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CND

COMMUNISTS

NEUTRALISTS

DEFEATISTS

WHY THIS



is the symbol of
**COMMUNISTS, NEUTRALISTS,
DEFEATISTS.**



is the symbol of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The CND wants Britain to disarm *unilaterally*. That means that we give up our weapons and defences without any opponent giving up theirs.

COMMUNISTS

At least seven CND leaders are either card-carrying Communist Party members or sympathisers.

Leading Communists regularly use CND meetings to attack British and American defence policies while praising Soviet Government 'peace' propaganda.

The Communist Party pamphlet *The Case for Peace and Disarmament* refers to CND General Secretary Bruce Kent as paying tribute to the Communist Party 'which he considered had vigorously worked to help sustain the peace movement through recent years'.

Despite repeated denials of any link with the World Peace Council (a Soviet Government funded propaganda organisation) one of CND's official representatives for north London is the National Organiser of the World Peace Council's British section, (March 1982).

NEUTRALISTS

CND pretend that if Britain throws out our American allies from their bases here and gives up its own nuclear weapons then this island will be safe from a Soviet attack. *THAT IS RUBBISH!*

So long as Britain dares to remain an independent nation, with adequate conventional forces and pledged to the Western Alliance, then our airfields and ports will continue to be targeted by the Russians.

CND know this. For them, throwing out the Americans is only the first step; their next step, which they are scared to reveal openly, will be to pull Britain out of NATO, the defence alliance which has kept us free and out of war for over thirty years.

The destruction of NATO from the inside in this way is the top priority for Soviet Communist leaders. That is why they encourage CND.

DEFEATISTS

The scare propaganda about nuclear war churned out by CND is extraordinarily similar to the scare tactics used by the Appeasers during the 1930s. Those people too tried to persuade the public that defending ourselves against the Nazis was both useless and a provocation.

The great fear for that generation was the possibility of city bombing and gas attacks by the Germans. Prominent Left-wing scientists, academics, literary figures and politicians predicted enormous casualties, and spoke about the futility of Britain building up defences in the face of an aggressive Nazi Germany.

Those arguments by the defeatists of the 1930s led Hitler to believe that he could walk over Europe with no opposition – and so World War 2 began.

Today the CND encourage the Soviet Government to believe that we would not stand up to defend the free and democratic society in which we live. They risk provoking the same miscalculation, this time among the Soviet leadership.

The defeatists of the 1930s have come back to life in the 1980s– they call themselves The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

**REJECT
COMMUNISM, NEUTRALISM, DEFEATISM**

**REJECT
UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT**

**SUPPORT
PEACE THROUGH SECURITY**

HIROSHIMA



WAS

a Nuclear Free Zone

HIROSHIMA

WAS

a Nuclear Free Zone

On August 6th 1945 at 5 p.m. standard time, a single bomb was dropped by the 509th Composite group on Hiroshima, Japan. As a direct result **90,000** people died instantly and another **23,000** died from radiation burns and cancer in the following two months. So horrible was the devastation that people are still dying today as a result of radiation received during the first atomic explosion.

PEACE IN EUROPE

After 37 years of peace in Europe people are genuinely worried that a similar nuclear holocaust may soon occur in Britain. These fears are being articulated by the CND and other similar groups – all of them are calling for Britain to UNILATERLY disarm; to make Britain a '**Nuclear Free Zone**'. The question, however, must be asked; will this kind of disarmament prevent a nuclear attack on Britain?

BREZHNEV LOVES BRITAIN?

There can be only one answer. A big **NO**. The Soviet Union has missiles targeted on British cities, what stops Brezhnev from firing them? Is it his love for Mrs. Thatcher? Is it his admiration for the students of Great Britain? Or is it his desire to preserve our unique constitutional monarchy? **NO**. Just as the Soviet Union would crush its neighbours Afghanistan and Poland, so it would threaten our country with death and destruction if it were not for one thing.

OUR MISSILES

The missiles of the Western Alliance are targeted at Russian cities. The facts may be horrifying but they are real. Nuclear weapons cannot be wished away, they cannot be disinvited. There remains only one course of action, a balanced reduction **on all sides**; it is called MULTILATERAL disarmament. CND would prefer to make Britain defenceless, just as Japan was. They say we have nothing to fear from the Soviet Union.

**IF YOU THINK THE SOVIET THREAT
IS A MYTH-
JUST ASK A POLE**

THE COALITION FOR PEACE THROUGH SECURITY

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THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PEACE ISSUE -- PRESS INFORMATION

ANOTHER EURO PEACE PERSON WITH A VIEW

STATEMENT BY

Mr. Edward Leigh, British Director of the Coalition For Peace Through Security and Chairman of the British National Council For Civil Defense (which has over 60 parliamentary sponsors).

"I am as committed to real peace and to disarmament as the delegates of the Euro Peace Tour 82 but I believe that the only road to preserving both our peace and freedom is through multilateral, mutual, and verifiable disarmament not unilateral or one sided by the west first. Here are some questions that the press may want to ask the delegates.

* However effective peace movements are in the west there is no likelihood or even remote possibility of them really being tolerated in the Soviet Union any more than free trade unions.

* The British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (a sponsor of the tour) is committed to total unilateral disarmament by Britain and closure of U.S. bases. This will weaken NATO and embolden the Warsaw Pact.

* The more successful the CND and their allies are, the more disinclined will be the Soviets to negotiate arms reductions or dismantlement of SS20s already in place knowing that the European governments will be forced by political pressure to refuse deployment of cruise and perishing missiles.

* The Soviet Union has a 100% superiority in tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and a large superiority in conventional weapons. Any measure of unilateral disarmament may actually encourage the Soviet Union to wage a limited war in Europe.

* Secretary General Luns of NATO said recently that the Soviet Union had spent tens of millions of dollars on funding European Peace Groups.

* The Morning Star, Britain's Communist newspaper gives preferential advertising rates to the British CND and openly boasts that 20% of its national council are members of the Communist Party of Great Britain. And a number of CND officials have been receiving free trips to Moscow, expenses paid by the official Soviet Peace Groups which itself totally rejects unilateral disarmament by the Soviet Union.

* Soviet diplomats have been expelled by Norway, Denmark, and Holland for funding the so-called Peace Groups.

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'PEACE' VISITORS ARE BIG HIT WITH RUSSIANS

THE RED carpet was laid out for a party of 19 Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament sympathisers when they flew to Moscow as official guests of the Soviet Peace Committee.

For ten days the group were treated like foreign dignitaries, starting from the moment they by-passed customs on arrival.

At times, there was a police car heading their motor cavalcade, flashing warnings as they swept through traffic lights on red.

Each member of the party had to pay only his return air fare of around £190 at a special party rate.

Everything else was paid for by the Russians, including trips to the ballet and visits to Leningrad, Tashkent, and Samarkand.

Now that the party is back in Britain they have issued a five-page report of the visit.

It is a remarkable document.

It reveals that the CND sympathisers — all of them wanting Britain to scrap its entire nuclear weaponry — asked the Russians to make a ten per cent cut in their nuclear strength.

The Russians refused.

Although most of the party are members of the CND, they did not travel under the CND banner.

by GERARD KEMP

Believer

The invitation from Moscow was sent to "The Northern Friends Peace Board," a Quaker group set up in 1913. And the 19 people on the trip were selected by the board's full-time secretary, Mr Rowland Dale, who lives in Gledhow Wood Grove, Leeds.

He told me: "Everyone on the trip was loosely CND. They were all unilateralists, in favour of Britain getting rid of all her nuclear weapons. I am a firm believer in this."

"Four people from the Soviet Peace Committee came over to Britain last April and they invited a group to visit Russia this year."

Among the party, he said, were:—

Lord Brockway, co-chairman of the World Disarmament Campaign and veteran CND supporter; Fran Jenkin, from Exeter CND, Teachers for Peace, and the Women's Peace Liaison Committee; Lee Chadwick, from Greater Manchester CND; Dr Malcolm Dando, of Bradford University's School of Peace Studies; Dr John Gleisner, of the Medical Campaign against Nuclear Weapons; Janet Gilbraith, of Cambridge Teachers for Peace; Dorothy Bailey, of Mothers for Peace; and Richard Keeble, editor of The Teacher; member of the editorial board of Sanity, the CND magazine; and member of Journalists Against Nuclear Extermination.

Lord Brockway said: "It was a very important visit. The Russians allowed us to criticise, but they didn't print our criticism in their newspapers."

"They rejected our plea for a ten per cent unilateral disarmament. They said they had already taken unilateral

repeatedly stresses the treatment given by the Russians.

"We were treated separately on all internal flights, and our luggage was taken from hotel room to hotel room without our ever having to claim it."

"In Tashkent we were greeted on the tarmac by the local Orthodox Archbishop together with the representatives of the Peace Committee of Uzbekistan."

"Imagine our surprise when Lord Brockway was put in a limousine, preceded by a police car, the rest of us following in a coach."

"This cavalcade, which became familiar on every journey in Uzbekistan, proceeded with flashing blue lights to cross all the red traffic lights in our path."

Russian TV and radio gave the visit saturation coverage, the report says.

During the visit the group met "many eminent people in Soviet society... the only group we missed was the Jewish community."

One criticism made in the report was of the difficulty in meeting specialist bodies:

"Specialist groups or individuals concentrating on peace work are harder to find than in Britain."

In Moscow, the report says, Councillor Gerry Ross, from Hackney "made a long plea for nuclear-free zones and twinning with London".

Turnaround

The visitors had two meetings with the Soviet Peace Committee, the second session seeing the Russians refusing to approve a lengthy document produced by the visitors.

"A major turnaround ensued when, with brilliant dexterity the one or two offending passages (one relating to a unilateral cut of ten per cent by the U.S.S.R. in its nuclear strength) were removed, and every other item was simply ticked 'agreed'."

"The resulting Joint Agreement is a valuable paper of which board members could make great use."

The other members of the 19-strong party were: Father Owen Hardwicke, National Peace Council and Pax Christi; Bill Hetherington, Peace Pledge Union; Helen Steven Iona Community, Catherine Perry, The Fellowship of Reconciliation; John Thorne, medical student; William Barton, retired secretary of the Quaker World Committee; Ron Huzzard, Quaker Peace and Service; and Rosalie Huzzard, Labour Action for Peace.



How far Left are taking over the CND

By ROBERT PORTER Industrial Correspondent

BRITAIN'S fast-growing Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is rapidly being taken over by the far Left, despite its general secretary's repeated claims that its leadership is broadly based.

Monsignor Bruce Kent, the CND's general secretary, insists that all political views are represented in the movement.

But my investigation shows the extreme Left are taking over in no uncertain way and using the CND for their own political ends. These are the facts:

● A least seven CND leaders are either card-carrying Communists or sympathisers.

● Leading Communists have used CND platforms to attack U.S. militarism and the Thatcher Government, while praising Soviet 'peace making' initiatives.

● Trotskysts are moving successfully to take over the CND Youth movement and use it as a recruiting ground for their revolutionary policies.

● The extremist Socialist Workers' Party has used public concern over Cruise missiles to launch CND branches in East Anglia where the weapons will be based and to build up its own membership.

CND officials with Communist leanings include: Sally Davison, a CP member who was national organiser until recently; Dr John Cox vice-chairman and a CP member; Duncan Rees, vice-chairman and a CP member; Ian

Davison, Scottish CND secretary; Professor Michael Pentz, Open University Dean of Science, who has stood as a CP candidate in local elections; Chris Horrie, CND Press officer and member of the editorial board of Challenge the paper of the Young Communist League; and Dan Smith, who has lectured at Communist Party conventions and written for the Morning



PROF MICHAEL PENTZ

Star, but says he is outside the party.

The Communist Party of Great Britain, headed by its industrial organiser, Mr Mick Costello, has led a campaign at trade union conferences this year to win national union and branch affiliations to the CND.

Top Communists believe the success of their campaign to sell the CND to the unions



SALLY DAVISON

played a big part in the Labour Party Conference decision to support unilateral disarmament — Britain going it alone in getting rid of nuclear weapons.

Government fears on the Left's takeover were expressed this week by Defence Minister Geoffrey Pattle who said: 'The skill of the Communists and far Left lies in their ability to foster and support



MICK COSTELLO

movements which draw in large numbers of non-political people by playing on their legitimate anxieties.

'A straightforward "Make Britain Weaker" movement would get nowhere. But a CND movement designed to do exactly the same thing commands support because many people are so worried about the danger of war that they refuse to think through the consequences of their actions,' said Mr Pattle.

The CND provides expression for one of the deepest fears facing mankind today, nuclear obliteration.

But there are political forces at work which see the CND as the perfect medium for channelling mass discontent over the bomb threat into other issues, such as the destruction of capitalism. And to achieve this they are infiltrating at a steady rate of success.

Soviets tied to efforts to derail NATO defense

By Jeremy Gaylard
FREE PRESS INTERNATIONAL

First in a three-part series

BONN — The extent of Soviet support for the "peace movement" of Western Europe, which is credited with influencing public opinion towards unilateral disarmament and neutrality, has come to light recently.

The "peace movement" has become the spearhead of a Soviet design to render Western Europe indefensible, driving a wedge into the Atlantic Alliance and leaving the United States exposed.

A recent study on Soviet "Active Measures" by the State Department says that the December 1979 NATO modernization decision caused the Soviets to "immediately begin an ongoing, intensive campaign to develop an environment of public opinion opposed to the NATO decision."

The study reports that a Soviet ambassador tried to bribe the commerce minister of a Western European country with cheaper oil in exchange for opposition to nuclear modernization.

\$3 billion on propaganda

The U.S. International Communication Agency (ICA) reports that the Soviet Union spends "at least \$3 billion a year on spreading pro-communist and anti-Western propaganda through a worldwide network that includes international front organizations controlled by Moscow," of which "over \$49 million goes to the World Peace Council."

WPC President Ramesh Chandra, a member of the Indian Communist Party, has been quoted as saying that those peace groups that adopted an anti-Soviet stance "ceased to be genuine peace organizations."

Expelled from Paris and Vienna for subversive acts, the WPC now has its headquarters in Helsinki.

The phrase "ban the bomb" was

coined in the WPC's "Stockholm Appeal" of 1950, and since 1977 it has "sponsored worldwide mass rallies and demonstrations in support of Moscow's desire to prevent the equipment of NATO forces with U.S. enhanced radiation (neutron) weapons," says the ICA study.

"It is now vigorously campaigning on a platform of "peace, disarmament and detente" in an effort to convince European public opinion that U.S. military spending and development of weapons, and NATO's alleged desire for military superiority are the major threat to world peace."

The massive anti-nuclear demonstration here last Oct. 10, ostensibly organized by two Protestant church organizations, was planned by the German Communist Party a year previously and financed by the Soviet Union, according to reliable sources.

And as soon as it was publicized that President Reagan would visit Bonn this June 9-10 for a NATO summit meeting, the extreme left began frantic efforts to organize another demonstration intended to eclipse the summit, which organizers claim will draw 700,000 people.

The October demonstration, which drew 250,000 people to Bonn, was conceived at a conference of the Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation (KFAZ), a front organization of the German Communist Party (DKP) on Dec. 9, 1980, according to Carl-Dieter Spranger, an opposition member of parliament.

There were 20,000 members of the DKP and 80 extreme leftist organizations at the demonstration, under the guise of a moderate, Christian, alternative peace movement, says Spranger.

Reagan's claim that the demonstration was "bought and paid for by the Soviet Union with a clear political purpose in mind" was borne out by Spranger, who says that the DKP is steered and financed by the Soviet and East

German communist parties.

Ties to Soviet

Action Reconciliation (ASF) and Action Service for Peace (AGDF), the two Protestant groups that undertook to sponsor the peace rally, also have connections to the Soviet Union, says Spranger.

For example, the director of AGDF, Ulrich Frey, attended the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow and another AGDF official, the Rev. Konrad Luebbert, is a board member of the Soviet-inspired World Peace Council. Both are founding members of the KFAZ.

The two Protestant groups are funded by church taxes that every West German is required to pay unless he officially relinquishes membership of his church.

Spranger says that the East German government finances several "peace" groups through the KFAZ with "millions of (deutsche) marks each month."

The Bonn Peace Forum puts the sum at \$2 million monthly, with \$70 million of East German money going to the Krefeld Appeal, a peace petition calling for the withdrawal of West Germany from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Another opposition member of parliament, Count Hans Huyn, received confirmation from the Interior Ministry that the German Peace Society has communists among its leadership, and maintains close connections with the East German "Peace Council" and the Soviet "Peace Committee."

Huyn also points out that eight of the nine board members of the KFAZ are members of the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council.

The expulsion of two Soviet diplomats from the Netherlands last year did not make headline news, although one of them had drunkenly boasted at a bar that he could rally 50,000 young people for a peace demonstration through a

single telephone call.

In the Netherlands, the Inter-church Peace Council was fully endorsed by the Dutch Reformed Church when it called for the renunciation of nuclear weapons by the Dutch government.

In a country of 14 million people, the council collected 1.2 million signatures on an anti-bomb petition.

While the governments of West Germany, Britain and Italy have stated their willingness to deploy U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles beginning in September 1983 should arms reductions talks fail, the Dutch government has said it will withhold its decision until nearer that time.

Last month, members of the West German "Greens" party, which has a moderate, alternative image, started a petition called "Initiatives against War."

"Propaganda cannot deceive," the petition starts. "Psychological preparation for war is taking place: the Federal Republic [West Germany] is steering towards war."

The International Institute for Strategic Studies in London "falsifies figures, makes untruthful statements and carries out massive propaganda for the Pentagon," it claims. "This institute helps to veil the fact that the U.S. leadership is preparing for an atomic war in Europe."

The statement accuses the United States of carrying out "fake negotiations" with the Soviets to defuse the already decided deployment of new nuclear weapons in Western Europe."

However, the "peace movement" itself has used falsified documents for the sake of propaganda.

Shortly before the October peace rally, a leaflet on official Bonn City stationery was distributed on the streets, calling on citizens to oppose the NATO decision and signed "Your city Bonn."

New 'peace' group challenges leftists' monopoly of movement

By Jeremy Gaylard
FREE PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Second in a three-part series

BONN — When the Bonn Peace Forum was founded last year, most people thought it was just one more voice in the flourishing "peace movement" calling for unilateral disarmament, withdrawal of West Germany from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and a ban on new U.S. nuclear weapons on European soil.

But it soon became clear that this group had something else in mind.

"We want to dispel the public impression that leftist groups created the word 'peace,'" said Rolf Lerch, spokesman for the Forum.

At a recent press conference in the Peace Forum's new Bonn office, Lerch told journalists, "The amount of demagoguery in the so-called peace movement is enough to turn one's stomach."

"It is totally controlled by DK [German Communist Party] members," he added, "and they emotionalize the issue and stir up hatred against NATO and the United States."

Meetings of the "peace movement," often held in church halls funded by church taxes, sometimes go so far as to construct war scenarios, telling the audiences which German towns could be wiped out by which kind of nuclear weapon, Lerch said.

Violent demonstrations are being planned to coincide with the NATO summit meeting of heads of state in Bonn in June, which President Reagan is scheduled to attend, and at the NATO autumn maneuvers this year, he claimed.

Alternative to the alternative

The Peace Forum, which started as an informal group of Bonn university students last April, has grown into a nationwide "alternative to the alternative" with offices in 30 cities.

The group has as its motto "Peace through Human Rights," saying that there can be no peace without freedom.

The Forum is calling for international action on the day of solidarity with Afghanistan, which was proposed by a British member of parliament and organized

through the U.S. Congress and the European Parliament to take place March 21.

"So far it seems the initiators are satisfied with having the day named for Afghanistan, but are doing nothing further," Lerch said.

When the Peace Forum asked the West German government what it was planning for that day, they were told the government was waiting for suggestions from the European Parliament.

But as long as no plans are forthcoming, the day is likely to be a hollow reminder of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, with even less effect than the international day of solidarity with Poland Jan. 30, said Lerch.

The Forum has received requests for cooperation from groups in 50 West German cities that plan to demonstrate for Afghanistan March 21.

The Peace Forum claims to be free of party political connections, but worked closely with the Young Union, the youth group of the Christian Democratic opposition (CDU), in preparing a demonstration against Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev when he came to Bonn last Nov. 22.

That demonstration was attended by 50,000 young people from 500 different groups, showing that there are more young people who support NATO and the Western alliance than is generally thought.

A demonstration of the "peace movement" last Oct. 10 in Bonn attracted a crowd of 250,000, but it was planned a year in advance and financed by the Soviet Union and East Germany, according to reliable sources.

It included members of the "peace movement" from all over Western Europe, giving the impression of an unproportional number of West German pacifists and anti-American activists.

The impression made its mark in the United States, where a growing number of politicians are starting to suggest withdrawing U.S. troops from West Germany.

But the rising popularity of groups like the Peace Forum and of the CDU conservatives, who have shown gains in several recent local elections as well as in party mem-

bership, is proof that the groundswell in this country is not in line with the much-publicized "peace movement."

A counter demonstration

The CDU has announced that it will organize a large demonstration June 5 in Bonn, shortly before the arrival of Reagan, as an attempt to counter the planned anti-nuclear rally of 700,000 from the "peace movement."

While the Protestant church in West Germany, which is stronger in the north of the country, has proven a fertile breeding ground for leftist dissent, the Catholic south remains fervently opposed to unilateral disarmament.

In a pastoral letter before the last federal election in 1980, the Catholic church called upon its members to vote for the conservative candidate, Franz-Josef Strauss, who gained 44.5 percent of the vote.

In a recent statement on the current peace discussion, the Central Committee of German Catholics said: "The Soviet Union wishes to spread its ideology and above all gain political dominance over the whole of Europe in order to harness all of Europe's economic potential for the pursuit of its global designs."

"To that end, it is launching appeals for peace while at the same time provoking the fear of war," the statement continues. "It speculates on the will for peace of the West European peoples and, completely distorting the facts, seeks to create the impression that it is the ties with the United States that constitute the real threat to peace."

NATO commander Gen. Bernard Rogers recently testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee about the "peace movement" in Western Europe.

Rogers said the movement was made up of three segments of the public: Soviet front organizations, activists looking for a cause to support and young people who have never known war.

The third segment is the one to be most concerned about, he said. They believe that pacifism, neutralism or unilateralism may be the answer to avoiding war, but they fail to appreciate the need for a strong defense to deter war.

"The message we must get across to this third segment," Rogers said, "is that you must negotiate from a position of strength."

A factor that is generally misunderstood in the peace discussion is the reunification of East and West Germany, a goal that is written into the West German constitution.

Particularly in France, where fear of an overpowerful Eastern neighbor still prevails since the world wars, and also in the United States, the idea of German reunification is connected with the idea of a neutral state which is susceptible to Soviet domination.

The planned trans-Siberian gas pipeline to West Germany is widely seen as a step in this direction, with increased German dependency on the Soviet bloc.

But a majority of West Germans, while firmly believing in the Western alliance, would still like to see reunification.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, talking to French journalists recently, asked them if they would not want to see their people reunited if they were separated against their will. It would be inhuman not to, he added.

East Germany takes steps to stifle peace movement

By Jeremy Gaylard
FREE PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Last in a series

BONN — Recent demonstrations of young people in East Germany advocating peace and nuclear disarmament have aroused deep concern in a government that inculcates "patriotism" and military preparedness from childhood on.

Although the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) reportedly encouraged the peace movement in Western Europe by providing vast sums of financial aid, when the movement erupted close to home government leaders felt compelled to take steps to discourage it.

Strict control over the education system in the German Democratic Republic, from state-run kindergarten through the university level, is aimed at turning out citizens loyal to the dialectical tenets of the government.

But despite all such efforts, young people continue to escape to the West, and among those who remain, criminality, alcoholism and divorce run high.

This latest display of dissent, aimed at the state that propagates "armed defense of our socialist homeland," is further evidence of the failure of communist ideology to inspire the young.

A stern reminder

Instructions from the SED Politburo to East Germany's 53 colleges and universities recently emphasized that "The training and education of scholars and scientists at a high professional level and in the spirit of the scientific world view of the working classes, Marxism-Leninism, is the basic task of the educational institutions."

Demand for some subjects at East German universities is six times higher than the number of places available. Those students who gain entrance were reminded by the Politburo statement that they must "represent at any time and under all circumstances Marxism-Leninism and the poli-

cies of the Party."

More than 90 percent of university and high school students participate in pre-military training organized by the state-run Society for Sport and Skill. Cadets are inspected from time to time by the East German defense minister, Heinz Hoffmann.

Most East German children belong to the Free German Youth (FDJ), a national youth group that is often compared to the "Hitler Youth" movement of the Third Reich.

Those who do not voluntarily join the FDJ experience discriminatory treatment at school, very like those who admit they are Christians.

Slogans such as "Forwards, forwards, never a step backwards" urge the FDJ children to be "more powerful, lively, ingenious and offensive" in their efforts for the socialist state. Those who show signs of laziness or disinterest are singled out and observed more closely.

During the reconstruction period after World War II, the FDJ movement helped to clear away rubble, collect waste products for recycling and repair bombed houses.

Today, the East German economy is one of the most stable in the Soviet bloc, yet children are still recruited to work for the state.

Members of the FDJ are requested to do two to three weeks of hard physical work for six hours a day at "people's labor camps" during their school vacations "to improve their Socialist work-consciousness." Last summer, there were 230 such work camps.

Even children mobilized

What the West would describe as "child exploitation" — for example, students being required to paint their own schools — is called "a task of high social value in the daily struggle for socialism" in East Germany.

Even small children are given a form of ideological and military instruction and are expected to do

voluntary duty in a border guard regiment. They are highly regarded if they become a "helper," or informant against countrymen discovered planning to escape to the West.

Since most mothers work, preschool children are taken from their homes and put into day-care groups, where they are given their first lessons in socialism.

A children's television program called "Our Sandman," published in a Western periodical, gives a sample of this instruction:

"Good evening, my dear little friends," said the announcer. "Who do you think this beautiful bunch of flowers is for? Yes, you guessed already. Of course it's for the comrades in our National People's Army . . . Be like them, responsible and willing to complete all tasks diligently and conscientiously.

"Even now they are doing their honorable duty so that you can sleep peacefully. They all wish you a good night," he concluded.

During the program, a patriotic song was sung: "Soldiers are marching by in step, we pioneers know them and go cheerfully alongside them, hey ho . . . Good friends, good friends in the National People's Army, they protect our homes on land, at sea and in the air, hey ho."

Despite being the object of communist ideology for more than 30 years, teenagers are starting to rebel against this one-sided "force feeding."

Television reports of the recent peace demonstrations showed young people reminiscent of the Western hippies of the 1960s — with long hair, headbands and beads, giving the "peace sign."

Increased access to Western television news has made the East German youth aware that peace on the European continent is being threatened.

And since the presence of Soviet nuclear and chemical weapons on their soil is a reality, they have every reason to be even more concerned than the youth of Western Europe, where U.S. missiles are still to be deployed.

Free Comment

Exporting unilateral disarmament

In the spring, the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) will dispatch thirty key personnel to the United States. Their itinerary will take in some 150 U.S. college campuses and 50 U.S. cities, in a \$100,000 effort to capture control of an incipient U.S. "peace movement." In the meantime, the first steps are being taken in Western Europe to counter the misleading propaganda of this mixture of naïve idealists and partisan fellow travelers.

One hopes that, while recognizing the danger that these people pose, Americans will not make the terrible mistake of regarding them as in any way representative of Britain's attitude toward its most vital and steadfast alliance partner. That would be the most damaging delusion of all.

There is a strong, politically motivated element in the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and its recent European offshoot (END) led by the Marxist historian, E.P. Thompson. Cosmetic efforts have recently been made to play down communist pre-eminence in the higher reaches of CND. John Cox, a communist who was its chairman no fewer than six times during its years of obscurity, was ostentatiously "defeated" recently when standing for a seventh term, after being "criticized" for failing to mention his communist affiliations in his election manifesto (as if anyone in the movement could have failed to know about them).

But the problem now goes further than formal membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). Years of electoral ineffectiveness have gravely reduced the attractiveness of the CPGB as a vehicle for the attainment of power. Entryism—that is to say, the taking over of hitherto respectable bodies to propagate communism under a false flag—is now the order of the day. Shunning the liability of a CPGB party card, Marxists have infiltrated the British Labour Party to

such an extent that its mainstream moderates have been driven to form a separate Social Democratic Party. Only thus could voters have a noncommunist alternative, should they wish to reject the present Conservative government. In 1960-61 the issue of unilateral nuclear disarmament deeply divided the Labour Party. Last year unilateralism was adopted by the party with little opposition. Yet there is very little evidence of any corresponding increase in grass-roots support for such a policy among Labour voters in general.

The truth is that superior organization by activists—not any growth of widespread support for one-sided disarmament—lies behind the impact of unilateralist agitation. Basic to the belief of idealists in these movements is the fiction that wars arise out of “mutual mistrust” and “lack of understanding” rather than from the greed and ambition of despots and ideologues. Basic to the belief of politicals in the movements is the fiction that “peace” and “liberty” are to be identified with the downfall of bourgeois Western capitalism.

Neither of these fictions is subscribed to by a majority of the British people. Few Britons have illusions about the consequences of dictatorships, whether of the left or the right. Many can recall the futility of attempts to appease the dictators of the 1930s from a position of weakness—a weakness in large part responsible for the horrors of the Second World War. Few are deluded by irrelevant CND rhetoric about the consequences of a nuclear war, when the real question is whether unilateral disarmament would make such a war less likely to occur rather than more. Nor are many taken in by the double standards of the unilateralists: Hugh Jenkins, a leftist member of the House of Lords, who urges the discarding of civil defense as useless in a nuclear war and conveniently ignores the massive Soviet civil defense effort to protect Russian citizens; E.P. Thompson, who cited the growth of Solidarity in Poland as evidence that Soviet hegemony was in retreat there (*Newsweek*, December 1981), then wrote an article in the *London Times*—when the union was suppressed a few days later—explaining “Why the West Must Share the Blame”; Bruce Kent, a political priest who called the Secretary-General of NATO a liar for saying that Soviet funds were being channeled into Western European unilateralist movements (and threatened legal action against one of the authors of this article for saying the same thing), only to be embarrassed shortly afterwards by the expulsion from Denmark of the Second Secretary at the Russian Embassy for carrying out precisely this activity.

The public at large is less gullible than the disarmers would have us believe. But the public does not dominate the media. It just votes at election time. That, at least, gives good grounds to hope for the preservation of European security: if present electoral indications are reliable, the likelihood of a unilateralist government coming to power seems small. The greater danger is

that Britain's American friends, sickened by the clamor of the unrepresentative minority, may decide that the protection of Europe is a thoroughly thankless task. This would be to play directly into the hands of the enemies of the West. The “decoupling” of the United States from Europe has long been a Soviet priority.

American observers of the European scene can hardly be blamed, however, for wondering what some of their NATO allies are playing at. For over thirty years—in a radical break with past isolationism—the United States has based substantial military forces overseas in peacetime. A whole series of repressive and aggressive Soviet-bloc moves throughout this period (some very recent) have amply vindicated the need for NATO, an alliance of which the U.S. contribution is the indispensable core.

Nevertheless, despite the Soviets' abysmal track-record in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan, and despite their continuing rapid deployment of SS-20 nuclear missiles which originally led the West Europeans to ask the Americans to update their theater nuclear forces, these days U.S. aid to her allies seems to evoke nothing but abuse and condemnation.

Such appearances are misleading, however, and such calculated ingratitude is less inexplicable than it seems. For it is the intention of some to undermine the Atlantic Alliance by arousing in the United States feelings of such exasperation with her allies that she will eventually decide to wash her hands of them. This is not, of course, the wish of the European peoples themselves. Only last December, for example, a large-scale Gallup poll showed some 62 percent of Britons to be willing to fight in defense of their country—and that was prior to the instructive developments in Poland. Nor, very probably, is it the conscious aim of the majority of “peacenik” marchers simply to dismantle one bloc to the advantage of the other: a goodly proportion of these people are innocents-at-large, incapable of distinguishing between the immorality of war and the need for armed strength to prevent it, and genuinely of the opinion that only fear of Western nuclear weapons could possibly cause President Brezhnev to launch his own.—EDWARD LEIGH AND JULIAN M. LEWIS

In 1949, Dimitri Z. Manuilski, a Soviet leader who served briefly as President of the U.N. Security General Council, told the Lenin school for senior party cadres: "a war without mercy between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our moment will come in 20 to 30 years time. To win we will naturally have to have the element of surprise on our side. So the Western bourgeoisie will have to be put asleep. We will, therefore, have to launch the most spectacular peace movements the world has ever known. They will have to contain electrifying proposals and extraordinary concessions. [Emphasis mine] The capitalist countries, decadent and stupid, will cooperate with joy in their own destruction. They will jump at any chance of friendship and business. And when their guard is down, we will crush them with our clenched fist." So much for Soviet intentions.

BRUCE KENT is a radical politician as well as a Roman Catholic priest — in that order.

He runs the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) as its full-time general secretary, having been the chairman up to November 1979. That June, he had marched to the Royal Navy's base at Faslane and incited sailors not to use nuclear weapons. Before that, he was also chairman of War on Want (an offshoot of left-wing Liberation) which was criticised by the Charity Commissioners for putting out Marxist propaganda.

Bruce Kent's philosophy is summarised in what he told an obscure meeting of so-called Religions for Peace in May 1980, as reported in the "Church Times" and "Catholic Herald". "The Churches are handicapped by profound anti-Communist feeling and profound nationalism at variance with Christian teaching", said this pro-Marxist Monsignor whose name appears more often in the Communist press.

An evil

This is doubletalk, for Marx and Lenin stated that Communism and Christianity were incompatible. The multiracial Catholic Church has been condemning Communism since 1846, when a papal encyclical called it "intrinsically evil".¹ Bruce Kent's espousal of revolution also defies the command of Pope John Paul II that priests should avoid politics (as laid down in Canon Law).

Rev Joseph Christie, the Jesuit, told London Broadcasting on 24 May that Bruce Kent knew nothing of worldly matters and should be preaching the Gospel. Several other clergymen have criticised him, while outraged layfolk have forced him out of meetings. Loyal members of Pro Fide may complain to Rome, because Cardinal Hume is too weak to curb him.

Bureaucrat

This self-styled peacemaker has been increasingly influential during a clerical career that has always been in the limelight of central London. Born in 1929, he was no youth when he entered a seminary and he already had an MA when ordained in 1958.

As the Rev Bruce Kent, he was based at two Catholic churches in Kensington until 1964, by which time he was also inside the diocesan

Profile of Bruce Kent, leader of the CND HELLFIRE OR HOLOCAUST? by JOHN BURKE

bureaucracy. As a Monsignor, he then became briefly a private secretary to the then Archbishop of Westminster. Ironically, the late Cardinal Heenan loathed Communism — having seen Stalin's Russia. Then he visited British troops in Korea by way of Hiroshima.

Heenan makes no comment on the nuclear deterrent in his autobiography, but he did brand Labour leftwingers as "Communist in all but name". These are the very people with whom this one time assistant is now televised, shouting "Vote Labour": Michael Foot, Tony Benn, and their like.

Bruce Kent has cultivated moulders of opinion since the mid-sixties, when he became a chaplain at the University of London. At one stage, he was also chaplain to the Guild of Catholic Journalists — which may have helped him become an adviser on religious broadcasting.

Soviet praise

In 1970 he wrote a shoddy pamphlet on peace, in which he crossed swords even with St Augustine and St Thomas Aquinas. For, while residing at 111 Gower Street, he got involved with Pax Christi. Most Catholics distrust or ignore this Roman-sounding pacifist movement, which is actually open to all. Pax Christi demonstrated against NATO outside Westminster Abbey in May 1979 and it was billed bang next to the Communist Party among backers of CND's mass-meeting on 26th October 1980. "Izvestia" recently praised Pax Christi.

After being its chaplain in the mid-seventies, Bruce Kent went to St Aloysius, Church almost opposite Euston Station. Here, in October 1978, he opened One World Bookshop, whose pseudo-internationalism had been condemned as far back as 1920 by Pope Benedict XII. Its shelves were full of revolutionary literature about central America and southern

Africa just before Namibia and El Salvador hit the headlines.

Contributing to a Penguin book last year, Bruce Kent praised the godless revolutionary, Saul Alinsky, as well as Julius Nyerere whose dictatorship bankrupted Tanzania.

Agitprop

So he is no simple soul yearning for peace and quiet. Nor has Bruce Kent a parish, for he is merely "also in residence" beside St John's Church at 39 Duncan Terrace, Islington. But he broadcasts just like the pre-war peace-priest in America called Father Coughlin, who derided Allied defence until he was caught out copying Goebbels word for word. Bruce Kent called the new President Reagan "simplistic" only days after "Pravda" did!

His entire activity fits exactly into the pattern of Communist agitprop, unmasked in the papal encyclical of 1937 known as *Divini Redemptoris*. Also entitled "Atheistic Communism" it warned: "nobody, who desires to save Christian civilization from extinction, should render it assistance in any enterprise whatever".

Bruce Kent had to admit working with Communists on 27 July after the *Daily Telegraph* disclosed that a quarter of CND's council were in the CPGB. Significantly, he evaded an accusation that Communists completely controlled the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Nor did he mention being on the council of European Nuclear Disarmament (END), a supposedly separate campaign, with Edward Thompson and other Marxists.

Bruce Kent denied getting money from the World Peace Council (WPC), which he admitted was a Soviet front. But he cabled congratulations to its meeting in Bulgaria in September 1980. When

leftwinger James Lamond MP became a vice-president. Bruce Kent echoed the WPC's line on the BBC World Service on 15 May, when he said NATO was "preparing for annihilation". He had already attacked Cruise missiles during a broadcast from East Berlin on 17 December 1980.

Yet in "The Guardian" of 10 December 1979 he had praised Brezhnev's bogus offer to withdraw some troops from Europe (just before the invasion of Afghanistan). This was in a letter signed by Bruce Kent, Jack Jones, Alan Sapper, Alf Lomas MEP, James Lamond MP and other so-called progressives.

