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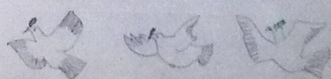
JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

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1 United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar received a delegation of the World Peace Council led by its President Ramesh Chandra at the UN Headquarters in New York in May 1986. From L to R: Georgy M. Gretchko, Soviet cosmonaut (U.S.S.R.); Karen Talbot, WPC representative at the United Nations (U.S.A.); Ramesh Chandra, Javier Perez de Cuellar, Luis Echeverria, former President of Mexico and Ryszard Tyrluk, WPC Secretary from Poland.

2 The WPC delegation to the United Nations also called on the then President of the UN Security Council, Ambassador James V. Gbeho of Ghana (second from right) in New York in May 1986.

3 Mr. Mengistu Haile-Mariam, General Secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Socialist Ethiopia addressing the International Seminar on the Struggle for Peace and Progress in Addis Ababa in June 1986. The Seminar was organised by the World Peace Council in cooperation with the Ethiopian Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Committee.



4 President of the GDR Peace Council Prof. Günther Drefahl addressing a meeting of the GDR Peace Council in Berlin, G.D.R., on 12 June 1986. The meeting reviewed the work done so far in the G.D.R. in connection with the UN International Year of Peace.



5 President of the State Council of Vietnam, Truong-Chinh conferred Vietnam's highest award, the Ho Chi Minh Order, on the WPC President Ramesh Chandra in Hanoi, capital of Vietnam, in May 1986, "for his great contribution to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people for national independence and for the defence of world peace".

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Front Cover:

Poster by an artist in Honduras on preventing the danger of nuclear war.

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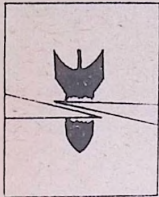
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- Settling disputes through negotiations



U.S. Policy of Neo-Globalism Detrimental to Entire Humanity

TODOR ZHIVKOV

This article is based on the address made by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the International Meeting of Agrarian and Other Democratic Parties and Organisations in Sofia on 22 May 1986.

The International Meeting was held on the theme—"For the Triumph of Peace and Security in the World". The Meeting was attended by representatives of agrarian, centrist, liberal, radical and similar parties from more than 80 countries in all the continents, and a number of international organisations.

Extracts from President Zhivkov's address are published here.

We live in complicated, tense and troubled times. As you know, nowadays mankind has no other more important task than that of safeguarding peace, and this means life on Earth.

This is the Number One problem. It is a vital problem for governments, for political parties and movements, for the peoples. It concerns each and every man.

—As is well known, the present-day world is a mosaic of countries of different social and political systems, at a different level of development, with different cultural traditions. It is so motley a mosaic that it can hardly be confined to any pattern.

—The problems facing mankind also form a motley mosaic. All of them are important and pressing and not a single one should be underrated.

Yet I believe you will agree with me—today the problem of peace and security stands above everything else. One should simply be a realist in order to become aware of this.

That is why the first question, I would like to dwell on, concerns the realities of the present-day world.

Undoubtedly, the main, determining thing today is the existence of two socio-economic systems—the socialist and the capitalist one.

—Their existence is a historical fact, a

law-governed phenomenon in mankind's development.

—And the opposition between these two systems is just as law-governed, because of the differences and contradictions between them.

Experience has shown that these contradictions cannot be solved from the position of strength, by military means. This is even less possible to achieve in our times.

Why?

—Because the striving to defeat, to liquidate the other party by military force will only result in the liquidation of the two systems, in annihilating civilization and life on the planet.

—In our times, the two systems could either live together, or die together, which means survival or destruction of the whole of mankind. History has willed it so.

This is the first basic reality.

The second reality is that the world stands in dialectic unity.

The world we are living in is characterized by the existence of different social systems, by contradictions which divide them, and in certain cases, oppose them to one another. Such is one of the realities of our times.

The other one is the growing mutual dependence between states, irrespective of their differences.

What is this mutual dependence determined by?

1. The main unifying factor is the joint responsibility and concern for the survival of life on Earth, for its safeguarding.

2. The world economy is functioning, economic life is being internationalized, international division of labour is growing more intensive. To one degree or another, these

processes influence favourably the development of the world economy and of the different countries.

3. In this connection, the question of the international economic security of all states, of eliminating everything which hampers the development of world economic relations, becomes ever more urgent.

All this presupposes:

- democratization of economic relations;
- doing away with discrimination and all artificial restrictions in economic interrelations;
- expansion of trade and scientific and technological cooperation;
- using up the means released by disarmament—for development, for wiping out backwardness, hunger, disease, poverty and the like.

4. The present-day world is characterized by an unprecedented growth of the importance of universal, global problems:

- such are the problems of protecting the environment, the air space, of utilizing the resources of the world ocean, etc.;
- they cannot be solved through the efforts of one state or a group of states. What is necessary is cooperation on a world scale.

The revolution in science and technology and its nuclear aspect constitutes, in my opinion, the third basic reality of the contemporary world.

The scientific and technological revolution is often likened to Janus the double-faced. And with good reason.

Because, on the one hand:

— Being a universal law-governed regularity, the scientific and technological revolution has already brought about colossal achievements for man and for humankind. It is the core of present-day progress.

— We cannot imagine the future of the world without it. That is why every country concerned about its advancement promotes and will continue to promote it.

Absurdity of War: Yet Arms Race Continues

In brief: the scientific and technological revolution leads to a qualitative leap in mankind's productive forces, to a mammoth, unparalleled growth of man's material and intellectual potential, creates all-round conditions for the further upsurge of civilization.

On the other hand:

— The scientific and technological revolution has also led to a qualitative leap in the means of destruction, in warfare.

— For the first time in history it has supplied man with the means of destroying life on Earth, himself included; man has in fact become a hostage of the means of warfare and destruction he himself created.

— In these circumstances war becomes an absurdity.

TODOR ZHIVKOV

President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Irrespective of this the arms race continues. Here are some facts and figures.

— The First Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General Assembly held in 1978 noted that military expenditures on a world scale amounted to some 400 billion dollars a year. Today, eight years later, they have doubled. Again according to UN data, these expenditures are likely to top the 1,000 billion-dollar mark by the end of the 1980s.

— In 1980 the military spending in the U.S. budget amounted to 142.5 billion dollars. Today, the Pentagon demands that the U.S. Congress approve military spending to the tune of 313.5 billion dollars for the 1986/1987 fiscal year.

Nowadays there are stockpiles of weapons, especially nuclear ones, in the world which could destroy life on the planet several times.

Therefore, in the nuclear-missile age the security of no state can be guaranteed by military-technical hardware. Security constitutes an exclusively political problem.

That is why the new aspect is that now there is no alternative other than a political one. Only by political means, by a dialogue can a way out be found. I repeat, the key problems of our times cannot be solved by military force. Otherwise we are bound to destroy ourselves. Everybody must understand that we live in a crucial time when the fate of the planet is at stake.

I consider myself to be a realist and do not entertain any illusions, and I believe you do not have any illusions either, that the opposition between the two systems will be eliminated. This is not what we are talking about. The two systems—the capitalist and the socialist one—will continue to compete. This competition, however, is possible:

— only in the conditions of peace, without war and the threat of war;
— only as a competition in science, in technological progress, in the economy, in all walks of life.

What we mean is peaceful competition which will:

— guarantee life on our planet;
— see to the preservation of its wealth and, above all, its most precious wealth—man.

We firmly uphold the stand of competing in the conditions of peace and security for creating worthwhile, genuinely humane material and cultural conditions of life for all nations.

New Connotation of Peaceful Coexistence

This is possible only when strictly observing the principle of peaceful coexistence.

What is the meaning of this principle which is invariably observed by the socialist countries?

It means:
— renunciation of war, of the use of force or threat of force;

— settling controversial issues through negotiations, through dialogue, through political means;

— conscientious fulfilment of obligations ensuing from the universally adopted principles and norms of international law, from the international treaties signed;

— the nations' right to determine their destinies themselves;

— strict respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity of states and the inviolability of their borders;

— non-interference in internal affairs and mutual respect for legitimate interests.

As is known the principle of peaceful coexistence was formulated by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. However, this principle, its content are in direct relation to the concrete historical conditions. In Lenin's time this principle had one connotation; in the wake of the Second World War it had a somewhat different connotation. At present in the qualitatively new conditions it acquires new traits and characteristics.

I should like to lay a particular emphasis on this. Why? Because a situation has evolved in the present-day conditions which has no parallel in any of the preceding stages, that saw the application of the principle of peaceful coexistence. As I have already underscored this is a situation in which mankind has to make a fateful choice.

Which are the new traits and characteristics of the principle of peaceful coexistence?

First, excluding war from the life of mankind for good.

Second, not simply good neighbourliness and cooperation but a new approach in international relations, aimed at halting the disastrous arms race, at the radical improvement of the political climate in the world. If good neighbourliness had been good enough in the past today we are talking about something qualitatively new—about pooling the efforts of all states, irrespective of their social system, in the name of peace and for the salvation of mankind.

Third, not only maintaining military-strategic parity but gradual reduction of its level to the final liquidation of nuclear and conventional weapons.

Fourth, promoting international scientific and technological cooperation exclusively in the interest of peace, for solving humanitarian tasks, wide exchange of cultural values, etc.

Fifth, not an information war but active cooperation in the field of information, in the name of peace, mutual familiarization, friendship, amity and confidence between peoples.

All this necessitates a new political thinking, a new political consciousness, a new political approach.

In the conditions of the impending nuclear war it is not confrontation but peaceful coexistence that should become a law, a universally acknowledged and universally observed norm of interstate relations.

Significance of Soviet Peace Initiatives

I would like to emphasize that this norm is the guiding principle in the approach of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the issue of saving the world from war. This is a realistic and constructive approach.

The great energy, restraint and persistence of the Soviet leadership, the reasonable compromises it is making in the name of checking the dangerous course of international developments and attaining a turn for the better in Soviet-American relations and in world affairs are well known to the world community.

— It is this energy, persistence and readiness for reaching understanding that made possible the Geneva summit and the resumption of the East-West summit dialogue.

— The large-scale comprehensive initiatives and proposals of the Soviet leadership put forth by Mikhail Gorbachev for a step-by-step reduction and abolition of nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of the century, for cutting down arms and troops levels in Europe, for establishing a reliable system of disarmament control, etc., are well known.

— The Soviet leadership has undertaken a bold and responsible step, declaring a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests which has been extended on several occasions already.

— The latest manifestation of a genuine concern over the future of mankind is the extension of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests until August 6, 1986, i.e., until the day when the first atomic bomb was dropped over Hiroshima more than 40 years ago.

— Mikhail Gorbachev has reiterated his proposal to meet with President Reagan without delay with a view to reaching agreement on a nuclear test ban.

As you know, the 27th CPSU Congress proposed a comprehensive system of international security:

— approaches and solutions have been elaborated which would not only reduce international tensions and the danger of war but would also relieve mankind of the fear for its future.

And something more:

— The Soviet proposals make it possible to guarantee comprehensively and effectively human rights, starting from the fundamental right—the right to live.

— The CPSU peace programme contains a proposal for changing the image of the present-day world, for establishing an international order that would be marked not by the domination of military force but by cooperation and a broad exchange of scientific, technological and cultural achievements. This would provide favourable opportunities for solving mankind's global problems through the joint efforts of all states.

In other words, this is a programme for peaceful coexistence in action.

U.S. Policy of Neo-Globalism

Militaristic reaction in the United States has recently been using the so-called neo-globalism to oppose the realistic and constructive approach of the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries, the Warsaw Treaty member states, the Non-Aligned Movement, the sober-minded politicians and statesmen in the capitalist countries.

What is its content?

— It is above all the proclamation of the whole planet and outer space as a sphere of U.S. interests, of U.S. security. There is not a single region on earth where U.S. military bases have not been established.

— Preparations for "Star Wars", for the implementation of the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative.

— Militarisation of politics and thinking, an aggressive behaviour on the international scene, placing its interests above the interests of the other participants in international affairs, most flagrant interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

— Rejection of good neighbourliness and cooperation as principles of world development, as a philosophy of international relations.

— Infringement upon interstate relations and cooperation.

— Undermining of international institutions including the UN and its agencies.

— Replacing peaceful competition with military confrontation.

— Evasion of serious political dialogue.

In fact the policy of neo-globalism is also directed against the very allies of the U.S., and not only against the people in those countries, but against the interests of the capitalists in them.

This is a policy to the detriment of the whole of mankind.

One of the goals of neo-globalism is to preserve and perpetuate the system of neo-colonial exploitation of the developing countries in the interest of the transnational monopolies, to check the process of progressive political and socio-economic changes in those countries.

Without exhausting the question, with respect to the developing countries neo-globalism means:

— intensifying the inequitable trade;

— increasing the "export" of inflation to those countries;

— drastically raising their foreign debts which makes their repayment practically impossible.

Through the policy of neo-globalism which boils down to political manoeuvring, threats, blackmail and military intervention, imperialism is aspiring to hold the developing countries in economic and political dependence. Imperialism is mainly to blame for the economic backwardness, poverty and acute social problems existing in most of those countries.

Consequently, neo-globalism is:

— a policy opposed to peaceful coexistence;



Mr. Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (in the middle) with delegates to the International Meeting of Agrarian and Other Democratic Parties and Organisations in Sofia in May 1986. On Mr. Todor Zhivkov's left is Mr. Peter Tanchev, Secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

— a policy of inequality, of diktat and subordination;

— a policy conducive to an exacerbation of international tensions, to the creation of acute conflict situations and international crises, to the accumulation of complicated and unresolved problems, to increasing the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

That is why such a course, such a policy does not and cannot have anything in common with the interests of mankind, with its survival and progress.

Lessons of Challenger and Chernobyl

In the present troubled time we should make a serious analysis and draw lessons from the use of space and nuclear technology.

More specifically, what I have in mind are the accidents with the Challenger space shuttle, in the nuclear power plant in the U.S.A., in Chernobyl, and others (accidents).

The disaster in Chernobyl has shown:

First, what a sinister power the atom is when it slips out of human control.

Second, the consequences of similar cases do not concern an individual country; the struggle for controlling the atom and for eliminating the nuclear threat requires joint efforts.

Third, some imperialist circles including also "the seven" in Tokyo, used that misfortune for mean slanderous goals, for escalating nuclear militarism.

From the Chernobyl case, too, the Soviet Union drew responsible and realistic conclusions and made the respective proposals:

— Since the future of mankind is unthinkable without nuclear power, an international order should be established for its safe development and its use for the welfare of man.

— The necessity is ripe of solving the prob-

lems of the "military atom". Nuclear weapons of an incredible destructive capacity have been stockpiled. The question of their abolition is a fateful one.

The nuclear catastrophe poses a threat to all. Its prevention requires joint efforts by all governments, states, parliaments, peoples, political parties and mass peace and anti-missile movements, by scientists and all people on the earth, irrespective of class, national, ideological and religious differences.

— All of us, all peace loving people throughout the world value highly the contribution of the Non-Aligned Movement, its efforts for healing the international political climate.

— We also hail the efforts of the parties and movements which you represent at this international meeting.

It is our common duty to wage an energetic and purposeful struggle for a complete ban on nuclear tests, for abolishing all kinds of nuclear weapons.

This is the supreme objective in the name of which we should unite, work and fight. This is the imperative of the time we live in.

In conclusion, I would like to express our confidence that:

— all peace-loving people ever more clearly see the watershed: on the one side stands the handful of the military and political top crust of the militaristic forces, and on the other—the millions of people who are aware of the need to prevent a nuclear catastrophe;

— that all and each one of us are responsible for the cause of peace and must contribute to it;

— we must rally ever more strongly round the banner of peace.

Allow me to wind up with the call which brought us together at this international meeting:

— May peace and security triumph in the world!

A message to my Patients

Appel à mes patients

En tant que médecin, mon devoir est de vous informer de toute menace grave pesant sur votre santé et votre vie. Les armes nucléaires représentent une telle menace.

Si même une seule bombe nucléaire explosait au-dessus d'une grande ville, des centaines de milliers de personnes périraient. Peu de survivants pourraient recevoir des soins.

Une guerre nucléaire détruirait la civilisation mondiale, et l'espèce humaine elle-même serait en péril. Il n'y a pas de remède médical adapté à une guerre nucléaire. Le seul traitement en est la prévention.

Je vous appelle à vous joindre à moi pour informer nos concitoyens des dangers de la course aux armements nucléaires. Ensemble, nous devons convaincre les dirigeants politiques du monde d'inverser cette marche vers l'annihilation.

Обращение к моим пациентам

Как врач, у меня есть обязанность сообщить своим пациентам о серьезной угрозе их здоровью и жизни. Такой угрозы представляют собой ядерное оружие.

Даже если только одна ядерная бомба взорвется над большой город, сотни тысяч людей погибнут. Мало людей смогут получить медицинское обслуживание.

Ведущая ядерная гонка разрушит человеческую цивилизацию и поставит под угрозу человеческое существование. Единственный способ лечения — предотвращение.

Я прошу всех своих пациентов помочь мне предупредить наших соотечественников об опасности роста багряных расхолаживания и оживления. Вместе мы должны побуждать политических лидеров всего мира прекратить эту марш опасной для всего человечества.

An meine Patienten:

Als Arzt bin ich verpflichtet, meine Patienten über jede ernste Gefahr aufzuklären, die ihr Leben oder ihre Gesundheit bedroht. Atomwaffen sind eine solche Gefahr.

Selbst wenn nur eine einzige Atombombe über einer Großstadt explodiert, können Hunderttausende von Menschen um. Medizinische Hilfe wäre kaum noch möglich.

Ein weltweiter Atomwaffenwettbewerb würde jegliche Zivilisation zerstören, der Fortbestand der Menschheit wäre in Gefahr. Eine medizinische Hilfe, die diesen Namen verdient, würde es nicht mehr geben. Das einzige, was helfen kann, ist Verhütung.

Ich bitte meine Patienten, auch bei der Aufklärung unserer Mitbürger über die Gefahren des atomaren Wettlaufes zu unterstützen. Gemeinsam müssen wir die verantwortlichen Politiker überall auf der Welt davon überzeugen, daß der Marsch in den Untergang gestoppt werden muß.

As a physician, I have a duty to inform my patients of any grave threat to their health and life. Nuclear weapons pose such a threat.

If even a single nuclear bomb were exploded over a major city, hundreds of thousands would perish. Few could receive medical attention.

An all-out nuclear war would destroy world civilization, and human existence itself would be imperiled. There could be no adequate medical response to a nuclear war. The only cure is prevention.

