

new perspectives

2/88

JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL



Together in Support
of United Nations SSD III



1 and 2 A World Peace Council delegation visited the United Nations on the occasion of its General Assembly session in New York from 15 to 25 November 1987, during which the delegation held meetings with the UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and the current President of the General Assembly Peter Florin, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of G.D.R.

Pictures 1 and 2 show the delegation with the UN Secretary General and the President of the General Assembly. The WPC delegation comprised the following: WPC President Romesh Chandra, Baubakar Seck (Senegal), James Jackson (U.S.A.), Ryszard Tyrluk (Poland).

3 General Secretary Jambyn Batmunkh of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party receives WPC President Romesh Chandra for a talk in Ulan Bator, capital of Mongolia on 13 November 1987.

4 A WPC delegation visited the headquarters of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace in Ulan Bator, Mongolia in November 1987. Picture shows WPC President Romesh Chandra with the ABCP President, Most Reverend Kh. Gaadan.

5 and 6 Observance of the UN Disarmament Week in Phnom Penh, Kampuchea in October 1987. Picture (6) shows Kampuchean Peace Committee President Kim Yith Seng, addressing a public meeting on the occasion.



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Third Special Session on Disarmament

ROMESH CHANDRA

THE Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament (SSD-III) will open in New York on 31 May 1988. There is far greater public interest in this Special Session than was demonstrated in the first two Special Sessions held in 1978 and 1982.

The Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) Special Committee for Disarmament, based in Geneva, has convened an International Conference in support of SSD-III, to be held during the first half of April 1988. The New York NGO Special Committee for Disarmament is beginning planning for several activities—seminars, discussions, workshops—for the large number of representatives of NGOs, who will be present to follow the work of SSD-III in May-June 1988.

There is a new climate for peace today, a fresh confidence and optimism that the people's call for a world without nuclear weapons is not just a wishful dream.

The peace initiatives of the United Nations have provided new inspiration for the peace movements. The initiatives by individual governments—by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, by several countries belonging to the Non-Aligned Movement, by the Delhi Six (Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania), by the Nordic countries and certain other signatories of the Helsinki Final Act, and, of course, by peace and anti-war movements and other non-governmental organisations—all these have helped to create the new atmosphere of today.

For the first time, two classes of Soviet and United States nuclear weapons are to be eliminated.

Those who have been declaring that nuclear weapons can never be eliminated, have been shown to be false prophets. If medium-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles of the two major powers can be destroyed, why not other nuclear weapons, why not all?

The signing on 8 December 1987, by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev of the Treaty on the elimination of U.S. and Soviet land-based medium and shorter range missiles was a victory for world public opinion.

Since that first victory, since that historic beginning, events have confirmed that further steps along the road to the total destruction of nuclear weapons, require intensified common action by the peace and anti-war movements.

Totally erroneous were the views of those who, in their absolutely justified joy and satisfaction at the conclusion of the Treaty of 8 December 1987, believed that the follow-up would be "automatic"; all that had to be done was to "wait and watch".

Equally wrong were those who, on the other hand, refused to see the tremendous significance of the Gorbachev-Reagan Summit and the new grand possibilities for effective popular action, which had opened up: they called for "business as usual", and carrying on the struggle for peace in the old way, ignoring the vital changes required in the new period.

Both viewpoints, based on false premises, could result only in the weakening of peace action, at a moment when redoubled activity was more possible, more vital and necessary than ever.

It is in this context that the millions who have participated in the many peace and anti-war movements, are rejecting incorrect and false interpretations of the INF Treaty, and are acting to ensure that SSD-III reflects the new philosophy of peace.

It is not enough for SSD-III to endorse the excellent document adopted by SSD-I and re-affirmed by SSD-II. Of course, this en-

dorsement is necessary, but the new situation demands that the United Nations goes still further and emphasises the key issues, on which the mass actions of the peoples have been concentrated in the period since the Washington Treaty.

There are important forces, which not only oppose further progress towards a nuclear-weapon-free world, but are openly attacking the Washington Treaty itself. These forces are essentially centred around those sections of the military-industrial complex in the U.S.A., who are making super-profits from the production of the most sophisticated nuclear weapons (including those being prepared for the so-called "Strategic Defence Initiative"), chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

Public opinion seeks to persuade the governments at SSD-III to adhere firmly to the positive stands taken at previous Special Sessions, and build on the results of the Washington Treaty. This necessitates that SSD-III should come out categorically on such key issues as the following:

- the signing of another U.S.-Soviet Treaty by mid-1988 on the immediate reduction by fifty per cent, and more later till their final elimination, of their strategic weapons;
- the prohibition of all nuclear weapon tests through a comprehensive test ban treaty;
- the prohibition of the entry of nuclear weapons into outer space, which must be used only for peaceful purposes;
- concrete steps for the establishment of those nuclear-weapon-free zones and peace zones in various regions of the world, which are the focus of disarmament actions by the peoples of such zones;
- reduction of military budgets, and transfer of resources, now used for armament production, to social and economic development, the ending of hunger, poverty and disease.

The Third Special Session must also be able to highlight absolutely new concepts of national security, and the ways to ensure such security.

It is necessary to accept and recognise, in the reality of the nuclear space age of today, that the security of one country or a group of countries cannot be ensured at the expense of the security of other countries. Security for one requires the security for all. Increases in nuclear armaments, far from contributing to national security, endanger it.

The only real security for each and all lies in the total elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and in complete and general disarmament, under effective international control.

Another essential concept, which is being increasingly put forward by public opinion, is the need for all-embracing global security—not only covering the military field, but also political, economic, ecological and humanitarian security.

Non-governmental organisations contributed in a major way to the success of both the earlier Special Sessions on Disarmament. Today public opinion is far stronger than before.

This stronger public opinion is the guarantee for the success of SSD-III, the guarantee that SSD-III will be an outstanding landmark in the march of the peoples of our planet towards that goal so vividly described in the Delhi Declaration of November 1986, signed by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi—a world without nuclear weapons and violence.



INF Treaty A Historic Step in the Cause of Nuclear Disarmament

The signing of the Treaty between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the elimination of their intermediate range and shorter-range nuclear missiles has been widely hailed as a historic first step in the cause of nuclear disarmament.

The Treaty, which was signed by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan in Washington on 8 December 1987, includes the Memorandum of Understanding and Protocols which form an integral part of it.

It is subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each Party.

Published here is a brief resume of the main features of the Memorandum of Understanding and the Protocols on the elimination of the missiles and the verification procedures.

ACCORDING to the Memorandum of Understanding on the setting of initial data in connection with the Treaty, subject to elimination by the Soviet Party are 826 deployed and non-deployed IRMs, including 470 deployed IRMs; and by the American party 689 IRMs, including 429 deployed IRMs.

As regards the SRMs, the Soviet Party will eliminate 926 deployed and non-deployed missiles and the American party 170 such missiles.

The various data included in the Memorandum apply to about 100 facilities for the Soviet Party and to more than 30 facilities in the U.S. and on the territory of five West European basing countries. As is known, the Soviet IRMs are deployed exclusively on the territory of the U.S.S.R., while the respective American systems are on the territory of the following U.S. NATO allies: West Germany, Britain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The document specifies deployment areas and missile operating bases, gives their exact geographical location and cites data on the number of deployed IRMs, their launchers and support structures and support equipment associated with those missiles and launchers at those facilities.

Detailed data is provided, too, with regard to the deployed and non-deployed SRMs of the Parties, launchers for those missiles and support equipment associated with those missiles and launchers. In particular, there is data concerning both the Soviet SRMs deployed and non-deployed on the territory of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet SRMs deployed in the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia, as well as the American SRMs stored on the territory of the U.S. There is also data concerning the location of storage and missile and launcher repair

facilities, training centres and elimination facilities.

Also cited are the Soviet and American plants manufacturing IRMs and SRMs and their launchers and the exact geographical location of those works.

In the U.S.S.R. there are 4 such plants and in the U.S. five. Subject to permanent observations are the plants for the production of ballistic IRMs in the cities of Volkovsk (U.S.S.R.) and Magna (U.S.A.) while verification on a periodic basis within the framework of quota inspections of the non-production of launchers for ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles will be effected at the plants in the cities of Volgograd, Petropavlovsk and Sverdlovsk in the U.S.S.R. and at the plants in the cities of Middle River and San Diego in the U.S.A. The other missile plants listed in the Memorandum will not be inspected.

A special section in the Memorandum is

devoted to specifications for IRMs and SRMs and for the support structures and support equipment associated with those missiles and their launchers (size, weight, etc.).

Attached to the Memorandum are photographs of the missiles, launchers and support structures and support equipment subject to elimination, and also layouts of the installations subject to inspection.

The Protocol on Procedures specifies the elements of missile systems subject to elimination, and the order and methods of eliminating missiles, launchers and support equipment and facilities.

The intermediate-range missiles shall be eliminated within a period of three years in two stages, the first of which will last for 29 months. The process of elimination shall commence simultaneously for the U.S.S.R. and for the U.S.A. The United States shall reduce all types of missiles on a proportional basis so that the initial ratio between the ballistic missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles subject to elimination be maintained. Shorter-range missiles shall be eliminated within eighteen months.

Missiles are subject to elimination along with their nuclear warheads, including 72 American warheads on West German Pershing 1A missiles.

The Protocol provides for the elimination of missiles by explosive demolition or burning, and, in the case of an agreed-upon number of intermediate-range missiles, by launching. The front section of a missile will be crushed or flattened in a press, and the nuclear charge shall be subject to utilization.

Launchers and support equipment shall be eliminated by making them unsuitable for use as military technology. Former mobile launch installations and transporter vehicles (prime movers) can be used in the economy.

Missile systems shall be eliminated at sites specially agreed upon by the Parties. The Soviet Union shall have eight and the United States two such sites.

Thus, the Protocol on the Elimination of



General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan signing the INF Treaty in Washington on 8 December 1987.

Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles lays down exhaustive data on how the elimination of missiles shall proceed.

The Protocol regarding Inspections contains provisions assuring effective verification of compliance with the Treaty during the time of elimination of intermediate-range missiles (i.e., three years) and shorter-range missiles (within one year and a half) and within the subsequent ten years.

Verification of compliance with the provisions of the Treaty shall be carried out in accordance with Article XI of the Treaty (on inspection), the Protocol on Inspection and the Protocol on Elimination. An important role is allotted to national technical means of verification.

On-site inspections are provided for both within the territories of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. and the territories of the countries where the missiles to be destroyed are located: the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia, on the one hand; and the F.R.G., Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands on the other.

The total number of inspections the U.S.S.R. may conduct within the territory of the U.S.A. and in the West European countries for the 13 years of operation of the verification mechanism is about 240; the U.S.A. may carry out a total of about 400 inspections in the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R.

The following types of inspections are provided for:

Inspections to check the initial data. They shall begin 30 days, and be completed no later than 90 days, after entry into force of the Treaty.

Inspections to confirm the elimination of missile operating bases and missile support facilities other than missile production facilities. These inspections shall be conducted for three years, i.e., during the time of elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

Inspections of non-production of missiles at producer plants, one for either Party, shall be conducted by means of continuous monitoring of the portals for the absence of missile output, and for the non-production of ballistic and cruise missile launchers within the framework of quota inspections.

Inspections at sites of elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, launchers of such missiles and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers.

Inspections on a quota basis shall be conducted for 13 years at all missile operating bases and missile support facilities other than missile production facilities. The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have the right to conduct 20 such inspections each per calendar year during the first three years after entry into force of the Treaty and respectively 15 and 10 such inspections per calendar year during the subsequent first and second five-year periods.

Europe After the INF Agreement

HANNU NIEMINEN

HOW should the effects of the INF agreement be evaluated from the point of security in Europe?

Behind the double zero option, as the INF agreement is also called, can be found some interesting non-answered questions. Why has it been supported in the U.S.A. by men who previously were known as strong opponents of disarmament, as hawks, not doves? Why did Western Europe seem to be much more reluctant to do away with the missiles than the U.S.A.?

It has been said that the basic reason for the United States to start deploying the "Euromissiles" was a political one. It was to tie Western Europe even more closely in its dependency to U.S. military superiority, in a situation when Europe had not only reached the same economic level as the U.S.A. but had even surpassed it in some fields.

The other reason was also stated to be political. The increased influence of the peace movements in the beginning of the 1980s had made it necessary for the military circles of the U.S.A. to give an effective counterblow to it. The decision to start the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe, despite massive popular resistance to it, was meant to be the counterblow.

According to this line of argument, the cruise and Pershing II missiles were, first of all, meant to be political weapons, with which the U.S.A. would be able to make a bargain when a suitable occasion arose. But why did such an occasion come at this time? According to some analysts, this has been brought about by Pentagon's plans to make a basic change in the military strategy of the U.S.A.

The central idea, according to these analysts, is to safeguard U.S. soil—which is the essence of the argument for Reagan's "Star Wars" programme. This also highlights the growing importance of maritime strategy. The U.S. Navy is going through its largest programme of expansion since World War II. The U.S. has to give greater attention in its military strategy to the

Pacific area which is growing rapidly in importance in world economy. Further, the U.S. has to put more and more resources to deal with the developments in the Third World, as the events in the Gulf area have shown us.

U.S.A.'s Military Relations with Western Europe

All this—together with the economic troubles of the U.S.A.—makes the United States to try to arrange its military relations with Western Europe in a new way. The main idea in restructuring these relations is to get West European countries to carry more responsibility for military costs of NATO, in terms of armament and the maintenance of military troops.

The idea is not to encourage West European countries to have a more independent policy or to make them distance themselves from the U.S.A. On the contrary, it is to tie West Europe more closely to the "common" Western military strategy, led by the U.S.A., with its own resources.

Confusion in West Europe

In the West European governments, however, the recent development has created a lot of confusion. The objectives and intentions of the U.S.A. are seen to be unclear. There is a fear that in the 1990s, the U.S.A. is perhaps going to concentrate more on increasing only its own strategic potential. It could mean that its allies would be left to fend for themselves with their own resources. It could also lead to the West European countries fighting amongst themselves to acquire the leading position after the U.S. domination ceases.

The fear about "Abkopplung", U.S. disengagement from Europe, includes several controversial questions. There is a fear that it would lead—if realised—to West Europe reaching an irrevocable technological backwardness. This would come about after the U.S. orders for military production are no longer available to boost the development of European high technology based on military industry. There is a fear that the weakening or perhaps total withdrawal of the U.S. nuclear umbrella over West Europe would lead the West European countries into sharpening disagreements. This could also result in the weakening of

HANNU NIEMINEN

Research scholar in social sciences; member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council (Finland)

West Europe not only militarily but more than that economically, compared with the U.S.A. and Japan. There is a fear that the U.S.A. would withdraw its military troops from West Europe—almost half a million men—which would have some effect even on the national economy of the NATO countries.

In these circumstances, there have emerged different aspects of the West European reaction to the INF agreement.

Firstly, there is a need to secure the internal stability of West Europe in a situation where it is not maintained by security provided by the might of the U.S. nuclear deterrent. A European substitute would be required, a European nuclear arm, to prevent the emergence of internal disagreements between West European countries. This need is served in an effective manner by the independent nuclear deterrence of France, supported by the less autonomous nuclear armament of Great Britain.

