# Nowhere to Hide

It was too good to be true. Major cuts in strategic and medium-range nuclear forces, adherence to treaty agreements – for the first time the prospect of radical disarmament measures. Then there was Star Wars, and the negotiations collapsed.

The attitudes of the two sides at Reykjavik, and after, brought some issues into sharp focus.

They showed that the US government is not really interested to end the nuclear threat, but plays at arms control in order to appease public opinion. This was clear as much from the post-Reykjavik analysis as from the result of the meeting. Features in Time, Newsweek, US News and World Report and the Economist's Foreign Report could hardly disguise the feelings of relief among US government leaders and advisors that no arms cuts were settled.

"It was the impasse over SDI that saved us from the embarassment of entering into agreements from which we would have subsequently had to withdraw," remarked former Defence Secretary Schlesinger in *Time* magazine, 27 October.

The US attitude at Rekjavik to the 1372 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty was also revealing. The elimination of strategic missiles during the next 10 years was proposed. US leaders later said they meant ballistic missiles, but admitted they had talked about strategic systems. The cuts were agreed and the ABM pact was to be preserved for another decade.

In a way everything hinged on respecting the treaty. No agreement could be reached on strategic weapons without a guarantee that neither



side would attempt to undermine the other's nuclear forces with anti-missile systems. But when it came to discussion about US plans to do just that with Star Wars, the Americans refused to be bound by the treaty. Article Five of the agreement outlaws, among other things, the testing of ABM systems or their components, which is precisely what the US insisted should be allowed.

The SDI was the reason why agreement on other nuclear issues became impossible. The Reagan administration continues to hide behind Star Wars delusions, with their promise of profit and military superiority. For the rest of us Reykjavik showed the programme for what it is, the major obstacle to nuclear disarmament. The failsafe security promised by the Star Wars lobby is already in latters.

### A Conventional War Threat?

If a wonder cure was found for AIDS would anyone contemplate attempting to replace the disease with something equally deadly? Unlikely. Yet when it comes to the arms race it seems something similar is under consideration.

The Reagan-Gorbachev meeting in Reykjavik offered a glimpse of what we could expect if the US President did not insist on developing and testing space weapons.

Despite the breakdown of the Reykjavik talks, that they tackled major aspects of disarmament is significant. For the peace movement it is to be welcomed. But it is anathema to the arms lobby in the US and NATO countries, where strategists are still reeling in horror at the thought that their prized nuclear stockpiles were nearly axed.

This has been well reflected by media coverage of the post-Reykjavik chaos in the US. Leading articles in the New York Times and the International Herald Tribune (29 October) consider the implications of large nuclear arms cuts.

bune (29 October) consider the implications of large nuclear arms cuts. They conclude that the US and NATO would have to build-up their conventional weapon capabilities to counter what they see as massive Soviet superiority in this field. Newsweek magazine, 27 October, also echos this thinking in an article entitled Dangers of Disarming. James Schlesinger, Tinne magazine 27 October, says "The Secretary of State is confident that, given its greater economic sources, NATO can create conventional forces superior to those of the Warsaw Pact."

And so on. There is nothing new about these arguments. We have often been told that the WTO forces outnumber NATO's. Massive tank superiority on the borders of Western Europe is usually the stated reason. Vast numb
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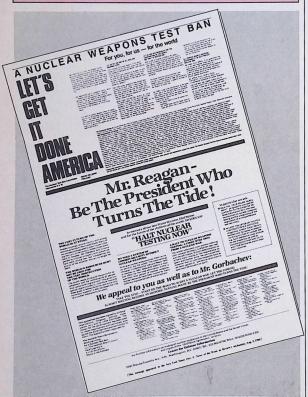
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### **Test Ban Network**

On the initiative of a number of delegates to the recent World Peace Congress devoted to the IYP, an International Test Ban Network has been established to assist the worldwide campaign. At present the Network is being coordinated by the ad-hoc Finnish Test Ban Committee in Helsinki.

The Network aims to help disseminate information about national activities, ideas for action and forthcoming events for the campaign. As more groups and organizations join the initiative the network of information exchange will snowball and provide a basis for united actions for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

For more information contact: International Test Ban Network c/o Finnish Test Ban Committee, Hämeentie 6A/10, 00530 Helsinki 53, Finland.



Advertisements published in the New York Times last summer by test ban groups in Finland and Sweden call on the US government to take the initiative in banning nuclear tests. The advertisements were paid for after extensive fund raising and campaigning.

### Money for Verification

The initiative of the US-based Natural Resources Defence Council and the Soviet Academy of Sciences to set up monitoring stations in the US and the Soviet Union, to prove that verification of a test ban is possible, has received generous support from the Peace Foundation in Denmark. The Foundation has donated 100,000 Danish crowns (about \$ 13,000 US) to the verification project. The total cost of the initiative is estimated at over \$ 300,000.

The Peace Foundation is a private organization founded in 1981 and supported by a number of politicians, trade unionists and individuals.

#### Call to Portugese Government

A statement signed by the national board and secretariat of the Portugese Council for Peace and Cooperation calls on the Portugese government to "take a clear and unoquivocal stand for the banning of nuclear tests...such a measure would be an expression of

independence for our foreign policy and - in line with what is clearly provided for in the Constitution of the Portugese Republic - an affirmation of an active role for Portugal in promoting peace and disarmament."

#### **Atomic Veterans Oppose the Tests**

Among the most active opponents of nuclear tests are members of the USbased International Alliance of Atomic Veterans.

Few people have more experience to draw on in understanding the importance of peace in the nuclear age than atomic veterans. According to the Pentagon, at least 210,000 members of the US armed forces directly participated in nuclear bomb tests between 1945 and 1962, seeing atomic warheads explode often at a distance of only a few kilometres.

The International Alliance of Atomic Veterans aims to contribute directly to the struggle for nuclear disarmament. Its director, Anthony Guarisco, has joined with many other Americans in non-violent protests at the Nevada test site. He has also traveled to Moscow to directly confront the US ambassador there about the US government's failure to reciprocate the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing.

#### **American Peace Test Actions**

The American Peace Test conducted simultaneous non-violent direct actions at the Nevada test site and the Department of Energy office in Washington, 17 November- the places where testing occurs and where the decisions to test are made. The Washington protest was joined by members of the Great Peace March and various peace and disarmament organizations

On 17 January 1987 Peace Test sup-

porters will take part in an action at Cape Canaveral against the flight testing of the Trident D-5 missile, which will begin that month. Another demonstration will take place 27 January to link the issues of missile flight testing and warhead testing.

Peace Test supporters are outside the gates of the Nevada test site on the day of each test. The next test will be 20 December at Bodie Nevada.

#### Sweden Could Help Verify a Test Ban

Sweden could play a central part in verifying a test ban agreement. In the 1960s the Swedish Defence Research Institute (FOA) was asked to develop a system of verification to monitor nuclear tests. This is done by measuring heavy vibrations of the earth's surface with seismographic equipment.

The FOA's largest measuring station is in Hagfors, Varmland. The station can detect nearly all earth tremors. Computer analysis of the data recorded can differentiate between vibrations caused by earthquakes and explo-

FOA seismographer Nils-Ove Bergkvist says "We have equipment good enough to register nuclear weapon tests within a radius of 10,000 km. The FOA enjoys international seismgraphic cooperation. Sweden gives data and in return receives information from other countries. All the data is collected for analysis in Stockholm. Every six months the FOA publishes information about the number of nuclear tests which have taken place. We can tell the size of the blast and where it took place."

On a number of occasions the FOA officially provided the basis for monitoring nuclear tests. But today no provision for this exist. "It would not be unrealistic to put a monitoring system into service within a few months, and at a reasonable price," says Bergkvist All the necessary equipment exists.

A monitoring system of the FOA model would place sensors in the Novaya Semlya and Semipalatinsk regions in the USSR and in the Nevada desert in the USA. These could register all vibrations of the ground with great sensitivity. The vibrations could be transmitted as electric impulses to a nearby recording station. The information could then be sent to Stockholm to be analyzed by computer.

While Sweden would not be alone in monitoring a test ban, its role in the verification proces would be invaluable. Further evidence that verification is not an obstacle to a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

In a laboratory set up in a miners' resort at Karakaralinsk in Siberia, Natural Resources Defense Council verification team members examine the first digital readouts of seismic activity. NRDC's monitoring programme, sponsored jointly with the Soviet Academy of Sciences, influenced the House of Representatives' approval of a one-year ban on nuclear tests over one kiloton. Left to right: Keith Priestly, Paul Bodin, James Brune, Charles Archambeau (chief technical coordinator of the project), Jonathan Berger.