By contrast, in the "Morning Star" of 8 November 1980 he lambasted Reagan and the Christian fundamentalists behind him. These happen to include Catholics lobbying against abortion which (both in the USA and UK) outnumber all wartime casualties this century. Bruce Kent ignores this holocaust and calls pro-Lifers here "irrelevant", while working in CND with such campaigners for abortion as Jo Richardson MP and Renee Short MP.

Bruce Kent is also a sponsor (with other pro-Marxist CND clergymen) of Christian Action, whose journal knocks law and order. Its issue of autumn 1979 condoned homosexuality and scoffed at Sodom and Gomorrah — which suffered something like atomic annihilation for their sins.

Gimmicks

Never does Bruce Kent repeat the lesson of the scriptures that war is the wrath of God. Nor does he mention the work of the Devil. Instead he hints at direct action to get "a very different world", as in the March issue of "New Internationalist" published by Oxfam and Christian Aid. He also suggested here erecting dummy shelters as a gimmick in churchyards.

Bruce Kent also omits, along with his clerical title and collar, the most apocalyptic factor of all for a genuine Catholic. That is Fatima² whose millions of pilgrims for peace for outnumber CND's demonstrators.

The Vatican believes that the Virgin Mary appeared there in 1917, when thousands of people testified to seeing something "brighter than the sun" long before the atom was split. The apparition told three Portuguese children that Russia would rebel and might wreck the world. Lucia, now an old nun, said then that she had seen Hell — which the scriptures mention 17 times.

"We are not working on the Bible, Das Kapital or Magna Carta", said Mgr Bruce Kent MA to the World Disarmament Campaign in April 1980.

1 Catholic Truth Society publication.
2. Fatima: The Great Sign (Augustine)

The Peace Movement & the Soviet Union

Vladimir Bukovsky

Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the people take the cause of peace into their own hands and defend it to the end.

JOSEPH STALIN, 1952

THE "struggle for peace" has always been a cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy. Indeed, the Soviet Union itself rose out of the ashes of World War I under the banner of "Peace to the People! Power to the Soviets!" Probably from the very first, Bolshevik ideologists were aware of how powerful a weapon for them the universal craving for peace would be—how gullible and irrational people could be whenever they were offered the slightest temptation to believe that peace was at hand.

Only a year before the Bolsheviks raised their banner, the most terrible prospect for any Russian would have been to see an enemy burning down his villages and defiling his churches. Yet once blinded by the slogan, "A just peace without annexations or tribute," he was to rush from the front lines, along with hundreds of thousands of his fellow soldiers, sweeping away the last remnants of the Russian national state. He did not want to know that his desertion had done no more than simply prolong the war for another year, not only condemning thousands more to death on the Western front, but ending in that very German occupation of the Ukraine and Russia he had so much dreaded just a year ago. For the moment the only thing that mattered was peace—right now, and at any price.

Hardly anyone taking part in the stampede back home in 1917 knew the first thing about the ideology of Communism—except possibly for a couple of simple slogans and this one incendiary word: Peace. In a country of 70 million there were

only 40,000 Communists. Anyone who had taken the trouble to read the Communists' "fine print" with just a little care could have discovered that what their soon-to-be masters meant by "peace" was not peace at all but rather the "transformation of imperialist war into civil war."

The Russian people were in any case so fed up with the war by then that they did not care. Anything seemed better, or at least not worse. After three years of civil war, however, in which some 20 million people were slaughtered or died of starvation, cold, and typhoid (i.e., ten times as many as were killed at the front during the whole of World War I), the war came to seem a trifle by comparison, a sort of frontier skirmish somewhere in the Byelorussian swamps.

And once again an irresistible craving for peace drove people to accept Soviet rule—as a lesser evil. Anything was now preferable to this monstrous slaughter, starvation, and typhoid. They would give anything for some kind of order.

The order imposed by the Communists was nothing more than a permanent state of civil war, both inside the country and around the world. Or as Lenin put it, "As an ultimate objective peace simply means Communist world control." Thus, while comrade Chicherin, at the Conference of Genoa in 1922, was appealing to the entire world for total and immediate disarmament, crowds of bewildered people in the Soviet Union were marching to the cheerful song:

We'll fan the worldwide flame,
Churches and prisons we'll raze to
the ground.

The Red Army is strongest of all
From Moscow to the British islands.

Indeed, the churches were the first to be put to the torch. As for the prisons, the Communists were in no hurry to carry out their bold promise. Quite the contrary, the number of prisons grew with each year to accommodate tens of millions of "class enemies" or "enemies of the people." And speaking of worldwide flame, one need only compare the map of the world of, say, 1921 with that of 1981 to see that the song's promise was not entirely empty.

Once they recognized the power of "peace" as a

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY spent twelve years in Soviet prisons, work camps, and psychiatric hospitals before being released to the West in 1976 as a result of a public outcry. He now lives in Cambridge, England, where he is connected with Kings College. He is the author of an autobiographical book, *To Build a Castle: My Life as a Dissenter* (Viking, 1979) and, most recently, of *Cette lancinante douleur de la Liberté: Lettres d'un résistant russe aux Occidentaux* ("This Stabbing Pain of Freedom: Letters of a Russian Resister to Westerners"), which was published in Paris last year.

weapon, the Communists have never let go of it. In this respect, it must be admitted, Soviet politics have invariably been most "peaceful." We must at the same time bear in mind that according to Communist dogma, wars are the "inevitable consequence of the clash of imperialist interests under capitalism," and therefore they will continue to be inevitable as long as capitalism exists. The only way to save humanity from the evil of wars, then, is to "liberate" it from the "chains of capitalism." Accordingly, there is a very precise distinction to be made between "just wars" and "unjust wars." "Just wars" are those fought "in the interests of the proletariat." It is perfectly simple and perfectly clear: just wars are absolutely justifiable because they lead to the creation of a world in which there will be no wars, forevermore. Proletarians are all brothers, are they not? So, once the world is rid of capitalists, imperialists, and various other class enemies, why should those who are left fight one another?

By this same impeccable logic, the interests of the proletariat are best known to the advance-guard of the proletariat, that is, the Communist party, and should be defined by Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev, since they are in turn the advance-guard of the Communist party.

As soon as we have pinned down this formula and deciphered its terminology, the course of history becomes absolutely clear. For instance, Soviet occupation of the Baltic states and Bessarabia, or the war with Finland in 1939-40, were of course perfectly just, as was the partition of Poland, achieved in cooperation with Nazi Germany in 1939. On the other hand, the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 was blatantly unjust. By the same token, any attack by the Arabs on Israel is just, at least insofar as it is successful. If Israeli resistance to attack is successful, however, then all peace-loving peoples must protest.

IT GOES without saying that world public opinion must accept the distinction I have outlined above and direct every effort in the struggle for peace toward establishing it. Fortunately, there are a great many "progressive" people in the world, people for whom any direction taken by Moscow is progressive because by definition it is taken in the service of socialism. Thus, before the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939 was signed, the energies of all progressive people were mobilized against fascism, whether in Spain, Italy, or Germany. As soon as the pact was signed, the notion of what was progressive and what was not changed drastically.*

On February 2, 1940, for example, the German Communist leader, Walter Ulbricht, later to become head of the East German state, was permitted by the Nazi government to publish an article in *Die Welt* in which he said: "Those who intrigue against the friendship of the German

and Soviet peoples are enemies of the German people and are branded as accomplices of British imperialism."

The British *Daily Worker* adopted a similar line and greeted the new alliance as a victory for peace, as did the American *Daily Worker*. On September 19, 1939, when the war was raging in Poland, it published a declaration of the National Committee of the American Communist party proclaiming the war declared by France and Britain on Nazi Germany to be an imperialist (that is, "unjust") one, which should be opposed by the workers. This appeal was immediately supported by fellow-travelers like Theodore Dreiser, and Communist trade unions set out to sabotage production in munitions factories, lest any aid reach Britain or France. Right up to the eve of the Nazi invasion of Russia, Communist propaganda did everything possible to dissuade the United States from helping the European democracies in their war against Nazi Germany. These pages in the history of the glorious "struggle for peace" by the progressive social forces are not much spoken of any more, particularly where the young might hear.

But nowhere was this "struggle for peace" as influential as in France, where the Communist party and its fellow-travelers were openly defeatist before, and remained so during—and some time after—the Nazi invasion of France. The French Communist party, which was quite considerable in strength, worked so energetically to undermine the French war effort as to suggest a fifth column. Within a month of France's declaration of war the party's leader, Maurice Thorez, fled to Moscow to direct the resistance to French preparations against Germany. In November 1940 Thorez and his associate Jacques Duclos exulted openly over the fall of France, Thorez declaring that "the struggle of the French people has the same aim as the struggle of German imperialism."

The Franco-German alliance alluded to by Thorez expressed itself in concrete terms. German propaganda leaflets dropped over the Maginot line pointed out that "Germany, after her victory over Poland and since her pact with Russia, disposes of inexhaustible resources in men and material," while all the Communist deputies petitioned President Herriot to make peace in response to Hitler's appeal. After Communist publications had been suspended by decree in France, the party continued to publish its propaganda on German presses. Its leaflets urged troops, dockers, and others engaged in essential war work to resist and to sabotage the country's effort. In March 1940, a party leaflet claimed that the Allied failure to launch an offen-

* Much of the material that follows here on the early days of World War II is taken from the book by Nikolai Tolstoy, *Stalin's Secret War* (1981), where the appropriate references can be found.

sive was due to the effectiveness of the party's defeatist propaganda. And there can be no doubt that this effective spreading of defeatism, coupled with a serious campaign of sabotage in munitions factories, played a major role in the catastrophic French defeat of June 1940.

At the very time that General de Gaulle, in London, was issuing his appeal for resistance, the French Communist paper *l'Humanité* said: "General de Gaulle and other agents of British capital would like to compel Frenchmen to fight for the City. . . ."

Later Khrushchev was to recall that "Stalin once told me that Hitler had sent a request for a favor through secret channels. Hitler wanted Stalin, as the man with the most authority and prestige in the Communist world, to persuade the French Communists not to lead the resistance against the German occupation of France." Evidently Hitler's request was not denied.

Even in Yugoslavia, where the Communist movement had directed all its efforts to vilifying the British and French, Tito's first appeal for a struggle against the German invaders did not come until June 22, 1941. It was not the German conquest of Yugoslavia that aroused his ire, but the German invasion of the Soviet Union. Even in far-off Buenos Aires, a British diplomat had noticed that Nazi diplomats were "collaborating with local Communists in a very dangerous attempt to win over the masses with the cry of 'away with British capitalism and commercial exploitation.'"

As soon as Nazi Germany turned against its great Eastern ally, the "struggle for peace" was instantly terminated. Indeed, the sudden outburst of patriotism among the "progressive social forces" was remarkable. No strikes, no condemnation of Western imperialism—as if the latter had never existed. For the remainder of World War II the Allies were to enjoy a happy time of industrial peace and a relaxation of the class struggle. The war, of course, was now a "just" one.

ODDLY, the passion for peace was resurrected shortly after the war was over, while the Soviet Union was swallowing a dozen countries in Central Europe and threatening to engulf the rest of the continent. At that time, some "imperialist warmongers" were sounding the alarm over Soviet conduct and even suggesting the creation of a "very aggressive" NATO alliance. The "reactionary forces" in the world were starting a "cold war." Beyond this, the Soviet Union was troublesomely lagging behind the U.S. in the development of nuclear weapons. For some curious reason, however, the "imperialist military-industrial complex"—all those Dr. Strangeloves—failed to drop the atom bomb on Moscow while they still enjoyed a monopoly on it. This should undoubtedly be ascribed to the success of a great movement of peace-lovers. How could it be ex-

plained otherwise, short of the reactionary suggestion that NATO generals were not in the least aggressive?

In any case, members of the older generation can still remember the marches, the rallies, and the petitions of the 1950's (particularly the famous Stockholm Appeal and the meetings of the indefatigable World Peace Council). It is hardly a secret now that the whole campaign was organized, conducted, and financed from Moscow, through the so-called Peace Fund and the Soviet-dominated World Peace Council—where a safe majority was secured by such figures as Ilya Ehrenburg, A.N. Tikhonov, etc. This was the period when comrade Stalin presented his memorable recipe for peace that is the epigraph to this article. Stalin's formulation was enthusiastically taken up by millions, some of them Communists, some loyal fellow-travelers, a number of them muddleheaded intellectuals, or hypocrites seeking popularity, or clerics hungry for publicity—not to mention professional campaigners, incorrigible fools, youths eager to rebel against anything, and outright Soviet agents. Surprisingly, this odd mixture constitutes a fairly sizable population in any Western society, and in no time at all the new peace campaign had reached grandiose proportions. It became fashionable to join it and rather risky to decline.

The purpose of all this peace pandemonium was well calculated in the Kremlin. First, the threat of nuclear war (of which the Soviets periodically created a reminder by fomenting an international crisis) combined with the scope of the peace movement should both frighten the bourgeoisie and make it more tractable. Second, the recent Soviet subjugation of Central European countries should be accepted with more serenity by Western public opinion and quickly forgotten. Third, the movement should help to stir up anti-American sentiment among the Europeans, along with a mistrust of their own governments, thus moving the political spectrum to the Left. Fourth, it should make military expenditures and the placement of strategic nuclear weapons so unpopular, so politically embarrassing, that in the end the process of strengthening Western defenses would be considerably slowed, giving the Soviets crucial time to catch up. Fifth, since the odd mixture of fools and knaves described above is usually drawn from the most socially active element in the population, its activism should be given the right direction.

The results were to exceed all expectations. Soviet money had clearly been well spent. The perception of the Soviet Union as an ally of the West (rather than of Nazi Germany) was still fresh in peoples' minds, which undoubtedly contributed to the success of the "struggle for peace."

Subsequently, the death of Stalin, the shock created by the official disclosure of his crimes, the

Khrushchev "thaw" in international relations, and, above all, the fact that the Soviets had caught up with the West in nuclear weapons, were to make the peace movement temporarily redundant; it ceased to exist just as suddenly as it had once appeared. Meanwhile, the inefficiency of the Soviet economy once again brought it to the point of collapse. The Soviet Union badly needed Western goods, technology, and credits. Without these, there would have to be very substantial economic reform, dangerous to continued party control over the entire economic life of the Soviet Union. At the same time, it was from the strategic point of view important for the Soviets to legitimize their territorial holdings in Eastern Europe and to secure for themselves the freedom to move further. Something new was called for. Out of the depths of the Kremlin, the doctrine of détente was born.

THOUGH the peace movement was put in cold storage, the issue of peace was nevertheless central to this new Kremlin policy as well. The West had grown so exhausted by the constant tension of the previous decades that the temptation to relax, when offered by the Kremlin, was simply irresistible. And after a decade of a ruthless "struggle for peace," no Western government could get away with rejecting a proposal to limit the arms race—however well some of them understood that it would be senseless to try to reach an agreement with the Soviets while the essentially aggressive nature of Communist power remained in force. Probably some such recognition explains why the Western governments insisted on linking participation in the Helsinki agreements to the observance of human-rights agreements inside the Communist bloc. Their idea was to force the internal relaxation of the Soviet regime and so make it more open and less aggressive. In exchange the West provided almost everything Brezhnev demanded in his "Peace Program" of the 24th Party Congress in 1971. "The inviolability of the postwar frontiers in Europe"—that is, the legitimation of the Soviet territorial annexations between 1939 and 1948—as well as a substantial increase in economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation were solemnly granted by the Western countries in Helsinki in 1975. Earlier a separate treaty had perpetuated the artificial division of Germany without even a reference to the Berlin Wall.

The Western democracies had displayed such readiness to accommodate their Soviet partners that their behavior was perceived as weakness. Probably the most disgusting features of détente could be seen in Germany where the "free flow of people and ideas" had very quickly degenerated into trading people like cattle, the right to visit one's relatives in the East becoming a kind of reward conditional on the "good behavior" of the West German government. By playing on this sensitive issue the Soviets were able to blackmail the whole country

and to "modify" the policies of its government. Unfortunately, Germany is a key factor in East-West relations because in order to avoid a major split in the Western alliance the other members have to adjust their positions in accordance with Germany's. So it was that Soviet influence came to be exerted through the back door, and the West was politically paralyzed.

In addition, far from making the Soviets more dependent—as the proponents of détente had assured us—increased trade, and particularly huge Western credits, have made the West more and more dependent on the Soviet Union. The dimensions of this disaster became clear only recently, when the discussion of economic sanctions against the Polish military rulers and their Soviet masters revealed the inability of the Western countries to reduce once-established economic relations with the Eastern bloc without harming themselves even more. In fact, by now the Soviets are in a position to threaten the West with economic sanctions. Undoubtedly, they will take advantage of it very soon.

In the meantime, far from relaxing internally, the Soviet regime had stepped up its repressive policies, totally ignoring the weak Western protests against Soviet violations of the human-rights agreements. The weakness of these protests had in turn served only as further incitement for the Soviets to proceed in their course of repression without restraint. Clearly, the ideological war waged by the Soviets through all those earlier years had only increased in intensity during the era of détente. Not did they try to camouflage this warfare. On the contrary, Leonid Brezhnev stated openly in his speech to the 25th Party Congress, on February 24, 1977: ". . . it is clear as can be that détente and peaceful coexistence relate to interstate relations. Détente in no way rescinds, or can rescind, the laws of the class struggle."

Furthermore, as it transpired, instead of reducing their military expenditures and arms build-up, as the Western nations had during those years, the Soviet Union, taking advantage of Western relaxation, had significantly increased its arsenal. So much so that if in the 1960's it could be said that a certain parity between East and West had been achieved, by now the Soviets have reached a point of clear advantage over the West. We also now know that the benefits to the Soviet Union of trade with the West were invariably put to military use. For example, the Kama River truck factory built by Americans in the 1970's has recently begun manufacturing the military trucks that were observed in action during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

BY THE end of the 1970's the West was becoming increasingly aware of these dangerous developments. The usefulness of détente, long challenged by some, was now being questioned by many. And then came the final

blow—on Christmas 1979. Just at the moment when most people in the West were preoccupied with such things as Christmas cards and presents, something like 100,000 Soviet soldiers moved in to occupy neighboring Afghanistan, an officially “non-aligned” country with a population of about 17 million. The world was shocked and the USSR was immediately placed in isolation. Even the Communist parties of many countries condemned the Soviet action as a piece of blatant aggression. The invasion of Afghanistan, followed by the arbitrary banishment to internal exile of Nobel laureate Andrei Sakharov, followed still later by the threatening of Poland (leading, finally, to the imposition of martial law), virtually terminated the era of détente.

This termination has cost the Soviets dear. In fact, they have lost almost everything they had gradually managed to gain while the West was enjoying its bout of unilateral relaxation. Ratification of the SALT II agreement was suspended indefinitely. The Americans were awakened from their prolonged lethargy to discover with horror how weak, ineffective, and unproductive their country had become. In this new psychological atmosphere, the victory of Ronald Reagan was inevitable, promising an end to American defense cutbacks, the deployment of a new, previously shelved, generation of weapons like the B-1 bomber, the cruise missile, the MX, and the neutron bomb. It seemed equally inevitable that the military budgets of all the other Western countries would be increased, while the trade, technology, and credit arrangements with the Soviets would be reduced, or at least be made more difficult to obtain.

Thus, if this trend were to continue, the Soviets would lose their position of military superiority—especially in view of the fact that their economy is so much less efficient than that of “rotten capitalism.” Add to this the new wave of international hostility noticeable especially in the Muslim world (the United Nations General Assembly voted against the Soviets on Afghanistan, for the first time since the Korean war), a continuing crisis in Poland, a hopeless war in Afghanistan, and a growing unrest among the population at home caused by food shortages, and the picture grew so gloomy as to be just short of disaster. Clearly the Soviet rulers had to undertake something dramatic to avoid a total catastrophe.

I myself, to tell the truth, was not very much surprised when suddenly, within a year, a mighty peace movement came into being in Western Europe. Especially since, by some strange coincidence, this movement showed itself first of all precisely in those European countries where the old missiles were to be replaced by newer Pershings and cruise missiles. I make no claim to special prescience; it is just that after 34 years of life in my beloved Communist motherland, I have some sense of its government's bag of tricks,

pranks, and stunts. In fact, it was not a very difficult thing to predict, for the Soviet state is not a particularly intelligent creature. If you think of it rather as a huge, brainless, antediluvian reptile with a more or less fixed set of reflexes, you cannot go far wrong. “Well, here we are, back to the 1950's again,” I thought to myself.

What was much more amusing to observe was the ease with which presumably mature and responsible people had by the thousands fallen into the Soviet booby-trap. It is as if history were repeating itself before our eyes, offering us a chance to see how the Russian state collapsed in 1917, or how France collapsed within one month in 1940. It is also quite amusing, if one has a taste for such amusement, to be reminded of how people are practically incapable of deriving any useful knowledge from even the recent lessons of history. Once again, the universal craving for peace right now, this very moment, and at any price, has rendered people utterly illogical and irrational, and left them simply unable to think calmly. Their current arguments, if one may call them that, are so childish, senseless, selfish, that an involuntary smile comes immediately to one's lips. Even at best what one hears is a parroting of the kind of old moldy Soviet slogans and clichés that even schoolchildren in the Soviet Union would laugh at.

TO BEGIN WITH, why is it that everyone has suddenly begun to be so apprehensive about nuclear war again? What has happened to make it more real than it was, say, two or three years ago? The entire history of East-West relations shows that the only way to force the Soviets to respect agreements is to deal from a position of strength. So are we to understand that because the Soviets might cease to be militarily superior to us, nuclear war is once again a reality? Should we, then, take this proposition to its logical conclusion and say that the only guarantee of peace is Soviet military superiority?

Meanwhile, countless TV programs have suddenly sprung up that unfold before us images of the great treasures of our civilization—paintings, sculptures, pyramids, antiquities, etc.—and at the end of each the narrator reminds us, his voice trembling with noble passion, how terrible it would be if all these treasures were to be destroyed along with the great civilization that produced them. And on other channels, we are treated to documentary after documentary about nuclear explosions and the consequences of radiation. After such relentless programming, naturally public-opinion polls show a sudden increase in the number of those who believe that nuclear war is imminent.

Then there is the catchy new idea that “Our deterrent does not deter anymore.” Why? Has a nuclear war begun already? Have the Soviets at-

tacked any NATO country? Or is it simply because those who like to say the deterrent no longer deters have seen their full quota of televised nuclear explosions?

It is so easy to start a panic. The question is: who is served by this panic? The Soviet-controlled World Peace Council declared in 1980 (and the whole European peace movement repeats it as if under a hypnotic spell): "The people of the world are alarmed. Never before has there been so great a danger of a world nuclear holocaust. The nuclear arms build-up, the accumulation of deadly arsenals, has reached a critical point. Further escalation in the arms build-up could create a most dangerous situation, facing humanity with the threat of annihilation."

Never before. But was not the world in as much danger a year earlier? The leaders of the European peace movement themselves claim that the nuclear potential accumulated on both sides is sufficient for them to destroy one another ten times. Is there any technical reason why "twenty times" is more dangerous than, say, "five times"? Or is it that, like a nuclear charge itself, the accumulation must reach a "critical mass" in order to explode?

Somehow, in the midst of all this nuclear hysteria it seems to be totally forgotten that bombs themselves are quite harmless, unless somebody wishes to drop them. So why are we suddenly alarmed by the stockpile of hardware and not by the Soviet military move toward the Persian Gulf?

Again, quite suddenly, voices begin to cry out in a huge chorus, "Nuclear weapons are immoral!" Wait a minute. Did these weapons just become immoral? Are conventional weapons moral? Why should this idea come all at once into the minds of so many people? Take as another example the question of the new missiles to be deployed in Europe. Why is it more dangerous to replace the old missiles with the new ones than to leave the old ones where they are? Are not the old ones equipped with nuclear warheads as well? To be sure, the new missiles are more accurate. So what? We can thank God that they are on our side. They may make life more difficult for the Kremlin adventurers, but why should millions of people in the West perceive that as a tragedy and danger?

Deep in their hearts most of these terrified people have a very simple answer to all these "whys." They know that the only real source of danger is the Soviet Union and that anything which might make the Soviets angry is dangerous for that very reason. But fear is a paralyzing and deranging force. So deranging as to lead some people to advocate the abolition of the police because the criminals are becoming too aggressive.

Indeed, the most amazing aspect of the present antiwar hysteria—aside from the fact that it has arisen at a time so remarkably favorable for Moscow—is the direction of the campaign. Millions of

people in Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, and Italy, supposedly of sound mind and with no evidence of the influence of LSD, march about claiming that the threat of war comes from . . . their own governments and the government of the U.S.! A psychoanalyst might characterize this behavior as the Freudian replacement of a real object of fear with an imaginary one. Except that even a psychoanalyst might conclude that pro-Soviet propaganda had something to do with the delusion in this particular case.

The facts are too obvious to discuss here. One may like or dislike President Reagan or Chancellor Schmidt, but unlike comrade Brezhnev, they were elected by the majority of their respective populations and are fully accountable in their actions to the parliaments and to the people. They simply cannot declare a war on their own. Besides, it is quite enough to look around to see the real source of aggression. Was it American or Soviet troops who occupied half of Germany and built a wall in Berlin? Is it not the Soviets who still occupy Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic states, not to mention Afghanistan, very much against the wishes of the people in these countries? Was it East or West German troops who took part in the occupation of Czechoslovakia and who are prepared to invade Poland?

Everything in the West is done quite openly—one might say, far too openly. But what do we know about the decisions made by 14 old fools in the Politburo whom nobody ever elected to make these decisions and whom nobody can call to account? No press is allowed to criticize them, no demonstrations to protest against their dictate. Anyone refusing to obey their secret orders would instantly disappear forever. There is in fact very little difference between the Soviet system and that of Nazi Germany. Is there anyone who supposes that he should have trusted Hitler more than the democracies?

AFTER the experience of speaking several times with members of the current European peace movement, however, I know only too well how futile is the recourse to rational argument. They announce unabashedly that there is no Soviet military superiority. It is all, they say, CIA propaganda; the only reliable source of information as far as they are concerned seems to be the KGB. They refer to the findings of a certain Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, leaving one to guess at the kind of methods employed by this institute for assessing the Soviet arsenal. Since the Institute has no satellites at its disposal, its "researchers" are undoubtedly left in a painful dilemma: whether to obtain their information from the blue sky, or from the Sputniks. Nobody in the European peace movement, it seems, has ever wondered about the reliability of this obscure establishment.

But this is just a trifle. More seriously, our peace-lovers—repeating word for word an old *Pravda* cliché—maintain that the “crazy American generals” are so trigger-happy as to push the button just for the fun of it. I have never been able to understand why generals must invariably be crazy—American generals, of course, not the Soviet kind, who seem to have some innate immunity from craziness—and if they are crazy, why they did not push the damn button long ago. In any case, it is hard to imagine that the generals, who at least have some technical education, are less equipped to understand nuclear problems than the primary-school teachers who are so heavily represented in the peace movement.

Some of the “peace-makers” sincerely believe that as soon as the West disarms itself, the Soviets will follow suit, and with an almost literally incredible naiveté they urge us to “try” this suicidal experiment. Others, far more sophisticated, know perfectly well that their Soviet comrades need to gain time so as to enjoy a more advantageous posture in future negotiations with the Americans. What they urge is that the West start negotiations first and improve the Western position later. Still others are more candidly selfish and object only to the deployment of nuclear weapons near their own village, so to speak—as if being protected is more dangerous than not being protected. Or better still, as if any single village, city, or country could maintain neutrality during a nuclear war. “Let the Americans fight the Russians,” they say, implying that the entire problem of the modern world grows out of some stupid far-off quarrel between “Americans and Russians,” who are apparently in some kind of conspiracy to destroy the poor Europeans. Surely if comrade Brezhnev promised to respect the “nuclear-free zones” in case of war, people could heave a sigh of relief and go to sleep untroubled. If Brezhnev says so, there will be no nuclear-armed submarines off your shores. After all, has comrade Brezhnev ever broken his word? Of course not. He is an honest man. He is so honest he can even guarantee you in what direction the contaminated clouds will move and locate for you the radioactive fallout. “Why should the Russians attack us, if we are disarmed?” Why indeed? Ask the Afghan peasants, they would probably know the answer.

There is no sense in rehearsing all the various “peace arguments,” so contradictory and even incompatible that one wonders how those who make them manage to get along together in the same movement. Only one thing these various strands have in common: panic, and a readiness to capitulate to the Soviet threat even before such capitulation is demanded. Better red than dead. That is why current Soviet propaganda has so quickly become so remarkably successful.

Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a more openly pro-Soviet line than that of the European peace

movement. It is even more pro-Soviet than that of the local Communist parties, who after all at least have to camouflage themselves with a cover of independence from Moscow. Nothing is more obvious, for example, than that the present increase in international tension was brought about by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. There is hardly a country, a political party (including some Communist parties), or an international organization that did not condemn the Soviet aggression unequivocally. The only public movement in Western Europe that never condemned the invasion, paradoxically, is the one that calls itself the “peace movement.” No such condemnation has ever been pronounced at a peace-movement rally in Western Europe, or passed as a resolution, or published in one of the movement’s major publications, or circulated as a mass petition. Perhaps you will imagine that the peace groups condemned the invasion in their hearts? On the contrary, the evidence is far more convincing that they simply justify this international crime.

Not long ago I myself was publicly charged by the leaders of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) with having distorted their position on Afghanistan. Therefore I find it particularly useful to quote from an official CND booklet, *Why We Need Action, Not Words*, by Betty England: “The intervention in Afghanistan may well have been caused partly by the Soviet Union’s fear of its growing encirclement. The fear cannot be called unreasonable after Sir Neil Cameron’s statement in Peking A. .” (p. 12). In other words, the poor Russians whom Sir Neil, Marshal of the Royal Air Force, so frightened with a speech critical of them, must have good reason for what they do. By this logic, we ought to be imposing strict censorship on anti-Soviet speeches lest we be faced with Soviet occupation of the entire world. But the implications are even more important. The idea buried in Miss England’s passage is that the only way to keep the peace is gradually to accept the Soviet system and Soviet demands.

Even more outspoken than the CND is the World Peace Council. Its booklet, *Program of Action 1981*, contains a direct instruction to support the present puppet government of Afghanistan (p. 25). This program was unanimously adopted in 1980 by a gathering in Sofia, Bulgaria of representatives of most of the peace groups (about this gathering, more later). After this it comes as no surprise that at the recent International Peace Conference in Denmark it was decided to convene the next meeting in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, within six months.

It is obvious that a Soviet invasion of Poland would bring us closer to world war, or, to be more precise, would make any real relaxation of international tension quite impossible for ten or fifteen

years. And once again, the only public movement that has never condemned the continuous Soviet threat to Poland (and is still uncertain about its reaction to the Soviet-dictated imposition of martial law) is the peace movement. The leaders of the biggest British peace group, CND, went even further, publicly praising themselves for not "over-reacting" to the events in Poland (B. Kent, letter to the *London Times*, December 9, 1981) only a few days before the imposition of martial law, and displaying their "impartiality" by equating the Polish crisis with that in East Timor. Perhaps the leaders of the movement seeking to promote peace in Europe should be reminded that in 1975 the 35 countries of Europe, together with Canada and the U.S., solemnly recognized an inseparable link between security in Europe and respect for human rights in the participating countries. Should we assume that the CND leadership refuses to accept the Helsinki agreement, or are we to conclude that it is indifferent to the question of European security?

At least about Poland not all in the movement can be accused of indifference. I have, for instance, never heard of a case in which a representative of the Chilean or Argentinean government was invited to expound his government's views before any international peace conference. But for some strange reason, an exception was recently made for a representative of the Polish junta, who was invited by the World Peace Council to address the International Peace Conference in Denmark. His vicious lies about Solidarity and personal slanders against Lech Walesa (see the *Guardian*, January 11, 1982) were greeted with hearty applause by the peace-lovers (BBC report).

IT is simple common sense to try to restrain both sides of any would-be conflict if one wishes to preserve peace. But the European peace movement is so remarkably unilateral that it seems barely conscious of "the other side." It cries shame on the Americans for as yet non-existent weapons like the neutron bomb, or the not-yet-deployed cruise and Pershing missiles, but speaks only in whispers, if that, of the hundreds of Soviet SS-20's already aimed at Europe.

Since, again, I have provoked an angry reaction from the CND leaders for pointing out this particular instance of extreme unilateralism (*London Times*, December 9, 1981), I looked through the major CND publications once more. The booklet by Betty England quoted above does not contain a single mention of the SS-20's, though it is virtually saturated with the names of American missiles. Nor does a widely distributed report on the CND annual conference of 1981 (the latest to my knowledge), nor the official CND leaflet, *Nuclear War and You*, dropped into my mailbox by some caring hand. Only recently I have learned that a decision to mention the SS-20 was finally

taken by CND after many heated debates and very much against the wishes of the CND leadership, many of whom are also members of the British Communist party.

Oddly enough, there are many in the European peace movement who have worked (some still do) with Amnesty International in support of prisoners of conscience in the Communist countries. Unfortunately, this by itself does not seem to prevent one from making dangerous political mistakes, nor, to judge from the results, does it guarantee any moderating influence on the movement's leadership. Be that as it may, the fact is that the European peace movement (including its large constituent organizations) has never said a word in support of the thousands of people in the USSR who are imprisoned for opposing aggressive Soviet policies, for refusing to serve in the army on errands of aggression, or to shoot civilians in Afghanistan. During all the time that hundreds of thousands of "peace-lovers" were noisily expressing their one-sided feelings on the streets of London, Bonn, Amsterdam, and Brussels, not one word was said about Sakharov, still in exile and on a hunger strike—Sakharov, who has done more than anyone in the world to halt nuclear testing. These peaceful souls would happily throw stones at General Haig, but they would welcome Marshal Brezhnev with servile smiles.

This is not to deny that there are plenty of well-intentioned, and genuinely concerned and frightened people in the movement's ranks. I am certain that the overwhelming majority of them are. Just as it did in the 1950's, the movement today probably consists of the same odd mixture of Communists, fellow-travelers, muddleheaded intellectuals, hypocrites seeking popularity, professional political speculators, frightened bourgeois, and youths eager to rebel just for the sake of rebelling. There are also the inevitable Catholic priests with a "mission" and other religious people who believe that God has chosen them to make peace on earth right now. But there is also not the slightest doubt that this motley crowd is manipulated by a handful of scoundrels instructed directly from Moscow.

In fact, just as this essay was going to press, John Vinocur reported in the *New York Times* (April 6, 1982) "the first public substantiation from inside the antinuclear movement . . . that the West German Communist party, at the direction of the Soviet Union, has attempted to coopt public sentiment against nuclear weapons." The environmentalist party known as the Greens "charged that the West German Communist party, which is aligned with Moscow, dominated and manipulated a meeting [in Bonn] Sunday [April 4] in which representatives of 37 groups, describing themselves as elements of the antimissile movement, planned a major demonstration against President Reagan when he visits Bonn . . . June 10." The Greens, who participated in the meeting, acknowledge

that they themselves have cooperated with the Communists "on certain local issues," but what happened in Bonn was "scandalous" even to them. "The Communists dominated the meeting completely. It took place under seemingly democratic rules, but that was a joke. We could barely get a word in." The meeting—at which were represented such groups as the German Student Federation, the Evangelical Student Committee, the Federation of German Youth Groups, and the German Peace Society—rejected resolutions condemning Soviet interference in Poland and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and the delegates refused to express support for Solidarity. "They adopted, however, by a large majority, a motion condemning United States actions in Central America, the Middle East, southern Africa, and other regions."

Earlier, as I was in the process of writing this essay, news came that one of the Danish leaders of the movement, Arne Petersen, was arrested along with his wife for channeling Soviet money into the funds of the peace movement. His master, the Second Secretary of the Soviet embassy in Copenhagen, was expelled from the country. Now and then we hear about subsidized trips taken by peace activists to the best Soviet resorts where they are wined and dined royally—and, of course, shown kindergartens, schools, and hospitals (no munitions factories).

The majority of the European peace movement is undoubtedly not aware of these facts. Probably they will ignore the charges of the Greens, just as they missed the reports of Mr. Petersen's activities, which involved placing paid advertisements (out of Soviet donations) for the Danish peace movement in the Danish papers, ads signed by a number of prominent Danish intellectuals (who for sure knew nothing about it). And even our angry CND leaders "know nothing of the subsidized trips to Soviet resorts" (*London Times*, December 9, 1981). Well, sometimes it is very comfortable—even for professional intellectuals—not to know things. . . .

FOR those, however, who do wish to know, let us track down the origin of the current revival of the "struggle for peace." Anyone who has read thus far will not be surprised to hear that the earliest traces of this revival are to be found in Soviet publications, quite clear for those who know how to read them:

The first bright colors of autumn have already touched the emerald green parks of Sofia. The golden leaves of maples and aspens are trembling on the breeze. And everywhere the tender-blue streamers bearing the insignia of the World Peace Council. Sofia is expecting an important event: the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace will be working here from 23 to 27 of September. It is the biggest and the most repre-

sentative meeting of the world's peace forces convened in the last years by the World Peace Council. (*Izvestia*, September 23, 1980)

The same day *Pravda* referred to "the biggest gathering in history of the fighters for peace." Indeed, the most peaceful and independent country of the world, Bulgaria, played host during those September days to 2,260 peace-lovers from 137 countries, claiming to represent 330 political parties, 100 international and over 3,000 national non-governmental organizations. To be sure, this was no ordinary meeting of the international Communist movement. The political spectrum of those represented was exceptionally wide: 200 members of different national parliaments, 200 trade-union leaders, 129 leading Social Democrats (33 of them members of their respective national executive bodies), 150 writers and poets, 33 representatives of different liberation movements (including the Association in Defense of Civil Rights from Northern Ireland), women's organizations (like the National Assembly of British Women), youth organizations, the World Council of Churches and other religious organizations, 18 representatives of different UN specialized committees and commissions, representatives of the Organization of African Unity and of OPEC, ex-military people, some of them generals, and representatives of 83 Communist parties (*Pravda*, September 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, November 5, 1980; *Izvestia*, September 23, 24, 27, 28, 1980).

