

environmental concerns has lead, for example, to involvement in the anti-THORP campaigns.

As well as being part of specific coalitions of peace groups (eg Test Ban Coalition), Medact works with other organisations on specific projects and events. This is seen as a useful way of getting different perspective on hugely complex issues.

A 20 page newsletter is produced three times per year for members of the organisation, as well as a range of leaflets. There are some local groups but much activity is undertaken by individual members.

Peace Pledge Union (071) 387 5501

PPU started in 1934, as a response to the escalation towards World War 2. The organisation was described as taking a moral standpoint and practical perspective. There are two strands of its activities.

i) Information concerning current conflicts, and non-violent resistance to it; an on-going information service available to all.

ii) Information and education concerning attitudes towards conflict resolution. There are three aspects of this project work: providing educational materials for teachers, materials for those working with and caring for young people, and promotion of alternative strategies.

Politics is seen as being about people rather than parties/governments. PPU is a British section of War Resister International (WRI) - the other section being CAAT.

It is a membership organisation, producing a bi-monthly journal, working mainly through individual members. Those local groups that do exist tend to have a social orientation, with activists working through other local peace groupings.

During one of the interviews, someone asked me "does anybody know what the peace movement is anymore?" Having been involved in peace campaigning for over 5 years and thinking that I might have some grasp on the concept, this survey has come as a shock. It really is not clear what the peace movement is.

There are, of course, some bland generalities that can be made, but little of use that can be done with them. With a few exceptions, the lack of concern with broader issues or clear links that are this to be drawn with other new social movements', NGOs etc make me wonder whether there is not still considerable rethinking and realignment in the pipe-line.

One way of looking at the military is that there are two tendencies; one is highly sophisticated, strategic in outlook and ruthless in action. The other is of a thug tendency, which cannot see the MADness of its own activity. The reality, in this description, is likely to be mixture of the two.

With the project of the broader peace movement in such disarray and the blanket of apathy born of despair that shrouds the progressive movement in this country, we should hope that the thug tendency is in the ascendant.

This journal has been produced by Trade Union CND. It has been put together by an editorial collective including a range of people from different aspects of the peace movement. Future copies will be offered on subscription and will be available as and when human and financial resources allow. As a general aim we hope to produce it monthly.

The views expressed are those of the contributors and do not necessarily represent those of the collective. If you have comments or contributions you would like to make, contact:-

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A JUSTIFICATION FOR THIS JOURNAL

The Editor

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CND, as were the other peace movement organisations in Britain, was very much a child of the cold war. Much of the thinking within it was geared to countering the possibility of a superpower conflict and that had implications for our whole approach to the politics we promoted. Sometime we even reinforced cold war attitudes and ideologies. The demise of the Cold War means that we should be rethinking our project, rethinking what it is we are trying to achieve and the ideas we try to propagate.

That doesn't appear to be happening to any great extent. Our political culture was so permeated by this cold war that, even though the sun now shines between east and west, the permafrost remains within that culture.

For much of the population of the world life is no less dangerous, in fact for some it has become more dangerous. For others it was dangerous anyway but the urgency of a possible superpower conflict made it important for us to concentrate on countering the possibility of such a conflict. That the peace movement in this country played no small part in preventing such a conflict is something we should be justly proud, and this may, to some extent, justify our concentration on issues relating to the Cold War.

But now the threat to peace has changed. Nuclear Weapons play a different role in politics now and we should take account of it. In Britain they play a role in maintaining a foreign policy which is rooted in our history as a country, a history which stretches farther back than the second world war.

CND has within it people from a range of different political and cultural groupings and the fact that it does so is its greatest strength. The fact that it has not made significant inroads into others, such as black people and the working class, is perhaps its greatest weakness.

This journal is an attempt to open up the debate about issues which relate to peace. To open up our thinking about the things which have a bearing on hatred, racism militarism and the struggle throughout the world for a more just and peaceful way of living.

No one has a monopoly of the "correct analysis" either of world events or of the role a peace movement could play in Britain. They all, perhaps, have some degree of truth in their words. This journal will strive, therefore, to include material from a range of different sources and from a range of different political perspectives.

The problems facing peace movement people and political activists are those of reassessing the role we can play in British political life and of challenging our own way of thinking, rooted in our culture. The hope is that we will then be better able collectively to bring about political change in this country and change the role it plays in international politics.

The journal is aimed at us, people in the peace and trade union movements. But we would hope to be able to widen the breadth of people who would count themselves as being integral parts of those peace movement. Aimed at affecting ourselves as much as affecting politics and, in so doing, help us understand the world better that we may be better able to change politics.

The journal will deal with international issues, racism, fascism, a bit of history, analysis of differing struggles as they impinge on the struggle for peace, the economics of peace and disarmament, the effect of gender on the politics as they impinge on us - in fact anything which is vaguely related to what we are attempting to achieve.