Secondly, there must be found an effective way to show to the U.S.A. that it cannot just one-sidedly loosen its engagements with West Europe. There is a need to find means strong enough for successful pressure and blackmail against the U.S.A. Such an instrument seems to be the strengthening of the status of the West European Union (WEU). Its policy is formulated by those West European countries, which most definitely stress the importance of heavy nuclear deterrence as a security guarantee for the continent.

The raising of the status of the WEU would mean also that the whole West European development is to be determined by an ever narrower policy of its political circles. (The WEU member states are France, Great Britain, F.R.G., Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg and Italy.)

Thirdly, there is a need to secure sufficient orders for the rapidly expanding West European military industry. The previous plans must now be given a new justification in a new situation. This creates also a possibility to speed up the development of European armament.

All this is the basis for the decisions to strengthen conventional armament in West Europe, to increase the number of military troops, to develop and deploy new battlefield nuclear weapons, to create bilateral military cooperation between France and F.R.G. and between France and Great Britain, etc. Such decisions were made, for example, in the WEU meeting in the Hague on 26–27 October 1987 and in the NATO nuclear planning group meeting in Monterey, California on 3–4 November 1987.

How is it possible to have all this argued and accepted, when the vast populace, after a decade-long campaigning in the peace movement, had begun to be convinced about the futility and danger of the arms race?

The central argument presented by the WEU and the NATO seems to be: nothing has changed. According to this, the U.S.S.R. is still increasing its armament in Europe both quantitatively and qualitatively. Its constant threat of a surprise attack is still based on its superiority in conventional arms and in the number of military troops.

And because nothing has changed, all forces concerned about the security of West Europe are to take care of it by ensuring that the ability to defend West European countries shall not be weakened because of the INF agreement. On the other hand, the ability for Flexible Response—the general doctrine of NATO—has to be safeguarded. Thus the gap, created by the withdrawal of the cruise and Pershing II missiles, must be filled. It demands even more armament than the missiles to be withdrawn represent.



Because the U.S.A., according to this line of argumentation, is leaving West Europe more and more at the mercy of the U.S.S.R. and other Warsaw Pact countries, the West European countries must now make more efforts themselves. The military policy must be "Europeanised", which means not only a voluntary increase in national military budgets but also in efforts in the field of high technology applicable to military purposes, with more orders to the West European arms industry, etc. Such projects are Eureka, ESA, technological programmes within the European Community (Esprit, Race, etc.) bring good possibilities also for the "Europeanisation" of military technology.

Among the West European socialist parties, the confusion seems to be understandably considerable. The policy of non-nuclearisation does not seem to have brought any major victories in the national elections during the last years. Even the leadership of the Labour Party of Great

Britain has come to believe that the main reason for its defeat in the general election in the summer of 1987 was its over-emphasis on its policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

On the other hand, the policy aiming towards independent European nuclear deterrence, supported by President Mitterrand, seems to get increasing support also among the socialist parties of the NATO countries. They want to believe that:

- it offers "independence" from the unforeseen European policy of the U.S.A.,
- it creates a needed cohesive force for West Europe against its centrifugal tendencies and internal disagreements,
- it makes West Europe an independent entity to negotiate with the Warsaw Pact countries.

A clear exception to this resignation to nuclear "realism" is the F.R.G. The "Brandtian" political tradition of the SPD, basing on the principles of detente and peaceful coexistence, seems to create the most important counterbalance to the forces around the WEU and the NATO.

What makes the development in the F.R.G. specially interesting is that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kohl Government, Mr. Genscher, has traditionally a much more positive attitude towards the "Brandtian" East policy and detente than Chancellor Kohl himself.

Perspectives of Peace Movement

For the peace movement, the situation is a real challenge. The INF agreement is certainly an important victory for all peace forces in the very central area of nuclear armament. But at the same time the opponent—let it be called the transnational military industrial complex—is capable of functioning in new areas where the peace forces do not yet have the ability and readiness to react. By the time the peace movement analyses the situation and comes to a decision on joint action, the opponent will have already started new operations to mislead and create confusion among the public audience.

The peace movement must develop from being only a reacting and defending force into an initiator and challenger also in regard to the questions concerning security policy and military strategy. And to reach this goal, there is only one way: to become experts on these issues. Otherwise, it may happen like it seems to have happened to some in the West European peace movement. They seem to believe that the responsibility for the new re-armament decisions of the WEU and the NATO, lies with the U.S.S.R. and the other Warsaw Pact countries—because they stubbornly maintain superiority in Central Europe with conventional weapons and military troops, in this case, it seems, the WEU and the NATO propaganda has worked well.

How shall we take up the challenge?

Star Wars Illusions

They May Have Disastrous Consequences for the World

BORIS SURIKOV

The U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), known as Star Wars, is a major obstacle to nuclear disarmament. With this "technological miracle" the United States is determined to achieve military superiority through space. What new threat will hang over the world if SDI is implemented? What may Soviet responses be? These and other questions are answered here by Soviet Air Force Major General Boris Surikov, SALT-I negotiator and government expert on new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

The answers were given in an interview to Soviet journalist S. Guk in Moscow in November 1987.

Q. A lot has been written about SDI in this country and abroad. The U.S. administration considers it a universal means of saving the world from nuclear war. Our view is fundamentally different: we believe that SDI would create a threat from space. What does it add to existing arsenals of destruction? What difference does it make whether mankind will be destroyed 10 times or 50 times? Once is enough...

A. I shall explain. An ordinary ICBM takes 30-35 minutes to reach a target. Its take-off is registered by land- and space-based warning systems. Now imagine a battle station deployed in space at the height of 600-700 kilometres. Space-to-Earth missiles launched from it will hit their targets in five minutes. The advocates of SDI hope that this system will make it possible to take the enemy by surprise: his (enemy's) counterstrike system will be destroyed and the attacker will remain unscathed.

Is SDI a Defensive System?

Q. It is the principle that "the best defence is a good offense", isn't it? But the SDI is reportedly to include systems to intercept missiles and warheads, that is, purely defensive systems.

BORIS SURIKOV

Air Force Major General; SALT-I negotiator and Government expert on new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction (U.S.S.R.)

A. Let us put it straight. I was an adviser with the Soviet delegation at the ABM talks. At that time the Americans well realised that even a limited ABM system would stimulate the arms race. Whether you want this or not, each side would seek all the time a way to strengthen its own security and make vulnerable the security of the other side. To prevent anything that would stimulate the arms race, Article 5 of the ABM Treaty prohibited the development, testing and deployment of an ABM system or components that are sea-based, air-based, space-based or mobile land-based.

Till the early 1980s both sides had interpreted the treaty in the same way, that is, the way it was signed and ratified in 1972. Then President Reagan was made to believe that it would be better for U.S. security to ignore the treaty and develop a multi-layered ABM system with land-, air- and space-based elements, capable of destroying enemy missiles after launch, at guidance and final phases of their flight. The President was also convinced that such a project was technically feasible.

In 1983 the United States launched its Strategic Defence Initiative. Enormous resources were allocated for research and development. More than 10,000 million dollars have been spent on SDI already. The Star Wars programme put the termless ABM treaty, an agreement of great importance, in jeopardy. The U.S. administration announced its "broad" interpretation, allowing any unlimited testing of a space-based ABM system and its components in orbit.

Q. They have tested something at land-based sites, haven't they?

A. There was one experiment with a laser, but it was more for show. A laser using hydrogen fluoride seared a hole in a body of a Titan missile at the distance of one kilometre. The experiment was conducted on earth. A series of experiments have been conducted in space.

Now I shall return to where I started. The United States is planning to orbit battle stations that will carry light anti-missile rockets or interceptor missiles with homing warheads guided by heat. They are not effective as warhead interceptors. The information system of a homing war-

head cannot tell an ICBM from a piece of metal or a fragment of a dead satellite. Besides, heat-guided warheads are useless at heights less than 100 kilometres.

But the question is who will guarantee that such a battle station is not carrying space-to-earth missiles with nuclear or neutron warheads for destroying vitally important targets in Soviet territory.

Q. Is it possible to make sure what kind of missiles are deployed on a battle station?

A. It is a very difficult thing to do. For this one should launch into space for inspection of space vehicles carrying equipment to detect nuclear weapons on such platforms and make a close approach to these platforms or inspect every American space vehicle before launch. A country's security requires one to anticipate the worst, that is, that ABM battle stations carry, besides anti-missile missiles, space-to-earth nuclear weapons. Needless to say that trust would be seriously undermined in Soviet-U.S. relations while suspicion would increase if nuclear weapons were put in orbit.

Q. You have said that light anti-missile rockets are not effective. What do American experts think?

A. They think the same, for they know this perfectly well. In April 1987 I was in the United States where I met American generals and scientists. They agreed that the system was very weak from the point of view of defence and said that in space it would be 10-11 per cent effective or 15-16 per cent at the outside.

Now think who would want to spend such a great deal of money on building a penetrable anti-missile shield. But while this system is not good for defence, it is quite good for a first strike. This is the only reason why the United States is so stubbornly clinging to its plan to build a "missile defence system" which will never be able to perform its functions.

SDI's First Strike Potential

Q. What else can battle stations be used for?

A. Light missiles with thermal warheads can be used for hitting warning and communications satellites.

Q. Does that mean blinding and deafening the enemy at one go?

A. Yes, it does. And then a nuclear blow can be dealt at the key positions.

Q. Let us assume that all the satellites are suddenly disabled. What will be the first thought of those responsible for the security of a country?

A. As long as battle stations are not deployed, it can be assumed that there is a technological failure or some other cause like, for instance, a meteorite flow. The appearance of battle stations with missiles in the near-earth space is a different story. In that case, one is to proceed from the

...is that a blinding blow has been dealt. When warning satellites get out of order but we know for sure that there are no weapons in space is one thing. We can always detect the other side's ICBMs by ground-based radars at a sufficiently far distance. We have the means to analyse the malfunctioning of the satellites and report it to our superiors. But if there are nuclear weapons in space... We are also against SDI because it increases the risk of an unmediated conflict as a result of a technology failure, which happens rather frequently today.

Q. In case there is an agreement on a 50-per cent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, the United States is prepared to honour the ABM Treaty for the next seven years, while we insist on ten years. Why ten years?

A. We hope that during ten years the United States will become convinced of the senselessness of SDI. It will be able to conduct laboratory tests, check its key programmes and, hopefully, realise that these weapons are senseless. Besides, if strategic nuclear weapons are radically reduced, a qualitatively new military and strategic situation will obtain in ten years. Clearly, it will make the absurdity of placing weapons in space even more obvious.

New Generation of Weapons

Q. Let us assume that nuclear weapons of not only a third but a fourth or a fifth generation will be developed and that such weapons will be capable of eliminating the enemy without detriment to their own territory—no massive radiation, no total contamination, no "nuclear winter".

A. Along with research into the possibility of developing beam, laser and other weapons based on new physical principles, the U.S. is actively engaged in developing a third generation of nuclear weapons. Several dozen nuclear devices have been exploded in Nevada to test new and more powerful directed energy weapons. A nuclear-pumped X-ray laser is an example. Imagine a large-calibre projectile conjugated with a targeting system and a 100-kiloton or more nuclear charge (an equivalent of several Hiroshimas) and a "sheaf" of thin metal rods. Powered by a nuclear explosion, the "sheaf" would emit a powerful blast of X-ray beams targeted to knock out a flying missile or its warheads.

Physicists believe that such weapons with a range of 3,000 kilometres are quite feasible. Accuracy is a different thing.

Thomas Johnson, an American physicist and an expert in nuclear energy, agreed with me that such a weapon can never hit a moving missile. A nuclear charge is triggered by an explosion of a conventional substance, and its kickback will certainly affect targeting. What is more, the atmosphere prevents a space-based X-ray laser from hitting targets at lower than 100 kilometres altitude.

Therefore, it is enough to develop missiles with a shortened active stage of flight under 100 kilometres in order to make them safe. Hitting a small-size high-velocity warhead is like attempting to shoot down a bullet. But I repeat: the battle stations can be equipped, say, with neutron-tipped space-earth missiles, rather than defensive weapons.

Q. Does that mean that neutralizing the retaliation strike is the Pentagon's main task?

A. That is right. Disabling major military objects, paralyzing control systems, weakening the retaliatory blow and intercepting what is left with the help of a large-scale anti-ballistic defense system is the aim.

Q. Let us return to the question whether in ten years we will agree to a broader interpretation of the ABM Treaty as sought by the United States, which will virtually sanction SDI?

A. By no means so. The Soviet Union is not against laboratory research, modelling on the Earth and the deployment of certain information systems in space, for these are no weapons. But there must be no strike means in space, and that is the main thing. There should be no concessions on this issue, and certainly no "sanctifying" the immoral plans that are dangerous to humankind.

SDI threatens to reduce to nil all the attempts at diminishing the risk of a nuclear catastrophe. It increases uncertainty and mistrust and leads to a situation fraught with reckless and, maybe, even fatal decisions.

Q. The West asserts that we ourselves have long been working on our own SDI programme and have even surpassed the U.S.A. in some respects, for example, in laser weapons.

A. We have not been working on SDI. The U.S.S.R. has no programme for a large-scale missile defense system. Even when conducting the SALT-1 talks we knew that both the traditional anti-missiles and means based on new physical principles could be used for ABM targets. The Soviet and U.S. delegations then agreed that such work should be allowed, but only at stationary ground facilities and within agreed ABM sites. Besides that, the treaty permits modernising the existing, permitted ABM means, of course, within operative limitations. Therefore we have from time to time replaced the obsolete anti-missiles with new ones—in a permitted ABM area of the capital. But no more than that.

Q. To SDI we, as has been announced, are preparing an asymmetrical answer. I understand that this is not a question where all the details can be set forth, but still, within the limits of the possible, please say how this answer will look?

A. We do not intend to play power games with the U.S.A. But neither are we going to watch indifferently how clouds will be gathering over our heads.

Our experts have made a preliminary assessment of the elements of SDI. Using mathematical modelling methods, they studied the efficiency of several variants of a futuristic ABM system. Our scientists have also assessed the range of possible countermeasures. By the way, the assessments in a number of cases are similar to the main findings contained in the publications of the U.S. Union of Concerned Scientists, the Council on Economic Priorities and others.

Here are but a few of possible countermeasures against space-based arms that would not allow the U.S.A. to deliver a nuclear strike with impunity. The first and simplest is to increase the strategic offensive potential in proportion to the increased danger. There is a variant of creating inexpensive dummy missiles without warheads which at their massive launch in retaliation together with ICBMs will heavily overload the first space and other echelons of a U.S. missile defence. Our missiles could also be concentrated in limited areas—this will require at least a trebling of U.S. combat platforms in space. It is also easy to protect missile bodies from laser beams (deflecting coatings, giving the body of a missile rotatory motion, equipping it with a cooling system, etc.). We can start building up arms for which there are no means of interception: the same cruise missiles cannot be hit from space as the atmosphere will protect them. Besides that, they can be produced on a mass scale if necessary. So the U.S.S.R. is in a position to keep the U.S.A. from the temptation to deliver a disarming first strike. And then anti-ABM systems can also be set up far more quickly than a large-scale ABM network. Strategic equilibrium under any conditions will not be upset. It is only a pity that the arms race will again intensify and may get out of control. But it is not we who are provoking it.

