

new perspectives

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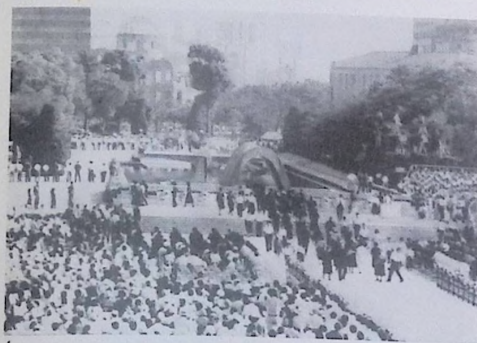
1 and 2 Participants in the Seminar on the Human Right to Peace organised by the World Peace Council in Geneva in June 1984. From L to R: Ngama Z'Ahidi, Division of Human Rights and Peace, UNESCO; Jan Martenson, UN Undersecretary General, Head of the Department for Disarmament Affairs; Rikhi Jaipal, UN Undersecretary General, Secretary General of the Conference on Disarmament, Karoly Lauko, WPC Representative at the United Nations, Geneva; Ramesh Chandra, WPC President, and Viacheslav A. Ustinov, UN Undersecretary General for Political and Security Council Affairs.

3 Executive Director of UNIDO (United Nations Industrial Development Organisation) Abdel Rahman Khane receives WPC President Ramesh Chandra on the occasion of the Fourth General Conference of UNIDO in Vienna in August 1984.

4 Fifty thousand people attended the rally at the Peace Park in Hiroshima on 6 August 1984 to mark the 39th anniversary of the U.S. atomic bombing of this city. The rally demanded the banning of all nuclear weapons.

5 Participants in the International Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held in Tokyo on 1 August 1984 to demand a total ban on nuclear weapons. In the background on the right is Lord Fenner Brockway (standing in dark suit), Co-Chairman, World Disarmament Campaign, from Britain, while in the front row is the GDR delegation, (from L to R) Vice President of the GDR Peace Council, Gerhard Lindner and Ernst-Otto Schwabe and Steffi Schmidt.

6 Leipzig meeting on 6 August 1984 to mark the 39th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. At the podium is Prof. Günther Drefahl, President of the GDR Peace Council.



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- Prevention of nuclear war
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- Settling disputes through negotiations

United Nations and Public Opinion

ROMESH CHANDRA

THE FORTIETH anniversary of the United Nations, which falls in October 1985, will provide an occasion to discuss ways of increasing co-operation of the peace forces with the United Nations, with a view to strengthening the world organisation.

The discussion on ways to strengthen the UN can be continued through seminars, dialogues, conferences by the peace forces in the coming months, leading to the UN anniversary. But this will not be an easy task in view of the systematic and planned efforts of the US administration and certain other governments to play down and denigrate the United Nations and its various bodies. This denigration is accompanied by a media blackout of UN activities in these countries. Which are those countries? Precisely those whose governments and financial interests oppose the efforts for ending the arms race, for disarmament, global negotiations, for development and a New International Economic Order, for peaceful settlement of all problems.

Some of these countries have said that the UN is an organisation where "the poor and the powerless and the Blacks", which means, perhaps, also the Browns, who have "no power and no money", seek to use their majority in a biased way, that is, ways which are not to the liking of those who seek to dominate the "poor" and "powerless" countries.

The opposition to the UN and its specialised agencies is based on distortion of their work, and not due to "lack of efficiency" on their part. Any organisation can always improve its work and non-governmental opinion would certainly support all efforts to increase the efficiency of the UN. But the opposition of the US administration to the UN, including threats to withdraw funding support from some of its agencies, is not because of lack of efficiency. The Reagan administration's opposition to the UN arises because it feels that certain UN agencies are not following its whip; they are not voting according to its wishes. The USA and a handful of other governments, which go along with it, withdraw from a UN body, and only return to it when they are assured that their whip will prevail. This is a disastrous policy not only for the UN, but also for the countries whose governments play this role of denigrating the world organisation.

The United Nations has to be strengthened as it is the one vital and important organisation of governments which acts in all fields of human activity, and above all for dealing with the principal questions of our times—the prevention of nuclear war and the ending of hunger and poverty which beset hundreds of millions of people. These are not separate questions; they are part of one question.

The UN Secretary General Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar has a firm belief in the power of public opinion, in the role of the World Peace Council and other non-governmental organisations, to strengthen the United Nations. The Secretary General strongly desires to ensure greater co-operation between the UN and public opinion—members of Parliament, non-governmental organisations, trade unionists, church people, women's and youth bodies, and others. This co-operation is essential as the Secretary General has rightly stated: "The United Nations activity covers practically all fields of human activity."

The world is not today at the same stage of the mere continuation of the arms race, but a qualitatively new stage of an unprecedented

massive build-up of armaments, of an attempt to enter outer space militarily. All this concerns entire humanity as the arms race has entered a more dangerous phase than ever before.

As we go forward towards the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, we must recall the original purposes of the UN and beware of the tendency to bypass the UN, to "solve" problems militarily without taking them to the world body, to refuse the machinery for negotiations and dialogue, provided by it.

If nuclear war is to be prevented, then what is necessary is the coming together of all—in the first place, of the United Nations and the non-governmental organisations, the governments and the peoples.

How can public opinion help the UN in becoming more effective than it is today? It is a two-way process. And when we say co-operation, it is not just that we demand that the UN should co-operate with the peace forces, but the peace forces have to co-operate also with the UN.

At present it is not just a question of the denigration of the UN by a handful of governments or financial and economic interests or certain sections of the mass media. It is not just that. There is a failure on the part of many sections of public opinion, who stand with the UN, to speak out boldly and constantly in support of the UN decisions. Often, they do not even know what these decisions are.

The non-governmental organisations, therefore, have to do much more, to make known the resolutions, plans, efforts, of the United Nations and all of its agencies, in different fields, to the mass of the people. This should be done especially regarding the concrete objectives and programmes of the UN: the World Disarmament Campaign, the International Year of the Youth (1985), the International Year of Peace (1986), and the UN Decade of Women.

While assisting the UN in the field of making known its objectives to the mass of the people in the world, we do not merely quote the words from the UN Charter, "We, the peoples . . .", but we also take these words seriously. "We, the peoples . . ." are a vital, essential part of the United Nations.

The co-operation of non-governmental opinion with the UN must grow. This is necessary for stopping the present dangers to peace, and, above all, for the prevention of nuclear war.

The peoples have the power to stop those who want to destroy this world.

They have the power to stop 40 thousand children from dying of hunger every day, as they do now.

They have the power to stop aggression and intervention, conflicts and killings, to end the conspiracies in the Middle East, Central America, Southern Africa and other regions of the world, conspiracies directed against the sovereignty and independence of nations.

How to use this power?

It can be done if all get together—the United Nations and the peace forces, the governments and the peoples who want to use this power.

We pledge ourselves to fight for that unity which is so vital to stop not only the horror and destruction of the world of tomorrow, which is being planned wifully, but the hell and horror of today when we see children die in millions before they learn to smile and before they learn to love.



Washington's Strategy in Pacific Ocean

Plan for a NATO Counterpart in Far East

WOLFGANG SCHWARZ

THE PACIFIC Ocean area occupies a central place in the aims of US foreign and military policy. The 1983 Annual Report of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff commented: "The United States has many enduring interests in East Asia and the Pacific Ocean area." (Joint Chiefs of Staff, United States Military Posture for FY 1983, Washington, undated, p. 9)

As part of its global strategy against the socialist states and national progressive forces in the Third World, the United States has in recent years noticeably stepped up its activities in the Pacific and vis-a-vis the states bordering on the ocean.

To push its claim to world domination the United States intends to create a military pact similar to NATO covering Eastern Asia and the Pacific Ocean area: "Part and parcel of Reagan's strategy ... is to create a NATO counterpart in the Far East ... The nucleus of the planned pact is to be the USA-Japan-South Korea triangle. It is intended to involve such countries as the ASEAN states (Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei) and the members of the ANZUS Pact (Australia and New Zealand). It is no secret that this plan is directed against the socialist countries and the national liberation movements ..." (Daily World, New York, 3 November 1983)

Resources of Pacific Ocean Area

Extending 10,000 kilometres from East to West (Hong Kong-San Francisco), the Pacific Ocean area covers more than a third of the earth's surface and accounts for more than 40 per cent of world population: "... the Pacific Ocean, together with the

seas bordering on it, covers 35 per cent of the earth's surface or, to put it another way, the total area of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans put together. This 'water desert' would accommodate all the five continents or Europe (from the Atlantic to the Urals) eighteen times over." (W. Höpker, *Aktionsfeld Pazifik*, Zurich 1979, p. 17)

The three world powers—the USSR, the USA and China—all have Pacific coasts and then there is Japan, a major force in world trade. On top of this, the Pacific area is of world wide importance as a source of strategic raw materials: "The most extensive deposits of 11 of the 20 most important mineral resources are to be found in countries bordering on the Pacific. Malaysia is the world's largest exporter of rubber, lead and palm oil, Indonesia has climbed to number eight in the oil exporting league." (ibid, p. 24)

The importance of the Pacific Ocean in this respect is set to grow still further since on the seabed lie deposits of so-called manganese nodules—a highly rich conglomerate of various minerals which is expected to go into commercial use before the end of the decade. It will revolutionise world raw material supplies in important areas and last for decades to come.

The basic concern of US Pacific Ocean policy is that the area should remain the American lake which the United States made it in the course of its military advance during the Second World War.

The aims behind this are threefold:

— Maintenance of the Pacific as a military and strategic deployment zone against the USSR and other socialist states. The presence of huge US military contingents in the area creates a threat on two fronts to the socialist countries, facing as they already are a permanent threat in Europe due to the existence of NATO. The Pacific area is of particular importance as an operations area for US nuclear submarines and as a

place to deploy Forward Based Systems currently in place along a line stretching from Alaska to Japan, South Korea and the Philippines.

— Preservation of the Pacific as a market dominated by US capital. In late 1981 Admiral Robert J. L. Long, US Pacific Commander, stated that "this year everything pointed to trade with Asia and the countries around the Pacific exceeding 150 billion dollars." (Wireless Bulletin from Washington, Washington/Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 25 November 1981).

— The securing, in violation of international law, of exclusive rights of access to the raw materials reserves deposited on the Pacific Ocean bed. For years the United States has been opposing international efforts (for example, within the framework of the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference) to reach agreements on the exploitation of the manganese nodules deposits which prevent individual economically powerful countries like the United States being the sole beneficiaries of this exploitation.

As early as 1978 Harold Brown, then US Secretary of Defence, pointed out the agreement between Washington's strategy in this region and in Europe: "We are a major power in the Pacific and will remain so. There is no other way ... It is important that our Asian defence policy is part and parcel of our global policy. We cannot be strong in Europe and weak in Asia. Our power in Asia rather reinforces our power in Europe and vice versa. They are two sides of the same coin. We are a global power ..." (Wireless Bulletin ... op cit, 8 March 1978)

The Reagan Administration has not only retained this idea but added several additional military concepts which have significantly increased the threat that Eastern Asia and the Pacific might become the theatre of a war unleashed by the United States (as happened previously in Korea and Viet Nam). The most important of these lies in

the fact that the whole of the region in question has been included in the so-called horizontal escalation principle developed under the Reagan Administration. Former US Undersecretary of Defence Robert William Komer commented: "Rejecting the 1½-war or even 2½-war scenarios, it calls for developing the capability to meet on an even wider range of global contingencies simultaneously if necessary, including 'horizontal escalation' by carrying a war 'to other areas' more advantageous to us, if we are disadvantaged at the point of initial attack." (R. W. Komer, *Maritime Strategy versus Coalition Defence*, in *Foreign Affairs*, New York 5/1982, pp. 1, 128)

US Two-Front Policy

What this actually means is that, in the event of the US Rapid Deployment Force invading the Middle East or in the case of a direct military adventure against the Soviet Union, a "favourable" outcome to the war is to be ensured for the United States by opening up "two fronts"—including one in Asia and the Pacific Ocean area by carrying out an act of aggression against Viet Nam or the Korean People's Democratic Republic. This at any rate is how "Die Welt" interpreted a secret Pentagon guidelines document leaked in 1982 which summarises US military planning for the period between 1984 and 1988: "The new 'defence guidelines' ... basically contain plans for an emergency and the cherished victory over the Soviet Union: from revolts which can be provoked or exploited to a strategy of multiplied pressure on the Soviet economy, conventional warfare (providing for possible counteroffensives against Cuba, Viet Nam, Libya or North Korea) ... right to a prolonged nuclear war." ("Die Welt", Bonn, 1 June 1982)

In order to control the Pacific Ocean region as effectively as possible, the United States—beginning at the time of the Second World War—has built up a network of bases and a permanent military presence so thick on the ground that it can only be compared with the US military commitment in Europe. The aim behind this from the very outset was to expose the Soviet Union and the socialist states emerging at the time to a military threat on two fronts with the object of destroying the socialist order of society.

In the fifties, as is well known, these efforts took on the shape of the "roll back" strategy based on simultaneous attacks in Europe and the Far East with the object of "rolling back" socialism. The actual attempt failed in 1950–53 during the Korean war. The purpose at that time was to destroy socialism in the GDR.

Undaunted, the USA pressed on with the expansion of its military presence in Asia and the Pacific. It particularly stepped up its efforts to create an antisocialist military bloc in the region as a counterpart to NATO

in Asia and the Pacific. Thus in 1954 the ANZUS Pact formed in 1951 (Australia, New Zealand, USA) was supplemented by SEATO, a military pact comprising Australia, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand and the United States. It fell apart in 1977 due to internal squabbles.

A certain change in direction was apparent after the US defeat in Viet Nam. Washington maintained its military bases in South Korea, the Philippines, Australia and Japan and feverishly set about building up a military axis that represented a new threat and ensured constant readiness for aggression. This axis "... consists of a chain of islands stretching from Japan and the Rikuu Islands with Okinawa as a military base via Taiwan to the Philippines. It continues via Australia and New Zealand and on to the South Pacific where the string of islands known collectively as Micronesia maintain US air and naval bases. They are designated as forward positions with the task of protecting

"The basic concern of US Pacific Ocean policy is that the area should remain the American lake which the United States made it during the Second World War."

the most important main bases on Hawaii and Guam, that is to say bases right in the middle of the Ocean." (W. Höpker, op cit. p. 27).

In 1978 former US Defence Secretary Harold Brown had outlined American plans for an extension of its military presence in the Pacific in the following way: "In the next five years we shall strengthen our armed forces in this region ... by introducing various modern weapons systems such as Trident nuclear missiles for our submarines, cruise missiles for our B-52 bombers, F-14 fighters for our aircraft carriers, F-15s for our Air Force, the AWACS system and other improvements. We shall maintain the size of our Pacific Fleet and modernise and expand it as far as our shipbuilding programme allows." (Wireless Bulletin ... op cit, 8 March 1978)

Five years later this programme was implemented in every respect. The US currently has some 474,000 men under arms, more than 1,100 fighter planes and over 150 large warships.

USA's Bilateral Military Pacts

I. **South Korea:** There has been a so-called military pact between South Korea and the United States since 1954 which was reaffirmed at the beginning of Reagan's period in office during a meeting with South Korean leader Chun Doo Hwan (cf. *Der Tagesspiegel*, West Berlin, 4 February 1981). The fascist puppet regime in South Korea, which has received 40 billion dollars in American military aid since the fifties, is the main US bridgehead on the Asian mainland, close to the borders of the Soviet Union.

The US forces in South Korea currently have some 700 nuclear warheads at their disposal complete with forwardbased delivery systems, including F-16s at Osan, Kunsan and Teegu. They are to be followed by Pershing II and Cruise missiles from the mid-eighties, thus creating a threat to the Soviet Union from first-strike weapons in the Far East as well as in Western Europe.

The United States has also provided the South Korean army with nuclear weapons delivery systems with the warheads remaining under American lock and key. A contract currently underway provides for the supply of 36 F-16s to South Korea amounting to about one billion dollars.

No less important to the systematic expansion of the potential for military aggression in South Korea is the growth in the annual joint US-South Korean manoeuvres known as Team Spirit:

Table

| Year | Troops involved | | Total |
|------|-----------------|-------------|---------|
| | USA | South Korea | |
| 1981 | 34,000 | 126,000 | 160,000 |
| 1982 | 60,000 | 100,000 | 160,000 |
| 1983 | 70,000 | 120,000 | 190,000 |
| 1984 | 67,000 | 140,000 | 207,000 |

When US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger visited South Korea at the beginning of May 1984 it was decided to increase the amount of combat equipment stored in the country still further. Weinberger stressed that bilateral relations in the security sphere were dynamic and were being continually improved.

II. **Japan:** The US military presence in Japan and the military co-operation between the two countries in its present form are based on the so-called American-Japanese Security Pact of 23 June 1960. This pact gives the USA extensive rights to establish military bases and represents a violation of Japanese sovereignty to the extent that US military activities in and from Japan are to all intents and purposes beyond the control of the government in Tokyo.

Criticism of this pact is growing in Japan and has even involved government officials. The country's peace movement has been fighting against it for years and demanding the retention of Japan's nuclear-free status.

