

new perspectives

JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

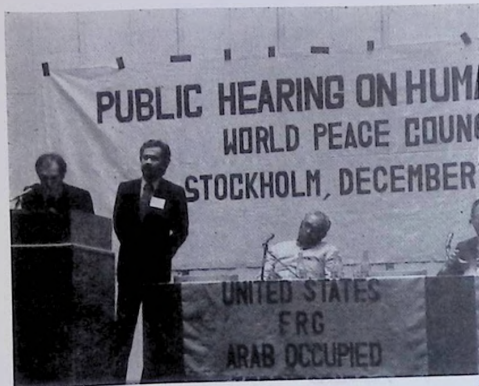
All economists have stated that
with a fraction of the money now spent for military purposes
the problems of underdevelopment and poverty
that beset the world could be solved.

FIDEL CASTRO





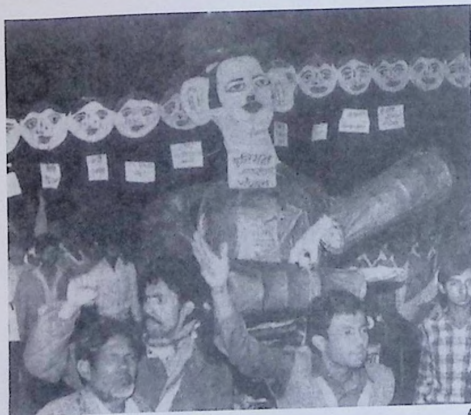
1 Plenary session of the Bureau of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council held in Stockholm from 30 November to 2 December 1985. On the dais are the President and Vice Presidents of the WPC (from L to R): Ibrahim Zakaria (WFTU), Khaled Mohei El-Din (Egypt), Gus Newport (U.S.A.), Romesh Chandra (WPC President), Luis Echeverria (Mexico), Blagovest Sandov (Bulgaria), James Jackson (member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC-U.S.A.), Phan Anh (Viet Nam) at the mike.



2 Participants in the WPC Bureau session in Stockholm in December 1985.

3 Public Hearing on Human Rights organised by the World Peace Council in Stockholm on 3 December 1985. The Hearing dealt with violation of human rights in the United States, Federal Republic of Germany, the Arab Territories occupied by Israel, Turkey, Northern Ireland and El Salvador.

5 The All India Peace and Solidarity Organisation (AIPSO) held a Seminar in Bhopal in December 1985 on the occasion of the first anniversary of the disaster caused by the gross negligence of the Union Carbide management. The Seminar exposed the role of the multinationals in plundering developing countries, destabilising their governments and in making preparations for nuclear war. A section of the participants in the AIPSO rally in Bhopal which was attended by a WPC delegation from five countries: U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Italy, FRG, Tanzania.



4 Observance of the first anniversary of the worst single industrial disaster in history at the U.S. multinational, Union Carbide's plant in Bhopal, which killed over 2,500 people outright and injured 250,000 others. The anniversary was marked by protest marches and meetings in Bhopal in December 1985. Picture shows protesters with an effigy of Warren Anderson, Chairman of Union Carbide, which was later burnt outside the multinational's factory in Bhopal, with the demonstrators chanting "Down with Carbide" and "Hang Anderson".



VOL. 16

2/1986

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Editorial work on this issue was completed
on 10 January 1986.

Subscription rates (Special Offer)

1 year: 5 U.S. dollars in Europe, North and
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Published by the Information Centre of the World
Peace Council in English, French, German and
Spanish.

25-A Linnarinkatu
P.O. Box 181 14, Helsinki 18 (Finland)
Tel. 64 90 04, Telex: 121680
Cables: WORLDPAK

A Japanese edition of New Perspectives is pub-
lished by the Publishing Association of the
Japanese Version of New Perspectives, Japan.

Front cover:

Poster designed by the Cuban artist Rafael
Enriquez and published by the Cuban Move-
ment for Peace and Sovereignty of Peoples.

CONTENTS

PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT

- World Scientists' Warning:
Nuclear War Could Devastate Entirety of Humanity 3
- Call for a Future, Free from Nuclear Warfare
Doug Sutherland 9
- World Needs Co-operation, Not Confrontation
Bernt Carlsson 11

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

- Role of NGOs: Disarmament and International Year of Peace
Jan Martenson 12
- Peace is Three Simple Things
David Martin 13

QUESTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

- South-South Co-operation:
Vital Element in Resisting Imposition of Dependent Development
Debesh Bhattacharya 14

ASIA

- United States Outpost in South Asia: Pakistan:
Regime of Terror and Obscurantism
Tony Gilbert 18

SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

- Strategy for International Action:
United Nations and Movements against Apartheid
E. S. Reddy 22

PACIFIC OCEAN

- New Zealand Experience:
Struggle to Keep Nuclear Weapons Out of the Pacific Region 24

LATIN AMERICA

- Nicaragua Must Survive:
Solidarity with Nicaragua to Resist U.S. Intervention and Aggression
Ilona Sebestyen 25
- Nicaragua Faces Threat of Direct U.S. Intervention
Olga Aviles Lopez 26

HUMAN RIGHTS

- End Exploitation of Aboriginal People:
Australia Must Restore Fundamental Land Rights of Aboriginal People
Peter Yu 27

TRADE UNIONS AND PEACE

- Concern for Human Survival Surpasses All Divisions
Simon Crean 29

RELIGIOUS CIRCLES AND PEACE

- Contribution of Religious-Humanist Activities:
For Unity in Building a New Moral World
Howard L. Parsons 31

SPORT AND PEACE

- 55th International Peace Marathon in Košice 32

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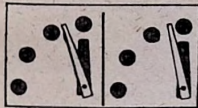
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World Scientists' Warning Nuclear War Could Devastate Entirety of Humanity

About three hundred scientists from 30 countries have reaffirmed in a study earlier assessments that a nuclear war could devastate the entirety of humanity.

The study, entitled "Environmental Consequences of Nuclear War", was conducted under the auspices of the Paris-based International Council of Scientific Unions, an organization of scientific societies from 70 countries. The actual study was in fact made by the Council's Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment, known as SCOPE, over a period of three years. It produced a two-volume report running into 900 pages in September 1985. Each volume contains an official summary made by the study's authors giving their main findings.

The SCOPE report examines for the first time the biological effects of a nuclear war, including the disruption of agriculture in the world, which could kill billions of people.

Extracts from the official summaries of the two-volume report are published here.

THE FOREWORD to the report states that beginning in the summer of 1982, approximately 300 scientists from more than 30 countries and a wide range of disciplines, under the auspices of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), joined in a deliberative effort to appraise the state of knowledge of the possible environmental consequences of nuclear war. Although it has been recognized since the first nuclear explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 that multiple detonation could cause massive destruction to people and their culture, the effects on life support systems of air, water and soil and on organisms received relatively little emphasis in public discussion.

At its General Assembly in Ottawa in June 1982, the Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment (SCOPE)—one of the ten Scientific Committees of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) concluded that "the risk of nuclear warfare overshadows all other hazards to humanity and its habitat", and asked its Executive Committee to consider what further action might be appropriate for SCOPE. In September 1982, the General Assembly of ICSU passed the following resolution:

"Recognizing the need for public understanding of the possible consequences of the nuclear arms race and the scientific competence that can be mobilized by ICSU to make an assessment of the biological, medical and physical effects of the large-scale use of nuclear weapons.

"Urges the Executive Board to appoint a special committee to study effects and to prepare a report for wide dissemination that would be an unemotional, non-political, authoritative and readily understandable

statement of the effects of nuclear war, even a limited one, on human beings and on other parts of the biosphere."

Accordingly, a Steering Committee for the SCOPE-ENUWAR (Environmental Consequences of Nuclear War) study was established, with responsibility to initiate the study requested by ICSU and to oversee the selection and recruitment of participants. A SCOPE-ENUWAR coordinating office was established at the University of Essex (United Kingdom). From the outset it was agreed that the report would not deal with questions of public policy but would focus on scientific knowledge of physical effects and biological response. Inter-

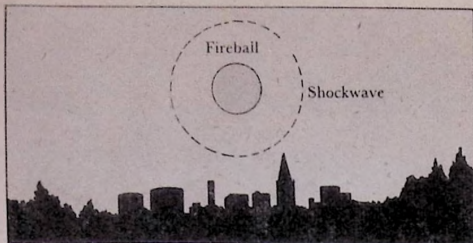
national aspects of the direct medical effects have already been dealt with explicitly by the World Health Organization, and thus are not taken up in this study.

The SCOPE-ENUWAR process involved the active collaboration of scientists, bringing together the insights and skills of numerous disciplines. Preparatory workshops were held in London and Stockholm and major workshops were convened in New Delhi, Leningrad, Paris, Hiroshima and Tokyo, Delft, Toronto, Caracas, Melbourne, and finally at the University of Essex in an attempt to arrive at a consensus. Smaller groups gathered in a variety of other places, chiefly in connection with meetings of the International Council of Scientific Unions. Meanwhile, new findings were becoming available, and further reviews of likely effects were published (Turco et al., 1983; Ehrlich et al., 1983; Aleksandrov and Stenchikov, 1983; Openshaw et al., 1983; World Health Organization, 1983; Covey et al., 1984; Landon and White, 1984; United Nations, 1984; Harwell, 1984; National Research Council, 1984; The Royal Society of Canada, 1985; The Royal Society of New Zealand, 1985).

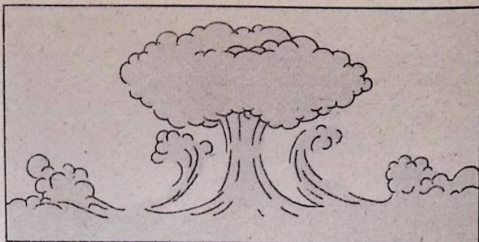
The collaboration among these scientists was made possible by financial contributions covering the costs of travel, assistance by post-doctoral fellows, workshop arrangements, and secretarial support. Initial grants making possible the planning of the project came from the SCOPE Executive Committee, using contributions from its 36 member academies of science, and from ICSU.

The Royal Society of London hosted the preliminary and concluding workshops and funded the SCOPE-ENUWAR office. Other workshops were hosted by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, the Indian National Science Academy, the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., la Maison de Chimie of France, the TNO Institute of Applied Geosciences of the Netherlands, the Australian Academy of Science jointly with the Royal Society of New Zealand, the United Nations University and the Venezuelan Institute of Scientific Investigation. Major grants for travel and other expenses were provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the General Service Foundation,





Making the Nuclear Winter: The intense heat from nuclear explosions sets fire to cities, fuel stores and areas of forest. Massive quantities of dust and smoke (soot) are sucked up into the atmosphere.



The fires started by the nuclear explosions spread and send further quantities of smoke into the atmosphere.

the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the W. Alton Jones Foundation, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Recognizing that the issues dealt with in this report transcend science and technology and involve moral and ethical issues, SCOPE-ENUWAR co-sponsored an ad hoc meeting of scientists and scholars of ethics and morality at the Rockefeller Conference and Study Centre, Bellagio, Italy, in November 1984. The meeting took note of the evidence that a significant nuclear exchange could lead to an unprecedented climatic perturbation, killing crops and threatening countries distant from the target areas with mass starvation. A statement called for the development of more effective cooperation for dealing with common interests and problems and urged collaboration between science and religion in the "...quest for a just and peaceful world" (Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, 1985, pp. 49-50).

The Steering Committee has elected to publish the results of the SCOPE-ENUWAR studies in two volumes.

The first volume deals with the physical

aspects of the environmental impact of a nuclear war. The second volume addresses the biological background for the reader. Each volume includes the Executive Summary of the companion volume, with its explanation of findings and research recommendations, as an appendix.

In addition, the Committee has commissioned a less technical account intended for wide international distribution to fulfill the ICSU request for a "...readily understandable statement of the effects of nuclear war". It is anticipated that this third volume will be translated into several languages.

The two volumes present a consensus among the scientists concerned with the study. There is no unanimity on all points, but a concentrated effort has been made to describe those remaining points at issue. These unresolved issues suggest research that should be pursued in order to reduce the present degree of uncertainty. The report should be regarded as the first attempt by an international scientific group to bring together what is known, and what must still be learned, about the possible global en-

vironmental effects of nuclear war. It should not be the last. It should be taken as a point of departure rather than as a completed investigation.

The report does not attempt to provide a single estimate of the likely consequences for humans and their societies of the physical and biological changes projected to be possible after a nuclear war. One reason is that the combinations of possible environmental perturbations are so large and the varieties of environmental and human systems are so numerous and complex that it would be an impossible task to look with detail into all of the ways in which those perturbations might result in an impact. Further, the environmental disruptions and dislocations from nuclear war would be of a magnitude for which there is no precedent. Our present interdependent, highly organized world has never experienced anything approaching the annihilation of people, structures, resources; and disruption of communications that would accompany a major exchange, even if severe climatic and environmental disturbances were not to follow it. The latter could aggravate

Strategies and Scenarios for a Nuclear War

In the forty years since the first nuclear explosion, the five nuclear powers, but primarily the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., have accumulated very large arsenals of nuclear weapons. It is impossible to forecast in detail the evolution of potential military conflicts. Nevertheless, enough of the general principles of strategic planning have been discussed for plausible scenarios for the development and immediate consequences of a large-scale nuclear war to be derived for analyses.

— NATO and Warsaw Pact nuclear arsenals include about 24,000 strategic and theatre nuclear warheads totalling about 12,000 megatons. The arsenals now contain the equivalent explosive power of about one million "Hiroshima-size" bombs.

— A plausible scenario for a global nuclear war could involve up to the order of 6,000 Mt, divided among more than 12,000 warheads. Because of its obvious importance, the potential environmental consequences of an exchange of roughly this size are examined. The smoke-induced atmospheric con-

sequences discussed in Volume I are, however, more dependent on the number of nuclear explosions occurring over cities and industrial centres than on any of the other assumptions of the particular exchange.

— Many targets of nuclear warheads, such as missile silos and some military bases, are isolated geographically from population centres. Nevertheless, enough important military and strategic targets are located near or within cities so that collateral damage in urban and industrial centres from a counterforce nuclear strike could be extensive. As a result, even relatively limited nuclear attacks directed at military-related targets could cause large fires and smoke production.

— Current strategic deterrence policies imply that, in an escalating nuclear conflict, many warheads may also be used directly against urban and industrial centres. Such targeting would have far-reaching implications because of the potential for fires, smoke production, and climatic change.

the consequences profoundly. How the environmental perturbations which would occur at unprecedented scales and intensities would affect the functioning of human society is a highly uncertain subject requiring concerted research and evaluation. Nevertheless, whatever the uncertainties, there can be no doubt that there is a considerable probability that a major nuclear war could gravely disrupt the global environment and world society. All possible effects do not have the same probability of occurrence. Sharpening these probabilities is a matter on further research agendas.

General Conclusions of Report

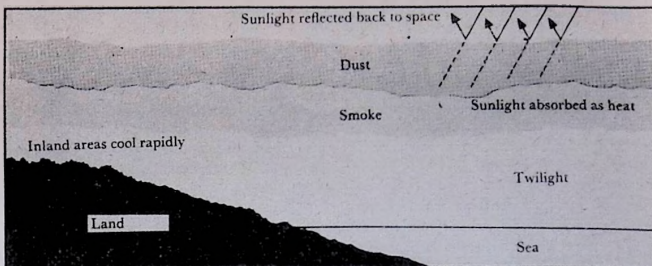
The bases for these statements are to be found in the report, along with references to support them or relevant information. From them we draw the following general conclusions:

1. Multiple nuclear detonations would result in considerable direct physical effects from blast, thermal radiation, and local fallout. The latter would be particularly important if substantial numbers of surface bursts were to occur since the lethal levels of radiation from local fallout would extend hundreds of kilometers downwind of detonations.

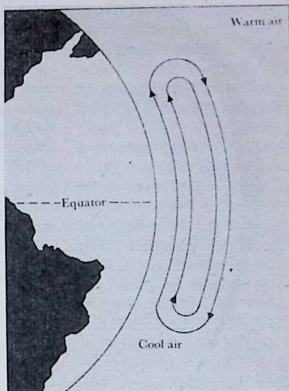
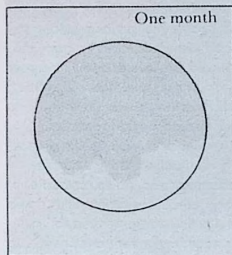
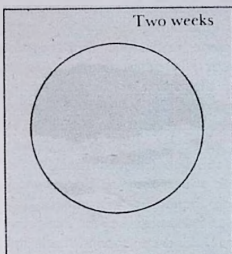
2. There is substantial reason to believe that a nuclear war could lead to large-scale climatic perturbations involving drastic reductions in light levels and temperatures over large regions within days and changes in precipitation patterns for periods of days, weeks, months or longer. Episodes of short term, sharply depressed temperatures could also produce serious impacts—particularly if they occur during critical periods within the growing season. There is no reason to assert confidently that there would be no effects of this character and, despite uncertainties in our understanding, it would be a grave error to ignore these potential environmental effects. Any consideration of a post-nuclear-war world would have to consider the consequences of the **totality** of physical effects. The biological effects then follow.

3. The systems that currently support the vast majority of humans on Earth (specifically agricultural production and distribution systems) are exceedingly vulnerable to the types of perturbations associated with climatic effects and societal disruptions. Should those systems be disrupted on regional or global scale, large numbers of human fatalities associated with insufficient food supplies would be inevitable. Damage to the food distribution and agricultural infrastructure alone (i.e., without any climatic perturbations), would put a large portion of the Earth's population in jeopardy of a drastic reduction in food availability.