Photograph 1986 Ted Spiegel courtesy Black Star. Source: Bulletin of Atomic Scientists.



# **Excerpt from NRDC-Soviet Academy of Sciences monitoring agreement**

From the 22nd to the 23rd of May 1986, Soviet and U.S. scientists met in Moscow to discuss informally a broad range of scientific problems related to the verification of a test ban treaty.

The meeting was attend by observer-scientists from Sweden and India, who reported on the technical basis for the offer by the Five Continent Peace Initiative to monitor a testing moratorium.

The participants agree that the cur-

rent state of geophysical knowledge gives reasonable confidence in the detectability, using practical seismic networks, of nuclear weapons tests down to yields at, or below, one kiloton

In order to ensure an early start of efforts to perfect seismic techniques, the Academy of Sciences. USSR. and the Natural Resources Defense Council, Inc. agreed to launch, as soon as possible, a joint study of seismic events

using US-manufactured high-accuracy instruments, in particular around the area of the test site near Semipalatinsk.

Soviet experts have expressed willingness to participate in similar projects in the USA around the Nevada test site.

The findings of this project will be helpful in demonstrating verification procedures to be used during a test moratorium or under a nuclear test ban treaty.

Under this agreement, three seismic monitoring stations shall be established adjacent to each of the principal nuclear weapons testing sites in the two countries: near Semipalatinsk in the USSR and the Nevada test site in the US. These six stations will be manned and operated jointly by the Natural Resources Defense Council of USA and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

# Czechoslovak Appeal

The Czechoslovak Peace Committe has received thousands of letters of support for a nuclear test ban and welcoming unilateral efforts to achieve a test ban treaty. Large peace rallies and meetings have also been held through-

out the country demanding an end to testing in the International Year of Peace. The Peace Committee has issued an international appeal for public support for a test ban.

### To the Australian Government

The following is from a letter sent by the Australian Peace Committee to foreign minister Bill Hayden:

"In view of the decision of the USSR to extend still further the moratorium on nuclear testing we again urge the Australian government to support appeals to the US administartion to join this action.

We are aware that a moratorium is in no way a substitute for a CTB treaty but

we agree with those in the US and Britain (as well as in Australia) who belive that it could improve the international climate and be a step towards progress in CTB negotiations.

The matter seems to us to be more urgent in view of reported statements by Mr Speaks, the White House spokesman, that 'a nuclear test ban is not in the security interests of the United States, our friends or our allies."



# Six Nations Suggest Test Ban Verification

In August this year the leaders of the Six Nations Initiative (Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania) met in Mexico to continue their efforts to end the arms race. The declaration issued by the leaders at the end of their meeting stressed "No issue is more urgent and crucial today than bringing an end to all nuclear tests."

In addition, the leaders set out proposals concerning the monitoring of a test ban agreement. Their statement follows

It is the responsibility of the nuclear Powers to halt nuclear testing as a significant step to curb the nuclear arms race. The United States and the USSR, being the two major nuclear Powers, have a special responsibility to initiate the process of nuclear disarmament by immediately halting their nuclear testing. To facilitate such an immediate step, the six nations of the Five Continent Initiative are prepared to assist in the monitoring of a mutual moratorium or a test ban.

We are prepared to participate in cooperative efforts together with the United States and the USSR and also to take certain steps on our own to facilitate the achievement of adequate verification arrangements.



#### Verification of a Moratorium in Co-operation with the United States and the USSR

In our view, some temporary measures could greatly enhance confidence in a United States-USSR moratorium and would constitute important steps towards the establishment of an adequate verification system for a comprehensive test ban treaty.

To provice assurance that the sites, which are well equipped for nuclear testing and where the effects of nuclear explosions are well known, are not used for clandestine testing, we consider the establishment of temporary monitoring facilities at existing test sites to be an important measure.

The three test sites recently used, Nevada in the United States and Semipalatinsk and Novaya Zemlya in the Soviet Union, are quite small geo-



The crater-riddled landscape of the Nevada nuclear testing site.

graphically and could be monitored by a limited number of seismic stations placed in these two countries at or close to each test area.

To establish rapidly temporary stations at the test sites, available portable seismic equipment would have to be used. Five to eight interconnected stations placed around each test area would be adequate. Some of the stations at the test sites could also be equipped with instruments interchanged between the United States and the USSR to enhance mutual confidence.

In connection with a mutual halt in nuclear testing, our six nations are prepared to establish promptly and in cooperation with the United States and the USSR, temporary monitoring stations at existing test sites and to operate them for an initial period of one year. All data should be available to the six nations, the United States and the USSR. Data analysis could be a joint undertaking and preliminary analysis would be done at the sites. Monitoring of test sites by instruments installed onsite would provide an extremely high sensitivity down to small fractions of kiloton and even tons of explosives.

It is expected that a number of earthquakes would be detected at the tessites. The numbers and sizes will vary between the three sites. To reduce the risk of misinterpreting such shallow earthquakes as being nuclear explosions, a scheme of on-site inspections at the test sites could be envisioned. This would be most important during the initial period while experience is gained at the actual sites. Our six nations are prepared to participate in such inspections conducted in cooperation with the host country.

To provide assurance that nuclear explosions are not conducted and that natural earthquakes are not misinterpreted as clandestine nuclear test explosions, events all over the United

States and the USSR would have to be monitored.

There are areas of the two countries, in addition to the test sites, that might be considered to be more important to monitor than others. The possibilites of conducting unnoticed tests are for example increased by the availability of large cavities or unconsolidated rock which reduce the strength of the seismic signals. Other possible areas of importance are regions of shallow seismicity. It might be desirable to establish specific verification arrangements in some of these areas, and our six nations are prepared to cooperate with the United States and the USSR on this.

There is today a large number of seismological stations, established to record local earthquakes, both within the United States and the USSR. Some of these stations might not be equipped at present with the most modern or high sensitivity instruments and they might not be sited in an optimal way to monitor a moratorium or a CTB. They are, however, operational today and could initially be of great value in rapidly improving the present monitoring capability. A major question is to assure the authenticity of the measurements obtained at these stations.

This could be achieved by "internationalizing" a number of selected stations, tentatively 20-30, in each of the two countries by placing observers from our six nations at these stations. Their task would be to verify that the instruments are properly operated and that all information obtained is reported without omission. We are prepared to work out the necessary arrangements which could be made with little delay and to contribute observers for an initial period of one year.

To replace these temporary measures with permanent arrangements, our experts are ready to co-operate with experts of the United States and the USSR in the development of permanent verification facilities at test

sites, and also in the development of an optimal network of internal stations in the United States and the USSR.

# Possible Inspection of Large Chemical Explosions

To ensure that large chemical explosions conducted during a moratorium are not misinterpreted as nuclear tests, we are prepared to establish, together with the United States and the USSR, procedures for on-site inspections of large chemical explosions and to take part in such inspections.

#### Activities by the Six Nations Independent of the United States and the USSR

In order to pave the way for the establishment of efficient verification measures, our six nations will take a number of technical actions independently of the United States and the USSR. We shall be strengthening our mutual cooperation with a view to monitoring and announcing ongoing test activities. This will involve rapid exchange of data related to presumed explosions as well as informal technical consultations about the nature of observed events. Our countries will jointly publish yearly statistics on test activities in the nuclear weapon states. To this end, efforts are also being made further to improve our national verification facilities to achieve an even higher and balanced monitoring capability with regard to existing test sites.



We will also support the establishment of an international verification system by actively participating in the ongoing work on such a system by the Group of Scientific Experts at the Conlerence on Disarmament in Geneva-Our six nations will also consider steps by which the non-nuclear weapon states may cooperate in international verification arrangements related to future nuclear disarmament.

We have proposed to the leaders of the United States and the USSR that experts from our six nations meet with Soviet and American experts. The purpose should be to explain in detail the proposals put forward in this document, to discuss how they could be implemented, and to explore other possible ways in which our six countries could facilitate test ban verification.

# **Accidents Happen**

Underground nuclear tests are safer than those once conducted on the surface, in the atmosphere or under water but they still pose a threat to people and the enviro-

In 1984 two accidents happened in Nevada. Thirteen technicians were injured, one critically, when the ground above the explosion site collapsed, 15 February. Offi-cials reported that no radiation was leaked, though no independent source has been able to check this.

On 1 March 1984 the ground caved in some hours after the explosion. There were no injuries and again Department of Energy sources denied that any radiation was leaked.