The Pentagon currently regards Japan as its most important bridgehead in the Western Pacific; the US bases in Japan have been designated for use in potential operations by the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force in the Pacific and Southeast Asia. Particular importance is attached to the island of Okinawa which was occupied by the USA at the end of the Second World War and kept under occupation for the next 27 years, being turned into a base for all types of weapons. Okinawa was returned to Japan only on 15 May 1972 but US military facilities continue to cover 20 per cent of its 254 square kilometres. The naval base at Naha is the site of heavy combat equipment ready for loading to be used by the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force.

The US Air Force Base at Kadena on Okinawa is the largest in the Far East. According to Japanese anti-war organisations, nuclear weapons are stored there (as they are at the Iwakuni base near Hiroshima). This represents a violation of the "Security Pact", according to which the USA must at least consult the Japanese authorities before deploying nuclear weapons, and of official Japanese government policy which champions the country's nuclear-weapons-free status and continues to be based on the absence of nuclear weapons in Japan. The following facts serve to illustrate the point:

- B-52 strategic bombers make regular flights to Kadena;

- one of the three US Marines units specialising in nuclear operations and coded MWWU-1 is deployed at the Iwakuni and Futemma bases on Okinawa; when this was revealed in April 1983, according to newspapers in Tokyo, the MWWU-1 personnel at Iwakuni were speedily transferred to the island of Guam, but at Futemma everything was left as it was;

- nuclear-capable US fighters are stationed at a number of bases, including F-15 Eagles (70 in Kadena alone), A-6 Intruders and A-4 Skyhawks; preparations are underway at the American military airfield in Misawa (Honshu) for the deployment of 50 F-16 Fighting Falcons from 1985; the development of the F-16s into a system capable of carrying nuclear charges was recently completed.

Opposition is growing in Japan to US efforts to drag the country increasingly into the American policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union in the Far East. The Japanese media make it quite clear: "We do not support any policies geared to President Reagan's militarist strategy towards the Soviet Union." ("Mainichi Daily News", Tokyo, 1 July 1983)

iii. **Philippines:** A so-called defence pact has existed between the United States and the Philippines since 1951; however, there have been American bases in the Philippines ever since an agreement was forced on the country in 1947. This agreement was extended in a cosmetically revised version in 1983.

The Pentagon regards the Philippines as "still the optimum base for American action in the Western Pacific, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea or the Middle East". ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", Frankfurt/Main, 29 September 1983)

The main emphasis is on Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay both of which house nuclear weapons stores. "America pays the Philippines an annual rent of 100 million dollars for the bases, half in the form of credits for the purchase of arms..." ("US News & World Report", Washington, 17 May 1982)

Subic Bay, located near Manila, is the largest American naval base outside the United States and can cater for warships of all kinds (including aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines). It has three large shipyards where overhaul and repair work is carried out on a massive scale. "On top of all this the areas around Subic Bay and the neighbouring island of Zambales provide to all intents and purposes realistic conditions

naval base is designed to serve as a springboard to the Indian Ocean or a rest base for the RDJTF.

The Labour Party which entered office after the last Australian general election is trying to break out of servitude to the United States in order to look after the country's national interests. Influential circles in the party and other forces favour the abolition of the US bases.

The efforts being made by the current Australian government to create a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the South Pacific are a particular thorn in Washington's side. "The Australian plan provides for prohibiting the production, distribution and storage of nuclear material in the region as well as the dumping of nuclear waste." ("Der Tagespiegel", op cit, 31 August 1983)

This zone is to encompass all member states of the South Pacific Forum, a loose grouping formed in 1971, i.e., Australia, New Zealand, the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Papua-New Guinea, Tonga,

"The growing militarism of the Pacific is a typical example of Washington's worldwide policy of power and aggression. The US has accorded the Pacific the position of a military and strategic deployment zone against the socialist and nationally liberated states."

for every kind of military manoeuvre—amphibious landings by the Marines, tank exercises, shooting practice by naval vessels and aircraft—like hardly anywhere else in the Pacific area." ("Frankfurter Allgemeine", op cit)

Clark Air Force Base has a 3,000 metre long runway for large-capacity aircraft and can cater for 3,500 tonnes of freight and 22,000 passengers per day. Its stores include 70 million litres of fuel for fighter aircraft, making it in Pentagon plans a nerve centre for operations by the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF). A leader officer stationed at the base remarked: "I can have Phantom fighters in East Africa twelve hours after taking off from here..." (ibid)

iv. **Australia:** The country has been tied to the United States by the ANZUS Pact since 1951 and currently provides a home for over 20 separate US-run military facilities. Since 1981, for example, the military airfield in Darwin has been used for refuelling B-52 bombers on their way from Guam to the Gulf region. The Cockburn Sound

Western Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu and Vanuatu.

US Annexation Policy in South Pacific

The US policy of annexation in the Pacific goes back many years; this region is the site of some of the United States' remaining colonies, all of which are abused for military purposes. The most important among them is Guam, one of the Mariana Islands, which was ceded to the US in 1898 as part of the Spanish colonies gained in the Spanish-American War (the others were the Philippines and Cuba). About a third of the country's 530 square kilometres is now taken up with US military facilities.

The US colonies also include American Samoa which came into the hands of the United States as a result of a treaty on the division of Samoa with the Second German Reich on 2 December 1899. In the course of the Second World War the United States annexed Johnston Atoll, the Wake and the

Midway Islands which are now under the direct administration of the US Air Force and Navy, serving purely military purposes.

The United States became much more ambitious after the Second World War, annexing Micronesia (otherwise known as the Pacific Islands)—an area of 7.5 million square kilometres with some 2,200 islands only about 100 of which are inhabited (136,000 people). Micronesia is the collective name for three island groups: the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall Islands which after many years of colonialism became United Nations Trust Territories after the Second World War and were transferred to temporary US administration in 1947 as a preliminary to political independence.

A UN Security Council resolution of 2 April 1947 made it incumbent on the United States "to ensure support for economic progress and economic independence among the population and for this purpose to organise the use of natural riches, promote the development of fishing, agriculture and industry and to protect the inhabitants from loss of land and natural resources as well as safeguard their health."

But the record of 35 years of US trusteeship has been devastating. Not only has no modern economic base been created but the old social structure has been destroyed on top of this so that the islands' inhabitants can no longer even cover their own food supplies.

The health of many thousand inhabitants (as well as their offspring) has been severely affected by US nuclear tests. The principle US concern with respect to the islands has been to set up and run air force and naval bases. A standard West German reference work wrote at the end of 1983: "The main US interest in its Pacific possessions and its mandate territory is strategic. Bases and radar installations, in conjunction with its ANZUS and ASEAN partners, ensure its military superiority in the Pacific." ("Der Fischer Weltatlas 1984", Frankfurt/Main 1983, p. 118)

Bikini/Eniwetok: The US nuclear tests (on the ground, in the air and under water) on these atolls began in 1946 and were continued without interruption until 1958. The people of Bikini were driven from their homes three times and resettled on other islands because of radioactivity. They began to return in the mid-seventies. The island had, however, been contaminated to such a degree that shortly afterwards they were evacuated for the last time never to return. US experts came to the conclusion that "... Bikini will only be free from radiation when the entire humus layer is removed. Therefore Bikini ... is a no-go area for the next fifty years". ("Stuttgarter Zeitung", Stuttgart, 31 August 1978)

The notorious radiation sickness is now widespread throughout Micronesia since radioactive fall-out during US nuclear tests was often spread over hundreds of kilometres by unpredictable winds. Thus, in

1954 the explosion of a hydrogen bomb 600 times as powerful as that dropped on Hiroshima and codenamed "Bravo" severely affected the island of Rongelap and its inhabitants 160 kilometres away.

Kwajalein: This atoll was developed into a missile testing range and, among other things, forms the target area for the projectiles launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California (mainly MX missiles at present). The entire indigenous population was expelled from here as well.

Saipan/Tinian: These two islands, belonging to the Mariana group, are the site of large US Air Force bases. As early as August 1945 the B-29 bombers which dropped the atomic charges on Hiroshima and Nagasaki took off from Tinian.

When resistance to US policies in Micronesia grew in the sixties and the people raised demands for independence, the United States proceeded to a direct annexation of the Pacific islands. The single Trust Territory was split into four and the United

States have been trying to gain support for its coups through referenda manipulated through the use of pressure on a massive scale. The United States has completely ignored the Micronesian people's desire for independence since the referenda held to date have all come out against US policies. A case in point is that on 10 February 1982 in Belau a majority of the people came out against the sole, unlimited military jurisdiction on the part of the USA, particularly against the deployment of nuclear weapons, and for national independence.

It is quite plain for all to see that US policy in Micronesia represents a flagrant violation of the UN Charter, the treaty on trusteeship between the USA and the UN Security Council and the UN declaration on the granting of independence to colonies and their peoples.

The "Soviet Threat" Bogey

The US government "justifies" its aggressive policy in the Pacific Ocean region, which runs counter to international law, by an alleged Soviet threat. Washington claims that the Soviet Union poses a threat to stability in the region, is extending its military power there and so on.

This is nothing more than a deliberate repetition of the familiar propaganda play. The United States never fails to dream up such a threat when it is at pains to conceal its real motives and the real nature of its foreign and military policy. But this lie is particularly transparent as far as the Pacific Ocean region is concerned. Events since 1945 alone expose US claims as a complete travesty.

The Soviet Pacific Fleet has admittedly developed into the largest single fleet of the Soviet Union but this was essential to create a counterbalance to the US Pacific Forces—traditionally the most powerful section of the US Navy—which are equipped with nuclear delivery systems that pose a threat to the Soviet Union from forward-based positions throughout the Far East and keep watch on the sole Soviet access to the world's oceans which is free from ice the whole year round.

Apart from that, however—and these are the crucial differences to US policy—with respect to the Pacific Ocean region the USSR has never:

- waged any wars of aggression against the indigenous peoples like the United States after the Second World War in the Philippines, Korea and ultimately in Indochina;

- carried out any nuclear weapons tests with their effects that will last for decades to come;

- pursued a policy of creating military blocs with the object of subordinating other countries as the United States did in the fifties and sixties with SEATO and is now

"The Washington ruling circles consider that the US power in Asia reinforces its power in Europe and vice versa. They are two sides of the same coin."

States saw to it that the bulk of elected representatives were compliant with its ambitions.

| Territory | Date of transfer of government |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Northern Mariana Islands | 8 January 1978 |
| Marshall Islands | 1 May 1979 |
| Federative States of Micronesia | 10 May 1979 |
| Belau (Palau) | 1 January 1981 |

Subsequently the USA forced treaties of "voluntary association" with the United States on these territories which were intended to prearrange annexation after the ending of trusteeship. These treaties guarantee the USA, initially for 15 years (50 years in the case of Belau), the responsibility for the external security and the military affairs of the territories", or, to put it another way, they perpetuate the existence of US bases.

Since that time the United States has

trying to do through the formation of new pacts;

— established a spider's web of permanent military bases;

— pursued a policy of annexation (as the USA in Micronesia).

Given these facts, there can be no doubt that it is the US which threatens peace and security in the Pacific.

The Soviet Union supports the people affected by the illegal US policy of annexation and has assisted the people of Micronesia in their just struggle for independence by taking active political steps, particularly within the framework of the UN.

Summing up, it can be said that the growing militarisation of the Pacific is a typical example of Washington's worldwide policy of power and aggression. This global strategy accords the Pacific the role of a military and strategic deployment zone directed against the socialist and nationally liberated states. The US intends to put the screws on them through its massive military presence in the Pacific on the one hand and NATO's policy of aggression in Europe on the other.

People the world over are becoming aware that peace is indivisible. As far as the Pacific is concerned, for example, in autumn 1983 and spring 1984 hundreds of thousands of Japanese demanded the prohibition of all nuclear weapons and concrete steps for disarmament. They condemned the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe and demanded that it be halted. Tens of thousands of people carried banners around Tokyo urging: "Japan must not become a nuclear battlefield" and "Hiroshima and Nagasaki must not be repeated anywhere on Earth". These demands coincide with the aims of the peace movement in Europe.

Bulgarian Peace Initiatives

Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in the Balkans

MARIA ZAHARIEVA

NEVER SINCE the Second World War has the international situation been so complicated and tense. For years on end, the US and its NATO allies have been increasing their military spendings, developing and stockpiling new weapons of mass destruction. They have been putting the main emphasis on their foreign policy doctrines of confrontation in international relations and confrontation of the US and the West with the USSR and the socialist countries in particular. They have also been making efforts to drive the world back into the ideological ruts of the cold war. A "holy war" has been declared on socialism as a social system and on communism as an ideology. The so-called "crusade" against real socialism is also a threat to the whole world.

Without reckoning with the wishes and yearnings of their own peoples, at the end of 1983 the US and NATO began deploying new American medium-range nuclear missiles in some West European countries. This has led to the creation in Europe and the world of a qualitatively new situation which is characterized by exceptional tension and explosiveness in international relations and in East-West relations in particular; the risk of thermonuclear war has increased. The aggressive foreign policy of the militaristic circles on both sides of the Atlantic is aimed

at upsetting the existing strategic parity in favour of the West, at securing its dominant positions in the world and, leaning on strength, at enabling the US and NATO to dictate their will to all others.

US foreign policy is characterized by the lack of any political will for solving international issues by negotiations; it attempts to raise the "position of strength" into state policy. By deploying the Pershing II and Cruise missiles, which are purely offensive weapons, launching an arms build-up in space, developing new conventional weapons and drastically increasing military spending, the US and NATO have in effect started a new round of the arms race.

The US carries out brutal aggressions against sovereign states without even bothering to notify its closest allies in advance. The Washington Administration has declared almost all regions of the world zones of vital American interests. Imperialism is trying on a broad scale to launch a counter-attack and tip the balance of forces in its favour.

Road to Peace

As the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Todor Zhivkov said recently: "Today, mankind faces the crucial dilemma whether to stay on the road leading to a devastating nuclear conflict onto which it is being pushed

MARIA ZAHARIEVA
Deputy Foreign Minister of Bulgaria

by the world's most militaristic and reactionary forces, or heed the voice of reason and not allow the putting of an end to its existence and civilization."

As an integral part of the world socialist community and firmly committed to the building up of an advanced socialist society under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Government, for 40 years now our country has been giving proof after proof that it has chosen the road of peace, peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and understanding and cultural co-operation among nations in the name of social progress in the world.

As a Balkan country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches exceptional importance to the Balkans and to its relations with its neighbours in this part of Europe which had earned an unenviable political notoriety in the past. Through its foreign policy in the Balkans, our country is doing everything necessary for the enhancement of peace and understanding and for the promotion of trust, friendship and co-operation with all Balkan nations.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria highly appreciates the contribution of the Non-Aligned Movement to the struggle against reaction and imperialism, for the consolidation of world peace and understanding among nations.

Improving International Climate

It is our deep conviction that the healing of the international climate and the return to detente demand a dialogue between states on the vitally important issues of preserving and consolidating peace, but it must be a serious and equitable dialogue. The People's Republic of Bulgaria does not believe that the newly created situation is irreversible. Peace can be preserved and strengthened because detente is the sole alternative to nuclear war; the nations of the world are becoming increasingly aware of the danger of nuclear war and as a result the anti-war and anti-nuclear movement is assuming ever greater proportions.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, our country believes that there are no issues which cannot be settled through negotiations provided the latter are conducted on the basis of a constructive approach and political will for achieving positive results with due respect for the vital interests of all peoples and the interests of peace and international co-operation. That is why our country is ready, together with its partners from the socialist community, to join in such talks which would be aimed at reaching agreements based on the principle of parity and equal security.

As pointed out once again in the Communiqué on the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' Committee held last April, we are not seeking to achieve

military superiority. But the Soviet Union and the other countries from the socialist community, to which we also belong, will not remain indifferent to the increased danger of war following the deployment of the new American nuclear missiles in some West European countries and will not allow an upsetting of the military balance in the world. The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the measures taken by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the GDR in response to the defiance of the US and NATO. Our country backs up the Soviet proposal for a freeze on nuclear arsenals and for all nuclear states assuming the obligation not to be the first to resort to nuclear force.

We share the view of the other Warsaw Treaty member-states that the termination of the nuclear build-up on the European continent is vitally important for the future of peace and security in Europe. The Warsaw Treaty countries will respond to the removal of the already stationed US nuclear missiles with steps aimed at revoking the counter-measures undertaken by them, which would provide a basis for a resumption of the negotiations on freeing Europe from both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. We believe this to be the only way for implementing effective measures towards nuclear disarmament in Europe.

For the same purpose the People's Republic of Bulgaria emphasizes the need for negotiations on settling a wide range of urgent problems related to the curtailment of the arms race and to the reduction of armaments. We pledge once again our support to the proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on a mutual non-use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations between the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a proposal contained in the Prague Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization of January 5, 1983.

Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in Balkans

The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports actively the idea of establishing nuclear free zones in Europe as an important step towards freeing the continent from nuclear weapons and strengthening trust. The proposal of the Bulgarian Party and State leader Todor Zhivkov for turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear weapons is widely known in the world. This proposal has found a broad public support in the Balkan countries and most of the neighbouring states have expressed a positive attitude to it in principle. The meeting of experts from the Balkan countries on this matter in Athens last February can be assessed as an important step towards the strengthening of trust and security in the Balkans. The begin-

nings of a useful dialogue have been laid and it will be extended at similar meetings in future. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to work consistently, energetically and in a constructive manner for the establishment of a nuclear free zone in the Balkans because it has a vital stake in limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons and in securing the peaceful future of the Balkan region.

