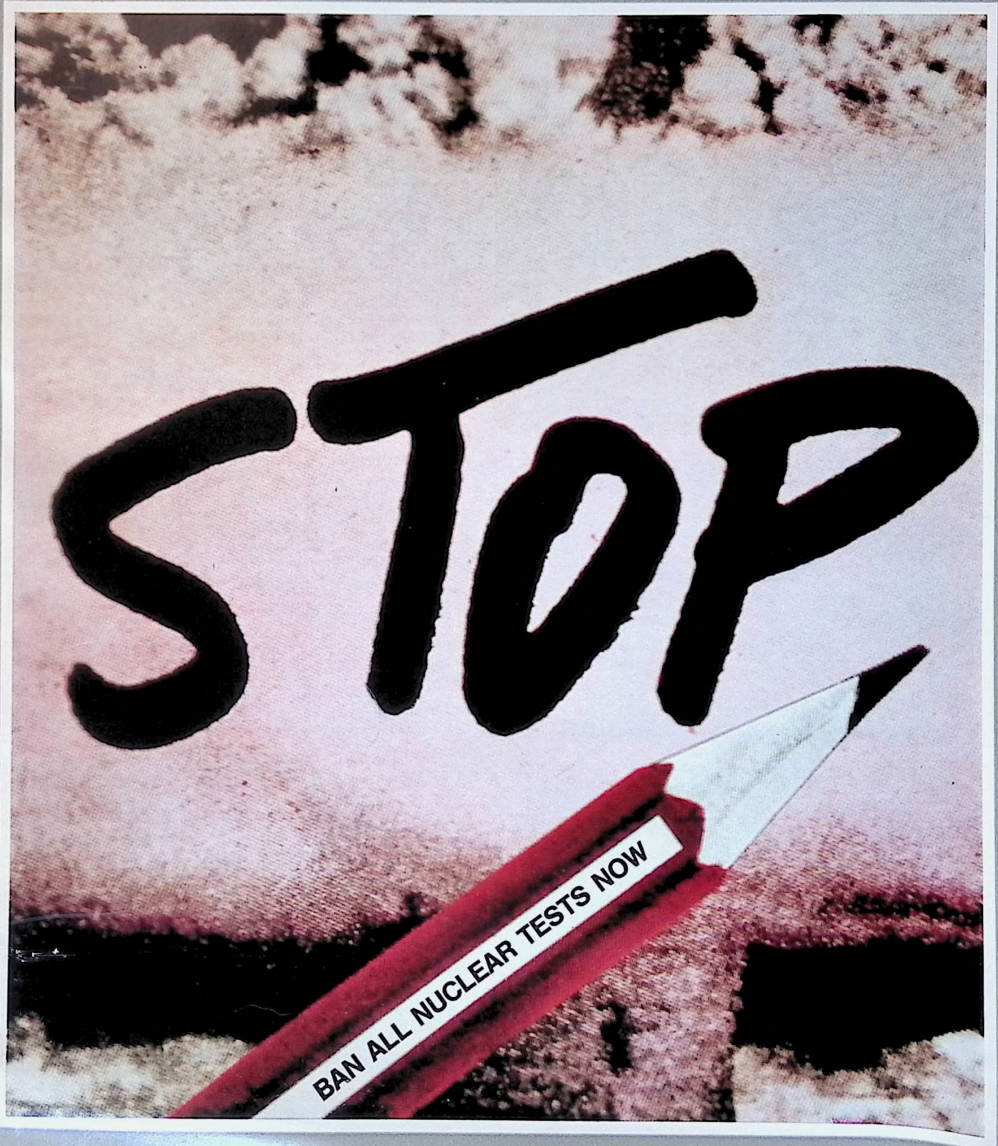


new perspectives

4/86

JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL





Session of the World Peace Council

The Session of the World Peace Council held in Sofia from 24 to 27 April 1986 was inaugurated by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (above). Other pictures on this page are of delegates, from different parts of the world, who attended the WPC session in Sofia.



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4/1986

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Logic for the Nuclear Age

ALES ADAMOVICH

THE nuclear age inevitably calls for new thinking, a new vision...

Once, while arguing and debating amongst themselves, some writers expressed doubts as to what sort of "new thinking was meant". One of them pointed to the book shelves filled with classics. What is needed, he said, is simply to continue our day-to-day effort to humanize man's life. That is, to assert what is good and human in people, and in the world too for that matter.

But just imagine all these volumes of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky stepping off the shelves, and the authors themselves joining the world in which we are fated to live and function. Can you picture them as they would be now, not what they were in their lifetimes? Their pain and anguish for hanged peasant rebels and for the whole of Russia... "I cannot be silent!" The thought of the urge to militarism overwhelming kaisers and czars alike, and then the exhortation, "Think!", ringing out across the world. They are only the tears of a child, but what they express is a heart-rending cry echoing into both past and future. No, I don't desire happiness at this price.

But suppose what we're talking about is not the happiness or misfortune of individuals or whole social groups and classes, but the very existence of the whole human race, both now and in the future. What would these authors do and say in their writing? Would they simply engage in belles-lettres? No, not really. Even then they would be shaping life, not literature alone. That's why they are credited with having created a great literature. But what if literature is created in a world threatened, void of weapons, superdestruction? dictions of the contemporary world: hatred, aggression and fanaticisms of people. Even when they do not directly evaluate certain attitudes or trends, both the plot of a literary work, as well as its final expres-



Ales Adamovich

After all, who else but the writer and literature should be concerned selflessly and painfully about all this? At least, jointly with the scientists who have already done a great deal to bring mankind the truth about the possible outcome of the arms race.

Once we were recalling all kinds of episodes from guerrilla fighting. Physicist Nikolai Alexandrovich Borisevich, President of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences, recalled a "rail war" episode. As a young demolition man with a partisan squad, he was desperately and anxiously pulling the cord towards himself, while a nazi tugged the other way. For support the nazi's foot was set against the rail, with a mine planted underneath. He had spotted it and grabbed the cord. Losing this frenzied tug-of-war meant one of their bodies being ripped to shreds. Naturally, each was pulling frantically, screaming in terror. The partisan realised that the enemy's survival would mean his own death.

But that was long ago, during the last war: if you don't kill him, he will kill you.



"At present there is no place on Earth where one could hide from nuclear holocaust. We must not let nuclear war cross our threshold."

seen solely as a rival. For traditional rivals in the battle of ideas and economic development are at the same time partners in the struggle for life. Herein lies the only possible formula for survival in our age.

Philosophers claim the future is starting to impinge on contemporary reality ever more tangibly. If that is so how then is the writer supposed to treat this postulated future? How can it be done without "turning away" (the words used by Fyodor Dostoyevsky) and, at the same time, avoiding walking, in the manner of Aeschylus's hero, towards the disaster? Indeed, what is essential to peace and mankind thus becomes essential to you personally, and you have no other aim than to devote yourself entirely to ensuring the survival to the Earth and Man. You are bound to find the appropriate tone, the appropriate measure, and the appropriate words.

Looking back, we can also discern quite a few problems echoing those we are facing today. For instance, should we dwell at length on nazi brutalities? And if this has already been done in literature, how should this inflammable material be handled, say, in the cinema?

We, co-authors (with Daniil Granin) of "The Blockade Book" and "I Come from the Burning Village", have been asked the question (which also interests us): what do we gain by instilling the bitter truth about such things into the consciousness of the younger generation? Won't this produce an undesirable effect? What if we are conditioning people to view such things as nothing out of the ordinary, though one's consciousness should normally reject it?

And how about the blockade victims and the martyrs of the Khatyns and the Oramerous international meetings of writers, in which you have also taken part, point also to the profound interest in the problem of peace among the literary men.

A. At the 47th World Congress of PEN-CLUB in Tokyo (May 1984), organised under the motto "Literature of the atom age—why do we write?", in which I participated, the hosts of the Congress, still remembering the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, expressed their anxiety over the threat of a nuclear conflict. The discussion also con-

ZYGMUNT STOBERSKI

Writer; Chairman of Team Five of the National Council of Culture; Vice President of the Warsaw Branch of the Union of Polish Writers (Poland)

The accepted truth—he who forgets the past risks reliving it tomorrow—needs to be complemented with another idea: evil is evil, but knowing it is good. For knowing evil makes it easier to fight and defeat it. The greater the evil, the more should be known about it.

Threat to Entire Human Race

What can indeed produce a dramatic impact on the entire fabric of world culture and literature is nothing other than the new realities and processes taking place in the human consciousness. This is conditioned by the totality of events taking place in the 20th century. Man is the sole being on Earth conscious of his mortality. Should this consciousness vanish, there would immediately follow a dramatic change in everything about him—habits, conduct, the quality and quantity of moral values. But now man has come to realise that the entire human race is threatened. Only yesterday his future seemed to extend into the vast expanses of the coming millennia. Now he is suddenly confronted with the possibility of ceasing to exist.

So what changes have occurred? Have they affected man's conduct, the substance of art and literature? Changes are there. But they are not as yet dramatic and sufficiently perceptible. What does this mean? Only that what must happen tomorrow has not yet happened today.

Every transition to a new mode of thinking necessarily takes decades, even centuries, and is accompanied by fierce fighting. To quote Hegel: "The truth comes about as heresy and dies as prejudice."

Mankind can no longer afford to extend over decades and centuries the elaboration and practical implementation of a new mode of thinking in politics, art and human relationships. Things are no longer as they used to be in past millennia. Ours is a living time resembling a flow of blood from a ruptured artery and capable at any moment of turning from life to death. Therefore, literature too should be ready to handle any hitherto unknown exigency. It is called upon by time itself to perform a real feat in the name of life.

But is there much, if anything, that literature can do in this turbulent world?

If you are a writer, you shouldn't ask what literature can do here. Instead, you should ask what your personal contribution must be. For literature is nothing less than the product of our own self-love. Today it will be totally useless unless the accused bomb first blows up inside ourselves—in our own souls, and in our brains. This is necessary to prevent that ugly mushroom from ever enveloping the planet. Keenly aware of the full measure of the danger, you should not be afraid of contemplating the bitterest thought in all its totality. Only then will you cease to ask what literature can or cannot do. Don't you think that in our nuclear age there must be a measure of a writer's personal involvement in and responsibility for whatever is happening in the world and to people?

Constructing Bridges Linking Nations

In this period of dangerous confrontation between social systems literature and art can, more than anything else, construct bridges linking nations and hearts, and leading into a future without war or hostility. People in our country and, perhaps, in the United States as well, were extremely impressed by the satellite link between Moscow and California. Though belonging to different social systems, they joyously looked each other in the eyes over the icebergs of the cold war. And it seemed as though the time had revived for a moment when the nations on the opposite sides of the ocean were again allies in their joint struggle against fascism.

Indeed, how important and necessary it is to see—as in that live satellite link—the living eyes of those close and, at the same time, distant neighbours on the same planet. It is equally essential not to give in to but resist in every way the evil, senseless will of the political "hawks" who seek to cloak the face of a neighbouring nation with the mask of an "enemy", "a non-human".

No doubt, they realise what they are doing. For how otherwise would they induce "their own people" to put up with the contemplated risk of "limited", "protracted", "star", and other equally suicidal wars? The stratagem used here is tried and tested: to hammer into one's fellow

citizens' heads the image of an enemy more awesome than any imaginable nuclear holocaust. There are quite a few people in the world, and in the U.S.A. in particular, who are actively and consciously counteracting the ominous doings of the nuclear racists. We in Minsk played host to journalist Martha Stewart and were able to learn about one of the forms of the Americans' efforts to restore bridges, which are destroyed and undermined by other Americans. Upright people, it turns out, have to start from elementary things. For instance, in an illustrated magazine they print photos of Americans, alternating them with the pictures of our own fellow citizens. This is to enable the residents of the New World to see for themselves that our country too is populated by normal humans, not weird freaks. One can imagine the obscured vision of those who need to be thus enlightened in such elementary matters.

Leningrad received women visitors from the United States. They were invited to a tea party arranged in the House of Friendship with foreign peoples. Biscuits and jam were provided by their Soviet counterparts—former pilots, partisans and blockade victims. It was a marvellous party (I was there). The talk, laughter and tears of those singularly beautiful women (many now grandmothers) were exceptionally sincere, coming from the bottom of their hearts. On parting the American guests produced pillow cases from their bags. Yes, just ordinary pillow cases. And they asked us to sign them with markers. Back home, they said, your names will be embroidered for us to sleep peacefully on.

Others, to sleep peacefully, dig in and purchase steel and concrete bunkers.

Who can say which is the more logical and reliable in the nuclear age? Nothing is safe once missiles are launched and bombs start exploding.

Therefore, those pillow cases are, nevertheless, more sensible, however naive they may seem. At least, they rouse no vain hope of individual survival.

For literature to remain what it used to be—an expression of feelings, ideas and aspirations—the writer should always strive to march in step with his age, and even his millennium. Indeed, living in the second millennium, we are now responsible for the millennium to come.

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This article is based on an interview given by the Polish writer Zygmunt Stoberski to Grazyna Dziejinska on the occasion of the Congress of Intellectuals for a Peaceful Future of the World held in Warsaw in January 1986.

Q. Certain representatives of science advocate the notion of what they describe as pure science. They place the scientist and his research outside or rather above "prosaic" matters of social life, politics, economy. Many others claim, however, that scientists have no right to isolate themselves from the phenomena surrounding them and they should take a stance on important matters ranking societies such as war or peace. In your opinion, how does this problem appear to creators of culture, including those engaged in literary activity? Can a writer lock himself up in the "ivory tower" in the name of "pure art", or should he have a sense of responsibility for what is happening at present and for what can happen in the future?

A. Among writers, just like among scientists, opinions about their role and participation in social life are polarised. Some of them believe that "true" art should avoid ordinary things and escape into the spheres of abstraction, phantasy or limit itself to new formal quests. Some of them are convinced that literature exerts no impact on human consciousness, on shaping social attitudes, and therefore it should exclusively perform the function of entertainment. In my opinion the writers who hold this view undermine the value of their own activity; they also fail to notice that whether they want it or not, reality in this or another way influences them and their works, and at the same time these works influence, favourably or unfavourably, the mind and frequently even behaviour of man. That is why I am of the opinion that pure art—apart from theory—is almost non-existent.

I am deeply convinced that a writer, playwright, at every geographical latitude, should be aware of the responsibility in what he writes to the ideals of humanism, peace and friendship among nations. Of course, co-existence of nations and states, but also individuals, was saturated—as history shows—with many conflicts.

The writers of the present time also cannot avoid presenting conflicts and contradictions of the contemporary world: hatred, aggression and fanaticisms of people. Even when they do not directly evaluate certain attitudes or trends, both the plot of a literary work, as well as its final expres-

Nowhere to Hide from Nuclear Holocaust

ZYGMUNT STOBERSKI

sion, will always reveal the true attitude of the creator to the good and the evil, to violence in the life of an individual and in the life of entire nations.

Peace-Building Literature

Q. War in its various aspects: aggressive, defensive, etc. has had very rich, frequently excellent literature since time immemorial. Do you think that at present, when humanity is threatened with total annihilation, we can hope for truly great peace-building literature?

A. It is hard for me to be a prophet. In the history of literature we indeed have many works not only describing wars but even constituting their apotheosis and justifying their necessity. Also nowadays there exists, unfortunately, literature and art

created by apologists of war—not all the writers are guided in their life and in their works by the ideas of humanism. But I am of the opinion that people would be able to shape mutual relations, both between individuals and between nations, better if they realised—and here I see a great field for activity for all the creators of good will—that human nature and social life are governed by definite, invariable and omnipresent laws.

I have in mind here in particular the eternal laws of unification and diversification. Everything that we see in nature and what we observe in social life unifies and separates and on the contrary separates and unifies in new forms. Man has already learnt to a large degree to control consciously this process in nature. He uses it, for example, in the so-called plant culture. Through appropriate adding of fertilizers, heat, water, he attains in the process of unification of plants better crops of grains, fruit, etc. Similar improvements are also attained in technology and other fields of material life.

It is, however, much more difficult to control these processes in social life. Man faces the necessity of a choice in which one of these processes should be supported: separation or unification. Having the burdens of traditions, habits and prejudices almost encoded in his genes, very often man is still not able to make appropriate and wise decisions.

Meanwhile, people every day face these processes in the family, in one or another social strata, in one or at the interface of two races, in one or two nationalities or religions, in one or several political parties, etc. Both diversification and unification can carry either good or evil. The choice of a proper attitude or making a proper decision is frequently really difficult.

The situation is even more complicated by a tendency to act from the position of force or at least supremacy.

Literary People and Peace

Q. Following the emergence of genocidal nuclear weapons, scientists and writers are ever more closing their ranks in the common, anti-war front. It was evidenced by the Congress of Intellectuals in 1948 in Wrocław, and now it is confirmed by another Congress in Warsaw in 1986. Numerous international meetings of writers, in which you have also taken part, point also to the profound interest in the problem of peace among the literary men.

A. At the 47th World Congress of PEN-CLUB in Tokyo (May 1984), organised under the motto "Literature of the atom age—why do we write?", in which I participated, the hosts of the Congress, still remembering the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, expressed their anxiety over the threat of a nuclear conflict. The discussion also con-



"At present there is no place on Earth where one could hide from nuclear holocaust. We must not let nuclear war cross our threshold."

ZYGMUNT STOBERSKI

Writer; Chairman of Team Five of the National Council of Culture; Vice President of the Warsaw Branch of the Union of Polish Writers (Poland)

centrated on the questions of undertaking the subject of nuclear war in Japanese and foreign literature; consideration was also given to the sources of racial, national, religious hatred as well as—apparently innocent though often turning into aggressive attitudes—animosity to everything foreign. Charges were made against governments pursuing the policy of hatred, racism.

At the Congress of Writers in Sofia under the motto "Peace—the hope of the planet" (October 1984), a New Zealand writer, Noel Hilliard, tolled the bell he had brought with him, wanting in this symbolic way to alarm writers and entire mankind and mobilise everybody for intensified activity on behalf of peace.

Speaking against force and violence in relations among nations and individuals, the honorary chairman of the Congress, U.S. writer, Erskine Caldwell, declared that if he does not agree with someone, he discusses and looks for argument but never does he reach for a knife or a gun. He went on to say that he is against using force also in the life of societies.

Speeches of other writers had a similar tenor. Everybody stressed that at present there is no place on Earth where one could hide from nuclear holocaust and if only for this reason all the people should be interested in preventing it. And this should be the approach to this issue of those who influence people's hearts and minds, that is, writers.

Very bold and original ideas aimed at lowering the level of human aggressiveness and educating people in the spirit of peace were presented at the Congress of the Authors' Guild of India in March 1985. It was suggested to form a so-called path of love for overcoming hatred and intolerance. Ramakrishna Rao proposed to pay special attention to the matter of educating youth in the spirit of universal respect for moral principles stemming from all religions: instilling in youth the principles of respect for other people, the cultural way of life, obedience, love and responsibility.