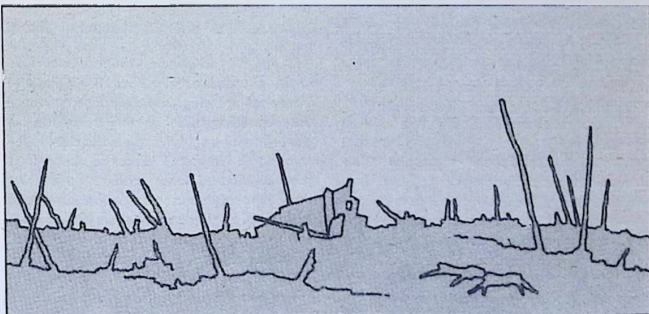
4. Other indirect effects of nuclear war could individually and in combination be serious. These include disruptions of com-



Within days a dense blanket of smoke and dust shrouds the northern hemisphere. This blots out nearly all of the light from the sun, which is absorbed as heat by the cloud or reflected back from the cloud into space. Beneath the cloud there is virtual darkness for a few days. But more importantly, without the warming effect of the sun, the inland areas of the earth's surface cool rapidly.



In time the weather system of the entire planet may be affected. Air currents may be set up which move the clouds southwards. Within a month, the blanket, now much thinner, may cover much of the earth's surface. The cold of the Nuclear Winter persists for several months.



The lack of warmth is catastrophic for many forms of life. No food can be grown on the frozen wastelands of the northern hemisphere. Tropical forests may be destroyed by the low temperatures. Food chains in the oceans might be disrupted. People and animals starve or succumb to disease.

Drawings indicating Nuclear Winter models are from the SIPRI publication, *Arms in the '80s*.

munications, power distribution, and societal systems on an unprecedented scale. In addition, potential physical effects include reduction in stratospheric ozone and, after any smoke had cleared, associated enhancement of ultraviolet radiation; significant global-scale radioactive fallout; and localized areas of toxic levels of air and water pollution.

5. Therefore, the indirect effects on populations of a large-scale nuclear war, particularly the climatic effects caused by smoke, could be potentially more consequential globally than the direct effects, and the risks of unprecedented consequences are great for non-combatant countries alike.

In arriving at these conclusions, we have been moderate in several respects. We have tried to state and examine all challenges to theories about environmental effects of nuclear war, to minimize speculative positions and to integrate valid criticisms into discussions and conclusions. Uncertainties in the projections could either reduce or enhance the estimated effects in specific cases.

Nevertheless, as representatives of the world scientific community drawn together in this study, we conclude that many of the serious global environmental effects are sufficiently probable to require widespread concern. Because of the possibility of a tragedy of an unprecedented dimension, any disposition to minimize or ignore the widespread environmental effects of a nuclear war would be a fundamental disservice to the future of global civilization.

This foreword has been signed by the following members of the SCOPE-ENUWAR Steering Committee: Sir Frederick Warner, University of Essex, U.K. (Chairman); J. Bénard, Ecole Supérieure de Chimie, Paris (France); S. K. D. Bergström, Karolinska Institutet, Stockholm (Sweden); P. J. Crutzen, Max Planck Institut für Chemie, Mainz (F.R.G.); T. F. Malone (ICSU Representative), St. Joseph College (U.S.A.); M. Nagai, United Nations University, Tokyo (Japan); G. K. Skryabin, Akademia Nauk, Moscow (U.S.S.R.); G. F. White, University of Colorado (U.S.A.)

Physical and Atmospheric Effects

Volume I presents the results of an assessment of the climatic and atmospheric effects of a large nuclear war.

The two comparatively small detonations in Japan in 1945 and the subsequent higher yield atmospheric nuclear tests preceding the atmospheric test-ban Treaty of 1963 have provided some information on the direct effects of nuclear explosions. Typical modern weapons carried by today's missiles and aircraft have yields of hundreds of kilotons or more. If detonated, such explosions would have the following effects:

— In each explosion, thermal (heat) radiation and blast waves would result in death

and devastation over an area of up to 500 km² per megaton yield, an area typical of a major city. The extent of these direct effects depends on the yield of the explosion, height of burst, and state of the local environment. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs near the end of World War II provides examples of the effects of relatively small nuclear explosions.

— Nuclear weapons are extremely efficient incendiary devices. The thermal radiation emitted by the nuclear fireball, in combination with the incidental ignitions caused by the blast, would ignite fires in urban/industrial areas and wildlands of a size unprecedented in history. These fires would generate massive plumes of smoke and toxic chemicals. The newly recognized atmospheric effects of the smoke from a large number of such fires are the major focus of this report.

— For nuclear explosions that contact land surfaces (surface bursts), large amounts (of the order of 100,000 tonnes per megaton of yield) of dust, soil, and debris are drawn up with the fireball. The larger dust particles, carrying about half of the bomb's radioactivity, fall back to the surface mostly within the first day, thereby contaminating hundreds of square kilometres near and downwind of the explosion site. This local fallout can exceed the lethal dose level.

— All of the radioactivity from nuclear explosions well above the surface (airbursts) and about half the radioactivity from surface bursts would be lofted into the upper troposphere or stratosphere by the rising fireballs and contribute to longer term radioactive fallout on a global scale.

— Nuclear explosions high in the atmosphere, or in space, would generate an intense electromagnetic pulse capable of inducing strong electric currents that could damage electronic equipment and communications networks over continent-size regions.

Extent of Fires and Generation of Smoke

During World War II, intense city fires covering areas as large as 10–30 square kilometres were ignited by massive incendiary bombing raids, as well as by the relatively small nuclear explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Because these fires were distributed over many months, the total atmospheric accumulation of smoke generated by these fires was small. Today, in a major nuclear conflict, thousands of very intense fires, each covering up to a few hundred square kilometres, could be ignited simultaneously in urban areas, fossil fuel processing plants and storage depots, wildlands, and other locations. Because there have never been fires as large and as intense as may be expected, no appropriate smoke emission measurements have been made. Estimates of emissions from such fires

rely upon extrapolation from data on much smaller fires. This procedure may introduce considerable error in quantifying smoke emissions, especially in making estimates for intense fire situations.

— About 70% of the populations of Europe, North America and the Soviet Union live in urban and suburban areas covering a few hundred thousand square kilometres and holding more than ten thousand million tonnes of combustible wood and paper. If about 25–30% of this were to be ignited, in just a few hours or days, tens of millions to more than a hundred million tonnes of smoke could be generated. About a quarter to a third of the emitted smoke from the flaming combustion of this material would be amorphous elemental carbon, which is black and efficiently absorbs sunlight.

— Fossil fuels (including oil, gasoline, kerosene) and fossil fuel-derived products (including plastics, rubber, asphalt, roofing materials and organochemicals) are heavily concentrated in cities and industrial areas; flaming combustion of a small fraction (25–30%) of the few thousand million tonnes of such materials currently available could generate 50–150 million tonnes of very sooty smoke containing a large fraction (50% or greater) of amorphous elemental carbon. The burning of 25–30% of the combustible materials of the developed world could occur with near total burnout of less than one hundred of the largest industrialized urban areas.

Radiative Effects of Smoke

The sooty smoke particles rising in the hot plumes of large fires would consist of a mixture of amorphous elemental carbon, condensed hydrocarbons, debris particles and other substances. The amount of elemental carbon in particles with effective spherical diameters of 0.1 μm to perhaps 1.0 μm would be of most importance in calculating the potential effect on solar radiation. Such particles can be spread globally by the winds and remain suspended for days to months.

Smoke-Induced Atmospheric Perturbations

In a major nuclear war, continental scale smoke clouds could be generated within a few days over North America, Europe, and much of Asia. Careful analysis and a hierarchy of numerical models (ranging from one-dimensional global average to three-dimensional global-scale models) have been used to estimate the transport, transformation, and removal of the smoke particles and the effects of the smoke on the temperature, precipitation, winds and other important atmospheric properties. All of the simulations indicate a strong potential for large-scale weather disruptions as a result of the smoke injected by extensive post-nuclear fires. These models, however, still have important simplifications and un-

certainties that may affect the fidelity and the details of their predictions. Nonetheless, these uncertainties probably do not affect the general character of the calculated atmospheric response.

— In Northern Hemisphere sub-tropical latitudes, temperatures in any season could drop well below typical cool season conditions for large smoke injections. Temperatures could be near or below freezing in regions where temperatures are not typically strongly moderated by the warming influence of the oceans. The convectively driven monsoon circulation, which is of critical importance to subtropical ecosystems, agriculture, and is the main source of water in these regions, could be essentially eliminated. Smaller scale, coastal precipitation might, however, be initiated.

— Strong solar heating of smoke injected into the Northern Hemisphere between April and September would carry the smoke upwards and equatorwards, strongly augmenting the normal high altitude flow to the Southern Hemisphere (where induced downward motions may tend to slightly suppress precipitation). Within one or two weeks, thin, extended smoke layers could appear in the Southern Hemisphere as a precursor to the development of a more uniform veil of smoke, with a significant optical depth (although substantially smaller than in the Northern Hemisphere). The smoke could induce modest cooling of land areas not well buffered by air masses over nearby ocean areas. Since mid-latitudes in the Southern Hemisphere would already be experiencing their cool season, temperature reductions would not likely be more than several degrees. In more severe, but less probable, smoke injection scenarios, climatic effects in the Southern Hemisphere could be enhanced significantly, particularly during the following austral spring and summer.

— Much less analysis has been made of the atmospheric perturbations following the several week acute climatic phase subsequent to a nuclear war, involving large smoke injections. Significant uncertainties remain concerning processes governing the longer-term removal of smoke particles by precipitation, scavenging, chemical oxidation, and other physical and chemical factors. The ultimate fate of smoke particles in the perturbed atmospheric circulation is also uncertain, both for particles in the sunlit and stabilized upper troposphere and stratosphere and in the winter polar regions, where cooling results in subsidence that could move particles downward from the stratosphere to altitudes where they could later be scavenged by precipitation.

— Present estimates suggest that smoke lofted to levels (either directly by fire plumes or under the influence of solar heating) which are, or become, stabilized, could remain in the atmosphere for a year or more and induce long-term (months to years) global-scale cooling of several de-

grees, especially after the oceans have cooled significantly. Under such conditions, precipitation could also be reduced significantly. Reduction of the intensity of the summer monsoon over Asia and Africa could be a particular concern. Decreased ocean temperatures, climatic feedback mechanisms (e.g., ice-albedo feedback), and concurrent ecological changes could also prolong the period of meteorological disturbances.

Atmospheric Chemistry in Post-Nuclear Environment

Nuclear explosions and the resultant fires could generate large quantities of many chemical compounds that might themselves be toxic. In addition, the chemicals could alter the atmospheric composition and radiative fluxes in ways that could affect human health, the biosphere, and the climate.

— Nitrogen oxides (NO_x) created by nuclear explosions of greater than several hundred kilotons would be lofted into the stratosphere, depending on the total number of high yield weapons exploded, the NO_x would catalyze chemical reactions that, within a few months time, could reduce Northern Hemisphere stratospheric ozone concentrations by 10 to 30 % in an atmosphere free of aerosols. Recovery would take several years. However, if the atmosphere were highly perturbed due to smoke heating and by injection of gaseous products from fires, the long-term ozone changes could be enhanced substantially in ways that cannot yet be predicted.

— Ozone reductions of tens of per cent could increase surface intensities of biologically-active ultraviolet (UV) radiation by percentages of up to a few times as much. The presence of smoke would initially prevent UV-radiation from reaching the surface by absorbing it. The smoke, however, might also prolong and further augment the long-term ozone reduction as a result of smoke-induced lofting of soot and reactive chemicals, consequent heating of the stratosphere, and the occurrence of additional chemical reactions.

— Large amounts of carbon monoxide, hydrocarbons, nitrogen and sulphur oxides, hydrochloric acid, pyrotoxins, heavy metals, asbestos, and other materials would be injected into the lower atmosphere near the surface by flaming and smoldering combustion of several thousand million tonnes of cellulose and fossil fuel products and wind blown debris. Before deposition or removal, these substances, some of which are toxic, could be directly and/or indirectly harmful to many forms of life. In addition, numerous toxic chemical compounds could be released directly into the environment by blast and spillage, contaminating both soil and water. This complex and potentially very serious subject has so far received only cursory consideration.

Radiological Dose

Near the site of the explosion, the health effects of prompt ionizing radiation from strategic nuclear warheads would be overshadowed by the effects of the blast and thermal radiation. However, because nuclear explosions create highly radioactive fission products and the emitted neutrons may also induce radioactivity in initially inert material near the detonation, radiological doses may be delivered to survivors both just downwind (local fallout) and out to hemisphere and global scales (global fallout).

Tasks for the Future

Extensive research and careful assessment over the past few years has indicated that nuclear war has the potential to modify the physical environment in ways that would dramatically impair biological processes. The perturbations could affect agriculture, the proper functioning of natural ecosystems, the purity of essential air and water resources and other important elements of the global biosphere. Because current scientific conclusions concerning the response of the atmosphere to the effects of nuclear war include uncertainties, research can and should be undertaken to reduce those uncertainties that are accessible to investigation.

Authors' Note on "Nuclear Winter"

The term "nuclear winter" has been applied in some previous analyses of the environmental consequences of a nuclear exchange to describe the multitude of possible effects. In its original usage, this term envisaged the combination of darkened skies, subfreezing temperatures, and extensive toxic and radioactive pollution that, to a more or less severe degree, might follow a nuclear war. The phrase has since, however, come to be associated primarily with the most severe possibilities. Although it is a convenient metaphor for use in describing the generic consequences, we have chosen to avoid the use of the term "nuclear winter" in this study because it does not, in a strict scientific sense, properly portray the range, complexity, and dependencies of the potential global scale environmental consequences of a nuclear war. By this choice, we are not suggesting that the environmental effects of a major nuclear exchange would be inconsequential; to the contrary, we find that they would be substantial and significant.

Ecological and Agricultural Effects

Volume I of the ENUWAR report presented the bases for estimating potential effects on the physical environment, including possible climatic disturbances as well as fallout, UV-B, air pollutants, and other

effects. Volume II takes up where the first left off, by specifically considering the potential consequences of such physical and chemical stresses on biological systems and on the ultimate endpoint of concern, i.e., effects on the global human population.

The approach taken in the biological analyses was to synthesize current understanding of the responses of ecological and agricultural systems to perturbations, relying on the expertise of over 200 scientists from over 30 countries around the Earth. Much of the synthesis took place in the context of a series of workshops that addressed specific issues; other work included conducting simulation modelling and performing detailed calculations of potential effects on the human populations of representative countries. We do not present the evaluation of a single nuclear war scenario as estimated by a single methodology; rather, a suite of methodologies were drawn upon collectively to develop an image of the aftermath of a large-scale nuclear war. The range of possible nuclear war scenarios is great; the estimates from the physical scientists of potential climatic consequences are not yet certain and continue to evolve with time. These estimates are complex in their spatial and temporal distribution over the Earth, and the global landscape is covered by extremely complex ecological, agricultural, and human systems that react to perturbations in complex manners. For these reasons, Volume II investigates the vulnerability of these systems to the types of perturbations possible after a nuclear war, offering readers the opportunity to form their own specific projections of biological and human consequences by providing calculations of vulnerabilities to benchmark assumptions.

Nevertheless, many conclusions are evident from considering these vulnerabilities to nuclear war perturbations. These include:

- Natural ecosystems are vulnerable to extreme climatic disturbances, with differential vulnerability depending on the ecosystem type, location, and season of effects. Temperature effects would be dominant for terrestrial ecosystems in the Northern Hemisphere and in the tropics and subtropics; light reductions would be most important for oceanic ecosystems; precipitation effects would be more important to grasslands and many Southern Hemisphere ecosystems.
- The potential for synergistic responses and propagation of effects through ecosystems implies much greater impacts than can be understood by addressing perturbations in isolation. For example, increased exposure to UV-B and to mixtures of air and pollutants and radiation, while not crucially harmful from any one stress, might collectively be very detrimental or lethal to sensitive systems because of synergistic interactions.
- Fires as a direct consequence of a

major nuclear exchange could consume large areas of natural ecosystems, but fire vulnerable ecosystems are generally adapted to survive or regenerate via post-fire succession. Other direct effects of nuclear detonations on ecological systems would be limited in extent or effect.

- The recovery of natural ecosystems from the climatic stresses postulated for an acute phase following a major nuclear war would depend on normal adaptations to disturbance, such as through presence of spores, seed banks, seedling banks, vegetative growth and coppicing. For some systems, the initial damage could be very great and recovery slow, with full recovery to the pre-disturbed state being unlikely. Human ecosystem interaction could act to retard ecological recovery.

- Because of limitations in the amounts of utilizable energy, natural ecosystems cannot replace agricultural systems in supporting the majority of humans on Earth, even if those natural ecosystems were not to suffer any impacts from nuclear war.

- Consequently, human populations are highly vulnerable to disruptions in agricultural systems.

- Agricultural systems are very sensitive to climatic and societal disturbances occurring on regional to global scales, with reductions in or even total loss of crop yields possible in response to many of the potential stresses. These conclusions consistently follow from a suite of approaches to evaluating vulnerabilities, including historical precedents, statistical analyses, physiological and mechanistic relationships, simulation modelling and reliance on expert judgment.

- Potential disruptions in agricultural productivity and/or in exchange of food across national boundaries in the aftermath of a large-scale nuclear war are factors to which the human population is highly vulnerable. Vulnerability is manifested in the quantities and duration of food stores existing at any one point in time, such that loss of the continued agricultural productivity or imports that maintain food levels would lead to depletion of food stores for much of the world's human population in a time period before it is likely that agricultural productivity could be resumed.

- Under such a situation, the majority of the world's population is at risk of starvation in the aftermath of a nuclear war. Risk is therefore exported from combatant countries to non-combatant countries, especially those dependent on others for food and energy subsidies and those whose food stores are small relative to the population.

- Human populations are highly vulnerable to possible societal disruptions within combatant and non-combatant countries after a large-scale nuclear war, such as in the consequent problems of distribution of food and other limited resources among the immediate survivors. This is an area requiring a level of serious scientific investiga-

tion that has not yet been brought to bear on these issues.

