

new perspectives

3/85

JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

40th Anniversary of Victory over Hitler Fascism





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1 Third Vienna Dialogue-International Conference for Disarmament and Detente, organised by the International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces, in Vienna in January 1985. (From L to R):

Jozef Cyrankiewicz, President of Polish Peace Committee, Mamadou Goudey (Senegal), Jessie Jackson, Founder and head of the Rainbow Coalition, and head of PUSH (U.S.A.), Ramesh Chandra, President, World Peace Council, Monsignor Jose Arias-Caldara (Nicaragua) and Edith Ballantyne, Secretary General, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Canada).

2 Madame Ilona Sebestyen, President, Hungarian Peace Council, addressing the WPC Development Commission Meeting in Budapest in January 1985.

3 Leaders of the six nations who adopted the Delhi Declaration to prevent nuclear war in New Delhi in January 1985. (From L to R): President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu of Greece, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico, Prime Minister Olof Palme of Sweden and President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania.

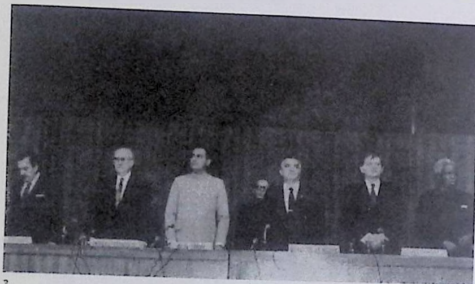
4 The NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonisation gave a farewell reception in Geneva on 12 February 1985 in honour of Mr. E. S. Reddy, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations who was in charge of the Centre against Apartheid until his retirement early this year. (From L to R): E. S. Reddy, Sean MacBride, Chairman, International Peace Bureau, laureate of Nobel Peace Prize and Lenin Peace Prize and Ramesh Chandra, President, World Peace Council.

5 Participants in a peace march from Florennes to Brussels in February 1985. The march was held to protest the planned deployment of U.S. nuclear cruise missiles in this area in the south of Belgium.

6 More than 200,000 citizens of Dresden declared in one voice their support for peace at a mass rally in the city's square, Theaterplatz, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the destruction of Dresden (13 February 1985).



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New Perspectives contains articles on various aspects of the world peace movement:

- Prevention of nuclear war
- General and complete disarmament
- Banning nuclear weapons
- Development
- Elimination of all kinds of colonialism, racialism and discrimination
- Settling disputes through negotiations

Prevent Arms Race in Outer Space

ROMESH CHANDRA

THE DANGER of a nuclear war and the consequent annihilation of humanity is today greater than ever before. It has reached a qualitatively new stage, above all because of the Reagan administration's plans for the development of space weapons.

If these plans are not stopped, it may well become impossible to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

The overwhelming majority of peoples in all countries are against the carrying of nuclear weapons into space, against the "Strategic Defence Initiative". But President Reagan refuses to respond positively to the demand of the peoples of all countries, including the people of the United States.

The overwhelming majority of governments, including some of those most closely allied with Washington, have declared their opposition to the development of space weapons.

One hundred and fifty governments voted in the 39th UN General Assembly session for a resolution for the prevention of an arms race in space. The United States alone refused to vote for this resolution.

The heads of state and government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania in their recent Delhi Declaration have sharply focused attention on the necessity to prevent an arms race in outer space.

Most of the governments participating in the Geneva Conference on Disarmament stand for the immediate establishment of an ad hoc committee by the Conference, with a mandate to negotiate a Treaty on the prevention of an arms race in outer space. The United States government is responsible for the delay in establishing such an ad hoc committee.

World public opinion—governments and non-governmental organisations—welcomed the start of new Soviet-US negotiations, which began in Geneva on March 12, particularly because on the agenda, together with the questions of medium-range and long-range strategic weapons, was the urgent issue of preventing an arms race in outer space.

But during the very first days of the new Soviet-US talks, the United States negotiators clearly revealed their desire to change the previously agreed agenda—and erase alto-

gether from it any serious negotiations to prevent an arms race in space.

Three weeks earlier, President Reagan had announced that he was not only determined in all circumstances to go ahead with his so-called "Strategic Defence Initiative", but had decided to move it forward by three years.

It is clear that the US government seeks to use the Geneva talks as a smoke-screen behind which it can speed up its space war plans.

An all-out propaganda drive has been launched on a global scale by the most reactionary sections of the mass media to influence public opinion into believing that the "Star Wars" do not constitute a threat to world peace.

The very name—"Strategic Defence Initiative"—is a cleverly conceived lie. There is nothing "defensive" about these plans, which will carry the arms race into space. On the contrary, they are the new and most perilous component of the first strike strategy of the Reagan administration. They are aimed at giving the USA that military superiority, which it has not been able to achieve over all these years, which would place our planet in the gravest jeopardy ever.

The development of US space weapons constitutes the most serious peril ever faced by the peoples of the world. The struggle to prevent the militarisation of outer space has become the most important task of every human being who desires to prevent a nuclear war.

Every peace and anti-war action and campaign, every movement to defend the independence and sovereignty of countries, to fight against imperialist aggression and intervention, for democracy, for economic and social justice, must be linked with and become part of the overall struggle for the prevention of nuclear war.

The key to the success in this struggle lies today in compelling the Reagan administration to abandon its machievellian "Star Wars" plans.

Space weapons must be banned. Peace on earth demands that outer space be free of weapons, a zone of peace and co-operation. The peace forces have the power to ensure this, if they can unite and act together.

They must act NOW, before it is too late.

Forty Years of Peace— Forty Years of Struggle for Peace and Security

ABDULHAN AHTAMZIAN

FOUR DECADES are separating us from the moment of the ending of the battles of World War II—the most sanguinary and devastating in the history of mankind. For six years, the flames of the world military conflict unleashed by the German fascists and Japanese militarists—the most aggressive forces of imperialism—enveloped more than 60 countries with a population of over a billion people. Over 110 million people were drafted under arms and took direct part in the battles at various fronts. The war turned the entire continent into theatres of war, took away over 50 million human lives, while mingling (unlike the previous wars) concepts of front and rear, increasing many times the casualties among civilians.

Sacrifices of Soviet People

In the course of war the greatest sacrifices were made by the peoples of the Soviet Union who shouldered the major part of the burden of fighting against the aggressors. The war took a toll of over 20 million Soviet people.

In Poland, the fascists exterminated six million people. One million, seven hundred thousand Yugoslavian fighters for sovereignty did not return from the battlefields. Heavy losses and damages were suffered by the peoples of Czechoslovakia, Albania, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, who also joined the battle against the invaders. The bloody carnage started by the Nazis cost the German people a lot of lives. It is known that about 10 million Germans perished in the unrighteous war.

By celebrating today the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory of the Soviet Army over German fascism the peoples of the world celebrate an anniversary of liberation from the Hitlerite sway, beginning of life in peace.

The tragic experience of World War II confronted the living generations quite clearly with a question—either follow the path of peaceful coexistence with all the peoples and states irrespective of their internal social systems, or perish in a new

and incomparably more awful world catastrophe. Learning a lesson from the recent past, the people of good will in many countries ask a question, which is so vital for humanity—what should be done to preclude the repetition of the tragedy, prevent the unleashing of a world or any other war?

The major conclusion drawn by the people from the experience of World War II is the fact that one should untiringly fight for peace before war breaks out, as the struggle against aggression, for restoration of peace, costs many losses. Historical experience commits the peace forces to explain constantly to everybody the great secrecy in which a war is prepared. It is vital to be vigilant and expose in time the schemes of the aggressive forces and the pretensions of the aggressive states to other countries, their various plans for a "frightening" display of far-reaching ambitions, not only to attain superiority but also to attempt to realize such superiority for dictating their conditions and order to other peoples.

Role of US and Britain as World Gendarme

Even during World War II, and particularly after its ending, the world public expressed its conviction that the past war must be the last one in the history of civilization, that the defeat of fascism and militarism had created conditions for solid peace—the highest aspiration of mankind. However, during the post-war years some countries of the West, and first of all the USA and Great Britain, assumed the role of a world gendarme. They claim the right to determine the systems in parts of the globe far remote from them, thus continuing essentially the colonial policy, suppressing peoples' striving for independence.

For the past forty years, the USA has used its armed forces over 200 times in various regions of the world to intervene in the internal affairs of other peoples, to back the reactionary regimes. Suffice it to recall the armed intervention of the US and its allies in Korea, the colonial war of the Western states in Southeast Asia, and the US aggression against Viet Nam, aggressive actions of imperialism against the

states of the Middle East and the US interference in the affairs of the peoples of Central America (Nicaragua, El Salvador etc.)

It is quite natural that the sympathy and solidarity of the peace forces have always been and remain so with those who fight righteously for their independence. The people of good will consistently come out for prevention of international conflicts, against the policy of intervention of imperialism.

The fact that during rather a long period of time, it has managed to prevent the unleashing of a new catastrophe is in a great part the merit of the world peace movement. It is not the "balance of fear", as is alleged by certain Western theorists, but balance of common sense that is the reliable basis for preservation of peace on the Earth. That is why the task of mutual understanding and unity of actions of the peace forces in various countries remains vital for the coming decades. Universal peace is a common good, and common property. This truth should be of particular importance for all of us in the conditions when the military and technological means of war place mankind on the brink of catastrophe and complete annihilation in case of world nuclear missile war.

Imperialist States Resist Change

It is quite understandable that thinking people in diverse countries ask these questions: What causes constant tension on our planet; whence the threat to universal peace?

An analysis of international relations of past decades brings us to the conclusion that one of the major causes of constant tension and growing menace of another world war lies in the fact that the aggressive forces of the imperialist states, first of all the United States, Great Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, do not want to accept the outcome of World War II, and post-war reconstruction of tens of countries in Europe and Asia. Some of these countries have chosen the socialist way of development and formed the socialist community which countervails the military and political blocs of imperialism, first and foremost—NATO.

The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and creation of over 100 new sovereign countries became a historic change in the world scene which took place against the desires of the colonialist states and is a significant post-war outcome of the international relations. These new countries seek the way of their own for independent development, strive for creation of a new just economic order free from exploitation. This very group of countries founded the powerful movement of the present day—the Non-Aligned Movement—which plays an important and positive role in preserving and strengthening world

ABDULHAN AHTAMZIAN

Professor, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (USSR)

peace. Another significant positive outcome of the post-war development is a wide anti-war movement which came into existence in various countries of the world, and is now an authoritative and efficient force united in a common aspiration—preserve life without war.

The aggressive forces of imperialism pursuing the policy of "balance of fear" and "nuclear terror" challenge the powerful moral and political movement of the peoples with an escalation of military and technological superiority, follow more frequently the policy through strength on the brink of world war.

Continuous build-up of arsenals, development of new types of weapons of mass destruction, and in particular stockpiling and modification of the nuclear missile systems are the basic cause of the growing menace. The arms race imposed by the aggressive militarist circles of the USA upon mankind is a mortal threat to the very existence of human society and its unlimited continuation is fraught with the most grave consequences.

Who Instigates the Arms Race? US Imperialism

When discussing the source of tension and increasing war menace, sometimes one can hear an opinion that both sides, in particular both Super Powers—USA and USSR—are to be blamed for continuation of the arms race. Such an estimation of the world situation is unjust and prejudiced since it puts aside the question of who is an instigator of the arms race and development of new more dreadful types of mass destruction weapons, who openly and cynically strives for world domination.

The threat to universal peace has emanated from and is constantly maintained by the military industrial complex and militarists of the USA, which deliberately and intentionally cultivate and intensify the nuclear threat. They were the first, not only in creating nuclear weapons, but also in using them against the population of civilian Japanese cities, with no military justification, thus, marking the beginning of the nuclear blackmail policy.

And who was the first in making the intercontinental strategic bombers to use them thousands of miles away from their own frontiers? Who was the first to start development of nuclear submarines, aircraft carriers to send them later to all seas and oceans of the globe to threaten other peoples? Today the answers to these questions are clear to everybody—the United States of America.

Despite the protests of the public in the USA itself and other countries, the US militarists have started creation of unspeakably destructive nuclear missile systems, development and stock-piling of neutron weapons for deployment on foreign territories. Nowadays, official US circles cherish the plans of militarization

Soviet soldiers hoist the flag of the USSR atop the Reichstag in Berlin, marking the defeat of Hitler fascism, in May 1945.



of outer space which means in practice a new unspeakably dreadful spiral of the arms race which may be fatal for mankind.

Soviet Pledge against First Use of Nuclear Weapons

The attitude towards the pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against foreign states and peoples becomes the litmus of real aspirations of states. Unfortunately there is no such pledge yet confirmed in bilateral or multilateral treaties. However, unilateral pledges of nuclear powers may be a significant step to such treaties. The Soviet Union unilaterally has taken the pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Moreover, the Soviet Union has solemnly declared that it will never use such weapons against countries which do not produce, purchase or deploy nuclear weapons on their soil.

The USSR has also proposed that the nuclear powers should elaborate and accept certain regulations of relations between them.

The prevention of the nuclear threat calls for governments, foremost of all, those of nuclear powers, to concede the concept of co-ordinated actions. The Soviet people unanimously stand for the initiatives and proposals of the Soviet government aimed at reining the nuclear arms race.

Soviet Plan for Prevention of Nuclear War

Our program of prevention of nuclear war stipulates agreed actions aimed at:

- nuclear freeze;
- termination of all nuclear weapons tests;
- termination of further deployment of missiles;
- creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world;
- limitation and reduction of nuclear arsenals;
- complete elimination of nuclear weapons;
- banning and liquidation of chemical weapons;
- complete extermination of the available stockpiles of these atrocious weapons

and complete renunciation of their use by all the countries.

The basic problem of international policy and the major task of the peace movement of the planet is to get rid of the nuclear war threat and prevent nuclear annihilation of humanity. As was stated in the beginning of this year by K. U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, "mankind is experiencing the turning-point of history. Upon solution of the problem of averting the nuclear war threat, preventing the militarization of outer space, depends the solution of the global problems of mankind—economic, ecological problems. Upon international co-operation in solving the vital problems depends the very future of humanity, preservation and continuation of life on the Earth."

Role of World Peace Movement

Not to get lost in the complex international situation, it is vital to have a clear notion of whence comes the actual threat to world peace. This is the basis for actions against the real war threat.

For four decades, the peace forces have carried on a fight for the complete banning of nuclear weapons, for prevention of a new war. The campaigns for collection of signatures under the worldwide-known Stockholm Appeals were of great historic significance. Without doubt, they became an efficient method to concentrate the peace forces' efforts upon the major task—preservation of peace on the planet.

The world wide movement of peace supporters comes out with a constructive program of actions which are not directed against any country or government, but against the war menace itself, irrespective of where it originates from. Millions of people of good will are well aware that individual efforts will gain efficient results only if their activities are united in one common stream of actions aimed to curb the forces of war and rein the arms race. The peace movement is worldwide in nature; its activities are in unison with the

purposes and principles of the world governmental security organization—the United Nations which was founded as a result of the victory of the peoples united against fascism and war and whose 40th anniversary is also being celebrated this year.

"The Movement for peace, against the arms race", noted K. U. Chernenko in February, 1985, "has become an important moral and political force. The menace of nuclear war, the dangerous aggravation of international situation, the continuing arms race and its expansion to outer space—all these increase the threat which hangs over humanity like the sword of Damocles".

A particularly grave situation exists in Europe as a result of the continuing deployment of the first strike nuclear missiles in certain countries of Western Europe. The recent accident in Heilbronne proved that the deployment of dangerous nuclear systems in the densely populated areas of Western Europe is in itself a mortal threat for civilian population.

Lessons of World War II

The lessons of World War II and the military and technological realities of the second half of the 20th century must make people think seriously about the fate of the world and humanity. It is quite natural that the existence of unprecedented technological means which may be used for destruction and annihilation of people brings the realization of the especial responsibility which should be borne by the governments possessing them. Every nation, every person must do everything necessary to prevent the nuclear catastrophe.

That is why in the beginning of this year the peace-minded public of the world welcomed the Delhi Declaration of the heads of state and government of six countries from four continents—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania. The Declaration expresses the noble aspirations to avert the Apocalypse.

The fate of the world depends to a great extent upon the will and unity of actions of the peace forces in diverse countries. It is quite natural that the peace movement in every country should have its own forms and extent. But at the same time the purpose common to all mankind—preservation and strengthening of peace on the Earth—calls for an agreement on the basic problem and unity of actions for the sake of peace and security.

What can be done today by the peace forces? "Today", noted K. U. Chernenko, "they can and ought to voice, a resolute 'No' to nuclear death, a stop to the insane arms race".

The Soviet public endorses the efforts of the governments to use negotiations on the entire complex of problems pertinent to space and nuclear weapons, to reach an agreement for stopping the arms race, obtain actual reduction of the stockpiled weapons, return the world to détente.

40th Anniversary of Liberation of Auschwitz Death Camp

We Recall War, because We Struggle for Peace

RYSZARD TYRLUK

This article is based on a compilation made by Mr. Ryszard Tyrluk from news features of the Polish Press Agency.

FORTY YEARS ago, on 27 January 1945, units of the Soviet army liberated the town of Oswiecim and put an end to the operation of the biggest death factory in human history—the Konzentrationslager AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU. They liberated about 7,000 persons, including 180 children, in this notorious Nazi concentration camp.

This place is sanctified with the blood and ashes of nearly 4,000,000 people, including 500,000 children, from all over Europe, as well as other continents, who, during the four-and-a-half years of the concentration camp's operation, were murdered by the Nazis in gas chambers, or died of exhaustion, hunger, inhuman treatment, "medical experiments", or were executed or put to death by phenol injected into the heart.

After the liberation, a Museum of Martyrdom of the Polish and other nations was built on the site of the former Nazi death camp—the world's greatest cemetery. Since 1947, this Museum has been visited by more than 16 million people from 76 countries.

Extermination of Polish Intelligentsia

Why and what for was this camp organized and how was it operated?

In keeping with the programme of the leaders of Nazi Germany, the Poles were to be reduced to a small group of physical slaves serving the goals of the "thousand-year-old Reich", because they were the first to oppose Hitler's armed expansion and did not stop their struggle even after their defeat in the defensive war they fought in September 1939.

From the first days of the occupation, the Nazis launched mass-scale extermination of Polish intelligentsia, in the first place. In proportion to the population, Poland suffered the greatest human losses

RYSZARD TYRLUK
Secretary, World Peace Council (Poland)

from among all the Nazi-occupied countries during World War II.

In order to implement their programme, the Nazis started setting up the biggest concentration camps on Polish land. Alongside new conquests by the German armed forces, the camps turned into more and more international death camps.

After numerous attempts in Auschwitz to find a way to murder people on a mass scale, the Nazis selected Ziklon B-3 gas for that purpose. The mass murder began in June 1940 with the Poles being the first to be killed in the death camp in Auschwitz; this was followed by the murder of thousands of Soviets in 1941.

The entire camp system served to emaciate the inmates: inhuman conditions of accommodation, deprivation of medical care, disastrous sanitary conditions, hunger, numerous epidemics, and also a system of penalties and torture. The executions of inmates were committed in the courtyard of Block No. 11.