In terms of the form of this journal, we are limited by cost and the technology we have available. In terms of the latter we are indebted to TUCND for making their facilities available to us. But having said that, we hope to leave the form as open as possible. To quote James Fenton "In conventional journalism, form is length. Six hundred words, twelve hundred, fifteen hundred - all these figures denote familiar forms. They may be brilliantly or prosaically employed, but they are determined by extraneous considerations: what space is to be filled, who else is filing that day, how many ads there are and so forth. One longs for an elastic magazine, in which content can determine new forms. One longs to get back to reporting."

So the form is as elastic as we can make it, within the limits of our pocket and our project. The other limitations are that the subject matter relates to the struggle for peace, the writing is interesting - it has to be, the subject matter is depressing enough. The final decisions on the inclusion of material will be made by the editorial panel.

In short the journal's purpose is that of a midwife for change within the progressive movements and that of a facilitator for the struggles for peace.

CONFERENCES PAST AND PRESENT

'Conference is a-comin' on. Loudly sing Cuckoo' (Traditional folk song)

Lionel Trippet

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It's that special time of year again when peace-ful folk go on a pilgrimage to some institution of higher education sufficiently desperate for money to risk CND's subversive presence on campus.

Long months ago the Conference Organiser started poring over glossy, come-hither brochures and vanishing on long fact-finding trips. It was all very different under an earlier ConfOrg. Then we were just booked in wherever Manchester United were playing that Saturday.

Anyway, the venue has been booked - possibly even double-booked - and a mysterious entity called CAWG (Conference Arrangements Working Group) has been convened. CAWG is to CND what the freemasons are to the police. CAWG works in mysterious ways, its blunders to perform. No outsider has the faintest idea what it does, but it is clearly very important indeed. No-one seems to know where it meets or when - often including the members; but it is there, in some obscure back room, deliberating...

First comes the Fixing of the Deadlines. Deadlines for resolutions, for emergency resolutions (emergency resolutions are mostly ordinary resolutions submitted as a try-on by groups who missed the ordinary resolution deadline), for candidates for high office to declare themselves and submit a few well-chosen words on why on earth anyone in their right mind should vote for them.

Candidates must produce a mug shot. These reveal that they all have mad, staring eyes, fixed snarls, a variety of unfortunate skin conditions and the general look of inmates from some long-stay-throw-away-the-key institution. Probably just let out for the Conference as part of a long term rehabilitation programme.

Meanwhile the ConfOrg is wrestling with the Accommodation Problem. Several hundred delegates have to stay somewhere. The usual solution is with a local activist. At this point, faced with the prospect of being morally blackmailed into putting up half a dozen total strangers, complete with probably incontinent baby and a vegan dog on a string, all arriving well after midnight because they lost their way on the M1, most local activists either resign from CND or shut up house and go off on a late holiday.

In fact such precautions are quite unnecessary. Most delegates are fated to spend most of the Conference, festooned with all their

belongings, roaming the halls and corridors, in vain attempt to find someone they've never met before, who probably isn't even there in the first place, while trying to discover if there is any form of public transport after 9:30pm to somewhere that is so far out of town that it is probably nearer to where they started from in the first place.

ConfOrg also has to struggle with the eating and drinking arrangements. Most Colleges whilst delighted to have several hundred paying conference persons, don't really want the expense of opening up their catering facilities, especially on Sunday, for more than the absolute minimum extent of time they can get away with.

The wise delegate will therefore set aside the official conference programme and plan around those all-important half hours when the cafeteria is actually serving hot food. You'll probably end up eating lunch at 11am and miss all the debates but it's much better than living on a vending machine diet of Pork Scratchings, Mars Bars and Mates condoms.

Bar problems are less acute - although when Conference was at the City University in London, which specialises in Business Studies and accountancy courses, the student union bar managed to run out of draught beer and all fruit juices on Saturday night, which is a bit worrying since by now these financial experts are probably being hired to run the NHS.

The main point about student bars is that there is usually only a limited amount of comfortable seating. So your mission is to boldly go for it. Go in early and hard. No pussy-footing about. No apologetics and no prisoners. Think Vinnie Jones; think Rommel.

Actually CND people have a good record of seizing the maximum amount of territory and holding it against all comers. But if there is any problem with students cluttering up the place, don't hesitate to play the old and frail card. However odd they may look, most students come from Surrey and have been nicely brought up. Ask them to move up a bit and the odds are they'll clear off altogether.

If that doesn't work, talk to them. Address them as Young People in a quavering voice. Tell them about what it was like in the Sixties. Give them the wrong money ('Would you? My leg is playing up again') and ask them to put something embarrassing on the juke box: the Incredible String Band or that nice Julie Felix will do nicely. If they don't bugger off, start a little community singing of Give Peace a

Chance. That'll do it. The only problem there is that half the delegates will vanish as well. But they'll soon drift back when their glasses are empty.