Q. What was the import, from your point of view as a writer, of all the above-mentioned and similar meetings for the cause of peace and what hopes do you pin, as one of the representatives of the National Committee for the Congress of Intellectuals for a Peaceful Future of the World, on this international meeting?

A. It might be said that peace is that universal ideal which is capable of uniting all people and nations regardless of political views, race, religion, etc. It is a common cause of the entire humanity; and who else can better serve this cause if not those who create the civilisational progress of mankind, shape culture and art, that is, the intellectuals. I am convinced that their hitherto concerted activity has, in a large measure, helped to maintain peace for 40 years since World War II.

Vital Necessity for Chemical Disarmament

MILAN STEMBERA

TODAY, the struggle for peace represents in a nutshell varied ways on how to influence public opinion with a view to strengthening the impact of the public on responsible political circles in order to maintain peace and find corresponding forms of peaceful coexistence of all the states.

We can say that if nuclear disarmament occupies first place in the struggle for general and complete disarmament, the next most important field here is represented by chemical disarmament.

The struggle for chemical disarmament is not only a question relating to the past, but it is also a question for our present times. Practically it had started as early as after World War I. During that war chemical weapons had caused enormous destruction of people amongst the belligerents. That experience led to the elaboration and ratification of the Geneva protocols in 1925 prohibiting the use of chemical weapons, which became an important factor in the struggle for chemical disarmament.

It is true that these protocols ban the use of chemical weapons only. But they have two defects; they have not been ratified by all the states, and there is no universal acceptance of this important instrument of international law.

At present, the problem is the prohibition of not only the use of chemical weapons, which is secured by the protocols mentioned, but the prohibition of development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and their eventual destruction.

MILAN STEMBERA
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This has become necessary in view of the improvement effected in chemical weapons and the increasing quantity of usable stocks of these weapons in the last years. The research on and the production of nerve poisons and binary chemical weapons represents an extremely great advance in their lethal capacity.

Nerve gases, tabun, sarin and soman were discovered in the range of research of pesticides of organophosphoric compounds. The pesticide amiton, which was developed as a result of research in agrarian chemistry in the U.S.A., became in 1954 the starting material for building up a binary chemical munition.

Danger of Binary Weapons

The binary method of production of chemical weapons has enabled the production of the same nerve gas in pairs of starting products (precursors). It has created the possibility to stock and transport them separately with less risks. The quantity of poisons usable for chemical and biological weapons is increasing. Under the present research, according to some observers, new chemical weapons are in the stage of practical trials, with varying kinds and degrees of effects from high lethality to temporary or full incapacitation. There are also more refined methods of attaining the same effect, e.g. densification of nerve gases, intensification of the penetrating capability of chemical substances through the skin and other tissues. Research for such a kind of toxicity, against which the opponent has no defence, not only of detection but also of therapy, is going on.

It is obvious that the development of chemical and biological science affords

ample basis for possible misuse of scientific results in the creation of new weapons of mass destruction.

There is one consequential circumstance here, namely, that the capacity of the chemical industry is basically larger than, for example, that of nuclear laboratories. As far as investments for creating a larger capacity for chemical weapons is concerned, it is less difficult than in regard to the question of nuclear weapons. By means of managing binary technology, it is possible to join this investment to investments in the field of production of chemicals for peaceful purposes. More than that, the transfer from oil to biological starting products will influence the spreading of production methods through biotechnology also into different territories, that is, into the world of underdeveloped countries.

We can hear the warning signals about these weapons, as some of these chemical stuffs have been used by terrorists.

The transfer to the biological technique would lead to improvements in the manufacture of chemical weapons. All this has led to an increased feeling of danger of the possible use of these weapons. It calls for greater mobilisation of public opinion and the media for establishing political conventions relating to different aspects of eliminating chemical weapons.

This danger resulted in the activation of the Committee on Disarmament, now called the Conference on Disarmament, to deal with this question. A specialised group was established to professionally analyse all technical questions of prohibition, development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and for their destruction. It included also their verification. In spite of detailed negotiations, however, no relevant agreement was concluded.

The reason for this can be seen in the lack of political will, mainly on the part of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, that practically makes any such agreement impossible for they make an a priori condition on verification, which is unacceptable. I am afraid that the reason for their approach was not the worry about the effectiveness of such an agreement, but most of all their desire to win more time for their military research in this field.

Chemical Weapons Free Zone in Europe

The Geneva Conference on Disarmament has not yet been able to find a world-wide solution of the problem of chemical weapons. In view of the insignificant progress made in these negotiations, the concerned

public has been pressing for achieving a measure of chemical disarmament, at least, in the regional or subregional context.

This pressure found a response in the "Prague Declaration" of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in 1983, which demanded the removal of chemical weapons from Europe, the continent with the highest concentration of armed forces in the world.

This demand also found a place in the disarmament proposals of the U.S.S.R. presented to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The co-author of these proposals was my country, Czechoslovakia.

These proposals were opposed by the delegates from the NATO countries, who refused a regional solution of prohibiting chemical weapons. They wanted this question to be referred to the Conference on Disarmament, which they said could deal with this problem on a worldwide basis.

The proof, however, of how attractive the idea of chemical disarmament in Europe is, became evident when it formed part of the joint initiative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany of the German Democratic Republic and the Social Democratic Party of the Federal Republic of Germany for removal of chemical weapons from the territory of both the German states.

Previously it was in the programme of the parties; later it was embodied in the policy of governments. I am speaking about the proposal of the governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (C.S.S.R.) addressed to the government of the Federal Republic of Germany for holding negotiations at the state level for the elimination of chemical weapons, and in particular, for setting up in Europe a zone free of chemical weapons. As a first step, it was suggested that the proposed chemical weapon-free zone should comprise C.S.S.R., G.D.R. and F.R.G. This proposal was rejected last year by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the ground that this was a worldwide question and should be settled by the Geneva Conference on Disarmament.

The government of the Federal Republic of Germany, however, reacted positively to another suggestion of the C.S.S.R. to hold mutual consultations on relevant questions on chemical disarmament in 1986 simultaneously with the work on this problem by the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. We do believe that these consultations will influence in a positive way the process of further negotiations in this important sphere of disarmament.

The world public nowadays looks expectantly to the Geneva meeting of the high representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The general situation has become a little quieter and there is an impression of things being under control, though the causes of international tension in the main centres have not been removed.

As for the problem concerning the abolition of chemical weapons, the joint Soviet-U.S. declaration issued at the end of their meeting in 1985 stated that both sides supported the proposal for total prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles. Both sides further agreed to co-operate in order to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention in this regard. They also agreed to intensify bilateral discussions at the professional level in respect of all aspects of the proposed prohibition of chemical weapons, including verification.

Another decision referred to a new element in the field of chemical disarmament—the question of preventing the expansion of chemical weapons. The two sides agreed to hold negotiations on this aspect of the problem which in other words means preparing the ground for a comprehensive agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons.

All these facts indicate the increasing importance of chemical disarmament in the context of general and complete disarmament.

Time will show how far the provisions of the joint declaration of the representatives of the two great powers will be implemented. In 1986, there should be an activation of negotiations at different levels, such as the bilateral negotiations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. on preventing the nuclear arms race from entering outer space, the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, the Vienna negotiations on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Central Europe, the Stockholm Conference mentioned earlier, which is expecting to end successfully the first part of its work by the autumn of 1986.

The world peace movement, and its every component at different levels, can in its own way help reach this noble aim by mobilising public opinion on the need for chemical disarmament and by increasing the pressure on political circles so that they should respect more the opinions and will of their voters and all people, who care about stopping the arms race and bringing about a reduction in international tension. This would lead to understanding and improvement of the quality of life for the people around the world.

NO TO BINARY WEAPONS!

Catastrophic Consequences of Star Wars

Space Research Must be for Peaceful Purposes

ROBERT KNUTH

SINCE the start of the space age, heralded by the launch of the first Soviet satellite to orbit the Earth—Sputnik 1—on 4 October 1957, approximately 3,400 spacecraft have been launched into space. Of these there are still about 1,500 in orbit around the Earth or in other interplanetary orbits. Who would have dared predict in 1956 that the use and exploration of space would be something perfectly normal just 30 years later? Is it not so that we consider it quite normal that cosmonauts work for months on end in orbiting stations and that the U.S.S.R. is making preparations for the uninterrupted use of its laboratory in space called MIR with a possible total weight of over 100 tonnes?

The examination of rocks brought back from the moon, the exploration of the planets Venus and Mars by probes, needle-sharp photos of Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and their moons or systems of rings as well as the close-up examination of Halley's Comet demonstrate the present level of technological capability. Who in today's world would be prepared to do without direct links provided by communication satellites during important political, cultural or sporting events and instead, as was the case 25 years ago, have to wait two weeks for newsreels or films to provide us with the information?

If all of this can be achieved in just 30 years, what gains will space technology bring mankind by the year 2000 in terms of knowledge, a better understanding of itself, technology and its economic use? What unforeseeable opportunities will emerge for a comprehensive link-up of scientific and economic potential in regions all over the world in order to achieve common goals, and to what extent could such unified efforts have a positive effect on political understanding between East and West, North and South?

There is no other branch of science and technology which, in the interests of its own further development, so urgently requires global thinking and action. This applies to

both developing countries and highly advanced industrial nations. However, we must not lose sight of the "conditio sine qua non"—space must be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. No state could or would be able to allow itself to invest huge sums of money in satellites and Earth-based equipment if there is a constant threat of it being rendered useless by the deployment of battle stations in space! Therefore the United States' SDI programme is not just dangerous from a military and technological point of view—the intentions underlying this project could have catastrophic effects on the exploration and use of space.

United States Pitched against World Opinion

This fact has clearly been recognised by the United Nations Organisation. During votes in the General Assembly on resolutions which are aimed at preventing the arms race from spilling over into outer space, it is only the United States which stands up in defiance of world opinion and insists on a "Star Wars" project. The UN Committee on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space deals with this problem every year. Here as well, the United States is becoming increasingly isolated, trying to hide this fact through intense arrogance.

During the 2nd UN Space Conference in Vienna in 1982, it was the U.S. delegation which tried up to the very last moment to prevent mankind's anxiety at the militarization of outer space being mentioned in the final report. However, the determined stance adopted by the socialist countries and the developing countries finally gained the upper hand and the United States was compelled to approve the following paragraph of the report: "The spreading of the arms race into outer space is a source of concern for the international community at large. It is damaging for the whole of mankind and should therefore be prevented. All nations, especially those with spaceflight potential, are called upon to make an active contribution to preventing the arms race in outer space and to refrain from any activity directed against this aim."

However, nine months later President

Reagan gave, in contradiction to the events in Vienna and the approval of the U.S. delegation, his infamous Star Wars speech and thus embarked on the most dangerous political, military and technological strategy in the history of mankind!

Soviet Proposal for Peaceful Use of Outer Space

The policy pursued by the U.S.S.R. and the attitude adopted by it are of a totally different nature. As early as March 1958, i.e., only a few days after the launching of Sputnik 2, the Soviet Union submitted a proposal to the UN General Assembly on the prohibition of the use of space for military purposes, as well as on the peaceful use of the cosmos. The U.S.A. prevented the conclusion of a relevant agreement even in those days.

Since then the Soviet Union has submitted a great number of proposals for concrete and internationally coordinated steps aimed at preventing the militarization of space. One of the most recent and comprehensive proposals was submitted to the 40th UN General Assembly in 1985. The U.S.S.R. proposed the following steps:

— 1. The prohibition of research into space-based weapons and their testing, manufacture and deployment as a prerequisite for the world-wide utilization of the entire potential of space exploration and space technology in the interest of all peoples.

— 2. International co-operation in basic research and in the application of space technology for economic purposes and for establishing large orbiting stations manned by international crews.

— 3. Strict abidance by all treaties and principles on the non-use of force, respect for the sovereignty of states, as well as for the interests of other nations.

— 4. The establishment of a world organization which would be responsible for coordinating international co-operation in space exploration and utilization of space.

— 5. Calling an international conference to discuss and settle all these questions.

None of the above proposals can be understood to pose a threat to anyone; they ensure an equal say for all UN members. Their implementation could rid man-

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kind of a grave threat, but, alas, they were again rejected by the United States.

We can rest assured that the U.S.S.R., backed by the overwhelming majority of states around the globe, will not tire in its efforts to stop the arms race on Earth and to prevent its escalation into outer space. The alternative solution which has been mapped out and actively encouraged by the U.S.S.R., is the strengthening of international co-operation in peaceful space exploration by means of satellites and orbiting stations. This would help build mutual trust.

How could the non-military character of the Soviet SALYUT and MIR orbiting stations be demonstrated more clearly than by the fact that French officers were invited to join Soviet crews? Western groups of experts and their instruments will be involved from the very beginning in the planning and preparations for all forthcoming missions of space probes that will penetrate the depths of space.

The two Soviet VEGA probes, which permitted the first ever direct investigation of Halley's Comet, are an outstanding example of the possibilities which peaceful co-operation across political frontiers opens up for space exploration. Besides socialist countries participating in the INTERKOMOS space exploration programme, institutions from France, Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany were involved in supplying instruments to be carried aboard these probes.

On 6 and 9 March 1986 the two spacecraft passed the nucleus of the comet at a distance of 8,000 to 9,000 km. For the first time in the history of mankind, it was possible to take photographs of such a nucleus and to take detailed measurements of the dusts, gasses and plasma contained in its coma. A system of cameras was used to measure precisely the comet's orbit. The data obtained in this way was used for moving the following GIOTTO probe launched by the West European ESA to as close as possible to the comet.

Research for Benefit of Mankind

This friendly co-operation, which takes the national interests of every country involved into consideration and is expected to produce an international breakthrough, is but the beginning. The U.S.S.R. plans to launch two more interplanetary space probes in 1988 which are meant to explore the planet Mars and, most important, its moon Phobos in early 1989.

A complex orbital manoeuvre will take the probe as close as 50 m to Phobos with the probe then travelling on a parallel course to it for some time. During the probe's approach, extensive photographic and physical measuring procedures will be run through, including the first ever use of a laser to vaporize a minute area of the moon's surface, which will be followed by

an analysis of the vaporized substance in the probe's collecting and analysis unit. This is another example of the extensive international co-operation between scientific institutions from both the East and the West, with Soviet spacecraft and navigation systems forming the centerpiece.

While both of the above examples, apart from the hightech systems and processes, focus on co-operation in the field of fundamental research to widen our natural-science horizon, there are, of course, outstanding examples of beneficial international co-operation in the field of satellites used for commercial purposes.

One case in point is a global system of weather satellites, which is coordinated by the World Meteorological Organization and can be used by the meteorological services of all countries. The system enables us to monitor continuously the Earth's atmosphere and, to a certain extent, the oceans as well. According to UN estimates the worldwide benefit derived for example from the weather satellites' capability of warning of hurricanes and other storms, vortex regions and pack ice regions amounts to some 60 billion dollars every year.

Remote sensing satellites with a resolving power of 10 to 50 m for objects on the Earth have an even greater potential, especially for developing countries which have benefited very little, if at all, so far. Five minutes of photographing from space are equivalent to two years of photographing from a plane. The accuracy of crop estimates lies within a few per cent of actual yields; crop and forest damage can be detected at an early stage; natural resources can be detected by indirect

remote sensing; the scope of natural disasters such as floods can be quickly determined and relief measures taken.

Satellites orbiting the Earth had already provided information which helped contain the disastrous forest fires in Indonesia. If it were possible to prevent approximately 20 per cent of the damage caused by forest fires through this early detection system, about 600 million dollars would be saved annually world-wide. These satellites also play an important role in the field of cartography. Maps used in planning and managing the economy must have ideally a scale of 1:25,000. At present these maps are available for 65 per cent of the European continent, but only 1 per cent of the African and 12 per cent of the Asian continents. This lag can only be overcome through the information provided from the remote sensing system.

There are a number of effective international systems using communication satellites, among them, Intersputnik, Intelsat, Eutelsat and Arabsat. These systems enable a global exchange of information without a time delay. The Inmarsat-system is linked with an additional 1,000 ships and oil drilling platforms in constant radio contact with the mainland. In the Soviet Union alone the replacement of the current communications satellites would require the construction of a directional radio network using over 15,000 kilometres of cable, portions of which would have to run through completely inaccessible parts of the country.

We could continue to provide examples but this should only really serve to show the direct benefits which can be derived from the existence of certain satellites and the information they provide. In addition to this considerable economic benefits could be derived from the industrial use of new technology, procedures and equipment which were made for use in space. All calculations of cost effectiveness indicate that the economic benefits to be gained, based on the average satellite, would be 5 to 10 times greater than the money spent. The use of space would bring mankind great benefits; just think of the potential for manufacturing materials and pharmaceuticals in space under conditions of weightlessness which would have properties unobtainable on Earth.

One of the best examples of international co-operation of immediate interest to mankind is the KOSPAS/SARSAT satellite rescue system which is a joint venture involving the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and France. It can detect immediately planes or ships' crews in distress by picking up their SOS calls. In the three years since it has become operational, this system has already saved 350 people from certain death. This is precisely the purpose for which space technology must be developed; to help mankind and to contribute to the improvement of life on Earth.



"The Star Wars programme is the most dangerous political, military and technological strategy in the history of mankind."



Root Causes of Underdevelopment and Hunger in Africa

This article is based on the "Churches Drought Action in Africa Studies Subcommittee Report on the Root Causes of Hunger and Food Insufficiency in Africa".

The Report which was published in Geneva in November 1985 states that hunger and food insufficiency in Africa are not caused primarily by drought but are a manifestation of underdevelopment and poverty which are a result not only of centuries of exploitation and oppression by the colonial powers, but also of the misuse of human and natural resources.

The Report calls for "the dismantling of the northern and international structures which exploit Africa" and states that this task is "rated as important as the creation, by African governments and churches, of conditions that will enable the people to participate in the process of their liberation".

The Report emphasises "that the basic hindrance to development is the international economic order that has condemned Africa to function as a raw material producing continent. Unless this order is reversed, there will not be any self-sustained development".

The methodology of preparing the Report was unique as it involved obtaining the opinion of the hunger victims themselves as to the actual causes of hunger and the possible solution. The cry was "let us have what the grassroots say about their problems

THE central question that the research has had to answer was: what is the cause of hunger and food insufficiency in Africa? Most of the teams have addressed this central question. The consensus is that hunger and food insufficiency in Africa are a manifestation of poverty which is a result not only of centuries of exploitation and oppression by the external powers, but also of the misuse of human and natural resources. Given this situation it would appear therefore a distortion of the truth to state that the cause of hunger and famine in Africa is drought. Our research findings, in fact, show that drought does not necessarily or usually cause famine and it did not always cause large scale starvation in Africa as is currently being experienced. Drought is a natural phenomenon that recurs at specific cycles. It is therefore necessary for society to establish specific mechanisms for combating the effects of drought and for the African people to be adequately prepared for the situation.