It had all started about a year earlier, as we are informed by a talkative Bulgarian, the chairman of the Organizational Bureau, responsible for the "practical preparation" for this show (*Pravda*, September 23, 1980). They had expected, you see, only 1,500 delegates, but 2,200 came. No wonder the chairman wished to talk about his success.

Yet a year earlier—in 1979—none of the conditions now cited to explain the current miraculous resurrection of the peace movement existed. There was no so-called "new strategy of the Pentagon," the famous presidential directive 59; there was no new escalation of the arms race; there was no neutron bomb. The Vienna summit meeting had just been successfully concluded with the signing of SALT II. September 1979 was a time of universal happiness, the sky was cloudless. Only one significant thing happened in September 1979: a sudden wave of mass arrests in the Soviet Union and, as we have learned now, a decision to reactivate the peace movement. Who could have predicted in September 1979 that within a year the cold war would be back—who else but those involved in "practical preparations" for the invasion of Afghanistan? Given the nature of the Soviet planned economy, with its fabulously inflexible, slow, and inefficient workings, the Soviets must prepare everything well in advance. Why should they have allocated such a large sum of money to hold a Bulgarian peace show in the middle of

happy times, if not in anticipation of grave political trouble ahead?

Furthermore, we learn from comrade Zhivkov, the Bulgarian Communist leader who opened the meeting with a long speech, about an appropriate decision taken by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Bloc countries in May 1980 (*Pravda*, September 24, 1980), as well as an appropriate resolution of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee in June 1980 (*Pravda*, September 29, 1980). Comrade Zhivkov was simply revealing the way decisions and resolutions first travel through the Communist bureaucratic machinery on their way to rubberstamping by a "representative" body—in this case, the Sofia "Parliament" in September.

INDEED, the whole show was depressingly familiar to anyone acquainted with the methods the Kremlin producers applied to the same scenario in the time of Stalin. Even the dramatic personae were the same. There was the same World Peace Council with its immortal President Ramesh Chandra; there was the same chief conductor, Boris Ponomarev, former official of the Comintern (now responsible in the Politburo for contacts with fraternal Communist parties as well as for intelligence). Even the slogan adopted for the occasion, "The people have the power to preserve peace—their basic right," was remarkably similar to the unforgettable words of comrade Stalin in 1952.

Only this time the personal message that comrade Ponomarev brought to those convened was from comrade Brezhnev, not comrade Stalin. The latter, of course, would never have tolerated even the mention of the term "rights"—basic or any other—in his slogans. Well, the times have changed after all. Still, those damned "human rights" had gotten out of hand. Hence, better to find something like "basic rights."

The first to speak, as I said, was comrade Zhivkov, and he spilled the beans about the Soviets' real concern (*Pravda*, September 24, 1980). The aggressive circles in America, he said, refuse to accept the present balance of forces in the world. They don't wish to submit to their historically predestined defeat. They have become so arrogant as to reject all of the recent Soviet peace proposals. They have decided to replace détente with a policy based on a "position of strength." They don't observe agreements on cooperation; they interrupt political and economic contacts; they interfere with cultural and scientific exchange; they dissolve sporting and tourist connections (in other words, the grain embargo, the Olympic boycott, the scientific boycott, etc., responses to the invasion of Afghanistan and the persecution of scientists in the USSR).

This theme was taken up by most of the speakers with only minor variations. The main speaker,

comrade Ponomarev, suggested a whole program of action intended to bring America's aggressive circles into compliance. He appealed for unity among all those concerned with preservation of peace, irrespective of their political views. "The time has come for action, not words," he said. (Wait a minute, have we not met this sentiment somewhere already? Surely not in the CND official booklet?)

The show proceeded smoothly, exhibiting the whole gallery of monsters, from the greatest peace-lover of our time, Yasir Arafat, to a "representative" of Afghanistan.

How did all these 2,260 representatives of Social Democrats, trade unions, youth, women, and religious organizations react? Did they rush out in disgust? Did they demand the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan in order to remove the main obstacle to détente? Did they express concern about the massive Soviet arms build-up and the deployment of SS-20's? By no means. This self-appointed World Parliament issued an Appeal in which the main ideas of comrade Ponomarev's speech were repeated. Thus, the "Parliament" is opposed "to the vast machine and arms build-up of the most aggressive forces of imperialism which seek to take the world toward a nuclear abyss; to the falsehoods and lies of the propaganda in favor of the arms build-up, which are disseminated through imperialist-controlled mass media."

Translated from party jargon, this constitutes a clear directive to work against the armament programs of the Western countries (first of all, of course, the U.S.—the "most aggressive forces of imperialism"), and to reject any "lies" of the mass media about the Soviet arms build-up.

Beyond this, the "parliamentarians" set "the new tasks and duties . . . for action of the peoples of all continents" and worked out the Charter of the Peoples for Peace which was adopted unanimously (!) together with the Peoples' Program for Peace for the 1980's. The year 1981 was chosen to be "the springboard of the 80's, a year of a decisive offensive of the peace forces to achieve a breakthrough in curbing the arms build-up."

Most of the program was carried out, the mass demonstrations of October 1981 in the European capitals having been planned within a framework of what is called in the Soviet program "UN Disarmament Week (October 24-31)." How on earth could the Soviets have known in 1980 about events that would take place at the end of 1981, unless they were running the whole show?

My pointing out this strange coincidence, which I did in an article in the *London Times* (December 4, 1981), was bound to provoke heated denials; and did so. The Soviets in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (December 23, 1981), as well as the CND leaders in the *London Times* (December 9, 1981), made much of the fact that UN Disarmament Week had originally been designated as an annual observance by the

UN General Assembly as early as June 1978. Now, the UN flag may seem to many to be a perfect cover. One must ask, however, why virtually nothing happened during that all-important week in 1978 or 1979—even the Sofia meeting was scheduled in September, not October, of 1980—until details for its observance were specified by the Soviet-inspired program? Moreover, if one looks through the *Final Document of the Assembly Session on Disarmament (May 23-July 1, 1978)*, issued by the UN, one can find hundreds of designated weeks, months, years, and decades, all totally ignored by our peace-lovers, whereas the suggestion singled out by the Soviets was the one, the only one, to gather thousands in the streets. For example, was anyone aware that the decade 1969 to 1979 was solemnly declared by the United Nations to be “The Decade of Disarmament”? If there were any huge rallies or vigorous campaigns during these ten years, they seem to have escaped notice.

BUT let us return to this remarkable program, unanimously adopted by the international community of peace-lovers. (It is published by the World Peace Council in Helsinki, as already noted, and is available in English under the title, *Program of Action 1981*.)

This program includes such items as the “elimination of all artificial barriers to world trade,” an amazingly frank recognition of the Soviet need for Western goods and technology and its desire to be granted the status of most favored nation. But what this has to do with the problem of peace and why all peace-loving people should fight for it tooth and nail is hardly made clear.

As could be expected, the program contains a clear definition of “just” and “unjust” wars: “The policy of destabilization of *progressive regimes* in developing countries actually constitutes an aggression, waged by psychological, economic, political, and other means, including armed intervention.” However, similar acts against “racist and fascist” regimes are quite justified because the mere existence of non-progressive regimes “is abhorrent to the conscience of humankind.” Accordingly, the sale of arms to these “abhorrent” countries should be banned, but nothing need restrain the peace-loving from selling arms to “progressive” regimes and to “liberation movements.”

And, of course, there are directives to the mass media, which “must serve the cause of peace and not the military-industrial complex by confusing public opinion with lies and disinformation.” (In other words, the media should not report on the Soviet arms build-up.) A similar directive is issued to those “who bear responsibility for educating a new generation.”

The program further specifies precisely which events and campaigns to undertake, and designates weeks for the collection of signatures on various

petitions, etc., all around the world. It constantly emphasizes the urgent need for “further intensification of actions against the deployment of the new U.S. weapons of mass annihilation in Western Europe” and plans for “strengthening and broadening of national movements into a worldwide network of peace organizations.”

It is not possible here to discuss all the details of this remarkable document. It simply introduces each and every aspect of Soviet foreign policy wrapped around with the phraseology of peace. Not surprisingly, therefore, it includes Afghanistan under the guise of a “week of solidarity, with special emphasis on support for a political settlement as proposed by the Afghan government.” For Ethiopia it proposes “a week of solidarity with the Ethiopian revolution” and “support for the struggle of the Ethiopian people against imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and plans in the Horn of Africa.” For Kampuchea there should be an “international campaign of solidarity with the government and people of Kampuchea led by the National United Front for National Salvation and an international campaign for recognition of the People’s Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and the seating of its representatives in the UN; exposure of the conspiracies of the Peking hegemons who are working in collusion with the U.S. imperialists against Kampuchea.” For Israel: “Support for the peace forces in Israel in their struggle for the complete withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and for the realization of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.” Whereas for the Middle East in general: a “campaign of solidarity with the Arab peoples in their struggle to liquidate the political and military consequences of the Camp David and Washington accords; solidarity actions with Libya against the threats of aggression by the Egyptian regime and U.S. imperialism.” As for the U.S., even in so totally pro-Soviet a document as this the instruction to campaign for the “release of political prisoners in the United States of America” reads like a bad joke. Clearly, the love of peace dulls the sense of humor. The only countries where violations of human rights are recognized by the unanimous vote of 2,260 delegates from 137 countries are: Bolivia, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Israel, Paraguay, Uruguay, Indonesia, South Korea, Northern Ireland, and the U.S. Has the world not undergone a remarkable improvement?

After the successful adoption of this program, what followed was simple. Returning from Sofia, the enthusiastic delegates threw themselves into a hectic round of implementing the program, pressing for appropriate resolutions, actions, and commitments in each of their respective organizations (*Pravda*, November 5, 1980). An additional impetus was given to the campaign by an endorsement from the World Council of Churches at their

meeting in Dresden (East Germany) on August 28, 1981, thus committing a huge number of adherents of the various Christian denominations to following the Soviet line. And in no time hundreds of thousands in the West came honestly to believe that they were out to save world peace.

WELL, is there any further need to explain why the Soviet Union is so interested in the peace movement? There is a term in party jargon coined by Lenin himself: "a useful idiot." Now, in spite all their blunders, senseless adventures, economic disasters, the Polish crisis and the stubborn resistance of the Afghan peasants, Reagan's rearmament plan and UN resolutions, the Soviet rulers have scored a spectacular victory: they have recruited millions of useful idiots to implement their bankrupt foreign policy. They are no longer isolated and there is still a big question as to whether the Americans will be allowed to place missiles in Europe.

True enough, the American economy is vastly more productive and efficient than the Soviet, but the Americans don't have a weapon like the "struggle for peace." True again, this peace movement will be expensive for the Soviet people (the meeting in Bulgaria alone must have cost them millions, to say nothing of subsidizing all peace activists on those jaunts to the best Soviet resorts; the cost of running this worldwide campaign must be simply astronomical). Still, it is cheaper than another round of the arms race, let alone the cost of maintaining a priceless military superiority. And the result will be long-lasting.

Mind you, we are into only the second year of a planned ten-year "struggle for peace." Within a few years, the whole earth will be trembling under the marching feet of the useful idiots, for their resources are inexhaustible.

I remember in the 50's, when the previous peace campaign was still in full swing, there was a popular joke which people in the Soviet Union whispered to each other: "A Jew came to his rabbi and asked: 'Rabbi, you are a very wise man. Tell me, is there going to be a war?' 'There will be no war,' replied the rabbi, 'but there will be such a struggle for peace that no stone will be left standing.'"

II

ONE of the most serious mistakes of the Western peace movement and of its ideologists is the obdurate refusal to understand the nature of the Soviet regime, and the concomitant effort to lift the question of peace out of the context of the broader problem of East-West relations. After several decades of listening to what they believe to be "anti-Communist propaganda," they have simply got "fed-up with it." They ascribe everything they hear about the East to a "cold-war-type brainwashing," and make no attempt to

distinguish what is true from what is not. This attitude, which I can only describe as a combination of ignorance and arrogance, makes them an easy target for any pseudo-theory (or outright Soviet propaganda) that happens to be fashionable at any given moment. Besides, baffled by endless and contradictory arguments among the "specialists" about the nature of the Soviet system, the leaders of the peace movement believe they have found a "new approach" which makes the entire problem irrelevant.

A few months ago in England, I attended a public debate on the problem of unilateral disarmament. The leader of a big peace group opened his speech by saying that from his standpoint, it is irrelevant who is the aggressor and who the victim. He said: "It is like when two boys have a fight in the churchyard. It is impossible to find out who started the fight, nor is there any need to do so. What we should do is to stop them."

This metaphor reflects very well the prevailing attitude among peace-movement members. They believe they have gotten around a baffling problem, whereas they have in fact inadvertently adopted the concept of the "normal opponent." From the "churchyard" standpoint, the present conflict seems very ordinary: two bullies have become so embittered by their prolonged quarrel—in which anyway the essence of the disagreement has been lost or forgotten—that they are quite prepared to kill each other and everybody else around. They are temporarily insane, mad, but are basically normal human beings. Pride and fury will not permit them to come to their senses, unless we, the sane people around them, are prepared to intervene. Let us make them talk to one another, let us pin down their hands, let us distract them from their quarrel. We cannot, to be sure, pin down the hands of one of them. Then, in the best Christian tradition, let us make the other repent, in all good Christian humility. Let us disarm him to convince his adversary of his peaceful intentions. Let us turn the other cheek. Sooner or later the other will come to feel ashamed.

This view sums up exactly what I mean by a combination of ignorance and arrogance. Indeed, if we look upon the world from the "churchyard" standpoint, there probably is no need to find out who is the aggressor and who the victim. There is no need for police or armed forces. All we can see is a row of graves with the dead lying orderly in them and a couple of children quarreling with each other. Unfortunately, outside the church walls there is a bigger and far more dangerous world with gangsters, murderers, rapists, and other perverse characters.

Needless to say, this churchyard model simply does not merit serious consideration. Unfortunately, it is a widespread belief (and not only within the peace movement) that the Soviet government, like any other government, is preoccupied with

the well-being of its people, and will therefore be eager to reduce military expenditures. This notion comes so naturally to our peace-makers that they just do not notice they have taken on a view of the Soviet system which is both very old and unquestionably wrong. If they only took the trouble to study a little Soviet history, they would know immediately how misleading this seemingly natural view is. Not only are the Soviet rulers indifferent to the living condition of their populace, they *deliberately* keep it low; on the other hand, disarmament (irrespective of the problem of well-being) would lead very rapidly to the collapse of the Soviet empire.

Normally we try to understand an opponent by taking his place, getting into his shoes, so to speak. That is why most people try to explain Soviet behavior in terms of "normal human motives," that is, by motives familiar to them. And that is exactly why they constantly pile one mistake upon another. For it is extremely difficult for a "normal" human being to put himself inside the skin of a mentally ill one. It is almost as in nature itself: when we test natural phenomena under extreme conditions, we suddenly find some unpredictable anomaly that is baffling to us. Logic itself becomes abnormal in certain extreme cases. If we add up two numbers, say, or multiply or divide them, we invariably obtain a new number. But if we use zero or infinity our whole rule suddenly goes wrong.

BUT let us take an example relevant to the present discussion. Let us take the key question: why is the Soviet Union so aggressive, so eager to expand? We see how many schools of thought there are among those studying the problem (and we see, too, how all of them are wrong).

There are some people who believe that the present Soviet expansionism is just a continuation of the Russian pre-revolutionary colonial policy. In other words, it is a bad legacy. Indeed, this notion about Soviet expansionism was the dominant one for a very long time—and still is in some quarters. In line with it, there have been repeated attempts to offer the Soviets a division of the world into spheres of influence. We owe to it the Yalta agreement, the Potsdam agreement, and assorted other disasters. Each time the Soviets have accepted the division into spheres of influence, and each time they have violated it. Is this because they need more mineral resources, more territory, a wider market for their goods? No. Their own territory is undeveloped, their own mineral resources are in the earth, they do not have enough goods for their own internal market. There are no useful mineral deposits in Cuba or Afghanistan. There is no Russian national interest in Angola or Vietnam. In fact, these new "colonies" cost the Soviet people many millions of dollars a

day apiece. So, Soviet policy is no classical case of colonialism.

Then there is another theory, far more pernicious because much more widely accepted and because to reject it one needs a real knowledge of Soviet life. I mean the theory according to which Soviet aggressiveness is the result of the fear of hostile encirclement. The proponents of this theory argue that Russian history, particularly the history of repeated invasions of Russian territory within the last century, has made the Russian people almost paranoid about an external threat.

This theory sounds very scientific because many facts may be cited to back it up. Still, it is no more than a shrewd combination of obvious lies, wrong interpretations, and very perfunctory knowledge. It is mainly based on an overestimation of the importance of history for any given nation and on an oversimplification of the Soviet system.

To begin with, there is an obvious lie in this theory—that is, a deliberate confusion between the people and the government in the USSR. Those who know the Soviet system only moderately well may still need to be reminded that the people have no privilege of representation in the government—that is, have no free elections. Thus, the government does not reflect the feelings of the population. So if we are to believe that the population is frightened by the long history of invasions, the government has no reason to share these fears. The Soviet government, with its vast and omnipresent intelligence system, is extremely well-informed about every move and every smallest intention of the West (anyway not very difficult to achieve in view of the remarkable openness of Western societies). By 1978-79, when their arms build-up was at a high pitch, whom were they supposed to be so afraid of? Their great friend, the French President Giscard? Or their even better friend in West Germany, Willy Brandt? Britain, with its puny armed forces (and ongoing discussion on unilateral disarmament), or perhaps Nixon and Carter, who between them shelved all the major armament programs? Japan, which has no army at all?

Clearly the Soviet government had no reason to be frightened. In fact, the theory of Soviet paranoia does not imply a frightened government, but rather a frightened *nation*. In a "normal" country this might drive the government to become aggressive. But in the Soviet Union the people mean nothing and have no way of pressuring their government to do anything. They would not be allowed to voice any fears. So, who is so frightened in the Soviet Union? Besides, as far as the rulers are concerned, their own experience of war, World War II, could not frighten them for a very simple reason: they won the war. Can you show me any victorious general who is so afraid of war as to become paranoid? The psychology of Soviet rulers is in any case totally different.

One need only look at a map of the world to see how ridiculous this theory is. Can we honestly believe that the poor Communists in the Kremlin are so frightened that they must protect themselves by sending their troops to Cuba and Cuban troops to Angola? By sending military equipment and advisers to Ethiopia and Vietnam and then by sending Vietnamese troops to Kampuchea? Take another look at that map: it is not at all obvious that the USSR is encircled by hostile powers. Rather the other way around: it is the Western world that is encircled by the hostile hordes of the Communists. Well, if their paranoia can be satisfied only by surrendering the whole world to their control, what difference can it make to us whether they act out of fear or out of endemic aggressiveness?

Finally, and most importantly for an understanding of this pernicious theory, is the fact that it was invented by the Kremlin propaganda experts. It was very successfully exploited in the years of détente, when Western governments, acting under its influence, deliberately permitted the Soviets to achieve military superiority. They would probably deny it now, but I remember very well the discussions of that period. The argument of the ideologists of détente was that once the Soviets caught up, they would relax; this would in turn lead to the internal as well as external relaxation of the Communist regime, i.e., to *liberalization*. The results of this brilliant experiment we can see now.

The Soviet population, too, has been subjected, day after day for sixty-five years, to an intense propaganda campaign about this putative "hostile encirclement." The Communist rulers unscrupulously exploit the tragedy of the Soviet people in World War II for the purpose of justifying both their oppressive regime and their monstrous military spending. They try their best to instill into the people a pathological fear of the "capitalist world." Fortunately, the people are sane enough to laugh at the very idea. Thus, contrary to this theory, there is no paranoid population demanding to be protected in the Soviet Union, despite the best efforts of a perfectly sober and cruel government.

No, it is not the fear of invasion or a World War II hangover that has driven the Soviet rulers to wage an undeclared war against the whole world for half a century now. It is their commitment—repeated quite openly every five years at each Party Congress since the beginning of this century—to support the "forces of progress and socialism," to support "liberation movements," everywhere on the globe.

ARE we then to assume that the Soviet leadership consists of fanatics aiming at global control? Even such a model, crazy as it might sound, still imputes too much "normality"

to the Soviet leaders. Or, more precisely, it is too big a simplification. This theory, too—fortunately for us—does not fit a number of the facts. Paradoxically, none of the present Communist leaders believes any longer in Communist doctrine. Fortunately, because no real fanatic would ever tolerate the destruction of the object of his obsession. He would rather witness the destruction of the entire world.

The Soviet rulers are a totally cynical lot, much more preoccupied with their own privileges and pleasures than with Marxist ideas. They probably hate Communist dogma more than any Western capitalist. Moreover, the majority of the Soviet people are as cynical as their leaders. There are many more sincere Communists to be found in the West than in the USSR.

But this fact has also created false hopes among Western politicians and the public. The same false hopes encouraged by the theory of encirclement—that it will be possible to treat the Soviets as normal partners at last, that it will be possible to negotiate, to cooperate, and to relax. Both theories lead equally to the same mistaken policy.

So what is the truth about the damned Soviet system?

Certainly, there was a period when the Soviet leaders were Communist fanatics, ready to sacrifice the whole world to their faith. There was a period, too, when at least some part of the population was prepared to greet this new idea with considerable enthusiasm. The people of my country, I suppose, could be excused for their delusion, because Communism was indeed a new idea and one that might be thought by the inexperienced to appeal to the best qualities in human nature. Is it after all not a worthy purpose, to secure unalloyed happiness for all future generations, to liberate and unite the whole of mankind? Naturally, such a thing will not be easy, but it is worth a great deal of sacrifice to achieve. Just as naturally there will be many selfish people to oppose it and we should learn to be ruthless with them. Only millions of individual wills fused into a single invincible "we," united by the iron fist of a Leader, can achieve so difficult an end.

This period of ecstasy, however, was very short-lived. One by one, the various elements of the Soviet population cooled down, sobered up, and then could not believe in their own former enthusiasm. The besieged minority reacted to this desertion of the public by becoming even more ruthless and single-minded: "We will make them happy against their will; their children will be grateful to us." I will not describe the mass slaughter that resulted from this great determination. It has been described many times. A terrorized majority obeyed with sham enthusiasm, because it was a crime to look gloomy. But underneath there was a silent, passive resistance. The minority of "believers" over time became simply a

ruling clique which had lost its ideals in the constant fight for survival, in corruption, and in its abuses of power and its privileges. The ensuing political situation can best be described as a latent civil war in which a kind of balance has been maintained by political terror.

In this way the Soviet Union reached a condition in which absolute power was exercised by absolutely cynical people over absolutely cynical people, each side vociferously assuring the other that they were all still sincerely building an ideal future society. But the ideology exists now almost as in a work of science fiction: it has separated itself from its substratum and has petrified in the structure of the society. It has become an institution in which nobody (not even the top executive) is allowed verbally to deviate from the dead dogma. The will of millions is still being taken from them and welded into the iron fist of abstraction.

There is practically no free human being inside the entire country. The state—the only employer—will not allow anyone to be financially independent—as indeed no independence of any kind will be tolerated. Everybody must be carrying out a useful task, performing a needed function. Several nationwide networks of security and secret police spy first on each other and then together on everybody else. Such a system has created a new type of a man, who thinks one thing, publicly expresses another, and does a third.

The enormous inertia of this system is not surprising. There is no internal “class enemy” any more; there is no need to terrorize so many millions. Still, there are huge concentration camps, because they have become an integral part of the country’s economic, political, and spiritual life. Nobody believes now in the ultimate victory of Communism in the world, but the policy of external subversion and the promotion of “socialist forces” everywhere has become an integral part of the state machinery. The system rules the people.

BYOND inertia, there is something else, something even more decisive: the instinct of self-preservation of the ruling clique. Once you are riding a tiger, it is difficult to jump off. Any attempt at internal liberalization might prove fatal. If the central power were to weaken, the sheer amount of hatred accumulated within the population for these sixty-five years of the socialist experiment would be so dangerous, the results of any reform so unpredictable—and, above all, the power, the fabulous privileges, the very physical survival of the ruling clique would become so tenuous—that one would be mad to expect the Soviet leaders to play with liberal ideas. Only the imminent threat of total collapse might force them to introduce internal reforms.

The two sides of the Soviet regime—internal oppression and external aggression—are inseparably

interlocked, creating a sort of vicious circle. The more the regime becomes rotten inside, the more pains are taken by its leaders to present a formidable façade to the outside world. They need international tension as a thief needs the darkness of the night. In the political climate of latent civil war, given the enormous and senseless sacrifices of the last fifty years, the constant economic difficulties, and the lack of basic rights—not to mention, again, the extraordinary privileges enjoyed by the ruling clique—the only hope for stability lies in the need to cope with an external threat: “hostile encirclement” and the subversive activity of “world imperialism.” In this artificially created state of war, the worker’s demand for a better deal, or a captive nation’s demand for its independence, can then be treated as an act of subversion, “playing into the hands of the enemy.”

Nor is it enough to create a devil in order to maintain one’s religious zeal. This imaginary enemy must be defeated over and over again or there will be the risk that he will seduce you. American “imperialism” must be defeated at any cost, and the liberation of proletarians in the capitalist countries must be promoted by all means. The failure to support a “friendly government,” to establish Communist rule in a new country, will immediately be perceived as a weakening of Soviet power, and therefore an encouragement to the sullen and embittered population at home. Any failure of the Soviet international adventure may thus trigger a chain reaction leading to the ultimate collapse of the Soviet rulers. This is why they cannot allow a popular uprising in Hungary, a “Prague Spring” in Czechoslovakia, an anti-Communist “Holy War” in Afghanistan, or an independent alternative center of power in Poland. Immediate repercussions would be felt in all the other countries of the Socialist camp as well as in the Ukraine, the Baltic states, Central Asia, and other occupied territories. The scenario of aggression is depressingly uniform. First, the Soviets undermine a democratic state, helping the friendly “progressive forces” come to power. Next, they have to save their bankrupt “progressive” friends, when the resistance of the population threatens to overthrow them.

Are they frightened to the point of aggressiveness? Yes, but not by your piles of hardware, not by your clumsy attempts at defense. They are frightened by their own people, because they know the end is inevitable. That is why they must score victory after victory over the “hostile encirclement.” Behind every victory is a very simple message addressed to their own enslaved population: “Look, we are still very strong and nobody dares to challenge our might.”

If they are afraid of you, it is because they are afraid of your freedom and your prosperity. They cannot tolerate a democratic state close to their borders (and then, close to the borders of their

buffer-states), because a bad example of thriving democracy so close at hand might prove to be too provocative.

KNOWING all this, let us ask ourselves a question: what would happen if the West were to disarm unilaterally? Could the Soviets follow suit? Certainly not. It would mean the rapid disintegration of their empire and a general collapse of their power. Does this mean they will simply roll over the now defenseless Western countries? Again, the answer is: no. They don't need your territory, which would be difficult to hold anyway. Above all, where would they acquire goods, technology, credits, grain, etc., if they were to impose on you their inefficient economic system? They need you in the way China needs Hong Kong. *But from that very moment you will gradually begin to lose your freedom, being exposed to constant and unrestrained Soviet blackmail.*

You may like or dislike your trade unions, but would you like them to have to consider a possibility of foreign invasion every time they wanted to declare a strike—as Solidarity had to do in Poland for eighteen months? You may like or dislike your mass media, but would you like to see the self-censorship of your press in order to avoid an angry reaction by a powerful neighbor—as in Finland? You may like or dislike your system of representation, but at least you are free to elect those whom you choose without considering the desires of a foreign power. Nobody threatens to come into your country and impose a government of its choosing—as in Afghanistan. The nature of the Soviet system is such that it can never be satisfied until you are similar to them and are totally under their control.

So, we come to a very important conclusion: the issue now is not "peace versus war," but rather "freedom versus slavery." Peace and freedom appear to be inseparable, and the old formula "Better red than dead" is simply fatuous. Those who live by it will be both red and dead. Whether we like it or not, there will be no peace in our world, no relaxation of international tension, no fruitful cooperation between East and West, until the Soviet internal system changes drastically.

Has this simple and self-evident truth ever been understood by Western decision-makers? I doubt it. In a way, I can share some of the concern of the peace movement. Because for the West to react stereotypically by increasing military spending and stockpiling new hardware every time the Soviet instability-aggression complex manifests itself is simply to miss the target. At any rate, it is not enough. It is not going to change the Soviet system. It is not going to prevent Soviet expansion, especially in the Third World. Soviet ideological warfare is far shrewder than a big nuclear bludgeon. Would we, for instance, consider a nuclear bombardment if tomorrow there were to be a

revolt of various tribes in Pakistan, instigated by Moscow? Or a Communist takeover in Iran?

There are plenty of "natural" troubles in the world, brought on by local conditions. But the influence of Moscow immediately turns them into major strategic problems. It would be senseless to try to solve all such problems by military means all over the globe. Simple logic suggests that we must deal first of all with the *source* of the world's major trouble—i.e., the Soviet system. We must find an effective way to help the Soviet population in its struggle for change. After all, they are our biggest ally.

Unfortunately, this has so far never been appreciated by the West, which has instead been continuously strengthening the Soviet system by credits, trade, technology. Why should the Soviets bother to introduce any internal reforms if their inefficient economy is periodically saved by the West? The West is still rich enough to help them out, and Siberia is also rich enough in turn to sell natural gas, gold, diamonds.

WE MAY shake with indignation whenever we hear about the Soviet invasion of yet another country. We hate these little obedient soldiers, ever ready to do whatever they are told. Are they robots? But what do we propose that they should do? Do we honestly expect them to rebel and face a firing squad, while the entire world continues to provide their executioners with goods, credits, and modern technology? Don't we demand of them much more than we demand of ourselves? Somewhere, somehow, this vicious circle must be broken, if we are to survive as human beings. Why not start where it is easier?

There are 90,000 of these "robots" trapped in Afghanistan at this very moment. They cannot rebel because they will be shot down. Even so, there are occasional rebellions (and executions). They cannot desert, because they will either be killed in the process or, if they are lucky and manage to reach Pakistan, the Pakistani authorities will return them to the Soviet command (that is, again, to the firing squad). Does any government try to help them? No. Instead, several European governments have decided to buy Soviet natural gas, perhaps the very same gas that is being pumped out of Afghanistan by the Soviet occupation authorities as compensation for "liberating" Afghanistan.

There is a lot of noise about Poland right now. A lot of noise, and a lot of smoke screens. But does any government sacrifice anything? After issuing thunderous condemnations, the European governments decided not to apply economic sanctions against the Eastern bloc, because sanctions would "harm us, probably, more than them." Why should you establish the kind of relations that only make you more vulnerable than the enemy? Why do you continue to sign new agreements of the

same type (natural gas, for example)? The American banks recently decided to cover the huge Polish deficit because the "bankruptcy of Poland would undermine the world financial system." What would happen, I wonder, if tomorrow the Soviet-bloc countries were to refuse to pay their debts and to suspend all trade?

This is what the struggle for peace and freedom boils down to: the people in the East should sacrifice their lives, but you should not sacrifice your profits. Small wonder that the Polish army does not rebel.

In fact, the imposition of economic sanctions on the Polish military junta and on their Soviet masters is not just a possible step; it is the actual obligation of the Western countries under the terms of the Helsinki agreement. A direct link among security, economic cooperation, and the observance of human rights is the very essence of this agreement. If that is forgotten now, of what point is all the noise lately heard from Madrid?

To tell the truth, I do not believe that any of it has been forgotten. Neither do I believe that the Western banks, industrialists, and governments are so "stupid" as to tie themselves to the Eastern chariot wheels by mistake. It is their deliberate policy, overtly articulated in the time of détente, and covertly now. Moreover, it is their philosophy. They love stability, these bankers and businessmen. And they are much against any resistance movement in the Communist countries, very much against any prospect of liberation for the enslaved nations of the East. They are the greatest peace-lovers of all, far more powerful than all those

crowds on the streets of the European capitals. Thanks to them, we descend slowly into the Age of Darkness.

III

THIS article is not addressed to the bankers, or to the governments. I do not expect any help from them. In spite of all the harsh words used in it, I wish it to be read by sincere people who are seriously concerned with the problems of peace and freedom. They will probably dislike many of the things I have said here. I hope, however, that they will understand its main point: that peace has never been preserved by a hysterical desire to survive at any price. Nor has it ever been promoted by catchy phrases and cheap slogans. There are 400 million people in the East whose freedom was stolen from them and whose existence is miserable. It so happens that peace is impossible while they remain enslaved, and only with them (not with their executioners) should you work to secure real peace in our world.

Your recent mass demonstrations were disastrous, because in them you identified yourselves, willingly or unwillingly, with the rulers of the Eastern countries. To make broad alliances with any public (or governmental) forces just for the sake of power is a tremendous mistake. This mistake must be corrected if we are to live in peace and freedom. We should know who are our friends and who are our enemies. The fate of Solidarity should open our eyes.

Commentary

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BETTER RED THAN DEAD IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH

I was not very surprised when suddenly, within a year of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a mighty peace movement came into being in Western Europe. Having lived 34 years in my beloved communist motherland, I can easily predict many of their decisions, tricks, pranks and stunts. In fact, it is not very difficult to do, for the Soviet state is not a very intelligent creature, rather a huge brainless ante-diluvian reptile with a fixed set of reflexes at its disposal.

What was more amusing to observe was the apparent easiness with which mature and responsible people had fallen into the Soviet booby-trap in their thousands. It is as if history was repeating itself in front of us, giving us a chance to see how the Russian state collapsed in 1917, or how France collapsed in 1940.

Once again, the universal craving for peace at any price has rendered people illogical, irrational, unable to think calmly.

To begin with, why is it that everybody started suddenly to be so apprehensive of nuclear war? What happened to make it more real than a year ago? - Just because the Soviet rulers were caught cheating the West, and the new American Administration decided to change the pattern of their negotiations with the Soviets, the war is more real? But clearly, the whole history of East-West relations shows that the only way to force the Soviets to respect agreements is to be in a position of strength.

So should we say that war is more real now than a year ago just because the Soviets have got themselves into a difficult position and may lose their military superiority?

The Soviet-controlled World Peace Council writes in its booklet of 1980: "The people of the world are alarmed. Never before has there been so great a danger of a world nuclear holocaust."

But why was it not so dangerous a year or two ago? Why has it become so dangerous only now? Why are we suddenly alarmed by the stockpile of hardware and not by the Soviet military move toward the Persian Gulf?

Or take the example of the new missiles in Europe. Why is it more dangerous to replace the old missiles with new ones than to leave the old ones where they are? Were not the old ones equipped with nuclear charges as well? Indeed, the new ones are more accurate. Thank God they are on our side. It may make life more difficult for the Kremlin adventurers. But why should millions of people in the West see it as a tragedy and a danger?

In the depth of their hearts, the majority of these frightened people have a simple answer to all these "whys". They know that the only source of danger is the Soviet Union and anything which makes it angry is dangerous. But the fear is so paralysing as to make them totally irrational - as illogical as advocating the abolition of police forces just because criminals have become too aggressive.

Indeed, the most amazing aspect of the present anti-war hysteria is not only the timing of its start, so remarkably favourable for Moscow, but the direction of the campaign. Millions of people in Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Belgium, France and Italy, being supposedly of sane mind, claim that the threat of war comes from ... their own governments and the Government of the USA! Psychoanalysts would call it a Freudian replacement of a real object of fear with an imaginary one.

It is quite easy to see the real source of aggression. Was it American or the Soviet troops, who occupied half of Germany and erected a wall in Berlin? Is it not the Soviets who occupy Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the Baltic States and Afghanistan against the wish of the people in these countries? Are they East or West German troops which concentrate on the Polish border at this very moment?

After speaking several times with the proponents of the current peace movement, I know that no logic would impress them.

Some of these "peace makers" sincerely believe that as soon as the West disarms itself, the Soviets will follow suit. And with incredible naivety they ask us to try this suicidal experiment.

Some are more openly selfish and object only to the placement of nuclear weapons near their own village (town county or the whole country) as if being protected is more dangerous than not to be. Or, better still, as if one village, town or country can maintain nuclear neutrality in the time of a modern war...Surely, they argue, if comrade Brezhnev has promised to respect the "nuclear-free zone" in case of war, we may sigh with relief and sleep peacefully. Has comrade Brezhnev ever broken his word? Of course not. He is a most honest man, is he not? He can even guarantee the direction of the nuclear-contaminated clouds and the location of the radio-active fall-out.

"Why should the Russians attack us, if we are disarmed?" Why indeed? Ask Afghani peasants. They probably know.

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY

Times Newspapers Limited, 1981

SANITY

THE MAGAZINE OF CND



People and
radiation
don't mix

1982 No. 1

Feb/March

40p

HIBAKUSHI

Malignant

cataracts

keloids

tumours

burns

ulcers

death

andemia

leukaemia

radiation

INTERVIEW

Bruce Kent pins down
Labour defence chief JOHN SILLIN

SCOTTISH CND GAINS MAJORITY
52%!
PAGE
10



WE CAN STOP THE BOMB TOGETHER

SOON you will be able to hire a 20 minute, full colour film or video of the October 24th demonstration! This exciting documentary captures history in the making and is a must for all those who couldn't come to the demonstration, as well as all of those who came on the demonstration. TOGETHER WE CAN STOP THE BOMB, a film produced by the ACTT union for CND, would be an excellent complement to the WAR GAME or other films at a CND film meeting. TOGETHER WE CAN STOP THE BOMB shows thousands on the march, 250,000 in all, and includes interviews with many people from different walks of life – as well as some of the best speeches of the day.



NAME

NAME OF CND GROUP/OTHER ORGANISATION

.....

VIDEO OR FILM?

ADDRESS

.....TEL:

Return to FILM OFFER, CND 11 Godwin Street, London, N4. Hire charge £10 plus p&p (not necessary in advance).