Means against SDI Space Platforms

Q. Is the creation of means against combat space platforms possible?

A. Of course. They can be put out of action by small satellite killers with an extra protection from lasers and with homing heads. Or with the help of inexpensive space mines placed in orbit. Dense clouds of heavy or light obstacles, such as metal balloons, sawdust and sand can be put up in the way of the flight of combat and information platforms. The measures will be combined, an antidote will be found for any poison.

Q. Have our experts taken account of all possible SDI variants? What if the Pentagon takes us unawares when matters come to the realisation of the project?

A. Miracles do not happen, all the less so in the field of military technology. Any new weapon has first to be developed in a laboratory, modelled and tested. They

now, for example, intend to check the potentialities of a so-called acceleration weapon, based on the use of elementary high-energy particles which are accelerated to enormous speeds. Initially they planned to hit from space with this weapon our missiles on the active flight leg. Then it turned out that this weapon does not act below 200 kilometres. The atmosphere provides a screen. And then orbiting such a cumbersome system (imagine one-twentieth of the Serpukhov synchrotron) is not that easy at all. Now they have discarded this idea, having decided to test accelerators for the identification of decoy from real targets. They are planning to lift into space about 20 tons of payload: an accelerator, a target satellite (the analogue of a warhead) and a detector satellite and then to irradiate with this beam the target at a distance of several kilometres. They want to see what will come out of it. But what if a missile or a warhead flies at a distance of several thousand kilometres? I would say, let them waste their money on such experiments if they want.

Q. The U.S.A. intends to spend on SDI from 1.5 to 2 million million dollars—a sum astronomical, if not, to say, mad. But that is their business. We are concerned with another thing: how much will an asymmetrical response cost us?

A. Our specialists have estimated this too. At least ten times less. For we have no military-industrial complex, nobody is interested in inflating the expenditures. Everything will depend on what specific systems they will choose. It is possible that the cost to us will be even less. Out of all the variants of counter measures we shall do our best to select the most optimal: sufficient for security and without unnecessary expenditures for the budget of the country.

Dismantle U.S. Bases in Japan

MASAYOSHI NAGAO

The struggle against foreign bases in Japan gained momentum with the holding of the 1987 Japan Peace Conference for Abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Military Alliance and Removal of Military Bases, in Tokyo, Japan, in November 1987. (This was the second conference of its kind, the first having been held in 1986.)

In the keynote speech at the international solidarity meeting held in connection with the 1987 Japan Peace Conference, Mr. Masayoshi Nagao stressed the urgency of mobilising the anti-nuclear sentiments of the people for making a frontal demand for the removal of foreign bases and the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty—the root cause of all these evils.

Published here are extracts from Mr. Nagao's speech.

UNDER the coordinated policy of the Reagan administration and the Nakasone government for consolidation of the Japan-U.S. military alliance, the functions of U.S. military bases in Japan have been intensified. At the same time, Japan's Self Defence Forces (SDF) have been strengthened, with the Japan-U.S. joint exercises improving their operational ability. The contradictions between these developments and the people's living standards are becoming sharper and sharper. This is seen in the growing struggles on Miyake-jima island and in Zushi against the U.S. presence there.

The Takeshita Cabinet has taken the place of the Nakasone government, the worst of all postwar administrations. Some people have illusions about this cabinet, considering it to be somewhat better than the previous administration. But that is really a misconception. The new government has repeatedly declared that it will continue the line of the previous administration—the settlement of all accounts of postwar politics. In essence, the new Takeshita cabinet is the successor to the pro-alliance Nakasone line. As long as we are under the spell of the military alliance system of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty the situation will never improve by any change of administration; it can even grow worse.

Let us briefly dwell on how the functions of the U.S. bases in Japan have been intensified during the past one year.

Battleships carrying Tomahawk nuclear cruise missiles, the present highlight of U.S. maritime strategy, are making more frequent port calls at Yokosuka. The deployment of F-16 nuclear attack planes at Misawa Air Base has been supplemented and the arrangement made more durable by the construction of support facilities, including nuclear shelters.

While in the Iwakuni Marine Base FA 18 nuclear attack planes are deployed, in Okinawa Hawk Missile Troops have been introduced. There is another plan to con-

struct a training airstrip for Harriers, vertical take-off planes capable of both nuclear and conventional attacks, in Kunigami-son in the north of Okinawa. This is the habitat of rare wild plants and animals, including the Yanbaru-kuna bird. The construction of a military base on Miyake-jima island aims directly at further training of pilots with carrier-borne aircraft. The military housing construction plan in Zushi is part of the preparation of the home port-



Meeting in Japan for Removal of U.S. Military Bases.

ing of a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier.

The Japanese Self Defence Forces, too, are being reinforced by the construction of a VLF (Very Low Frequency) communication base at Ebino, Miyazaki. It is to be used as a command centre for submarines.

A landing operations site has been established at Hamaoaki in Hokkaido, and an "Elephant cage" signal monitoring facility on Kikaigashima island.

Along with the strengthening of U.S. military facilities and increased SDF capability, Japan-U.S. joint operations are more and more being prepared for actual warfare, in a U.S. emergency.

Another point that should be noted in the operation at Hijudai is that planes of the U.S. Forces in the Republic of Korea (ROK), which had first appeared in the Japan-U.S. combined exercises held in October 1986 centering on Hokkaido, again took part in this operation.

We must create a huge movement to root out the very cause of the evil, i.e., the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. To reach this goal, the anti-base struggle must be made our everyday work.

MASAYOSHI NAGAO
Representative Director, Japan Peace Committee (Japan)

History of U.S. Military Bases in Japan

The origin of the United States military bases in Japan goes back to the occupation of Japan by the Allied Forces after Japan's unconditional surrender in 1945. The U.S. forces, the major part of the occupation forces, took over the bases of the former Japanese Imperial Army and Navy, and began to station themselves there. While placing Okinawa under the direct military administration of the occupation forces, the U.S., under the strategic policy, chose an indirect form to rule over mainland Japan.

During the war in Korea, which started in 1950, mainland Japan and Okinawa were fully used for the U.S. war operation, with U.S. forces making sorties against Korea from their bases in Japan.

Under the occupation of the Allied Forces, the Japanese Imperial Army and Navy were dissolved, and then the present "Peace Constitution" came into force in 1947. (This Constitution has never been revised since then.)

After the outbreak of the war in Korea in 1950, General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Occupation Forces in Japan, ordered the Japanese Government to form military forces under the name of "Police Reserve", with the aim of filling with them the military vacuum after the U.S. forces moved to Korea. The units of the "Police Reserve" were formed in the U.S. bases in Japan. This is the origin of Japan's present Self Defence Forces (SDF).

In September 1951, the Peace Treaty on Japan was signed in San Francisco, U.S.A. The Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia refused to sign it. Although Japan became formally independent, Okinawa was kept under direct U.S. military rule until the right to administer it was restored to Japan in 1972. At that time, in 1951, the "Japan-U.S. Security Treaty" was also signed, with the aim of keeping U.S. forces stationed in Japan. The essential character of the then Security Treaty was to provide bases for the U.S. forces. But a revision

was made in the Treaty in 1960, and the current "Security Treaty" provides that the U.S. forces and the SDF will conduct joint operations at the time of emergency.

After the ceasefire of the Korean War in 1953, as U.S. forces gradually withdrew from Japan, the SDF was reinforced and it took over a number of U.S. bases. Yet the U.S. bases in Okinawa and mainland Japan were so important that in the 1960s a U.S. high official stated that there could be no war in Vietnam without U.S. bases in Japan.

U.S. Military Personnel in Japan

At present, the U.S. forces exclusively use 106 bases, 42 territorial sea areas and 22 airspaces of Japan. The total area of the U.S. bases in Japan is some 331 square kilometres, and 70 per cent of it is concentrated on Okinawa. Out of this total area, some 48 per cent is owned by the State and the rest by private owners. Adding to these bases, the U.S. forces also use "temporarily" 25 other places as joint bases with the SDF (the total area of which is some 541 square kilometres).

One of the characteristics of the present situation is a considerable increase in the joint use of the SDF bases. The number of the bases jointly used by the U.S. forces and the SDF has risen from 6 to 25 in the period from 1978 to January 1987.

The U.S. forces in Japan have some 49,200 personnel: 22,600 in the Marines, 16,600 in the Air Force, 7,900 in the Navy and 2,100 in the Army. (As of the end of 1986, the figure does not include military personnel deployed at sea, such as those on the 7th Fleet).

The major part of the U.S. forces in Japan is under the U.S. Pacific Command in Hawaii. The Headquarters of the U.S. forces in Japan is placed in Yokota air base, Tokyo, where the commander-in-chief, a Lieutenant General, also holds the post of commander for the U.S. Fifth Air Force. In peace time, the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. forces in Japan functions only to coordinate between the commanders of the Army, the Navy and the Marines, leaving all units to operate under respective commanders' control. But he is authorised to command all U.S. troops stationed in Japan at the time of an emergency.

The biggest force of all is the Marine Corps: the Headquarters of the 3rd Marine Amphibious Forces is placed at Camp Courtney, Okinawa, and its commands both a Marine division in Okinawa and a Marine Aircraft Group at Iwakuni, Yamaguchi prefecture. This is the only Marine division deployed outside the U.S.A.

The Headquarters of the Fifth Air Force in the Yokota base commands three air base wings, composed of F-15 fighters

stationed in Kadena, Okinawa, and two F-16 air base wings of Misawa.

The Navy has its Headquarters at the Yokosuka military port, Kanagawa, mainly for the support operation of the 7th Fleet. Yokosuka is the home port for the U.S. aircraft carrier Midway, the only home port for a U.S. aircraft carrier that operates outside of the U.S.A. It is also the home port for the flagship of the 7th Fleet and for the 15th destroyers group. At Kamiseya base, Kanagawa, there is the Headquarters of the Patrol Wing 1 of the 7th Fleet, which commands P-3C units at Misawa and Kadena.

The Army has its Headquarters at Camp Zama, Kanagawa, but it does not have a fighting force in Okinawa or mainland Japan. Its main function is rearsupport. There is also the 9th Corps Headquarters in Camp Zama as a "paper command".

U.S. Spy Facilities

Besides these forces under the U.S. Pacific Command, NSA's spy facilities are found at Misawa, Kamiseya, Wakkanai (Hokkaido) and Sobe (Okinawa). There are also an air-to-air refuelling wing unit of KC-135s, which belongs to the Strategic Air Command, and SR-71 reconnaissance planes at Kadena. The port-calls of attack-submarines to Yokosuka, Whitebeach (Okinawa) and Sasebo have become more frequent, since the cruise missile Tomahawk was deployed for submarines.

For the United States, the U.S. bases in Japan constitute a part of the Western defence line. These are also a part of the military chain running from Alaska through the Aleutian islands, mainland Japan, Okinawa and the Philippines encircling the Soviet Union. As the northern Pacific and the Okhotsk Sea are regarded as strategically important, the U.S. gives more weight than before to the U.S. bases in Japan. These bases were a "corner stone" of the U.S. strategy in Asia in carrying out the war in Korea and Vietnam, and remain vital in coping with volatile situations in Korea and the Philippines. The recent re-deployment of the Green Beret, an asymmetric force, in Okinawa proves this.

Link with U.S. Bases in Middle East

The U.S. bases in Japan also play an essential role in carrying on the U.S. Middle East strategy. The 3rd Marine Amphibious force is listed in the Rapid Deployment Forces; the flagship of the U.S. Fleet in the Middle East made a port call at Yokosuka in November 1987; and the U.S. aircraft carrier Midway was dispatched to the Middle East from there. The U.S. bases in Japan continue to threaten peace and security of the people of Asia and the Pacific.



Meeting Challenge to Revitalize Development, Growth and International Trade

This article is based on the Final Act of UNCTAD VII adopted by consensus by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at its seventh session held in Geneva, from 9 July to 3 August 1987.

In a Foreword to the UNCTAD booklet (TD/350) containing the Final Act, Secretary General of UNCTAD K.K.S. Dadzie said: "The Final Act is the first response of the international community, as represented at the Conference, to the challenge embodied in the central theme of the agenda for UNCTAD VII—to revitalize development, growth and international trade... While not covering the whole range of UNCTAD's concerns, the Final Act gives new impetus to work by governments and the (UNCTAD) Secretariat in several key areas of activity. More important, the thrust of this document extends beyond the confines of UNCTAD into the realm of national and international efforts to promote the economic and

social advancement of all peoples. It enshrines the outcome of a constructive, wide-ranging and action-oriented dialogue among developing and developed countries, which is generally considered to have given a timely boost to multilateral cooperation for development."

In his first evaluation of UNCTAD VII, Mr. Dadzie in a statement (appended to the booklet) said that the Conference had achieved constructive and significant advances even though many participants would have wished it to have gone further.

The Final Act has three chapters entitled Assessment of Relevant Economic Trends and Global Structural Change, Findings and Policy Implications; Policies and Measures; Orientations for the Future.

Published here are extracts from the chapters dealing with the Assessment and Orientations.

The world economy in the 1980s has been characterised by a slow-down in growth of demand and output, compared with the preceding two decades, generally lower rates of inflation, difficulties in many countries in adapting to structural changes, a mounting stack of debt, high real interest rates, inadequate net flows of financial resources, shifts in exchange rates, high and increasing levels of protection, commodity prices depressed to their lowest level in 50 years, terms-of-trade losses sustained by commodity exporting countries, and a generally insecure economic environment in which millions of people still lack the basic conditions for a decent life.

In this difficult global economic situation, there has been a diversity of socio-economic experiences. Developed market-economy countries have succeeded in curbing inflation and in maintaining steady, albeit slow, growth, but unemployment levels are still high and external payments imbalances remain excessive in some of these countries. On account of their dominant share in world trade, the impact of their slow growth has been transmitted to other countries which have had to reckon with it as a significant factor in policy formulation. Growth has slowed also in socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Most developing countries have had to retrench; they have been unable to consolidate and build upon the economic and social progress which they had achieved during the two preceding decades. In the 1980s, the average per capita income of the developing countries as a

whole fell further behind that of the developed countries. Indeed, per capita incomes declined in most countries in Latin America and in sub-Saharan Africa. Nevertheless, a number of more industrialised export-led economies of East Asia, and the larger Asian low-income economies, have continued to grow appreciably.

Many developing countries continue to face serious debt problems. The main debt indicators remain at historically high levels, even for the poorer among them. Whilst most countries with debt-servicing difficulties have neither achieved a satisfactory growth momentum nor recovered their creditworthiness, the debt strategy has allowed some resumption of capital flows and growth in some developing countries. There continues to exist a need for more timely and effective mobilization of lending by commercial banks. In the context of expanding lending requirements for development, the multilateral financial institutions need to be provided with adequate capital resources to support growth and adjustment.

The roles of the external economic environment and of domestic policies and structural factors are recognised as contributory elements to the diversity of experiences of developing countries, but judgements differ with respect to the relative weights of these elements.

