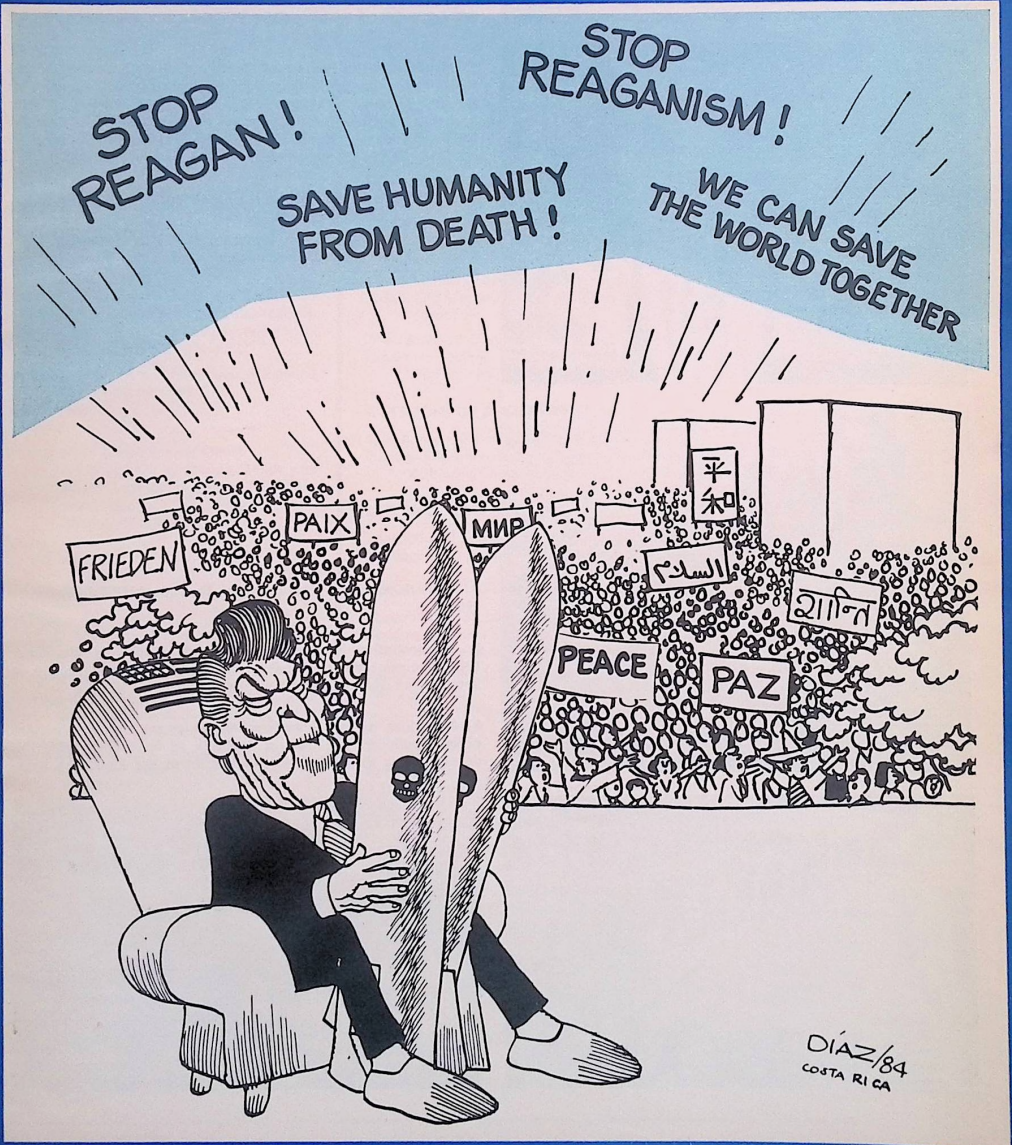
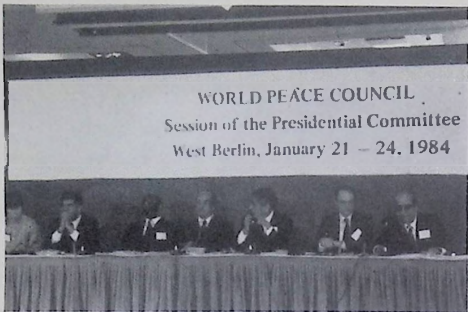


new perspectives

JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL



DÍAZ/84
COSTA RICA



1 Meeting of the Bureau of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council in West Berlin in January 1984. From L to R: Helen John (Great Britain), Mohammad J. Bajbouj (Syria), Pascal Luvalu (Angola), Luis Echeverria (Mexico), Romesh Chandra (WPC President), Peter Gerlinghoff (West Berlin), Francisco da Costa Gomes (Portugal).

2 Participants in the WPC Bureau meeting in West Berlin.



3 Peace demonstration in Hamburg (FRG) in November 1983: "Never again fascism, never again war. No More Nuclear Missiles".



4 Mass demonstration for peace in Dresden (GDR) in February 1984.

5 Demonstration in Maseru, capital of Lesotho, in December 1983 to protest the aggressive acts of the apartheid regime in South Africa against Lesotho.

6 Australian women demonstrating for peace outside the U.S. military base in Pine Gap in Australia in November 1983. The demonstrators demanded the liquidation of the Pine Gap base.



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Correction

The captions to photos 5 and 6 should be reversed, i.e. caption No. 5 refers to photo No. 6 and vice versa.

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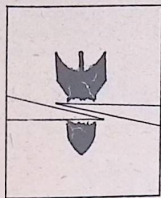
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- Development
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- Settling disputes through negotiations



Peace Forces Must Unite to Prevent Nuclear War

FRANCISCO DA COSTA GOMES

THE PEACE forces started their activity in 1984 in a climate of uncertainty, anguish and fear. It was due to the fact that the previous year was marked, in international relations, by the intensive manifestations of contradictory trends and realities.

On the one hand, the trend towards global confrontation reached, it may be said, the highest degree of danger since World War II. Regional conflicts and hotbeds of tension, in different continents, became more acute.

The peoples have seen their legitimate aspirations for peace and social progress being opposed by means of foreign intervention and armed aggression, force and the threat of the use of force, the blackmail of nuclear weapons and of nuclear war, now purported to be "limited" in space, but after all "protracted" in time.

On the other hand, never before has the action of the peoples for peace attained such a quantitative and qualitative dimension, becoming in some countries a real political force, a power factor and a component of the struggle for an authentic political, economic and social democracy.

In the centre of this contradictory process has been the question of the new US medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, polarizing a new and uncontrollable stage of the global and regional arms race.

We are witnessing at this moment a dangerous destabilization of the world strategic situation.

Today, even though belatedly, different organs of the press and political leaders of the West are led to recognize, implicitly, at least some of the facts and reasons that

have made the peace movement—since the so-called "double" decision of NATO in 1979—to oppose the deployment of the new missiles. This has suddenly rendered much more problematic the security of Western Europe and aggravated its political-military dependency on the USA (not to speak of the financial subordination to the dollar).

To continue insisting, as do President Ronald Reagan and a few western European leaders, that the new missiles now deployed in Europe, which have initiated a new "round" in the Euro-missiles and strategic missiles race, favour disarmament negotiations and serve the objectives of peace—not to mention the defence of the European Continent, and most especially of Western Europe—is to stand deliberately and totally against the reality of the facts, against truth.

The start of the deployment of the new missiles, in opposition to the interests, aspirations and expressed will of the peoples, has not only brought to an end the Geneva negotiations on the reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe, but it is also leading to an ever more accentuated and acute deterioration in the international situation.

Peace is really at stake with the deployment of not only new systems of nuclear missiles in Europe, but also intercontinental missiles aimed at making nuclear war "possible" and "winnable", and obtaining a decisive strategic nuclear superiority; all this is a most dangerous illusion.

The new systems of nuclear missiles are meant to serve only as first strike weapons—to "decapitate" the retaliatory capacity of the other side—by destroying their missiles and centres of command, control and intelligence, so as to ensure, theoretically, the "victory" of the attacking side.

Hence the extremely dangerous conceptions and scenarios, such as a "preventive" strategic nuclear attack with the Pershing II missiles, with their high accuracy, speed and capacity of destruction of the adver-

sary's missiles in their silos. Such an attack which would be followed by the launching of hundreds of Cruise missiles, at subsonic speed and whose trajectory would escape radar detection, or by a massive attack with the new, highly accurate intercontinental missiles—the MX.

Thus, the new nuclear missiles deployed in Western Europe, reducing the launch-to-target time to about eight minutes and aimed at depriving the other side of its retaliatory capacity, have put into question the very capacity and function of deterrence, until now attributed to the existing nuclear weapons, and which has been, far better or for worse, the basis of the strategic balance and a guarantee of peace.

The immediate future has become sombre and preoccupying. The Geneva negotiations have been rendered pointless. The whole framework of disarmament negotiations has become objectively unsuitable to a great extent. The Stockholm Conference itself has been, from the start, impaired by this situation.

The peace movement was right and is right in opposing the deployment of new missiles, but it has not succeeded until now—not yet—in preventing the start of the deployment of these new missiles.

What is to be done now?

It is not possible, at this moment, to foresee in what context the negotiations on the reduction of nuclear weapons may start again, nor is it foreseeable that the new missiles already deployed may be immediately withdrawn, except, perhaps, in such an acute and very dangerous crisis that the weight of all peace forces would be felt and would compel the resumption of actual negotiations.

We should, nevertheless, not approach the situation with undue alarm but, rather, with great determination and confidence.

Other fundamental trends and realities, favourable to détente and peace, continue to assert themselves with strength on the in-

FRANCISCO DA COSTA GOMES

Field Marshal; former President of Portugal, Vice President of the World Peace Council; member of the Presidium of the Portuguese Council for Peace and Cooperation (Portugal)

ternational scene. The general historical and social evolution is more and more favourable to the aspirations of the peoples for a better world. The peace forces of the world, if united in action, can preserve and consolidate peace.

The struggles for peace in 1983, the peace movements in their diversity and unity, the world peace movement, in which the role of our World Peace Council is irreplaceable, have attained an unprecedented, high level of development.

The great struggles against the new US missiles have given rise to a deep, ongoing change amongst the major part of public opinion and important political forces in Western Europe (notwithstanding how certain Parliaments voted).

The struggles of the peoples of Western Europe for peace and for a foreign policy of national independence will succeed in imposing great positive changes, favourable to the consolidation and deepening of détente.

It should, in fact, be stressed that, even in the present situation, détente is not over, but it continues, in as much as its material basis—economic relations—remains and develops; it is also because the peoples support and defend détente.

There is no alternative to the process, however difficult and complex it may be, of authentic negotiations and agreements between both political-military alliances, and most importantly between the two main nuclear powers.

In the present phase, the following are some guidelines and concrete aims of our struggle for peace:

- to stop and cancel, on both sides, the process of deploying the new system of first-strike missiles and the new system of automatic retaliation, as a mutual guarantee that there is no intention to make war;
- to restart the negotiations on the reduction of nuclear weapons and to give an effective content to the Stockholm Conference;
- to freeze at their present level the nuclear arsenals of the USA and the USSR;
- to create nuclear-weapon free zones;
- to implement confidence-building measures.

If we are capable of acting with determination, and in the broadest unity and cooperation with all forces and trends favourable to peace, we can curb in 1984 the most dangerous present tendencies and create conditions for a positive turn towards the path to peace.

Peace and the emancipation of the peoples are indivisible and they shall triumph.

Consequences of Nuclear War

"Nuclear Winter" will Destroy Plants, Peoples and Animals

NIKOLAI BLOKHIN

WHETHER IT will be possible to reverse the present threatening development of the situation on our continent or we shall continue to move to a critical threshold beyond which the arms race will eventually get out of control and a thermonuclear conflict will become a terrifying reality depends in a large measure on the scope and dynamics of the mass movement for peace, its cohesion and goal-oriented nature. The commencement of the deployment of new US medium-range missiles in Europe has brought us closer to this threshold.

World Wars I and II originated in Europe, bringing death and incredible sufferings not only to the peoples of our continent but also of the rest of the world. The Soviet people alone lost 20 million lives in the last war.

With the beginning of 1984, the nuclear arms race in Europe has assumed such a scope that it threatens the destiny of millions upon millions of people in the West and in the East of our continent and calls in question the existence of whole countries and peoples. Nowadays Hamlet's question "to be or not to be" acquires another ominous sounding.

What is to be borne in mind is whether human civilization will be or not. There can be no doubt that World War III, if started in Europe, will be the last one on our planet.

As a physician who has participated from the very outset in the activities of the international movement of physicians for the prevention of nuclear war, I can reiterate with a feeling of entire responsibility the irrefutable diagnosis made by the prominent

representatives of world medicine, namely, that nuclear war will be the last epidemic in the history of mankind.

Nuclear Winter

The conclusions of medical scientists have been convincingly proved by the research of other natural scientists. Here is, for example, what is written into the final document of the international meeting on problems of studying long term consequences of nuclear explosions, which took place in the Papal Academy in the Vatican in January 1984, with the participation of Soviet and US scientists:

"For any number of known scenarios of nuclear war which differ in nature or scale the result in all cases will be a rapid fall of temperature on continents substantially below zero for months to come; even in the summer period it will lead to 'nuclear winter' ... Changes in the circulation of the atmosphere which are to be expected in this case, climatic changes, will be an additional reason for the destruction of surviving plants, animals and peoples. At least in the Northern hemisphere such a serious damage will be inflicted to agricultural production for a year or a longer period that it will cause world-wide hunger ... 'Nuclear winter' can arise even as a result of nuclear war which is comparatively 'small' in scale and in which only an insignificant part of the strategic nuclear arsenal existing in the world will be used."

Such is the grim truth which should be faced squarely.

There is now not a single sober-minded person in the world who would fail to see how greatly the situation in the entire world and especially in Europe has deteriorated at present. The consequence of the NATO "double decision" of 1979 have revealed

NIKOLAI BLOKHIN
Academician; President of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; member of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Soviet (USSR)

themselves in full scope now. The entire course of Geneva talks has demonstrated quite clearly that as a matter of fact this decision from the very outset was not of a "double" but rather of a "single" character—deploy new missiles at all cost.

Soviet Peace Proposals

A cardinal initiative of the USSR was rejected: liquidate in general all nuclear weapons in Europe both medium-range and tactical.

Taking into account that the other side in negotiations was not ready to take such a step, the USSR proposed reducing medium-range nuclear armaments by two thirds and retaining only as many Soviet missiles as are kept by NATO in Europe, that is, Britain and France. As is known, the Soviet Union went even further in this question by proposing also the equality of warheads. In this case the USSR would have had in Europe even less missiles than Britain and France possess.

All counterproposals of the USA boiled down not to the reduction but rather an indispensable deployment of this or another quantity of its new missiles and the reduction of Soviet ones. Finally, the USA rejected an important proposal of Greece to continue negotiations for another six months before starting the practical deployment of its missiles.

Thereby negotiations were simply deprived of any sense because their aim consisted in limiting, I stress limiting, rather than in deploying new medium-range missiles in Europe.

In these conditions the continuation of negotiations on the part of the USSR would have meant participating in the deception of peoples, assisting the use of negotiations as a cover for actions aimed at undermining the European and international security. That is why the Soviet Union was forced to interrupt Geneva talks and take corresponding retaliatory measures about which we had warned many times.

Has Europe acquired a greater security with the commencement of the deployment of US "Euromissiles"? No. On the contrary, the nuclear threat has drastically increased. Other negotiations to limit nuclear weapons have been jeopardized. The deployment of new missiles has hit interstate relations as a boomerang. Our continent has found itself to be drawn into a new extremely dangerous round of the arms race, which is fraught with unpredictable consequences.

Already now we are living in a sufficiently fragile world in order to allow ourselves a further build-up of nuclear arsenals on our continent. Responsible statesmen and politicians must therefore as never before assess soundly what is taking place and take urgent and rational decisions in the interest of peace and security of their countries and peoples.

The Soviet Union does not regard by any

means the situation that has arisen as irreversible. We are convinced that not the "balance of fear" but rather a radical reduction of nuclear arms and the creation of a nuclear-free Europe are the only guarantee of peace and life of our peoples.

A tremendous role in this respect belongs also to the representatives of the anti-war movement of European countries, the USA and Canada. This movement has already shown its strength by demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people in London and Prague, Moscow and the Hague, New York and Athens, Bonn and Sofia. And whatever attempts are being made to impose upon it the idea that it "has lost the battle" this movement lives on, involving ever new people who sincerely wish to make their contribution to the struggle for preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

It is not too late to find a way out of the impasse. The Soviet Union has declared that if NATO countries display the readiness to return to the situation which existed before the deployment of US missiles, the USSR will also be ready to do it.



This means that all Soviet proposals on the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments in Europe, which were put forward earlier, will again acquire force. Unilateral obligations of the USSR in this field would also be valid, in particular, a moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range nuclear arms in the European part of the USSR, which our country observed strictly for more than one year and a half.

Yes, certainly, the missile problem is the main thing in our struggle for a nuclear-free Europe.

Stockholm Conference

However, we also attach great importance to the current Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe because we think that every possibility should be used in the struggle against nuclear war. Today, as never before, what is needed are new impulses, manifold intensification of efforts so as to create such a moral and psychological atmosphere in which any thought of unleashing nuclear war would prove impossible.

We call upon all countries—participants

in the Stockholm conference—to use all possibilities for taking not face-lifting but rather really tangible measures which would improve an all-European situation. The most important among these measures is, in our opinion, the conclusion of a treaty among member-states of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty on the non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace among them. In future such a step would lead to the dissolution of military blocs, beginning with their military organizations, for which the Soviet Union has always stood.