SANITY
THE MAGAZINE OF CND

February-March

Issue No. 1 1982

Out with the old, in with the new

IF CHRISTMAS is at least a time when we see a lot of friends and relations and catch up on their news, so the arrival of the National Peace Council annual report for 1981 is a time for remembering, also that the peace field is a very wide one. CND is by now certainly the largest of the peace groups, but it would be very big-headed to forget the many others slogging away at demolishing the great wall of militarism which crosses our lives.

As a New Year resolution therefore, three cheers for the Campaign Against the Arms Trade which has over the years woken up many to the nastiness of that particular export industry. It is a Campaign which both radicalized unions into thinking about redeployment, started the churches reflecting on the morality of making profit on the means of killing, and brought the voluntary overseas aid organizations much closer to us.

CAAT of course is not the only other active member of the peace family – the list is too long to count, but welcome anyway to two new and growing infants – the Peace Tax Campaign and the Peace Advertising Campaign which have both found their own points of leverage and are both in different ways bringing home to ordinary people the madness of the arms race.

In Europe we have built a massive movement – by no means all of it pacifist – outraged about the waste, the wickedness and the sheer stupidity of the arms race and determined to end it. This movement must not be allowed to run out of puff. The END vision of a nuclear Europe is a very powerful one.

1982 brings new problems. Those closed door talks in Geneva to which Europeans, who happen to be first

victims, are not even invited, are meant to keep us quiet. "Shut up kids, the two Daddies can settle this by playing the game called 'Zero Option'". This secrecy we cannot allow.

The military take over in Poland is somehow meant, in the minds of Western militarists, to shut us up. It shouldn't. Did we ever expect that the militarists of East or West were going to give up their power positions without a harsh reaction? Poland and Turkey, side by side, are parallel examples, but Turkey is on 'our' side, so the media says little or nothing about the horrors going on there or about the generous military and economic aid going from the West to that particular military regime.

There must be *no* running out of puff. 1982 is full of opportunities. Even the MOD knows quite well that Trident is never going to go through and is trying to give a face lift to Polaris. Arguments for Cruise from David Owen and David Steel are so see-through in character as to be quite immodest. 1982 also gives us the United Nations Second Special Session on disarmament and peace movements from all over the world are already planning to converge on New York. It gives us the Greenham Common and Molesworth camps and a national demonstration on June 6 of quite a new character. It gives us Hard Rock, the Home Office civil defence exercise which, if our groups are on the ball, will be a disaster in every sense of the word for all except those working for peace. In short, 1982 is not a year of short cuts – there are none on the road to building a mass movement, convincing, powerful, and informed – but nevertheless a year of great opportunity.

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Cover:

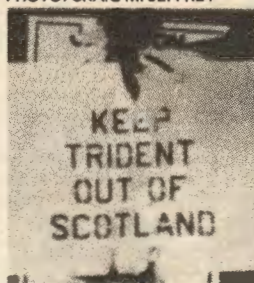
HIBAKUSHA – the Japanese word for victims of nuclear attack and accidents. **DESIGNED BY CONRAD ATKINSON.** See page 14.

PHOTO: ED BARBER



PEOPLE.
Sanity talks to CND chairperson Joan Ruddock and Youth CND activist Annajoy David. **PAGE 22/23.**

PHOTO: CRAIG M. JEFFREY



CAMPAIGNING.
Will anti-nuclear campaigners near the proposed Trident base at Coulport be able to overcome fears of unemployment? **PAGE 10/11.**

PHOTO: LABOUR PARTY LIBRARY



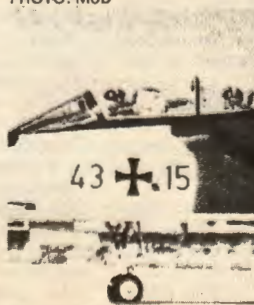
POLITICS.
Labour's John Silkin says that, given a chance, he will stop Trident and send back Cruise missiles. **PAGE 24/25.**

PHOTO: SANITY



MUSIC.
Dave Wakeling of rock-group The Beat and a remarkable classical concert in Birmingham. **PAGE 12/13.**

PHOTO: MoD



ARMS RACE.
Question: What will cost more than Trident and increase Britain's nuclear arsenal by a staggering amount? Paul Rogers answers on **PAGE 18.**

PHOTO: ED BARBER



PEACE CAMPS.
Alison Whyte has been talking to the members of the Molesworth Peace Camp. **PAGE 15/16/17.**

Letters

Write to: *Sanity*, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ

Urgent! — Support our film appeal

Dear Editor,

We are happy to announce that Peter Watkins has agreed to produce and direct a new film about the nuclear arms race. It will deal with an ordinary British family on the day that World War Three began.

Peter Watkins produced *The War Game*, banned by the BBC, for whom it was made 16 years ago. In the last year, it has been showing to packed houses in halls, schools, churches and factories throughout the country.

The new film will last about 50 minutes. The cost is estimated at between £75,000 and £100,000.

We are confident that this film will be shown not only throughout our country but in many lands abroad, as well as on certain television networks.

We are now appealing to

people of all incomes to make an immediate and generous contribution to the cost. Contributions will help to avoid the greatest menace of all time — the extinction of humankind.

Cheques should be made out to The Peace Film Fund and sent now to Lord Jenkins, House of Lords, London SW1.

Frank Allaun, Viv Bingham, Moss Evans, Tony Hart, Bruce Kent, Sir Martin Ryle FRS, The Revd Lord Soper, Susannah York.
London.

FIRE STORM IN ROCHESTER. A still from Peter Watkin's masterpiece *The War Game*, (right) banned by the BBC. Now Watkins plans a new film and a financial appeal has been launched by Parliamentary and Peace movement leaders.



PHOTO: BBC/BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE

MILLIONS STILL THINK BOMB KEEPS PEACE

Dear *Sanity*,

The conversion of Andrew Wilson (*Sanity Dec/Jan*) is welcome, but his attempt to downgrade the strategic case for nuclear disarmament is dangerous. However powerful the 'moral argument', it can have no effect whatsoever on the millions who believe that we have nuclear weapons as the best way of preventing war.

Richard Seaford,
Exeter CND,
Devon.

SDP CND

Dear *Sanity*,

Further to Jack Ellis's article and Bob Fyson's letter in the last issue of *Sanity*, I propose that the time has come for CND members who are also members of the Social Democratic Party to form a Social Democrat CND group.

This would be a safeguard to both interests and would have three main functions; firstly, to maintain a dialogue between the SDP and CND, also involving 'joint-thinking' with SDP multilateral specialists and such groups as the World Disarmament Campaign. Secondly, from within CND that the 'single-minded approach' is maintained and the CND doesn't adopt 'political' positions regarding defence tactics, strategic alliances etc., that would undermine its integral strength and unity. Thirdly our Liberal partners have already

adopted a unilateralist position and liaison must be maintained with their existing CND Liberal group.

A major point of common concern between CND and the SDP must be the Cruise and Trident programmes, and the Social Democrats, who believe strongly in the European ideal, will be looking closely at the decision of the Dutch government to defer the acceptance of Cruise. Also, of course, there is much new thinking within the SDP regarding strengthening conventional European defence, at a time when our American friends have chosen the way of Neutron, Trident and Cruise.

Richard Graham-Evans,
1 South Avenue, Hurstpierpoint,
Sussex BN6 9QB

FEARS FOR ROYAL SAFETY UNFOUNDED

Dear Editor,

I was amused by Phil Bolsover's article about Civil Defence in the last issue of *Sanity*. He mentioned the Home Office comment that the Royal family would be staying at home when the bombs start flying.

I thought that readers might be interested in a couple of anecdotes I heard when I was involved in the property business.

I understand that the Carriage Road inside Hyde Park adjoining the palace has planning restrictions on it so that it can be used as an air-strip by light planes should the Royals need to do an emergency bunk.

I also believe that they can do a midnight flit by

underground should they wish, as there is a secret and private underground spur line and station beneath the Palace gardens. *Duncan Jones,*
London SE3

Dear Editor,
How many anti-nuclear demonstrators who gathered in Hyde Park on 24th October 1981, realised that underneath them, beyond the underground car park, lie facilities covered by a Government D-notice (ie highly confidential information, not for public knowledge). Buckingham Palace is a stone's throw from Hyde Park. In the event of WW Three, the Royal Family will descend into their nuclear bunkers.

George Miller,
Battersea CND'

EDITORS NOTE: These rumours are discussed in Peter Laurie's interesting book *BENEATH THE CITY STREETS* (Granada 1980). Certainly the Victoria tube line planned in the cold-war early sixties, swerves inexplicably to run directly under Buck House and several other state buildings. Mysterious access points to the tunnels are also discussed in the book.

ALTERNATIVE DEFENCE

Dear *Sanity*,

With regard to alternative defence in Bill Howard's article (last issue), it seems to me to be absolutely crucial that CND should make a major effort to tackle this issue, if we are ever to have the support of millions of people on the centre and right of the political spectrum who have grown up with the picture of massed

Russian armies waiting to move in and take us over the minute we cease to have a nuclear deterrent. It is no good expecting the majority of the British people with such views to become pacifists, or even to be swayed by the moral arguments. Therefore I believe that the concentration of effort should go into showing that NATO strategies relying on nuclear defence are fatally flawed, and that retaliating to conventional attack with nuclear weapons is not a militarily acceptable option. Perhaps you could ask Andrew Wilson to explain why he does not think conventional defence could be made to work, taking into account the latest developments in automatic guidance and heat-sensing systems. I am no expert, but P. F. Walker, in an article in the August 1981 issue of *Scientific American*, states that 300,000 anti-tank missiles could be deployed for the cost of 900 modern (M-1) US tanks (2.1 billion dollars). If this is true, it would surely be relatively easy to make Western Europe secure against a land-based invasion; and presumably similar options are available for air and sea defence?

I am sure it is possible to persuade most people that the Russians are after all human, and are no more likely to fire nuclear weapons first than we are. The greater difficulty is to counter the widely held belief that without nuclear weapons, Russian tanks would start to roll and be unstoppable. The more informed opinions we can gather together on whether

or not there are sound alternative defence strategies against conventional weapons, the more likely we are to win the argument.

Roger Blackman,
Harrow,
Middx
Dear Editor,

I was interested to read in your issue of December 81 of the howitzer with "nuclear capability" being shown off by the Royal Artillery during a recruiting display in the West Midlands a few months ago. The Army gave it the name "Holocaust" and painted it on the side to show that they are being "realistic", no doubt.

As you imply this weapon with its threatening name is foul and offensive and detestable. Having said that, one must go on to say that it is regrettably what one expects as long as we have a government and ministry of "defence" which believe in the devilish policy of "deterrence" so-called.

The basis of this policy of "deterrence" is to threaten other nations with destruction and suffering, and also to make warfare as cruel, barbaric and destructive as possible. All nations which embark on similar policies of "deterrence" are guilty of moral corruption and can be condemned in any court of international justice for preparing genocide.

Let us regard this weapon named "Holocaust" as a reminder that the policy of "deterrence" is immoral and that any such policy has a vested interest in making warfare as cruel and horrific as possible.

P. Dransfield,
Huddersfield

Letters: The War Game, Christians, Royal Bunker, Poland . . .

QUESTION THEY IGNORE

Dear Editor,
During the debate on nuclear strategy and defence, 'The two-edged sword; a question of security, (Radio 4, 8pm, 6th January) it became apparent to me that no one in the course of the discussion wanted or dared to come to terms with the horrific and destructive power of nuclear weapons, or weapons of any kind. What are they for then? simply to assert the ideologies of politicians?

How many people, I wonder, feel their everyday lives - smiling, sharing happy times with others, as simply part of a throw-away political instrument to assert the might of one government over another?

These men were talking with unemotional logic as if they would be unaffected by nuclear war of any kind. Nuclear war raises many more questions - more than just tactical, numerical of political problems. It is one of the most efficient weapons in both political and military terms. It employs people it will ultimately kill, and it is totally

destructive of all forms of life. It leaves the world uninhabitable. Nuclear weapons highlight the complete idiocy and futility of war and aggression themselves. It is this realisation and this question that these men seem to want to totally avoid and/or ignore.

Emma Ayling,
Woodford Green,
Essex

NOTHING EVER CHANGES

Dear Sanity
After the excellent BBC documentary on Thomas Paine that was screened I decided to re-read THE RIGHTS OF MAN. In Tom Paine's own preface to the English edition I found the following passage. It was written around the year 1791:

"That there are men in all countries who get their living by war, and by keeping up the quarrel of Nations, is as shocking as it is true; but when those who are concerned in the government of a country make it their study to sow discord, and cultivate prejudices between nations, it becomes the more unpardonable."

How little some things

have changed in over two hundred years!

Gregory Evans,
Bath,
Avon

BACKING FOR POLAND

Dear Sanity,
With the crackdown in Poland the press has another opportunity to show that the Russians are every bit as callous, undemocratic and Imperialist as they have always said they were. Therefore we must not evade the Polish crisis but incorporate it into our campaign.

The way the Kremlin sees it, the world is dominated by Western big business which exploits the people and causes untold misery, and the Soviet bloc is the only real defence against this otherwise overwhelming force. So the Russian rulers, wrongly, try to preserve their system at all costs, making sure that people are ideologically pure and dealing with any deviation from their truth toughly. If our countries take a unilateralist stand, show more concern for the Third World and are less of a threat to Moscow, the hardliners will lose their

support in the party and the population. Pressure will probably lead to a more liberal regime or to an overthrow of the Government.

What was good for CND was good for Solidarity in Poland and vice-versa. Perhaps Solidarity is no more. We who are allowed to should express more loudly and more often our support for freedom in the East and its connection with peace.

Peter Spurrier,
Horsham,
Surrey.

Dear Sanity,
The smashing of Solidarity is not only a disaster for the Polish people but a setback for the disarmament campaign in Western Europe. How sad that we didn't establish a closer connection with Solidarity before it was forced underground. There were rumours that the CND symbol was seen on Solidarity's student marches in particular.

But I believe that Solidarity will continue even in an underground way. We must do much more if we are to link up with them for a new Europe. Solidarity and

CND are the same thing to me.

Stella Munroe,
Durham.

Announcement

THE WOMEN at the Greenham Common Peace Camp invite people to join in their festivities on March 21, (Mothering Sunday and the summer solstice). During the day there will be activities at each of the bases's 6 gates.

1. Women's Gate
2. Religious Gate
3. Artist's Gate
4. Green (ecology) Gate.
5. New Age Gate
6. Music gate

In the evening the women will blockade each gate.

Contact: RAF Greenham Common, nr. Newbury, Berkshire. Tel: 0635 27541.

POSTAL POINTS

● I sympathise with George Morgan's sense of exasperation at the attitude of so-called 'born-again' Christians supporting Reagan's nuclear policies in America (last issue) but I can't share his conclusion - that we don't need the support of Christians. When Christians have truly been 'born again' they gladly endeavour to follow Christ's teachings about loving one's enemies (Matthew 5, verse 44). - REV ROGER POLLARD, Sipton.

● The women's Day of Action for Peace, May 24th 1982 is a great idea (Sanity Dec/Jan). May I suggest that men be involved too? Not in charge of the events as usual, but behind the scenes as tea-makers, child-minders and washers-up. - MICHAEL JACOBS, Huddersfield.

● A video about the Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common (Sanity, last issue) is now available from Box 33, 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road, Cardiff CF2 4AE. It is black and white VHS, fifteen minutes long and costs £5 to hire. Just thought we'd let you know. - BEN TOTH, Cardiff.

● Come off it George Morgan (letters, last issue) not all Born Again Christians support Reagans Policies. I myself am a Born Again Christian and certainly would not support Reagan using Britain as a base for his Cruise missiles. - CHRISTIAN CND SUPPORTER, Southampton.

● I was annoyed to see the sly dig at Christian CND supporters that you allowed to be published on the letters page of Sanity - however amusing to some. Thousands of Christians are working to CND and preaching the Gospel of Peace. That letter didn't help. - MARY HALEY, London SE16.

● There are quite a few of us in the Church working to restore Christ's true message of peace and social justice in such groups as Christian CND and local Justice and Peace groups. In Nottingham Diocese, for example, the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission decided, after special conference, to support CND's policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament. - ALEKS SZCERBIAK, Nottingham Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission.

● Concerning Nukespeak and all that, I have always thought it piquant that, among an earlier generation of US nuclear missiles, one was called the 'Honest John'. - R. J. M. TOLHURST, Chelmsford.

NEW STATESMAN

Special offer to readers of SANITY

The **New Statesman** shares a common interest with readers of SANITY on the vital issue of nuclear disarmament. Starting with E. P. Thompson's seminal article 'An Alternative to Doomsday' (NS 21 December 1979), the **New Statesman** has been and remains at the forefront of the revival of the British movement against nuclear weapons. Readers of SANITY will discover a fund of invaluable information in the **New Statesman** on the nuclear issue and on other important social and economic matters.

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NEW STATESMAN

News



PHOTO: SANITY

Bunker five face fines

BY ALISON WHYTE

ON DECEMBER 16th 1981 five peace movement activists from Manchester entered the grounds of a private American hospital in Cheadle Hulme, Manchester. Their mission - to paint the slogan 'THEY WILL BE SAFE. YOU WILL BE DEAD.' and a CND symbol on a bunker for government officials and war planning officers.

Sheila Standard collected the wire clippers with which they cut through the surrounding fence and Mike Killian and George Georgiou painted the slogan on the wall. Also present were journalist Liz McCallum and Chris Crowe who was to drive the getaway car.

Six minutes after the operation was underway, about twenty-five policemen arrived on the scene with dogs. The five believe that the police had

received a tip-off or that the fence was wired up to the police station. They were arrested on the spot and taken to Cheadle Hulme Police Station where they were detained overnight and released on bail the following day.

They appeared in court on January 21st. Liz McCallum pleaded not guilty and will appear on April 6th. The other four pleaded guilty and were each fined £100 plus a total of £188 damages. The action was supported by Greater Manchester CND.

Chris Crow believes that the venture had certain results. "We got a lot of publicity and it has really started people thinking about what these bunkers are there for and who they're supposed to protect."

And the slogan is still there.

Charles — the non-nuclear Prince

BY JOHN MILNER

THE PRINCIPALITY of Wales could soon become the first country in Europe to renounce nuclear weapons. Wales, of course, has no parliament but every county council has declared itself a 'nuclear-free zone' except Clwyd, which will debate a resolution on the topic on February 23rd. A spokesperson for CND Cymru said that campaigners were 'reasonably confident'

that Clwyd would adopt non-nuclear status.

The CND-backed nuclear-free zone campaign in Wales is a breakthrough in more ways than one. Whereas in England and Scotland most nuclear-free councils are labour, two of the largest Welsh county councils, Powis and Dyfed, have no political party in overall control.

CND campaigners will obviously be delighted if Clwyd votes itself nuclear-free, but one person, at least, will be keeping quiet on the subject. That person is the Prince of Wales. When Sanity asked Buckingham Palace if the Prince had any thoughts on the prospect of becoming the head of a nuclear-free Principality, the answer was a firm "no comment".

RIGHT: RAF GREENHAM COMMON, Berkshire. Work is well underway, preparing the base to receive Cruise missiles in about 18 months time. TOP: a message from Peace Camp protesters. BOTTOM: New double security fence with dog-run.

Peace camp women face eviction threat

THE TOWN COUNCIL of Newbury, near Reading in Berkshire have asked a group of women who have established a 'Peace Camp' outside an RAF base to leave.

The Camp was established last year as a continuous protest against Government plans to site Cruise missiles at the base, RAF Greenham Common, in about eighteen months time. If the women do not leave then they face an eviction threat.

The council claim that ratepayers are demanding that the camp be wound up but a spokesperson for the campers claimed that this wasn't the only reason

for the eviction threat. "We have no intention of leaving until we are carried away, and what is needed here now is a large presence all the time so that there are enough women here to give us a feeling of solidarity and strength", she said.

The women have asked that only women actually stay at the camp although men are welcome to participate in activities.

● On mothering Sunday, March 21st there will be a festival to celebrate Life at the Camp. All are welcome.

● Molesworth Peace Camp - see page 15.

Devon Tories make history

HISTORY WAS MADE in Dartmouth, Devon on January 9 when the first Conservative Party organisation voted to affiliate to CND. Dartmouth and District Young Tories will also donate money to boost CND's depleted finances.

The YC branch passed a six-point resolution calling for:

● **OPPOSITION** to any Government or Party which is in favour of researching, manufacturing, deployment or use of any weapon of mass destruction, nuclear chemical or biological.

● **VOTES** for any candidate for Town, District, County, Constituency or European elections who is in favour of unilateral,

leading to multilateral disarmament.

● **CO-OPERATION** with CND and similar peace groups.

● **OTHER YOUNG TORIES** to join CND.

● **DONATIONS** to CND.

● **THE WIDEST** possible discussion of the nuclear issue at all levels in the Young Conservatives, from National Executive to Branch level.



PHOTO: DW



PHOTO: DW

PHOTO: STEWART RUSSELL



PETITION WITH A DIFFERENCE: Birmingham CND campaigners came up with a novel idea which has boosted the number of signatures they get when they are petitioning. They simply ask people to sign on the dotted wing of a model Cruise missile. The missile can then be presented to an embarrassed government or military official.

Christmas? It was humbug in Waltham

By Peter Lang

POLICE IN North East London faced a barrage of criticism at Christmas when they banned a CND group from going carol singing with a collecting box. Members of the Waltham Forest group accused the police of exercising political bias when an application to hold a street collection was refused. The application was made by the group so they could spend six nights in the area singing carols and disarmament songs at the traditional time of peace and goodwill. When they applied under the new Metropolitan Police district regulations they

were advised that Scotland Yard had to first consider the request.

After ten days of internal debate and consultations with legal advisers North East London's Acting Commander, Chief Superintendent Ken Wright, announced the application would not be granted - with no reasons given.

But the Waltham Forest group also took legal advice and were referred to the regulations which said the money must go to a

"charity, cause or fund."

"It was a blatant political decision," said Waltham Forest CND member, Wendy Wright. "I don't see how the police could get away from it. It is especially clear in the light of the government's campaign to counteract CND."

But the episode wasn't wasted as far as the group was concerned: members felt that coverage given to the issue in the press brought considerable adverse publicity to the government's campaign against CND.

Keeping it in the Family

TAKING a full part in evening CND meetings is often difficult for parents with young children. But a group of women campaigners have overcome the problem by setting up a new disarmament network.

Following the women's peace camp at

By Glynis Williams

Greenham Common they have organised a lobby of Parliament by women and children. The group is busy fundraising, and on February 20th they are holding a Benefit Gig at Caxton House, St. John's Way, London N19. The lobby

is a mammoth venture for this relatively small group but they feel that women must act now to defend their children's future. The lobby is being held at the House of Commons on May 18th from 2.30 pm onwards. Facilities will be provided for the children and details of the lobby are being circulated to all local CND groups.

TORNADO FOR HONINGTON

IN DECEMBER 1981 the Government carried out a little noticed act of unilateral nuclear disarmament. The RAF's aged Vulcan bombers were permanently grounded and, until the summer of this year, Britain will be without an airborne nuclear 'deterrent'. Tremble in your boots.

The Vulcan squadrons No 9 and No 617 will be moved to RAF Honington in Suffolk and RAF Marham in Norfolk later this year and will be equipped with the controversial new multi-billion pound Tornado bomber. Squadron 617's motto is "After me: the Deluge."

● Tornado feature - see page 18.

Phil Evans ... In Sanity

MR PRESIDENT, SINCE THE SUCCESS OF THE NEUTRON BOMB OUR BOYS HAVE COME UP WITH SOME NEW WEAPONS!



FIRST - A BOMB WHICH KILLS INDIANS - BUT LEAVES COWBOYS INTACT!



SECOND - A BOMB WHICH ELIMINATES CHIP SHOPS - BUT LEAVES MACDONALDS UNHARMED!



THIRD - A BOMB THAT WIPES OUT YOUNG PEOPLE BUT LEAVES OLD PEOPLE STILL IN CONTROL!



WHAT DO YOU THINK OF IT SO FAR, MR PRESIDENT SIR?



FULL PRODUCTION! YES SIR!



NEWS IN BRIEF

NUCLEAR LEAK

IT'S A GOOD job that the Russians didn't try a sneak nuclear attack on January 14th. Because if they had civil defence bunkercrats in Leicestershire would have been caught on the hop. Emergency repairs were being carried out on the roof of Loughborough's fall-out shelter — the main civil defence centre for the East Midlands. The heavy snowfalls had cracked the roof and the bunker was partly flooded with freezing water.

UPWOOD TAKE-OVER

RAF UPWOOD, near Huntingdon, was given over to the American airforce in January. It's all part of a considerable American build-up in the area. Fifteen hundred extra US personnel will live at the base, staffing the nearby proposed Cruise missile base at Molesworth and the TR1 spy-plane which will be based at Alconbury. There are already about 35,000 American service personnel in Britain.

NO MORE URANIUM

THE NUCLEAR-FREE zone movement is spreading right round the world. On October 13th the city of Sydney, Australia, declared itself nuclear free with a four-point plan which includes the de-militarisation of Sydney Harbour and opposition to uranium mining within the city boundaries. Sydney joins Woolongong as an Australian nuclear-free zone. Woolongong is one of the centres of the uranium mining industry.

WHITEHALL GOLD

A NOTORIOUS anti-CND campaigning group, The British Atlantic Committee, is in receipt of large sums of money from the Government — and that's official. In reply to a question in the House of Lords on December 17th the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Foreign Office, Lord Trefgarne, admitted that the committee had received £30,000 from the Government for 1981-2.

NERVE GAS SLAMMED

NEARLY 200 people turned out on New Year's Eve to protest outside the USAF base at Lakenheath, East Anglia, following an announcement that US nerve gas would probably be brought to the base in the near future. The demonstration took place within 24 hours of the announcement. Roger Spiller, East Anglian CND co-ordinator, handed in a letter of protest to a senior RAF officer after the base's American commander refused to meet a CND delegation.

£74 MILLION SHELTER PLAN

THE GOVERNMENT IS to spend £74 million to build nuclear bomb-proof aircraft hangers at Marham, Wattisham, Coningsby, Leuchers, Lossiemouth and Stornoway as preparation for nuclear war. There will be no public announcements about when the work is to start.

Butter-fingers at Faslane

BY ADELAIDE
LESLIE

ALL IS NOT rosy at Holy Loch, an American nuclear base less than 30 miles from the heart of Glasgow. During November news began to filter out of a potentially disastrous accident. A Poseidon missile, carrying ten nuclear warheads, was being winched on to the submarine USS Holland from the mother ship Los Alamos, when the winch broke free and the missile dropped 17 feet before automatic brakes halted it and it swung wildly into the Holland's side.

The risk was detonation of the thermo-chemical explosives in the trigger-system which would have also ignited the rocker's propellant fuel and the col-

lection of other warheads aboard the ship. The consequence of such an accident could quite easily be a large radiological cloud extending from the base for a distance of up to 28 miles and a maximum width of 2.5 miles. With the wind behind it, such a cloud would reach Glasgow.

Just as frightening and as dangerous are reports of drug abuse among the seamen. Sailors say that life on board ship is so boring that they pass most of their time smoking dope. As it would be too easily detectable on a submarine, the submariners 'do' uppers. One submariner is quoted in the New Statesman (Nov 27) as saying, 'I do uppers most of the time, but as a special treat, like when I'm on watch, I'll do a little mesca-

line. It's really a buzz to be tripping out and know that you are cruising the Arctic with Polaris missiles that could wipe out half of Russia — man that's a good trip.'

Documents obtained by the New Statesman, which deal with a Discharge Board Hearing in 1976, reveal how one sailor with a history of indebtedness, unauthorised absences and irresponsibility was a 'nuclear weapons security guard', with access to specially controlled papers. After being found with a supply of cannabis in his locker he was demoted although not discharged or sent back to the States.

Some more good reasons to remove American bases and American weapons off our soil.

Teachers group

HOW MANY PEOPLE do you wish you could take through school again with the benefit of studies slanted towards peace? You watch the Box and see a defence boffin doing the most amazing calculations about how to blow up the world for "democracy" and you think, "mad idiot, where did he go to school?" Meanwhile on the other side of the world another person is using science to fight disease and to develop life-saving technical know-how. The first person is making the second person's job very much harder. How did they arrive at such different ways of life? Education of course is the key.

At last people are trying to institute peace studies as agreed at the last United Nations Special Session on Disarmament *Teachers for Peace* is a group within CND which is totally opposed to nuclear weapons and which aims to draw attention to the role that education can play in working for a peaceful world.

The group's latest newsletter has news about *Teachers for Peace* groups including one in Avon County which has two full-time "peace" teachers. All Nuclear Free Zone local education authorities should follow this example. There are ideas on getting peace and nuclear disarmament discussed in schools — assemblies, packs on the UN, and an idea about peace exhibitions "Study War No More". *Teachers for Peace* are preparing "Dovepax" — resource material of copies of original documents (out in May). The draft copy of *The Teacher for Peace Handbook* will be out in March. Subscription to the newsletter is £2 per year. Available from *Teachers for Peace*, c/o CND, 11 Goodwin St, London N4.



A TORCH-LIT procession in Leeds city centre by Leeds CND to mark the second anniversary of the NATO decision to deploy Cruise missiles in Britain. The Leeds demonstration was just one of hundreds that took place all over Britain to mark the anniversary.

SCOTTISH CAMPAIGNERS against nuclear energy have labelled a proposed new nuclear power station as a 'plutonium factory' to be used to provide material for a massive expansion of Britain's nuclear arsenal.

On Friday January 29, Lothian Regional Councillors Mrs Madeleine Monies and Paul Nolan pulled the wraps from a notice-board in front of the Torness power-station site. The sign is the only indication of what is happening on the building site behind the boundary fence and gives reasons why the public should oppose the building of the power station. The councillors dubbed the site 'Torness plutonium factory'.

The organisation behind the christening of the Torness site is the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM) and a spokesperson for the organisation told *Sanity* that "this action is timely in the light of the Invergordon smelter closure considering

that the generating over-capacity of the South of Scotland Electricity Board now stands at over 80%. The proposed power from Torness will give the Board more than twice as much electricity as is ever needed, even on the coldest day of the year."

SCRAM believes that one of the most important reasons for the development of Torness is to provide a secure supply of weapons-grade plutonium for the nuclear weapons programme. If the Government buys the proposed Trident nuclear missile system nearly 1,000 extra nuclear warheads will be needed.

Nuclear power's role in making nuclear weapons is shrouded in official secrecy. But SCRAM estimate that Britain's nuclear power stations have produced 40 tonnes of plutonium — and half of that has 'disappeared' into bombs.

● Britain's plutonium exports. Howard Clark, p27.

Gently does it

DETERMINATION that their children should not have to grow up with the threat of nuclear war has prompted a group of Oxford mums to set up their own disarmament campaign group.

Oxford Mothers for Nuclear Disarmament staged their first major event - a march through the town (photo: right) in September last year and plan another one for July 3rd.

Ten mothers got together to organise the march by using contacts gained from playgroups and schools, friendships and a small ad in the local newspaper. Support for the September march was very encouraging with nearly 1,000 parents and kids taking part.

"It was not a noisy demonstration," explained one of the organisers, Mary Gill, "but a calm and gentle event so that people, and that means most of us, who had never taken part in a march before felt comfortable and could come with their babies and toddlers."

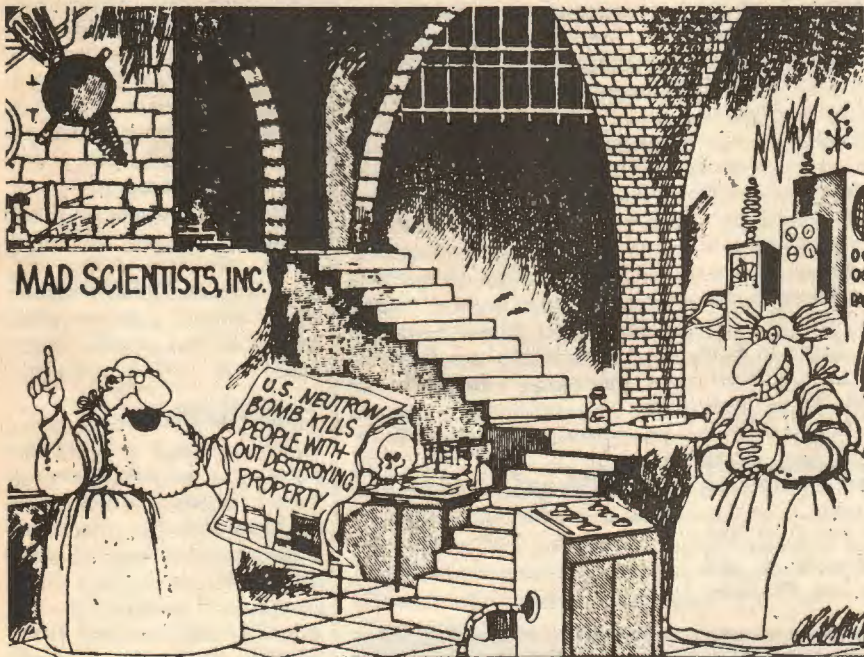
"Many people just joined the walk as we passed through the centre of the town."

Mary Gill hopes that other groups of mothers will organise walks on July 3rd so that, all in all, it adds up to a national event. She and the other organisers say that they would be more than happy to answer any questions on how to organise this type of walk. Her address is 29 Gardiner Street, Oxford OX3 7AW.



PHOTO: OMMND

'All nuclear' Army may be on its way



A BREAKTHROUGH in nuclear weapons miniaturisation technology at the American Lawrence Livermore Laboratory may mean that in future all field guns and tanks will be fitted with nuclear instead of conventional shells.

Scientists at the lab have designed a type of neutron warhead roughly six inches in diameter and three feet long - so small that it would easily fit standard artillery 155mm guns. There are already two types of neutron warhead under production in the USA. One fits into the nose-cone of the short range Lance missile, the other an eight-inch diameter shell

which can fit into larger field-howitzers.

The Administration gave the go-ahead for production for the new shell last March, but so far there has been little progress. The Americans have had enough problems persuading Europe to take the neutron weapons already under production, let alone a new miniature version which would be seen as lowering the nuclear threshold still further.

If the shell were to be produced it would clearly have to be based in Europe. With a range of only eighteen miles there would be little point in basing it in America. But even the new smaller neutron shell would still be more destructive than the Hiroshima bomb, releasing added deadly radiation.

Statistics never lie

AN IMPORTANT new booklet has just been published by the *Radical Statistics Nuclear Disarmament Group* explaining the way in which statistics are used, and misused, in discussions

about the nuclear arms race.

How is it possible that, given the same statistics, two nations or groups of people can come to different conclusions? How can you be sure like is being compared with like? If you want to find out then *The Numbers Game*, available from BSSRS, 9 Poland Street, London W1 will set you back £1.50 + 35p packaging. Most importantly this booklet shows you how to use statistics and how to avoid being confused. A good start has been made by effective presentation of figures in this book - there are many excellent tables, diagrams and charts.

"NOW we can destroy the world without destroying the world!" The *San Francisco Chronicle's* view of the 'Mad Scientist' at the nearby Lawrence Livermore nuclear weapons research laboratories. Technology gone mad?

Air-launched Cruise go-ahead

SIXTEEN AMERICAN STRATOFORCE nuclear bombers are to be fitted with air-launched Cruise missiles by the end of 1983. The bombers will carry twelve Cruise missiles each, the first of up to 3,000 Air-Launched Cruise Missiles to be fitted on bombers by the Americans.

Production of the ALCMs is well under way at a specially built

Boeing factory in Seattle, in the North west USA.

B-52 bombers are not permanently based at USAF bases in Britain but they have been known to use East Anglian bases such as Alconbury during exercises and Boscombe Down is officially designated as a B-52 standby base.

This means that in addition to the

Ground-Launched Cruise missiles (GLCMs) to be based at Greenham Common and Molesworth, ALCMs could be flown in and out of British bases at will, possibly in their thousands. Two new types of bomber are planned to carry the ALCM and they will come into operation between 1986 and 1990. In the meantime B.52s will be adapted.

LISTING SERVICE

Starting with the next issue we plan to have a small-ads type listing of all events planned by local CND groups to present a complete national guide to all disarmament activity. Please send information about your events to LISTINGS, SANITY, 11 GOODWIN STREET, LONDON N4. IMPORTANT: Please give the minimum necessary information and send listings entries separately from other items such as group newsletters, news reports etc. - THE EDITOR.

HARD ROCK

By John Field

Operation Hard Rock is due to take place in the Autumn of this year. Part of a wider NATO nuclear war rehearsal, it will be the largest Civil Defence exercise to take place for many years — setting the seal on Civil Defence measures revived over the last three years. CND groups plan to get involved as well.

CND campaigners near the Polaris base at Faslane on the Clyde Estuary taking 'direct action'. The road they re-titled is an Essential Service Route, which would be sealed off during the run-up to a nuclear war.

THE NEXT big home defence exercise — *Operation Hard Rock* — comes up in October. It follows two years of intense preparation and quiet propaganda work by the Government, designed to persuade us that nuclear war is survivable and possibly winnable. That gives us just eight months to rouse a massive shout of protest and active resistance against the cynical and elitist plans our rulers have drawn up for surviving the holocaust.

Since NATO decided to site Cruise missiles in Britain, home defence has gradually expanded. The Home Office has made more resources available for local authorities to increase civil defence spending, police and army training have been stepped up, £400,000 has been given to the health service to fund fourteen War Planning Advisors, the bunker system is being extended, and Sir Leslie Mavor has been transferred from the Home Defence College at Easingwold to recruit voluntary organisations like church groups and first aid societies to train in civil defence.