Impact of Trade Restrictions

The 1980s have also been a time of complexity for economic policy-makers in

both developed and developing countries. Increasing unpredictability has been manifested in the unilateral adoption of trade restrictions specific to countries and products, and in the appearance of massive and often distorting flows of funds within and across international currency and commodity markets. Associated with these phenomena have been interrelated problems arising from currency misalignments, persistent payments imbalances, an uneven distribution of international liquidity, and net outflows of financial resources from many developing countries.

Both policy-makers and entrepreneurs are being challenged by an acceleration in the pace of structural changes which are very difficult to harness. These changes can be traced to a number of underlying factors, the most important of which are the impact of scientific advance and applied technology, and government policy stances. These factors are affecting production, consumption and trade patterns; producing far-reaching developments in the service sector, particularly financial services, and in commodity markets; significantly altering employment patterns; and leading to shifts in international competitiveness.

Many countries—developed and developing alike, including the least developed countries—are investing substantial efforts in adjusting their economies to these new realities in pursuit of their national objectives. They are also reappraising the respective roles of the public and private sectors in the economy. However, while

some have made progress in recent years in reducing or eliminating growth-retarding distortions and rigidities by enhancing the structural flexibility of their economies, much remains to be done.

The developed market-economy countries are committed to programmes of structural transformation to foster sustained non-inflationary growth, promote competition to accelerate industrial adjustment, facilitate job-creating investment, improve the functioning of labour markets, promote the further opening of internal markets, encourage the elimination of capital market imperfections, and reduce major imbalances between agricultural demand and supply.

Socialist countries of Eastern Europe have launched intensive policy reforms aimed at transforming the mechanisms of the national economy, improving the management of foreign economic relations and enhancing international competitiveness.

Many developing countries, recognising the importance of their national policies in promoting social and economic development, are striving to: strengthen their national capacities for mobilizing domestic resources, both financial and (through education and training) human; enhance the degree to which their economies can respond to efficient market signals; develop more flexible incentive systems for shifting productive resources in line with dynamic comparative advantage; expand the scope for entrepreneurial initiative and enterprise development; devise incentives for the adoption of appropriate technologies; enhance the contribution of the public sector and broaden opportunities for management and technical education. Others have acknowledged the need to adopt similar policy approaches. At the same time, the implementation of such comprehensive adjustment measures has often been accompanied by high social and political costs.

Important Factors of Interdependence

In view of the substantial and increasing interdependence in the world economy, both among countries and across the trade, money, finance and commodity sectors, national economic policies, through their interaction with the international economic environment, have become important factors influencing the development process. The more significant the country in terms of its economic weight, the greater is the effect of its policies on other countries. The structural characteristics of most developing economies leave them especially vulnerable to the impact of structural change and external shocks.

Interdependence among countries has been increasing as the growth of world trade has outpaced that of world output.

"Many UNCTAD members, despite opposition from some countries, proposed an international conference on money and finance for development with universal participation, with the aim of evolving a stable, effective and equitable monetary system."

Furthermore, there has been a closer integration of the various sectors of the world economy. With the rapid diffusion of new technologies, the secondary and tertiary sectors have become more tightly integrated, as in the merger of many service activities with production processes.

In the financial sector, a number of recent developments have accentuated the dependence of many countries upon their trade sectors. These have included the progressive dismantling of controls over international capital movements, the increasingly close connections between domestic and international financial markets, facilitated by the revolution in information and communications technology, the rise in the importance of the procyclical movement of international lending, the decline in net financial flows, and the scale of debt-servicing burdens compared with domestic savings capacities.

The pursuit of export expansion by commodity-dependent developing countries to achieve balance-of-payments equilibrium and longer-term structural adjustment towards a more balanced, less vulnerable economic structure, has failed to increase export earnings. In some instances, it has become a factor in generating oversupply, aggravating the effect on prices of weak demand. The sharp declines in commodity prices consequent thereon have resulted in losses of earnings, compounding the financial constraints. The least developed countries have been particularly affected in this regard.

Attempts to expand export earnings have also been hampered in the agricultural sector and in many industries because of erosion of multilateral discipline has permitted the rise of protectionism, particularly of the non-tariff, selective and discriminatory form, restricting market access.

In both these cases, the constraints on the ability of developing countries to increase their export revenues has further impaired their debt-servicing capacity. The resulting aggravation of the debt problem has, in turn, increased the calls on the

resources of the multilateral financial institutions for meeting the financing needs of developing countries, in view of the slowness of the commercial banking sector to renew voluntary lending to these countries.

Linkages between Economy, Population, Environment

Close interlinkages have also become apparent between the economy, population and the natural environment. The degradation of this environment associated with persistent poverty is being further worsened by the financial pressures on developing countries, which have led to the over-exploitation of natural resources and reductions in environmental programmes. Recognition is, however, growing that such degradation can be halted and reversed only by ecologically sustainable growth and by integrating environmental factors in development programmes.

Current economic performance in some developed and developing countries as well as the imbalances which characterise the world economy suggest that the responsibilities and opportunities inherent in interdependence have been inadequately addressed by national and by international policies.

Indications have been given by the developed market-economy countries that they have a responsibility to ensure a better environment for the growth and exports of developing countries, primarily by fostering vigorous economies in an open multilateral trading system, correcting massive current account imbalances, and achieving greater stability in exchange rates. Improved and sustained growth in the developing countries can, in turn, have a substantial positive impact on growth in the developed countries. In this regard, a number of developing countries now play an increasing role in the world economy by virtue of the strong growth in their industrial production, exports of manufactures and import capacity.

Revitalization of Development, Growth, Foreign Trade

Recent positive developments have included the broad acceptance of the need for support of growth-oriented adjustment in the developing countries; the successive commitments to macro-economic policy coordination by the seven major developed market-economy countries, the latest of which was made at their most recent summit meeting; the declaration by the socialist countries of Eastern Europe on ways and means to resolve global economic problems and overcome underdevelopment through multilateral cooperation; the recent decision by the Government of

Japan to channel a portion of that country's external surplus to developing countries; the movement towards more coordinated and longer-term debt rescheduling in the context of the Paris Club; the launching of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations; the new impetus to the process of entry-into-force of the Agreement establishing the Common Fund for Commodities; the initiation of negotiations on a Global System of Trade Preferences among Developing Countries; and the adoption of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990, envisaging measures by both the African countries and the international community. These developments were welcomed as evidence of a growing consensus that the revitalization of development, growth and international trade in an increasingly interdependent world is a common objective which requires continued cooperative efforts within a multilateral framework involving all States.

Drawing upon these findings, the Conference considered their implications, and reached a number of general policy conclusions. These constitute a basis for continuing action by governments, individually and collectively, and in the competent international organizations, in pursuit of the objective of revitalising development, growth and international trade. If this objective is to be attained, governments need to improve their capacities to manage the interrelationships among different economies and the interlinkages between various sectors and issues.

Thus, a reactivation of the development process in the developing countries, whose markets now absorb more than a quarter of the exports of the developed market-economy countries, would contribute to non-inflationary growth, employment and structural adjustment in the latter group of countries. It would in addition enhance the capacity of the indebted developing countries to meet their debt-service obligations to creditors in the developed market-economy countries. Faster growth and non-discriminatory trade liberalization in these countries would boost the economies of developing countries through strengthened commodity prices, improved market access and enlarged financial flows. The same processes would also support the efforts of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe to achieve trade-oriented growth, while the closer integration of these countries in international economic interchange would, in turn, contribute to global growth and stability.

If both national and international policies were growth-oriented and mutually reinforcing, interdependence would, in contrast to the experiences of the recent past, be a vehicle for transmitting and cumulating positive impulses. This implies the acceptance of joint responsibility to

take convergent action. Such responsibility rests on all countries, collectively and individually, with each country contributing to the common objective in accordance with its capacities and weight in the world economy. At the same time, a shared approach to internationally agreed objectives must not involve any attempt to impose a unique model of national economic management for adoption by all countries. Account would need to be taken of the diversity of national objectives, of specific problems, of experience and of capacity to respond to changes in the external environment. In this context, the fundamental principle was stressed that each country has the primary responsibility for its own socio-economic and political development, and the right to adopt the economic, social and political systems which it considers most appropriate.

Multilateral Cooperation Promotes Peace, Security, Stability

The Conference emphasized that the Charter of the United Nations provided a basis for the conduct of relations among States in a manner that would promote the shared objectives of revitalizing development, growth and international trade in a more predictable and supportive environment through multilateral cooperation and thus also promote peace, security and stability. In a climate of greater security there would be increased opportunities for diverting resources from expenditures on armaments towards more socially-productive uses, including development finance.

The Conference agreed that mutual benefit, common interest, equality, non-discrimination and collective responsibility, as well as recognition of the diversity of national paths to development, could be the basis of a constructive and action-oriented dialogue which would instil new strength into multilateral cooperation for development. In a particular conjuncture, such a dialogue would have to pay due regard to cyclical and structural trends and incorporate both international dimensions and the interactions between those dimensions and national factors and policies. It would also have to take into account the interrelationships between short-, medium- and long-term problems and solutions.

In the light of the foregoing considerations, the Conference reached a broad understanding on the need for:

(a) All countries to implement national and international policy measures to improve the environment for accelerated and sustainable development;

and in that context for:

(b) Major market-economy countries:

(i) To adopt coordinated policies to promote stable, sustainable, non-inflationary growth, consistent with their declared aims;

(ii) To enhance the positive impact on development of measures to deal with their mutual imbalances;

(iii) To strengthen mechanisms for the ongoing process of multilateral surveillance of economic policies;

(c) Developed market-economy countries and socialist countries of Eastern Europe:

(i) to contribute to the strengthening of the production potential of developing countries, to improve access for imports from those countries and to undertake the consequential structural adjustments in agriculture and industry, where appropriate;

(ii) To enhance the flow of public and private resources and to intensify economic assistance to developing countries, bearing in mind their particular resource needs: those of the poorer countries, notably, the least developed countries and other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, those of the commodity-dependent countries and those of the heavily-indebted countries;

(d) Developing countries, in fulfilment of their primary responsibility for their own development and in accordance with their respective national objectives and priorities:

(i) To strengthen policies and measures to mobilise domestic financial and human resources, including indigenous private capital and entrepreneurship;

(ii) To provide a suitable policy environment for external financial resources, public and private, as appropriate;

(iii) To improve further the effectiveness of domestic and external resource use;

(iv) To continue to improve their mutual economic cooperation in pursuance of the objectives of national and collective self-reliance;

(v) To promote the development of human resources, in order to utilize their capacities most effectively.

The Conference also agreed that this understanding would need to be complemented by cooperation among all countries to improve the systems, structures and arrangements which underpin international economic relations, particularly in the interrelated areas of money, finance and trade, making them more supportive of development and observing provisions related to differential and more favourable treatment for developing countries in trade. Although divergences remain concerning the modalities for such cooperation, it was nevertheless recognised that such matters should remain on the active agenda of the competent international forums, including UNCTAD.

The Conference noted that many UNCTAD members proposed an international conference on money and finance for development with universal participation, with the aim of evolving a stable, effective and equitable monetary system. Other members did not agree to the need for such a conference and indicated that

these issues were being, and should continue to be, dealt with satisfactorily in the Interim Committee of IMF and the Development Committee of the World Bank and IMF.

Orientations for the Future

The policies and measures delineated by the Conference in the different areas of its agenda, being interrelated, should be pursued in such a manner as to make their effects mutually reinforcing. The appropriate international forums should keep under review the interrelationships among these policies and measures, together with their implementation and the need to adapt and strengthen them in the light of changing circumstances. As a universal forum with a focus on trade and development, which also encompasses the interlinkages of a wide range of issues, UNCTAD can make a significant contribution to this process.

The constructive dialogue which took place at UNCTAD VII has been an important step in heightening awareness and sharpening perceptions of problems arising from the complex interactions among national policies adopted by governments, internationally accepted rules and disciplines, and the operation of markets. This dialogue should be continued in the inter-governmental machinery of UNCTAD so as to enhance these perceptions and thus assist in providing fresh impetus to policy formulation and to multilateral cooperation for development. With this in mind, the Trade and Development Board should consider how best to strengthen its regular review of the interdependence of economic issues.

The Final Act contains several explicit and implicit orientations for the future work of the UNCTAD secretariat, including its activities of research, policy analysis, conceptual innovation and technical cooperation. These orientations will be acted upon in the coming months by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD, in the first instance in the context of the UNCTAD submission for the 1988-1989 Programme Budget of the United Nations, and by the relevant intergovernmental bodies of UNCTAD.

The Conference agreed that multilateral economic cooperation should be a continuing endeavour from which important benefits could be expected for the development process and for the world economy as a whole. Acknowledging this imperative, member States pledge themselves to a reinvigorated effort to strengthen multilateral cooperation to promote and give effect to policies aimed at revitalizing development, growth and international trade, and to enhance the effectiveness of UNCTAD as an important instrument of international economic cooperation.

SPECIAL ARTICLE

Neo-Colonialist Offensive in Asia and Pacific Region

C. RAJA MOHAN

WHILE there is widespread criticism of the interventionist and militarist aspects of the U.S. policy towards the Third World, there is not sufficient appreciation of the new elements of this strategy. The current strategy, often termed the Reagan Doctrine, is different in many ways from the U.S. military policy experienced by the Asian people in the 1960s and 1970s. The U.S., learning from the military experience of Vietnam, has introduced many changes in the interventionist strategy.

The most important lesson that has been learnt is that occupationary wars of the Vietnam type are expensive and cannot be politically sustained. The unwillingness of U.S. public opinion to support protracted interventions, involving large losses of American lives, and the roused political consciousness within the Third World have per force necessitated the designing of new strategic principles and force structures for intervention in the Third World. The following are some of the major aspects of the new doctrine.

While occupationary interventions are ruled out, punitive and short direct interventions to achieve specific military and political objectives are considered feasible. Hence the creation of the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF). The U.S. RDF, now integrated into the U.S. Central Command, is the most well known. Consisting of 440,000 men located in the U.S., but with a variety of facilities in the Indian Ocean region, the RDF is designed for intervention not only in the Indian Ocean, but worldwide. The U.S. is not the only Western power to have built on RDF. France has created its own RDF, the 47,000 strong Force d'Action Rapide (FAR). The FAR hopes to bring considerable French experience in military interventions in Africa

to serve French interests in the Indian Ocean and Pacific regions. The United Kingdom which too has created its 5,000-man RDF, held a military exercise in Oman during November 1986.

Western Strategy of Intervention

The Western powers are slowly moving towards consolidating a strategy for collective intervention in the Third World. The world's most powerful military alliance, NATO, has been debating the adoption of a grand strategy for joint intervention in areas outside the defined concern of NATO-Europe. The mobilization of NATO for intervention outside Europe is motivated by the U.S. concern that it alone should not bear the burden of the defence of the "free world", and that others should contribute. Hence the U.S. pressure on West European powers and Japan to share in the costs of Third World policy. This policy is already evident in the Persian Gulf, where the U.S. has succeeded in coaxing its allies to join in the current massive military buildup against Iran.

Of particular importance, in this context, is the revival of Japanese militarism and its impact on the security of Asian peoples. The adding of military teeth to the economic might of Japan is a dangerous development that needs to be resisted. The recent Japanese decisions include the defence of sea lanes up to 1,000 miles, the abrogation of the one per cent of GNP ceiling on defence expenditures, and undertaking new responsibilities in the Pacific.