So there you are. 'Tis the eve of Conference, workshops, socials, votes, priority ballots, hustings, lukewarm veggieburgers, split

THE WAR IN THE SAHARA

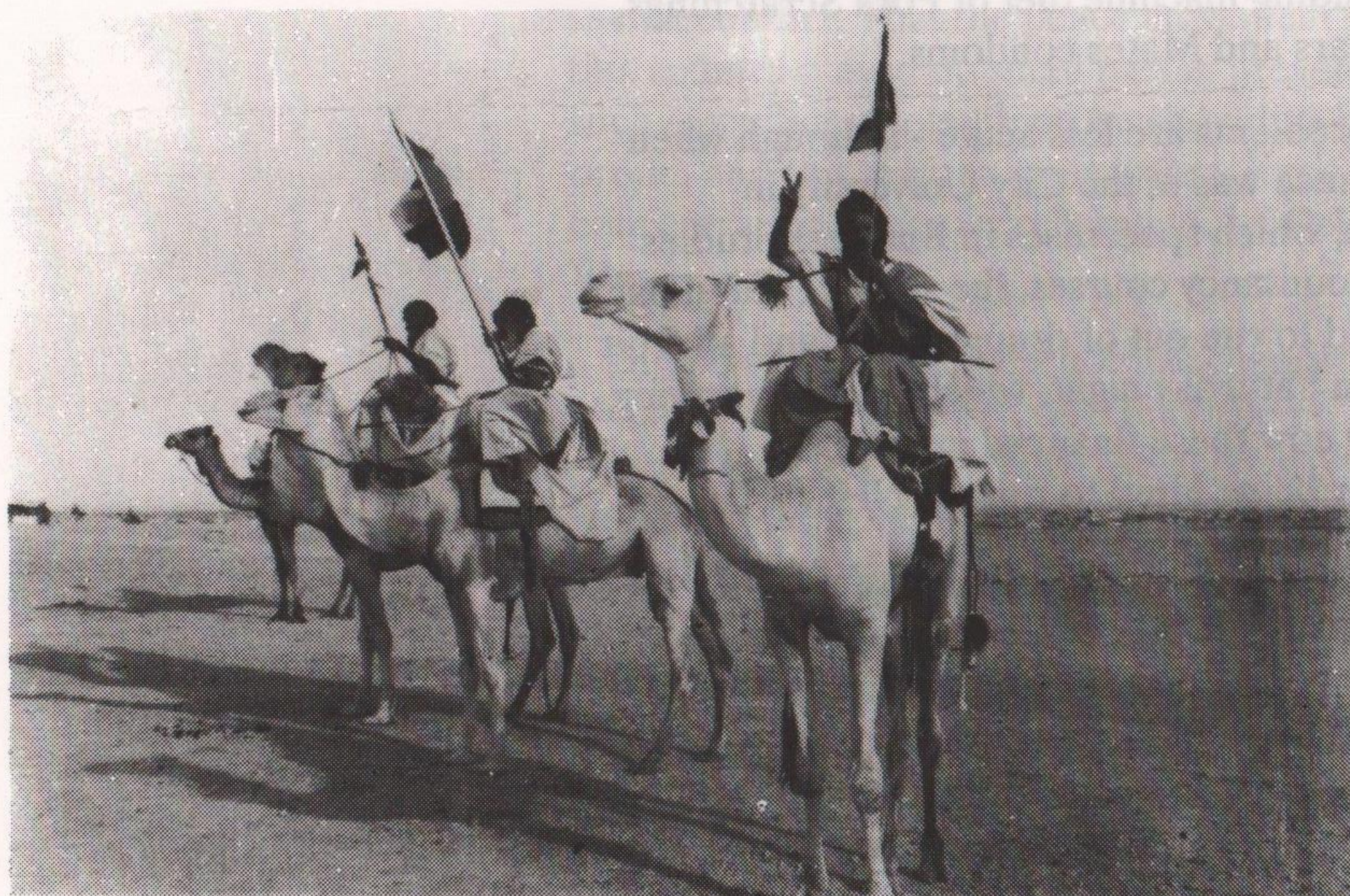
Donald McDonald

For twenty years the indigenous people of the Western Sahara have been bravely struggling for their very survival against the armies of three different invading nations.

Combatants and civilians alike have been bombed, strafed, jailed, tortured, principally by the occupying Moroccan forces. Yet despite their fighting forces being outnumbered 10:1, Polisario has destroyed a third of wealthy Morocco's air strength as well as taking over two thousand prisoners of war.

The origins of the war lie in the 19th century grab for Africa by the European powers.

From a power base in the coastal strip, Spain occupied and controlled the area which became known as Spanish Sahara until 1976. Liberation



A Polisario unit welcomed back from patrolling the desert

struggles had previously been ruthlessly suppressed in 1957-58 and 1967-70, but by the early 70s it was becoming clear that none of the European powers would be able to hold "their" African possession by brute force.