The Home Office and Ministry of Defence have also put their smooth-talking public relations departments into top gear. Just before Christmas I trudged through the Sheffield snow to take my children to see Santa in Snig Hill Police Station (well, where else would he be these days?). While I was there I noticed a pile of free, glossy green brochures on the information counter, with the encouraging title: *Civil Defence: why we need it*, and naturally I took one. Or, to be

honest, five. But this is only the glossy end of a massive PR job that started with the Civil Defence Review of 1980. Then in August 1981 the Home Office took the astonishing step of announcing that 'all ES circulars issued to local authorities may now be considered "open" and unclassified'" (ES2/1981). There were some exceptions (ES5/1979, on satellite accidents, and all police plans), but in general this marked a surprising turn towards opening the books. The intention, however, has more to do with military propaganda than freedom of information.

Support

There is another reason why home defence will be particularly important this year: there are signs that the government intends to put pressure on the 'nuclear-free' local authorities to comply with its home defence instructions. So far several authorities, such as South Yorkshire and the Greater London Council, have announced that they will suspend further planning for nuclear wars. But the government has already started to reduce the part played by elected councillors in home defence: places for councillors on Home Defence College courses have been slashed, to make way for non-elected full-time officers, and the Home Office tried to pass over councillors' heads when preparing for Hard Rock last May.

CND groups must come out in open support of the nuclear-free zones. Last July the Home Secretary warned local authorities that 'we will

naturally exhaust all possible efforts at encouragement and persuasion before contemplating recourse to our statutory powers; but the Government is determined that United Kingdom civil defence must go ahead'. Mr Whitelaw has not yet sent in a public commissioner to build bunkers and draw up war plans, but he has clearly indicated that he is prepared to do so rather than see our 'deterrent' posture weakened by the anti-nuclear councils.

Hard Rock offers CND groups throughout Britain the chance to mount a nationwide campaign of protest and resistance to the civil defence con-trick. The following check-list is only meant as a kick-off; no doubt plenty of other suggestions will come in over the next eight months.

ONE: Make sure your local authority has discussed Hard Rock.

TWO: Ask local government officers to discuss Hard Rock. NALGO, the white-collar union for local government officers, decided at its last conference to support members who refuse to take part in civil defence exercises.

THREE: Labour Party branches should call councillors' attention to the NEC guidelines on Home Defence, which were passed overwhelmingly at last year's conference.

Exhibition

FOUR: Gather information. Before Hard Rock starts you should prepare a briefing pack on home defence, which can be circulated to leading councillors, church leaders, peace groups, and newspapers. Region 2 (Yorkshire and Humberside) activists are currently preparing their own pack, available from West Yorkshire Peace Newsletter, 2 Lascelles Rd, Leeds '8.

FIVE: Publicise your objections to Hard Rock. It would be nice if every household in Britain received a locally-produced leaflet, explaining what is going on and why you oppose it.

SIX: Get together an exhibition on civil defence. Sheffield CND put on a display during the Sheffield Show last year, which included a relief map of the city after a nuclear attack, a *Protect and Survive* shelter, and posters and photographs.

SEVEN: List the likely home defence installations in your area. Even in 'nuclear-free



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zones' the police, army and United Kingdom Warning and Monitoring Organisation will be co-operating with Hard Rock. The UKWMO bunkers, for instance, are listed in an appendix to the Royal Observer Corp's history, *Attack Warning Red* by Derek Woods.

EIGHT: Have an anti-nuclear day out. One of our most successful fund-raising activities in Sheffield was a sponsored walk to a UKWMO bunker eight miles away followed by a festival.

NINE: Non-violent direct action, as approved by the CND conference, may be appropriate. Some people have suggested tying large plastic bags over the ventilation inlets of UKWMO bunkers; others have suggested welding down the hatches; others recommend 'flying the CND flag' over known home defence installations. The problem with all these, in my view, is that they only draw attention to the less important home defence activities, and leave central government and armed forces preparations more or less untouched. But they are still worth doing.

Public issue

TEN: Ask your County Emergency Planning Officer to address a public meeting. Some EPOs are quite prepared to do this, and so far they seem to have been even more effective at convincing people of civil defence's intrinsic uselessness than CND has. Garforth Anti-Nuclear Group held a highly successful meeting with speakers from West Yorkshire Emergency Planning Department last year, but some county councils are unwilling to allow their EPO to address potentially controversial gatherings. If this is the case, can we ask what they have to hide?

This list by no means exhausts all the possibilities. But it provides a framework of activities that is well within the scope of any determined peace groups, however small, provided that they are prepared to make this a serious public issue. With courage, and a little luck, we can make one competitor in the arms race at least limp a little. When the Home Office wrote to local authorities about Hard Rock last May, it called for even 'greater civil participation than in "Square Leg"'. Let's give it to them!

Glimmer of hope from Group of 21

By Ray Hainton

DURING THE four months before the start of the Second Special Session of the United Nations on Disarmament, June 7 to July 13th, we have our last chance to put pressure on our Government to put before the Special Session some proposals for actual disarmament.

A massive letter lobby of MPs is needed NOW.

A 40-member Committee on Disarmament, including representatives of all the nuclear weapon states, was set up in Geneva, following the First UN Special Session on Disarmament, to draw up proposals to lay before the Second Special Session.

At Geneva the UK and USA have vetoed the setting up of separate working groups on nuclear disarmament and on a comprehensive test ban.

But there is a working group on a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, in which nuclear disarmament could still be given priority if agreement on doing so can be reached. The working group on the Comprehensive Programme will be meeting again in mid-January to try to produce a consensus document in time for the Second UN Special Ses-

sion. They will have before them several working papers put forward by member nations.

The UK, with Australia, Belgium, Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, have produced a working paper (obtainable from the Office of Arms Control and Disarmament, Foreign Office, King Charles Street, London, SW1, Document No CD 205:CD/CPD/WP52) which, if accepted by the Geneva Committee, will relegate nuclear and conventional disarmament to the long term. It is not until the second and later phases (ie after 1990) that any negotiation on cessation of weapon development and manufacture is considered or any negotiation on reduction of nuclear weapon stockpiles or prohibition of new weapons of mass destruction (such as lasers) is envisaged.

The Final Document of the First Special Session declared that negotiations on partial measures of disarmament have brought us a "little closer to the goal of general and complete disar-

mament." It recommended that these negotiations should be continued but there should also be negotiations on comprehensive measures leading to a treaty of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The Final Document gave nuclear disarmament top priority for halting and reversing the arms race.

The working paper put forward at Geneva, which comes closest to the recommendations of the Final Document, is the one put forward by the 21 neutral and non-aligned states. This proposes a four stage plan, starting with large percentage reductions of nuclear and conventional weapons by the Superpowers and other military significant States, and ending with multilateral agreement among all States to disband their armed forces down to the levels needed for general and complete disarmament.

The Group of 21's programme puts nuclear disarmament first. It calls for a freeze in current levels of military expenditure of the nuclear weapon States and an urgent start on actual disarmament.

Nukespeak Monitor compiled by Richard Keeble

"The British submarine-launched ballistic missiles are pears in a basket of apples." Government spokesman reported in *The Observer*.

"US cools off heat over super bomb." **Headline in Daily Star over report on neutron bomb.**

Dr Desmond Ball has demonstrated in a recently published International Institute for Strategic Studies paper called 'Can nuclear war be controlled?', there are between 100 and 200 Soviet targets that could be attacked without causing any collateral damage, that is killing civilians." **Reported in The Observer.**

"Can we be certain that Chicago would be swapped for Hamburg or would the Soviet leaders calculate that America was bluffing?" **Julian Critchley, Conservative MP for Aldershot, writing in The Daily Telegraph on possible Third World War scenarios.**

"Its blast and heat effects would be very much reduced extending perhaps only to a couple of hundred yards radius thus earning it the description of being 'clean' or a 'cookie

cutter." **Report in The Daily Telegraph on the neutron bomb.**

"My finger slipped, I hit the button, and nuked Washington by mistake." **Big headline on advertisement for 'Computer and Video Games' magazine.**

"The greatest peace movement of all times is NATO." **Mr Victor Goodhew, MP for St Albans and vice-chairman of the Conservative back-bench defence committee, reported in The Daily Telegraph.**

"Ban-bomb Foot defies the mob". **Headline in Sunday People over report on October 24 CND demonstration and rally.**

"The firing today was so beautiful." **Japanese colonel on the testing of US Hercules surface-to-air missiles, reported in The Sunday Times.**

"The F-16: The unleashed fury of the fighting Falcon." **General Dynamics advertisement headline for the latest nuclear fighter-bomber.**

52%

FRONT COVER STORY

In December 1981 a poll was published in the Glasgow Herald which showed record support for CND in Scotland. It showed that CND has more supporters than any of the political parties and that large percentages of supporters of all political parties support CND. Summarised, the answers to the question "How much do you agree with CND?"

were:

AGREE: 52%
NEITHER AGREE NOR
DISAGREE: 16%
DISAGREE: 26%
DON'T KNOW: 5%

In reply to another question, 58% thought that American nuclear bases should be removed from Scotland. Behind these results is the hard-slog of campaigning by Scottish CND and a new organisation, SCAT

THE SCOTTISH Campaign Against Trident was formed in September 1981. There are no individual members of SCAT as membership is restricted to groups. The purpose of SCAT is to stop Trident and is not a unilateral nuclear disarmament group. SCAT is not in competition with CND for membership.

SCAT attracts groups which are simply determined that Trident, for whatever reason, is unnecessary. The strength of SCAT lies in its sole purpose - stop Trident!

Membership consists of over 150 groups in Scotland ranging from trade unions, individual local authorities, church and peace groups, CND groups and political parties in Scotland. Most of Scotland's political parties are members of SCAT with the exception of the Tories and the Social Democrats. It is remarkable that political parties can come together in the one room and jointly agree to be part of the one campaign. The Tories and

the Social Democrats have not affiliated to SCAT, although it is interesting to note that the Tory Reform Group in Scotland has come out against Trident.

SCAT is involved in the preparation of materials under its own name and in the organising of demonstrations and rallies. A major event at Easter this year will be SCAT's anti-Trident demonstration. All members of SCAT are being asked to come to a demonstration and rally in Glasgow.

SCAT is unique in that it is not demanding unilateral disarmament as a general theme (although many of the groups which are members of SCAT do demand that as part of their own beliefs). Therefore SCAT is able to attract the widest possible support from all sections and it doesn't matter for the purpose of the campaign whether that opposition to Trident is based upon strategic, economic, environmental or social or religious reasons. The unifying

factor is a determination to stop Trident.

Although individual membership does not exist, provision is made for those who wish to be put on a mailing list and a small fee is charged for this service.

The Trident issue is becoming a major issue in Scottish politics and should be a major issue in British politics as well. SCAT represents every section of Scottish opinion and is able to mobilise large numbers of people. The first and immediate demand made by SCAT is for a wide-ranging enquiry into the whole question surrounding the necessity of having Trident missiles. The Government would be exceedingly foolish to ignore this reasonable demand. The consequence of ignoring public opinion is a matter for the Government.

If democracy means anything at all then a full ranging enquiry must be granted fairly soon.

Trident: local & national issue

IF Coulport is mentioned and Faslane is also mentioned then those involved in the Peace movement would recognise those names immediately and know the area concerned.

All of these areas in fact are within the Dumbarton District.

The policy of Dumbarton District Council is to have no negotiations with the Government over the siting of Trident at the Coulport base. The Government does not need planning permission for this development and the purpose of consultation is similar to the processing of a planning application, but without any legal

powers available to the Council should it dislike what is presented.

Dumbarton District Council made it clear to the Ministry of Defence that there will be no consultations on the basis of outline planning and that all plans when finalised should then be presented to the District Council for its considered view. Of course this did not suit the Ministry of Defence who said that its final plans would not be available for years.

The plans which were received were qualified in almost every detail. To sum it up, the process of consultations was

nothing short of a farce and a charade designed, no doubt, to get help from the local planning authority and to give the impression to local people that some element of local democracy was involved. The District Council made it clear to the Secretary of State that it wished a planning enquiry commission to consider the implications of the MoD plan. So far this has not been granted, and the enquiry is now a major campaigning point.

The procedure governing consultation is set down in a Scottish Development Department Circular issued in 1977. In the event of any dispute between the sponsoring department, in this case the Ministry of Defence, and the local authority concerned, if that matter is referred to the Secretary of State for Scotland by the sponsoring department, the Secretary of State is then free to consider what method he should use to resolve the difficulties.

Since August of last year there has been no consultation between Dumbarton District Council and the Ministry of Defence. To date the M.O.D.

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PHOTO: CRAIG M. JEFFREY

PARENTS FOR SURVIVAL hold a mid-winter vigil near the base.

● continued from previous page

has not approached the Secretary of State. It is quite clear that the Ministry of Defence does not wish, in any shape or form, for an enquiry into this whole question. Why not?

The whole procedure involved in trying to get approval for a Trident development has sinister implications. On the 10th May last year Viscount Trenchard led a delegation which gave a presentation of the Trident project to local authorities. The question was clearly asked. Would the Government's calculations on the non-nuclear safeguarding zone (or yellow line as it is known) be supplied to Dumbarton District Council? The answer from the Government Minister was an unqualified "yes". To date this has not been supplied and the Commodore Clyde and the Ministry of Defence officials in London have made it clear that this will not in fact be supplied. By implication either the Government Minister was a complete incompetent and was talking rubbish at the time or in fact he was lying.

Despite repeated requests to try and clarify this issue no direct answers have come from the Ministry of Defence.

Dumbarton District Council welcomes all letters of objection, on whatever grounds, to be sent to the Council's headquarters at Crosslett House, Dumbarton, G82. Readers are invited to send such letters. It matters not whether your objection is based on environmental or strategic economic or moral grounds or all of them. Copies of these letters are then sent to the Government. So far, about 1,000 letters have been sent on by the Dumbarton District Council. The Council would happily send on 50,000 such letters.

Ian Leitch

Jobs key to Coulport campaign

OPPOSITION to the planned Trident base on the picturesque Coulport peninsula on the Clyde estuary is widespread. The reasons for strong local feeling range from the danger posed to the local environment to the justifiable fear that the base will make the area a prime target for nuclear attack in the event of war between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Many people, like Myra MacKay of Garelochhead, a small town on the Polaris base's doorstep, are getting involved with the campaign for the first time. "I chickened out of watching *The War Game* and admired the dedication of CND marchers from the comfort of my home", she said, adding "I finally realised how foolish and ignorant it is to be complacent about the escalation of the arms race. Everybody who wants a future for themselves and their children must pause and seriously consider what is happening now."

Fear for children facing the nuclear future is a theme that runs through the whole campaign near the base. A group of parents in Dumbarton have established a group called 'Parents for Survival'. One of the group's first actions was to lodge a formal objection to the development of the Trident base with the Dumbarton District Council.

SCAT (Scottish Campaign Against Trident) is an umbrella organisation linking groups like Parents for Survival with CND, the local authority, the clergy and all the main local political parties (except the Tories and SDP at the moment). The contribution of the SNP has been particularly active. Members of the party's West Dumbartonshire Constituency, led by their chairperson Patricia Wallace, tore up surveyors' marks and

By Chris Horrie & Grant Thompson

poles in attempt to delay work on the Trident base when it began in September last year. The group said that the would use "any device within their capability to delay Trident" — an approach that SCAT neither condemns nor advocates, according to chairperson Ian Lietch, who is also an official of Dumbarton Council in whose territory the MoD plans to dump the base. 'Direct Action' is already a part of the campaign's tactics. When information about the Government's 'essential service routes' leaked out in October last year, campaigners pasted messages over road signs on the main roads away from the area. Chillingly and truthfully enough the signs read: ESCAPE ROUTE. IN EVENT OF NUCLEAR ATTACK CIVILIANS TURN BACK, ROYAL NAVY VEHICLES ONLY.

Living in one of the most beautiful parts of the country most people on the peninsula are automatic 'friends of the Earth'. The conservationists are well represented in the formidable political coalition the MoD have assembled against themselves. Writing to the *Helensburgh Advertiser*, following a complaint from a Major James Carman that protesters 'damaged the environment,' one E. Thornton pointed out that "The Trident programme will use eight times the land area needed by Polaris. This will not improve the landscape. If, like many feeling people in the area, Major Carman wishes to preserve the natural beauty of our area he should applaud the protesters who want not only to preserve flora and fauna but human life too."

The columns of the *Advertiser* have been carrying pages of letters like these for months. The editor has

warded off complaints of pro-disarmament bias in his letters policy, pointing out that the 'vast majority' of letters he receives are anti-Trident and pro-disarmament.

But there is a very serious problem facing the campaign on the peninsula. The problem is unemployment.

The unemployment rate in Dumbarton District was 18% in October 1981 when SCAT was launched and has been rising steadily. Nearly 1,000 are unemployed in the small town of Helensburgh alone, with another 6,000 unemployed in Dumbarton twenty miles east. The jobs created by the Trident project won't dent the Scottish or British unemployment statistics at all (about 350 extra permanent jobs when the base is established) but the jobs look very tempting to the unemployed of Helensburgh and Dumbarton. Already about 3,500 naval personnel and about 4,000 civies work at the base. At the moment the choice seems to be between economic devastation (now, if the base were to be closed) or nuclear devastation (in a few years, if the base goes ahead). When this particular choice teams up with a problem that CND as a whole faces — fatality, a feeling that nuclear war is inevitable anyway — many people might opt to die with a pay-packet. And why not, if the alternative is to die without one?

The peninsula has a strongly non-conformist religious tradition and the churches have done much to tackle the problem of fatalism.

The Presbytery of Dumbarton has come out in favour of the campaign. A motion passed by the Presbytery stated that "reliance on the nuclear deterrent is an offence to the Christian conscience." One supporter of the motion, Rev David Read, said that "The power to wipe out an entire population must not be ignored, and we can't say that the deterrent argument is feasible anymore. Indeed, it has become immoral and ineffective. There is a great deal of feeling amongst ordinary people that enough is enough."

As polls show more support in Scotland than any political party gained at the last General Election, campaigners realise that they may have to get near-unanimous support before the Government takes any notice. They believe this can be done only if the 'jobs problem' is cracked.

A spectacular view of the Clyde estuary clearly showing the floating submarine docks of the Faslane-Coulport base. Now the MoD plan to grab eight times as much land to accommodate the proposed Trident base.



PHOTO: ROBERT COWAN

THE BIRMINGHAM: BEAT & THE BEETHOVEN OMB

ON THE FIRST Sunday in December, Simon Rattle, Principal Conductor of the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra and internationally renowned, conducted the first-ever orchestral 'Concert for CND' in a packed Birmingham Town Hall — on a platform dominated by a large CND symbol. Top of the bill was John Williams, one of the world's great guitarists and a long-standing CND supporter. All the musicians (of whom 35 were CBSO members) gave their services free of charge and, with all seats sold five days in advance, over £4000 was raised for the campaign.

In a beautifully balanced programme, Robert Johnstone (CBSO Principal Harp) excelled even himself in Debussy's 'Danse Sacrée et Danse Profane'; Imogen Cooper (one of England's most gifted pianists) gave an awe-inspiring performance of Beethoven's 2nd Piano Concerto; and John Williams "gave a superb performance" of Rodrigo's 'Concerto de Aranjuez'. A sparkling interpretation of Mozart's 'Jupiter' Symphony "rounded off a fine evening of music" — an evening in which 26-year-old Simon Rattle "brought out the very best in the orchestra" and which earned "an enthusiastic reception by a mixture of classical music devotees and anti-nuclear campaigners" (quotes from a rave review in the mass-circulation *Evening Mail*, which, editorially, is hawkish and anti-CND).

Commitment

This magnificent musical statement of opposition to nuclear

weapons originated in the mind of a local CND member who was a violinist in the CBSO until last summer, when she left to study medicine. Her idea quickly won the support of Simon Rattle — described by 'Radio Times', in an understatement, as "probably the most brilliant conductor of his generation" — and of a sufficient number of CBSO and other professional musicians. A little later the date was set — appropriately not long after Birmingham City Council's declaration of a nuclear-free zone — and well in time to get out adequate publicity, via CND groups and events.

To many the most heartening aspect of the concert was the very distinct interaction between players and audience. As the CBSO's stage manager said the next day, the musicians "played their hearts out", driven by a commitment to a great cause. And the audience, sensing this, expressed their approval by clapping extra hard, and by keeping coughs and throat clearances to a minimum (which is why several players said we'd "not had the usual type of audience").

The CND message was reinforced by the introduction to our printed programme by Bruce Kent and by the presence in the bar from the early evening onwards of Peter Kennard's photo-montage exhibition 'Images for Disarmament'.

Phil Braithwaite

Reviews a remarkable classical concert.

PHOTO: CBPO

SIMON RATTLE conducts the Birmingham Philharmonic for CND

STAGE FRIGHT IN THE EUROPEAN THEATRE

'LIFE IN THE European Theatre' is a compilation album featuring many of today's most popular bands. It is the strongest anti-nuclear statement made by British bands. It will raise thousands of pounds for CND (national). Half the proceeds will be put in a fund for No Nukes projects (apply c/o CND). — DAVE WAKELING is lead singer of the Beat, and has been crucially involved in the album since the beginning. The Beat have played anti-nuclear concerts since 1979, and donated £15,000 from their single 'Stand Down Margaret' — to the movement... read on.

No Nukes Music; What do you think of Marxism?

The No-Nukes Music Team

Talks to Dave Wakeling of THE BEAT.

Dave Wakeling: Most of the effective political works of the last five years have been out of spray cans. You should never suggest that people do that. It's illegal. — So is murder, and you can go tell that to the marines!

In New York some of the walls on the tube trains definitely were 'asking for it.' They look fantastic now. Nobody with imagination is going to say what a horrible mess.

Positive

NNM: What do you think of the 'Life in the European Theatre' album?

DW: We saw the idea of this album as what would be the ultimate thing we could do. I'm amazed it ever came together. Even for a hard headed businessman to manage to get a compilation album of that sort — the number of vested interests. Not just the management of each band and the band, but the record com-

pany and every foreign licencee. It must have amounted to more people with a vested interest than will end up buying it. No, seriously, we thought that by doing a record, and putting some money there, it might start making people think on the positive side a bit.

NNM: It's a major public statement by the bands. I couldn't believe it when Bad Manners agreed to be on it.

DW: They're all right, Bad Manners, they say a lot of things offstage.

NNM: Did you feel a bit out on a limb when you did 'stand down Margaret'?

DW: I didn't worry about it. In the same way as an audience at a CND gig or an unemployed gig. You get this strange sort of catharsis by being surrounded by hundreds of other people who are just as depressed as you are — it's something that cheers you up. You see the audience smiling, and I feel happier now to

● continues next page

● from previous page

see that a lot of groups do care. They always reflected it in the lyrics.

It's a terrible temptation, pop music. There's a lot of money and if you want to keep your eyes shut and your mouth sweet, you can make a lot of money and f*** off, and leave most of the problems behind. I though it was good that people were willing to make that sort of commitment because it's not always a popular thing to do.

NNM: What made you get involved in politics?

DW: We never really thought we were getting involved in politics, we just thought; 'this is terrible.' Because it was on our minds, we did songs about it. It was very natural and innocent. A lot of people didn't notice it was anything to do with the first album. It seemed much more to do with the second album; it started to become this big thing. 'You're very politically aware aren't you?' Which we never thought we were.

Daft

NNM: How involved in CND are you?

DW: I don't think we sing specifically about CND but certainly the arms race. It's probably the biggest

symptom of why capitalism and communism are breaking down to an equal degree at the moment. There's something inherently sick about society now, and the arms race is the most glaringly obvious symptom.

NNM: I think the first benefit you did was for the Welsh Anti-Nuclear Alliance, in Fishguard...

DW: They are very worried about nuclear weapons and nuclear sites in Wales. They always thought that England was daft anyway and deserved them. It was a well put together concert, and a fabulous vibe at the end. They were just going around with a bucket and people were putting fivers in and emptying their jacket pockets into this bucket. Cigarette butts, Rizla packets and all.

NNM: How important is the role that pop-music can play in the struggle?



Dave Wakeling

DW: I think it's good for pop music to get involved. Pop music gets an inordinate amount of press.

Much more than it merits on a world level.

Youth CND

CND, as an organisation, doesn't seem to have much respect for the pop kids. They don't seem to be modern enough. The vast majority of young people I talk to don't mind calling themselves CND, but they want to be the 'young CND'. They want to be their CND. They don't want to be the 1958 CND, because that didn't work. Which is not to say that this time won't work but you can't use the same methods.

NNM: What do you think of the demos?

DW: I thought the one with Tony Benn in Hyde Park was good. That one moment when he stopped talking and the whole of Hyde Park seemed to lift four feet off the floor. The guy's obviously got some dodgy points. No matter how nice they seem, the aristocracy always have a funny look about them.

NNW: Does apathy annoy you?

DW: There's always this fear in people about getting involved. They haven't been told that they don't have to do it 24 hours a day. There's

still this idea of the deeply committed political person who sits around checking the Guardian to spot the propaganda.

NNM: News from the Beat?

DW: We've been out of synch these last twelve months. We brought out this huge plea for unity about ten days before Britain went up in the biggest youthful flames it had ever seen. Bad timing! Who wants to go and sing about tolerance, love and unity, when you're looking for a brick!

I'll have to censor the rest. We talked about many other things. Not least on Dave's mind was that he's about to become a father. The Beat have plans for another single at the end of March, and a new album a couple of months later. Dave recounted the technical disasters their record company had made with their last single; the crazy wiles of their sixty-year-old sax player; a new member is joining, Saxa's son, Lionel.

We're grateful for the way that Dave and the Beat, despite strong commercial pressure, have given continual support to the anti-nuclear movement. Their music isn't bad either. We'll write about that next issue.

PHOTO: NEW MUSICAL EXPRESS



PHOTO: THE BEAT

THE invisible tyranny of multinational corporations, militarism, racism and food shortages are among the issues artist Conrad Atkinson confronted in his most publicised recent exhibition, the ICA's 'At the Heart of the Matter' in London. Information in the form of newspaper clippings, type-written statistics and quotes, as well as boxes and tins of foodstuffs and pesticides were contained within the outlines of blue and red hearts. These hearts were drawn roughly on walls and on the floor where two joined at their points - a piece which derived its content from Willy Brandt's 'North/South' dissertation. In its entirety, the exhibition conveyed an idea of the body as "a metaphor for society".

Physically, our bodies manifest the circumstances of our lives: one portion of the exhibition was acutely painful in this respect, where Atkinson enlarged reproductions of drawings by the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that graphically depicted the devaluation of human life and its expendability in the face of vain gropings for power and profit.

In his useage of 'found' imagery, news cuttings, statistics and similar materials, Atkinson removes artists from their position as the bearers of the torch that lights the

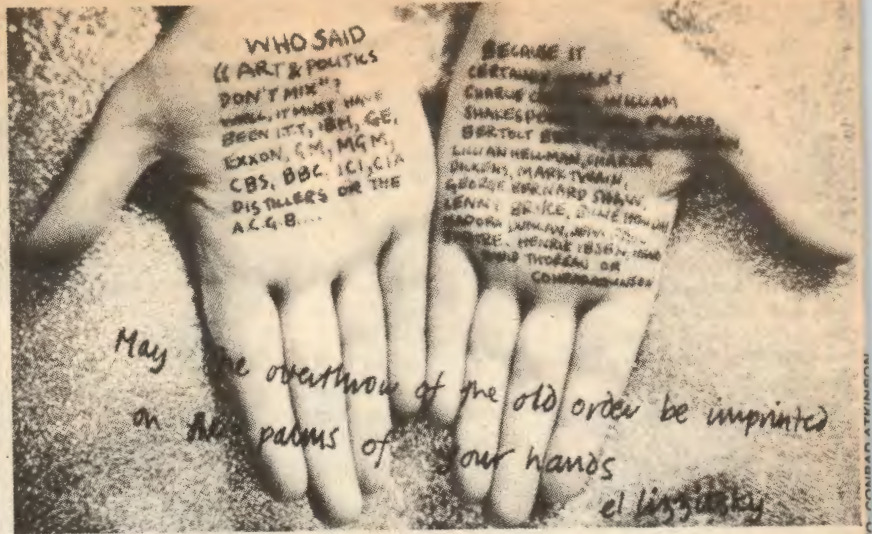
way, as heroes. He revitalises the concept of artist as "connector".

"The word 'Euroshima'," he explains, "appeared on a handwritten banner in Japan, invented not by an advertising agency or copywriter but through the process of collective creativity which emerges through struggle. If, like me, you share the attitude that the 'artist' is not a pinnacle outside and separate from society, then you are free of the burdens of claiming that everything you do is solely yours, simply perhaps a set of new juxtapositions."

Atkinson says that it is not necessary to read in total the massive amounts of written material his work contains - that it is a mosaic, episodic in presentation. Yet at the ICA, one could observe viewers attempting to read *everything*. This says more about the way in which people are taught to receive information and the hierarchy of language over visuals than the actual presentation. . . . Brecht's words on the attitude of epic writer Döblin

Holly Metz

is a writer working in New York who spoke to Conrad Atkinson in London about 'At the Heart of the Matter' and 'War Games'.



could have been applied ("... one can as it were take a pair of scissors and cut it into individual pieces, which remain fully capable of life.")

Conrad Atkinson does not utilise 'low' art as a fashionable affront to 'high' art - he consciously reduces his use of abstract art notations and adheres to symbols that are more generally known. "I've always felt that it's pointless to imitate the sophisticated polish and the means of capitalism if you are involved in an oppositional culture. . . . Although I have a great pride in my learned skills and in not advocating a genteel or sloppy amateurism," he states.

Unlike the claimed 'balance' of the media, his selection of material and their juxtaposition, is purposeful - a moral position guides their represen-

tation. "The aim is to put together the elements of a picture which has been shattered into a thousand fragments; the picture of human beings rent asunder by a series of overlapping and inhuman systems, paradoxically invented deliberately by human beings."

Atkinson has been involved with the contradictions in our society for 10 years and debate is of primary importance to this involvement. Coinciding with the ICA exhibit was a series of seminars which discussed the experiences of artists past and present, in conflict with their societies. Atkinson participated in two; among other speakers were Christopher Hampton (*Socialism in a Crippled World*) and dramatist Trevor Griffiths (*Destiny, Reds*). Inevitably, the question

of the relevance of 'political art' arose - a question posed almost as a dare, with the heroic image of martyred revolutionaries glowing in their ideological shrines. Atkinson will speculate about the possible differences in society if its advisors were poets and artists. But he does not ever overestimate his role as a "cultural producer" in society.

This February New York's Ronald Feldman Gallery is hosting an exhibition entitled 'War Games', which will include more anti-nuclear work by Atkinson, and the gallery will concurrently release an LP called 'Revolutions Per Minute' to which he has contributed the cut 'Louis XIV Deterrent', about nuclear holocaust. The Feldman Gallery is located at 33 East 74th St, New York, NY USA.



PHOTO: AMSTERDAMS FOTOGRAFENKOLLEKIEF

Peace Demonstration Amsterdam 81



PEACE DEMONSTRATION 81 is the title of a remarkable eighty page book of photographs from the massive disarmament demonstration that took place in Amsterdam in November 1981. The banner in the photo (left) reads 'NATO SOLDIERS AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS'. The photos were taken by the Amsterdam Photographic Collective (above) and is available at £2 from Heiermann & Co, Van Hallstratt 685 1051 HG Amsterdam, Netherlands. ISBN Number 90-70568-01-2.

Peace camp Molesworth

words: *Alison Whyte*

photos: *Ed Barber*

On the coldest day for one hundred years a group of Christian Pacifists set up Britain's second Peace Camp at RAF Molesworth near Northampton.

Molesworth is the second of two RAF bases in Britain due to receive American ground-launched Cruise missiles. The first missiles are planned to arrive at Greenham Common, where a Peace Camp has also been set up, in about 18 months' time.

More will arrive at Molesworth 'by the mid-1980s'. But not if Angela Needham and Jean Hutchinson have anything to do with it.

Since this interview took place a third camp has been set-up at Bridgend outside a Government nuclear shelter.

Before the peace camp at Greenham Common was formed, the idea that camps should be set up at missile bases was already simmering in Jean Hutchinson's mind. Jean is one of the three women who are now permanently ensconced in the People's Peace Camp at Molesworth, Cambridgeshire, where in the mid-1980s the Government plans to place 64 Cruise missiles.

Jean is not new to the disarmament campaign. It was during a Fellowship of Reconciliation Pilgrimage from Iona to Canterbury, that she and one or two others struck on the idea. When another group of women formed the camp at Greenham Common, something which had previously been a figment of her imagination, suddenly became real. "The original idea was to start in the spring, but when we went to the CND demonstration on October 24th and heard Ann Pettit talking about digging in for the winter, it seemed rather weak-kneed to plan comfortably in our warm semi-detached boxes for the spring."

Angela Needham, who started the camp with Jean, was just as firm in her resolve.

"I had been concerned for some time that there had been a lot of publicity about Greenham and very little about Molesworth" she says. "I thought - the Government might say - alright, we won't put any Cruise missiles at Greenham Common. We'll just put them all at Molesworth!"

So they, along with Helen Young, an older woman with grandchildren, unflinchingly pitched their tents on a small patch of County Council land outside the base on December 28th and the People's Peace Camp came into being. The camp consists of a huddle of pup tents plus two caravans, surrounded by a Swiss-family-Robinson type wall of wood and straw. Jean sleeps in the caravan which doubles as a communal living-room, but the other women prefer to cocoon themselves in tents which are barely visible in the deep snow.

For those of us who trembled at the thought of leaving the fireside to venture outside over Christmas, such commitment can only be wondered at. A very special place at the heart of the camp is occupied by the second caravan, which acts as a church-come-ashram. The women go there

to pray or just to sit and think. It has the status of 'best room', with soft comfortable chairs and a delicate smell of incense. All three women are Christians but insist that anyone can join the camp and participate in prayer or not, as they please.

Although Angela describes herself as a Christian feminist, she does not want to exclude men from the camp. "I would be worried if I thought there were men involved who were behaving in a macho manner," she says, "but most of the men who have been at the camp are very aware that the kind of world where men do all the leading and women stay in the background and cook the meals is not a good one and has even created the warlike society we now have."

Angela disagrees with feminists who believe that women should not work alongside men to achieve disarmament, in the belief that a society dominated by men could never be a peaceful one. "We are people working together", she says, "and the fact that we are women or men, Christian or agnostic shouldn't alter the fact that we all care passionately to bring peace and justice to the world. That must override any other differences that there may be between us."

The women see the camp as a permanent reminder to the Government that many people in this country do not want nuclear weapons. "It's all very well having a rally where quarter of a million people turn up, but at the end of the day, they all go home and it's easy for the press and the Government to forget about them, whereas we're here all the time. Like water constantly dripping on a stone."

The fact that the camp has largely been ignored by the media does not surprise anyone. It was precisely because of a complete lack of media coverage of a women's march from Cardiff to Greenham Common last summer that it was decided to set up a peace camp there. On arrival at the base, a few of the women chained themselves to the gates in a desperate bid to draw publicity, only to find that bondage type photographs appeared in

A MESSAGE FROM MOLESWORTH

We would like people to join us - come for a cup of tea, come to stay the night (we always have spare bedding and bed space) or become a resident. We hope to see peace camps outside every military base and factory. We are responsible for our government. The taxes that we pay help them to spend £16 each week on defence for every family in the land. Only by building a new society can people take control of their own lives, rather than feeling like pawns in the power of our leaders.

We need building materials (timber, cladding, roofing, straw bales) neatly baled newspapers (for fuel and insulation). Wood stoves, firewood, asbestos sheets for roofing). Wooden furniture tables, tools, cupboards, trestles, shelving, old crockery and cutlery . . . and many other things to help us to hold large meetings at weekends and to grow steadily during the weekdays.

The Peoples' Peace Camp - Old Weston Road, Brington, near Huntingdon, Cambs. Local contact: Helen Lowe, Clopton 257. Other contacts: Tim Eiloart, St. Ives (0480) 65856/67446. Peter Cadogan: 01-794 5590.



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Jean Hutchinson (left) and Angela Needham (centre) - Two Christians who practice what they preach. (More photos overleaf)

the papers the following day.

Publicity is not the only reason for the camp. The women have inspired local groups who visit them to exchange ideas. "We're not just a few people sitting at a base," explains Jean. "We're in solidarity with the women at Greenham Common and all the people in this country who are determined that Cruise missiles will not come here, despite the fact that Mrs. Thatcher has welcomed them with open arms. This is

what they call a democracy, and yet the decision was taken without even a discussion in Parliament, let alone the public being consulted about it."

Behind the camp, Ministry of Defence land stretches as far as the eye can see, and in the distance, the ghostly silhouettes of earth diggers can be seen making jerky movements between huge mounds of earth. A disused concrete runway is being

removed before work begins on preparing the site for Cruise missiles. In this bleak landscape, visitors are welcomed by the campers, although not all have felt at ease in such a strange setting. When the postman delivered a telegram on the second day, he was astonished to find himself being photographed and leapt back, saying "I don't want to get involved!"



Molesworth *Members of the Molesworth Peace Camp (above, right). A woman from the Greenham Peace Camp (left) on a Lobby of Parliament.*

The women at
olesworth see
emselves as non-
olent witnesses for
ace. They do not
lieve that peace can
had by preparing for
ar, but rather by
orking for trust and
nderstanding instead
fear.

"Fear feeds the arms
ce. The money that's
ent on the arms race
ould be used to clear
e world's slums, to

end hunger, to prevent
avoidable disease and
to teach every child to
read and write. We are
not against the
American people, but
for the US Government
to site their missiles on
our land would put us
at a deadly risk."

The women are
optimistic about
stopping Cruise. Apart
from the half a million
or so supporters who
are members of local

CND groups, they
know that many people
in other European
countries feel the same
way. Recently a similar
camp was set up at
Comiso in Sicily,
another proposed
Cruise base. The
strength of the peace
movement in Europe is
growing. The peace
camps are becoming
one of many important
focal points for a
movement which is

solidly behind them
and they symbolise, for
some, the idea that
there are many in this
country who will take
action to stop the siting
of these missiles on
our soil. As Jean
Hutchinson says:

"Psychologically it
must be easier to
prevent more weapons
coming in rather than
removing ones that are
already here. But we've
got to do that as well of
course."