An extremely important moral and political action would also be the assumption by all nuclear powers of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It should be noted that this proposal is in full conformity with the Declaration to condemn nuclear war, adopted at the latest 38th session of the UN General Assembly by the overwhelming majority of votes.

Finally, an extremely effective measure would be a freeze quantitatively and qualitatively on nuclear arms by all nuclear

powers or originally on a bilateral basis only by the USSR and the USA whose example must be followed by the other countries. It will be recalled that this proposal was also approved by the 38th session of the UN General Assembly and enjoys, as far as I know, the universal support of peace forces of Europe and the USA. Naturally enough, a freeze must be regarded only as the initial stage on the way to radical reductions of nuclear arsenals, above all, in Europe.

Banning Chemical Weapons

There is also an important proposal by the Warsaw Treaty Organisation to NATO member-states on the question of banning chemical weapons. If there is goodwill negotiations on this problem may start already this year.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared its readiness to discuss proposals concerning the establishment of nuclear-free zones in different areas of our continent and together with other nuclear powers to act as the guarantor of their status if it is desired by states-participants of these zones.

The Soviet Union also treats positively

the initiative on establishing a corridor of security in which all types of nuclear weapons, both tactical and weapons of the battlefield, will be liquidated. This initiative was put forward by Olof Palme, Prime Minister of Sweden. As it is known, we have suggested that this corridor should be substantially extended from 300 to 600 kilometers on both sides.

The world faced, at the beginning of the year 1984, a situation of a drastic rise in confrontation and the threat of nuclear war on the European continent. It is human reason, the will of millions of people inhabiting our countries and the goal-oriented actions of all anti-war forces in the West and in the East, that can save humankind from the impending danger.

Today, life itself demands that we should not adapt ourselves to the policy of fait accompli but should consistently oppose any actions that whip up the arms race. We are entering a new stage of struggle. Its aim is to stop the sinister process of "superarmament", reverse it, and safeguard peace and security in Europe and the world over.

It goes without saying that quite natural differences in the approach to the problems of ensuring peace in Europe, which may arise among different people and even movements, call for a dialogue.

It is only in this way that it is possible to achieve stronger mutual understanding and cooperation for the sake of joint or parallel actions for peace and security on our continent.

Therefore, let us, irrespective of everything that can divide us, unite efforts in the search of ways of the joint struggle for a nuclear-free Europe. It is a nuclear-free Europe rather than a "supernuclear" one that can serve as a reference-point for all who stand for peace and security on our continent, and for curbing the arms race.

We must demonstrate our determination to prevent everything that has been created for centuries by human labour and the genius of peoples from being destroyed within a few minutes as a result of evil intent or through a fatal error.

By joint actions we can make all governments pay heed to the voice of reason and peace!

US Keeps Arms Race Going FROM HIROSHIMA BOMB TO PERSHING-CRUISE MISSILES

WERNER GERHARD

THE FIRST Pershing-II and Cruise missiles have become operational in the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and Italy. Preparations for deployment in other NATO countries are continuing. In Washington, President Reagan has secured Congressional acceptance of a mind-boggling arms budget amounting to 253 billion dollars and providing, amongst other things, for the manufacture of new intercontinental ballistic missiles and space-based weapons. There can be no doubt that the United States is initiating a new round of the arms race.

Who set the arms race in motion? Who is deploying ever new and ever more dangerous nuclear weapons? Who was the first to introduce new weapons and who was forced to respond? Who is out to upset the military and strategic balance? The answer is given below.

USA: The first Country to Use Nuclear Weapons

The United States was the first country to develop nuclear weapons and has to this day remained the only one to actually use them. The atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 claimed over 310,000 human lives.

After the battles of Stalingrad and Kursk had sealed the fate of Hitler's armies, scholars of world renown such as Denmark's Niels Bohr warned against the use of the atom bomb. Even though the outcome of the war in the Far East was no longer in doubt in the late summer of 1945, US President Harry S. Truman gave orders to drop the first atom bomb. His cynical comment was: "This will surely give us a stick to use against the Russians."

WERNER GERHARD
Journalist (GDR)

Enjoying a monopoly of nuclear weapons, the Pentagon drew up detailed plans for atomic strikes against the Soviet Union.

In 1945 it presented Plan 149/2, envisaging nuclear strikes against 20 Soviet cities, followed in 1948 by a plan codenamed Chariteef, providing for the use of 133 atom bombs against 70 Soviet cities, and in 1949 by a plan codenamed Dropshot which regarded a nuclear attack involving 300 bombs as "adequate".

On 19 June 1946 the USSR submitted the draft of an international convention banning the manufacture and use of weapons based on nuclear energy and intended for mass destruction. It invited all signatories of such a document to make a solemn pledge not to employ atomic weapons under any circumstances, to prohibit their manufacture and stockpiling, and to destroy all stocks of weapons already completed or under production within a period of three months. The Soviet Union also proposed declaring a violation of such a pledge to be a grave crime against humanity.

The United States flatly rejected the Soviet proposal. Reckoning that the possession of nuclear weapons would enable it to attain its political, military and strategic objectives, Washington believed in a "long-lasting monopoly of nuclear weapons as a source of strength".

While still a war-ravaged country, the USSR managed in a few short years to develop atomic weapons of its own, breaking the US monopoly in 1949.

Long-range Bombers along Soviet Borders

As early as 1953 the United States deployed its first strategic bombers which it hoped would enable it to conduct an all-out nuclear offensive against Soviet territory.

When the USSR made the score even

four years later, the Pentagon and the CIA invented a "bomber gap". The B-52 bomber was developed at enormous cost to close this alleged gap.

In his book "Wahnsinn Rüstung, Ein Stern-Buch", published in Hamburg in 1981, P. Koch wrote on this subject: "In the mid-fifties, the American public was treated to spine-tingling tales about a far superior Soviet bomber fleet. This 'bomber gap' triggered the programme to build the B-52 fleet."

After hundreds of these "flying fortresses" had been manufactured and based along the borders of the Soviet Union, the Pentagon admitted that the estimates of the Soviet bomber potential had been four times too high.

Nuclear Submarines in the Seven Seas

To achieve clear preponderance in naval strength has been a major objective of the US imperialists in their pursuit of world domination right from the outset. The first nuclear-powered US submarine was launched back in 1956. By 1960 the United States had three nuclear submarines carrying a total of 48 single-warhead ballistic missiles and cruising all around the Soviet Union.

Ever since the United States has been

concentrating a growing portion of its nuclear potential on submarines and, by constantly introducing new systems, has been trying to secure a decisive strategic advantage.

Over 70 per cent of all US strategic missiles are currently deployed on nuclear submarines because these are considered next to invulnerable.

After the USSR had commissioned its first nuclear submarine around 1960, it proposed repeatedly that the existing systems should be limited and the establishment of new ones prohibited. The US "response" has been to introduce its new Ohio class submarine armed with Trident missiles two-and-a-half times as powerful as those used before.

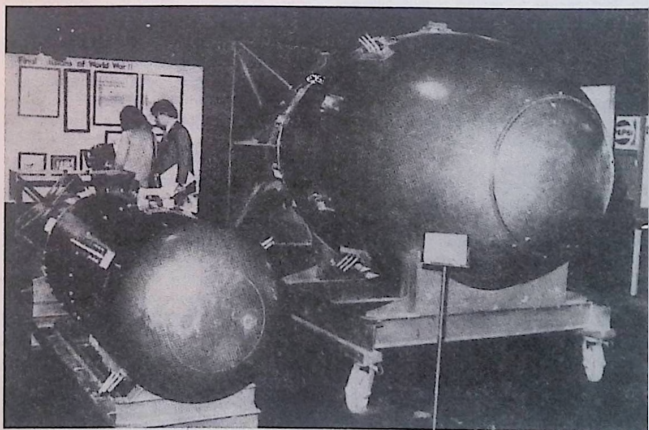
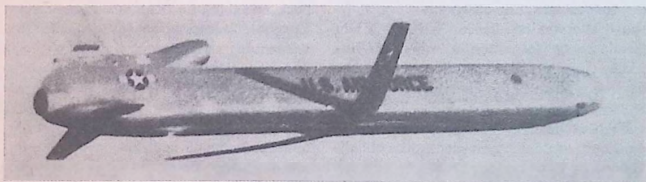
The first vessel of the new generation was commissioned in 1981. Its displacement of 18,700 tons was a basic requirement for increasing the number of launch tubes from 16 to 24. Plans are for 12 such submarines to be in operation by 1990. The highly accurate guidance mechanism of the Trident missiles is to enable the United States "to use submarine-launched missiles to strike at any target in the Soviet Union, including her missile silos." (Wireless Bulletin from Washington, Washington, Bonn/Bad Godesberg, 5 Oct. 1981)

Floating Fortresses

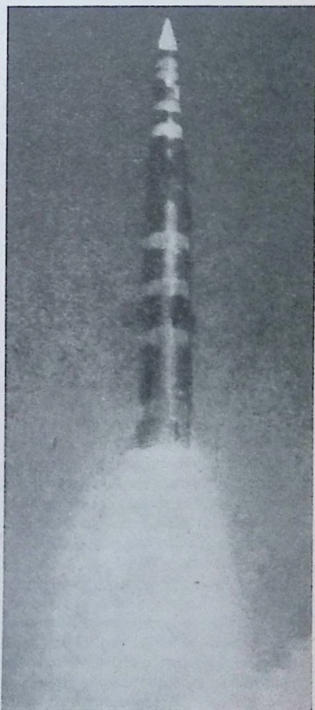
By adding nuclear-powered aircraft carriers to its fleet in the early sixties, the United States built up its naval strength to demonstrate its power for all the world to see and to put pressure on countries pursuing a course of development not to its liking. US aircraft carriers have played a sinister role in many conflicts during the past few decades. The most recent examples are the invasion of Grenada and the intervention in Lebanon.

The United States now has 20 aircraft carriers with nuclear-capable A-6 Intruder and A-7 Corsair fighter bombers on board. These aircraft can attack the Soviet Union and other socialist countries from forward bases, e.g. in the Mediterranean or North Atlantic.

Two more nuclear-powered Nimitz class aircraft carriers with a displacement of over 90,000 tons and about 90 aircraft on board are to be built during the coming years. US Senator John G. Tower, a Republican from Texas, described the role of the aircraft carrier in US military strategy as follows: "We need more aircraft carriers for special missions... An aircraft carrier costs a lot of money, but it probably has greater political value than anything else in the



Clockwise from right: Models of the US atomic bombs called Little Boy and Fat Man dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively in 1945; US missiles—Pershing II and Cruise.



American armory. It is a high-precision instrument of diplomacy." (US News & World Report, Washington, 16 Feb. 1981)

The Soviet Union, which rejects the very idea of demonstrating military strength, has no aircraft carriers, but merely two air-capable ships designed for anti-submarine operations.

MIRV: The Ultimate "Trump Card"

Ever since the United States deployed its first intercontinental missiles in 1955, it has kept sending the weapons spiral upward in this area. In 1964 the Americans set up the first missiles equipped with multiple warheads and in the late sixties they introduced what became known as MIRVs—multiple independently retargetable re-entry vehicles. The military-industrial complex in the United States, overestimating its potential as usual, believed that the MIRVs would give Washington a definite edge over the Soviet Union.

But in 1975 the USSR, acting in the interests of its own security and that of its allies, adopted the necessary counter-measures in order to preserve the strategic balance that had arisen in the late sixties and early seventies. The establishment of parity was a fact of historic significance which paved the way for such far-reaching agreements as the SALT I Treaty and other accords concluded in the seventies.

Green Light for Neutron Bomb

A step which the Pentagon had been very long in preparing was the manufacture of the neutron bomb, a nuclear weapon that kills all living beings over a large area but leaves buildings, equipment and other material assets intact.

After the first tests had been conducted in the sixties, NATO adopted a decision to develop a neutron bomb in 1970. In the summer of 1977 the Pentagon gave the go-ahead for its manufacture. A powerful tide of protest, particularly in Western Europe, the intended deployment area, forced US President Jimmy Carter to put these plans in abeyance in April 1978.

This notwithstanding, President Reagan ordered this weapon of mass destruction into production on 6 August 1981, the anniversary of the Hiroshima tragedy.

The Soviet Union, with its strictly defence-oriented military doctrine, has no neutron weapons and wants to see them proscribed. In December 1982 a majority of UN member states voted for a resolution to this effect which had been submitted by the GDR.

Pershing and Cruise—First-strike Weapons

The US Navy began experimenting with cruise missiles in 1974. By 1977 the trials had reached such an advanced stage that full production of the missile could go ahead. Since the development of the Persh-

ing-II had also been completed for all practical purposes, it was necessary to discover a new "missile gap" to justify a Western need to catch up.

In a deliberate distortion of the facts, NATO's propaganda machine has depicted the Cruise missile as relatively harmless because of its comparatively low speed. The reality is that this missile, of which ground-launched, submarine-launched and air-launched versions exist, constitutes a genuine first-strike weapon, just as the Pershing-II, owing to its high accuracy, great range and extremely low altitude.

With a range of 2,500 kilometres, both missiles are chiefly targeted on administrative and military command centres and other strategic objectives in the Soviet Union. The Pershing-II, which will take only four to six minutes to reach the USSR, and the Cruise missile, which is supposed to penetrate enemy territory undetected, are intended for a nuclear "decapitation" strike against the Soviet Union.

The plans of the most aggressive elements of imperialism, which hoped that these "miracle weapons" would give them a lead of ten to fifteen years over the Soviet Union, have not worked out at all. In the early eighties it was announced in Moscow that the USSR had systems comparable to the Cruise missile at its command.

At present, the United States is siting its new first-strike weapons in Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy. The first cruise missiles arrived in 1983 in Britain on 14 November, in Italy on 27 November, and the first components of Pershings were flown to the Federal Republic on 23 November.

The first Pershing-II battery became operational at Mutlangen near Schwäbisch-Gmünd by 15 December 1983.

The Soviet Union did its utmost right to the last minute to secure a mutually acceptable agreement at the Geneva talks and submitted ten far-reaching proposals to this end. With the start of the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the socialist countries have been compelled to take the necessary countermeasures to preserve the military and strategic balance.

Pentagon's "Star Wars" Scenario

In order to conduct a protracted and winnable nuclear war against the Soviet Union, the new nuclear strategy of the Pentagon demands the opening up of "new fields of weapons technology and their use". What this means was made abundantly plain by President Reagan in his notorious "Star Wars" speech on 23 March 1983 which gave the go-ahead for the large-scale militarization of outer space.

Feverish efforts are under way to develop space-based laser and radiation weapons designated to destroy targets on earth, orbital stations and other space-based hardware belonging to the other side.

The programme for the military utilization of the Space Shuttle is already in full swing. The role of this multiple-purpose system is to put into orbit military satellites, the Pentagon's orbiting command centres and new types of spacebased weapons. At least every third mission is exclusively geared to the fulfilment of secret Pentagon assignments. A space centre is currently being built at Vandenberg Air Base and will be used solely for the launching of space shuttles geared to military purposes. Not only have the military space programmes been expanded, but the first command centres for a war in space have been set up.

Having pioneered the peaceful use of outer space, the Soviet Union has made every effort for many years to keep the arms race out of the cosmos. At the last session of the United Nations General Assembly the USSR submitted a draft treaty banning the use of force in and from outer space.

The facts given here—and we could add plenty more like them—prove irrefutably that the most aggressive forces of US imperialism initiated the arms race and have kept it going ever since.

The former US Vice-President and Democratic contender for the presidency, Walter Mondale, has said: "Since the advent of nuclear weapons, the United States has been leading the way in the arms race."

The former Dutch NATO General, M. H. van Meyenfeldt, has noted: "When you look back, one thing becomes abundantly clear. The United States has tried time and again to secure a position of military pre-eminence with a view to influencing international affairs from a position of strength."

This is why Washington has been so intent on deploying nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe.

The Soviet Union did much to further the cause of peace by establishing military and strategic parity in the late sixties and early seventies. Together with its allies it is now performing an invaluable service to the entire human race by ensuring that this balance, a factor crucial to international security, is not upset. Since 1945 the USSR has put forward well over 100 proposals to stop the arms madness and to bring about concrete steps towards disarmament. It is prepared, on the basis of equality and equal security, to reduce and ultimately eliminate any type of weapons.

Stop Insanity of Nuclear Arms Race World Needs Immediate Downward Spiral in Arms Build-up

HERMOD LANNUNG

WE WHO live under the arms build-up now in the 80s should never for a moment overlook that war today without any doubt whatsoever will end in a nuclear holocaust. We should not overlook but realize that war today is something much worse and of quite another dimension than the two world wars.

We who have lived through and experienced the last two world wars know what war means. Millions of soldiers and still more civilians lost their lives and much was destroyed. It was certainly horrible, but life continued.

When the last world war ended human-kind still existed, the whole earth was not spoiled and poisoned.

After a decade or two, the world looked almost as it did before the war and in spite of all the suffering life went on. But nuclear weapons are more than weapons of war. They are weapons of mass annihilation, as it was said in the concluding statement at the Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned countries in India in March 1983: "We are the first generation to have the potential for destroying all life on earth—or for putting food and medical care within the reach of all. We could well be the last generation—the choice is ours."

When we work for halting the nuclear arms race and proceeding towards disarmament, we should not overlook that peace and security in a disarmed world depend on the evolution of effective international institutions to provide the necessary security which we have advocated through the years. Today the most acute and burning task and duty is the halting of the arms race before it is too late.

We are confronted with the fact that there now exist more than 50,000 or 60,000 nuclear bombs in the world of which the superpowers, the USA and the USSR, possess 90 %.

Our member organisation, Parliamentarians for World Order (PWO) in a statement has said: "The world's atomic arsenals contain the explosive power of 5 tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child on earth. The amount spent on a single intercontinental ballistic missile could irrigate 1 million hectares or build 65,000 health care centres in the Third World."

