grenades and the requisite amount of gun-barrels. Recent reports from Johannesburg suggest that investments of US firms in South Africa have increased to a total of 14 billion dollars.

According to the "Rand Daily Mail" of Johannesburg, US monopolies and Western European corporations currently have a say in the operation of at least three of South Africa's most profitable gold mines, with holdings of more than 50 per cent of the capital stock.

In defiance of internationally valid UN decisions and resolutions on economic boycott measures against the apartheid regime, in the period between December 1982 and March 1983 alone, the major imperialist stock exchanges traded 450 million dollar worth of shares of South African gold mines. Multinational corporations, according to the "Rand Daily Mail", currently own 38 per cent of the whole South African mining industry which, owing to the rich resources and the inhumane working and living conditions of black workers, counts among the most profitable in the world. Estimates put the total capital invested in that branch of industry at about 13 billion dollars.

Four-fifths of all foreign investments in the racist state come from major western countries such as the United States, the FRG and the United Kingdom. Since 1973, US corporations alone have more than doubled their capital investments in South Africa.

Reckless greed for profit, which knows no scruples, is complemented by a frenzied scramble for strategic raw materials and for military bases. It comes as no surprise that western powers have abused their veto in

Security Council in order to sabotage effective coercive measures against the racist State, circumventing embargo provisions, providing South Africa massively with arms, and helping it to acquire a nuclear-weapon capability.

Supporting apartheid, imperialist hypocrites and human rights apostles show the world that they stand poised to trample underfoot any human right whenever super profits, raw material supplies and global strategic interests are at stake. Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe recently said that they faced not only one enemy but the concentrated might of all those imperialist and capitalist powers that provide South Africa with weapons and render it diplomatic and economic support.

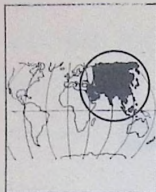
Due to the comprehensive assistance by NATO States—notably the USA and the FRG—as also Israel, South Africa today is in a position to manufacture nuclear weapons. The political leaders in Pretoria make no bones about their determination to use those weapons, if need be, against progressive neighbouring countries.

One thing is obvious. Without its accomplices within NATO, particularly the USA, the barbaric apartheid State which constitutes an integral part of the imperialist system and functions as its bridge-head in southern Africa, would long have ended up on the junk heap of history.

But the people do not relent in their efforts. In South Africa itself, the popular struggle led by the African National Congress of South Africa is broadening and intensifying, while civic protests and strikes go more and more together with armed actions. In Namibia, patriots under the leadership of SWAPO are dealing well-prepared and ever more vigorous blows at the occupiers who hold the territory illegally.

As ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo recently pointed out, the task is now to frustrate the designs of Africa's and mankind's enemies and to close the ranks of all anti-imperialist forces.

LOTHAR KILLMER
Journalist (GDR)



New Haven for Kampuchean Orphan Children

Kampuchean-Hungarian Friendship Children's Town

ILONA SEBESTYEN

WE HAVE built a children's town in Kampuchea.

It was opened on 11 January 1984 around the fifth anniversary of the Kampuchean People's Republic. It is called the Kompong Kantout Children's Town and symbolises the friendship and solidarity of the Hungarian people with the Kampuchean people.

The Children's Town is the result of a decision taken by the Hungarian Peace Council and the Hungarian Solidarity Committee a few months after the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime in January 1979. It was decided to build an orphanage accommodating one thousand children whose parents were murdered by the Pol Pot regime. The Hungarian Communist Youth Organisation was among the first to support the project and young Hungarian engineers and construction workers promised to build the institution on schedule.

Five years ago public opinion in the world was shocked to hear that the Maoist Pol Pot leadership had had three million Khmer citizens murdered, turning a formerly rich country into a graveyard. Children were shown no mercy either. They, who had been torn away from their parents, were left on their own. It was thought that hunger, exhaustion, disease would kill them. This partly actually happened. Homeless, neglected, starving and bewildered children began wandering in groups over the countryside and uncounted skeletons of dead children, the "trophies of victory" of the Pol Pot gang and their supporters, have been found scattered all over Kampuchea. These modern Herods were, however, not able to finish their death work.

The liberating, patriotic forces, with the Vietnamese helping them, saved the surviving children. Their first task was to gather the bewildered, sick and homeless wander-

ing orphans and create more humane conditions for them. In the provinces, temporary orphanages were established whose superintendents did their utmost to save the lives of the little ones. Their work was supported by both the socialist countries and numerous national and international humanitarian organisations. Under these conditions, it was understandable that the authorities of the People's Republic of Kampuchea were moved by the proposal of the Hungarian peace movement to build an orphanage, housing 1,000 children.

We might regard it symbolic that they designated the area for the future children's town exactly where a teacher's training college used to stand. It was destroyed by the Pol Pot gang and looked like a moon landscape with its crumbling walls and ruined surroundings in 1979. This did not put the builders off. Young Hungarians went to Kampuchea enthusiastically tackling every difficulty, and constructed the children's town. The head of Hungary's Children's Village in Fát and Vice-President of the Hungarian Committee for UNICEF Dr. Lajos Barna gave the work his expertise.

The children's town will accommodate a thousand children giving them the opportunity for education and training. We know that orphanages and children's homes cannot give back the warmth of parental love and care to these children who have gone through so much. We, however, hope that a good community can make it easier for them to get over the loss of their parents, sisters and brothers, relatives, the flight from the Pol Pot terror, hunger, frustration, fear and thousands of other troubles.