The collective strategy is also evident in the Afghanistan scene. The British role in aiding the Afghan Mujahideen has now been revealed and information is also available on the Western and Japanese help for building the military infrastructure in the Baluchistan province of Pakistan, under the guise of economic assistance.

C. RAJA MOHAN
Dr. (India)

U.S. Strategy to Promote Low-Intensity Conflict

The enormous internal turbulence and conflict that has come to engulf the Third World societies, often taking ethnic, religious and other sectarian colours, is now termed "low-intensity conflict" in the United States strategic jargon. The U.S. has openly declared that it wants to "support selected resistance movements acting in opposition to regimes working against U.S. interests. Such support will be coordinated with friends, and allies and may contain political, informational, economic and military elements..." (The White House, "National Security Strategy of the United States", January 1987, p.33.) The flip side of this strategy is to assist friendly regimes against progressive and radical opposition.

The U.S. strategy of using low-intensity conflicts clearly calls for the active management of conflict situations within the Third World societies to its own advantage. This is the central element of the Reagan Doctrine which seeks to roll back all the progressive changes in the Third World during the 1970s. Creating and assisting pro-Western insurgencies against the radical regimes which emerged in the mid-1970s is the primary task of the Reagan Doctrine. Afghanistan, Angola, Kampuchea are the main targets of this doctrine. Destabilising "radical" and "terrorist" states like Libya, Syria and Iran is the second element. Countering left-wing insurgencies like those in El Salvador and the Philippines is the third. The key to this strategy is the reliance on indigenous and local forces. The variety of ethnic and separatist movements, and any number of "National Liberation Fronts", of course, come in handy. "Freedom fighters" are discovered in the target countries. In a massive expansion of the CIA covert operations worldwide, the Reagan Administration has built many surrogate armies through financial support, training and supply of arms.

The local and indigenous forces are to be aided by the now revived concept of Special Forces, originally an idea of the Kennedy Administration. The Reagan Administration has given high priority to the expansion of U.S. Special Operation Forces (SOF)—military commandos trained for guerrilla warfare, covert operations, and counter-terrorism. Since 1981, the appropriations for the SOF have more than tripled, and the Pentagon acknowledges that the SOFs are already one of the most heavily used U.S. military forces today. The SOFs take part in an increasing number of military exercises around the world, many of them in conjunction with allied forces and insurgent groups. In 1987, the U.S. centralised the functioning of the SOF, till then dispersed under the Marines, Army, Navy and Air Force, under a single new

organisation called the Command for Special Operation Forces and Low-Intensity Conflict, in order to provide greater cohesion and efficiency.

Role of U.S. Proxies

Another important element of the Reagan Doctrine is the use of proxy states as a complement to the "indigenous" forces. These proxy states are made to provide physical access to the countries targeted, and act as conduits for arms, equipment, training and finance to the surrogate armies of the U.S. Countries like Israel and South Africa have served in the past as American proxies. But under the Reagan administration, as has now been revealed by the Iran-Contra scandal, the proxies have been mobilised in a big way to implement its interventionist strategy. Even U.S. observers have been shocked by the scope of the parallel foreign policy setup erected by the CIA and NSC.

The most notable of the proxies, built up through economic and military support to play a cooperative role in implementing the Reagan Doctrine, are Zaire and South Africa against Angola and Mozambique, Egypt against Libya, Pakistan against

of Brunei who have also got caught in the Reagan Doctrine, shelling out cash for the global "freedom fund".

Death Squads and Mercenaries

Another dangerous trend increasingly visible is the rise of private death squads and armed vigilante groups, most notably in Central America, South Africa, the Philippines and even in South Asia. It appears that the creation of death squads and vigilante groups is an integral part of the Western strategy of low-intensity conflict. The use of death squads and vigilantes is a low-risk and low-cost strategy to defend friendly regimes against domestic threats and to destabilise states which are not friendly by fomenting domestic conflict and violence there.

The recruits for these death squads are drawn from the large pool of criminals and free-floating fascists spawned by organised crime like smuggling and drug trafficking, ultra-right political movements, and increasingly from ethnic and sectarian movements in the Third World. The network of private death squads along with organised crime sectarian ideological groupings are in effect assets to external

"The Western powers are slowly moving towards consolidating a strategy for collective intervention in the Third World . . .

The enormous internal turbulence and conflict in Third World countries is now taken advantage of by the U.S. to support selected movements acting in opposition to governments which try to follow an independent policy."

Afghanistan and India, and Thailand against the Indochinese states. Some proxies are built up for a much larger role than others. South Africa is the main force in the Southern Africa region and has been considered for a role in Central America too. Pakistan's role goes beyond Afghanistan and extends into Iran and West Asia.

Israel is in a category apart, being the only proxy with a global reach. Israel implements the Reagan Doctrine in Central America, where it trains and arms the tin-pot dictatorships in the arts of counter-insurgency. In Africa it supports regimes like Zaire and aids "freedom-loving" groups like Renamo in Mozambique. In Asia, it is advising Aquino's government in the black magic of combining agricultural development and counter-insurgency, and in Sri Lanka it has aided Colombo's war against Tamils.

There are other proxies like Saudi Arabia, who have acted as bankers to the Reagan Doctrine by funding pro-Western insurgencies in Central America and Afghanistan, and still others like the Sultan

interventionary forces. These assets are both "plausibly deniable" (in the intelligence parlance) and can respond to the desired policy needs, "without transgressions of administrative jurisdictions".

In South Africa, death squads based on the Zulu tribe have proved useful in attacking ANC fighters; and in the Philippines the death squads are emerging as powerful anti-communist tools. In South Asia, in various parts, death squads have become instruments in terrorising people.

It is obvious that the Reagan policies of privatization and deregulation have been extended to war-making. Within the U.S. a large number of private organizations with government blessing have emerged to circumvent Congressional restrictions against foreign intervention. These groups have been engaged in providing either direct or auxiliary support for programmes to destabilize various governments, or assist U.S. clients to withstand internal threats. The notable among these private organisations are Civil-Military Assistance, and the World Anti-Communist League. A recent American study of private military

assistance to Central America concluded that "the use of private paramilitary forces does not offer a complete substitute for the expeditionary force, but it does offer intervention on the cheap where plausible local resistance partners can be found". (J.L. Taulbee, "Defence Analysis", June 1986, pp 160-162.)

This brings us to the question of the re-emerging role of mercenaries in interventionist strategies. The "dogs of war" have clearly returned after their oblivion at the end of Angola operations in the mid-1970s. The use of mercenaries in Central America has been extensive, and in Sri Lanka we have had the presence of the British mercenary firm—Keeny Meeny Services. The training of Indian terrorists in U.S. mercenary schools should convince us that the mercenary phenomenon is not as remote as some of us believe.

Security Challenges to South Asia— U.S.-Pakistan Nexus

Even a cursory look at the South Asian strategic scene makes it obvious that a number of the above-mentioned trends are present in South Asia. Much attention in India has been focused on the U.S. supply

of the U.S. to restrain the Pak ambition to acquire nuclear weapons, its refusal to apply its own domestic nuclear non-proliferation laws against Pakistan, have increased the pressures on India to exercise its own nuclear option. The incipient nuclearization of India and Pakistan thus adds a new dimension to the already conflict-environment in South Asia.

While there is much concern about India and Pakistan acquiring nuclear weapons, there is little focus on the outer aspects of nuclearization of South Asia, resulting from the U.S.-Pak strategic relationship. U.S. nuclear aircraft carriers have begun to make regular visits to the Karachi port in Pakistan. In an unbecoming act, General Zia-ul Haq went aboard the U.S. aircraft carrier "Kitty Hawk", signalling Pak commitment to the U.S. nuclear presence in South Asia. It is also known that U.S. P-3 aircraft, which are equipped with nuclear weapons, have had regular access to Pakistani airfields since 1983. It is reported that U.S. has reactivated its nuclear infrastructure facilities near Peshawar in Pakistan, directed against the Soviet Union. It is this aspect of nuclearization which needs far more attention from the peace-loving forces of South Asia.

"The strategic entrenchment of the U.S. in Pakistan, and its expanding links with other South Asian countries—Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh—is indeed the biggest challenge to the people, not only of India, but of the entire subcontinent. The challenge can be met by cooperative efforts by the democratic and peace-loving forces in countries of this region for a common charter of peace."

of sophisticated weapons to Pakistan and the consequent military threat to India. But too little attention has been paid to the long-term strategic consequences of the Washington-Islamabad nexus.

The already completed first round of U.S. aid to Pakistan (\$3.2 billion) and the now proposed second round of \$4.02 billion would indeed greatly bolster Pakistan's military capabilities. The induction of F-16 aircraft, Gearing class destroyers, Harpoon missiles, OV-10 Mohawk aircraft, certainly complicates the military balances in South Asia. The proposed sale of AWACS airborne early warning and control systems, P-3 maritime surveillance aircraft and other equipment to Pakistan would further aggravate the security situation in South Asia. It would impose enormous financial burdens on India to match the induction of new military equipment in Pakistan. The new arms race in South Asia would increase the Indo-Pak tensions and obstruct the evolution towards any peace in the subcontinent.

On top of this is the emerging nuclear question in South Asia. The unwillingness

Pakistan today hosts the largest CIA-run covert operation in the world. The Islamabad-CIA war against Kabul has now reached the level of more than \$600 million a year. By lending itself and its country to the pursuit of the Reagan Doctrine, the regime in Islamabad might have ensured its own survival. But it has opened a permanent bridgehead to neocolonialism in South Asia, and exposed the Pakistan society to enormous strains of violence, terrorism, gun-running and drug trafficking which go along with the sponsored insurgency in Afghanistan. The hosting of 3 million refugees from Afghanistan is increasing the tensions in Pakistan, and we might be already witnessing the spillover of some of these problems into our own borders on the west.

U.S. pressures are also mounting on Pakistan to act against Iran, in fulfilment of its designated role as a regional policeman in the Gulf. Nearly 50,000 Pak military personnel are already in service in various parts of the Gulf, which is only symbolic of Pakistan's integration into the U.S. strategy in the Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean

region. The conversion of the Makran coast in Pakistan into a staging area for future U.S. operations in the area, the increasing U.S. Pak joint military manoeuvres, the existing intelligence-sharing between the U.S. and Pakistan, the regular visits of Gen. Crist of the U.S. Central Command to Pakistan, the plans to shift Central Command headquarters to Pakistan are the other elements of the penetration of imperialism in South Asia.

The evolving nature of U.S.-Pak relationship implies the deepening U.S. commitment to retain its hold on Islamabad, and has negative consequences for the struggle of democratic forces in Pakistan. Given the depth of U.S. commitment to Pakistan and the integration of Pakistan into U.S. strategic policy, it may be a long time before we can see the retreat of the U.S. from South Asia.

Need for Common Struggle for Peace in South Asia

The strategic entrenchment of the U.S. in Pakistan, and its expanding links with other South Asian countries—Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh—is indeed the biggest challenge to the people not only of India, but of the entire subcontinent. The challenge cannot be met by India in purely military terms, nor can it be met by the efforts of the Indian state alone. What is needed is cooperative efforts by the democratic and peace-loving forces across the borders all over South Asia. These forces, which have acted separately until now, must strive for a common charter of peace in South Asia.

Without such a common charter and a common struggle for peace in South Asia, it is certain that the brutalization of the South Asian societies would take more intense forms than what we have seen over the past few years. The absence of a common struggle would allow the forces of disruption to divide each society, and pit one state against the other. The deepening imperialist penetration, the resurgence of divisive forces makes the common struggle for peace in South Asia an issue of immediate urgency. While it is a challenge of great magnitude, there are opportunities today as never before.

Martin Luther King, whose birthday in January was made a US national holiday in 1986 in response to public pressure, was one of the most important and successful black leaders of this century. The legacy he left the international peace movement is not merely of historical interest but can also stimulate and invigorate the campaign being staged by peace forces all over the world today.

Notes

- 1 Martin Luther King: *The Trumpet of Conscience*, New York, Evanston, London 1968, p. 67.
- 2 Cf. Martin Luther King: *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, Ballantine Books, New York 1961, p. 76.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- 4 Martin Luther King: *Strength to Love*, New York 1968, p. 168.
- 5 Martin Luther King: *The Trumpet of Conscience*, New York, Evanston, London 1968, p. 25.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- 7 Martin Luther King: "Beyond Vietnam", in: Clyde Taylor (ed.): *Vietnam and Black America: An Anthology of Protest and Resistance*, Anchor Books, Garden City, New York 1973, p. 82.
- 8 Martin Luther King: "Honoring Dr. Du Bois", in: *Freedomways*, vol. 8, No. 2, Spring 1968, p. 109.

PEACE AND ART

Artwork for UN Disarmament Campaign

A WORLDWIDE competition for a United Nations poster on disarmament was launched by the United Nations on 26 October 1987 in observance of Disarmament Week, and in the context of the World Disarmament Campaign.

On the occasion of launching the campaign, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs said: "In the nuclear age, when humanity has the capacity to obliterate life and to do so instantaneously, every individual in the world has the right and the duty to contribute to the concerted effort of the international community to ensure human survival and continued progress. The artwork competition will provide an opportunity for individuals all over the world to do so by making a creative contribution to one of the most important issues before the global community—disarmament."

The theme of the competition is taken from a passage in the 1986 Declaration by the Panel of Eminent Personalities in the field of disarmament and development: "Our small planet is getting endangered: by the arsenals of weapons which could blow it up; by the burden of military expenditures which could sink it under; and by the unmet basic needs of two thirds of its population which subsists on less than one third of its resources. We belong to a near universal constituency which believes that we are borrowing this Earth from our children as much as we have inherited it from our forefathers. The carrying capacity of Earth is not infinite, nor are its resources. The needs of national security are legiti-

mate and must be met. But must we stand by as helpless witness of drift towards greater insecurity at higher cost?"

The international competition will be based solely on winning art design entries from national competitions around the globe. The entries are to be made only to the United Nations Information Centres and Services which will be the catalysts for these national competitions in the countries they serve. They have to complete their work by 10 March 1988 and submit the winning entries in their region to the UN headquarters by 31 March 1988.

The artwork to be chosen by an international selection committee in April 1988, will become a central element of an official United Nations disarmament poster, to be used worldwide. The winner of this competition will receive a cash prize of \$2,500. There will be three UN Peace Medals as second, third and honourable mention prizes.

The competition seeks to involve United Nations Associations and other non-governmental organisations, educational institutions, as well as artists and their professional associations. Moreover, drawing attention of the public towards the issue at stake, the competition will give an impulse to public discussion—in schools and political or professional associations—that will lead to a greater concern and awareness of the United Nations role in disarmament.

The UN poster based on the winning entry will be printed and distributed by July-August 1988.

PEACE AND RELIGION

WPC and ABCP for Joint Peace Actions

A protocol on cooperation between the World Peace Council (WPC) and the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP) for 1988–1990 was signed in Ulan Bator, capital of Mongolia, on 11 November 1987.