In the camp, the Nazis while committing genocide also carried out various pseudo-medical experiments on inmates, among others, on Dr. Mengele's twins (about 1,500 Jewish twins selected in Auschwitz). (Dr. Josef Mengele was the chief doctor Auschwitz. Since the end of World War II, Dr. Mengele has been one of Nazi Germany's most notorious fugitives, reported to be hiding in Paraguay).

Mass Murder

From March 1942, Auschwitz became the site of mass destruction of Jews from Poland and other countries of Nazi-occupied Europe.

Thereafter, thousands of men, women, children and elderly people from all over Europe began to be brought to Auschwitz in trains by a special railway line built for this purpose. To them, Auschwitz was the end of their lives. They belonged to the following nationalities: Poles, Russians,

Jews, Yugoslavs, Slovaks, Austrians, British, Belgians, Bulgarians, Croats, Gypsies, Czechs, Frenchmen, Greeks, Spaniards, Dutchmen, Lithuanians, Latvians, Germans, Norwegians, Rumanians, Swiss, Hungarians, Italians, even Americans, Turks, Egyptians, Iranians. Among them, the citizens of Poland, Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and France constituted the vast majority.

The mass-scale death was inflicted using the experiences of Nazi Germany's science and industry. At the climax of the camp's history, the Nazis were annihilating about 20,000 people in the Auschwitz gas chambers every 24 hours, using Ziklon B-3 gas. After their murder, they were burnt in four big crematoriums constructed and operated by the Toph and Sachne firm from Erfurt. Altogether 20 thousand kilograms of Ziklon B-3 gas were used. For killing 1,500 persons (so many people were crowded into the gas chambers at one time) they used 6 kg of Ziklon gas.

So every day the sky over Auschwitz was overcast with smoke.

Death Industry

What Auschwitz meant for the Reich was not only a death industry but also a source of raw materials, which the Nazis obtained from the bodies of their victims with unusual precision and thrift. They also saw to it that not a single thing taken by the victims for their last journey was wasted.

While visiting the Museum of Martyrdom at the Auschwitz Camp, one gets terribly shocked to see huge piles of spectacles, hair, dentures and artificial limbs which once belonged to the victims brought to the camp with the last transports. Though the Nazis ordered a hasty evacuation on 17 January 1945, and tried to erase all traces of their crimes, they were unable

to remove, or destroy everything, and part of the concentration camp remained untouched.

The hair was sold to German textile firms. The gold teeth were recast within the camp and sent to Berlin. In 1942, as many as 16,325 gold and platinum teeth were removed from 2,904 corpses.

The permanent SS-force crew numbered some 5,000 persons, and more than 20,000 SS butchers served in the Konzentrations-lager Auschwitz throughout the time of its existence.

So far, only 2,000 of them have been tried, while the others have escaped punishment, including the notorious Nazi war criminal Dr. Mengele, who carried out criminal experiments on twins, dwarfs and cripples. He did this together with Prof. Clauberg. Dr. Mengele's assistant, Horst Schumann, experimented with strong X-ray beams for the purpose of mass sterilization of men and women.

The last roll-call of inmates in the Auschwitz camp, for about 66,000 men and women inmates, was made on 17 January 1945. The evacuation of the camp, covering about 58,000 persons, started next day. The routes of the evacuation were turned into "death marches" claiming many thousands of victims.

Among the survivors in the death marches was the present President of the Polish Peace Committee, Mr. Jozef Cyrankiewicz, inmate of Auschwitz bearing No. 62933. After the defeat of Hitler fascism, Mr. Cyrankiewicz occupied the highest positions in his country, that of Prime Minister and President of the Council of State.

40th Anniversary of Liberation of Auschwitz

Several former Auschwitz inmates, victims

of quasi-medical experiments, met during ceremonies at the former concentration camp on 26 and 27 January 1985, marking the 40th anniversary of the camp's liberation. Wreaths were laid at a memorial near the "wall of death" where the Nazi murderers shot more than 20,000 people to death.

In an interview to the press, Director Kazimierz Smolen of the Auschwitz camp museum said: "The 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz concentration camp has a special meaning for me. I was an inmate there having No. 1327. It reminds me of the Death March, the big evacuation of the camp started by the Germans a few days before the arrival of Soviet troops.

"In the cold of minus 25 degrees centigrade, thousands of inmates were dragged on westwards. Their trail was marked with corpses. The Nazis first carried us in open coal cars to Mauthausen for several days; we were terribly hungry and frozen stiff.

"When, 40 years ago, I saw the stronghold-like camp, hewn in granite, where my father died, I asked this myself: 'when will the end of human suffering come, when will a man be a man?'"

Sound Bells of Alarm

"My camp number was 104,346 and I was in the Konzentrationslager Auschwitz from February 1943 to the day of liberation," said Adam Kowalski, who now lives in Israel.

"I remember this day of 40 years ago as fresh as today. It was Saturday, January 27. A few minutes past 3 p.m., the first Soviet soldiers arrived. One of them, looking at us with horror, looking at the human skeletons around him, asked himself with disbelief: 'Where have I found myself?'"

"Let us recall Auschwitz where the Hitler fascists exterminated four million people including 500,000 children from all over Europe. Let us warn of evil and sound big bells of alarm as it is being said in certain quarters today that there was no Nazi concentration camp of Auschwitz."



Inmates of the Nazi death camp, Auschwitz, in Oswiecim, on the day of the town's liberation by the Soviet army on 27 January 1945. They were rescued from certain death under the "New Order" of the Hitler fascists for the people of Europe.

"Let us, therefore, recall Auschwitz. Let us warn of evil. I become enraged today when I hear that there was no Nazi concentration camp of Auschwitz. This is horrible, unjust, terrifying today. We must sound big bells of alarm today. We all must care for peace, because war can be horrible."

Vigilance to Defend Human Values

In a letter to the town authorities on 26 January 1985, President of the Council of State of Poland Henryk Jablonski said: "In the minds of every Pole and millions of people in Europe and the world, your town of wartime is associated with the Nazis' largest extermination camp, Nazi brutality and barbarity, and boundless suffering, but, at the same time, with the unrelenting and selfless struggle of Polish patriots, the inmates resistance movement, and the help, which residents of Oswiecim sought to give them.

"Oswiecim, in its concern for the preservation of its past in national remembrance, appeals for vigilance against actions by those forces which are prepared to provoke a new war conflagration, and for readiness to defend the humanitarian values.

Prof. Weiss Shevsky, from Haifa University, said: "Auschwitz is a symbol of modern fascist cannibalism. This is why, from this site of gas chambers and crematoriums, I appeal for humanist education of people, for their intensive education in the spirit of tolerance and respect for another man, for struggle against racism."

Another participant in the anniversary ceremonies at the former camp, Lucjan Motyka, who is Secretary General of the International Auschwitz Committee, said: "Auschwitz and those of us who survived its hell should keep reminding the world of everything which took place at the time when there were no neutron bombs, yet one nation was overwhelmed by the mad will to dominate over other nations."

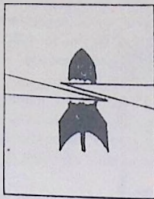
"We accuse" was the motto of a symbolic "Death March" in Auschwitz on 27 January 1985 by several dozen wartime inmates of the Auschwitz camp, who today live in Israel and the US. They were among the victims of the pseudo-medical experiments carried out on them by the Nazi war criminal, Dr. Mengele, who has so far escaped punishment for his crimes.

They covered a three-kilometre route from the wartime concentration camp sites of Birkenau to Auschwitz, holding lit candles and singing songs. Alongside with them walked their children, who do not know war.

Thousands of wreaths and bouquets of flowers were laid upon the ruins of the crematoriums and other sites of the biggest holocaust in history.

The history of Auschwitz should be known by all people and the lessons of World War II remembered by peace movements and political leaders.

PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT



New Threat of Nuclear Holocaust

US Space Weapons Will Increase Its Offensive, not Defensive Capability

A Report made by Soviet scientists has pointed out that the Reagan administration's assertion that the new US space-based anti-missile system (SBAM) would spell salvation from nuclear missiles for humankind is perhaps the greatest-ever deception of our time.

The Report shows that the space-based weapons would increase the offensive capability of the USA—its first strike capability—and not the defensive one.

US space weapons would escalate the arms race into outer space, involve expenditures running into trillions of dollars, and increase manifold the danger of nuclear war.

The Report also shows that the US space weapons would be vulnerable to counter-measures.

The Report reiterates Soviet proposals made in the United Nations for banning nuclear weapons in outer space.

The Soviet Report has been prepared by the Working Group of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace, against Nuclear Threat consisting of the Heads of Groups: Deputy Chairmen of the Committee of Soviet Scientists, Academician R. Z. Sagdeyev (Director, Institute of Space Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences), and A. A. Kokoshin, D.Sc. (History), Deputy Director, Institute of USA and Canada Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and experts in different institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences: A. G. Arbatov, D.Sc. (History), Sector Chief at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations; A. A. Vasilyev, Candidate of Science (Technology), Department Chief, Institute of USA and Canada Studies; V. I. Shevchenko, D.Sc. (Physics and Mathematics), Deputy Director, Institute of Space Research; O. F. Prilutsky, Candidate of Science (Physics and Mathematics), Department Head, Institute of Space Research; V. G. Rodin, Chief Project Designer; S. N. Radionov, Cand.Sc. (Physics and Mathematics), Senior Research Associate; R. R. Nazirov, Cand.Sc. (Technology), Senior Research Associate—all from the Institute of Space Research.

A mathematical model for studying the scientific and technical aspects of the issue under review was worked out by R. R. Nazirov.

In studying various problems linked with the subjects of the Report, the Working Group used the services of consultants, Professor N. A. Lomov, Colonel-General, Rtd., and Professor M. A. Milshtein, Lieutenant-General, Rtd.

Published here are extracts from the Report.

GOVERNMENT CIRCLES and the public at large in the USA recently have been discussing a great deal the Reagan administration's plans to set up large-scale "defence" against nuclear missiles. The system is expected to consist of several layers deployed in outer space and using various types of directed energy weapons.

The US administration's spokesmen maintain, as a rule, that what is meant is a long-term programme intended for a very distant future (the early 21st century). However, there are many indications that President Reagan's statement and the US ad-

ministration's efforts to step up the pace of research and development of the proposed space-based anti-missile system may bring about an extremely important change in US military policy very soon. Besides, it should be borne in mind that influential circles in the USA are pressing for the deployment of strike weapons in outer space in the next few years on the basis of what has already been achieved in this field.

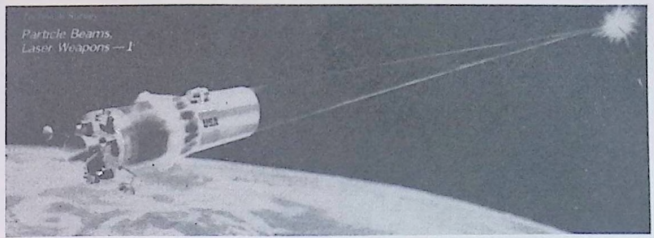
Since almost the late 1950s the US view has been that it is impossible to reduce the destructive effects of an allout nuclear

war for the USA to an acceptable level. It was an important part of US strategy based on the fact that the USSR had developed its own ICBMs and that both sides had increased their stocks in absolute figures. After toying with such short-lived strategic experiments as the "counterforce" and "limited damage" concepts in the early 1960s (providing for reducing US losses by means of strikes at part of Soviet strategic missiles to destroy them on the launching pads), the USA adopted the principle of "assured destruction". The latter, with several modifications, (in the shape of such concepts as "selective strikes", "limited nuclear war", etc.) remained the basis of US declared nuclear strategy from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. It envisaged that US security, at a time when both sides had stockpiled huge thermonuclear potentials, was based not on the possibility of limiting America's damage in the event of an all-out war to an acceptable level, but by deterring the would-be enemy from using nuclear weapons by threatening to inflict either equal or even greater damage on him. Concepts and technical systems for the direct defence of US territory disappeared from official papers and US government statements, including those of the Defence Department. Anti-ballistic-missile defence systems (ABM) were discussed almost exclusively in connection with ensuring the survivability of the US strategic forces.

However, President Reagan's statement on 23 March 1983, although it was very general and vague, may mean a radical change in the fundamental concepts of that declared military-political strategy. Deterrence linked with the ability of the two great powers to destroy each other even by a retaliatory strike was declared as something evil. As an alternative, there was put forward the idea of defending US territory from nuclear attack by every possible means, including the creation of space-based anti-missile systems in the distant future. The change of the official policy if it consolidates, can create a fundamentally new strategic, political and psychological climate for decision-making on both offensive and defensive military programmes.

Scientific and Technical Aspects of SBAMS

The basic principle of the US space-based anti-missile system under review could be formulated in the following way: the system should be capable of destroying enemy intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) with the aid of one-hit space-based weapons operating on the directed long-distance transfer of the energy of electromagnetic waves or particle beams. This report, which is not a comprehensive survey, reviews the capability of the space anti-missile system to hit ICBMs; it is assumed that the conclusions



US Laser Space Station, designed to destroy satellites and ballistic missiles, is being developed under the supervision of its Department of Defence. Cost: 1 billion dollars.

would also apply to the SLBMs to a considerable extent.

Recent Western studies indicate that technical prerequisites for developing systems for directed energy-transfer over dozens of thousands of kilometres are now available. There has been a good deal of discussion in the USA since the mid-1970s concerning high-power laser space systems for transferring the energy of space power stations to ground supply systems, to passenger aircraft engines, and for lifting spacecraft from low near-Earth orbits to high geostationary orbits, etc. There has also been much talk over the past few years about the use of directed energy-transfer systems specifically for military purposes. At the same time the power of steady lasers was increased at a high pace (from several milliwatts in the first specimens of the early 1960s to several megawatts in the 1970s).

Laser or Beam Space Weapons

The specific features of directed-energy weapons are first of all linked with the very rapid propagation of destructive factors (electromagnetic waves or high-energy particles) close to the maximum possible velocity in nature—the velocity of light. Laser or beam space weapons can hit a target thousands of kilometres away within about a hundredth of a second in which the latter can move for just a few dozen metres. This practically rules out the possibility of manoeuvring to escape a direct hit and considerably simplifies the task of predicting the target trajectory as compared with conventional anti-missile systems.

Various systems, now being considered in the USA as possible components of directed-energy weapons, are at very different stages of technical development. These are:

- infrared, visible or ultraviolet range lasers;
- X-ray lasers with nuclear blast radiation pumping;
- high-energy particle accelerators;
- UHF generators.

United Nations and Western publications indicate that to use the potential advantages of directed-energy sources as

space-based weapons, it is necessary to solve a series of very complex technical problems linked with the need to:

- a) ensure the concentration of energy on the target to a density sufficient to destroy it;
- b) develop energy-concentration devices with a sufficiently low divergence to reduce general energy requirements for the system;
- c) develop electromagnetic radiation sources or fast particles with power sufficient to hit a large number of targets within a short time;
- d) develop electric or chemical energy sources for power supply to the sources of electromagnetic waves or particles;
- e) develop target acquisition (and recognition) and directed-energy control systems as well as hit-confirmation systems;
- f) develop spacecraft for housing weapon systems;
- g) develop effective means of their protection from enemy countermeasures.

Military-Strategic Consequences of SBAMS

The enormous technological problems posed by the space-based anti-missile weapons and their unprecedented costs call into question the entire strategic logic of those who advocate this system. Western estimates put the cost of a multi-layer space anti-missile system at 1.5 or 2 trillion dollars.

But even if we assume that it would be possible to clear many of its scientific and technological bottlenecks through the concentration of huge resources, the super-effort of researchers and engineers, it will appear nevertheless that the SBAMS is very vulnerable to various means of countermeasures.

Countermeasures against the SBAMS:

Despite a number of statements about the invulnerability of the SBAMS, a system of space combat stations does appear rather unprotected from both active and passive countermeasures. Countermeasures against the SBAMS can be divided into two main groups: active and passive. The former include various ground (sea), air or space-based weapons using either missiles or lasers.

1. **Ground (sea), air or space-based ballistic missiles:** Combat stations in orbits 1,500 to 2,000 km high, typical for the proposed US SBAMS, can be destroyed with relatively small ballistic missiles having a velocity of 5 to 6 km/s after the boost phase of their trajectories. Such missiles must have a high thrust-to-weight ratio for a rapid passage of the boost phase of the trajectory and be equipped with additional protection against the laser beam. Such characteristics are possessed by the "Sprint"-type missiles: they can sustain considerable thermal loads in their flight through the dense layers of the lower atmosphere at a speed of 5 km/s. Their warheads can be similar to those of an anti-satellite system developed by "Vought" in the USA on the basis of the F-15 fighter-bomber.

2. **Space mines:** The so-called space mines can also be used against combat stations. These are satellites equipped with means of destruction (including missiles) having a comparatively short range of action (dozens of km) and placed in orbits close to those of the combat stations.

3. **High-power ground-based lasers:** Combat stations may also prove vulnerable to ground-based laser systems. The time of action of those systems against the stations can reach 10^3 s, which far exceeds the time allotted for hitting one target from a space station (1 s). Besides that, ground installations are free from many limitations typical of the space systems concerning their mass, size or power.

4. **Obstacles put up on the trajectories of the combat stations:** "Clouds" of obstacles (heavy balls) can be put up in the way of the combat stations. These "clouds" can have a relative velocity sufficient for putting the stations out of operation.

5. **False missile launchings** on which combat stations will spend the stocks of their fuel.

Passive countermeasures include camouflaging missile launchings in the laser-working optical range (all types of smoke screens), multi-layer missile casings and ablating coatings. Coatings with a high reflection factor at the working wavelength (including retro-reflectors) may also have a part to play as countermeasures against a number of types of lasers (operating in the visible and infrared spectrum).

The strategy of ICBM launching may also have a limiting effect. It can be used to make the other side to re-arm lasers randomly at the different ends of the hit area.

An effective network of the means of countermeasures can be set up within a very short time with the use of the already available technology. As indicated by Western sources, corresponding units and components are much better tested and more reliable than the elements and sub-systems to be used for SBAMS based on directed-energy weapons. Estimates show

that a system of the means of countermeasures may also be much cheaper than a large-scale SBAMS. The cost of a highly efficient countermeasures system (counter-SBAMS) with regard to that of SBAMS itself is most likely to make up 1 or 2 per cent. The same ratio is expected to persist even in building up the power of the SBAMS and the counter-SBAMS.

Vulnerability of SBAMS

The vulnerability of SBAMS adds to its destabilising nature. It increases the danger stemming from its deployment because it cannot be regarded as an effective means of defence against a massive first strike (as President Reagan and some of the high-ranking officials of the US Department of Defence promise), although it may create illusions about possible defence against the retaliatory strike, the retribution ("the second strike") in which, it is believed, it would be difficult to take countermeasures against SBAMS.