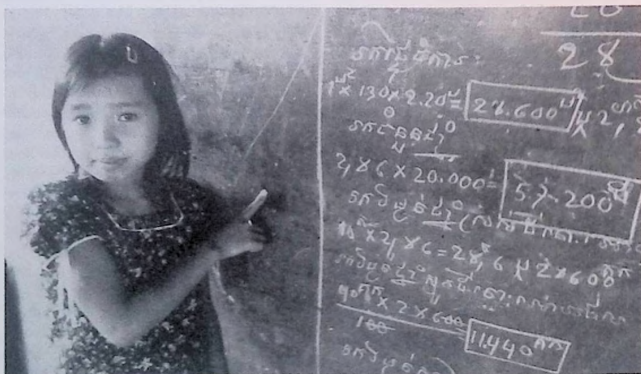
The residential teachers in this children's town will be people whose children and relatives were killed. They will do their best to bring up the children as true men and women and good patriots.

Since the time of the initiative to build this orphanage, a lot has changed. The government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has achieved significant results in most fields of everyday life. The government is doing everything possible to make Kampuchea after years of war and tension a zone of peace and security.

Together with the governments of Viet Nam and Laos, Kampuchea, by putting forward a number of peace initiatives, has proved that it wishes to contribute to the peaceful future of Southeast Asia and the whole world. The present situation in the country is aggravated by the fact that the enemies of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, continue to pose a threat to it and the Kampuchean people. The people of Kampuchea are still in great need of help and solidarity.

This great social cooperative venture—the building of the orphanage in Kompong Kantout—is a good example of the solidarity of the Hungarian people.

The day of the opening of the orphanage, "Kampuchean-Hungarian Friendship Children's Town" would remain an unforgettable event for us, and hopefully, for the new owners as well: the Kampuchean children wishing to live in peace and happiness.



Kampuchean children who became orphans as a result of the genocide committed by the Pol Pot regime against their parents have found a new haven in the Children's Town in Kompong Kantout, 30 kilometres from Phnom Penh, built by the Hungarian peace forces.

ILONA SEBESTYEN

*President of the Hungarian Peace Council;
Vice President, World Peace Council (Hungary)*



Danger of New Imperialist Aggression in Middle East

TAWFIQ TOUBI

APPEARING CYNICALLY as peace-makers, the US occupation forces with other NATO forces have converted Lebanon into a US-Israeli condominium. It has become a new base for aggression and for promoting US global strategic plans against the Soviet Union, against world peace.

With a US armada concentrated off the shores of Lebanon—30 warships, three aircraft carriers, 300 war planes—President Reagan has been openly threatening Syria with so called punitive measures. The US ruling circles are openly coordinating plans with the Israeli government for the latter to undertake a military operation against Syria on behalf of the United States. It is no secret that the White House is pushing Israel to launch a new war against Syria in order to change the balance of forces in favour of the US regional and global strategy.

The correspondent of "Davar" newspaper in the USA, Priel, disclosed in a report (13 November 1983) that the visit of US Under Secretary of State Eagleberger to Israel at that time was intended to persuade Israeli leaders that an "Israeli military operation on behalf of the USA will be not only in the Israeli military interest but also in the strategic political interest of bringing the two countries, Israel and the USA, nearer in a way which was not the case in the past. Further, Israel would benefit out of it with very small risks."

Israeli leaders have not rejected the idea but they want the USA to have a more direct military involvement in it and not just its backing from behind the scenes.

The US government is openly increasing its bribes to the Israeli government in order to carry out the dirty adventurous work for the United States in the region.

On 12 November 1983, the US Senate and the House of Representatives approved increased military aid to Israel to the tune of 1.7 billion dollars, half of it will be a free

grant and the remainder will be in the form of a long term loan. Over and above this, Israel has received from the USA direct economic grants amounting to 950 million dollars. The US also granted Israel's request that 550 million dollars be assigned for the development of the Israeli Lavie war plane. All this is being done when the US has diminished its aid to other countries.

The plans for aggression against Syria are part and parcel of the US-Israeli strategy for promoting US world domination, against the peoples' independence in the Middle East, Africa and Central America.

At the same time, the Israeli occupants in the West Bank and Gaza strip, taking advantage of the present situation, are intensifying their repressive measures in these occupied territories. The iron fist of the Israeli military and the brutal attacks of the colonial settlers aim at breaking the will and spirit of the Palestinian people.

The University of Bethlehem was closed for two months (November–December 1983), with the Israeli army shooting and killing and wounding some people in Tulkarm in West Bank in November 1983. Refugee camps in the occupied territories are under constant curfew with Israeli colonial settlers, disguised as Arabs, carrying out armed attacks against them. Atrocities are also committed against political prisoners, as was the case with women political prisoners in Ramleh prison.

I visited this prison with other members of our Parliament in November 1983, 15 days after an attack was made with gas against women political prisoners in their cells. There are political prisoners who have been kept in their cells for five months, for 23 hours daily.

Despite these atrocities, the determination of the Palestinian people to stand up against the occupation is unbreakable, and they have been carrying on the struggle through strikes, demonstrations and mass protests.

The forces of peace in Israel see as an urgent and historic task to mobilise and unite all efforts in Israel in order to prevent a new Israeli adventure against Syria, in

the service of the USA, and to bring about Israeli withdrawal from the whole of Lebanon, to stop the brutal, repressive and colonial measures against the Palestine Arab people in the occupied territories.

Israeli Zionist ruling circles are trying to come out from the present impasse and from the deepening economic and social crisis, which was evident also in the resignation of the Begin government, by new aggression. They hope to achieve thereby what they failed to do by their aggression in Lebanon in 1982. But the people in Israel now realise that the only outcome of a new adventure will be new tragedies, new sacrifices, new debacles, and new obstacles in the way of peace. That is why no week passes without action by Israeli soldiers refusing to serve in Lebanon, by parents demonstrating for the return of their boys home, and by masses of people to end the occupation.