In April 1985 the test code-named Mighty Oak resulted in the accidental leakage of radiation into the tunnels adjacent to the test site. The Chicago Tribune reported, 9
June: "The protesters' concern
(was) that Mighty Oak, which cost
\$70 million, would mean the end of the Soviet moratorium and their hopes for a bilateral test ban...But when rumours began to circulate here that the Mighty Oak test had somehow gone awry, those con-cerns were replaced with new ones about the safety of the testing programme and the credibility of the agency that administers it.

Underground nuclear tests result in massive amounts of radiation which are supposed to remain locked in the ground. Yet no one knows for sure how long it will be before radiation leaks to the surface. Fissuring of the rock is inevitable and the more tests detonated the more the bedrock will be wea-

Furthermore no independent inspection team has been allowed to search for radiation leaks above the test sites or to monitor a test at close range.

The same restrictions are imposed by the French government concerning its nuclear testing programme at Mururoa. An inspection team was allowed to visit the atoll in 1983, but they were not allowed to sample the lagoon sediments, monitor a test or inspect all of the atoll. The only data made available to the team concerning the causes of deaths of suspected radiation victims in the surrounding islands was that supplied by the French authorities.

The excessive secrecy sur-rounding the matter of radiation leaks and the other effects of tests is cause for concern. It could be that nuclear tests are far more dangerous than we have ever been led to believe. Another reason to support a Comprehensive Test Ban agreement.



# Gorbachev on Reykjavik

Shortly before the Reykjavik meeting between the US and Soviet leaders, the WPC sent messages to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev wishing them success in their efforts to find solutions to key disarmament issues.

So far, no reply has been received from the US President. A reply was received, however from General Secretary Gorbachev. His message contained the following

"At the Reykjvik meeting we put before the US President an entire package of important measures which, had they been accepted and implemented, would have paved the way to a new era in the history of humankind, to a world free from nuclear weapons.

We proposed a fifty per cent reduction in Soviet and American strategic offensive weapons over the next five years, followed finally by their total elimination.

We proposed the complete elimination of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles in Europe and, at the same time, a substantial reduction of those in Asia.

We were in favour of strict verification of the nuclear weapons elimination process, irrespective of the form such verification might take

As a result of the discussions in Reykjavik, during which the Soviet side offered important concessions, agreement was reached on the issues of both strategic weapons and intermediate-range missiles.

However it was not possible to turn this agreement into binding accords because of the American side's stubborn refusal to create conditions, by taking steps to enforce the ABM treaty, which would enable such accords to be

concluded. Such steps, together with a commitment not to go back on the treaty during the next ten years and to strictly respect its terms, are imperative in the context of a radical reduction of Soviet and American nuclear arsenals. Once such a process were to begin, obviously nothing ought to be done to develop any new kind of wea-pon which would give military superiority to one side. But the American side, by its insistence that the United States should be able to pursue its SDI research and testing not only in the laboratory but outside it, including in space, therefore plans to achieve such superiority. The SDI can have no other meaning or importance.

Nevertheless, the Reykjavik meeting was useful. It showed that dialogue is necessary and that it is possible to make progress towards eliminating nuclear weapons. The intrinsically interwoven new proposals that we put forward remain valid and none of them are being withdrawn. The Soviet delegation in Geneva has been instructed to continue on this basis in the negotiations on all issues concerned with nuclear and space weapons.

This historic opportunity to achieve an all-embracing solution to the question of war and peace must not be allowed to escape.

Everything depends on the United States whose leaders ought finally to come to their senses and give up their attempts to achieve the unachievable.

As for the Soviet Union, we will spare no effort to bring about the radical reduction and total elimination of nuclear weapons. The more the struggle for these aims is broadened and intensified throughout the world, the sooner humanity will enter the non-nuclear age.

Unofficial translation



# Star Wars Versus Disarmament

Ever since chances for nuclear arms reduction were sacrificed at the US-Soviet meeting in Reykjavik, to save the Strategic Defence Initiative, the programme has become the subject of more intense controversy.

Most glaring is the contradictory nature of the Reagan administration's involvement in Star Wars and disarmament talks. The SDI is meant to obsolese nuclear weapons. But, instead of spending \$ 1 trillion on space weapons, nuclear weapons could be rendered obsolete by negotiation. They nearly were. But the SDI blocked the process.

When President Reagan and others argue that Star Wars will end the threat of nuclear war, they run up against this contradiction. For many Star Wars proponents, though, the programme would be used to protect US weapons systems and should be pursued for the valuable spin-offs it would produce. The Reagan Dream is being left behind, partly because no one believes it anyway.

Newsweek magazine, 27 October, underscores this point, 'The SDI is shifting fast from a population shield to a defense for missiles; instead of doing awaywith the balance of terror, Star

Wars will preserve it."

The US arms lobby is also eagerly waiting to see how SDI research will boost the military. Says Arnold Horelick, director of the RAND-UCLA Centre for the Study of Soviet Interna-

tional Behaviour, "If SDI is not slowed down, it will produce lots of technology with all kinds of military applications, it will shift the competition between the Soviet Union and the Unites States to a hightech area where the US has a considerable advantage" (US News and World Report, 27 October 1986).

Other supporters of SDI who try to reconcile it with arms control want the programme to be a 'bargaining chip' in negotiations. Gerard Smith, the negotiator of the 1972 ABM treaty, however, sees Star Wars as an impediment to arms reduction. 'We can either have arms control, or we can try for the wild goose chase of an impregnable defence, but we can't have both. Smith believes Star Wars will lead to a "second arms race" (USNWR, 27 October).

On 4 November US voters returned control of the Senate of the Democratic Party. With Democratic majorities in both Houses of Congress. President Reagan may now find it more difficult to gain acceptance for his SDI and antisatellite programmes. It is probable that arguments about the nature and purpose of Star Wars will intensify.

#### **Conscientious Objector**

The 7,000 US scientists working at 110 research institutions who pledged to boycott SDI research have one notable recruit to their ranks.

In early September Peter Hagelstein,

In early September Peter Hagelstein, the brilliant architect of the X-ray laser, resigned from the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory weapons centre.



"Star light, star bright, first killer satellite we see tonight..."

Hagelstein joined Livermore in 1975 and by all accounts hoped to work on an X-ray laser capable of furthering medical research. In 1979 he proposed a design for a laser powered by a nuclear explosion and from then on got drawn into developing the idea.

As the Excalibur project progressed it became integral to the Star Wars programme. Lately the device has drawn attention as a possible anti-satellite weapon in addition to being an ABM device. "The X-ray laser is becoming just another weapons system." John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists told *Newsweek* magazine, 22 September. "That makes the high moral purpose of the thing more difficult to see."

According to Robert Adler of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Hagelstein "did not intend to do work on weapons."

#### Chances for US-Soviet Space Cooperation

"US-Soviet space cooperation should proceed regardless of differences about the SDI", said Dr. R. Sadeyev, Director of the Soviet Institute for Space Research during a visit to the US this October to negotiate a renewal of the Bilateral Space Cooperation Agreement, which space Hospital in 1922

Agreement, which expired in 1982.

Dr. Sadeyev said that the growing space programme of other nations requires greater multilateral cooperation. He pointed to other meetings in Italy, where US, Soviet, European and Japanese experts are involved in the International Solar Terrestial Physics Programme, as an example of this

Speaking directly about the SDI, Dr. Sadeyev said "If you launch a powerful laser to produce the effects needed for the SDI then my personal opinion would be that this kind of demonstration would be quite destabilizing. But if you are going to experiment with modest instruments, that could be considered as laboratory instruments, the I think it could be permitted by the existing Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty."

Although he does not favour linking progress in space weapon negotiations to space cooperation Dr. Sadeyev believes it is an important factor. "If we would like to bring something significant into our peaceful space cooperation, such as resources for outstanding projects, I think expenditures for the massive militarization of space would be our dangerous competitor."

#### SDI Opposition in Japan

Scientists from Osaka Industrial University, Japan, have begun a campaign against Star Wars. An appeal circulated by the scientists says the pursuit of the SDI by the Reagan administration heightens international tension and aims to allow the US to launch a first nuclear strike against the Soviet Union. The appeal opposes Japan's participation in the SDI which, it says, will boost military expenditure and promote the classification of scientific research. It calls on all Japanese universities, research institutes and businesses to refuse SDI contracts.

Students at Osaka University have also launched a campaign against Star Wars. They are protesting the involvement of their Institute of Laser Engineering in SDI research in cooperation with the US Los Alamos and Lawrence

Livermore laboratories.