The hunger situation in Africa has been getting worse. African countries' dependency on food imports and food aid is increasing every year. While food self-sufficiency has decreased by 12% from 1960 to 1980, food imports have increased by 8.4% be-

tween 1970 and 1980, and thus representing today 25-30% of the totality of import.

Not only is the area that has been affected by drought in the 1980s bigger than that affected by drought in the 1970s, but equally the number of people affected has almost doubled. A statement made by the FAO council during its 86th Session in November 1984, points out that 26 out of 31 countries identified as less developed are African countries. Within these 26 African countries, 21 countries with a population of 150 million people are not only experiencing a sharp shortage of food at the present time, but they will continue to experience food problems in the near future. At that time, the FAO council's estimate was that for the year 1984, African countries that are experiencing the food shortages will need between 5 to 6 million tons of food in order to alleviate hunger.

The FAO's council's report of the 86th Session points out, once more, that the tragic situation in Africa is abnormal, because in spite of 15 years of drought, environmental deterioration and a high rate of population growth, there is an enormous agricultural potential. Currently 20 countries out of the 26 African coun-

tries identified in 1984 are still in the emergency list (UN Office for Emergency Operations in Africa, September 1985). It is estimated that 199 million people live in these twenty countries, and that 35 million out of these 199 million people were severely affected. Of these 35 million hardest hit, 10 million people are refugees in search of food, water and pastures for their herds.

and let us then respond to them", instead of relying on Western versions or accounts of Africa experts of the causes of hunger. The Report was prepared by Africans "as it was now time to make themselves heard in their own words".

The Report covers 18 countries in different parts of Africa where nine study teams worked hard for data collection and analysis over a period of one year. The countries were: West Africa—Burkina Faso, Chad, Niger, Mauritania, Cape Verde, Senegal, Mali, Gambia (Sahel countries), Liberia, Sierra Leone; Central Africa: Rwanda, Burundi and Kivu, an eastern province of the Republic of Zaïre; East Africa—Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia; Southern Africa: Zimbabwe, Mozambique.

The Churches Drought Action in Africa (CDA), which sponsored the Report, is a coalition of Catholic and Protestant development networks. The coordinating committee of CDA consists of Caritas Internationalis, CIDSE (International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity), Catholic Relief Services, Lutheran World Federation and World Council of Churches.

Published here are extracts from the Report which is available in English, French, German and Portuguese from the Lutheran World Federation, P.O. Box 66, Route de Ferney 150, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland.

Colonial Scenario in Africa Continues

The present food situation in Africa is not tied to the drought as such; it is above all a result of a multi-faceted and complex man-made arrangement: the policy of domination which has for centuries maintained socio-economic structures based on injustice, exploitation and oppression. The policy of domination by external powers which started in the 15th century has increased in magnitude since the official introduction of the colonial system in Africa.

Colonial Scenario in Africa Continues

Today, 20 years or more after most of these countries have become independent, the same scenario continues, after having been exacerbated by:

- i) the wanton destruction of the en-

vironment leading to increased incidence of drought and desertification;

— ii) change from food production to cash crop production paid for at very low rates;

— iii) the appropriation of the best agricultural land by settlers, plantation owners and multinational corporations, forcing in the process the most able-bodied workers to leave the villages in order to work in plantations, settler farms and mines—a process that has ruined the peasant economy and marginalised a growing number of the populations.

To this picture of exploitation and oppression must be added the spectre of conflicts throughout the continent, at times instigated and supported by external interests, which produce millions of refugees and deny many countries of stability that is essential for organised and sustained production. It should be added here that while 29 million people are suffering from hunger, malnutrition, and disease, and 4.7 million people are homeless, about 40% of government resources in Africa are spent on arms (since 1960, more than 72 coups d'états with 13 assassinations of heads of states have taken place in Africa). The wars in the Horn of Africa, in Chad, in Mozambique and Angola have produced millions of refugees and displaced persons.

For this reason, the solution to the food situation in Africa in particular and the development process in general can be found only if efforts are directed towards changing these structures and policies which in many ways are not only the root cause of the present African predicament, but are, above all, the incarnation of the colonial era.

History of Hunger in Africa

The research has revealed the fact that the increasing incidence of drought in Africa is not natural, but a result of the unprecedented destruction of the natural environment: exploitation and oppression by external powers and the misuse of human and natural resources. It follows that before examining some of the contributing factors to the root causes of hunger in Africa today and their impact on the population as a whole, a brief historical outline of the hunger phenomena is necessary.

The African countries bring to the world market an assemblage of raw materials with very little value added to or extracted from agriculture or from the soil. The prices of raw materials—minerals and agricultural products—are dictated by the industrialised countries who at the same time determine the flow of commercial credit in support of their interests. This puts the different producers in a competitive situation, which in the last resort penalises those whose conditions of production are less favoura-

ble. Such credit operations enable the big speculators in possession of information on the volume of supply and demand to amass huge profits; at the same time a number of "invisible" transactions (freight, bank credits, insurances, commissions, brokerage) mostly benefiting the West creates a wide gap between the prices paid to the producer and by the consumer. To this we must add the fact that the price of industrial products imported by African countries are also fixed by the western countries on the basis of their internal production relations. It is in this way that transactions between Africa and the West are characterised by a continuous deterioration of the terms of trade as a result of an exchange that is essentially unequal. The prices of raw materials have gone down by 27% in dollar terms between 1980 and 1982 while the prices of manufactured products have continued to rise.

The current crisis is in many ways a result of the domination of the continent. The economic and political weakness of African countries is linked to a multiform dependency relationship to the strong industrialised nations that found themselves in competition for the continent's riches.

The continent was divided during the colonial time and the various African nations (whose frontiers were a colonial heritage) were subjected to the interests of their predators who exerted pressure on local governments to protect their interests. As in the situation of unequal exchange,

"The present food situation in Africa is not tied to the drought as such; it is above all a result of centuries of colonial domination which maintained socio-economic structures based on injustice, exploitation and oppression, a domination which has found its reincarnation in neo-colonialism."

one must see this domination as a well thought out strategy brought forth by western capitalist forces. This has resulted in a structural reality that enmeshes the North and the South in laws that are unfavourable to the weak and which, since the beginning of the western economic crisis, has resulted in famine in Sub-Saharan Africa. This crisis has for example increased the balance of payments problems of the African countries that have been traditionally in deficit; it has aggravated the indebtedness of their national economies to the credit institutions and the credit countries.

This has happened at the time that the World Bank and its affiliate IDA that offers credit without interest are reducing the volume of their interventions against poverty by 26.4%. The economic crisis in the West has forced the African countries (and the Third World in general) to resort to western private banks at higher rates of interests or to international aid, both bilateral and non-governmental. The final outcome has been the imposition of drastic budgetary measures by the International Monetary Fund. Given this monetary and financial dependency and the demands imposed on the African nations before they can obtain credit it is almost impossible for these countries to overcome their present crisis and to plan a different future.

Judging from the Sahelian report, one must strongly underline the fact that the famine situation in the Sahel like elsewhere in Africa represents one of the consequences of the abusive exploitation of the environment and oppression brought about by colonialism in search for raw materials. According to the testimony of European travellers before colonialism the Sahel was self-sufficient agriculturally. However, external intervention, first through incursions and slave trade and then through military and administrative occupation, disturbed the existing equilibrium and destroyed the economic, psychological, moral and socio-political order of the people. In actual fact the means used to subjugate the African to the dictates of the invader—i.e., forced labour, the regrouping of villages, the levy on crops and men, the introduction of administrative personnel irrespective of the local hierarchical structures, the imposition of prices and salaries, and the generalisation of head tax etc., all combined to destroy the social order of the local populations and disorganized their traditional productive system.

The colonial administration was installed to protect the economic interests of the metropolis by enforcing the cultivation of cash crops. This imposed cash crop production brought about a host of problems that relate to the actual state of famine: the destruction of the environment by the deterioration of plant cover, which in turn led to erosion. The uncontrolled use of chemicals, in particular the use of insecticides prohibited in the West, led to soil acidification and hence poor water retention.

Causes of Hunger in Africa Today: Legacy of Colonial Past

In the previous section on the history of hunger in Africa, it has been argued that to understand the present hunger in Africa one must go to Africa's colonial past. Colonialism not only destroyed the traditional productive system that was geared to ensure harmony between human beings and nature, but it also introduced a new mode of production that stressed cash crop pro-

duction for profit rather than the conservation of the environment. The logical consequence of this cash crop oriented production has been not only the present threat of desertification in many parts of Africa, but also the introducing of new relations of production that have caused the marginalisation of large sections of the population. On the basis of this argument, it was suggested that the present food crisis in Africa must be seen within the overall economic crisis on the continent, a crisis that has resulted from the unequal exchange relationships between Africa and the West and the subsequent domination of the continent. However, a question was then raised as to whether one could continue to blame colonialism twenty years after Independence. Is not the present predicament a result of lack of a political will among the African leaders themselves to change the situation?

In Africa today the influence of the colonial past is present in practically every aspect of the life of the Africans. This ever present influence is especially evident in the present system of education, which, in our opinion, is in many ways responsible not only for the plight that the people are faced with (misery, malnutrition, ignorance, high infant mortality, etc.) but also for the apparent lack of ideology necessary for a true liberating and integrated development on the part of the elites and political leaders.

Colonial Educational System

The present system of education in Africa is but a replica of the educational system during the colonial period which emphasised acculturation of Africans for purposes of domination and exploitation. The colonial system of education aimed at a total transformation of the African milieu and the recreation of European civilisation. In this respect, assimilation, a policy that consisted in transforming the African mentality and making African people become overseas citizens of their respective metropolitan or mother countries is very significant. Education in the colonial context was also one of the main church activities. To sustain Christianity the converts had to be capable of reading the Bible. Besides, the missionaries needed auxiliaries to be able to carry out their jobs in the vast continent. To this was later to be added the needs of the colonial governments for people to man the lower echelons of the administration. It is these three aspects that called forth the churches increased activity in education. As has been noted, the education given was intended to convert Africans to western thinking and civilisation. In the same line of thinking (were) medical services. Thus, from this starting point, medical services were used also as a demonstration of the superiority of western civilisation.

Need for New Educational System

In contrast with this alienating system of education, the new system of education should be based on a liberating and integrated development geared to make people become operational in their milieu by contributing to the system of production in their community and thus becoming true agents of development; and by helping them realise that development should and must come from the people themselves; they should not wait for somebody else to come and do the development for them.

"In Africa colonialism not only destroyed the traditional productive system that was geared to ensure harmony between human beings and nature, but it also introduced a new mode of production, the cash crop production, that laid stress on profit for the colonial powers rather than conservation of the environment."

Through a liberating and integrated development, people should really become involved in changing their present situation after having examined the possible ways of overcoming this situation. People should be trained, conscientised and prepared to assume full responsibility by agreeing to carry out development projects that are in relation to their community needs.

The liberating and integrated development we are talking about here is not only the process for Africans to free themselves from the domination and exploitation of both colonialism and neocolonialism, on the one hand, and indigenous ruling classes which exercise oppressive control over them, on the other hand, but most of all the disposition or the capacity for a people to create the necessary and viable environment for social, political, economic, cultural and spiritual growth necessary for individual as well as collective opening out. As in traditional societies, the new education through a liberating and integrated development in Africa should be that which must put emphasis on the need to get away from the outward-oriented economy in favour of a more inward-looking production for self-help, self-identity and self-improvement and esteem.

Africa: Poorest Continent in World

The problems which hamper food production in Africa today and which cause grave concern for the future include not only soil

erosion, deforestation, drought, ineffective water conservation and irrigation systems, but also the deterioration of the environment, ignorance, illiteracy, under-utilisation of land and human resources as well as lack of appropriate agricultural policies. Africa is today the poorest continent in the world. And, as a result, it not only has the highest infant mortality and illiteracy rates, but also the lowest life expectancy in the world. To these factors one must add population growth which is steadily outstripping increases in food production. Whereas population increase is estimated at about 3.1 per cent a year, increase in food production during the five years before the recent drought was about 1.6 per cent a year. This means that malnutrition which was the regular condition of about eight million people at the onset of the last major African famine of 1972-74 has become now the routine fate of over 100 million people.

Neo-Colonial Activities in Africa

Colonialism has been identified as one of the major root causes of the present food issue in Africa because not only is it the connecting link between the slavery era of the Atlantic triangle, it is also the phase that had laid the true basis of irresponsible exploitation of Africa's resources (natural and human). It is through the present neo-colonialist activities that colonialism has been exacerbating and entertaining this inhuman policy. The implications of this policy of exploitation are numerous and complex. Irresponsible exploitation of Africa today has given way to:

- i) the export-oriented economy of Africa;

ii) the alienation of the African people, particularly the dominant class;

iii) the pillage of the African resources, the exploitation and oppression of the people of Africa who are today reduced to famine and death.

In other words, colonialism did not help Africa come up with a good social, political and economic system necessary to meet the challenges of Nature because it was not and still is not prepared to pull itself out of the African scene. Through neo-colonialism, colonialism is still very much alive in Africa, notwithstanding the fact that the system it had created and which was inherited by the African countries after independence has not undergone a substantial change. Indeed, most of Africa's problems today are a result of this persisting heritage from the colonial past.

One encounters in many parts of Africa a deterioration of even the existing infrastructure. This is partially because of pure neglect on the part of the authorities that do not take the trouble to cater for the maintenance of the existing structures. However, the problem is more complex, in that the maintenance of the existing structures calls for the importation of the necessary

materials. For countries that are already facing huge trade deficits and at a time of worsening terms of trade, it has not been possible to procure the necessary imports for proper maintenance of the existing infrastructure, leading to deterioration. This, of course, is a result of almost total dependency in which the Africa countries find themselves.

South Africa's Policy of Destabilisation in Neighbouring States

Finally, one cannot talk of hunger and famine in Africa without talking about the political conflicts that continue to explode all over the continent. The wars of liberation in Southern Africa turned thousands and thousands into refugees in the neighbouring countries and made production difficult. Independence for Mozambique and Angola did not bring about the necessary stability for production to take place. South Africa's support for UNITA and constant incursions in Angola under the pretext of hot pursuit has turned Angola into a war zone and made agricultural production impossible as there is no security for the civilian population. The same can be said for Mozambique where South Africa's support for the MNR (Mozambique National Resistance) and frequent raids has brought total insecurity in the country preventing agricultural production. The destruction of the transport network and constant raids in the villages have made even the distribution of food aid to the victims of drought and floods impossible. In these two instances, hunger can only be halted with the halting of the conflict which is not simply internal—that is between MPLA and UNITA in Angola and FRELIMO and MNR in Mozambique as many would like us to believe—but is in reality a war of aggression by South Africa, which intends to halt the winds of change and transform these two countries into South Africa's auxiliaries.

This point of conflict as the cause of famine and hunger in Mozambique (and Angola) has to be emphasized in order to counteract the South African and certain western propaganda that has been partially internalised by some sections of the population as revealed by the draft report from Mozambique which attributes the present situation in Mozambique to the Marxist ideology of the present regime. It does not matter in such a situation what the ideological outlook of the regime is; the present destabilisation by the South African government does not allow for an elaboration of a productive system at all. The government is forced, indeed has been forced since independence, to counter this external aggression. Until this threat is removed no improvements can be expected.

Conflict in Africa has not been limited to Southern Africa. The Ogaden conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia has left thousands in refugee camps dependent on

relief aid. The present conflict in Ethiopia involving the central government and the Eritrean forces has contributed to the present Ethiopian plight.

Africa's Links with West Perpetuate Poverty and Underdevelopment

At this point it must be clear that the central issue is not that of hunger but that of overcoming poverty and underdevelopment. These two are a result of the international links between Africa and the western world. Links that have turned Africa into a raw material producing continent for the western world. This international link has alone produced structural relationships internally that reproduce poverty and underdevelopment. One has therefore to act at these two levels—internal and international.

Famine in Africa is closely tied to the increasing pauperisation of the continent as a result of over-exploitation. There is an urgent need to reverse the situation. And this can only be done after an honest appraisal of the causes of hunger and poverty. Everything points to drought as the chief cause of famine, but drought has been exacerbated by many other factors. In this

"In Africa today the detrimental influence of the colonial past is present in practically every aspect of the life of the Africans, especially in the alienating system of education. It is in many ways responsible not only for the people's misery, but also for the apparent lack of ideology, necessary for a true liberating and integrated development, on the part of the African elite and political leaders."

sense the report from the Ethiopian government on the 1973-74 famine hits the nail on the head when it says: "The primary source of the famine was not drought of unprecedented severity but a combination of long-continued bad land use and steadily increasing human and stock population over decades, rendering a greater number of people and their animals vulnerable when drought struck." Even without drought, Africa does not produce enough food to meet her subsistence needs; let alone to create a food security surplus to alleviate shortage due to drought.

Churches' Role in Liberation Process

If churches in Africa wish to take an active part in this process of liberation of the African people, then the churches should:

- promote the development which empowers people to deal with their situation and to become aware of the exploiting and oppressing forces;
- promote development programmes which lead to self-reliance (self-support) and enable people to have self-esteem and accept their neighbours as equal human beings;
- promote development programmes which, through literature, enrich the life of the people at the grassroot level;
- promote development programmes which include exchange programmes, dialogue and consultation between Africa and other continents, primarily Asia and Latin America and secondarily Europe and North America;
- promote critical debates at the grassroot level by producing relevant literature in popular languages, organizing refresher courses for the animators of the people, and training new leaderships which will listen to and dialogue with the people they are called upon to lead.

In all these actions, the churches are called upon to promote new models of development sensitive to grassroot needs, utilise local resources (human and material) and allow full and meaningful participation of those directly affected. The proposed new models of development should be more dynamic and flexible to accommodate new ideas and innovations.

Role of African Governments

However, in order to play such a dynamic role, the churches must undergo a process of self-criticism and self-evaluation without being defensive. They must analyse their structures and define development within the context of the realities of the African people, and not as defined by missionaries or political powers. Moreover, these churches must seek for new leadership that includes the grassroots leaders, male and female, young and old.

Following the African philosophy outlined earlier, African governments are called upon to follow a similar process to that suggested for the churches. They also need to assess their own national and local realities, confront the injustices of poverty and lead the people in the process of their own liberation. This means that governments in Africa should look inward rather than let themselves be guided by eastern and western interests. Governments and power elites must learn to serve the interests of their own people. They must create the political will for change and auto-centric development. This may even include breaking away

from the international political and economic system which drains the continent of its natural and human resources.

To support this development the Christian community in the rest of the world should adopt as its first priority the conscientisation of the population in order to awaken public opinion which can put pressure on their governments, transnational corporations and other powerful institutions to induce them to cease their misuse of the world's natural and human resources uniquely for their own ends. Churches should form lobbies and pressure groups to work for the realisation of justice in the Third World: to denounce any government decision which handicaps liberating and integrated development, to boycott corporations whose policies continue to impoverish people, to influence governments to cease their support for dictatorial and undemocratic regimes (such as South Africa), to advocate disinvestment from companies whose policies intensify the destruction of Africa's human and natural resources. Pressure should be put on oppressive Northern and international institutions to accept fundamental change which will allow for the African countries' participation on the basis of justice.