When Prime Minister Shamir visited the Israeli troops in South Lebanon in November 1983, an Israeli soldier had the courage to speak on behalf of his colleagues and declare: "We feel here like the Germans in Europe during the Second World War."

More people in Israel are beginning to understand that it is only when Israel withdraws completely from the West Bank and the Gaza strip occupied in June 1967, only when the Palestinian people enjoy self-determination and constitute their own independent state alongside Israel, when the Palestinian refugees eventually are enabled to exercise their right for repatriation according to UN resolutions, when US imperialism stops its aggressive activities in our region, then and only then security and peace will reign in the Middle East in the interest of the Palestinian, Israeli and all peoples of the region.

An essential step for our region to advance towards peace is the calling of an international conference with the participation of the USSR and the USA and all parties involved, including the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

The peace forces must all be in the global struggle for peace and if we struggle together, together we shall win.

TAWFIQ TOUBI

Member of Parliament; member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council (Israel)

Defeat the Imperialist Conspiracy to Partition Cyprus

DONIS CHRISTOFINIS

SINCE THE middle of November, 1983, Cyprus has repeatedly figured in headlines in the world press. But this is no reason for the Cypriots to be either happy or proud. Every time Cyprus makes "news", it means a blow to the independence of the island.

The most recent blow came on 15 November 1983 through the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot "Assembly" of the "Independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" on the territory of Cyprus which has been under the occupation of the troops of Turkey since 1974.

This illegal declaration, which is in defiance of all United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, was made at a time when the UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar was preparing a meeting between the President of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, and the Turkish-Cypriot leader, Mr. Rauf Denktaş. While this illegal act shocked the world, it did not surprise those who had followed for years the drama of Cyprus. It was another in a series of blows, in the long conspiracy of imperialism, against Cyprus which had its culmination in 1974, through the coup d'état carried out by the Greek fascist junta in Cyprus and the Turkish invasion of the island that followed. As a result, 37% of the territory of Cyprus is still under Turkish occupation and the people of Cyprus, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, are now divided—the Greek Cypriots living in the independent territory of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriots in the occupied territory. This division of the land and the people was done by force, in which thousands died, about two thousand people were listed as missing, and about 250,000 people, Greek and Turkish, were uprooted. They have been living as refugees in their own country.

The timing of this new blow is not irrelevant to the imperialists' main crime against all peoples and world peace—the deployment of new US medium range missiles in Western Europe, and the need to distract the attention of world public opinion from it. It is also

surely connected with the direct imperialist military intervention in Lebanon under the guise of the so called "multinational peace force".

One might ask, why do the imperialists want Cyprus and conspire against it? Cyprus certainly is not rich in national resources (it has neither oil, nor diamonds, gold, uranium. It is not a big market either). Yet, there is one very important aspect for which the imperialists are craving, **strategic position**. Cyprus is situated at the crossroads of

The territory of Cyprus above the Green Line, which has been under the occupation of Turkish troops since 1974, has been illegally declared as the "Independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus".

three continents—Europe, Asia and Africa. It is near the Suez Canal and the rich oil resources of the Middle East. It is because of this strategic position that Cyprus had been occupied by many aggressors in its long history, and had to face troubles at all times. Even in ancient times, the Pharaoh in his correspondence on papyrus with the King of Alasia (Cyprus) threatened the Cypriot King with retaliation as Cyprus territory was being used as a base by pirates to plunder the coasts of Egypt.

In modern history, the British general Lord Kitchener, who conquered Egypt and Sudan in the last century, had first occupied Cyprus. It was from Cyprus that he started his further imperialist course.

In 1956, during the Suez Canal crisis, it was from Cyprus that the British and French forces started their aggression on Egypt, in which Israel also took part. Against the will of its people, Cyprus has been used by the imperialists to help Israel in all its wars against the Arabs. It is being used even today by the four NATO powers in their aggression on Lebanon under the cloak of "peace" force.

World Condemnation of "Turkish-Cypriot Republic"

The people of Cyprus reacted immediately to the new crime against Cyprus in November 1983 by holding meetings and manifestations, and staging even a big rally of 100 thousand people in Nicosia, to condemn the declaration of a Turkish-Cypriot state and demand its withdrawal. The government of Cyprus moved the UN Security Council which adopted on 18 November 1983, a resolution, (with only Pakistan voting against), calling the declaration of a separate Turkish-Cypriot state as illegal and invalid.

The Security Council after reaffirming previous UN resolutions on Cyprus said that it:



"deplores the declaration of the Turkish-Cypriot authorities of the purported secession of part of the Republic of Cyprus, considers the declaration referred to above as legally invalid and calls for its withdrawal, calls for the urgent and effective implementation of its resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975),

requests the Secretary General to pursue his mission of good offices in order to achieve the earliest possible progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus."

International solidarity with Cyprus at all levels is mounting with every passing day. Messages of support to Cyprus have come from many governments, parliaments, in-

DONIS CHRISTOFINIS

Dr., Member of the Political Bureau of AKEL (Cyprus)



The people of Cyprus held meetings and demonstrations, including a rally of 100,000 people in Nicosia in November 1983, to protest against the illegal declaration of the "Independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus."

ternational organisations—with the World Peace Council in the first line—national organisations, committees, and prominent personalities. These messages of solidarity with Cyprus are full of condemnation of the illegal partitioning act of certain Turkish Cypriots and those behind them.

It is worth noting that the opposition forces in the Turkish Cypriot community stated that they were intimidated under pressure to "vote" for the declaration on partition which is not in line with their declared policy of preserving the unity, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus.

That international solidarity with Cyprus is universal is a fact, but it is not genuine from all sides. The Cypriots know that certain imperialist circles are paying only lip service to the issue for demagogic reasons and are shedding crocodile tears for Cyprus, whilst in reality they are the main forces responsible for the drama of Cyprus.