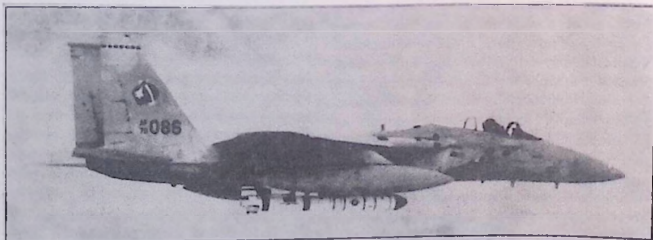
Consequently, SBAMS, even if it were ideal from scientific and technical points of view, is far from going to make a "revolution" in anti-missile defence, as is claimed by the Reagan administration, by enabling the USA to pass from the "strategy of deterrence based upon the threat of retaliation" to full protection from strategic offensive weapons.

Arguments in favour of the stabilising role of a large-scale anti-missile system might make sense only if the Reagan administration, simultaneously with taking

depend even more heavily on performing just the first strike—in order to protect oneself against the retaliatory strike by the victim of aggression with the aid of SBAMS. Besides that, there will be a greater incentive for delivering a pre-emptive strike while taking countermeasures against SBAMS.

We have reasons to regard the prospective US SBAMS as one of the means of ensuring the first-strike capability. The American side has refused to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. At the same time it keeps building up its armed forces to increase first-strike capability. The deployment of US medium-range missiles with nuclear warheads, first of all, Pershing II, in Europe is important in this policy. In the meantime, the Soviet side, taking into account the special significance of the effort to strengthen strategic stability in a time of heightened military and political tensions, made a unilateral obligation in July 1982 not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Under this obligation the effort to prevent a military conflict from growing into a nuclear one has come to figure even more prominently in the training of the Soviet Armed Forces. This implies more rigid framework for the training of troops and headquarters, the composition of the armed forces, and even tighter control to rule out an unauthorised use of nuclear weapons, both strategic and tactical ones.

In addition to what has been said about countermeasures against SBAMS (the counter-SBAMS forces), there is good rea-



US Airborne Anti-Satellite Interceptor System—F-15 fighter with SRAM-ALTAR missile. The missile is armed with a homing warhead designed to destroy space targets at altitudes of up to 1,000 km. Cost of program: 3.6 billion to 4.5 billion dollars.

a decision on its development, were to renounce the build-up and improvement of nuclear offensive forces. However, what is happening is just the opposite—nuclear strategic offensive and tactical weapons are being built and developed all along. As a result, the creation of an anti-missile system would only complicate to a large extent the task of deterrence. It will make this task even more uncertain because survival and limited damage in a nuclear war would come to

son to believe that in response to them there will appear weapons to counter such forces (the anti-counter-SBAMS system). One might also agree with those specialists who believe that while an anti-missile system is being created and deployed, the strategic offensive forces will be improving at a high pace their means of penetrating this defence. The creation of SBAMS may also heavily stimulate the build-up of strategic delivery systems and nuclear warheads, in particular, strategic cruise mis-

siles, including the sea and ground-based ones, the deployment of which is extremely difficult (if not impossible) to verify by national technical means.

A number of US publications justifiably regard SBAMS as a satellite-killer weapon as well. It should be pointed out that the deployment of SBAMS even on a limited scale would mean greater instability because the present-day military and political equilibrium largely depends on the control and monitoring systems using various types of near-earth artificial satellites.

SBAMS—Weapons of First Strike Capability

Moreover, US SBAMS in its versions now being discussed in circles close to the Reagan administration appears to be intended not only for knocking out the other side's satellites and strategic missiles after launch, but also as a weapon against ground targets, for performing the first strike. The reason is that SBAMS, being both accurate and powerful enough to destroy strategic offensive weapons in flight, in principle can also be used to hit some of their components on the ground, for example, planes deployed on airfields. Besides that, it has been reported in the US press that SBAMS could also hit other ground and sea targets, including command posts, communications and control networks, and the key economic facilities (oil refineries, power stations, etc.)

A modification of SBAMS with the use of missiles fitted out with concussion-type ammunition may well be used for strikes at ground targets from outer space. It is believed that such missiles could be aimed at targets with the aid of the "Navstar" satellite-based global positioning system. Its accuracy (CEP of 10 m) indicates that it is intended precisely for servicing the first-strike weapons.

The assertions coming from the Reagan administration that the new anti-missile defence systems spell salvation from nuclear missiles for mankind are perhaps the greatest ever deceptions of our time. The danger of the above-mentioned programmes is aggravated by the fact that they appeal to man's natural inborn desire to find a shield against the all-killing destructive power of nuclear weapons. Moreover, a number of Western experts claim that in keeping with the dialectics of war, the prevalence of the offensive typical of the past should now give way to the superiority of defence. Nuclear weapons, they maintain, which have dominated the scene for several decades, should with time recede into the background to make room for fundamentally new means of destruction, in this case, the directed-energy weapons.

However, this reference to the dialectics of the development of the means of warfare, which was, incidentally, best of all elucidated by the classics of Marxism

(e.g., F. Engels in his work "Anti-Dühring"), in the case of the anti-missile system simply ignores the core of the issue. Indeed, competition between the offensive and defensive means has been going on with varying success in the course of history. Yet, it should not be forgotten that parallel to that the general trend was towards increasing the destructive consequences of wars, in particular, for the civilians. World War I was a striking case in point. It was a classical example of the preponderance of defence which accounted for its largely positional style of hostilities. However they were accompanied by the hitherto unheard destruction in battlefield areas (the Marne, Verdun, Galitia, etc.).

In this respect nuclear arms occupy quite a special place as weapons specially made and firstly used by the United States for the mass destruction of civilians and material values. The prospect of the total annihilation of civilians and the devastation of large areas has always accompanied any attempts by Western strategists to invent some ways of using these weapons for carrying out more traditional combat missions by performing "limited" or "selective" strikes.

Further competition between the offence and defence, should the new US ABM programmes be carried out will in no way avert the inevitable destructive consequences of a probable war, not to say about ensuring "reliable protection" for the civilian population. It is more likely that it will be just the other way round: improvements in the offensive weapons aimed at penetrating defence will lead to a considerable increase of potential casualties in the event of war.

International Political Aspects of Creating SBAMS

In case the tests (let alone the deployment) of SBAMS gets under way, it will call into question the permanent USSR—USA Treaty on the limitation of the ABM systems signed in Moscow on 26 May 1972. Point 1 of Article V of the Treaty postulates that "neither side shall develop, test or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based" (emphasis added).

The ABM Treaty is of particular importance today for it remains the only ratified and active strategic arms limitation agreement.

The very discussion in the USA of programmes for the large-scale R & D and creation of SBAMS only adds tension to the international political situation, complicated as it is.

Even if Soviet-US relations improve in the foreseeable future so much that the US side will be politically prepared to conclude mutually acceptable and equitable agreements on the limitation and

reduction of strategic weapons, the existence of the tested and deployed components of SBAMS even on a limited scale may substantially complicate the progress of the talks and reduce the chances for a timely Soviet-US understanding.

If yet another (a qualitatively new) component is added to the strategic forces of one or both sides, this will complicate to a great extent and confuse the whole system of assessing the strategic balance, and create additional difficulties in assessing the correlation of forces of the partners in the talks. Furthermore, as it was in the case with strategic offensive arms, the development of SBAMS in both nuclear powers is to go along different lines, which will increase even more the asymmetry of their strategic forces and make them even more difficult to compare. Asymmetry may prove even more considerable if we take into account potential anti-SBAMS systems and counter-anti-SBAMS systems being deployed.

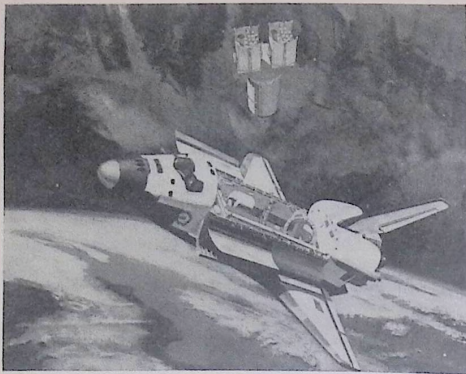
Ban Weapons in Outer Space

The emergence of SBAMS and anti-SBAMS systems will make it even more difficult to reach agreement on the limitation and reduction of the Soviet and US strategic forces and to make it understandable to the public at large which plays an increasingly important role in deciding the questions of war and peace.

Besides that, the deployment of US SBAMS will practically block Soviet-US cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space. Yet the potential value of this cooperation appears to be very considerable from the economic, scientific and technological points of view because the Soviet and US space programmes complement each other in many ways. Such co-operation would also be very significant both politically and psychologically in helping to improve the entire atmosphere of Soviet—US relations and ensure confidence between the peoples and the leaders of the two great powers.

The Soviet Union's attitude towards the problem under review has been expressed in its initiatives aimed at preventing the use of outer space as a springboard for developing strike weapons and removing all the military and political dangers and economic expenses connected with this tendency. In August 1981, the USSR proposed a Draft Treaty banning the placement of weapons of any type in outer space. In August 1983, this was followed by another Soviet Initiative-Draft Treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from space against the Earth.

A specific feature of the latter Draft is that it combines measures in terms of international law with those of a material nature. The first ones, on a reciprocal basis, ban certain actions of a military or



US Manned Space Shuttle puts a military NAVSTAR navigation satellite into orbit. Adapted for testing various types of weapons, detecting and destroying space targets, and carrying space-based attack weapons. Nearly 20 billion dollars have been spent on the programme.

hostile nature that might mean the start of hostilities in outer space and, most probably, would entail a rapid escalation of the armed conflict from the "space-to-space" combat operations to "earth-to-space", "space-to-earth", and in the long run, "earth-to-earth" strikes, including an all-out nuclear exchange. The Soviet Draft contains the mutual renunciation by both sides of the use of force from outer space against any space objects as well as from outer space against ground and air-borne targets. The Draft also specifies the notion of the use of force against space objects and closes all types of loopholes and byways for anti-satellite action and the use of various manned spacecraft for such purposes.

The measures of a material nature include the proposed steps to ban the development, tests and deployment of new weapons systems in outer space for attacking space-based, ground-based and air-based targets. It is also suggested that the already existing ASAT systems should be liquidated on a reciprocal basis. The Soviet Union also expressed its readiness to reach an agreement on the corresponding measures of inspection and verification of such a liquidation. Measures on the limitation of armaments and on disarmament would play a very important role in backing up and implementing legal agreements. In order to help to carry out such measures and promote the Soviet-US talks on this subject, the Soviet Union unilaterally pledged not to deploy new anti-satellite systems into outer space as long as the other side refrains from such action.

Preventing Arms Race in Space

The Soviet Union's proposal to sign a Treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from space against the Earth as well as its unilateral commitment were welcomed at the 38th session of the UN General Assembly. As a result of discussing the issue the Gen-

eral Assembly endorsed a draft resolution on the prevention of the arms race in outer space co-sponsored by the socialist and non-aligned countries. The resolution confirms the will of all countries to pursue the study and use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes. There was expressed grave concern over the danger to all mankind stemming from the prospects of the militarization of outer space and underlines the need to take steps to avert such a danger.

In practical terms, it was proposed that the Geneva Committee on Disarmament should consider the prevention of the arms race in outer space as a matter of top priority and set up a special working group on this issue at the start of its session in 1984. It was also proposed that the Committee should speed up consideration of the issue on the prevention of the arms race in outer space taking into account all the proposals on the issue including the consideration of the Draft Treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from space against the Earth submitted by the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the General Assembly, at the initiative of the socialist and non-aligned countries, also called on the UN Committee on the Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes to consider steps to prevent the militarization of outer space at one of its forthcoming meetings.

Those General Assembly resolutions were adopted by the vast majority of the UN member-states. Respectively, 147 and 124 countries voted for them. The United States and some of its allies were the only ones to vote against them.

SBAMS will Increase Danger of Nuclear War

Assessing the potential impact of a large-scale space-based anti-missile system on the strategic balance, it is fair to conclude with a very high degree of cer-

tainty that its creation will certainly increase the danger of the first (pre-emptive) strike and the probability of making wrong decisions in a crisis situation. That is why strategic stability will be diminished, although the two sides will retain a rough parity in their strategic armaments.

The deployment of strategic "defensive weapons" is certain to set off a chain reaction in making more modern weapons systems. It will make strategic balance more complex and increase the degree of uncertainty in the process of making military and political decisions. In view of the dialectical link between strategic offensive and defensive weapons, the question of creating the SBAMS would largely determine the possibility of reaching Soviet-US (and, as a long-term prospect, multilateral) agreements on the limitation and reduction of strategic offensive arms and taking measures on their restructuring to increase strategic stability. If the permanent ABM Treaty between the USSR and the USA were cancelled, that will in its turn reduce the chances of achieving mutually acceptable agreements on the limitation and reduction of strategic offensive arms in the foreseeable future.

The stabilizing situation created by the 1972 ABM Treaty can be considerably strengthened by agreements on non-deployment of any type of weapon in outer space, on prohibition of the use of military force both in outer space and from space against the Earth, as well as on the prohibition of anti-satellite weapons.

Such agreements would also be extremely important from the viewpoint of preserving outer space as mankind's common inheritance free from offensive weapons so that it should not become a battlefield, and no threat to those living on Earth should come from it. This understanding was demonstrated by the United Nations when the 38th session of its General Assembly adopted a resolution on the prevention of the arms race in outer space. The USA was the only country to vote against it.

As a whole, it should be pointed out that the very attempt to create a space-based anti-missile system will become a heavily destabilising factor in increasing the stimulus for the first pre-emptive strike and the growing danger of nuclear war. The programme of the intensive research development and deployment of such a system would become a heavy burden on the economy of the country embarking on the road of building this system. It would open yet another channel of a particularly intensive and unpredictable arms race without any guarantee of the country's reliable defence against a nuclear strike. In view of these circumstances, there is every reason to press for a speedy ban on creating the SBAMS through mutually acceptable and equitable agreements between the USA and the USSR.

Danger of Remilitarised Japan

USA's Advance Base in Asia for Nuclear War

ITO NARIHIKO

JAPAN TODAY is becoming a military power at a very rapid rate, as is clearly evident from the Japanese national budget.

The Japanese government has been attempting to cut back on expenditures on social measures, particularly since the Yasuhiro Nakasone government came to power in November 1982, while increasing military expenditures.

Within the total national budget, funds for social insurance and education have been the targets of especially severe trimming. In the 1981 budget, funds for social insurance were increased by 7.6 per cent and for education and science by 4.8 per cent over the allotments in the same categories the preceding year. The increase in 1982 over 1981, however, was only 2.8 per cent for social insurance and 2.6 per cent for education. In 1983, the increase in social insurance was a mere 0.6 per cent and the budget allotment for education actually fell by 0.9 per cent. The increases in 1984 were also quite small: 2 per cent in social insurance and just 1 per cent in education.

In contrast, the funds allocated for military expenditures over the same period rose consistently by six to seven per cent every year. The military budget is "sacred territory"; it enjoys special treatment within the overall national budget.

As the military budget grew, Japan's "Self Defence Forces" (SDF) managed to increase both the quantity and the quality of their arms and equipment. For example, Japan has more tactical fighter aircraft than the United States has on its bases in Japan, South Korea and the Philippines put together. The Japanese navy has as many ships as are in the US Seventh Fleet.

Of course, the allotments in the budget for the military, navy and air force do not provide us with a correct and complete understanding of the process of militarisation in Japan.

According to statistics published by the Japanese government, Japan ranks sixth among capitalist countries in total military

expenditure. However, the ratio of the size of the military budget to the size of Japan's GNP is the lowest.

Circumventing Peaceful Constitution of Japan

Why is it that Japan's relative military expenditures and military strength are lower than those of many other nations?

There are two major reasons. The first is that military preparedness is specifically prohibited by Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, which came into force on 3 May 1947. This article states: "War and the threat or use of force are forever renounced as a means of settling disputes with other nations. The maintenance of land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be authorised. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognised."

Despite the statement that "land sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be authorised", in 1952 the Liberal Democratic administration in Japan decided that this could be interpreted as not prohibiting self-defence. They established the Self-Defence Forces that year and have proceeded since then to build and strengthen them every year.

Local courts in Japan have repeatedly ruled that the Self-Defence Forces are unconstitutional, and the government has

long wanted to alter the Constitution to accord formal legal status to these military forces. However, there is strong criticism of and opposition to the idea of legalising the SDF among the people of Japan. So the government has been unable to effect a change in the Constitution.

The other reason for the relatively small size of Japan's military is that in fact the SDF function as a part of the overall structure of US strategy in the Far East and serve mainly to reinforce the US military presence in this part of the world. The Japanese Self-Defence Forces exist basically as an element of the United States forces in the Far East.

This becomes quite obvious when we look at the history of the SDF and consider that they were created in the first place in response to a strong US request at the time of the Korean War. From the start of the Cold War, just after World War II and up to the present, the United States has always considered Japan as its frontline base in its anti-Soviet strategy.

Japan served as a support base for US forces during the wars in Korea and Viet Nam. And as it was economically weakened in each of those wars, the US pressed Japan for economic and military "relief". The Japanese government always acceded to the US requests. Indeed, it has used them as a pretext for building up the Japan Self-Defence Forces. The ever-growing militarisation of Japan must, therefore, be seen as one of the elements in the total structure of the US Far East strategy.

Deployment of Cruise Missiles in Asia and Pacific

In this respect, there is a frightening new development which drastically advances the militarisation of Japan and threatens the lives and livelihoods of residents of the whole Asia-Pacific region. That is the deployment of Tomahawk cruise missiles in Asia and the Pacific.



Mass demonstration in November 1984 at a US base near Tokyo, against the deployment of US Cruise missiles—Tomahawk—in the region.

ITO NARIHIKO
Writer (Japan)

The United States began to deploy the Tomahawk missiles on ships in the Seventh Fleet in June 1984. By the year 1992, it has been announced, a total of 758 Tomahawks with nuclear warheads will have been placed in 148 vessels of different types—battleships, destroyers, cruisers and nuclear-powered submarines.

The ships on which these missiles are deployed cannot operate without supplies and information from land bases. Japan is now the site of naval bases (Sasebo and Yokosuka) and air bases (Okinawa, Iwakuni and Misawa), but these recent developments are serving to turn the nation of Japan as a whole into a base for nuclear war.

Shortly after becoming Prime Minister, Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone promised President Reagan that Japan would become an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" for the United States. In reality, Japan is becoming the advance base in Asia for nuclear war. This violates the three non-nuclear principles, a unanimous Japanese Diet (Parliament) decision of 1972, prohibiting the manufacture, possession or introduction in Japanese territory of nuclear weapons. Japan is also one of the targets of the Soviet Union's SS-20s. The country is in danger of again experiencing nuclear war itself.

Opposition to Nuclear Weapons in Japan

Realisation of this has sparked a popular movement in Japan opposing the introduction of nuclear weapons, and in particular the deployment of the Tomahawks. This is reflected in the decision of 293 metropolitan governments to declare their cities nuclear-free zones and demand that the national government honor the three non-nuclear principles. One-third of the Japanese population has voiced its support for the metropolitan nuclear-free zone declarations.

Limiting Citizens' Rights for Militarisation

What methods is Prime Minister Nakasone likely to use to continue the process of militarisation?