West's Oppression of Africa Through TNCs

It has been emphasised that the root cause of poverty, hunger and famine is the exploitative and oppressive relationship that exists between Africa and the West. It is the existing international economic order that marginalises Africa and reproduces poverty and underdevelopment in Africa. The fight therefore at the international level must be focused on these issues.

The major element in this situation are the transnational corporations. These have a tendency to centralise the economic cycle under one roof—including production and distribution on a global scale. The main interest of these corporations is profit; and in their search for profit there is no room for anything else. These transnational or multinational corporations are of course supported by their home governments in their competitive creation of their global empires.

It is in fighting these international conglomerates that we would like to enlist the help of the western churches. It is heartening to note that some efforts are already being made in the exposition of the disastrous effects of multinational companies on the Third World development.

Sins of TNCs and Governments Supporting them

We recommend therefore that an all out effort be made to expose the sins of the multinationals and the governments that support them. What is involved in this exposure is the patient and painful task of

gathering facts and information from all corners, that can then be used to conscientise the western population and help the African governments in their dealings with these giants. A permanent research desk or centre on multinationals and Africa would go a long way to help.

A Challenge to Churches

The conclusion that this study has come to is that hunger and famine are symptoms of poverty and underdevelopment, and that therefore the focus should be not only on the drought, which is extended and worsened by the exploitation of the continent,

"The liberating and integrated development in Africa requires not only freeing Africans from domination and exploitation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the oppressive indigenous ruling classes, but also ridding themselves of the outward-oriented economy in favour of a more inward-looking production for self-help, self-identity and self-improvement and esteem."

but on the structures that reproduce poverty and underdevelopment in Africa.

Given the actual food crisis in Africa, due to poverty and underdevelopment, several priorities must be pointed out in relation to the African governments.

One, African governments should create food monitoring systems which would concern themselves with food shortfalls.

Two, there is need to create minimum levels of food reserves. This can only be done with the stepping up of food production in Africa itself, in moving from the rhetorical to the real priority of food production.

There is also a need for international structures that can facilitate quick response to distress calls. This has been discussed in various international forums but nothing substantial has been done to date, because most western governments prefer to keep their own hand in the food aid process. In other words, politics still greatly influences the food aid process.

The study has also taken us further to examine the various activities of the churches in Africa, not at the level of relief—everybody agrees they must be beyond this—but at the developmental and espe-

cially at the productive level. In the process of carrying out the study it became apparent that the report was to be addressed not only to the original groups that commissioned the study, that is, the members of the CDA, but also to the churches that are in fact supposed to carry the burden of the development process in Africa.

If one was to sum up the main call to the African churches in a simple phrase, one would say, "Be everything to all people". What is implied here is that:

i) All people are God's children and therefore all need to be ministered to.

ii) That we should not only minister to people's spiritual needs but also to their material needs. The basic question is: How can the African churches fulfil Christ's dictum of being everything to all people?

You can only minister to people when you know them, their aspirations and hopes, their problems and dilemmas. This is the first duty of the local churches. From this wisdom has emerged the emphasis on the grassroots. However, many of the grassroots aspirations, hopes, problems and dilemmas originate in a broader national and international context; solutions must often, therefore, be sought on this level. When this aspect is forgotten, the churches become instruments of charity and mercy—comforting the dying and maintaining the weak. This does not solve the peoples' problems but merely postpones them.

There is no need to doubt the sincerity of the western churches' motivations in their efforts to help Africa develop. The selfless work that is being done in the relief field in various parts of Africa and the enthusiastic response that people have shown towards the African hunger situation is a testimony of their sincerity. It will therefore be painful for the western churches and the multitude of people who are giving so much to help Africa to be told that they are part and parcel of the very obstacles that prevent Africa from developing. It is a very great challenge if, after Africans have accused them of complicity in their underdevelopment, they ask them at the same time to help to remove the obstacles to their development. It is our hope that the churches will rise to this challenge.

The dictum we gave earlier are: One, that "The Bible and The Cross preceded the flog in Africa", and two, that "The Bible and The Cross are now preceding the dollar". In the first encounter with the western churches Africans came face to face with colonialism, and now in the second encounter with the western churches they have come face to face with neo-colonialism of the western financial empires.

These statements are not intended to induce a sense of guilt in the western churches or to arouse sympathy and charity, but as facts from which we have to build a new relationship based on justice and joint responsibility among the churches all over the world.

The Unfinished Economic and Social Agenda of the United Nations

TOM ERIC VRAALSEN

This article is based on the address made by Mr. Tom Eric Vraalsen to the annual conference of the Department of Public Information of the United Nations for Non-Governmental Organisations held at the UN headquarters in New York in September 1985. The Conference theme was "United Nations for a Better World: Forty and Beyond" with various topics.

Mr. Vraalsen spoke on the topic, "The Unfinished Social and Economic Agenda—1985". Published here are extracts from his address, which was received from the Department of Public Information of the United Nations.

FOR many years the United Nations was perceived by a large body of public opinion and by many policy makers as an organization created primarily to deal with clear-cut political issues. And true enough, for a long time the economic and social questions were to a large extent overshadowed by the more "exciting" political issues. Questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, arms-control and disarmament, the Middle East conflict, Southern Africa, decolonization and so on, tended to dominate the agenda and the debates. These were the issues which caught the attention of the media. To many delegates, advisors and informed observers alike this was what the UN was all about: politics in a traditional sense.

Economic and Social Issues

A fundamental shift seemed to occur in the early 1970s. The oil embargo in 1973, the Special Sessions of the General Assembly in 1974–75 on Development and International Economic Co-operation and on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, the adoption of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States in 1975 and a number of other important decisions of the General Assembly brought the economic and social issues to the forefront within the UN. What happened can best be described as a belated recognition on the part of the international community of the fact that a) there is a serious inequality in the distribution of resources and income in the world (the North/South gap), and b) conflict within and between nations is often rooted in economic and social in-

justice and inequality. A more broadly-based concept of peace-making and peace-keeping was introduced into global diplomacy. It became generally accepted that maintenance of international peace and security is something more than a mere absence of armed conflicts, something more than arms control and disarmament, something more than conflict control and settlement.

The UN agenda of today reflects, in a



better way than it did a decade ago, the growing interdependence not only between peoples and nations, but between the economic, political and social issues.

There is now agreement that the economic and social issues on the UN agenda are of no less significance than the political issues. The founders of the organization saw this back in the 1940s and they included in the Charter a pledge by the Member States to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. In Article 1 it is stated that one of the purposes of the UN is: "To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinc-

tion as to race, sex, language or religion."

Thus, the economic and social questions, as a result of the Charter provision, not only have a place on the agenda of the UN, but the organization is also charged with the task of serving the nations of the world in those fields.

Need for Soul Searching

I think it would be most useful, indeed, if the member states at this juncture took stock of the situation and assessed the strengths and weaknesses of the UN and the UN system. However, they should also do some "inward" soul searching and take a close look at their own actions; their policies and attitudes, particularly as they relate to international co-operation in a global context.

In this connection I would like to associate myself with the remarks made by the Secretary-General at the ECOSOC session in Geneva in July 1985. In discussing the need to create a more dynamic climate for growth and development throughout the world economy, the Secretary-General said: "This will require, above all, national policies which release and mobilize the efforts and initiatives of men and women everywhere. But it also requires great attention to the international economic environment. In today's world economy, no single country can press forward with success if the rest of the world remains inhospitable and uncooperative. It is understandable that the realities of international interdependence are more sharply perceived in smaller countries than in the larger ones, which influence the world economic environment most directly. But even the latter are finding that they cannot ignore their international links."

The Secretary General then went on to discuss what is being referred to as "the present crisis of the multilateral system" and said: "A political reassessment of the multilateral system of international relations is necessary if the present trends are to be broken, and such an assessment is called for in all governments and in all contexts of multilateral co-operation. But of course I have reason to be particularly concerned with the tasks that face us in the United Nations."

TOM ERIC VRAALSEN

Ambassador; Permanent Representative of Norway to the United Nations

The purpose of such a two-way stock-taking and evaluation should be to map out future avenues for global international co-operation, avenues which could bring us closer to the purposes of the UN Charter. Needless to say, this is particularly important at a time marked by political tensions and grave economic difficulties, especially in the developing countries. It is encouraging to note that the Economic and Social Council, which has an important role to play in the fields of economic and social matters, devoted special attention at its July 1985 session to an assessment of the role of the UN in promoting international economic and social co-operation as well as to a consideration of ways of strengthening the role of the organization.

Examining UN's Failure or Success

What is the present situation as far as the UN and economic and social issues are concerned? What does the UN record in these fields look like? The theme for my remarks, as given by the organizers of this meeting—"1985: The Unfinished Agenda—Economic and Social"—has a slightly pessimistic ring to it, and I am afraid, it might be somewhat misleading.

First of all in looking at the UN agenda—which is actually the agenda of the international community—in order to assess failure, success or stand-still, we should ask the question relating to the Agenda—unfinished or finished in relation to what? If we take the purposes of the Charter as a point of departure—and I think this is what most people do whether they are conscious about the Charter provisions or not—the agenda is certainly bound to remain unfinished. We are actually faced with a continuous process; a story without an end. Whatever you do, whatever you achieve there will always be something out there to reach for. Under these conditions it is not in itself a negative thing to have an unfinished agenda. The basis on which one should evaluate and judge the UN and the family of UN organizations should rather be the measure of achievement over the past 40 years and how it is responding to the challenges of our times.

Syndrome to Forget Accomplishments

Unfortunately, it is in general easy to take results for granted once they have been accomplished. This is—for good or bad—how the human mind works. We easily forget things once they are off our backs and thus off our minds. This "forget-the-accomplishments-syndrome" is, as far as the UN is concerned, particularly strong with the critics of the organization. Some of them seem to have a remarkable talent for either forgetting everything positive or even turning success into

failure. In my view the UN and its family of organizations have accomplished more than its critics are prepared to recognize. Its successes and accomplishments should be borne in mind when discussing the pros and cons of the organization and thereby of the concept and process of multilateral global diplomacy. An unreflected and excessive critical attitude when assessing the role of the UN can constitute a grave mistake. It can lead to defeatism which is just as dangerous as complacency.

Formidable Challenges

The UN has shown considerable flexibility and adaptability during its four decades of existence. The challenges have at times been formidable. The membership of the organization has grown from 51 to 159 through the emergence of new nations. The UN has lived and functioned in a socio-political environment which has undergone revolutionary and fundamental changes. We have in a global context witnessed geopolitical, technological, economic and social changes of historic importance.

All through these forty years international co-operation within the framework of the UN has achieved important results in the fields of health, education and science, transport and communication, care and protection of refugees, care of children, human rights, labour relations to mention just a few. Past experience has proved that global action is not beyond human capacity. Global solutions can indeed be designed and made to work.

However, in order to achieve this the players will have to display a high degree of realism, show respect and understanding for their opponents and act in a spirit of compromise and co-operation. We have to bear in mind that we are dealing with matters of the greatest sensitivity to national governments. To ignore this, to make intemperate demands and to aim for the unachievable is to invite struggle and confrontation. Such a course of action will not only cause deadlock and bitterness; it will erode and do damage to the concept and mechanisms of global co-operation.

Today the North-South dialogue on a broad range of economic issues remains at an impasse. No progress has been made on proposals for the launching of global negotiations. The Committee for Review and Appraisal of the International Development Strategy has so far been unable to conclude its work. Many of the programs for economic betterment of the Third World—outlined in the Strategy—have not been implemented. Within the field of money and finance, international debt problems loom large and continue to defy easy solutions. The official development assistance has been dwindling in

recent years. A code of conduct for transnational corporations remains unfinished. Within trade there is a disturbing trend towards protectionism. The Common Fund for Commodities remains inoperational.

Such a list of "unfinished issues" could certainly be prolonged. This state of affairs has given rise to serious concern in many quarters.

I would, however, caution against being alarmist. The question which in my view the international community through its at this stage should be asked is whether actions and attitudes over the past years has disregarded the basic tenets of international co-operation which I have already outlined. Have we loaded on the UN system more luggage than it can reasonably be expected to carry?

Multilateral Institutions Cannot Serve Unilateral Interests

My answer to this fundamental question would be in the affirmative. The key to progress—at least in part—is in my view to be found in a more realistic assessment of the possibilities and the strength of the UN, a more realistic level of ambitions on the part of some of the various groups of countries operating within the UN system and an acceptance of the fact that multilateral institutions cannot be expected to serve narrowly defined unilateral interests, nor can it be expected to accommodate one particular line of thinking only. To meet today's challenges we need a deeper understanding of the concept of interdependence based on a redefinition of the notion of self-interest. Sweeping systematic changes are not possible. Any development will have to be gradual. The authority and competence of the specialized agencies and other multilateral institutions must be respected. Our task here in New York is to generate ideas and promote solutions. The solutions themselves will have to be arrived at elsewhere in many instances.

During the ECOSOC session, the Secretary General put forth several recommendations to make the UN more effective and useful for its members. One of these recommendations was the strengthening of the relationship with the NGO community so as to enable the UN to benefit from its views. This would be part of the efforts to explain to the public at large the objectives, functions, activities and achievements of the UN.

As I have said, a true understanding of the possibilities of the UN will ensure a correct level of ambition and best possible use of this instrument. This is in my view a prerequisite for chalking the course of action on the way to the 21st century. I feel confident that we the member states and the UN through mutual efforts will get there in good shape.



Unesco: One Year after Withdrawal of United States of America

AMADOU-MAHTAR M'BOW

This article is based on the address made by Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director General of UNESCO, to the United Nations Association of the United States of America in San Francisco on 16 January 1986.

The theme of Mr. M'Bow's address was: "Unesco: One year after the withdrawal of the United States". The address was delivered at the San Francisco African-American Historical and Cultural Society Museum.

The article also contains extracts from Mr. M'Bow's address on multilateral co-operation, to the Council for International Relations of Montreal, Canada on 13 January 1986.

In these two addresses, Mr. M'Bow has spoken on the theme that "it is perhaps no accident that Unesco has been the main target for all who are now seeking to undermine multilateral co-operation".

HERE in the city of San Francisco, just over 40 years ago, the Charter of the United Nations was adopted. That Charter gave birth to the United Nations, around which it provided for the establishment of various Specialized Agencies, each with specific responsibilities in a vital area of human activity and people's lives.

The objective assigned to the United Nations and to the Specialized Agencies which together formed the United Nations system was to contribute to peace, security and the welfare of humankind. Its action should therefore encompass not only political matters but also economic, social and cultural problems.

The Second World War had just ended in Europe and was soon to end in Asia and the Pacific had revealed the growing interdependence of different nations and, in particular, the worldwide character of the problems on which the possibility of world peace depended. The Second World War and the historical experience of the period immediately preceding it had also revealed the links connecting political, economic, social and cultural problems and, most importantly, the need to find global solutions to them.

The action of the United Nations system was therefore to be based on stronger bonds of solidarity among all the peoples of the world and on the shared responsibility of all nations for the common fate of humanity, even though a special role was assigned in this regard to the major allied powers that had emerged victorious from the Second World War.

AMADOU-MAHTAR M'BOW

Director General, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)

Unesco's Mission and Principle of Universality

The entire system thus set up was founded on the principle of universality: universality in the composition of the institutions making it up, universality in the choice of fields of action and in the approach to problems. A special role in the system was assigned to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: Unesco.

The Preamble to its Constitution starts with a sentence that is an entire programme in itself: 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'.

The Preamble to Unesco's Constitution further states, 'That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind'.

Unesco was accordingly assigned, by its Constitution the mission of ensuring 'the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world'.

Unesco has made every effort to fulfil that mission, while remaining steadfastly true to the ideals that inspired its founders and that are proclaimed in its Constitution.

Before the withdrawal of the United States of America and the United Kingdom, Unesco was the organization that, from the point of view of the number of its Member States, had most nearly achieved the principle of universality. Whereas the first session of the General Conference, held in Paris in November 1946, was attended by

a few dozen Member States, the twenty-third session which ended in Sofia on 9 November 1985 brought together 160. It was the first institution to welcome the countries that had been defeated in the Second World War, just as it opened its doors to the newly independent countries. But Unesco means more than its Member States. It means the specialists in education, science, culture and communication when it associates with its activities and with whom it cooperates either directly or through the institutions in which they work, or again through the non-governmental organizations that they have set up.

Hence Unesco, throughout the 40 years of its existence, has built up a dense and unique network of intellectual co-operation extending all over the world. At the same time, it has contributed in different ways to the advancement of knowledge and to the consolidation and development of institutions concerned with education, science, culture and communication in most of its Member States.

Effect of Withdrawal of U.S.A. and U.S.

We may wonder today whether Unesco has not been, or may not be, halted in its tracks following the withdrawal of two of its most important founding States.

The first effect, at least at government level, of the withdrawal of the United States of America, followed by that of the United Kingdom, has been to call Unesco's universality into question. This was not Unesco's wish, but is due to the political choice of the countries that have left it. It should be noted incidentally that the political influence of the United States of America, at least through the intermediary of other States, has never been so marked within Unesco as it is now. Everyone knows that the United States has established an observer mission at Unesco and that that mission is highly active, both within the information group of the countries of Western Europe and in its dealings with the delegations of many other countries. Although the United States is no longer involved in the decision-making process, owing to its withdrawal from the Organization, its influence on a fair number of decisions taken by the Organization during 1985 is an open secret.

As regards co-operation with American intellectual circles, we have been at pains to preserve it. Knowledge is universal, and that universality requires the co-operation of all who contribute to its advancement. The sole difference between the present and the previous situation is that co-operation with educational, scientific and cultural circles in the United States no longer takes place through the official channels planned for it.

Furthermore, the United States participates officially in various activities under the international conventions to which it has acceded and to which it did not cease to be a party when it withdrew from Unesco. Among such activities I would mention those pertaining to the Copyright Convention, the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission and the Protection of the World Natural and Cultural Heritage.

It is at the financial level that the withdrawal of the United States has been most sorely felt. The Organization has been deprived of 25 per cent of its regular programme resources. It has therefore been necessary, in accordance with the instructions of the Executive Board and the decisions of the General Conference, to adjust to this situation. As a result, activities representing one quarter of the real budget have been placed in reserve. This has entailed a reduction in staff and the placing in reserve of 558 posts.

As financing has not been ensured for the activities placed in reserve, their implementation is subject to the securing of voluntary contributions from Member States, various organizations and/or private individuals.

For 1985, voluntary contributions amount to \$7 million, of which a substantial unspent portion may be used in 1986-1987.

The activities placed in reserve concern all programmes, in education, science, culture and communication alike. It is the developing countries and non-governmental organizations that are likely to suffer most from this situation.