Experts confirm the seriousness of the situation by giving the following information:

— Many of the Hydrogen weapons have, individually, an explosive power a thousand times that of the Hiroshima bomb. Some are 5,000 times stronger. Each of the giant weapons can blot out the largest city.

— In the arsenals there are now fifty or sixty thousand nuclear weapons. Their total explosive power equals that of one and a half million Hiroshima bombs.

It should be stressed that a global nuclear holocaust could be triggered by accident, madness, or the uncontrolled escalation of a crisis.

We witness, thus, an insane nuclear arms build-up.

As the Palme Commission Report said in 1982, there is no such thing as a nuclear war that can be won, and an all-out nuclear war will mean unprecedented destruction and may be the extinction of the human species. Therefore, the main task today is to avoid this insanity.

It is stated that more and more people understand that the doctrine of deterrence offers a very fragile protection against the horrors of nuclear war. It is, therefore, of paramount importance to replace the doctrine of mutual deterrence. The alternative is common security. The two sides can only survive together.

The road to the goal of general and complete disarmament must be to curb and reverse the arms race and then to seek a balanced and negotiated reduction in arms—a downward spiral in armaments.

All states have a right to security. In the absence of a world authority with the right and power to police international relations—as advocated by us World Federalists—states have to protect themselves. But in-

ternational peace and security must rest on a commitment to joint survival, rather than on a threat of mutual destruction.

World Federalists cherish the ideal of a world in which international relations are based on the rule of law, cooperation, and the peaceful pursuit of political ends.

Already in 1978, I had told the World Association of World Federalists (WAWF) disarmament conference in New York:

"The international arms race involves a colossal overconsumption for destructive purposes consuming enormous resources badly needed to meet the economic and social challenges of our time—in particular the urgent need to narrow the gap between developed and developing countries.

"We must stress that it is a gap which is not only morally unacceptable, but which also carries the germs of future conflict.

"The vast stockpiles and tremendous build-up of arms and armed forces and the competition for qualitative refinement of weapons of all kinds to which scientific resources and technological advances are diverted, pose incalculable threats to peace.

"Disarmament has thus become an imperative and most urgent task facing the international community."

At the Special Session of the UN General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament in 1982, the WAWF Council Chairman, Gerry Grant said: "We must not desert the hope of history embodied in the UN Charter that peaceful change is possible and that the ancient craft of war, now having fully outlived its usefulness, will be put aside. As a species we have come close to the brink of self-annihilation, and perhaps, with the genius for learning which is the unique characteristic of our species, we will turn from the brink of destruction and act to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which now could spell the death of everything."

As the danger of a nuclear war is greater than ever before, peace-loving progressive forces from East and West must work for joint efforts and solidarity in the drive for peace with all who want and are ready to fight for these aims.

HERMOD LANNUNG

Member, Governing Body of the Danish Radical Party; President, World Federalist Movement (Denmark)

Australian Women's Initiative to Prevent Nuclear War

LEE O'GORMAN

WOMEN IN Australia have taken an important initiative to mobilize public opinion to prevent nuclear war. They have called for the removal of all US bases from Australia and extended their support to the people in Europe who are struggling against the deployment of new Pershing II and Cruise missiles.

The Australian women gave a practical demonstration of their opposition to US military bases in Australia in November 1983. They converged on Pine Gap, a vital US military installation, situated in the centre of Australia, over 2,000 kilometres from major cities in the country.

Pine Gap was chosen as the focus for this action as it is a critical link in the US global nuclear network. This base, controlled by the CIA, helps give the USA "a first strike capability" and would enable US authorities to monitor whether Cruise and Pershing II missiles are accurately hitting their targets in the Soviet Union.

Over 800 women participated in the two-week long women's peace camp, organised by Women for Survival, a broad coalition of women's anti-war groups. Women of widely varied life styles worked together developing many innovative ways to publicise their urgent demand for nuclear disarmament.

Such creative protests have become the hallmark of women of many nations who are now in the front line, united in their common desire to push back the nuclear madness.

One hundred and thirty women were arrested at Pine Gap. Their actions included symbolically handing back to US authorities a 'Cruise missile'; staging of a women's Boston tea party within the Pine Gap base to protest against US occupation of a sector of Australian soil. The protesting

women removed the outer main gate to the base and sold pieces of the gate as souvenirs to help fund future peace actions.

The uniqueness of this women's peace action is all the more remarkable considering the desert conditions of heat, dust and flies the women had to endure. Meetings commenced at 7 a.m. to avoid the scorching temperatures that often soared to above 40 °C. The adverse living conditions were not assisted by continual harassment of the women by police who buzzed them from helicopters, drove their patrol cars through the camp and regularly filmed and photographed them.

Even though this peace protest involved only women in the action and decision-making, many men indicated that they wished to show their support. This took various

forms and broke many of the traditional male-female roles; with men taking on jobs such as child-care, transportation and sanitation.

Each day men from the male support camp for the Pine Gap women picked up the children of mothers participating in the action and cared for them during the day. The children were returned to their mothers at night. Many men also participated in the "Bike ride for a better world". They rode through the Australian countryside stopping regularly to speak to people about the work of the women at this national peace camp.

The extensive support from all sections of Australian society indicated how this unique peace action inspired people. Trade unions, churches, many women's and peace groups, plus thousands of individuals assisted financially.

Across Australia thousands of people participated in support actions held simultaneously with the two-week women's peace camp. At the rally in Sydney, Freda Brown brought solidarity greetings from the Women's International Democratic Federation of which she is President, and spoke of similar women's actions for nuclear disarmament occurring in western Europe, the socialist countries and developing nations. Messages of support were also received from the Greenham Common peace camp in Britain and women's organisations in several other countries.

Although the Pine Gap peace camp is closed, and women have returned to their homes, they are continuing to highlight their demands to remove US war bases from Australia and for support to the people of Europe in their fight to remove the deadly Pershing-II and Cruise missiles.

These actions have served to raise awareness of many Australians to the perilous situation we are faced with.

The challenge before the whole peace movement is how to transform this awareness into action for the most urgent issue of our times—to stop nuclear war and ensure the survival of planet earth.



Australian women demonstrating for peace outside the US base at Pine Gap in Australia. They demanded the liquidation of the US base.

LEE O'GORMAN

Peace activist, Women's Action against Global Violence (Australia)

THE aim of the article is to prove, from a legal point of view, the necessity to impose an explicit prohibition on the use of nuclear weapons in the form of assuming obligations not to be the first to use them.

The question of the legitimacy—or rather the illegitimacy—of the use of nuclear weapons must be examined on the basis of relevant sources¹ of the rules of warfare, that is, "rules of international, conventional and customary law; as well as legal principles underlying the international laws of war".

Existing international rules and principles applied directly or through analogical interpretation are for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. The conclusion that the use of nuclear weapons is contrary to international law, and hence unlawful, might be asserted on the following grounds. It is incompatible with existing rules of international customary and conventional law, because such a use:

- amounts, in some of its effects, to the use of poison and poisoned weapons;
- inflicts unnecessary suffering;
- constitutes crimes against humanity;
- amounts to genocide.²

Let us examine how far the use of nuclear weapons is a breach of the above-mentioned rules and principles.

The use of nuclear weapons is incompatible with the prohibition of the use of poison and poisoned weapons.

The radiation effects of the use of nuclear weapons and the contamination of the biological environment caused by their fall-out might be equated³ with the effects of poisonous substances or gases, as far as the absorption of radioactive substances is analogous to the introduction of poisonous substances into the body. Since the use of nuclear weapons always entails the release of a certain amount of radiation and radioactive fall-out, it permits the extension of the prohibition of the use of poison and poisoned weapons to the use of nuclear weapons.

The use of poison and poisoned weapons is prohibited by two rules of international customary law, as well as by Article 23(a) of the Hague Regulations of 1899 and 1907 on Land Warfare codifying wider rules of international customary law and applying them to all forms of warfare. It is also prohibited by the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which has well over 100 parties, including all the nuclear-weapon powers. In any case, the Geneva Protocol has long been considered to be declaratory of international customary law.

Since the nineteenth century the use of weapons causing unnecessary human suffering has been prohibited by international declarations and treaties. Article 22 of the Hague Regulations on Land Warfare of

Legal Aspects of No First Use

Prohibiting Use of All Nuclear Weapons

TIBOR TOTÓ

1899 and 1907 formulated a basic principle of the laws and customs of armed conflicts in this respect, stating that the "right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited". The same rule imposing an obligation to refrain from cruel behaviour found an early expression in the Preamble to the St. Petersburg Declaration of 1868. The operative clause of the Declaration, codifying one of the early humanitarian principles, prohibited the use of weapons capable of causing superfluous injuries. Article 23(e) of the Hague Regulations of 1907 prohibited "to employ arms, projectiles, or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering".

The Preamble to the Convention on the Prohibitions or Restrictions of the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons of 1981 and the operative part of Additional Protocol (I) of 1977 to the Geneva Conventions of 1949—certainly in other contexts, but nevertheless with a wide application—restate the principle of international law that the right of the parties to an armed conflict to choose methods or means of warfare is not unlimited, as well as the principle that it is prohibited to employ in armed conflicts weapons, projectiles and material and methods of warfare of a nature to cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering.

Crime against Humanity

According to the Nuremberg Principles of 1945 crimes against humanity are an extension of war crimes to any large-scale offense against human life.⁴ The use of nuclear weapons would entail indiscriminate and massive destruction of the civilian population even if it is carried out on the basis of highly questionable concepts concerning their feasibility like limited nuclear war, or postures like that of counterforce. That inevitable result of the use of nuclear weapons cannot be reconciled with the principle that the civilian population as such is not a legitimate object of warfare. That principle is in the relevant rules of international law, and is included in the Preamble to the St. Petersburg Declaration of 1868, the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, the Geneva Red Cross Conventions of 1929 and 1949.

The use of nuclear weapons is incompatible with the following rules⁵ of the earlier mentioned principle of the exemption of the civilian population from being an international object of warfare:

- a) The obligation to respect the distinction between military objectives and non-military objects;
- b) Neither the civilian population nor any of the objects expressly protected by conventions or agreements can be considered as military objectives;
- c) Existing international law prohibits, irrespective of the type of weapon used, any action to terrorise the civilian population; and
- d) Existing international law prohibits the use of weapons, the destructive effect of which is so great that it cannot be limited to specific military objectives or is otherwise uncontrollable, the so-called self-generating and blind weapons.

As the use of nuclear weapons would entail a breach of the afore-mentioned rules, such an act amounts to committing the highest degree of war crime, the crime against humanity.

Genocidal Aspects of Nuclear War

As far as the use of nuclear weapons is sure to entail the intentional destruction in whole or in part, depending on the scale of the attack, of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, such an act amounts to genocide and is, therefore, irreconcilable with international customary law and the Genocide Convention of 1948, which may be considered as declaratory of international customary law.

Summing up this short analysis, based on formal prescriptions of law, it can be stated that the use of nuclear weapons constitutes a breach of several rules and principles of conventional and customary international law.⁶

If we accept the validity of that conclusion, then it may seem logical to question the necessity of taking any further contractual legal steps in that area. However, while conventional and customary international law has a definite bearing on the use of nuclear weapons, the relevant rules and principles were formulated in a pre-nuclear

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political and legal environment. It is a basic paradox of the twentieth century that from the point of view of "de lege lata" there are no conventional rules specifically prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons, even though such a prohibition would be of paramount political, legal and humanitarian value. The existence of that basic paradox explains that it is not contradictory to assert, on the one hand, that the use of nuclear weapons is prohibited by conventional and customary international law, and to reaffirm, on the other, the necessity of an explicit regulation. Such a necessity may be substantiated by the following legal arguments.

There exists a positive prohibition on the use of weapons with analogous effects of destruction. In the case of incendiary and chemical weapons conventional and customary international law could not allow any compromise for the sake of military necessity at the expense of the needs of humanity. Because of their extremely cruel and indiscriminate effects, the use of such weapons is prohibited generally or partially.

At the same time the schizophrenic legal and moral logics of the nuclear age prevented the imposing of such a positive prohibition on the use of nuclear weapons; although they have an analogous effect of destruction, only several orders of magnitude greater.

There is a positive prohibition of the use of two types of weapons with comparable destructive capacity. These are chemical and biological weapons. While the scale and the scope of destruction caused by nuclear weapons is similar—to say the least—to that of chemical and biological weapons, there is no explicit prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

Use of Force Irrational

There is an ever growing contradiction between the abolishing of *ius ad bellum* (the right to resort to war) and the shrinkage of *ius in bello* (rules of warfare). As a result of revolutionary developments in military technology since the late nineteenth century, the possibility of mutual destruction has increased to such a degree that it made the use of force irrational and as a consequence, unlawful. The prohibition of the non-defensive use of force was formalised first in the so-called Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928 and later in the United Nations Charter. At the same time the rapid development of military technology which led to the abolition of the principle of *ius ad bellum* evolved notions of warfare toward total war during the two world wars, and as a result of it challenged and dangerously narrowed down the basic criteria of the rules of warfare, relating to non-combatants, non-military objectives, illegitimate objects of warfare, indiscriminate use and so on.

The emergence of nuclear weapons further amplified, up to absurdity, the basic

contradiction between these two trends: an ever strengthening normative brake on the use of force, on the one hand, and a gradual political and moral amortisation of the rules and principles limiting the use of weapons, on the other. From a legal point of view, the increasing discrepancy between these two trends necessitates the positive regulation of the use of nuclear weapons.

Developments related to nuclear weapons technology and doctrines put an increasing premium on a disarming first strike.⁷ Developments in military technology, such as the advances in missile accuracy, warhead efficiencies, the appearance of MIRV, later MARV-warheads, the "advent" of cruise missiles and technologies like Stealth, all initiated by one of the nuclear-weapon powers during the last 10–15 years, could easily be identified as a conscious effort to improve nuclear war fighting capabilities. These developments have been coupled with a doctrinal evolution along the lines of a strategic counterforce posture giving birth to concepts like limited and protracted nuclear war and pre-emptive first strike, as a proof of the constant feed-back existing between technology and policy. They have constantly challenged the normative brake on the use of nuclear weapons and contributed to overcoming many of the technological and political barriers, since 9 August 1945, that divide the possession of nuclear weapons from their possible use. This worrisome trend is yet another argument in favour of an explicit regulation prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons.

Making No First Use Legal Contractual Rule

The renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons, or both nuclear and conventional weapons, formalised in an explicit legal contractual rule, might make a substantive contribution to lessening the danger of a nuclear war.

Several official proposals to that effect have been made. As far back as in 1976, the Warsaw Treaty member States in a declaration, signed by their highest-level political leaders, proposed that all States signatories to the Helsinki Final Act should pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons one against the other. In 1979 the Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member States proposed to the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to conclude a treaty containing a commitment not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons.

In January 1983 the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty proposed to the member States of NATO to conclude a treaty on the mutual and global non-use of military force, be it with nuclear or conventional weapons. In view of the increasing danger of a nuclear war, the Soviet Union assumed an obligation at the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly

Devoted to Disarmament not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. There are presently three nuclear weapon states which have failed to assume similar obligations.

No concrete measures have until now been taken by those States on the proposals addressed to them but some counter-arguments have been put forward. They have questioned the practicability of the non-use commitment on the ground that the question is sufficiently regulated by the UN Charter and there is no need for a mere repetition of the principle of non-use of force contained in the Charter.

It might be indicative in that respect that one of the nuclear weapon states, emphasising that besides the UN Charter there is no need for further legal regulation of the use of nuclear weapons, a decade after the UN Charter came into force, asserted in its Naval Instructions that the use of nuclear weapons is legal in the absence of any customary rule or international convention restricting their employment.

The reinforcement of the legal barriers dividing the possession of nuclear weapons from their possible use by assuming an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons might usefully contribute to the prevention of the use of nuclear weapons. But if humankind wants to eliminate from its memory forever the notion and the words "nuclear war" it has to strive for nuclear disarmament.

NOTES

1. For a detailed analysis, see G. Schwarzenberger, "The Legality of Nuclear Weapons", 1958, pp. 7–11.

2. Similar arguments are used by R. Falk, "Law, Morality and War", 1963, p. 76; G. Schwarzenberger, "The Legality of Nuclear Weapons", 1958, pp. 15–49; and J. Goldblat, "The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and No First Use of Nuclear Weapons", Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1982, pp. 317–318.

3. See G. Schwarzenberger, "Report on Self-Defence under the Charter of the United Nations" and the "Use of Prohibited Weapons", 1962, pp. 27–30.

4. On the relevance of the Nuremberg Principles, see R. Falk, L. Meyrowitz and J. Sanderson, "Nuclear Weapons and International Law", 1981, pp. 63–71.

5. See the resolution adopted by the Edinburgh session of the Institut de Droit International on the distinction between military and non-military objectives (9 September 1969).

6. See the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Law of Armed Conflicts*, 1971, p. 75.

7. For a detailed analysis of these developments, see Allan Krass, "The Evolution of Military Technology and Deterrence Strategy", SIPRI Yearbook 1981, pp. 19–68.

Irrational Strategy of Humanity's Suicide

VLASTIMIL BARUS
and
JAROMIR POSPISIL

THE DEVELOPMENT of the material basis of human society is a permanently acting factor determining the intensity of its pressure on the utilization of natural resources. In principle, the higher the intensity of utilization of replenishable and non-replenishable natural resources, the bigger and more lasting is the interference of human society with nature. The consequences of these interactions have specific socially, economically and geographically determined characteristics in the time and space in which this complex and dynamic process of relations between the human society and its environment takes place. We can trace various periods in the development stages of human society beginning with minimum impact of man on nature and leading, through its over plundering, to the effort—mostly scientific and prospective so far—to manage nature, its resources and reserves rationally.