Despite the complicated and extremely dangerous world situation, we are optimists and firmly believe that we can prevent a future thermonuclear war. Our optimism is based on the will of the peoples not to allow the destruction of life on our planet, on the might of the socialist community, on the might of the Soviet Union and the strength of our political, moral and military possibilities.

Abiding strictly by its foreign-policy principles, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to honour its international commitments as a member of the political, economic and defence alliance of the socialist community countries.

This year, in which we mark the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in our country, we can again quote the words said in reference to our Leninist policy of peace in the report at the official meeting in Sofia in commemoration of the 114th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin: "The class and internationalist foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, pursued unswervingly under the guidance of the Bulgarian Communist Party, is our closest concern, and we shall pursue this policy in future, too!"

Protection of Environment Linked with Questions of War and Peace

VLADIMIR NOVAK
BOHUMIL SIKYTA
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TWO QUESTIONS currently are the most important for the future of our planet. One is the question of averting the danger of a nuclear war, which would mean the destruction of civilisation. The other is the question of preserving the properties of the environment which are indispensable for the preservation of human biology. Its irreversible destruction by human production and other activities is a no less grave threat to the future of us all. What is more, the very preparations for war and the preparations for the defence against aggression, which are the most important precondition for averting war, put an immense burden on the environment. This is done by the use of various products as well as by the indispensable limitation of means available for environmental control. With this is connected the subsequent pushing aside of interests in favour of environmental control or their complete neglect which also diverts economic resources and research capacity required for the really effective solution of this problem. This also is an inevitable, continuous consequence of war preparations, which threaten mankind.

Various voluntary organisations for the protection of nature and the environment in the west, which are usually strongly emotionally involved and are admirably selfless, often pit the interests of nature and environmental protection against technical development. This often causes explicit technophobia, especially among young people.

One should, however, realise that technical progress as such need not aggravate the existing harmful effects of industry but on the contrary it can develop new and ecologically more feasible production processes. Let us recall, for instance, the pollution of the air and water flows in the most industrialised parts of England at the beginning of the century and the current state when careful control and effective measures have made it possible to improve the purity of the water in the Thames river, this at an incomparably higher level of industrial production. Non-waste technologies are playing a significant role in environmental protection even in the midst of increased development of industrial and agricultural production and they will certainly play an increasing role in this respect in the future.

One should realise that from the scientific point of view, the aim of nonwaste technologies (and of course of consumption) is fully attainable using existing technologies. Any investments expended for the protection and development of the environment, no matter how financially costly or unprofitable from the point of view of the given moment they should seem to be, can be economically advantageous from the social point of view in the near future. In this respect the saving of a thousand Czechoslovak crowns today may mean a loss of a million tomorrow. The justification of the complex concept and solution of the questions of the environment for the further economic and social development of society by the above mentioned objective conditions is, on the world scale, a significant argument against attempts to unleash a new war.

The global solution of the problems of nature conservation and the protection of the environment is one of the main interests of humankind and thereby also of all countries regardless of their political systems. It is thus also the precondition for a rich programme of international cooperation. A joint strategy should be developed of a

peace movement and environmental protection adapted to the situation in the individual countries and systems using all existing possibilities for attaining the goal. There exists a wide range of international organisations which in their programmes have a number of significant projects which should be used to solve global environmental problems, as well as a number of follow-up questions.

This relates mainly to the question of the provision of food for the world's growing population, the eradication of still existing contagious diseases and centres of infections, the development of new drugs and the further development of biotechnologies. Their development requires considerable financial support from international organisations, especially for the developing countries where the problems are most urgent. The latest discoveries, namely, in the biological sciences, such as molecular biology and molecular genetics can substantially contribute to the improvement of the environment by obtaining organisms which will restrict the use of manufactured fertilisers and biocides in agriculture, provide an adequate supply of proteins and other substances for breeding livestock and allow the manufacture of completely new medical preparations.

Great significance is attached to the disposal of wastes of all kinds be it in the air, water or soil. Thus, for instance, toxic gases, such as hydrogen sulphide or carbon monoxide, can be used for the microbiological processing of sulphur and for the manufacture of plastics. The harmful wastes can be used for the manufacture economically of important products. International organisations should not only stimulate the development of activities which are indispensable for all humankind as a whole, but also help identify global priorities to supersede the local interests of the individual states. Last but not least, they can maximally contribute to the prohibition of activities which threaten humankind.

An example of such a measure of effective international cooperation is provided by the World Health Organisation which held an international meeting of specialists to discuss the problems of the influence of biotechnologies on man's health. The report which was distributed to all member organisations included recommendations necessary for safe production, warnings about the hazards of biotechnology and recommendations relating to the training of specialists and workers in the area.

It ensues from what has been said above that the question of peace and the preservation of a healthy environment are very closely linked. Permanent peace and closest cooperation of all countries in the use of all progress of science and technology for overcoming the unfavourable influence of civilisation is the main precondition for averting the threat of the continuing and irreparable deterioration of living conditions.

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EXPOSING CANADIAN DISTORTIONS ON "YELLOW RAIN" IN INDOCHINA

STEPHEN SALAFF

In a study, Mr. Stephen Salaff, has refuted the findings of Canadian experts on the US charges of the use of "yellow rain" by the Vietnamese army in Laos and Kampuchea.

The study, extracts from which are published here, called these findings and US charges as distortions.

IN RESPONSE to the accusations of chemical warfare in Asia directed by the United States against the Soviet Union, the Canadian Government sent three investigators to Thailand in 1982. They sought to verify US charges that the armed forces of Viet Nam, controlled and instigated by the USSR, had been using lethal new "yellow rain" mycotoxin poisons to terrorize rebel factions in Laos and Kampuchea.

First came Dr. H. B. Schiefer, a University of Saskatchewan veterinary pathologist, whose February 1982 field trip was sponsored by Canada's Department of External Affairs. Next, epidemiologist G. R. Humphreys, M.D., was sent by the Department of National Defence in February-March 1982. Finally, an External Affairs official interviewed emigrants at a border camp in May 1982.

No Medical Evidence of "Yellow Rain"

Medical jurisprudence affirms that the most important proof of chemical poisoning is the detection of the poison within the body. Measured by this standard, the Canadian findings were negative. No known chemical warfare agents, or their metabolites (chemical derivatives) were discovered in any of the human samples collected and analyzed by the Canadian researchers.

The only other medically recognized proof of illness or death from given chemical poisons is the presence of anatomical lesions characteristic of those agents. The Cana-

dian investigators did in fact observe lesions on the bodies of several Laotians who attributed them to "yellow rain". But these scars were not specific to chemical burns, and could well have resulted from common tropical infections.

No Canadian or US "yellow rain" inquirers have discovered any chemically contaminated military hardware, or any other traces of known chemical warfare compounds. No photographs of any form of environmental damage caused by "yellow rain" have ever been seen. These omissions are revealing, because the residues of chemical weapons in spent cartridges or other contaminated containers can in most cases be recovered from the field in quantities sufficient for microanalysis. During the Second Indochina War (1960-1975), Viet Nam retrieved many dispensers of US Army chemical munitions, and published numerous photographs of the vast destruction to land and people caused by chemical poisoning.

Anecdotal Evidence is Unreliable

The Canadian investigators believed the anecdotal "yellow rain" accounts presented to them in military entrenchments and displaced person camps along Thailand's borders with Kampuchea and Laos. Some informants were soldiers of the Khmer Rouge Army, while the others were military and civilian followers of ex-General Vang Pao of Laos.

The Khmer Rouge, Kampuchea's chief insurgent sect, brutally starved and murdered hundreds of thousands if not millions of citizens during its brief 1975-1979 rule of

Kampuchea. In Laos, many mountain dwellers of the Hmong ethnic group fought in the Vang Pao Army as mercenaries for the US Central Intelligence Agency, during and after the Second Indochina War.

The Khmer Rouge and Vang Pao outcasts are sponsored by the US, which has abused the three Canadian inquiries to uphold its "yellow rain" arguments. Thus in his November 1982 report to the United Nations, Secretary of State Shultz took comfort in Dr. Schiefer's contention that the "unique physical effects" of "yellow rain" poisoning alleged by Vang Pao adherents could not have been caused by any indigenous natural disease, plant or chemical. But neither Dr. Schiefer, nor any other "yellow rain" investigator, has ever presented tangible evidence of any known chemical warfare effects.

A total of thirteen Hmong migrants from Laos to the Vang Pao camp at Ban Vanoi told Dr. Humphreys that several months earlier, "yellow rain" had been sprayed on their village from an airplane. Twenty-five deaths were alleged. Twelve informants complained of debilitating post-attack symptoms, which in addition to vomiting and diarrhoea included tearing of the eyes, blurred vision, difficult breathing, and itching and blistering of the skin.

The thirteenth informant, however, asserted that even though he was standing outdoors fully exposed to "yellow rain", and took no protective measures, he did not experience any of these symptoms because he was smoking opium at the time. Seven others claimed that the use of opium significantly reduced the "severity and duration" of illness.

Indicative of the importance assigned by Dr. Humphreys to these stories was his recommendation that the Department of National Defence should study the "pharmaceutical effects" of opium, to find a "therapy" for chemical warfare.

In truth, however, "opium cannot provide any direct, specific relief for most of the maladies reported to Dr. Humphreys. Opium can relieve gastrointestinal upset, and pain, but it is impossible that opium could have bestowed immunity to chemical poisoning among the Hmong villagers"—Dr. Perry.

Anaesthetists also doubt the Hmong testimony. "We frequently administer morphine (a narcotic principle of opium) as an analgesic to comfort patients shortly after surgery. Morphine injections only blur pain, but they do not interfere with the action of muscle-strengthening drugs like prostigmine used in the surgical process. Neither could the use of opium by the villagers, as reported by Dr. Humphreys, neutralize the effects of a chemical warfare agent"—Dr. Foster Smith, Department of Anaesthesia, University of Toronto.

Thus if opium prevented or significantly reduced the "severity and duration" of illnesses among the villagers, then these af-

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ments probably had nothing to do with chemical poisoning.

Even more gullible was the Department of External Affairs, which photographed festering skin lesions on the bodies of three Hmong men at Ban Vinai, and insinuated that these disfigurements had been caused by "yellow rain" poisoning. External Affairs presented these pictures to the UN as graphic confirmation of the "yellow rain" theory. These photographs illustrated the shrill accusations levelled by "The Sun", Vancouver ("Why Does Canada Take This Russian Slender?", 30 May 1983), and "The Globe & Mail", Toronto ("A Deadly Trend in Chemical Warfare", 25 August 1983).

However, the lesions depicted in the photographs are swollen. "Persistent and seriously vegetating skin lesions of this type cannot in themselves be explained by chemical burns", affirms Lynn From, M.D., pathologist-in-chief, Women's College Hospital, Toronto. "Chemical burns destroy skin tissue, whereas these raised lesions were apparently caused by severe fungal infections on or beneath the skin, or by tuberculosis of the skin. Diseases of the skin, including fungal infections and ulcers, are in fact endemic to tropical areas, where they constitute major medical problems. It is logically possible that the lesions could have resulted from the secondary invasion of burns or wounds by bacteria or other organism. But the photographs provide no evidence of primary wounds".

For the most part, the Canadian investigators subscribed politically to US "yellow rain" arguments. In spite of this, Dr. Schiefer and Dr. Humphreys could not avoid repeating compelling facts which directly challenge the "yellow rain" conjecture.

Knowledge of the "yellow rain" distortions should lead Canada to become a constructive force in opposition to the new chemical warfare stage in the spiralling arms race. As the common neighbour of both great powers, Canada has a special reason and opportunity to exert its full peacemaking potential in defence of the Geneva Protocol and for chemical disarmament.

Many Titles—One Story

AD VAN RIJSEWIJK

This poem, originally written in the Dutch language, conveys the poet's symbolism of death and destruction in the wake of a nuclear holocaust.

*THERE WAS still smoke coming
out of the chimneys,
woodsmoke, coalsmoke, oilsmoke,
stonesmoke, steelsmoke, incensasmoke,
leasmsmoke,
human-beings smoke.*

*There were landscapes,
always those landscapes,
beautiful, ever so beautiful.
And there were beautiful flags
which never had
eyes, legs, hands hunger,
longings.*

*There was never a soft voice,
only screams,
as from a stadium.
Then the silence of the mass, masses,
wholesale mass
with its eloquent silence
that bites into the flesh,
when in the stadiums
the languages change rapidly
into languages without grammar.
When the glass broke abruptly,
MUSIC
MUSIC was
smashed up
as in the street of Nagasaki,
in every street,
in too many museum-streets
lull of wounds of war,
in other streets
lull of big and
small profits from war production,
like even the 500-watt Philips lamp
trained on your eyes in that
other,
same
other world,
(but a Dutch product
stands for quality!),
or profits from the guinea pig
in the laboratory
meticulously serving science
by dying out within the
prescribed time.*

*But
in Sweden the eternal woods kept
on singing,*

*slower,
moecker,
singing
until
the body exploded—
eyes rolling,
coming to a stop.*

*On the horizon,
a nightmare morning, without
a dawn.*

*In my hand
a hole,
big
like a living being.*

*In my body,
a sharp object,
small
like a hidden death.*

*Under my feet,
little nails
like a
border, a threshold,
for the countdown
to the realm of the dead,
one, big realm of death.*

*There would be nobody then
to ask anyone the way to somewhere.*

AD VAN RIJSEWIJK
Poet (Netherlands)



Ending Food and Drug Transnationals Exploitation of People

PAULOS GREGORIAS

This article is based on the address of Dr. Paulos Gregorias to the International NGO Symposium on Transnational Corporations and Health in Geneva in July 1984.

Extracts from the address are published here.

TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS, out for profit and expansion, now concentrate on seven fields perceived by them to be primary for the growing needs of humanity: food, health, security, energy, transport, communication and information. In this article, we will deal with only the first two among the seven.

Food and Nutrition

To be nourished is the need of all life; the human person needs nourishment from the moment of conception. The transnational corporations know that this human need can be made into a permanent and lucrative market. The more so if people can be persuaded to buy more than they need.

Other examples of TNCs exploitation of the people can be cited as reflected in the "Nestle kills babies" agitation, which made the WHO evolve an infant formula code, though it is far from enforceable in all countries.

A US Federal Trade Commission Study in 1972 showed that through monopoly power, the TNCs overcharged consumers at least 2 billion dollars in 13 food product lines. In 1978, food advertising by the TNCs amounted to 3 billion dollars. All this was paid for by the consumers.

In 1972, 36 top US agri-business firms secured 27 per cent of their profit from overseas subsidiaries. They also slowly

began producing for domestic consumption in the Third World (two-third world) countries. In the Philippines, the TNCs pay a worker less than two dollars a day. While the cost of production of pineapple there is 8 cents a piece, it is sold in the USA at 1.50 dollars. All this is done at the expense of the starving Philippine worker.

The peoples and the governments are unable to cope with the power of these corporations.

Gulf and Western Corporation, a US food corporation, has its own state within the Dominican Republic. Total annual sales of GWC exceed the GNP of Dominican Republic. It controls 30 per cent of the government's sugar export, and has interests in 90 other business enterprises from medical centres to cigar factories. It controls 1/12th of the total arable land in this country. The Banks which finance GWC's activities, and are controlled by GWC, control the rest of the financing in the country. The now notorious marine landing (22,000 US marines) in Dominican Republic was mainly to suppress the popular revolt against the oppression that already existed, led by a military junta. Gulf and Western came in after the marine invasion and took over the agri-business in the Dominican Republic.

Some churches in the USA are now actively engaged in demanding examination of personnel relations and the involvement of GWC in the Dominican government, but through shareholders action. So far 4.1 per cent support has been received from the GWC shareholders. But shareholder action cannot ultimately deal with the questions of basic injustice in the system itself.

Health and Medicine Market

There is no doubt that some of the most spectacular achievements of modern science and the technology based on it have been in the sphere of surgery, pathology and pharmacology. Transplant and bypass surgery, the discovery of bacteria, inoculation and antibiotics, nutrition science and a number of chemical drugs have contributed to increasing human health and longevity.

The fact remains, however, that the TNCs have always sought to gear technology to their own interests—mainly profit and growth; they have done so in all four areas of the market. In the health market, the case against the TNCs avarice is by now well documented.

The international structure of worldwide injustice is both reflected in and promoted by the drug trade between developed market economy countries and the developing Third World. In the industrially developed countries as a whole (including socialist nations), representing 1.1 billion, or about 25 per cent of world population, the per capita per annum health care expenditure is about 500 dollars, while for the remaining 3.3 billion or 75 per cent of the population, the average expenditure is 15 dollars per capita per annum, which again is only an average. In the developing countries the top 30 per cent spend about 40 dollars per annum average, while the remaining 70 per cent may receive only about 4 dollars average, mostly in the form of clean water and cheap medicines.

The transnational corporations have some responsibility for this situation, since the drugs are priced in such a way that the poor cannot afford to pay for them. According to the Inter-Faith Centre on Corporate Responsibility in New York, the cost of drugs in real terms in the Third World can be up to 20 times higher than in producing nations. An UNCTAD Survey in 1975 reported 30 to

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500 per cent overpricing of imported inputs. The parent companies sometimes overcharge their own subsidiaries. The US firm Merck, Sharp and Dohme charged its own Colombian subsidiary a price of 31,900 dollars per kg of Dexamethazone, while it was available in the European market at 7,500 dollars a kg. Valium (Diazepam) was being sold by Hoffman-La Roche at 2,500 dollars a kg to one of its Third World subsidiaries when its European market price was 45 dollars (that is overcharging 5,400 per cent). The injustice is deliberate, not accidental.