The first step will be to limit citizens' basic human rights and the autonomy of local regions—the very democracy protected by the Constitution—and to establish a system in which the demands of militarisation are given priority.

Because the Japanese constitution prohibits the maintaining of military forces, there are no provisions for martial law, protection of official secrets, or spying activities. Yet the government recently announced a plan to study what it called "contingency legislation", to be implemented should the country be plunged into war. What this really amounts to is martial law and the suspension of the Constitution.

When it created the "Self-Defence Forces", the Japanese government insisted that the Constitution did not deny the

right to self-defence for the sake of protecting the lives and livelihoods of the people. Now, however, they are studying this plan in which the "self-defence" forces would indeed be used to suppress the people's basic human rights and sacrifice their livelihoods.

Militarisation of Japan's Industry

A second step in the militarisation of Japan is the militarisation of the Japanese industry. At present, military industry in Japan accounts for only 0.4% of the nation's total industrial output. Yet militarisation is proceeding rapidly in the giant industries, in particular the electrical and heavy industries.

The largest military enterprise in Japan is Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, which monopolizes the production of tanks and fighters. Kawasaki Heavy Industries manufactures submarine-spotting planes. Electrical manufacturers such as Sony, Nihon Denki (National), and Toshiba, as well as Nissan of the automobile manufacturing industry, are beginning to make missiles.

What needs to be stressed here is that the majority of the big Japanese industries that have expanded into the Philippines and Southeast Asia are industries which are in the process of being militarised at home in Japan.

A third step is likely to be an effort to expand militarisation efforts beyond the realms of politics and economics to include education, culture and the mass media. One example of this was the 1982 censorship of history textbooks by the Japanese Ministry of Education, which was strongly criticised by the people of Korea, China and Southeast Asia. The Japanese government and industry wanted to erase from history the invasion, war and cruel acts committed by Japan in Asia. They attempted to make people forget this unhappy past.

Military Relationship in Far East and Pacific Region

What are the consequences of the growing militarisation of Japan for the peoples of the Asia-Pacific region?

First of all, it strengthens military relationships and aggravates military tension in the area. Since 1980 we have seen the establishment of the Chun Doo Hwan regime in South Korea, the Nakasone government in Japan and the Reagan administration in the United States. The military relationships among the three countries have been greatly strengthened. The objective of Chun Doo Hwan's visit to Japan and meeting with Emperor Hirohito in 1984 was to make the people of South Korea forget about Japan's past colonial control of their country and to reinforce the military relationship of Japan and South Korea.

Since 1978, between February and April of every year, joint US-South Korean mili-

tary exercises known as "Team Spirit" have been conducted, with Japan playing the role of an intermediate base for the US forces. These were followed, from May to July, by the ANZUS joint military exercises called "Rimpac" in the Pacific around Hawaii, in which Japan's "Self-Defence Forces" participated.

In 1985, the ANZUS exercises were given up as a result of New Zealand's decision not to allow US nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed ships in its waters.

The United States is now requesting Japan to "defend" one thousand miles of "sea lane" in the Far East. Joint US-Japan military exercises are already being constantly carried out in the waters around the Japanese archipelago, from the Japan Sea to the Pacific.

Northeast Asia and the Pacific are becoming highly militarised, and the role played in this by Japan's "Self-Defence Forces" has been increasing rapidly.

A second and very important effect of militarisation is the suppression of ethnic self-determination and autonomous development of the peoples of the Asia-Pacific region.

Following the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, the United States and Japan concluded the secret Taft-Katsura Agreement, in which they divided up control of Asia, with mutual recognition of Japanese control of the Korean peninsula and US control of the Philippines.

Later, however, Japan tried from 1930 to 1945 to establish monopolistic control of Asia and the Pacific under the name of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japan even fought a war with Britain and the United States, inflicting great harm and suffering on the peoples in the areas where the battles were fought.

US-Japan Alliance

Today, Japan and the United States have again joined forces. They act in concert to support and encourage military regimes and dictatorships in countries where they killed and injured so many people in the past—South Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia and other countries.

Sordid Bonds among USA-Japan-South-Korea-Philippines

Along with the militarisation of Japan and the nuclear arms expansion brought about by the deployment of the Tomahawks in the Far East, we are likely to see a growing collaboration among those in control in the United States, Japan, South Korea and the Philippines—military, economic and political collaboration—for the sake of protecting their respective interests.

In response to these sordid bonds, we, the people of Asia, must act and unite, to protect our lives and livelihoods, to preserve peace, and to prevent the danger of nuclear war.

40th Anniversary of United Nations

Its Successes and Failures, Dreams and Realities

On the United Nations Day (24 October) this year the world Organisation will observe its fortieth anniversary.

In this article, based on a study of the last three annual reports of Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, an overview is made of the activities of the United Nations, its successes and failures.

The Secretary General has put in focus the main challenge to the world Organisation—the trend towards erosion of confidence in multilateralism and the United Nations. This trend "must be reversed before once again we bring upon ourselves a global catastrophe and find ourselves without institutions effective enough to prevent it". Extracts from the study, prepared by the UN Department of Public Information, are published here.

FORTY YEARS ago, "We the peoples of the United Nations determined, among other things,

— **TO PRACTICE** tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours; and

— **TO UNITE** our strength to maintain international peace and security; and

— **TO ENSURE**, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest; and

— **TO EMPLOY** international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. . ."

These are among the first words of the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations which has now been accepted by 158 Member States.

Peace is the central vision that inspired the founding of the United Nations. But the founding nations did more than describe a vision. They established in the Charter the principles of international conduct and instrumentalities for the harmonization of national interests and the peaceful resolution of disputes that were intended to make the vision reality.

These principles, however, have been frequently transgressed over the years since 1945 and the instrumentalities, on occasion, ignored or misused. The result is that the value of the Organization and its ability to maintain peace through multilateral means are at times called into question, while it is forgotten that the United Nations is not a super-State, but an instrument whose full effectiveness depends on the political will of the Governments of which it is composed.

Obviously, a world of 158 sovereign States is one in which a diversity of perceptions and a clash of national policies is inevitable. However, to the degree in

which these elements of difference or collision can lead to armed conflict, it is vital to make all Governments realize that today, no State may expand at the expense of another and that war is now only a way to mutual destruction.

Today, when no corner of the earth is hidden from the eye of the satellite, science and the demands of human solidarity have brought us to the stage when the world must be seen as a single whole. The divisions between East and West, North and South are, of course, facts of international life, but they cannot eclipse

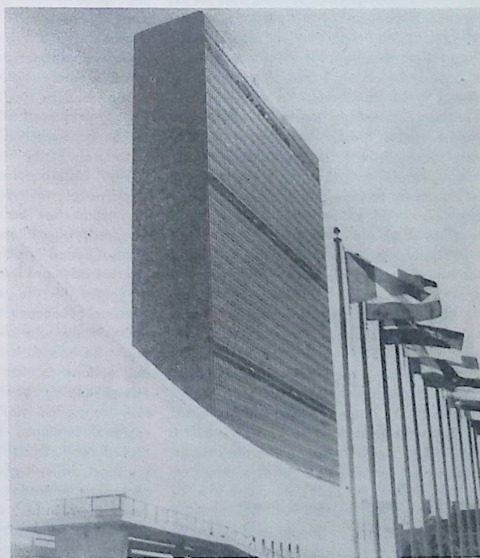
the foremost lesson of history and the first commandment of contemporary political life: nations must learn to live in peace with one another, if they are to live well at all.

The seriousness of present problems should not be allowed to conceal the fact that, on not a few occasions, the hostile blasts have begun to blow more softly, thanks to the existence and influence of the United Nations.

Moreover, the progress made over the past 40 years in the agreed definition of human rights and legitimate human expectations, in the attainment of independence from colonialism, and in health and education justify belief that the purposes defined in the Charter of the United Nations, if pursued with commitment, can lead to real progress.

The Situation Today

The noble vision of a world free from war, injustices and deprivation that was first conceived in San Francisco unfortu-



United Nations
building
in New York

nately remains an unattained objective for the international community. In his first report to the United Nations General Assembly (September 1982), the new Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, stated that "the UN has been unable to play as effective and decisive a role as the Charter certainly envisaged for it". As he elaborated in his latest report to the General Assembly (September 1984): "Unfortunately the history of post-war international relations has so far shown that the common interest in peace and security has tended to assert itself only when things have reached a dangerously critical stage. Until that stage short-term national interest and opportunism tend to override the common interest. We are still very far from general acceptance of the principles of the Charter as rules to be lived by at all times by all Governments in their international relations."

Role of Multilateralism

More than ever, the world's political, economic and social problems are increasingly resistant to solely national solutions. For example, over the past year, as the Secretary General says in his latest annual report, "super-Power tension has been accentuated by a lack of progress in disarmament and arms control which has heightened fears of nuclear confrontation; of violence or threatened violence in several parts of the world; of continued economic difficulties in spite of a recovery in certain developed countries and a deterioration in the situation in many developing countries; of drought and famine in several regions; and of a tendency to side-step major problems in a way which is likely in the long run to increase frustration and bitterness. Virtually nothing that has happened has shown that these problems can be solved effectively by purely bilateral or unilateral efforts." He continues, "Why has there been a retreat from internationalism and multilateralism at a time when actual developments both in relation to world peace and to the world economy would seem to demand their strengthening? We need to consider this question carefully if we are to make our institutions work better. It is paradoxical that while contemporary realities have strengthened the need for the use of multilateral means for dealing with our problems and enlarged the scope for growth and development through multilateralism, there is an increasing questioning of the rules, instruments and modalities of multilateral co-operation. There is also, on occasion, an apparent reluctance to make the effort required to use international organizations effectively."

Arms Race and the Nuclear Threat

The unceasing accumulation of arms, both nuclear and conventional, has added

a new urgency to the search for a system to relieve the insecurity of nations. In an age when mankind is living under the deepening shadow of the nuclear arms race, we need, more than ever, to use the machinery for peace proffered by the United Nations under its Charter.

To achieve progress in the limitation and reduction of arms, "it is essential to utilize the full potential of multilateral and bilateral negotiations, both to improve mutual understanding of the reasoning behind military postures and negotiating positions and to reach substantive, balanced arms regulation and disarmament agreements... To approach nuclear disarmament exclusively as a factor in the relations of the nuclear Powers and their allies is to do injustice to the broad and grave responsibility that the possession of nuclear weapons carries with it... It is especially valuable in times of tension that a multilateral structure is available within which nations, despite their differences, can come together for dialogue and serious negotiations, whether in the General Assembly, the Security Council or the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. In fact, the possibility exists in that Conference for nuclear and non-nuclear countries to work together towards agreement on such vital subjects as measures to avoid nuclear war, the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, the prevention of an arms race in outer space, and the complete prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons." (Secretary General's 1984 report)

UN Accomplishments

In looking back over the years since the Second World War, the Secretary General points out in his 1984 annual report, it would be a grave mistake to underestimate, or simply take for granted, what has been achieved and what is now being done by the United Nations system. During a period of revolutionary change it has accomplished a great deal for the betterment of the human condition.

The United Nations has played a decisive role in the process of decolonization which has brought independence to hundreds of millions of people. The Security Council has throughout its existence considered many of the difficult problems of conflict in the world and on a large number of occasions has come up with a basic formula on which their solution might be based. It has also taken numerous actions to limit and control conflict. Peace-keeping operations have successfully controlled violence in a number of regional conflicts, whose escalation into global conflict has been avoided. Even on the most difficult question of disarmament and arms limitation a number of agreements have, in fact, been reached.

The United Nations Development Programme, together with the specialized

agencies, has come to represent a vital source of economic and technical assistance for developing countries. The United Nations Children's Fund has brought life and hope to millions of children and mothers and is the leading influence in furthering technological and communication advances that can bring a virtual survival revolution for children in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The specialized agencies have, in their various fields of activity, made major contributions to the alleviation of global problems.

The United Nations has provided authoritative definitions of the fundamental rights and freedoms which all human beings should enjoy. It is responsible for the development of the Convention on the Law of the Sea which provides a broadly accepted new régime for the oceans.

In the past 40 years more has been done by the United Nations in codifying international law than in all the previous years of history together.

Millions of refugees have gained protection and assistance through United Nations instruments and agencies; international humanitarian activity and concern have been mobilized on an unprecedented scale; guidelines have been established to deal with many of the most critical problems of our time, and the Governments and peoples of the world have been sensitized to their importance through the great international conferences and programmes which the United Nations has sponsored, the most recent of which was the International Conference on Population held in August 1984.

Enhancing UN's Effectiveness

Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar has devoted considerable attention to what he calls the erosion of confidence in multilateralism, and more specifically to the "central problem of the Organization's capacity to keep the peace and serve as a forum for negotiations." (Secretary General's 1982 report)

In his latest report, he warns against excessively confrontational tendencies: "What needs to be studied in the light of experience is whether present practices in the United Nations are in all instances best suited to promote concrete and just solutions and strengthen confidence in an Organization the essence of which is its universality. If confrontations in the deliberative organs are carried too far, either by one side or the other, they destroy the possibility of a consensus which could form the basis for practical action. I am totally in sympathy with the pursuit of just aspirations, however great the difficulties. But for the good of all, as well as of the United Nations itself, we should assess very carefully the most effective and correct method of using the Organization."

He also addresses the charge of "politicization" of issues: "We should beware of blurring the separate and specific functions of the main organs and specialized agencies by treating them as interchangeable platforms for pursuing the same political aims. Issues must be dealt with primarily on their own merits and in their own context. Otherwise the fever of one or two issues can pervade the entire political body of the United Nations."

Similarly, the Secretary General urges that rhetoric is no substitute for the conscientious implementation of resolutions by all Member States.

It is the need to strengthen the Security Council and the Charter system of international peace and security—or, in fact, to make effective use of existing machinery—that has most concerned the Secretary General, since he took up office in January 1982. This is because, as he said in his first annual report that year, "it seems to me that our most urgent goal is to reconstruct the Charter concept of collective action for peace and security so as to render the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary function. It was the lack of an effective system of collective security through the League of Nations that, among other factors, led to the Second World War. Although we now face a vastly changed world situation, Governments in fact need more than ever a workable system of collective security in which they can have real confidence. Without such a system, Governments will feel it necessary to arm themselves beyond their means for their own security, thereby increasing the general insecurity. Without such a system, the world community will remain powerless to deal with military adventures which threaten the very fabric of international peace, and the danger of the widening and escalation of local conflicts will be correspondingly greater."

In that report, the Secretary General made a number of specific suggestions for enhancing the Security Council's effectiveness, inter alia:

—He called for more timely action by the Council. Disputes should not be left to the last minute for an attempt at solution. Rather, the Council should try to "keep a watch" on dangerous situations, to help the parties reach agreement before the actual outbreak of violence. Moreover, the Council should act on its own initiative and not necessarily await a request from a party to a dispute.

—He proposed that the Council devise better means of dealing with potential conflict situations by the swift dispatch of good offices missions, military or civilian observers or a UN presence. In addition, he urged that Council members should more conscientiously and consistently follow up their resolutions and try to ensure their implementation.

—With regard to UN peace-keeping



Logo of United Nations World Disarmament Campaign—1985

operations, he recommended that ways be studied to strengthen them and to underpin their authority, perhaps by guarantees for supportive action by Member States.

Economic and Social Co-operation

The Secretary General's concern with the current challenge to multilateralism extends equally to the economic and social spheres.

Some UN activities in these fields are self-evident: "The support provided by the United Nations system for development, excluding the World Bank, now amounts to over \$2 billion a year. High priority is given to the low-income countries with particular attention to the problems of the poorest of the poor. In a period of restricted resources, continuous efforts are being made to ensure more effective operational cooperation within the United Nations system."

Other activities are in less tangible forms, "for example, the extent to which the United Nations has succeeded in raising global consciousness on key issues, the critical situation in Africa being a case in point, or in shaping the framework of international debates on major problems".

Doubts and criticism expressed about United Nations endeavours for development and economic co-operation need to be faced, the Secretary General continues in his 1984 report. "One of these, for example, relates to the complex issue of the relative roles accorded in United Nations discussions to Governments and to the private sector."

As for the charge of politicization of economic issues, it must be realized that in the present world few issues can be regarded as completely unpolitical. More-

over, "many Governments feel that only when economic issues are politicized will they attract the attention of the highest level of decision makers. And many economic issues are so complex that only decisions at the highest levels can make any significant impact on the current situation."

Human Rights

The criticism the United Nations sometimes encounters in the area of human rights should be welcomed, the Secretary General states, "in the hope that it will spur everyone, including the critics, on to a more serious assessment of the importance—and the difficulty—of reducing injustice in an unjust world, of promoting development in a world divided between rich and poor, and of instilling the virtues of mercy and compassion into people many of whom are fighting—or believe they are fighting—for their lives". He also reminds observers that perceptions are not uniform: "One person's freedom fighter is another person's terrorist; one's champion of human rights is another's subversive; one's plaintiff is another's criminal. The reality is that many are dispossessed, many confined, many tortured and many starve. This is the world we have to deal with."

New Areas of UN Action

Multilateral action through the UN is indispensable to relieve the plight of the most vulnerable groups in the weakest developing countries, especially in the face of unprecedented or unexpected difficulties. But better means of alleviating and preventing crises have to be developed. As the Secretary General stresses in his latest report, the United Nations must improve its capacity to provide humanitarian assistance quickly.

He proposes the establishment of an early warning system, whereby the heads of the UN agencies and field offices would alert him of any situation that could give rise to a major humanitarian crisis. Such an initiative is vital, since "it is a fundamental responsibility of the international community to come to the aid of its least fortunate and most afflicted members".

Another major and growing international anxiety is the problem of narcotic drugs, not least because of its appalling effect on societies and on the future of young people. "It has become more and more evident that international and multilateral efforts provide the best hope for arresting and reducing the traffic in and use of drugs."

Finally, the Secretary General urges in his latest report that the international community confront the steady increase in various forms of politically motivated violence. He mentions such acts as hijacking, kidnapping, car-bombing and assassination. "Our society is in some sectors

becoming an armed camp. Order, civility and even public life are under serious threat in many parts of the world. As usual, the toll of innocent victims is appalling. It is not enough to deplore or condemn or try to control such acts of violence. Attention has also to be focused on ways of dealing with the root causes of these phenomena."

Need for United Nations

In his first report in 1982, Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar concluded that the trend towards erosion of confidence in multilateralism, and specifically in the United Nations, "must be reversed before once again we bring upon ourselves a global catastrophe and find ourselves without institutions effective enough to prevent it".

In September 1984, after nearly three years as Secretary General, he affirmed that he was more convinced than ever of the need to preserve and strengthen the UN as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations. He emphasized that the Organization provided an indispensable forum for multilateral co-operation in the fields of peace and security, disarmament, human rights, global economic progress and operational activities for development. He urged new endeavours by the United Nations to foresee and prevent future humanitarian crises, to deal with the growing problem of narcotic drugs, and to confront the steady increase in politically motivated violence.