I am asking my patients to join me in educating our fellow citizens about the dangers of the nuclear arms race. Together, we must convince political leaders around the world to reverse this march towards extinction.

敬致我的病人

作为一名医生，我有责任告知病人，有何危险会对他们的健康和生命构成严重的威胁。核武器正是这种威胁。

即使只有一颗核子弹落在一个大城市爆炸，数以百计的人将葬身之地。只有很少人有可能获得医疗服务。

全面核子战争将摧毁世界文明，人类的存在本身将受到威胁。没有任何医疗措施能为核子战争提供帮助。唯一的办法是预防。

我要求我的病人与我一起来教育大众，从而阻止武器竞赛的进程。我们将一起说服全世界政治领袖和各国领导人，使这种走向人类灭绝的进程。

A message to my patients

As a physician, I have a duty to inform my patients of any grave threat to their health and life. Nuclear weapons pose such a threat.

If even a single nuclear bomb were exploded over a major city, hundreds of thousands would perish. Few could receive medical attention.

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I am asking my patients to join me in educating our fellow citizens about the dangers of the nuclear arms race. Together, we must convince political leaders around the world to reverse this march towards extinction.

告示：患者の皆様へ

健康の専門家として、私は患者に重大な健康と生命の危険を知らせる義務があります。核兵器はこのような危険を構成する重大な脅威です。たとえ単一の核兵器が主要都市に落下し、数十万人が死に絶え、ごく少数の生存者が医療を受けることが出来ても、核戦争による世界文明の破壊は避けられません。

たとえ単一の核兵器が主要都市に落下し、数十万人が死に絶え、ごく少数の生存者が医療を受けることが出来ても、核戦争による世界文明の破壊は避けられません。

全面的核戦争は、世界の文明は滅び、人類の存在そのものが危うくなるでしょう。核戦争の被害は、たとえ、適切な医療の手配がなされても、世界の存続は、核戦争によって危うくなります。

私は、医師として、患者の健康と生命の危険を知らせる義務があります。核兵器はこのような危険を構成する重大な脅威です。たとえ、適切な医療の手配がなされても、核戦争による世界文明の破壊は避けられません。

Un mensaje a mis pacientes

Como médico, es mi deber informar a mis pacientes sobre cualquier amenaza grave a su salud y a sus vidas. Las armas nucleares son una de estas amenazas.

La explosión de siquiera una sola bomba nuclear por encima de una ciudad principal causará la muerte de cientos de miles de personas. Pocos podrán recibir atención médica.

Una guerra nuclear total destruirá la civilización mundial, y la existencia humana misma sería puesta en peligro. No es posible ofrecer una respuesta médica adecuada a una guerra nuclear. La única cura posible es la prevención.

Solicito a mis pacientes que se unan a mí en la educación de nuestros conciudadanos sobre los peligros de la carrera armamentística nuclear. Entre todos, debemos convencer a los líderes políticos en todas partes del mundo de invertir la dirección de esta marcha hacia nuestra extinción.

رسالة إلى مرضاي

بصفتي طبيباً، فمن واجبى أن أبلغ مرضاي بأن

خطر يهدد صحتهم وحياتهم.

وإن أخطر وأشد خطراً هو الأسلحة النووية،

التي تشكل تهديداً جسيماً للصحة البشرية.

حتى ولو انفجرت واحدة من هذه قنابل نووية فوق

مدينة كبرى، فإنها ستقتل مئات الآلاف من

الرجال والنساء والأطفال. فقط القليل من الناجين

سيتمكنون من تلقي الرعاية الطبية اللازمة.

الحرب النووية ستدمر الحضارة الإنسانية، وتهدد

بالتدمير الكامل لوجودنا كبشر. لا يمكن

تقديم الرعاية الطبية المناسبة في حالة وقوع

حرب نووية. العلاج الوحيد الممكن هو الوقاية.



Statement by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, an independent and non-political federation of more than 150,000 physicians from 50 countries. It received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985. Its head office is in the U.S.A.: IPPNW, 255 Longwood Avenue, Boston, MA 02115, U.S.A.

Ban All Nuclear Testing — Eliminate All Nuclear Weapons

The members of the International Council, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), have sent an Appeal to the U.S. and Soviet leaders proposing a prescription to "Maintain Life on Earth"—cessation of all nuclear testing as the first step leading to the elimination of nuclear weapons from the arsenals of the nations.

The Appeal was sent on the occasion of the Sixth World Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War held in Cologne (F.R.G.) from 29 May to 1 June 1986.

Published here is the text of the Appeal.

AN APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Dear Mr. President

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

Physicians take an ancient oath to safeguard life and health. This sacred commitment compels us to join with colleagues of differing political convictions, religious persuasions and cultural backgrounds to alert humanity to the growing nuclear peril. In the six years of our existence, IPPNW has educated millions to the basic truths of the atomic age:

Nuclear bombs are not weapons, but instruments of genocide:

— To possess them does not signify military strength;

— To accumulate them does not guarantee superiority;

— To use them will inflict genocide on victims and suicide on aggressors;

— Medicine will have nothing to offer the millions afflicted and traumatised by a nuclear war, not even relief of pain before their agonising death;

— There will be no place to hide in a nuclear war: darkness and cold will enshroud the Earth.

Knowledge of these stark facts has not slowed the accumulation of overkill.

Throughout the world, increasing insecurity is being purchased at an ever greater cost. Scarce resources are diverted to burgeoning military stockpiles as social and health needs are unfulfilled. Hunger is everywhere, and every day more than 40,000 children perish for want of food, inexpensive immunisation and safe drinking water.

Physicians do not despair when confronting a difficult illness. We prefer to light a candle rather than decry the darkness. We have proposed a prescription—a cessation of all nuclear testing—to begin a journey away from the brink. A moratorium on nuclear explosions will impede the driving

force behind the arms race: the development of ever more sophisticated, more accurate, more miniaturised, more destabilising, less verifiable first-strike weapons. Such a test halt need not await improved relations between your two countries; advances in seismology have removed the need for trust in monitoring verifiable compliance.

Our worldwide campaign on behalf of



this medical prescription has borne fruit. The cessation of nuclear explosions by the Soviet Union, begun on Hiroshima Day 1985, represents an historic peace initiative. Support has been demonstrated by resolutions in both houses of the United States Congress urging the executive to pursue test ban negotiations. Another positive development is the energetic promotion of a test ban by the six heads of state comprising the Five Continent Peace Initiative who have offered their services to monitor compliance. The United Nations General Assembly has voted overwhelmingly in favour of expanding the Partial Test Ban treaty of 1963 into a comprehensive treaty banning all detonations.

A stop to all nuclear explosions would

build confidence between your two governments. It is an easily understood measure supported worldwide by ordinary people who comprehend that in the nuclear age provision for a common security through disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons is the only guarantee for peace and survival.

We therefore urge the following steps:

— That the United States join the Soviet Union in a mutual moratorium on all nuclear explosions;

— That the mutual moratorium remain in effect until the successful negotiation of a comprehensive test ban treaty; and

— That the negotiations for a test ban begin immediately and be pursued expeditiously.

Your governments, representing the world's two most powerful states, bear a special responsibility to all humanity to ban nuclear testing as the first step leading to the elimination of nuclear weapons from the arsenals of nations.

To provide concrete expression of your commitment to future generations and to protect the health of generations today, especially the children, we also call upon you to take the following steps:

— Guarantee the resources for immunising all the world's children by the year 1990, the goal of the World Health Organisation and the United Nations Children's Fund;

— Appropriate part of the monies saved by disarmament for public health programmes on behalf of children in developing nations;

— Exclude the development of space weaponry and instead contribute to a health communication programme to make available the advances of medicine to all mankind.

These measures are within the reach of your two countries. In this International Year of Peace, you can demonstrate that science and its handmaiden technology have but one objective: to improve the quality of life on earth, not threaten its extinction. The tragedies of Chernobyl and the space shuttle Challenger remind us of the fragility of all human and mechanical systems, including those controlling the weapons which endanger life itself.

Humanity has been given new warnings that, as Albert Einstein once said, "We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive."

We physicians hold fast to the dream that reason will prevail. We ask that you seize the moment to set in motion deeds consistent with your stated quest for peace.

Respectfully yours,

Members of the International Council,
International Physicians for the Prevention
of Nuclear War
Cologne, Federal Republic of Germany.
27 May 1986.

For Ensuring International Security

Reinforce Mutual Relationship between Disarmament and Development

The United Nations has prepared a number of background papers for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development in Paris, covering various aspects of the agenda of this first-ever UN-sponsored conference on disarmament and development.

Published here are extracts from one of these background papers entitled "Review of the relationship between disarmament and development in all its aspects and dimensions with a view to reaching appropriate conclusions".

The central theme of this paper is: "Disarmament, development and security are inter-related issues. Progress in any of these issues would have positive effects on all of them, whereas lack of progress in any of these areas has a negative impact on the others... Peace, security and economic and social development are indivisible."

DISARMAMENT and development have each been central concerns of the United Nations since its establishment in 1945. The existence of a "complex and multidimensional" relationship between the two has also been recognised.¹ As the 1962 report of the Secretary-General on the economic and social consequences of disarmament stated: "The present level of military expenditure not only represents a grave political danger but also imposes a heavy economic and social burden on most countries. It absorbs a large volume of human and material resources of all kinds, which could be used to increase economic and social welfare throughout the world—both in the highly industrialised countries, which at the present time incur the bulk of the world's military expenditures, and in the less developed areas."²

Similar assessments have been made in subsequent United Nations studies, among which the 1981 report of the Secretary-General on the relationship between disarmament and development provides the most comprehensive survey of the issues to date. Such assessments have had little impact, however, on the way in which political priorities and the allocation of economic resources are determined in an uncertain international environment.

It has been estimated that throughout the past four decades the world has consistently devoted between 4.5 to 7 per cent



of its gross national product (GNP) to military expenditure. Furthermore, in the past few years world military spending has been rising—in real terms—at about 5 per cent per year, well above the immediate post-war trend. Although the bulk of this spending and the greater part of the recent increases have been concentrated in the developed countries, the arms race affects all regions of the world. Today, the present level of global military spending is estimated to be in excess of 800 billion dollars per year.

The nuclear-weapon States and the two major military alliances account for the largest proportion of armed forces and weapons in the world and most of the world's sophisticated armaments and combat equipment are produced in a small

number of countries. These countries also carry out most of the world's military research and development, although the two major Powers are far ahead of the others in this respect. Nearly all technological innovation in weaponry takes place in very few countries. The pace of the arms race and the rate of obsolescence of weapons throughout the world are heavily influenced by these countries.

Elsewhere, military expenditures are unevenly spread. Until the latter part of the 1970s the rate of increase of aggregate military spending of developing countries was comparatively higher than that of developed countries, although the total expenditures were considerably lower. Their military spending more than doubled in real terms in the 1960s when the process of decolonisation and the emergence of new States was at its peak. It almost doubled again in the 1970s. In recent years, however, the rise in the military spending of those countries has been levelling off (Table 1). The imports of weapons, which constitute a significant share of their military spending, actually declined in the first part of the 1980s, after very rapid increases for much of the previous two decades.

A relatively small number of countries, the majority of them oil exporters, and many of them in one region, the Middle East, have continued to dominate the arms import market.

In its most recent phase, the continuing arms race has coincided with one of the most serious global economic recessions since the Second World War. The consequent "socio-economic imbalances and dislocations", have been "unprecedented in the post-war period, and quite different in nature and extent from earlier disturbances".³ Unlike earlier cyclical downturns which could be accommodated through flexibilities built into the international trade and financial framework, "the dislocations of the 1980s have not only been worldwide

Table 1. World military expenditure, 1975-1984
(Millions of U.S. dollars at 1980 prices and exchange rates)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Industrial market and non-market countries	429,506	427,792	436,624	448,896	468,450	469,894	475,726	497,584	515,901	541,830
Major oil-exporting countries	33,352	37,450	(36,185)	38,107	38,941	41,712	(45,143)	(48,598)	(44,874)	(44,988)
Other developing countries	43,452	47,509	49,215	49,205	51,357	51,168	54,238	(61,862)	(60,018)	(57,419)

Source: SIRPI Yearbook 1985, p. 270.

but also, because of the sharp curtailment of the resources for accommodation, much more severe and pervasive."⁴

Generally, the effect of these dislocations has been felt most deeply in the poorest countries. Per capita real income of developing countries as a whole is presently below the level reached in the late 1970s. "Dozens of countries have lost a decade or more of development".⁵ Thus, some of the economic and social achievements of developing countries over the previous 20 years—when gross domestic product (GDP) growth averaged (between 1960 and 1980) 6 per cent, infant mortality was halved and life expectancy and school enrolments were substantially increased—are in real danger of being lost. The countries most severely affected are no longer able to adequately provide the basic needs for their population such as food, safe water, health care or education, let alone find additional resources for development.

These and other related events in the international arena have brought about a new awareness of an interaction between the issues of disarmament and development and of the need for renewed efforts towards achieving these two goals. The possibilities for a reallocation of resources through disarmament for purposes of economic and social development have always existed. The full realisation of these possibilities requires however a significant change in attitudes and a revision of political priorities.

Disarmament, Development and Security

One of the most basic problems underlying the arms race has been the ineffective implementation and use of the system of collective security envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations. In the absence of an effective guarantee of their security, nations continue to seek security through exercising their inherent right of individual or collective self-defence.

Yet security remains an elusive goal. It is evident that efforts of the major powers to seek security by adding to their stocks of weapons have not achieved that objective. For many smaller States the question has

acquired an added dimension. Besides being concerned with strictly military aspects of security, which in many instances are affected by global issues of the arms race, the developing countries also perceive issues of national and international security as related to such immediate concerns as food security or energy security. The existence of non-military threats to national and international security is widely recognised. In addressing the issues of security in the context of disarmament, appropriate consideration should thus also be given to non-military threats to security.

The reasons for seeking disarmament have become even more compelling as the continuing arms race endangers international security in a number of ways. For example: in heightening military confrontation and increasing political tensions, it can

"Development seen as merely a beneficiary of disarmament does not contribute toward reinforcing the mutual relationship between disarmament and development . . . Underdevelopment, lack of development or slow development also constitute threats to international security."

enhance the possibility of major armed conflicts that could also lead to the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons; it threatens to increase the incidence and severity of armed conflicts in different regions of the world; it increases global and regional political tensions in the world as a whole and thereby impedes progress towards a more stable world order; it leads to the diversion, in increasing amounts, of

scarce resources, both human and material, that are urgently needed to improve the material well-being and the general welfare of mankind.

Disarmament is broadly understood as the process of reduction in the size of and expenditures on armed forces, the destruction and dismantling of weapons, whether deployed or stockpiled, the progressive elimination of the capacity to produce new weapons and the release and integration into civilian life of military personnel. This process must be implemented through balanced and equitable reductions and provide for mutually acceptable modes of verification and compliance to ensure undiminished security for all States. There is also an important place in this process for arms limitation agreements that genuinely restrain the quantitative growth and qualitative refinement of arsenals. Such agreements would be significant both as confidence-building measures and as stepping stones to actual reductions or armaments and armed forces.

The ongoing accumulation of weaponry has also called into play a broad range of social, political and economic support structures at the national as well as the international levels. Disarmament, therefore, also requires a reversal of cumulative and deeply rooted social processes at present reflected in contemporary society. The difficulties of achieving such a reversal should be borne in mind in efforts to agree on measures of arms limitation and disarmament.

To seek security through disarmament involves a series of political decisions pertaining, *inter alia*, to the limitation of armaments and armed forces, verification, the uses of resources, and the direction of technological progress. It also involves global consideration of issues affecting the international situation including those of development.

Development, in a broad sense, refers to social and economic changes in society leading to improvement in the quality of life for all. At the most basic level, it means providing for every person the essential material requirements for a dignified and productive existence. Economic growth essentially means an expansion of output.

Development includes but is not coterminous with economic growth. It also implies the opportunity to participate fully in the economic and social process and to share in its benefits. More specifically, if the global development effort is to be sustainable in the long-term, it should endeavour to provide for a pattern of economic growth that would significantly reduce within a reasonable time-frame the prevailing disparities between nations in the quality of life. Furthermore, global development effort depends also on resource availabilities.

Development takes place under different economic systems. In some cases the role of the State in managing the process of development has been emphasised. In others, it has been asserted that economic efficiency can best be assured through the operation of the market. Generally, there is an interaction (in different forms and degrees) between the allocation of economic resources through the State and through markets. This interaction is of relevance in projecting development as a global requirement at a time when the international economy comprises States with different economic systems and at different levels of development.

Disarmament and development remain parallel and distinct processes, although there are many ways in which they can reinforce each other. Both in turn are widely held to be interlinked with security. In this connection, a triangular interaction has also been recognised between disarmament, development and security. As stated in the Final Document of the 1978 special session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament: "peace, security and economic and social development are indivisible".

The continuing arms buildup is pertinent not only in the context of disarmament but also of development. Since the processes of arms accumulation and of development both require large-scale human and material resources and since resources are limited, pursuit of either process tends to be at the cost of the other. Beyond the simple opportunity-cost effect, the arms accumulation process could hinder development in other respects. Indeed, it is widely felt that in the long run either the world proceeds more resolutely towards the ultimate aim of disarmament or it will not be able to fully sustain or achieve development.

The magnitude of resources required to sustain, expand and innovate upon the existing nuclear and conventional arsenals represents an obvious aspect of their impact on global economic prospects. Furthermore, the existence of pressing economic needs and physical scarcities of resources in a world already beset by conflicts might contribute to tensions and confrontations. This in turn could lead to further pressures for incurring new forms of military expenditures or additional allocation of resources for military activities.

World-Wide Uses of Resources

The human, natural and material resources devoted to military purposes include labour, raw materials and minerals, capital and technology. Military consumption of resources is generally recognised to be a factor in national economic performance. Several United Nations studies examining this issue have indicated, *inter alia*, that military expenditures fall into the category of consumption and not investment and that generally any short-term economic benefits from military expenditures, through a multiplier effect, are offset in the long-term by depressing capital formation, productivity and competitiveness in the civilian sector.⁶ More recent empirical analysis tends to confirm these findings.⁷ Such analysis also stresses that a coincidence of high rates of military expenditures and high rates of economic growth may represent a phenomenon of parallelism rather than one of cause and effect. However, in an economy with unutilised or underutilised resources, any kind of spending, including military spending, could have a stimulating effect. The impact of the levels and magnitude of military expenditures, in particular those of the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily important States, on their economic performance and on the world economy is discussed in a separate (UN) paper.⁸ (See A/CONF. 130/PC/INF/7)

"The challenge of development has emerged as a major issue in the context of meeting military and non-military challenges to national and international security."