In 1982, world consumption of pharmaceuticals was 90 billion dollars. Whether all of it is beneficial, we doubt. But 80 per cent of that is spent in the developed countries, while only 20 per cent in the Third World. There is injustice here, which is part of the global structures of injustice.

Over-drugging of People

The WHO estimates that only about 200 drugs are really essential for a nation's health care. But in the United Kingdom there are 17,000 different drugs, in Italy 21,000, in India 15,000, in Brazil 14,000. Of course, these drugs are not all different, only differently labelled. In the USA 700 basic drugs are sold under 14,000 different brand names. In Nepal there are 42 brands of aspirin. Most of the new drugs licensed by government drug control agencies constitute no improvement whatsoever over existing drugs, but are promoted only to boost sales and make people buy unnecessarily. Boosting sales under false pretences has become common practice, and in the area of pharmaceuticals, the enormous profits of TNCs come from totally useless consumption. In 1981, the drug industry in the USA was the second most profitable industry, second only to the oil industry. Drug companies paid 18 to 20 per cent per annum to shareholders. Drug company profits increased in 1981 by 25 per cent average.

Drug International Oligopoly

This drug industry and trade is an international oligopoly. The western world's 50 largest drug companies have two-thirds of the world drug trade. Twenty-five of them control half of the world drug trade. The global drug trade is largely a western monopoly. Only 11 per cent of the manufacture is in the Third World, and a fair share of even this is controlled by TNC subsidiaries.

Asia produces 5.6 per cent of the world's drugs, Latin America 5.2 per cent and Africa 0.5 per cent. In a Third World country like Bangladesh 80 per cent of the drug market in 1981 was controlled by eight transnational drug companies. While the ratio of physicians to people remains very low in many

Third World countries, the ratio of medical salesmen to doctors is very high—1 salesman to 5 doctors in Colombia, 1 to 4 in Tanzania and 1 to 3 in Guatemala, Mexico and Brazil.

Thus, physicians prescribe many unnecessary drugs and promote drug company interests. This is a heinous form of exploitation, especially when we consider the fact that some 45 per cent of US drug manufactures are sold abroad each year (in 1979, overseas sales of US drug companies was 8.2 billion and domestic sales 11 billion). The drug companies sell drugs abroad under false pretences. The glaring case was the advertisement in the "Bangladesh Times" of 31 January 1980 about a drug called Cee-Nis, which claimed it was a "life-saving anti-cancer drug", whereas it turned out that the drug can actually cause cancer, not heal it.

"The Western drug industry is an international oligopoly which controls the global drug trade and ruthlessly exploits the people of the Third World."

Harmful Drugs Sold in Third World

In regard to harmful drugs banned in the Western world which are dumped in the Third World examples are numerous, and the documentation is extensive. Dipyzone, a pain-killer, banned in the USA for its extreme toxicity, is freely marketed in the Third World by US manufacturers Winthrop Sterling, without adequate warning about its potential harmful effects. A contraceptive pill—Brevenor—is marketed in Malaysia and Singapore, without warning about its potential to cause blood clots and to impair liver function. Depo-Provera, the contraceptive injection, not deemed safe for US women, is widely marketed in the Third World.

When the Bangladesh government introduced a new policy to control this trend and set itself to ban hundreds of drugs that are ineffective, dangerous or over-priced, the US government intervened with the Bangladesh Government, under lobbying pressure from the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association.

Coronary By-pass Surgery

The most glaring case of exploitation of the people in the developed industrial

countries is reflected in the current debate about coronary by-pass surgery. In the USA, a coronary by-pass costs anywhere from 15,000 to 25,000 dollars; and the procedure leads to the affected consumers spending about 3 billion dollars annually. Naturally it affects only those who can afford it. But in 1983 more than 170,000 such operations were made in the USA.

The usefulness of this surgery in relieving pain is generally recognised, but its effectiveness in prolonging human life is disputed. Most professors of medicine think that a "ballon angioplasty", which costs only about 5,000 dollars, is just as effective. Most pectoral angina can be relieved by drugs—beta blockers, calcium blockers, nitro-glycerine, and new medications to control body fluids.

By-pass surgery may prolong life in people whose left main artery is diseased. But it is too easily prescribed even when it is clearly unnecessary. Here not only the TNCs, which do benefit from a one billion dollar annual market, but also the medical profession itself is to blame. There is no denying the fact that by-pass surgery has today become big business, and the role of the TNCs in this business bears watching.

The point I want to make is that the transnational corporations are now exploiting the legitimate human desire for health and healing in a manner that largely ignores the demands of justice, and that the medical profession and the drug sales industry are accomplices in this unjust exploitation of human beings.

I would make the further point that behind this unjust exploitation of human needs, the TNCs, the drug sellers and the medical profession can be controlled, either by self-imposed codes or by WHO codes, only to a limited extent. The very market economy system, which now sustains all three—the makers, the traders, the prescribers—would need to be replaced by a public-controlled socioeconomic system if these problems are to be radically solved.

The case of this article is that people should be made aware and should affirm their interests with their governments and with international organisations, as also with the mass media. There is only one power which can countervail transnational power, in the interests of justice for the people, that is, the people's power.

Peace and Economic Development are Inter-related

T. B. SUBASINGHE

PEACE AND economic development are inter-related, and the people of the world cannot be confident of a durable peace while economic inequality between countries continues to exist and keeps on increasing year after year.

The Non-Aligned Movement, from its very inception, has drawn attention to this fact at all international fora and discussions. At its Seventh Summit Conference in New Delhi in 1983, there was a common thread running through the documents relating to the economic sphere which the participating countries approved. The growing poverty, inequality in trade relations, the plunder of the natural resources of the Non-Aligned countries and the other developing countries are the permanent features of our lives. It is to be noted that each succeeding Summit Conference has had to deal with the deteriorating and increasingly complex economic issues forced on these countries. Attention has had to be focussed on new issues of a global character and the responsibility for them has had to be fixed squarely on the developed capitalist countries.

The period between the Non-Aligned Sixth Summit in Havana and the Seventh Summit in New Delhi was a very difficult one. The entire capitalist world got into the vortex of a serious economic crisis. The Non-Aligned and other developing countries have had to bear the brunt of this crisis with no visible solution. Even the planned socialist countries could not totally escape the effect of the world crisis.

The magnitude of the problem was pointed out in the Economic Declaration adopted by the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in

New Delhi in 1983. A few countries in the Non-Aligned Movement under the influence of imperialist forces resorted to diversionary tactics. But the broad membership of the Movement, consisting of diverse ideological outlooks and political orientations, succeeded in producing an Economic Declaration that in a large measure reflects the realities of the present economic situation and to some extent diagnoses its causes. This was indeed a justification of the role of the Non-Aligned Movement as a catalyst to move the world in the direction of a search for realistic and meaningful solutions to problems.

The current Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, at the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly pin-pointed the inter-relation between peace and economic development and went on to state as follows: "The process of the liberation of nations from foreign oppression cannot be considered completed until their political independence is consolidated by the elimination of economic and spiritual enslavement. That is why developing countries lay emphasis on the establishment of a new economic order and a new information order, on the preservation of their national culture."

Negative Response of Developed Capitalist Powers

Although more than a year has elapsed since the Economic Declaration of the Seventh Summit and despite repeated appeals made by Non-Aligned countries to the world community to display a greater understanding of the difficulties of economic development of the Third World countries, the response of the developed market economy countries has been almost negative.

The participants in the Summit Conference of seven major capitalist powers in

Williamsburg unreservedly rejected the main theses of the Economic Declaration of the Non-Aligned Movement, such as the improvement of the international monetary system, the revision of the terms of trade in world markets and of the prices of developing countries' export of goods which are at a very low ebb now.

The recommendation of the Williamsburg leaders to the developing countries was to open their doors wide to multinational corporations and to foreign capital and to rely on the prices determined by the free market. The Third World countries which followed this advice have paid a heavy price—increasing the debt burden, serious budget deficits, increasing poverty, disease, illiteracy and other social evils.

A significant development in the relations between the imperialist powers, particularly the United States, and some Asian and African states has been to build up economic ties with military and strategic objectives. The countries which take up consistent independent positions are subjected to various forms of arm-twisting, pressure and even destabilisation.

The major Western powers refused to meet the request of the developing countries for equality and justice in trade and economic links between the South and North at the sixth session of UNCTAD held in Belgrade in 1983.

Aware of the economic and social predicament that a majority of the Non-Aligned and developing countries are placed in as a result of centuries of exploitation, the imperialist powers, mainly the most aggressive of them, the United States, take advantage to keep these countries under their economic, political and military tutelage. This policy leads the United States and its allies to further intensify the militarisation of not only the Northern Hemisphere but also the Southern Hemisphere, that is, the developing world.

T. B. SUBASINGHE

President, Sri Lanka Peace Council; Vice President of the World Peace Council (Sri Lanka)

Tasks before Developing Countries

The people in the Non-Aligned and other developing countries are confronted with a number of tasks in order to safeguard peace, preserve national sovereignty, and develop democracy and social progress:

1. United struggle of the people, with the support of the governments where it is forthcoming, to defend and safeguard our national sovereignty, bring about structural changes in the economic, social and political spheres in the interest of the people.

2. Complete ownership and control of our natural resources both on land and on the ocean bed within our territorial waters for the benefit of all humanity. International control of the resources in international waters.

3. Sustained united struggle for the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on equality, justice and without discrimination between the rich and poor nations.

4. Economic, trade, technical and scientific co-operation between the Non-Aligned as well as other developing nations.

The Non-Aligned Movement, having been confronted with a lack of understanding and sympathy from the advanced capitalist countries, with the dilemma facing the developing countries, has begun to discuss prospects of self-reliance, regional cooperation between developing countries, and also co-operation between South-South countries on a global scale. But this concept has not yet materialised to any significant degree.

The lopsidedness of the present structure of the world economy is such that the scope for such co-operation is limited. Despite the fact that over a hundred countries in the world from all continents have gained membership of the NAM, their heterogeneity in political, social outlook, and dependence on neo-colonial powers is such that the NAM declarations do not necessarily mean their readiness to join in effective joint action. Bilateral disputes between some of the countries and the fanning of the contradictions by imperialist powers act as an obstacle to cooperative action. Talks of a South Asian regional grouping notwithstanding, agreement in principle has made very little headway.

US actions in the Indian Ocean region today make it almost impossible to get a move on in economic co-operation.

A similar picture prevails in Southeast Asia in the attitude of some Non-Aligned countries in the region to the Indochinese countries. These are realities which we in the peace movement have to face up to and fight against in the interest of universality of the struggle for peace.

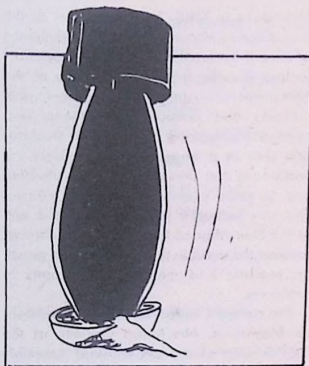
TNCs Penetration of National Economies

One cannot abstain from referring to the road blocks confronting economic, scientific

and technical co-operation between the Non-Aligned and other developing countries in the existing framework of the international economic system, dominated by the developed capitalist countries. The penetration of our economies by multinationals and other exploitative agencies cannot be checked without a powerful political determination.

It should be remembered, however, that the leaders of the Seventh Summit of NAM arrived at important decisions with the objective of creating the institutional infrastructure for future co-operation among developing countries, for example:

- setting up of a Centre for Information on Transnational Corporations in Havana;
- setting up of a Centre for Science and Technology in New Delhi;
- putting into operation a Non-Aligned Solidarity Fund for economic and social development;



- establishment of a project Development Facility;
- constitution of a Council of Producers' Association.

Over a number of years India, which stands out among the Third World countries as one of the most advanced in the development of technology and of course economic progress, has been helping a number of countries in the Third World, in rendering assistance in technical, scientific and in a number of other fields, particularly agriculture and industry. India has also undertaken the training of students in higher branches of training from several countries.

Similarly, despite its limited resources, blockades and constant political and military pressure, Cuba's contribution, economic, technical and educational, is highly valued and appreciated.

It is not surprising that countries such as these which go to the assistance of the weaker ones are the very countries that come under heavy pressure and attempts at destabilisation.

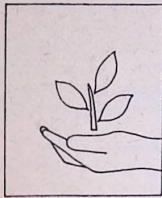
South-South Co-operation

If the political will among all non-aligned countries is manifested in earnest, the scope for technical, scientific and other forms of co-operation is very wide indeed. An important requirement is a comprehensive survey of possibilities by a body of Third World experts motivated by genuine sympathy for the oppressed and underprivileged.

Besides the structural policy and planning shortcomings that many Third World countries suffer from, there is an important factor that retards development. That is the human factor in that we lack enough trained technical and scientific personnel. The few Third World countries, which are more advanced than the others in having a higher standard of education and produce considerable numbers of doctors, engineers, scientists, etc., are robbed of a valuable asset by the advanced countries like the United States, Canada and Britain. The exodus or the Brain Drain as it is called has a number of causes. Mainly of course the cause is poverty or lack of opportunities in our countries. This is a recurring loss which is being aggravated year after year. A new attitude to social and economic development can help to halt the exodus.

It must be reiterated in no uncertain terms that self-reliance, international co-operation in all fields of development do not mean that the non-aligned or developing countries must unite together to form an autarchic bloc. We are deeply conscious of world interdependence. Hence our demand for a New International Economic Order on a just and fair basis. We believe in expanded co-operation in all fields, irrespective of different social systems. It must be said that the response to our demand meets with a sympathetic response from the socialist countries. A favourable understanding and response has not been forthcoming from mainly the seven developed countries which have a long imperialist past.

Undeterred, we must strengthen our unity in the non-aligned movement. We in the peace movement must study the problems of the Third World in greater depth and their interconnectedness with the struggle for peace, interdependence and social progress. We must arouse the social conscience of the masses of the people both in the developed countries and in the Third World to the need for united struggle for peace and a better world.



Preparing Societies for Life in Peace

ADAM DANIEL ROTFELD

THE RIGHT to life in peace and human rights constitute an indivisible whole. Without respect for the right to life in peace, discussions on all other rights become pointless; life in peace is a prerequisite for tackling all other rights. As a rule no one questions the fundamental character of the right to life in peace, even though it is at times made contingent on implementation of other rights recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenants on civil and political rights, and economic and social rights.

The arguments which have continued for years, concerning the concept of implementing human rights boil down to—with some oversimplification—certain rights being over-exaggerated to the detriment of other rights. Here the mutual link between and interdependence of the fundamental rights is disregarded and accent is placed, for instance, on individual rights—particularly political and civil—to the disadvantage of other, particularly economic, social, cultural rights. Individuals are ascribed the nature of subjects in international relations, coupled with the negation of the role and significance of the state in securing the material conditions for implementing human rights. Human rights—approached as an instrument of propaganda and ideological confrontation—are often interpreted in a manner contradictory not only to their spirit but even their letter. For instance, in the sizable literature concerned with human rights many authors ignore the covenants on human rights concerned with the place and role of the right of nations to self-determination.

The fundamental problem in guaranteeing the right to life in peace is not the adoption of new resolutions and declarations or new covenants on this topic, but rather the search for ways of effective application of the existing and accepted international agreements and mechanisms. Actions in this respect may and should be taken not only on the level of relations between states (inter-governmental), but also with participation of pub-

lic opinion, of representatives from various vocational communities, political organizations, social and religious movements. In this respect it would be important to work out a programme for implementing the UN Declaration on Preparing Societies for Life in Peace.

Nearly six years have passed since the adoption, on Polish initiative, of the Declaration on Preparing Societies for Life in Peace. This has been a time of general deterioration of the international situation; tensions, confrontations and armed conflicts in various regions around the globe have been accompanied by a mounting arms race, an atmosphere of mutual mistrust, suspicion and increased war psychosis. This has endangered the inalienable right, so often confirmed by United Nations resolutions, of nations and individuals to life in peace. Fundamental norms guiding the coexistence of nations are being trampled.

Conflict of Interests

It would be naive and unrealistic to expect that the Declaration on Preparing Societies for Life in Peace or other UN resolutions can radically change this state of affairs or can restore respect for principles of international law, bring about universal and general disarmament and effectively eliminate war as a means for resolving international disputes. The main source of tensions, threats to peace and wars are the deep antagonisms and conflicts of interests. Conflicts have accompanied mankind from the dawn of history and are still an inseparable element of international life. When the United Nations Organization was being established, the guiding idea and main objective of its founders was, as set out in the preamble to the UN Charter "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small, to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be main-

tained, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and to this end to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, to ensure by the adoption of principles and the institution of methods that armed force shall not be used, save in common interest, to employ international machinery for the promotion of economic and social advancement of all peoples."

Peoples of the United Nations have decided, as the UN Charter put it, to pool their forces in carrying out these objectives.

These objectives, nearly forty years after their adoption, still remain valid.

Explosive Militarization

A significant reason behind the considerable deterioration of the international situation is, next to explosive militarization, the clear ideologization of international relations with clear attempts to force their own system of values on other countries. The dangerous though logical outcome of the simplified Manichean vision of the world, presented by the leader of one of the world's main powers—in keeping with which policies of some states are recognized as symbols of "good and brightness", while other states are treated in categories of an "empire of evil and darkness"—is a clear departure from the policy of reasonable dialogue and agreement. This leads to increased confrontation, to undermining the entire complex of principles and arrangements aimed at assuring the peaceful and stable development of the world.