THE World Peace Council and the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace:

Expressing deep satisfaction with the results of cooperation among non-governmental organisations on a broad basis, which has been an important contribution to promoting the cause of peace and security;

Noting the real hope for improvement in international affairs that has emerged thanks to the new constructive actions of all peace-loving countries and forces;

Have hereby agreed on the following for the period 1988–1990:

1. To widen their mutual cooperation and their cooperation with other organisations for universal peace, disarmament, development, security and justice and against the danger of nuclear war.

2. To keep each other informed of the important initiatives taken by each and invite each other's representatives to participate in them.

3. To encourage direct contacts between members of their respective organisations at national and international level.

4. To explore further possibilities of organising joint campaigns for peace, disarmament and security in Asia and the Pacific.

5. To promote the peace initiatives of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and of groups of governments or in-

dividual governments and of public organisations, particularly regarding the Asian and Pacific region.

6. To observe days, weeks and months of solidarity which are agreed upon and make them well known to the public through the mass media.

7. To encourage cooperation and exchange of experience and materials between the editorial offices of the WPC journal, "New Perspectives", and the ABCP journal, "Buddhists for Peace".

8. To encourage visits of delegations for the purpose of strengthening cooperation at all levels. The ABCP shall send a delegation to the WPC headquarters in 1989 and the WPC shall send a delegation to the ABCP headquarters in 1990.

Informational Neo-Colonialism

New Power to Dominate and Exploit Developing Countries

BROOK HAILU

This article is based on the paper submitted by Mr. Brook Hailu to the International Symposium on Transnational Corporations held in Geneva in October 1987.

Published here are extracts from the paper entitled, "Information as Power, Transnational Corporations and Developing Countries".

INFORMATION has become the essential raw material, more important than energy itself.

The essential raw material is no longer considered to be energy but information, and the modern technological resources that go with it. As E. Gongaley Manet says: "Ninety-eight per cent of these resources are concentrated in the industrialised countries, while Asia has only 0.7% of them and Africa 0.3%, according to UNESCO reports. The Third World Social Studies Centre (CEESTEM) in Mexico attributes 1% to Latin America. (E. Gongaley Manet, "The Scientific-Technical Revolution and the Mass Media", CEMEDIM - 1, January/February 1986, Havana, p. 2.)

Dominance of Western News Media

Today, in the world there exist great inequality and imbalances between developed and developing countries in communication resources, levels of development in information infrastructures, capacities, etc. We may give some examples of this disparity.

- Developing countries' share of newsprint consumption is 14.2% of the world's total.

- Eight African and Arab states do not at all have a daily press. On the other hand, 13 African states have each only one daily newspaper.

- Daily press circulation in Latin America is 70, in Asia 64 and in Africa 14 per 1,000 persons.

- Eighty-five per cent of the flow of information on international events comes from the four transnational news agencies, that is, Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), Reuters and Agence France Presse (AFP).

- According to the Yugoslav scholar Bogdan Osolnik, 40 or so developing countries do not have their own news agencies.

- Developing countries despite two-thirds of the world's people living there get only 8 to 10% of the total news coverage made daily by the transnational news agencies.

- There is a big gap between the developing countries and the developed in the number of hours of radio and TV broadcasts, power of the broadcasting stations, programme variety, programme quality, number of languages these programmes are transmitted in.

- As for telephones, only 20% (i.e., out of the 400 million telephone sets in the world) are found in the developing countries.

Regarding cultural products and services in the information field (i.e., books, TV programmes, films, records, magazines, etc.), all of them offer entertainment to the people of developing countries. But they are at the same time means for ideological dissemination, assertion, propaganda, because they reflect social values, messages of the producer—all of which comprises "cultural imperialism".

The values, the habits of the "consumer society" of Western capitalist countries are reflected in films, educational or entertainment serials, news, advertisements which are in contradiction with the basic interests, cultural values, goals and objectives of developing countries.

In the sphere of information, the mass media of developing countries, especially their information agencies, are reduced to the level of being as mere relay stations of the four giant Western news agencies. According to V. D. Shchetinin, these Western "agencies themselves select and prepare reports for Africa, and the national agencies (in African countries) do not have the right to make alterations in them".

He calls this kind of relationship informational neo-colonialism. (V. D. Shchet-

inin, "U.S. Monopolies and Developing Countries", Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1986, p. 75.)

We may quote Shchetinin again: "Together with measures of political, economic and military interference, informational neo-colonialism is aimed at perpetuating the rule of neo-colonialism."

Freedom of information and free flow of information should not be separated from the principle of responsibility, accountability, respect for national sovereignty of states and non-interference in internal affairs of other states. Otherwise the so-called free-flow of information will be in fact the free flow of mis-information.

Therefore, the demand for a New International Information and Communications Order is a result and consequence of the process of political decolonization that began to gain momentum after World War II in Asia and Africa. The next stage was a call by developing countries for economic emancipation and economic decolonization. This call culminated in the 1974 Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. (This declaration for reasons clearly known has not been implemented.)

Conglomeration of TNCs in Informational Field

Transnational corporations are making greater inroads in the fields of communication and information. So much so that these fields are currently assuming leading places in the economies of capitalist societies, especially their export sector.

In fact, economies are being run by information and no longer totally by industry. In 1984 the U.S. Under Secretary for International Trade said: "From 1983 to 1990, the world market for information products and services... is expected to be more than double from the current level of about 400 billion dollars to over 932 billion dollars... an annual growth of 12 per cent."

He went on to say that telecommunications and information services in the U.S.A. had assumed third place in American trade.

BROOK HAILU

Addis Ababa University, College of Social Sciences (Ethiopia).

The general trend of the TNCs in the field of information and communication is towards conglomeration. This is a typical character and feature of the epoch of "monopoly capital". For instance, in the past decades TNCs have come to control in the West nearly 80% of daily newspapers, 90% of radio stations whose programmes are beamed abroad, 95% of television stations and 85% of information that is spread in the Third World countries. TNCs merge with film companies, control TV, radio stations, acquire publishing houses. For example, General Electric has scores of radio and TV stations and has gone over to the publishing industry.

Due to the inherent nature of the laws of capitalist development in the epoch of monopoly capital, TNCs have transferred their production of goods and services from places in developed to developing countries. This is due to availability there of cheap labour, tax benefits, big possibilities of profit transfers, and, of course, a high rate of profit returns. Here the role of governments which create very conducive conditions for the TNCs should not be overlooked.

TNCs have concentrated on a selected number of developing countries like Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore (the so-called four Tigers), on India, Malaysia, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, just to name some of the important ones. The reasons are the presence of large domestic markets in these states, low wages, tax privileges and "political stability". Hence TNCs direct their foreign investments to these states with a strategy of producing products that does not need highly skilled labour in a specific phase of the production process. The highly skilled labour research and innovation and other important activities are done in the home countries of the TNCs.

Therefore, developed countries import goods like television receivers from Asia (for example from Taiwan), electronic components from South Korea, etc. . . all controlled and produced by TNCs.

Transborder Data Flows: Case of Remote Sensing

Let us now focus attention on how the TNCs use their potential to exert pressure on developing countries by using the power of information obtained from technological developments like the use of satellites for "Remote Sensing" and "Direct Broadcast Satellite".

The term remote sensing refers to "... the examination, study, exploration or monitoring of the earth and its resources 'remotely' or from a distance. Such activities may be conducted using a wide variety of data acquired from aircraft or orbital space platforms". (See "Transnational Data Flows: Transnational Corporations and Remote Sensing Data", UN Centre on TNCs, United Nations, New York, 1984, p. 4.)

The main advantage of remote sensing technology is its ability to collect data over large areas with a minimum amount of time. Remote sensing is accomplished by an orbital satellite which provides information from space on the location, quantity and quality of the resources of a definite area of the world on a repetitive basis. The orbital satellite, a product of technological development, compared to the use of aircrafts is cheap financially because it can be repeatedly used with a minimum of costs.

Fore-runners in this technology are U.S. transnational corporations, as it was the United States of America which was the designer, manufacturer, operator and starter of the use of remote sensing by satellites. The United States launched the first earth-orbiting satellite in the early 1970s.

Since remote sensing allows the getting of data about a given area or a given country and transmission of data between countries, it can be said, it is one form of transborder data flow. Other forms are telematics obtained through telephone or telegraph network.

The developing countries lack both the capacity to process the acquired "raw data" either into photographic images or for computer assisted analysis. It is only advanced countries that have the technological know-how to do both. The key that developing countries are lacking is to transform this "raw data" into useful information, that is, information as a finished ready product.

The "raw data" collected by remote-sensing is presented for sale. Hence information in the form of data is a commodity, and as a "commodity" it becomes part of the demand and price system. But information considered to be very vital or sensitive is never brought to the market for sale.

The implication of this would be that "buyers" or "would be buyers" must have adequate financial resources. Hence it becomes clear that the main buyers in this case are the TNCs, while the developing countries' ability to buy is limited. This is a serious disadvantage for these countries.

At the present time the only source of large-scale remote sensing data available is provided by the U.S. government-controlled, the U.S. Landsat programme. The largest buyers and users are of course the TNCs. Based on the acquisition of vital information, TNCs, involved in the informatic and also non-informatic sectors, establish business contacts, enter into negotiations and make a deal with developing countries. (The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, which is a government body, is in charge of remote sensing activities in the U.S.A. The newest satellite "Landsat" was launched in March, 1984.)

Information obtained through remote

sensing can relate to oil deposits, projection of crop yields and crop conditions, information on forests, geological formations and even movement of fish in the high seas, as well as their quantity. Armed with this information which is of qualitatively accurate type, TNCs can with assurance enter the international market for exploiting the disadvantaged developing countries.

The Western countries, especially the U.S.A., maintain that the acquired and analysed information is the property, work and product of the analyser and the "sensed country" has no authority whatsoever over this information. This means that the "sensed country" is denied the right to claim sovereignty over its natural resource information. This information is acquired without the consent of a given developing country and it is also used without its consent. All this is claimed under the Western slogan of "free flow of information".

In 1972, one year after the U.S.A. launched "Landsat I", the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space voiced its concern on this matter in view of the political, social and legal consequences of remote sensing.

The Soviet Union based on the 1962 Resolution on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources presented a draft of principles to regulate this activity of remote sensing.

Data acquired by remote sensing Landsat satellites has become today a booming business. According to one estimate, in the U.S.-private sector alone in 1980 there was a 9 billion dollar potential Landsat-data market, which is expected to grow to nearly 19 billion dollars in 1990.

In the years to come, this market is expected to expand rapidly and its importance will also increase. Hence information becoming power can be clearly seen.

Matters would be further complicated regarding the issue of ownership of the "raw data", if the Reagan administration goes ahead and sells the Landsat Satellites to private corporations.

Political Use of Remote Sensing Data

The U.S. has been using information gathered by remote sensing also for political purposes. We may give the example of the U.S. assessment and estimation of the Soviet Union's wheat harvest in 1977 and 1978. The objective of this activity was originally economic but later it became political whereby the grain embargo was put against the Soviet Union by the Carter administration.

Remote sensing has also been used for military purposes. In the 1982 war between Argentina and United Kingdom over the Malvinas/Falkland Islands, the U.K. was given military information by the U.S.A. which it had obtained from remote sensing.

Another likely example could be the sup-

Direct Broadcast Satellite

The world is on the eve of experiencing new phenomena which will have an impact never seen before and a likely consequence of high magnitude. These new phenomena in the making will affect the entire world without exception, especially developing countries. It is popularly called Direct Broadcast Satellite (DBS), and the country which has this technology is the United States.

We have reached an era in which, by the use of a new generation of satellites having a high powered signal transmission, every individual home can receive a programme from space.

What TNCs are looking for in developing countries is, of course, financial gain. But this is not the most decisive motive for their operations; rather the issue before them is of opening more markets and creating patterns for future consumption. (See "Transnational Communication and Cultural Industries" by Thomas Guback and Tapio Varis, UNESCO, Paris, 1982, pp. 14 to 15.)

What would be the consequences? It would enable TNCs to carry on extensive propaganda in all parts of the world for projecting cultural imperialism, information imperialism, and strengthening neo-colonialist designs, etc. Since DBS knows no borders, the ability of states (especially developing ones) to protect their culture, their tradition, their national interest from interference from outside would be minimal, if not impossible. Rather than promoting international cooperation and peace between states, the extensive and unregulated use of DBS (especially by TNCs) might lead to the worsening of relations between states. The fact that TNCs have the necessary infrastructures in communication technology, information resources (stored in their Data Bases as raw and finished products ready to be used at any time), gives them power. They use this power for increasing their marketing capacities and potential, the ability to control the market, etc.

DBS would also endanger cultural sovereignty, as well as political sovereignty, of developing countries due to the uncontrolled and excessive transmission of TV programmes, of films and advertisements that might have no relevance to the realities in these countries. It would also breach international laws, especially on non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

The developing countries must continue the struggle against informational neo-colonialism in the UN. UNESCO, UN Committee on Information, UN Centre for TNCs. The developing countries should also do this in cooperation with the socialist countries and through South-South cooperation.

SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

For a Democratic South Africa

Political Power Must be Transferred to the People

OLIVER TAMBO

In this article, Mr. Oliver Tambo states that apartheid can be ended only through the transfer of political power to the people as a whole in South Africa. There can be no solution of the South African question until this country is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial entity, and the people themselves exercise power through a system of one person one vote in a unitary state. Without acceptance of this perspective, there can be no negotiations precisely because without this political result South Africa can know no peace.

The article is based on the address of Mr. Tambo to the opening session of the International Conference—Peoples of the World against Apartheid, for a Democratic South Africa, held in Arusha, Tanzania from 1 to 4 December 1987.

Published here are extracts from Mr. Tambo's address.

THE reality we face is that the apartheid system in South Africa continues to live on. The people of Namibia remain under colonial domination and military occupation. Southern Africa knows no peace.

Everywhere in our region millions of people cannot be certain that they will not die from bombs and bullets. There is no guarantee that development in the independent states can take place or can be sustained, because always there is the threat of deliberate destruction of everything, by forces which see the development of the peoples of Africa as dangerous and impermissible. Democracy and justice are still in bondage. Reaction and tyranny remain unchained, with terrible consequences.

It is almost thirty years since the ANC and specifically the then President of our movement, Chief Albert Luthuli, made the call for the isolation of apartheid South Africa. This call was made because it was clear to us that the political, economic, military, cultural and other relations which South Africa maintained with the rest of the world only served to strengthen the apartheid system and thus to perpetuate our oppression. Our assessment of the impact of these international links on our situation remains unchanged. Consequently, we consider it a matter of strategic importance that we should achieve the objective of the total isolation of apartheid South Africa.

The possibility of succeeding in this regard is greatly enhanced by the victories

that we have already scored in the international struggle against apartheid. One of the most important victories we have registered is the raising of international awareness of what apartheid is and what it means in practical terms. There must indeed be very few people in the world who are totally ignorant of this system of racial tyranny and the disastrous consequences it has had on the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and the rest of Southern Africa.

Press Censorship in South Africa

It was exactly to stop the spread of knowledge about the reality of the apartheid system that the Pretoria regime imposed the severe press censorship which it maintains to this day. This regime had realised that men and women of conscience who come to know what apartheid is cannot but be moved to act against it. It understood the fact that the more the peoples of the world saw the brutal campaign of repression carried out especially since 1984, the stronger became the demand for sanctions and the more widespread the support extended to the ANC and the mass democratic movement of our country.