The creative concern of scientists from various branches of science has in recent years been concentrating on the analysis, observation of the development and the discovery of methods and principles of solving intricate, yet at the same time practical and topical problems that are of a worldwide character and are increasingly connected with the intensification of life of the human society and population growth on earth. It is the opinion of many scientists from various countries of the world that these problems and their present as well as future solution are not only of scientific concern, but they are also intrinsically vital to all people.

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These problems are:
— disarmament and a stop to all wars,
— food shortage and the necessity of securing enough food for the growing humankind,
— fuel crisis and its solution,
— a stop to biosphere pollution and better environmental control.

This is why at the present complicated development stage of human society, we ask ourselves the questions how humankind will solve its food, fuel and other problems, how that irreplaceable quality of living mass, man's happy and contented life, will develop in the future. In our opinion, a fundamental approach to the solution of these problems lies in a creative, rational and humane application of all present as well as future scientific knowledge to satisfy the present needs as well as the future development of human society. Science already has, or will before long have, sufficient knowledge enabling the solution of these problems with the aim of satisfying all humankind's needs. At the same time we can, however, see on the other side that a huge creative potential, material and financial means as well as energy sources, including living human labour, are invested into an irrational activity dangerous to humankind—into armament—and this is nothing else than a strategy of humankind's suicide.

There are a number of proofs that putting a stop to armament and achieving disarmament is a worldwide problem of principal importance as it opens up the possibilities of accelerated positive solution of all other global as well as other problems. If arms race is stopped, talks are continued and treaties for life without wars are concluded, it would undoubtedly create optimum prerequisites for the solution of problems enumerated above and the satisfaction of other, real human needs. Means saved on arma-

ment programmes could be utilized better and more efficiently at present for the solution of the food shortage and other problems.

Deaths from Hunger and Malnutrition

It is shocking that at the time of nuclear energy utilization and space flights, there are almost 500 million people in the developing countries who suffer from hunger permanently and 40 million of them die of malnutrition every year. Numerous regions of Asia and Africa are really threatened by hunger.

Let us confront this with the following data and let us seek an answer to the question whether humankind possesses the means necessary to eliminate food shortage. According to the US Armament and Disarmament Control Agency, the NATO states and the Warsaw Treaty countries account for about 75 per cent of world expenditure for armaments and this represents the sum of almost 600 billion dollars. If this expenditure could be reduced by one per cent only, the 5–6 billion dollars thus saved would be sufficient for purchasing 50 million tons of grain at present world prices, i.e., 100 kg for each person suffering from hunger. This means that a mere 3 per cent reduction of the military expenditure of NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries would be more than sufficient to relieve the hungry from their suffering for a whole year.

This is undoubtedly a reasonable and justified attitude to the possible elimination of food shortage, but there should be a more lasting solution to this problem. In fact, the present problem is not really food shortage as there are enough foodstuffs produced in the world today for the whole population of the world. There are, however, circumstances in which some have more

than they need and others are short of food. According to data published by the British newspaper, "Guardian", US grain reserves have reached 140 million tons and the other biggest grain producers in the western countries have reserves in approximately the same quantity.

This represents almost 1 kg grain a day for each person suffering from hunger. Why cannot a part of these reserves be sold at acceptable, i.e., moderate prices to countries that are not so well-off? Grain prices have been maintained at the maximum level so far, while this basic food source is inaccessible to many people. The solution is sought in reducing the crop-growing area and, thus, also the production. (In the USA, e.g., the crop-growing area is being reduced by one-third).

It is necessary, in view of the population growth prognosis that there will be a population of 6.1 billion people on earth by the year 2000, to continue scientific research more and more intensively, to seek new,

centuries, the world is faced with a fuel crisis at present. The reason is comparatively simple—the prices of oil and gas, that account for almost 50 per cent of world fuel consumption, have risen more than ten times in less than ten years. Energy has a vital role in any human activity and this is why the conflict between its need and its accessibility has caused serious economic trouble recently. The solution of this problem by pressure towards fuel saving has shown feasible results. But once the process reaches a certain limit, it becomes permanent and expensive.

Fuel consumption will have a rising tendency in the next twenty years, according to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) data and prognosis (Vienna 1982).

It will entail very big investments in the developing countries to increase the capacity of industries and food production and to improve housing conditions, health care, power and water supply and other services. A fourth of today's world population con-

Third World cities is nearly the same quantity of energy consumed per square metre in these cities as in industrially advanced countries. A UN report envisages further rapid growth of big cities. There will be six cities with a population of over 20 million each by the beginning of the 21st century.

This is why "new" sources and methods of gaining energy or energy production are being sought and verified intensively. Time is, however, the main factor affecting their implementation. An IAEA study (1982) shows that the use of coal and nuclear energy will be obviously most real and most effective in the period of the next 20–30 years. It should be taken into account here that coal reserves are sufficient for the production of electrical energy for several centuries and if accelerators are in general use, uranium reserves will represent an energy source equal in size to coal reserves (but only half of it if today's nuclear reactors are used). It should be noted that water energy may form a suitable supplement in some countries. Other ways and energy sources will remain less important, however effective they may be.

Even a cursory consideration of problems connected with the fuel crisis and its global impact of humankind and its environment shows that an optimum solution means using resources and energy only for those programmes that really promote further development of the human society. We are convinced that a stop to armament would lead to a considerable drop in the consumption of energy and raw materials that are used for the production of arms at present. This would also stop the process of changing a part of natural resources by human labour into the product—arms (and waste), and this would, in consequence, lead to a limitation of the unnecessary environmental pollution.

"It is shocking that in the era of nuclear energy utilisation and space flights, there are almost 500 million people in the developing countries who suffer from hunger permanently and 40 million of them die of malnutrition every year."

untraditional attitudes to the solution of the food shortage problem. It would certainly be effective and humane in this respect to devote a part of the means allotted to armament programmes for the development of the necessary branches of science and new biotechnologies with the aim to eliminate the threat of hunger and shortage.

A development trend of human society, denominated generally as intensification, shows an ever increasing tendency in spite of different political, social, and geographical conceptions and uneven development. Intensification is exceptionally rapid in industrially advanced countries but very slow in developing countries, where almost two-thirds of the population of our planet lives.

sumes namely two-thirds of the world's energy and differences between the individual countries are even much bigger (the US, e.g., uses 120 times more energy per capita than Bangladesh). Further energy consumption growth may also be expected for the needs of further progress in the industrial countries, with emphasis on environmental control, which will require a lot of energy (e.g. reclamation, pollution abatement). Further increase in the consumption of electric power is envisaged with a view to the steadily continuing process of population concentration in big agglomerations, necessitating an increased number of big power plants.

Alternative Sources of Energy

One of the most important factors determining power demand is population density. Although the population of developing countries consumes considerably less energy than that of industrial countries, one of the consequences of the overpopulation of

Conversion of Military Production

The military consumes vast natural and human resources, in fact. An estimate of oil consumption for military purposes only is double the consumption of oil by the whole of Africa. The military complex and the manufacturing complex linked with it employ about 60 million people today. This is approximately the number of all workers in Europe, with the exception of the USSR. It is quite feasible from the viewpoint of national economy to convert military production to peace programmes. This conversion would make it possible to solve acute problems of social and economic needs in the individual states as well as to eliminate unemployment and to allot more money to health care, education, housing, transportation etc. on a worldwide scale.

The elimination of negative effects caused by energy production is another possible field of activity. In the US, for example, damage caused by air pollution is estimated

World's Fuel Crisis

Let us mention some aspects of the fuel crisis in this respect. Although there is an excess of primary energy and there are technologies for the conversion of all the energy that we shall need in the future

at 10 billion dollars a year. A sum equaling 7 per cent of US military expenditures for 1980 would be fully sufficient to eliminate this damage. (It would be even a smaller proportion today with respect to the increase of the US military budget.) Sums gained by reducing military budgets could be used for significantly increased scientific and technical help to developing countries in solving their fuel crisis. It would be possible to use creative capacities from the field of the existing military research as it employs ten times more scientists and technicians than there are altogether in all developing countries. It should be further noted that two-thirds of the means spent on the development of science and technology in the world today, i.e., approximately 35 billion dollars, are used for military programmes only. Even these incomplete, fragmentary data lead us to the conclusion that it is quite necessary to stop further wasting of energy and raw materials as well as human skills and labour on the production of all kinds of weapons, as this means wasting wealth on activities alien to and dangerous for humankind. This wealth could be used in another way for a happier and richer life through creative human work.

The connections between stopping the arms race and the creation of conditions for solving global ecological problems of the biosphere, environmental control and improvement, is being increasingly realized with considerable concern by the people. This unambiguous reality of today may be substantiated by conclusions of the UNEP annual report: "Problems of disarmament, environmental development and protection are closely interconnected and represent the gravest ones facing humankind. Development may hardly keep the required pace and a healthy environment cannot be maintained in the middle of an ever increasing arms race. Moreover, environmental development and control are endangered seriously by the mere existence of arms that have been produced until now, especially nuclear weapons. Their use, whether deliberate or caused by a mistake or even a mental disorder, would affect cruelly the very essence of humankind's existence."

It is a well known and proven fact that the potentials of military nuclear arsenals are so huge at present that it has been found necessary to invent the term, the "overkill factor", to determine how many times these potentials could kill every man on earth. We agree fully with the conclusions reached in the UNEP report concerning the extremely grave danger to the very essence of human existence on our planet represented by nuclear weapon arsenals. The effort to prevent a nuclear war is the principal duty of all peace-loving people and it is necessary to refuse principally all illusions of what is called a limited nuclear war as its consequence would affect cruelly all humankind as well as the whole biosphere.

Local Wars and Local Conflicts

A permanent and grave danger to environmental protection and control is represented by "local" wars and "local" war conflicts that have practically never ceased since the end of World War II. Their negative ecological impact may be demonstrated by the facts presented at the international symposium on herbicides and defoliants in war—its long term effects on man and nature, held in Ho Chi Minh City in 1983.

Scientists have stated that the US Ranch Hand Operation in Viet Nam was really a large-scale chemical war, the first massive chemical war in history. The US used 90,000 tons of chemicals, this included 44 million litres of Agent Orange, 20 million litres of Agent White and 8 million litres of Agent Blue, in Viet Nam. The quantity of dioxin used was not less than 170 kgs.

the coast and endangering the normal functioning of sea water desalination plants. This poses a very serious threat to a number of harbour towns and their inhabitants, which are supplied with potable water from those desalination plants.

It is possible to supply innumerable examples of the very grave negative effects for the people and their environment emanating from local wars. However, this would only confirm that any war conflict brings people merely death, immeasurable suffering and losses, with long-term and sometimes even permanent consequence for their health and environment.

We are convinced that global ecological problems as well as disarmament and peace problems know no frontiers and their immediate solution is in humankind's vital interest. The pressure of human population on the biosphere and its resources is extra-

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All wars have numerous side effects not only on the people but also on their environment and the nature. For example, the war conflict in Uganda has, besides many other losses and big damage, prevented the implementation of a project for the rescue of an antelope threatened by extinction, the Uganda kob that adorns the country's emblem. The scientific material and the project prepared by Czechoslovak scientists to save the kob have become mere historical documents on the extinction of this species and obviously also other rare species, which means an irreparable loss for the world.

Iraq-Iran War

The war between Iran and Iraq is another serious threat to the interests and needs of the inhabitants and to the environment. According to recent reports, some oil tanks have been damaged as a consequence of this conflict. Oil has leaked from them into the Gulf and formed gradually an oil slick covering a comparatively large area equaling nearly half the area of Austria. This has not only endangered all life in the sea in that area but the slick is moving along

ordinary at present and it will further tend to rise. This is why it is necessary to stop the irrational and inhuman investment of all kinds of human material resources in building armaments. This will bring no permanent values for the solution of development problems of the human society, either at present or in the future. While you have been reading this article, about 15 million dollars have been spent on armaments and almost 1,400 people have died of hunger. Just imagine in what different ways these resources used for armament could have made peoples' lives happier. This is why the efforts to stop the feverish arms race and create conditions for a transition to disarmament must get into the foreground of all world events with great urgency.



10th Anniversary of NIEO Declaration

Greater Effort Needed to Change International Economic Relations

RABINDRA CHANDRA DUTT

THE SIXTH special session of the UN General Assembly adopted on 1 May 1974 two momentous documents which sought to reshape the international economic relations. The first was the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and the other a Programme of Action on the establishment of this Order, the NIEO.

The Declaration listed twenty points and was comprehensive in its scope. It demanded "full respect" *inter alia* for the "sovereign equality of States and self-determination of all peoples . . . the right of every country to adopt the economic and social system that it deems the most appropriate for its own development . . . the right of all States, territories and peoples under foreign occupation, alien and colonial domination or apartheid to restitution and full compensation . . . regulation and supervision of the transnational corporations . . . just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials . . . exported by developing countries and the price of . . . manufactures, capital goods and equipment imported by them . . . extension of active assistance to developing countries by the whole international community . . . preferential and non-reciprocal treatment of developing countries . . . securing favourable conditions for the transfer of financial resources to developing countries and giving the developing countries access to the achievements of modern science and technology . . ."

The Declaration marks the official recognition by the world community of the demands of the developing countries for the NIEO, and it is the tenth anniversary of this recognition that we observe this year. This is a good time to assess how much of

the demands we in the developing countries have achieved; and if we have not achieved much, the reason therefor. This is the time to consider the future strategy for pressing the demands and to achieve, if possible, better results in the future than in the past.

Disappointing Decade

The achievements so far have been disappointing, to say the least. The transfer of financial resources, or the concessional aid called the Official Development Assistance (ODA), which the developing countries had demanded should be 0.7 percent of the GNP of the developed countries, has not reached this target. Indeed, it has been shrinking in recent years, instead of progressing towards the target level. Barriers to exports from developing to developed countries, instead of being reduced on a non-reciprocal basis as demanded, have been mounting with the wave of protectionism unleashed by developed countries; and the prices of raw materials exported by developing countries have been falling in relation to the products of the developed countries, thus turning the terms of trade against the former. Above all "the right of every country to adopt the economic and social system that it deems most appropriate for its own development" is being flouted by stiff conditions attached to aid and loans which insist on the development of the market type of capitalist economy.

Why have the results been so disappointing and what does this mean to the developing countries? The demand for the NIEO is not just a decade old. Its roots lie far back in the past, and are entwined with the movement for the liberation of the colonies. The fifties and the sixties witnessed the process of decolonisation, but this was only a partial fulfilment of the aspiration of the colonial peoples. It meant political liberation, but did not assure economic freedom. The task of building up self-reliant

economies hitherto suppressed by imperialist forces remained, and it is no wonder therefore that the newly liberated colonies opted for non-alignment in order to concentrate on this essential economic task. The Bandung Conference held in 1955 gave expression for the first time to this feeling, and it was followed six years later in 1961 by the First Non-Aligned Summit at Belgrade. Though the Summit was mainly concerned with the political aspect of non-alignment its economic concern was unmistakable. A Conference on the Problems of Economic Development at Cairo followed in 1962 under the auspices of the non-aligned movement. It was the first meeting of the developing countries on this subject.

UNCTAD Initiatives

This initial spurt had its effect, at least organisationally though not in terms of concrete concessions to the demands of developing countries. Hitherto, commercial discussions were held under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which was dominated by the developed countries and whose main object was to extend "freedom of world trade", especially to the developing countries.

A new forum, the United Nations Commission for Trade & Development (UNCTAD) created as an organ of the United Nations, was formed and it met for the first time at Geneva from March to June 1964 with 1,500 delegates drawn from 119 countries. The Final Act of the UNCTAD Conference, though in the nature of a compromise, declared *inter alia*: "National and international economic policies should be directed towards the attainment of international division of labour in harmony with the needs and interests of developing countries in particular, and the world as whole. Developed countries should assist the developing countries in their efforts to speed up their economic and social progress, and should

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cooperate in measures taken by developing countries for diversifying their economies and should encourage appropriate adjustments in their own economies to this end."

The then UN Secretary General U. Thant hailed it as "an event of historical importance likely to have a significant impact on international co-operation for years to come."

The UNCTAD was a better forum for the ventilation of the demands of the developing countries than the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and even the GATT, which were bound by their own rules on procedural and other matters. The developing countries on the strength of their numbers found themselves in a majority in the UNCTAD where, as an organ of the General Assembly of the United Nations, each country had one vote. The new forum therefore encouraged the developing countries to organise themselves in order to put forward their case more effectively. The Group of 77 was born, and has continued ever since with the same name though its membership now well exceeds the original number, 77.

The Kennedy Round

The decade of the sixties was one of growth of the Western economies, accompanied by a commodity boom. Raw materials were in demand and it was no longer possible to treat the demands of the developing countries with indifference as had been the practice hitherto. Negotiations had to be entered into by the developed countries, and the scope of negotiations widened. GATT, for instance, which had hitherto functioned to promote freedom of the market forces and mutual benefits on a reciprocal basis now accepted a section, referred to as Part IV, to deal with the problems of market access of the developing countries and for co-operation, trade promotion and development of these countries. The round of tariff negotiations during 1963-67, referred to as the Kennedy Round after President Kennedy, unlike the preceding round, recognised the need for non-reciprocity and special concessions to developing countries. The Kennedy Round of negotiations was followed in the seventies by the Tokyo Round, the basis for which was laid by the Tokyo Declaration in September 1973. Of special interest in this Declaration to developing countries is the treatment accorded to tropical products as a "special and priority sector" (para 3) and the provision that "the negotiations were to cover tariff, no-tariff barriers and other measures which impede or distort international trade in both industrial and agricultural products and materials, whether in the primary forms or at any stage of processing, including in particular products of export interest to developing countries and measures affecting their exports" (para 4).