Devastation of Entire Humanity

As a part of the SCOPE-ENUWAR project, a workshop was held in Hiroshima, Japan, in order for the scientists to gain a fuller appreciation of the human consequences of nuclear detonations. The considerations listed above indicate that as devastating as the Japanese atomic bombings were, as consequential to their victims even to the present day, and as important to the development of the 20th Century, they cannot provide a sense of what the global aftermath of a modern nuclear war could be like. Hiroshima today is a thriving dynamic city reborn from complete devastation by interactions and support from the outside world; after a large-scale nuclear war, there would be essentially no outside world, and qualitatively new global-scale effects would occur that could devastate not just an urban population but the entirety of humanity. Although issues remain to be resolved, the information in this volume demonstrates some of the great vulnerabilities of agricultural, ecological, and societal support systems to the potential direct and indirect consequences of nuclear war. This demonstration of global frailties mandates the formulation of new global perspectives on avoiding the aftermath of nuclear war.



Alderman Doug Sutherland

Call for a Future, Free from Nuclear Warfare

DOUG SUTHERLAND

This article is based on the address made by Alderman Doug Sutherland, the Lord Mayor of Sydney, to the International Peace Conference on the Pacific and Asian Regions in Sydney in October 1985.

Extracts from the address are published here.

IT WAS in 1959 that the United Nations unanimously passed the resolution which said: "The question of complete and general disarmament is the most important one facing the world today."

Sadly, some 26 years later, this is still profoundly true. And until the governments of our world cease to pursue a course which puts property before people and military spending before welfare, it will continue to be true.

However, as this conference clearly shows, more and more people are realising that the greatest threats to humanity are man-made and that we must speak out and resolve those threats if humanity is to survive.

It is now forty years since the end of World War II, and since the United Nations was founded. It is also forty years since the atom bomb so tragically scarred the cities and the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

And, although it has become "passé" to describe the seriousness of the hour since that time, we have been faced with the awesome knowledge that mankind has the capacity for its own annihilation. "For man holds in his mortal hand, the power to abolish all forms of human suffering, and all forms of human life", as the late President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, so succinctly expressed it in his inaugural address in 1960.

With this realisation of power comes the knowledge that more than ever before, we must grapple with the dilemma of how to achieve lasting peace.

I am proud to be able to say that since the Labour administration came to office in the Sydney City Council in 1980—it has not shirked its responsibilities in this area.

Indeed, it has shown an empathy with the issues confronting this nation and the world regarding peace.

DOUG SUTHERLAND
Alderman, Lord Mayor of Sydney (Australia)

It has worked under the strong conviction that, local government—free from the restrictions placed on other spheres of government, and being the level of government closest to the people—is well placed to be able to achieve things in this important realm.

Nuclear Free Zone in Sydney

It has seen clearly that cities and their administrations have a special role to play in the movement towards disarmament and peace—and therefore, has taken a number of initiatives to this end.

Certainly, one of the most significant has been the establishment of a nuclear free zone in the city area.

This action in itself is a strong public statement of opposition to the arms build up and nuclear warfare.

Nuclear free zone signs have been erected around the city boundaries and explanations given to citizens as to why the decision was made to make Sydney a nuclear free zone.

It is recognised that even though such zones have no legal significance they do have an important consciousness-raising role.

One of the significant things which have been achieved, at the local suburban level, is to help everyday citizens who feel overwhelmed by the immensity of the nuclear threat to take local positive action. It also gives them a point of reference for information—as each individual zone is connected through a national secretariat located at the Sydney Town Hall which provides brochures and current details on research and events.

This is undeniably more effective than it may at first sound. After all, it is only by mobilising the opinion of local government constituents that we will be able to send an effective message to our national governments advocating negotiations for multi-lateral disarmament.

Chain Reaction of Awareness

On a wider scale, then, it can be seen as an integral part of what that great genius, Einstein, referred to as "a chain reaction of awareness".

The City Council in affirming that peace is possible has also set up a peace committee. Although, only established in 1984, I anticipate that it will take an active role in promoting and supporting peace programmes, groups and events.

I see also that in the future, it will take the messages and concerns received from citizens at a local government level to other spheres of government—particularly Federal—which is concerned with defence and foreign policy.

For two years now, the Sydney City Council has staged a Peace Day Act of Civic Awareness to commemorate the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima.

The Act of Awareness takes the form of a commemorative service and is held in Sydney Square—serving to remind our citizens of the horrors of nuclear war and the need to work actively for peace and disarmament.

Both years, pictorial exhibitions have also been held in the Sydney Town Hall in conjunction with the ceremony.

Another important event which took place for the first time in 1985 was on Palm Sunday. Mayors, local representatives and citizens, from all over Sydney and beyond, marched together in the Disarmament Rally held on that day.

The march attracted wide media attention and showed the community that we are serious about our call for a future free from nuclear warfare.

It also showed that, far from only being concerned with bricks, mortar and roads, local government is in touch with the community's social concerns.

Both the Act of Civic Awareness and the Disarmament Rally are now annual events in the City of Sydney.

Another annual event is the United Na-

tions Civic Reception, held at the Town Hall. This Reception has proven to be a vital reminder of the United Nations' influential role as an international body in preserving peace.

Sydney's Peace Park

Other more recent initiatives include renaming the lower Town Hall "Peace Hall", and the proposal to rename Sydney Park, Peace Park.

Sydney Park is a giant park being built at St. Peters about six kilometres from the Town Hall. A joint project of the Sydney City Council and the State Government, it takes up an area of 35 hectares—and, when complete, will be the second largest open space in Sydney, after Moore Park and twice the size of Hyde Park.

One of the major features of the park will be an elevated stage area which could be used for political rallies—and particularly those which are peace oriented.

There will also be a symbolic structure in the park to represent peace—and submissions from the public will be sought regarding its design.

I am happy to say that in embarking on these peace projects, the Council has also seen something of a branching effect.

Indeed, there are many examples which I could cite. One is that I was just recently chosen to be the New South Wales Local Government representative to the government committee organising activities for the International Year of Peace in 1986.

Additionally, it is very pleasing to be able to report that the Sydney City Council is just one of the many city authorities across the world which are working on various projects and initiatives for peace.

I can say this with great confidence after attending the "First World Conference of Mayors for Peace Through Inter-City Solidarity" held in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1985. Ninety-three Mayors from 23 countries attended the Conference—63 of whom were non-Japanese.

Sydney-Nagoya Sister Cities

I believe that each of us come away with a deep impression that at a city level we are not powerless to affect what is happening. But rather, that we are fully able to contribute to a national awareness of the need for peace and disarmament—and that it is our obligation to do so.

It is significant to note that my presence at that conference resulted from my earlier visits to the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—carried out while officially visiting Sydney's sister city in Japan—the City of Nagoya.

The main purpose of my visits to Hiroshima and Nagasaki was to see the peace parks and museums which so tragically de-



TALKING PEACE DOWN UNDER

Talking Peace Down Under: Poster issued on the occasion of the International Peace Conference on the Pacific and Asian Regions in Sydney in October 1985.

dict the damage and disaster wrought there by the atomic bombs.

However, the point I make today is that I doubt that I would have taken the opportunity to visit these cities had Sydney not had a sister-city relationship with Nagoya.

That relationship also ensured that I received a warm welcome both from the Mayor of Hiroshima, when I first visited there in 1982, and the Mayor of Nagasaki, when I visited there in 1984.

It is interesting to note that after deciding to hold the conference commemorating the 40th anniversary of the bombings of those two cities—I was the first Australian official to be approached.

It was my privilege then to make recommendations to the conference officials who came to Sydney regarding the Mayors of other cities—both in Sydney and Melbourne—who may have been interested in the concept of such a conference.

Sister-City Movement—People to People Diplomacy

Clearly then, the sister-city movement has played a significant role in the movement

towards peace—particularly at a local government level.

And although I have only used the example of the Sydney-Nagoya Sister-City relationship, I know that all around the globe the movement has been a great contributor to the development of mutual understanding and friendship between cities and nations.

It has brought together, on innumerable occasions, nations which were separated by barriers of distance, and others which were engaged in hostilities or open war.

I often refer to sister-cities as a type of "people to people" diplomacy and it is my genuine belief that the best hope of bringing about "peace on earth to men of goodwill" is for ordinary people—at all levels and in every society—to come together.

And, in doing so, to develop mutual interests, to have cultural exchanges, increase understanding, and in every way possible to learn from each other.

The responsibility for creating our future rests with us all. It is vital that we work together to create a safe, peaceful, happy world free from the fear of nuclear war.

World Needs Co-operation Not Confrontation

BERNT CARLSSON

This article is based on the address Ambassador Bert Carlsson gave at the session of the Bureau of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council in Stockholm, Sweden, in November-December 1985.

Published here are extracts from the address of Ambassador Carlsson who has been specially appointed by the Swedish government to deal with the efforts of the non-governmental organisations in regard to disarmament.

SINCE 1945, during the United Nations' 40 years, 150 wars have been fought; 20 million people have died in battle. Still more have been disabled. Even at this very moment people are being killed and wounded in wars.

In our day, all the peoples of the earth live under the threat of annihilation, immediate or more long-term.

The nuclear arsenals comprise 50,000 warheads. They have a combined explosive effect equivalent to a million Hiroshima bombs, or 3,000-4,000 kilos of TNT for every person on this earth. Mankind can only be destroyed once but the nuclear weapon states have acquired sufficient resources to do it many hundred times.

Thanks to the efforts and findings of different researchers, the world has come to realise that no one can win a nuclear war. The side which first presses the release button will also be annihilated. In a nuclear war there are no winners, only losers. War and the threat of war have therefore acquired a completely different meaning to what they had earlier.

Out of this awareness a conviction must grow that no country can gain security in competition but only in cooperation with others.

The Swedish foreign policy is firmly established in a Nordic context. The Nordic states respect and understand each other's security policy solutions. The security policy pattern which was developed after the Second World War has endured despite external strains and from time to time a chilly international climate. The Swedish policy of neutrality constitutes an important part of this pattern.

In close contact with our Nordic neigh-

bours, we will continue our work to prevent increased tensions between the power blocs. The nature and direction of Nordic co-operation makes it natural to seek continuous contacts as regards our countries' positions on different issues of common Nordic interest. (The question of a nuclear-free zone was discussed at the meeting of Nordic parliamentarians in Copenhagen in November-December 1985.)

Today, our hopes are attached to the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), that in the long term it will contribute towards removing some of the deadlocks. It has been possible to fulfil the CSCE process despite the international climate which at times has been extremely chilly. Our aim is still to reach the objectives laid down in Helsinki ten years ago.

The Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is now moving into a decisive final stage. The neutral and non-aligned states, Sweden among them, have recently presented a detailed proposal covering the entire area of negotiations dealt with at the Conference. It is our hope that this will contribute in a constructive way to a negotiated settlement.

Follow-up of CSCE Process

The positive mention of the Stockholm Conference in the joint statement from the recently concluded U.S.-Soviet Summit meeting is very welcome. This further strengthens our hope that it will be possible to enter into a concrete agreement in Stockholm before the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna in the autumn of 1986.

Although the Summit meeting in Geneva did not lead to any immediate results in the disarmament area, it is gratifying that it still seems to have meant rapprochement



between the United States and the Soviet Union. The dialogue will furthermore continue at the highest level. We hope that they will now be able to start a process that moves away from confrontation and instead promotes the easing of tensions and co-operation.

The outcome of the meeting reinforces our conviction that conflicts can only be resolved through dialogue and negotiations and through considering the security interests of all states.

It is most promising that for the first time the leaders of the two superpowers jointly maintain that a nuclear war can never be won and must never be fought. This means that the idea recently put forward that the effects of a nuclear war can be limited has definitely been abandoned. It has been proved that even a nuclear war that hits just part of our earth will lead to a deterioration of climate which in a later stage will destroy all life.

The nuclear weapons issue is therefore the concern of not only the nuclear powers and their peoples but of every living being on earth.

It is in this perspective that the urgent efforts Sweden has put into disarmament work for many decades, the Five Continent Peace Initiative, and as host for the Stockholm Conference, should be seen.

Our independent foreign policy and our consistent adherence to basic principles of international law sometimes lead to conflicts or difficulties. We must be prepared for this. But we strive in all situations to maintain a dialogue. It is especially important that there be such a dialogue with those whose views we do not share but which we hope to be able to influence.

Problems of Underdevelopment

It is unacceptable and dangerous to allow the gaps between rich and poor to

BERNT CARLSSON
Ambassador (Sweden)

continue to grow. The industrialized nations must not passively stand by and watch the natural resources of the Third World being devastated and the developing countries being compelled to encumber themselves with debt beyond all hope of economic recovery.

The United Nations has celebrated its 40th Anniversary. Ever since its creation Sweden has striven to play an active role within the organization. There has long been strong support in Sweden for the idea of a universal system for peace and justice.

Unfortunately, there has not been sufficient respect for the principles of the Charter in this regard. The World Organization has not become the instrument for collective security that was its original purpose.

Many have come to the conclusion that the United Nations has therefore not been successful. Others say that the failure lies with the member countries. Whatever defects this international organisation has, it constitutes a central field of activity when it comes to promoting our foreign policy goals.

Despite problems, the Organization maintains its unique universal character. Nothing can replace its function as a meeting place and a forum for dialogue. The UN has also been able to contribute towards promoting peace and economic and social development in the Third World.

The United Nations must be strengthened, not weakened. The World Organization is needed today more than ever, for the sake of all mankind.

Although the UN will be finally judged for what the organization can do for world security, we should not forget that it also constitutes an indispensable forum for peace and progress.

Acidification of Environment

This especially concerns the global and regional environmental threats which in time may come to affect our security and survival. One immediate threat is the acidification of the environment caused by excessive emissions of sulphur and nitrogen compounds into the atmosphere. This environmental hazard, which as far as Sweden is concerned is reflected in dead lakes and rapidly increasing damage to forests, can only be tackled through international concerted action.

We are all directly and indirectly dependent on what happens to the environment, even very far away. The ongoing plundering of tropical rain forests is one example. Another example is the growing refugee problem in the world, the underlying cause of which is in several cases destruction of forests, soil erosion and other forms of environmental degradation.

Environmental degradation is a problem of survival. But the threats can be removed with human effort and co-operation.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE



Role of NGOs

Disarmament and International Year of Peace

JAN MARTENSON

IN 1985 the world commemorated the fortieth anniversary of two major events that were basically two sides of the same coin—the end of the Second World War and the birth of the United Nations.

The United Nations was created from the ashes of the Second World War with the profound aspiration "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". The founding Members of the United Nations Charter proclaimed the maintenance of international peace and security as one of the Organization's prime purposes according to which all its activities would be pursued. It is therefore entirely appropriate that on the day of the founding of the Organization, 24 October, the International Year of Peace was proclaimed last year, to be observed during 1986.

Peace is an aspiration universal to mankind. Man or woman, young or old, we all have a yearning to live our lives in a world free of hostilities, conflicts or wars. Many calls were heard during the 40th anniversary celebrations for a re-dedication to the Charter and the underlying principles and aims of the United Nations. These calls were reflected in the Proclamation of the International Year of Peace which stated that the Year was "not only a celebration or commemoration, but an opportunity to reflect and act creatively and systematically in fulfilling the purposes of the United Nations".

The Proclamation also called on Governments, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations and others "to express in practical terms the common aspiration of all peoples for peace".

The Department for Disarmament Affairs contributes in many ways to the objectives of the International Year of Peace.

JAN MARTENSON
*Under-Secretary-General of Disarmament
Affairs, United Nations.*

World Disarmament Campaign

Since 1978, a variety of measures have been introduced to provide for much wider dissemination of information on the dangers of the arms race and to encourage greater public understanding and involvement in peace and disarmament matters. The most significant measure in this regard was the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign by the General Assembly at its second special session on disarmament in 1982.

The aim of the Campaign is to inform, to educate and to generate public understanding and support for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. In order to achieve these goals, the Campaign is being implemented in all regions of the world in a balanced, factual and objective manner. This universality can only be reached, however, through the co-operation and participation of all Member States and the widest possible dissemination of information and unimpeded access by all sectors of the world public to a broad range of ideas, opinions and facts.

Though directed to all peoples, the World Disarmament Campaign focusses primarily on five major constituencies, namely, elected representatives, media, non-governmental organizations, educational communities and research institutes. These constituencies receive particular attention due to their multiplier effect on the society as a whole. Whether in analysing the ramifications of the nuclear arms race, or in examining the socio-economic consequences of military expenditures, or in exploring the complex linkages between disarmament, security and development, the research institutes and the academic community, for example, do contribute to a growing public awareness of those issues. The media at large share the responsibility for projecting and presenting disarmament issues in forms and materials which are equally comprehensible both

to the people at large and the experts. The non-governmental organizations represent a unique forum for the expression of public concern as well as providing a platform for examining specific issues in various parts of the world. The elected representatives constitute a standing bridge between policy-makers and general public. Thus considered, the World Disarmament Campaign not only provides outputs in terms of information materials in different forms, but also receives inputs from the various constituencies.

The Campaign was launched three years ago amidst a growing international concern over the implications and consequences of a continuing arms race, particularly in the nuclear field. By 1982, global military spending was almost approaching the equivalent of 2 billion dollars a day. Nuclear arsenals continued to grow, and increasingly sophisticated conventional weaponry had been used in some 150 military conflicts around the globe and more people were killed than all the military casualties during the Second World War. While the public at large in various parts of the world was increasingly debating the socio-economic costs and the politico-military implications of a seemingly endless arms race, the process of negotiating mutually-acceptable measures of arms limitation and disarmament had reached a virtual stalemate.

The World Disarmament Campaign provides then a framework within which discussion and debate can take place in all countries on all points of view relating to disarmament and peace issues, objectives and conditions. It encourages bilateral and multilateral exchanges on the basis of reciprocity and mutual agreement and gives the widest possible dissemination to such exchanges.

If the World Disarmament Campaign can contribute to the creation of a constructive and realistic world public involvement in all countries in this vital field, then the United Nations would have achieved something very important.