These objectives can only be accomplished by the international community, the Secretary General points out, if Governments strike a constructive balance between national and international interests. He concludes, by repeating his call for a multilateral and rational approach to the problems of international peace and development. "I believe that this is what the peoples of the United Nations really desire in spite of all the difficulties and irritations encountered by Governments in trying to make a multilateral system work. It is widely understood that without such a system we shall run unacceptable risks and that it is therefore irresponsible to weaken the multilateral approach. Without the safety net which the multilateral organization provides, the world would certainly be a much more dangerous and disorderly place.

"In the United Nations we have now had nearly 40 years of experience, 40 years of change, and, for all the conflict of our time, 40 years without a global war. Let us look back at the road we have travelled, distill the experience and set out again refreshed and with a new determination. The purposes for which the United Nations was set up are essential for the future of our planet. The vision expressed in the Charter remains, and we should rally to it."

PEACE MOVEMENT OF THE EIGHTIES

Malicious Invention for Equal Responsibility for Arms Race

YURI ZHUKOV

THE WEST is assiduously playing up a false thesis, circulated by those specialising in deception, that the USA and the USSR bear "equal responsibility" for the arms race and for the existing threat of outbreak of nuclear war. This malicious invention is being used by those who wish to weaken the anti-war movement, strip it of its purposefulness and, if partly, to turn it against the socialist countries.

It is already impossible to try and fully exonerate the US administration, which not only does not conceal its intentions to achieve military superiority and exploit it for implementing its aggressive plans, but is openly publicising them. An ingenious trick is resorted to: yes, they whisper to participants in the anti-war movement, the United States does carry on the arms race, and this is to be regretted, but the Soviet Union too is stockpiling weapons. It follows then that both "superpowers" are to blame.

My occasional meetings with representatives of the West's anti-war groups have shown to me that the trick acts on those who, constantly exposed to anti-Soviet propaganda, have no access to objective information. That is why it is necessary all the time to give the lie to this utterly false thesis about the "equal responsibility" of the USSR and the USA for the arms race.

Let us recall the way events developed at and after the end of the Second World War.

Even before the United States developed and tested the atom bomb, the US administration was nurturing plans whose implementation it believed would ensure for the USA monopoly possession of this weapon of mass destruction.

In June 1945, in Chicago the so-called

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Committee on Social and Political Consequences declared over-confidently and, I would say, arrogantly that the development of atomic energy in other countries (emphasis added) must be terminated at the very beginning or, if allowed, must be put under the control of an international organisation in which the United States would have a permanent majority.

Soviet Proposal to Ban Atomic Weapons

When the world learned of the horrendous tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the peoples resolutely demanded that atomic weapons be banned and abolished. As soon as the UN General Assembly convened for its 1st session early in 1946, it set up a commission on atomic energy which was to solve the problem. On April 19 of that year the Soviet Union tabled the draft of an international convention on the prohibition of manufacture and use of atomic weapons and on the destruction of stockpiles of their ready and unfinished quantities.

Who prevented that? The United States. Why? Simply because Washington decided that its monopoly on the production of the atom bomb would last for ever and that the USA would be able thus to keep the whole world in fear and subjugation. What was left for the USSR to do? Only one thing: for self-preservation purposes and in the interests of world peace it was compelled to develop its own nuclear weapons in the late 1940s.

So can one speak of the equal responsibility of the USSR and the USA for the development of this weapon of mass annihilation?

Let us proceed further. In the early 1950s the United States established in Western Europe a so-called forward-based system—by deploying there bombers capable of reaching our territory with nuclear

weapons aboard. But that seemed too little to the US generals. Then they launched a false campaign about the USA "lagging" behind the USSR in bombers. The Pentagon gave the Congress a scare, and made it allocate money for the construction of a whole fleet of intercontinental strategic aircraft capable of attacking the USSR with nuclear weapons. Later, however, it was announced cynically that the Pentagon had made an "error", the number of Soviet bombers had been overstated by three to four times. As for the Soviet intercontinental bombers, they were developed only at the end of the 1950s, in response to the development of American ones. So can one speak of the equal responsibility of the USSR and the USA for the development of strategic aviation?

Early in the 1960s Washington raised another hysterical ballyhoo: it announced that the USA was "lagging" behind the USSR in the deployment of ground-launched intercontinental ballistic missiles. After the brouhaha, which helped to secure means for the manufacture and deployment of more than a thousand (!) such missiles, it was calmly declared that the Pentagon had "erred" again, overstating the Soviet "missile threat" by 15 to 20 times. No less and no more! Of course, later on the USSR took the necessary measures in order to ensure its security and to achieve parity in missile armaments—there was no other way left for it.

So can one speak of the equal responsibility of the USSR and the USA for the nuclear missile arms race launched by the Pentagon as early as the late 1950s?

Yet even there the Pentagon did not stop. It prepared ever new spirals of the arms race in the hope that US scientists and engineers would at last develop military equipment beyond the imagination of the Soviets and then supremacy would remain with the USA.

In the middle of the 1950s, the USA built its first nuclear submarine called *Nautilus* and in 1960 it had three nuclear missile submarines that carried 48 nuclear warheads. The USSR at the time had no atomic submarine of that type.

Could the USSR remain indifferent to the growing threat to its security? Of course, not. In 1967, it acquired its first two nuclear missile submarines carrying 32 warheads.

So can one speak of the equal responsibility of the USSR and the USA for the development of the nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarine fleet?

In the middle 1970s the USSR proposed at the UN that an agreement be concluded to ban the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons. In February 1976, at the 25th CPSU Congress it was proposed to prohibit new and more destructive systems, including new submarines of the Trident

type in the USA and similar submarines in the USSR.

Who opposed that? Again the USA. Why? Because its generals and industrialists did not expect that our industry would be able to develop anything like Tridents. But the year 1981 arrived and the CPSU Central Committee in its report to the 26th Party Congress said: "At one time we offered to ban the development of the naval Trident missile system in the United States and of a corresponding system in our country. The proposal was not accepted. As a result, the United States has built the new Ohio submarine armed with Trident-1 missiles, while an analogous system, the Typhoon, was built in our country. So, who has stood to gain?"

At the same 26th CPSU Congress it was proposed to "come to terms on limiting the deployment of new missile submarines of the Ohio type by the USA and similar ones by the USSR." How did the USA reply? It refused. What has been the result? The USA has five Ohio-type submarines in operation and six more under construction.

USSR Forced to Seek Parity

Naturally enough, in such conditions the USSR is forced to see to the maintenance of parity in nuclear armaments and although the number of nuclear warheads on the ballistic missiles installed in US submarines exceeds that on Soviet ones by two and a half times, there is rough parity between the USSR and the USA in strategic nuclear weapons on the "whole, taking into account other kinds of strategic weapons.

I have cited only a few examples. Their list could easily be extended but the substance of the matter would remain the same—the USA was constantly developing new kinds of armaments, and the USSR had to meet the challenge, since Washington does not wish to pause in this mad race. The same was the case with the development of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles, the development of long-range Cruise missiles and a number of other kinds of armaments.

Now, contrary to the USSR's persistent calls to prevent the militarisation of space, the US administration is stubbornly avoiding negotiations on this question, too, with its military research institutes and aerospace industry feverishly developing new strike weapons systems for conducting war in space and from space with respect to the Earth.

So how can one speak after all that of the "equal responsibility" of the USSR and the USA for the arms race? How can the Soviet Union be called upon to disarm, unilaterally, something which is being done by some Western leaders who tell us that in that event the men from Washington would feel ashamed and halt the arms race? How can one state that Soviet dec-

larations about its renunciation of a first strike are not enough—let it renounce also a second strike, that is, a retaliatory one?

But, imagine, there are such people, who do make these statements, though it must be clear to everyone that in the event of an aggressor using nuclear weapons formidable retribution must await him—an all-crushing counter-strike. Renunciation of that would be tantamount to suicide.

Phased Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

Limitation, phased reduction and then total abolition of weapons of mass destruction are conceivable only with the strictest observance of the principle of equality and undiminished security, which was recorded in the Soviet-US agreements of 1972–1973, but is now brushed aside by the US administration. On 5 September 1984, President Reagan, addressing a congress of the most reactionary organisation American Legion, declared that this object of concern was creating a margin of safety, that is, a preponderance in armaments.

The answer to the question of who bears responsibility for the arms race is absolutely clear—this responsibility devolves fully and entirely on the United States. He who genuinely wants to combat that race, must draw appropriate conclusions from this fact.

This is understood by thinking people in the USA who take a responsible attitude to the destiny of their country. Here is, for example, what was said in 1981 by a prominent US public personality, former ambassador to the USSR, George Kennan, who, incidentally, cannot in any way be suspected of "pro-Soviet" positions: "Let us not delude ourselves by putting all the blame on the USSR. It is the Americans who at every step were the first to develop nuclear weapons, to produce and test them, to raise their destructive force to a new level by creating the hydrogen bomb. It is the Americans who reject any proposal to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons and who used this weapon against tens of thousands of helpless civilians."

But the malicious invention about the "equal responsibility" of the USA and the USSR is again and again resorted to by those who would like to disorient world public opinion and the anti-war movement and to direct them against the Soviet Union.

It is all the more important therefore to tirelessly oppose this false manoeuvre with real data on the actual stand of our great socialist power which was clearly formulated by Konstantin Chernenko: "The curbing of the nuclear arms race is, of course, of key importance for peace and the security of the nations. The Soviet stand here is clear. We are against rivalry in building up nuclear arsenals. We were and are in favour of the banning and destruction of all kinds of these weapons."



Bhopal Poison Gas Disaster

Was US Multinational- Union Carbide- Doing Biological Warfare Research for Pentagon?

The leakage of poison gas from the United States multinational Union Carbide Corporation's plant in Bhopal, India, on 3 December 1984, killing over 2,500 people and injuring over 200,000 others, has caused repercussions all over the world.

The initial reaction to the leakage was to call it the worst industrial disaster in history. But was it merely an industrial accident? This question has been asked in scientific circles in India with the disaster itself being called a "mini-Hiroshima", because of the possible genetic effects of gas poisoning on the victims, a genocide and a holocaust.

Indian scientists have pointedly raised the question: "Was the United States multinational, Union Carbide Corporation (UCC), doing secret biological/chemical warfare research for the Pentagon in its Bhopal plant?"

It has been noted that soon after the Bhopal disaster, several foreign "experts" from Western countries, known to be associated with defence research laboratories there, arrived in Bhopal and started collecting detailed information on the effects of the poison gases from the UCC's Bhopal plant on the victims, men, women and children. Indian scientists believe that these foreign "experts" were making studies as part of the chemical warfare data-gathering for their laboratories in Western countries.

Even several months after the Bhopal disaster, Union Carbide Corporation has not come out with any explanation of actually

how and why it happened. Leading medical scientists of Bhopal have accused the UCC of withholding vital information which would enable doctors in the stricken city to deal effectively with the after- and side-effects of the gas poisoning on the large number of victims.

On 20 February 1985, the Government of India promulgated an ordinance empowering itself to file a suit against Union Carbide in a US court of law on behalf of the victims of the Bhopal disaster. The Bhopal Gas Leakage Disaster (Processing of Claims) Ordinance would ensure that the claims of the victims of the disaster were dealt with speedily and effectively. It would also aim at ensuring that the disbursement of such claims is made equitably.

It will save the victims from the greed of US lawyers, who descended on Bhopal like vultures—they were called "ambulance lawyers"—to earn huge profits for themselves from the compensation the courts might award to the victims. It is well known that under US legal procedures the lawyers pocket most of the compensation as their fees and charges.

We are publishing here extracts from a Report made by a study team of the Society for Delhi Science Forum (DSF) in India entitled "Bhopal Gas Tragedy" relating to the possible secret R & D carried on by Union Carbide in Bhopal, on behalf of the Pentagon.

THE DISASTER in Bhopal has been universally recognised as the worst ever industrial accident. Thousands of human beings have lost their lives. Countless others continue to be seriously affected. Vast numbers have been permanently disabled. The long-term effects and possible genetic damage have yet to be estimated.

The DSF has discovered sufficient evidence to show that there has been gross negligence both on the part of the Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) management, and that of its subsidiary in India, Union Carbide India Ltd. (UCIL) in those critical areas which related to processing and handling of the hazardous methyl isocyanate (MIC), phosgene and other toxic substances. The plant's maintenance was astonishingly deficient. Worse, many crucial safety functions were inoperative, some for "economy" reasons. Such "economy measures" were also responsible for a manning policy which depleted the plant's experienced and trained personnel,

overloaded plant staff and led to stationing of untrained personnel in critical areas of the plant.

The accident has also exposed the utter inadequacy of the safety equipment, even had it been in working order. The entire plant was utterly underdesigned with respect to standby systems, control and monitoring facilities, safety barriers, etc. Computerised monitoring and control systems had not been provided in the Bhopal plant as has been done in the US parent plant. There is sufficient evidence to show that the entire technology package transferred to India in Bhopal is obsolescent. (It has been noted in Indian circles that all this involved an element of racism on the part of the US multinational).

Pollution Havens in Third World

Our investigations have thus convincingly brought home once again, in extremely tragic form, the truth that multi-

national corporations operating in Third World countries pay scant attention even to technological imperatives for ensuring human safety in contrast to the measures they adopt in Europe and the USA. The Bhopal accident starkly exemplifies the inherent tragedy of the logic of pursuing maximum profits at minimum costs, more so in Third World countries whose populations are considered expendable by the TNCs.

Dubious Research

In the course of investigations made by the DSF team, certain intriguing aspects of the R & D setup of Union Carbide at Bhopal have come to light. This R & D effort relates to carbamate-based pesticides, a pilot plant and field trials in experimental farm plots.

Recently, the UCIL's R & D representatives had entered into a collaboration agreement with the UCC (USA) to con-

duct experiments to synthesise new molecules, test them on tropical pests at Bhopal and supply the research data to the parent company for an annual fee of US \$ 300,000. The research is aimed at the development of pesticides suitable for tropical conditions. The research facilities, reputed to be among the best in the world, include three green-houses and five insect-rearing laboratories. It must be noted that this R & D covers the grey area between peaceful application and biological warfare.

The ambitious expansion in R & D has been continuing at the cost of flouting even the minimum safety requirements. This naturally raises doubts about the real purpose of the R & D programmes.

Parallel in Chemical Warfare

The tragedy in Bhopal has a parallel only in the use of poisonous gases in chemical warfare. Phosgene, small amounts of which were present in the nearly 45 tons of MIC which got released into the atmosphere of Bhopal and neighbouring areas, was in fact used in World Wars I and II.

Given the nature of these gases and due to the fact that a substantial section of the population was also exposed to them in non-lethal doses, the effects of which could manifest themselves over long periods of time, it makes it difficult to arrive at definite estimates of the casualties.

The DSF team would at this stage make a conservative estimate of nearly 5,000 deaths, although estimates quoted in Bhopal vary from 2,000 (quasi-official estimate) to 10,000. Many of the medical teams engaged in relief operations (for instance, from Gandhi Medical College, Bhopal) tend to agree with our estimate.

The total number of people severely affected could be put at around 20,000 (excluding delayed-effects cases). Considering the immediate impact zone of the accident, the total number of people requiring serious medical attention and follow-up can undoubtedly be placed at around 50,000. The total population of the area immediately affected by the gas spread is about 250,000, while nearly 150,000 live in areas over which the gas settled in high concentration.

Medium and Long-term Effects

Cyanides have been found in the blood and viscera of those who fell victim to the gas. Reasons for the formation of cyanide in the blood stream are yet unknown although it is speculated that some of the reactions of MIC with blood haemoglobins would have led to this. Due to the guidelines issued to investigating scientists emphasising tests for MIC-related compounds, very little is known of the effects due to phosgene poisoning. The team is of the opinion that both MIC and phosgene were present in the gas clouds that

had spread over a large, densely populated area: traces of phosgene are always present in the MIC tank since it is used as inhibitor.

The study team, after consultations with various scientists and medical experts, is convinced of the need to look for the effects that a mixture of large amounts of MIC and very small amounts of phosgene could have, as most certainly is the case in the Bhopal tragedy. The team shares the apprehensions of a number of medical workers who fear a large-scale outbreak of delayed effects and secondary infections as well as relapses.

Secondary effects: All this would imply a delayed outbreak of bronchial diseases, infectious pneumonia, TB, and various forms of allergic conditions. The health of pregnant women and infants is still an open question, as are possible genetic effects. The very fact that MIC would give an endless variety of products on reaction with other organic molecules under various conditions that exist in the living organism would tend to confirm these fears.

Poor Equipment, Restricted Information

Lack of sophisticated equipment and instrumentation severely impedes the investigation. Another major handicap for the scientist members of the team—constituted by Government as well as those working independently on their own—is the lack of up-to-date scientific literature on various aspects. In the face of such difficulties, scientists have found it nearly impossible to evolve methods, for instance, on non-destructive testing of phosgene. Much of the results of the findings in these areas are also quite likely to have never been published, given the enormous significance such data has for chemical



"US multinational Union Carbide's R & D effort in its Bhopal plant covered the grey area between its peaceful application and use in biological warfare."

warfare. Such information is of immediate importance in dealing with the fall out of the present tragedy. The world at large must know all aspects of poisoning due to such toxic gases.

Foreign experts, who are known to be associated with foreign defence research laboratories, are collecting detailed information on the effects of gas poisoning on men, women and children in Bhopal. Concern has quite rightly been voiced, at least, in some sections of the press in Bhopal, over their implication. Such studies, meant for chemical warfare data-gathering, must be immediately stopped.

Research and Development in Bhopal

In the course of investigations made by DSF, we also come across an intriguing aspect of an UCIL R & D set up in which the company has continued to expand investment despite the losses in the plant and when the management had been taking measures like neglecting preventive maintenance, effecting retrenchment, giving incentives for voluntary retirement and imposing a new manning policy. So much was the rationalisation in the investment in plant that the economy measures began telling on the safety and maintenance and repairs.

On the other hand, there was increasing investment in R & D.

The increase in investment in R & D at the Bhopal unit has included recruitment of additional highly trained manpower and setting up of new pilot plants and facilities like IR. Spectrophotometers, NMR Spectrometer LPLC (2 Nos), etc. During the last three years the company has recruited 8 Ph.Ds, 13 M.Sc.s, 6 Graduates and 3 undergraduates in the R & D laboratories attached to the Bhopal plant.

The research at UCIL R & D Centre is aimed at development of pesticides suitable for tropical conditions and the facilities, reputed to be among the best in the world, include three green houses having approximately 2,700 sq.ft. total area and having controlled temperature, humidity and lighting conditions; 5 insect rearing laboratories wherein major rice insect pests are reared, and an experimental farm of 2 hectares, where experiments to determine residues on tobacco, chilli, cotton, potato, pulses, onion, etc. are in progress.

A major R & D project completed at the UCIL R & D Centre is the perfection of mass multiplication and screening techniques for major rice insects such as gall-midge, stemborer, brown plant hopper and green leaf hopper.

The R & D Centre is engaged in a big way in studying metabolism and residue of pesticide chemicals (received from the parent company) in soil, water and crops. About 150 new pesticidal molecules have been screened against rice pests during the last six years. For the field experiments

the Centre has entered into collaboration with the Indian agricultural universities. The Centre is receiving on a regular basis new pesticidal molecules from the parent company for which residue analysis and bio-efficacy studies are being conducted through some Indian agricultural universities and institutes.