It is on the basis of this international awareness that it has been possible to achieve the success that we have in isolating apartheid South Africa. Only a few countries maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa. There is a mandatory arms embargo in place. Many countries have imposed selective or comprehensive economic sanctions. There is an extensive academic, cultural and sports boycott.

Needless to say, more effective action has been thwarted by continued refusal of

OLIVER TAMBO

President of the African National Congress of South Africa

the major Western powers to act against apartheid. These powers have refused to heed not only our own calls but the widespread demand of their own peoples to impose sanctions.

The campaign for people's sanctions must become a central element in our overall work to further isolate racist South Africa.

The struggle to liberate South Africa has reached a critical stage. The imposition of the State of Emergency by the Pretoria regime is an open admission of this fact. In the end, the battery of repressive legislation that the apartheid regime had enacted since it came to power in 1948 proved insufficient in the face of the determined offensive of the masses of our people. And so the State of Emergency was declared. That State of Emergency will itself prove insufficient to stop our advance to liberation.

Apartheid Regime's Campaign of Repression and Terror

It will prove insufficient because it is impossible to break the will of our people to free themselves. Life itself has proved this. The amount of blood our people have shed since 1976, the number of lives lost demonstrate two things: the savagery of the apartheid regime and the determination of our people not to be cowed into submission by that savagery. We have broken through the barrier of fear. We have come to recognise death as an inevitable price we have to pay to attain freedom. Our forward march may be slowed down temporarily but it can never be stopped.

Pretoria's campaign of repression and terror itself provides the argument why the apartheid system must go and go now. The greater the number of children racism kills and detains, the more pressing the demand becomes—apartheid must go! The more the townships the apartheid army occupies, the more pressing the demand becomes—apartheid must go! The longer the occupation of Namibia lasts and the greater the degree of aggression against independent Africa, the more pressing the demand becomes—apartheid must go! And because that demand is made by the victims of apartheid violence themselves, it serves as a summons to action, a call to battle and not merely a wish for an end to the tyranny.

Millions of our people are committed to carry out the task of freeing themselves. What they require of us, their liberation movement, is that we organise, mobilise and lead them into a continuous assault on the apartheid regime. To advance on the attack in our millions, confident of victory, is the order of the day.

People Must Acquire Political Power

The central question in the conflict within our country is the issue of political power.



President Oliver Tambo of African National Congress of South Africa.

On one side of the barricades is the Botha regime, its allies and supporters which say that political power must forever be the monopoly of the white minority. On the other side of the barricades is the ANC, the mass democratic movement and their allies and supporters who demand that power must be transferred to the people as a whole. These are the two poles of the South African political spectrum, each with its political programme and perspectives and each with its own organised forces of struggle.

Central to the contest between these two forces is the struggle for the allegiance of the people of our country. Today none but the racists and their supporters can challenge the fact that the overwhelming majority of the black oppressed support and accept the ANC and the mass democratic movement as their genuine representatives. All attempts by the Pretoria regime physically to liquidate the broad movement for national liberation, to suppress the ideas this movement espouses and to cut it off from the people have failed.

We have just witnessed a practical demonstration of this with the mass enthusiasm and joy with which my colleague and comrade, Govan Mbeki, has been received by our people. For 24 years he has not been among us, but was locked away on the Island of Bondage. The oppressors had hoped that his name, as those of his fellow prisoners, would be forgotten and their ideas and example transformed into a matter of historical record merely.

Then, the Botha regime banned the first of the rallies that Govan Mbeki was due to address (in Port Elizabeth, South Africa in the beginning of December 1987). The Pretoria regime took this step because it was frightened by the prospect of the massive attendance of our people at this rally, a response that would have confirmed the pre-eminent position of the ANC among the

people and the loyalty of the masses to the democratic perspectives for which we stand and for which Govan Mbeki had sacrificed so much.

White South Africa is Divided

As can be expected, the Botha regime has tried its hardest to maintain the unity of the white population of the apartheid system. It has, however, failed to achieve this objective. White South Africa has never been more divided than it is today. As the struggle intensifies and the crisis of the apartheid system worsens, increasing numbers among our white compatriots begin to find their way towards the democratic positions of our movement.

One of the nightmares that haunts the apartheid regime is exactly this—the prospect of significant numbers of whites, and especially Afrikaners, abandoning racism and joining the movement for democracy in our country. And yet this not only will happen, but is already a matter of reality, however small the numbers might be. We are convinced that the possibility for a rapid increase in these numbers exists. The presence of senior members of our organisation within the country, capable of breaking through the curtain of ignorance that the Botha regime has drawn around the white community, is an important factor towards the realisation of this objective.

Faced with an insoluble general crisis and the spectre of a democratic movement that is continuously expanding despite the most vicious repression, the Botha regime has raised the issue of negotiations. Let us make it clear from the outset that this regime has no intention whatsoever to enter into genuine negotiations to end apartheid.

Ending Apartheid Through Negotiations

Rather, its intentions are to destroy the broad movement for national liberation and hence protect and perpetuate white minority domination by co-opting its real opponents. We should here like to reiterate some positions we have stated in the past. There can be no solution of the South African question until our country is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial entity, until the people themselves exercise power through a system of one person one vote in a unitary state. Without acceptance of this perspective there can be no negotiations precisely because without this political result South Africa can know no peace.

All negotiations would therefore have to be about how to transform South Africa according to these perspectives and not about how to amend the apartheid system.

The very mechanism for negotiations must itself be decided upon by all the concerned parties. We cannot accept anything imposed on us by a regime which is, in any case, illegitimate.

The questions whether to negotiate or

not and under what conditions have to be considered by the leadership of our people in their entirety. This requires that all political prisoners and detainees should be released unconditionally so that we can all discuss these questions and be free to consult our own people as and when we wish and without let or hindrance.

We continue to reject as unacceptable the demands made by the apartheid regime that we should renounce or suspend the armed struggle and that we should terminate our alliance with the South African Communist Party which has existed for more than six decades now. Any cessation of hostilities is something that can be negotiated and agreed, as part of the process of the overall process of negotiating to create a democratic South Africa.

The African National Congress has never

been opposed to negotiations. The whole purpose of our existence is to protect the lives of our people and to create conditions where everyone, without regard to race or colour, can develop as a free and complete human being. We could never deliberately seek the path of war in our quest for liberation if an alternative, non-violent path were available to us. We must, however, make it clear that we are not interested in talking merely for the sake of dialogue. Any discussions must be seriously meant to end the tyrannical and murderous system of apartheid immediately. This is a demand which our people justly make because it can never be in our interest that the apartheid system last even a day longer if we can help it.

Already the issue of negotiations is one which some Western countries want to ap-

propriate as their own. This, too, is an area of struggle, one in which we believe that our friends and allies should also be involved, in the interests of the total elimination of the apartheid system and the genuine democratic transformation of our country.

In the past, we have, on the basis of the Freedom Charter, defined even further our perspective of a democratic South Africa. The vision we have projected of a non-racial democracy and a prosperous and peaceful country is acceptable not only to the majority of our own people but to the rest of humanity as well. It is a perspective to which we are committed and one which we shall surely realise. We consider that all humanity should be with us, fighting on the side of justice, democracy and peace until victory is won.

For Namibia's Independence

Impose Comprehensive Sanctions against South Africa

SAM NUJOMA

In this article, Mr. Sam Nujoma has made a strong plea to the international community to mobilise support for the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

This article is based on the address of Mr. Sam Nujoma to the International Conference—Peoples of the World against Apartheid, for a Democratic South Africa, in Arusha, Tanzania, in December 1987.

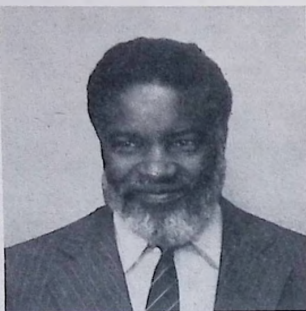
Published here are extracts from Mr. Nujoma's address.

WE in SWAPO have always regarded the struggle of the South African people as intractably linked with our own. It is intrinsically intertwined and, indeed, complementary to ours in the sense that we are fighting the same enemy, although on different battle fronts.

The situation in Namibia is becoming worse and more explosive with each passing day. Innocent civilians of our population, including children and the aged, are being killed in cold blood, tortured, detained indefinitely without trial and abducted, and disappear without a trace. Churches, schools, houses and property are being destroyed wantonly and with impunity by the racist troops.

With an effective news black-out which has been in force in Namibia since 1975, the terrible atrocities committed are not reported.

In Namibia today, it is a common prac-



President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO of Namibia.

tice that people are roasted alive, shot at random, women are raped; property, livestock and crops in cultivated fields are destroyed—all these are perpetrated by the racist troops of occupation.

The Namibian people are victimised without any recourse to protection. Their only recourse is to give support to the combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the military wing of SWAPO. The apartheid regime is preparing for a UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) in Namibia. A so-called constitution has already been drawn up by Pretoria to be imposed on the Namibian people against their expressed opposition. But, as in the past, this futile exercise by the apartheid regime will be rejected by the Namibian people.

The puppet show in Windhoek will die a natural death like the Turnhalle Alliance,

the National Executive and the like. Equally the linkage issue (linking the presence of Cuban troops in Angola with the question of Namibia's independence) has been rejected by the Namibian people.

Even some whites in Namibia have formed a Namibia Peace Plan, geared to speeding up the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

Furthermore, apart from being a huge military barracks with the racist army everywhere, Namibia is being extensively used as a launching pad of military aggression by the racist regime against the independent African States in the region, especially against the People's Republic of Angola. The regime has stepped up its aggression against the Frontline States, which has resulted in considerable loss of life and property, with the intention of intimidating those States and peoples to abandon their support to the national liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO.

We appeal to the international community to take positive action now in order to eliminate apartheid, force the racist regime to give up its illegal occupation of Namibia, through the speedy implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). Comprehensive economic sanctions should be imposed against the apartheid regime in order to speed up the independence of Namibia and the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa. This would in turn eliminate the racists' military aggression in the region.

There is no doubt that sanctions can be very effective if applied objectively. It is only the supporters of the apartheid system who try to hide behind the smokescreen of claiming that sanctions will not work.

SAM NUJOMA

President of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia.

End Long Delay in Implementing UN Policy on Namibia's Independence

BERNT CARLSSON

This article is based on the statement made by Mr. Bernt Carlsson, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, at the meeting of the UN Council for Namibia held in New York in October 1987.

Published here are extracts from Mr. Carlsson's statement which draws attention to the excessive delay in the implementation of the plan for Namibia's independence, even on the basis of a compromise, and raises the question "whether it might be appropriate to re-examine the fundamental goals of the United Nations policy on Namibia on the basis of the original decisions and how to move towards them".

IT is essential to emphasize the long-standing character of the Namibian problem and the excessive delay in implementing the already agreed upon solution. It has sadly been 21 years since the historic termination of the South African mandate over Namibia by the General Assembly in 1966; 11 years since the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of the principles for a settlement in resolution 385 (1976) and no less than nine years since the approval by the same Security Council of a detailed and moderate plan—indeed much less than what the Council for Namibia would have wished—put forward by five major Western powers including three permanent members of the Security Council.

It could well be appropriate to evoke the words of Mr. Harold Macmillan, the then British Prime Minister, who 27 years ago, made a speech of great foresight on the winds of change which were sweeping through the African continent, invoking profound feelings of nationalism. That speech was made, ironically as some may say, in the South African Parliament on 3 February 1960. Three decades later, the winds of change have long since swept through almost all of Africa and independent governments have become well established, but the change halted at the borders of Namibia and South Africa. The rulers of South Africa, who are in reality the Afrikaner minority, seem unable to comprehend that the world had indeed changed and that it is passing them by.

In the presentation of the Namibian problem, it seems important to seek a clear distinction from the problem of apartheid in South Africa and to emphasize that the problem of Namibia is one of illegal occupation, that the solution to the problem is simply the ending of the illegal occupation and that the characterization of this

occupation as illegal not only emanates from political statements in the General Assembly. It possesses a solid legal basis recognised by all members of the United Nations including even countries regarded as friendly towards South Africa, with the exception only of South Africa itself.

Of course, it is true that South Africa has introduced its repugnant system into Namibia and that this harsh and inhuman system which has been institutionalised by South Africa must come to an end. In this framework, the Council should still talk about it while recognising that other United Nations organs have primary responsibility for the problem of apartheid. Other solutions will be necessary to find for the complex problems of South Africa. There is no doubt that entrenched racism is blocking the development of the Namibian and South African people, whatever amount of pigmentation their skin may have, and that the abolition of racism would enable both these countries to move forward at a rapid rate.

As mentioned, one of the astonishing features of the present situation in southern Africa is in fact the inability of the rulers of South Africa to understand the modern world as a whole, the countries which are their neighbours, Namibia which they continue to occupy illegally, and even

their own country in which they live. This inability to comprehend also pervades certain circles in other countries which appear to display friendly sentiments towards South Africa. Eventually, these circles are going to be surprised.

It is important to emphasize the anachronistic nature of the question of Namibia.

Colonialism does indeed represent an archaic remnant in the development of civilisation. It brought untold suffering to the Namibians, culminating in a holocaust, in which it is estimated that half of the Namibian people died.

Now, however, even the last major empire in Africa, which was constituted on the shores of Africa five centuries ago, following the adventures of early Portuguese explorers in the late 1400s, has crumbled in the past decade. As is known, the first colonies to establish independence from the European empires were the ones in which the headquarters of the United Nations is situated. They achieved it through armed struggle. These revolutionaries were later to be followed by many others, including SWAPO of Namibia.

Apartheid Regime's Destabilization Campaign

There are now some efforts to portray South Africa in a positive light. Sometimes it is said that the rulers of South Africa have somehow inherited a very difficult situation and are making sincere efforts to move forward. If this were indeed so, then we have to ask why should there be a campaign of destabilization in nearly all the countries which neighbour either Namibia or South Africa, a campaign of destabilization which has both economic and military components. If the rulers of South Africa were indeed making sincere efforts to move forward towards racial harmony and were being hindered, as has been alleged, only by some recalcitrant and extremist elements in their own country, then they should have welcomed the opportunity which arose in Zimbabwe for the construction of a harmonious multiracial society and they should have deployed their best efforts to ensure the success of this new country. Similarly in Namibia, they could have worked towards a harmonious multiracial independent country, which having once been under South African rule, could have been a model which the people of South Africa could have followed. Unfortunately, the record demonstrates the opposite. They continue to destabilise Zimbabwe; they use Namibia as a spring-board to destabilise Angola; to cast an ominous shadow over Zambia; and to bring over Zimbabwe a dark cloud from the west, in addition to the storm cloud which has already arrived from the south. This, of course, is in addition to the direct campaign against Mozambique.

All these elements and events have the effect of blocking constructive debate in



Namibia and its neighbours.