New Phase of Old Conspiracy

This new blow is only the culmination of another phase of the old conspiracy of imperialism that had its climax in the summer of 1974 with the fascist coup d'état of the Greek fascist junta and the Turkish invasion that followed.

The US plan, that bears the name of Acheson, prepared in 1964, provided for the elimination of the independent Republic of Cyprus, its partition with one part going to Greece and another to Turkey, and the turning of the island into a network of NATO bases in the Eastern Mediterranean.

It was in Lisbon in 1971, under the fascist regime of that time, that the leaders of NATO (including Pipinellis of the Greek junta and Chaklayiakil of Turkey) met and assigned to Greece and Turkey the task of carrying out that criminal plan of partitioning Cyprus. (It may be mentioned here that in October, 1983, in this very city of Lisbon a very successful international conference of solidarity with Cyprus was held.)

Now again the idea of double ENOSIS (double annexation of Cyprus by Greece and Turkey) has been revived, together with a wave of chauvinism. False ideas are being spread by agents that the UN is no more able to help, and so some other forum should be sought for the solution of the Cyprus problem, for example, a conference of the

three Guarantors (Britain, Greece and Turkey), or a kind of Camp David, for Cyprus.

The danger also lies in a possible provocation to engineer an intercommunal armed clash which might give the chance for military involvement of the "mother" countries (Greece and Turkey respectively) and Britain (the third guarantor), and even the USA in another "benevolent mission" like that in Lebanon or Grenada!

Cyprus once was compared with the little girl in a well known fairy tale. The author of that parallelism had said that she escaped death because it was not one but many wolves that wanted to devour her.

Cyprus is indeed a small country, and even, if it is not completely helpless, like the fairy tale girl, it cannot cope with so many or even with one of those wolves. But as in that very same fairy tale where a brave hunter kills the wolf and saves the little girl, in our reality there is a similar factor called international solidarity.

Cyprus is not alone because its struggle is part and parcel of the struggle of all people fighting against imperialism and reaction for peace, independence, democracy and social progress.

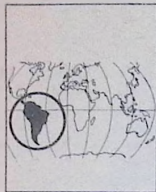
The people of Cyprus remain firm in their demand for maintaining Cyprus as an independent, sovereign, territorially integrated, united, federal, non-aligned and

demilitarised country. They will resist any efforts to remove their problem from the United Nations to any tripartite or other Nato conference. They consider necessary the convening of an international conference in the framework of the United Nations for the solution of the international aspects of the Cyprus problem.

While fighting for the liquidation of the imperialist bases on its territory and for complete demilitarisation of the island, Cyprus fights for peace, disarmament in the world. Fighting against foreign occupation of its territory, it fights against aggression in Grenada, Lebanon, for the right of the Palestinian, Namibian and South African peoples to freedom and independence. Fighting for the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops, it fights for democracy in Turkey itself and in Chile, Uruguay etc.

Cyprus is a barricade in the worldwide frontline of the struggle between the forces of peace and freedom and the forces of imperialism, war and oppression. It is also a symbol of the idea that even a small country does not have necessarily only one choice, to bend its knees in front of imperialism, but it can choose to fight back because it is not alone.

Cyprus fights for the world and the world fights for Cyprus.



US Invasion of Grenada a Despicable Act

CHEDDI JAGAN

THE US invasion of Grenada was a dastardly and despicable act. It was a case of an eagle descending on a peaceful dove, in a calculated move to snuff out its life; a bully using superior force to crush a small heroic people.

The fascists in the Pentagon and their minions in the Caribbean, (Jamaica, Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica and Antigua), prattled about democracy and the rule of law, while they flagrantly violated international law and the Charter of the United Nations. They hypocritically claimed that they wanted to establish law and order in Grenada. But the means they resorted to was a transgression of the very law that they said they wanted to uphold.

President Reagan used the threadbare excuse of moving in to protect the lives of Americans and Grenadians. And crocodile tears were shed for Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and some of his colleagues. What utter hypocrisy! Since when have the hawks in Washington been concerned with human lives? Only yesterday they were out for Bishop's head; now they are emblazoning his name on their bloody banner. From the Days of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 and more particularly from the Roosevelt Corollary, the US ruling class has resorted to plunder, destruction, assassination and murder in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Preparations for Invasion

In August, 1981 a US/NATO exercise "Operation Ocean Venture", code-named "Amber and Amberines", with 250 ships, 1,000 aircrafts and 120,000 troops was held, including an amphibious landing exercise on the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico. According to Rear-Admiral Robert McKenzie of the Caribbean Contingency Joint Task

Force, the objective of the exercise was to demonstrate "US capability to respond in the Caribbean basin" where there is a "political military" problem. In this, Cuba is a "rotten apple" and Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada are "practically one country".

For the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, "Amber and Amberines" meant "Grenada and the Grenadines". Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had previously refused to be pressured by the US government to limit Grenada's ties with Cuba. And after disclosing in mid-1980 that the CIA was aiming to reverse the revolutionary process in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, he and his entire cabinet barely escaped death when a bomb exploded at a rally in St. George's, Grenada's capital. Earlier in November 1979, he had exposed a plan of 100 mercenaries based in Miami to make a 3-pronged invasion of Grenada in US ships. Subsequently, a group of mercenaries, who made an abortive landing in Dominica, had declared that their final objective was Grenada. In March 1983, on the eve of the fourth anniversary of the Grenada Revolution, the Reagan administration declared that Grenada and its international airport posed a threat to the security of the United States. And a large squadron of battleships "showed the flag" on the Caribbean Sea around Grenada.

Pretext for Invasion of Grenada

It is lucidly clear, therefore, that the inner-party struggle in the New Jewel Movement and the unfortunate events leading to the death of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and some of his colleagues provided the pretext for the invasion.