Dialogue for Peace

The way will be long and difficult. But with the added impetus of the International Year of Peace, the United Nations is redoubling its efforts to encourage governments, organizations, communities and individuals to join together in discussing and developing their own actions for creating a more secure and peaceful world. We consider our mandate to educate, inform and generate public understanding and support as a welcome and solemn challenge. Instead of sitting in our offices in the "glass tower" at United Nations Headquarters, we prefer to go into the field and establish a dialogue based on shared knowledge rather than emotion, on mutual understand-

Peace is Three Simple Things

DAVID MARTIN

To me peace is three simple things.

Peace is my son and my love for him,
Peace is his eagerness, his innocence, his eyes,
Peace is his playing, his laughing and his sleeping,
His endless inquisitiveness, his joy, his body,
Naked, familiar, dear and restless with hope.
Peace is my son.

Peace is the sons and daughters of all men.
Peace is all humankind, maker, creator, defier;
Peace is my neighbour's face, his capable hands,
Peace is thousands of millions of people.
Peace is the life in them, the unquenchable fire,
Peace is the sons and daughters of all men.

Peace is my books: all history is in them,
Conquerors of despair, fortifiers, inspirers.
Peace is Odysseus, Don Quixote, Juliet and Beatrice,
Tyl the great Jester, Egmont, Gregor Pantaleimon,
Joe Wilson's mates, Schweik and the others.
Peace is my books, peace is poetry, peace is my poem.

To me peace is three simple things.

DAVID MARTIN, *Poet (Australia)*

ing rather than argument, on joint co-operation rather than confrontation.

To that end, the role of the constituencies of the World Disarmament Campaign, in particular that of non-governmental organizations, is essential for the successful implementation of the Campaign's activities.

Non-governmental organizations have traditionally promoted the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and supported the work of the Organization. Specifically in the field of peace and disarmament, they have acted as effective disseminators of information generated by the United Nations system with their own opinion and expertise.

To indeed work for a peaceful world free of conflict and war, we need not only to mobilize all our resources but also to exercise our imagination and our power of understanding. We all can and must con-

tribute to what is surely man's supreme ambition: to achieve genuine peace and leave our children a legacy worth inheriting. As the Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, stated recently:

"The International Year of Peace affords us an excellent opportunity to spell out clearly what the objectives of peace are and to study how they can be attained. Without abandoning the dream of total and universal peace, extending to all corners of the globe, it must be said that we should not cling to the false and empty notion that peace can be brought about with the stroke of a magic wand. There is no wonderful recipe for instant peace. But with faith in the future and confidence in the human spirit, we must embark on a dynamic, persevering and systematic crusade which will lead us, step by step, towards peace."



South-South Co-operation

Vital Element in Resisting Imposition of Dependent Development

DEBESH BHATTACHARYA

This article is based on the study made by Dr. Debesh Bhattacharya entitled, "World Economic Crises: Dimensions, Causes and Solutions".

Extracts from the study on the exploitation of the South by the developed capitalist countries of the North, under the present world economic order, are published here.

THE weakness of the South is basically a structural one, arising from the metropolitan centre/colonial periphery relationship, which is never one of equal partnership to ensure the parallel growth of equal partners. It is intricately structured to the retention of the privileges of the developed capitalist countries of the North, who have all their economic power over crucial commodities, especially food, the power over capital resources, the power to grant or cancel aid or loans, and military power. These powers help the North to lay down the rules of world trade, the monetary system and international liquidity.

In the circumstances, most South countries could not make a successful transition from their pre-capitalist modes to a genuine capitalistic mode of production.

The presence of an international demonstration effect in the form of conspicuous luxury consumption and the dependence of the South on the North prevents the emergence of forward and backward linkages of an expanded reproduction system. There are less "spillover effects" of industrial production regarding education of the workforce and technological development in the South.

The direction of World Trade flows between the years 1980 and 1983 shows that the industrial countries account for about 63 per cent of total trade flows and these countries have consistently a favourable balance of trade (i.e. their export earnings are greater than their import payments) with non-oil developing countries. Trade between the Socialist bloc and the

developing countries is rather marginal and less than trade between any other group of nations.

The relative absence of significant horizontal trade links between South and South is also evident. G. Myrdal, in "Economic Theory and Under-developed Regions" (1957), has provided his theory of cumulative causation to argue that advantages are cumulative, so that any initial competitive edge results in further increases in efficiency and hence to a cumulatively greater advantage. On the other hand, if countries start from an initial disadvantageous position, they tend to suffer cumulatively. Consequently if countries start from a position of inequality due to unequal bargaining strength, one can explain the present trade imbalances between the North and South countries. Colonial past is mainly responsible for the current international division of labour and international exchange relations. The developing countries export primary commodities, raw materials and minerals, which are processed in developed countries. The former are also markets for manufactured products and also places for the capital investments of the latter. The developing countries importing goods which have been processed from their own raw materials have to pay not only for the cost of processing but also for the profits earned and costs of transportation both ways. The vicissitudes to which the South has been exposed in the spheres of international trade are real and offend the usual norms of fair play, equity and justice. These countries are in the position of material appendages to the North, which sell its commodities and technology at inflated values, while buying the products of the developing countries which import oil below their real values.

Declining Real Prices of Commodities

It is evident from statistics that the purchasing power of South's traditional export products coffee, cocoa, tea, soya beans, cotton, jute, natural rubber, and copper is only a third or a quarter of goods and services imported from the North during the last three decades. According to the "UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics, Supplement 1981", the trade deficit of the non-oil developing countries was \$ 67 billion in 1979. However, if the terms of trade had remained constant, the deficit would have been only \$ 10 billion. Consequently, about \$ 57 billion were lost by these countries due to the fall in their export prices relative to their import prices. With declining real prices of the principal primary commodities exported by the South during the last three decades, these countries are compelled to export greater quantities of their essentials in order to be able to import essentially needed industrial machinery and intermediate goods. As President Fidel Castro points out in "World Economic and Social Crisis" (1983), in 1960, it took 200 tons of sugar to buy a 180-hp bulldozer, while in 1984, it took 800 tons of sugar at the world market price to buy a similar bulldozer. Similarly, in 1960, 37.3 tons of fertilizers could be bought for a ton of coffee. In 1982 only 15.8 tons of fertilizers could be bought for a ton of coffee.

North's Protectionist Walls against Developing Countries

When the South countries do manage to produce manufactured goods like textiles or shoes, their exports are confronted by quotas, tariff barriers and other restrictions. The protectionist policies of the North countries, plus the dumping and unfair competition with subsidized products which those same countries habitually engage in in international trade are the major obstacles to expansion and diversification of exports from the South.

DEBESH BHATTACHARYA

Dr., Department of Economics, University of Sydney (Australia)

As UNCTAD reports: "Despite most-favoured nation tariff reductions in the post-war period as a result of trade negotiations in GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), tariff protection in the post-war period remains one of the major obstacles to expansion and diversification of exports from developing countries. According to estimates, tariffs facing developing countries in those markets are, on average, about 50 per cent higher than those levied on imports from other developed countries."

GATT negotiations on trade have been largely a rich-nation affair, as was evident during the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations, which provided benefits for the North but in some cases actually penalized developing countries. Even the tariff reductions resulting from the recent Tokyo Round of multilateral trade negotiations have not brought about any significant advantages to the South. The average most-favoured nation tariff on imports into North from the South continues to be higher (9.2%) than the average on imports from the other North countries (8.2%). Moreover, protectionism and trade barriers erected to protect the North from South's competition in the form of processed goods act to undercut efforts of the South countries to industrialise.

North's Non-Tariff Barriers to Prevent Industrialisation in South

Non-tariff barriers have been used by the North as the most effective instrument for the prevention of industrialisation in the South and they include an infinite number of protectionist practices—UNCTAD has documented some 700 such practices—which range from government subsidies, quantitative restrictions, health standards and technical standards to deliberately complex administrative procedures.

K. Morton, in "A Hand Worth Playing" (1974), has stated that in 1969 developed countries imposed non-tariff measures on 28 per cent of all imports from developing countries, as compared with 11 per cent on imports from other developed countries. In recent years, non-tariff barriers are increasingly imposed on the exports of the South and some sources (like President Fidel Castro), estimate that approximately three-fifths of the North's trade is currently subject to non-tariff barriers. In 1980, the U.S.A. imposed anti-dumping and countervailing proceedings against steel imports from Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and South Korea. The European Economic Community, Australia and Canada have also reduced their steel imports and have imposed quotas on yarn, textile and footwear imports from the South. Imports of cane sugar into the U.S.A. have been limited to between 40–50 per cent of its domestic market.

"... worse still, the European Community's combination of price supports and import controls have made the Community



"The transnational corporations of Western countries are still maintaining the old exploitative order under which their dominance of the foreign trade of developing countries is very strong. The TNCs behave like the old usurious village money lenders in the case of weak developing countries."

Drawing from Kontakt Magazine, Denmark.

not only self-sufficient in sugar, but at subsidized prices... Fruit, vegetables, and beef are subject to restrictions of bewildering variety, including quotas, marketing orders, export restraints, and health and sanitary arrangements." (A. W. Clausen, "International Trade and Global Economic Growth: The Critical Relationship" (1984)

TNCs Exploitation of South

The strength of the TNCs (transnational corporations) in maintaining the existing exploitative order has been well documented. TNCs influence on the foreign trade of the South is very pronounced, as most of these countries' imports are handled by such corporations, and a large proportion of their exports passes, directly or indirectly, through them. TNCs control over marketing and distribution is almost complete, due to their access to world-wide marketing networks and their ownership of established brand names which are crucial for foreign

trade. The Table on page 16 shows the extent of the TNCs' control over the marketing of the commodities which make up the vast majority of the exports of the South, ranging between 50–60 per cent for many commodities, and 85–95 for 11 of the following products.

A recent UNCTAD study estimated that the share of the final price received by the South countries from their exports was extremely low; a cotton producing country's share was about 6.4 per cent of the final retail price of a ready-made denim garment (i.e., it received 52 cents for a piece sold at \$ 8.04 retail in the markets of the North). Shares were less than 40 per cent in almost all cases and were under 10 per cent for iron and bauxite, 20–40 per cent for tea, coffee, cocoa beans, citrus fruits, bananas and jute. In July 1981, TNCs controlled 80 per cent of the world's merchant fleet, including the so-called unregistered fleet. Only 12 per cent were in the hands of the South countries and the remainder controlled by other countries.



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DEBESH BHATTACHARYA

Dr., Department of Economics, University of Sydney (Australia)

In 1960, the South's share in the world industrial output was 6.9 per cent and in 1985 it was yet to reach 9 per cent. They have negligible participation in the production of capital goods.

As President Fidel Castro observes: "... the underdeveloped countries produce 8 per cent of the wood manufactured in the world, but only 0.1 per cent of the machines for working it. With 28.5 per cent of the world agricultural production, they produce only 6.9 per cent of its agricultural tools and machinery, 40 per cent of which are ploughs, the most primitive tool. Only 6.6 per cent of the world spinning machines; 8 per cent of its electric motors; 3 per cent of its lathes; 1.7 per cent of its milling machines; 0.9 per cent of its machines for pressing, forging and rolling metals; and 0.06 per cent of its metal-cutting machines are produced in the Third World."

Collaborate Elites' Subordinate Role

The position of the ruling elites in the South is worth pointing out here. One can state that imperialism would not have succeeded without the help of local 'collaborate elites' in the South. Since the end of the Second World War, it has been possible to achieve the smooth transfer of power from external colonial control to internal domination, preserving intact all the pre-independence relations in trade and investment in many South countries. This has been possible with the help of local elites who have entered into a subordinate partnership with foreign capital. Consequently, a neo-imperialist relationship of domination/dependency between the North and South has been maintained in the post-independence economic relations. Since 1973, members of OPEC have accumulated cash surplus to the extent of \$ 458 billion. The use of these surplus accounts was primarily made to channel these resources to the world financial markets and the economies of the North. Only \$ 81 billion out of \$ 458 billion went as loans and grants to the non-oil South, i.e. less than 20 per cent went to meet the financial need for the development and strengthening of these countries.

North Manages Present Economic Order

History has shown that global capitalism means the co-existence of misery and opulence. The overall effect of global capitalism has been the creation of a situation of global apartheid. Consequently the microcosm of all the global problems could be found in South Africa, where the Whites have progressed and grown rich through exploiting the Blacks, who suffer from acute poverty, unemployment and lack of self-reliance. All the laws and policies there make rich whites richer and poor blacks get relatively poor. Globally the same thing has happened for the South countries which are

not in a position to follow a genuinely independent path for growth and development.

Orthodox economists have championed the causes of interdependence and efficiency through competition. They have neglected (to show) that in real life global capitalism has not produced genuine interdependence between the North and South. If there is any interdependence, it is like the one between horse and riders. The ties that bind the South to North are those of dependence rather than interdependence. Orthodox economists have also neglected the fact that no such benefits accrue to anyone unless the person has something with which to compete, i.e. unless the person has something to contribute to the production process. The proverbial 'invisible hand' under global capitalism invariably leads to the establishment of a departure from a perfectly competitive market system. It leads to a market of monopolistic/oligopolistic structure. The rich and strong then make the market bend to their own will, the poor with insufficient purchasing power are forced out of the market to become marginalised, and equality of opportunity cannot automatically be ensured. This has actually happened in most domestic markets under capitalism.

The existing economic order does not reflect any natural economic laws. They are made and managed by the North since the colonial era. Willy Brandt, addressing a UNICEF meeting in Geneva in 1974 commented: "I am unable to detect any justice in the present system of economic and social relations."

Need for Genuine North-South Partnership

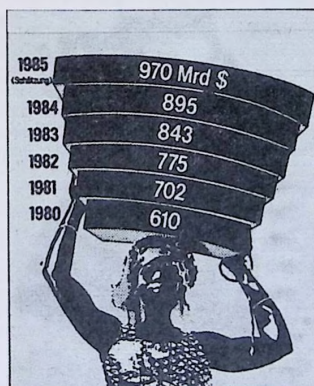
All efforts should be made to destroy the existing mechanisms of exploitation under

global capitalism. It means that there should be improvement in the export income of primary producing South countries and in their terms of trade. In 1970, oil was selling for \$ 1.30 per barrel, which represented a 50 per cent decline in the real price of oil since 1950. Libya under Gadhafi was the first country which succeeded in obtaining higher prices from Occidental Petroleum. The OPEC's decision to raise oil prices in October 1973 was thus initiated by the action of Libya, which recommended every country to become master of its own natural resources so as to be able to fix prices for its exports which are just and fair. This is an essential prerequisite for the South countries so that they would not be suffering from the domination-dependence effect arising from the existing economic order, which is never one of equal partnership between the North and South.

The role of partnership in international economic relationships should receive special attention if the South countries are to receive any benefit from international trade. This study does not advocate the case for autarchy. But it emphasizes that the genuine partnership in production is a necessary precondition for the distribution of benefits from foreign trade according to the principles of equity and to reverse the continued trend of stagnation or decline in the real price of several commodities exported by the South.

Although this study does not advocate mercantilism for the South in the sense that exports are good and imports are bad for them, nevertheless, the South should envisage the possibility of taking collective retaliatory action against particular North countries which use protectionism against South's exports in the North's domestic markets.

One can never overemphasize the point that the South countries must put their own house in order, and apply their own human resources to the solution of their problems of poverty, unemployment and structural violence. Many ruling elites of the South have more often than not shown no serious concern for the economic development among the masses of their peasants and proletariats. In the circumstances, the progressive governments of the South must lead the way by showing that their genuine economic development does not depend on the North, and that they can meet their own basic needs by applying a mass partnership in production and by using the right kind of technology which will use their human resources to the fullest extent. Significant socio-economic and political changes, such as land reforms and integrated rural development and the introduction of appropriate technology to end hunger, starvation, unemployment and under-employment, should be made by these progressive governments.



History shows that global capitalism means the co-existence of misery and opulence—a situation of global apartheid. The debt burden of the developing countries had reached 970 billion dollars in 1985.

United States Outpost in South Asia

Pakistan: Regime of Terror and Obscurantism

TONY GILBERT

The article is based on the pamphlet entitled, "Pakistan—Regime of Terror", by Mr Tony Gilbert. The pamphlet is available from Liberation, 313/315 Caledonian Road, London N1 1DR, England. — Price 45 p.)
Extracts from the pamphlet, printed in the autumn of 1985, are published here.

SINCE THE dismantling of Empires began in the 1950s many Western political pundits have only recognised as civilised the emerging leaderships of erstwhile colonised countries who accepted the political and moral standards of their previous rulers.

"Democratic" countries, such as Britain, allowed none of the freedoms they boasted existed in the "mother countries" in the vast territories they ruled by force. The arrogance that was implicit in the demands that British justice, British morals and standards must be mirrored in the territories ruled for centuries by brute force if newly formed governments were to be "accepted" was and still is breathtaking.

The hypocrisy is almost unbelievable. What they really mean is that they accept change only to keep things as they were. Economic and political control was still to be in the hands of the mother countries.

Their morals, their standards would hold the ring. Because of this background, "The Movement for Colonial Freedom", now "Liberation", always refused the many blandishments waved before us to engage in fierce criticisms of newly independent countries. However we are an anti-imperialist and anti-racist organisation and in order to be true to our roots, we must challenge the agents of imperialist rulers who not only cruelly persecute their own people but become a serious threat to their neighbouring countries.

Such is the regime in Pakistan.

We have seriously examined its role and have decided to publish all known facts.

Pakistan's Most Unpopular Regime

On 5 July 1977, the Pakistani military staged a coup and toppled the legitimate government headed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Martial law was imposed throughout the entire country and military tribunals were set up. The military dissolved parliament and provincial legislative assemblies, and suspended the 1973 Constitution adopted by the legally elected National Assembly. The military had seized power by resorting to methods which the Constitution they annulled qualified as high treason.