Following the Portuguese revolution in April 1974, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau were soon recognised as independent states. It was inconceivable that in neighbouring Spain, the ailing General Franco and his decaying fascist Falangist regime would survive in Spain let alone in its last African territory.

The Liberation forces in Spanish Sahara came together and formed Polisario in May 1973 and renewed the struggle for independence. Within two and a half years the

thermoses, spoilt papers, split decisions and the annual disappointment at the feeble intellectual level of the graffiti in the toilets. Ou sont les situationists d'antan.

And remember, if you're in Cardiff, that was last year.

colonial power was on its knees and the Spanish were preparing to withdraw. But rather than prepare for the nation's independence, Spain (who had previously done little in terms of building up health, education, civil and administrative structures), went into cynical secret negotiations with Mauritania in the south and Morocco in the north.

Events moved quickly; on 6th November, 1975, King Hassan of Morocco led the "Green March" of 350,000 unarmed "volunteers" through the desert to commence the occupation of most of the Western Sahara. Simultaneously, Mauritania occupied the southern third of the territory. Without reference to the inhabitants of the Western Sahara, Spain legitimised the land grabbing operations in the secret Madrid Accords of the 14th November, 1975. General Francisco Franco, the last of Europe's dictators from the 1930s died before that week was out.

Spain formally withdrew on 28th February 1976, but were immediately replaced by the armed forces of Morocco and Mauritania.

Polisario then took up fighting against two new invading powers, scoring notable successes principally against Mauritania, a very poor country (per capita GNP of \$480 pa, 50% unemployment and 17% literacy) where the war was deeply unpopular. Following two coups d'etat and military victories for Polisario, Mauritania withdrew from the war, signed a peace treaty with Polisario on the 5th August 1979, and subsequently recognised Polisario's Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) in 1984.

However the war with Morocco has continued for seventeen years since 1976, with both sides suffering heavy losses. Despite the usual United Nations pronouncements about the right of self determination, Morocco was able to occupy much of the country with the covert, and sometimes overt, support of the western powers. At an estimated cost of \$3m per day, Morocco maintains an occupying army of 120,000 soldiers behind the "wall of sand", three meters high and 2,300km in length, protected by minefields and US supplied electronic listening devices.

Huge numbers of Saharawi had to flee and an estimated 165,000 are currently living in refugee

camps in an area near Tindouf in south western Algeria. This constitutes the centre of Polisario's administration of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic which was declared on the 27th February, 1976. SADR is a full member of the Organisation of African Unity and is currently recognised by over 70 countries, but not by the UK. Polisario's SADR administration undertakes all the normal functions of government in an abnormal situation, running the camps, providing basic but universal health and education systems, developing agriculture in the desert and maintaining its armed forces in the liberated zones over the border in the Western Sahara.

Since September 1991, there has been an uneasy UN supervised truce which is supposed to lead to a free referendum to decide the country's future. However, Perez de Cuellar's last report to the UN Security Council recommended a Moroccan plan to include their settlers in the referendum. This remains a major and quite unacceptable sticking point for Polisario who naturally argue that only citizens who can prove registration in the last Spanish census in 1974 should be allowed to vote. Current UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali recently visited the region and is expected to make his report soon, but even if Polisario agree to a degree of eligibility beyond the Spanish census, there still remains the problem of validation - will the UN accept a mere oral proof of identity as Morocco wants?

It has to be said that the UN's record in the region has not been good; Perez de Cuellar was long suspected of having a cosy relationship with King Hassan of Morocco. One UN envoy resigned when he discovered that his assistant had passed a computer disk of Polisario's registered voters (from the 1974 Spanish census) to the Americans, who copied it for the Moroccans. Morocco then arranged for its settlers to impersonate the respective Saharawi citizens.

In October last year Saharawi protestors sought refuge in the UN MINURSO mission in the city of Smara in the occupied zone. They were instructed to leave the offices the following day whereupon they were arrested and probably deported to Moroccan prisons. In June of this year Morocco held elections to its impotent assembly, blatantly disregarding the UN referendum plan. Polling was conducted in the occupied zone right under the noses of the MINURSO forces.

However, in an effort to avoid continuing heavy losses for both sides, the Polisario leadership has tried to ensure the maximum progress for the UN peace process. They have taken a major gamble, they feel that this is necessary in order to avoid more deaths in a protracted struggle against an occupying power with vastly greater military might.

Most current wars in the world are basically civil wars involving cultural, religious or national chauvinism. There are two glaring exceptions; the Indonesian invasion of East



Timor and the Moroccan occupation of the Western Sahara. In both cases a wealthy and powerful country has attempted to annexe a weaker neighbour, in both cases overcoming resistance with the utmost ferocity.

There are no difficult issues involved, this is a simple struggle for national liberation and self determination. Polisario are urging trade unionists in the UK to support the drive for humanitarian aid and, above all putting diplomatic and political pressure on the

Of the 1240 kids at this Polisario school, more than 150 had serious injuries as a result of the war. Although special support is given they are educated with the other children.