In the overall global context and in a world of finite resources, military consumption competes with claims upon such resources, not least with those of socio-economic development. It also affects priorities in the allocation of resources not directly claimed for military purposes and may also aggravate tensions related to resources constraints. Such tensions in turn could become an additional factor in the arms race, which may bring about further claims on resources. On the other hand, disarmament could be made the catalyst for more sustainable, less conflict-prone approaches to

the use of global resources. In its prevailing approach towards global resources, the international community seems to be caught between the national interests and those of global interdependence. Many countries take the view that some of those resources should be considered a part of the common heritage of mankind.

The world-wide military sector is a significant consumer, for example, of energy and minerals, which also play a crucial role in the process of industrialisation in general. Assessing global consumption of energy and minerals for military purposes is fraught with difficulty, not least because it can only be done by extrapolating data from a limited group of countries. Nevertheless, it has been estimated, *inter alia*, that countries with a strong military industrial sector may be devoting up to 7 per cent of their total consumption of petroleum for military use. If military-related consumption (i.e. the energy consumed by industries supplying the military sector with goods and services) is added, the figure rises to some 7 to 8 per cent of total energy use.⁹

The military sector is also a major consumer of minerals. However, due to advances in military technology, the composition of military demand has shifted. For instance, the relative importance of materials such as iron and steel has declined, whilst that of aluminium, titanium and other metals has increased. Military consumption of major minerals varied (in the 1970s) between 2.1 per cent (for manganese) and 11.1 per cent (for copper) of total consumption.¹⁰

Further acceleration in the accumulation of weapons would significantly increase consumption of specific resources for military purposes. That might not have precisely the same effect on global consumption of resources, however, due to the various other consequences of military spending on the general levels of economic activity. Increased military consumption of resources might even reduce demand for some raw materials for civilian purposes, as a result of a reduction in the overall rate of economic growth.

The dislocations in international energy markets during the 1970s provoked as much concern about access to energy and raw material supplies as about their scarcity. Under worst case assumptions, major interruptions in the supply of energy or industrial materials could produce significant reductions in the industrial output and GDP of developed countries. However, it is doubtful whether short-run sensitivity to supply interruptions could translate into long-term vulnerability that could not be redressed by changes in policy.

In looking for alternative sources of energy and minerals, sea-bed resources have attracted considerable attention. Oceans and seas could provide many renewable energy sources such as tidal energy, wave energy and sea thermal power. The sea, moreover, serves as a signif-

icant source of food, particularly proteins.

There has been an increasing interest in the economic potentials of the oceans. Much of the impetus has come from coastal States, many of them developing countries, who often find themselves unable to take full advantage of the seas for their own economic benefit. In addition, many States attach great importance to access to seabed reserves of minerals, which are known to contain large deposits of polymetallic nodules, including manganese, nickel, cobalt, copper and molybdenum.

Historically, the use of oceans has been associated with the maintenance of the freedom of the high seas to ensure unhindered international trade and shipping, and the exploitation of marine resources. The sea is an important medium for the international movement of goods and sea-based trade accounts for more than 80 per cent of international trade by volume. In this context, disarmament could reduce anxieties concerning interruptions in the seaborne trade, supply of energy and raw materials, and encourage reductions in world-wide naval deployments. Along with diminished naval deployments, this could also alleviate the insecurity of coastal States, allowing them to reallocate scarce resources from military to civilian purposes.

In addition to other uses, waterways provide a means of transport for industrialisation, irrigation for agriculture, and also a source of hydroelectric power. On a global basis there are 214 waterway basins shared by two or more countries, some two thirds of them developing countries.¹¹ Under pressures of population growth, and for both agricultural and industrial progress, there is an increased demand for water, not least among the developing countries. Disagreements between States sharing the same waterway have continued to be a source of conflict. Disarmament linked to more effective settlement of regional disputes would make it easier to reach agreements over the use of scarce water resources.

Outer space is another area of greater interest. Space can be used both for military and civilian purposes. Remote sensing by satellites, for example, has civilian uses for meteorology, mineral and petroleum prospecting. It can also be used to monitor many aspects of economic activity, including threats to the environment such as deforestation and desertification; and has potential applications in the broad area of disaster management.¹²

Military and civilian space technologies have always been closely interlinked. However, in recent years the balance seems to have shifted toward military applications. Some 75 per cent of the satellites in orbit are estimated to be designated for military uses.¹³ Some, such as the use of satellites for verification purposes, are essential in the context of arms limitations and disarmament while other uses may be seen as potentially increasing the momentum of the

arms race. The existing uses of space for civilian purposes seem to lag well behind the potential offered by technological developments.

Regarding the natural environment, it is widely believed that the potential effects of a nuclear war, including its climatic effects, would not be confined to the direct combatants, although the bulk of the damage would fall upon them. Conflicts and military preparations in general disturb fragile balances in the natural and man-made environments.¹⁴ Some military conflicts, in particular, are known to have caused great environmental damage.

Although the damage potential of the use of various types of weaponry is enormous, it is not possible to arrive at precise estimates of the environmental harm. A careful analysis of the environmental impact of different categories of weapons prepared on behalf of the United Nations Environment Programme distinguishes three composite stress factors, namely, soil damage, destruction of plant cover and biocide.¹⁵ Various categories of weapons would place stress on ecosystems in one or more of these three ways. The environmental effects of some weapons would be significant in tropical forest regions and in arid areas which lack species diversity and where soils are thin and deficient in nutrient- and water-holding capacity, that is, in a majority of the developing areas. In such regions, nutrient-dumping, erosion and decline in

doment of irrigated land and other man-made habitats can also lead to long-term deterioration in agriculture and disturb the ecological balance.

The Challenge of Development

The need for development has grown into a major factor in the pursuit of international security. Development is an objective of both the developed and the developing countries. The developed countries need to sustain or improve their economic performance; the developing countries need to attain a better economic performance. The incidence of demand and supply side constraints on developed economies is unevenly spread among different groups of countries. But for the developing countries, by and large, the supply side constraints are more serious.

A priority concern of developing countries is to combine the various goals of economic growth into the process of development. In their attempts to attain these goals, the developing countries are facing considerable obstacles: a limited resource base of national economies; competing claims on resources also by the needs to maintain national security and promote development; and an uncertain international economic climate are among some of the issues faced by these countries. Their difficulties seem to have been made more severe by the most recent developments in the international capital and monetary markets. World Bank capital-flows have declined sharply at a time when private flows have been shrinking. International Development Association (IDA) credits have declined from their peak of 3.8 billion dollars in 1980 to 3.0 billion dollars in 1985 without adjustment for inflation. Drawings from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which stood at special drawing right (SDR) 14.1 billion in 1983, fell sharply to SDR 8.1 billion in 1984, and SDR 4.2 billion in 1985. Commodity prices have fallen to their lowest level in the last 27 years. The aggregate debt of developing countries rose to some 950 billion dollars by 1986.

Disarmament is of particular concern not least to the developing countries, which expect that it can improve not only their security but their developmental prospects. It can do so in several respects, amongst which are, first, to the extent that military spending in developed countries may have added to the difficulties in the global economy, measures of disarmament could improve the international economic climate. Secondly, a reallocation of some of the resources released through disarmament in the developed world could provide an additional source for promoting development. Thirdly, disarmament could facilitate development by reducing insecurity, thereby making it easier to control conflict and limit arms accumulations. Finally, reductions

"Disarmament and development remain parallel and distinct processes, although there are many ways in which they can reinforce each other. Both in turn are widely held to be interlinked with security."

moisture-levels are especially likely to occur, and could spread secondary effects well beyond the original areas of devastation.

Military conflicts, apart from other consequences, can also have long-term environmental effects through population movements and changes in patterns of human settlement. About these, however, knowledge is only fragmentary. Mass movements of refugees and displaced persons can for instance intensify demographic pressures on the land and hasten erosion and other environmental damage besides introducing new elements of tensions among the countries affected. The aban-

in the developing countries' own military spending could increase their domestic resources available for development. However, the scope for such reductions by developing countries is relatively restricted.

As already stated, the military burden is unevenly spread among those countries. The bulk of spending has basically been concentrated in the oil-exporting and other higher-income developing countries. Their relative shares of the total developing countries' military expenditures in 1984 were 44 and 38 per cent respectively, as compared with 18 per cent for all the remaining less developed countries. However, military spending of all developing countries together accounted for some 20 per cent of the world total in 1984.

In principle, the argument that military spending is a form of waste or unproductive expenditure may appear compelling in the case of developing countries. Funds used to pay the salaries of soldiers cannot be used for agricultural extension programmes or schools. Scarce foreign exchange diverted to purchase military equipment, cannot be used to import tractors, industrial machinery and medicine. At the same time, evidence of a trade-off between military and social expenditures is fragmentary and based mainly on the experience of one region. A recent time-series statistical analysis of trade-offs between education and defence spending in a group of 18 developing countries, for example, found that in no less than 6 countries the military and education budgets increased and declined together; in 7 countries there was no significant relation one way or the other; and in only 1 country were military increases associated with education decreases. Clearly the allocation process varies much from country to country.

In the developing world, military spending cannot be expected to have precisely the same effects in capital surplus countries, in newly industrialising countries (NICs) and in lower-income economies, where the burden of military spending presses hardest on scarce resources. In addition, the structural adjustment and austerity programmes required of large numbers of developing countries as the price of debt rescheduling and international credit often impose heavy burdens. Such programmes were in effect under IMF stand-by and extended agreements in close to 70 countries during the period 1980-1984.¹⁶

A recent cross-national statistical study of the period 1973-80¹⁷ has drawn some limited conclusions about the factors which influence the military burden of developing countries in proportion to their GDP and by the share of military budget in total government expenditure. First, the military burdens of countries involved in military conflicts were 1.5 to 2.5 per cent higher and absorbed 6.5 to 7.5 more percentage points of the budget than in other developing countries, after the effect of the other

variables had been taken into account. Secondly, among Governments facing situations of internal unrest, the share of military expenditure relative to GDP was some 2 percentage points higher and the military component of the budget was 4 to 4.5 per cent higher than in other cases. Thirdly, the availability of foreign exchange earnings from the international economy was a crucial determinant. Fourthly, military spending tended to be higher in countries depending wholly or mainly on one external supplier of military equipment.

Significant variations from region to region are pointed out by other studies.¹⁸ Each of the determinants of military spending appears to be linked in a complex web of interrelationships and each directly influences the process of development. Military conflicts could sometimes be a consequence of development failures, in a wider sense, and almost always impose heavy economic and human costs on the countries involved in them. Political and strategic ties between major world Powers and developing countries influence the flow of military and non-military aid and other financial transfers, as well as shaping development choices. Efforts to increase exports in order to earn the foreign exchange required for military purchases can foreclose more self-reliant development options.

In this context, policy options available to the Governments of developing countries appear limited. Although many Govern-

"A triangular interaction has been recognised between disarmament, development and security. Peace, security and economic and social development are indivisible."

ments are aware of the opportunity costs of defence spending, their decisions to increase or reduce military expenditures remain tied to issues of international and regional security. There is indeed need for strengthening regional security and conflict-reduction mechanisms in various developing regions. However, disarmament at the global level would make construction of such regional security arrangements and the reallocation of domestic resources to development easier to bring about. In this last mentioned respect it needs to be stressed that the absence of a major war has not meant that the world, and especially the developing countries, has enjoyed peace.

More military conflicts have occurred since the Second World War and more people have been killed in them than in any period in recent history except the two world wars themselves. Depending upon the criteria used to describe the incidence of war, various estimates have been made about the number of people affected by it. According to one estimate, some 120 wars (involving more than 1,000 casualties) have taken place since 1945, bringing with them some 19 million or so dead, more than 60 per cent of which were civilians.¹⁹ The 1984 report of the Secretary-General on conventional disarmament indicated that the number of armed conflicts since 1945 has probably risen to over 150 involving over 20 million dead, almost all of which have occurred in the developing countries. It also suggested that current trends give no reason to believe that there will be a decrease in the incidence and severity of armed conflicts.²⁰

As can be seen in Table 2, the annual numbers of persons being killed in military conflicts in the 1960s and 1970s substantially exceeded those dying from all other major emergencies. Most major emergencies in the developing world affect many more people than those whose deaths they cause directly. So do armed conflicts which at times combine with and aggravate other emergencies. In Africa, for example, countries most seriously affected by drought and famine often overlap with those which have experienced conflict conditions, a pattern also familiar in other parts of the developing world. Although there are many other reasons why famines occur, in societies where millions live near the margin of existence conflicts have frequently provided the critical exogenous shock that dislocates the rural economy, interrupts food chains and spreads hunger in its wake.

Armed conflicts aggravate the problems of organising development in many tangible ways. No adequate estimates exist of the financial costs of wars fought in the developing countries, although studies of individual wars suggest they can be substantial. Military conflicts are certainly a major stimulus to military spending and arms purchases. It appears obvious, therefore, that while development is hardly an easy task in normal circumstances, it becomes indeed impossible to implement long-term development policies in countries and regions which are constantly afflicted by conflict situations.

Some Concluding Remarks

Disarmament, development and security are interrelated issues. Progress in any of these issues would have positive effects on all of them, whereas lack of progress in any one of these areas has a negative impact on the others.

Table 2. Human costs of war and other emergencies

Type of event	Number dying per year (Thousands)		Number of people affected per year (Thousands)	
	1960s	1970s	1960s	1970s
Drought	1	23	18,500	24,400
Flood	2	5	5,200	15,400
Tropical cyclones	11	34	2,500	2,800
Earthquakes	5	39	200	1,200
Others	6	42	1,300	4,500
Total disasters	23	143	27,700	48,300
Deaths in wars	439	587	—	—
Civilians as percentage of war dead	52	68	—	—

Sources: Disaster casualties are Red Cross figures presented in Anders Wijkman and Lloyd Timberlake, *Natural Disasters: Acts of God or Acts of Man?* (London, Earthscan, 1984). War deaths are from Ruth L. Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures*, 1985.

Any major release of resources through disarmament measures would come primarily from the major Powers and other developed countries. Militarily significant States are the major participants in the arms race although many developing countries have devoted significant proportions of their resources to military purposes. A reallocation of resources away from military purposes could, therefore, be in the interests of both developed and developing countries.

As the developed countries continue to account for a major share of global military spending, and because the problems of development are seen to be most urgent among the developing countries, development tends to be viewed as being at the receiving end of a relationship between disarmament and development. Nevertheless, development seen as merely a beneficiary of disarmament does not contribute towards reinforcing the mutual relationship between disarmament and development.

Underdevelopment, lack of development or slow development also constitute non-military threats to international security. Resource constraints, along with other problems of sectoral and institutional adjustments within national and international economy, have emerged as an issue of central concern for the developing countries in their efforts to attain economic growth. To the extent that a reallocation of a part of resources released through disarmament measures can provide additional means for development, disarmament could make an important contribution towards development. Conversely, in the sense that it helps to overcome non-military threats to national well-being and security, thus also favouring a more stable and sustainable international system, development may contribute towards a more secure world. The relationship between disarmament and development, therefore, may be seen as a two-way street. Thus, the framework of this

relationship should be viewed in terms of global interdependence.

The most overriding reason for bringing about disarmament is a commonly shared concern for human survival in the nuclear age. Since security-related concerns are paramount in affecting the prospect for meaningful measures of arms limitation and

disarmament, it is imperative that both the military and non-military challenges to national and international security be given appropriate consideration. Problems of meeting the challenge of development have also in this context emerged as a major issue on the international agenda. While the concern for development is worldwide, the consequences of underdevelopment are particularly acute in the developing countries, where more than two thirds of the world's population live. A combination of an economic recession and a continuing arms race narrow the global options for meeting this challenge.

Development should not run the risk of becoming a casualty of the arms race, although disarmament by itself cannot directly bring about development. Nor can all the problems of development be entrusted to a release of resources through disarmament measures and a reallocation of a part of such released resources in favour of the developing countries. A reallocation of resources would nevertheless be a valuable disarmament dividend for development. Notwithstanding differences of approach, it is widely felt that the world can either continue to pursue the arms race or achieve and sustain social and economic development for the benefit of all.

Notes

1. *The Relationship Between Disarmament and Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1), para. 21.

2. *Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament* (United Nations publication, Sales No. 62.IX.1), para. 166.

3. *World Economic Survey 1985* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.85.II.C.1), p. 73.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *World Development Report 1985* (Oxford University Press for the World Bank, 1985), p. 1.

6. *Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament* (United Nations publication, Sales No. 62.IX.1); *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.72.IX.16); *Disarmament and Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.IX.1); *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.IX.1); *The Relationship Between Disarmament and Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1); *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.IX.2).

7. The studies are too numerous to be cited in full here. Useful summaries are provided by Fantalan and Smith, "Analyses économiques des dépenses militaires"; Stratégique, 3, 1985; and by Goran Lindgren, "Armaments and Economic Performance in Industrialized Market Economies," report No. 26 (Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1985).

8. A/CONF. 130/PC. INF/7.

9. Helga Haem, "Militarisation of Nature: Conflict and Control are Strategic Resources and some implications of 'Peace Policies'," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 16, No. 1, 1979.

10. *The Relationship Between Disarmament and Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1), para. 139.

11. A. Biswas, "Major water problems facing the world," *International Journal of Water Resources Development*, 1983.

12. UNDRG, *Space Applications for the Acquisition and Dissemination of Disaster-Related Data*, Expert Meeting, Geneva, 14-17 June 1983.

13. Daniel Deudney, *Space: The High Frontier in Perspective*, *Worldwatch Paper No. 50*, August 1982, pp. 16-17; John Turner, *Aims in the 1980s* (London, Taylor and Francis for SIPRI, 1985), pp. 41-50.

14. United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), *The State of the Environment 1980*, sect. V; UNEP, *The World Environment 1972-1982*, chap. 10.

15. J. P. Robinson, *The Effects of Weapons on Ecosystems*, UNEP Studies, Pergamon Press for UNEP, 1979, vol. 1.

16. *World Economic Survey 1985*, United Nations publication, Sales No. E.85.II.C.1.

17. A. Matzels and M.K. Niskanen, *The Determinants of Military Expenditures in Developing Countries* (Department of Political Economy, University College of London, discussion paper 85-18, April 1985).