All power became concentrated in the hands of army generals headed by General Zia ul-Haq. He became Chief of Military Council and as of September 1978, the country's President. The man who usurped military and civilian posts has been holding the entire power of the state in his hands.

Official circles in the West are well aware of the gross violation of human rights by the Pakistani military authorities. The Western press frequently publishes reports on mass arrests of people who express their discontent with the military regime, torture of political prisoners in Pakistani dungeons and many other infringements of civil rights

and political freedoms. The execution of Z. A. Bhutto, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, evoked a powerful response in the West. It was reported that he was sentenced to death on trumped-up charges in April 1979. The military Administration in Islamabad completely ignored all requests for a pardon which came from many heads of state and government, including those of France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States. Most of the mass media throughout the world regarded the execution of Z. A. Bhutto as an "act of political retaliation" by the military regime.

Many Pakistanis have become political exiles, forced to flee from their country, because of the policy of repression pursued by the military regime. They have sought to draw public attention and the attention of official figures, including those of the Western countries, to the arbitrary actions of the dictatorship. According to "New Perspectives", a journal published in Helsinki, over 100,000 Pakistanis were forced to leave their country for political reasons by the middle of 1982. Close to 35,000 Pakistani political exiles were residing in West Germany. Since then, their number has continued to grow. There are large groups of Pakistani political exiles in other countries too. Most of these emigrés suffer from privations. The fact that there are large numbers of political exiles is eloquent proof that human rights are being trampled underfoot in Pakistan today.

In September 1982, M. K. Pasner, executive director of the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights in New York, was invited to a hearing held by a House Subcommittee (of the U.S. Congress). His statement was devoted to the gross violations of human rights in Pakistan. The speaker quoted facts indicating the growing number of reprisals there, such as mass arrests of people opposing the Zia ul-Haq regime, imprisonment without examination or trial, use of torture in Pakistani prisons and other illegal practices.

R. Laporte, professor of the Pennsylvania State University, then said that "the U.S.

Martial Law in Civilian Garb

The eight-and-a-half-year old military rule in Pakistan was officially ended at the end of 1985, according to an announcement made to this effect by General Zia ul-Haq. But the situation in Pakistan basically remains the same.

Opposition leaders in Pakistan have described General Zia ul-Haq's manoeuvrings as a "force", a "ruse and a deception", and charged that martial law is simply continuing in civilian garb. Zia's decision to retain his post as Army chief of staff, they say, virtually ensures his continued stronghold control over the country. "Nothing has changed," says Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, a leader of the Opposition. "Martial law now legalised is far more dangerous than the naked one we had."

TONY GILBERT,

General Secretary, *Liberation*, formerly known as the *Movement for Colonial Freedom*, London. (United Kingdom)

government should take appropriate steps to ensure that whatever support we provide to the government of Pakistan is not used for the suppression of human rights". However, the exposure of the military regime's undemocratic practices did not alter the position taken by the White House with regard to military and economic aid to Islamabad. The U.S. administration ignored Professor Laporte's appeal.

Though the U.S. administration launched a "human rights" campaign in the late 1970s, its attitude towards the military regime in Pakistan did not depend on the question of civil rights and political freedoms in that particular country but was determined by its South Asian and global policies. Using the developments in Afghanistan as a pretext, the U.S. President, early in 1980, hastened to declare Pakistan "a frontline state". He proposed the restoration of military and economic aid to Pakistan.

As the U.S.-Pakistani military-political alliance was revived (this matter will be examined in greater detail in the following section) some of the leading bodies of the press in the United States have become less critical of Zia ul-Haq's internal policies.

In January 1983 "The Times of India" wrote: "In the past, 'The New York Times' used to be critical of the denial of human rights, mass arrests and torture of prisoners in Pakistan under General Zia. At the end of his visit to the U.S. last month, however, it tried to slur over these embarrassing matters and concluded that the General deserved a 'helping hand though not a bouquet'."

U.S. officials pretended that the problem of violation of human rights did not exist in Pakistan.

Washington's Support for Pakistan

Moreover, Washington has demonstratively supported the military regime in Pakistan to exert pressure on forces opposing Zia ul-Haq. The U.S. administration made such attempts, for instance, during the mass demonstrations by the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy which began late in the summer of 1983. According to the Indian press, "... the timing of the White House's clearance of the release of Harpoon anti-ship missiles is intended to demonstrate that the Pakistani politicians leading the campaign for civil and political rights need expect no sympathy from the world's important democracy".

While he was in Pakistan in the autumn of 1983, Caspar Weinberger, the U.S. Defence Secretary, also did his best to demonstrate Washington's support for the Zia ul-Haq regime. Irritated by the fact that the mass demonstrations (in Pakistan) were not only anti-government, but also anti-American, Weinberger referred to "the hand of Moscow" at a news conference. This propaganda play was nothing new.

Roots of Dictatorship

Generous U.S. military-economic aid and powerful political support for the military regime have encouraged it to impose harsher punishment on the opposition. A group of Pakistani authors forced to live in exile have written a book entitled "Pakistan—The Roots of Dictatorship". In this book they say that the downfall of the Shah in Iran and the April Revolution in Afghanistan have caused the United States to be particularly interested in making the military regime in Pakistan a stable one. Encouraged by this renewed interest the military regime of Islamabad launched sweeping reprisals against the opposition and all democratic forces, under the false pretext of fighting the "Soviet threat" coming from Afghanistan.

The official circles of other Western countries have also chosen to ignore the gross violations of human rights by the military regime. During their visits to Pakistan, U.S., West European and Japanese statesmen have never missed an opportunity to express their hypocritical "sympathies" with the sufferings of the Afghan people. Visits to Afghan refugee camps, mainly in the proximity of Peshawar, and donations of large sums in the form of cheques, presented to the elders, have become a necessary part of the programme for all distinguished Western guests.

However, Western statesmen have displayed no sympathy for the Pakistanis whom the military regime has deprived of civil freedoms for nearly eight years now, or for those who have been forced to leave their country and to live as exiles. It is true that the Western press has published many reports on the "preventative" mass arrests of the military regime's political opponents

on the eve of the elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies held in February 1985. Despite this, Washington and the other Western capitals have preferred not to notice the undemocratic character of the recent farce staged by Pakistan's military administration.

Pakistan in United States Strategy

Pakistan is important for United States' global strategy. While establishing the "strategic co-ordination" zone, covering the Middle East and partly South Asia, the United States needs allies to further its influence in that vast region and, what is no less important, to provide itself with military bases and other facilities so that it could strengthen its military presence in the Indian Ocean.

The White House is attracted by Pakistan's geopolitical importance which is determined, on the one hand, by its key position in respect to the Persian Gulf zone and the oil sea lanes and, on the other hand, by its proximity to the Soviet Union's southern border and by its common border with Afghanistan. The U.S. ruling circles are drawn to Pakistan also because it is situated on the boundary between the two sub-regions—the Middle East and South Asia—and has a long border with India.

The Pentagon views Pakistan as a possible stronghold for the Rapid Deployment Force. Since Pakistan lies close to the Persian Gulf, the U.S. military strategists intend to use its ports as transit camps for troops sent from the base in Diego Garcia to the Persian Gulf. The U.S. military focus their attention on the port of Gwadar lying in a remote, sparsely populated part of Baluchistan and controlling the entrance to the Persian Gulf.



Demonstration against General Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan outside the United Nations headquarters in New York in 1985.

The placard displayed by the demonstrators called the Pakistani dictator "Zia ul-Batil" (Light of Falsehood) instead of his real name Zia ul-Haq which in Arabic means "Light of Rights". The placard said: "General Zia ul-Batil—Leave Pakistan to Its People".

The Zia ul-Haq government is prepared to step up its military and political cooperation with the United States, to which it agreed in order to receive large U.S. economic aid and the latest armaments which, in the opinion of the Pakistani military, are indispensable for modernising and building up the country's army.

In September 1981 an agreement was reached on U.S. military and economic aid to Pakistan, totalling 3,200 million dollars. More than 1,500 million dollars of that sum was allocated for military purposes. However, a large share of the funds earmarked for economic purposes will be channelled into the construction of military facilities in Pakistan under the pretext of building the infrastructures. The U.S.-Pakistani military-political co-operation programme also provides for the sale to Pakistan of 40 F-16 planes worth some 1,100 million dollars.

Pakistan's high-ranking officers have long been seeking modernisation of the armed forces. They regard a military build-up as an indispensable condition for establishing a "balance of forces" in South Asia.

Pakistan's extensive plans for refurbishing its war machine found expression in the types and amount of armaments it wants to receive from the United States. The list includes between 100 and 200 F-16 fighter-bombers, between 500 and 1,000 tanks and so on. If we bear in mind that in the early 1980s Pakistan had over 250 combat planes, 1,350 tanks and other armaments, including the newest ones (like, for instance, the French-made Mirage-5 planes), we shall see that Islamabad wants rapidly to modernise its army as well as increase its offensive capability. Since the United States has agreed to send only 40 F-16 planes for the time being, the Pakistani military leaders have repeatedly stated that they intend to order new batches of F-16 planes in the U.S.A. so as to bring their number to 100.

Pakistan is also receiving other types of the latest U.S. weapons for each of its armed forces. These weapons include M-48 tanks (Islamabad has ordered 100 such tanks), self-propelled artillery pieces, helicopter gunships and armoured carriers. Pakistan has bought a U.S. Georing-class destroyer and, in the autumn of 1983, signed a contract for the purchase of sea-to-sea Harpoon missiles. Almost simultaneously the U.S. government sanctioned the sale to Islamabad of Mohawk planes equipped with the newest reconnaissance devices. Pakistani military delegations responsible for the placing of orders for armaments regularly visit the United States.

Pakistan's Links with NATO

Pakistan is also expanding its contacts with other NATO members and with Japan. Although France, West Germany, Britain, Italy and other West European countries supply Pakistan with a great deal less com-



The Pakistani regime has introduced public flogging as a punishment for certain offences, imposed severe restrictions on the rights of women as part of its programme for the "Islamisation" of public life. At the same time, human rights of the Pakistani people are being increasingly violated.

bat equipment than the United States, they play a prominent part in the modernisation and build-up of that country's land, air and naval forces. Thus, late in December 1982 Pakistan received the last six Mirage-5 planes of the 32 ordered in France. They are armed with air-to-surface Exocet missiles. France and Pakistan have also signed a contract for the delivery of 18 Mirage-3 planes and are negotiating on the delivery of Mirage-2000, one of the latest modifications of that plane. Pakistan has also shown interest in the purchase of French-made Crotale 300 missiles. West Germany, Britain, Italy and some other Western countries also supply Pakistan with large consignments of weapons.

Since U.S. weaponry is not sent free, as was the case in the 1950s and 1960s, but on credit and at interest, Islamabad presents arms purchases as an ordinary commercial deal. It also claims that the agreement on U.S. military and economic aid does not mean resumption of the former allied relations between Pakistan and the United States. In actual fact, however, the U.S. aid is granted on the basis of the commitments made by the U.S.A. and Pakistan on 5 March 1959.

U.S. Troops in Pakistan . . .

Article 1 of the 1959 agreement provides for the possibility of bringing U.S. troops into Pakistan at the request of its government; Article 4 for joint participation of the sides in "defensive" measures, etc. Thus, contrary to the assertions by the Pakistani leaders, the matter concerns allied rela-

tions between the U.S.A. and Pakistan and the involvement of Pakistan in the U.S. strategy in the Indian Ocean. The 1959 agreement offers the United States wide opportunities for drawing Pakistan into its military-political plans under the far-fetched pretext of ensuring "collective security" and repulsing "direct and indirect aggression". Though U.S. military and economic aid is designed for five years (1982/1983-1986/1987), Congress approves regular allocations for aid to Pakistan every year. Washington thus has a constant lever for exerting pressure on that country and subordinating its policy to U.S. interests.

U.S. officials have repeatedly stated that they do not seek any commitments from Pakistan in exchange for aid. However, as can be seen from Agha Shahi's statements, made public after he resigned from the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs in the spring of 1982, the U.S.A. made persistent attempts to get bases in Pakistan. Zia ul-Haq admitted this.

After the formation of the Central Command to control the Rapid Deployment Force in the Indian Ocean (Pakistan was included in its zone of responsibility), Washington stepped up its pressure on the Pakistani government to obtain its permission to build U.S. military bases and arms depots there. These issues were discussed during U.S. Defence Secretary Weinberger's visit to Pakistan in the autumn of 1983. He confirmed that Washington viewed the Zia ul-Haq regime as its principal ally in South-West Asia.

Pakistan's growing military and political alliance with the U.S.A. and other Western states exerts a profound negative influence on its foreign policy and on the situation in South and South-West Asia. This influence is to be seen in Islamabad's anti-Afghan line.

For more than six years now Pakistan has been a stronghold for the United States' undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Through Pakistan the U.S.A. and other countries transport their arms for the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, such as recoilless guns, sub-machine guns, anti-aircraft guns, mines and the like. There are Western instructors for the counter-revolutionaries in camps near Peshawar, Quetta, Chitral and Dir, and on other Pakistani territory adjoining the Afghan border. The Afghan counter-revolutionaries are trained there later to be infiltrated into Afghanistan.

Pakistan's Subversive Action against Afghanistan

According to the "White Book on Pakistan's Subversive Activities Against the Afghan Revolution", published by Afghanistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1984, Pakistan has something like 100 camps for training counter-revolutionaries, 13 arms and am-

munition depots, and over 20 food stores. The Pakistani army's national logistics service helps deliver military goods to the armed counter-revolutionary formations by providing transport facilities.

Pakistan has flung its doors wide open for all sorts of foreign instructors who, as soon as they arrive (often with forged passports), are sent to rebel training centres. A network of such centres has been set up in Pakistan near refugee camps and as separate units practically all along the Pakistani-Afghan border. The Pakistani military authorities are mostly responsible for the organisation and safety of these centres, their supplies with materials, the provision of barracks for the "students" and lodgings for the instructors.

Although the Afghan government has more than once suggested that Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran establish relations based on mutual respect for sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, neighbourliness and mutually beneficial co-operation, Islamabad continues to put forward conditions unacceptable to the Afghan side. The indirect negotiations on settling Pakistani-Afghan (and Iranian-Afghan) relations have been conducted in Geneva since the summer of 1982 through the mediation of the UN Secretary-General's personal representative. However, Islamabad's uncompromising position impedes their successful completion.

Pakistan's Rearmament Threatens India

The revival of the U.S.-Pakistani military and political alliance seriously aggravates the situation on the South Asian subcontinent. The renewal of the U.S.-Pakistani military-political alliance enables the U.S.A. to increase its involvement in South Asian affairs.

That Pakistan's rearmament with the help of the United States and its NATO allies is not conducted for defensive purposes can be clearly seen from the fact that the weapons it receives are mostly offensive.

It is also obvious that the arms shipments to Pakistan cannot be justified by the Afghan situation or the non-existent Soviet menace. As is noted by an American authority on South Asia, Professor Selig S. Harrison, the U.S. arms supplied to Pakistan, such as F-16 fighter-bombers and M-48 and M-60 heavy tanks, are potentially spearheaded against India. Not surprisingly, he points out, the Reagan Administration has refused to assure India, publicly or privately, that Washington will not permit American weaponry to be used for attacking India. These facts show that the Reagan Administration does not intend to abandon a policy dangerous to India.

Referring to the consequences for India of the renewed U.S.-Pakistani alliance, "The Times of India" wrote that after Pakistan received F-16 planes a new level of technology in aerial warfare was introduced

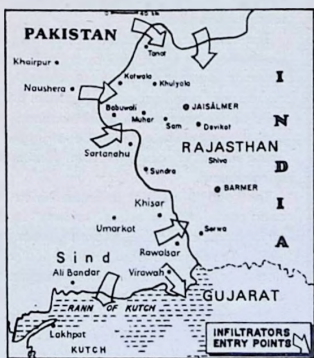
into the subcontinent. Pakistan's use of F-16 planes can inflict an irreparable damage on India's power plants, including atomic power plants, air-fields, and other military facilities and cause the death of millions of civilians. The purchase by Pakistan of U.S. reconnaissance planes equipped with electronic devices for collecting information increases by many times the potential destructive capability of the Pakistani air force against India.

U.S. Military Stronghold in Pakistan

The Indian leaders have repeatedly pointed out that India's industrial and research centres are also endangered by the sea-based Harpoon missiles bought by Pakistan. Showing the untenability of the Pakistani and U.S. attempts to justify Pakistan's re-armament by the Afghan "threat", the magazine "World Focus" notes: "How will the redesigned and souped up M-48 or new M-60 tanks be deployed across the Khyber? And does one take it that Afghanistan has secretly developed a navy necessitating the supply by the U.S. of Harpoon missiles to Pakistan?"

By arming Pakistan the United States is out to set up a powerful military stronghold near India's western border so as to have more means of pressuring India. Almost three-quarters of the Pakistani army are stationed along the 1,200-kilometre-long Indian-Pakistani border.

In the autumn of 1984 Dean Hinton, the U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, declared that in the event of "an attack by India" the U.S.A. would come to Pakistan's rescue. The true meaning of such statements comes to light against the background of the data made available to the Indian government.



As the U.S.-Pakistan alliance is expanding, Islamabad is escalating its support for the terrorists and extremists in India. These terrorists are trained in various camps in Pakistan and then infiltrated into India from many entry points on the Pakistan-India border.

In January 1985 India's Defence Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao said in the Indian Parliament that it had come to the knowledge of the government that the U.S.A. planned to deploy medium-range nuclear Pershing II missiles in Pakistan.

Support to Separatist Elements in Punjab

As the U.S.-Pakistani alliance is expanding, Islamabad is escalating its support for the separatist elements in India, particularly in Punjab. The leaders of the Sikh separatists connected with U.S. secret services feel at home in Pakistan where they can keep in touch with their adherents on the other side of the border.