Bang goes another £10,000m

By Paul Rogers

In the midst of all the campaigning against Cruise and Trident missiles we run the risk of forgetting about the Tornado — a new aircraft now being produced in large numbers for the RAF. Tornado is important because:

- The programme involves a massive and almost entirely unrecognised expansion of Britain's theatre nuclear forces;
- It is vastly expensive, probably the most expensive project in the history of Britain's armed forces;
- It may well replace Trident if that project gets cancelled, forming a new all-British deterrent by being armed with a new home produced Cruise missile.

IN THE 1960s, Britain sought to collaborate with France in developing a multi-role swing-wing military jet. This was abandoned in 1967 but the idea was resurrected in conjunction with West Germany and Italy.

A company called Panavia was set up and shared between British Aerospace, Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm of Munich and Aeritalia of Naples, with the British and German companies taking a 42.5 per cent share each and the Italians the remaining 15 per cent.

The idea was to develop an aircraft able to act as a bomber against land and marine targets, to undertake reconnaissance and also to serve as a fighter. It was initially called the multi-role combat aircraft (MRCA) but was eventually named the Tornado and the first prototype flew in West Germany in August 1974.

From these beginnings the Tornado developed into a very expensive project. It is being produced in two versions. All three countries are to buy the strike or bomber version known as the Tornado GR1 (sometimes called IDS or interdicator strike) and a total of 644 will be produced, Britain taking 220. In addition, a specifically fighter version is being produced just for Britain, the air defence variant (ADV) known as the Tornado F2, of which Britain is taking 165.

Tornado

This is a two-seater, twin-jet swing-wing nuclear-capable plane designed to fly at over twice the speed of sound and to carry a bomb load of nearly 8 tons. Even though a small

plane, this means that it can carry a load almost as large as the biggest World War II bombers like the Super Fortress.

Moreover the Tornado can approach its target at high speed at very low altitudes, down to just 200 feet above ground level, making it very difficult to detect. After such an attack it climbs to a high altitude to return to its base at maximum speed.

Because of these features the Tornado needs a very strong and expensive airframe to withstand the buffeting from ground turbulence together with advanced navigation aids and highly trained crews. In order to provide the latter, incidentally, a large part of Scotland has been set aside for low level flight practice for four days each week.

The Tornado has a strike radius of over 800 miles and can therefore reach the western-most part of the Soviet Union from bases in West Germany, even without aerial re-fuelling.

Service

The Tornado entered service with the RAF on July 1, 1980 at the newly established Tornado Trinational Training Establishment at RAF Cottesmore near Peterborough. Three assembly lines have been set up, one in each country. Seven different British Aerospace plants are involved in Tornado production in Britain. Component manufacture takes place at Bristol and Hurn (near Bournemouth) and major assembly at Weybridge, Prestwick in Scotland and Preston, Samlesbury and Warton in Lancashire. Pro-

duction in Britain was 40 in 1981 and is expected to be 43 this year and 44 next year, possibly rising to 60 a year later in the decade.

Around 40 Tornados had been delivered to RAF Cottesmore by March 1981 and a weapons training unit has now been set up at RAF Honington in Suffolk. The deployment of the Tornados over the next few years will probably be in the form of six squadrons at the current Vulcan bomber bases at RAF Scampton and RAF Waddington near Lincoln, two further squadrons at RAF Marham in Norfolk and another seven squadrons in West Germany, four at RAF Bruggen and three at RAF Laarbruck.

Expanding

The Tornado GR1 programme represents a huge expansion in Britain's nuclear capability, and recent announcements indicate that this is even greater than was first thought. The original idea was that the 220 Tornados would replace the existing force of 48 Vulcans and 60 Buccaneers. This represented almost a doubling in numbers, besides being a replacement of ageing and largely obsolete aircraft with highly sophisticated planes.

We now know, however, that two of the squadrons of Buccaneers are going to be kept in service and only 36 are being replaced. This means the escalation in nuclear capability is even greater — somewhat strange in a country with a supposed commitment to arms control.

In a recent paper for the NATO Review Mr Nott, the Minister of Defence, stated that "the Tornado GR1 will have a nuclear capability similar to the Vulcans and Buccaneers." This suggests that it will be able to carry a range of nuclear weapons including very destructive large H-bombs up to one megaton in effect.

Ever since the RAF handed over responsibility for the strategic "deterrent" to the Navy with its Polaris submarines, it has been wanting to maintain a medium range bomber capability. The Tornado enables it to do this but at a great cost.

Multi-million

We have been told by the government that the total cost of the Tornado programme

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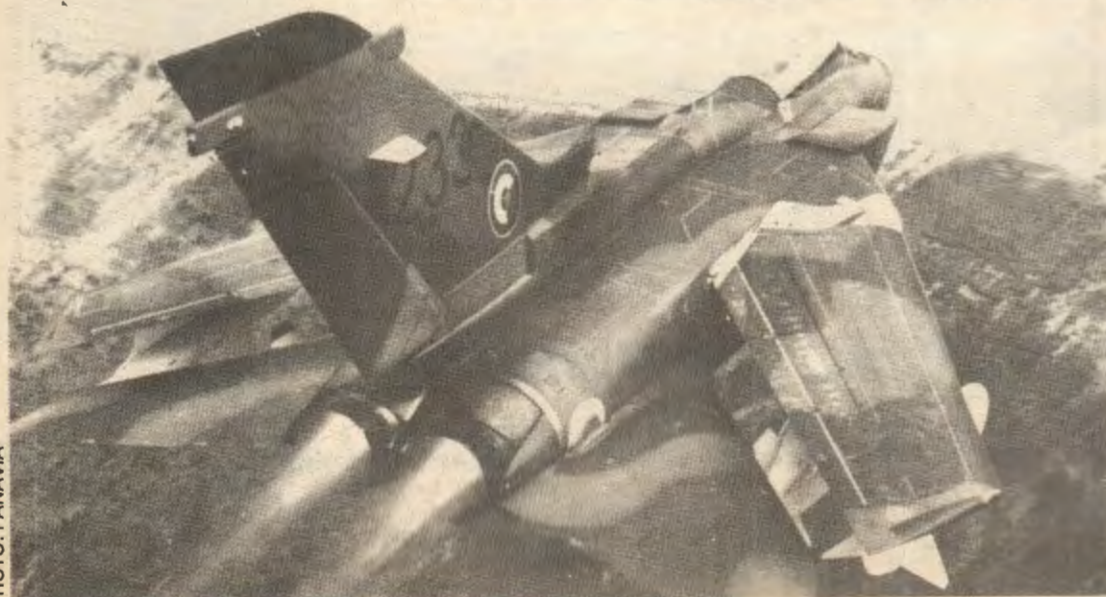


PHOTO: PANAVIA

TORNADO MULTI-ROLE COMBAT PLANE. 385 at about £20 million each

will be £4,874 million at September 1980 prices, and this includes all 385 planes of both types. Even though this is nearly as large as the claimed cost of the Trident missile submarine programme it is still a highly misleading underestimate. The figures given include just the basic cost of each plane — they exclude all the development work and also an important category known as "support" costs made up of expensive items such as weapons and spares. FLIGHT magazine estimates the full cost of each GR1, including support, at £19½ million, giving a total of £4,290 million at September 1980 prices for this part of the programme alone.

We have then got to add the development costs, estimated at £800 million for Britain's share, before we even look at the costs of the other version, the F2. This is predicted to be a more expensive plane but if we assume a similar cost of £19.5 million a plane we get £3,200 million for the 165 of them to be built.

Add this all together and we get a figure of around £8,300 million, still at September 1980 prices. With inflation running at around 12 per cent a year we are heading for £10,000 ar current prices. That is something like the true cost of Tornado and it makes it Britain's most expensive military project so far — no wonder the RAF are cock-a-hoop about getting it through without people noticing.

Deterrent

The story does not end there. Not only is Tornado a major nuclear escalation and a very expensive one at that, but it could well be used as a basis for a new strategic deterrent, all ready to replace the Trident programme should that get cancelled some time in the next two or three years. Even within the Ministry of Defence, people are getting bothered about the Trident programme and are casting around for a possible replacement. There are strong indications that Tornado is a likely candidate.

The plan could be to use it as an airborne launching platform for a new all-British cruise missile based on the Sea Eagle, an anti-shipping cruise missile under development by British Aerospace.

The Sea Eagle is an air-to-surface missile now being tested and due to enter service

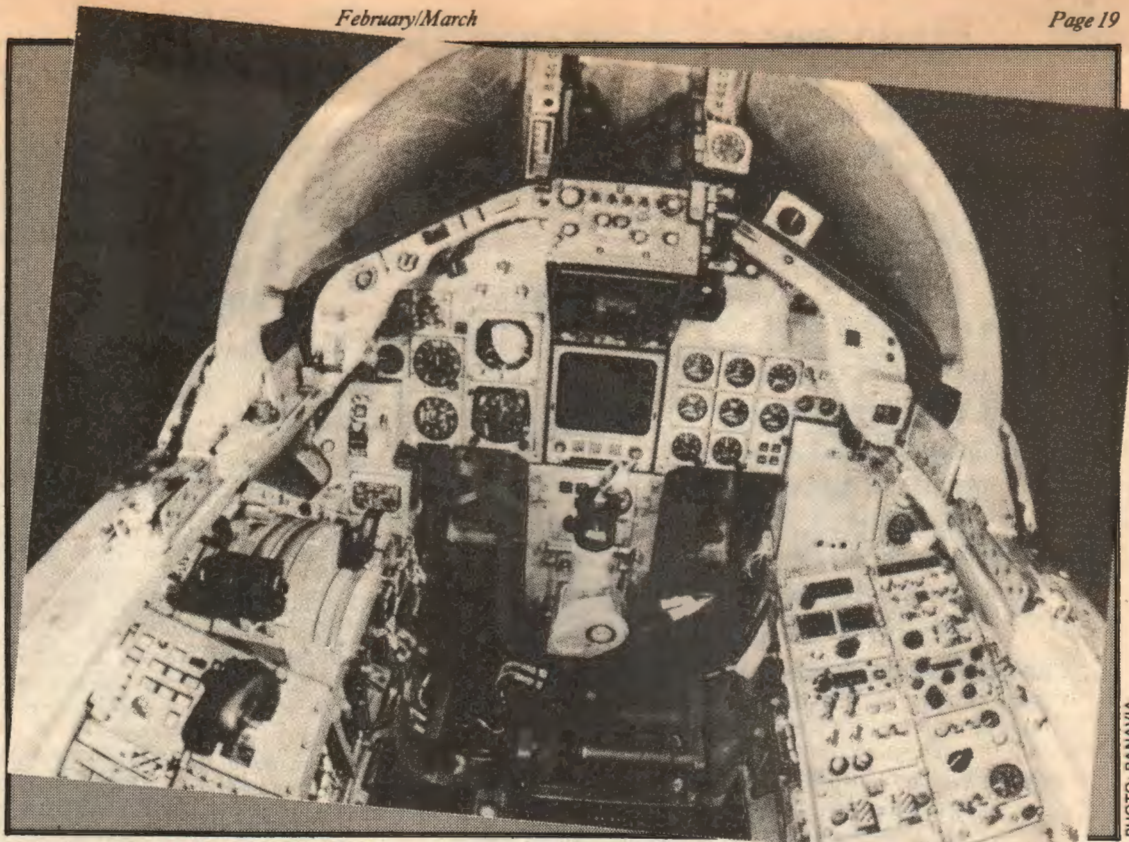


PHOTO: PANAVIA

FINGERS ON the button — but which one? Inside the Tornado Cockpit.

with the RAF and Navy on Tornado, Buccaneer and Sea Harrier aircraft in the early 1980s. It is a £400 million programme and the missile itself has a similar speed to the American cruise missiles but is slightly smaller — 14 feet long with slim 4 foot diameter wings. It is powered by a TRI-60 turbo-jet and can carry an 80 lb warhead. For the final phase of its flight it is described as a sea-skimming missile using an active radar target seeker developed by Marconi.

On its own the Sea Eagle is fairly typical of the expensive new anti-ship missiles of the

1980s, and is small enough to be carried at the rate of four per plane. Its significance is that British Aerospace are now using the Sea Eagle as the basis for a tactical cruise missile for the mid-1980s, the P5T.

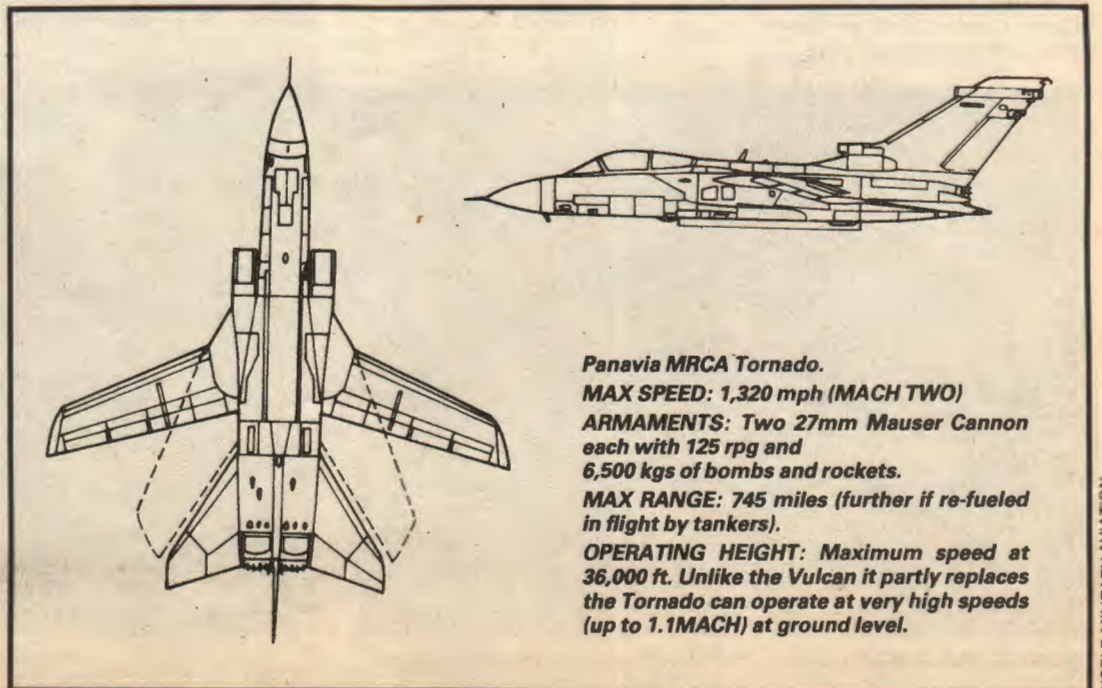
They are reported to be investigating the possibility of a 400 mile range Cruise missile carrying conventional warheads for use against airfields and high-value targets and are studying a terrain profile matching navigation system analogous to that used on the American Cruise missiles.

In practice such missiles could be developed in longer

range versions and could be designed to carry nuclear warheads.

Thus we might imagine the

scene in a couple of years time. Trident is cancelled amidst great publicity, and everyone in CND breathes a sigh of relief. Meanwhile, and very quietly, plans proceed for the adding of nuclear armed Cruise missiles to the large numbers of Tornados then flying and, surprise, surprise, we are back to square one with a super new all-British deterrent. Don't be surprised if it happens. Now is the time to try and stop it.



Panavia MRCA Tornado.

MAX SPEED: 1,320 mph (MACH TWO)

ARMAMENTS: Two 27mm Mauser Cannon each with 125 rpg and 6,500 kgs of bombs and rockets.

MAX RANGE: 745 miles (further if re-fueled in flight by tankers).

OPERATING HEIGHT: Maximum speed at 36,000 ft. Unlike the Vulcan it partly replaces the Tornado can operate at very high speeds (up to 1.1MACH) at ground level.

The Silent Emergency

By Norma Turner

"During the ten years ending 1980, the world spent on the military four million, million dollars at 1978 prices.

We have let our children down; we have betrayed them".

WHILST more than half of the world's children go to bed hungry, we spend billions on nuclear weapons. A conference organised by several groups including the World Disarmament Campaign, the United Nations Association and Journalists Against Nuclear Extermination is to take place to spotlight the scandal. Under the title Professions for World Disarmament and Development it will take place at Imperial College, Exhibition Road, London SW7 on Saturday, 13th February (all day).

IN HIS BOOK "Nuclear Radiation in Warfare" Professor Joseph Rotblat emphasises the increased risk to children, due to their greater intrinsic sensitivity to radiation; the chances of survival for babies and infants in a nuclear war, he says, are very much smaller than for adults exposed to the same radiation level.

When you think about it, that is perfectly obvious — children will naturally be the first to suffer and die. Ninety per cent of the growth of the human brain and 50 per cent of the growth of the human body occurs during the first five years of life.

The very susceptibility of those years demands that adults, both in family life and in world affairs, give priority to the needs of the young. They who are powerless to defend themselves have little strength, no economic sanction, no vote, no union, no ability to organise. They are entirely at our mercy.

But we have let them down; we have betrayed them. We in the rich, market-orientated West, have allowed ourselves to be brainwashed with regard to priorities. By default, we have condoned the expenditure of millions upon millions of pounds for methods of death and destruction at the expense of school meals, free milk, hospitals, day nurseries, welfare services, full employment, et cetera, let alone condoning also the horrific possibility of nuclear war itself.

And if we have betrayed our own young, how much more then have we abdicated our responsibility towards the infants and children of the Third World?

There are now, throughout the globe, about twice as many

people in military occupations as there are doctors, nurses and teachers. Two fifths of the world's scientific research and development is now devoted to military purposes and twenty times as much is spent on the military as on aid to the developing countries.

Poorest

According to the 1981/82 United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) a child's life in those countries, far from being priceless, was worth less than \$100 (approximately £50) in 1981. Fifty pounds wisely spent on each of the poorest 500 million mothers and young children could have brought them the basics of life — improved diets, easier pregnancies, elementary education, basic health care, safer sanitation and more water.

It could have slowed down population growth too, for it has been found that improvements in health care, the decline of infant mortality and the spread of education, especially for girls, is closely connected with an acceptance of family planning and a decline in birth rates. All that for just £50.

But says UNICEF, "it proved too high a price for the world community to pay. And so, every two seconds of 1981, a child paid that price with its life."

Going Blind

Last year 17 million children under five died for us in the greedy West and for the arms race. In the countries where UNICEF works, four out of five children had no modern health care; in rural areas, four out of five had neither adequate water nor sanitation.

Not 10 per cent of them were immunized against the six most common and dangerous diseases of childhood. Yet the cost of immunizing all of the Third World's infants works out roughly at \$5 a child. And this year again, a further 17 million will be dead before their fifth birthday.

1981, reports UNICEF, was just another twelve months of silent emergency; of over 500 children quietly going blind every twenty-four hours; of 40,000 children quietly dying each day; of 10 million children quietly becoming disabled in mind or body; of 100 million children quietly going to sleep hungry at night; of 200 million 6-11 year-olds quietly watching other, richer, children going to school; of one-fifth of the world's people quietly struggling for life itself . . . while we, who consume two-thirds of Third World resources, spent limitless amounts of money on the preparation for war.

Spending Boom

During the ten years ending 1980 the world spent on the military about \$4 million million, at constant 1978 prices and dollars. For many years now world military spending in real terms has increased at a rate of some 2 per cent. Last year, at current 1980 prices, the total world spending was in excess of \$500 thousand million.

Having decided to increase its own military expenditure the US Administration put pressure on its allies during the latter half of 1980 to do the same, and NATO countries committed themselves to an annual target increase of 3 per cent real growth. However,

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"In 1981 over 500 children went blind; 40,000 children died of poverty; 100 million children went to sleep hungry; 10 million became disabled in mind or body each and every day.

In the same year Britain spent more on defence than ever before and made a massive cut in overseas aid."

NATO Europe did not in fact keep up that commitment in 1979 and 1980 – with one exception – Britain. The UK went in for a military spending boom, with an average annual volume increase over the three years 1977 to 1980 of 4.5 per cent (SIPRI Yearbook 1981).

This incredibly high figure was carried out during a time of inflation, growing unemployment, savage cuts in public expenditure – and cut-backs in aid to the Third World. Last year Mrs Thatcher's Government spent £13¼ thousand million on the military, and this year it will doubtless be even more.

Yet in December last, the Government announced a reduction of 11 per cent in real terms on overseas aid for 1982/83, compared with 1981/82. This is the largest drop ever in one year, in the British aid programme. The question is, shall we continue to condone all that is said and done in our name? Shall we leave the Third World to its silent emergency?

Or shall we break the silence and demand, not in our thousands but in our millions, an end to poverty, death, destruction, and a beginning to detente, to peace and to a decent way of life?

The 2nd Special Session of the United Nations on the question of disarmament will meet in New York in June of this year. Spurred on by the need to divert massive arms bills into development the 'group of 21' third world nations will present far-reaching proposals to the meeting.

United Nations General Assembly

Second Special
Session 1982

Disarmament



PHOTO: UNITED NATIONS

Nerve gas leaks out

ONCE AGAIN the Reagan administration has been thrown into disarray by unexpected leaks of US military strategy. This time it was Amoretta Hoeber, the US Army's Assistant Deputy Secretary who hit the headlines. She hinted that the Americans want to base nerve gas in Britain. From her Californian holiday retreat she quickly issued the usual denial. But a Pentagon official suggested the denial was prompted more by the secrecy of the document than by a desire to contradict what she had said before.

TO SEASONED CND campaigners its another piece slotted into the limited war jigsaw. Its almost exactly a year since I warned *Sanity* readers that sinister developments on the chemical weapons front were being planned in the US. CND's pamphlet, *The Silent Killers*, outlined the issues and is selling out fast. A second, updated edition is planned.

JULIAN PERRY ROBINSON an expert on chemical weapons, has described the potential effect of the nerve gas Sarin. He has estimated that "on-target Sarin contamination intended to cause 20% casualties among soldiers carrying respirators but not at first wearing them could, under weather conditions frequent in central Germany, kill unprotected people 20km or more downwind and seriously incapacitate people to about twice that distance. Civilian casualties of the order of millions could result from chemical warfare in Europe".

SOME INDICATION of the 'collateral' effect can be seen from the accident at the US's Dugway proving ground in 1969 – 30 miles away from the site 6,400 sheep died when caught downwind of a release of VX gas, a nerve gas more deadly than Sarin.

Curiously enough, the military commander of Dugway cancelled a planned appearance at an American Association for the Advancement of Science meeting at the beginning of this year. His substitute speaker, none other than Amoretta Hoeber, then withdrew at the last minute, pleading pressure of work!

PRESIDENT REAGAN is trying vainly to stop what one White House official has called a "virtual haemorrhage of leaks of classified information". But it's too late – the cat's out of the bag. We now know what we suspected before, that the US are heading for a chemical arms race with the Soviet Union – a race in which Britain, as US Airstrip One, will inevitably be dragged in.

DR. ARTHUR WESTING, Professor of Ecology, told the American Association conference in January; "although the US already possesses major stocks of chemical weapons, it appears to be tooling up to produce lethal new anti-personnel agents, the so-called binary weapons which can be extraordinarily inhumane and environmentally devastating". Binary weapons are a new class of chemical weapon where two relatively non-toxic chemicals combine in flight to produce a deadly nerve agent.

IT MAY seem relatively small-scale but a "limited" chemical war in Europe could rapidly escalate to a tactical nuclear exchange and so on. The US are using allegations of the use of 'yellow rain' in South East Asia to fuel a new type of arms race. Experts remain sceptical about these allegations; yet they are being used as an excuse to foist a deadly cocktail on to an unsuspecting public. Protests have already been made by CND groups in East Anglia. Its all up to all groups to expose the implications of chemical warfare.

By David Bays

Joan of Newbury

By Chris Horrie

AT CND's annual conference in November 1981, Joan Ruddock, a thirty-eight year old citizen's advice bureau worker from Burghfield Common near the proposed Cruise missile base at RAF Greenham Common was elected CND national chairperson for 1982. She talked to *Sanity* about her involvement in the campaign, the reasons for her election victory and her view of the campaign's development over the next twelve months.

THE SPRING of 1980 was a turning point in the life of CND's new national chairperson Joan Ruddock. Although she has been a CND supporter for several years, it was NATO's decision to station ninety-six Cruise missiles ten miles from her Burghfield Common home at RAF Greenham Common which prompted her to help set up a local campaigning group and submerge herself in campaigning for nuclear disarmament.

She was a teenager when CND first hit the headlines. Living in South Wales and studying for entrance to London's Imperial College, she wasn't involved in CND in those days. Later she became very active in the Labour Party (she is on the left of the party) "and" she explains, "that led me to an interest in CND. Like many people at the time the development of the Neutron bomb brought it to my attention. After that I became active, mainly in the Labour Party, but when we had the NATO announcement about the deployment of Cruise missiles in Britain and Europe in December 1979, I felt it was time to play a more active part."

That announcement was followed by news that the missiles would be based at Greenham Common and Moleworth. Joan Ruddock was chairperson of Newbury Labour Party at the time and a

Labour Party at the time and was a prospective parliamentary candidate for the Newbury constituency in May 1979. The Greenham base is in the constituency.

"On the very day that the announcement was made in the local press we set up an opposition campaign. We decided from the start that we should not be a party political organisation; we would be a broad based campaign. It was launched on a limited platform. We held a very large meeting and from there we set up Newbury Campaign Against Cruise Missiles and we started sorting out the basis for a regional campaign which has now become the Southern Region CND."

Women

The Newbury campaign goes from strength to strength. Recently they distributed a well-produced newspaper to 19,000 homes in the area. It's this sort of experience of setting up local campaign groups that Joan Ruddock believes qualifies her for the tough job of CND's top elected official. And it's the experience, she says, of most of the CND members who voted for her at CND's annual conference in November, "because most people in CND have joined in recent years."

"The other thing I feel certain influenced the vote for the chair was the fact that I am a woman. There has been a lot of pressure in the campaign for the role of women to be recognised, although one woman in the leadership doesn't in any way succeed in doing that.

She believes that CND recognises the role and importance of women and the feminist movement. "It's apparent in what CND is now doing," she said. "We have got wider elected representation on CND's governing national council with representation from the regions and the grass-roots. And we've made it clear that the women's role should be recognised. Of the five delegates elected to go to the national council from my own region, Southern CND, three are women. And I have no doubt that there has been positive discrimination and I welcome it. We are beginning to see the influence of women and perhaps different ways of organising and working being fed into the whole of the campaign."

Despite her commitment to

the Women's movement and, like her predecessor Lord Hugh Jenkins, to Labour's democratic left, she is insistent that CND must remain broadly based and open to all. She warns against too much reliance on the Labour Party. "I think that in the past people within the leadership of CND, as we know from history, depended too much on winning the Labour Party to CND's cause. And when the Labour Party failed CND, then I think the political direction was lost. That is something we have to guard against. It is a complex situation, we may find that we won't have the opportunity to elect a Labour government and we, as a campaign, have to look to the possibility of influencing a government of whatever composition."

When prompted, Joan Ruddock will indulge in every CND campaigner's favourite guessing game and nightmare. How was it that the massive CND campaign of the sixties almost disappeared, and why didn't it win its main goals?

"Perhaps where CND failed in the past, and I only speak from second-hand opinion, is that it didn't politicise its membership. The central organisation did think politically, but didn't take the grass-roots with them. As I go round the country now I find much greater discussion of the role, for example, of the trade union movement and the political parties than perhaps there was in the past.

If discussion brings with it the possibility of political clashes within the movement, perhaps even disastrous splits, Joan Ruddock believes that the movement will remain united by keeping in mind the basic aims which, she says, "are quite clear; unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain."

"As a stepping stone to disarmament I see stopping Cruise and Trident as a beginning and if we keep those issues before us then it is possible to stay together. It requires enormous tolerance and I think that the most impressive thing about the CND campaign is that at every level people are tolerant, more tolerant than you will find in any individual party structure."

Direct Action

If policy questions can cause splits, so can campaign tactics and priorities. In the '60s CND declined as activists fell out

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Youth Culture

By Margaret Smith



PHOTO: ED BARBER

"I see stopping Cruise and Trident as a stepping stone to disarmament. If we keep these aims before us then it is possible to stay together."

trying to decide if CND should support 'direct action' or not. Joan Ruddock isn't haunted by the ghosts of those splits. "I think we have to manage to campaign in several ways at the same time; direct action, concentration on the Labour movement, an 'education' based campaign and so on. I think all these approaches are necessary. But not every single member of CND will want to participate in all of them. Some will want to participate in one aspect alone. I think it's essential to allow each other to do what we do best and allow the campaign to be one of diversity.

"I think there is a role for mass demonstrations because there you get a sense that the campaign is enormous and a sense that we are demonstrating to the public at large. But by themselves demonstrations will not be enough.

"There is clearly a role for working within the Labour movement. We haven't managed to mobilise nearly enough trade unionists. And direct action is something that many people in the movement are demanding.

By 'direct action' Joan means something quite specific. "I mean non-violent direct action which, I think, has a spectrum. The 'Peace Camps' at Greenham Common and Molesworth for example. They are useful to us all. They attract an enormous amount of admiration for the

women who are doing it.

"But at the same time, she says there are people who would not regard the camps as direct action. People who regard direct action as something essentially confrontational. This type of action is a possibility for the campaign, but she has reservations. "We simply couldn't do it as an organisation at the moment. If there is to be what has in the past been called 'civil disobedience' then we will have to plan for it very carefully and all those who participate will have to be quite clear what they are doing and why they are doing it. And we will then, as a national campaign, need to examine how we give support for that type of action. I don't rule it out, it may come quite soon but all I will say is that we will have to prepare very well if the CND membership wants that type of action as well as all the other types of action.

Joan Ruddock's election to CND's national chair was seen by many as a victory for 'new forces' in CND. There is a great deal of truth in this. But at the same time she will attempt to steer CND along the same political path which has enabled the movement to grow into the biggest mass protest since suffragettes. Open, democratic and diverse with a simple message. There is no secure future until we rid Britain and the world of nuclear weapons.

YOUTH CND, a group of under-21 year olds pledged to forward the aims of CND amongst young people, is one of the fastest growing of the disarmament movement's many wings. Re-founded in April 1981 after years of virtual inactivity YCND already has over 2,600 national members, each paying a pocket-money 50p and thousands more members in over 170 local groups – and, as the editor of YCND's own national magazine *Second Generation*, Annajoy David, told me, "that's as many members as the whole of CND had just two years ago."

Organising amongst young people has its own very special set of problems – not least lack of money. But, as Annajoy was eager to point out, there are special opportunities and advantages. "I think there is a need for a separate Youth section for CND because young people need something that they can identify with in their own particular way – like Youth Culture, music, art, drama and disco. And I think that if you don't have that you won't get them motivated." This, she says, is true even though many perhaps most, CND members are quite young anyway, "but if you have an organisation that young people can identify with separately, something of theirs to build up, then you'll get young people far more involved. Like the record 'life in the European Theatre', it's a way of young people getting involved in their own way and feeling that they are not depending on older people."

Young people certainly are getting involved – and Youth CND has a very ambitious programme of activities. Still uncertain of the final details Annajoy told me of plans for a major youth festival to take place this summer.

"What we're trying to do is get all our regions organised and then they'll put on their own activities as well as national ones. We'll be working with END and CND, and Youth CND is calling for its own national demonstration and festival in September. CND is helping us with this and we hope to have worked out things with the GLC and fund-raisers by March.

"All Youth CND people will be involved in moving towards that by regional events happening: now is the time for action, people are motivated, they want to 'do' something and you've got to show them what can be done and give them confidence and resources.

YCND's paper *Second Generation* is taking off as fast as the movement. It aims, says Annajoy, to show the nuclear arms race through young people's eyes. And she has a message for readers of *Sanity*: "Buy 2nd. Generation. If you're a parent or know lots of young people give them a copy. It's a magazine that's produced by young people, for young people, aimed at young people – showing what young people are doing. We have a right to a future and nobody decides whether we live or die.

Second Generation. February issue out now, available from YCND, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ. 20p + postage.

Life in the European Theatre. Featuring The Jam, The Beat The Specials and many other groups is distributed by WEA and is available in all record shops and at branches of W. H. Smiths, Virgin Records etc.



Youth CND's Annajoy David

PHOTO: ED BARBER

John Silkin MP

Talks to Bruce Kent

THE LABOUR PARTY (not for the first time) is committed by conference policy to nuclear disarmament. If a Labour Government were to come to power the man with more responsibility than any other for carrying out this policy would be the Secretary of State for Defence. The man who would be given that job is John Silkin — a mild mannered lawyer on Labour's centre-left. He talked to CND's General Secretary Bruce Kent, starting with the sixty-four million dollar question

SEPTEMBER 1959: Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell (below left) with Shadow Foreign Secretary Aneurin Bevan (below right). In the early 1960s Bevan upheld the disarmament cause in the Labour Cabinet. Today unilateralism is much more firmly rooted in the Labour Party.

BRUCE KENT: What we really want to know is, in your opinion, would a Labour Government coming into power give up the idea of an independent British nuclear weapon of any kind and would such a government refuse to accept Cruise missiles in this country? **JOHN SILKIN:** I've no doubt at all that that is what will happen. I regard my own occupation of the Shadow Defence Secretary post as being an earnest that that is so.

Of course there are people that don't agree, there is absolutely nothing socialist or un-socialist in whether you believe your country should possess nuclear weapons. It may be a somewhat contorted view of Socialism, but there is no question that Russia is not a socialist country and as far as I know Russia is not in favour of unilateral disarmament. So that it isn't the question and people in the Labour Party are entitled to take a different view. But in the end it's a party's general view that comes across and frankly the Labour Party is about unilateral nuclear disarmament. It's in the spirit, particularly, of the young people who are coming along in the party, and I respect their views. The people who don't agree are not madmen, 'Nuclear Yorkshire Rippers' determined on destroying the world. I don't happen to agree with them but they are entitled to their point of view.

BRUCE KENT: David Owen recently said that the Chevaline programme, which cost £1,000 million to update the Polaris nuclear missiles but wasn't debated in Parliament, was known about in the Labour cabinet by people like Tony Benn and Michael Foot. Did, in fact, senior Labour

Ministers know what was going on with this expenditure?

JOHN SILKIN: I don't know. I assume some did because it's no secret that there is no defence committee, as it happens, under successive governments. No doubt it changes its name from time to time — I don't know what its name would be now.

But I listened to David Owen on television when he was saying this, and I'm not conscious of this coming out at all when I was a cabinet Minister.

I think that, implicit in what you say, is quite another question altogether. Forgetting Chevaline and anything else — is it not possible for things to be done which in fact governments know nothing about? And I agree. This is one of those things that will have to be looked into. I don't know what the answer is, I wish I did, beyond saying that perhaps it's half knowing the answer to know the question.

BRUCE KENT: Do you think that there's too much secrecy in this whole business?

JOHN SILKIN: The very possession of weapons implies there has to be a certain amount of secrecy, and that is partly what it's all about. There is a justifiable amount and an unjustifiable amount — and I would have thought that when you start talking about very large sums of money, or differences in quality and direction of military policy, then you have reached the limit of secrecy and people are entitled to say 'stop a moment and consider'. The logic at the moment defeats me — there is the Government's Defence Secretary John Nott saying that he's going to have to stagger Tornado because it's proved too expensive, though that's not what he said in the Defence White paper in 1980. I haven't got a panacea for seeing this sort of thing doesn't happen — but one will try.

BRUCE KENT: Mr Haig and President Reagan have said recently that they could see how there could be a 'limited' nuclear war in Europe.

Do you think that there can be such a thing?

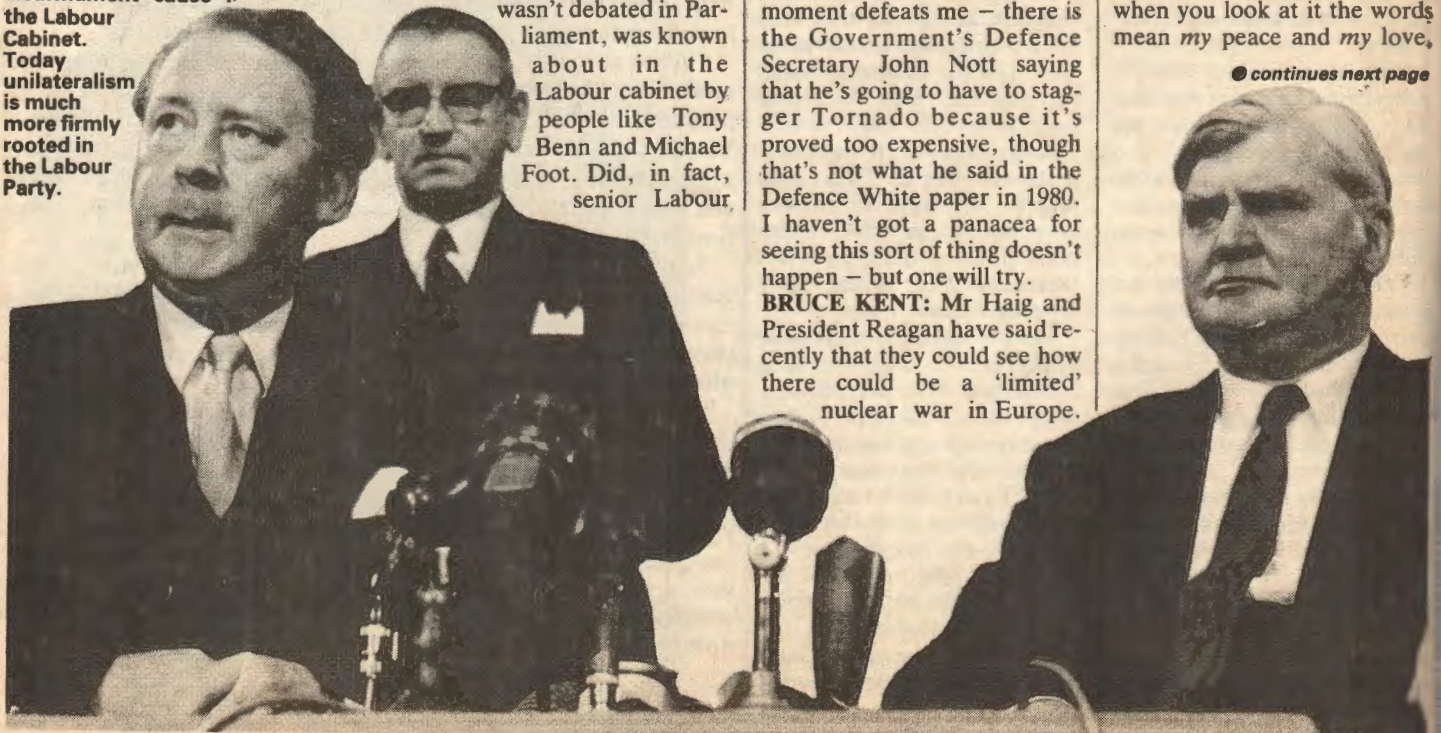
JOHN SILKIN: I take the Mountbatten view, which was first expressed twelve or thirteen years ago, and I see that is what a lot of people are saying at the moment. I don't see how you could stop a nuclear war once you start.