Unesco General Conference Programme

However, the main part of the programmes has been safeguarded. And at the last session of the (Unesco) General Conference, in October-November 1985, many vitally important programmes were approved. Readjustments were successfully made within the programmes to ensure improved concentration of activities and to realign procedures for implementation so as to lower their costs.

A new Intergovernmental Informatics Programme has been established with the object of promoting the development and use of informatics in the fields of management, research, scientific and technological information and education.

The General Conference, demonstrating its concern to step up the activities of the

Organization, has instructed me to prepare under the next Medium-Term Plan, for 1990-1995, a programme aimed at eradicating illiteracy once and for all.

Unesco has also embarked on the task of organizing a World Decade for Cultural Development and preparing an emergency programme of assistance to Africa in the field of scientific research and research and development.

Where Unesco's usual programmes are concerned, particularly those with a bearing on 'education for all', the major scientific and technical programmes (environment, geology, hydrology and oceanography), the safeguarding and protection of the cultural heritage, and the development of communication—these have been maintained and even, in some cases, developed.

Crisis Affecting Multilateral System

The last session of the General Conference afforded proof of the unanimous desire of Member States to see Unesco continue and extend its work, renew its methods of operation and improve its means of action, notwithstanding the crisis in regard to multilateralism that now seems to be affecting international co-operation.

The so-called Unesco crisis is in fact merely a reflection of the crisis affecting the whole of the multilateral system established in the aftermath of the Second World War. That system was, as I have already said, based on the idea of solidarity among all nations and their joint responsibility for solving the political, economic and social problems facing humankind.

In some countries, however, there is a temptation in influential circles to prefer bilateral co-operation to multilateral co-operation, allegedly on the grounds that the United Nations system is ineffective—ineffectiveness for which, when it exists, Member States are often to blame—or that it has been politicized. The idea of solidarity is thus impugned, as is the will to solve the world's problems together. There is a clear tendency to prefer the arguments of power to those of mutual consultation and dialogue with a view to arriving at negotiated solutions. If the crisis in multilateralism has arisen first within Unesco, the reason lies no doubt in Unesco's very nature. As I have already said, Unesco is an organization for intellectual co-operation. That being the case, all the different ideas and outlooks in the world find expression within it. Given the world's diversity and the conflicting interests that emerge, it is natural that different points of view should be expressed in the Organization. This is undoubtedly to the good, in that the differences of opinion thus expressed may afford a more direct means of keeping a finger on the pulse of various parts of the world, thereby preparing the way for dialogue and the search for solutions on which the entire international community, surmounting all its own

contradictions, may reach agreement. The agreement thereby achieved would be based not on misunderstandings but on a genuine resolve to take responsibility together for the common destiny of humankind.

I shall conclude at this point, so as not to take up too much of your time. Allow me to thank you once again for inviting me. In so doing, you have, I think, demonstrated your determination to work for international co-operation which is based on respect for the dignity of each person and which will guarantee peace, security, freedom, justice and well-being for all the peoples of the world.

Address to Montreal Council for International Relations

In his address to the Council for International Relations of Montreal, Mr. M'bow dealt with what he called the most disturbing aspect of the withdrawal of the U.S.A. and U.K., namely, their calling into question the fundamental principles of multilateral co-operation. Extracts from his address are published here.

With regard to Unesco, I need hardly point out that two of the major powers in the industrial world, which were prime movers in its establishment, have decided to leave it. I should like to think that one day, which I hope is not too far off, these countries will once again take their place within the Organization. However, the most disturbing aspect of these withdrawals is that, beyond the bounds of our Organization, they call into question the fundamental principles of multilateral co-operation and, as a result, the possibilities of strengthening international understanding and peace in the world.

It is perhaps no accident that Unesco has been the main target for all who are now seeking to undermine multilateral co-operation. Indeed, our Organization occupies a special position in the United Nations system. It is the meeting place for the most widely varying attitudes, thoughts and creative impulses and provides fertile ground for a constant flowering of ideas and initiatives, which enable us to understand as fully as possible the diversity and contradictory nature of what is really happening in the world. This makes it possible to establish points of convergence which are the basis for action, while at the same time maintaining the paramountcy of loyalty to the principles to which all Member States have subscribed by joining Unesco.

This was the thinking behind my suggestion, as early as 1976, that at each of the sessions of the General Conference a Drafting and Negotiation Committee should be established, whose purpose would be to examine after the debates all those questions where disagreement had emerged, in order to find solutions acceptable to all on

a basis of consensus. Thus, all Unesco's programmes, all its major decisions, its Medium-Term Plan for 1984-1989, and its Programme and Budget for 1986-1987, have been adopted with the unanimous agreement of all Member States, including those which have withdrawn.

Multilateral co-operation cannot be based on strong-arm tactics; it rests on the basic democratic principle that all participating States are equal and that the views of all, great and small, alike will be taken into consideration. Its golden rule can only be that of mutual understanding, concerted planning and dialogue.

Multilateral co-operation must represent different points of view converging towards the common future of the human race, and not a battle of wills focusing solely on the specific short-term interests of certain States or groups of States.

Alchemy of Multilateral Co-operation

This leads me to stress, in conclusion, the essential role that international intellectual co-operation must play in the modern world. Indeed, this does not rest only on inter-State relations, important though they may be, but to an equally crucial extent on the relations between original thinkers, researchers, teachers and intellectual communities throughout the world.

I believe that multilateral co-operation, and in particular its intellectual component, must be defended, preserved and strengthened if we wish to prevent mankind from being overwhelmed by a new cataclysm. At this turning-point in human history, nothing is more important than that we should live together, co-operate and progress together. For, if we do not, we are likely to perish together, in whichever part of the world we may happen to live.

There exist in the world forces whose avowed intent is to destroy it: this is a fact. For that reason, we must all pool our strength so that the world may become stronger and resist that danger. This is possible only through the concerted efforts of all: Member States, leaders of international organizations and all people of goodwill, wherever they may live.

The duties of leaders, Secretaries-General and Directors-General is not only to maintain but also constantly to improve the conditions and methods of operation of the institutions for which they are responsible, so that their effectiveness may be steadily increased. However, in doing so, they must resist pressure from all who use arguments based on power, and who may be tempted to impose their own particular view of things on the world. To yield to such pressures is to cease to be the servant of the whole international community, and to stand revealed as mere representatives of selfish short-term interests. For this weakness, the whole of humankind would be in danger of paying the price.

United Nations: Indispensable Instrument for Global Co-operation and Understanding

YASUSHI AKASHI

This article is based on the address of Mr. Yasushi Akashi to the annual conference of the UN Department of Information for Non-Governmental Organisations held at the UN Headquarters in New York in September 1985.

The theme of the Conference was, "United Nations for a Better World: Forty and Beyond".

Extracts from Mr. Yasushi Akashi's address are published here.

ESTABLISHED four decades ago, following the end of the Second World War, the United Nations set as its main goal the maintenance of international peace and security. Fifty countries gathered together in the city of San Francisco in 1945 and pledged to work together through the United Nations "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

The establishment of the United Nations was a response to the craving for peace by the nations of the world. It reflected, moreover, a new understanding that peace requires co-operation among nations in the interest of economic and social advancement, justice and equality for all people, the reduction of arms, and an effective system of collective security. The signing of the Charter of the United Nations inspired hopes and visions of a new world and a better life. It is evident that some of these original objectives have not yet been achieved. There is ample ground for critical analysis of why this is so. Any disappointment and criticism should not, however, be allowed to obscure the real contribution of the United Nations system during the past 40 years to peace, international co-operation and social and economic progress, nor can the world afford any depreciation of the objectives themselves.

In some countries there has been widespread criticism, and evidence of a pessimistic attitude about what the Organisation does or can do. I feel that there is a serious gap between the actual record and performance of the United Nations, and how this has been perceived by the public. This stems, in part, from unrealistic expectations about what the Organisation can do, and

inaccurate or insufficient understanding of the constraints under which the United Nations has to function. I would like to emphasise here the importance of perspective. The United Nations is not now a world government nor was it set up in 1945 to be one. It is the culmination of mankind's efforts to ameliorate and civilise the behaviour of independent states without altering the basic entities of modern international politics, namely, the sovereign national states. On the one hand, the United Nations reflects the deepest aspirations of people everywhere for peace, justice and progress. On the other hand, it has become a mirror of the hard realities of today's world reflecting the profound ideological differences and diverse interests among its member-states.

Necessity for Mobilising for Peace

The primary purpose of the United Nations is to help keep peace. The fact that there has been no world war since the United Nations was founded should not be forgotten. For 40 years now the majority of mankind has enjoyed peace. But it must be added that it has been a fragile peace, put to everyday tests which painfully affect many nations. It has been, moreover, a peace which, within a matter of minutes, could turn into a global catastrophe with no winners.

Events of the past years have done nothing to lessen the necessity for mobilising for world peace. Violence and conflict have retained an unfortunate immediacy. Relations between countries of different political and economic orientation are often dominated by mistrust and fear. The arms race continues to escalate in unprecedented dimensions. The further development and deployment of nuclear weapons have given the most persuasive warning of ever-growing risks of a global nuclear war.

We should remember that the potential of the United Nations to preserve peace depends on the willingness of countries to

YASUSHI AKASHI

Under Secretary General for Public Information, United Nations

use the Organisation's capabilities. Differences between them have frequently constrained the ability of the United Nations to act decisively. In a dangerous and divided world, the United Nations has not succeeded in preventing the outbreak of a number of armed conflicts in different areas of the planet. Nevertheless, this Organisation has been able to play an important role as mediator and peacekeeper in dozens of crises over the past four decades.

Communication is vital in international relations, and the United Nations is a unique global forum where representatives of countries come to exchange their views, and educate each other about their problems and objectives. While the global instruments of the United Nations may have some defects, it is a remarkable fact that over a period of time this Organisation has acted as a standard-setter in many fields, be they human rights, racial equality, the status of women, health, environmental or population matters. Over the years, General Assembly decisions have exerted significant influence on national law and public attitudes.

Thus, let me say that the United Nations possesses sufficient means for the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts. Problems arise not from a lack of appropriate mechanism in the Organisation, but often from the unwillingness of member-states to use it for resolving their disagreements by peaceful means.

Strengthen UN's Creative Potential

It is my strong belief that if we want to achieve progress in such urgent and acute problems as the prevention of a nuclear conflict, the reduction of the huge burden of the arms race and the lessening of international tensions, we must strengthen the authority, prestige and creative potential of the United Nations. We must in every way enhance its role as a real instrument of peace.

Problems of peace and international security are inseparably linked with disarmament and arms control issues. Peace and security cannot be maintained on a basis of perpetual preparedness for war. Our future rests on the collective determination and dedication to pursue the goal of disarmament.

The record of achievements in this field to date is important in preserving tolerable living conditions, and in limiting the spread and thereby the threat of nuclear weapons. But with the exception of bacteriological weapons, these advances have not resulted in a reduction of nuclear or conventional arms. They have not halted, or even slowed, the technological developments that each year have added further complexities to the disarmament issues.

However, despite difficulties and the inherently slow progress on disarmament, it is essential to preserve hope and optimism.

Absence of desired results should not lead to pessimism or be seen as the defeat of an ideal. After all, nobody would advocate closure of police stations simply because of a crime wave, or suggest elimination of hospitals because of an epidemic. Faced with adversity, we must only strengthen our resolve to reinforce institutions to cope with it.

Disarmament is not an unattainable goal. However, we need the good will and determination of all member-states and all peoples to contribute to the process of real disarmament.

Achievements of United Nations

Another primary purpose of the United Nations is to help solve economic and social problems. In fact, more than 80 per cent of the resources of the United Nations today is devoted to the economic and social fields. The United Nations, and the developing countries of the world, have had many remarkable achievements. Unfortunately, these have not made headlines or received extensive press coverage.

There are nearly 10 million refugees in the world today, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees helps provide temporary food and shelter for them, and facilitates their return home as soon as possible.

UNICEF has estimated that some 10 million children die needlessly every year. UNICEF has, therefore, developed a strategy for a "vital revolution in child survival" that can save many of those lives at a cost of pennies per child per day. UNICEF has given impetus to the worldwide campaign to promote oral rehydration therapy (ORT) to prevent and treat diarrhoeal dehydration—the single biggest killer of children in the modern world, in developing countries around the world,

other members of the United Nations family, such as the United Nations Development Programme, help build schools, clinics, roads, dams, ports.

Decolonisation is another important achievement of the past 40 years, resulting in a tripling of United Nations membership since 1945. When the United Nations was founded, 750 million people lived under colonial rule. Now an estimated 3 million live in a dependent status. This figure does not include those living in Namibia, illegally occupied by South Africa. The present state of affairs in Namibia has serious implications for the security and economy of the whole region. It is absolutely vital that means be found soon to make practical progress on this problem without sacrificing the principles laid down by the United Nations.

Challenge of Abolishing Apartheid

The United Nations tries to assist in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, where 80 per cent of the population lives under white minority rule, without any effective voice in their government. Our aim is the stable and prosperous future of southern Africa as a whole. This will not be achieved, however, as long as the problem of apartheid persists. One of the greatest challenges confronting the United Nations and all the peoples of the region is the absolute necessity of transforming the racial situation in southern Africa so that men and women of different races can co-exist and exercise their rights as equals. The recent developments in South Africa, particularly the declaration of a state of emergency, which has resulted in deaths, arbitrary arrests and detentions, have only augmented the degree of urgency of this problem. The Secretary General has recently called again on the Government of South Africa to enter into a dialogue with the representatives of the majority of the community in order to put an end to the present tension in that country.

Human Rights

I must mention here another major effort and area of work of the United Nations. This is the promotion and protection of human rights throughout the world. There are great humanitarian challenges often involving large numbers of refugees and displaced persons, whose plight in many parts of the world is the tragic reflection of political strife and economic distress. There is, furthermore, the whole spectrum of issues related to social and economic development, which so vitally affect both present conditions and future problems.

Equal Rights for Women

Since its establishment, the United Nations has been in the forefront of the strug-



UN Headquarters in New York

gle for equal rights for women. The mandate for United Nations action to advance the status of women was contained in the Charter which declared that the peoples of the United Nations were determined "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small...".

I consider very encouraging the success in July 1985 of the Nairobi Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, which adopted by consensus *Forward-Looking Strategies of Implementation for the Advancement of Women (and Concrete Measures to Overcome Obstacles to the Achievement of the Goals and Objectives of the Decade) (covering the period up to the Year 2000)*.

I wish to stress here that activities of non-governmental organisations throughout the Decade of Women have been extremely supportive of United Nations efforts. Of particular note are the many projects financed and launched by non-governmental organisations at the grassroots level, the financial contributions and co-operation given to the projects of United Nations bodies and specialised agencies, and the mobilisation of support for government programmes at the national level. NGOs have contributed in countless ways to the success of the Nairobi Conference on the Women's Decade.

Paralleling the Conference, concerned non-governmental organisations organised in Nairobi, Forum '85 which provided an opportunity for more than 13,000 participants to exchange views and information on topics relevant to the Decade's themes of equality, development and peace.

Fulfilling UN Goals

In conclusion, I would like to note again that there are some evident inadequacies and shortcomings in this World Organisation. We have had our failures. Many goals, embodied in the United Nations Charter, have remained unattained, leaving, perhaps, an impression in some quarters of ineffectiveness and misdirected energies. However, it is my firm conviction that the United Nations is an indispensable global instrument of co-operation and understanding. In spite of all the limitations, the World Organisation still remains the most appropriate forum for the solution of the complex and interdependent problems of the contemporary world. What is needed now is increased joint efforts by governments and the world's public to strengthen this Organisation and enhance its effectiveness. This is the area in which representatives of non-governmental organisations have a special role to play in promoting deeper understanding of its ideals, objectives and activities.

ENVIRONMENT AND PEACE

Global Ecological Security Interlinked with Preservation of Peace

WLODZIMIERZ MICHAJLOW

This article is based on Mr. Wlodzimierz Michajlow's paper prepared for the Congress of Intellectuals for a Peaceful Future of the World held in Warsaw, Poland in January 1986.

THE notion of ecological security of the globe is a relatively new one. It is now just making its way into the vocabulary of international relations.

Generally speaking, ecological security of the globe is conceived as shaping those natural and social relations in our planet's biosphere which would guarantee its internal balance. At the same time, it should offer proper life opportunities and further secure development for all of mankind. The last few decades have clearly manifested that the natural resources on our planet—and especially the so-called non-replenishable resources (coal, crude oil, natural gas)—are being quickly exhausted in the wake of wasteful exploitation by man. No longer so remote is the prospect of a world-wide energy crisis, should no new non-conventional energy sources be discovered and applied, to cater to the needs of the population boom recorded especially in recent years.

Air, inland water, sea and ocean pollution, soil deterioration, the dying out and destruction of forests over vast areas of the Earth, soil erosion, desertification of major land masses, accelerating extinction of animal and plant species and other phenomena detrimental to the state of the biosphere and to mankind living in it—and dependent on its proper state for survival—are being discerned more acutely than before. The conclusion is clear and gloomy: these phenomena are increasing at a dangerous and very rapid rate. Their anthropogenic character, their unfolding and intensification in the wake of development of industry, transportation and communications, ill-planned urban development, noticeable world-wide, though especially in the Third World, can no longer be questioned.

The natural course of normal circulation of elements in the biosphere is being disturbed to an ever greater degree on

local, regional and even global scale. It is counteracted by an ever stronger circulation moving in the opposite direction, a movement which is growing fast, fueled chiefly by anthropogenic factors. Even farming has become a source of environmental hazard to man as a result of stepped up industrialization and application of chemicals in food production. It has become clear that the difficult problems of man's contemporary environment cannot be solved without help from science.

Monitoring the problem of the world's ecological security in its entire magnitude by science will be needed constantly and always. For there never will come a time when science—even the best, most comprehensive—will find a remedy to ultimately eliminate all ecological threats.

Demographic relations, production methods and technologies as well as the methods and scope of utilization of natural resources on our planet will change with time. The constant presence of science in solving problems of biosphere protection will be a dire necessity, whereas the need to apply scientific breakthroughs and proposed solutions—so far still relatively little and entirely inadequately understood—will be ever greater.

Ecological Security and Preserving Peace

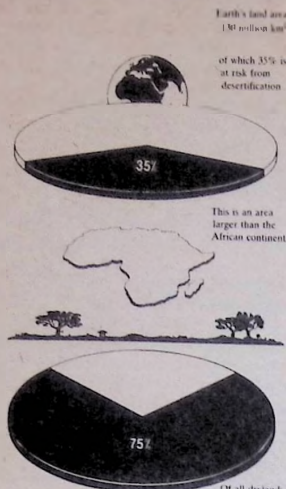
Guaranteeing ecological security to the world in step with the application of scientific achievements bolstered by appropriate political, economic and social actions, are becoming a leading concern in contemporary times. They can even be referred to as the second foremost problem facing mankind today and tomorrow. Preservation of peace undoubtedly remains the problem number one.