18. Robin Luchman, "Disarmament and development: the international context," "Anarchy or transformation?", *Scenarios for change*, IDS Bulletin, vol. 16, No. 4, October 1985; Robin Luchman, "Militarism and international dependence," *Disarmament and World Development*, 2nd ed., R. Jolly, ed. [Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1984]; and Michael Brzezinski, "Militarisation and the foreign economic exposure of third world countries," *Development and Peace*, No. 3, Autumn 1984, 148-50.

19. Computed from lists in Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures*, 1985, pp. 9-11.

20. *Conventional Disarmament* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.IX.1), para. 55.

Widespread Unemployment Preventable by Planned Adjustments

The International Labour Office in a paper on disarmament and employment has stated that a properly planned conversion of defence industry to civil production need not generate widespread unemployment.

The paper which was prepared for the UN International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development in Paris (July-August 1986), underscored the point that disarmament and expanded aid flows to developing countries could create more jobs in the developed countries themselves.

The ILO paper said: "This study supports the conclusions of other observers that the industrialized countries have much to gain, in employment terms, from faster growth in the developing countries since they will remain suppliers of higher value goods and equipment."

Extracts from the ILO paper are published here.

A GOOD deal of the research undertaken over the last 25 years shows that military-related production accounts for a relatively small proportion of total production in countries with domestic arms industries and supports the contention that a decline in such production would not have serious consequences for the economies of those countries. Particular localities and industries where defence production is concentrated would face temporary difficulties, but these could be mitigated by adequate planning and compensatory measures (for example, special tax incentives for industries undergoing conversion) or for the creation of jobs in other industries.

There is good reason to believe that in the long run economies would benefit from the reduction of the military sector since, in many cases, the same amount of investment produces more jobs in the civil sector than it does in the military sector. In addition, the release of large numbers of research and development personnel from military-related jobs and their redirection towards socially useful civil sector goals can only be beneficial.

Although the conversion of the defence industry would benefit all national economies, it cannot be expected that a decline in defence-related procurement would automatically be translated into a successful movement of the defence producers into civil markets. The conversion of the defence industry can be seen as one category of the restructuring that economies are constantly undergoing as new products and production processes are developed and diffused. The introduction of new products and processes into any part of the manufacturing sector

can necessitate the reloading of factories, making new investments, the retraining of workers, the closing of production facilities and the opening of new ones. While expanding economies have less difficulty in adapting to such changes, some adjustment assistance can be necessary even in periods of relatively rapid economic growth. In periods, such as the present one, characterized by slow growth, high rates of inflation and considerable unemployment, adjustment measures are particularly important.

While national economies can be expected to adjust reductions in military expenditure and cut-backs in defence procurement without serious problems, some difficulties will inevitably arise at the local and regional levels. Defence industries tend to be geographically concentrated. Regional and local governments clearly have an interest in making a transition from military to civil production as easy as possible, since the more disruption local economies experience, the more likely it is that local and regional governments would be required to provide an increased level of social services at the same time as their income (from personal and corporate taxes) is declining. Most conversion proposals do not include an institutionalized role for regional or local governments. In many countries, however, regional and local governments already play a role in channelling economic adjustment assistance to areas with economic problems and would thus be involved in helping firms and workers adjust to defence cuts.

In addition to serving as channels for assistance from the central Government to affected industries and workers, regional

and local governments can also use their own taxation policies to influence the conversion process and can set in motion other policies to promote diversification of the regional or local economy. For example, a United States government report on the likely economic effects of reduced military expenditure in the state of New Mexico suggested a five-year period of exemption from Federal, state, and local income taxes for new firms locating in the area, provided they became part of the non-defence export base of the local economy.

Workers' Attempts at Conversion

Over the last 10 years, workers in defence and related industries in a number of countries have become increasingly active in attempting to protect jobs by convincing employers to move into or expand existing operations in the civil sector. Groups which promote a transfer of resources to the civil sector are most active in companies or areas where redundancies are threatened or have already occurred on a fairly large scale. Experience has shown that such groups cannot succeed to any significant extent if Governments and employers are hostile or indifferent to the notion of conversion. At the same time, there is clearly considerable scope for public education on the need for defence industry conversion, its economic implications and the ways in which it might be carried out. It is particularly important to communicate to defence industry employees that a properly planned conversion process need not generate widespread unemployment.

As an example, in the United Kingdom the catalyst for the growth of interest in conversion at the local level was the presentation of the corporate plan of the Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee in January 1976 in London. Faced with the rationalization of the Western European aerospace industry, which had already cost nearly 30 per cent of the Lucas Aerospace workers their jobs, and the likelihood of reductions in defence expenditure on the part of the United Kingdom Government, the Lucas Aerospace Combine Shop Stewards Committee

decided to consider alternative products which could replace the defence equipment manufactured by Lucas Aerospace.

Despite work subsequently carried out on a heat pump, neither it nor any other alternative product was subsequently manufactured by Lucas. If viewed solely as a conversion programme, it is clear that the efforts of the Combine Committee failed. It is possible to argue, however, that in certain important respects the initiative of the workers at Lucas Aerospace succeeded as it gave the workers a sense of self-confidence, a clear example that they could, in fact, influence the design and production process and take part in the corporate decision-making process. Finally, it created an important working model of conversion activity.

Disarmament and Expanded Aid Flows

One proposal, the effects of which have been investigated through the development of an econometric model, is that savings from disarmament should be transferred to developing countries as official development assistance. It can be shown in this way that at the end of a brief, 10-year period, more jobs would be created throughout the world (compared to a situation of no disarmament). Furthermore, if the developing countries use the additional funds to pursue basically egalitarian policies, helping the small-scale urban sector and the poorer elements of the rural sector, job creation in both developing and developed countries would be even higher.

It can be foreseen that the direct and immediate effect of a cut-back in armament expenditures in the early part of the 1990s would be to increase the proportion of unemployed workers, whether in the armament industries or in related sectors supplying intermediate inputs, equipment, etc., or in the armed forces. Unless short- to medium-term counteracting policies are initiated, the overall employment situation could worsen. A number of studies suggest what kind of counteracting policies should be introduced in order to mitigate the negative effects of such cut-backs. Inevitably, these policies would place some additional burden on Governments, whether in the form of subsidies to specific sectors or of compensation schemes to the unemployed. However, given that the cost of unemployment to the government budget (benefits paid and taxes foregone) in some industrialized market economy countries is already 2 or 3 per cent of GNP, the addition would not be great.

Furthermore, financial transfers to the developing countries would generate a process in which market forces would progressively take that burden away from Governments, i.e., would provide jobs through creating new and stable markets. If, furthermore, egalitarian policies were adopted by the developing countries, 80 per cent of the 17 million additional jobs that would be

created in the industrialized countries after 10 years would be in manufacturing and agriculture. No job losses in the year 2000, compared to 1990 would be recorded in the capital goods industry of any region, but employment might decrease in the basic product industry of North America and Japan (basic chemicals and metals) and might stagnate in the light industry sector of all developed regions. Therefore, although frictional unemployment could not be avoided, the major finding of such an econometric study is that market forces would generate a variety of jobs in sectors (food and agriculture, equipment and machinery and services) where trade liberalization transmits to the developed countries the strong demand released by development policies in the developing countries.



"There is good reason to believe that in the long run economies would benefit from the reduction of the military sector since, in many cases, the same amount of investment produces more jobs in the civil sector than it does in the military sector."

The econometric model firmly suggests that, as a group, developed economies have at worst little to lose from massive transfers to developing economies. It hypothesized a modest 3.3 per cent annual growth rate in the developed economies in the 1990s in the reference scenario, which nevertheless would hardly be sufficient to reduce unemployment. With a level of financial transfers to the developing countries of the order of 0.5 percentage points of GNP (bringing official development assistance up to 0.7 per cent of GNP), the employment gain would indeed be substantial, once the transitional costs had been absorbed.

The model suggests that the feedback effects of financial transfers to developing economies on the developed countries could be far more efficient in curbing unemployment in the latter if these transfers were used by developing countries to promote low as much as high-technology activities. Moreover, any substantial development of South-South trade would be likely to enhance the feedback effect of South-bound transfers; there would be trade losses, in developed economies, for basic products and light industrial goods, but these would be more than compensated for by equipment sales, because of (and not despite) a

fast growth of capital goods industries in the developing countries.

Whatever the development strategy followed by the developing countries, the feedback growth effects on the industrialized countries are not evenly distributed among developed regions. The tendencies of the present trade and financial networks would allocate to North America and Western Europe (as well as to Australia and New Zealand) major export flows in food and agricultural goods, while Japan and Western Europe would enjoy large exports of manufactures and North America would get the lion's share of factor and non-factor services.

This study supports the conclusions of other observers that the industrialized countries have much to gain, in employment terms, from faster growth in the developing countries since they will remain suppliers of higher value goods and equipment.

Conversion Possible with Effective Economic Management

Given the evidence presented, it is hard for this paper not to conclude that the likely effect of reduced military expenditure on employment in arms and equipment producing countries would be minor. Given the constant changes in the nature and location of manufacturing output in present-day industrialized countries, the additional effects of switching final demand from military-related goods and services to other products would not be great. Furthermore, such a cut in expenditure need not result in an overall fall in manufacturing employment. A switch in the pattern of final expenditure would be more likely to imply a net reduction in public sector service employment. In arms-importing countries, especially in the developing world, the employment effects of disarmament, particularly those working through an improvement in the balance of payments, could well be positive and large.

Looking purely at the side of defence-related manufacturing output it is possible as has been demonstrated, to convert a plant to produce alternative products and to retrain the labour force accordingly. However, there is a limit to the extent to which such conversion can profitably take place. A great deal of plant and machinery would have to be scrapped and many workers would have to look for new jobs through the labour market in general. How quickly they would find work and what sort of work they would find would depend on overall levels of resource utilization in the economy. Clearly, their search would be easier and better rewarded in a fast-growing and competitive economy than in one marked by stagnation. The issue of disarmament and conversion therefore cannot be separated from that of successful economic management in general.

Creative Exchange Must Banish Nuclear Exchange

HOWARD L. PARSONS

This article is based on a paper by Mr. Howard L. Parsons on "The World Crisis, Religion, and Creative Interchange".

Published here are extracts from the paper.

TWO intertwined tendencies are at work in the present epoch in the history of humanity—the tendency toward increasing disorder and destruction, and the tendency toward a creative world order. These two contrary tendencies emerged during the breakup of the socio-economic order during and after World War II. Out of that breakup came massive conflicts on a world scale and the struggles of peoples to create a new and more human world.

During this forty-year period the escalation of nuclear weaponry has taken the whole of humanity hostage to its threat of holocaust. Even a medium-scale nuclear conflict would cause a "nuclear winter" killing all life forms on our planet and removing our future forever. The burden of military expenses weighs heavily on rich and poor nations alike; more than 1.7 billion dollars are spent each day on arms. In the drive for security and resources wars are continuing in Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq, Lebanon, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and elsewhere. Yet in the midst of these conflicts and sufferings the struggle for peace, development, and equality among hundreds of millions goes on.

Revival of Religious Fundamentalism

The philosophical and religious dimensions of the old formations are in disintegration. Just as the early centuries of the capitalist revolution (1300–1650) gave rise to the Renaissance and Reformation and a challenge to the Christian theology of feudalism, so the democratic revolutions from 1789 onward further secularised and liber-

alised philosophical and religious ideas. Under the worldwide impact of the scientific-technological revolution today, all the major religions face the crisis of adjusting their pre-scientific, regional, agrarian-based ideas to the realities and demands of a single planetary environment of interacting peoples and cultures in an increasingly urbanised world of science and technology.

A common response of the religions—Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism—is to revive the ancient dogmatic fundamentals of their faiths, in refusal to face the harsh realities of the modern world.

The fundamentalism of the thirty million electronic faithful in the U.S.A. serves as a psychic bomb shelter in a terror-torn world. For Reagan and Khomeini fundamentalism functions as a reactionary armor against constructive political changes. A second common result in religion is the erosion of faith altogether, leaving the unguided individual and group the victim of personal desire and fear, social fashion, and political demagoguery.

A third alternative is found in the movements toward the reconstruction of thought and practice in the religions—for example, the naturalistic philosophy of religion of Henry Nelson Wieman and Bernard Eugene Meland, and the development of powerful forces for peace and justice in the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches in the West and the Orthodox church in the East, as well as liberation theology in Latin America.

Reaganism on its economic and political side represents the incapacity of capitalism to cope with the conditions of a late 20th century world of many different independent states without any controlling centre, a world of peoples liberating themselves from economic exploitation, racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression and working out their own destinies, a world in which communism in thought and practice has arrived to stay, a world in which coercive intervention by one state into another and the use of interstate violence is counter-

productive for one and all—in short, a new material and psychological world crying out for new ways of thought and international policy.

Because Reagan himself is a born-again Christian and the extremist reactionary interests—multimillionaire corporate owners, wealthy arms manufacturers, Pentagon militarists, the right-wing media, emigres from socialist countries—have required an ideology to reverse their decline of power, right-wing religion and politics have become intimate allies. Such religion, commanding the loyalty of tens of millions, has retreated to a fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible. Following Jerry Falwell and Hal Lindsey, believers hold a nuclear Armageddon is imminent and will wipe out the U.S.S.R. and all communists and unite all born-again Christians in rapture with Christ. This doctrine is the religious form of Reagan's view that nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union, which is the devil's work, is inevitable but will be won and survived by those on the side of the Almighty.

Relevance of Marxism

Amidst this crisis of religious imperialism and imperial religion, Marxism has emerged as the leading secular philosophy, directing the thinking of leaders of one-third of the peoples of the world. It is an influential naturalistic rival not only to the traditional supernaturalist religious faiths but also to secular political philosophies like liberal democracy, conservatism, and fascism. The great popular appeal of Marxism to the poor of the world is its promise of life and development to them through a collective struggle against their poverty and oppression. Most political leaders of the U.S.A. perceive Marxism to be the principal enemy of the world, and its containment, enervation, breakdown, and ruin are taken to be the first and last aim of foreign policy.

This is a perilous misperception. Both as theory and social practice Marxism is a permanent feature of the modern world and will never be extirpated by force of

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arms. It appeals to hundreds of millions of people, even to Roman Catholics in Latin America (through liberation theology) because it offers a meaningful commitment for survival, the alleviation of suffering, and the improvement of life. The crusade to exterminate Marxism by conventional arms can only issue in the inhuman slaughter of millions, as it did in World War II and the war against the Vietnamese.

A nuclear crusade against this "empire of evil" would be no "war" for it would wipe out the targeted "enemy" and would-be victor, as well as the future of humanity.

The deepest requirement of present-day humanity is to find that way of living that, uniting the self-giving and struggle of faith, will deliver us out of the danger of increasing disorder and destruction and over into the fullness of a realised life. That is a way that will transform our interpersonal and intercultural conflicts into strength and consummation for one and all. Traditional faiths in their dogmatic formulations are customarily inadequate to satisfy this need—though the actual practice of believers may transcend their professions.

Secularisation, which distinguishes the modern world from its eternity-minded predecessor, is the process of living and thinking on the real everyday mundane earth. It means taking leave of monastery, convent, and medieval cosmology but not necessarily of the spiritual life. It means cities, industrialisation, science, technology, and large-scale production and consumption of material goods. It means measurement, abstract description, general explanation, prediction, and control of things. It also means, in 20th century science and philosophy, a new "imagery" of our world—events in concrete process, interaction in relative contexts, the inter-relatedness of things and events, complexity and depth, and limits to what human beings can know and do.³ In our next-to-ness we as persons are processes locked into local, national, and planet-wide processes and structures extending through time and ecological space. As a species we are a living planetary movement defined by interlaced destructive and creative processes. We are mortal creatures on our small blue planet, solitary and fragile, members of it and of one another, cohered atoms, bound together by our single genetic heritage, our common home, our global community, our shared danger, and our embracing human hope.

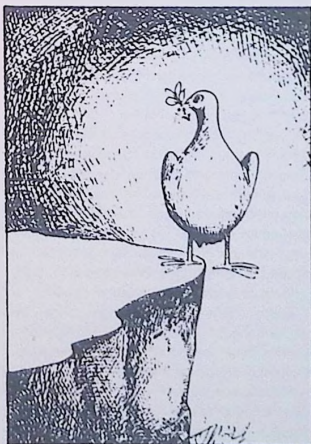
Need for Creative Interchange

Today what stands out to be the mind awake are these overriding facts: the escalating nuclear arms contest between neighbouring nations; the rich nations next to the increasingly poor ones; the spreading pollution and contamination of our habitat, the biosphere and of all creatures

great and small; deep economic and ideological conflicts between peoples and states, mixed with the common interests that bind them in unity; the attempts but impossibility of a single state or bloc of states to control entirely what other states do; and the overall fact that we will be saved and judged together, we will live or die as an undivided planetary species.

In two ways Wieman's thought is vitally relevant to this world and its conflicts. First, he pioneered in drawing a categorical map of our real world of process and interaction; thereby we can better understand that world.

Second, he searched the complexity and depths for a creative process to answer to our awareness of the objective problems and our internal need—our inner conflict, meaninglessness, guilt, and loneliness, and our want of commitment to the source of fulfillment. The way to fulfillment is "interchange which creates appreciative understanding of unique individuality" and "integration within each individual of what he gets from others" so he can "appreciate more profoundly diverse individuals, peoples, and things".⁴ By his own acknowledgement this abstract and general formulation of "creative interchange" but barely signifies the rich and deep concreteness of such a relation—as well as the innovation and transformation in the persons and the relation that erupts from beyond the ken of human knowledge and intention. And Wieman does not deal with the mutuality of action that often accompanies and undergirds communication.



"Nuclear weaponry has closed out all old alternatives for survival save one: creative exchange between state leaders and between peoples must banish nuclear exchange."

Creating Conditions for Creative Exchange

Let me suggest three spheres of application.

1. Many studies in the social sciences provide evidence for the claim that when conditions are favourable between infant (or child) and nurturing adult for a genuine exchange of thoughts and feelings, the result is a uniquely individualised identity, and authentic, integrated, secure, autonomous, trusting, open, and honest self—one free of anxiety, narcissism, competitiveness, hate, and closure toward others, especially persons of other races, cultures, and ideologies. We now know what some of the necessary conditions are. But because of our neglect in providing these conditions in family and school our society and others are producing in large numbers a type of personality peculiarly unfitted to confront in an effective way the conflicts of persons in the modern workplace, the neighbourhood, the nation, and the world. Children deprived of the strength of character that creative exchange can nurture—qualities of trust, self-confidence, courage, and readiness to communicate with those with whom they differ—will grow up into adults who will become the willing puppets and dupes of demagogic leaders arousing and directing their fears, anxieties, and hatreds into the prejudicial "pseudo-identities" of nation, race, class, religion, gender, and the like.