After conducting field studies and various laboratory experiments, the Centre is sending the data to the parent company in the United States. The UCC R & D laboratories in Bhopal have even exported process design and manufacturing technology for TEMIK and SEVIN and their formulations involving know-how for production of lethal compounds, like MIC and phosgene, respectively to France and Indonesia.

R & D Covers Grey Areas

Now, this extensive co-operation in R & D, with the parent firm, has even been formalized. Recently, the UCIL R & D laboratories entered into a collaboration agreement with the UCC (USA) to conduct experiments to synthesise new molecules, test them on tropical pests in Bhopal and supply the research data for an annual fee of US \$300,000. It appears that the UCIL has been conducting field studies using new chemical agents without getting the projects cleared from the high level Indian screening committee. The top level committee was set up in 1975 for screening from the security angle, all the research projects under collaboration, including the Bombay Natural History Society's collaboration with the John Hopkins University to experiment on migratory patterns of birds and genetic control of mosquitoes.

The UCC is conducting also biological research related to identification and collection of germplasm for the rice varieties in the strategic area of the northeastern region of India.

Need for Full Probe

It must be noted that this R & D effort covers the grey area between peaceful application and biological warfare. The UCC has been claiming income tax exemption for this in-house R & D work. It should be stressed here that under the Indian Income Tax laws, such exemptions are confined to the R & D in the line of production. The question arises, whether the production is not a cover for the R & D activities useful to the US Government? The ambitious expansion in R & D and the grey nature of the R & D programmes raises doubts about its real purpose.

The DSF expects that the terms of reference of the on-going inquiry by the Indian authorities into the Bhopal disaster would be expanded so as to include these aspects also. There is an essential need for new mechanisms to ensure that the people of this country will never be guinea pigs and subjected to inhuman degradation for purposes of war.

World's Longest Economic Recession Severest Economic Blows Borne by Poorest Women and Children

JAMES P. GRANT

UNICEF's Report, *The State of the World's Children 1985*, has drawn pointed attention to the suffering caused in large areas of the developing world—especially to women and children—by the world's longest economic recession since 1930.

Extracts from the Report, by Mr. James P. Grant, Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund, relating to the world recession's effects on children and what can be done by way of "Protection in Poverty" for the weakest sections of society, are published here.

THE FRONT LINE in the long war on poverty and underdevelopment is and remains the struggle for economic justice and growth. And the fundamental issues of women's rights, land reform, disarmament, income distribution, job creation, fairer aid and trade policies, and a more equitable international order remain fundamental determinants of children's survival, health and well-being. But while that struggle is being waged, an extraordinary opportunity has now arisen to strengthen the 'second front'. Most parents in poor communities could now be given the knowledge and the support to enable them to protect their children from the worst effects of that poverty in their most vulnerable, vital years of growth. And in so doing, a long-awaited blow could be struck against development's 'enemy within'—the self-perpetuating cycle of ill-health, poor growth, and lowered potential by which the poverty of one generation casts its shadow on the next.

Ironically, this potential for significantly improving the 'state of the world's children' arises at a time when the economic position of many of the world's poorest families is becoming steadily worse.

Backlash of Recession

Large areas of the developing world are suffering from the backlash of the world's longest economic recession since the 1930s. Rising protectionism, falling imports, and higher interest rates in the industrialized nations have eroded the Third World's earnings and deepened its debts. The result is a fall in real incomes for the majority of nations in Latin America

(where average per capita incomes fell in 17 out of 19 countries during 1983 and GNP in the region as a whole dropped by over 5%) and in Africa (where drought now adds to the burden of a recession which has reduced already low average incomes by 2.4% a year in 1981 and 1982).

In low-income Asia, where many of the most populous nations are more insulated from the effects of recession in the West, average incomes grew by less than 2% a year in 1981-1982—more slowly than in the 1970s.

UNICEF has published a specially commissioned study of the recession—from the point of view of the children of the world's poorest communities. The study points out that the poorer a family is, the higher the percentage of its income spent on necessities—food, water, fuel, and health care. Any fall in that income therefore means a fall in the capability to sustain life itself. And in such circumstances, it is the developing minds and bodies of young children which are most at risk.

To compound the hardship of falling incomes, the social services have often been the first to suffer from cut-backs in government spending which recession, debts, or international monetary policy may enforce. And it is again the poorest who are most dependent on the social services.

The conclusion of the study was therefore that the main impact of recession, in the developing countries, is being borne by those least able to sustain it—simply because they have neither the political muscle to prevent it nor the economic fat to absorb it.

Safety Net

Very few hard facts are known about the effect of all this on the children of the developing world—and that in itself is evidence of how little they are taken into ac-

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count when calculating recession's cost. But from small gleanings, we do know that average height-for-age has declined among the children of northern Zambia, that low birth-weights (an indicator of malnutrition even before the child is born) are on the increase in certain parts of Brazil, that the number of children being treated for severe malnutrition has trebled in Costa Rica over the last three years (despite a continued commitment to health and social services), and that nutritional 'wasting' has increased among the children of Sri Lanka during the 1980s.

A world which has pretensions towards civilization cannot long allow the severest economic blows to be borne by its poorest women and children. And it is not an immutable law that the poor must always suffer most when hard times become harder. Several times this century, we have seen examples of what governments can do—when the will is there—to protect the most vulnerable members of human society from the most serious consequences of economic hardship.

Out of the economic collapse of the 1930s, for example, arose the 'New Deal' in the United States and the strengthening of the welfare systems in many European countries. Again in the 1940s, war brought destruction and shortages which could have pushed many more Europeans into destitution. But because governments made optimum use of available resources, and made it a wartime priority to ensure a basic level of food and health care for their populations, starvation and destitution was kept to a minimum. In the United Kingdom, for example, the overall level of health and nutrition among the nation's children was maintained at a higher level in the scarcity years of 1940–1945 than in the immediate pre-war or post-war periods when resources were more abundant.

Since the 1930s, a safety net has therefore been in place in the industrialized world. And however imperfect it may be, it protects the majority of the vulnerable from falling into destitution. Now, the time has come to fashion the first strands of such a safety net for the poorest and most vulnerable families of the developing world, families who live in the permanent but silent emergency of poverty and under-development, families who each year suffer the deaths of 15 million of their children.

Morally, few people would accept that a small percentage downturn in an \$8 trillion world economy should mean an increase in low birthweight, malnutrition, frequency of illness, and poor mental and physical growth among the most vulnerable children in the poorest quarter of human society. And if we do not accept that morally, then the time has come to ask what can be done about it practically. For those families whose standard of living does not allow for the normal development



of their children—whether the cause be economic recession or pre-existing poverty—a minimum protection should be provided against the worst effects of economic deprivation. And that can now be achieved at a very low cost to the world community.

The case for such a safety net is a case which rests not only on common humanity but also on common sense. The growth of a human brain is 90% complete by the time a child is four years old. Poor growth during those vital vulnerable years usually means that the child will never fulfil the mental and physical potential with which he or she was born. Many times it has been argued and demonstrated that it is a nation's human resources which are the key to its social and economic progress and that investment in people makes economic sense. In its 1980 *World Development Report*, for example, the World Bank concluded that the right kind of social investment in such things as primary education and health care can yield an average

economic return of up to 25% a year—far higher than can be expected from most investments in physical goods. It therefore makes neither economic nor political sense to allow children—the human resources of the future—to grow up with an impaired ability to contribute to and benefit from their nation's development.

An Achievable Aim

A safety net woven from the strands of minimum wages, unemployment pay, sickness benefit, and family allowances is, unfortunately, some way into the future for most people in the developing world. But a more elementary safety net of minimum food entitlements, primary health care, elementary education, safe sanitation, and clean water, could be put in place by most developing nations—if they can suspend one corner of that net on fair and stable policies of international trade and aid.

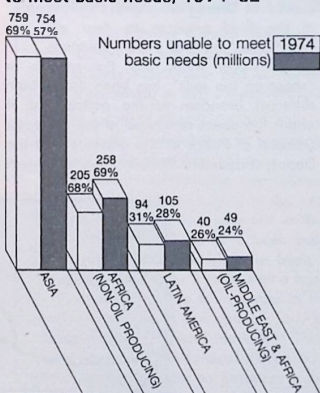
The subject of this report—as of its two predecessors—is an even more basic, more modest, and more immediate goal:

Even in difficult economic times, it can be seen that a combination of changing knowledge and circumstance has opened up the possibility of providing a minimum safety net of the most basic protection for the growing minds and bodies of the world's most vulnerable children. The techniques are known. The organizational capacity is, broadly speaking, in place. The costs, both politically and financially, are absolutely minimal in relation to the benefits such protection would bring.

In short, we are faced not with a grandiose long-term plan dependent upon a thousand doubtful premises, but with a few specific tasks which most nations could realistically expect to achieve within the next few years. Specifically, all families could be enabled to use ORT (Oral Rehydration Therapy), all children could be immunized, all mothers could become aware of the importance of breast-feeding and proper weaning, and almost all parents could have the means and the knowledge to prevent malnutrition through the monitoring of their children's growth. It is extraordinary that four such apparently simple propositions could so dramatically improve child health as to halve the rate of deaths, disabilities, and malnutrition. But this is the opportunity which present knowledge has now opened up. And we are therefore left with a stark question—have we the will to do it?

In the developing world, it is clear that the realization of this present potential depends, more than anything else, on the political commitment of a nation's leadership and the mobilization of all its organized resources. But many nations will also still require financial and practical help—especially in the form of foreign exchange. The industrialized world therefore also has an opportunity to demonstrate its commitment to the world's children.

Number and percentage unable to meet basic needs, 1974–82



Note: Percentage figures show percentage of total population in each region.
Source: World Bank

UNICEF's estimate of number and percentage of people unable to meet basic needs in Asia, Africa (non-oil producing), Latin America and Middle East & Africa (oil-producing) in 1974 and 1982. Percentage figures show percentage of total population in each region.

Pakistan's Military Dictatorship Intensifies Repression, Entrenches Theocratic Totalitarianism

The Pakistan Democratic Forum (PDF), based in New York (USA), in a pamphlet entitled, "Pakistan: Severe Deterioration in Human Rights", has focused attention on the increased repression, including theocratic totalitarianism, by the military dictatorship to suppress all manifestations of democracy, including the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) which began in 1983.

The pamphlet updates the deterioration in human rights which was first exposed by the PDF in an earlier pamphlet entitled "Repression in Pakistan" published in June 1983.

The Pakistan Democratic Forum, an overseas organisation of citizens of Pakistan, has been formed to mobilise public opinion on several issues including support of the struggle being waged inside Pakistan for the lifting of Martial Law, holding of elections in Pakistan under the Constitution of 1973, ending the military's role in Pakistan's politics, for democracy, and establishing a secular state.

SINCE THE protest movement against the military regime of Pakistan in late 1983, the government of General Zia ul-Haq has intensified repression against its political opponents and has taken major steps towards establishing a theocratic totalitarianism in Pakistan which would deny all universally accepted individual and collective human rights.

In August 1984, three members of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Usman Ghani, Idrees Baig and Idrees Khan, were hanged in Kot Lakhpat Jail (Lahore) after being convicted by a military court for killing a policeman during a shoot-out three years earlier. The Lahore High Court Bar, other legal bodies and international human rights organizations had appealed to the government not to carry out the sentences arbitrarily handed down by a military court and instead give a fair trial to the accused in a civilian court. But the military regime not only ignored these pleas, but refused to honour the settlement reached between the families of one of the accused and the deceased policeman on the basis of payment of blood money—a practice permissible under the "Islamic laws" introduced by General Zia ul-Haq. The executed young men, who were 16 to 18 years of age at the time of their arrest, were labelled by the Government as "terrorists" belonging to the Al-Zulfikar organization.

Abdul Razaq alias Jharna, another political activist, had similarly been accused of being a terrorist, tried by a military court and hanged.

Following the MRD movement there has been a surge of hangings of alleged dacoits (bandits) in the province of Sind. The several dozen persons executed as "dacoits" had all been sentenced by Special Military Courts, although civil courts and criminal procedure codes were avail-

able to try common criminals. Even normal legal procedures were ignored while carrying out executions of many of these convicted persons. For example, no magistrate was present at the time of hanging of Mohammad Yunus and Raja Javed in the Hyderabad Prison on 30 July 1984.

Political circles have alleged that many of the so-called dacoits are actually political protesters, some of whom had taken active part in the MRD movement in 1983.

Death Squads

Reports appeared in the Pakistani press in early October 1984 that the government had formed an official "Killer Force" in the Sind province to deal with the worsening "law and order" situation.

This force, which has the powers to "shoot on the spot", has been drawn from different branches of the police and is under the direct command of the Inspector General of Police of the province and the Deputy Inspectors General, the divisional

police chiefs. The force has been equipped with latest automatic weapons and communication devices. The formation of these official death squads came in the wake of the reported failure of the semi-official death squads set up earlier from amongst the Hur followers of the Pir of Pagaro.

Use of Afghan Rebels: The Zia regime has routinely used the well-trained and well-equipped Afghan rebels, based on Pakistani territory, to terrorize its political opponents in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan province. Recently there have been reports of Afghan mercenaries being used in Sind as well. There has been an increase in the number of political activists dying in "shoot-outs" and "accidents".

Torture and Harassment

Torture is being used systematically against political prisoners. In Hyderabad Jail alone, over 100 prisoners have suffered beatings, have had their hands and legs placed in fetters on a permanent basis and been denied food for days in a row. Numerous individual cases of torture have been reported from prisons all over the country. According to Amnesty International, Zahid Chaudhry, Pakistan People's Party (PPP) member from Lahore, was detained in the Lahore Fort for five months. During this period, he was denied sleep for days on end; his limbs were pulled by a crude device; he was hung upside down from a bar passed behind his knees to which his hands were also tied; the soles of his feet were flogged.

Rais Punhal Khan Chandio, headman of a village in Nowshah District (Sind), where a clash took place between the residents and army troops in 1983, was beaten up and forced to walk barefoot on hot metal grills, leaving him incapable of walking afterwards. He was 70 years old at the time.

Eighteen political prisoners awaiting trial in the Rawalpindi prison and many of the 56 in Kot Lakhpat Jail (Lahore),



whose "trial" began in November 1984, have been held in leg fetters on a permanent basis for more than three and a half years. Pakistani legal community, international human rights organizations and hundreds of concerned individuals around the world, have urged General Zia to end this inhumane treatment, but to no avail. Photographs and affidavits of these prisoners, received by the Pakistan Democratic Forum (PDF), have been released to the human rights organizations and the press. Many of these prisoners are suffering from various ailments but are not given any medical treatment.

Agonizing the political prisoners by the denial of medical care has been a common practice of the Pakistan government.

Prolonged Incarceration

There are still several thousand political prisoners in Pakistan. Many hundreds of these have been detained for long periods either without trial or after serving their sentences.

Rasul Bux Palijo, Secretary General of Awami Tehreek, recently completed five years in prison. He was initially sentenced to one year in prison by a military court for engaging in political activities, but the government has kept him incarcerated ever since on the pretext of "preventive detention". Jam Saqi, along with several other alleged members of the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP), were arrested in 1980 in the so-called subversive literature case and denied bail. Four years later, i.e., in July 1984, the Special Military Court acquitted all the accused; yet none of them was actually released. Jamal Naqvi, one of the accused in the case, suffered a serious stroke while in prison. Imtiaz Alam, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Pakistan National Party (PNP), and Sher Ali Bacha, former Secretary General of the MKP (Mazdoor Kisan Party), along with several other political activists, have been held in the Haripur prison (NWFP) for more than four years.

Fifty-six political prisoners in the Kot Lakhpat case and 20 in the Rawalpindi case, which will be discussed presently, have been held without charges for as long as four years.

Among the major leaders arrested during the MRD movement who have still not been released are Mairaj Mohammad Khan, President of GMA and Fazil Rahu, President of Awami Tehreek.

Mahmood Khan Achakzai, leader of the Pukhtoankhwa National Awami Party (PNAP), who escaped an assassination attempt, while four of his party members were slain by police when they took out a procession in Quetta in 1983, had to go underground. The false murder charges filed against Achakzai by the government have not yet been dropped.

Families of many political prisoners and underground political workers are con-

stantly being harassed by the police. Fazil Rahu's wife and two daughters, 12 and 16 years of age, were locked up in jail for 8 months.

Sham Trials

When confronted by the world public opinion about the brazen violation of human rights and by demands for trials for the political prisoners, the Zia regime sometimes institutes trials in military courts which are nothing but a travesty of justice.

The Al-Zulfikar 21: On 28 August, 1984, a Special Military Court in Lahore sentenced 21 persons to 14 years of hard labour and Rs. 50,000 fine each for allegedly belonging to Al-Zulfikar and engaging in terrorist acts. Most of the convicted were outside the country and were tried in absentia. Many had left Pakistan before the alleged terrorist acts took place.

The Kot Lakhpat 56: Ninety-six persons were accused by the government in August 1984 of having participated in various "terrorist" activities over a period of four years. Since 40 of these accused had already been "executed" or had "died in shoot-outs" or absconded, the government brought the remaining 56 to trial in a Special Military Court in Lahore. The Kot Lakhpat trial illustrates the mockery of justice in Pakistan:

The accused have been kept in prison for more than 3 years before being told about the charges against them in vaguest terms. No specific charge has been levelled against any of them.

The Rawalpindi 18: Twenty political

activists, belonging to the PPP or leftist trade unions, have been implicated in a plot to overthrow the Zia government with the help of an unnamed foreign country.

The circumstances surrounding this case are identical to those of the Kot Lakhpat case. The accused have been held in fetters for as long as 4 years. They have also not been informed of the specific charges against them.

Most of the accused in the above two cases are highly educated—lawyers, professors and members of other respectable professions, who have been opposed to the imposition of military dictatorship in Pakistan. The government has treated them worse than common criminals and denied them even a modicum of due process of law.

Religious Persecution

The Zia regime, in alliance with the mullahs, has acted methodically to turn Pakistan into a theocratic totalitarian state where no trace of religious freedom and tolerance would remain. The onslaught against religious freedom comes not only in the form of so-called Islamic laws introduced or contemplated by the government and the policies it is pursuing to enforce its own brand of Islam, but in the culture of intolerance and compulsion promoted by the regime with the help of bigots and fundamentalists. While the minority religions and minor Muslim sects are specially targeted for being different from the "Savade Azam" (the great Sunni majority), the entire population of Pakistan is sub-

Repression in Pakistan Condemned

The World Peace Council has condemned the increasing repression in Pakistan and called for international solidarity with the people of Pakistan struggling to end military dictatorship, and for democracy.

In a statement on 25 February 1985, the WPC said:

THE WORLD PEACE Council expresses its grave concern over the new wave of repression and violation of human rights in Pakistan by the military dictatorship headed by General Zia ul-Haq.

The military dictatorship has eclipsed all its previous records in brutal repression by making mass arrests of the entire leadership and thousands of workers of all the political parties opposed to the continuation of the martial law regime in Pakistan. These arrests have been made on the eve of so-called elections to the National Assembly, which have been described by the leaders of the Pakistani opposition parties as a farce and a fraud.