#### Aerospace Plane

For some time there has been talk in the US about developing a space plane. The McDonnell Douglas aerospace firm are now designing a prototype and the plane may go into service around the year 2000. It would travel at speeds of Mach 5 and operate at altitudes above 100,000t, making it possible to travel from New York to Sydney in just two-and-a-half hours. The US Air Force has already begun to study the project for military missions. If undertaken these would make the Rapid Deployment Force seem like a Stone Age oddity.

### Top Twenty SDI Contractors 1983 — 1986

		Company	Total Contracts
Federation of American Scientists	1.	Lawrence Livermore (DOE)	\$725,000,000
	2.	General Motors	579,000,000
	3.	Lockheed	521,000,000
	4.	TRW	354,000,000
	5.	McDonnell Douglas	350,000,000
	6.	Boeing	346,000,000
	7.	Los Alamos Lab. (DOE)	196,000,000
	8.	Rockwell International	188,000,000
	9.	Teledyne, Inc.	180,000,000
	10.	EG&G	140,000,000
	11.	Gencorp Inc.	135,000,000
	12.		93,000,000
	13.	Sandia Lab. (DOE)	91,000,000
	14.	LTV Corp.	90,000,000
	15.	Flow General	89,000,000
der	16.	Raytheon Co.	72,000,000
Fe	17.	Science Applications	69,000,000
Source:	18.	Honeywell	69,000,000
nr	19.		63,000,000
Sc	20.	MIT Lincoln Lab.	63,000,000

# The New Stockholm Document is a Success

At the conclusion of the last stage of the Conlerence on Confidence and Security Building Measures, the Polish ambassador to the Stockholm Conference, Wlodzimierz Konarski, agreed to an interview with *Peace Courier*, on 7 October 1986.

# What is the significance of the document adopted in Stockholm?

The Stockholm consensus is unquestionably important for East-West relations. For years there was no progress in the field of military detente and disarmament. Europe and the world needed such a multilateral achievement politically, and I would say, psychologically.

Although the significance of the Stockholm document should not be overestimated it will have a visible influence on East-West relations. It could also play a helpful role prior to a US-USSR Summit. For Europe let us hope that the confidence building measures will pave the way for real disarmament which is so urgently needed. After Stockholm the Vienna CSCE meeting should find it easier to agree on ways and means to facilitate the second disarmament stage of this conference.

The adoption of the document should also be welcomed by peace organizations and activists. During our debate in Stockholm we had many useful contacts and discussions with nongovernmental organizations and peace movements from Sweden and elsewhere. The World Peace Council was very active in this respect. I think that this kind of dialogue again proves that peace activity by governments and by nongovernmental organizations should be seen as complementary.

# How could you explain the role of confidence building measures in the general context of disarmament negotiations?

First of all it should be stressed that the public are primarily interested in the disarmament agreement. For a long time the confidence building measures were considered as only transitional agreements leading to real disarmament steps.

It should be remembered that confidence and security bulding measures, as we call them in Stockholm, do not diminish the military capabilities of states. They only make the existing military activity more predictable, verifiable and therefore much less dangerous.

In the Helsinki Final Act we have already had a number of such measures which were, however, modest in scope and applied only on a voluntary basis. Now a major step forward has been made. Now we have a system of measures that are politically binding on all participating European states, the USA and Canada. They will be applied inside a much wider zone from the Atlantic to the Urals, thus covering all of geographic Europe. They are also much more militarily significant.

In the course of negotiations the participating states learned that the confidence and security building measures could play quite a useful role.

In fact, if the 35 participating states proceed to the second stage with equally good will and take up disarmament measures, we could really have a system of security in Europe. It should be based on both the continued development of confidence building measures and the new measures of disarmament.

Włodzimierz Konarski



Most of the negotiators believed that they could be continued in parallel with disarmament negotiations. It is politically important that in today's Europe, which is so broadly pluralist in its various security interests, these states could agree on binding regulation of their national military activity which not long ago was considered to be a question of an entirely internal competence.

# How could you present the context of the Stockholm document?

I would say that it is a set of agreements based on the reaffirmation and the development of the known principle of the non-use of force. The principle as such and its development are political. The other measures have a more military-technical nature. They cover notification, observation, compliance and verification, exchange of annual calendars of military activity, and some provisions of a constraining nature. Together they form a system which is set in motion above the agreed numerical thresholds.

Why do you call it a system? The other negotiators may call it a set of measures. I prefer to call it a system of confidence since that better refers to the future. In fact, if the 35 participating states proceed to the second stage with equally good will and take up disarmament measures, we could really have a system of security in Europe. It should be based on both the continued development of confidence building measures and the new measures of disarmament.

# Was the Stockholm success based on a real compromise?

Yes. To arrange the exchange of mutual concessions has taken us more than two and a half years. The Socialist states wanted a wider agreement, more substantial, still more militarily significant. Not everything was possible

yet this time. Thanks to the Mikhail Gorbachev proposal of 15 January some difficult questions were set aside, such as independent naval and later, aerial military activity. We did not insist on certain political-military proposals as well. For instance, because the NATO states refused, we could not obtain consensus on the no-first-use of nuclear weapons. Of course we still believe that this and other proposals of ours were and are justified and will be again discussed in the future. We insisted that our security interests be respected but we had to take into equal consideration the security interests of other participating states as well. Such considerations had led us all to important provisions for all on-site inspection which, by their significance, go well beyond the framework of the Stockholm conference.

On the other hand, the NATO states have not achieved consensus on a number of their priorities, such as measures of military information which we considered too intrusive. They have changed their positions on a number of questions concerning notification and observation. Their earlier requests concerning modalities of on-site inspection had also to be withdrawn for the sake of the final compromise. In order to work it out quite an effort was made by the neutral and non-aligned states.

# Are you satisfied, as the representative of Poland, with the results achieved?

Yes. The security of my country is linked with the political and military situation in Europe. Together with the others Poland has helped to create this conference and tried to ensure its success. The Stockholm document means that there will be less danger and distrust and more security in Europe which is to the advantage of all people living in this continent.

# Canada's Role in SDI

The Real Facts About NORAD by Fred Weir, published by the Canadian Peace Congress, Room 301, 671 Danforth Ave. Toronto, Ontario M4J 1L3 Canada

In December 1985, William Arkin, a US citizen and a co-author of Nuclear Battlefields, testified before a subcommittee of the Canadian Parliament which

had recently considered the question of renewing the NORAD (North American Aerospace Defence) agreement between the United States and Canada. His testimony was something of a

bombshell.

Using documentation that he has become noted for, Arkin pointed out eight bilateral agreements all dealing with nuclear war-related measures, which had been deleted from the record provided by the committee.

He went on to claim that there are probably many more such secret agreements, made without the knowledge of the Canadian Parliament or public that would govern US-Canadian relations in the event of a nuclear "crisis". Arkin then claimed to have evidence of the existence of an index of 1,400 bilateral "understandings" between the US and Canada, never disclosed in any form to the Canadian people.

But what is known of Canadian involvement in US military, especially nuclear war-related, planning reveals a profound entanglement on Canada's part in the US plans for what amounts to a first strike nuclear strategy against the

Soviet Union

Facts about

by Fred Weir

NORAD

Fred Weir's fifteen page, footnoted little pamphlet is an excellent case study of US neo-colonialism in the age of nuclear weapons. It is useful not only for Canadian and US citizens, both of whom have been either uniformed or misinformed by their respective governments, but for others as well. People in places as geographically diverse as Greece, Britain, the FRG, the Philippines and Australia where there are either open US bases (or, to use the modern language of Washington, in tune with the times, "joint facilities") will find much of the history and information in Weir's article of value for their own situations.

Weir shows how far, how fast and how well planned Canada's integration into US plans for the militarisation of space have gone. And with how little

attention from the Canadian media.

Citing the fact that "Canada is second only to West Germany in her support of US nuclear war preparations, and is host to nearly 80 nuclear war-related installations, he reminds us that "weapons are only one part of the nuclear inf-rastructure", which also includes "a complex made up of thousands of obscure research testing, electronic and command facilities'

Weir gives a "brief list" of the major elements of Canada's involvement in US

strategic planning for first strike nuclear war. It includes:

By agreement, Canada's airfields may be used by US Strategic Air Command as dispersal and refuelling points in the event of a "crisis". Canadian air bases such as Cold Lake and Goose Bay will simply be taken over in support of Strategic Air Command Operations.