Yet, the notion of peace is not as simple, nor unequivocal to have it confined to avoidance of wars, absence of war hostilities. Involved are also preparations for war and the risk of outbreak which they entail as well as their economic impact on the world and man's environment. The practice of orienting research and development towards obtaining ever newer tools of combat

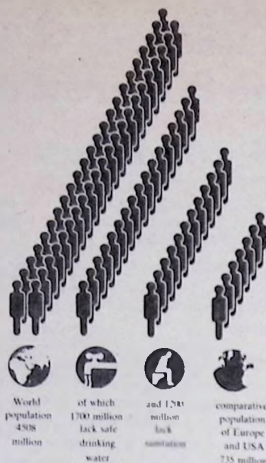
WLODZIMIERZ MICHAJLOW

Professor; zoologist; parasitologist; member, Polish Academy of Sciences and head of the Academy's University (Poland)

The threat from desertification



Water and sanitation



Arms Race Affects Eco-System

One should be aware that preparations for war, that is, the arms buildup as well as "local" wars now being waged in various spots around the world, even without thermonuclear or ecological weapons, bear a significant—and notably negative—impact on the state of the eco-system and on the entire biosphere.

A 1980 UNEP report among other things outlined the general state of ecological security in the world. Since the basic findings of that report remain valid (one can expect that the changes, if any, could have been only for the worse), it would seem advisable to refer to it in the course of debates on ecological security of the world.

As we all know only too well, the contemporary world is far from immune to local wars. There are many armed conflicts fought with conventional weapons, yet bearing a destructive impact on the environment.

A whole issue of journal, "Ambio" (No 5-6, 1975), published by the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences, was devoted to war as a factor destroying the environment. It is worthwhile to draw attention to the still up-to-date facts and figures cited by some contributors to this journal.

Both the concern for ecological security of our globe as well as the struggle for preservation of peace call for broad international co-operation, as global issues are involved here. This too links the two fundamental concerns of the present day. Such co-operation was developed indeed in the recent decades.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE—Helsinki, 1975) devoted much time to environment protection issues. The CSCE Final Act, which was signed, among others, also by the leaders of the U.S. and Canada, includes a lengthy chapter entitled "Environment".

A reference to the ever topical document is well called for. Though the programme for attaining ecological security outlined there is only fragmentarily being put into effect, and even then not without resistance and delays, it undoubtedly remains an important guideline for the future, a component of the programme of general ecological security for Europe and the world.

Environmental Diplomacy

Similarly, it is worthwhile to return here to the substance of other documents (such as, for example, the Vienna Declaration of 1985). Here one should not forget the role of regional organizations, such as the EEC and the CMEA, for example, and their efforts geared to environment protection.

A host of actions for environment protection now under way world-wide have given rise to the notion of so-called environmental diplomacy. The aim of international endeavours in this new field is to internationalize environmental issues.

The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is of the view that while environmental degradation continues in the nations of the developing world, especially in the least developed countries, the winds of economic, social and political disruption spreading around the globe also have a destructive impact on the environment.

should also be taken into consideration. The past few decades have shown clearly enough that problems of global ecological security are ever more integrally linked with broadly conceived issues of defending and preserving peace.

Of course, the problem of a possible outbreak of thermonuclear conflict and its effects is only the most extreme example of the bond between global environmental issues on the one hand and defence of peace on the other.

Recent years have seen many meetings of scientists, both in Europe and on other continents, representing as diverse fields as medicine, anthropology, sociology, biology, chemistry, physics and many other disciplines. The Papal Academy of Sciences in the Vatican has also devoted a session to the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons.

Ever more frequently scientists are coming to the conclusion that thermonuclear war would not only annihilate mankind or a considerable part of it, but it would also cause irreparable damage to the biosphere on our planet.

Ecological and Environmental Weapons

At this point, one should recall a matter which not only points to the unity of objectives in environment protection and

defence of peace but also clearly reveals the possible violations of peace by certain fully intended anthropogenic impacts on human environment. The point in question is the so-called ecological or environmental weapons, schemes to fight the enemy by means of destroying the natural environment in the enemy country.

These methods of waging war are in furtherance of the Nazi notion of genocide designed to annihilate entire nations. Thus has emerged the notion of ecocide or destruction of nature as a means to destroy man.

We cannot show indifference to the costs involved in producing and stockpiling ever new types of weapons. From the point of view of ecological security there are at least two aspects of this problem. On the one hand, there is the immense and constantly growing need for raw materials and energy connected with the production of various types of weapons, to the detriment of reserves of natural resources on our planet. On the other hand, enormous sums of money are being diverted to war preparations. Should only a part of those sums be allocated for application of well-known and generally available, yet costly, means of environment protection—the so-called clean industrial technologies—then the level of ecological security on our planet would increase considerably.



Contribution to World Peace

Vietnam's Struggle against Colonialism and Imperialism

PHAN ANH

This article is based on a study made by Mr. Phan Anh on the concept of peace and the Vietnamese people's implementation of this concept in their struggle against colonial and imperialist wars of aggression.

Published here are extracts from the study which has been made to mark the observance of the International Year of Peace in Viet Nam.

THE United Nations Charter, fruit of the victory over fascism, gives legal substance to the concept of peace. It is the most important development in the history of the struggle for peace as it reflects the realities of our time. It is notable for the appearance on the world scene of a new counterweight to the forces of war—the peoples unanimous aspiration to peace, security and justice in the struggle against the thirst for domination and world hegemony, of which fascism was a terrible example.

We can emphasise four points in the UN Charter:

- maintenance of international peace and security and the condemnation of wars of aggression;

- respect for equality among human beings and nations, both large and small;

- creation of the necessary conditions for the maintenance of justice and respect for obligations arising from treaties and other tenets of international law;

- development of economic and social progress for the well-being of peoples.

Peace as defined by the UN Charter is not merely a synonym for the absence of war, as many dictionaries define it. It is not pacifism; nor is it peace imposed by the strongest, as was the case under the Romans, under monarchies, and under colonialism.

Peace as envisaged in the UN Charter is a just peace, based on equality among human beings and among nations, an equal security guaranteed to all peoples

by law and aiming at economic and social development.

Peace, justice, law, development: these make up an endless chain of four interlinked ideas, each one influencing the other.

A concrete expression of justice in our times is sovereign equality among nations and respect for the basic national rights of peoples. Justice requires that this equality be guaranteed by law, which is what the UN Charter does, both in spirit and in letter.

A just peace, guaranteed by law, is a solid and lasting peace. It creates the right conditions for economic and social development and facilitates international co-operation.

Vietnamese People's Struggle against Colonialism and Imperialism

For over 30 years the Vietnamese people suffered under two long wars of aggression resulting from French colonialism and U.S. imperialism—the former on the pretext of spreading civilisation and the latter of defending "freedom".

What is more, both France and the U.S.A. are permanent members of the UN Security Council. They cynically violated the Charter, believing that force was the best argument. But they blundered badly with their dream of hegemony.

The Vietnamese people stood up for a just peace, peace founded on equality among nations and the right of peoples to self-determination. They made tremendous sacrifices in their long and bitter struggle, in which they were supported and aided by peace- and justice-loving peoples the world over, and in the end they won the kind of peace they had been fighting for.

This peace was supported by international treaties: the 1954 Geneva agreements and the 1973 Paris agreement. The U.S.A. and its puppets repeatedly violated these agreements with the result that the longest and most atrocious of all colonial wars flared up once again. But the people of Viet Nam, strong in the belief that right was on their side as laid down in treaties, ultimately triumphed in their struggle. In 1975, they won their basic national rights, as recognised in the treaties, with the liberation of South Viet Nam, which the aggressors had tried in vain for 20 years to separate from the Vietnamese motherland.

The victory won by the people of Viet Nam is not their victory alone. It is that of all those who supported them, that of all oppressed peoples, of Right over Might, of just peace over wars of aggression.

From the very outset the Vietnamese people stated that in struggling against imperialism they were fighting for world peace, a just peace defined by international law, and for the right of peoples to independence. At the time of the Cold War in the 1950s, they were among the first to participate in the foundation of the World Peace Council, the most powerful peace movement in the world. This movement has never failed to support them in their struggle.

They will never forget what they owe to the support of the peoples worldwide which helped them to win peace.

This brief summary of our history leads us to the following conclusions:

- In this day and age, when a people are united and determined to defend their freedom and independence, they can overcome any aggressor, even the most powerful amongst the imperialist forces, the U.S.A.

- Peace is indivisible. The struggle waged by the people of each country is beneficial for peace for all peoples, for world peace; and the struggle for world peace is beneficial for peace for every people. This is more true today than ever before, when the frantic nuclear arms race undertaken by the U.S.A. is being extended into space, with "Star Wars" plans, which will threaten all life on earth.

- The UN Charter, fruit of the allies' victory over fascism, has the great merit of institutionalising the concept of just peace, and condemning wars of aggression, with the aim of guaranteeing such peace. In spite of its laudable efforts, this world body has not been able to accomplish this task as fully as people wish it to do. The wars of aggression against Viet Nam are proof of this. The UN neither restrained nor even condemned the aggressors. But the spirit of the Charter and the avant-garde forces which participated in drafting it, with the socialist forces in the lead, had an active influence on world public opinion. It helped in the formation of a vast front against the imperialist war-mongers. This was a most important contributing factor in the victory for peace in Viet Nam.

PHAN ANH

President of the Lawyer's Association of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam; President, Vietnamese Committee for the Defence of World Peace; Vice President World Peace Council (Viet Nam)

In the nuclear age, when all life is under threat of annihilation, the notion of a just peace as described in Chapter I of the UN Charter must be considered in greater depth. The choice between survival and extermination of humankind is absolutely clear: it has to be survival. If humankind does not survive, there will be nothing more to talk about, neither war nor peace. There will be no struggle because no one will be left to struggle.

However, there are people who are still not discussing the choice which is clear and obvious to everyone. What they are discussing are the chances of survival in a nuclear war.

Experts from all countries, including the United States, have shown that the present stock of nuclear weapons is enough to destroy all life on earth several times over, and that once a nuclear war erupts it will not be restricted to a single region (in Europe or the United States, for example), but will involve the whole world—no country will be spared, even in the remotest corners of Asia, Africa or Latin America.

Star Wars Plans

In view of the growing worldwide opposition to its policy of a limited and winnable nuclear war, the U.S. government has stopped talking about it and decided to play another card—the SDI, or "Star Wars", which, according to the U.S. President, is not meant for starting a war but for defending the United States against Soviet attack! It is supposed to be an invulnerable shield against nuclear missiles! This pretence can be refuted by two facts: there is no such thing as an invulnerable shield—every invulnerable shield can be matched by an invulnerable weapon—and there is no such thing as only a defence weapon system—every defensive weapon can be used as an offensive weapon also.

It can thus be seen that the concept of defending peace and condemning war in the nuclear age goes beyond the aims defined by the UN Charter. It is not merely a matter of justice, equality among peoples and among nations and their well-being.

Peace in the nuclear age can be summed up in the slogan: "Peace, Humankind's Survival, Justice, Law, Development."

These five components make up an inseparable whole. The struggle against the danger of nuclear war is linked with the struggle for the right of peoples and individuals to life, independence, liberty and well-being. Both these struggles have a common enemy—imperialism, advocate of nuclear war, oppression and the exploitation of notions and people.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Anglo-Irish Agreement

Threatens Ireland's Neutrality and Peace in the Region

KEVIN McCORRY

ON 15 November 1985, the Prime Ministers of the Irish Republic and Britain signed a formal and binding agreement which has seriously disturbed national democratic and civil rights forces in Ireland and could in the longer term have wider implications for the peace forces, particularly in Europe.

The essence of the Anglo-Irish Agreement is that the British government has agreed that the Irish government will formally assist in running Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom. The acceptance by the Irish government of this role is the culmination of a drift in the Irish government's policy towards closer political and security co-operation with Britain, the European Economic Community and NATO, since the early 1960s.

The offer of financial aid from President Reagan, and the orchestrated support from other U.S. politicians, the EEC Commission and people like Chancellor Kohl to Ireland indicate the strategic and military interest of the U.S. and NATO in closer Anglo-Irish co-operation.

Under the Agreement, an Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Conference has been established and this will undoubtedly provide a Forum in which such matters can be raised from time to time, far away from the eyes of members of the public. This has obvious dangers for Irish neutrality.

In an authoritative article on the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the "Financial Times" of London has indicated just how far elements of the Irish political establishment have gone in abdicating all independence of thought and action in relation to British policy towards Northern Ireland. Margaret van Hattem wrote: "Yet for much of the past year as negotiations intensified, the role of the politicians was almost marginal, with the civil servants setting the pace, ministers moving in mainly to take the difficult decisions that were threatening to slow progress. On all sides, it was generally felt that the level of co-operation was unprecedented, and that at times it felt more like one team than two."

KEVIN McCORRY

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"Recognition" of Ireland's Division

The British Prime Minister has said that as a result of the Agreement, the division of Ireland has been recognised by an Irish Government in a formal international agreement for the first time. Dr. Garret FitzGerald, the Irish Prime Minister, who signed the Agreement is a member of the Trilateral Commission and the Bilderberg group and identifies himself with the Atlanticists, and the NATO-orientated preoccupations of those bodies.

The immediate role envisaged for the Dublin Government in the Agreement is to provide a back-up for the security policies of the British Government in Northern Ireland.

A recent international inquiry into one aspect of these policies has found that "over 269 people have been shot by the security forces on duty in Northern Ireland between 1969 and March 1984. Over 150 of these killings, or 57%, are estimated as unarmed civilian casualties—people with no manifest connection to para-military organisations. In over 20 cases which we examined in detail it appears to us that more force was used than absolutely necessary. We therefore conclude that at least 20 prima facie violations of Article 6 (1) of the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Article 2 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms have been committed by the Security Forces in Northern Ireland in the period in question". (International Lawyers Inquiry into the Lethal Use of Firearms by the Security Forces in Northern Ireland).

The Report also stated: "While the Nationalist (and predominantly Roman Catholic) community makes up approximately 40% of Northern Ireland's population, members of this community account for the vast majority of the civilians killed by the security forces. By contrast less than 10% of the security forces come from the Catholic community. We find that this community suffered disproportionately from the unrestricted use of firearms by the security forces and that nationalists have become especially alienated from the administration of justice."

The Report provides further confirmation of the fact that the systematic violation by Britain of international norms of human

rights is at the core of the problem in Northern Ireland and helps to explain the continuing violence and political crisis in the area.

Entrenching British-Imposed Partition on Ireland

The British Government partitioned Ireland in 1920 against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people and contrary to the principles of self-determination of peoples. Northern Ireland which remained within the United Kingdom under the terms of the Partition settlement has been ruled by repressive legislation ever since.

Today common law powers are replaced by special powers under which the security forces do not require a search warrant to search homes or other buildings in connection with "terrorist offences". Mere suspicion replaces the common law necessity for "reasonable suspicion" in entitling a member of the security forces to make an arrest.

Neither "reasonableness" nor "suspicion" are required for the right to stop and search any member of the public and if that person fails to answer to the best of his or her ability all questions concerning identity and recent movements, such failure is punishable with up to six months imprisonment.

The ability of the police to obtain confessions is greatly enhanced by Section 11 of the Emergency Provisions Act and Section 12 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act which enables the police to detain a person for interrogation for up to 72 hours (Emergency Provisions Act) or after an initial 48 hours for a further 5 days (Prevention of Terrorism Act). Suspects are not allowed legal advice until at least 48 hours have elapsed. According to the police themselves, of those arrested 76% are released without charge. Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act a citizen of the United Kingdom may be excluded from Britain and sent back to Northern Ireland and vice versa if the Secretary of State is satisfied that such person has been concerned or may be concerned with or may attempt to be concerned with "the commission, preparation, or instigation of acts of terrorism".

"Forceful", "decisive" and "persistent" interrogation of suspects is allowed in which the right to silence is implicitly denied.

Britain Violates Human Rights

In British Common Law, the prosecution must prove beyond reasonable doubt that an accused person's alleged confession was not obtained by threats, inducements or oppressive conduct. But at a trial in the special courts, established to deal with political cases, statements obtained by "oppressive" methods are admissible so long as these methods do not amount to



"The British government partitioned Ireland in 1920 against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people. Northern Ireland which remained within the United Kingdom under the Partition plan has been ruled ever since by repressive legislation, a systematic violation of human rights, and a propaganda campaign based on misinformation and disinformation."

torture, inhuman or degrading treatment. If the accused is able to meet that burden, then the prosecution must prove its case beyond reasonable doubt.

The accused also has the burden of proof where a weapon is found at the premises where he/she is a habitual visitor. In that case the defendant must show prima facie that "he did not at that time know of its presence in the premises in question or if he did know, that he had no control over it".

According to Section 7 of the Emergency Provisions Act, trial in the Special "Diplock" Courts for political offences is without a jury. The single judge has taken over the function of the jury as a tribunal of fact and "weighs" the evidence in a legal framework which is much less strict than in ordinary trials. In most cases the evidence against the accused consists wholly or mainly of a confession submitted by the prosecution as having been made by the accused under police interrogation. In 75/80% of political cases the prosecution depends wholly or mainly on the confession of the accused. This includes both written and verbal confessions.

In a report commissioned by Amnesty International, the author concluded: "The institutionalised use in Northern Ireland of strong psychological pressure on suspects in order to induce them to confess appears to be in breach of at least Article 14 (3) (g) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Convictions based solely on contested confessions obtained under such duress furthermore raise doubts about the adherence by the 'Diplock' courts to the presumption of innocence in all cases.

These aspects of the 'Diplock' court system raise questions about the extent to which trials in the 'Diplock' courts accord with international norms for a fair trial, contained in such international instruments as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights."

Dublin Government: Responsibility without Power

The position of the Dublin government with regard to these matters will be one of having responsibility without power. It will give Britain the appearance of having Dublin's approval of the details of security policies on the ground, while making it impossible for Dublin to criticise that policy openly.

In the longer term the collaboration between the Dublin and London governments could take another form. Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, although he is Prime Minister of what is supposed to be a neutral state, gives absolutely no idea of possessing a vision of how Ireland, as a neutral outside military alliances, might contribute to international detente and disarmament by aligning its foreign policy with other neutral and non-aligned states.

In May 1985 he attended the semi-secret Conference of the Bilderberg group at which the future of NATO was discussed. It was also attended by NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, General Bernard Rogers, the Chief of Staff of the Italian Army, General Cappuzzo, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, Richard Perle and others.

Incredibly, Dr. Fitzgerald was then reported as saying that "this is one such Forum where I have the opportunity of contacting the other neutral states". Here he was referring to the handful of NATO supporters from Scandinavia and Austria who were present at that meeting.

Dr. Fitzgerald's real attitude to neutrality may be gauged from his remarks about Ireland's participation in the U.S.-inspired boycott of the Moscow Olympics in 1980. "There is no such thing as neutrality today. We must take decisions like this positively and not dodge them".