Security Council members, especially Britain and France, to ensure that the referendum is conducted in a fair manner.

Specifically they are asking for UK unions to work for three principle objectives;

1 UK and International TU support for the Saharawi right of self determination, and a fair referendum;

2 TU input into fund raising for their diplomatic and political work; and

3 Organising visits of UK trade unionists to the camps in order to publicise the need for a fair referendum process.

Polisario use a mixture of captured and donated weapons. Although outnumbered 10 to 1 they are formidable

Following a visit to the Polisario camps by a member of the unions NEC, the National Communications Union is now interested in helping to coordinate greater TU involvement in the campaign.

Contact points:-

Western Sahara Campaign

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Copies of the NCU's report of NEC Member Donald McDonald's visit can be obtained from:-

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The man with the bare head is a Moroccan soldier. He was taken prisoner by Polisario and has remained a POW since. He said he was well treated and appeared to be physically OK. Morocco has a number of secret prison camps holding Polisario, where torture is frequently used. They don't admit to the existence of these camps.



WOMEN WAR RESISTERS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Rebecca Johnson

As if you haven't noticed, there's a war going on in what used to be called Yugoslavia. Analyses abound: this is a revival of historic enmities going back centuries; cosmopolitan, multicultural urban values under threat from rural superstition manipulated by fascist popularist leaders; collectivist communist values clashing with private enterprise for the future of the Yugoslav nation(s) under the new world order...

A rather important fact which hit me as soon as I went to the former Yugoslavia is almost never commented on: the combatants are almost exclusively male, while the refugee camps are filled with women and children. This is not just a war against civilians; this is a war against women. But of course that's because soldiers are supposed to be men, isn't it? War requires manly courage, fighting skills and bravery, which are the perquisites of masculinity. Women aren't soldiers because they can't fight, they wouldn't know what to do, they need to be kept out of the front line. Men fight in order to protect the women.

Wrong.

Anyone looking at this war can see that it is not about protecting women. Indeed, women and children are in the front line, as primary targets. The Amnesty International report of January 1993 entitled Bosnia-Herzegovina: Rape and sexual abuse by armed forces, identified the abuse of women as widespread, committed by all sides. In most cases the victims were identified as of different nationality from the perpetrator, but Amnesty also reported on soldiers who raped several women, including women of their own ethnic 'side'. Convicted rapists and gangsters became war heroes.

SOS Hotline, an independent group of women who run a phone crisis line for women victims of violence in Serbia, whom I visited in June, have identified a 30 percent increase of rape and sexual violence, including what they have dubbed the 'post TV news violence syndrome'. They also noted an increase in the presence of guns when men commit violence, even when the victims are members of their own families.

In July 1992 a member of the green berets, a muslim unit, recounted on German television how he was paid 100 DM each time he brought in a bus full of women 'to be forced into prostitution': 'If I did not find enough Serbian women then I filled the bus with Muslim and Croat women.' Forced prostitution, as Korean 'comfort women' found fifty years ago, is not prostitution, but rape, repeated over and over again.

The Green Beret soldier's 'confession' might be true, or it could be yet another example of the propaganda of this highly emotive issue, which in turn is used to spread further hatred and revenge, leading to further violence against more women.

It is easy to evoke shock and condemnation for individual perpetrators with these stories, while covering up the implications. We're told that has happened in all wars, that wars are like this, that soldiers are like this. So? Does that mean it's okay? Are they saying it's natural and therefore we have to accept it? Racism is also a cause of war, but at least this now gets recognised as something which needs to be addressed.

Not so the war against women that men fight in parallel with their wars of domination or patriotism. Reporters speak of Serbs fighting Muslims, just as they write of 'football hooligans', 'increases in violent crime' and 'inner city youth'. These terms appear to be gender neutral, and therefore conceal the fact that women and girls are conspicuous by their absence. The common factor is uncontrolled masculinity, but attention has to be diverted from the obvious by all kinds of political excuses. The problem is not just testosterone run riot, but the role of combat and aggression in the construction of concepts of manhood.

The world, which has defined the war in former Yugoslavia as a nationalist war, tries not to notice that men and women are more fundamentally on opposite sides than are the Serb men from their Croat or even Bosnian counterparts. Under the guise of humiliating the enemy (male) by raping 'his' women, war gives soldiers free and violent access to all women.

I met and spoke to many strong and courageous women - of all sides - while I was in the former-Yugoslavia in May/June this year. From their stories it is quite clear to me that the majority of women had considered it most important to resist the war mentality and nationalist fever and had hoped it would be possible to keep war away. As the armies marched, men across the former Yugoslavia began meeting in separatist cafes to clean their guns and gee each other up with plots and plans for heroic deeds. Most of the women carried on visiting each others' homes or going to market with their neighbours. In doing this, some even had to defy male relatives who had prohibited contacts across the ethnic lines.