BRUCE KENT: The United Nations Special Session on Disarmament is starting in June of this year. Were you to be in a position to directly influence things, what would you be proposing to the Special Session? What unilateral initiatives would you like to push here in this country by way of peacemaking as a consequence of the Special Session?

JOHN SILKIN: I think that the United Nations, imperfect as it is, is the most important, indeed the only structure, for coming to terms with the arms race. The most important of the problems is between the two empires and away from our own particular problem, which I see as something different. What the UN should be doing in practical terms is to see how not just we, but everybody, can move away from possession of these destructive weapons to a position where we are manufacturing useful things, things that the people of the world really need. A practical programme that people could accept. Normal 'arms control', as I said is not enough.

The two giants, for various reasons, are a little reluctant to talk in either weaponry or in general terms by using terms like 'peace' and 'love', but when you look at it the words mean *my peace and my love*,

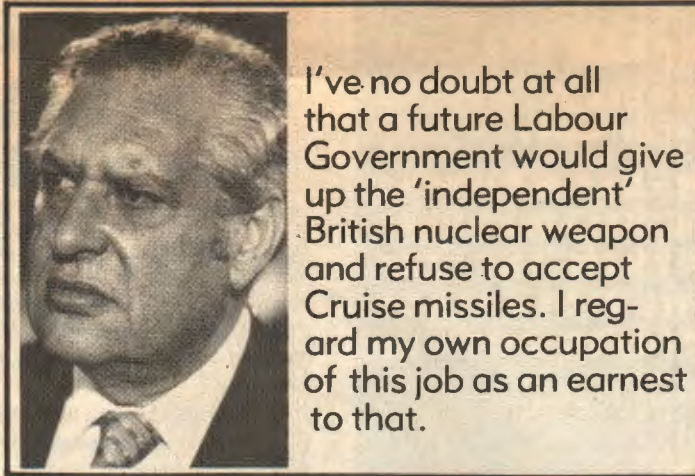
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not yours. So somebody has got to act as a bridge, or a catalyst that starts something else, and I would have thought that was our job. I believed when I took over this job that there was a practical job to be done, which is why I asked that a particularly intelligent woman, Oonagh McDonald, should be part of my team. She will work with industry to see how we can make life better for our people – not worse. Now that expertise – and the government just has to push a button and they've got all the expertise they need – will help us to get a practical policy. That is what we should be pulling for.

BRUCE KENT: You are very committed to Britain playing a full role in NATO. A lot of CND members will disagree with you on that. Do you believe, as Denis Healey says, that it is impossible for Britain to remain in NATO and get rid of nuclear weapons?

JOHN SILKIN: I don't know what Denis Healey's view is at present; we all have to reconsider things anyway. I don't believe that it is impossible at all. One of the things that irritates me is the way some people still talk about sheltering under a 'nuclear umbrella' – as though if nuclear weapons hadn't been invented



I've no doubt at all that a future Labour Government would give up the 'independent' British nuclear weapon and refuse to accept Cruise missiles. I regard my own occupation of this job as an earnest to that.

the world would have been in a *more* dangerous position than it is now, that's the logic of it. That's nonsense. The world is in a much more dangerous position *because* of nuclear weapons and that is why I oppose them.

As far as NATO is concerned, the overwhelming majority of nations involved in it are non-nuclear. The only two who are, at the moment, are the United States and Great Britain. Now as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, in any event, it isn't even an independent nuclear weapon that we have – we pretend it is, but of course it isn't.

BRUCE KENT: You use the term 'nuclear weapon' instead

blocs . . . along the lines prof of the more usual 'nuclear deterrent'. Does this mean that you don't believe nuclear weapons are a deterrent?

JOHN SILKIN: Certainly Britain's nuclear weapons aren't. They are only about 3 per cent of the American total. Maybe the Russians in a war would think 'let's get those out of the way first' but it wouldn't stop them – they'd be considering the thousands that the Americans had, even if we had the D-5, improved Trident missiles.

BRUCE KENT: If you were in Government, would you promote the bi-lateral contacts between countries in Western and Eastern European blocs in order to try and break up the

posed by END?

JOHN SILKIN: I think these contacts are useful, but let me put another point to you. There is something of value in having the ability of being able to talk as one large bloc to another. In the end, and I would like this to be done by the United Nations, those two blocs must come down, not just controlled but diminished. Therefore there is something in NATO talking to Warsaw and Warsaw talking to NATO. But I do agree that a little burrowing at the two edifices is not a bad thing either.

BRUCE KENT: What about the arms trade. How would you set about the business of running down what Mr Healey has called 'our valuable share of a large export market'?

JOHN SILKIN: One has to cease to be dependent on it. The argument used to be that you could cut the costs of your own arms by selling them abroad as well. We used to call them, in the 30's when it was all private enterprise, the 'Merchants of Death' – a term nobody seems to use these days. The argument was that you couldn't have a proper defence policy without an arms trade. I don't think this is true any longer. I don't very much approve of the arms trade as such, I think it is bad.

PHOTO: LABOUR PARTY LIBRARY

PANdemonium

"P.A.N." it said at the top. "Pagans Against Nukes" it explained at the bottom.

Like me, you probably missed their banner at the big London demonstration in October, but practitioners of the Old Religion, The Craft, witchcraft – call it what you will – are, many of them, on our side. We have always known that the nuclear arms race isn't exactly Christian; now it seems that it isn't permissible to pagans either. That goes, in some Craft circles, for nuclear power too.

Phil Cousins, the organiser of P.A.N., runs a Sister Centre of the Fellowship of Isis, but as the magazine *Pipes of Pan* states, the pressure group is "for all pagans without sectarian barriers". One of the aims is "to involve pagans actively within organisations such as CND" (what's this, Tory MPs will be asking, yet another Fifth Column lurking inside the Campaign?) and "to do ritual workings on or near nuclear sites themselves".

One such ritual took place at a location which I shall refer to merely as a Berkshire wood. On the way there, everyone found a suitable stone and piece of wood for use in the ritual; but one element was missing: "Being on National Trust land we couldn't have a bonfire. That's a sort of bonfire."

After calling on the Old Gods, who included, of course, Pan, the robed

participants placed the stones in holes dug with the wood and "the Pan peace chant raised a cone of power". There was dancing and more chanting until the worshippers ("under the scrutiny of an inquisitive badger" – pagans are not without a sense of humour) returned to their cars.

The words they spoke are not known to me, so I quote instead the second half of "Chant – by Brian":

"Building of sickness, death and destruction, fall to the ground, rumble tumble. The Gods command it so shall be.

One brick, two brick, three brick and four, and a thousand more."

It might not have occurred to the more conventional of us to put it quite like that, any more than we would say of the Greenham Common peace camp, on which there has been a pagan presence, "this is just the sort of activity that moves the astral forces". But however the path to the conclusion, what matters is that we get there, whether we are dressed in flowing robes or jeans.

Talking of garments, "Does your coven look like something the familiar's dragged in after a hard night on the astral?" asks a small ad in *Pipes of Pan*.

"Time to get them new robes/cloaks from Kate and Janet's pagan robing emporium, c/o 69 Cranbury Road,



A sign of the times?

Reading." That is, incidentally, where to contact Phil Cousins and P.A.N.

Phil does not feel there is anything particularly outlandish about The Craft, even if it does involve worship of the Horned God and the (non-horned) Goddess; nor does he think it extraordinary that pagans should have a point of view on the nuclear issue.

"It is not strange that the Australian aborigines and American Indians object to their land being taken. We as pagans don't like to see our land occupied by the nuclear powers."

There is no arguing with that, at least, not by me. He can count on a helping hand with his banner any time.

By Jonathan Sale

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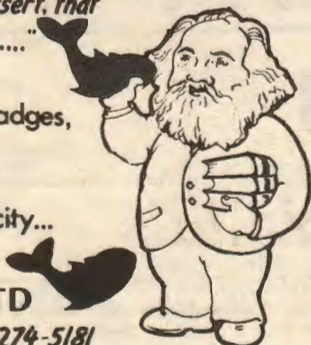
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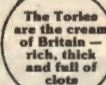
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Britain fuels Nuclear Arsenal

Howard Clark

The author of CND Publication's forthcoming pamphlet 'Atoms for War' looks into the murky world of plutonium sales and finds still more evidence that nuclear energy and nuclear power programmes are inseparable.

Plutonium is produced in all commercial nuclear reactors but the US has so far relied for its home-produced plutonium on other, purpose-built reactors which don't generate electricity. When fuel is withdrawn from a reactor, plutonium is then extracted from it ("reprocessing" this is called). Unless it imports, the US plutonium-production system cannot meet the increased demand from the MX and other weapons systems except by introducing a new form of reprocessing - laser isotope separation - to extract plutonium from the stocks of spent fuel from commercial stations. At the moment, this is merely stored and not reprocessed.

Britain, however, has ample plutonium. Most British commercial stations are of the "Magnox" type, developed from the first dual-purpose nuclear stations which provided, and still provide, plutonium for weapons and electricity as a bonus. Magnox reactors produce plutonium which is more suitable for use in weapons and as fuel than that produced in pressurised water reactors (the type used in US commercial stations). Furthermore, much of this has already been reprocessed at Windscale where there is a plutonium stockpile of around 12 tonnes at present (enough for 24,000 bombs).

Brave

R. V. Hesketh, a nuclear physicist working for the Central Electricity Generating Board (CEGB), has already written to *The Times* protesting. He has previously assured critics "that civil nuclear energy is distinct from military nuclear energy . . . (If the UK) were to sell plutonium to the Reagan administration, I do not think it could be rationally maintained that we, the United Kingdom, have distinguished civil use from military use" (October 30, 1981).

It is brave for someone inside the

nuclear industry to speak out against this deal, but he ignores the likelihood that the US has already made bombs with plutonium from British "civil" power stations. There is a huge discrepancy between the amount of plutonium produced in the British nuclear power programme and the sums publicly admitted to be stockpiled, to have been exported or to have been used in fast reactor fuel experiments. The obvious explanation to account for this "missing" plutonium is that it has been used for weapons - British or American.

The US has relied on Britain in the past to make good its shortage of plutonium, and Britain has had no qualms about supplying the US with plutonium explicitly for bombs. In 1958 the US and UK agreed to exchange "special nuclear materials". This agreement has been repeatedly extended, most recently in 1979. It may seem hypocritical for two parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty to help each other make nuclear weapons - it is hypocritical - but this traffic does *not* in fact violate the Treaty.

Talks

Britain has also sold plutonium to another nuclear weapons state - France - beginning in 1963 when France was still a member of NATO. This plutonium is also said to be for use in fast reactors, though it too has made other plutonium available for weapons production.

One idea for campaigning against this new plutonium deal is to take advantage of the CEGB Talks Service. Each region of the CEGB will send a speaker to talk about nuclear power. Your group could ask for someone to explain the Board's policy about the export. You may find that some of them, like R. V. Hesketh, are having second thoughts about the links between nuclear energy and nuclear weapons.

THE BRITISH Government has agreed in principle to sell plutonium to the United States, "subject to commercial negotiations". The government describes this as "civil plutonium", for "civil use" by the USA, but the overriding reason for the deal is that the USA is acutely short of the plutonium it needs for its nuclear weapons programme.

Commercial

The Reagan administration is committed to a vast increase in manufacturing nuclear warheads and at the same time intends to revive research into fast reactors (these are fuelled by plutonium). The British plutonium will ostensibly be for the fast reactor and the British Government will ask the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to "safeguard" any plutonium it sells to the US, checking that it is not used for weapons. But the retiring head of the IAEA is reported to be alarmed by the deal as the application of safeguards in this case will obviously be no more than a ruse: a specific batch of British plutonium may be used as fast reactor fuel; at the same time, however, total US stocks of plutonium will increase and more plutonium will be released for making nuclear weapons.

Roger Woddis

Regret

'If only I had known, I should have become a watchmaker.' - Albert Einstein, pioneer nuclear physicist, born 14 March 1879. Died 18th April 1955.

I should have listened to a softer chime,
My world a workbench spread with coils and springs;
I should have done far less impressive things
Than probed the mysteries of space and time.
I should have left the infinite alone,
If only I had known.

I should have kept my findings out of sight
And worn the most improbable of masks,
Not spent my energy on massive tasks,
Or squared the symbol for the speed of light.
I should have left the universe alone,
If only I had known.

I should have screwed the eyeglass in my eye,
And looked at harmless filigrees of steel
To check the defects of a balance-wheel,
Not measured movement in the restless sky.
I should have left the consequence alone,
If only I had known.

The case for and against the bomb

TWO BOOKS could hardly differ more. Churchill advocates re-armament and believes the Soviet Union is ahead of the West in almost every respect and threatens all our freedoms. McMahan takes a clinical look at arguments for and against nuclear weapons and comes down in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain. For quite different reasons each book should be widely read by CND supporters.

Defending the West is a remarkable mixture of selectivity and disinformation. By concentrating on exaggerated views of Soviet forces and by ignoring many highly significant western comparisons, Churchill succeeds in presenting a picture of rampant Soviet expansionism. At times his use (or rather mis-use) of statistics is astonishing. There are many examples but one particularly glaring illustration will suffice. On page 77 he has a table comparing US and Soviet strategic warheads, showing that over the last decade or so the United States has led the Soviet Union in total warheads by a substantial margin.

PAUL ROGERS

Reviews Defending the West by Winston S. Churchill. Published by Temple Smith, 1981, and British Nuclear Weapons: For and Against by Jeff McMahan, Junction Books, 1981. £3.95.

He then goes on to extrapolate through to 1986 estimating that the Soviet total will rise from 6,282 for 1980 to 10,000 by 1986 whereas the American total will stabilise at 9,139, the level for 1980. He completely ignores the 3,400 air-launched Cruise missile warheads due to be deployed on B52 bombers. He ignores the B1 bomber and the new MX missile and he even ignores the rapid expansion of America's Trident missile fleet including the giant new Ohio class of submarine.

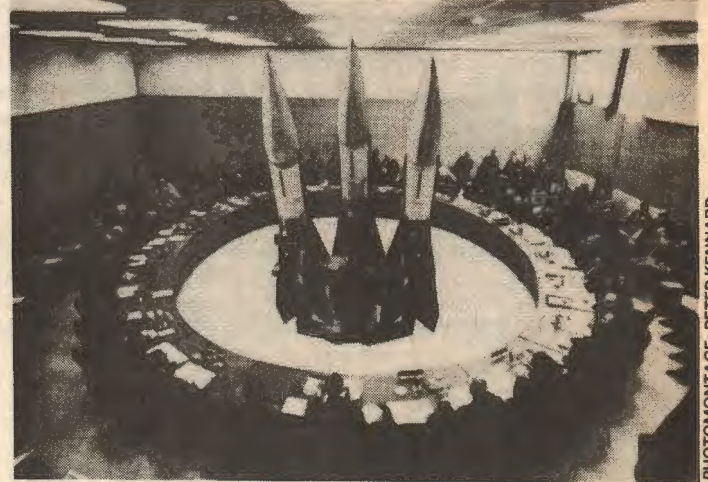
This is disinformation of a remarkable kind, for inclusion of these systems demonstrates the American plans to maintain their strategic warhead superiority.

Nevertheless I recommend this book for its revelations of current establishment thinking. Churchill, after all, has been a Conservative party opposition spokesman on defence and Vice-Chairman of the Conservative Defence Committee.

British Nuclear Weapons: For and Against examines the many arguments concerning British nuclear weapons in a calm and logical way. The title is something of a misnomer as

McMahan includes American nuclear systems based in Britain. The book is heavy going at times and some of the arguments examined are, to say the least, tortuous.

Yet the book is generally illuminating and merits some perseverance. It is well organised, has a very helpful summary and, above all, takes on the many different arguments about nuclear weapons policy and subjects them to critical appraisal.



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Jobs down the drain

ALAN SAPPER



*Reviews The Arms
Drain: Job risk and in-
dustrial decline by Tim
Webb. Published by
CND Publications,
1982. 48pp. 50p.*

THE 1981 Trades Union Congress in Blackpool made history by adopting overwhelmingly a resolution calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament - a resolution emulated by the Labour Party at its Conference. The adoption of these resolutions was followed, even more recently, by demonstrations throughout the major cities of Europe - demonstrations of a size unprecedented and which make CND a force to be heeded by governments committed to the madness of nuclear stockpiling.

The policy of the Labour Party and the TUC for unilateral disarmament will mean, if implemented, a reduction in arms and allied expenditure which will release considerable resources for the manufacturing and service industries of our nation, thus benefiting the community as a whole instead of international arms profiteers. The resultant more stable situation will encourage fuller and more useful employment and a higher quality of life for all our people.

The Arms Drain: Job Risk and Industrial Decline is, therefore, a timely document and the trade union movement welcomes the initiative of its author. It both considers and endorses the need for a policy of reallocation of labour arising from the implementation of unilateral disarmament. The booklet will be of great value to CND and the trade union movement when formulating the comprehensive plan to be submitted to the 1982 Trade Union Congress under the terms of the Blackpool resolution.

● Alan Sapper is chairman of the TUC.

Definitely NOT the Dimpleby lecture

BRUCE KENT

Reviews **BEYOND THE COLD WAR** by E. P. Thompson. Published by the Merlin Press and END. 36pp 60p. Available from CND sales dept.

THIS magnificent pamphlet is, as the cover says, 'not the 'Dimpleby lecture'. It is what might have been that lecture but for high level BBC panic and conformity. Perhaps 'Nation shall speak status quo to Nation' might be a more appropriate slogan for our High Priests of broadcasting.

Instead the lecture was given in Worcester City Guild-

hall in November of last year by E. P. Thompson. He has given us something new. There must be by now, on the shelves of those who care about ending the arms race, many admirable bits of literature which describe the technicalities of weaponry and each new turn of the scientific screw.

But this lecture, given by one who would have to try very hard indeed if he wanted to be boring, has produced something different. This is an analysis of the cold war, a look at its odd history, and an examination both of its reciprocal character and its exhausted rationale. 'What is the Cold War about? It is about itself.' This is not just the past and the present. It is also,

very much a vision of the future and a source of inspiration. 'Time runs out' is the urgent message. This is not only the vision of EPT. It is also that of one of the moving forces in his life. His brother who was killed fighting with the partisans in Bulgaria during the war, had the same clear picture of a Europe united which would be worth working and even dying for. Perhaps he was the founding father of END.

EPT has the ability to unite us all. The creed is a simple one and simple ones have more chance of being heard than those born out of complications. Our common business, in charge temporarily of the world's resources is *something more than to consume as*

much as we can and then blow the place up'.

Despite massive propaganda to the contrary the events of Poland, which came after the lecture, strengthen rather than weaken its message. They are a symptom of Europe's sickness and a sign of the coming unfreezing and fracture within the existing bloc divisions. They have outlived whatever time they had and it is high time that we began to be, not satellites of East or West, but ourselves. A thousand peaceful links must be built across the unnatural fracture which now exists.

The trouble with EPT is that he actually makes us all start to think. That is a disturbing experience and one that is certainly very well worth 60p.

"Nobody asked what women thought"

FRANK ALLAUN

Reviews **SCARS UPON MY HEART** edited by Catherine Reilly. Published by Virago Press. £3.75.

ALTHOUGH I was in nappies at the time, the horrors of the 1914 war, one of the great crimes of history, drove me into the peace movement when I left school.

The anti-war poets Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, Alfred Noyes and others were Gods, whom I remember quoting at public meetings. I never knew there were women writing similar poetry - until this month.

Then I read these powerful war poems collected clearly with tremendous care by Catherine Reilly in "Scars Upon My Heart" (Virago Press £3.75). And these women were writing before the male poets, in 1915.

What mother could fail to be moved by the poem written by Teresa Hooley after seeing a war film, from which I quote the following extract?

"When the day was done
My little son
Wondered at bath-time
why I kissed him so,
Naked upon my knee
How could he know
The sudden terror that
assaulted me?"

I find most poetry hard to understand. Yet these poems are clear, simple and telling. For example, that by Gertrude Ford, entitled "A Fight to a Finish."

"Fight on!" the Armament-kings besought:
Nobody asked what the women thought."

Absolutely true. Nobody asked what the women thought. The belief that all women were busy distributing White Feathers to those who refused to kill was a myth. Millions of women were separated from their husbands, lovers and sons for years and many for all time - German women too. The pity of it all.

It is true, of course, that a number of the women poets, mostly middle class and educated privately at home, believed in the justice of the war and in the false patriotism and false religion which surrounded it.

Most of these verses were penned after direct experience of service as nurses near the front line in war hospitals or else from deep personal affection for the absent and dead.

Mary Henderson, about whom the editor, Catherine Reilly, was unable to discover any details at all, wrote in "An Incident":

"I was making tea in the tent where they,
The wounded, came in their agony;
And the boy turned when his wounds were dressed,
Held up his face like a child at the breast,

Turned and held his tired face up,
For he could not hold the spoon or cup,
And I fed him . . .
Mary, Mother of God,
All women tread where thy feet have trod."

Catherine Reilly, a Manchester woman, has chosen as the title for her book part of a quotation from a Vera Brittain poem: "Your battle wounds are scars upon my heart." It is the first anthology of women's war poems for over sixty years.

The great crime of 1914 may

soon be repeated, but on a far more vast and more final scale. This book should steel our determination not to let it happen.

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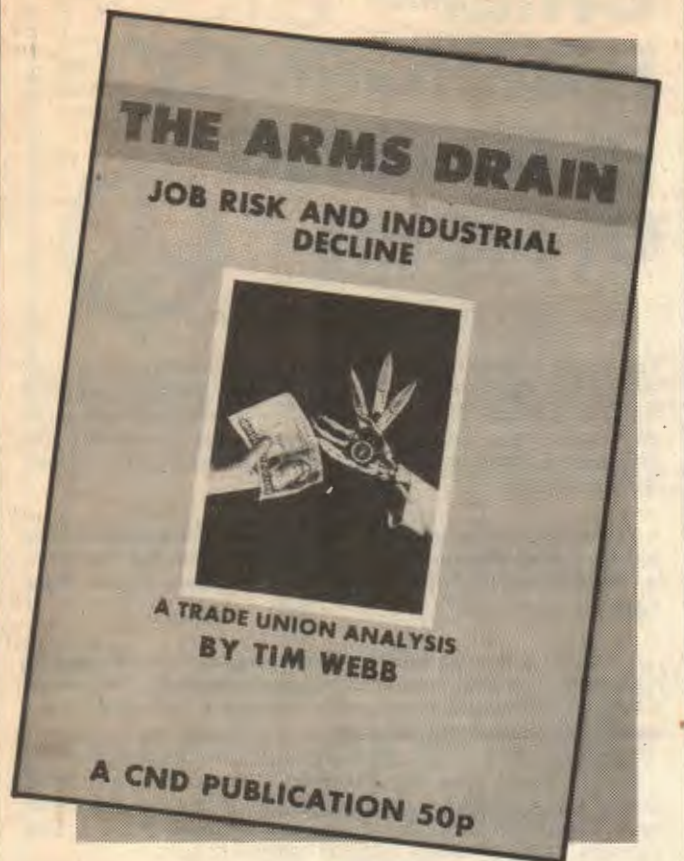
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The County Council has recently declared the Administrative County of Tyne and Wear a nuclear free zone and has sought the support of the Local Authority Associations in calling for more stringent statutory control over radio-active substances, and in particular the manufacture, siting and movement of such materials in and through the County area.

The person appointed will be expected to work in close liaison with the various departments of the County Council, the Metropolitan District Councils, Statutory and Public Bodies and other relevant Agencies.

Applicants must have experience of managing a diverse range of activities such as those covered in emergency planning. The primary activity of liaison and co-ordination with many organisations demands a high level of personal skills.

Further details from the Personnel Officer, Tyne and Wear County Council, Sandyford House, Archbold Terrace, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE2 1ED. The closing date for applications is 12th February, 1982.

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DEATH

TO
INNOCENT
CIVILIANS

THOUSANDS

DEAD: Tens of thousands of innocent people (perhaps as high as 20,000 members of one tribe in Laos alone!) have died an agonizing death at the hands of the Soviet Union's newest terror-weapon: YELLOW RAIN.

AGONIZING

DEATH: YELLOW RAIN is a sophisticated weapon which has been sprayed on heavily populated areas in Afghanistan, Laos, and Kampuchea. Survivors report that individuals who come into contact with this substance have died an agonizing death.

WALKING

HEMORRHAGES: Victims of YELLOW RAIN become "walking hemorrhages." Blood flows from all body orifices, including the eyes, ears, and nose. Massive quantities of blood are vomited and coughed up by the victims. Convulsions begin—victims in Afghanistan were described by survivors as "jerking like dogs with broken backs," in Kampuchea "jerking like fish when you take them out of water." Death follows convulsions, and the bodies soon turn black.

LINGERING

EFFECTS: Most victims die soon after a YELLOW RAIN attack. But those who are exposed to the poison and live suffer constant pain and medical disorders. Many die later. At least 35 Laotian refugees in the United States, apparently "cured," have inexplicably died in their sleep.

SOVIET

LINK: YELLOW RAIN has been undeniably linked to the Soviet Union. Soviet scientists have developed it; Soviet technicians have transported it; and Soviet personnel have sprayed it.

DEATH-TO INNOCENT CIVILIANS WILL CONTINUE UNLESS YOU STOP IT!

PROTEST THIS BARBARIC WEAPON!

We must protest the Soviet deployment of chemical arms, banned by the laws of human decency and two international treaties. Only a large international outcry will stop this deployment! Innocent civilians—including children—will be killed in large numbers unless we act! Join in protests sponsored by The Committee to Stop Chemical Atrocities, or sponsor your own protest! (We'll help)

TELL YOUR FRIENDS & NEIGHBORS!

Unlimited free copies of a brochure explaining how we can stop chemical weapon deployment and a 14-page analysis of the issue are available free from The Committee to Stop Chemical Atrocities. Distribute these door-to-door, to local organizations, and to interested friends.

ALERT YOUR COMMUNITY!

Write letters to local newspapers expressing outrage at these killings! Put copies of this poster around your school, business and neighborhood. (Copies are available free)

URGE GOVERNMENT ACTION!

Write your U.S. Senators and Congressmen in Washington. Urge them to address this critical situation before more lives are lost.

For information on The Committee to Stop Chemical Atrocities, and free copies of our brochure, research paper, and this poster (specify # you can distribute), and a "STOP YELLOW RAIN" button (35¢ each), and assistance organizing a "STOP YELLOW RAIN" protest, call or write:

THE COMMITTEE TO STOP CHEMICAL ATROCITIES

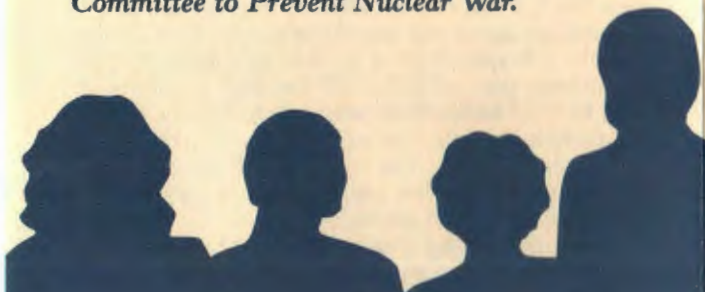
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Washington, D.C. 20003
202-543-1286

What is the Answer??

What then should be the policy of those dedicated to the continued prevention of nuclear war? For them, history provides only one answer: War is prevented by deterrence and deterrence is achieved by strategic balance. To those seriously determined to prevent nuclear war, there is only one way to reduce nuclear arsenals: A mutual, balanced reduction which depends not on empty promises but on iron-clad treaties and reliable, confidence-building provisions for verifying compliance.

A balanced, verifiable mutual arms cut will continue to prevent nuclear holocaust. A freeze which freezes imbalance will dangerously erode the tried and tested deterrence and actually make nuclear war more likely.

Do not be fooled by simplistic slogans. Support only those policies which history has demonstrated can prevent nuclear war. Join the Committee to Prevent Nuclear War.



For more information or free copies of this brochure, contact:

THE COMMITTEE TO PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR

International Headquarters	European Headquarters
413 East Capitol Street Washington, D.C. 20003 USA (202) 543-1286	Arrow House—4th Floor 27/31 Whitehall London SW1A 2BX England 01-839-3951

THE COMMITTEE
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413 East Capitol Street
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PREVENTING NUCLEAR WAR:

A Few Simple Facts

SPECIAL REPORT BY
THE COMMITTEE TO PREVENT
NUCLEAR WAR

Do you want to prevent nuclear war? We do. And we believe that just about every American wants to also. The question is: How do we do it? By a unilateral freeze? By alerting the public through terrifying Ground Zero rallies? By negotiating with Moscow—from weakness or from strength? By restoring strategic balance and preserving nuclear deterrence?

The answer requires careful analysis. The current national debate over the military nuclear issue seems to be creating more confusion than understanding. For those who want to prevent nuclear war, *the time has come to insist on a few simple facts.*

It is a fact that Americans do not want a nuclear war. It is a fact that Americans do not want a war of any kind. It is also a fact, however, that Americans do not want to suffer the fate of the people of Poland—and the other countries dominated by Moscow.

It is a fact that when a few Western tourists tried to unfurl a “peace” banner in Red Square they were immediately arrested by the KGB.

The arguments for a nuclear arms freeze now heard in the U.S. and Western (not Eastern) Europe would be seriously debatable if the same kind of free debate were taking place in the Soviet Empire.

A Successful Nuclear Deterrence Policy...

America's 37 year old policy of nuclear deterrence coupled with conventional preparedness and a continuous diplomatic dialogue with the Soviet leaders is the *only* U.S. government policy, foreign or domestic, which has been *100 percent successful.*

And, most important, it is a fact that in 37 years—since the dawn of the nuclear age—there has not been a nuclear war anywhere. There has been *no* war between the Superpowers and there has been *no* war in Europe. Europe has enjoyed its longest period of peace since the fall of the Roman Empire.

It is thus a fact that the U.S. nuclear deterrence policy has been a remarkably successful and sane policy. It has also been a remarkably inexpensive one. Less than 3 percent of the total federal budget is devoted to the nuclear deterrent. This means that the average taxpayer earning about \$20,000 a year is contributing approximately \$120 a year to pay for this insurance policy against nuclear war and foreign domination.

These are the facts. The challenge to those who truly want to prevent nuclear war is to **make certain that these remain facts.** For the deterrent to continue to be successful, it is essential that the USSR and the world perceives a rough balance of power between the two superstates. If the Soviet leaders believed that they were in a superior position it is possible that they would try to take advantage of it. Such a situation would, of course, make war more likely.

In calculating this critical possibility, the experience of the last 37 years is instructive.

A Historical Perspective...

From 1945 to 1950, the United States and Britain had complete and unchallenged nuclear superiority. During this time, they did not use their superior power to dominate others. The U.S. and Britain even acquiesced in the Soviet annexation of Eastern Europe, accepting Soviet promises of “free elections”. Both the Americans and the British freed their territorial possessions, rehabilitated West Germany and Japan, and gave them democratic governments and independence.

The USSR, on the other hand, occupied Eastern Europe and continues to do so. In the late 1940's, it tried to occupy Greece, Turkey, Iran and West Berlin. The Soviet dictator at that time withdrew when faced with Western diplomatic firmness supported by a clearly superior military deterrent.

Throughout the 1950's and 1960's the same basic policy prevailed; for instance, in 1962 the USSR ultimately withdrew its missiles from Cuba.

In the early 1970's, however, as the U.S. reduced its defenses while the Soviets increased theirs, an ominous new trend appeared. One nation after another fell under the Soviet influence: South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, South Yemen, Angola, Ethiopia—and other African countries.

Just recently—for the first time since the end of World War II—the USSR abandoned all pretence of using proxy powers and openly invaded a neutral nation—Afghanistan—with Soviet troops.

A Bold Initiative...

It is clear that as the balance of power has been shifting in the Soviet direction, America's deterrence policy is becoming slowly less effective.

But, as some say, would not Soviet behavior be different if Moscow did not—rightly or wrongly—perceive the West as a threat? If only the U.S. would take a bold initiative and reduce arms—it is possible that the Soviets would follow. Why not, these people say, give peace a chance?

The fact is that we have already tried this bold initiative. The U.S. did substantially reduce its military spending and the size of our armed forces since 1968. In that year the U.S. spent 9.5% of its GNP on defense; by 1979 the defense share of U.S. GNP had been cut almost in half, to 5%. The Soviet response was to steadily increase its armed forces until they are now more than double the size of the American forces. The USSR also expanded military spending, when adjusted for inflation, over the same period by about one-third.

In addition, during a time when NATO deployed no new middle range nuclear missiles, and even withdrew 1000 nuclear warheads, the Soviets deployed **more** than 750 new nuclear warheads and advanced SS-20 missiles *alone.*

The Soviet nuclear arsenal has been growing at a rate of at least 8 percent a year for more than 20 years. *As a result, any sudden “freeze” would penalize the West for showing considerable restraint during the same period the Soviets were having the largest military build-up in world history. Such a freeze would reward the Soviets for initiating a new arms race and would remove all incentive for them to seriously negotiate a REDUCTION in nuclear arms to LOWER AND EQUAL NUMBERS on both sides.*

United States Department of State

THE NUCLEAR FREEZE

April 1982



The Nuclear Freeze

In recent months, a proposal for a U.S.-Soviet nuclear weapons freeze has attracted widespread attention. A resolution supporting such a freeze has been submitted to Congress, and versions have been placed on the November ballot in several states. While the wording of different versions varies, and some call for eventual reductions in arms levels, the basic idea is this:

The President should immediately propose that the United States and the Soviet Union adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons, subject to strict verification.

The U.S. Government recognizes that the proposal represents the best of intentions: to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war and encourage more rapid progress in a critical and exceptionally complex area of arms control. We all share these objectives. But, after carefully reviewing the proposal, we have concluded that a freeze at existing nuclear levels would have adverse implications for international security and stability and would frustrate attempts to achieve the goal on which we all agree: the negotiation of substantial reductions in the nuclear arsenals of both sides.

What Kind of Arms Control Agreements Do We Seek?

Four principles underlie the U.S. approach to arms control. We seek agreements that:

- *Produce significant reductions* in the arsenals of both sides;
- *Result in equal levels of arms on both sides*, since an unequal agreement, like an unequal balance of forces, can encourage coercion or aggression;
- *Are verifiable*, because when our national security is at stake, agreements cannot be based upon trust alone; and
- *Enhance U.S. and allied security and reduce the risk of war*, because arms control is not an end in itself but an important means toward securing peace and international stability.

These four principles were highlighted by the President in his speech of November 18, 1981. They are the foundation for the U.S. position in the current Geneva negotiations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF). They also form the basis for our approach to strategic arms negotiations with the Soviet Union, negotiations we will call START—*Strategic Arms Reduction Talks*.

What Are the Drawbacks of a Freeze Proposal?

While the Administration shares the genuine and deeply felt convictions that have given rise to the freeze proposal, we believe the proposal does not constitute sound defense or effective arms control policy, and thus we cannot support the freeze itself. A freeze would be dangerous to security, stability, and the cause of peace for the following reasons:

- *A freeze at existing levels would lock the United States and our allies into a position of military disadvantage and vulnerability.* The freeze would prevent us from correcting existing dangerous deficiencies in our nuclear forces caused by the sustained Soviet buildup. The substantial improvements in the Soviet force of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), for example, have given the Soviet Union the means to destroy a large part of our ICBM force. In addition, there are about 600 Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles capable of striking our NATO allies. These missiles are not offset by any comparable U.S. systems. In this case, a freeze would prevent us from restoring the balance.

- *A freeze is not good enough.* We do not want to cap deployments at current levels; we want significant reductions in the nuclear arms of both sides, reductions that will lead to a stable military balance. The United States has already offered a bold new arms control initiative at the negotiations in Geneva on land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles. We proposed a "zero option" under which the United States would cancel the planned deployment of Pershing II missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles in exchange for the elimination of comparable Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles. Our objective in negotiating strategic arms control agreements is also to achieve significant reductions.