In violation of Article 51 of the UN Charter and Article 18 of the OAS Treaty, the US imperialists resorted once more to "gunboat diplomacy" and rode roughshod over the sovereignty of another state, not as professed to "save lives", to "forestall further chaos" and "to assist in the restoration of law and

order". If those were really the objectives, means other than military were open to the invaders. A meeting of the Heads of Governments, except Grenada, in Trinidad and Tobago on 21-22 October 1983 had reached a consensus, which stated that any resolution of the Grenadian situation:

- a) should be wholly regional in nature;
- b) should not violate international law and/or the United Nations Charter;
- c) should have the restoration of normalcy in Grenada as its primary purpose;
- d) should have no external intervention, particularly an extra-regional military intervention;
- e) and further, that a CARICOM fact-finding mission, obviously acceptable to the Grenadian authorities should be appointed from amongst eminent CARICOM citizens; and

f) that the point of contact might be the present Governor General of Grenada who is constitutionally the Queen's representative.

But after an adjournment, the Caribbean countries (Jamaica, Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Antigua/Barbuda, St. Kitts/Nevis and Montserrat), at a resumed meeting at 10 a.m. on 22 October 1983 insisted that there had not been a consensus and, with the exception of Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Belize and Bahamas, agreed to impose sanctions against Grenada, including outside intervention.

What later became clear was that while this Summit meeting was in progress, an invitation by the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) had been issued on October 21 to the United States for military intervention, and US troops already had been assembling in Barbados.

Meanwhile, Grenada's Revolutionary Military Council (RMC) had issued a statement that it would pursue the same policies of the People's Revolutionary Government and was prepared to have discussions with other states. According to Dr. Jeffrey Baurne, Vice-Chancellor of the Medical School (mainly for US students), the RMC was pre-

CHEDDI JAGAN

Dr., member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council (Guyana)

pared to concede the holding of elections. It had also opened the new international airport and had made arrangements with US, Canadian and British diplomats for the evacuation of those of their citizens who wanted to leave. Indeed, it was the US invasion with indiscriminate bombing and shelling which led to the big loss of lives. But behind Washington's fig-leaf of restoration of democracy and law and order was

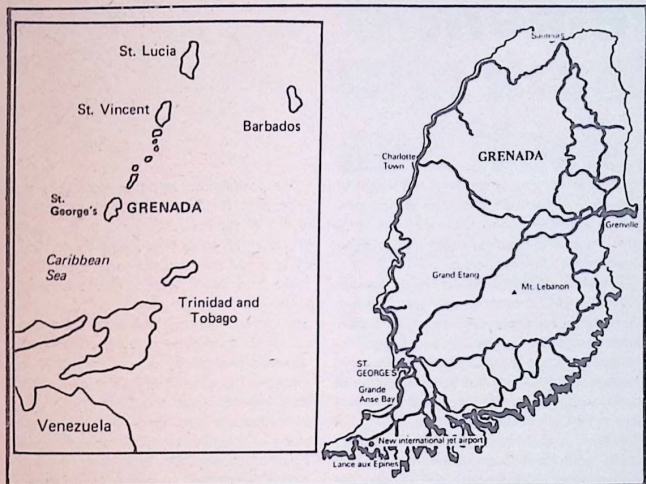
Commonwealth Caribbean. And it had one of the lowest debt service ratios in the Third World. The unemployment rate had declined from 49% at the time of the Gairy dictatorship, to 14%, and solving the employment problem was foreseen in the next 4-5 years. Social services were greatly improved including free secondary education, more scholarships, expanded medical care, better housing and running water in many houses.

The French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy told the National Assembly in Paris: "Nothing can justify the intervention of the United States." Sweden called the US action a "crime against international law". And Peter Boenisch, spokesman for West Germany's centre-right coalition, told a news conference in Bonn: "Had we been consulted, we would have advised against the intervention." Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada criticised the invasion, saying that he had not been consulted. British Labour Party's Foreign Affairs spokesman Denis Healey accused Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of being an "obedient poodle" of the US administration, of showing "servility" towards Ronald Reagan and acquiescing in the violation of international law: "It's time she got off her knees and joined other allies who are concerned about American foreign policy." ("The Globe and Mail", Toronto, Canada, 27 October 1983)

In the region, the Caribbean Council of Churches deplored the invasion and called for an end to the conflict and the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

While, on the one hand, the blitzkrieg attack on Grenada will initially reinforce the theory of "geographical fatalism", namely, that no one can successfully oppose the "colossus of the North", on the other, the US political isolation, coupled with the grave social and economic crisis in the Caribbean, will favour the forces of peace and social progress.

Peace, independence and development are interlinked. Despite the temporary setback in Grenada, the democratic and peace forces in the Caribbean will overcome. The Caribbean revolution cannot be stopped.



its intention to establish in St. George's a government to its liking. In this regard, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada noted: "I think they (Americans) went in into Grenada just to set up a different type of government."

The fact is that there was no dangerous threat. The United States had created a political axis, embracing Jamaica, Antigua/Barbuda, Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Barbados. Earlier Anglo-American imperialism had established and financed an Eastern Caribbean Defence Force, from which Grenada, though a member of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States, had been deliberately excluded. It was ridiculous to assume that tiny Grenada with a population of only 110,000 could pose a threat to the security of the Caribbean states and the USA.