- A new North Warning Line which will incorporate 52 radar sites, with updated technology capable of detecting low-flying aircrafts and cruise missiles. To supplement this, Canadian technicians are also being trained to operate AWACS aircraft for NORAD.

The US Airforce uses Canadian territory to test the air-launched cruise missiles because, as a Pentagon spokesman put it, northern Canada offers terrain "like that we might encounter in enemy territory". The US army also uses Canada for cold weather tests of its atomic artillery shells

Canada is heavily involved in US anti-submarine warfare planning.

 Canada is heavily involved in US and submitted warrare planning.
 The Pentagon's Nuclear Weapons Deployment Plan provides for the "emergency" basing of nuclear weapons in Canada.
 s Weir notes in his conclusion, "as long as her armed forces remained locked into a command structure dominated by the Pentagon, carrying out activities, determined by US war planning, and as long as her government's derivities, determined by 'obligations to her senior ally', Canada's chances of making a positive contribution to the cause of peace are virtually

**Rob Prince** 



A banner at a peace meeting held this October in Stuckenbrock FRG reads: The People of the World urge Reagan: Ban Nuclear Tests.

#### Britain

#### Star Wars Protest Grows

Ten Labour Members of Parliament and a number of representatives from the British Peace Assembly presented a 25,000 signature No Star Wars petition to the Prime Minister's official residence, 28 October. Labour MP and WPC vice president James Lamond delivered the petition to 10 Downing Street.

So far, over 40 MPs have backed a parliamentary motion by Ernie Roberts MP against British participation in Star Wars. In addition, 500 physicists from 24 British universities have pledged non-participation in Star Wars research.

For further information on the anti-Star Wars campaign in Britain contact: The British Peace Assembly.

3rd Floor, 5-11 Lavington Street, London SEI ONZ.

#### Poland

#### **Physicians Appeal**

The conference of Polish Physicians for Peace issued an appeal to world leaders to work together to increase international security and safeguard peace. The conference, held 24 October in Bialystok, also called for public support for practical disarmament proposals which have been advanced by a number of countries. The appeal emphasised the imperative of conversion of military budgets to funds to tackle urgent problems of poverty, hunger and dis-

Physicians for Peace is affiliated to the 150,000 - member organization International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.



#### **GDR**

#### **CWFZ**

The Advisory Council for a Comprehensive Ban on Chemical Weapons, which is linked to the GDR Peace Council, has voiced support for the joint initiative of the GDR Socialist Unity Party and the FRG Social Democratic Party for a chemical weapon-free zone in Europe. The initiative is also backed by numerous peace groups in Western Europe.

At a meeting of the Advisory Council the chariman, Dr. Karlheinz Lohs, reported on an international meeting on the chemical weaponfree zone, held in Mainz last June. He said the meeting had shown the importance of creating the zone as a confidence and security building measure to encourage an agreement to ban chemical arms.

#### **IYP Chronicle**

In October, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer gave the UN Secretary Genneral, Javier Perez de Cuellar, a peace chronicle documenting the work of the peace movement in the GDR during the International Year of Peace. The chronicle had been presented to the General Secretary of the GDR Socialist Unity Party, Erich Honecker, by peace movement representatives on World Peace DayJapan

#### Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki

A signature campaign is underway in many countries to gather support for the much publicized Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Appeal was launched simultaneously in Algeria, Australia, Cuba, GDR, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Britain, US and Vietnam.

The Tokyo-based International Liaison Committee for the Signiture Campaign, which is coordinating the collection of signitures, urges that the Appeal be used widely to unite opinion against the threat of nuclear war.

Forty years have passed since the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the end of the Second World War.

In spite of the desire of the A-bomb survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the people of all the world that such tragedies must never be repeated, nuclear weapons over one million times more destructive than the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs are now stockpiled, the result of the ongoing nuclear arms race.

The use of nuclear weapons will destroy the whole human race and civilization. It is therefore illegal, immoral and a crime against the human community.

Humans must not coexist with nuc-

With effective activities for the prevention of nuclear war now developing throughout the world, the elimination of nuclear weapons, as a common international task, has become most urgent and crucial for the very survival of the whole of humanity.

Along with the survivors and on behalf of those who died and cannot now speak for themselves we appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

from Hiroshima and Nagasakı: There must never be another Hiroshima anywhere on earth.

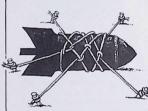
There must never be another

Nagasaki anywhere on earth.
Now is the time to call for the
complete prohibition and elimination
of nuclear weapons. Let us work
together urgently to achieve a total
ban on the use, testing, research,
development, production, deployment
and stockpiling of nuclear weapons.





Singers Larry Long of Minneapolis and Tatiana Petrova of the USSR after performing together at a stop during last summer's Mississippi Peace Cruise by US and Soviet peace workers. Participants in the cruise launched the Mississippi Appeal for peace.



Jamaica

#### **IYP Events**

Observance of the International Year of Peace is being organized by an ad hoc committee. The committee has held a peace exhibition at the Expo '86 Trade Fair, seen by over 6000 people, church services, exhibitions in schools and community centres, a peace concert, a school art contest, meetings at the Soviet and British embassies and regular fees exhibited and service of the ser

five minute radio programmes.

At the end of the year a regional peace conference will be held in Kingston on the theme of human development, justice and peace.

Delegates from about 20 Caribbean countries will attend the conference. The initiative aims to strengthen the peace movement in the Caribbean.

Dear friends:



George Shultz, after the failure to reach any peace proposals at the Iceland Summit, requested the peace movements of the world to join with President Reagan in his endeavours for peace.

What a hypocritical request. It has to be part of a corporate joke, a back-room laugh of the multi-nationals since they feel they have the peace movements in the palm of their hands; or a warning to the peace movement not to put on the pressure or they will get the same treatment Gorbachev got

Reagan, representing his mentors, was not about to trade away the freedom and future of whom? Of the military industrial complex behind him, thats who. The need, he said, "was to keep SDI", even though the proposed arms agreement would eliminate the missiles the Star Wars system was to shoot down.

One may look now for certain things to happen in the peace movement of the world. First there should be a call for the impeachment of Reagan, Shultz and Weinberger, based on the fact they are representing only the military industrial complex and not the American people. Second, the peace movement, and international trade union movements have to expose those of the military industrial complex right down to their hidden bank accounts, and make them accountable to all citizens. Third, the peace movement must become more outspoken, more militant, more demanding, because if they don't, the profit-makers, the gougers, the dignified bandits of the military industrial complex will, as Eisenhower said, take control of everything where a profit can be made, and lead the sheep into any pasture or slaughter-house desired.

Respectfully, Jerry Morse Member of Veterans Against Nuclear War 2 Bartlett Ave. Toronto Ont. Canada M6H 3E6



#### FRG 200,000 Protest Cruise Bases

In numbers far exceeding organi-zers' expectations, 200,000 West Germans participated in a mass demonstration against the planned deployment of 96 US cruise missiles near Hasselbach. They had expected

50,000 people.
Taking place 11 October, the first day of the Iceland meeting between US President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev, the demonstration was a clear message to Washington and to West Germany's right-wing gover-nment of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, that the West German people want peace and a comprehensive arms control agreement.

Social Democrats, including many Parliamentarians, Greens, Communists, Christians and many with no particular affiliation, came out in droves to protest the use of West German territory as a US nuclear missile launching pad.

A major factor, however, in the success of the demonstration was the active participation of the Confederation of German Trade Unions (DGB) and its affiliates at all levels. Drawing links between the Kohl government's increased arms expenditures and its cutbacks in social programmes, most recently in pensions, the DGB called on its members to struggle for peace, a jobs programme, a shorter working week and the preservation of trade union rights

Horst Klaus, an executive member of IG Metall, West Germany's metallurgical and steelworkers union, told the demonstrators that the DGB rejects the deployment of nuclear missiles in West Germany or the FRG's participation in Reagan's Star

Wars programme.
A declaration adopted by the 200,000 demonstrators made the position of West Germans clear. "Our country must not participate in the research and development of space weapons. They protect no one and will not remove nuclear weapons from the earth. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles must be removed. Nuclear weapons testing must end."

The demonstration followed a fourweek blockade of the US Pershing-2 missile base in Mutlangen, during which dozens of demonstrators were arrested

With Federal elections set for 25 January 1987, the West German fall was a hot one. The Kohl government's cold war campaign against the peace movement, calling it a communist front, has been ineffective.