The adopted Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace cannot be treated as a one-time act defining the stance of states concerning this problem. This is an important stage in the historical process aimed at total eradication of war from the life of nations. Most prominent minds in many countries have for ages advanced various schemes for eliminating wars as a social phenomenon and with plans for "eternal peace". Also in Poland already at the outset of the 15th century aggressive

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war was deplored by scholars from the Cracow Academy—Paweł Włodkowicz from Brudzeń and Stanisław from Skarbimierz. The thoughts of Paweł Włodkowicz expressed at the Constance Council (1414–1415) were something of a harbinger and did not fail to exert their impact on his contemporaries, scholars in other countries.

Condemnation of war can also be found in writings of many other humanists of the Renaissance era. In the 16th century, fame in this respect was attained by the essay of Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (*De Republica emendanda libri quinque*, 1551). Views expounded there were referred to by scholars of such renown as Hugo de Groot. A pioneering role in the process of preparing societies for life in peace was played by the Commission on National Education, formed in 1773 as Europe's first ministry of education—which called for raising young generations of Poles in the spirit of love for peace.



Polish Anti-War Political Thought

The tradition of Polish anti-war political thought was also to a certain extent reflected in the stance taken during the inter-war period by Polish representatives in the League of Nations. Poland at that time called for working out a covenant which would define and ban actions detrimental to good relations between states and jeopardizing world peace. The Polish draft stipulated the adoption of penalties in domestic legislation for conducting war propaganda, for willful dissemination of false or distorted information or documents aimed at poisoning the international atmosphere. Concerning the up-bringing of young people, it proposed a general verification of school textbooks in such a way as to have their content serve the idea of cooperation and facilitating contacts between young people and teachers of various countries. The proposals contained in documents of the Polish government submitted to the League of Nations in the years 1931–1932 (C. 602, M. 240, 1931–IX) were not accepted at the time; yet they played some role in shaping a new attitude of societies to the questions of war and peace.

In recent years Poland has taken up a number of concrete steps aimed at practi-

cally following up the eight fundamental principles formulated in the Declaration. These actions encompass both the legislative sphere and the system of education and upbringing, and finally also the role of mass media in shaping social attitudes conducive to the maintenance of peace.

Non-Use of Military Force

An important new initiative in this respect is the message sent by the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty—on 7 May 1984 to NATO members concerning the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-application of military force and maintenance of peaceful relations. The Warsaw Treaty states proposed to the North Atlantic Alliance to adopt, in treaty form and according to the principle of reciprocity, a pledge not to use against each other first both nuclear and conventional arms. Similar undertakings are stipulated in relations with third countries.

This treaty could also include an undertaking which would eliminate the possibility of sudden invasion, and stipulations aiming at checking the arms race, curtailing and reducing armaments, and for disarmament. The Warsaw Treaty states also postulate that the treaty express the willingness to cooperate for improving the effectiveness of the United Nations.

Implementation of the right of nations and individuals to life in peace is not and cannot be exclusively effected as a result of government activities. There must be also the development of various forms of appropriate activities by social organizations and institutions and their bilateral and multilateral international co-operation within governmental and non-governmental organizations.

In the current situation the fundamental concern is not the adoption of new resolutions concerning the preparation of societies for life in peace, but rather seeking effective ways for carrying into effect the obligations undertaken so far.

Preventing Nuclear War

It would be advisable to establish, under UN auspices, a committee composed of

scholars enjoying international respect, to draw up a report pointing to the need for preventing nuclear war and containing recommendations on how the threat of a nuclear holocaust can and should be counteracted. Such organizations and institutions as the Pugwash Movement or the International Union of Scholars could join in the drafting of this report.

It would also be desirable to have the UNESCO make efforts to draw up a textbook which would in a competent and easily understandable manner deal with the overall issues of preparing societies for life in peace. Such a textbook, available in every country, would serve as an aid for teachers, schoolgoers and students and would facilitate international dialogue, by pointing out the complex problems of international peace and security, and particularly the common threat and ways of preparing societies for life in peace.

Consideration should be given to the possibility of convening a forum of experts concerned with research on peace; the aim of this Forum would be to discuss the overall issues which are the subject of common interests of states and serve the implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. Such a Forum, set up in conjunction with national scientific institutions and the concerned international organizations, be they governmental or non-governmental, would offer a possibility for an in-depth exchange of opinions and presentation of research findings by top scholars from various states and regions. It would be particularly desirable to take up work on a long-term international programme for effective implementation of the principles and recommendations of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace.

Progress in setting international obligations of states concerning human rights is immense. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two international covenants on human rights along with scores of conventions adopted by the UN and the International Labour Organization have set up an entire system of international legal arrangements. The fundamental premise of that system is the assurance of the right to life in peace and freedom to nations and individuals. Without implementation of that right all the other rights become but declarations suspended in a vacuum. It is high time to take up actions which would fill out the lofty declarations with concrete, material premises assuring peace to people and the world.

The Human Right to Peace

KAREN TALBOT

THE UNITED Nations Charter defines as a fundamental objective . . . "We, the people of the United Nations . . . to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

The war danger, above all, the danger of nuclear war which confronts this and succeeding generations is immeasurably greater now than could have been anticipated when the UN Charter was adopted in 1945. When we speak of the human right to peace, more than ever, we are speaking not only of rights of those living today but the rights of unborn generations.

The atomic bomb dropped by the United States on Hiroshima in 1945 was a 12.5 kiloton bomb. Today, nuclear weapons of 20 megatons with 1,600 times greater destructive capability are not unusual.

The world sits on a massive powderkeg with the destructive potential totalling well over 1 million Hiroshima bombs—enough to kill all of the earth's population many times over.

Scientists and physicians have been bringing home to people not just these grim, but perhaps too dry, statistics. They have graphically shown how incomprehensibly horrible a nuclear war would be; how surviving such a war in the long run, if not the short run, would be impossible; how our beautiful planet, civilisation and all that has been wrought by human endeavour, would be destroyed.

They have scientifically explained the effects of nuclear war as accurately as is possible, without having had a real life test, with present-day weapons. The ineffable destruction of nuclear blasts, firestorms and radiation and the reality that the living would envy the dead was dramatized in the movie, "The Day After", as well as in numerous documentary films—none of which gives the description of the real horrors of nuclear war.

How can there be anything more com-

elling than the imperative necessity of defending the human right to be spared such annihilation in the flames of a nuclear war?

How can there be anything more important than defending the human right to peace, which, in a world of nuclear weapons, not only includes but goes far beyond the right of individuals to life, or the right of whole populations to life? It means defending the collective right of all human beings to continue to exist and the right of future generations to be born and to live out their lives.

Ending Economic Deprivation

But does not the human right to peace include the right to be free of the social ills, economic deprivation—the hunger and starvation—which is caused in a major way by the vast military expenditures now totalling some one trillion dollars annually?

This money as well as untold human and material resources are diverted for purposes of devastation, even the ultimate devastation of all humankind. They could be used to erase all economic injustices and to attain a New International Economic Order.

The human rights covenants define civil, political, economic and social rights. Among these, enshrined in the Human Rights Declaration itself, is "the right to life, liberty and security of person". Yet, estimates contrast this with the 800 million people the world over who live in poverty, 100 million Africans and 40 million Latin Americans who suffer from chronic hunger, 50 million people, many of them children, who die every year from hunger. The right to life, therefore, is very elusive for the great majority of people living in the developing countries.

But, again, does this not directly relate to the human right to peace—to be free of the crushing economic and social burden of preparation for war, including preparation for nuclear war? In a real sense, millions die today just from the preparation for war.

Millions Die from Preparation for War

And what of the right to peace for those other millions of people directly victimized by wars of aggression and intervention, each of which not only causes death and suffering now but also poses the danger of igniting a worldwide nuclear conflagration?

Are not the civil and political rights as well as the social and economic rights and the right of nations to self-determination greatly jeopardized, if not totally thwarted, by such acts of aggression and intervention?

Indeed, is not violation of these fundamental human rights an integral component instigating war, aggression and intervention? In fact, the greatest source of human rights violations is precisely to be found in policies which pursue intervention and aggressive war.

The fundamental human right to peace is inseparably interwoven with all other human rights, including the right of nations to self-determination. No one right is complete in itself, isolated from the other human rights. The human right to peace is dependent on all other human rights and all other human rights depend upon the human right to peace. For example, the bestial violation of human rights by the apartheid regime of South Africa also contains within it the threat to peace in the region and to peace in the world.

Above all, it is clear that no human rights will be possible in the event of nuclear war.

Human Right to be Free from War

To deny that there is a human right to peace—a human right to be free from war or the threat of war—would imply that any nation has the right to wage aggressive wars and to threaten war against other peoples and nations which, of course, is contrary to the UN Charter and norms of international law.

The Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, said in his message on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1983: "There is no major issue

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Secretary of World Peace Council (USA)

on the agenda of the United Nations—the peaceful settlement of international disputes, disarmament, development, the protection of the environment, which does not involve human rights in some way."

It is worth looking at some examples of how this concept finds expression in the United Nations decisions and in international law.

Characteristic of the United Nations approach to human rights is that it links these with the human right to peace and recognises the right to self-determination as a basic human right, stressing the unity of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and the right to sovereignty of peoples over their natural wealth and resources.

Achievement of these rights rests on effective national and international policies which, if not undertaken, or if obstructed, would constitute, in a real sense, a violation of all these human rights.

Serious obstacles to the implementation of human rights include, in the first place, the threat to peace, acts of aggression, apartheid, the relentless drive for military superiority and the build-up of ever more lethal nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction.

The UN Commission on Human Rights has a number of times proclaimed the human right to peace. In 1976, Resolution 5 (XXXII) stated: "Everyone has the right to live in conditions of international peace and security..."

Avert Threat of Nuclear War

This year, 1984, on March 12th, the Human Rights Commission, speaking of peace as a human right, again adopted a resolution stressing the urgent need for the international community to strengthen peace, remove the growing threat of war, particularly nuclear war, and achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

In 1978 the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, which said, among other things: "Every nation and every human being, regardless of race, conscience, language or sex, has the inherent right to life in peace."

Therefore, it stated: "Every nation has the duty to promote all round, mutually advantageous and equitable political, economic, social and cultural co-operation with other states, notwithstanding their socio-economic systems, with a view to securing their common existence and co-operation in peace, in conditions of mutual understanding of and respect for the identity and diversity of all peoples and the duty to take up actions conducive to the furtherance of the ideals of peace, humanism and freedom."

It also speaks of the basic necessity of the territorial integrity of states, the elimination

of the threat inherent in the arms race, efforts towards general and total disarmament and opposes the practices of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

In 1979, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament which spoke of the "inalienable right of every nation and of every human being to live in peace, free from the threat of war..."

The right to self-determination is perceived as a basic norm of international law. The Declaration on Granting of Independence to all Colonial Countries and Peoples contains the phrase "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace... The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of



the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

It is interesting to note that the US representative, in abstaining, said among other things that he could not accept the passage in the Declaration which says: "All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence."

Illegality of Nuclear War

Violation of the human right to peace exists not only in the waging of wars of aggression but also in advocating the waging of "limited" or "protracted" nuclear war and policies built on first strike strategy, which brings us to the question of the illegality of nuclear war.

Closely related to the illegality of nuclear war is the concept of renouncing first use of nuclear weapons.

The guaranteeing of the human right to

peace depends on nations undertaking specific actions both collectively and individually.

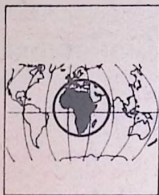
Today, the great majority of nations of the UN and of world public opinion, including the World Peace Council, stand for certain priority measures to prevent nuclear war in the first place, and to lead towards achievement of general and complete disarmament.

Yet, these imperative steps are opposed by a few NATO nations whose participation is most essential—the United States in the first place. For example, the US in the last General Assembly session voted against all UN resolutions calling for many of these measures. These measures include:

- concluding a comprehensive test ban treaty,
- freezing the testing, production and deployment of all nuclear weapons, followed by negotiating rapid reduction and elimination of all such weapons,
- banning space weaponry,
- renouncing first use of nuclear weapons,
- concluding a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations,
- removing the highly destabilizing first strike Pershing II and Cruise missiles from Europe.

The US Catholic Bishops, in a pastoral letter going to the 50 million Catholics in the United States, said the following: "We do not perceive any situation in which the deliberate initiation of nuclear war, on however a restricted scale, can be morally justified... We urge NATO to move rapidly towards the adoption of a no first use policy."

Finally, it is important to remember that the United Nations General Assembly, in its special sessions on disarmament, has unanimously declared that the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war is "the most acute and urgent task of the present day".



Final Assault for Liberation of South Africa and Namibia

ROMESH CHANDRA

This article is based on the concluding address of Mr. Romesh Chandra, Chairman of the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonisation, at the International Non-Governmental Organisations Conference for the Independence of Namibia and the Eradication of Apartheid. The Conference was organised by the NGO Sub-Committee in co-operation with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the UN Council for Namibia, in Geneva in July 1984. Mr. Romesh Chandra was unanimously elected President of the Conference.

Extracts from the address are published here.

THIS IS the time of the final assault for the liberation of South Africa and Namibia. We have reached a new stage in the struggle for liberation inside South Africa and Namibia.

In 1984, the mass movement for liberation, the armed struggle for liberation, has reached unprecedented heights.

Every day you hear of the movement inside, the battle inside South Africa and Namibia. Those who fight to put an end to the apartheid regime with courage and heroism are receiving the support today of 600 South African non-governmental organisations, a broad front of all types of organisations, which remained in the background before. They are not the liberation movements and yet today they are compelled to give their support to these movements because of their sacrifice and heroism, and their programme. It is not a programme of division, not a programme only for one section, even if it is the majority, but a programme for all people of South Africa and Namibia.

It is this which is important, the willingness

to co-operate with all, and not to say only, "this land is the land of the Black people". Of course, it is, but it is a land in which we fight for the real South Africa, the real Namibia, in which all will participate. And this is the reason why the attempts to destroy the movement, to divide the movement, are not succeeding.

There were times when people said: "Armed struggle! You are for peace, are you not? If you stand for peace, how can you support an armed struggle?"

This question used to be asked. And there were those who said: "Don't speak of the armed struggle because you will narrow the movement against apartheid."

This was also said at the time of the struggle in Viet Nam: "How are you supporting the Vietnamese, they are using arms to defend themselves and you want peace?"

Those days are gone forever, and this should be understood well. The armed struggle inside South Africa and Namibia is the struggle for peace and the liberation movements are the peace movements of South Africa and Namibia. It is this understanding which has grown since the time when more and more people came to support Viet Nam, when the B-52 bombers were being brought down by the Vietnamese people. Similarly, more and more people are supporting the struggle against apartheid and for ending the racist regime in

South Africa and Namibia, which has reached heights which it had never reached before.

It is this reality which is what we see at this time. As the struggle reaches new heights, the support for the struggle also attains new heights.

No one now dares in the world to come out in favour of apartheid, but the desire persists in certain quarters to weaken those who fight against apartheid, to divide them if possible, to try to prevent them from seeing that the fight against apartheid has to be at the same time a fight for liberation. You cannot be anti-apartheid and not support the authentic liberation movement and the struggle it is waging, the armed struggle.

Do not say, "I am against apartheid but I want to get rid of apartheid without the liberation movement, by a resolution, a decision, from outside." This is impossible.

There are some who act consciously, others unconsciously, to divide one liberation struggle from another, and the movement for independence, for justice, for social progress from the movement for prevention of a nuclear war.

We are at a stage when this is no longer a possibility. We can see through these efforts to disarm us, take away from us the one weapon of the greatest importance, for every struggle—its unity with every other struggle. The struggle is one.

There are some who insist that each movement for peace, solidarity, justice must be separate, each must be a one-point movement. They say: "Do not link it with anything else; if you do so, then you will mobilize less people." This is totally false.

We believe that in this historic Conference we have taken decisions of the greatest significance. There are those who speak of and commend every other action, but only sometimes do they speak of the demand for mandatory sanctions, as though this demand

ROMESH CHANDRA

President, World Peace Council; Chairman of the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonisation.

is merely to be added to a whole list of other demands. Mandatory sanctions is the key. But who stops and prevents the imposition of mandatory sanctions?

You know the song which we sing, "We shall overcome some day." We can overcome and win the independence of Namibia because of the strength of the struggle and of the solidarity movement for the isolation of the apartheid regime, if only we can unite all those forces—not some day but soon, very soon.

I know there are people who work for the best causes of all humanity, for the eradication of apartheid, for the liberation of Namibia, for 24 hours every day. The trouble is that 24 hours in a day are not enough. The stage which the liberation movement has reached inside the country is unprecedented, it is qualitatively higher than ever before, and the stage of the solidarity movement outside must correspond to the stage of the movement inside South Africa.

Twenty-four hours work every day is not enough. If we can work twice as hard, twice as long, twice more effectively, more clearly, then we shall certainly all be together much sooner for the final assault.

How good it is to be with the liberation movements. I want to thank them for all that they have done, all they are doing, all the sacrifices they are making. It has rightly been stressed that they are not fighting just for themselves. They are fighting for us, for every people's struggle.