Grenada, however, did pose to the US imperialists and their Caribbean lackeys not a military threat, but a threat of a different kind. It was becoming for the oppressed, exploited and betrayed Caribbean peoples a shining example of inspiration and hope. While other Commonwealth Caribbean states, even oil-rich Trinidad and Tobago, were in a sea of troubles, Grenada was making rapid strides. Even the World Bank had commented favourably about its economic achievements. In 1982, it achieved a growth rate of 5.5%, the highest in the

The People's Revolutionary Government was giving the lie to the oft-repeated dictum from Washington that a Marxist model held no future for the Caribbean. Indeed, revolutionary-democratic Grenada was posing an alternative socio-economic-political system, which was based not on dependent, distorted capitalism but on anti-imperialism and socialist orientation. It was against this that the imperialist aggression was launched.

The hawks in Washington had another objective: to overcome the Vietnam syndrome. Viet Nam had proved to be disastrous for the hegemonistic ambitions of the military-industrial complex. Tiny Grenada was used as a lesson to demonstrate to the American people that a US lightning first-strike massive intervention need not be a prolonged and painful one. It was also a weapon of intimidation and blackmail.

Washington and its Caribbean collaborators won a war, but failed to achieve a victory. Even some of their supporters in the Western Alliance were critical of the brutal action. In the UN Security Council debate, the United States was totally isolated and was forced to use its veto to kill a motion of condemnation. But the UN General Assembly passed a similar motion with an overwhelming vote. Even countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, traditionally friendly to the United States, voiced criticism of the invasion at the OAS and elsewhere.

30th Anniversary of Esperanto Peace Movement

IMRE PETHES

ESPERANTISTS WHO had survived the horrors of World War II and felt responsible for the future of humankind discussed the need to organize an esperantist peace movement in 1947 at the 32nd World Congress of Esperantists.

This initiative was promoted by the 1950 Stockholm Appeal which expressed the desire of people for peace and mobilized humankind to take a stand against war and the dangers of the atom bomb. The peace-loving esperantists overcame the difficulties and the crises and gathered in St. Pölten (Austria) in September 1953. It was on the 6th of that month that the *Mondpaca Esperantista Movado* (MEM)—World Esperantists Movement for Peace (WEMP)—was officially founded. The "Foundation Declaration" of the movement included the defence of peace and the vital aim of esperantists to use their international language also to help spread the peace movement.

From a historical aspect, 30 years is a short period. But if we take into account that at the time of the foundation our movement had organizations in five countries and today it has organizations and members in 33 countries, then we can justifiably state that the desire for peace has increased among esperantists and that a great deal of action and work lie behind these 30 years of activities.

The MEM—WEMP has the support of esperantists and is recognized both by the international peace movement and by the international esperantists movement, as it consistently carries out its aim: "Our movement treads the path of truth, justice, freedom and peace".

It has now become customary for its delegates to attend all significant international and national congresses and conferences and to collaborate actively in carrying out the aims of peace. Its members struggle relentlessly for peace and take a firm stand

against the forces of war and the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. It is by setting personal examples that they mobilize progressive esperantists for unity and to demonstrate their will for peace.

The MEM—WEMP publishes its newspaper "PACO—PEACE" every quarter yearly which deals with current events, provides opportunities to exchange views, helps its readers to improve their knowledge on all questions related to peace and publishes literature to popularize works of art which represent peace and friendship.

It has published an illustrated 44-page small-sized book to commemorate its 30th Anniversary. It deals with the history, the programme and the activities of our movement and its views on the work of people for peace who live in various continents. This book has been widely distributed by the national organizations and activists of our movement.

When talking about the history and the development of our movement, special mention must be made of the Cooperation Agreement signed with the World Peace Council in 1973 which makes it possible not only to exchange information with it directly and to participate actively in the work of leading bodies of the World Peace Council and the national peace movements, but also to organize coordinated actions.

There is always a lively interest in the programmes and actions and meetings organized within the framework of the Esperanto World Congresses. That is exactly what happened in 1983, too, at the World Congress of Esperantists held in Budapest where the main theme was, "the social and language aspects of modern communication". It was attended by 5,000 people from 58 countries. Discussions on the theme itself served peaceful purposes as there was an attempt to make it easier for men to communicate and to exchange views.

Among the many vocational and cultural programmes organized by the Congress, the most notable was the Jubilee Peace Meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary which was attended by several hundred people.

The participants warmly greeted the message from Mr Ramesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council, to the MEM—WEMP which said: "The World Peace Council is proud to have the esperantists in its ranks and there is excellent cooperation between our organizations. . . . Our joint task is to make everyone conscious of the horrible danger of nuclear war, . . . and we must do everything possible to preserve life and it must be done together. This is a difficult task, indeed. But in our day and age, what better instrument is there than esperanto to make communication and international understanding more simple, because communication is the starting point for all types of cooperation."

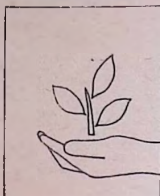
The message was read by Dr. Karoly Lauka, Secretary of the WPC, at the Congress.

How to continue our work is a question justifiably voiced on the occasion of the Jubilee. The answer itself is simple—to protect and maintain peace by continuing to join all peace forces as we have done in the past. By making good use of possibilities latent in this common language, all esperantists must be made to realize that if they are true followers of Zamenhof—the creator of this language—they should act according to their human thoughts which coincide with the peaceful aims of the age we live in, with understanding among the peoples and with the principles of equality among states.

Fully aware of the lessons of history, the members and leaders of MEM—WEMP are convinced that the international peace movement will successfully renew and mobilize all forces to avert a nuclear catastrophe and to find solutions to international questions through negotiations. That is why it continues to cooperate with everyone who consistently struggles for peace and for the benefit of mankind. The current tension in the international situation makes it very clear that the movement shall have much to do in the time to come and the World Peace Council can continue to count on the activities and the collaboration of our movement.

IMRE PETHES

Chairman, World Esperantists Movement for Peace (Hungary)



Reagan Administration's New Attacks

American Indians Threatened with Uranium Mining and Nuclear Testing

JOHN R. SALTER, Jr.