Children who grow up looking at television thirty hours a week and college students who prefer the wombs of their VCRs to discussion with their peers are still fetal personalities. They are ill-prepared to withstand the pernicious forces of the modern world. Under the Reagan administration public spending for aid to children has been substantially reduced. The remedy is a radical redirection of our physical and mental resources from the promotion or defence of disorder to the provision of conditions for creative growth of personality in home and school.

2. A culture takes its form and direction from its philosophical frame of mind. In U.S. culture the dominant philosophical outlook is that of the atomic individual, discrete and independent of others, society, history, and nature, who lives for immediate gratification and whose relations with others, often adversarial and at best contractual, serve the ends of pleasure and self-expression. Such individualism, narcissism, and "Minimalist ethics" have been assailed by Robert Bellah, Christopher Lasch, Daniel Callahan, and others. Deep in our history, individualism is ill-suited to our present circumstances. Philosophical and educational reform must recover and nurture the roots of our social tradition, our sense of community, ecology, and history; our task is the reconstruction of our institutions as stable centres of creative exchange.

Danger from Dehumanising Forces

The cynical and brazen philosophy of self-interest in the 1980s, which has put Reaganism in power, has cut back the teaching of the humanities in higher education in favour of technical, practical, applied, and vocational sciences. This reduction has seriously impaired the critical powers of thought and judgement of professional workers themselves and the general humanistic quality of the citizens of our society. The study of philosophy, which is committed to the critique and reconstruction of general notions and values, has greatly diminished. The result is that increasing numbers of young people relapse into inert habit, unaware of the osmosis of mediocrity that overtakes them. The makers of our values, of gods of our idolatry, are the commercial principalities and powers that rule television, film, popular magazines, and other media, and the peer playpen of advertising's clones. Without philosophy as method, orientation, and guide for living, we will be victimised by falsities that appear as truth, illusions that appear as realities, and trivialities and evils that appear as important values. Without a philosophy of creative exchange, we will be desolated by the alienation and violence of individualism and dehumanising forces of the commodity market.

3. The course of modern history—impelled by revolutionary energies, the dynamics of industry and science, the wars of nations with one another, the rivalries of democratic and anti-democratic ideologies, the clash of economic systems, the contention of philosophical and religious convictions, and the ominous competition of monstrous weapons—had led us, as if by a providential hand (though in fact by human doing) to an *eschatos*, a final place and time in history. Our arrival here constrains us to ask: What of our mortality, as persons, as a race? What of death and its origins? What of our destiny in history? Resurrection? What of judgement—our sin, guilt, vice, virtue? What is it that we ought to have done and have not, that we ought not to have done and have? What must we do to be saved?

Our situation is one of being thrown into a world of neighbours and enemies whom we have not chosen, of being inextricably fixed in the grip of these earth-shaking and momentous interactions. We must deal with them or be overwhelmed by them. We are in the grip of contending forces that bid to destroy us. At the same time we are in the grip of a creative process at work in history—the ground of our life-giving relations in community and in nature. This is the convenient ground that already binds the planetary human society and the ecological order into a unity and points toward a higher realisation through us. It is the ground that calls us to an open and free encounter and cooperation with peoples of

contrary religions, nations, and cultures. It is the source of our grace and judgement. We must give ourselves in faith to the directive of this process, to its emerging order of a planetary community, if we are to save ourselves, all our earth's people, now and in the future, from the fiery pit and inferno.

Renounce Force for Negotiation

After two international wars in this century and the threat of a third that would extinguish the race, what is to be done? The way to the mutual continuance and security of nations is a policy of peaceful coexistence between states of different social systems. That means the renunciation of the use of force in international disputes in favour of negotiation, mutual respect for the equality, integrity, and independence of other states, and the promotion of good-neighbourly relations of mutual benefit between states. Peaceful coexistence is a method of stabilising interstate relations in a regular, predictable order; and it opens the way for the interaction between states and peoples that can be creative and mutually transforming.

It must begin with and be sustained by state leaders who enter into communication with other leaders in the way of reciprocal appreciative understanding. Both peaceful coexistence and creative exchange presuppose that the persons engaged must set aside their protective idols, personal and social, and give themselves in faith and trust to the process of coexistence and creative exchange. The global revolution going on before our very eyes teaches us that it is illusory and foolish to believe that we as individuals and nations can survive and prosper alone; that political conflicts between nations have military solutions; that national security and survival lie in the escalation of nuclear weapons, military "superiority", and nuclear "deterrence"; that a first-strike policy can be successful and that the striking nation can survive and "prevail"; that the socio-economic systems that we do not approve of must be brought down by unilateral armed intervention; and that some national systems have no right to exist and no legitimate claim to enter into normal international intercourse in trade, culture, science and education.

These are not idle examples. They are positions held by American administrators for the greater part of the past forty years including the present one.

Although he went to Geneva to talk with General Secretary Gorbachev, President Reagan for most of his adult life has perceived the Soviet Union as "the focus of evil" and for five years as president refused all meetings with his counterpart in the U.S.S.R. But exchange between political leaders of nuclear powers, even if minimally creative, is essential to turn us away from

the omnicidal path down which we have been travelling. It calls for good will and trust, for openness and unprotectedness, for respect and responsible attentiveness to the other, for honesty in expression. It demands a self-giving to and reverence for the reality that stands over against one, on which we all depend for our lives and our salvation—the reality of the great complex of social, historical, and ecological activity that sustains us and the creative process that transforms us and makes us better persons and a better human society. Secretary Gorbachev has put the matter concisely: "The course of history, of social progress, requires ever more insistently that there should be constructive and creative interaction between states and peoples on the scale of the entire world."⁷

Creative Exchange among State Leaders and Peoples

Creative exchange must banish nuclear exchange. In the prenuclear age we had various alternatives for dealing with conflicts between nations—fight, submission, and flight—and no matter what we did some people would for certain survive. But nuclear weaponry has closed out all such alternatives for survival save one: creative exchange between state leaders and between peoples.

Embryonic in our present global situation is a new order of creativity in the history of life on our planet. The morphology of this emerging order is already evident, and our calling is to understand and advance its emergence. Its delicate formation is fraught with the danger of doomsday and the ending of human life; and we are entrusted with a precious commission, to save the sacred gift of life and to open the way to a higher order of creativity on earth, a global community ruled by creative interchange.

The world that we live in today is one of accelerating disorder and destruction. Our responsibility in it is to find a way of dealing with that disorder in a constructive, creative way. We require children, young people, and decision-makers who have learned the art and science of creative interchange, who practice the non-violent method of dealing with personal and national differences, and who give themselves in faith to the process of creative interchange that delivers us from evil and death and into life and fulfillment.

The moral good we do and the saving, redemptive acts of creativity are distinct but interdependent. Grace is preventent and comes unbidden, but we must open the door and let it bring its gifts. I have stressed here the social changes imperative for us if we are to survive and deal constructively with other peoples. Justice must be done lest the heavens fall. Justice is a harmonising of diverse interests, persons, and groups,

as the Greeks understood. In this sense creative interchange is a form of dynamic justice, each side offering and receiving equal respect in a relation of mutual good.

But the enactment of such justice is in-corrugably limited by our arrested sensitivity and our inherent self-interest. Tender love and outgoing forgiveness, which call for not setting ourselves against those who wrong us, are prisoner to the stern warden of the righteous ego. But I hold that such love is not needed for us to survive. Only a decent respect for the foreigners, the communists, and the poor is required for us to prevent nuclear holocaust and economic catastrophe. If we can negotiate our differences at this level, we will have a chance for redemptive love to do its work. Then, if we provide the conditions, we might be transformed into new creatures and be enabled to love our enemies and to participate in a power not our own that overcomes evil with good.

Footnotes

1. Paul R. Ehrlich, *The Cold and the Dark After Nuclear War: The Report on the Longterm Worldwide Biological Consequences of Nuclear War*, New York: Norton, 1984.

2. One might mention liberation theology as an exception. But the Pope and the Curia do not accept it.

3. For a history and exploration of the meaning of this imagery, see Bernard Eugene Meland, *The Realities of Faith: The Revolution in Cultural Forms*, New York: Oxford University, 1962.

4. *Man's Ultimate Commitment*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1958, p. 305.

5. For example, Paula Menyuk, *Prescriptive Manual for Parents and Teachers of Language Impaired Children*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, 1984. One key to the learning of speech in infants is the number of reasonable opportunities that the mother provides for her child, making the child a partner in a dialogue in a rhythm of exchange.

6. On the ecological balance of nature as "a kind of ultimate value", see Thomas B. Colwell, Jr., "Some Implications of the Ecological Revolution for the Construction of Value", in *Human Values and Natural Science*, ed. Ervin Laszlo and James B. Wilbur, New York: Gordon and Breach, 1970.

7. *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Moscow: Novosti, 1986, p. 24.

SPECIAL ARTICLE

For what social goals...?

U.S. Quest for World Domination

LORENZ KNORR

This article is based on the booklet written by Lorenz Knorr entitled, "What shall it profit the U.S.A.—Global Strategy of the U.S.A.—Violence as an instrument of politics", published in German and English in the F.R.G. in 1985.

The article contains extracts from the section in the booklet entitled, "U.S. quest for hegemony—for what social goals?"

AFTER World War II, whenever the U.S.A. threatened to use or really used military force, covert or in the open, alone or with allies, in Africa, Latin America, Asia or Europe, it always wanted to stop or turn back the wheel of history. It has tried recklessly to impose on other peoples the "American way of life" and to push through the minority interests of U.S. leaders against social justice and independence of the peoples.

The defence of United States "national security" is the dictum which has been proclaimed and practised as Number One priority of U.S. foreign policy. "National security" has been sloganized throughout the post-war period to veil a diversity of worldwide U.S. activities. It has not only been used to buttress defence measures, which are needed by all countries under the given conditions, but also to justify many U.S. aggressive adventures, the intensification of the arms race, and direct interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The same slogan continues to be used as an umbrella for interventionism and military violence to obtain and accomplish objectives of U.S. foreign policy. It was exactly this "militarized" attitude which produced U.S. interventions in Lebanon, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam, as well as in many other incidents of larger and smaller dimensions.

The hegemonist nature of the United States' foreign policy is reflected in the view that the whole world is nothing but a field on which U.S. national security is to be "defended", which justifies any kind of intervention in any area close to or far from U.S. territory. This is not even concealed by U.S. leaders. Harold Brown, Defence Secretary under Carter, once made the follow-

ing statement giving the reason for America's drive to attain worldwide hegemony: "Since our country has the status of a superpower, our demands on defence are of a global nature."

Military expansionism, unleashing of local wars and conflicts, direct armed interventions, and coups d'etats are the forms by which the U.S.A. realizes its alleged worldwide "historic responsibility" in practice, still believing in military power as the final and decisive factor in international affairs. The decision, if force should be applied or simply "the flag displayed", no matter how un-moral both ways of intervening are, usually does not depend on specific regional developments but rather on a geo-political assessment of the given conditions for the consolidation or expansion of the "American way of life".

For example, the conflict between Pakistan and India in 1971 did not directly affect U.S. interests in any way. Yet, the position of the United States was shaped by geo-political thinking and by Nixon's personal aversion to India and its leaders. So, Washington sided with a genocidal regime.

The military nature of U.S. hegemonism is highly variable and has many facets, such as the efforts to step up the number of nuclear missiles, strengthen the dense network of military bases on foreign territories, and increase the U.S. military personnel abroad, augment the widespread deployment of aircraft and naval units, and widen "covert" intelligence operations.

Entrenching of Neo-Colonialism

Hegemonism in U.S. policies reflects the United States' inclination to curtail other nations' right to free determination of their own political system and their economic, social and cultural development, without being exposed to interference, intimidation, and pressures from abroad. U.S. hegemonism is based on neo-colonialism and acts

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against states in the process of liberation and their growing desire for politico-economic sovereignty. Its "gunboat diplomacy", sabre-rattling, unscrupulous interference in other nations' internal affairs, and disrespect for valid international law result from this policy of hegemonism.

The real extent of the danger resulting from hegemonism depends, naturally, on the military and economic capabilities and the general potential of the power which claims global leadership. U.S. hegemonism, therefore, is very dangerous, since it endangers not only the independence of "similar" countries but pushes the world towards nuclear holocaust. This is convincingly proved by the historical record of thirty years, 1945 to 1975, a period during which the U.S.A. threatened to use nuclear weapons 15 times as part of its policies of military blackmail.

The reckless expansion of U.S. transnationals, especially the arms corporations, the Pentagon, and their co-operation with their partners in the administration had always collided with UN obligations.

Various tactics and strategies, such as "deterrence of a potential aggressor", doctrines of "protracted conflict" to "destroy an opponent within a specified period of time by means of limited operations, deception tactics, psychological manipulation and different forms of violence" have been used to divert attention from the nature of hegemonism and to blur the genuine difference between war and peace, in order to increase the extent of militarization of the U.S. society and to propel people into a state of permanent war hysteria. All this has always offended against the Bill of Rights and the UN Charter.

As J. K. Galbraith stated in "The Taming of Generals": "Military power has twisted around the provisions of our own Constitution by having removed powers from Congress and the public and passed them on to the Pentagon."

Reagan Administration's Policy of Force

Is the present U.S. global strategy, primarily based on military capability, in agreement with the interests of the international community raising its sights to a humane future and higher quality of life? Or is that global strategy in contradiction to those aspirations? Does it affect the well-understood interests of the Western nations? Does it take into consideration the fact that in this nuclear age security and peace can no longer be achieved at the expense of the socialist states but only together with them? Does it take into account the growing trends in the developing countries for the consolidation of their political and economic independence, and for social progress, which are adversely affected by the U.S. strategy?

The preservation and safeguarding of

global peace has become the international key problem, as may be seen from the reactions of millions of people and from the dramatic growth of the peace movements. Apart from the survival issue, contradictions between possible solutions for mounting world problems, on the one hand, and the squandering of valuable human and material resources for instruments of destruction, on the other, are aggravating. These contradictions have become unbearable to developing as well as to industrialised countries. While many urgent world problems and also internal difficulties can be resolved today as a result of the techno-scientific revolution, real solutions are still prevented by hostile policies of confrontation and ambitions for military superiority. Today, misery is greater than a few years ago in both developing and industrialised countries.

Preventing Nuclear Annihilation

Only international relations based on inter-system co-operation for the general and mutual benefit of all can prevent the nuclear holocaust. This is the only possible road to overcome starvation, epidemics, illiteracy, social cut-backs, and "exhaustion" of society. The solution to the key problem of nuclear apocalypse depends on the

"The slogan of U.S. 'national security' has not only been used to buttress defence measures, which are needed by all countries, but also to justify many U.S. aggressive adventures, the intensification of the arms race, and direct interference in internal affairs of other countries."

choice humanity makes. It is either a policy of violence, illegal interference, right of the strong, inequality, blood-draining arms escalation, and hostile confrontation or equality, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-discrimination, mutually advantageous co-operation, and disarmament in the spirit of valid international law and in keeping with the obligations of all nations within the UN system.

These issues are by no means restricted to the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., NATO or Warsaw Treaty Organisation. They are issues of crucial relevance to mankind.

There is a new dimension to the war or peace issue. It is the aggravation of social problems at world level which is likely to

add momentum to a historic process, one with favourable implications. This is a true reflection of the contradictory nature of international conditions in our time. In the past, the development of world politics used to be achieved by the rivalry of powers, rigorous competition of capital on the world market, brutal fighting for more spoils, and striving after hegemony or world domination, all this taking place on the back of the peoples who were downgraded to mere objects. That traditional law of world politics even today manifests itself in our days of the nuclear age and of profoundly changing international balances, thanks to the policies of the Reagan administration.

However, quite a different and profound contradiction has come to the fore as a prime propulsive power in world politics, caused by the development of the productive forces, the risk of nuclear annihilation, the aggravation of misery in society, and the growth of social awareness amongst millions of people. There are also the interests of nations in peace, disarmament, and justice, reinforced by governmental majorities in the UN system, as opposed to the interests of privileged minorities in expansion, arms build-up, and war.

These irreconcilable but nevertheless articulated and manifested interests are clashing with one another with a vigour possible only in times of historic change. The peoples' political influence on governmental foreign policy and on the nature of international relations is increasing unprecedentedly in a decisive phase of world history. The privilege of wealthy and ruling minorities to determine military and foreign policies is being strongly challenged by the growing peace movements and other social forces. These forces are demanding their right to make a contribution in formulating their foreign policy, arms planning, and disarmament measures, because their own destiny, their own future, is at stake.

The demarcation line is not between the antagonistic military blocs or between "the superpowers", on the one hand, and all others, on the other. It runs across several nations, including the U.S.A. In it all, there is a binding element which affects all peoples, who are interested in the continued existence of our planet and in social progress, who want a halt to the arms race, the banning of nuclear tests, the renunciation and dismantling of nuclear weapons, destruction of chemical weapons, limitation of conventional arms and armed forces, general disarmament.

It is five minutes to twelve! Not much time is left to mankind to avert an imminent nuclear inferno, and to start building a better world. Everyone's commitment is required, if peace is to be secured and worldwide social justice put into practice. International and social security are no gifts of heaven. They call for great efforts by all who seek better living conditions in lasting and just peace.

Combatting Apartheid Regime's Misinformation

Development of Underground Media in South Africa

FREDDIE DLAMINI

This article was written before the imposition of the countrywide state of emergency in South Africa by the apartheid regime in June 1986. The drastic emergency powers made it impossible for the press to report first-hand what happened in South Africa, especially the repression let loose by the Pretoria authorities against the oppressed people struggling to eliminate the criminal system of apartheid.

THE aim of this article is to look at the information order in apartheid South Africa (S.A.) and the political, economic and social relations that it reflects between the oppressive rulers of the country and the oppressed masses. We will also look at another process that is unfolding in the struggle against apartheid—the birth, spread and development of the ANC (African National Congress of South Africa) underground information and propaganda system and the "legal" democratic press. The latter must be seen as part of the national liberation struggle, as well as the beginning of the process that must lead to the democratisation of the information order in a new South Africa.

The information order in any country cannot be viewed in isolation of the predominant political and economic relations in that country and the external political and economic forces that influence those relations. The information system in S.A. has to be seen in the light of the apartheid colonial system and the imperialist forces that are allied to it against the people's freedom and independence, for the super-exploitation of the oppressed black masses.

On the colonisation of information, the racist South African system emerges as one of a specialised type. It is special to South Africa as is the whole concept of colonialism in South Africa.