It was also at the end of the sixties, on the basis of the blue-print prepared by UNCTAD in 1968, that the Generalised Scheme of Preferences (GSP) came into force. Though the scheme did not fulfil all the expectations of the developing countries it did give effect in concrete measures to the principle of non-reciprocity in trade concessions and of differential treatment in favour of developing countries.

In other spheres too, such as finance and banking, some progress was made. In 1967 the IMF decided to make special drawing rights (SDR) as special liquidity. Later, UNCTAD III in 1972 originated the proposal to link SDR with development finance. In 1969-70 IMF created the buffer stock facility to finance member countries willing to contribute to an international buffer stock. It was in fact used by a number of developing countries, such as Bolivia, Malaysia and Nigeria in the International Tin Agreement.

"The developed capitalist countries are keen on preventing the developing countries from having independent, self-reliant economies, whether in the socialist or capitalist form."

Emergence of OPEC

The prosperity of the developed countries received a rude shock with the oil price hike announced by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1973; it was followed by a temporary period of recession. The first reaction of the developed countries to the oil price hike was political. OPEC was threatened, and an attempt was made to wean the non-exporting developing countries from it. These attempts failed and the non-oil exporting countries stood solidly by OPEC in spite of the financial hardships which the oil price increase caused to them and which was only partially compensated by OPEC. The OPEC in its turn strongly supported the NIEO.

The United States invited the major oil-consuming nations to a conference in Washington in January 1974, while France proposed a conference on energy under the auspices of the United Nations. These initiatives were, however, neutralised by President Houari Boumediene of Algeria, the then President of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) who asked for a special session of the United Nations General Assembly to study the problems of raw-materials and development. This proposal was widely supported by the developing countries and

the Sixth Special Session accordingly met in April-May 1974.

Birth of NIEO

The Declaration and the Programme of Action of NIEO, referred to earlier, which left the developed countries in disarray, on the defensive, were passed by consensus. It was, however, a paper victory for the developing countries. Like the Final Act of UNCTAD in 1964, exactly a decade earlier, there was no serious attempt to follow up the Declaration or to implement the programme.

The period immediately following the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly was marked, on the one hand, by the attempt of the United States to isolate OPEC and deal with the problems of oil separately, and on the other, by the demonstration of solidarity between OPEC and the non-oil-exporting developing countries to resist these efforts. The Western European countries led by France adopted a line independent of the United States, and acted as an intermediary between the two antagonistic groups. A "preparatory" meeting was held in Paris, but it failed because of the inflexibility of the United States. This was followed by the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly in autumn 1975. Some attempts were made at this session to reach agreements on specific demands, but the United States pursuing a line independently of the EEC created considerable confusion and the session ended up with disagreement on almost all the major proposals.

The period nevertheless was one of intense negotiations on specific issues. The negotiations were concentrated mostly on commodity prices. Indeed, UNCTAD IV which met at Nairobi in May 1976 reached a consensus on the Integrated Programme of Commodities. The developed countries accepted the concept of stabilisation of commodity prices through stocking and other measures, though they did not commit themselves to the idea of the Common Fund beyond agreeing to negotiate. In the meantime, the Conference on International Economic Co-operation (CIEC) continued in Paris until it came to an end in June 1977. The developed countries agreed in principle to the establishment of the Common Fund, and with this agreement in principle the Integrated Programme of Commodities was completed. The details of the Programme and of the Common Fund continued to be discussed at various forums of the UNCTAD, but the discussions lost their momentum. The discussions had reached a plateau, as one writer put it, and thereafter tapered off.

Protectionism in Developed Countries

The second oil shock of 1979, and more particularly the onset of the world recession

in the early eighties struck a death blow to the prospects of NIEO. Commodity prices fell relatively, and the terms of trade deteriorated to the considerable disadvantage of developing countries. In spite of all the professions about freedom of trade, protectionism became rampant in developed countries. Official Development Assistance (ODA), instead of rising to 0.7 percent of GNP, as demanded by the developing countries, actually shrank, and for a variety of reasons emanating mainly from the United States the interest rates rose. The developing countries, specially those of them which imported oil, were placed in an almost impossible position. The deteriorating terms of trade and the rising tide of tariffs and even physical barriers to export denied the developing countries' opportunity to finance development out of their export surplus. They were forced to go in for commercial loans thus compounding the debt problem. The oil exporting developing countries were of some assistance in this respect, but this was not sufficient, and with the glut in the oil market and consequent fall in oil earnings even this advantage soon disappeared.

In the eighties so far, therefore, the developing countries instead of enjoying even to a small extent the benefits of a New International Economic Order, for which they had struggled for more than two decades, found themselves with a world recession, high barriers against their exports, lack of financial liquidity, high interest rates, mounting debts and adverse terms of trade, much worse off than they were at the beginning of the period. In this atmosphere even the willingness of the developed countries to negotiate which was noticeable in the sixties and the seventies had been impaired. It is no wonder that UNCTAD VI at Belgrade in June 1983 ended in a stale-mate. The developing countries were asked to cooperate with the developed countries and wait patiently until the developed countries resumed their growth, for it was only the growth of the developed countries, it was argued, that could ensure the prosperity of developing countries.

Subsidiary Role of Developing Countries

Is this true? Prosperity of the developed countries may indeed remove some of the special problems flowing therefrom that the developing countries face, but it does nothing, in the absence of a structural change, to remove the subsidiary relationship in which the latter are placed vis-a-vis the former. It is this position which inhibits their full development as independent, self-reliant economies, whether in the socialist or capitalist form, that the developing countries have been striving for, and it is this consumption that the developed capitalist countries are keen on preventing.

Indeed, the recession has induced a subtle change of emphasis on the part of the developed countries, and the develop-

ing countries must take note of it. The emphasis is once again on the integration of the developing countries, not as equal partners but in a subsidiary, peripheral role, in the world capitalist system. The developed capitalist countries may even concede a certain measure of industrialisation to the developing countries, but strictly under the control of foreign capital, mainly of the transnational corporations. Such industrialisation should, in their view, be supplementary, if not subsidiary to their own economy and not competitive with them. This type of industrialisation cannot be an integral part of national development of the developing countries, for their parameters have to be defined to suit the developed capitalist countries. The conditionalities hitherto insisted upon by the World Bank and the IMF to keep the economies of the developing countries open for exploitation by the developed countries will now be en-

"The danger of a dependent type of economic growth is made real by developed capitalist countries encouraging a subservient comprador bourgeoisie in developing countries."

forced progressively by western commercial banks who will define the "country risk" of lending on the basis of conformity or otherwise with these conditions.

Dependent Economic Development

The danger of this dependent type of economic development is made real by the encouragement given by developed countries to the growth of comprador bourgeoisie in the developing countries. A new vested interest is created in this type of development among groups of bourgeoisie who work as commission agents for import of foreign goods, or who are given a share of the profit in limited ventures of processing and manufacture.

Obviously, this type of development is no answer to the problems of developing countries. In the final analysis, the poverty of the developing countries is both the cause and the result of the present unjust international economic order. Poverty is the cause because the poor developing countries are unequal partners in the international economic order; they have no staying power, no bargaining strength to enforce a juster order. It is the result, because the present international economic order prevents independent, self-reliant

development and thus perpetuates poverty. From the point of view of the developing countries this vicious circle must be broken, but it is precisely this objective that the developed capitalist countries are opposed to because it hurts them, at least in the short run, if not in the long run. In the long run, as Keynes said, we are all dead. Few have the foresight to look far ahead.

Way Out is South-South Co-operation

What then is the way out? The only way out is South-South Co-operation supplemented by co-operation with socialist countries which have no conflict of interest with the development process of developing countries. The former was emphasised at the Seventh NAM Summit, which met at New Delhi in March 1983, but not much concrete action in this direction has followed so far. The task is undoubtedly difficult, because the perceptions of the developing countries are different not only because their circumstances vary but also because the dominant social interests in these countries are not the same. Nevertheless, considerable scope exists, and a beginning must be made. Progress can be made by groups of countries selected on the basis of complementarity of their economies and lack of conflict of perception of their national interests. This may indeed involve temporary hardship on the countries practising it, but there is no other path if the political liberation of the former colonies is to redeem the promises inherent in such liberation, namely, self-reliant development, not for small groups or sections of the population of these countries but for the masses hitherto deprived.

International Year of Peace—1986



UN Begins Preparations for World-wide Observance

Logo of the UN International Year of Peace—1986

The UN General Assembly in a resolution on 14 November 1983 approved the principal objectives of the draft programme for the observance of the International Year of Peace—1986.

The draft programme, which is contained in a report prepared by the Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, will be reviewed by the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly towards the end of 1984.

In the meantime, the draft programme which will be linked with the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations in 1985, is being circulated throughout the world. The General Assembly resolution, which approved the principal objectives of the programme, invited "all states, all organisations within the United Nations system and interested non-governmental organisations to co-operate with the Secretary General in achieving the objectives of the International Year of Peace."

The preparations for observing the year will be carried out in 1984—85, including the organisation of re-

gional seminars under UN auspices to promote the objectives of the Year.

The Non-Governmental Organisations have been assigned a special role in the preparations for the Year.

The draft programme of the International Year of Peace reflects proposals received and consultations conducted from December 1982 until October 1983. Eleven member States, one non-member State, 19 organizations within the United Nations system, 123 non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council and 28 academic institutions have expressed so far an interest in the programme of the Year. The draft programme is open to further proposals and changes. Since the organizational arrangements for the observance of the Year are not yet completed, several proposals included in this draft programme do not have financial backing.

Published here are extracts from the Draft Programme of the International Year of Peace.

WITH THE fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Organization fast approaching, the peoples of the United Nations must conclude that the main objective, defined in the Charter of the United Nations, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind" has not yet been achieved. While it is true that a new world conflagration has been so far avoided, unfortunately we cannot claim that peace exists in all parts of the world. On the contrary, at present, no country is spared the traumatic fear of war. No country can fully isolate itself from the potential consequences of unresolved international tensions and conflicts or from the drain on resources caused by the enormity of arms expenditures. Above all,

there can be no escape from the global consequences of the use of nuclear weapons should this catastrophe ever be allowed to occur.

The present time demands not only concern over the prospect of war but also, as never before, the wisdom, tenacity and hard work needed to prevent it. In the face of this situation, the craving for peace manifested by so many should lead us to comprehensive and effective action. As is often repeated, peace should mean much more than the absence of war or violence. Peace should be promoted as positive relationship between States and peoples based on co-operation, mutual trust, understanding and justice.

The foundation of peace and security can be strengthened within the framework of the United Nations. The potential of the

United Nations must be fully utilized in resolving those problems which deepen distrust among nations and inhibit the collective action and co-operation needed for the betterment of the human condition. But this requires a strong commitment by Member States to honour the principles of the Charter and wide public involvement which is essential in the development of better mutual understanding and co-operation among the nations and peoples of the world. In this spirit, the General Assembly declared 1986 to be the International Year of Peace.

While 1986 may not yet be a year in which international peace prevails, it must be a year of action for peace and serious reflection on the nature and conditions for peace. The objectives and programme of the International Year of Peace are

"The main objective of the UN Charter to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war has not yet been achieved."

open to everybody. Initiatives and support from all corners of the globe are expected and welcomed.

Objectives of Year of Peace

The following are the main objectives of the International Year of Peace:

(a) To stimulate concerted and effective action of the United Nations, its member States, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, educational, cultural, academic institutions and mass media promoting peace on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations;

(b) To strengthen the United Nations as the principal international system devoted to the promotion and maintenance of peace. To urge Member States to renew their commitment to the principles of the Charter and to implement effectively these principles. To enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in fulfilling its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. To raise public awareness and support for the activities of the United Nations;

(c) To focus attention and encourage reflection on the basic requirements of peace in the contemporary world, especially on:

(i) Peace as a pre-condition for development and social progress, security, national independence and justice;

(ii) Disarmament and prevention of nuclear catastrophe as essential elements of peace;

(iii) The role of international cooperation, dialogue, mutual understanding and trust in the maintenance of peace with the involvement of Governments, parliaments and non-governmental organizations;

(iv) Preparation for life in peace, a process in which education, science, culture, religion, mass media play an important role, and which requires effective participation of various social groups, especially women, youth, elderly, war veterans and professionals;

(v) Peace as a requirement for the implementation of human rights and the satisfaction of human needs in food, shelter, health, education, labour and environment.

Activities of United Nations

It is expected that Member States will bring to the political organs of the United Nations proposals and initiatives which could effectively contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security and the strengthening of the United Nations.

The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations creates an appropriate occasion to stimulate the recommitment by Member States to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to enhance the authority of the United Nations.

The experience of the United Nations system in the promotion of peace will be popularized by the dissemination of:

(a) Resolutions of the General Assembly establishing principles of peace, such as the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, the documents of the special sessions on disarmament and the Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes;

(b) Documents pertaining to the procedures of the Security Council—debates, resolutions and peace-keeping operations;

(c) Programmes supporting peace such as the Disarmament Decades, the World Disarmament Campaign, the United Nations Decade for Women and the International Youth Year;

(d) Programmes of the specialized agencies contributing to the promotion of peace.

Role of Non-Governmental Organizations

The United Nations will welcome and recognize the efforts of the non-governmental organizations, educational, cultural and academic institutions commemo-

rating the Year. The symbolic emblem "Peace Messenger" may be established and awarded to organizations and institutions which report their activities related to the observance of the Year.

The United Nations will continue to encourage international co-operation of scholars attempting to define common objectives and universal characteristics of peace and to present specific aspects of peace in different socio-economic and political conditions. This international co-operation may take the form of joint research groups, debates, statements, seminars, publications, television and radio programmes.

The United Nations will sponsor international contests in the field of art, culture, education and in such forms as posters, coins, medals, stamps, emblems, films and TV programmes. The possibility of an art exhibition of the works of the winners of national contests and an international gala concert will be considered. The co-operation and exchange of experience of the mass media and educators will be encouraged.

The United Nations Information Centres will actively participate in the preparation of programmes and the observance of the International Year of Peace at the national level, offering information and opportunities for meetings, exhibitions, contests, etc.

Three publications summarizing different approaches to peace, universal aspects of peace and the effects of the International Year of Peace will be prepared.

A commemorative series of stamps and a Peace Medal will be issued.

Activities of UN Agencies and Bodies

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), within its major programme "Peace, International Understanding, Human Rights and the Rights of People", will conduct activities in the framework of social and human sciences, education and public information.

(a) Studies will be carried out on philosophical reflection of peace, on factors conducive to peace, on interpretations of causes and consequences of conflicts and on links between peace, disarmament and development. It is proposed

"The present time demands, as never before, the wisdom, tenacity and hard work needed to prevent nuclear war."

"While 1986 may not yet be a year in which international peace prevails, it must witness action for peace."

that the results of these studies should be examined by the international meetings of experts and published in 1986-1987. In addition, comparative studies are proposed dealing with the way the media handle international conflicts and the contribution they could make to peace and security;

(b) In the field of education, a multi-lateral consultation is to be held concerning the Year to determine practical steps which can be taken to promote follow-up to the Intergovernmental Conference on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, with a view to developing a frame of mind conducive to the strengthening of security and to disarmament. Other activities are foreseen to improve curricula and educational materials in school education, particularly through the associated schools, and to provide an initial basis for extending educational action to promote peace and respect for human rights and the rights of peoples to higher, non-formal and adult education;

(c) In the area of public information, the publication of an edition of the UNESCO Courier, the production of a series of slides and the preparation of radio programmes is proposed.

Seminars and Lectures

The United Nations University, within its subprogramme on Peace and Global Transformation, will undertake two actions contributing to the programme of the International Year of Peace;

(a) A lecture series on peace: 12 lectures by leading intellectuals will take place in major cities in different regions of the world addressed to the members of the general public, including decision-makers and opinion leaders. Each lecture will be publicized to attract regional attention and a publication will make all lectures available to world public opinion;

(b) A project on regional peace and security in the Third World and Europe will be carried out through a series of regional meetings in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and Asia, with a final meeting in New York, in 1986. The project will mobilize the academic community, as well as decisionmakers and opinion leaders, and will foster the trend

in each region for the development of regional capacity to analyze problems of peace and security.

The World Health Organization (WHO) expressed the importance of the link between health and peace in the programme "Health for All by the Year 2000" and in the resolution entitled "The role of physicians and other health workers in the preservation and promotion of peace." Within the programme of the International Year of Peace, WHO will publish a special issue of World Health Magazine, produce a radio programme, a feature and a slideset and promote greater awareness of the interdependence between health and peace at WHO-sponsored meetings.

The International Labour Office, in its programme, will emphasize the economic and social conditions conducive to peace, particularly through employment promotion, human resources development and conciliation of labour interests.

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations is considering the possibility of linking World Food Day in 1986 with the programme of the International Year of Peace.

The World Food Programme will emphasize in all major statements in 1985-1986 the relation between peace and economic stability through the alleviation of poverty and hunger.

The contribution of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) to the programme of the Year will result from the implementation of the UNEP programme on Peace and Security.

The Universal Postal Union plans to direct the attention of the postal administration of Member States to the programme of the Year and to stimulate the issue of special commemorative stamps.

The United Nations Relief and Works

Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East plans to arrange competitions among school children for the best drawings on the subject of peace.

The International Atomic Energy Agency, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade will make special reference to the International Year of Peace in statements and publications.

Other organizations within the United Nations system have been urged to specify their programmes at a later date.

Activities of Non-Governmental Organizations

The interest expressed by the non-governmental organizations in the programme of the International Year of Peace reflects the broad public support for the cause of peace and the desire to strengthen the United Nations as an effective instrument of peace. Their often-repeated emphasis on dialogue, mutual understanding and trust makes the co-operation between non-governmental organizations representing various objectives, interests and orientations, especially important.