With the failure of the Reykjavik meeting, the West German peace movement is certain to grow stronger and more united, and the demand for an independent foreign policy will grow louder

#### Greece Youth Demands

The Youth Peace Committee aims to promote Greek national independence. Why? Is Greece under foreign occupation? The YPC thinks so and gives five good reasons.

In Greece today there are 51 US-NATO bases many of which house nuclear weapons; negotiations are underway to allow the Cold War radio station Voice of America to remain in the country; the US nuclear-armed Sixth Fleet is allowed to call at the country's ports; US AWAC spy planes are based in Actio; and NATO plans to build a headquarters in Larissa

The YPC demands the disengagement of Greece from NATO's military wing and the removal of foreign bases and nuclear weapons from the country.



#### Finland **Peace University**



The Third International Peace University was held in Helsinki during United Nations Disarmament Week. Academics, students and peace supporters took part in the University's varied programme. The core of this was plenary meetings on subjects such as SDI and the militarization of high technology, the arms race and development, and human rights. The Human Right to Peace was the cen-



#### United Nations First Earth Run

To mark the International Year of Peace and the 40th anniversary of UNICEF a round-the-world torch run started from the UN building in New York, 16 September.

As the First Earth Run moves around the world, 10-15 kilometer relay events are being held in Host Cities throughout the event. The First Larth flame will return to the UN building 11 December where it will light an eternal flame and unite millions of people in a global candle-lighting celebration.

The First Earth Run organizers have made arrangements to take the torch to places outside the global route, to cities which want to participate. Escort teams will link up with the flame in the Host Cities nearest their destination cities, and light miners lamps which will house the flame enroute to their home cities where First Earth Run celebrations will be





#### Nicaragua

#### Call for International Action

Nicaragua needs solidarity if the onslaught of foreign intervention is to be halted. The Comite Nicaraguense por la Paz (CONIPAZ) has pledged to strengthen the defence of Nicaragua and to meet production targets to help lessen the effects of the economic blockade and war.

CONIPAZ reveals that the war has resulted in 32,000 casualties, over one per cent of the population. It has cost the country \$ 3.5 million and set it back some 14 years in work and production.

CONIPAZ says the determination of the Nicaraguan people to survive must be matched by increased international solidarity. It suggests three ways in which peace and soloidarity groups can help:

 to exert pressure on the US to comply with the rulings of the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

 to hold a week of solidarity with Nicaragua, involving artists, musicians and writers, among others, using the slogan Nicaragua Must Survive.

 to ensure the publication of information about Nicaragua and its revolution.

To help with these and other solidarity actions, CONIPAZ offers to copy video programmes onto blank cassettes sent to the Committee. It can also provide copies of Barricada Internacional on the history of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation. A photo' exhibition service is also available but CONIPAZ needs help to develop and process the material due to intense shortages of chemicals and other photographic supplies.

For further information contact: CONIPAZ, Apartado C-144 Managua. Telex 1251 Dri. Phone 70677 or 75413.

#### Northern Ireland

#### **CND** Activity

The newly reconstituted Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament plans to conduct a joint protest with Irish CND against nuclear waste dumping by Britain in the Irish sea. Incidents of radiation-related deaths along Ireland's east coast have done little to stop the nuclear dumping from the Sellafield/Windscale complex in North West Britain.

CND will also hold a Peace Vigil this December in the Newry/Armagh region. And around Christmas the organization will establish a number of nuclear weapon-free zones in Northern Ireland.



About 6,000 people packed Nathan Phillips Square, Toronto 25 October, to support the peace movement's campaign to make Ontario a nuclear weapons-free zone. The rally was organized by the Toronto Disarmament Network.

#### Film Power



From the appeal to film makers issued by the 25th International Film Festival, Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia:

kia:
"Cinematography is an effective force in shaping social conscience and forming public opinion. Therefore the question of what values and ideals we assert in our work becomes the criterion of our reputation as artists and our human responsibility. We must strive together to prevent the cinema screen from turning into an instrument for spreading hatred and violence, mistrust and suspicion, superiority and contempt in relations with other nations, inhuman ideas of neofascism and racial and nationalistic exclusiveness. On the contrary, the cinema screen must elevate, broaden people's knowledge, enhance their reason and emotions, guide and give effective support to all that is progressive and peaceful."

#### USA

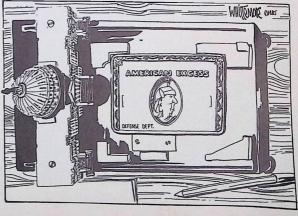
#### **Fast for Life**

On 1 September this year two Victorians veterans, Charles Litkey and George Mizo took a courageous stand, in protest at the US government's policies towards the people of Nicaragua, by beginning a fast for life. Two weeks later they were joined by Brian Willson, a Vietnam veteran, and Duncan Murphy, a World War II veteran. During the daytime the veterans fasted outside the Capitol in Washington.

After 47 days of fasting, 17 Octobert, the veterans concluded their protest and a national day of fast was organized. The protest received important support from Congressmen and Senators, including Edward

Kennedy and former House speaker Tip O'Neal. Some 60 Congress representatives pledged to the veterans that they would vote against further funding for the Contras if a new vote comes up.

A joint message from the veterans says "We are so convinced of the immorality and illegality of this new Vietnam...that we offer our lives in a statement of ultimate protest...We choose not to be a party to crimes against humanity committed in the name of the American people. When leaders act contrary to conscience, we must act contrary to leaders. We will be praying for a change of the hearts and minds of our own people."



USA

#### **Grand Finale to Great Peace March**



Thousands of people greeted the Great Peace March, Washington DC 15 November, as it completed the final part of its eight month journey across the United States.

Demonstrators first gathered at Meridian Hill Park where they were addressed among others by Senator Tom Harkin and Hill Street Blues actress Betty Thomas. Harkin called on the Reagan administration not to break with SALT II, to join a test ban and to cut Star Wars funding.

The demonstrators then marched to Lafayette Park where a rally and "freeze" (to signify the end of life in a nuclear war) were held. Speakers included Dr. Benjamin Spock, Phillip Berrigan and Daniel Ellsberg.

The main rally was held at the Lincoln Memorial. Radio star Casey Kasum and Methodist Bishop Leontine Kelly were among the speakers. Singers Pete Seeger, Holly Near and Peter Yarrow performed at the rally and Mayor Marion Barry welcomed the marchers to Washington.

The 5.953 km march started in Los Angeles, 1 March, with about 1,200 participants. At the end of the march about 1,000 people were still marching. Some of them had joined at various points along the route, but many were part of the original core who took the call for nuclear disarmament across the United States.

Along the way the marchers faced tough weather conditions and physical exhaustion. They slept in schools, amusement parks, grave yards, farms and restaurants. Two marchers died during the treck, one child was born and six couples got married.

But throughout the journey the marchers stuck to their demands, contained in a ten-point programme. These included a call for the US to join a nuclear test ban and an end to Star Wars, as first steps towards a nuclear weapon-free world by the year 2000.



A Great Peace Marcher in Philadelphia holds up the Star Wars "shield."

# A Forum for Peace Action

# **World Congress Devoted to the IYP**



One of the largest events held to mark the United Nations International Year of Peace was the World Congress devoted to the IYP, Copenhagen, 15-19 October.

Over 2.400 people from 130 countries attended the Congress to exchange views and examine ways to meet the central demand of the UN declaration on the IYP, which was also the motto of the Congress: To Safeguard Peace and the Future of Humanity.

Representatives from a large cross-section of national peace and disarmament organizations, political parties, trade unions, solidarily, women's and youth organizations took part in the Congress.

Some 18 months before, a group of Danish public figures decided to hold a gathering to further the dialogue taking place at various national and international levels on the prevention of war and the defence of peace. Later, an international preparatory committee was formed and Hermod Lannung, of Denmark's Radical Liberal Party, elected President of the committee, Many national

and international organizations took part in the committee, including the World Peace Council.

Meanwhile in Denmark a large national preparatory was at work involving representatives from over 400 organizations. In other countries, too, extensive groundwork was carried out, much of it fund raising, to send delegates to the Congress. The outcome was encouraging, participation was broad and representative.

Topic centres, forums, special interest groups, workshops, a women's centre and a youth club provided the main bases for discussion and dialogue. Throughout the five days of the Congress, the vast Bella Centre complex was crammed with activity.

Outside the meeting halls a large area was covered with stalls and exhibition stands set up by national delegations. Posters, books and souvenirs were sold to raise money for the Congress fund; leaflets and other

publicity were scattered on every available surface; people sang, played music, talked and argued.