Through the repressive state machinery

and super-exploitation of the black working people, for the benefit of the white minority, the apartheid regime maintains a colonial relationship with the black majority. Although the country is regarded as technically independent, this implies only for the whites. When the British colonialists formally handed over power to the Afrikaner nationalists, the black people were explicitly ignored and excluded. The situation has remained the same to date. The bantustan system and the tri-cameral parliamentary system that the oppressor regime has tried to substitute for the people's demand for genuine freedom and democracy, have been overwhelmingly rejected by the oppressed and democratic majority.

Apartheid Media's Role as Policeman

The apartheid colonial relations permeate all spheres of life in racist South Africa. To this end, the mass media which is mainly controlled by monopoly capital and the apartheid regime itself, plays a great role. Its aims are to inculcate a distorted view of our history, our present and our future. The overriding aim is to project white superiority in all spheres of life. Everything is shown in a way that reflects existing relations between the oppressor and the oppressed. The mass media even acts directly as a policeman of the regime through the rigid control of what appears in the newspapers and the self-censorship that is practised by and expected of members of the pro-regime South African Journalists' Union, which brings together most of the journalists in South Africa.

The media that is at the service of monopoly capital and the racist whites who benefit from apartheid is dominated by one fact. Almost all the major papers belong to small groups of monopoly capitalists such as Argus, SAAN, Perskor, Nasionale Pers. The radio and television networks are 99 per cent directly in the hands of the Pretoria rulers and continually churn out its racist propaganda and advertisements for the further subjugation and exploitation of the black masses.

New Trend in White Press

Within this establishment media, there has appeared a second trend that is not wholly supportive of the rigid apartheid system. This media has not gone out to support the people's struggles, but has begun to criticise the Botha regime and expose the bankruptcy of its policies. Some of its representatives are from the defunct "Rand Daily Mail", which was replaced by the conservative "Business Day" and the "Weekly Mail", and a few other English dailies.

An example of this new trend can be seen in the daring act of Tony Heard, Editor of the "Cape Times", who defied the regime's restrictive press laws by publishing an interview with the President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo. The Editor's argument was that for a long time, the people, especially the white community, had only heard Botha's voice and it was now high time that the voice of the black community should be known.

There is scope for the growth of this section of the mass media. But until it completely understands the situation and determines to use its journalistic skills to destroy the apartheid regime, it will not cease to be a tool in the hands of the Botha regime and its imperialist allies.

The appearance of this new trend—also seen in the work of scores of journalists who cross the borders of South Africa to speak to ANC leaders—is a reflection of the growing popular struggle and the political and economic crisis gripping the South African racist regime. Many white journalists, who once laboured under the protective cover of their white colonial status, now find the future holding no prospects for them. At the same time, however, they fear a revolutionary seizure of power by the ANC. They thus use their pens, voices and cameras to show the necessity for "talks" before it is too late, before the people become "radical".

Western Media and Apartheid

The uprisings of the popular masses in the past few years have not only affected the local white journalists and those blacks writing for the establishment media, but also the foreign correspondents based in S.A. Imperialist television networks were forced to recognise that one of the greatest

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stories of the last quarter of this century was in the making. None of Botha's repressive measures seemed to be able to stem the revolutionary tide that is sweeping the country, especially since August, 1984.

Scenes of police brutality were captured on their television cameras. The people were shown fighting back with relentless determination. These were the scenes shown overseas, while in South Africa itself the television cameras picked only on blacks killing police spies or burning hated symbols of apartheid such as administrative buildings and schools which impart inferior education, etc. They wanted to show the blacks as irresponsible.

There were thus differences of approach. Botha's approach reflected his intransigence and reliance on half-truths, both for the black and white communities. He wanted to give the impression that nothing untoward was happening. On the other hand, the representatives of the imperialist media saw the writing on the wall and wanted to influence the situation in their favour.

Batha was also worried by another factor. His media's distorted influence on the southern African region was being eroded as different versions of what is happening in South Africa were seen. Radio South Africa's views were being disputed by eyewitness accounts of journalists of other radio stations. There was fear in Pretoria that what was being seen and heard outside the country, especially in our region, would speed up the liberation struggle. Already, limited sanctions were being imposed; banks were refusing to grant new loans; influential voices were calling for an immediate change; but much more, the people of our region were behind our liberation struggle more than ever before.

Apartheid Regime Imposes Censorship

The regime cracked down on the media. Television cameras were banned from unrest areas. As this was after the official state of emergency was declared on 22 July 1985, it became even more difficult for journalists to go to the areas affected by the state of emergency.

What is clear here is that the mass media in South Africa is not only owned by the monopoly capitalists, who are served by the apartheid system, but it is also protected by the draconian laws which sustain the apartheid system. A threat to the apartheid system is a threat to the owners of the mass media which serves and protects the apartheid system.

When foreign TV journalists were banned from taking pictures of the popular revolt, they made a token protest but soon retreated into their traditionally pro-apartheid way of reporting. Many of them commented that without pictures there was no way to interest their audiences in the South African people's struggle. They conveniently turned to taking pictures of Botha and his

fellow black traitors promising so-called reforms in S.A.

What again becomes clear here is that for the majority of the South African people the media represents the voice of the oppressor, the voice of their coloniser. Their national aspirations are underplayed while their cultural traditions are scorned or Europeanised. The radio stations that broadcast in African languages are mouthpieces of the bantustan puppet administrations. Of the white-owned newspapers, only two bi-weeklies are published in African languages. Even these do nothing more than promoting the culture and outlook of the apartheid rulers and the so-called free enterprise system.

For us who are fighting for national liberation, in Southern Africa, the broad struggle for the establishment of the New Information and Communication Order is an inalienable part of the national liberation struggle in our region. It is inconceivable that our struggle can be enhanced or that our national media can really be free and independent if we do not form part of the forces that are fighting for the new order in the ideological, political and economic struggle against the all-embracing information imperialism.

As the participants in the first meeting of journalists from the Frontline States observed, "the information about southern Africa as a whole, including South Africa and Namibia, emanating from the Western media is far greater than that distributed regionally or internationally by the media of the independent countries of the region. This unbalance poses serious problems for our media and leads to gross distortion of our realities." (Journalists of the Frontline States, Mozambique, 29-31 August 1985.)

Emergence of Underground Press

The ANC and SWAPO form part of the regional forces—the African independent countries—that seek to break this information hold of the racist South African media and its imperialist allies.

At the beginning of this article, we referred to the birth in struggle of the ANC underground press and the "legal" democratic press.

The newspapers and radio programmes emanating from the underground liberation movement, as well as the democratic community press which exists "legally", form a part of a proud tradition of resistance newspapers dedicated to the democratisation of information and its use for the benefit of all the people of South Africa.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the voice of the oppressed masses was represented by such democratic and revolutionary papers as the "Guardian", "Advance", "New Age", "Fighting Talk" and "The Torch". These were banned and their journalists were also banned from working for any other publica-

tion. But this did not serve its desired end. The people's press continued to flourish in other ways.

When the ANC was forced underground as a result of the beginning of extreme repression by the racist regime in the early 1960s, the clandestine press also began to replace the proscribed press. An illegal radio station came on the air to announce the beginning of a new era of struggle—the era of armed struggle.

Today, after decades of forced silence, the people's press is again on its feet. It has emerged as a result of popular struggles where the people are forcing their own popular legality on the fascist legality of the regime. These new papers are community-based and articulate the demands of the community which are part and parcel of the national liberation struggle. The regime bans, closes and harasses them, but they continue to spread.

Curbing Hold of Monopoly Press

In the democratic press movement, a beginning has been made in the organisation of newspaper festivals. The annual general meetings of the editorial boards of these newspapers are attended by members of the community and they express their views on the state of their community newspapers and their future. The letters to the editors of these newspapers comprise a lively, comradely exchange of views on the national liberation struggle. The future is being debated and shaped here.

The hold of the monopoly capitalist mass media is still strong but it is gradually being eroded. In the structure of the old mass media relations a new information era is in an embryonic stage. It is a consequent result of the national democratic struggle that is being bitterly waged in the streets of the black townships of South Africa, but which is beginning to affect the racist regime's "safe" rear—the exclusively white areas.

The struggle against information colonialism is directly linked with the struggle to destroy the colonial relations that still exist in our country. The genuine liberation of our people will mean the right of the entire people of South Africa, black and white, to participate in their common interest in the important area of information policy.

Our national policies, our cultural traditions and international outlook will have to find expression in our media in a way best to serve our interests and the world-wide struggle against imperialist domination in all fields. Therefore, our national liberation struggle, which includes the struggle for the independence and democratisation of our mass media, necessitates our untiring participation in the broad struggle for a New International Information and Communication Order.

U.S. State Terrorism in Angola

DOMINGOS COELHO DA CRUZ

CONTRARY to what it may seem, the Angolan situation is of prime importance for the solution of the problems of southern Africa. It is with this in mind that the Reagan administration has decided to destabilise the government of the People's Republic of Angola with the aim of discrediting it before the world.

It is for this reason that Angola, despite the undeclared war unleashed against it by the racist regime of South Africa, which is assisted by armed bands who unscrupulously wreak death and destruction, will not let up in its firm determination to be the master of its destiny as an independent and sovereign state. It will always maintain the policy of peace based on the principle of solving differences between nations through negotiations.

In spite of the good will demonstrated by Angola, the U.S. administration through absurd subterfuges, like the so-called policy of "constructive engagement", the policy of "linkage" and other sinister moves, is increasing its attacks against a sovereign and independent state.

It is necessary to point out that it is not easy to negotiate with the representatives of the present U.S. rulers in the White House. It can never be known definitely to what extent they are serious, politically, about the talks they hold; or are they just advancing skilful arguments to gain time, while preparing to realise their hidden objectives.

This analysis may be interpreted as facetious or ill-intentioned. But I am sure that any careful observer will be able to substantiate it quite easily.

U.S. State Terrorism

Here are some concrete facts to prove this. There was a time when the possibility of starting negotiations was seriously considered, on the basis of various initiatives, which could contribute to an improvement of the situation in southern Africa. Angola agreed to send representatives to sit at the negotiating table with the representatives of South Africa and even the United States. More than one tripartite meeting was held

between the representatives of Angola, South Africa and the United States. The emissary from the United States was received in Angola by its most prominent national figures, including the President of the Republic himself, Mr. Jose Eduardo Dos Santos.

Just at the moment when it was possible to foresee an improvement in the relations of both countries and a peaceful solution was in the offing, the news broke that the leader of the UNITA terrorist group "Savimbi" will be received in Washington by the government of the United States".

How was this to be understood? To what extent could one trust the honesty of a state like the U.S.A. which has a responsibility



South African Army's Special Forces Captain Wynand Johannes Petrus du Tait, after his capture by Angola's security forces in Malongo, in Cabinda province, at a press conference in Luanda in May 1985, where he gave details of the abortive commando mission he led to sabotage and destroy Angola's oil installations in Cabinda, 2,000 kilometres away from the border of Namibia, illegally occupied by the troops of the apartheid regime.

The Malongo oil complex produces 170,000 barrels of crude oil per day, under an agreement with the U.S. Cabinda Gulf Oil Company which has a 49 per cent share in it.

to the world? Incredible as it may seem, Savimbi was received in Washington by the President, Ronald Reagan, the Vice President, George Bush, the Secretary of State, George Shultz, the Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger. Savimbi received promises of aid to the tune of 20 million dollars, of which 15 million dollars were given. Besides, he also received the promise of getting Stinger missiles.

By giving this material assistance to the UNITA terrorist group, the Reagan Administration has committed a concrete act of state terrorism which will bring in its wake incalculable consequences. This hostile attitude to the People's Republic of Angola and against the Angolan people, places in terrorist hands means which surely will not be used against military targets but against civilian aeroplanes.

This was proven in 1982, when UNITA claimed responsibility for the destruction of a Boeing 737 belonging to ANGOLA-TAG Airlines, which was on a regular flight from Guambo. A TRANSAMERICAN cargo plane was also destroyed in 1985, killing the American pilot.

With this new attitude of the United States, the already difficult situation on the southern Angolan border becomes even more acute. Presently, a part of Angola's Cunene province is occupied by South Africa and more than 20,000 South African soldiers are stationed on our border with Namibia, which is illegally occupied. These troops are equipped with tanks, planes, helicopters, cannons and various other sophisticated artillery devices. It is obvious that they are ready to invade us again at any time.

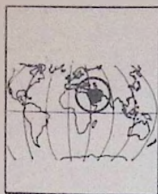
South Africa is systematically using the international corridors of the Angolan air space to supply military equipment and food to the puppet bands at its service. The measures taken by the Angolan Air Force against these intrusions have resulted in the downing of one of the South African Air Force planes.

It would seem that the Reagan administration, apart from providing unlimited assistance to South Africa and the UNITA bandits, is also putting pressure on the racist regime to delay the independence of Namibia, in order to gain political ground it has been losing daily in its own country and above all to further deepen the privations of the Angolan people.

With regard to the topical issue—terrorism—which cannot be used as a pretext for carrying out air raids on Libya, I wonder which terrorism is worse? An isolated case of terrorism or one which is practised in an organised way by the U.S. government, in other words, state terrorism.

In any case, it is clear that one has to condemn any kind of terrorism.

The people of Angola need international solidarity to meet the menace of U.S. state terrorism against the People's Republic of Angola.



U.S.-Israeli Plans for False Autonomy in West Bank and Gaza Strip

TAWFIQ TOUBI

REGIONAL conflicts are basically part of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism—destabilising anti-imperialist regimes, trying to enforce American hegemony, and fomenting international tension.

This is how we also view the perpetuating of the Middle East conflict accompanied with U.S. efforts to enforce a settlement designed to ensure American hegemony and in favour of Israeli Zionist expansionism and contradictory to the just national rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

The barbaric U.S. aggression against independent and anti-imperialist Libya, under the demagogic pretext of fighting terrorism, while the Reagan administration is practising state terrorism against many states and peoples and encouraging and supporting state terrorism of Israel against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, is mainly intended to weaken and break the opposition and resistance of patriotic and anti-imperialist Arab states to U.S. and Israeli efforts to enforce a Camp David-style settlement on the Palestinian question through the co-operation of pro-imperialist Arab reactionary circles.

That is why Israeli ruling circles so enthusiastically supported American aggression against Libya to the extent that Prime Minister Shimon Peres during his visit to Paris in April 1986 called for new efforts to liquidate the leader of the Libyan people Muammar Qaddafi. What is terrorism if it is not such a behaviour?

False Autonomy Plans

In the name of the peace forces in Israel, we strongly condemn the pirate-like terrorist U.S. aggression against Libya and the

adventurist support given by the Israeli government acting as a stooge to American imperialism and endangering the real interests and future of the Israeli people, and threatening the Middle East with another bloody explosion.

Part and parcel of American aggression against Libya, which apparently has not ended and the threat of another act of aggression hangs over the Libyan people, are the threats of the Israeli ruling circles addressed towards Syria. The public opinion in Israel is facing a brain-washing campaign preparing it for war against Syria in the name of self-defence.

Israeli ruling circles hope that a new war against Syria will bring to a successful finish the disastrous last war of aggression against Lebanon and direct a final mortal blow to the PLO and enforce a capitulatory and liquidatory settlement upon the Palestinian people perpetuating Israeli occupation of Arab territories through a new deal of betrayal with the Jordanian and Egyptian governments.

While stepping up oppressive measures against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, and spreading with the help of collaborators desperation and confusion as a result of the difficult internal situation within the PLO, accentuated after the Jordanian-PLO Amman agreement and the illusions raised about America's so-called good intentions and good-offices, the Israeli ruling circles with U.S. inspiration are advancing the ideas of a false autonomy in Gaza Strip jointly administered by Israel and Egypt, and in the West Bank jointly administered by Israel and Jordan. The call made at the Thiya Party Congress (a party of ultra-rightists in Israel) in April 1986 to expel half a million Palestinian Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, because they are refugees, is symbolic of the solution put forward by Israeli military circles.

Thus, while the U.S.-supported schemes

designed to perpetuate Israeli occupation and liquidate Palestinian people's national aspirations are propagated, and threats of a new aggression against Syria are made, a new agreement between Israel and U.S.A. was signed at the beginning of May 1986 during the visit of Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin to Washington, confirming the participation of Israel in the U.S. adventurist Star Wars programme, further deepening Israel's bondage to U.S. imperialism and participation in the global and regional United States strategic plans endangering world peace and regional security and the very security of the people of Israel.

In the face of the serious dangers to peace and security in our region, we raise a strong voice of warning in face of a new adventurous war of aggression against Syria.

Military force and dependence upon the U.S.A. have brought Israel and its neighbours no peace and no security but only disasters and catastrophes, and the war against Lebanon in 1982 is a painful lesson. We warn that a war of aggression against Syria will meet the same and even greater failure than the war against Lebanon.

UN-Sponsored International Conference on Middle East

No separate deals under American patronage destroying the just rights of the Palestinian people can bring any peace and security to the area—this is the severe lesson of Camp David. The only way to a real just and overall peace is peace with the Palestinian people represented by the PLO through withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the formation of an independent Palestinian state in West Bank and Gaza Strip, peace which can be achieved only through the international conference for peace in the Middle East under United Nations patronage, with the participation of all parties concerned—including Israel, the Palestinian side represented by the PLO, as well as U.S.S.R. and U.S.A.

More people in Israel now realise that only through a better international climate and greater international co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. will our region move closer to a just and lasting peace. In this respect the untiring peace initiatives of the U.S.S.R. for ending nuclear tests, for stopping the nuclear arms race draw greater support and appreciation and have become a source of inspiration for the mass struggle for peace and security in our region as well.

We the forces of peace in Israel will continue in our difficult fight to end the occupation by Israel of Arab territories, and build a just and stable peace which can only be an Israeli-Palestinian peace. In this task the Israeli peace forces look forward to support of world public opinion.

TAWFIQ TOUBI

Member of Parliament; member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council (Israel)

De-Palestinianization Policies of Israeli Occupation Forces

The article is based on the United Nations brochure entitled "Living Conditions of the Palestinian People in the Occupied Territories".

The brochure was published in 1985 on the occasion of the fortieth session of the United Nations. It was prepared for, and under the guidance of the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

Extracts from the brochure are published here.

THE Arab-Israeli war of June 1967 dramatically shook the existing status quo in the Middle East. It resulted in Israel occupying the remainder of mandated Palestine including East Jerusalem, as well as Egyptian and Syrian territory.