While there may be no immediate threat of the Irish government signing the NATO Treaty, the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the whole trend of Irish foreign policy is towards full support for those elements within the EEC who wish to create a West European Alliance, integrally linked to NATO, whose members see security and defence co-operation as central to it, abandoning in the process their independent foreign policy, which is the basis of any genuine neutrality. Opposition to this trend brings together all those forces in Irish society who best represent the interests of the Irish people, namely, the forces for peace, democracy and national sovereignty.

Unity of Peace Forces on International Level

ALKIS ARGYRIADIS

THE need for creating unity amongst the peace forces is the imperative of the times. This unity can and must be achieved on an international level. It is only through unity now that the desired goal of preventing nuclear war can be reached.

The peace forces can hasten the process of strengthening this unity by extending their fullest support to the peace initiatives of the United Nations.

Within the framework of international unity of the peace movement, exchanges of views on a regional level, for example, among continental, national, or linguistic homogeneous groups of countries, can be of particular importance. These contacts can be based on common problems, the common fight against regional imperialist interventions or against military or economic pressures such as in the Middle East, Latin America and elsewhere.

Regions, such as the Mediterranean, the Balkans, the Scandinavian countries, the Baltic, Australia and New Zealand, have many common problems and no resident of these countries can consider the prosperity of his own nation without seeing it in the context of the larger region. Partial objectives such as a missile-free and nuclear weapon-free Balkans, or the Mediterranean becoming a sea of peace and friendship among nations, can play an important part in developing the peace movement, and help the cause of peace decisively.

The Greek Experience

The Greek peace movement has had experience of a full 30 years of activity. The Greek Committee for International Detente and Peace (EEDYE) was founded in 1955 by Greek friends of peace such as Yannis

Ritsos, Mikis Theodorakis, Elli Alexiou and others. Its first president was Andreas Zakkos, and its vice-president was Grigoris Lambriakis, who was murdered in Salonica in 1963 by para-state fascists. Lambriakis became a hero and symbol of the Greek peace movement.

Since its beginning, EEDYE has maintained a distinct anti-imperialist direction. The peace movement has fought and continues to fight not only for peace, detente and disarmament, but also for the liberation of Greece from U.S. economic, political, military and cultural dependence, for removal of foreign bases and nuclear weapons from our country, for a missile-free and nuclear weapon-free Balkans; for understanding amongst all countries and in particular the neighbouring ones, and for the peaceful coexistence of the peoples.

EEDYE was banned by the military junta during the period it ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974. The junta wanted to destroy every democratic movement in Greece, but, of course, it failed to do so.

After the fall of the junta in 1974, EEDYE, with General Ioannidis as president, plunged back into the fight. Unfortunately, in 1981, two organisations broke off from our committee for political reasons: KEADEA (Movement for National Independence, International Peace and Disarmament) with Prof. Markopoulos as president, and AKE (Independent Peace Movement) with Christophoros Argyropoulos as president.

Later, in addition to these groups, other committees were set up. There were sectional ones also, such as Youth Peace Committee, Artists and Intellectuals Peace Committee, Physicists Peace Committee, University Peace Committee, Greek Women's Anti-Nuclear Movement, Workers Movement for Peace and Disarmament, Acropolis Appeal and others. Peace organisations with a special purpose were also added to this multi-coloured tableau, such as the Greek Committee for Struggle against Foreign Bases (PEAKBA), Committee for European Security and Co-operation, Greek Committee for International Democratic Solidarity and others.

EEDYE co-operates today with all these committees and movements more or less closely, and with some of them it is even linked organisationally. Its co-operation with KEADEA and AKE may continue to be good, but in this case, there are certain ideological differences.

It is a fact that public opinion sees and is influenced by co-operation between national peace movements. This can be enhanced when it is linked with the great problems of peace and disarmament, whether they are international, national or even local such as, for example, the problem of the installation of a large base to house the U.S. AWACS spy planes at Aktia near Preveza in Greece.

Joint marches, demonstrations and other

events help in the development of public feeling. In general, Greek experience shows that the development of relations between peace organisations and the co-ordination of action helps to develop the movement and to attract a broader range of people to it.

Goals of Co-operation

This co-operation and unity amongst peace movements is truly self-evident if one considers their aim of preventing the nuclear danger and the common threat it poses, and stopping the escalation of the arms race to ever more insane levels.

Here, of course, you can see the dialectical dynamic, where the more immediate and threatening the danger of nuclear holocaust becomes the more the peace movement grows. Its demands include a ban on nuclear tests and nuclear weapons in general; a ban on first strike weapons; a ban on chemical and biological weapons; the creation of further nuclear weapon-free zones with the removal of missiles and nuclear systems which have already been installed; stopping "Star Wars" plans; dissolution of military alliances. These are some of the main demands of the peace movement. And close behind them comes solidarity with the peoples who are struggling for freedom and independence against the imperialists and their agents, in particular in Latin America and Africa. The effects of the arms race on peoples' lives as well as improving the conditions and quality of life also belong to the goals of the peace movement.

Resolving Disagreements

Disagreements among peace organisations can be found chiefly or only in the assessment of the causes of this situation and those responsible. Some consider imperialism and the forces which serve it to be solely or almost solely responsible, and others try to support the erroneous theory of equal distance between and equal responsibility of the two superpowers and reach the point of trying to change the socialist system; denying in this way peaceful co-existence and ignoring the real causes of the crisis. What is required here is clarity of the situation and at the same time common action, for one must take into consideration that the forces of war and imperialism are trying to achieve the splitting of the peace movement, in order to advance their own objectives. They are, therefore, naturally afraid of unity of the peace movement on an international level, and try to prevent it with a view to thwarting the united power of world public opinion.

In conclusion, it can be said that the effort to achieve unity within the peace movement must be intensified further on a world, regional and national level.

ALKIS ARGYRIADIS

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India's Role in the Struggle against Apartheid

ENUGA S. REDDY

This article is based on a paper prepared by Mr. Enuga S. Reddy entitled, *India and the Struggle against Apartheid*.

The paper was prepared on the occasion of the special meeting held by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid—during the observance of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations—to hear an address by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India and to emphasise the solemn responsibility of the international community to ensure the elimination of the inhuman system of apartheid.

The special meeting was held at the UN Headquarters in New York in October 1985.

Extracts from Mr. Reddy's paper are published here.

The paper contains a preface by Ambassador Joseph N. Garba from Nigeria, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid.

In his preface Mr. Garba says: "India's firm and consistent support has been a source of great encouragement to the oppressed people of South Africa in their long and difficult struggle. Africa has greatly appreciated the pioneering role of India and its unflinching support to the African States and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in their efforts for the liberation of South Africa. The United Nations and the international community have benefited from India's role in promoting the movement of solidarity with the liberation struggle in South Africa.

I hope Mr. Enuga S. Reddy's paper will not only make India's role more widely known, but will encourage other Governments and peoples to support the struggle for freedom in South Africa."

INDIA was the first country in the world to take the issue of racial discrimination in South Africa to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1946.

At that time India had to resist moves by the Western powers to deal with the Indian complaint as a legal problem and not on its consideration as a political issue. India's persistence won in the end.

Because of the composition of the United Nations at that time, it was with great difficulty that India was able to secure at the General Assembly a two-thirds majority in support of its complaint.

India was also the first country to impose sanctions against South Africa. On 17 July 1946, India prohibited exports to or imports from the Union of South Africa. These sanctions have been in force throughout since then to this day.

At the same session of the General Assembly in 1946, India played an active role in opposing and frustrating the manoeuvres of the South African government to annex South West Africa (now Namibia).

India again called on the General Assembly in 1952 to consider the wider issue under the title "Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of

apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa". India did this at the request of the freedom movement in South Africa, together with 12 other Asian and Arab States.

To stress the importance attached by India to this issue of race conflict and apartheid, leaders of the Indian delegation to the United Nations personally led the annual debate on this subject in the General Assembly until 1957. India recognised apartheid as a unique and grave menace to peace, rather than one of the many human rights violations in the world. When Ghana became independent, India requested it to take up this responsibility in the United Nations. But India continued to support the anti-apartheid struggle.

India's contribution to the struggle against apartheid has been highly praised by the leaders of the freedom movement in South Africa. Nelson Mandela, the outstanding leader of the movement, paid a handsome tribute to India and its leaders in a letter smuggled out of Robben Island prison in 1980.

In this letter, Mr. Mandela said: "The oldest existing political organization in South Africa, the Natal Indian Congress, was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894. He became its first secretary and in 21 years of his stay in South Africa we were to witness the birth of ideas and methods of struggle that have exerted an incalculable influence on the history of the peoples of India and South Africa. Indeed it was on South African soil that Mahatmaji founded

and embraced the philosophy of Satyagraha."

Great appreciation has also been expressed by African leaders for the role of India since 1946 in promoting international support for the freedom struggle in South Africa, and its many actions and initiatives in solidarity with the oppressed people of that country.

India's Opposition to Colonialism

Soon after becoming the head of the interim Government of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru declared at a press conference in New Delhi on 27 September 1946: "The kernel of our policy is the ending of colonialism all over Asia, or for that matter, in Africa and elsewhere... and the end of domination or exploitation of one nation by another."

This, he stressed, was the only way to bring about world peace and progress.

While India was concerned with the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa as an affront to the dignity and honour of the nation, he saw the issue in the context of even greater oppression of the African majority. India, therefore, took the lead in ensuring United Nations consideration of apartheid and in promoting solidarity with all the oppressed people.

The Government and people of India have entertained great respect for the liberation movement in South Africa and its leaders, and have been unequivocal in support of their struggle. The contributions made in that cause, and in implementation of the United Nations resolutions, were never regarded as a sacrifice but as a national duty.

In his address to India's Parliament in April 1958, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said: "There are many conflicts which divide the world and this question of racial conflict in South Africa is as grave as any other issue.

"In South Africa, it is the deliberate, acknowledged and loudly proclaimed policy of the Government itself to maintain this segregation and racial discrimination. This makes the South African case unique in the world. It is a policy with which obviously no person and no country which believes in the United Nations Charter can ever compromise, because it uproots almost everything the modern world stands for and considers worthwhile, whether it is the United Nations Charter or whether it is our ideas of democracy or of human dignity."

While the original Indian complaint remained on the agenda of the General Assembly for several years, Mr. Nehru recognized that it had become part of the larger issue. He said in a speech in the Indian Parliament on 15 December 1958: "The question of the people of Indian descent in South Africa has really merged into bigger questions where not only Indians are affected but the whole African population along with... any other people who happen

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to go to South Africa and who do not belong to European or American countries."

After the Sharpeville massacre, Mr. Nehru told the Indian Parliament on 28 March 1960: "The people of Indian descent in South Africa, as we all know, have had to put up with a great deal of discrimination and suffering and we have resented that. But we must remember that the African people have to put up with something infinitely more and that, therefore, our sympathies must go out to them even more than to our kith and kin there."

The two items were merged in 1962 under the title "Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa".

India joined the African States in calling for Security Council discussion on apartheid after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. It co-sponsored the General Assembly resolution of 1962 urging all States to impose sanctions against South Africa, and for the establishment of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

India's Call for Isolation of South Africa

In the specialized agencies of the United Nations, in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth, as well as in numerous other organizations and forums, India was active in calling for the isolation of the apartheid regime and support for the liberation struggle.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in an address to the African Students Association in New Delhi on 11 January 1982 stated: "The decade of the eighties may well decide the destiny of southern Africa. The African people must win. And we, in India, reiterate our total support to you."

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, in a statement on 16 August 1985 said: "This is the time when all the non-white people of South Africa, and even those sections among the whites who oppose apartheid, should close their ranks and fight unitedly to vanquish the racist policies. The people of India will be with them."

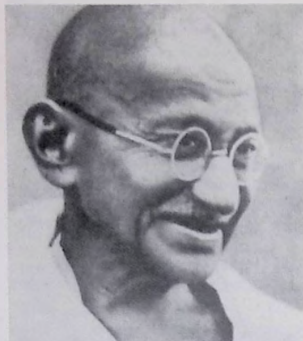
India has lent full support to African States and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). It set an example by scrupulously implementing the resolutions of the United Nations and other international organizations. It also provided substantial assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their freedom movement.

In recent years, India has been obliged to assume a more active role, with the encouragement of African States, because of its chairmanship of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the difficulties encountered by African States.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi had seen the humiliation of Africans and Asians in South Africa as she was obliged to stop in South Africa in 1930-1931 on her way home from England. She was passionate in her hatred of apartheid and entertained great respect for the leaders of the resistance. She told the

African Students Association in New Delhi on 11 January 1982: "... we regard Nelson Mandela as one of the foremost proponents of freedom—freedom of man. We regard him also a friend of India. We admire him. We have honoured him as one of our own heroes and our thoughts are often with him and his family..."

As the Prime Minister of India and as Chairperson of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Mrs. Indira Gandhi devoted special attention to the freedom of southern Africa. Her appeal to the people of South Africa in 1984 not to co-operate with the racist constitution designed to



"Mahatma Gandhi, who founded the oldest existing political organisation in South Africa in 1894, projected new ideas and methods of struggle that have exerted an incalculable influence on the history of the peoples of India and South Africa."

Nelson Mandela.

divide the black people was of great significance in frustrating the manoeuvres of the Botha regime and promoting united mass resistance in South Africa.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, her son and successor, has shown an equally strong commitment to the cause of freedom in South Africa—both in his statements and in actions taken by his Government.

Isolate Totally the Racists

India has been privileged to play a special role in support of the long and difficult struggle of the black majority in South Africa for freedom and human dignity. Solidarity with the South African movement is an issue on which all segments of public opinion in India are united.

India's long experience with South Africa has influenced its approach to apartheid. For India, the distinction between colonial and racial problems in southern Africa has little basis. In South Africa, racism became "State" policy because the colonial Power (Great Britain), ignoring the pleas of the African majority and the Indian population, handed over power to a white minority intent on reinforcing racist domination and exploitation.

India is also not influenced by propaganda describing Afrikaners as racists and English-speaking whites as liberals. The Indians in South Africa have suffered discrimination from the English-speaking whites in Natal as much as from the Afrikaners in the Transvaal.

India rejects appeasement of the racist regime and recognizes that the transition to a non-racial society will need to be under the leadership of the genuine leaders of the people.

As Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said on 19 August 1985: "South Africa must be made to see reason. It must be made to release Nelson Mandela unconditionally. The only way this can be done is to isolate totally the racists. It is futile to hope that co-operation in any manner with that regime will give anyone leverage or influence, so as to change things for the better."

While the experience of India is perhaps unique, it has relevance for other States that have been seized with the problem of apartheid, at least since the United Nations began to discuss it in 1952.

India, with a million people in South Africa tracing their origin to it, has made a clear choice in total support of the liberation struggle. Why is it that other countries of origin, especially of the white minority in South Africa, are unwilling to make such a choice and act accordingly? Why is it that some of them even use their historic links as a justification for collusion with apartheid to the detriment of all the people of South Africa?

India, a poor country, gave up over 5 per cent of its export trade in 1946 to demonstrate its repugnance of racism in South Africa. Why is it that the major trading partners of South Africa are unwilling to give up even 1 per cent or less of their trade? Are they less committed to the struggle against racism?

The leaders of India have educated public opinion on the situation in South Africa and given full support to all measures to end apartheid recommended by the United Nations. Why is it that Governments in the West are still resisting demands of public opinion in their own countries for action against apartheid?

India, a country which suffered from alien domination and exploitation, has accepted responsibility to assist Africa in its striving for total emancipation from centuries of humiliation. Why is it that Governments of countries that ravaged and plundered Africa seem unwilling to shoulder their moral responsibility?

It is to be hoped that the heroic struggle now being waged by the men, women and children of all racial origins in South Africa will persuade the Governments concerned to reassess their positions and contribute fully to the international efforts for the eradication of apartheid.

Chilean Dictator Must be Removed

Exposing "Constitutional" Conspiracy to Keep Pinochet in Power Till 1997

SERGIO INSUNZA

It is said that 1989 will be a year of great institutional changes in Chile, especially because it would end the Pinochet government, with the "election" of his successor. In such a case, the most interesting thing would be the obtaining of electoral laws and regulations on political parties before this date for a "clean exit". This, it is further said, would be preferable to violence and confrontation. Hardly any time is left; the best thing would be to get ready for the election, so they say.

This idea is linked to circles close to Pinochet, since it not only facilitates his continuing to exercise power but also pulls away a number of gullible people from the opposition, who are easily taken in by the illusion of their possible access to the Presidential office in 1989. Further, this idea is accepted by the U.S. government, as can be understood by the statements made by the former Under-Secretary for Inter-American Affairs Langhorne Motley after his visit to Chile in February 1985.

However, the belief that 1989—the year marking the end of the Chilean dictator's present presidential mandate—will be the year of Pinochet's retirement collapses when confronted with the 1980-Constitution imposed on Chile by the dictator himself. As stated by Luis Corvalan, Secretary General of the Chilean Communist Party, in an interview granted to the Mexican newspaper "Excelsior" in June 1985, "the 1980-Constitution empowers the Military Junta to maintain the tyrant for 8 more years by means of a prefabricated referendum".

That is why I deem it useful to warn against the "constitutional" provisions concerned, which, as will be observed, will only ensure Pinochet's continued position as President of Chile until 1997.

Pinochet Until the Next Millennium

Pinochet's concocted constitution, which he declared "approved" by a farcical refer-

SERGIO INSUNZA

Former Minister of Justice in the late President Salvador Allende's government, which was overthrown in 1973 in a military coup led by General Pinochet with the help of the CIA and the U.S. transnational corporations

endum on 11 September 1980, nominates him as President of the Republic for the period: 11 March 1981 to 10 March 1989.

One can rightly ask: What does the present Constitution provide in connection with the designation of the person who should take this post for the subsequent period, i.e., 1989–1997?

The answer is the following:

a) The Chief Commanders of the Armed Forces and the General Director of Carabineros (police), in person, shall meet before 10 December 1988 so as to propose to the nation the person who shall take office as President of the Republic for the period 11 March 1989 to 10 March 1997. (The "constitution" imposed by Pinochet provides for just one presidential candidate.)

Since Pinochet has retained his position as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, in spite of being President of the Republic, he will be one of the four top senior officers responsible for the nomination of the next President. This could be Pinochet himself, because as C-in-C of the Army, he is not subjected to the prohibition of re-election for subsequent periods—a prohibition that affects a President in office.

If within 48 hours the Commanders-in-Chief and the Director General of Carabineros fail to reach a unanimous agreement on the name of the candidate for the post of President of the Republic for the period 1989–97, the proposal shall be made by the National Security Council, through a majority of its members.

To this effect, the National Security Council will be presided over by the President of the Republic, that is, by Pinochet, and, further, it would be composed of the General of Arms, who is in the Government Junta, the Commanders-in-Chief of the Navy and Air Force, the General Director of Carabineros, the President of the Supreme Court, the President of the State Council and the General Controller of the Republic.