- *A freeze would make significant arms control more difficult.* The Soviets would have little incentive to agree to reductions in strategic and intermediate-range nuclear arms if they knew they could simply freeze the existing military situation. This has already been demonstrated in the area of intermediate-range forces, where the U.S.S.R. initially refused our offers to negotiate while steadily deploying some 300 SS-20 missile systems. The Soviets agreed to come to the negotiating

Introduction of Strategic Weapons by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. 1972-1982

ICBM—Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
 SLBM—Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missile
 SSBN—Nuclear-Powered Ballistic Missile Submarine
 ALCM—Air-Launched Cruise Missile

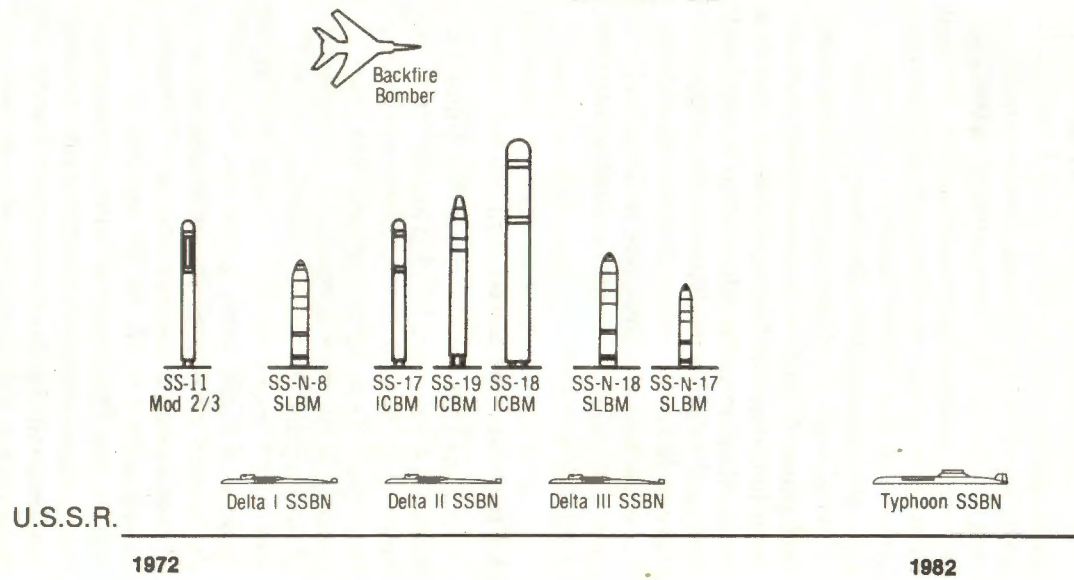
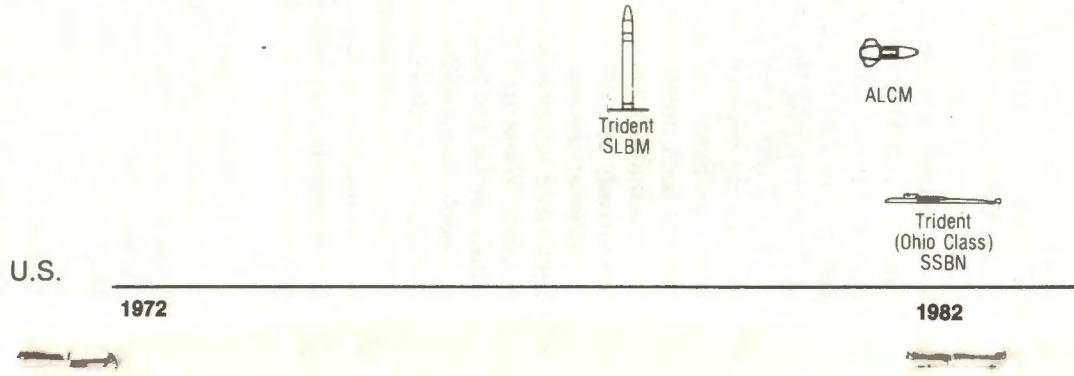


table only when it became clear that we and our NATO allies were determined to take steps to counter those SS-20 deployments.

- *A freeze would cast serious doubt on American leadership of the NATO alliance.* In 1979, in the face of continuing Soviet deployments, the members of the alliance agreed to begin deployment in 1983 of U.S. Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles and to seek a U.S.-U.S.S.R. arms control agreement to reduce intermediate-range nuclear forces. A freeze now would, in effect, be a unilateral decision by the United States to withdraw from this joint allied undertaking.

- *A freeze on all testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons would include important elements that cannot be verified.* The practical result is that the United States would live up to a freeze in all its aspects, while there would be considerable doubt that the Soviets would also live up to it. We simply cannot afford to base our national security on trust of the Soviets.

A Freeze and the Soviet Buildup

During the past decade, the Soviet Union has mounted a sustained buildup across the entire range of its nuclear forces. Soviet modernization efforts have far outstripped ours, particularly in the development and deployment of intercontinental ballistic missiles, which now pose a major threat to a large part of our land-based ICBM force. In the last 10 years, the Soviets introduced an unprecedented array of new strategic weapons into their arsenals, including the SS-17, SS-18, and SS-19 ICBMs, the Typhoon and Delta submarines and several new types of submarine-launched missiles, and the Backfire bomber. During this same period, the United States exercised restraint and only introduced the Trident missile and submarine and the cruise missile.

This trend has been harmful to the security interests of the United States and its allies and to global stability. It is not just a question of numbers. As their military capability has grown, the Soviets have increasingly resorted to the use of military force directly, or through proxies such as Cuba, to intervene in areas farther and farther from their borders. The increased assertiveness of Soviet behavior—the invasion of Afghanistan, pressure on Poland, support for insurgency in Central America—reflects growing Soviet confidence in their military capabilities.

ICBMs. Since 1972, the Soviets have developed and deployed at least 10 different variants of three new types of ICBMs. In the same period, the United States deployed no new types of ICBMs and only one variant of the existing Minuteman. In 1986, we plan to begin deployment of the MX, the first new U.S. intercontinental ballistic missile in 16 years.

Sea-Based Forces. The commissioning of the first U.S. Trident submarine in 1982 marked the end of a 15-year period during which the United States did not build any new ballistic missile-firing submarines. In this same period, the U.S.S.R. added over 60 missile-firing submarines in four new or improved classes. The Soviets are now deploying two new types of missile submarines—the Typhoon and the Delta III—while we are building only the Trident.

Bombers. When the first B-1 bomber becomes operational in 1985, it will have been nearly a quarter of a century since the last U.S. heavy bomber was produced. In contrast, the Soviets have produced more than 250 modern Backfire bombers that have inherent intercontinental capabilities. The Soviets also have improved their large air defense system designed to counter our bomber force. A freeze would not constrain these Soviet air defenses.

The chart on pages 4 and 5 compares the introduction of new strategic weapons by the United States and the U.S.S.R. and shows the momentum of the Soviet buildup over the last decade. As the chart shows, the Soviets introduced 12 new or improved nuclear weapons systems, while the United States only introduced three, and they upgraded or expanded every area of their nuclear arsenal.

Moreover, in most significant measures used to judge strategic forces—total number of systems, total number of ballistic missiles, total destructive potential—the Soviets now surpass the United States. Soon they could equal and surpass us in number of warheads, the one area where the United States has traditionally had an advantage.

The President entered office with a mandate to correct these trends. The modernization program he announced in October 1981 is designed to restore the strategic balance and prevent nuclear war. In so doing, it will give the Soviet Union a strong incentive to negotiate with us to achieve genuine arms reductions.

Conclusion

The Reagan Administration is committed to equitable and verifiable arms control aimed at substantial reductions in military forces. While the freeze proposal reflects the desire of people everywhere to reduce the threat of nuclear war, it would not promote reductions, equality, or verifiability. Rather, it would accomplish the opposite. A freeze at existing levels would lock in existing nuclear inequalities while making further progress in arms control difficult, if not impossible. For these reasons, our goal in arms control must be the negotiation of substantial reductions in the nuclear arsenals of both sides. We can do better than a freeze.

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WHAT CAN YOU DO?

Only a very strong international cry of outrage can stop the use of chemical weapons. You can raise your voice against continued chemical atrocities. Among the actions you can take:

●● *Learn about the use of chemical weapons. You can get a free copy (and as many copies as you can distribute) of a 14-page paper on the subject, prepared by a major Washington think-tank, by sending your name and address to The Committee to Stop Chemical Atrocities. You can read Sterling Seagrave's new book **Yellow Rain** (available in hardback in most bookstores), and the October 1980 and August 1981 **Yellow Rain** articles in "Reader's Digest." You can also obtain copies of the State Department White Papers on **Yellow Rain** by writing your U.S. Senator or Congressman.*

●● *Tell your neighbors about the horrifying effects of **Yellow Rain**. Distribute these brochures to local civic, service and religious organizations. Write or call the editor of your hometown newspapers expressing outrage about the use of **Yellow Rain** on innocent civilians. Write your U.S. Senator or Congressman, President Ronald Reagan, and the U.S. State Department and ask them what the U.S. is doing to stop this repugnant form of warfare. Call your local radio talk shows to tell others about **Yellow Rain** and how they can learn more about it.*

●● *Let the world community know that you oppose the use of chemical weapons. Organize or attend a rally opposing chemical warfare. The Committee to Stop Chemical Atrocities can tell you about rallies in your area or help you organize your own rally.*

Above all, do *something!* The use of chemical weapons have been outlawed by both the 1925 Geneva Protocol and the 1972 Biological Warfare convention, both signed by the Soviet Union. Chemical weapons should be opposed on humanitarian and legal grounds. Only strong international action can save more innocent civilians from succumbing to this agonizing death.

For more information on chemical warfare/**Yellow Rain**, including free copies of this brochure and copies of the research paper (please specify how many copies you can distribute), contact:

THE COMMITTEE TO STOP CHEMICAL ATROCITIES

International Headquarters
413 East Capitol Street
Washington, D.C. 20003 USA
202/543-1286

European Headquarters
Arrow House
27-31 Whitehall
London SW1 England
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URGENT URGENT URGENT URGENT URGENT URGENT URGENT URGENT URGENT

**Nuclear War
is a terrifying
possibility. . .**

**BUT
CHEMICAL
WARFARE
IS A
TERRIFYING
REALITY.**

NOW.

THOUSANDS HAVE DIED AN AGONIZING DEATH. . .

Fifteen to twenty thousand dead in Laos. Thousands dead in Afghanistan. Thousands more killed in Kampuchea.

Professional soldiers? Sometimes. Innocent civilians, children? Often. The cause: Highly sophisticated weapons of chemical warfare, often called "Yellow Rain."

Beginning in the mid-1970's damning evidence has mounted of the use of chemical weapons in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan. By 1976, terror-stricken refugees began streaming out of Laos carrying news of a new weapon bringing agonizing death. Villagers called this new phenomenon "Yellow Rain" because small, yellow, raindrop-like particles, delivered by airplane, fell on their huts and fields. Direct exposure to Yellow Rain brought breathing difficulties, extreme irritation to the eyes, nose, throat and lungs. Victims began coughing up and vomiting great quantities of blood and experiencing multiple hemorrhaging of membranes, the seeping of blood from body orifices, dizziness, convulsions, and death.

Initial reports of Yellow Rain were confined to Laos. Soon tales began to trickle in from Kampuchea (Cambodia) and Afghanistan. The Kampucheans reported that victims in their death throes were "jerking like fish when you take them out of the water"; the Afghans recounted scenes of compatriots "jerking like dogs with broken backs."

The description given by the survivors in each area was remarkably similar. These similarities, coming from people from rural communities with minimal contact with the outside world or one another, make it impossible to discount their statements as politically-inspired inventions.

THE KILLER ELUDED IDENTIFICATION. . .

Experts investigating Yellow Rain initially found extreme difficulty identifying the substance. The first problem was obtaining physical evidence of Yellow Rain attacks. Solid evidence was elusive because the attacks were in remote locations and the attackers seemed to be taking special precautions against chemical-identification by using Napalm to destroy attack residue. Survivors understandably had not thought of gathering physical evidence while comrades writhed in agony nearby. Survivors could not be expected to risk contamination to gather evidence, and some who did attempt to collect proof and transport it died from exposure to the evidence that they were carrying. Other problems included dissipation of the chemical evidence through excessive rain or snow, and, in Afghanistan, the difficulty of obtaining a corpse to use as evidence because of the Moslem custom of burying the deceased on the day of death.

Despite these difficulties, the riddle has been solved. U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced on September 13, 1981 that the United States has identified the critical lethal agent as a compound composed of three tricothecene mycotoxins. These mycotoxins were found at the site of a Yellow Rain attack at levels twenty times higher than they occur in nature; furthermore, they produce all the poisoning symptoms reported and none not reported.

TOXIC CHEMICALS WERE THE CULPRIT. . .AND THE SOVIET UNION WAS THE SOURCE. . .

There is extremely strong evidence that Yellow Rain is Soviet-made and Soviet-supplied. Yellow Rain and other chemical weapons are being delivered from Soviet-made aircraft, rockets, and artillery. Members of the USSR Chemical Corps are part of the Soviet invasion

force in Afghanistan and have been reported in Laos. Most chemical attacks apparently have been left to Vietnamese, Kampuchean, and Pathet Lao Soviet allies, but evidence also exists of direct Soviet action. Bi-planes used as crop dusters in the USSR have spread Yellow Rain over Laos. A Vietnamese defector observed two Soviet "advisors" fire a round of chemical munitions at Khmer Rouge guerrillas inside Kampuchea. Both Thai and American military radio monitors have recorded conversations of Russian officers giving instructions for shipment of chemical warheads in Laos; another radio intercept recorded an exchange about a high-ranking Soviet general touring several chemical munitions depots.

The most damning evidence of Soviet complicity is the production of these Yellow Rain mycotoxins. Among the world's communist states, only the USSR has the knowledge, personnel and facilities necessary to produce Yellow Rain. The mycotoxins identified in Yellow Rain do not occur naturally in Southeast Asia, but the fusarium fungus producing them thrive throughout much of the USSR. Large-scale epidemics caused by these elements have long been a serious threat to the Soviet population, and Soviet scientists have been studying these toxins intensively since the 1930's. Interestingly, in recent years 22 of 50 articles on these toxins in open source Soviet literature deal with finding the optimum conditions for biosynthesis of these compounds—a clear sign that the Soviets have more than a passing interest in obtaining large quantities of the poisons. Research done on mycotoxins is also done at institutes long involved with chemical and biological weapons research.

Finally, as if to tacitly admit that it has something to hide by an investigation, Moscow has repeatedly tried to block creation of an impartial United Nations Commission to investigate the situation in Laos, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan. Moscow and its allies have denied the United Nations access to the sites of chemical attacks and made strong objections to impartial investigations. Despite this, the United Nations began an independent investigation in November of 1981. Early findings "suggest a possible use of some sort of chemical warfare agents" in the three Yellow Rain areas, and investigations are continuing.

GAS WARFARE IN LAOS: Communism's Drive to Annihilate a People

The article that follows is about genocide—the extermination of thousands of people whose only “crime” is that they were friends of America.

By JANE HAMILTON-MERRITT

THE PLACE is not a pretty sight. I.V.s drip fluid into skinny arms. Doctors and nurses scurry from one wooden-slab bed to another, responding to pleas for help. I am at Ban Vinai, a refugee camp along the Mekong River just inside northern Thailand. It is populated by some 35,000 H'mong (pro-

nounced Mōng) tribal refugees from the mountains of Laos. They suffer from severe malnutrition, malaria, amoebic dysentery, tuberculosis, pneumonia and a host of parasites. For many there is a tragic complication: they have been gassed.

One of them is a friend of mine; yet I don't recognize him, although I

have passed his pallet at least 20 times. Finally, through his pain, he recognizes me and sends a relative to bring me to him.

Nhia Yang Vang, about 40, had once been vigorous, energetic. Now he is a skeleton with sunken, haunted eyes. In a weak voice he tells me he had returned to Laos after I saw him in January. Concerned about relatives, he had gone back there with a party of 19 men for three months. During that time, he says, his team had been in areas sprayed by poisonous chemicals nine times.

Every few minutes his talk is broken by a racking cough that nearly strangles him. He spits bloody sputum into a tin can. A H'mong nurse tells me that he has chest pains, finds breathing difficult, cannot eat.

Nhia continues: "They hit us at the end of May at Nam Khing with the yellow chemicals. It was a white plane like a Soviet helicopter—low enough so that I could see the figures of two pilots. Immediately when they dropped the gas I fell to the ground vomiting blood. My eyes burned; I could not see. I have the 'red' diarrhea.

"It was a powder. When it touched my skin it became sticky, like an ointment, and when water is put on it, it becomes liquid." He stops for another bout of coughing. "You know, after a rain the chemicals will get into the water and poison it. Now that it is the rainy season, it will be so easy to poison us all."

"Just Like the Jews." In 1960, there were at least 500,000 H'mong

in Laos. Today, perhaps 70,000 are still alive there, many of them sick or dying of malnutrition. Another 50,000 are in Thai refugee camps, and some 35,000 have been resettled in Western countries. The H'mong survivors in Laos now face a terrible future, for they are the targets of a deliberate, calculated policy of extermination.

This policy is the tragic heritage of the H'mong commitment to America's effort to prevent a communist takeover in Vietnam and Laos. The United States, unwilling to send its own troops into Laos, opted for another kind of army—a guerrilla army recruited mostly from the H'mong, but also from other Laotian tribes, such as the Yao, Lahu, Lao Teung. Trained by the U.S. military and the CIA, the H'mong formed the backbone of the resistance against the communist forces in Laos that were supported by North Vietnam, China and the U.S.S.R. They sabotaged war supplies moving south along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and rescued American pilots shot down in Laos. They proved adept at intelligence work, gathering vital information on troop, tank and supply movements.

Gen. Vang Pao, who commanded the H'mong forces and now lives in the United States, told me recently that his forces destroyed millions of dollars' worth of military equipment, medical and food supplies moving down the Ho Chi Minh Trail into South Vietnam between 1962 and 1975. "To do that," he said,

"my people gave 12,000 lives. All of that was secret, but now I want the American people to know."

When the Americans pulled out of Vietnam and Laos, the H'mong—and the sacrifices they had made—remained largely unknown. But the Vietnamese and Pathet Lao did not forget. Li Chai, who now lives in Denver, Colo., and is a leader of the H'mong refugee group there, tells why: "The communists know that

we were the Americans' hands, arms, feet and mouths. That's why they believe they must kill all H'mong—soldiers, farmers, children. We suffer and die just like the Jews in World War II, but the world ignores us."

Hide in Caves. Gen. Vang Pao says, "Communist gassing of the H'mong people began in August 1975, at Mung Om and Nam Fen, south of Phu Bia, where 17,000 men, women and children were killed. I learned from a Pathet Lao defector that from 1975 to 1978 the gassing had killed 50,000 H'mong in the Phu Bia area alone. During that time some 45,000 died from starvation

and disease, or were shot trying to escape to Thailand."

Today, in tribal refugee camps in northern Thailand, H'mong refugees tell of starvation, rape, the crippling of children whose fathers worked for the United States, of massacres. But what frightens them most are the poisons, which they call "rain," "gas," or "smoke," for they cannot hide from the chemicals that poison them, their water, animals, plants and fields.

Survivors speak of several kinds of "rain." Yellow and red are very serious, and a direct hit means sure death. Green and blue-green rains



are not as immediately lethal. A small bit of opium often enables victims to survive, but they suffer vomiting, bloody diarrhea, fever, bleeding through the nose, and dizziness.*

Recently, still another chemical, a light-yellow powder, has been dropped by four-engine planes or by helicopters. The latter, a U.S. military spokesman tells me, resemble Soviet MI-4s or MI-8s.

A H'mong farmer, looking much older than his 40 years, says: "For two years they attack my area in Laos. The planes cover us with red smoke, and the people and animals die. We cannot grow rice or farm. We must hide in caves.

"They drop poison on us 200 times in 1978 and 1979. The first time five people die immediately. Red smoke rolls over the area and everyone is sick. It smells like burning rubber. I swallow a bit of opium, but slide to the ground unable to move. In about an hour I can get up, but I cannot eat or drink. I become very skinny. Twelve more people in my village die of being skinny."

Chronicle of Horror. The stories are countless. One man sits before me in Ban Vinai refugee camp in Thailand carrying "evidence" of the continued gassing in Laos. Trained by the Americans in intelligence in the 1970s, this former H'mong lieutenant had crossed the Mekong River to Thailand on June 6. From a miniature diary that he miraculously

*Opium has for centuries been used medicinally for severe gastro-intestinal disturbances.

managed to bring, he quietly reads:

"On 15 May 1980, two Soviet helicopters dropped yellow powder on a H'mong village of 200 at coordinate TF 9376. Thirty-five died within seven days; the remaining are very sick."

He recites another attack. Then, carefully turning the tattered pages of his diary to check dates, figures and locations, he chronicles what happened to him after the American withdrawal from Laos in April 1975:

"The first gas attack was in October 1975. The communists couldn't take our village by fighting, but they came back with airplanes. One carried red gas, another yellow. Those near where the chemical rockets exploded fell unconscious, with bleeding from the mouth and nose. Many died. Soon afterward a yellow water flowed from their bodies.

"They hit us with gas for three days. Seventy-five people died immediately. Five hundred more died within a short time. I was lucky, for I was not in the village at the time.

"For three years we were constantly attacked like this. We must live in the jungle like animals. Since early 1980, people are so hungry that they eat leaves exposed to the chemicals, and 715 people have died in my area. I dig in the ground for roots and water, but many are too weak to do this. We have no cloth to cover our bodies from mosquitoes, so we all have malaria. We have no medicine, so we are all sick."

Shot in the Arm. On a visit to Thailand in January, my friend Nhia

Vang, who had just escaped from a Vietnamese prison camp in Laos, told me a story not only of genocide, but of an added horror: medically supervised experimentation that uses chemical agents on imprisoned H'mong men, women and children:

"In November 1978, a Vietnamese force of 3500 captured about 1200 H'mong men, women, and children—including mine—in the jungle where the red and yellow smoke had forced us to live. We were taken to a camp called Tong Mien, which held 2000 H'mong prisoners. We were given only a small portion of rice every 15 days, and many of my people were shot trying to get to the forest for food.

"Then, on March 25, two MiG jets flew low over our prison camp and sprayed us with white rain. One hundred people died immediately. The rest of us had diarrhea for 20 days, then fever; we cannot walk or raise our arms. Many more people die.

"In May, four Pathet Lao medics gave injections in the arm to 30 H'mong, including me. It was the color of water. I immediately became dizzy and could not breathe. Blood spurted from my nose and I fell to the ground unconscious. A relative blew opium smoke over me for several hours and finally the bleeding stopped. In 12 hours I could see again and by the next day I could walk.

"The next day four new medics came. This time they had injections and pills for 40 gassing victims. Some

medics gave my people injections and green pills, others injections and white pills. Nothing happened for 12 hours; then they have trouble seeing, can't speak and black out. Fifteen died; the rest are very sick for a long time. The medics wrote reports on the people given medicine."



JANE HAMILTON-MERRITT

H'mong women, clad in traditional dress, who escaped to Thailand before the gassing began

WHAT HAS BEEN the response of the United States to these atrocities? In my view, it has been appallingly weak and ineffectual.

The House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs has taken testimony on the gassings. And the State Department and Department of Defense have made their own investigations. But they and other U.S. officials, including those in the

White House, refuse to acknowledge that the evidence is conclusive.

After listening to testimony at the subcommittee hearings in April, Congressman Jim Leach (R., Iowa) stated: "I personally interviewed these refugees. I read State Depart-



JANE HAMILTON-MERRITT

Newly arrived from Laos, a starving child illustrates the plight of the H'mong

ment and Defense Department reports which are so numerous and so persuasive that they cannot be denied. No one in the White House ever saw a person being gassed in Auschwitz, but we know it occurred. I think this Administration has a moral responsibility to tell the people of the world what is happening."

Urgent Mission. What government agencies want for "conclusive evidence" is a body for autopsy. But there are serious logistical difficulties in obtaining recently gassed victims and fresh chemicals because the gassing occurs in the remote mountains of Laos; many days' walk through enemy territory to the Thai border. One H'mong found a dispensed gas canister, wrapped it heavily in old clothes, and started to walk it out of Laos to Thailand. The chemical residue in the canister killed him before he reached the Mekong.

I asked Vang Neng, H'mong chief at Ban Vinai, about the U.S. insistence on having a body for autopsy. In a voice of frustration and anger, he said, "Yes, I have bodies for autopsy. I learned yesterday that the communists gassed a village on May 14, killing ten immediately. This is many days' walk from the Mekong. By the time we carry one body out, it will be spoiled."

Last fall, a step in the right direction was made when a team from the office of the Army Surgeon General was sent to Thailand to investigate the gassing allegations. They interviewed 40 men, two women and a 12-year-old girl, all of whom were witnesses to, and survivors of, gassing attacks in Laos, and concluded in a report withheld from the public that chemical agents had been used against the H'mong. Two recommendations were: to "develop a plan whereby blood, tissue or other specimens may be rapidly transported from the suspect area to the Bio-

medical Laboratory for analysis, and to establish a medical team, on a standby basis, prepared to travel to the site of future allegations to conduct interviews/examinations." The final recommendation read: "From a military defense position, it would seem to be an extremely urgent mission to initiate every effort possible to identify the chemical agents that have been used and to develop appropriate countermeasures, antidotes, etc."

Unfortunately—indeed, unbelievably—those recommendations have been ignored. On June 30, 1980, I reported to the U.S. embassy in Bangkok that I had located two men in a refugee-camp hospital who reported being gassed in the latter part of May. The timing for testing was within the six-week limit recommended by the Surgeon General. After 14 days of evasive and false information by the embassy and other U.S. officials in Thailand, I returned to the camp myself to speak directly to the two men recently gassed and to the camp medical personnel.

Only then did I learn that medical experts familiar with gassing had not conducted the investigations. We had sent a Thai nurse and an American public-health worker, who admitted he was a "novice" with regard to chemical warfare and, in his own words, had "very little" instruction even in how to collect samples. When I left Bangkok on July 18, the specimens were still there.

"Will You Help?" While the West refuses to acknowledge the use of

lethal chemical agents by the Soviet-backed regimes of Hanoi and the Pathet Lao, the Vietnamese government applauds its army's chemical-warfare branch by awarding it a Ho Chi Minh medal. According to Hanoi radio monitored in Thailand in April 1980, Gen. Le Trong Tan told the unit: "Chemical weapons contributed to winning the great victory in the great anti-U.S. salvation resistance struggle" and in "tasks in the new situation." The "new situation" undoubtedly refers to Laos, Cambodia—and possibly to Afghanistan.

The State Department calls evidence suggesting a Soviet role "circumstantial," but it is more than that. Independent intelligence sources have confirmed the presence of Soviet Gen. V. K. Pikolov's chemical-warfare forces in Laos—and subsequently in Kabul, Afghanistan. In addition, Soviet chemical-warfare experts are said to have visited several cities and areas in Laos to inspect "chemical explosives"—artillery shells, bombs, rockets. In sum, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the Soviets are involved, certainly in the production and distribution of chemical agents, and probably in on-site surveillance and medical experimentation.

Meanwhile, the H'mong continue to die. A H'mong leader who is responsible for almost 30,000 civilians in Laos recently crossed into Thailand. His words haunt me: "I have come to see if anyone has food, clothing or medicine to protect us from the gassing. Someone *must*

help, soon, or we will all die. We are friends of the Americans. We fought for freedom. Will you help?"

Will we? How?

First, a fully publicized Congressional hearing—both Senate and House—into the gassing of the H'mong should be held. This would inform the U.S. people and attract world-press coverage of the atrocity. And the U.S. government should make communist gas warfare a major issue before the United Nations and every international forum.

Second, direct pressure should be applied on Hanoi by Free World industrial nations on whom Hanoi greatly relies for the technology and financial aid to rebuild Vietnam. This must be done at the highest private "hot-line" leader-to-leader level. Hanoi should be told that this inhuman policy must stop or aid will be halted.

Finally, since Vietnam is a client state of the Soviets (apparently the source of the lethal chemicals), the United States should inform the Soviets that any discussions of other issues will be put off until we are satisfied that chemical warfare in Laos has ceased.

AT BAN VINAI CAMP, Vang Chue, an 18-year-old boy who has been gassed, is carried into the hospital. His chest heaves with erratic contractions and he struggles to breathe. His face is heavy with sweat and I see a tear looming—the first H'mong-soldier tear that I have ever seen. I lean down to talk with him.

"I'm so sorry that my country is dying," he says in a voice of pain. "Please do something."

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Tragic Legacy From Laos

By JANE HAMILTON-MERRITT

Last October, in "Gas Warfare in Laos: Communism's Drive to Annihilate a People," Reader's Digest told a horrifying story of modern-day genocide. Jane Hamilton-Merritt, a reporter-photographer and Ph.D. in Asian studies, disclosed the extermination by poison gas of thousands of H'mong, a fiercely independent tribal minority in Laos—people who had formed the backbone of a U.S.-supported guerrilla resistance against communist forces during the Vietnam war. In the following article she describes what has happened since. And what—tragically—has not.

NO LONGER can the gassing of the H'mong be considered a faraway problem in Southeast Asia. Now the problem is here, on our own doorstep, among the H'mong refugees who have settled throughout the United States.

In the five years I reported on refugees in northern Thailand, I heard countless detailed accounts of poison-gas attacks by the Soviet-backed Lao-Vietnamese regime on H'mong villages—and of the deadly results. In 1960, there were an estimated 500,000 H'mong in Laos.* Today, some 100,000 are either in Thai refugee camps or resettled in Western countries, including about 40,000 who have come to the United States since

*All population figures are approximate, as precise information is unavailable.

1976. A number of refugee experts fear that fewer than 100,000 are alive in Laos. Many died of starvation, but thousands were killed by gas attacks, which still continue.

I crisscrossed America recently, interviewing H'mong refugees, and I discovered a new dimension to their story of terror.

One H'mong leader estimates that of those who have arrived here, about 20,000 may have been exposed to the "poisonous rains" of chemical warfare. Many are chronically ill—because of the gassings, they believe. They complain of pulmonary problems, constant headaches, painful muscles and joints, eye and hearing disorders. Medical and public-health personnel who have worked with the H'mong are persuaded that their infant-mortality rate is high and that

a large percentage suffer from cancer. More frightening, in the last few years in the United States, at least 35 young H'mong men and women have succumbed to a mysterious sudden death that occurs during sleep. The Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta have confirmed that 20 of these deaths are indeed unexplainable. (The other 15 were insufficiently documented.) Studies made in Portland, Ore., a large H'mong resettlement area, show the H'mong death rate to be five times that of the non-Lao population.

Some of the heartbreaking cases I have witnessed:

- A woman on the West Coast, age 49, suffers from constant, terrible headaches. Her husband has pain in all his muscles. They have three children. The other eight were killed in gas attacks or in fighting.

- A 33-year-old man lives in a rundown apartment in a Midwest city. He moves slowly and has obvious difficulty breathing. "If I stand up or sit down fast, I faint," he says.

- In a housing project, also in the Midwest, a 24-year-old man suffers from heavy coughing and shortness of breath, and complains, "After the gassing, my mind is slower."

These are the survivors, the lucky ones, but also the pathetic, lonely victims of chemical warfare. "Few Americans know who we are, what we did for the United States during the Vietnam war," says one young H'mong man. "Many think we are Vietnamese or

'boat people.' Many of us still suffer from being gassed, but American doctors either don't believe us when we try to tell them or never ask us about our life in Laos."

"Why aren't Americans concerned about the gassing?" the H'mong ask. The answer, in large part, lies with the U.S. State Department's position that no "conclusive evidence" exists that gassing is occurring in Laos.

Consider the State Department's response under both the Carter and Reagan administrations to those who have asked about the gassing of the H'mong. The letter, still being mailed out as this article went to press, fails to acknowledge the H'mong as U.S. allies. It presents instead the Pathet Lao (communist) government's propaganda, without comment or explanation:

The Lao government has used a combination of persuasion and force to bring the H'mong out of their highland homes to new settlements in the lowlands. The Lao government argues that the H'mong method of agriculture destroys valuable hardwood forests, Laos' principal natural resource. The Lao also argue that, by bringing the H'mong population to the lowlands, the government can better limit the production of opium, a principal H'mong crop which supplies the heroin markets of the world through illicit channels.

Those unfamiliar with Laos could infer from this official letter that the H'mong were wretched

traffickers of heroin and conclude that gassing might be their just deserts. To be sure, the H'mong did grow opium poppies—opium has long been used medicinally by many tribal groups in Southeast Asia. But H'mong tribespeople do *not* convert poppy sap into heroin or traffic it through the illicit drug channels of the world.

Anyone who has studied the H'mong, from U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency investigators to on-the-scene diplomats, knows that these people are not involved in the heroin business. "Associating the H'mong with heroin is a part of the Big Lie," says former U.S. ambassador to Laos G. McMurtie Godley.

The State Department letter continues:

... By 1978, the United States had enough information to bring the matter [of chemical warfare] to the attention of the government of Laos, which denied the validity of the reports. We received the same response when we asked the Soviet and Vietnamese governments to look into the reports and end the practice if true.

Did our government really expect the Lao, Vietnamese or Soviet governments to acknowledge the use of chemical warfare—a practice banned by international treaty and abhorred by most of the world?

Eyewitness Testimony. A 1980 State Department publication, "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices," says of Laos: "During the past three years, there

has been limited improvement in some aspects of human rights. There is no evidence that the government is seeking to destroy any particular ethnic group, per se, such as the H'mong. There have been numerous refugee accounts of attacks using lethal chemical agents against the H'mong. . . . This charge has been denied by the Lao government." That is the only reference to the use of chemical agents in the entire section on Laos.

Not surprisingly, Gen. Vang Pao and other leaders of the H'mong community in this country are appalled by the report. "There has been overwhelming evidence of the gassing of men, women and children in Laos for years," says the general. "Yet the State Department not only avoids the subject but doesn't recognize the fact that my people are being eliminated because we were the U.S. allies in Laos."

While the State Department keeps telling the inquiring public, including members of Congress, that there is no "conclusive evidence," it fails to mention its *own* recently prepared report, which records the testimony of scores of eyewitnesses to chemical attacks in Laos, documenting over 13,000 dead from gassing.

And if that were not enough, evidence is now available from the communist side itself. For example, last November, a Pathet Lao pilot who defected to Thailand admitted flying numerous gas missions between 1976 and 1978 to "cause the

H'mong people to die out completely." He adds that pilots flying these missions were granted special privileges and were closely monitored by doctors and nurses after each mission.

Will the Reagan Administration continue to honor the avoid-the-H'mong policy generated during the Carter years? In a meeting with several members of the foreign diplomatic corps, John Holdridge, newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs, said that the United States has no evidence to bring to "court" on the reported gassing in Laos.

Yet, human and moral considerations aside, the chemical agents used against the defenseless H'mong should be of considerable national-security concern to the United States. The fact is we don't know what these agents are. Even Defense Department experts are baffled. Victims suffer from profuse bleeding from the nose, throat, eyes, stomach and intestines—resulting in death by hemorrhaging.

Recently, I spoke with Col. Charles W. Lewis, M.D., a member of the Department of Army Surgeon General's team sent to Thailand in 1979 to interview survivors of chemical attacks in Laos. I asked what chemicals he thought could be causing such profuse bleeding. "That's what I want to know," he said. "I hope someone is working on finding out. Nerve agents don't cause hemorrhaging. These are all new symptoms. When I returned

from this investigation, I talked to people in the chemical-warfare business and no one knew. Everyone was surprised. We had better find out in order to be able to defend against them."

In early December 1980, the U.N. General Assembly by a vote of 78-17 adopted a resolution calling for a U.N. investigation into the use of chemical warfare in various parts of the world. Among those voting against the resolution were Laos, Vietnam, Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and Cuba. However, the project appears to be on the back burner, and in any case, Laos can reject U.N. requests for on-site investigations.

"Sudden Death." Meanwhile, the gassing attacks against the H'mong continue. H'mong who crossed into Thailand in February 1981 reported that between January 6 and 20, 1981, Soviet-made helicopters flew 20 chemical missions, killing 1260 H'mong friendly to the Pathet Lao. On April 2, 1981, a Soviet M-17 dropped yellow chemicals on Ban Thong Hak, killing 24 H'mong outright, including 11 children. Two weeks later, a H'mong party reached Thailand with samples of the chemical residue gathered from stones, ground and leaves. The samples were given to U.S. authorities on April 23 but didn't arrive in the United States until the second week of May.

Under the best of circumstances, a chemical analysis is difficult. Experts say that, since gas disappears into the atmosphere, samples gath-

ered from an exposed area may not contain any identifiable lethal properties. Incredibly, there is no U.S. team of chemical-warfare experts in Thailand to conduct on-the-spot analysis.

The H'mong in this country continue to suffer as well. In early 1981, the U.S. press picked up on the mysterious "sudden death" syndrome, and some public-health personnel became interested. But the interest is limited only to the sudden deaths. According to the Centers for Disease Control, there is no nationally coordinated plan to study the problem of the chronically ill H'mong who believe they are sick because of the gassings.

On the other hand, Richard Harruff, a doctor with special training in pathology who spent six months last year in a H'mong refugee camp in Thailand, is concerned about the long-range effects of the lethal agents used on the H'mong. According to Dr. Harruff's research on survivors who were exposed, "Males complain of impotence, and females report a high rate of spontaneous abortions. Infants born to exposed mothers are often very weak and lethargic, and die within a few days to months of apparent respiratory failure. These victims of unknown poisons need special care." Harruff is outraged that no one in the U.S. health community has systematically investigated the medical condition of those H'mong exposed to chemical agents.

What is the answer? What can—what *must*—be done?

- First, public hearings should be held before all relevant committees in the House and in the Senate, presenting the situation in its totality.

- Second, Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard Schweiker should designate an agency to alert all doctors to the potential H'mong health problems, to establish guidelines for conducting appropriate biopsies and treatments, and to establish a way for the H'mong exposed to the chemicals to report their problems.

- Third, the United Nations should be used as a forum to keep the issue of poison gas before the international community until it is resolved.

- Fourth, our government should tie any arms-control negotiations with the Soviets to their curtailment of chemical warfare by client regimes.

- Fifth, the Administration should assign the highest priority to the identification of these lethal agents. This is crucial in developing strategic defenses and medical treatment for those exposed.

For too many years, the United States has swept the gassing in Laos under a cover of words. Now, the problem is *our* responsibility and we must deal with it. "There is no place to hide from the poisonous rains." This H'mong saying has become our harsh reality.

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