These women, as well as women who work directly against the ugly nationalism, who try to help refugees regardless of their ethnic status, and who run crisis hotlines and refuges - like the Zagreb Centre for Women War Refugees, and Women in Black in Belgrade - are not recognised as fighters because they have rejected the weapons and methods of masculine warmongering. Yet these women need courage and skills far greater than that of the soldiers firing from hilltops into the towns. They won't get medals, though, because the enemy for these women is not another ethnic identity or group or nationality, but war itself. They are not combatants in the war, but against the war.

I am not denying that men, such as those emaciated figures brought out of internment camps, have also been harmed in the war, or that occasional women, like Mrs Thatcher, get a kick out of warmongering. But I do think that the widespread acceptance of masculine aggression needs to be honestly and urgently addressed or we will fail yet again to find appropriate solutions.

Nowadays mediators without the nationalistic baggage of adversaries are brought in to help resolve conflicts. But these mediators are nearly always male. If they notice women at all, it is just as unfortunate victims. Women who are active noncombatants, who try to maintain the principles of nonviolence and cooperative ways of living are ignored as though they were invisible. Could it be that the mediators have a vested interest in keeping war respectable?

Women and men experience war differently. War engages men in a game they seem to recognise, with rules, roles and opportunities to 'prove themselves'. They interchange between being destroyers or destroyed: if they are beaten in one exchange they can dream of beating their enemies in the next one. War is some sort of continuation in the games of combat around which their masculinity has been constructed. So well before the necessity to join up and fight, the men begin to huddle, to plan, and clean their weapons, while the testosterone and adrenalin levels climb.

Women don't see a game in the war. They try to keep life going instead. When war comes to their regions, women experience it as a personal attack, quite literally an invasion, with their bodies often the first thing to be invaded. This is not a recognisable role, but the deeply personal and, to them, irrevocable - destruction of their lives. On an individual level, women can be deadly adversaries if they choose to fight, but in war it is not just their personal safety at risk, but the family, community and security that they had worked for. Women are not combatants because they are war-resisters, not because they are the weak being protected by their menfolk. The importance of their resistance should be celebrated, not ignored.

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND THORP

Nigel Chamberlain

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The Government's response to the concerns expressed about proliferation if THORP is permitted to commence reprocessing spent fuel and release large quantities of highly enriched uranium and plutonium can be summarised as:

"The Government remains satisfied as to the intentions of the governments of the THORP customer countries.... It therefore sees no reason to prevent the operations of THORP on this account."

The history of the development of fissile material and nuclear weapons has always been shrouded in secrecy. Decisions have been taken with minimal consultation within government and not at all with the people. This lack of public consultation characterises the present discussion about the future of THORP as it applies to nuclear proliferation.

Information has been extracted from various sources, compiled and disseminated by organisations interested in the free exchange of information. BNFL refuses to explain the details of its contracts with the Ministry of Defence, the military pretend they do not exist and governments have consistently misinformed the public about the relationship between the production of fissile material and the construction of nuclear warheads.

What trust can we have in elected representatives who continue to state that "it is not the Government's policy to give further information on this (usefulness of plutonium nuclear warheads) or to comment on the details of any nuclear weapons tests which may be alleged to have carried out"?

As long ago as 1984 Dr. Robert Seldon, a nuclear weapons designer at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, stated that: "...all plutonium can be used directly in nuclear explosives, the concept of 'denatured' plutonium is fallacious. A high content of Pu240 isotope is a complication. Given a free choice, a designer would choose low Pu240 material."

The Government has stated that it has full confidence in IAEA safeguards and its ability to regulate an expanding trade in plutonium. They appear to have overlooked the fact that William Dirks, the Deputy Director General of the IAEA, believes that "Even if one disregards the fissile material from nuclear warheads, the excess of isolated fissile plutonium from civil nuclear programmes poses a major political and security problem worldwide".

The IAEA's major role is to promote the commercial exploitation of nuclear power with a secondary and somewhat contradictory, role

to register and control plutonium stockpiles. The IAEA is under great pressure to increase its monitoring activities, especially in those countries considered to harbour desires to join the nuclear club and where fissile material is extracted from nuclear warheads. However, it is understaffed and underfunded and may be unable, therefore, to adequately monitor the plutonium recovered from THORP.

Diversion of 'Civil' plutonium could prove difficult to monitor and until BNFL's commercial contracts are made available for public scrutiny it could be argued that economic pressures may result in contractual substitution between foreign utilities.

It is simply not sufficient to state that the countries whose utility companies have signed contracts with THORP are committed to the principles of the NPT. The Treaty is due for renewal in 1995 and many signatory nations have severe reservations about compliance with its clauses. Many are pointing the finger at Britain for allowing BNFL to promote the international trade in plutonium and escalating its own nuclear weapons stockpile with the acquisition of the Trident submarine system in flagrant breach of Article VI of the treaty.

Furthermore, members of the previous Japanese Government and other political factions have stated their opposition to the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995 and believe that Japan should reserve the right to develop its own nuclear weapons if it considers other nuclear nations pose a threat to its sovereignty, citing North Korea as an example.