A Conference of non-governmental organizations on the International Year of Peace, to be held in 1986 at Geneva, has been proposed.

Although the consultations of the programme had been limited to those non-governmental organizations which were granted consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, it is to be expected that the objectives and the programme of the International Year of Peace will attract the attention of a large number of organizations and groups, each developing its own programme of action and co-operation with others.

Two main areas of the activities of the non-governmental organizations were identified during the consultations: studies on aspects of peace and general actions directed towards public opinion. Problems of development, disarmament, education for peace, human rights and moral motivation for peace, the role of women, youth and religious groups, were most frequently mentioned as areas of particular interest.

The following forms of action were mentioned during consultations as most suitable

"The 40th anniversary of the UN (1985) must stimulate recommitment to the UN Charter to safeguard peace."

"The UN will welcome and recognise the efforts of the NGOs relating to the observance of the International Year of Peace—1986."

able for the activities of non-governmental organizations:

- (a) Organization of special committees, national committees and task forces addressed to the objective of the International Year of Peace;
- (b) References to the Year at world congresses and international conferences by holding special sessions, adopting resolutions and declarations;
- (c) Public statements and declarations addressed to the United Nations, Governments and public opinion;
- (d) Conferences, symposia and seminars;
- (e) Publications, television and radio programmes;
- (f) Competitions, especially among children and youth;
- (g) Exhibitions.

Member States and intergovernmental organizations are urged to facilitate the action of non-governmental organizations directed towards the International Year of Peace and to help in the participation of non-governmental organizations in the activities of the United Nations related to the programme of the Year.

The secretariat of the International Year of Peace, within its capacities, will register and publicize the activities of the non-governmental organizations and will stimulate exchanges of information among interested organizations. The list of specific activities of the non-governmental organizations will be included in the preparation of the final version of the programme.

National Activities

As expressed in the replies from the Member States and during consultations with specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations, the activities at the national level should constitute an essential element of the programme of the International Year of Peace. The creation

"The UN will sponsor studies on causes and the consequences of conflicts and the links between peace, disarmament and development."

of national committees or councils for the Year is suggested.

A proposal to hold national referendums in each Member State on problems of complete disarmament and non-violence as essential to the achievement of international peace is submitted by one of the Member States.

Another Member State proposed a cessation in 1986 of all measures which contribute to deterioration of the international situation and relations between the States.

The replies from Member States stress the importance of national activities especially in the spheres of education, culture, science and mass media.

The proposals addressed to the school system include the introduction of a new subject "Education to Peace" into the curriculae, information campaigns, literary and art contests and peace messages prepared by children, etc.

Other activities suggested at the national level include organization of conferences and seminars, publications, issue of commemorative stamps and medallions, cultural contests, expansion of peace research and public events such as a marathion of torches of peace, marches, speech contests, etc.

One Member State proposed that "Peace Memorials" like those reminding of past wars should be erected through an exchange of component parts by schools, public and private institutions and individuals.

Although in each country the programme of the International Year of Peace will reflect national priorities and conditions, broad international co-operation in the specific programmes is desirable and could form a part of the activities sponsored by the United Nations. The increase of international political, cultural and scientific contacts is proposed as well as development of special tourist programmes.

Topics for Research and Studies

Consultations with academic organizations identified the following several topics for research and studies:

- (a) Concept of peace reflecting the increasing complexity of the modern world and danger of armed conflicts;
- (b) Conflict management, negotiations, peace-keeping objectives;
- (c) Disarmament mechanisms and security measures such as nuclear-free zones;
- (d) Interplay between conflict and co-operation;
- (e) Concept of international community and international co-operation;
- (f) Economics of war and peace;
- (g) Political, economic and social obstacles in the maintenance of peace;
- (h) Nature of violence and constraints to violence;
- (i) Peace as a component of religious values;
- (j) Historical perspective of the human quest for peace;
- (k) Peace movements;
- (l) Moral responsibilities of scientists and intellectuals in the promotion of peace;
- (m) Perception of the United Nations activities promoting peace;
- (n) Inventory of existing knowledge on peace.

The fundamental objective in studying these and other possible topics is to establish an international co-operation between scholars which could help to identify the areas of common approaches and to narrow existing differences. The importance of high-quality research and its practical relevance was stressed. The materials resulting from an international co-operation between scholars, such as publications, television and radio programmes, should be widely publicized and exchanged.

Although the body of research relevant to problems of peace is growing and encompasses a wide range of disciplines and research techniques, the allocation of more resources to these studies is to be encouraged.

The role of universities and all systems of higher education in the promotion of peace is emphasized. During the International Year of Peace, several universities plan to intensify the exchange of scholars, lecturers and students. Special Honorary Chairs on Peace Studies may be established as an incentive for co-operation and exchange of ideas.

The University for Peace, established by General Assembly resolution 35/55, plans to co-operate with universities in various countries in promoting the objectives of the International Year of Peace through seminars, research projects and the preparation of an inventory of existing studies.

The contacts and co-operation between the academic community and other intellectual groups, such as writers, artists, journalists and educators, are highly relevant for the promotion of peace.

Erosion in Israeli Education Budget

Feeding Militarist Concept of "Greater Israel"

ZIPPORA SHARONI-TOUBI

The Israeli authorities have been drastically reducing the state budget for education to divert funds to advance the ideology of "Greater Israel" or the "Complete Land of Israel", the colonial settlements in the Arab occupied territories and the Israeli war in Lebanon.

This policy, which is gravely affecting the education of the present generation of Israeli children and youth, has been fully exposed in a study relating to the school year 1983/84 by Mrs. Zippora Sharoni-Toubi. Extracts from her study are published here.

THE ISRAELI government has continued to follow the policy of reducing the education budget year after year. This is so for the school year 1983/84 also. The government has made a demand to cut the current educational budget by 7 billion shekel—5.5 billion shekel from the budget of the Ministry of Education and 1.5 billion shekel from the budget of the institutions of higher education.

Of the educational budget, 80 per cent is allocated for formal education (out of which 93% is allocated for the payment of salaries to approximately 50 thousand teachers; 7% for services, transportation and maintenance of secondary schools), while 20% of the budget is allocated for informal education—culture and sports.

This is the price which the Likud has been demanding from the Israeli citizens

in the sphere of education, for advancing the ideology of "the Complete Land of Israel", the colonial settlements in the occupied territories and the war in Lebanon. The sums of money which are channelled to the religious colleges and schools of the Agudat Israel, however, have not been cut by the government, not even by one penny.

Implication of Curtailment of Education Budget

The implication of this plan of curtailment is that six hours per week will be lost by every pupil in the educational system—one hour less schooling every day. Thus the pupils of first to third form will end their daily study at 11 hours. Who will care for them until the parents return from work? The pupils will learn still less general history and literature, less exact sciences, arithmetic, physics, chemistry, even less than the little which exists till now.

Professor A. Kahat, deputy director of

the Technion, in charge of academic matters, has already sounded the following warning: "We are witnessing a continued decrease in the level of preparation at secondary schools in the subjects of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and the English language. The secondary school system has passed on to the Technicum the burden of teaching these subjects at the secondary school level. The result is that the majority of students devote an additional year to studies for repairing the losses which had been caused to them at the secondary school." (*Ha'aretz*, 17 August 1983).

The curtailment also involves the dismissal of thousands of teachers and the inability of absorbing the graduates of teachers' seminaries and universities in the educational system. The curtailment goes down to the absolute cancellation of complementary education; the cancellation of budgets for developing new projects; the failure to supply schools with audio-visual aids at laboratories and libraries; the closing down of cultural and sports clubs for young people.

The curtailment will also result in the freezing of the budget for building schools, which means a still graver lack of classrooms, falling short already now by several thousand. We read that pupils in the town of Bat-Yam will have to study in classrooms which previously were used as kitchens and restaurants; and that in another three schools there will be no laboratories, libraries, rooms for study of natural sciences and rooms for equipment, because

ZIPPORA SHARONI-TOUBI

Head of the Progressive Teachers; member of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Israel Teachers (Israel)

these rooms have all been turned into ordinary classrooms.

All this raises another question. Where will Arab pupils study? At Arab schools there are no dining rooms at all, no libraries, no rooms for studying natural sciences, no rooms which can be turned into classrooms. Will the children of the first form again start their first school year under trees, as they did in the village of Zalfy in 1982? Will cow-stables and sheep-pens, miserable, leaky huts without electric light, water and toilets again serve as classrooms?

The curtailment of the educational budget is a hard blow inflicted at the whole educational system and at the future generation in this country, at their ability to keep abreast with advances made in science and technology and their ability to acquire all-round education. Its implication is the deepening and sharpening of the social gaps; less and less education for the poor and weak strata.

During more than eight years of the Likud rule, the educational budget has been cut every year. The cuts have meant that every fifth pupil, 20% of those called up for compulsory army service, lacks fundamental education, cannot read and write and does not know the four simple arithmetic rules. These data do not include the Arab youth. Thus, the total percentage is higher. And what will happen after the new cuts?

A survey which was undertaken in the previous school year (1982/83) revealed that more than 20% of the third form pupils had not reached the minimal level which was demanded of graduates of that form. And again, the figures applied only to Jewish schools. If we add to this the situation at the Arab schools in the third form, the percentage will be higher.

Israel Cohen, the spokesman of the Ministry of Education, has said explicitly: "From now on it will be impossible to make cuts without actually hitting at the weak strata of pupils and a blow dealt at them will be doubtlessly mortal and irreversible..." ("Yediot Hadashot", 18 August 1983).

It is clear that at schools in the wealthy environments, the parents pay for additional teaching, for special courses, and complementary education.

Dr. Carmi Yogev, Director of the Herzliya secondary school in Tel-Aviv, has stated that in the highest group (forms 10-12) in 1982/83, 6,800 shekel were collected for additional lessons (for a laboratory for teaching languages, for use of computers).

However, in the schools in the poor neighbourhoods, in the quarters of distress, in the poor and remote villages and in the Arab villages, where the parents are unable to pay for additional lessons, the children have been receiving less teaching and knowledge and now they will receive still less.

Budget Cuts Affect Kindergartens and Higher Education

Today, everyone knows that the most profitable "investment" should be made during the early stages in the development of a child. The cuts will also affect these vital stages in the nursery schools.

The kindergartens have been turned into a luxury in the State of Israel, and this happens at a time when all the researches prove that a child who visits a kindergarten from the age of two to three is better prepared for school, and his prospects to attain higher achievements than his classmate who had visited only the obligatory kindergarten (at the age of 4-5), are much better. A child, who has not been in a kindergarten, comes to the obligatory kindergarten with a lag of two to three years in comparison with his fellow-pupil who had been in a kindergarten at the age of 2-3.

They simply do not start the race from the same starting line. In spite of this, numerous families will be unable to send their children to kindergartens because of the high payment.

The Mayor of Ashkelon, Eli Dayan, has said that hundreds of children at the age of 3 to 4 years in his town, wander about the streets because their parents have no means to pay for a private kindergarten or crèche. And what about the thousands of children in the Arab villages, where there are no creches at all for 2-4 year old children? The Ministry of Education never cared to set up any kindergartens there for the obligatory 4-5 year old children. These are Arab children and therefore it is completely unimportant if they will lag behind. Who cares about this? If this was the situation even before, what will happen now, when the kindergarten fee ranges between 4,500 and 5,000 shekel per month! With the aggravation of the economic situation, there is no doubt that ever more families of workers will not be able to permit themselves the "luxury" of sending their children to kindergartens. Where will be the starting line of these children when they reach the first form?

And if it is allowed to ask the Minister of Education—where are all his promises for extending the law of free and obligatory education to the age of 3 to 4? Where have all the plans for an extended day of studies been stowed away? What has happened to the plan of implementing the reform in the whole educational system in this country? (Here, too, the Arab schools are the last ones in the scale of preferences).

The Institutions of higher education had a deficit of 4.5 billion shekel at the end of the budgetary year 1982/83. The representative of the Committee of Heads of Universities has warned that "if another 10 to 15 billion shekel will be deducted from the budget, there will be no more higher edu-

cation in the State of Israel. This is a complete destruction of our scientific, agricultural, industrial and intellectual future. We will not be happy when we will look at ourselves in the year 2000."

In 1973 the budget of the universities was 7.9% of the whole budget for education. In 1983 the university budget was 4.4%—a decrease of almost 50% and this has been already so before the new cut. In spite of the growth of the number of students by 30%, the budget was cut down by 50%. The academic corpus has diminished. The sources for research and new projects have been restricted. The institutions of higher learning are in a state of stagnation and it is correct to say that they are even regressing. The budgets are constricting and being curtailed, while the university fees are soaring 50,000 shekel a year. Higher education has become a luxury. In yet another few years, we will import from foreign countries engineers, doctors and mathematicians.

Decline in Education of Arab Children

The Arab education, which has been suffering throughout all the years from deprivation and discrimination, will certainly suffer still more from the curtailments. I will here cite a few additional facts to compare the quality of education in the two sectors.

—In 1981 there were 6% complete illiterates in the Jewish population, but 18% in the Arab population.

—In Jewish schools, one teacher is in charge of 10 pupils; in the Arab schools one teacher is in charge of 19 pupils.

—In an Arab class, there are on the average 5 pupils more than in a Jewish class (and frequently much more).

—More than half of the lack of classrooms is in the Arab sector. This is in spite of the fact that in this sector alone, 20% of the pupils are in the elementary schools, and much less in secondary and higher educational institutions.

—In the secondary schools, 9% of the students in Jewish schools drop out, as compared with 20% who drop out in the Arab schools.

—Among the Jewish teachers, 65% have academic education; among the Arab teachers 37%.

In this context, one must mention the gaps between the two sectors in equipment of the school, in youth clubs, sports grounds, the arts, libraries, laboratories. This comparison is impossible in the complementary education.

The gap in education between the Jewish and the Arab sectors will still more widen as a result of the cut in the educational budget.

What are the solutions of the Minister of Education for the dangers which the new cut in the education budget will cause? These are: taxes on education: 400 shekel for every child per month. To this we must add payment for improvements, which in

certain schools have already reached 1,750 shekel per year; books, exercise books, payment for uniforms. This is free education! The education tax will bring in one billion shekel and another billion is to be "found" by the Minister by cancelling jobs of caretakers at schools and introducing "self-service by the pupils". (This will result in the dismissal of thousands of school caretakers). Commuting services to schools have also been restricted.

These means, however, will not improve the education budget. It will suffice to mention that 1.5 billion dollars will be invested by the government in the occupied territories until 1986—this makes 93 billion shekel! This is 13 times higher than all the cuts made in the budget for education and for higher education (7 billion shekel). It shows that there is a source to draw money from. The Minister of Education must act for changing the scale of preferences and the sooner he does that, the better.

Dangerous Influences of Racism

It is no secret that among the children and young people, a process of nationalist chauvinism is taking place continuously. It is true that not everything in this direction stems from formal education (which, too, has a considerable part in this development). But the part of education outside schools is not weaker, and sometimes is even stronger than formal education. And here the heart hurts in view of the racist phenomena and expressions, which naturally have a greater influence, especially among the youth who were born in "Greater Israel" and have absorbed the whole impact of the rule over another people, as that impact is reflected in the Israeli society.

"Selling flats to Arabs is a crime and national bankruptcy." This is the message contained in a big poster which an inhabitant of Upper Nazareth displayed on the window of his flat, facing the street. This was widely covered by the press under large headlines. The person was not brought to court for this show of racism. Even the Mayor of Upper Nazareth, a member of the Alignment (Labour Party—Mapam), Ariav, considers this to be a Jewish town which cannot answer the problems of the Arabs. He has, thus, in practice given his backing to the racist Men'a group which was set up in Upper Nazareth under the auspices of Kahana. And this is heard by thousands of children and young people through the mass media, and nobody there raises the alarm in view of these racist activities.

In the form of adherence to the "Culture of Living" organisation, which is attached to the municipal council of Upper Nazareth, the owners of flats who sign that form take on the obligation not to sell their flats to "members of minority groups (the usual Zionist formula for circumventing the correct appellation—"Arabs"). Any lodger who vio-

lates this obligation must pay a heavy fine to the other lodger in that apartment house.

Racism, which obtains legitimatisation from the ruling authorities and from a part of the mass media of communication, has caused a woman teacher, Galila Barkai, an inhabitant of Upper Nazareth, to say in an interview to "Yediot Ahronot" on 19 August 1983: "I am living in fear... one day we will open our eyes and we will find we are a minority. We will be compelled to enact a racist law which discriminates between one citizen and another. The new immigrants (inhabitants of Nazareth) have had their feeling of living among 'goyim' (non-Jews) in the diaspora... Jews feel uncomfortable living in the neighbourhood with Arabs!"

And about the fact that a number of Arab pupils have gone (from Nazareth) to Upper Nazareth for their matriculation exams, this woman teacher says: "They must not be allowed to be examined here."

Apartheid in Israel

Ariel Sharon claimed after the murderous attack upon the Islamic University in Hebron that no equal law must be applied to Jews and Arabs in Israel and that he does not at all aspire to a regime where Jews and Arabs will enjoy equal rights before the law.

To this, one can add the "Kenig document". (Kenig is the district officer for the north of Israel). In his notorious document, he drew up a plan for the so-called "Judaisation" of Galilee. Also there are expressions like that of General (in reserve) Avigdor Ben-Gal ("Yanosh"): "The Arabs are a cancer in the body of the State"; or of the Government Minister Gideon Patt: "Whoever opposes the policy can leave (the country) and we are ready to pay for the taxi that will take him to the frontier"; of the Deputy Chairman of the Knesset, Meir Cohen-Avidan: "We made a fatal mistake in the (occupied) territories in 1967, when we did not expel the Arabs from there as we had done in 1948."