Israel's de facto annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has had a tremendously negative impact on the political and socio-economic life of the Palestinian population. It has resulted in the overall stagnation of the Palestinian economy, dismantling of the Palestinian communities, violations of the fundamental human rights and exploitation and depletion of natural resources in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories. This also gave impetus to the second Palestinian exodus. Half a million Palestinians became the "new refugees", forcibly driven out of their homes and indigenous communities. Immediately after the 1967 war Jewish settlements began to "mushroom" in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Ever since, the question of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and living conditions of the Palestinians in the occupied territories have been a matter of concern of numerous organizations and bodies of the United Nations family. Moreover, the well-being of the Palestinian people has been continuously scrutinized by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, composed of three Member States and established in December 1968 in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2443 (XXIII).

On 10 December 1969, the General Assembly, in its resolution 2535 (XXIV), recognized the political dimension of the issue, declaring that "the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees has arisen from the denial of their inalienable rights under the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights". From 1970 to 1972 and again in 1974 General Assembly resolutions declared that full respect for these rights of the Palestinians "is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the

Middle East" (resolutions 2672 (XXV) of 8 December 1970; 2949 (XXVII) of 8 December 1972 and 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974).

On 10 November 1975, the General Assembly, concerned with the violations of the fundamental rights of the Palestinians in the occupied territories adopted resolution 3376 (XXX) which, inter alia, stated the following:

"Deeply concerned that no solution to the problem of Palestine has yet been achieved,

"Recognizing that the problem of Palestine continues to endanger international peace and security,

"3. Decides to establish a Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People composed of twenty Member States to be appointed by the General Assembly at the current session."

The recommendations of the Committee on the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination and return to their homes have been clearly formulated and widely publicized.

Land and Water Resources

Land and water resources continue to be of utmost concern to the Palestinian population and are major factors in the evaluation of the living conditions of the Palestinian people.

The total land area of the occupied territories is approximately 2,350 square miles of which 2,200 square miles are in the West Bank and 150 square miles in the Gaza Strip.

According to Jordanian information, the amount of land under Israeli control as of February 1985 has risen to 52 per cent of the total land; 41 per cent of it, an area of 2.5 million dunams (1 dunam = 1,000 m² = about 0.25 acre) out of a total of 5.5 million dunams, had been placed under the control of the Israeli authorities by direct means, such as declaring it to be State land, preventing its exploitation, and seizure; and the remaining 11 per cent, an area of 570,000 dunams, was indirectly controlled by Israel by such means as

prohibiting construction and cultivation and declaring the land to be subject to the Nature Reserves Authority. By November 1983 the total estimated number of different types of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories has risen to 267. (This information is based on the data contained in the study prepared by the Division for Palestinian Rights entitled "Israeli settlements in Gaza and the West Bank (including Jerusalem). Their nature & purpose, Part II".)

The process of expropriation, in association with other factors, has led to a decline in the amount of land used for agriculture and, to some extent, in agricultural output of certain commodities traditionally produced in the occupied territories.

That expropriation of land is widespread and is continuing, adversely affecting the living conditions and viability of the Palestinian farming population, is backed by the information presented to the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories and set forth in its report to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session (A/39/591). The effect of these measures on the Palestinian farmers and communities has been a heightened sense of insecurity and consequently their reluctance to make long-term investments to improve the land.



Map showing Israeli settlements established in the territories occupied in June 1967.

"United Nations organs, including the Security Council, have deplored the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. The UN map incorporates information furnished in 1984 by the Special Committee on Israeli Practices concerning settlements established, planned or under construction."

In addition to the direct expropriation of land, under existing emergency laws and Israeli regulations, the authorities have started inserting a clause in building permits to the effect that while the Palestinian applicant has permission to build a house on the land, the land on which the house stands does not belong to him. This appears to apply mainly to urban land, especially when the Israeli authorities maintain that the land comes under the category of absentee owner's property.

The practice of expropriation and confiscation of land by Israeli authorities, combined with their practices with regard to the use of water resources, have resulted in a major decline in the agricultural activities of Palestinians in the occupied territories. Various sources differ on the estimate of the total cultivated land appropriated for Jewish settlements. However, there seems to be a consensus that, since 1967, the decline of the amount of land cultivated by Arab citizens has been very significant.

Since 1970, Israeli authorities have adopted a new policy based on the old Turkish Land Code, whereby any vacant land, such as mountains, rocky places, stony fields and grazing grounds, under certain circumstances, can be considered *ard al-mawat* (dead land), and anyone who is in need of such land can, with the permission of the authorities, cultivate it on the condition that the ultimate ownership shall belong to the Sultan, to whom the Government of Israel considers itself to be a successor.

Impact of Israeli Occupation on Social Life of Palestinians

The living conditions of the people in the occupied territories have been profoundly affected by various constraints and restrictions imposed by the Israeli authorities as regards social life, outlook, aspirations and cultural environment of the Palestinians.

Policies and practices of the occupying Power embodied in many military orders, totalling over 975 since the occupation, have brought about numerous changes in the life style of the Palestinian families.

Expropriation of private and public land, and restrictions in the use of water for agricultural needs of the Palestinians, have resulted in a deep sense of insecurity and disincentive to pursue the traditional rural mode of life. Some family members are therefore forced to seek wage employment in nearby settlements or in Israel; moreover some Palestinians, in order to feed their families, have to go for employment as far as the Gulf States.

Israelis continue to destroy dwellings under "The Defence (Emergency) Regulations" of 1945. The Israeli Government has adopted the same Defence Regulations (made by the British colonial power in Palestine at that time), changing some terminology in them, while preserving the substance. Imprisonment and incarceration



UN Map—UN Partition Plan—1947 and UN Armistice Lines—1949.
"If fully implemented, the Partition Plan would have created an Arab state and a Jewish state in a divided Palestine, with an international regime for Jerusalem. By the time the fighting subsided in July 1948, Israel controlled a significant part of the land allotted to the Arab state, while Egypt and Jordan administered the remaining territory."

UN Map showing territories occupied by Israel since June 1967.
"The Territory presently occupied and administered by Israel includes the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and the Syrian Golan Heights. The West Bank and Gaza are bounded by the armistice lines negotiated by the United Nations Acting Mediator in 1949; they were overrun in 1967."

without trial is also observed. Israelis resort to deportation of Palestinians for political and other reasons.

According to the 1983 Report of the UN Secretary-General entitled "Living conditions of the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories":

"Cases of individual harassment have frequently been reported. Palestinian farmers have been threatened or molested while working on their land by settlers who claimed the land belonged to the settlements. Fruit trees on private land have been uprooted or destroyed. Armed settlers have tried to take over houses inhabited by Arabs, have attacked residents and have sometimes kidnapped them, particularly students and young people, on the grounds that they had participated in demonstrations."

New Israeli Settlements

The current policy of the Israeli authorities is to establish settlements in dense clusters in proximity to Palestinian communities. This results in increasing tension between the Israeli settlers and Palestinians. In the areas of Hebron and Nablus, where Israeli settlements comprise members of radical religious groups, such tensions and physical confrontations were reported to be the highest.

The Israeli settlers, in the exercise of their role as "maintainers of law and order", being supported by the military administering the territories, exceed their powers and harass and intimidate Palestinians individually as well as collectively.

"The permission granted to the Israeli settlers to carry arms and to be involved in maintaining law and order has had a direct impact on the normal day-to-day activities of the Palestinians. According to residents of the West Bank visiting Amman, who were interviewed by the consultants, the streets in Palestinian villages and towns are deserted after nightfall. People confine themselves to their homes, fearing to go out lest they be accosted by either the armed settlers, the police or army personnel on patrol, asked to show their identity papers and questioned at length. The presence of a group of armed settlers in a market place or on patrol is sufficient cause for Palestinians to become apprehensive of any encounter, however peaceful it might be. While the Israeli settlers are free to move as they please and are able to pursue their social and cultural interests without any hindrances, the Palestinians are subjected to frequent curfews. The need to obtain permission from the occupying authorities to hold meetings, which is often denied, and the close supervision exercised over the activities of Palestinian institutions and organizations in the occupied territories has further curtailed the social and cultural activities of the Palestinian residents.

Restricted in their Own Land

The Palestinians in their own land are still restricted in their movements. The frequent curfews are periodically imposed on Arab towns, villages, and refugee camps thus disrupting the day-to-day life and activities of the population. This hampers the conduct of commerce and business activities, commuting to work (including workplaces in Israel), attendance at schools and performance of religious duties. The Military Government of the West Bank issued numerous orders within a brief period of time restricting mayors, municipal councillors and other public figures to their towns of residence or their homes.

Regarding the frequent Israeli violations of the religious practices and performance of religious duties by the Palestinians, the 1984 report of the Secretary-General on the "Living conditions of the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories" concluded with the following: "Interference in religious places and with religious performances has increased and enlarged in scope in recent years. The numerous incidents involving the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem have been widely publicized, the latest being on 27 January 1984, when a cache of handgrenades and explosives were discovered in the Islamic cemetery abutting the Mosque and the guards at the Mosque had also discovered ladders and ropes dangling over the wall. Another holy place that has been the scene of frequent confrontation between Palestinian Muslims and Israeli Jews is the Patriarch's Cave at Hebron. Jews have been allowed access to the Cave to hold prayer meetings at which times the Arab Muslims must keep away. In fact, access by Muslims to the Cave has been progressively curtailed. According to the *Ha'aretz* of 11 September and *Al Fajr* of 18 September 1983, the Civil Administration in the West Bank had imposed restrictions on Muslim prayers during the Jewish holidays (the Jewish New Year's Day, the Day of Atonement, the Feast of the Tabernacles, and the Rejoicing of the Law) all occurring over a period of three weeks in September."

Terror Campaign against Palestinians

Incidents of attacks against Muslim and Christian religious places have been widely reported throughout the occupation period. These attacks have been attributed to Israeli groups, such as the so-called "Terror against Terror" which have emerged in Jerusalem and the occupied territories with the aim of harassing, intimidating and terrorizing Palestinians and subsequently forcing them to abandon their domiciles.

The Palestinian refugee camps have often been the objects of interference by the Israeli settlers as well as military personnel who frequently accuse camp residents of being involved in all sorts of un-

rest and demonstrations. According to the same report of the Secretary-General: "The interferences have been most grave in those camps which have been earmarked in connection with the plans being prepared by the Government of Israel to relocate the refugees, such as Dheisheh and Jalazun."

Israel's De-Palestinianization Policies

Present living conditions of the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories are fundamentally affected as a direct result of Israeli occupation policies pursued for almost two decades. Apart from political domination and de-palestinianization policies, Israel's occupation of the Palestinian lands has had a number of far-reaching socio-economic consequences.

The economy and infrastructure of the West Bank and Gaza are being tied and made subservient to Israel. Settlement policy required confiscation of Palestinian lands, annexation of Jerusalem and settlement of Jewish residents therein. Systematic depletion of the West Bank's water resources and their use for the needs of Jewish settlers led to severe drought and forced Palestinian farmers to abandon their traditional households. The demographic consequences of the occupation are described by Janet L. Abu-Lughod in the book, "The Demographic Consequences of the Occupation" as follows:

- a massive expulsion of residents sufficient to affect numbers, despite a natural increase rate that has averaged 3.5 per cent per year;
- a distortion in the normal population characteristics of the residual population, due to the selectivity of expulsions and emigrations, and
- a transformation of the remaining population from a diversified independent society of peasants, businessmen, and professionals to a proletarianized and dependent reserve labor army at the mercy of Israeli political and economic interests.

"These changes in the demographic characteristics of the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 have been the outcome of concerted policies adopted by the occupier. These policies have been intentionally designed both to 'contain' the size of the population over whom dominance would have to be exercised and to 'reduce' its capacity to resist domination."

(The brochure concludes with the resolution (39/169) of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted at its thirty-ninth session in 1984 which expressed alarm at the deterioration, as a result of the Israeli occupation, in the living conditions of the Palestinian people in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967.

The resolution affirmed that the Israeli occupation is contradictory to the basic requirements for the social and economic development of the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories.

Impact of U.S. Policy on the Gulf Region

HUSSAIN MUSSA

DURING early April 1986, U.S. Vice President George Bush visited four states in the Arab Peninsula, three of which (namely Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Oman) are littoral states to the Gulf, while the fourth, North Yemen, is in the vicinity of the mouth of the Red Sea. At that very time, the U.S. President's representative to the Middle East, Richard Murphy, visited the rest of the Gulf states (Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates).

The visits of the two high-ranking U.S. officials, the statements made both by them and their Arab hosts, and the agenda of their talks reaffirm the importance of the Arab peninsula and Gulf region to United States strategic interests and policy, on the one hand, and the adherence of some Gulf states to the U.S. policy, on the other.

U.S. Seeks Arab Support: The visits took place in the wake of important developments. They were preceded by the U.S. naked aggression against Libya in the Gulf of Sirte and preparations for a bigger attack against the Libyan territories. The attack actually took place just when Bush and Murphy were on their way back to the U.S.

George Bush, affirmed before and during his visit that the U.S. action in Libya's Gulf of Sirte did not reflect itself negatively on the U.S. relations with the Gulf states in West Asia. Larry Speakes, the U.S. President's spokesman, was more frank in stating that "despite the protest of some Arab states to the U.S. on military action against Libya, they are actually satisfied with this action".

The U.S. carried out its attack against Libya under the pretext of retaliating against Libyan support for the so-called "international terrorism".

Both Bush and the officials of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Oman emphasised their mutual agreement on combatting "international terrorism". It is easy to derive a conclusion from all this.

The Oil Slump: The visits of the U.S. officials took place at the time of a slump in the world oil market. The direct motivation

for this slump comes from the dumping of the market by the U.K. and Norway. Despite the financial losses incurred by these two countries, apart from all other oil exporting countries, their reckless policy is partly due to U.S. pressure. In a sense, the slump in the oil market is the result of a systematic plan by the leading capitalist states, members of the International Energy Agency (IEA) and the oil monopolies. But this plan has worked due to the collaboration of some oil exporting countries with the U.S.A. and IEA, especially Saudi Arabia, the leading exporter of oil in the world.

It is reported that during his visit to the U.S. last year, the Saudi King, Fahd, bargained with U.S. President Reagan for fixing the price of oil at 25 dollars per barrel, which was below the then prevailing current price, in return for a guaranteed supply of Saudi oil to all Western states which would support the deal. But Reagan refused to accept the deal, in anticipation of the oil slump which we are witnessing now.

Although Bush had some sympathetic statements concerning the oil plight of his Arab hosts, the U.S. Secretary of State, George Shultz, immediately countered Bush's statements, affirming that "the U.S. official policy is to leave the price of oil to be determined freely in the market".

The U.S. presidential spokesman Larry Speakes elaborated this further: "There has been no change in administration policy or viewpoint on the declining oil prices. We believe that the way to achieve price stability is to let the free market work."

Bush then balked blaming the press for misinterpreting him. This reaffirms once again that the U.S. is committed to preserving its interests and the interests of the capitalist system, at the expense of its lackies like the Saudi Arabian regime.

Security for Whom? Both Bush and his hosts affirmed their common security interests. In Saudi Arabia, Bush visited the King Khalid Air Base where he witnessed manoeuvres of the U.S. F-14 plane. The Commander of the base, Gen. Turki Al-Saud, praised the co-operation between the two states in all matters and emphasised the common values "cherished by the Americans and the Saudis, such as freedom, justice and belief in God".

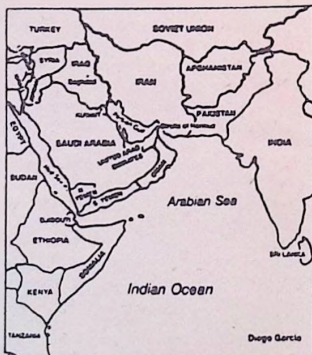
Bush also visited the U.S. base in Bahrain (Al-Jufair Naval Base) and gave a lecture to the U.S. personnel there.

While in Oman, he inspected the U.S. aircraft carrier "Enterprise", stationed in the vicinity of the Hormuz Straits in the Gulf of Oman. Bush emphasised the U.S. position of defending U.S. allies in the region, maintaining freedom of navigation in the Gulf, and expressed the readiness of the U.S. to use force to protect its interests in the area.

He also highlighted the importance of the countries he visited for U.S. security.

In Oman, he warned about the dangers posed by some regional forces to the security of his host country, and named South Yemen (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen). He stated that his visit to North Yemen gave him an opportunity to discuss with responsible people there what he called the "upheaval" in South Yemen. It was not accidental that William Casey, the CIA Chief, on the same day, accused the Soviet Union of interfering in South Yemen in favour of the opponents of what he called the "legitimate President".

Despite the normalisation of relations between Oman and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) in 1984 and the



"The aspirations of the people in the Gulf countries require the ending of the U.S. military presence in this region and the termination of the military facilities granted to the U.S. there."

HUSSAIN MUSSA

Member, Bahrain Peace and Solidarity Committee

fact that Oman was the first Arab country to receive an official delegation from the PDRY, after the January 13-plot this year in South Yemen, which is an internal affair, the U.S. has persisted in poisoning the relations between the two Arab neighbours, and maintaining its military presence under false pretexs in the Gulf region.

It is reported that Bush pressed North Yemen to subvert South Yemen. This is in line with the Reagan policy of openly and directly supporting counterrevolution as in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola and Yemen.

Aspirations of the People: It is known that repression prevails in the Gulf states, with a margin of freedom in Kuwait and to a lesser extent in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). In those countries, it was not possible for the people to express openly their stand towards U.S. policy during the visit of the two U.S. officials. In Kuwait, however, where it was comparatively possible to do so, all Kuwaiti MPs openly deplored U.S. policy, especially the United States attack against Libya, its show of force in the Gulf region and its plot against the oil exporting countries and OPEC as a whole.

Ahmed Al-Raha, an MP from Kuwait, even blamed Oman for offering military facilities for the U.S. fleet in the Indian Ocean. The Kuwaiti and U.A.E. press reflected opposition to the visits of the U.S. officials, and criticised U.S. policy in general. The democratic forces in the Gulf countries clandestinely issued a joint statement deploring the visit and the U.S. policy.

The statement said: "The aspirations of the people and the interests of the Arabian Gulf countries require the ending of the U.S. military presence and termination of the military facilities granted to the U.S. in our region. It is in consonance with our aspirations and our interests to stick to the policy of non-alignment, which is proclaimed by the governments as their official policy. The slump in the oil market has manifested once again that it is in the interest of the Arabian Gulf countries to end the capitalist economic hegemony and their allegiance to the market economy.

"These aspirations will not be realised by wishing it, but by a long intensified struggle. Thus, by striving for democracy and through democracy, it will be possible to ensure the preservation of our national sovereignty and interests."