In the meetings, discussion groups and press conferences the debates were lengthy, often heated. But few came to make speeches. The overriding concern of most people was to advance the practical work of the peace movement, to widen its diversity and broaden the basis for its unity.

The most productive of the meetings focussed on campaign work. The US-Soviet meeting in Reykjavik had shown that possibilities exist to end the most threatening aspects of the arms race, but that obstacles to this persist. Many of the discussions emphasized the need for redoubled efforts by the peace movement to tackle those issues which prevent far reaching disarmament agreements.

The Congress was organized so as to realize its central aim. This was outlined by Hermod Lannung, the President of the Congress, in the

opening session.

To foster the objectives of the Programme of the International Year of Peace as adopted by the United Nations 'bringing people together to discuss the possibilities and necessary conditions for greater international action for a peaceful world, cessation of the arms race and progress towards disarmament.

Providing a forum for the different streams of public opinion, East and West, North and South, to exchange experiences and to discuss the present state of the world and basic requirements for creating conditions that will allow the peaceful development of humanity

#### **Congress Unjustly Attacked**

In his opening address to the delegates to the World Congress Hermod Lannung expressed deep regret over the hostile reception given to the participants by the mass media, We have so unjustly been attacked."

Well before the Congress began it was under fire from opponents of the peace movement. They found little difficulty in obtaining extensive and sympathetic press coverage of their distaste for the UN International Year of Peace and the thought that a mass international gathering was planned to further the objectives of the IYP.

Proponents of the nuclear arms race were given editorial blessings by many leading Western national dailys. The Voice of America chipped in as well to condemn the Congress. All were intent on presenting it as the result of some sinister manipulation of the KGB, as the rubber stamp for one point of view, and as a forum where discussion would

When opposition to the Congress was not voiced, the press said nothing. The familiar weapons of insult and silence were put to full use

During the Congress brief but notable attempts were made by small groups of extremists to disrupt the

plenary proceedings. Most of the subsequent press coverage, in Denmark and abroad, focussed on these attacks. Yet predictably hardly a word was printed or broadcast about the hundreds of hours of activity concerning the danger of world war, and other major issues.

The press and the small knot of people who targeted the Congress pitched their attacks from the lowest level possible. Anti-peace movement propaganda put out during the Congress concentrated only on Red Baiting, the most usual and least subtle of the war lobby's methods.

Nothing was said in honest opposition to the issues dealt with during the Congress - banning nuclear tests. stopping the spread of the arms race, solving regional conflicts, human rights - all of which were debated extensively by the participants. Only the crudest misrepresentation prevailed.

Yet the efforts of the anti-Congress lobby failed to achieve their objectives. The Congress was unique for its openess. People from many areas of peace activity were not disuaded from joining the Congress process and there were no obstacles to participation. Even people who came only to criticize the proceedings were not prevented from speaking.

As a forum for different streams of opinion the Congress was a success. The programme allowed for the examination of all issues facing the peace and anti-war groups. No limit was placed on the subject matter discussed. "There are no taboos at our Congress" declared Hermod Lannung in the opening plenary.

Unanimous agreement on all issues was not the object of the event. Different views were expressed on many complex and contradictory issues - the internal situations in capitalist and socialist countries, the problem around Afghanistan, human rights, among others. No debate was stifled. Had this happened the aim of bringing people with different outlooks together to examine their common concern for peace would have been undermined.

#### Protest from Journalists Workshop

The following protest was presented to the press from journalists participating in the Congress:

"We direct our criticism from a professional standpoint as the press coverage has been incomplete. Of the many topics discussed during the Congress, such as peace, justice, human rights and disarmament, the press has been concerned with one the Soviet Union's involvement in other countries internal affairs.

This violated the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, signed by the Danish Journalists Association. The protest continued:

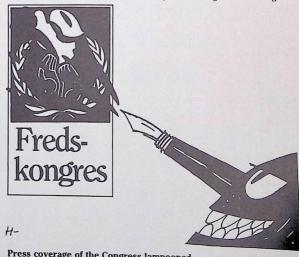
"We oppose the conditions that force Danish journalists to work under conditions that violate the principles they have agreed on."



Hermod Lannung receives the International Year of Peace medal pro-vided for the IYP by PAND – Finnish Artists for Peace



Buddist monks prayed and fasted for peace throughout the Congress.



Press coverage of the Congress lampooned.





The Womens' Centre.

#### Peace Imperatives

Throughout the many deliberations of the Congress the overriding concern was for an end to the nuclear arms race and for disarmament. "All other things", said Hermod Lannung, "are secondary." He Continued.

"The Strategic Detence Initiative

The Strategic Delence Initiative Star Wars – threatens to heighten the arms race, extending it into outer

space.

A test stop agreement by the United States and the Soviet Union would put a halt to this dangerous project, and a halt to the further development of nuclear weapons.

Such a halt is clearly the first and most important step towards ending the arms race, detente and disarma-

From this Congress, which is a broad gathering of peace forces from around the world, representing both popular movements and political forces, we have the potential to plan for a united, worldwide campaign for a nuclear test stop.

A very important task is to follow up the World Congress for Peace concretely and positively.

The Congress should not end on October. It is my hope that the World Congress should be the beginning of an ongoing, continued and intensified cooperation among peace forces – this concept taken in the broadest sense.

This has become particularly important against the background of the Iceland (US-Soviet) meeting.

We have now been working intensely with preparations (for the Congress) for more than 18 months and have created a network of contacts and cooperation with a great number of countries around the world.

This network of contacts and cooperation should of course not be wasted, but must be maintained in the service of peace.

It should also be enlarged by persuading those who let us down to begin with, and who now regret it, to join us.

The purpose of our Congress is to underline and reaffirm the founding declaration of the UN that war is not an acceptable means of resolving international conflicts, and at the same time stress that in case of war in our atomic age all life will become extinct and all that human civilization has striven for and achieved will in a very short time be reduced to radioactive dust.

Therefore we and all peace forces in the world should now make an almost superhuman effort to stop the arms race and eliminate, abolish, all nuclear weapons on earth."

#### What They Talked About

The main work of the World Congress focussed on the meetings of the five-day programme. The programme was organized to allow for maximum involvement of participants. Discussion centred on practical approaches to issues. There were few set speeches tolerated and no documents adopted.

Below is a brief summary of the subjects discussed during the Congress.

Seven of the meetings worked in connection with the provisions of the programme of the IYP. They included Peace and Justice, Disarmament, Peace and Liberation, Peace and Human Rights, Peace and Human Needs, Living in Peace and Peace and Trust.

Then action orientated forums focussed on efforts to prevent nuclear war, including nuclear and chemical weapon disarmament, a nuclear test ban, disarmament and development, how to oppose the militarization of outer space, the establishment of nuclear weapon-free zones, disarmament security and detente in Europe, the peaceful sett-

lement of regional conflicts and the dissolution of military blocs.

Special interest groups met to cover the work of scientists and physicians, grassroots peace activists, trade unionists, religious circles, media workers, educators, MPs and elected officials, cultural workers, and sports people.

Six workshops examined questions of cooperation between peace organizations and other movements, peace movements and political decision making, peace movements and information activity, the strategies of peace movements, terrorism and state terrorism.

In addition, a number of special meetings took place. Victims of nuclear radiation as a result of bombings, tests and military excercises described their experiences to several hundred participants. Another meeting considered ways to promote the work of the United Nations. And a panel discussion also took place

NEUTEON SOMS

on the work of womens' movements, from the UN Women's Decade to the year 2000.

# Message from UN Sec. Gen.

During the opening session a video message from the Secretary General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, was shown to the participants. He said:

"I welcome with satisfaction the initiative to organize this Congress and to open its proceedings to various organizations and groups interested in the difficult search for better understanding and a common language of peace.

The complex problems facing humanity are well known. We have to curb the arms race and not let it spread to new areas. We must find ways to eliminate the terrible danger inherent in nuclear weapons for which the conclusion of a Comprehensive Test Ban treaty is of great importance. New efforts are needed to build confidence and to revitalize the system of collective security. The economic and social dimensions of peace cannot be neglected. Human rights must be promoted and universally respected, and apartheid and other forms of racial discrimmination must be eliminated."

Numerous other messages of support were sent to the World Congress. Greetings were sent, among others, from the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi; the President of Argentina, Raul Alfonsin; the Prime Minister of Greece, Andreas Papandreou; Senator Edward Kennedy, Massachusetts, USA; UN Under Secretary General, Dept. for Disarmament Affairs, Jan Martenson; Secretary General, League of Arab States, Chedli Klibi.