The naked military dictatorship in Pakistan has not only banned all activity by political parties in the country, but also unleashed terror against the political leaders of the 11-party Movement for Restoration of Democracy, who had called for a boycott of the farcical elections. The "elections" are being conducted at the point of the bayonet to perpetuate military rule. All political parties have been banned and forbidden to put up candidates, and the press has been gagged.

The latest repression by the Pakistan regime poses a serious threat to peace in the region, especially in view of the massive military aid it has been receiving from United States imperialism and the reported military facilities it has offered to the United States on Pakistani territory.

The WPC calls upon peace forces all over the world to condemn the new wave of repression in Pakistan and express solidarity with the people of Pakistan who have been struggling for ending the military regime in Pakistan, which cannot exist without sustenance and support from US imperialism and its allies, and for the restoration of democracy in their country.

jected to compulsion in religious matters and to propaganda contrary to their beliefs.

Some of the measures taken by the Zia regime in the past year to curb religious freedom and deny equal rights to various groups under the guise of Islam include:

Anti-Ahmadiya Ordinance: General Zia issued a martial law ordinance in April 1984 which forbids the members of the Ahmadiya community to call their places of worship mosques, to use Muslim azan (call to prayer) and to use other Muslim symbols. The Ahmadiya community, which had been a favorite scapegoat of the successive governments, was declared non-Muslim by the Bhutto government in 1974. The present ordinance makes it a criminal offense for the Ahmadiyas to practice their religion according to their beliefs. Nay, it has opened up flood-gates of bigotry against the Ahmadiyas throughout the country. Many of their places of worship have been desecrated, individual members of the community have been harassed and framed-up, and Ahmadiya properties vandalized. There have been demands, instigated by the government, for the removal of all Ahmadiyas from "key" positions in government and educational services. The government has obliged the "public" by preparing the lists of Ahmadiyas who would be victimized. Ahmadiyas claim to number 4 million in Pakistan (mainly in Punjab) out of a total population of 90 million and are generally better educated and more prosperous than the rest of the people.

Apartheid-Type Discriminatory laws: The Zia regime is contemplating the introduction of "Islamic" laws of evidence which would make the evidence of women inadmissible in some cases, while in other types of cases the evidence of two women will be considered to be equal to that of one man. The government is also planning to introduce a law to govern the settlement of murder by blood-money, in which the compensation for a murdered woman or a member of a religious minority will be one-half of that paid for the murder of a Muslim man.

The Christian and other minorities are also opposed to the apartheid-type law which will essentially disenfranchise them by creating "separate electorates". According to official figures there are approximately 1.5 million Christians in Pakistan (mainly in Punjab), most of whom are poor and engaged in "demeaning" work of cleaning toilets and sweeping city streets. The social status of workers in such occupations is lowest in the Pakistani society, and the Christians find it exceedingly difficult to uplift themselves in the face of strong prejudices and officially-promoted religious bigotry. The Christian children are forced in Christian schools to have Islamic religious education.

Hindu scapegoats: According to official figures, there are approximately 1.5 million Hindus as well in Pakistan—mostly in the Sind province and mostly belonging to low castes or being non-caste or untouchables. It has almost been a taboo to speak about the plight of the Hindus. Recently, however, there have been acts of overt persecution of Hindus, in addition to discriminatory laws.

Prayer Squads: In August 1984, the Zia regime announced the introduction of "Nizam-i-Salat", thereby establishing prayer squads which would "direct" (coerce) people to mosques at prayer time.

The government is already deducting mandatory *zakat* from the bank accounts of the citizens in contravention of the Islamic principle which calls for a voluntary payment of charity or poor rate. The enforcement of fasting during the month of *ramadan* has become so stringent that even children, sick and non-Muslims are denied food and water in public places during this period.

Sectorial violence: During the month of *muharram* in 1984, the city of Karachi again experienced violence between Sunni and Shia sects, during which several persons were killed and property destroyed. Shia-Sunni riots have become an annual feature under the military regime for which many Shia leaders have blamed the government.

National Oppression of Sindhis

The Sindhi nationality has been a special target of the military regime's oppression ever since the latter came to power in July 1977. However, this oppression has been heightened markedly since the Sindhis rose in a militant manner in response to the MRD's call for civil disobedience in the Fall of 1983. The "mopping up" operation launched in rural Sind to punish the population for participating in the movement still continues. Army troop strength in Sind has been markedly increased, new permanent military installations have been erected and the province looks like an armed camp. Even though there has been a breakdown of law and order as a result of the total alienation of the Sindhi population from the Pakistan government, the drive against "dacoity" is clearly politically motivated. The police in Sind has been equipped with new United States and Chinese-made automatic weapons and provided with modern communication gadgets and with torture and mob-control devices purchased in the United States. A reign of terror has been let loose in rural Sind.

Sindhi institutions: Against the unanimous protest by the Sindhi academics, the government declared the Institute of Sindiology, a major institution for the promotion of Sindhi language, a federal

institution and is moving it from Hyderabad to Islamabad in order to detach it from its cultural roots, to emasculate it and eventually transform it beyond recognition. Sindhis in the government service have been ordered to cancel their membership in the Sind Graduates Association, a non-political body formed for the purpose of promoting the welfare of Sindhi professional and white collared workers.

Oppression of Women: Over the past year, official and semi-official propaganda against women as well as violence inspired by the ideological climate has increased. There have been several incidents in which women have been paraded naked or barefooted for miles in Punjab. Women's groups are actively engaged in a struggle to defend their fundamental rights.

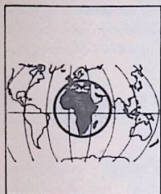
Press Censorship: Despite previous lifting of formal press censorship, the press in Pakistan remains gagged. In April 1984, the Zia regime resumed the "press advice" system whereby the press has been prevented from publishing political news as well as news about the politicians.

The release of political leaders is made meaningless by the very fact that as soon as they come out of prison, restrictions are imposed on their travel to other provinces. There is no important out-of-prison leader who is free to travel in Pakistan. By imposing such restrictions, the government which runs the country in a unitary fashion has admitted to its being several countries in reality.

Disappearance of People: The disappearance of Raza Kazim, prominent lawyer and human rights advocate, led to editorial condemnation by "The New York Times" and "The Nation" magazine in the United States, besides strong protests by the legal community in Pakistan. However, there have been hundreds of more cases of disappearance of less well-known political activists, trade unionists and even ordinary citizens. Usually, it takes heavy bribes to obtain the release or find the whereabouts of such missing persons, and the families have to go from pillar to post to get any information.

The Big Brother atmosphere in Pakistan becomes evident to any traveller disembarking at the Pakistani airports which have been manned by armed personnel far beyond the needed security precautions. It is not rare to see the secret police pouncing on a suspected passenger, beating him up and taking him to the interrogation room where he might be stripped naked and even tortured. Surveillance of Pakistanis suspected of engaging in anti-government activities abroad has greatly increased.

Despite the farcical elections, the very fact of the entrenchment of military dictatorship in Pakistan portends the worsening of the human rights situation in substantive terms in the country.



Famine in Africa

Crisis Stems from Colonial Legacy and Neo-Colonial Exploitation

JOSE A. BENITEZ

THE FAO (United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation) in its latest Report after its 86th session in Rome in November 1984 stated that during the past decade, the number of starving people in the world rose from 400 to 800 million.

The situation in Africa, with 150 million people on the brink of starvation in the wake of the drought, commanded FAO's special attention.

"We are all agreed," said FAO Director-General Edouard Saouma, "that the current situation in Africa is truly tragic and, far from there being a possibility of noticeable improvement, everything would seem to indicate that the situation will worsen next year."

It is an objective fact that Africa is now afflicted with a prolonged drought that has millions of people in the African countries pretty near despair. All those people, the FAO has warned, are in urgent need of help and food.

Drought is not the real problem: The drought, however, is not at the root of the problem in Africa. The hunger afflicting the continent has its cause in the transnationals, the unequal trade under capitalism, the foreign debt, the transfer of know-how, the colonial legacy.

Africa is a continent rich in natural resources: hydrocarbons, uranium, gold, copper, phosphates, iron, diamonds, chromium, tungsten. It is a world exporter of cocoa, coffee, cotton, peanuts, oleaginous seeds, sisal, sugar, tomatoes, olive oil, rubber. The transnationals operating in Africa earn thousands of millions of dollars in profits annually.

TNC's Ruthless Exploitation: But, far from reducing traditional agrarian inequalities, transnational agribusiness in Africa ensures that the best lands there end up in their hands.

With guaranteed financial backing, these transnationals are mainly concerned with the production of raw materials earmarked for export.

Transnationals are not new to African agriculture. Their presence in Africa dates back to early last century, engaged mainly in the exploitation of agricultural resources and the supply of agricultural produce and livestock to the industrialised capitalist countries.

The UN Commission on Transnational Corporations several years ago denounced the 156 transnationals controlling the world food sector. Close to 90 of these transnationals are US-owned and their annual profits exceeded 100,000 million dollars.

Unequal trade relations with the industrially developed capitalist countries and the public debt are two other factors that are to blame for the African food crisis.

Profits of TNC Banks: In 1983 the Western banks received from the Third World roughly 70,000 million dollars in foreign debt service charges. (This debt now stands at 800,000 million dollars.)

A part of these service charges came from Africa whose foreign debt is tagged at 150,000 million dollars. This means that, while millions of Africans are starving, thousands of millions of dollars are pocketed by the transnational banks.

The world price of many raw materials exported by Africa experienced a substantial drop in June 1984. A ton of copper, for example, could purchase roughly 115 barrels of oil in 1973, while now it can hardly buy 40. In 1960 a ton of coffee could buy 37 tons of fertilisers, but now-

adays it is enough for only 15. In 1975 a ton of cotton was equal to 119 barrels of oil, but now it is equal to only 35.

Largest Water Resources: Paradoxically, Africa has the world's largest water reserves. The Nile, Medjerda and Chelif Rivers flow into the Mediterranean; the Senegal, Niger, Congo, Gambia, Volta, Orange and other rivers run into the Atlantic; the Zambeze Limpopo, Rovuna, Tana and Djuba Rivers run into the Indian Ocean. The water contained in the great rivers and lakes—Alberto, Chad, Victoria, Tanganyika, Nyanza Lakes—could irrigate the lands afflicted by drought, mitigate the evil of hunger, make the desert recede. Yet what few irrigation facilities now exist in Africa are used solely to raise export crops.

There are endless possibilities in times like ours when scientific and technical progress has become a fundamental factor in agricultural production.

Colonial legacy: The colonial legacy is patently visible in drought and starvation afflicted Africa, in the illiteracy, economic and financial dependency, backwardness, neocolonial structures, production mechanisms, weak economy and lack of qualified workers.

The social effects of such a legacy are disturbing: backward agriculture based on obsolete methods, an infant mortality rate of 200 for every 1,000 live births, the impoverishment of the small peasants, the exodus to the cities, the reduced nutritional value of food.

The colonial apparatus inherited by the liberated countries cannot, of course, be immediately restructured and can only be uprooted with flexibility and the transformation of the relations of production.

In the specific case of Ethiopia, as pinpointed in the last devastating FAO report, the eradication of poverty, starvation and the differences between city and countryside, and the establishment of external economic relations on an entirely new basis form part of a long and complex process.

Hunger is not inevitable. As it was once said—and this must be borne very much in mind—wherever hunger rears its ugly head, there are identifiable forces that can be checked to remove hunger.



"The hunger afflicting the African continent has its cause in the transnationals which take away thousands of millions of dollars in profit from it, the unequal trade under capitalism, the foreign debt, the colonial legacy."

JOSE A. BENITEZ
Journalist (Cuba)

Nuclear Free Zone in South Pacific versus ANZUS and the US Alliance

ERNIE BOATSWAIN

The 14-nation South Pacific Forum will examine this year a draft treaty on establishing a nuclear free zone in the South Pacific. The Forum will do this in pursuance of the decision it took at its session in Tuvalu in 1984 accepting the concept of making the South Pacific nuclear free.

This article analyses the compatibility of the Forum's proposal with Australia's adherence to the ANZUS Treaty, and in turn to the US Alliance.

AT THE meeting of 14 nations at the South Pacific Forum last year, Prime Minister Bob Hawke of Australia took the initiative in proposing a treaty which would have as its principles a ban on the acquisition, storage, manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons within the South Pacific region and the banning of the dumping of nuclear waste there.

The great weakness of Hawke's proposal is the failure to ban the movement of nuclear armed ships and aircraft within the South Pacific Ocean. Without this ban, it would mean that while the nations of the region that adhere to the treaty would have no nukes on their land, others would be "free to transport, store, maintain and carry nuclear weapons, whilst transported by ship, submarine or air" in the region.

Prime Minister Bob Hawke has vigorously worked with the South Pacific nations to adopt his formula for a nuclear free zone in their region, taking great care to exclude within any treaty the banning of transit rights or port facilities by ships or aircraft with nuclear weapons or which are nuclear-powered.

Despite denials, it is obvious that both Prime Minister Hawke and Foreign Minister Bill Hayden have put considerable pressure on the government of Prime Minister David Lange in New Zealand to drop their policy of banning visits by nuclear warships to their waters and ports.

Mr. Hawke has defended his and his government's position on this question time and time again, including on National TV Four Corners programme in which in simple terms he stated that their policy on nuclear ships is fundamental to the ANZUS Treaty and in turn to the US Alliance.

The continuation of US military bases in Australia is also used by Mr. Hawke and Mr. Hayden as an essential ingredient of the US Alliance.

The US administration has taken an identical public position on these issues, and

ERNIE BOATSWAIN

National Co-Chairman, Australian Peace Committee (Australia)

is exerting heavy pressure on Mr. Lange and Mr. Hawke to maintain the existing US Alliance syndrome.

New Zealand has already expressed grave concern over the Reagan administration's likely retaliatory trade bans against it for banning nuclear-armed ships entering its waters.

Within Australia the conservatives strongly support the US Alliance. Mr. Andrew Peacock of the National Party has attacked Mr. Hawke for his weakness on this question and called for stronger reprisals against the Lange government in New Zealand, asserting that the ANZUS Treaty is the corner-stone of the US Alliance.

Mr. Peacock also criticised Senator Don Chipp, Leader of the Democrats, for supporting the proposal for a nuclear weapon free zone and a ban on nuclear-armed ships.

A recent Gallup Poll conducted by the Packer media group and published in the Australian newspaper "Bulletin" showed 70 per cent support for the US Alliance.

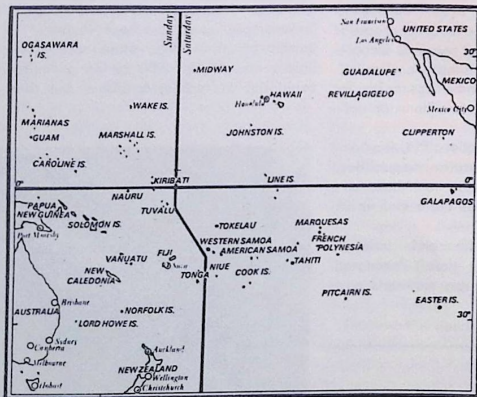
The Australian Labour Party government strongly defends its policy that US bases located in Australia are a necessary element of the US Alliance, despite the fact

that these bases were secretly established with the connivance of an Australian Government which was led by a notorious conservative and warlike politician.

Policy of Nuclear Deterrence

Mr. Hawke argues that until the world has reached agreement for total disarmament, nuclear deterrents are the only viable existing option. His argument goes like this: "In this system of nuclear deterrents, each side must be quite certain that if one side attacks first, it will surely be destroyed by retaliation by the other side, thus creating the obvious corollary that each side is deterred from initiating a nuclear attack upon the other. We are in the situation that although we want total disarmament, we have to have some system in place which has the most chance of preventing nuclear war in the interim time it takes for the implementation of effective arms control leading to total nuclear disarmament. The Joint Facilities (in Australia) contribute to that deterrent by providing timely knowledge of developments that have military significance. The more each side knows of what the other is doing, the greater will be its confidence in the system of mutual deterrents and the unlikelihood of a nuclear Pearl Harbour. If we were to abolish the bases, we would be delivering a major blow to deterrents; we would, therefore, be delivering a major blow to the cause of arms control."

Both Mr. Hawke and Soviet leaders have acknowledged that the existence of US



"Australian peace forces will take new initiatives to make the South Pacific a nuclear free zone and remove the US presence from the region."

bases in Australia commit our nation to US global strategy and in so doing make Australia a potential nuclear target! (The US has utilised its bases in Australia twice without the knowledge of the Australian government of the time.)

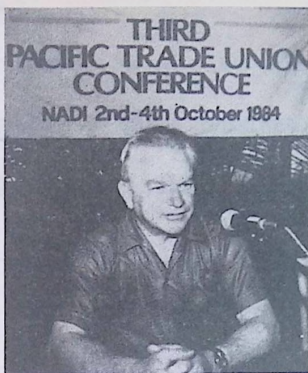
Growing Movement for an Independent Foreign Policy

Despite the highly suspect results of the "Bulletin's" Gallup Poll, there exist within Australia large areas of support for nuclear free zones and the removal of the US presence from the region.

A strong feature of the peace marches held in every major city in Australia during recent years and the conclusions of every peace seminar and conference over this period has been the call for the establishment of peace zones in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, removal of the foreign bases and for banning uranium activity.

This shows the division existing in the Australian Labour Party and the trade union movement on the questions of uranium, bases and the US Alliance. But there is almost complete agreement on stopping the nuclear arms race and preventing the threat of nuclear war.

Trade union policy, as decided by the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) Congress, is unequivocal on this question



Ernie Boatwain addressing the Third Pacific Trade Union Conference in Nadi (Fiji), which demanded the establishment of a nuclear free zone in South Pacific, in October 1984

and declares full support for the efforts of the United Nations to reach agreement outlawing nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and for the establishment of relations between nations on the basis of peaceful co-existence.

Municipal Nuclear Free Zones

In Australia a national organisation exists under the name of the "Nuclear Free Zones" (NFZ), consisting of members of Municipal Councils throughout the country. The organisation held its first national meeting in Sydney Town Hall in 1983.

At the last count (May 1984), there existed 88 Municipal Councils, which had declared their area as "Nuclear Free Zone" with South Australia being the only State without a recorded NFZ Council.

New South Wales (NSW) has 35, including Sydney, Parramatta, Liverpool, Newcastle, Wollongong and Gosford; Victoria has 34, in which Melbourne is included; Queensland has 11, including Brisbane and Gold Coast; Western Australia has 7, including Fremantle; and Tasmania has 1, Devonport.

It should be noted that the NSW Labour Government has put a ban on nuclear shipping and the Victoria Government has declared the State a nuclear free zone with qualifications.

The Australian peace forces will continue to take new initiatives in support of establishing nuclear free zones in the Indian and Pacific Oceans and the diversion of resources from militarisation to solving the problems of development in different parts of the world.