Stop Iraq-Iran War

Danger of Its Spilling Over to Entire Gulf Region

NASSER SALEM

THE Gulf region is one of the most volatile zones in the world. It is the site of a bloody regional war—the Iraq-Iran war—which has been going on for six years. It has already resulted in more than a million casualties and huge material loss to both countries; it has caused deep damage to the relationship between the two peoples. This war poses a danger of spilling over to the rest of the Gulf.

The Iraq-Iran war has made it possible for U.S. imperialism to strengthen its military presence and facilities in the region, which it has officially declared to be a strategic zone for its interests and those of its allies. Further, the U.S. has made it known that it will defend its interests, if necessary, by force. It is, therefore, imperative, that the Iraq-Iran war must come to a stop.

Since 1980, the U.S. has had military bases and facilities in the Gulf, with Oman occupying the central place in its strategy. Oman, situated at the South-Eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula on a littoral state of the Gulf and the Indian Ocean, controls the gate of the Gulf, the Straits of Hormuz.

There is a possibility of the U.S. stocking nuclear arms in one form or another in Oman.

It is no coincidence that the Oman ruling dynasty, imposed and sustained by the British for more than 250 years, after Britain's withdrawal from the region fell into the lap of the Americans. The presence of the dictatorial regime in Oman and the U.S. military presence there are two sides of the same coin.

In this context, we have to see the visit of U.S. Vice President George Bush to certain countries in the region, including Oman, in early April 1986. During this visit, he also went on board the U.S. aircraft carrier "Enterprise", which was at that time in Oman territorial waters and inspected U.S. military bases in Oman with the full support of the regime.

The year 1986 will witness the establishment of a number of U.S. military projects in our country, namely, at the U.S. bases in Massira, Thamreet and Al Seeb which will become operational soon for the Rapid

Deployment Force of the United States. These bases represent a real danger at local, regional and international levels.

These projects are no longer a secret to any one. It is obvious from the strengthening of the bases and the huge amounts allocated for their development by the U.S. government.

The favourable geographical location of our country in relation to the Gulf region and its place in international military strategy is one of the main reasons for the U.S. presence there. All this complements the total U.S. imperialist war plan in the Middle East.

In regard to the dangers of such projects, which have created a grave situation, we have to mention certain facts.

On the local level, the U.S. military buildup is an open violation of the national independence of the Omani people, and a grave deviation from the non-aligned policy allegedly adopted by the regime. This political danger has its own economic and military impacts as the regime is loyal to international imperialism.

On the regional level, the U.S. military projects are part of the American effort to control the countries in the region under the pretext of protecting the oil resources for serving vital U.S. interests.

This means that our country will be converted into a launching pad for U.S. aggression directed against any of the countries in the region that adopt an independent policy not liked by the United States.

On the international level, this represents a part of the U.S. war plans to strengthen bases and pacts against socialist countries, above all against the Soviet Union.

U.S. imperialism has pursued for the last ten years a policy hostile to detente and peaceful coexistence in international relations. Therefore, this is a matter of concern for all peace-loving people. In our opinion, it is of great importance to counter the U.S. imperialist policy in our region by mobilising public opinion, especially in the countries where foreign bases exist. The struggle there should be intensified for the cause of world peace. It calls for co-ordination amongst the regional progressive and peace-loving forces. It also needs international solidarity of the peace forces in the world, which will strengthen the worldwide movement for the prevention of nuclear war.

NASSER SALEM

Member, Oman Peace and Solidarity Council

Bolivian People's Struggle for Social and Economic Progress

ROSA MARIA GUTIERREZ

THE present crisis, including the foreign debt, the demands of the International Monetary Fund and imperialism conspire directly against democracy, creating destabilising conditions which open the way for the setting up of dictatorial, repressive and fascist governments in Latin America.

Bolivia is only one example of this situation which is far from unique in Latin America. The Bolivian people have won their democratic freedom after a long and arduous struggle, nurtured with the blood of the people who were brutally repressed by fascist dictatorships. The democratic resistance gained ground and succeeded in establishing a constitutional government in 1980. It was a strong alliance of all classes and political parties, led by President Hernan Siles Zuazo, who represented the Front of Popular Democratic Unity (UDP). The UDP at that time symbolised the hope of the people for the broadening of democracy, with the participation of all in this process, and in general, for the winning of more democratic rights in the country.

However, Bolivia had to face many difficulties. The economic crisis was aggravated by the enormous foreign debt, the squandering of funds by the previous dictatorships, as well as the government's refusal to subject itself to the mandates of imperialism. The government had also to deal with the just but difficult demands of the workers, whose salaries had declined throughout the period of the dictatorships, demands which had to be met in the short term. All this exerted tremendous pressure on the government which, firstly, resulted in the disintegration of the Front, and, secondly, in the decision of President Siles Zuazo to call elections one year before completing his four-year term.

In these circumstances, it was not difficult for the Right to accumulate votes through

the use of demagogy, capitalising on the errors committed and taking advantage of the difficult situation in which the people found themselves.

The political experiences of that period should serve as a basis for profound analysis, which we are unable to do today but which will prove useful for the future.

The return of a right-wing government to power led by Dr. Victor Paz Estenssoro in the elections in 1985, and the relationship between the forces in parliament favourable to this government, are today benefiting imperialism. The government of Dr. Paz Estenssoro, the former leader of the National Revolution of April 1952, nowadays

reinforces the counterrevolutionary process in which the dictatorships were involved.

Dr. Paz Estenssoro has been resorting to the use of ambiguity and arbitrariness and duly complying with the orders of the Empire.

These orders, in brief, are: pay the foreign debt which comprises 35 per cent of the budget, freeze salaries and wages—it is worth noting that 70 per cent of the Bolivian population receives between 20 and 30 dollars monthly—, reduce the budget for social spending, increase the military and police budget, cut the fiscal deficit and order mass layoffs, that is to say, to make the people bear the brunt of a crisis for which they are not responsible. As can be expected and in view of the workers' level of poverty, they have to struggle for their survival. They will meet with repression, dictatorial ways, actions by the armed forces and the police against the workers, farmers, students and all other sectors affected by the present government's disastrous economic policy which favours imperialism and is detrimental to the interests of the country.

So, once more, the Bolivian people will be forced to fight for the most basic human rights. We have no doubt that they will be victorious, but we feel that the energy expended on this could be utilised to build the country, to contribute to its development, and to overcome, on the basis of self-determination and self-reliance, its problems and to achieve social progress.



"Once more the Bolivian people will be forced to fight for the most basic human rights. But the energy they expend on it could be utilised to develop the country and overcome its problems."

ROSA MARIA GUTIERREZ
Vice President, Bolivian Committee for
Peace and Democracy (Bolivia)

The Canadian Peace Alliance

Making Canada a Peacemaker in the World

JOHN HANLY MORGAN

TO OUR knowledge, Canada is the only capitalist country in which the many separate peace forces have succeeded in coming together in one national organization, the Canadian Peace Alliance. This occurred in November of 1985 in Toronto at a founding convention attended by 400 people representing 233 different groups. The leading role in putting such a large effort together was played by The Toronto Disarmament Network, a peace coalition which unites 80 city peace organizations, including the Toronto Association for Peace, the local branch of the Canadian Peace Congress which is an affiliate of the World Peace Council. The Executive Secretary of the Canadian Peace Congress is on the Steering Committee of the New Canadian Peace Alliance. The program of the Alliance is as follows:

Aims and Objectives

The Canadian Peace Alliance (CPA) seeks to involve Canadians in the world-wide movement to stop the arms race, ensure the non-violent settlement of disputes and guarantee the security and well-being of all peoples. We want to make Canada a peacemaker in the world community of nations by taking concrete initiatives to withdraw from the arms race and to encourage reciprocal initiatives by other nations.

The objective of the CPA is to build Canadian public and government support for the following goals:

1. The involvement and participation of the Canadian public in the world-wide movement towards disarmament and a truly secure, and economically just world for all people.

2. A negotiated and verifiable freeze and reversal of the arms race, ending the vertical and horizontal proliferation of nuclear and other weapons on Earth and in space.

3. The establishment of Canada as a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ), thereby ending all funding (of) research, transport,

testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons systems and their components in Canada and also ending the export of nuclear technology and radioactive fuels that may be used for the production of nuclear weapons.

4. The redirection of funds from wasteful military spending to the funding of human needs through a program of conversion and re-training promoting the development of a peace-oriented economy.

5. The creation and strengthening of world institutions and mechanisms for the prevention of aggression, for the peaceful resolution of international conflicts and the promotion of friendship among peoples.

6. The dissolution of all military blocs.

7. The assertion of an independent Canadian foreign policy for peace.

The current international confrontation threatens to engulf the world in nuclear war.

At the spring 1986 meeting of the Steering Committee of the CPA there was launched a "Campaign to Stop Star Wars".

The program of this campaign will be to oppose any direct or indirect Canadian participation in Star Wars, including the issuance of Star Wars contracts to Canadian companies; the extension of formal Canadian political support for Star Wars; the integration of existing NORAD infrastructures within the wider Star Wars plans; and the deployment of comprehensive air defences in Northern Canada. The campaign will also put forward positive alternatives to Star Wars, including the strengthening of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union, and immediate agreement on a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban, and support for an International Satellite Monitoring Agency.

The member organizations of the Canadian Peace Alliance are of the firm conviction that these goals are both realistic and attainable.

The new Canadian Peace Alliance has thus far shown among the large majority of its people a strong sense of unity based on the common sense approach that peace is our issue, not debates over the relative merits of differing social systems. This con-

sciousness is rooted in the understanding of the terrible peril faced by men and women living in all social systems because of the Reaganite arms escalation and belligerent foreign policy. The Canadian Peace movement has reached a new qualitatively higher stage.

A Toast to Peace

JOHN HANLY MORGAN

This poem was written on the occasion of the Bulgarian Peace Reception given by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the delegates to the session of the World Peace Council in Sofia on 27 April 1986.

We lift these shining glasses
to love and to peace,
a toast to us all
in good Bulgarian wine
to the world of tomorrow
for which we struggle today;

to the mothers, the fathers,
to the children of their love,
to the sunny fields under safe skies,
to the cool forest's unthreatening
shade,
to all the lovely normalcies of earth,
its marvellous multitudinous
creativity;

to all the world, then,
and our care of it in love and peace
we lift up these glasses
of good Bulgarian wine
shining in the light!

JOHN HANLY MORGAN
President, Canadian Peace Congress (Canada)

A Swedish Initiative

People's Parliament for Disarmament

MAUD FRÖLICH

THE Swedish People's Parliament for Disarmament (SPPD) has its roots in the year prior to the United Nations' First Special Session Devoted to Disarmament in 1978 (SSD I). As a preparation for this UN session, the Swedish Peace Council and the United Nations Associations (UNA) of Sweden invited popular movements to a "People's Parliament for Disarmament" in Stockholm in 1977.

The aim was to find out what the Swedish people thought about the arms race and disarmament, national and international security, the relationship between disarmament and development. In other words, how would the Swedish people want their government to act during the UN disarmament session.

In retrospect, this first People's Parliament for Disarmament must be considered a fairly successful experiment. It gathered about 250 delegates representing about 130 organizations.

Before the United Nations Second Special Session Devoted to Disarmament in 1982 (SSD II), we organised another People's Parliament in Sweden. This time we were better prepared and we also got some grants from the Swedish government and the Swedish International Development Authority. About 300 organizations were involved, 100 national and 200 regional and local. The number of delegates was 500, twice that of the first People's Parliament.

The SPPD appealed to the Swedish government to demand an effective arms control, especially on the part of nuclear weapon states and other militarily significant countries, and an appreciable extension of confidence-building measures.

We stressed that a New International

Economic Order (NIEO) must be taken into consideration in all disarmament negotiations. This means among others that all countries must plan for a conversion from military to civil production and for redistribution of resources for social and economic development.

The president of the SPPD was able to participate on behalf of the Swedish NGOs in the UN General Assembly (SSD II). In his address to the General Assembly, he put before the international community the demands of the Swedish NGOs regarding disarmament.

The SPPD is unique in the worldwide family of NGOs. It is now a permanent institution with a secretariat in Stockholm. Its current activities are organised by a Steering Committee with a president and an elected executive secretary.

The name "parliament" has its relationship with the working methods, which are similar to those of the Swedish constitutional parliament.

The SPPD is a member of the Special NGO Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. In the framework of the World Disarmament Campaign we have close contact with the UN Department for Disarmament Affairs in New York.

Our main function between the People's Parliament sessions is to educate public opinion by disseminating information. We publish a series called Information on Disarmament four or five times a year.

Nordic Peoples' Parliament

In 1985 we made a unique experiment. We extended the SPPD to cover the Nordic region; it was organized by the peace councils and the UNAs in the Nordic countries. The purpose was to prepare for the International Year of Peace. The joint Nordic preparatory committee received a grant of 100,000 SEK from the Swedish government and some contributions from other Nordic governments as well.

The Nordic Peoples' Parliament (NPP) took place in Stockholm in April 1985, partly simultaneously with the regional UN conference, organized there by the Department for Disarmament Affairs.

It was quite an adventure to gather about 200 NGOs from four different countries to a decision making process. The result, however, was very satisfying. We got a broad representation from peace organizations, church organizations, political parties, trade unions. We also had a good participation proportion between men and women, which is not always the case in international peace work.

Among the important decisions taken by the Nordic Peoples' Parliament were to mobilise public opinion for:

- Reinforcing of the system of rules of international law and its application.

- Supporting the main points of the Delhi Declaration, especially that all nations actively work for and participate in the process of disarmament; prevention of militarization of outer space; reduction of the arsenal of nuclear weapons; transfer of resources from military to civil purposes.

- Banning of all nuclear weapons which were a crime against humanity.

- Implementing and reinforcing the Helsinki process.

- Extending the concept of confidence-building measures.

- Renewing efforts to reach unanimity about the need for a New International Economic Order.

- Increasing the official development assistance (by developed countries) to at least 2% of GNP.

- Putting into practice the principal points in the UN study on the relationship between disarmament and development.

- Supporting the demand to make "Norden" a nuclear weapon free zone.

- Stopping the deployment of medium range missiles in Europe.

- Supporting certain specified recommendations and initiatives taken by UNESCO.

During the summer of 1985, the different national delegations submitted the decisions to their respective governments. At the time of "Together for Peace"-Conference in Geneva in January 1986, the resolutions adopted by the Nordic Peoples' Parliament were sent to the UN through its Under-Secretary-General Viacheslav Ustinov, who was a participant in the Geneva conference.

As a service and information institution, we also work on the follow-up of UN studies. Above all we have concentrated our attention on the UN expert-study on the relationship between disarmament and development.

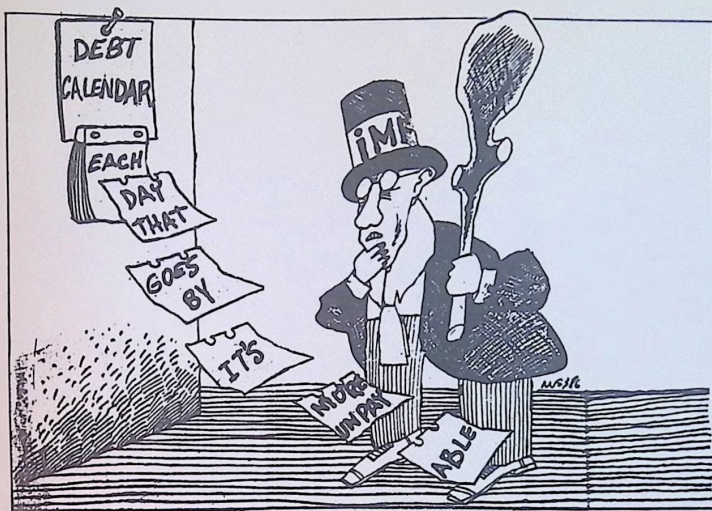
During 1984 and 1985, we arranged two seminars on disarmament, development and conversion. In April 1986, a national conference on the same subject took place in Stockholm.

There is a growing interest in several countries in the SPPD. We may soon have a People's Parliament for Disarmament in Japan.

Besides the necessity of stopping the nuclear arms race and preventing it from spreading to outer space, the question of the interrelationship between disarmament and development will be one of the most important issues on the UN agenda for the next few years. To make it possible for governments to reach results through the UN, a very strong and well-informed public opinion is needed to support and push them. The SPPD sees as its main function to contribute in creating this opinion. We are also looking forward to the possibilities of sharing our experiences with other NGOs.

MAUD FRÖLICH

Secretary, Swedish People's Parliament for Disarmament; Secretary, Swedish Peace Council (Sweden)

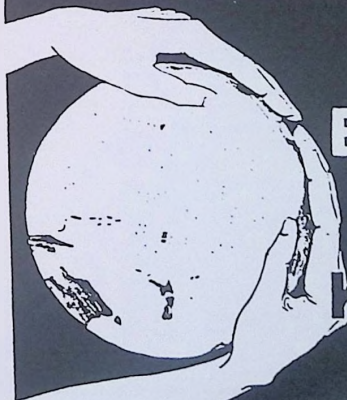


"Debt Calendar - Each day that goes by, it's more unpayable."

Nuez
in "Granma"
(Cuba)

IF IT IS SAFE;

- DUMP IT IN TOKYO
- TEST IT IN PARIS
- STORE IT IN WASHINGTON



BUT,

**KEEP MY
PACIFIC
NUCLEAR-FREE**

Poster by Charles Manata of Solomon Islands which won the first prize in a competition for peace posters in the Pacific Ocean region. The poster reflects the increasing protest movement against testing of nuclear weapons by France, and the dumping of nuclear wastes by the U.S.A. and Japan in the Pacific region. The poster says: "If it is safe, dump it in Tokyo; test it in Paris; store it in Washington, but keep my Pacific nuclear-free."



Nuclear Weapon Free World

The UN International Year of Peace is being observed in various parts of the world.

1 The Sierra Leone Peace Organisation (SLEPO) in a poster has called for stopping the arms race and the ending of war, hunger, poverty, disease, illiteracy.

2 The Pacific Conference of Churches, based in Suva, Fiji, has demanded a Nuclear Free Pacific. Its poster says: "We do not want nuclear wastes dumped in our ocean; we do not want nuclear-powered ships passing through our waters; we do not want to be defended with nuclear weapons.—WE WANT A NUCLEAR FREE PACIFIC."



3 Poster issued by the Bangladesh Peace Council on preventing the danger of nuclear war.

4 The Postal Administration of Malta issued three stamps in January 1986 to mark the UN International Year of Peace.