#### **Test Ban Forum**

Growing international pressure for the conclusion of a Comprehensive Test Ban treaty between the major powers was reflected in many of the deliberations of the World Congress.

The test ban forum brought together over 50 people from all continents to examine how the campaign can be furthered. The forum was chaired by Captain (ret.) James Bush of the US-based Centre for Defence Information.

Many participants stressed the need to call on governments to demand that the US at least imposes a moratorium on testing as a confidence building measure which could favour the beginning of serious nego-tiations for a test ban.

A participant from Greenpeace pointed out that the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty contains an article which, by means of an amendment could lead to a CTBT should one third of the signatories agree to one. The forum noted that this possibility can

be studied and used by peace movements.

The proposals for action included: Using advertisements of a positive character in big and small newspapers, particularly in the US.

Establishment of an International Day of Action for a CTBT.

Sending a delegation to the US Congress with a petition for a CTBT.

Mobilizing artists on the issue and the composition of a song to be used internationally to stimulate action.

Presenting letters to governments and parliaments asking them to join the appeal of the Six Fleads of State and Government

An informal meeting held after the forum decided to establish an International Test Ban Network. This was publicised during the Congress to allow other participants to join the network. Activists from the Finnish Test Ban Committee promised to coordinate the network.



Thousands took part in a peace march and rally in downtown Copenhagen, 19 October.



Young Computerfreaks for Peace outside the Youth Cafe.

WE DON'T

#### Youth at the Congress

A large number of young people attended the Congress and took an active part in the proceedings

Members of Danish Youth for Peace welcomed the delegates on the first day, and at the final plenary session members of the Congress Youth Club taught the participants the slogans of the march and rally, held later that day: Test Ban, Test Ban, Test Ban Now!- SDI No. We

Don't Wanna Die!

Throughout the Congress the Youth Club held workshops and discussions on various subjects connected with young people and peace.

"In the Youth Peace Club", Donald Mendez told the Congress plenary, "special attention was paid to some concrete actions. Among them, the joint promotion of the international signature campaign in support of the appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki; broad multifaceted activities for the nuclear test ban, including a prosal to send an international peace

guard to the Nevada desert. The idea to have an international peace festi-val in Stockholm in June 1987 and a peace march in Central Europe in memory of Olof Palme.

We firmly believe that such concrete activities will be important steps towards the establishment of a worldwide anti-nuclear coalition.

The Youth Club had its own Youth Cafe with a video show, and a computer workshop where Computerfreaks for Peace decided to make peaceful computer games as alternatives to the Rambo-style wargames sold commercially.

#### Copenhagen Appeal

Although no documents or resolutions were adopted by the World Congress, much attention was attracted by an initiative taken by thirteen leading delegates from the countries of the Six Nations Appeal as a contribution to the campaign to prevent the weaponization of outer space and to end nuclear tests. The appeal they signed was circulated in the Congress as a petition.

Following the Congress, efforts are being taken to increase support for



# Samora Machel



It was too much of a coincidence. About two weeks after South African foreign minister Pik Botha had threatened to teach the Mozambique government a lesson in terrorism, a plane carrying President Samora Machel was downed in mysterious circumstances just inside South Africa.

Suspicion of a South African assassination plot deepens as evidence concerning the incident continues to surface. These suspicions have been added to by the apartheid regime's

own inept and unconvincing explanations of the crash. First it said bad weather had caused the accident. Then it said the plane's flight control equipment was outdated and faulty. And then it said that most of the crew were drunk. Finally, as if to justify the incident, it announced that 'documents' were found in the wreckage containing a plan to overthrow the President of Malawi by Mozambique and Zambia.

Evidence from other sources, including survivors of the crash, link Protria with the tragedy. Statements from Mozambique officials who visited the crash site indicate that South Africa delayed providing aid to the survivors. Many of those killed had died from exposure and loss of blood. A survivor told of how South African policemen had searched the plane for documents and money, ignoring pleas for help. No evidence was found to suggest bad, rainy weather on the night of the crash; none of the crash debris was wet or mudcaked.

Zambia's President Kaunda and Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Mugabe have charged that there is "sufficient evidence to blame South Africa directly for the death of President Machel."

A message from the World Peace Council to the people and government of Mazambique expressed deep sadness at the death of President Machel.

#### A Conventional War Threat?

(continued from page 1)

ers of troops is another. The only thing which stops the Red Hoardes from marching West, we are told, is the US-NATO nuclear deterrent.

Yet sources trusted for their objectivity, such as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, have revealed on a number of occasions that US-NATO and WTO conventional force levels are about equal. True the WTO does have more tanks but then the other side possesses more highly

advanced anti-tank weapons.

With the prospect, however clusive, that nuclear weapons might be drastically reduced by interntional agreement, calls by government, miltary and media circles in the West for a possible conventional weapons build-up remind that the quest for military superiority persists.

Nuclear weapons remain the prime danger. But if they are eliminated we must ensure nothing takes their place.



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### 1987 Year of Palestine

The non-governmental International Coordinating Committee on the Question of Palestine (ICCP) declared 1987 the Year of the Palestinian People at its meeting in Geneva, 8-9 November.

1987 will mark the 70th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, the 40th

1987 will mark the 70th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, the 40th anniversary of the UN partition of Palestine, the 20th anniversary of the 1967 occupation of the remainder of Palestine, and the fifth anniversary of the invasion of Lebanon that led to departure of the PLO from Beirut and the massacres of Palestinians at Sabra and Chatila.

The ICCP will encourage and coordinate worldwide NGO activity throughout the Year. An appeal for the Year was adopted by the ICCP and was read at the United Nations commemmorations of the partition of Palestine in New

York, Geneva and Vienna, 29 November.

All local and national organizations are encouraged to organize events to mark the Year. The ICCP is ready to support such initiatives and to network information about them. The Committee will also support tours of delegations from the countries involved in the conflict to Europe and North America. And it will prepare a calendar of coming events and provide relevant publicity from the United Nations on the Palestinian issue.

In addition, the ICCP supported forthcoming events already planned for 1987. These include an Asian seminar, Bangkok 2-12 June, and a North American symposium, New York 22-26 June. Latin American NGOs will be mobilized for a number of events including an inter-parliamentary meeting, Managua 27 April-2 May and a meeting of World Peace Council organizations in Equador in May. These events will culminate in an international conference, Vienna 7-11 September.

The next meeting of the ICCP, Geneva, 16-17 March, will examine the development of activity for the Year and how to strengthen the campaign for Pales-

tine

WPC president Romesh Chandra attended the ICCP meeting. Bahig Nassar also from the WPC, ICCP vice president, David Watkins from the Committee for Arab-British Understanding, ICCP treasurer, and Jean-Marie Lambert, office rector of the ICCP, met the Director General of the United Nations in Geneva, Eric Sui, to inform him about the results of the ICCP meeting. They expressed gratitude for the UN's cooperation with the Committee. The Director General expressed satisfaction with the Committee and pledged the full cooperation of the UN to ensure the success of the 1987 campaign.

#### ICCP Appeal

The appeal adopted by the Committee stresses the rights of the Palestinian people to self determination and the need to hold the International Conference for a settlement to the conflict.

for a settlement to the comment.

The Appeal also calls on "all organizations and people to join the global effort to resolve this protracted and dangerous dispute (the Arab-Israeli conflict PC) with peace and justice. The path to a lasting resolution of the question of Palestine lies in a universal awareness that the story of Palestine is the saga of a people struggling for human dignity.

A sense of common decency, justice and deep concern for peace demand that we act to make 1987 known to all as the Year of the Palestinian People."

# 75th Anniversary of ANC

On 8 January 1987 the African National Congress of South Africa will be 75 years old.



As the struggle of the South African people to eradicate the apartheid system intensifies, increased international support for the broad democratic movement for change has become imperative. The imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions on

the racist regime remains the major responsibility of the international community.

The 75th anniversary of the ANC will be observed as a year for redoubled solidarity activity. In many countries ad hoc committees have been formed to coordinate and promote the observance of the anniversary throughout 1987. Large numbers of peace organizations are taking part in the work of these committees or are assisting with their formation. ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo has called forthe creation of 75th anniversary committees to draw up plans and make suggestions for the various ways this occasion can best be observed.\*

1987 will be a year in which the fight to free South Africa will reach a new level. Therefore the ANC's 75th anniversary will be of special importance as a means of further mobilizing public opinion for the rapid elimination of apartheid, the creation of a democratic society in South Africa and the establishment of peace and stability in the region.