SWAPO and the African National Congress are fighting for the world, for the future of humanity, with their clarity of vision which is theirs. We stand with the liberation movements, and they stand with us. We are not giving to the liberation movements. We are only trying to repay a little part of the debt that we owe all over the world to the struggle inside Namibia and South Africa.

Long live the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia—fighters for the defence of this world from nuclear devastation, and for the building of that new world which we all seek, in which no one shall die, as hundreds of millions do today, of hunger, poverty and oppression.

We shall win . . . very soon.

Centenary of Infamous Berlin Conference

Counter and Defeat Plot to Return Southern Africa to Perpetual Servitude

ENUGA S. REDDY

This article is based on the address of Mr. Enuga S. Reddy to the International NGO Conference for the Independence of Namibia and the Eradication of Apartheid held in Geneva on 2 July 1984.

Extracts from the address are published here.

THE CENTENARY of two tragic and shameful events of world history—the German invasion of Namibia (7 August 1884) and the Berlin Conference later that year, at which the imperialist Powers agreed to carve the Continent of Africa for their occupation—has been observed this year.

It gives us an opportunity to consider the struggle for freedom in Namibia and South Africa, and for the total emancipation of Africa, in its proper context and from a longer perspective.

The history of Africa in the past century,

as indeed of most of the world, called the "Third World", has been the story of both the inhumanity, pillage and hypocrisy of the imperialist Powers, and of the heroism and generosity of the people struggling for freedom.

There are not many parallels in modern world history to the calculated and deliberate genocide of the Namibian people under the occupation of Imperial Germany, followed by the brutal racist domination of South Africa.

At the same time, the resistance of the Namibian people, ever since 1884, is an epic in which the heroic and nationwide struggle under the leadership of SWAPO since 1960 is only the last chapter.

In how many countries of Europe, for in-

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stance, have people fought for freedom with the same odds that the Namibian people have faced—a million people scattered in a huge territory struggling against a brutal regime which respects no law and no morality, and which has been allowed to build up a gigantic military machine?

In how many countries have 94 per cent of the people boycotted elections as they did in Ovamboland in 1972 despite all intimidation?

How many parallels are there to the deliberate and cowardly massacre of refugees in Cassinga?

There has been questioning by the Pretoria regime and a few Western Powers as to whether SWAPO is the authentic representative of the Namibian people—as if the aspirations of any oppressed people can be represented by anyone other than the organisation fighting for their freedom. In any case that will be decided by the Namibian people, if only they are allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

But there is no question that for most of humanity which has suffered colonial oppression, and for all those who detest colonialism, SWAPO has already earned an honoured place among the great liberation movements of the world.

Infamous Berlin Conference

Soon after the invasion of Namibia, Bismarck's Germany played host to the infamous Berlin conference of imperialist Powers to carve up Africa—a continent that had until recently been ravaged by slavery, entire regions of which had been depopulated, whose great empires and civilisations had been destroyed—ostensibly to bestow the benefits of Christianity and civilisation to the African people.

At around the same time, diamonds and gold were discovered in South Africa—diamonds in 1866 and gold in 1886—and greedy forces descended on the country to subject the African people to new indignities in order to force them to extract the wealth from the bowels of Africa.

The leg irons of slavery were soon replaced by the sjambok and the whip, not to mention the cutting off of hands in Leopold's Congo or the instruments of torture used against so-called idle natives in territories colonised by Portugal.

Africa has not demanded retribution or reparations or even restitution for the century of humiliation, exploitation and genocide—for the so-called white man's burden.

But some of the Powers concerned do not even seem to recognise—even after subscribing to the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—the obligation to turn a new page and show sensitivity to African aspirations and feelings.

They continue to reap profits from the oppression of black labour. They continue

to fraternise with the racist regime of South Africa and some of them even try to defame great African liberation movements. They hold the birthright of the Namibian people to freedom and independence hostage to the blackmail of the illegal occupiers of that country.

And the racist Pretoria regime has now even begun to claim that some Western Powers recognise it as a regional Power—and there has been no denial from Western capitals.

What are the moral responsibilities of the peoples of the world, especially the peoples of the Western countries, towards the people of South Africa and Namibia, and indeed of the African continent.

Fight and Destroy Apartheid

Sixty years ago, in 1924, the Stallard Commission in South Africa declared that the African can enter the cities and towns only to minister to the needs of the whites. It is this inhuman ideology, in all its manifestations, whether in South Africa under apartheid or on a wider level that we must fight and destroy. That is a task not only of the people of South Africa and Namibia, but of all decent human beings.

The colonial revolution in Africa in our time—as yet unfinished—has in its course, encountered many attempts to undo the hard-won victories of the African people and to reverse the tide of history.

In the 1950s there were attempts toward military co-operation by the colonial Powers and apartheid South Africa to prevent or retard independence of African nations. From 1960, there have been a series of invasions of newly-independent States by mercenary criminals—of Zaire, Angola, Benin, Comoros and Seychelles.

In 1975, after the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, there was the invasion of Angola by the racist forces of South Africa, in collusion with the secret services of Western Powers, in an attempt to extend the dominion of apartheid northwards.

The past few years have again seen an incessant series of acts of aggression, subversion and economic strangulation of the newly-independent States of southern Africa with a view to making the entire region subservient to a racist order in South Africa.

Africa and the world are today obliged not only to assist the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia in their just struggle for independence, but to counter and defeat the plot to return southern Africa to perpetual servitude.

Meeting Offensive of Racist Forces

The offensive of racist-colonial forces must be met by a counter-offensive of all friends of African freedom.

The declarations of African States that they do not regard their freedom as complete so long as any part of Africa is oppressed, and that the struggle for liberation in dependent territories is the struggle of all the governments and peoples of Africa; the teachings of the leaders of freedom struggles in Asia and the Americas that their struggles are part of the world-wide effort for the elimination of colonialism and racism; the solemn commitments of the United Nations; and indeed the cherished values of all nations and all faiths—are, in a sense, put to the test in this last stage of the struggle for the elimination of colonialism and for the emancipation of Africa.

The so-called quiet diplomacy is not enough, to say the least. Hospitality to the leaders of the Pretoria regime—ostensibly to convince them of the need for flexibility and pragmatism, and of the wisdom of gradually mitigating apartheid—are hardly the answer.

Independence of Namibia Inevitable

Namibia must be fully free.

Apartheid must be totally eradicated.

The frontline States must be compensated for the enormous damages they have suffered because of aggression by the Pretoria regime and the unwillingness of responsible Powers to stop the aggression.

I have just come from a visit to Nigeria, and I feel that the wounds inflicted on their Continent are not forgotten by the African people and the invitations to the leaders of the apartheid regime by the very same countries which despoiled Africa have caused a deep hurt.

Despite the very critical situation in southern Africa, I do not believe that there is any need to feel pessimistic or to be resigned to the prospect of a prolonged racist domination in southern Africa.

The collapse of colonialism has taken place in many countries—in Algeria and Mozambique, to give but two examples—soon after the oppressors launched massive and seemingly triumphant offensives against the freedom fighters.

The present offensive of the Pretoria regime is taking place at a time when the national resistance in South Africa has made unprecedented advances, when that regime is unable to subdue the armed struggle of the Namibian people, and when it is faced with serious political, economic and other problems.

The movement against the new racist constitution has led to unprecedented mobilisation and unity of the great majority of the people against apartheid. We must pay tribute to the courageous leaders of this movement—such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Reverend Alan Boesak, Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, who is again sentenced to imprisonment, and the leader of AZAPO, who is

again denied a passport—not to mention Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Zephania Mthobeni, Ahmad Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg and many others who inspire the people from behind the prison bars.

The strength of that regime rests mainly on the short-sighted and disastrous policies of some external Powers and interests which can, if they had the will, undermine the racist system in South Africa.

Anti-Batha Demonstrations

The demonstrations against the visit of Prime Minister Botha to some European countries, and the groundswell of anti-apartheid activity in the United States of America, show that the committed governments, organisations and individuals can, by concerted action, force the external Powers and interests concerned to break their links with racism in southern Africa.

It is idle merely to criticise and condemn the racists and their friends. What is required is a determined effort to secure united and effective action at all levels. Let us concentrate our attention on what the countless friends of African liberation all over the world can and will do.

I believe that an undertaking by all committed countries not to buy arms or oil from any corporation supplying arms or oil to South Africa—and to boycott any bank which lends to South Africa—can by itself be an effective beginning.

Higher Moral Duty

At the risk of possible misunderstanding, I would like to make a distinction between our sense of solidarity with those struggling for freedom and our higher moral duty.

The struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia is waged by the people of those countries, under the leadership of their respective national liberation movements. Our actions in solidarity to those legitimate struggles are only supportive. But our moral duty transcends this spirit of solidarity and is irrespective of attitudes towards the ideologies or strategies of the national liberation movements.

I may recall that the great majority of Member States of the United Nations denounced South African occupation of Namibia long before SWAPO was established.

I recall that a great English writer divested himself of gold mining shares in the 1920s when he heard of oppression in the gold mines of South Africa. The South African national liberation movements was then little known abroad.

The overriding moral duty is to dissociate from evil, from the system of apartheid which is an unmitigated evil.

Dissociate from Racism

The first task of non-governmental organisations is to mobilise world public opinion to demand that every government, corporation or institution dissociates itself from the system of racism in South Africa in every field. There can be no moral justification for collaboration with apartheid.

That is why we have repeatedly called on all governments and organisations—irrespective of any ideological and other differences—to implement sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

No paternalistic or other attitudes towards the means to eliminate apartheid, no so-called strategic interests can be accepted as a pretext for co-operation with the apartheid regime. There can be no investment in apartheid to promote equality in South Africa.

During the course of the struggle of African nations for freedom and national independence, many lives have been lost. Nearly two million people died in the Algerian revolution alone. Many precious leaders of the African people have been assassinated in their youth so that they could no more lead their nations in the struggle for the redemption of Africa. I think of my dear friends like Amílcar Cabral, Felix Moumbe, Eduardo Mondlane, Ruth First, Joe Qaqabi and many others.

Tribute to Patrice Lumumba

But, above all, today, I think of that great symbol of African dignity and of African spirit, Patrice Lumumba.

For today is his birthday. He would have been only 59 years if he was alive.

I believe that Patrice Lumumba was killed not because of his mistakes but because of his virtues—because he spoke the truth about the history of Africa, because he saw the Congo as the base for the total emancipation of Africa, and because he had faith that Africa would write its own history, a history of struggle and glory.

In his last testament from jail, he wrote to his wife: "The day will come when history will speak . . . Africa will write its own history and in both north and south it will be a history of glory and dignity."

That history is being written today by the peoples struggling for freedom in South Africa and Namibia.

African Freedom Cannot be Denied

Africa will be free with or without the honest support of some erstwhile colonial Powers. It will be free even with or without effective support and solidarity from those who profess to be friends of Africa.

It is for us to decide whether we discharge our moral and human responsibility for our own sake and to help reduce the suffering and the consequences of a bloody conflict in southern Africa.

The United Nations has repeatedly and unanimously declared apartheid as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. This crime has continued for too long, causing immense suffering to the people of southern Africa and undermining efforts for a just international order. It is time that all those who are outraged by apartheid will not only renew their commitment for freedom, but prevent all collaboration with apartheid, and ensure all necessary assistance to the oppressed people to destroy apartheid and gain their inalienable right to freedom and human dignity.

The anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organisations have made a great contribution to the international campaign against apartheid. I believe they have the resources to make a decisive contribution at this crucial time in consultation with those fighting for freedom and in cooperation with the United Nations.

I assure of all appropriate co-operation by the Centre against Apartheid.

As they say in South Africa: "Mayubiye ye Afrika" (Let Africa come back to its children).

Combating US Domination of Pacific Region

GERALD O'BRIEN

THE DEMANDS of the transnationals subvert national sovereignty and pervert the parliamentary system. They impose their grotesque demands within political parties themselves and in the Pacific within the trade union movement. They have to be countered by international organisation, and the peace movement more than any other offers this potential, because transnational interests are the interests of the militarised economy which according to George Kennan have "gone mad".

Phrases like "death squad democracy" do worry us because the scenario for New Zealand, written by the latter-day Kissingers, the Richard Perles, those referred to around UN quarters as the Princes of Darkness, is the very same scenario that has been used in Chile and in Central America and in the Philippines and elsewhere, and it worries us because the USA does not export democracy, nor does it accept democracy in its vassal states.

US Domination of Pacific

That scenario has some additional aspects in respect of the role of New Zealand. Like Australia, New Zealand has been seen by some in the US as a provider of mercenaries for Washington's objectives. New Zealand has established a Rapid Deployment Force which it seems can hardly be any other objective than to be a potential force in maintaining and strengthening colonialism in the Pacific. The Trust Territories of the Western Pacific face the bleak prospect of having to conform with imposed constitutions—now almost ready to be "sanctified" as in Puerto Rico and Eastern Samoa—to provide a permanent colonial status for those peoples. New Caledonia's independence movement and the government of Vanuatu must fear the potential of such a rapid deployment force as was being created in New Zealand, under the former conservative government which was defeated in the election on 14 July 1984.

GERALD O'BRIEN

President, New Zealand Council for World Peace (New Zealand)

Those people know that Michael Somare in Papua New Guinea lost office because Kissinger could not trust his conformity. The Cook Islands government of Sir Albert Henry was removed from office, by a technique the Australians are familiar with—removal from office by the Chief Justice—and by a strange chance a US-educated gentleman, working for many years in the USA, became the Premier. In Vanuatu there was the attempt on Walter Lini's government by Jimmy Stevens. In Western Samoa, New Zealand's influence was eliminated by the sudden implementation of immigration policies—down raids by New Zealand police, under the former conservative government, to round up Samoan "overstayers", who until then had never had their overstaying seriously or otherwise questioned. This racist policy was an adjunct to parallel racist political propaganda, the objective of which was to fragment the Pacific and to prevent any unified Pacific voice for peace developing in conjunction with the election of Labour governments in Australia and New Zealand. Today USA's writ prevails and Pacific unity is in tatters.

Reagan's Policy in Pacific

President Reagan is quoted in the May-June edition 1984 of "Pacific Magazine" as saying that the US focus is shifting increasingly to the Pacific, which he sees as the fastest growing economic region of the world. He is quoted elsewhere as calling the Pacific "an American Lake", much in the manner in which a previous enemy of peace and the working people used to call the Mediterranean "Mare Nostrum".

With 28% of total transnational investments now being in the Pacific, the growth of US military and political action in the Pacific can be understood. There are currently 560 US military bases and installations throughout the Pacific and 600 Cruise Missiles—that is, 600 Sea-Based Tomahawk missiles are being assigned to the Pacific to ensure total and absolute US control of the Pacific and all of the governments that reside within it.

There are not many bases in New Zealand—rather they are installations, but

those that exist are an integral part of the US war plan and tie in with Pine Gap, North-West Cape and Narringah in Australia. They have been the focus of political action and will continue to be so.

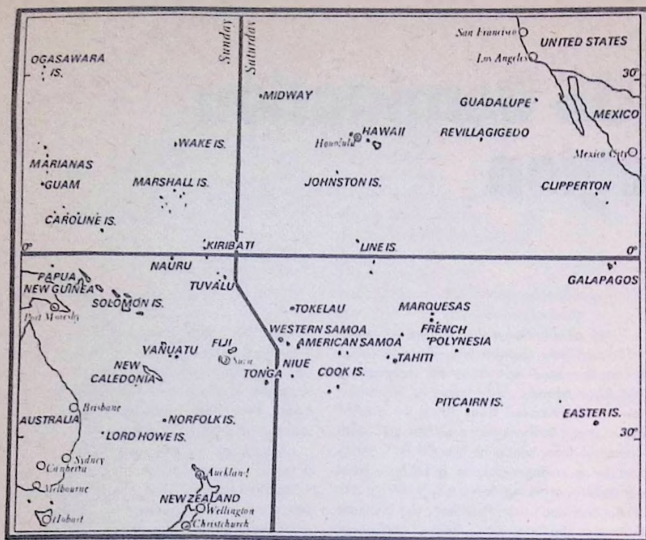
ANZUS, as we are aware, was initially a barrier against a rearmed resurgent remilitarised Japan. Now the major ANZUS partner is actively promoting Japanese rearmament against the wishes of the Japanese people and against their Constitution. ANZUS is thus useless to us in that specific area where it was originally of paramount importance. It is ironic that the protection we seek against a rearmed Japan rests not with ANZUS, not with the United States, but with the people of Japan themselves and their Constitution which we must assist them to protect at all cost. ANZUS nearly involved New Zealand in that John-Wayne-style Seventh Cavalry Charge against Iran at the time of the engineered hostage crisis, plotted and planned, according to a leading US magazine, to save the Chase Manhattan Bank.

ANZUS is no longer a Defence Pact; it is no longer spoken of as a Treaty. It is now an "alliance", not a legal definable document with commitments spelled out but a part of a military plan, a military plot in which we supply the mercenaries for foreign military adventures in promotion of Reaganism on a world scale.

Profits from Weapons of Destruction

It was the US industrialists' greed for profits which made them to forego their dominance of world markets in peaceful industrial products, and to substitute for it the commitment to arms production to a degree where even as far back as 1970 over 80% of the US electronic industry depended for its profitability on defence contracts. The outcome of this policy was the industrial growth of Japan and Japan's subsequent capture of the world markets previously dominated by the US.