And all this is "crowned" by Raphael Eitan (the previous chief-of-staff of the Israeli army) at each of his public appearances. He sees the Arabs as "poisoned cockroaches who are running to and fro in a bottle." The same line is taken by Ady Halpern, a member of the Central Committee of the Herut Party who is in favour of apartheid and proposes to kill those Arabs who are not ready to live as he thinks that they must live.

Inside the Likud there are many such Ady Halperns whose racist poison envenoms the air of the country. No wonder that in the supplement of "Ma'ariv"—"Haifa and the North"—(26 August 1983), one can read interviews with citizens in whose hearts the seeds of hostility and racism, sowed by the government and public leaders, have come to fruition in this form: "One Arab enters; he then drags after him another ten"; "in some enterprises Jewish workers are pushed

out and Arabs are taken on for work, because of the supposition that they are a cheap labour force"; "They 'start' with young Jewish girls". "I was approached by various and curious" Arabs who wanted to rent my flat, but I refused."

Even the Knesset, the Israeli legislature, gave the example of enacting a law of allowances for families with many children, which discriminates against Arab families. There is also a previous law—the law for ex-service army men which prevents Arab families from receiving allowances.

The question arises: Why does the Minister of Education and Culture not raise his voice against the racist phenomena, against the calls for genocide, against discrimination and deprivation on the basis of racism?

The central educational issue in schools in 1983/84 will be: "Education for the unity of Israel." The Minister of Education Hammer called "for strengthening the mutual contacts on the basis of a common culture... The educational system is obliged to educate towards understanding between the communities (the groups of Jews in Israel who came from oriental and western countries), between views and beliefs." (Supplement of "Ha'areztz" of 14 August 1983).

And what about the understanding between various religions, between various peoples, between Jews and Arabs? This is the most important problem in the country! Why did the Minister of Education not choose this important issue as a central educational issue, as against the tide of racism and chauvinism? Education for mutual respect, for understanding and friendship between Jews and Arabs, against racism and nationalism—this is the foremost issue and on that depends the future of the young generation in this country.

Peace Book for Children

ABC for Peace

DOROTHY MORRISON

Mrs. DOROTHY MORRISON, B.Ed., got the idea to write a book for children, an ABC for Peace, from an article she had read in the *New Perspectives* several years ago. In this article (NP 3/1977) the Finnish writer, Olavi Linnus, had suggested that it would be wise to bring out an ABC Book on peace for children, so that they could acquire in their childhood a sense of dedication to the ideal of peace and understanding among nations. "An ABC-Book for children could be a powerful instrument to save the mind of the coming generations from the evil influence of violence and war. I think we have to start from the roots and do it now!"

Mrs. Morrison has herself illustrated her book with graphic drawings to convey the message of peace. The text of the book and some of the drawings are reproduced here.

A is for apple

It is better to grow apple trees than to make bombs to blow them up. An apple a day for every child in the world: that's what peace could mean.

B is for banner

Big banners, little banners, square banners, long banners—all say, "We Want peace." Other words beginning with B are boy, brother, basket, butter, balloon, bomb. Can you make up peace messages using some of these words?

DOROTHY MORRISON

Poet (Canada)

C is for Canada, our country

We don't want Canada to help make nuclear bombs. We don't want nuclear weapons in Canada. We don't want to test nuclear weapons here. Canadians need to make peace-time things that people can use—houses, schools, buses, train cars, hospitals.

C is also for crane, a bird with long legs. Japanese children like to make paper cranes. The crane stands for peace.

D is for daffodil, the peace flower

When there are no more wars anywhere, the world will be as lovely as a flower garden. D is for dove, too, and for demonstration. Thousands of people all over the world

demonstrate for peace. We want world leaders to settle quarrels by talking to each other.

E is for ear

We want world leaders to use their ears to hear the people saying, "End the arms race."

F is for friend

Children all over the world can be friends. We need a peaceful, happy world to grow up in.

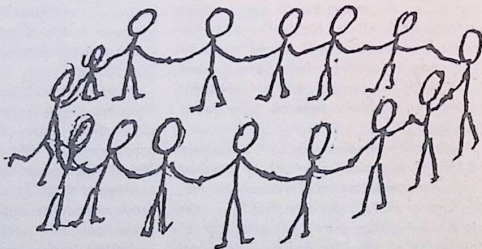
G is for grandmother

Grandmothers care about their grandchildren. They knit sweaters and mitts for them. They write letters to the Prime Minister saying, "We want you to help to suffocate the arms race."

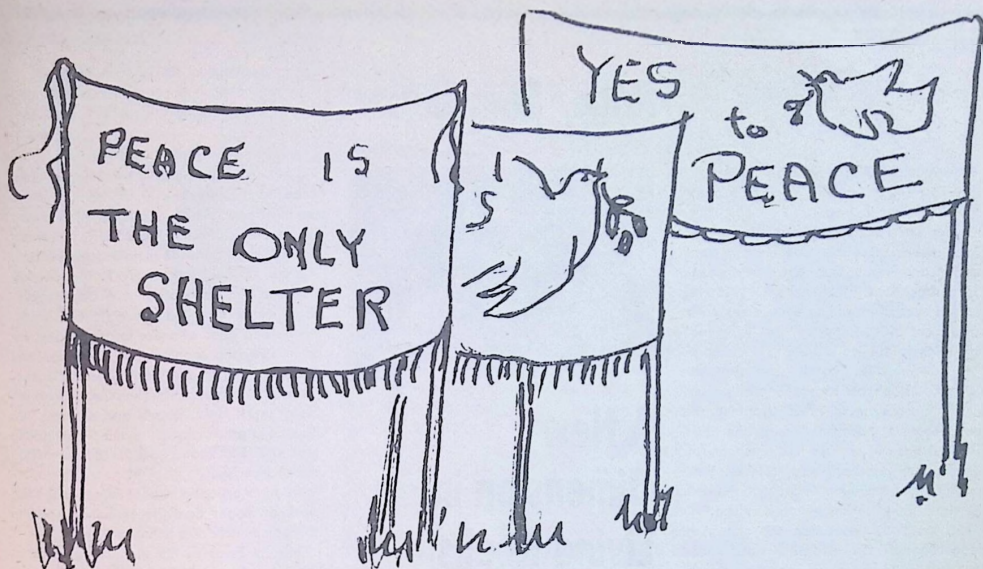
H is for Hiroshima in Japan where an atomic bomb was dropped in 1945 by the United States. Thousands of people died and the city was destroyed. Even now, after nearly forty years, people are suffering because they were hurt by the bomb or made sick by radioactivity. Children of survivors often become very ill. We now know that a war with nuclear bombs would be different from other wars and much worse. That is why we say, "NO MORE HIROSHIMAS".



People all over the world are marching for peace.



When people unite and work for peace, governments will have to listen.



Peace is the only shelter from a nuclear holocaust.

J is for ink

Ink is for writing words of peace, friendship and truth. It is for writing letters about peace and for signing peace petitions.

J is for joy

When there are no more terrible weapons, we will all jump for joy.

K is for kick

The women in some countries say they will kick nuclear weapons right out of their land.

L is for Lucky Dragon

That was the name of a Japanese fishing boat that was showered with radioactive fallout after a United States bomb test on the island of Bikini. (1954)

M is for march

People all over the world are marching for peace. This is their way of saying, "Give peace a chance."

N is for negotiate

World leaders must sit down and talk to each other. They should make plans for getting along without fighting.

O is for ocean

Let us reach out across the oceans and take the hands of friendly people.

P is for planet

If we love our planet earth, we will try to save it from being spoiled. We will try

to keep it green by growing plants and keeping the water clean and pure. War would destroy our beautiful home on earth.

Q is for quilt

The world is like a patchwork quilt. Each patch is different, but each helps to make up the whole thing. Each country is like a patch of the quilt.

R is for rhinoceros and for rabbit

We wish peace for the big rhino and the little rabbit. War would destroy their home as well as ours.

S is for smile

Smiles on happy faces tell us that it is good to be alive. Pass your smile along. When we win peace, then everyone can smile.

T is for tomorrow

People of all ages are working together to make tomorrow a peaceful, happy time.

U is for united

When people unite and work for peace, governments will have to listen. When people are united they are strong.

V is for vacation—by the lake, by the sea, in the mountains or on the prairie. A peaceful world means a world where everyone can have happy holidays.

W is for world

The world is full of people—there are

about four billion of us. (A billion is a thousand million.) Some people are dark and some are fair, some are tall and some are short—but all of us need peace. And **WE CAN WIN IT**. **W** is also for walk.

X is for xylophone

Plink, plink—plink, plink—the little hammers are playing a peace tune. A peace song written by a Canadian goes like this.

Last night I had the strangest dream
I'd ever dreamed before;
I dreamed all the world had agreed
To put an end to war.

The children in the Soviet Union sing a peace song that goes like this:

May there always be blue skies;
May there always be sunshine;
May there always be Mama;
May there always be me.

Do you know some peace songs?

Y is for YES

Fathers, mothers, aunts, uncles, sisters, brothers, grandmothers, grandfathers, all say, **YES**, to peace.

Z is for zero

What a great day it will be when all the world is a nuclear-weapon free zone! Then the number of nuclear weapons will be **ZERO**.

(On October 18, 1983 Vancouver City Council declared Vancouver to be a nuclear-weapon free zone.)

On 12 December 1983, the first plaque was unveiled: **VANCOUVER—You are now entering a nuclear-weapon free zone.**)

Roger Somville:

THE WORK of Roger Somville has created a new dimension in living realism in painting.

Roger Somville, who is one of the principal exponents of the movement of realism in art today, was born in Brussels (Schaerbeek) on 13 November, 1923. His work of over 35 years has been assessed by various art critics to portray the living realism in his paintings.

Roger Somville himself says that this realism through an objective and present reality must bear in mind the historical perspective of socialism. "Today, the philosophical base of realism is dialectical and historical materialism, and it is on these grounds that the realistic artist, holding to his ideal, fights philosophical idealism."

He, however, states that this cannot be done through "short-dated watchwords" and "already set reality", nor the "formalism" and the "cosmopolitanism" of contemporary art. There is a third way of trying through one's work to situate and actively engage oneself on the battlefield of workers in their struggle against the imposed alienations of a social system, against imperialism, for peace and independence of the peoples."

Roger Somville's realism in painting has been appraised in a broad context by Emile Langui of AIAC (International Association of Creative Artists).

Langui says: "Somville's realism is in direct contact with life. It is neither servile naturalism, nor Salvation Army charity, nor heroism for opera barricades. His art finds its moral



A New Dimension in Living Realism in Painting

justification in its plastic qualities which, believe me, are of an exceptional daring and value. Only our painter had to assert himself at a time when realism (in all its forms) was considered reactionary in the big adventure of living art. He was a victim of an ostracism which put all 'figuratives' in the same bag. Times have changed, and the fashion is for hyperrealism. I need not say more.

"The realism of Somville, on the other hand, is never imitative, still less photo-

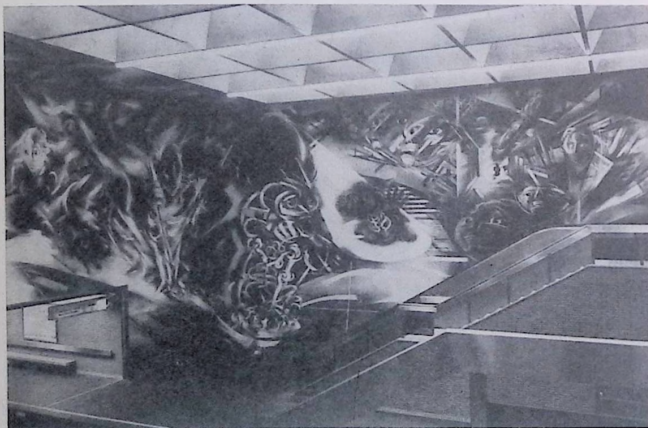
graphic. He interprets a real fact, even trivial, like a plastic one, where the idea, emotion and shape, find simultaneously their expression and justification. When all is considered, Somville is an expressionist."

Emile Langui further says: "He carries reality in him and paints, with closed eyes, like all dionysians, like all artists who break the golden rules of order and harmony, so as to obey the spontaneous impulses—how rightly—of heart and conscience. Picasso, his great master, Siqueiros and Guttuso, his great friends, Rivera and Orozco, his illustrious predecessors, never did anything else and God knows how far they are from socialist realism."

Another art critic Marcel Fryns says: "The work of Roger Somville inscribes itself in the perspective of a living realism."

Marcel Fryns in his summation of Somville's work says: "The realism of Somville is accusation and indictment. We do not subscribe to a number of his ideas, but we recognise the existence of a plastic fact, the presence of a work of art. . . . The *Apocalypse Boraine* is an act of accusation as it is at the same time a singular premonition of the fate reserved for the Walloons in the Belgian state. Other works witness and accuse. The *Cry of the Greek People* denounces political oppression (during the fascist colonels' regime), The *Triumph of Peace* puts war on trial in the very headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (in Paris in 1964-65). But that is only one aspect of the work of Roger Somville. It should not hide the other facet of his work. The painter also knows how to render street scenes, as in his *Cafes Romains*, or his *Bus 66*. The joy of life bursts forth in *Les Bruxelloises Sous La Tente*, a painting stripped of all polemics."

Jean Goldmann dwells on Somville's work to rehabilitate realism in art and says that Somville, together with other painters in the Realist Movement of 1969, resolutely carried on to get painting on its feet and give it back the lost totality of its great periods. "This totality of painting", Goldmann says, "for some 35 years in the footsteps of his spiritual father, Charles Counhaye, he tries to find again through an art which is at the same time mural, monumental and public . . . Somville has not been knocked down and partisans remain, whether isolated or not, still ready to salute this timeless kind of painting, both similar unto itself but also different each time—the fight (alone or with a group) of his man, armed with just a few brushes, his gluttony for colour and the wall or the big canvas which defies him in its nudity."



Roger Somville's mural "Notre Temps" (Our Times) at the metro station Hankar in Brussels.

IMPERIALISM HAS converted South America into one of the main centres of world tension and of cold war and actual war.

As a result of the activities of imperialism, the main enemy of humanity, the very existence of many of our people and their legitimate right to an independent and worthy life are at stake. The blood of the patriots is running through the cities and countryside of the continent. Beautiful Grenada—a small island—27,000 times smaller than the United States has, despite the resistance it put up, been trampled upon and occupied by the sinister U.S. "marines" and their sophisticated weapons. Sandinista Nicaragua—victim of an undeclared war launched by the CIA in complicity with the Honduran government and other Central American puppets—is preparing heroically to resist the direct intervention of the Americans. Here we want to emphasise strongly that this intervention can happen at any time. Attacks are also planned against the admirable freedom fighters of El Salvador. Cuba, our beloved pearl, is preparing with undaunted courage and resolve as it faces anew ever increasing real threats from Washington.

We have clearly denounced this aggressive policy of imperialism which is based not only on the aircraft carriers and other means of extermination but also on nuclear weapons. Pentagon certainly has nuclear weapons on the illegally occupied Guantanamo base and on the unredeemed Puerto Rico, dominated and virtually annexed by force many years ago and converted into a launching pad for military aggressions in the region.

That is why we have called for the application of the UN resolutions on the problems in Central America and support for the praiseworthy efforts of the "Contadora Group" in order to stop the aggression in time and bring peace to what the unforgettable Pablo Neruda called "the sweet, fecund waistline of Our America."

The Reagan administration continues to impose and prop up tyrannical and servile regimes in Guatemala, Haiti and Paraguay as well as in Chile and Uruguay, whose peoples have continuously taken to the streets in a valiant and exemplary resistance which will inevitably end in victory.

In the South Atlantic, the British usurpers of the Malvinas and other islands belonging to Argentina are building with the cooperation of the United States and NATO a military base equipped with nuclear weapons to add to the network of military bases already established throughout the world. That installation should be stopped and negotiations be undertaken between the two countries as recommended by the United Nations.

At the same time the Chilean and

US Aggressive Policy in Latin America and Caribbean

ALFREDO VARELA

While this issue of *New Perspectives* was being prepared for the press, we learnt the sad news of the passing away of Mr. Alfredo Varela, Vice President of the World Peace Council; Lenin Peace Prize laureate; writer, on 24 February 1984 in Argentina.

This article, which Mr. Varela had sent us some time before his sudden death, reflects his life-long dedication to the cause of social justice and peace.

Argentine people are strengthening their links in the common aspiration to bring peace to the strife stricken Beagle zone.

In Argentina (as in Bolivia before), the people have triumphed over the military dictatorship. There is now the initiation of a new democratic and progressive process supported by the bulk of the population and in which the foreign policy will be independent, non-aligned and anti-nuclear and in defence of the principles of non-intervention and self-determination of people.

Never in the violent history of our continent has there been such a united struggle against direct or indirect military, economic and political aggressions by the imperial aggressor. Our peoples are participating in the same liberation struggle and they are extending their fraternal hands to other peoples elsewhere in the world.

Our own problems on the continent do not divorce us from the crucial question facing humanity. On the contrary, they permit us to understand it better. We know that a so-called "limited war" in Europe would rapidly kindle the flame and spread to other parts of the world. We are faced with the global strategy of the Reagan administration which tramples on human rights in other countries with what is called "state terrorism". Global mobilisation is resisting that global strategy to deploy US missiles in Western Europe. We stand with our European friends; their goal is ours and united we must help to prevent the imminent danger.

We extend our sincere solidarity to those who are suffering from the snares of imperialism—the Palestinians and Lebanese, the South Africans, Namibians and Ango-

lans, the Cypriots and Greeks, the Indonesian who want to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and to all those who are working to establish nuclear-free zones.

No one can doubt that we are striving together for the same noble cause, namely, that the different problems of the world are inter-related and that the struggle is to prevent a nuclear war and all wars. With patience, with resolve and with that faith that moves mountains, we must knock at all doors, at all hearts to achieve that common objective which is the most essential of all human rights: the right to live without anguish and fear.