This is exactly the argument North Korea uses to justify its own nuclear programme and Britain uses to justify its expanding nuclear weapons arsenal. If the NPT is to survive after 1995 then it must be strengthened and adhered to as well as be seen to be equitable to all signatory nations. At present the five declared nuclear powers seem to believe that the wording of the Treaty can be interpreted in different ways.

Conclusion

The UK government appears to be committed to a high risk strategy for short-term economic advantage. The most sensible and practical means of controlling nuclear proliferation is to halt plans to reprocess spent fuel and stop its international trade as a market commodity.

BNFL must be encouraged to prepare detailed plans for the long-term 'management' of spent fuel and fissile material in full

consultation with the governments of the contracting utilities, environmental organisations, local authorities and trade unions.

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MAJOR CONCERNS OVER THORP

Jim Barnes

There are three areas of concern being raised over the commissioning of the Thermal Oxide Reprocessing Plant (THORP). One relates to the costs involved. The second results from the increase in radiative discharge and other environmental problems which THORP will produce and the third results from the separation of plutonium, which THORP was designed to do.

COSTS

Some press reports quote the cost of building THORP as £2.3 billion, others quote £2.8 billion.

It was originally decided to build THORP in 1977 when Britain, together with a number of other countries, were still developing fast breeder reactors, which would be able to use as fuel the uranium and plutonium THORP would separate from spent fuel from conventional reactors. At the time it was thought that THORP would make huge profits from reprocessing other countries waste. That now looks extremely doubtful. None of the fast breeders have worked successfully and the cost of refining uranium from ore is now much cheaper than in 1977. There is now a considerable glut of plutonium and uranium worldwide.

BNF have argued that the plant will make £500 million profit over a ten year period. However, very few people are prepared to believe BNF's figures which have consistently proven to be wildly optimistic in the past. The turn over which will produce this profit will be 10 billion, which means that the margin is tight, not to say tiny.

However, recently the government withdrew a commitment to underwrite any losses made by the customers. Scottish Nuclear then withdrew their contract and decided, instead, to 'dry

Research and Development into the concept of 'management' of radioactive materials would also force the nuclear industry to abandon its objective of 'disposing' of it in an underground repository at Sellafield

Britain and Plutonium. ISIS Briefing by Walker and Berkhout. November 1992

Can Civilian plutonium be used in nuclear explosives? A review of statements by nuclear weapons experts. Federation of American Scientists. 24th August 1984

Speech to Japan Atomic Industrial Forum by William Dirks, Deputy Director General IAEA. 13th April 1992.

store' their waste. Reprocessing "no longer appears to offer any immediate and significant advantage from a waste disposal point of view", they said. BNF have not revealed who their other customers will be or what quantities will be involved. It is difficult, therefore, for even the most starry eyed of its advocates to take these projected profits seriously.

One estimate of the cost of cleaning up the site once it has reached its safe working life at 40 billion. This remains speculative and it could prove an underestimation. For it to be less than that new technologies would have to have been developed and there is no sign of this happening. There is no theoretical possibility currently known to physics which would suggest such a technology could be forthcoming.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS:-

At a meeting in June this year of the Paris Commission, the group of 13 nations who control pollution into the North Sea, a motion was agreed to calling for far tighter controls over discharges of nuclear material from THORP than Britain was proposing to operate. They also called for more rigorous procedures in handling nuclear materials. Britain was the only government to vote against.

The THORP plant will discharge into both the sea and into the air. Sellafield village already has ten times the national average for childhood Leukaemia.

Some concerns are based on the fact that the process will produce sixteen times the quantity of nuclear waste than they receive as spent fuel for reprocessing. As yet no satisfactory method has been found for neutralising the radioactivity associated with this waste and so it will remain a problem for thousands of years to come.

The government's own advisory panel, the Committee on Medical Aspects of Radiation,

has also voiced concerns in a recent report. They said that the rise in radioactive discharges resulting from THORP's activity "should be viewed with some concern" because it would inevitably involve a greater risk to the population."

The report also says that "No practice involving radiation should be adopted unless it produces benefit to the exposed individuals or to society to offset the radiation detriment it causes." The committee says that no estimate of the potential hazard has been made available and that no new process should be authorised without such information being taken into account.

Of the other governments who have voiced opposition to THORP on environmental grounds, Ireland, the United States and the Scandinavian countries have been the most outspoken.

PROLIFERATION

It takes about 7kg of plutonium to make a nuclear bomb. THORP will be producing about 57 tons of it a year, much of it for export. There are two dangers in this. One is that the customers may sell material to a third party or that its security will be insufficient to prevent it from being stolen, either by terrorists or by governments who wish to make nuclear weapons. Bearing in mind that a hundred

weight of the stuff would make up to 20 nuclear bombs it would not be too difficult to amass sufficient to produce an arsenal of weapons.