The Indian government has received information confirming the suspicion that camps to train Sikh terrorists have been set up in Pakistan, specifically in Mianwali, Aminabad, Lahore and Sialkot. These centres for preparing acts of subversion against India are strictly controlled by Pakistan's intelligence agencies. Comprehensive evidence on such training camps in Pakistan was brought to light following the arrest of Avtar Singh, the leader of the All India Sikh Students Federation. He confessed that he had been trained at a special centre in Pakistan and that at least 50 other Sikh terrorists were being trained there.

Pakistan's secret agents have for years been attempting to penetrate the Sikh organisations in London, exert their influence on them and keep them under control. They have concentrated their attention on the Singh Sabha Temple. Over the past seven years not a single member of India's High Commission has been allowed to enter the temple while Islamabad officials have free access to it. Some Pakistani ministers who visited the temple were received with special honours. This temple alone sent 100,000 pounds to J. S. Bhindranwale, the head of the Sikh separatists (who was killed during the operation to eliminate the separatists' headquarters housed in the main Sikh shrine—the Golden Temple in Amritsar).

The Pakistani military authorities back up the pro-Pakistani elements in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. At various international forums or during meetings with state leaders of third countries, Pakistan's official representatives regularly refer to the "Kashmir dispute", this being one of the forms of backing the pro-Pakistani elements there and simultaneously an attempt to put India under pressure.

In the 1980s Islamabad, which counts on U.S. military aid and political support, has obliterated the results of the huge efforts exerted over the past ten years to normalise the situation on the subcontinent and overcome mutual mistrust, hostility and hatred engendered by the long confrontation between Pakistan and India in the late 1940s through the 1960s.

Washington cannot but reckon with the grave concern voiced by the governments of India and other countries in the region over the threat presented to their security and to peace and stability in Asia by the plans being hatched by the Pakistani generals to make nuclear bombs. In an effort to pacify India and the opponents of Pakistan's rearmament in the U.S.A., the Reagan administration claims that conventional arms sales will intensify Islamabad's sense of security and divert it from the desire to obtain its own nuclear weapons. Washington also suggests that in its fear of losing U.S. armaments, Islamabad might give up its plans to develop the nuclear bomb. The fallacy of this reasoning and the danger of Pakistan's rearmament have been revealed by Prof. Selig S. Harrison. He warned: "... It is naive to suggest, as the (U.S.) Administration does, that enough conventional arms might eventually induce Pakistan to abandon its nuclear option; rather, by aggravating Indian-Pakistani tensions, America is adding to the danger that a conventional conflict might escalate to a nuclear confrontation."

Recent developments indeed show that Pakistan's rearmament with U.S. help makes the Pakistani generals even more eager to put into practice their nuclear ambitions. A cruel regime is not only intent on destroying democracy in its own country, it is sparing no cost in its determination to build a mighty military force and to become a nuclear power.

In keeping with what was done by similar predecessors of Zia ul-Haq, the immediate threat is aimed at Pakistan's neighbours forcing them to allocate resources for defence that could well be spent in overcoming the difficult conditions colonialism and imperialism left behind. No secret is being made of the fact that the militarists of Pakistan are striving to head a nuclear power. Openly they have bought in France and some other Western countries equipment for the production of plutonium 239 which can be used in nuclear bombs.

Zia ul-Haq stated in May 1984 that his country was capable of producing enriched uranium. A frightening regime is threatening the peace of Asia and this brings with it terrible consequences for us all.

The U.S. administration supports many reactionary regimes which bring terror and poverty to their populations. The military regime of Pakistan is yet another of their cherished darlings.

Should we ignore this partnership, deadly danger awaits us all.

SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

Strategy for International Action

United Nations and Movements against Apartheid

E. S. REDDY

This article is based on a paper outlining the present phase of the struggle in South Africa against apartheid and the future tasks.

The paper was presented by Mr. Reddy to the special meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid on the Strategy for International Action in Support of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa in New York on 25 November 1985.

THE PRESENT phase of the struggle in South Africa since 1984 is different from the earlier phases—for instance, in 1952, 1960 or 1976.

The forces of liberation are not involved in a campaign for partial demands, but determined to end apartheid and the apartheid regime. There is a combination of non-violent, underground and armed struggles and a mobilization of all segments of the population.

In 1952, 1960 and 1976, the racist regime was able to stabilize the situation by an escalation of repression and violence, combined with promises of so-called "changes", and with the direct or indirect assistance of external forces. International action was totally inadequate.

The common responsibility of the Special Committee and the anti-apartheid movements is to assist the forces of liberation to make such "stabilization" impossible. It is to keep up the momentum of international action, commensurate with the struggle in South Africa, to secure the total elimination of apartheid.

The road to disaster in South Africa has been paved with so-called "reforms" by the racist regime. Such "reforms" were not merely inadequate or irrelevant, but were meant to divert attention from repression and entrenchment of apartheid.

In the early 1960s, United Nations documents referred to "dissuading" the South African regime from apartheid or persuad-

ing it to "abandon" apartheid. The Special Committee rejected that concept many years ago, recognizing the racist regime as incorrigible and refrained from appeals to that regime.

Genuine supporters of the liberation movement can have no agenda for "reforms" or changes by the Pretoria regime.

The demand of the solidarity forces must be for an end to racist violence and repression, release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, abrogation of bans on ANC, PAC and other organizations and negotiations with the leaders of the liberation struggle, as the genuine representatives of the people, for the total elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society. The modalities of transformation are for the liberation forces to negotiate. If the racist regime is unwilling to seek a negotiated solution, the alternative is continued struggle to overthrow that regime, and the international community must be prepared to provide all necessary assistance to the forces of liberation.

Recent International Action: There has been significant international action against apartheid in the past year. For the first time, several Western governments have taken national measures beyond the arms embargo, including economic measures.

The most dramatic economic impact on South Africa has, however, resulted from the decision of some major financial institutions to stop credits to South Africa.

While committed governments have contributed to the progress in international action, the most significant actions have resulted from the struggle in South Africa and the activities of anti-apartheid forces in the West.

The events have demonstrated the crucial

E. S. REDDY

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importance of public action in Western countries, and the key role of anti-apartheid movements, and other non-governmental organizations.

International action in the past year has, however, been inadequate. Actions by governments have been very limited; many Western governments have taken hardly any action; and the United Kingdom and the United States indicate that they will not take further action.

It is equally essential to note that the objectives indicated by some governments are at variance with those of the Special Committee and the anti-apartheid movements. They seek "reforms" by the regime. They even advocate negotiations between the racist regime and so-called "moderate" blacks, isolating the main forces of liberation as "terrorist".

The joint task of the Special Committee and the anti-apartheid movements is both to ensure a momentum of international action and to counter any manoeuvres to promote so-called negotiations without the main forces of liberation.

It must also be pointed out that the level of international assistance to the oppressed people and their liberation movements and other organizations has been disappointing.

Voluntary contributions to the United Nations funds have been stagnant or even declining. The reasons must be looked into.

Very few Western governments—even those which claim to be most supportive—provide assistance to the struggle. Some—even those which gave assistance to other liberation movements in Africa—do not assist the South African movements: they seem to regard the racist regime as legitimate and not to recognize the legitimacy of the struggle. It must be made clear to them that assistance to the struggle—not mere humanitarian or educational assistance to the victims of repression—is the test of commitment against apartheid.

Role of the Special Committee against Apartheid: Soon after its establishment in 1963, the Special Committee became a focal point for international action against apartheid.

I must emphasize, however, that the effectiveness of the Special Committee depended not only on the soundness of its policies and its dedication, but very much on its support to and cooperation with anti-apartheid movements and other organizations.

The comprehensive programme formulated by the Special Committee in 1966, when it called for the international campaign against apartheid, is still very valid and impressive. It was reinforced by the concept of "international mobilization against apartheid" after the Lagos Conference in 1977, and the programmes of action formulated in 1976 and 1983 in consultation with committed governments and anti-apartheid movements.

It had, of course, to decide on priorities

and possibilities of every stage. The question is whether it has been able to rise to the occasion in the recent past when the struggle in South Africa and the solidarity movement advanced to new levels.

UN Centre against Apartheid

Reference must be made to the Centre against Apartheid when considering the role of the Special Committee, especially because of some confusion among anti-apartheid movements.

The Special Committee is the political body of the United Nations with a wide mandate: the Centre is a Secretariat unit of civil servants which assists the Committee.

The Centre is under the authority of the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General has not advocated or supported sanctions against South Africa or armed struggle by the forces of liberation or the overthrow of the apartheid regime. The Centre by itself cannot go beyond the positions taken by the Secretary-General.

Fortunately, the Special Committee was able to secure decisions by the General Assembly since 1966 that the Centre should function under the guidance of, or in consultation with, the Special Committee. That has enabled the Centre to provide effective services to the Special Committee, but the limitations of the Centre as a Secretariat unit must be recognized.

If the Special Committee, by default, leaves policy matters or even significant decisions on implementation to the Centre, the results can be very negative.

Role of Cooperation of the Special Committee with the Liberation Movements and the anti-apartheid movements: The Special Committee was the first United Nations body formally to recognize that the primary responsibility for liberation belongs to the liberation movements and that its own role was secondary and supportive. It treated representatives of liberation movements not as petitioners, but with respect as honoured guests.

Some Priorities and Suggestions for 1986: The highest priority will need to be given to

sanctions, and to pressure for action by the major Western Powers.

But it must be noted that the actions taken by governments are very uneven. Some of the smaller countries—even those which have been most supportive and which have non-conservative governments—have taken hardly any action. The governments are lagging behind the public.

When inter-governmental bodies like the EEC or Commonwealth decide on action, it is generally assumed that their member states have promptly implemented the decisions. That is not always the case.

It is essential that the Special Committee, in cooperation with the Centre and anti-apartheid movements, should monitor the actions constantly.

It would be useful if briefs were prepared on each Western country. The Special Committee should then approach the delegations of governments which have failed to take meaningful action, or visit the capitals, and publicize resistance to action. This should be done in close cooperation with anti-apartheid movements, committed Parliamentarians etc.

Second, as indicated earlier, the Special Committee should emphasize the role of liberation movements as the main force for genuine change and combat manoeuvres to seek solutions without their participation in a leading role.

Third, the Special Committee should consult anti-apartheid movements on projects for the year, and decide on any financial allocations in that context. Special attention may be given to internationalizing the national campaigns, with active support by the Special Committee.

Fourth, conferences are of little value unless there is adequate consultation on purposes and preparatory arrangements, and sufficient follow-up work.

The missions of the Special Committee also need careful planning or they may become counter-productive. While some goodwill missions are appropriate, most missions should be planned with a view to concrete results.

The anti-apartheid movements might perhaps be consulted on the 1986 plan for conferences and missions.

Fifth, the Special Committee should discuss the means to develop the level of its activities in the light of the advance of the struggle in South Africa and the solidarity movement. For instance, when developments are taking place rapidly, a leisurely pace of publications, communications etc., can only undermine the reputation of the Special Committee.

Finally, while consulting on activities for 1986—and the modalities of cooperation and coordination between the Special Committee and anti-apartheid movements—it would be useful to consider what can be effectively done by the United Nations and what requires special arrangements or focal points outside the United Nations.



Demonstration against the apartheid system in Durban, South Africa.

New Zealand Experience

Struggle to Keep Nuclear Weapons Out of the Pacific Region

This article is based on a paper prepared by the New Zealand Federation of Labour on the struggle for making the Pacific region a nuclear weapon free zone.

The peace movement has gained great strength in New Zealand (NZ) in recent years. Public understanding and feeling has reached the point where opinion polls show that over three quarters of New Zealanders support the Labour Government's ban on nuclear-capable warships visiting our ports. At the forefront of this development has been the trade union movement and the New Zealand Federation of Labour (FOL).

The FOL has long taken the view that the struggle for peace and disarmament is a vital part of the wider struggle of working people and therefore a necessary and legitimate area of action for the trade union movement. It has urged the New Zealand people to recognise and understand the interconnections between these issues and other matters such as the freedom struggles of oppressed peoples, the fight against foreign power domination, especially in the Pacific and Asian countries, the power of monopoly capital and transnational cor-

porations both within New Zealand and throughout the world and the relationship which exists between the arms industry and widespread world poverty.

This position has not always been reflected in the policies of New Zealand Governments, but after sustained public pressure and with the election of a Labour Government in July 1984, great steps forward have been made. Three important areas are outlined.

Nuclear Testing in the Pacific

French nuclear tests at Mururoa is a major public issue in New Zealand. In 1973, the New Zealand Labour Government sent a frigate into the Mururoa test zone to protest against atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons by the French Government. After New Zealand took the case to the International Court of Justice in the Hague, the French military were forced to abandon atmospheric tests, but have continued with underground explosions.

In 1984, New Zealand, Australian and Papua-New Guinean scientists were invited by the French Government to study the ef-

fects on the Mururoa atoll of continued testing.

However, severe restrictions placed on the work of the scientific team meant that it was unable to establish the facts one way or the other. Their report showed that serious questions remain to be answered and the onus still rests with the French authorities to demonstrate the "safety" of their test programme.

The position of the New Zealand Government is that if the tests are safe, they should be carried out on mainland France and that all forms of nuclear weapons testing is unacceptable in the Pacific.

Independence for Kanak People

The clear connection must be made between the French nuclear test programme and the struggle of the Kanak people for freedom and independence in their own land.

The true position of the French authorities was made plain to the people of New Zealand and to the whole world by the deliberate murder of a Greenpeace worker, Fernando Pereira, and the bombing of the Greenpeace ship, the Rainbow Warrior, in Auckland Harbour in 1985.

This act of terrorism was carried out, by order of the French authorities, by specially trained French agents, in a carefully planned and well-funded attack on the night of 10 July 1985 when, but for a last minute change of itinerary, the full executive of Greenpeace were to have been sleeping on board the Rainbow Warrior.

It was a vivid and shocking demonstration of the value the French Government places on human life and of its attitude to both the peace movement worldwide and the rights of the peoples of the Pacific.

It was a demonstration, too, of the madness of the arms race and the lengths to which nuclear powers will go in their pursuit of still more lethal weapons.

For its part, the U.S. administration showed a significant reluctance to condemn this terrorism.

Despite their efforts, the French actions failed entirely; support for the stand of the peace movement and the New Zealand Government against French testing has increased greatly since the bombing of the Rainbow Warrior.

Nuclear Warship Ban

One focus of action in New Zealand has been visits by nuclear-powered and armed warships to our ports. By bringing their weapons into New Zealand waters foreign governments further endanger our land and violate our right to peace. Such visits also provide a graphic symbol of the world dominating aims of the nuclear powers.

Over a period of many years there has been an intensification of protest action against these intrusions. These protests have



The bombing of the Greenpeace ship, Rainbow Warrior, by French secret agents in Auckland harbour in 1985, has increased, and not stopped, the opposition in New Zealand and other countries of the region to French nuclear testing in the Pacific.

included union stoppages and waterside bans for the duration of the visit and have involved armadas of small protest boats and large-scale public demonstrations.

These actions helped ensure that by the time of the last election in New Zealand, the only party to support the presence of nuclear ships in New Zealand waters was the ruling National Party. It was heavily defeated.

With the sustained support of the Union movement and peace organisations in New Zealand, the new Labour Government has held to its policy of banning all nuclear-armed or nuclear powered warships in our ports.

This has been despite strong pressure, particularly from the United States.

Although this policy applies equally to ships of any nation, the strong-arm pressure of the U.S. administration has promoted a widespread debate in New Zealand on the value of the ANZUS alliance.

It is the policy of the Federation of Labour that New Zealand should withdraw from all aggressive military alliances, including ANZUS. The Union movement sees that as an important part of the fight to reduce military tension and promote peace in our own region and worldwide.

The Government however has not made that a part of its policy and is still of the view that New Zealand should continue as part of the ANZUS alliance. Its policy is that the alliance requires no nuclear commitment and it is resolved that nuclear weapons may not enter our territorial waters.

Pacific Nuclear Free Zone

Related to both these issues is the campaign to establish a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Pacific. The Federation of Labour has been active in its support of such a zone which has been its official policy for more than six years.

The FOL has endorsed the declaration of the Pacific Trade Union Conference on a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific and it recognises the importance of the work of the Pacific Trade Union Forum in achieving this goal which in the words of the Conference declaration is "consistent with the basic trade union objectives of concern for the welfare and well-being of working people and their families".

The signing in August 1985 of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Treaty (by 13 countries of the Pacific region) is a major victory for the peace movement. Whilst the treaty leaves open the question of port visits it does ban testing, use, dumping, manufacture and storage of nuclear weapons over a large area of the Pacific. It is probable too that France is the only nuclear power which will not sign.

The treaty will not only be of practical use in itself but also present great symbolic value in the fight for a worldwide nuclear free zone.

LATIN AMERICA

NICARAGUA MUST SURVIVE

Solidarity with Nicaragua to Resist U.S. Intervention and Aggression

ILONA SEBESTYEN

This article is based on Mrs Iлона Sebestyén's impressions of her one-week visit to Nicaragua in September 1985.

Mrs Sebestyén went to Nicaragua after attending the "International Peace Conference on the Problems of Latin America and the Role of the Region in the Prevention of Nuclear War" in Buenos Aires (Argentina) on 3-4 September 1985. The Buenos Aires Conference initiated an international campaign of solidarity with Nicaragua called "Nicaragua Must Survive".

IN RECENT years, Nicaragua has again moved into the focus of international attention. The Sandinista revolutionary forces are fighting amidst extremely difficult conditions, both external and internal, on various fronts of the undeclared war against them. The enemies of the country are displeased over the endeavours of the Nicaraguan people to create a free independent state, on the ruins of the one time Somocista dictatorship, and never to become once more a backyard of the United States of America.

The Hungarian public has from the beginning supported with sincere solidarity the heroic struggle of the Sandinistas, and their

efforts to settle the Central American conflict by peaceful political means.

While in Nicaragua, I could see for myself how pressing is the need for support to the much-suffering people.