So it became important for US capital interests to do two things. First, they had to seek a way to reduce Japan's competi-



"US focus is shifting increasingly to the Pacific, which President Reagan sees as the fastest growing economic region of the world. There are currently 560 US military bases and installations throughout the Pacific and 600 sea-based Tomahawk (cruise) missiles are being assigned to this region to ensure US supremacy over it."

tive industrial potential by diverting it into war production—they thus brought continued massive pressure on the Japanese government to rearm, if not in its own defence, then to supply a rearmed China. Second, the US interests had to recruit Chinese labour to replace the old sweatshops of New York and Chicago to produce cheap goods which US capital could sell. And thus Nixon opened the doors of China to US investment. With the exception of the problems of the Chinese workers, that is where we are currently at.

Immediate Tasks in the Pacific Region

We have to start afresh, and with the election of a Labour Government in New Zealand we do have a second chance, even though it is ten years later than all of us had wished. The struggles of 12 years ago, on which the two Labour governments in New Zealand and Australia embarked, centred on national independence, economic, political, social and cultural, and against neo-colonialism and above all for peace and disarmament. Essential to winning this battle afresh is integrity in the Labour Movement and honour amongst its politicians.

The New Zealand Labour Party which won a resounding victory in the "snap" election in July 1984 has 56 seats in the single chamber Parliament, whilst the out-

going conservative National Party has only 39 and 2 are held by the centrist Social Credit Party.

The new government brings a reversal in New Zealand's role from one of subservience to US interests to one of independence within a peaceful Pacific, and from one of lip service to peace and a Nuclear Free Pacific to one of positive action to achieve it.

Nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered war vessels will be excluded from New Zealand waters.

The ANZUS treaty, more recently turned into an ANZUS "alliance" with world, rather than originally Pacific, implications, is to be renegotiated.

The new government in New Zealand has pledged to develop relations with the United States on an equal footing rather than, as has been the case with the previous government, on a proprietor-client basis.

There are opportunities for many New Zealand initiatives in the foreign affairs field and it is expected that the new Prime Minister, 41-year old lawyer and humanitarian David Lange, who will hold the portfolio of Foreign Affairs himself, will move to re-establish New Zealand's influence amongst its Pacific neighbours and in the Third World.

The peace movement in our country has welcomed the new government which has pledged itself to a Nuclear Free Pacific

and which will also make New Zealand an active participant in disarmament activities.

Our immediate tasks, amongst wider considerations, are the following:

- a Pacific Peace Conference based on the New Zealand Federation of Labour resolution, but extended to include the whole of the people of New Zealand;
- a Pacific Nuclear Free Zone and a Zone of Peace in East Asia and the Indian Ocean;
- an end to the ANZUS treaty;
- an end to military bases and foreign installations in the Pacific;
- adoption by the Pacific governments and the New Zealand government of a policy of non-alignment.

Significance of Non-Aligned Movement

Non-alignment is a new concept for New Zealand and Australia with their colonialist history, yet one of the great nations of the world that was held in thrall to an even greater extent by colonialist exploitation than we ever were, and that country, India, now leads the world's Non-Aligned Movement. So we are undaunted by the prospect of having to change national outlooks towards that sanity.

Non-Alignment does not remove us from the task of striving for peace but only adds us to the growing millions who will have no truck with arms makers, nor their tools. We have to tell the militarists, the Reaganists, that we will never embrace the staggering immensity of the immorality behind the kind of thought that attempts to justify the gross evil of planning for aggressive nuclear war; that we will not enshrine the demands of military policy over any and all other rights and values and expectations. We will urge our government and our people to revive international authority, to revive respect for the world organisation, the UN, and we will urge them to recall the judicial and moral authority of the Nuremberg Judgements and find means again to arraign war mongers for the crime for which the Nazis were condemned by the world—conspiracy to wage aggressive war.

Those of us who see the mushroom cloud which envelops the products of the peddlers and planners of death, as designed by them so that God himself cannot see how men maim their brothers, and those of us who accept that one handful of money will never be stronger than two handfuls of truth, will tell our government that we will never allow, we will never permit, we shall not countenance ever again the type of recession in public morality represented by Reaganism and we will pursue what is for us this noble and elevated task of peace.



Guatemalans: Refugees in Their Own Country

JANE ROSS

THE LARGEST single refugee population in all of Latin America and probably the most dramatic in terms of physical conditions is that of the Guatemalans. Based on data from the Catholic Bishops in Guatemala, the churches in southern Mexico, and working with the Guatemalan refugees, their number exceeds 1,100,000 people, out of a total population of 7 million. The large majority of the Guatemalan refugees are Indians of Mayan descent; and most are women and children. Although 1 million refugees remain within Guatemala, another 100,000 have fled into neighbouring Mexico. Mexican officials estimate that this number has risen to over half-a-million, as the people continue to flee for their survival.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, tens of thousands of peasants have fled their villages, terrorised by the violence and repression against them by the army, police, and paramilitary death squads.

When General Oscar Mejia Victores took power in August 1983, in the latest of military coups, and became President of Guatemala, he promised to return his country to democracy by destroying all potential "communists". He understood that in a country where 90 per cent of the children suffer from malnutrition, and in rural areas where 50 per cent of the children die before they reach the age of five, people are bound to want to change the unjust system.

He has returned the country to absolute terror reminiscent of the Lucas Garcia regime that reigned from 1978-82 during which time 20,000 people were killed. While Rios Montt, Victores's predecessor, carried out one of the most brutal counter-insurgency campaigns in recent Guatemalan history, it was Victores who master-minded and executed Montt's "final paci-

fication plan", as his Minister of Defence. This plan was aimed at wiping out all guerrilla activity in the highlands. According to Amnesty International, over 2,600 Indian peasants were massacred in the first four months of the Montt regime. During this period, through a "scorched earth policy", thousands of villages were destroyed, and their inhabitants massacred. Those who survived, fled in fear of the army's return, living in dispersed mountain settlements barely surviving on roots and insects. Many died. Some sought refuge across the 480-mile frontier into Mexico living in remote jungle camps deep within the Lacandon jungle.

Once inside Mexico, the Guatemalans feel protected from attacks from the army, although incursions across the border into Mexico and the kidnapping and murdering of refugees by the Guatemalan army has been frequently reported by the Mexican press. Meanwhile, evidence from new arrivals still continues to tell of terror and torture against the civilian population by the army within Guatemala.

General Victores has mounted a major campaign to round up all internal refugees and place them in relocation camps known as "model villages" which are run by the military. The Archbishop of Guatemala recently described these centres as "concentration camps". The population, hiding in fear in the mountains, suffering from advanced malnutrition and disease, are offered shelter and food by the same army that burned their villages and massacred their families. Now the army says that it is going to protect them!

Dependent for all needs on the army, the men are forced to attend re-education classes and serve in civil patrols in exchange for food. Americas Watch, a human rights watch group, exposed this strategy for controlling the population in its January 1984 report titled, "Guatemala: A Nation of Prisoners".

While the Mexican government recognises and aids 35 camps containing approximately 45,000 Guatemalan refugees, the Church in the southern state of Chiapas

states that there are over 45 camps and over 100,000 refugees in the jungle in Mexico. Independent sources number the refugees at 250,000, many living in isolated areas and not receiving any aid.

In the large jungle camps, accessible only by boat or a small plane, food and medicine are extremely scarce. Health care is provided by local health promoters (barefoot doctors), religious personnel, and government workers. The refugees outside the camps are not entitled to the limited aid, and their survival remains uncertain. Even within the camps overcrowded living conditions, lack of clean water, and a radically different environment for the highland Indians, breed disease. The death rate is extremely high, especially among children. Malaria is endemic, and advanced malnutrition, anaemia, amoebic dysentery, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and emotional trauma are common.

The United Nations passed a resolution in January 1984 asking all nations of the world not to send arms to the brutal regime in Guatemala which continues to violate human rights and torture its people. A similar resolution was presented and approved by the United Nations Subcommittee for the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities. This resolution recognises Guatemala as a country involved in armed conflict of a non-international character and states that it "is due to economic, social, and political factors" and that "the government of Guatemala does not respect the norms of international humanitarian law".

According to a report issued by The Centre for Defence Information, May 1984, "the United States continues to be a major supplier of military weapons and training to Guatemala".

The report goes on to state that the Reagan Administration has promised to increase its support of economic and military aid to the terrorist regime in Guatemala.

Although the Kissinger Commission Report recognised the massacres and "arbitrary acts of violence by the military", it recommended that military aid be renewed in greater amounts because of "Guatemala's strategic position in the region", and "military aid and military sales should be authorised if Guatemala meets human rights conditions."

As Guatemala's lawmakers prepare for a new Constitution with guidelines for a presidential election to be held in 1985, its population remains in a state of fear and terror under military control, with no end in sight and with little hope for a democratic election that will hear the voice of a people in struggle for their economic and cultural survival.

JANE ROSS

Public Health Nurse who recently returned from southern Mexico where she investigated the health conditions of the Guatemalan refugees (USA)

Free Leonard Peltier

Victim of US Conspiracy against American Indian Movement

STEVE TALBOT

A world campaign has begun to free Leonard Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement, who has already spent eight years in US prisons on trumped-up charges.

This article throws light on the incarceration of Leonard Peltier as part of a US conspiracy to destroy the American Indian Movement for political and human rights in the USA.

ON a June morning in 1975, in a remote corner of the Pine Ridge Reservation near Wounded Knee in the USA, there was a fatal shoot-out in which two FBI agents and an American Indian died. The death of the Indian, Joe Stuntz, went uninvestigated but the deaths of the agents inspired the biggest manhunt in FBI history. Over 150 armed agents in a shoot-first-ask-questions-later search swarmed over the poverty-stricken land of the Oglala Lakota (Sioux) Indians. Eventually, four members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) were indicted on murder charges. One was later released for insufficient evidence and two others acquitted because a jury found that they had fired in self-defence. The fourth, however, was convicted of first degree murder for "aiding and abetting" the FBI deaths and sentenced to two consecutive life terms in a classical example of a political frame-up.

Leonard Peltier, or Gwarth-ee-Lass (his Indian name), has become possibly the best-known American Indian political prisoner in recent history. His 100-day fast to protest the lack of religious freedom in the Marion Penitentiary in the USA has brought the case, and that of the oppression of American Indians generally, to the attention of the international community. Nevertheless, the violation of his human rights is not unique; there are, and have been, other Indian political prisoners in

recent years, as well as political assassinations, unsolved murders and missing persons in the ranks of the American Indian movement. Nor is his imprisonment and the persecution of AIM activists unrelated to Reaganism, the military-industrial complex in particular.

Of Chippewa and Dakota Indian background, Peltier, now 39, has spent the last eight years behind bars under life-threatening conditions, although the main witness to place him at the scene of the crime is a discredited FBI informer, judged mentally incompetent, who perjured herself in court. A second piece of evidence was the testimony of an FBI agent that he saw Peltier in the vicinity of the shooting through the telescopic sight of his rifle, a fact that even a confidential memorandum in the FBI's own files declares virtually impossible due to the mirage factor. Furthermore, evidence showing that Peltier's gun did not fire the fatal shots was suppressed by the FBI in collusion with the presiding judge.

The "crime" itself turns out to have been an attempt by Peltier and other AIM activists to protect the Indian community at Pine Ridge from a government-orchestrated campaign of terror following the Indian civil rights protest at Wounded Knee in 1973.

Resource Exploitation

The 71-day occupation protest by the Oglala Lakota and their allies at Wound-

ed Knee, South Dakota, posed a serious threat to the status quo in US-Indian relations—the US government in the first place, because of its federal "responsibility" for Indian affairs, and actually its colonial management of Indian reservations in service to white business interests and the monopolies which derive super-profits from Indian land, resources and labour. Assisted by the AIM "warriors", the demonstrators at Wounded Knee protested racism, economic exploitation, government mismanagement of the reservations and, above all, the denial of the treaty-protected right to run their own affairs on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

It was not by chance that the Oglala civil rights movement chose Wounded Knee for their protest. It is the historic site of the tragedy of 1890 when nearly 300 Indians, mostly women and children, were massacred by the US Army. Gold had been discovered in the Lakota's sacred Black Hills, and the United States promptly broke the 1869 Ft. Laramie Treaty with the Great Sioux Nation and arbitrarily seized over half of the Indians remaining lands.

In 1973, as in the last century, the Lakota were resisting not only the suppression of their civil rights by the authorities but also the attempt by business interests to seize their natural resources. This time, instead of gold, it was uranium and other valuable minerals. The 23 Indian nationalities in ten western states have one-third of the country's low-sulphur and strippable coal, two-thirds of its uranium reserves, and 3 to 10 per cent of all petroleum and gas.

It is said that the Lakota Sioux have the richest 100 square miles in the world, their Black Hills being estimated to be worth 800 billion dollars. In this beautiful region 20 transnational corporations have staked claims for uranium and other valu-

STEVE TALBOT
Professor (USA)

ble minerals, and the US government has cynically designated the region a "national sacrifice area".

Although uranium, the nuclear fuel, was mined from the Black Hills in the early 1950s, a real uranium boom occurred in 1977 when the US Geological Survey found new deposits. The Black Hills uranium rush was only part of an intensified search for the "death rock" throughout western United States, much of it on Indian lands, and it took place not only in connection with the construction of nuclear power plants, but as part of the Pentagon's nuclear weapons build-up.

It was at this time that the rightwing attack on Indian treaty and civil rights began, with the John Birch Society and other hate groups organising to try to terminate Indian ownership of their remaining lands and resources. These same forces were the businessmen, corporate ranchers and farmers who exploited Indian lands. And it was at this time that the intensive FBI activity against the Lakota at Pine Ridge took place. The Indian newspaper, "Akwesasne Notes", observed: "It is becoming clearer and clearer why AIM has been targeted. . . . It is because of an intensive effort underway by powerful elements in US society to obtain energy, water and mineral resources that are on Indian lands."

The Indian political movement, comprising fundamentally traditional Indians, their chiefs and respected elders, has been spearheaded by the AIM militants. The activist organisation challenged the US establishment in two ways. First, it threatened the hold that white business interests and the monopolies have on American Indian resources—fish, land, coal, oil, water and uranium. Second, by raising the issue of Indian sovereignty over lands and resources (the principle of self-determination enunciated in the Human Rights Covenants of the United Nations), it directly challenged the political system of subjugation and colonial relations used by the US in its treatment of indigenous peoples—the several millions Indians, Alaskans, Hawaiians and Pacific islanders living under US jurisdiction.

Violence on the Pine Ridge Reservation rose to unprecedented heights in the two years following the 1973 protest. There were 23 documented murders in 1974 alone, and attacks on members (including attorneys) increased in 1975. Several hundred AIM members and their supporters died violent deaths or disappeared.

Detroit, with a violent death rate of 20.2 per 100,000 population in 1974, has been called the murder capital of the United States. Yet, at Pine Ridge, the yearly murder rate was nine times that of Detroit—almost equivalent to Chile during the first three years of the Pinochet fascist regime. In short, the Indian residents were virtually without police protection. This was

when AIM assumed its role as the defender of the people.

Many of the AIM "warriors" lived in a spiritual camp on land owned by the Jumping Bull family at Pine Ridge, and it was there that the two FBI agents precipitated the shoot-out which led to their deaths. By nightfall of that day, between 150 and 200 agents and a Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) Team were conducting a campaign of terror on the reservation. As one author described it: "The agents were dressed in military fatigues, carried high-powered M-16 automatic weapons and were equipped with helicopters, airplanes, jeeps and dogs. Two years after the Wounded Knee occupation, armoured personnel carriers again became a familiar sight on the reservation. For

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days following the shoot-out, reservation roads were blockaded and Pine Ridge was in a state of siege. In effect, the FBI had declared martial law on its own authority."

Reaganism and Human Rights

The 1981–82 recession had a disastrous effect on American Indians in the United States. Reagan's military budget priorities, furthermore, in which the military and nuclear war machine received the lion's share of federal money, have exacerbated the economic crisis and driven the Indian population into further deprivation from which they have yet to recover. Indians, with the highest poverty, unemployment, suicide rates, worst education and poorest health in the country, have lost 40 per cent of their treaty-mandated federal assistance since 1980. Of the seven poorest "counties" in the US, four are Lakota Indian reservations in South Dakota, and the poorest is Pine Ridge. This is the structural context in which the human rights of the American Indians are being violated.

The United Nations designated the decade ending in 1984 as the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Yet, there is little evidence to show that the US government is implementing this international decision. In fact, the United States continues to flout the declarations and resolutions of the United Nations with respect to outlawing racial discrimination.

The US has not ratified the Human Rights Covenants, although they were signed in 1977 during the historic International NGO Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations of the Americas. This was the first UN-related international meeting held on the question of indigenous rights, sponsored by the Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonisation, which is chaired by WPC President Romesh Chandra.

The International Indian Treaty Council (IITC), the international affiliate of AIM and representing traditional Indians in North America, also played a key organisational role. Although the conference received extensive news coverage in Europe, it received none in the United States. A second conference in 1981 on Indigenous Peoples and the Land was held under the same auspices.

Thanks chiefly to efforts such as these and the effective work of the IITC, which holds consultative status as an NGO, at the UN, the question of indigenous human rights is now on the international agenda. A UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations was established in 1982 by the Economic and Social Council "to review developments pertaining to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous populations", and to give special attention to the evolution of standards concerning their rights. Indigenous groups were invited to give information and testimony and to present specific cases which show that a national government is not respecting the universal norms of human rights. At its recent session in August, 1984, the IITC presented the case of Peltier.