In this noble aspiration we are at one with the foam and the salt of the sea, with countless human beings and many governments and parliaments and various international organisations. We support the important initiatives of the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries aimed at achieving disarmament. Together we are an extraordinary force and we can gain victory over the horrible arms race.

There is now a popular song in Latin America which is sung in a powerful chorus.

This song "Cancion con Todos" (Song with All) ends by saying:

All voices, all
All hands, all
All the blood can be a song in the wind.
Sing with me, sing
My American Brother
Express your hope
with a shout.

We will spread hope on the planet, the active and combative hope, to build, against the wind and the tide, the world of peace that we long for.

Crisis Situation in Central America

Ward Off Threat of US Military Intervention

OLGA AVILES LOPEZ

UNTIL 19 JULY 1979, Nicaragua was a territory where imperialist agents carried out their nefarious activities at the expense of the sweat and blood of the Nicaraguan people. During the Somoza military dictatorship, which lasted half a century, exploitation, repression, crime and illegal enrichment had no limits. The Somoza dynasty, and many others before it, were faithful servants of US imperialism and served its interests.

With the triumph of the Sandinista Popular Revolution, the Nicaraguan people did not take long to understand fully what their past had been like, and the prospects of building their own future.

For the first time in its history, Nicaragua began to exercise its right to sovereignty, which had been trampled underfoot, and its rights as a free and independent nation. Under the leadership of its revolutionary government, led by the FSLN, Nicaragua made plans to help the workers and peasants to play their full part in building their own future.

In the four years since the revolution (1979-83), great social changes have been brought about through the literacy programme, unique health system, forming of the Small Farmers Association, the mixed economy system, agrarian reform, the setting up of co-operatives. In brief, giving attention to the needs of those who were traditionally victims of exploitation.

All these changes which are for the benefit of the overwhelming majority have been slowly crystallising with the exercise of sovereignty by the popular and anti-imperialist government. All this synthesises the aspirations of the Nicaraguan people and the peoples of Latin America in general.

OLGA AVILES LOPEZ

Sandinista Commandante; Executive President of the Nicaraguan Peace Committee; Vice-President of the World Peace Council (Nicaragua)

The United States has reacted in a hostile way to this example of Nicaragua exercising its national sovereignty and projecting peace policies and proposals. The US has initiated a covert policy of destabilisation of the Nicaraguan popular government. The US has launched through its media transnationals a campaign of defamation and lies against the Nicaraguan reality. Further, it has imposed a covert blockade of Nicaraguan trade and Nicaragua's access to international finance agencies, formation of political and military blocs of governments in the Central American region against Nicaragua.

The US imperialists are openly sponsoring, training and financing armed bands of the former guards of the Somoza regime and other reactionary groups. They are establishing in Honduras, a neighbouring country of Nicaragua, the largest military base of the United States in Latin America.

The Reagan administration is searching for a pretext for its warmongering and interventionist actions in Central America and the Caribbean, especially against the struggling Nicaraguan and Salvadoran peoples. It is also defaming the Nicaraguan Revolution by accusing it of exporting social conflicts and of having a large army for intervention into other countries in the region.

Along with these obvious falsehoods, the United States has been openly instigating and using Honduras for confrontation with Nicaragua. All this is done to create international political situations which may serve as a pretext for a more direct invasion of Nicaragua by the US army which is already in Honduras, just as it had done in Grenada.

Imperialism has tried without success for a counter-revolutionary "task force" to take control of a part of the Nicaraguan territory (manipulating the ethnic differences) in order to proclaim an apocryphal "provincial counter-revolutionary government". The US would immediately recognise such a "government" to divide Nicaragua, just as

the imperialists are doing in Cyprus, which confirms that manoeuvres of the enemy of peace are the same all over.

The Reagan administration has been resorting to other interventionist provocations in view of the defeats suffered by the counter-revolutionary forces coming from Honduras and Costa Rica at the hands of the Nicaraguan people.

On 18 November 1983, 6,000 men from the US army carried out manoeuvres in coordination with the Honduran army. To this should be added the latest declarations by the US Ambassador in Nicaragua about the concern of the Reagan administration for the security of US citizens living in Nicaragua, announcing that Washington would take "measures" to protect them. These declarations are tantamount to those used to justify the invasion of Grenada. The military manoeuvres referred to constitute a clear prelude to a US invasion of Nicaragua.

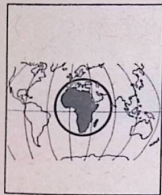
Despite the imminence of invasion by the US military forces, Nicaragua is still willing to have a dialogue and reach a political solution in order to preserve peace in Central America and the rest of the world.

The Southern Command of the US army based in Panama has been taking steps to "solve" the Nicaraguan problem by means of military action. The preparatory phase of the operation code named Sierra included the direct military presence of Americans.

This information was corroborated in a confidential memorandum given to the US Congress in November 1983. It included a study to build a military base in Puerto Castilla, Honduras, at an estimated cost of 160 million dollars.

The United States has also opposed the efforts of the Contadora Group. It blocked the move of the UN Security Council to issue a statement in support of the Contadora Group in its search for peace in Central America. It was an obstructionist attitude which revealed contradictions between the State Department and the White House, according to diplomatic circles in the United Nations.

We call on the peace and solidarity organisations of the five continents to unite their forces to help save peace in Central America and particularly to assist us to ward off the threat of invasion and aggression which US imperialism is planning to carry out against our people and revolution.



Western Support to Apartheid Regime Delays Namibia's Independence

NGHIDIMONDJILA SHOOMBÉ

TODAY THE colonial and illegitimate racist regime in South Africa feels itself increasingly threatened by the advancing tide of the national liberation movement, spearheaded by SWAPO of Namibia and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), and it is already in the state of desperation. Confident of the inevitable defeat of the racist regime and desirous of limiting unnecessary loss of life, the national liberation movements have, however, offered the racists a way out, to talk meaningfully and conclusively. Yet, deliberately and strategically armed to the teeth with western sophisticated and deadly arsenals, sustained by a so far strong economy, which is powerfully supported by the western world, and assured of political, military, moral and diplomatic support from the most powerful and aggressive circles of imperialism and its appendages, the South African racist regime has clearly opted for the use of violent confrontation to maintain the oppressive system and the unacceptable and hated colonialism in Namibia. As a result of this, prospects for a negotiated settlement in Namibia for a peaceful accession to independence in the foreseeable future in the region have become bleak indeed.

Today, Namibia still remains illegally occupied by a massive South African colonial army of more than 100,000 troops, which, in active collaboration with certain major capitalist powers, has turned Namibia into a garrison state subjecting the Namibian masses daily to untold sufferings in the form of cold-blooded murder, abductions, with victims held incommunicado for indefinite periods (e.g. more than 200 Kassinga victims are still held at Mariental concentration camp), constant torture, incarceration in concentration camps and other fascist detention centers, massacres

of innocent villagers, forcible removal of communities for political or military purposes, destruction of property including livestock, rape and various other notorious acts of intimidation and manipulation.

This massive military build-up of terror in our country has led to a critical situation, whereby there is today one racist soldier for every twelve Namibians. These atrocities are carried out under the cover of the existing state of emergency, martial law and other illegal draconic acts being enacted by the colonial government of South Africa, the so-called Administrator General, who has given a free hand to the army and police to shoot and kill. It is needless to say that while these brutalities, generalised state terrorism and repression continue unabated against our people by the Pretoria junta, Namibia's natural resources are being plundered in the most criminal way by the ruthless transnational corporations of the principal NATO powers, whose selfish interest for profits and other strategic concerns are placed above the just rights and legitimate interest of the Namibian people.

The colonial and apartheid regime in Pretoria still continues to arrogate to itself the right, using Namibia as a springboard, to destabilise and to carry out military attacks on any African state, as well as to occupy its territory, e.g., Angola's southern province of Cunene. It has been occupied by the racist South African troops since August 1981 despite the propaganda that South Africa is withdrawing its troops from the region.

We have clear evidence of South African junta's aggression against Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia. It is Africa's view that these acts of aggression and destabilisation are designed not only to cripple the armed struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa, but also to overthrow the governments of the Front Line States, because of their steadfast and selfless support of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. The international community must assist the

Front Line States in every way possible in order to defend better their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The delay in Namibia's independence is regarded by the racists of Pretoria to be an important element in South Africa's strategic design to create the so-called shield against instability, which Pretoria dreams to transform at a later stage into a cordon sanitaire behind the apartheid system. It is in the light of this strategic objective to perpetuate white minority domination and imperialist exploitation in southern Africa, that all the delaying tactics of the colonial and apartheid South Africa regarding Namibia's independence must be seen. The attempt to link Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalists from the People's Republic of Angola is one of similar delaying tactics, which SWAPO rejects with the contempt they deserve. We continue to insist that Angola and Cuba are sovereign and independent states and as such they are free to enter into agreements they wish. On the other hand, the Namibian problem is one of pure and simple colonialism.

It is outrageous and appalling that the Reagan administration is rendering active support to Pretoria's regional imperialistic ambitions to dictate to the independent states of our region to establish relations based on the notion of "friendly co-existence" with the colonial and apartheid crime against humanity.

Central to this conspiracy against the struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa is the idea of so-called regional security. The long-term objective of this policy of US imperialism is to drive a wedge between the Front Line States and the liberation movements, and ultimately, to isolate the latter in the interest of transnational capital.

If there is going to be a peaceful solution for Namibia, it should be on the basis of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) to which all parties, including South Africa, have agreed.

Our struggle for freedom and independence is part and parcel of the world-wide and international struggle for peace, against the policy pursued by imperialist and colonial warmongers. It is a struggle for a secure and peaceful future of humankind. Our fight today, spearheaded by the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), is a fight for peace, freedom and national independence.

NGHIDIMONDJILA SHOOMBÉ

Chief Representative of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia in FRG and Austria

LEKHNATH POUDYAL: Poet Laureate of Nepal

The birth centenary of Lekhnath Poudyal, the poet laureate of Nepal, has been observed widely in his country this year.

This article which gives a glimpse of the life and work of Lekhnath Poudyal in the struggle for freedom and saving humanity from a violent end was prepared by the Centenary Celebration Publicity Sub-Committee, Kathmandu.

LEKHNATH POUDYAL was born in a middle class Brahmin family in the beautiful valley of Pakhara in Nepal.

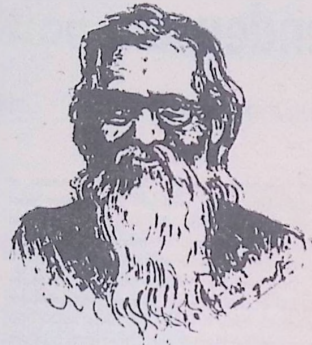
The future poet spent his childhood in Pakhara which is noted for its natural beauty. He received his primary education at home and displayed an interest in composing poems at an early age. In his native town, he received a traditional Sanskrit education and later came to Kathmandu, the capital, to continue his studies.

In Kathmandu, Lekhnath came in contact with great Sanskrit scholars, and became acquainted with the "gurus" who taught Sanskrit at government schools. Through them he also met the Ranas, the then rulers of Nepal, and began to earn his livelihood by teaching their children. However, he was not satisfied with what he was doing, and on his own made an extensive study of the Hindu Renaissance that had already begun in India. The influence of both classical poetry and the ideals of the Hindu Renaissance are discernible in his poetry. Gradually, his understanding of humanitarianism was deepened by his own experience with the repressive Rana rule in Nepal and by his study of the great thinkers of the world in general and those of India in particular. Thus, he became familiar with the spirit of the age in which he lived.

Even though Bhanu Bhakta Acharya is regarded as the first poet in the history of Nepalese literature, the real attempt to modernise and standardise the language of Nepalese poetry was started by Lekhnath. He began his twin poetic work at the turn of the present century and continued it till the end of his life.

The beginning of his poetic career coincided with the time when the grammar of the Nepalese language was being written for the first time. He, therefore, played a vital role in determining the form of the Nepalese language in general and that of poetry in particular.

In Lekhnath's poetry classical Sanskrit metres were used with a new craftsmanship, selecting themes from the context of Ne-



Lekhnath Poudyal
1884-1967

palese life. As a result of his relentless effort, a new style was developed which is popularly known as the "adorned" style. The clarion call of his message was to spread the cultural and spiritual ideals practised by the Vedic Rishis in the Aryan tradition. His philosophy and style were emulated by a group of poets who formed a school popularly known as the "Lekhnath School" of Nepalese literature. This indicates the contribution made by him to the development of Nepalese poetry.

It should not be forgotten that the flowering of Lekhnath's poetic career occurred during the century-old Rana regime which had created a strong barrier between the king and the people of Nepal. His renaissance ideals faced a series of difficulties in reaching the common man. But he persevered with his ideals. After the overthrow of the Rana autocracy, he was honoured with the title, "Kavishiramani" (Poet Laureate) by the late King Tribhuvan.

In his life of eighty two years, Lekhnath saw many poetic currents in the field of Nepalese literature. Romanticism was the strongest of them, initiated by Laxmi Prasad Devkota and Siddhi Charan Shrestha. The techniques adopted by the Romanticists were a strong blow against the style of Lekhnath. He, however, remained steadfast to his style of writing.

The most popular of Lekhnath's innumerable poems, written during the first days of his poetic career, are "Pinjarako Suga" (The Parrot in the Cage, 1916), and "Ritu-

vichar" (The Discussion of Seasons, 1916 to 1934). In the former, he expressed his pain and suffering at the repressive Rana autocracy and the fervour for freedom. In the latter, he manifested his varied feelings for nature.

The poems written in the latter part of his life are more philosophical. "Tarun Tapasi" (The Young Ascetic, 1953) is the poetic climax in both form and content, of the work of the poet. It is a mature expression of his philosophy; a divine message of humanitarianism exclusively based on the spiritual Renaissance.

Along with the title of "Kavishiramani", Lekhnath was honoured posthumously with the "Tribhuvan Puraskar" (The Tribhuvan Award) in 1969, by the late King Mahendra. He was also a member of the Royal Nepal Academy from 1957 to 1965. His works have been recognised as the glorious manifestation of the Vedic spiritual ideals, as well as that of renaissance humanitarianism, both inside and outside the Kingdom of Nepal.

In his poem "Pinjarako Suga" (The Parrot in the Cage), he wrote of freedom in a symbolic way:

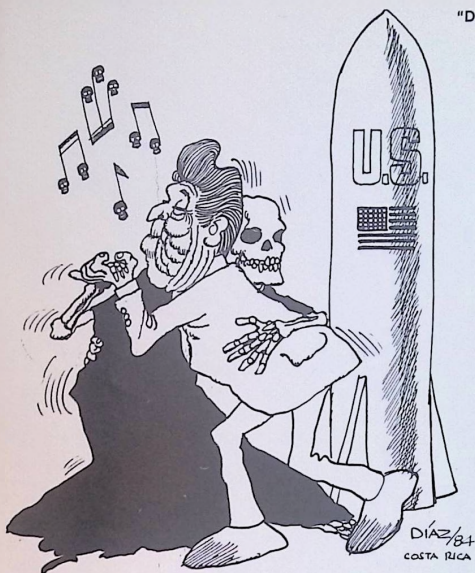
*"The bird to whom the open boundless
blue
Was filled with delight of lights to renew
Has now, alas! for his life's whole stay
A narrow cage of iron here today.
So long as on this rough terrestrial plain
A single human being shall remain,
O Lord! Let not a parrot's life be wasted.
Suddenly this thought comes to me, O
Heaven!"*

In another poem, Lekhnath warns humanity against the danger emanating from the cult of violence, which today is threatening the world with a nuclear holocaust. This warning is given in the poem "Tarun Tapasi" (The Young Ascetic):

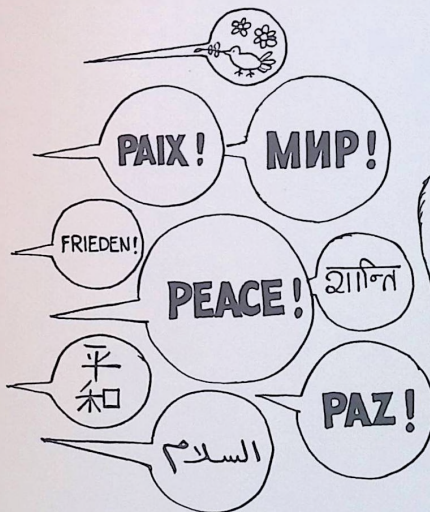
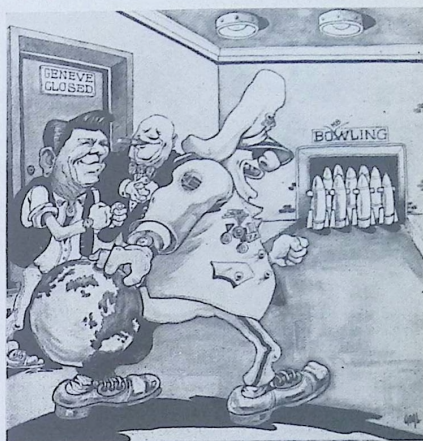
*"By raising ventilated walls round the
world
The blue sky, embroidered with stars, as
the roof,
I am the ascetic in the world-cottage.*

*If the development of art and life is made,
Without the waters from the ocean of non-
violence,
Many may sleep an eternal sleep by
becoming ash.*

"Dancing with death"



"Bombing"—by Goal (Belgium)



"Turning a deaf ear to peace"—by Díaz (Costa Rica)

Triumph of Peace



Roger Somville's painting on tapestry, *Triumph of Peace*. The painting, which was commissioned by the Belgian Ministry of National Education and Economic Affairs in 1963, symbolises the solidarity of the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace and social justice. (See article on page 28)