In the struggle for survival, Nicaragua finds itself confronted with armed attacks and consequences of war, such as epidemics, food shortages and privations.

"Survival" is today the most frequently used concept in Nicaragua, and all people devoted to their homeland are struggling to promote its aims.

During our visit to the children's institutions in Managua and Leon, we came across the finest examples of education for peace. It was moving to see the serious efforts the young Sandinista system is making to ensure children adequate provisions and education.

We told the Nicaraguan children about the international children's drawing competition, "We Want to Live", which was organised by the National Peace Council of Hungary and Hungarian Television. When they heard this, they immediately set to work before us and painted several pictures on the theme of life.

Attacks by Counter-revolutionaries: At the time of our visit, coordinated attacks were made against Nicaragua by the counter-revolutionaries from Honduras.

We visited some military camps and gained first hand experience of what an undeclared war means, and what ends the so-called "humanitarian" U.S. "aid" serves.

Massive forces of Hondurans and the

ILONA SEBESTYEN

President, National Peace Council of Hungary; Vice President, World Peace Council (Hungary)

President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua received a delegation of the World Peace Council in New York during his visit to the United Nations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the world organisation in 1985.

The WPC delegation reiterated its full solidarity with the struggling people of Nicaragua. From L to R: Mr Luis Echeverría, Vice President of WPC and former President of Mexico, Mr Ramesh Chandra, WPC President and President Daniel Ortega.



Nicaragua Faces Threat of Direct U.S. Intervention

OLGA AVILES LOPEZ

NICARAGUA, one of the five small Central American countries, with a territorial area of 128,000 square kilometres and a population of approximately three million inhabitants, has been attacked on numerous occasions by the U.S. Some of the major interventions were:

1855: Adventurer William Walker invades, taking the capital and declaring himself president. He re-establishes slavery and declares English the official language.

A unified Central American army overthrows him.

1912: U.S. marines arrive in Nicaragua to force the resignation of a nationalist liberal president who was considering permitting England and Japan to build a canal through the country and who had refused to renew special accords with the U.S.

1926: U.S. marines leave after a 14-year occupation. They return one year later, after

a nationalist force begins to fight the U.S.-imposed government.

This time the marines must face General Augusto Cesar Sandino and his Army in Defence of National Sovereignty.

The marines are expelled after six years of sustained fighting. But the marines leave behind a trained army directed by Anastasio Somoza Garcia.

In 1934 Sandino is murdered on Somoza's orders.

The struggle against the dictatorship continues during subsequent decades.

In 1961 Carlos Fonseca Amador founds the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). After 18 years of struggle, the FSLN leads the Nicaraguan people to victory.

Victory of Sandinista Front: With the July 19, 1979 revolutionary triumph, the Sandinista Front was able to obtain sovereignty, independence and self-determination for its people for the first time.

For this reason the U.S. is once again attacking and threatening to invade our nation. It is doing so on the pretext that Nicaragua is a threat to U.S.A.'s peace and security. The U.S. is, therefore, using new lies, such as the worn-out argument of communist expansion.

In the last five years, the United States has increased its military budget for Central America from 100 million dollars in 1980 to 283.2 million dollars in 1984—a jump of more than 280 per cent. At the same time, in Honduras, it has built a military infrastructure capable of sustaining the latest U.S. military equipment.

In spite of this, Nicaragua has not organized its military resources to carry out offensive attacks on neighboring countries. On the contrary, it possesses only defensive weapons and has obtained arms in the face of a real military threat resulting from U.S. military aid given to counter-revolutionaries and the increasing U.S. aid to the rest of Central America. This economic support exceeds 4.5 billion dollars, of which one billion is military aid and 3.5 billion is economic aid.

From 1980 to 1985, each year there have been an average 405 attacks by the contras across Nicaragua's borders, 300 from Honduras and 105 from Costa Rica.

Despite the numerous efforts made by the Nicaraguan government for negotiations, both bilaterally with Honduras, Costa Rica and the U.S., as well as at international forums such as the United Nations, Contadora, the OAS, Manzanillo, the United States has been taking steps to blockade Nicaragua and to carry out direct intervention against it.

All the effects of aggression have created serious economic problems for the country. They have also gravely affected the development of social programs planned by the revolutionary government.

OLGA AVILES LOPEZ

Commandante, President, Nicaraguan Committee for Peace; Vice President, World Peace Council (Nicaragua)

contras have been concentrated in the Arenales training camps near Nicaragua's frontiers, where they wait for a command to cross the border and "return", after carrying out their depredations on Nicaraguan territory.

As a measure of security, we could only move in Nicaragua in convoys under military guard. We were protected by armed soldiers everywhere, even when having meals.

Our visit to the camp hospital of Jinotega was a shocking experience. We met there people gravely wounded in fighting the counter-revolutionaries and warding off Honduran attacks. One of them was a tortured boy of hardly 12 years of age, who told us that the counter-revolutionaries had surrounded the village where he lived, killed 12 peasants and dragged the youths away to Honduras to send them back, after "re-education", as mercenaries to their homeland in Nicaragua.

The camp hospitals we visited were very clean, and the wounded enjoyed the devoted care of physicians, health staffs and family members, acting as "voluntary

nurses". Nevertheless, effective medical work would require a larger quantity of medicines, antibiotics and various medical instruments.

When we asked patients about their plans after recovery, they seemed a bit surprised. What plans could they have in such a situation? They said they were going to join their comrades and go on fighting the enemy and working for "survival".

Double Standards of U.S. Congress: It gives food for thought to know why the U.S. Congress, sometimes so scrupulous about human rights, has turned a blind eye to the killings and other acts of violence by the contras in Nicaragua, which can in no way be called military operations, and voted the new 27-million-dollar "aid" to the contras. Nor did the U.S. Congress denounce the U.S. commandos for intruding into Nicaragua. Their cars displayed on the windshields a map of Grenada with the inscription, "Managua Next".

Nicaragua, which has three million inhabitants, has also to protect a border stretching over hundreds of kilometres against mercenary attacks from Costa Rica.

As a result of the unceasing attacks, Nicaragua has to spend about 40-50 per cent of its national income on national defence. The Government is thus compelled to suspend investments in the field of housing, health service, education and transport.

The opposition to the government has sought to use the extremely difficult situation and the continuing counter-revolutionary attacks to undermine the Sandinista system. That is why it became necessary to impose the state of emergency, which will be lifted as soon as the threat of aggression and attacks by the contras cease to exist.

In recent months, the peace movement in Hungary has organized many solidarity events; it included joining international action in solidarity with Nicaragua by holding a peace rally in Budapest. The contribution of István Kovács, a workers' movement veteran, who offered 100,000 forints for aid to Nicaragua, was an outstanding event of the rally.

We are confident that during the International Year of Peace many effective initiatives will be taken in support of Nicaragua both in our country and the world.



Protest march and demonstration in Sydney on 28 September 1985 to mark the second anniversary of the death of the Aboriginal youth John Pat at the hands (and boots) of the racist police in Western Australia.



"We cry out for justice and recognition". This demand was made in another protest demonstration in Sydney in July 1985.

Photos by Ruth Braunstein

HUMAN RIGHTS

End Exploitation of Aboriginal People

Australia Must Restore Fundamental Land Rights of Aboriginal People

PETER YU

This article is based on the speech made by Mr Peter Yu on behalf of the National Federation of Aboriginal Land Councils to the International Peace Conference on the Pacific and Asian Regions in Sydney, Australia in October 1985.

Mr Yu mentioned, among other things, the following three aspects of oppression which still needed to be gone into so that redress could be made to the Aboriginal people—victims of this oppression:

1. The atomic weapon tests carried out by the British Government in the 1950s in which numerous Aboriginal people were killed and maimed by the fallout. Many Aboriginals are still suffering from the consequences of the radiation effects.
2. The U.S. military base at Pine Gap which is situated on sacred Aboriginal land.
3. Mining of uranium on Aboriginal land, including the export of uranium to France which subsequently returns to the Pacific region in the form of nuclear bombs, which are tested by the French government at the Mururoa Atoll.

Published here are extracts from Mr Yu's speech in which he made a powerful plea for the restoration of the land rights to the Aboriginal people.

AUSTRALIA was first invaded by the British in 1788. The colonisation and oppression of Aboriginal and Islander people in Australia has been continuous since that date.

The majority of our people in Australia have few if any basic rights to their land, which is of fundamental and primary importance to the maintenance of our culture and heritage which has been in existence for over 40,000 years.

In the past 196 years Aboriginal and Islander people in Australia have never ceded their sovereign rights.

Our Land has been, and continues to be, appropriated from us, without our consent or agreement and without any compensation being paid to us.

Our people live in the most oppressed

conditions, similar to those of many Third World communities, where among other things:

- morbidity rates are excessive, gastrointestinal and respiratory diseases and trachoma are highly endemic and diabetes and hyper-tension are increasing at an alarming rate;
- infant mortality rates are four times the Australian average; adult mortality rates are also alarming; life expectancy is low at about 50 years;
- housing is inadequate and many people are without the basic essential services of water and power;
- education services provided to our people are inadequate with only an extremely small minority completing formal education;
- unemployment rates are excessive, in some places higher than 75 per cent;
- aboriginal people are proportionately

dramatically over-represented in Australia's jails; in 1981 Aborigines had the world's highest recorded imprisonment rate.

Australian Aboriginal and Islander people regard the following principles as fundamental to the resolution of the Land Rights question in Australia:

- recognition of Aboriginal sovereignty rights and prior ownership of Australia;
- the right to claim all unalienated land, including public purpose lands;
- the right to control access to Aboriginal land;
- the right to refuse permission for mining and other development on Aboriginal land;
- the right to negotiate terms and conditions under which development takes place;
- the right to compensation for lands lost and for social and cultural disruption;
- the right to convert Aboriginal properties to inalienable freehold title;
- the right to excisions on pastoral leases.

Recognition of these rights is regarded by Aboriginal and Islander people as intrinsic to resolving the question of our self-determination.

Australian Government's Obligations

On 20 February 1985 the Australian Government released a paper which outlined its proposals for National Land Rights legislation. This paper was called the Government's Preferred National Land Rights Model (PNLRM).

Aboriginal people, from throughout Australia, have expressed unanimous opposition

PETER YU

National Federation of Aboriginal Land Councils of Australia

to these proposals which are in direct conflict with:

- the national and international obligations of the Australian Government to recognise Aboriginal Sovereign Rights;
- the platform on which the Australian Government was given its mandate in 1983 and 1984;
- the undertakings given by the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs Clyde Holding in his address to the Working Group in 1984;
- previous undertakings given by the Australian Government to Aboriginal people in Australia.

The public undertakings made by the Australian Government during the 1984 general election included the undertaking that the following key principle would be incorporated by the Government in any Land Rights Legislation:

"Aboriginal and Islander people should have the right to refuse permission for mining on their land or to impose conditions under which mining may proceed. To set aside a refusal, or conditions imposed shall require an Act of Parliament."

It was also regarded as an unequivocal commitment by the present Australian Government. It was an understanding which was endorsed publicly at an international forum by Mr Clyde Holding, Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, when he told the Working Group on Indigenous Populations on 30 July 1984 that "acknowledging the disadvantaged position of Aboriginal people as a group in Australian society and respecting the spiritual affinity Aboriginal people have with the land, the Australian Government recognises their rights to land in accordance with five basic principles. Those principles are:

- (1) Aboriginal land to be held under inalienable freehold title;
- (2) Protection of Aboriginal sites;
- (3) Aboriginal control in relation to mining on Aboriginal land;
- (4) Access to mining royalty equivalents;
- (5) Compensation for lost land to be negotiated."

The Government's PNLRM is a dramatic departure from this, and dishonours the undertakings made to us, the Australian people in general and to the international community.

The Australian Government's previous commitment was to ensure a consistent national approach to Land Rights for Aboriginal people in terms of the five principles. Mr Holding outlined to the Working Group.

Recent events have shattered the Aboriginal and Islander peoples' belief that the Australian Government was sincere in its intention to pursue a meaningful reconciliation between Aborigines and Islanders and those who sought to conquer them.

Vested Interests of Mining Consortiums

The draft model foreshadows changes to existing Land Rights law. The changes if im-



Peter Yu, National Federation of Aboriginal Land Councils.

plemented will diminish and take away rights that Aboriginal and Islander people have fought hard to obtain, rather than improve upon these meagre gains of the past.

The proposed changes will accommodate the vested interests of powerful mining consortiums and the pastoral industry who over the last twelve months have waged a concerted racist attack against the rights of Aboriginal and Islander people.

State Governments in Australia have cooperated with these vested interests, who have waged a million dollar media campaign, in their attempts to dispossess Aboriginal and Islander people of the small areas of land over which they have achieved some semblance of control.

Many of the companies involved are international corporations. Among them are some which have been in the forefront of the dispossession of indigenous peoples elsewhere also in the world.

In the face of this onslaught upon the fundamental human rights of Aboriginal and Islander people, the Australian Government should be taking action, for which it has been given a constitutional responsibility, to safeguard and protect these fundamental rights.

Instead, concerned with increasing non-Aboriginal opposition to Land Rights, and aware of the implications of this opposition for their own mandate, it has found it easier to put forward proposals which will assist developers in their pursuit of wealth from Aboriginal land rather than to safeguard the rights of Aboriginal and Islander people and live up to their moral and legal obligations to us.

The Government's PNLRM seeks to further qualify the right and ability of Aboriginal people to safeguard their basic sovereign rights. It is seeking to diminish further the rights of Aboriginal people that are enshrined in the existing Federal legislation, where the ability of Aboriginal people to control what takes place on their land is limited by the political and administrative discretion of the Government of the day.

The Government's intention to change the Northern Territory Land Rights Act in this way has met with universal opposition from Aboriginal people throughout Australia.

Australian Aboriginal and Islander people regard the Australian Government's proposals for Land Rights as an abrogation of its responsibilities and obligations to them. The Government appears intent on removing what limited rights are available to a minority of Aborigines in Australia, in the Northern Territory, on the basis that it is not prepared to provide these limited rights to all Aboriginal and Islander Australians.

Instead of using the existing rights as a basis on which to build and to legislate to provide Aboriginal and Islander people throughout Australia with justice and equity, the Australian Government has given in to mining companies, pastoralists and other vested interests.

The Australian Government's PNLRM if it were to form the basis of any Land Rights legislation would result in the further alienation and exploitation of Aboriginal and Islander people and lead inevitably to the destruction of our society and culture.

The Australian Government promotes itself as a champion of the right of oppressed peoples elsewhere in the world. The Government's supportive attitude to our oppressed brothers and sisters in South Africa and the comments on colonialism within the Pacific region are but two examples.

It is, therefore, essential, if Aboriginal people are to achieve justice and equity, that the Australian Government accepts its primary responsibility to ensure that the principles that Aboriginal people believe are fundamental to adequate Land Rights are enshrined in legislation.

To do less than this will condemn the Aboriginal and Islander people to further exploitation and oppression.

We believe that it is very important that the world community be made aware of the essential contradiction that exists between the public posturing that the Australian Government demonstrates at an international level and its lack of integrity when dealing with the concerns of the Aboriginal people of Australia.

In this way the Australian Government is merely perpetuating past colonial practices, the aims of which have been to deny the Aboriginal people of most of their fundamental and basic rights, and to alienate and appropriate their land.

We urge the International Peace Conference on the Pacific and Asian Regions and the countries represented in it to support the legitimate demands of the Aboriginal Australians for justice, equity and peace. We urge them to convey this demand to the Australian Government.

To our Australian friends we would only say: "We do not wish to make you feel guilty for what has happened. You may feel guilty only if you wish to perpetuate what has happened."

Concern for Human Survival Surpasses All Divisions

SIMON CREAM

This article is based on the address of Mr Simon Cream, President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, to the International Peace Conference on the Pacific and Asian Regions in Sydney in October 1985.

Extracts from the address are published here.

THE SEARCH for peace and disarmament is a high priority for the Australian trade union movement.

In 1982 the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) conducted a successful Federal Unions Conference on Disarmament, producing a unanimous declaration.

The biennial ACTU Congress, held in September 1985, selected Peace and Disarmament as one of the eight priority issues for consideration. A special strategy statement on peace and disarmament was endorsed including a programme of action. The ACTU Congress also adopted an updated International Affairs policy.

Before outlining the main points of the policy, let me make a couple of observations.

The 1983 Congress first endorsed the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' (ICFTU) statements on Peace, Security and Disarmament, calling upon affiliates to demand that the pursuit of peace should have priority over all political objectives.

Consider the significance of that proposition now enshrined in ACTU policy. In this nuclear age, efforts which we properly rank as crucial to our objectives of attaining and maintaining improved standards of living for workers, are treated as secondary because they are vulnerable to destruction, if that ultimate form of destruction, nuclear war, is allowed to erupt.

It is also timely and compelling that the trade union movement should lend its full strength to the relentlessly growing demands of the community for real achievements to be made for peace and disarmament.

It is worth recalling what I said as Chairman of the 1982 Federal Unions Conference: "It is appropriate for the trade union movement to be expressing its con-

cern on this matter. To argue, as some will, that we should not involve ourselves in political issues and concentrate only on those affecting living standards, ignores the fact, in this case, that the arms race and nuclear capabilities pose the ultimate threat to those living standards—their obliteration. If we do not defend peace, there will be nothing to defend."

The Australian trade union movement, in the last two or three years, has seen a level of agreement to peace that would not have been possible 10 years ago.

It is an expression of our maturity too, that we have responded to the nuclear threat, by



President Simon Cream of the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

casting aside political opportunism and point scoring, to the degree that we have achieved a level of unity that enables us to tackle the issues of peace and disarmament more effectively.

But, let us be warned, the forces of opposition to the peace movement must still be challenged. We may have convincing arguments, but we cannot claim that we are winning the struggle.

It is therefore essential that the trade union movement and trade unionists undertake every possible form of action in support of peace. Our profile in the organised peace movement allows scope for an improvement in our contribution.