Force of Referendums in Chile

During these 12 years of absolute power, Pinochet has proved that he does not hesitate at all in fulfilling his ambitions.

Could there be any doubt, then, that Pinochet, confronted with one or the other

of the above-mentioned circumstances, would impose his will in order to be nominated as the candidate for the Presidency for the period 1989–1997?

There is a provision that the proposal made by the Commanders-in-Chief and the Director General of Carabineros, or by the National Security Council, must be submitted to a referendum.

Under the Pinochet dictatorship, two referendums have taken place. The first was in January 1978, in which he called the population to pronounce themselves in favour of himself or of the United Nations, this as a reaction against a resolution of the UN General Assembly condemning the violation of human rights in Chile. The second was in September 1980, when he submitted the presently enforced constitution for the people's approval.

Both referendums were held under the reign of the State of Emergency, with the most shameful military interference and absolute lack of guarantees for the opponents. Irrefutable is the evidence about the alteration of the results in the polls.

If the nominee were to be accepted in a referendum, the new President shall take office on the same day on which the current President leaves his post.

If the referendum turns down the proposal, it will be interpreted as an extension of the current presidential period for an extra year—up to March 10, 1990—and a Presidential election should be called before December 10, 1989.

The Only Exit

It could happen that Pinochet might die or resign or become physically or mentally incapacitated, thus preventing him from reaching the end of his current period in office. In such a case, his successor for the time up to March 1989 shall be elected by the unanimous vote of the Government Junta. If no unanimous decision is reached, the election will be made by the National Security Council, by an absolute majority vote. No plebiscite is provided; it is the case of an "election", and not of "proposing a name".

This succinct analysis of Pinochet's institutional procedures for the designation of his successor can lead to no other conclusion than the one stated at the beginning of this article. There exists the imminent danger that in case Pinochet remains in office as President of the Republic until 1989, he will implant himself for another 8 years, until 1997.

In order to prevent such a development, THERE IS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE BUT TO OUST HIM. After this a Provisional Government should assume the leadership of the state, and as its first measures it should cancel the Pinochet constitution, convene a Constituent Assembly and restore without delay the full respect for human rights in Chile.

Asian Buddhists' Movement for Prevention of Nuclear War

KH. GAADAN

THE Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP) is a voluntary mass movement that unites Buddhist monks, lay-Buddhists and believers to assist in preventing the threat of global nuclear conflict and in consolidating the spirit of peace and good-neighbourliness, trust and co-operation in the world. In its activity, ABCP adheres to the sacred behest of Lord Buddha on loving kindness and compassion, tranquillity and harmony, including the five fundamental principles of Panchashila—the code of conduct of every Buddhist.

Over the last years, the ABCP has held seven General Conferences, the supreme body of the movement. The last (seventh) General Conference was held in Vientiane, Laos, in February 1986.

During this period, the movement of Asian Buddhists has further expanded and assumed a genuine mass character.

ABCP's Seventh General Conference

The basic recommendations of the Seventh ABCP General Conference were to intensify efforts for the prevention of nuclear war.

The Seventh General Conference adopted a number of documents, including the Vientiane Declaration, General Resolution, Special Resolution, Resolution on new Soviet peace initiative, Message to Lao Buddhists and others.

In the major final document of the Conference—the Vientiane Declaration—the ABCP put forward the views and basic stand of Buddhists on pressing international issues. It emphasised the vital need of closely adhering to the Buddhist principles of Panchashila, to exhibit a high sense of responsibility, tolerance, compassion and loving kindness, mutual understanding and respect that proceed from the teachings of the Lord Buddha. The document underlines that "there is no more important, more noble and more pressing

task today than to prevent a global nuclear catastrophe. Therefore the sacred duty and moral obligation of each religious person, whether a Buddhist or other religious believer is to protect people and all sentient beings from nuclear annihilation and to take an active and constructive stand for the sake of peace".

In the General Resolution, adopted at the Conference, it was stressed that unity and cohesion of all Buddhists is a guarantee of our movement's success. It called upon the brothers-in-the Dharma to pay constant attention to further strengthening the unity and cohesion of our ranks and stepping up peace-making activities of the ABCP.

The Conference, attaching foremost significance to further expanding the anti-war movement in Asia and the Pacific Region, decided to involve in the activities of the ABCP ever more religious workers and believers of all faiths. It has taken the initiative to convene in the nearest future an All Asian Inter-Religious Forum of Peace.

The participants in the Conference in a Special Resolution wholeheartedly welcomed and expressed their support to the new important initiative, outlined in the Soviet statement of 15 January 1986 as a practical way to abolish the nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and to deliver mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

The Conference also approved a broad programme of actions in support of the International Year of Peace proclaimed by the United Nations, to propagate widely the ideas of peace, disarmament and international co-operation, to further expand the close working ties with all national and international organisations, anti-war and anti-nuclear movements for the sake of universal peace, social justice and decent conditions of life on Earth.

With this purpose, the Conference called upon all the brothers-in-the Dharma: "Let's follow the teachings of our Great Teacher in setting in motion the **Wheel of Peace** to save humanity from nuclear opoplexy just as our Great Teacher had set in motion the **Wheel of Dharma** to rescue all sentient beings."

Co-operation with Other Anti-War Movements

The ABCP Constitution stipulates, as one of its main objectives, the carrying out of mass activities for pooling the Buddhists' efforts to attain this principal goal. Apart from this, the ABCP attaches great importance to support and participate actively in the peace activities undertaken by other international organisations and movements. With this in view the ABCP is seeking to establish and develop close co-operation with all religious and secular organisations and movements advocating peace and disarmament.

At present the ABCP unites in its ranks Buddhist representatives from most Asian



The Buddhist symbol of the Golden Wheel. "Today's vital need is to adhere closely to the Buddhist principles of Panchashila—exhibiting a high sense of responsibility, tolerance, compassion and loving kindness, mutual understanding, and mutual respect—for the prevention of global nuclear catastrophe."

countries where Buddhism has traditionally a soy and influence. Within the framework of ABCP there are 15 National Centres and three Standing Commissions at work. In the ABCP activities, Buddhist representatives from other continents, including Europe and North America, take part as guests and observers.

Today, ABCP, as a non-governmental international organisation of peace-loving Buddhists, enjoys recognition and esteem on the part of other NGOs united by the communality of interests to safeguard peace and prosperity on Earth. The ABCP has established and is developing working contacts and ties with many of them such as the World Peace Council, Christian Peace Conference, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, Berlin Conference of European Catholics and others.

The peace-loving Buddhists of Asia welcome with satisfaction the initiatives and actions taken by the World Peace Council on the most topical issues, and its efforts aimed at further strengthening the cohesion and unity of anti-war and anti-missile movements in different parts of the world.

In recent years, contacts of the ABCP with the United Nations and some of its agencies and bodies have considerably strengthened and expanded. In 1983, ABCP obtained a consultative status in UNESCO.

ABCP representatives were invited to participate in the First and Second Special UN General Assembly Sessions Devoted to Disarmament. Also, ABCP representatives took part in the UN First Regional Conference on Disarmament for Asia and Pacific (New Delhi, 1983), the World Assembly for Peace and Life against Nu-

KH. GAADAN

Most Venerable Khambo Lama, President, Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (Mongolia)

clear War (Prague, 1983), Meeting of the Working Presidium of the World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe (Moscow, 1984), Emergency Session of the WPC Presidential Committee (West Berlin, 1984), Sixth Congress of AAPSO (Algiers, 1984), Round Table Conference on Space without Weapons (Moscow, 1984), Sixth All-Christian Peace Conference (Prague, 1985), World Conference against A & H Bombs (Tokyo, 1985), Thirtieth Plenary Assembly of the World Federation of the United Nations Associations (Geneva, 1985) and others.

During the last years, the international fora and meetings sponsored by the ABCP approved and adopted important documents which reflect the innermost strivings and aspirations of Buddhists on such vitally important problems of today as questions of war and peace, of lessening international tensions and curbing the arms race, safeguarding and preserving the sacred gift of life on Earth. They contain an earnest appeal to all Buddhists and the peaceloving world community at large to take urgent and effective measures aimed at preventing the threat of war and saving mankind and its civilisation from annihilation.

So, on the initiative of the ABCP an International Round Table Meeting of Buddhists was held in New Delhi, India in May 1984. It adopted the New Delhi Declaration which called upon all Buddhists to redouble their efforts for preventing nuclear war.

Various special measures, including religious ceremonies, were taken by the ABCP in 1985 devoted to such momentous jubilees such as the 40th Anniversary of the victory over fascism and militarism, the 40th anniversary of the United Nations. On the occasion of one of these anniversaries, the ABCP adopted appeals and messages to Buddhists and believers at large which called upon them to do all in their power to prevent what had happened in the past.

With deep satisfaction, the ABCP has welcomed the recommendations by the jubilee session of the UN General Assembly to proclaim 1986 as the International Year of Peace (IYP). In this context in Bodh Gaya, India, where Lord Buddha preached his teachings, the ABCP in collaboration with its Indian National Centre and the Tibetan National Centre in India held last year a mass gathering of Buddhists, believers and with the participation of a great number of distinguished Buddhist dignitaries. The mass gathering was devoted to the observance of the International Year of Peace.

The ABCP and its National Centres will take an active part in the activities to be carried out in the Year of Peace by the UN and other international organisations, including the World Peace Congress Devoted to the IYP to be held in Copenhagen in October 1986.

Common Struggle of Humanity:

Preventing Nuclear Holocaust

SINGAPO SYKHOTCHOUNNAMALY

This article is based on the address of Mr. Singkapo Sykhotchounnamaly to the Seventh General Conference of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace in Vientiane, Laos in February 1986.

Mr. Sykhotchounnamaly represented the World Peace Council at the ABCP Conference. Extracts from his address are published here.

THE Seventh General Conference of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace bears a particularly important significance as it meets the decision of the United Nations General Assembly on observing 1986 as the International Year of Peace, a constructive initiative which accords with the earnest aspiration of mankind throughout the world to live in tranquillity and happiness, free from the fear and danger of war. The World Peace Council, the peoples and the democratic and progressive movements all over the world fully support this initiative.

Amidst the present serious international situation which is fraught with the danger of holocaust of mankind, the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva in November 1985 was an important historical event. Even though it did not result in the settlement of fundamental issues of halting the arms race and of disarmament, and the solution of regional conflicts, that meeting has brought about a new light and hope of peace to mankind as stipulated in the joint statement of the two leaders.

- Nuclear war must not burst out and there is no victor in such a war.

- The prevention of war, nuclear or conventional, between the two countries is of paramount importance.

- The two countries will not seek military superiority over each other...

Nevertheless, we should maintain high vigilance as the imperialists still persist in carrying on the arms race, especially in going ahead with the militarisation of space through preparations of the so-called Star Wars. They have not stopped the production and tests of nuclear weapons. They are still building and enlarging their military bases and increasing their fleet in many regions of the world. They are also still continuing to install up-to-date arma-

ments including nuclear missiles at these bases. Simultaneously, they are carrying out interventions, aggressions, threats against independent, sovereign countries in many areas of the world.

In the face of such an urgent situation, all of us, Buddhists and followers of other religions, following different political ideologies, who have compassion and loving kindness, we must pool our energies, strengthen solidarity more than ever before, so as to get together, to struggle together to eliminate the danger of nuclear war which presently looms over the world and to resolutely struggle to preserve lasting peace.

To attain this goal, the statement of 15 January 1986 by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, constitutes a solid basis and a first practical step in the common struggle of mankind for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons within the 15 years to come, that is, before the year 2000. As long as nuclear weapons are not eliminated, this world will not enjoy tranquillity, and will face a permanent threat of extermination.

According to Buddhist teachings, each life is precious. Any violation of human life runs counter to morals and is considered a crime conducive to further suffering. The Lord Buddha has clearly shown the way to do good deeds and eliminate suffering. The Lord Buddha did not uphold just the scriptures but put great value on deeds—that is, good deeds bring about good, bad deeds bring about evil, that is the Karma of your own acts.

That is why man in this world, whatever religion he follows, as all religions teach to do meritorious deeds, must preserve life, have affection, solidarity and altruism for his human kind, reject killing, exploitation, do meritorious deeds, avoid bad acts, all evil doings, so that mankind from all nations, all religions can live together with equality, justice and freedom in the way of life they have chosen.

SINGAPO SYKHOTCHOUNNAMALY
President, Lao National Peace Committee
(Laos)

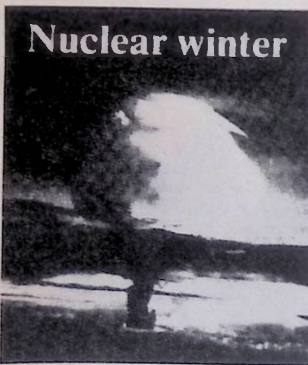
Why Scientists were Silent on Nuclear Winter for Four Decades?

The Night After . . . consequences of a nuclear war
Climatic and biological Scientists' Warning

Published by Mir Publishers, Moscow, 1985, p. 165. Price 2.30 roubles.

Edited and with an Introduction by Yevgeni Velikhov, Chairman, Soviet Scientists' Committee for the Defence of Peace against Nuclear Threat

(The book is available from booksellers in different countries dealing with Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Moscow.)



Nuclear winter

THIS book in the main contains articles by Soviet scientists on the disastrous consequences of nuclear war. It has been prepared by a public body, Soviet Scientists' Committee (SSC) for the Defence of Peace against Nuclear Threat to assist the peace forces to help resolve the Problem Number One of Modern Times—the prevention of nuclear war.

The book has a detailed Introduction by Mr. Yevgeni Velikhov, Chairman of the SSC and Vice President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, who raises what he calls the "inevitable questions": "How could scientists have overlooked 'nuclear winter' between the 1940s and 1970s and can we be sure that the current body of evidence on the consequences of a nuclear war may be thought of as final and complete?"

He answers his own questions, thus: "To the former question my reply would be that the research on the consequences of nuclear war did not get anywhere near the attention it deserved. The reason for this was psychological—no major scientist was willing to ponder the events that were likely to lead to the end of civilisation, nor to squander vigour and talent on bleak, scientifically unrewarding investigations. This is reasonable. But even so this is evidently a great folly. So long as we think it important to know exactly how, billions of years ago, our Universe took form and how, billions of years in the future, our Solar system will collapse, we ought to be more anxious to know exactly if and how our own planet, Earth, unique of its kind, might perish tomorrow. We must know where we might be led by our feeble-mindedness which underlies today's gigantic war spending, colossal and ever increasing nuclear stockpiles and qualitative development of nuclear weapons.

Perhaps there are also other reasons why the picture of 'nuclear winter' has been neither complete nor detailed enough until the last year or two (1983–84). New estimates and conclusions required close cooperation and feedback among a large number of workers from different scientific fields—climatologists, physicists, mathematicians, and biologists. Only in the recent years when such integrated vision and interdisciplinary approach gained acceptance were scientists able to research the whole set of interconnected developments in what previously seemed to be an abstract assemblage of desultory facts and phenomena. Besides, the possibility of a 'nuclear winter' constitutes a problem on a global scale of the kind scientists have only recently learned to formulate, let alone explore."

To the second question, Mr. Velikhov's reply is: "The 'nuclear night' ('nuclear winter') phenomenon is now considered as proved beyond question. Of special note is (the fact) that the atmospheric pollution scenarios that scientists have employed for their simulations were by no means the worst cases. But even so their results defy imagination and shatter all the predictions hitherto made regarding long-term secondary effects of nuclear detonations."

It was some physicians who first became conscious of their duty to inform the world public of the dangerous medical consequences of nuclear war. (See documents of the First Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War—1982.)

The work of physicians helped remove the popular misconception, even among professional scientists, that the post-exchange situation would not be dire enough to cause mass extinction of living creatures. The new research on "nuclear winter" then made it possible to know the sheer enormity of human loss.

Scientists now believe that the conse-

quences of a nuclear warhead targeting a nuclear reactor, nuclear fuel storage or industrial operation engaged in nuclear fuel processing would be harsher than of a nuclear blast per se. Radioactive contamination in the affected area would persist above the hazardous level for months, years and perhaps even decades afterwards.

The phenomenon of multiple enhancement of the probable effects of a nuclear war relies also on another agent to carry it out—fires.

Nuclear explosions would start off massive fires that would be attended by inputs of vast amounts of atmospheric combustion products—soot, ash and noxious gas. Clouds of fine soot particles would absorb and scatter sunlight to cause a pall of darkness over the earth's surface, or a "nuclear night". Surface temperatures would be lowered by 20–50°C below the seasonal norm.

Mr. Velikhov says: "In the past, and even in the first few decades of the nuclear-space epoch the dominant principle in international relations was a military-power principle. Then, the concept of national security was construed to mean quantitative buildup and qualitative improvement of armaments. To be sure, the arms race was in those days also perceived as evil, but an evil following unavoidably from the international disputes of the day. Not so now as the continuing arms race, particularly of nuclear armaments, seriously worsens the situation world-wide, while at the same time imperilling national security. The phenomenon came to be known as the paradox of the nuclear age. With progressively larger quantity and higher quality of nuclear weapons there is the ever increasing danger of the weapons being actuated either by a war policy miscalculation, or out of adventurist militarist ambitions, or simply because of technical malfunctions in the modern weapons system.

If the latest investigations of scientists have effectively led them to formulate the concept of a 'nuclear winter', they must be all the more effective in convincing everybody that the military-power approach is no longer tenable and absolutely unacceptable for the settlement of international disputes. It must be recognised that modern weapons of mass annihilation are suicidal weapons rather than 'a more effective means of warfare'. All nations and countries need to join efforts and act together to urge categorical and absolute renunciation of these types of weapons."

Mr. Velikhov says: "Let us be frank—the scientists' conclusions on probable 'nuclear night' and 'nuclear winter' are cheerless. Yet they ought to be made known to all people on Earth. But many policy-makers in the West go out of the way to distort the true picture, and falsify the key conclusions and warnings signalled by science . . ."



Easter Marches for Peace and Disarmament

Thousands of anti-war activists participated in the Easter Marches in different countries of Europe in 1986 to demand an end to the Star Wars project, halting of nuclear tests, liquidation of all nuclear weapons.

Some of the banners carried by the marchers for peace and disarmament were: "No to SDI, Yes to Nuclear-Free-2000"; "Liquidate All Nuclear Weapons"; "Jobs and Peace—No Space Weapons"; "Together We Can Stop the Bomb".

Pictures published here show the Easter peace marches in (1) Switzerland, (2) England (Malvern), (3) F.R.G. (Kiel), (4) West Berlin, and (5) Luxembourg.





Support International Year of Peace

Peace movements the world over are extending support to the objectives of the United Nations International Year of Peace-1986.

Published here are posters in support of the International Year of Peace issued by the United Nations (4), the Bolivian Committee for Peace and Democracy (1), the Portuguese Commission (2) and the design of a stamp (3) issued by the Bulgarian postal administration on the International Year of Peace.