It is critically important that the international peace movement should lend its support to the world campaign to free Leonard Peltier—because he is innocent in the context of the US genocide and the attack on the American Indian Movement, and because peace and human rights are inseparable. The World Peace Council, on its part, has already given its support to the campaign for the immediate release of Leonard Peltier.

Australian Peace Movement's Initiatives for Preventing Nuclear War

BRUCE CHILDS

This article is based on the address of Mr. Bruce Childs to the National Conference on Disarmament, convened by the Australian Peace Committee, in Sydney on 2 June 1984.

Extracts from the address are published here.

In 1982 some 40,000 people in Sydney voiced their concern about the nuclear arms race. In the following year that figure increased to around 60,000. This year, of course, approximately 150,000 people demonstrated in the city of Sydney, on 15 April 1984.

The 1984 march and rally shows that the nuclear disarmament movement in Sydney is now the largest movement in living memory. It is probable that the nuclear disarmament movement all over Australia is now the largest and fastest growing social and political movement in Australia's history.

The Sydney march and rally was so massive that the equivalent of approximately 4 per cent of Sydney's population took part. One in every twenty-five people in Sydney participated in the 1984 Palm Sunday Demonstration. That makes it proportionally as big as, if not bigger than, any of the other recent marches for nuclear disarmament around the world.

Why was the Sydney rally so big? After all we in Australia are not confronted with

the immediate focus of the deployment in Europe of the Pershing II, Cruise and SS-20 missiles in our own backyards.

Broad Peace Movement

To my mind one explanation for the size of the Sydney march can be gleaned from the slogans agreed to by the NDCC (Nuclear Disarmament Co-ordinating Committee) for its publicity material:

"No to Nuclear War"; "No to Nuclear Bases"; "No to Uranium Mining"; "No to nuclear weapons—East and West"; "Nuclear Bases are Nuclear Targets"; "Uranium Mining Fuels the Arms Race".

The breadth of those slogans and the clear message contained in them, namely, that the Australian nuclear disarmament movement is not aligned with either of the two great powers and that we are unequivocally opposed to nuclear war, generated widespread support.

Clearly there is significant community respect for and agreement with our independent position. If we are to continue to receive that support and respect, it is vital in my opinion that we avoid falling into the trap of internal fragmentation.

Most of my comments so far have been

directed to the organisation of the nuclear disarmament marches. Now I am sure the readers will be aware of the argument that says that "the nuclear arms race will continue no matter how many people march in the streets, so why bother?"

In my view, we cannot abdicate our responsibility to future generations in that way. Secondly, it ignores the impact that the worldwide nuclear disarmament demonstrations have had on the politicians. In Canberra this year, an All Party Nuclear Disarmament Committee has been formed. It is pleasant but strange to sit down with the Liberals, the Nationals and the Democrats to discuss the disarmament question.

The Labour government of Australia recognises our peace movement. Indeed, as Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Hayden said in Adelaide earlier this year: "The peace movement has come to occupy an important place in the consideration of disarmament and arms control issues. The moral force of this movement is something that our democratically elected government must take into account in formulating its policies. We consider that dialogue with peace and disarmament groups in Australia is important and we intend to encourage the process of exchanges with them."

Intensify Nuclear Disarmament Movement

It is my strong view that demonstrating in the streets is simply not sufficient. Nuclear disarmament cannot be just a once a year exercise. The current crisis demands that the nuclear disarmament movement must lift itself up. We must reach out to the community, to educate people about the issues which confront us all. The NDCC has already started to undertake this massive task.

For three years now education courses, entitled "Nuclear Disarmament for Beginners" have been held in various locations within the Sydney region, e.g., Chatswood, Manly, Sutherland, Blue Mountains, Eastern Suburbs.

Arising from the lectures a set of cassette tapes has been put together and is available for distribution. This enables people to undertake some "self-education"—listening to the tapes at their own convenience. It is also hoped that local councils will be prepared to purchase these cassettes to be included in their libraries. The process of education is, of course, an on-going one. In that on-going process local, suburban nuclear disarmament groups are playing a vital role.

I think it is particularly significant that the number of local nuclear disarmament groups in the Sydney region has grown from 13 to 57 in the last few years. Through this network (and by as many other avenues as possible), NDCC will shortly be making available a special half-hour video

BRUCE CHILDS
Senator from the Labour Party (Australia)

tape recording of the 1984 Sydney Palm Sunday March and Rally.

I indicated earlier that we can derive some satisfaction from the increasing number and diversity of people participating in the Annual Palm Sunday March and Rally. There is, however, a disturbing truth in the reasoning that the cause of this massive mobilisation is the heightened danger of nuclear war.

In a recent book entitled "Why Peace Movements Fail", Nigel Young argues that historically peace movements have always been strongest immediately before the outbreak of war.

It is my personal view that President Reagan and his administration represent perhaps the greatest ever threat to the survival of life on earth. However, the most devastating critics of President Reagan are to be found in the United States. For example, Anthony Lewis, a journalist with "The International Herald Tribune" has written: "It is a more dangerous world today than when Mr. Reagan took office in 1981. Ordinary communication with Moscow has virtually ceased. US leaders talk about the relationship more and more in military terms—compelling the ordinary citizen to conclude that some sort of military showdown is the only conceivable denouement."

It is in these circumstances that the freeze movement in the United States has gained great momentum. Nuclear disarmament has become one of the key issues in the US Presidential election campaign. It is the hope of all the world that President Reagan is defeated in the election, so that we may step back from the abyss we face. The alternative, of course, is a renewal of his military adventurism as exemplified by the invasion of Grenada, the Lebanon debacle, the illegal actions in Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central America.

More dangerous even than that adventurism is the proposal of President Reagan to introduce a system of ballistic missile defence—the so-called "Star Wars" proposal.

As Jerome Wiesner, a former White House Science Adviser said of the "Star Wars" proposal: "It's really a declaration of a new arms race..."

In March 1983 Professor Henry Kendall, Chairman of the Union of Concerned Scientists, said that he doubted whether the Reagan proposal was scientifically feasible. Furthermore, Professor Kendall, Head of the Physics Department of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said that "such a system would be quite vulnerable to Soviet countermeasures".

The Reagan plan would elevate the nuclear arms race to a new plateau.

The nuclear disarmament movement must continue to apply maximum pressure to achieve its objectives. This can only be done if the peace and nuclear disarmament movement is strong and united.

CULTURAL ANNIVERSARIES

BERTHA VON SUTTNER: PIONEER OF ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Homage to Bertha von Suttner in the GDR

The 70th anniversary of the death of Bertha von Suttner on 21 June 1984 gave the Peace Council of the GDR the opportunity to honour this courageous woman, a precursor of the contemporary peace movement. Delegations from the Peace Council and the CDU, including the president of the former, Prof. Günther Drefahl, as well as representatives of the Protestant church and the Christian Peace Conference, Erfurt county council and the town council all placed wreaths and sprays of flowers at the stele urn in the columbarium of Gotha's main cemetery.

In his commemorative speech, member of the presidium of the Peace Council, Prof. Walter Bredendiek acknowledged the life's work of the Austrian writer. Bertha von Suttner was the president of the Peace Society of Vienna and vice-president of the international peace office in Bern. He pointed out the relevance of Bertha von Suttner's work to the contemporary international situation, in the face of the threat to all life posed by the adventurous policies of the Reagan administration.

We are printing here the commemorative address delivered by Professor Walter Bredendiek who, deeply mourned, passed away at the age of 58 on July 26, 1984.



Bertha von Suttner

BERTHA VON SUTTNER died 70 years ago, on 21 June 1914. In 1889 her novel "Lay Down Your Arms!" was published and it immediately received sensational response. From then on, for the remaining 25 years of her life, she became both a "symbol" and "banner" for the peace movement of those times. For many people her name, her work and her struggle were linked with the hope that one day, despite various ideological and political barriers, the rational and peace-loving peoples of the world would join together in a strong phalanx, as it were, to put a spoke in the wheel of those who planned and prepared for wars on a violent scale, in order to share out the world among themselves and gain new spheres of influence and new markets.

As Stefan Zweig once put it, it was Bertha von Suttner's belief that it was impossible to overcome war "with unarmed emotions". The way to do this was to

counter the organisations of war, along with their material and psychological preparations, with "another organisation" which was just as strong, if not stronger—an organisation of peace against an organisation of war.

"Preparation is the key!"—the favourite motto of the military—was taken by Bertha von Suttner and adopted for the cause of peace. She attempted to mobilise everyone against the common threat.

And this is where she remains significant today. With the exception of the one book, which made her world famous during her own lifetime, her novels and memoirs have been forgotten—most of them, rightly so, though some admittedly undeservedly. What, however, repeatedly raises respect is the way she continued to fight, her strength of character and the example she set for others.

The hatred her enemies felt followed her beyond the grave. Her spirit lived on and guided those who continued to fight for peace, humanity and justice.

Unity of Peace Movement

From 1890 till 1914 Bertha von Suttner believed she had a purpose in life: to influence the people and sway public opinion over to her cause, to call for disarmament, non-aggression and a system of international law that would enshrine the right to world peace. She believed it was time for everyone with good intentions to come to their senses and realise that "getting rid of wars would be just as universally valuable as curing cholera—it does not matter whether those who fight against cholera are socialist or monarchists, believers or non-believers. Their presence in the peace movement should not prevent anyone from joining their ranks. There is really only one opposition party which has any cause not to join us, or even to harm us, namely, the chauvinists". And she urged again "to keep anything which could divide us away from our platform, and to vigorously repel that which does not belong there...".

She sought her audiences within political organisations and women's clubs, in universities and amongst church congregations. Everywhere she went she promoted the ideal of peaceful co-operation between sovereign states with equal rights, which in turn should be based on the "solidarity between states" (today we would say, based on the principle of collective security). The ideas she propagated were based on the model of an "association of free nations, retaining their independence, but ensuring that war between them remains an impossibility."

Relevance of Her Work Today

Non-aggression and disarmament, a system of international laws and self-

determination—all of her demands find a place in the most recent stage of historical development—in the contemporary world of peaceful coexistence, the principles of which form a basis for the policies of the socialist states, and also the international peace movement. Today the utopia envisaged by Bertha von Suttner has become the realistic aim of a programme to ensure world peace.

Bertha von Suttner always knew that working for peace was by no means an idyllic occupation. On the contrary, it was a hard struggle against experienced and unscrupulous opponents. Two years before her death she said that the peace movement had three aspects to it. The first was a "religious" one (in this sense it was a moral, humanitarian movement), the second, a scientific, and third, it had a dynamic, activist aspect. She explained it thus: "We preach it as a religion, teach it as a science and fight for it as a campaign. At the moment it is most urgent that we fight, for the powerful enemy, the party of war, is at work this very minute... The madness is spreading like an epidemic; the race to arms, on the land, in the sea, and in the sky, is the plague of our time." No doubt "true and dedicated champions of peace" will always remain optimists. However, they ought not to let their optimism blind them to the dangers of the present and future. "And precisely because our enemies appear to be advancing... and have already loaded their cannons, for this reason I believe that our task is to fight, rather than to teach or to preach."

So much of Bertha von Suttner's work is relevant today, although she was writing before the First World War. On the other hand, of course, it would not be difficult to compile a whole catalogue of miscarriages of justice which she pronounced. Yet, when referring to the limits of her perception, no-one should obscure from view the qualities which go to make up this important woman, her greatness, her merit and her lasting significance. She did indeed tell a few home truths and proclaimed them to the world; truths which, had humanity recognised them as such in time, may have given a different turn to 20th century history. Time has passed over her ideas, but the vision, with which she concluded her memoirs, shows us that Arnold Zweig, who co-founded the international peace movement in Paris in 1949, was correct to describe her as a pioneer of our anti-war campaign. He did so 20 years ago on the 50th anniversary of her death.

Bertha von Suttner said: "The movement goes much further than the circle of organisations, resolutions and the personal work of single individuals; it has become a fight for a specific philosophy of life, for a particular international order. The so-called "apostle" has now handed it over,

into the hands of those in power and to the waking spirit of democracy; a hundred and one different forces are now at work within the movement... I have no fear that tomorrow's history books will prove me wrong when I say, here and now, that peace among nations is on its way."

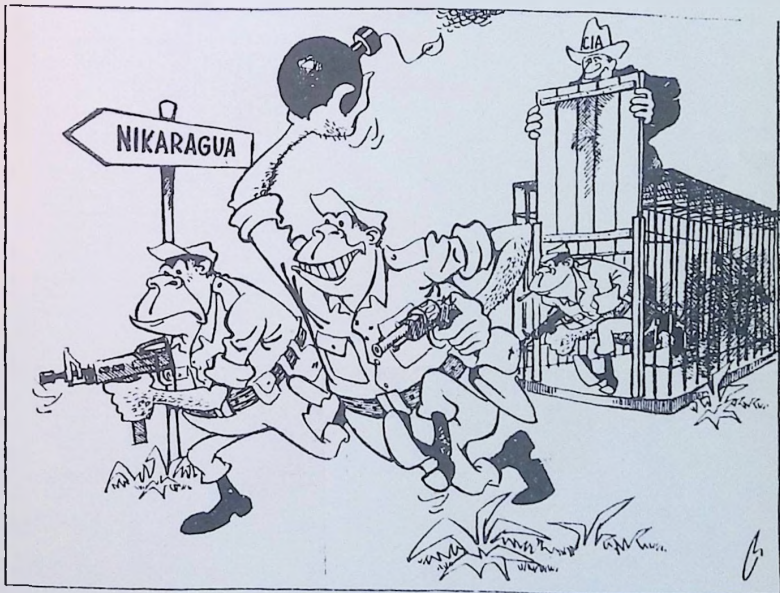
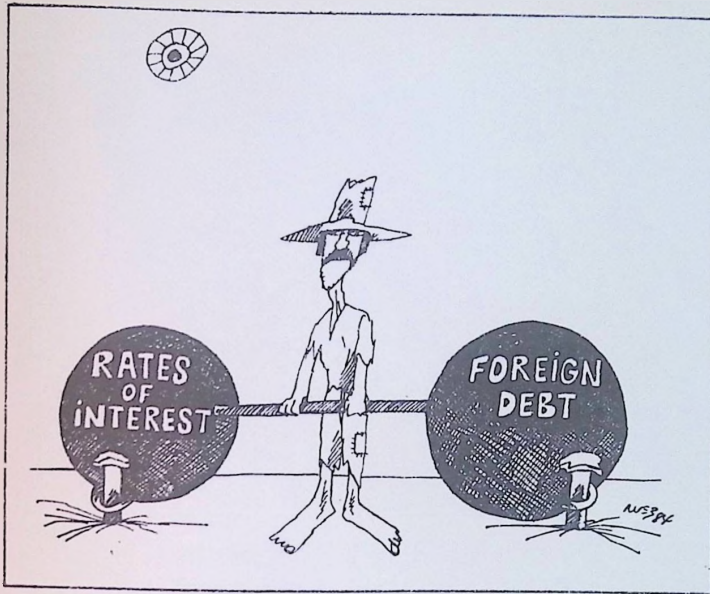
Broadening of Peace Movement

In spite of all our worries this remains our down deepest conviction. Bertha von Suttner could only guess at the dimensions the peace movement would take on and how indeed since 1917 and 1945 it has moved into the "hands of those in power" and has become part and parcel of the "waking spirit of democracy". Since then the socialist countries have become the core, the most important centre of energy for the struggle for peace. Thirty-five years of the GDR means, above all, 35 years of uninterrupted, resolute and effective participation in this struggle. Countless different forces are grouped around this nucleus. Together, they form a peace movement which embraces the whole world. Today, this movement gives hope to millions of people, that the annihilation of the world will for ever be averted and a lasting order of peace ensured, based on agreement and trust. Humanity need fear no longer; fatalism, immobilisation and resignation among the people belong to the past.

This moral, responsible "coalition of reason" bridges the gap between ideological and political differences, even antagonisms, seeing them in relative terms, but not denying that they exist. Everything that could possibly weaken this united movement should be deferred, literally until the day when no-one need fear the apocalypse, the threat posed by Pershing II, Cruise missiles, neutron bombs and a possible cosmic war, and associated with the names Reagan, Weinberger and Colin S. Gray.

Reflecting upon the life's work of Bertha von Suttner helps one understand the contemporary situation a little better. Her work is still valid today and we can use this valuable inheritance in our own fight for peace.

Cuban cartoonist Nuez's view of the intolerable burden of the foreign debt on the developing countries.



"Horizont"
(GDR)



Growth of Australian Peace Movement

The Australian Peace Movement, which has grown tremendously in recent years, on the basis of broad co-operation amongst different sections of the people, has become a major force in the country.

Pictures (1 and 2) give a glimpse of the massive peace demonstration (150,000 people), the biggest ever in Australia's history, organised by a coalition of numerous organisations, including the Australian Peace Committee, in Sydney, on Palm Sunday (15 April 1984), and pictures (3 and 4) show the visit of the delegation of the World Peace Council, headed by its President Ramesh Chandra, to Australia in June 1984.

The two other members of the WPC delegation were the Chairman, of the Philippine Peace and Solidarity Council Emilio De Peralta and Vice President of the Madagascar Trade Union Federation Emilson Randriamihasinoro.

During its visit to Australia, the WPC delegation was given a warm welcome by government leaders, officials, Parliamentarians, city councillors, trade unionists, workers and others. It attended the National Conference on Disarmament convened by the Australian Peace Committee in Sydney on 2 June 1984.