AT LEAST 75 million American Indians, the First People, in the Western Hemisphere have died as a result of the European incursion into this region. Further, the Indians have resisted all attempts by the Euro-American governments, especially that of the United States, to assimilate them in the socio-cultural sense.

Today, in the USA, there are 1,500,000 Indian people in more than 500 tribal societies which are rightly perceived by their members, though not by most Anglos, as sovereign nations. About two-thirds of our people are from "Federally-recognized" tribes, covered by treaties and/or other special Federal ties, and hold about 53 million acres of reservation land. (Also, 40 million acres have been set aside for Alaskan Natives under the still not yet finalized Alaskan Land Claims Settlement). If physically resident on their Indian lands, Federal Indians are eligible for Indian trust services (such as they are): health, education, socio-economic development. The other one-third, mostly in the East, through historical and social circumstances, are not Federal Indians. They receive no special services from that perspective, and in most cases have no reservation land base. (In a few instances, they may receive minimal Indian services from the state in which they reside.) "Urban Indians"—more than half of all US Native Americans—receive virtually no Federal Indian services (even if they are from Federally-recognized tribes) and, along with non-urban, non-recognized Indians, are frequently in a very serious shape.

In spite of several centuries of physical

genocide, forced removal and relocation, and attempted socio-cultural genocide (all of this designed to secure remaining Indian land and resources); racism and cultural ethnocentrism; the pressure of the urban/industrial juggernaut, so many of whose values run counter to those of the Indians; mixed blood and biculturalism, Indian tribal societies, Indian cultures, and Indian people are very much around. The commitment to a cohesive family and clan, to one's tribe (essentially one big family), remains strong as do the basic values inherent in tribal cultures: strongly religious, a pervasive identification with the whole Creation, no coincidence or happen-chance in the Universe; and essentially communalistic view of land use; democracy, equalitarianism, classlessness; the principle of tribal responsibility, i.e., the individual has an obligation to the society and the society has an obligation to the individual—with respect for individual autonomy and differences.

European-American theft of native land and disruption of the traditional tribal economies, coupled with consistent governmental failure to live up to solemn treaty obligations (part of the "Supreme Law of the Land"), created a perpetual economic depression for Indian people long before the Industrial Revolution. As a group, Native Americans have been characterized by the highest unemployment and the worst economic deprivation, the poorest health conditions, and the lowest life expectancy. The great social upheavals of the 1960s which had numerous Indian ramifications—Wounded Knee in 1973 and many other examples—saw some promising Indian legislation and a few hopeful policy trends. But Reagan and the cruel forces behind him, drying up Indian and other human services, have shattered most of that.

New Attacks on Indians

Whether Federally-recognized or not, reservation or urban, the Native American situation is now characterized by acute desperation and frequently by economic collapse. Reservation unemployment, always high, is now generally at between 80% and 90%; urban Indian unemployment stands at about 60%—with many additional people working only part-time at odd jobs and day labor. The average life expectancy for an Indian person is about 44 years—but health services have been sharply cut back. Educational funds on reservations have been drastically reduced and a number of schools have been closed by Federal edict. Reagan et al. have opposed—he has even vetoed—legislation seeking to provide small land claims compensation.

To some extent this attack on Indians is part of the overall campaign against the American poor. But in the case of tribes on some western reservations, the special motivation is obviously to force these tribes, whose land includes very substantial "energy resources", into collaboration with the thoroughly exploitative oil and mining companies. This has old roots. More than thirty-five years ago, the generally Eastern-owned oil and mining companies, utilizing their considerable influence with the ever obliging US Department of Interior (which contains the Bureau of Indian Affairs—committed in theory and only partially in fact to the protection of the interests of the Federally-recognized Native people), began systematically to manoeuvre their way on to the Indian lands. By the 1950s, the companies—whose royalties to the tribes have always been modest at best and often minimal—were entrenching themselves in the Indian

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country. They mushroomed like the clouds produced by their explosive offspring at Desert Rock, Nevada, a prime nuclear test site whose "peace-keeping" activities were officially proclaimed around the globe with as much vigor as the solemn assurances of safety given the curious but uneasy local residents. The fallout from Desert Rock, eventually leaving a trail of death in Northern Arizona and the southern portions of Nevada and Utah, has affected Anglo, Indian, Chicano, has struck down rancher, farmer, soldier, storekeeper, herdsman, hunter, and worker. This particular situation and the great anger emanating from and around it are now becoming belatedly publicized.

Much less known nationally has been the predominantly Native situation on and immediately adjacent to the reservations. More than 150 Indian uranium workers—mostly Navajo, as well as many Laguna Pueblo tribesmen in north central New Mexico—have now died because of both the nature of the industry and the companies' lack of meaningful safety procedures. Given the remoteness of much of the Navajo country especially, it is likely that the death count is considerably higher than any formal records indicate.

Deaths Resulting from Uranium Mining

Most of these deaths have been from lung cancer—unknown among the Indians until the mining began and now called "the sore that will not heal". Some authorities predict that 85% of the Native workers involved in uranium mining, milling, and refining will eventually die from those or closely related causes. The very air itself over much reservation land has been poisoned by uranium and other energy industries. The random dumping of uranium wastes has produced dangerously high radioactivity levels in Indian water supplies—killing people, livestock, and wild life. The life-span of uranium's "ghost death spirit" ensures that this multifaceted ghoulish legacy will last for several thousand years. In related catastrophes, coal mining carves the earth and erodes most lungs; hardrock mining gnaws all lungs and vitals and its smelters destroy any vegetation.