ACTU International Affairs Policy

The International Affairs Policy sets out a range of activities for the ACTU and affiliated unions including:

- participation in international confer-

ences and co-operative efforts with trade union organisations in our region;

- allocation of a portion of the ACTU international fund to trade unions in developing countries (with an emphasis of course, on Asia and the Pacific);

- a campaign by the ACTU and affiliated unions to promote our policies for achieving peace and disarmament;

- talks with the Labour Government on foreign aid and South Africa.

Perhaps most significantly the policy proposes that all affiliates should continue their public involvement in explaining and winning support for the declaration of the ACTU Federal Unions Conference of June 1982 on Peace and Disarmament.

Nuclear Free Pacific

In the Pacific we continue to be staggered by the way in which France has toyed with and violated the aspirations of the people who live in the Pacific—so far from Paris. We are seeking a nuclear free Pacific. A Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (promoted by the Australian Government) has been adopted. It is an achievement which expresses the concerns of Pacific nations about the arms race and the unwelcome use of the Pacific region for nuclear testing and nuclear traffic. The treaty, limited though it is, prohibits a range of nuclear activities in the region, particularly:

- No South Pacific country which becomes a party to the treaty will develop, manufacture, acquire or receive from others any nuclear explosive device.

- There should be no testing of nuclear explosive devices in the territories or participating states.

Despite this, France contemptuously continues its nuclear tests at Mururoo, as evidenced by its test there on 24 October 1985, as though the wishes of the nations of the region amount to nothing.

We are also concerned at announcements that the U.S. will deploy an extra battleship group in the region soon. As one of the speakers at ACTU Congress said: "If this is a response to the Soviet/Kiribati fishing agreement, it is ridiculous."

I should emphasise that the ACTU is not anti-French nor anti-American. We are, however, anti-nuclear no matter what government is involved in the Pacific.

In this context it is useful for delegates to

SIMON CREAM

President, Australian Council of Trade Unions (Australia)

this conference to appreciate the level of consultation and co-operation which has recently developed between trade unions in the Pacific region.

In the early 1980s the ACTU determined to be involved in the Pacific Trade Union Forum. It has two main functions:

- to promote a nuclear free Pacific;
- to provide a means of co-operation between Pacific trade unions which is, of course, particularly useful for trade unions in the small island nations.

Trade union centres from the following countries participate in the Pacific Trade Union Forum: Japan, Belau, Guam, Papua New Guinea, Australia, Kiribati (Kiribus), New Caledonia, New Zealand, Vanuatu, Western Samoa, Fiji, French Polynesia, Hawaii, Solomon Islands.

The Forum will meet in conference again in 1986 in New Zealand.

Other Pacific Issues

New Caledonia: The Forum, together with the ACTU Congress, has expressed strong support for "the right to self-determination and independence for all colonised and exploited Pacific Islands people." (ACTU Policy 1985)

ACTU Policy goes on to say: "Congress supports the growing demand for independence from France for the people of New Caledonia, recognising the prior and rightful claims of the Kanak people.

"... Congress strongly opposes the plans of the French Government to establish a major naval base near Noumea which would service nuclear-armed warships, submarines and planes."

Pacific Nations: ACTU policy enunciates our attitude to East Timor, Papua New Guinea, and other Pacific nation issues.

Lying at the base of our policy is the recognition that without a positive and supportive role being played by Australia, our trade unions, and other developed nations, the small, sparsely populated Pacific nations will be constrained in their development and suffer as most Third World, underdeveloped nations.

Clearly we have a responsibility here in our own region to develop policies that support and assist, rather than those which exploit and cause conflict.

That is a challenge which we must address. We have begun to address it. We must pursue our responsibilities vigorously.

Southeast Asia

Philippines: The ACTU has repeatedly called on the Philippines Government to release from goal all those union leaders who have been imprisoned for engaging in legitimate trade union business.

Where the right of workers anywhere to organise and bargain as members of independent trade unions is prevented, peace cannot be maintained. Inevitably, workers

will assert their rights, even if the costs are terribly severe.

Australia must be clear about its relationship with the Philippines. Do we want to be identified with a regime of that nature? If, as the U.S. is apparently predicting, the Philippines is the most unstable nation in the region, can we afford to be pursuing practices that identify us with the champion of martial-law, the anti-union strongman, President Marcos.

The ACTU policy, therefore, proposes the following response from the Australian Government, the unions and business circles: "Congress requests the Federal Government to immediately review the policy of providing military aid to the Philippines Government. In future any such aid should be tied to improvement in human (including trade union) rights in the Philippines.

"Congress notes that a number of Australian companies have subsidiaries in the Philippines and their actions in regard to their employees have at times been questionable.

"We call on Australian companies involved in the Philippines to negotiate in a proper manner with their employees and refrain from sheltering behind the oppressive legislation of the Philippines Government."

Kampuchea: ACTU policy on Kampuchea springs from the concept of opposition to armed intervention. Nevertheless, whilst calling for the withdrawal of Vietnam's armed forces, we emphasise that it must not create the opportunity for the barbaric Pol Pot forces to return. They have forfeited forever their rights to participate in the government and life of the Kampuchean people.

So ACTU policy opposes any form of support to Pol Pot, whilst calling for a continuing and effective programme of aid to Kampuchea.

Indian Ocean Zone of Peace

ACTU policy also endorses the concept of the Indian Ocean being declared a Zone of Peace and supports trade union activity devoted towards achieving that objective. Our Western Australian branch is taking an interest in such an objective.

South Africa: The ACTU Congress in 1985, and in past years, has listened to the appeals of representatives from the South African Congress of Trade Unions. In 1983, the late Andrew Molotsane appealed for effective forms of support for South Africa's black trade unionists. Again, in 1985, we have been urged to provide specific acts of support.

Black trade union representatives assert that if sanctions will hurt black workers it is a pain they are willing to bear for the sake of their future and their children's future.

We have attempted to respond to the call of our trade union colleagues in South Africa. The extent to which our actions have produced criticisms we may interpret as

a guide to their effectiveness. As the images of white violence appear so regularly on our evening news TV programmes, Australian trade unionists are prepared to take specific action in support of South Africa's workers.

Action Programme for Peace and Disarmament

To assist ACTU affiliates to actively and constructively participate in demands for peace and disarmament leading up to and during the UN International Year of Peace 1986, the ACTU Congress has requested the Executive to provide resources to advise the ACTU Executive and the Council's constituents on:

- what initiatives (for negotiation with the Government) should be undertaken on peace and disarmament issues;
- what proposals the trade union movement can advance on the international disarmament negotiations;
- development of policies for peace and disarmament, and a campaign among Australian unionists;
- the re-deployment of resources from arms production to meeting basic needs and to the transition to a new economic and social order;
- the promotion of education, discussion and exchange of information on problems of peace, security and disarmament;
- the development of courses directed towards teaching for peace and disarmament and the development of the principles and methodology appropriate in each sector of education; and
- the content of a Peace and Disarmament Charter—"Peace is Union Business".

Each of us must accept total responsibility for humanity's survival. Ultimately, the future rests upon our commitment as individuals and as a movement—as parents, providing a healthy and secure future for their children; as young people unwilling to accept a future of sickness and war; as citizens, believing that it is the people who should hold the balance of power in a democracy; as taxpayers, exhausted by an insane arms race and opposed to the waste of the earth's resources. In the face of nuclear technology, concern for human survival surpasses all social, political and economic divisions. All of us—regardless of class, creed or political affiliation—want the human race to survive. We must work in harmony toward our common goal.

Contribution of Religious-Humanist Activities

For Unity in Building a New Moral World Order

HOWARD L. PARSONS

POWERFUL revolutionary forces are driving the various peoples of humanity toward a new world order.

In the economy, the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, sinking in deepening poverty and the drain of capital, are revolting against the transnational control of 40 per cent of their industrial production and an unpayable external debt of more than half a trillion dollars.

In political affairs, revolutions against oppressive regimes and toward self-determination are in various stages of progress in the Caribbean, Central America, South America, Africa, the Mid-East, and Asia.

In social life, peoples deprived on the basis of colour, race, creed, national identity, gender, age, etc. are organising for equal access to goods, services, and opportunities.

Day by day science and technology are revolutionising our power to explain, predict, and control the conditions of nature and human life—for good or ill.

The scientific-technological revolution in nuclear weaponry by which some circles threaten the species with annihilation has aroused a massive peace movement without precedent in many capitalist and socialist countries. This is itself a "peace revolution".

All of these processes, interconnected,

make up a single worldwide revolution for the survival and development of humanity through peace and justice.

Peace-coexistence, disarmament—would mean, first, the safeguarding of human life from the menace of nuclear holocaust.

It could mean, second, that a portion of the two billion dollars now spent every day on arms would be spent on solving the problems of hunger, inadequate water resources, needed housing, medical care, and schools, economic underdevelopment, and joblessness among the world's one billion extremely poor people—and on providing work and wages for the 35 million unemployed in industrialised capitalist nations.

Peace with Justice

Peace could also mean worldwide justice—for all might then enjoy rightful access to goods, services, and opportunities required for survival and development.

Thus the demand for peace comes from all with a will to survive and to assure the species' survival. And the demand for development and justice comes from those in both developed and underdeveloped nations who are suffering from poverty and injustice.

This revolutionary process with its deep human demands seated in human needs is a permanent material fact, spreading and advancing.

Role of Religious People

It calls aloud for ideas and a vision of values by which it can be unified, guided, and inspired.

This call is being answered by those upholding the humanistic ideas and values of the dominant faiths and ideologies in the world today—among the religions, Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and others; among the secular communities, liberal democracy and socialism.

They answer because, whatever their differences, they agree on the important values—human life, development, justice and peace.

Of course on this question the followers of the religious faiths are divided between the progressives and the fundamentalist reactionary.

In today's crisis not a few religious people, fearful of loss of economic and political power and/or their sense of personal security, resist the world revolution. They revert to an ideology of rigid bigotry, hatred of differences, delusions of superiority, scapegoating, racism and sometimes violence. They defend their "fundamentalist" ideology with tradition and scripture.

But for many other believers the darkness of oppression and poverty and the blinding light of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki bombs

have disclosed what is really fundamental in their faith: it is life, peace, development, and justice. It is the community of co-operation, friendship, and love by which these values will be secured.

The adherents of democracy and the partisans of socialism, remembering with deep sorrow the losses in the war against fascism, share this fear of death, this hope for peace, and this need for co-operation.

Strengthening Unity of Peace Activists

In such a unity of conviction and action is our strength. In a common movement to save the sacred gift of life, we work and march on a common ground, the ground of human life and time itself, the ground of our mutual peril, our mortality, and our hope. To save that life, to make future time possible for humanity, is our single task and calling.

This task lays on us two demands.

First, our unity must be uppermost. We must reach across differences of belief, ideology, personality, culture, and all else to join in our collective thought and struggle. Among religious believers, democratic humanists, and communists, we do not agree on many things. But we must beware of the temptations of personal animosity, ideological pride, and omniscient judgement. Other people, like ourselves, for all their limitations, are human; they seek to live, and to work so that life may go on; and we need one another to guarantee that life will overcome death.

Second, the unitary force of personal commitment is imperative. The insidious individual danger is weakness of faith—toward ourselves, others, our compatriots, our brothers and sisters abroad, toward humanity.

Such faith, such love of life, is our resource and stay. The other side does not have this faith; they in fact wish to impose on humanity their own nihilistic cynicism in the form of poverty, injustice, nuclearism, and universal death.

We must refuse this faithlessness with all our heart and soul and strength. We must also refuse the temptation of non-belief in our hearts—the apathy and despair that beckon us to give up the cause that calls us to be worthy of our humanity.

Let us therefore not weary of the struggle. Let us unite with all people, of many loyalties—the commanding loyalty; to preserve the sacred gift of human life and its development, and to fulfill our mission for peace and justice on this good and precious earth.

HOWARD L. PARSONS
Professor (U.S.A.)

55th International Peace Marathon in Košice

THE 55th International Peace Marathon Race in Košice in Czechoslovakia in October 1985 further enhanced the ideals of the race—developing friendship between sportsmen and sportswomen of different nations and strengthening the cause of peace.

The 43-kilometre race, 43,195 metres to be exact, has become more than a sports event. The participants in the race, both men and women, are conscious of the fact that they are taking part in a peace marathon. So far over 11,000 men and 150 women from 36 countries of all continents have participated in the race. Started in 1924, the race could not be held during the years of World War II.

When the race was resumed in 1945, after the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, it was called the 15th Marathon Race of Freedom.

In 1980, the Košice race was sponsored by the World Peace Council and was called the 50th International Peace Marathon Race.

In 1981, the race became the occasion for holding a meeting of representatives of peace movements from 19 European countries. They held their discussions under the motto, "For a Europe of Peace, without nuclear weapons".

The participants in the race and the peace meeting later took an active part in

their countries in the struggle for preserving peace throughout the world.

The 55th International Peace Marathon Race last year became a great manifestation for peace not only by the athletes, but also the population of the city of Košice and nearby towns. They welcomed the runners from different continents in the traditional atmosphere of friendship and understanding.

The International Peace Marathon Race

WPC President Ramesh Chandra and WPC Vice President Tomas Travnicek at a public meeting in Košice on the occasion of the 55th Peace Marathon in that city in 1985.

Participants in the 55th International Peace Marathon in Košice, Czechoslovakia in 1985.



has established its firm position in the world peace movement, becoming increasingly popular at home and abroad. In Czechoslovakia, the marathon race has become important not only in the sphere of sports, but also in the social and public life of the country.

Highlights of the 55th Marathon Race

The 55th Košice peace marathon was sponsored by the World Peace Council. The WPC President Ramesh Chandra and the WPC Vice President Tomas Travnicek were present in Košice for the great event and the celebrations associated with it.

A public meeting was held in Košice before the marathon race began at which Mr Ramesh Chandra awarded the WPC award, City of Peace, to the Mayor of Košice in honour of the city's outstanding contribution to the defence of peace.

Over 1,400 men and women from 14 countries took part in the 1985 marathon—a distance of just over 43 kilometres. The

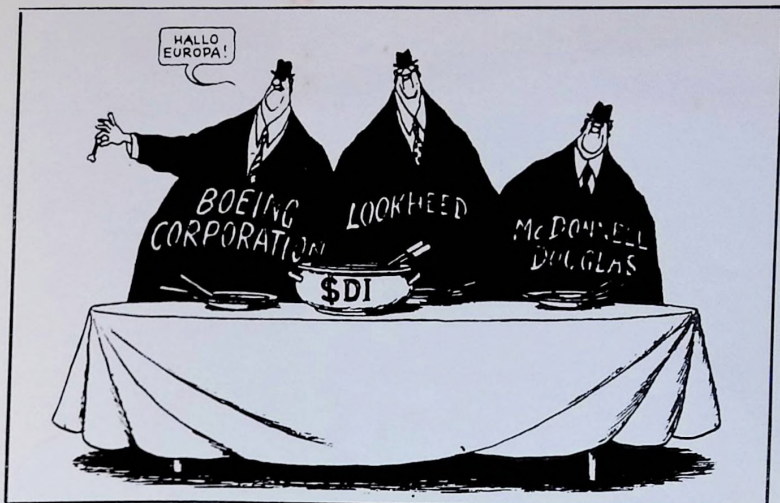


entire course of the race was lined by thousands of people who cheered the participants. The race ended in the packed sports stadium of Košice with V. Starikov of the U.S.S.R. coming first to be declared the winner. He won the race with a timing of 2 hours 17 minutes and 13 seconds.

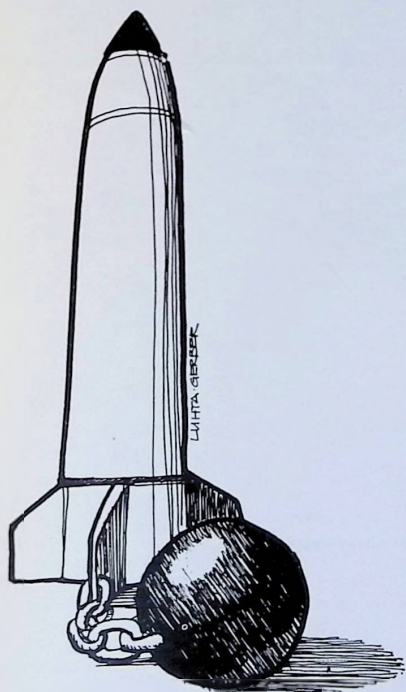
Race for Peace

In one of his statements in Košice, WPC President Ramesh Chandra stressed the symbolic significance of the marathon and spoke of the hundreds of millions of people around the world who are participating in the race for peace. "I think the world will win this contest," he said.

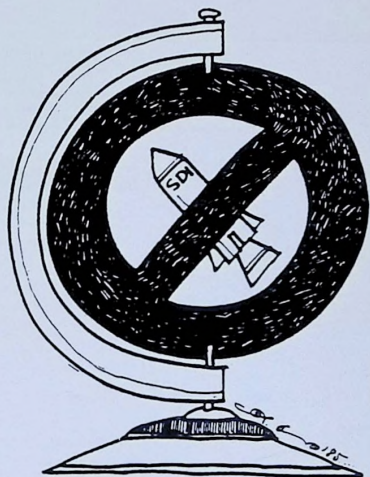
Mr Ramesh Chandra praised the organisers of the marathon and said, "Košice is a City of Peace which has done a great deal for the cause of peace."



"Der Spiegel" (FRG)



Drawing by Luhta Gerber.



Drawing by A. Farys.



1 Support UN Disarmament Campaign and International Year of Peace.

Poster published by the Campanha Nacional de Desarmamento-85 (National Disarmament Campaign-85) in Portugal.

2 Solidarity with the Struggle of the ANC of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia for the elimination of apartheid. Poster issued by the Africa Committee of the Finnish Peace Committee (Finland).

3 UN poster: Imprint of Peace-1945-1985-The United Nations. Design by Backroom Graphics & Deanne Wortman, U.S.A.

Avert Danger of Nuclear War