BERNT CARLSSON

United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

southern Africa, on the future of that region and how it could be developed for all its inhabitants. There are also wider dimensions. The peoples of Namibia and South Africa, regardless of their colour, will have other things to worry about once the phenomena of colonialism and racism are ended. There is the serious question of water supply in the long run—a worry shared by many other countries in Africa. There is concern over the long range ecological effect of man-made events taking a turn for the worse, such as the widening ozone belt over the Antarctic and its possible implications for the entire southern region of the world—not only Namibia but also South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Chile and Argentina, and perhaps all of the world. One of the potential effects of the depletion of the ozone belt is a rapid rise in the incidence of skin cancer. It will strike in a very egalitarian manner. In the widest sense, problems such as Namibia, which actually is one of the past century, are preventing the United Nations from focusing its attention more on the major issues of the next century, the twenty first, many of them ecological and economic in character.

UN's Basic Position on Namibia

The basic position of the Council for Namibia, as laid down in resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, has been that South Africa should remove its illegal presence from Namibia and that administration of the country should be assumed by the Council which would rapidly bring Namibia to independence. The United Nations Plan foreseen by Security Council resolution 435 (1987) was in essence a compromise promoted by a group of five Western countries between the position of the Council for Namibia and the position of South Africa, which maintain that in spite of all that happened, it did possess some kind of right to be in Namibia or at the very least, it was in de facto control of most of it. Sometimes in politics and in life a compromise can be accepted, normally on the understanding that it would be implemented. In the early years after the adoption of resolution 435, the Council actively took a stand on the basic position that resolution 2248 (S-V) should be implemented, as written.

Gradually, as far as one can tell from the reading of the General Assembly resolutions on Namibia, it would appear that the main goal of the Assembly became the implementation of resolution 435. Now the situation is that nine years have come by and even the compromise plan has not been implemented. One could therefore conclude with the question of whether it might be appropriate to re-examine the fundamental goals of the United Nations policy on Namibia on the basis of the original decisions and how to move towards them.

LATIN AMERICA

Making South Atlantic a Zone of Peace Interlinked with Ending Apartheid

EDUARDO CHUAMY

In this article, Mr. Eduardo Chuamy links the demilitarization of the South Atlantic with the ending of the apartheid system in South Africa. In particular, he traces Brazil's relations with Africa and the development of the movement in his country for eliminating apartheid, which he feels is necessary for making the South Atlantic a nuclear free and demilitarized zone.

The article is based on Mr. Chuamy's address to the International Conference on the South Atlantic—Zone of Peace and International Cooperation, held in Buenos Aires, Argentina from 26 to 28 October 1987. The conference was organised by the World Peace Council and the Argentine Peace Committee to extend support of NGOs to the UN General Assembly Resolution 41/11, adopted in 1986, an making the Atlantic Ocean between Africa and South America as the "South Atlantic—Zone of Peace and Cooperation".

Published here are extracts from Mr. Chuamy's address.

THE conflicts in southern Africa, especially in South Africa ruled by a racist and expansionist regime with the support of the imperialist countries, have become the focus of worldwide concern in regard to that region. These conflicts not only affect southern Africa's relationships with the other countries of the South Atlantic, but they go beyond that to have an impact on the North-South relations. They also affect East-West relations because of the constant invasions by South African and U.S.-financed mercenaries of Angolan territory which created the need for assistance from socialist countries for that country.

The relations between Brazil and southern Africa date back almost to the very coming into being of our State. This relationship began with the slave trade, with the African continent providing 4 million of its sons for settlement in Brazil. This made it a country with the second largest Black population in the world, with Nigeria coming first.

The participation of the Black population in the formation of the nation of Brazil is not limited just to settlement in the country and providing slave labour. The African cultural heritage in Brazil is enormous and is evident in many areas, including religion, dance and various other art forms.

EDUARDO CHUAMY
Member of Parliament (Brazil)

The first manifestations of popular revolution in Brazil were also from the Black population, notably the Maroons, symbol of the anti-colonial and anti-slavery struggle.

In Brazil the non-white population has always been in the majority. The census of 1872 showed Blacks and mestizos constituting 61.86% of the population, while the 1976 census showed the number of whites to be 41.9%.

The history of our relations with Africa has had its ebb and flow. It began with a predatory relationship in the period of the slave trade and went on to one of cultural exchange which lasted till the resurgence of European colonialism at the end of the XIX century. For more or less 70 years we were kept isolated, during which a "White" racist ideology developed in Brazil.

After a long period of alignment with the colonialist countries, Brazil in the early 1960s, began to strive for a more beneficial relationship with the African countries. Some of the positions taken by Brazil in the United Nations at that time demonstrate this kind of independent policy.

But the 1964 military coup d'etat in Brazil brought an end to this already feeble relationship and it began to remove itself more and more from free Africa and to align itself with Portuguese colonialism. "The Brazil-Lisbon-Pretoria" axis represented the essence of the policy of Brazil towards Africa during 1964-1972. During

this period, South Africa became Brazil's principal African economic partner.

From 1974, with an "economic, pragmatic and responsible" diplomatic policy, a new phase in Brazil-Africa relations commenced. The decline of Portuguese colonialism favoured the implementation of this policy. Brazil, together with the international community, began defending positions which were in the interest of free Africa on the basis of the stand taken by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Brazil furthermore gave its recognition to the independence declared unilaterally by Guinea Bissau and the independence of Angola under the leadership of the MPLA. In the case of the latter, Brazil was the first country to do so.

There are many factors which favour closer and beneficial cooperation between my country, Brazil, and the African countries. However, there are some areas of concern in this relationship. The main one is that our relationship with Africa is a kind of replica of the North-South relations. Brazil's policy towards Africa is limited to the purchasing of raw materials from that continent and selling it manufactured products. But the African countries expect a more beneficial relationship in the technological and cultural fields which would foster their industrialisation.

In my country the people and the progressive parties are mobilising opinion for Brazil breaking off diplomatic relations with South Africa. In February 1987 at the initiative of the National Anti-Apartheid Front, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was handed a petition signed by 310 MPs and 45 Senators demanding that Brazil sever diplomatic relations with South Africa. Earlier, in July 1986 a similar petition, signed by some 250 intellectuals and artists, had made the same demand.

The solutions of the conflicts in southern Africa—on which the demilitarization of the South Atlantic depends—need a series of measures in the political and economic fields:

- total boycott by the international community of the racist South African regime;
- an end to the apartheid system in South Africa;
- withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and granting of independence to that country under the leadership of SWAPO;
- cessation of South African aggression against the neighbouring countries of southern Africa;
- cessation of U.S. and South African assistance for UNITA and RENAMO counter-revolutionary groups.

PACIFIC REGION

Strengthening the Concept of a Nuclear Free Pacific

GERALD O'BRIEN

NEW ZEALAND'S persistent and consistent drive for peace and disarmament under the Labour governments, our anti-nuclear stance taken when the world was stunned by the dropping of two atomic bombs on living human targets, ultimately led us in 1987 to unilaterally legislate to exclude from this country any and all atomic weaponry and the machines which service them, and to promote and now to expound through our government the extension of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty.

This country has seen peace not simply as the rejection of war but as the promotion of social justice. And in its history of contribution both to the United Nations and its predecessor, these considerations have been as two equal rules for humanity's existence. We have been leaders in world forums in the promotion of the indivisibility of humanity's peace, social and economic expectations and the call for their fulfilment.

The struggle for peace in this Pacific region is one against the previously unchallenged proliferation of nuclear arms and therefore a struggle against the means which ensure that proliferation. It is an anti-bases and anti-colonial struggle. For the people of this region here, it started when the U.S. seduced previously strongly moralistic governments in Australia and New Zealand into conforming with U.S. plans for domination and exploitation of the Pacific region, and its people and its resources as part of the scheme for U.S. economic and political world hegemony.

It did this by its offer of protection and security through the ANZUS Treaty which tied us to U.S. policies and gave the U.S. a free hand in Japan to create a massive war base there from which to ensure Asian-Pacific compliance with U.S. interests.

Our struggle has been to reverse this process. We have hoped that sense and reason would bring peace and the elimina-

tion of nuclear weapons and disarmament to our hard pressed but fundamentally rich world.

Support to United Nations

There are voices, such as ours, which may urge a recommitment from the United Nations to its founding concepts. Those calls have never been a criticism of the UN but simply an expression of our desire that the organisation should again become the formulator of an international peace policy and not be just the executor of sometimes long and laboriously negotiated decisions. To achieve this we have advocated a return to the UN of the leaders of nations of the world and to their participation in the processes which determine its direction. We would like to see an end to set-piece rhetoric, with national leaders taking up the policy-making and negotiating functions. This activity has for far too long rested with an unempowered bureaucracy and likewise an unempowered diplomatic corps, who are simply spokesmen of governmental policies that they do not make. We want to see the real policy makers once more participating fully in and at the United Nations. That is the only way to restore and encourage the fullest respect for that organisation and ensure that the yearnings of mankind expressed in the UN Charter can become obligations to be properly discharged.

Let us accept that the UN may be imperfect in many aspects. We think of the Trusteeship provisions and the manner in which colonialism which those provisions were meant to end has continued and has, for example, in our part of the world, the Pacific, become virulent and entrenched. But while working for the attainment of its original objectives, let us not overlook United Nations major achievements which must be paid full deference. One of those achievements is the judgements that were rendered forty years ago against those who plotted and planned to wage aggressive war. Those judgements, a milestone in mankind's advance towards international order, should be part of every educational curriculum in the civilised world. We should utilise the machinery for international order that the UN Charter has provided.

GERALD O'BRIEN

President, New Zealand Council for World Peace; member of the Presidential Committee of World Peace Council (New Zealand)



End French Nuclear Testing

Let us use the International Court of Justice as New Zealand did in the honoured days of the Kirk government (1972 to 1974). New Zealand took and won a case against France on that country's atmospheric nuclear weapon testing in our part of the world, as opposed to its own doorstep. We must yet win the struggle against the arrogant and reckless irresponsibility of the French government which continues its nuclear testing underground in the Pacific. We are now united with the progressive people of France in that common objective as we are in the commitment to the end of colonialism.

We should insist that international peace-keeping be the prerogative of the United Nations alone, and that an end be put to the practice of by-passing contractual obligations under the Charter to create multi-national so-called peace keeping forces which are cobbled together from time to time to serve causes that dishonour the obligations of the world body.

But of paramount and transcending importance is the use of the United Nations for the settling of differences between nations, between peoples, between tribes of humanity.

The Gorbachev peace initiatives have opened the prospect for the world's people to realise their hopes as never before.

Need for a "Pacific Helsinki"

The Labour government of New Zealand has advanced the idea of a conference on collective security in the Pacific region.

The Labour Party put this proposal in its election manifesto for the August election in our country in 1987. This proposal now has been popularly endorsed with the return of the Labour government to power.

We see this proposal as one in which the Pacific nations themselves will be a paramount negotiating force in the search for an agreement between all peoples, where every nation in the region will play its part and assume its responsibilities, not simply leaving the task of ensuring security to the major nations to do it for them.

This proposal could be discussed by a "Pacific Helsinki".

We are pleased to note that the new New Zealand Foreign Minister has himself advanced the concept of calling a conference on peace and security in the Pacific region.

We have seen grave threats emerging to the South Pacific in the destruction of a nuclear free, multi-racial government in Fiji; the creation of a potential contra-army in the Philippines; the threats of covert action against Vanuatu; the incredible corrupting of democracy in Belau to enforce the pro-nuclear forces writ; and the repression and frictions being perpetrated in Kanaky and in French occupied colonial Polynesia.

In view of these developments, amongst others, and even without the grave threats against Vietnam which continue unabated and the massive destabilisation being accelerated in India from outside, this South Pacific which seems to offer so much hope and example is itself in a seriously threatened position.

Lessons of Coup in Fiji

As a result of the naked and well orchestrated destruction of the anti-nuclear Bavadra government in Fiji, within two weeks of its election, we now have a fact which must be faced by any Polynesian, Melanesian or Micronesian state, notwithstanding the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty and New Zealand's own nuclear free legislation. That fact is that any attempt by any people in the region to put into power by democratic means a non-nuclear government is likely to be immediately met by the hijacking of the state by military force to serve the pro-war interests.

After Fiji and Belau the reality of the Trilateral Commission's objectives which were emphasised in its paper, "Crisis of Democracy", has become apparent. That paper outlined inherent weaknesses in democracy and urged the need for "leaders of expertise, seniority, experience and special talents" to take over the administration of a state in certain situations, even if it involves overriding the claims of democracy.

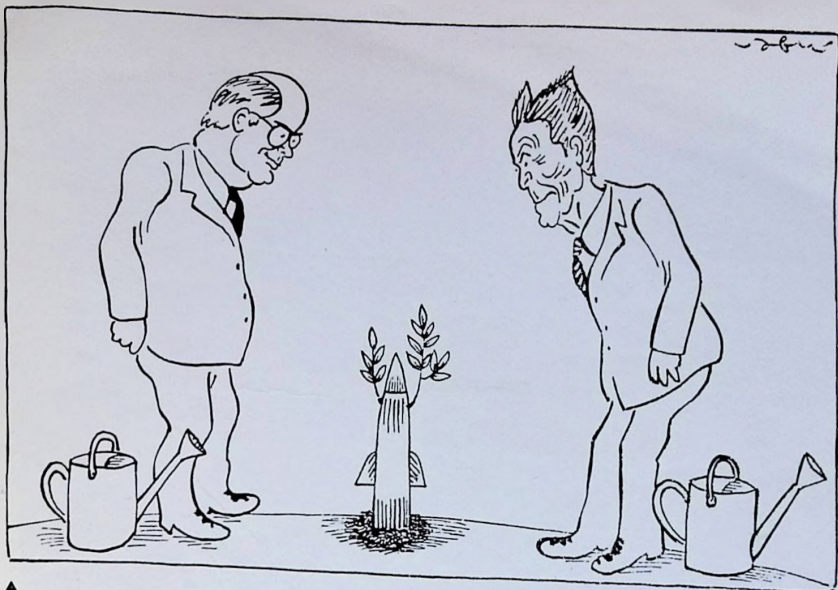
South Pacific peoples have known or suspected the existence of such operatives but have only recently been forced to meet them face to face and to confront their objectives.

This is the climate in the South Pacific at the moment. It will require much effort to eradicate this cancer of pro-nuclearism which supports the perpetrators of the arms trade, and serves the interests of unrestrained, unbridled capital.

Professor Michio Kaku, Professor of Nuclear Physics at the University of New York in his outstanding book, "To win a nuclear war", re-emphasises that those people who are for nuclear war are only as strong as their ability to deceive the ordinary person into believing that she or he is helpless to change established policies; they are only strong as long as they can convince the vast majority of the people to act against their own interests.

Through our nuclear free declaration in New Zealand, which has been enacted into law, and through the South Pacific Nuclear Free Treaty in our corner of the world, we have advanced a great idea. Whether our government wishes to export it or not, no one can stop the idea from influencing the world's people.

We hope that there will be a furtherance of the "Pacific Helsinki" idea and ideal. And most of all we want to honour the great name bestowed on the region, Pacific, and see that we can now in our world return to the ideals of the United Nations of shoring and caring in a world, free of threats, of violence, and create now, our pacific world.



▲ Indian cartoonist Abu on the signing of the INF Treaty. ("Patriot", New Delhi)

**FOR
A NUCLEAR-FREE
WORLD**

▶ Drawing by Nizamettin Mallasalioglu,
Cyprus Turkish Peace Committee.