Meanwhile, despite the profound contradictions and spasms within the contemporary economic system, the expansion efforts of the mining and other resource companies continue. Increasing native opposition to this deadly incursion is mounting with some people feeling that resource development should be very carefully done under the communalistic auspices of the tribes themselves and others being against any mining whatsoever. (It is noteworthy that the newly elected chairman of the Navajo Nation, Peterson Zah, has pledged that no mining or related activities will occur under any auspices unless local communities overwhelmingly consent.) Virtually all native people are aiming toward the eventual

ouster of the companies, one and all. But under Reagan and his colleagues, all funds for tribally-owned and -controlled economic development have about vanished—while the present BIA under the former Interior Secretary James Watt "initiative" is to provide funds for encouraging private companies to step up their onslaught on Native resources.

Demands of American Indians

Recognizing that there is general agreement in Indian country with respect to perceived needs, the following are some basic dimensions whose initiation and implementation are necessary. They must be predicated on a full recognition that native economic, libertarian, and spiritual well-being can only occur in an atmosphere where self-determination is coupled with the maintenance and expansion of Federal obligations to the aboriginal people.

1) Federal adherence to treaty and related obligations.

2) Federal recognition of the non-Federal tribes. In connection with this, there must be expansion of the 1921 Snyder Act in such a fashion as to provide the gamut of Federal Indian services to all Indians in the US. (This was the original intent of the Snyder Act but its coverage was immediately restricted by the government to Federally-recognized people residing on reservations.)

3) Removal of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the Department of the Interior (perennially dominated by the corporations) and its elevation to Cabinet status.

4) Substantial Federal funds for Indian-controlled and -directed programs—in the areas of health and education, among others—on reservations, in non-reservation rural settings, and in urban areas. (The 1975 Self-Determination Act, involving Federal reservations, is certainly a first step.)

5) Substantial Federal funding for tribally-owned and -controlled development of natural resources and other economic programs.

6) Substantial Federal funding to assist tribes in building back the reservation land base.

7) Establishment of full tribal civil and criminal jurisdiction on Indian lands. (Most of this is now held by the Federal government.)

8) Federal protection of tribal water rights.

9) Cessation of state and Federal attacks on native activists (e.g. Dennis Banks) and freedom-with-pardon for those political prisoners presently incarcerated (e.g. Leonard Peltier).

None of these, and other necessary measures, will come into existence easily. The enemies of the Indian people are many indeed: the corporations, much of the national government regardless of the particular administration in office, state governments almost totally, and so-called Anglo "backlash" organizations—land and water-coveting racist groups (mostly but not exclusively

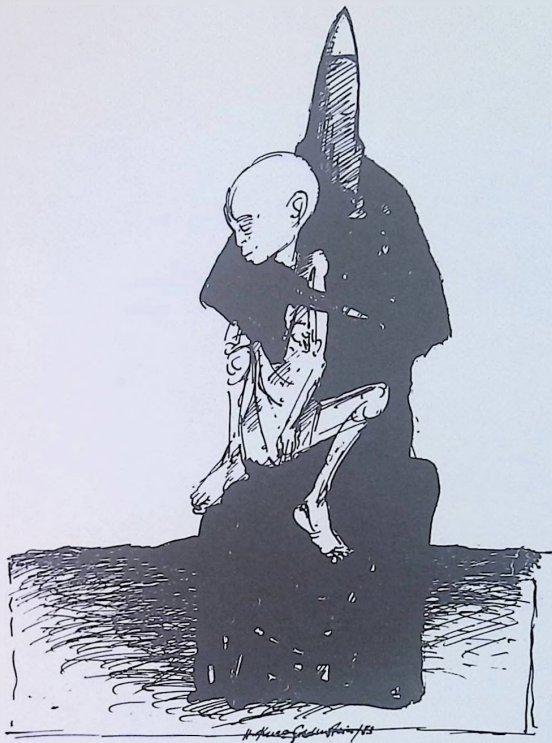
in the West) which seek to end the Federal obligation to Indian tribes and prevent successful land-claims settlements of Indians, and the protection of native hunting and fishing rights.

Solidarity with Struggle of American Indians

In fairness, it has to be conceded that the Indian people are sometimes too reluctant to listen to worthwhile ideas if they come from non-Indians and are frequently too wary of entering into association with them, fearing that alien ideas and associations could somehow threaten their aboriginal identity. Growing numbers of native people, however, are becoming aware that the essential progressive aspect of tribalism—"an injury to one is an injury to all"—has to be extended to the dispossessed of all humanity, and that loss of socio-cultural identity will not occur in the framework of healthy political association and coalition. Multi-ethnic, anti-nuclear direct action groupings, involving many Indians, especially in the West, represent a significant step. And whatever its shortcomings, the growth of the New Democratic Party in Canada, with strong Native involvement and support, offers a general indication of what can and will happen politically in the United States.

Non-Indians certainly need Indian allies. Whether radicals or reformers, the non-Indians ought to be aware by now that it takes much more than mechanical arrangements and presumably altruistic politicians to build and maintain *bona fide* humanistic socio-economic democracy—especially in a predominantly urban/industrial context. They can learn much from the First People about faithful commitment to economic communalism, to egalitarian democracy and classless societies, and to a practical recognition of the spiritual foundations and interdependence of every component of the Creation. All of this should be of considerable help in steering through the blood-dimmed social and technological storms now sweeping across our country and the world from the four directions.

Drawing
by H. Kurz-Goldenstein
for the Artists for Peace
on the occasion
of the Peace March
in Vienna,
Austria in October 1983.



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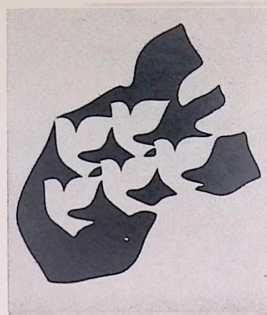
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