Keep My Pacific Nuclear Free

JULY SIPOLO

THE PACIFIC Ocean is known to mean "peaceful". But in this present day and age, it is the playground for world powers to patrol, whether it be by using nuclear submarines beneath the ocean, satellites in space that no naked eye could see, or testing of nuclear bombs on islands that are still ruled as colonial possessions. Plans have even been made for nuclear waste to be dumped in the Pacific Ocean. Added to all this are the foreign military bases in several Pacific region countries.

Where does this leave the Solomon Islands? We are right in the middle of all this turmoil, and even though, *Muroroa Atoll*, where the French are testing their nuclear bombs, is far from us, we are concerned, because we are part of the Pacific region. Our people could eat contaminated/radioactive fish or other marine species, and even the wind could blow radioactive matter to the Solomons.

The Solomons has a small Peace Committee, which was formed at a meeting during a Nuclear Free Pacific Week observed there in April 1982. It is made up of representatives from the Solomon Islands General Workers Union, Solomon Island Christian Association, YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association), the media, doctors and individuals.

We have tried to get the message across to the masses—that nuclear bombs are dangerous, and in the event of nuclear

war there would be no survivors. We have given radio interviews to the nation, shown slides and videos to schools on the danger of nuclear war. The trade unions have done their share of bringing slides to the provinces and telling the plantation labourers about the horrific nuclear bombs.

The Hiroshima slides were well received, especially by the women who came to the YWCA to see the slides, and all agreed that a nuclear war was most unwelcome in our part of the globe.

We also printed T-shirts with the message on nuclear testing and nuclear waste dumping:

If it is safe,
Test it in Paris,
Dump it in Tokyo,
Store it in Washington,
But keep my Pacific Nuclear Free.

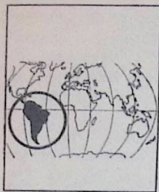
This message gets across without any explanation.

We have had some opposition from politicians who say that our Peace Committee's fears on French nuclear testing are in vain, because of the great distance between the test sites in French colonial territories in the Pacific and our country. The Peace Committee also came under attack, when it decided to boycott a US warship, believed to be carrying nuclear warheads/or nuclear-powered.

Our movement is growing and we want the Pacific Ocean to be a nuclear free zone.

JULY SIPOLO

Member, Solomon Islands Peace Committee (Solomon Islands)



El Salvador's Liberation Movement Proposes Negotiated Political Solution and Peace

The Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), embodying the patriotic, democratic and revolutionary aspirations of the Salvadorans, presented to their people, the Government of El Salvador and the international community, a comprehensive proposal for a negotiated political solution and peace in their country in November 1984.

Published here are extracts from the FDR-FMLN proposal for peace in El Salvador.

THE SALVADORAN people's aspirations for peace can only be fulfilled by attacking the causes which have provoked the war: injustice and the absence of democracy. Peace is inseparable from justice and liberty. This is the only realistic and viable point of departure for a political solution.

The causes which pushed our Fronts to fight with political and military means still remain in force: the death squads have not disappeared, nor have illegal detentions, nor torture—they have only become more sophisticated. The majority of our people continue to be excluded from sharing the wealth of our country. If ours is a poor country, it is with the added scandal of a minority living in the most opulent riches, causing misery for the majority.

Four Years of General Warfare

Besides this fundamental reality there are other elements which a political process cannot ignore at the risk of becoming ineffective:

— four years of general warfare have clearly divided the country into two centres of power: there are two armies in the country and control of the territory and authority are divided between the Government and the FDR-FMLN.

— in these four years, a fifth of the population has been violently displaced from its homes, some to camps for displaced persons in the interior of the country and others to neighbouring or even distant countries.

— in these four years, 50,000 Salvadorans have been assassinated by police units, death squads and paramilitary forces resulting in further suffering and unfulfilled justice.

— in these four years, the country has experienced a clear economic regression which has further impoverished the working people.

Our proposal for a negotiated political

solution to the national crisis outlines gradual and progressive goals which are just, realistic, necessary and in accordance with the maximum aspirations of our people.

Phases of Political Solution

The phases and elements of the political solution which we propose respond objectively to the concrete realities of the war, especially to the aggravated polarisation of Salvadoran society, to the complex and deeply rooted mutual distrust between the political forces decisive in the national life, and to the US administration's deep political and military interference in the Salvadoran conflict.

Phase One: Creation of basic political conditions and basic sovereignty for a negotiated solution.

a) **Convocation of a National Forum:** Both parties shall commit themselves to convene and develop a national forum which allows all social and political sectors of the country to participate, to express themselves and to contribute towards finding solutions to the political and social conflict which the country is going through.

b) **Accord Concerning Human Rights and Political Liberties:** The Government of El Salvador shall adopt concrete measures for the effective dismantling of the death squads and the prosecution of those responsible and involved in crimes against the people, especially the following:

1. Murder of Monsignor Romero.
2. Murder of the members of the FDR's Executive Committee.
3. Murder of the four US nuns.
4. Murder of the two US aids and of the President of ISTA.
5. Murder of Mario Zamora Rivas.
6. Murder of Melvi Rigoberto Orellana.
7. Murder of the four Dutch reporters.

The Government shall adopt verifiable measures to:

1. Abolish torture.
2. Halt kidnappings and disappearances.
3. Provide guarantees for the professional and political activities of popular organisations, trade unions and political parties.

The Government shall repeal the state of siege as well as the repressive and damaging legislation against popular interests.

c) **Accords Relating to the Humanisation of the War:** Both parties will commit themselves to observe the Geneva Conventions, with emphasis on cessation of bombardments against the civilian population and its property; respect to the life and physical integrity of imprisoned officers and troops of both armies; respect, attention to and evacuation of the wounded in the war; respect to medical and paramedical personnel of both armies and their medical installations.

d) **Accords for an End to US Military Interference:** The Government of El Salvador shall commit itself to guarantee the departure of all the US military advisors who are detailed in our country, and to suspend all types of military exercises and combined military manoeuvres with US or other foreign troops within our national borders.

e) **Accords to Halt the Arms Race:** The Government of El Salvador and the FDR-FMLN shall commit themselves to order the immediate and total halt to the introduction of armaments, munitions and supplies of war into El Salvador, with the acceptance of mechanisms of international verification by both parties.

f) **Accords on Sabotage to the Economy:** Both parties shall commit themselves to cease economic sabotage completely as a contribution to the process of negotiation.

g) **Accord on Observance of Fulfilment of these Conditions:** Both parties, committed to the fulfillment of these agreements, shall establish a mutually convenient period of reasonable observation for the verification and consolidation of the basic conditions for the political solution.

Phase Two: Suppression of Hostilities and Agreements of Guarantee

a) **Adoption of Accords for Participation in Government:** An agreement shall be

made for the effective participation in government of all political and social forces committed to the process of a negotiated settlement as an expression of true national consensus which will carry out the following tasks:

1. Guarantee faithful observance of the negotiated accords.
2. Rescue independence and national sovereignty.
3. Cease interference of the US administration and of any other state in the internal politics of the country, in the decisions of the government, and in the direction of the armed forces of El Salvador.

4. Assure effective destruction of the repressive apparatus and secure the base of a true democracy.

5. Attend to the most urgent and immediate necessities of the popular majority and adopt measures to make economic and social structural transformation possible.

6. Adopt any other measure necessary to resolve the current state of war.

- a) Adoption of an Electoral Calendar.
- b) Arrangement for a Cease-Fire:

1. A cease-fire shall be agreed upon after defining the boundaries of the territory under the control of each party.

2. Verification and control of the cease-fire by a bilateral commission of both armies.

d) Relocation of the Displaced and Repatriation of Refugees: The Government of El Salvador, and the FDR-FMLN shall support and promote efforts for the resettling and return of compatriots under direct charge of the Salvadoran churches, the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR), and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Third Phase: Institutionalisation of Democracy

a) Integration of the Government: In order to fulfill the respective agreements of the preceding phase, a government of national consensus shall be formed and installed.

b) Constitutional Reform: Constitutional reforms necessary for the implementation of the political solution shall be agreed upon and shall be submitted to a national referendum.

c) Reorganisation of the Armed Forces: The national armed forces shall be reorganised from the two existing armies.

d) Convening General Elections: The electoral calendar shall be implemented for organising, convening and carrying out authentic and free general elections with participation of all the political forces of the country.

This is the proposal for peace which the FDR-FMLN offers to our people and the international community as its contribution to the solution of the national crisis and to peace in the region.

CULTURAL ANNIVERSARIES

Birth Anniversaries of German Composers

Cherished Legacy of Bach, Händel and Schütz

HANS PISCHNER

This article contains a tribute to three outstanding German composers, whose birth anniversaries fall this year—Heinrich Schütz (14. 10. 1585–6. 11. 1672), Georg Friedrich Händel (23. 2. 1685–14. 4. 1759), and Johann Sebastian Bach (21. 3. 1685–28. 7. 1750).

CERTAIN MUSICAL experiences of my childhood have become permanently embedded in my mind. I still have the most vivid recollections of my encounter with the music of Johann Sebastian Bach at the age of 13. Ever since that concert at Breslau (now Wrocław) University, Bach has held an abiding fascination for me.

At that time, too, I became familiar with the magnificent music of Heinrich Schütz, which is both lyrical and dramatic. This was at a relatively early stage, when this was far from axiomatic. As a boy chorister I took part in performances of works by Leo Hassler, Johannes Schein and others, and also of Schütz's *Cantiones sacrae*. Moreover, I was able to listen to his *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* (Little Spiritual Concertos), i.e., motets with instrumental accompaniment.

My love of Händel's music can likewise be traced back to an early age. His popular idiom in particular attracted me. Small wonder, then, that I enjoyed playing his *Harmonious Blacksmith* variations, by which name the last movement of his Harpsichord Suite in E major, a set of variations on an old English air, is known.

Thinking back to the so-called Händel Revival, I have retained fresh memories of a scenic performance of *Belshazzar* directed by the young Herbert Graf. I found this rendition literally overwhelming. After his enforced exile, Graf embarked on a world career, establishing an important opera school in the USA.

I met him much later, when he was already advanced in years, while collaborating on the famous performances of Cavalli's *Rappresentazione di anima i di corpo* in Salzburg's Kollegiumkirche.

Bach's Modernity: In various publica-

tions and speeches on Bach I have repeatedly emphasized his "modernity". More than any of his coevals Bach assimilated all progressive musical elements of his age and of the principal European countries, achieving a new creative synthesis. He absorbed the French traditions of organ and harpsichord music, the concerto type established by Vivaldi and, most important of all, the diverse dance forms of his day. It is still widely unknown how much dance-like music pervades Bach's output, even his sacred vocal compositions. On balance, he wrote several times as many dance movements as Händel, who, after all, was a widely travelled man of the world.

Legacy of Bach and Händel: When the German working class entered the stage of history, it found that Händel and Bach were among those who had expressed its own objectives and demands.

Karl Marx described Händel's compositions as "outright revolutionary". And Friedrich Engels, who as a member of the Bremen Choral Society took part in oratorio performances during the 1840s, visited the Händel Festival in London together with friends at the age of 74, one year before his death, to attend a performance of *Messiah*.

It is no coincidence that the legacy of Bach and Händel is cherished in the German Democratic Republic, with every possible material and moral support being given to cultivating the works of these giants.

That Bach was held in high regard right from the outset by the representatives of the German working class can be gauged from Engels' well-known comment that "literature and language went to rack and ruin, theology had become dogmatic and ossified, whereas in other sciences there were glooms of hope despite Germany's decline: Jacob Böhme (precursor of the philosophers to come), Kepler and Leibnitz who had the power of abstracting from the real, existing world".

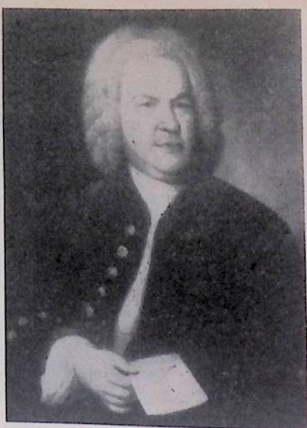
Placed after Engels' notes about that

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Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672)



Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750)



Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759)

era was a single word, but one that was written in stark letters, symbolizing Germany's greatest cultural accomplishment during the first half of the 18th century: Bach.

Clara Zetkin, daughter of an organist at Wiederau, who had often played Bach on the organ as a young girl, was a life-long enthusiast of his music.

Karl Liebknecht, that champion of peace and humanity who so aptly depicted militarism as the "exterminating angel of all culture", wrote in a letter sent from prison to his son during World War I: "You should go and listen to the St Matthew Passion in a classical performance, that most exalted work in the realm of the oratorio. I got hold of the score while under military arrest. Study it beforehand. It is far from easy to understand. Consult a musical encyclopedia to find out about counterpoint and fugue. The very first movement, an 8-part chorus with *Cantus firmus*, is a magic fabric that will keep you spellbound. There are no more tender, sweet and poignant moments and, in the mass scenes, no more grandiose pages in all music."

Händel's Creative Endeavours: The workers' choral societies played a prominent part in reviving Handel's works with their popular idiom and forward-looking ideas, performing them at many workers' festivals, which flourished especially after 1918. The annals of the Association of German Workers' Choral Societies contain many renditions of Händel's oratorios. His jubilant and stirring music enjoyed veritable triumphs at its Händel Festivals. The Leipzig programme in 1926 featured two oratorios: *Samson* and *Hercules*.

When after 1933 the Nazi rulers grossly distorted the message of his oratorios, it was a representative of the German working class, Albert Norden, who set the re-

cord straight. In his essay "Händel Desecrated" in *Das Wort*, a literary monthly published in Moscow and edited by Brecht, Bredel and Feuchtwanger, he paid tribute to Händel's creative endeavours and indomitable spirit from the perspective of historical materialism.

The socialist cultural policy of the German Democratic Republic was able to build on this great tradition, which was, in fact, invoked by the first Prime Minister of our state, Otto Grotewohl, in his commemorative address to mark the bicentenary of Händel's death on 14 April 1959.

I should also like to recall the words of our first President, Wilhelm Pieck, at the opening ceremony of the Bach Festival in 1950: "We still have a long way to go, and many obstacles will have to be removed, before the work of Johann Sebastian Bach, 200 years after his death, can become the unchallenged common property of all working people in Germany. Our prime concern should be to ensure that Bach's music can be performed in finer and larger concert halls for the benefit of our working people, whom we want to acquaint with the works of Bach as well as those of all other major composers, German or otherwise. Let us honour Bach by preserving the conditions of peace in which his peaceful work can thrive and prosper. Hence all progressive Germans are called upon to learn to understand Bach, to help others grasp his message, to analyse and comprehend his musical idiom and to unravel the secrets of his creative personality. This is an entirely new challenge, for it is essential to throw Bach's life and work open to new strata, which means, in the final analysis, to all German working people."

The cultivation of Bach's oeuvre in this country has found its consummation in the

Bach Festivals held in Leipzig, the city in which the composer lived until his death, and the International Bach Contest. These two musical events help to carry Bach's message of universal brotherhood into every corner of the Earth.

It is also worth mentioning here that the great poet Johannes R. Becher, who also served as Minister of Culture and first President of the League of Culture, had a great affinity for Johann Sebastian Bach. One of his poems reads in part:

The sounds still tiptoe, groping for the light,
Glancing cautious, sally, then surrender.
Hush, a bell chimes, distant yet and tender.
Then sounds march out in force, as mountains might.
And nothing can resist. They pierce us through,
You, and me, and we are captured,
Willing soundboards, slavish echoes, who
But follow where we're led, enraptured,
Till, Climbing high, we reach a ridge cloud-clear
Where focus sharpens, dense mists disappear.
The sounds restore our sight, they unconfuse:
See, that is great, and that, note well, is small.
Time is great; a thundering squall,
And you are but a figure in its fugue.

So it is no accident that the government of the German Democratic Republic should hold Johann Sebastian Bach's music in such high esteem.

The working class considers itself a legitimate heir to the great artistic masters of our past, and regards it as a duty to preserve and foster their accomplishments.



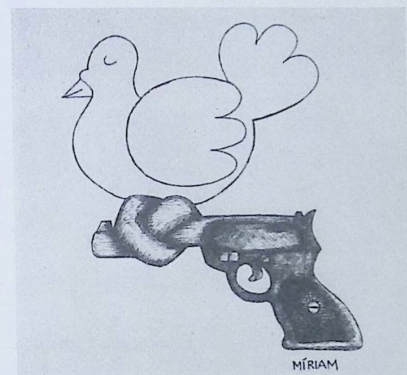
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Stop Nuclear Annihilation of Humanity

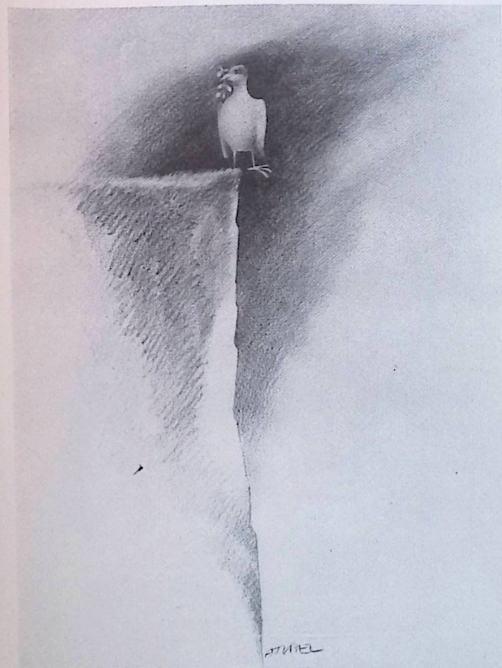
Drawings by Cuban artists Nico (1), Wilson (2), Ajubel (3), Miriam (4) and Blanco (5) on the world peace movement's efforts to stop the United States of America from escalating the arms race on planet Earth and in outer space, which could lead to the nuclear annihilation of all humanity.



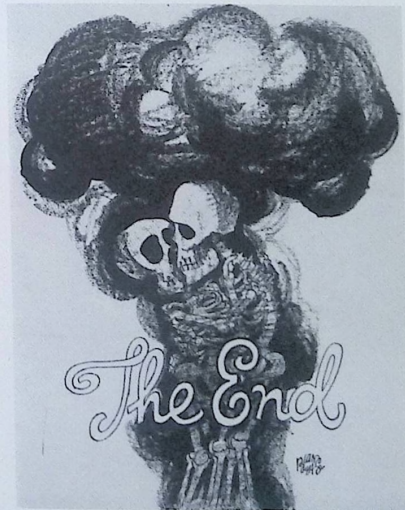
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4



3



5

1 Thousands of people in Madrid, Spain, formed a human chain for peace on 2 December 1984. They also stood in formation to spell out the slogans "NO TO NATO", "BASES OUT", "NEUTRALITY", "REFERENDUM NOW". The demonstration was organised by the Peace and Disarmament Action and Anti-NATO Commission.

2 Hands Off Nicaragua!

3 Victims of poison gas leak from U.S. multinational Union Carbide's plant in Bhopal, India, which killed more than 2,500 people and injured over 200,000 others. "Crimes like this are committed by transnationals which value profits more than human life."



HUMAN CHAIN FOR PEACE



Cities must not be transformed into gas chambers!



Crimes like this are committed by transnationals that value profits more than human lives