The second is that the customer countries themselves would use the plutonium to make nuclear weapons in the future. That possibility itself can be a destabilising element in international politics. The technological capability and the possession of a stockpile of plutonium taken together can be the basis for threatening other countries. The very existence of stockpiles of plutonium is itself a considerable incentive for governments to develop nuclear bombs.

It would take Japan, for instance, a matter of months to manufacture weapons once it has built a stock. This is one of the reasons North Korea is using as a justification for continuing its own nuclear weapons programme.

This is why considerable opposition to THORP is building within the United States government. Clinton has made statements that he is worried about what THORP will do. The Pentagon's own Non-Proliferation office have been lobbying hard to have it stopped. 25 Congressmen and Congresswomen, including Joe Kennedy of Massachusetts, are promoting legislation in congress condemning THORP and calling on Clinton to initiate "High-level bilateral discussions" with the British Government with a view to halting the project.

THE RIGHT TO SITES

Paul Winters - LCTR

"You know you won't all get on the new site - there's not enough room". The permanent pitches are already allocated to Bluey's family (they've been waiting over ten years for a site) and the transit pitches will soon fill up. What are you going to do if your not one of the lucky ones?"

"We'll meet that when we come to it. We take each day as it comes".

Life in a lay-by



So goes a recent conversation with a group of Gypsies outside Hull. Over 20 trailers are now gathered on Bently lay-by and the local Tory councillors are having a field day in the press:

"Call for quick action to move gypsies".

"one law for the gypsies and one for the rest of us".

"we just want the government to get a move on so that we can solve this PROBLEM".

A history of evictions (often just before the biannual count so that returns to the Department of Environment showed an underestimate of the need) had disrupted patterns of settlement and migration, and the new site would be too small for the numbers needing accommodation. When it opens, Beverly Borough (Tory) will get Designation.

"Designation" is the carrot chased by Labour and Tory Councils alike. This is a crude quota system, likening to the Group Areas Act in South Africa, limiting the number of people allowed in a camp, in an area which has been granted Designated status on the grounds of adequate provision, and, wait for it, "expediency". What this means is that whole

areas of the country become no-go areas for Travellers.

The 1968 Caravan Sites Act was brought in by the Labour Government of that time after a spate of violent evictions and confrontations, leading to bloodshed and several tragic fatal accidents.

It places a duty on local authorities to provide sites for those "gypsies" residing in or resorting to an area. The misspelling of the ethnic term Gypsy is significant in this context since they are defined in the Act as "persons of a nomadic way of life whatever their race or origin" - a lifestyle not an ethnic definition.

This has enabled New Travellers (called in the media "New Age") to claim, quite rightly, consideration under the Act. They wouldn't want the concrete and tarmac reservations provided by most councils - in fact most gypsies would prefer sites designed with real need in mind - but the Act enables evictions from Council land in undesignated areas to be fought in court and for Judicial Review applications to hold off the bailiffs. The Tories have signalled their intention with the review of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act put out for consultation in August 1992, to abolish the duty to provide sites under the act and have already cut off the 100% capital grant for new sites. This has been universally opposed by Labour politicians and even by many Tories. The police have condemned it as creating more problems than it solves. Gypsies and Travellers have united to oppose it in all respects.

Democratic Traveller groups such as the Gypsy council (the former National Gypsy Education Council), Northern Gypsy Council, North Country Travellers Association, National Romany Rights Association, and political groups such as Labour Campaign for Travellers Rights, have worked together to fight the common cause. Liberty have coordinated a national demonstration and lobby of Parliament. Safe Childbirth for Travellers, have focused on a specific issue to gain cross-party support. The Social Responsibility wing of religious groups have attacked the reforms on moral as well as practical grounds. The campaign is broad-based and focused. Meanwhile, two private members Bills, at the end of last year and the beginning of this, from far-right extremists, Bowen Wells and Cranley Onslow, floated proposals for further assimilationist and privatisation policies.

Cranley Onslow's bill proposed the sale of council sites with a 78% discount and, if not sold within 12 months, to be sold without a reserve price.

The hidden agenda was revealed by the Tory MP Oliver Heald, who supported the Bill:

"The effect of clauses 2 and 6 would be that organisations such as the National Gypsy Council would be able to acquire sites currently

in local authority control. If the discounts are allowed, about £40 million could then be transferred to bodies which would then become powerful independent site associations tailored to "gypsy" needs".



It should be noted that the National Gypsy Council is neither "national" or a "council" in any democratic sense of the word.

Jeremy Corbyn MP, described the bill as "a bit of asset stripping and a bit of greed", and, thanks to Labour opposition, the Bill was talked out. The overt racism of Onslow and Wells was revealed in the debate:

A way of life that is threatened by a mean and nasty Government.



Wells - "Like keeping poultry - it is the same with Gypsies - once on a site on which gypsies may be entitled to camp is designated, it attracts all sorts of other nomadic vagabonds. And so they come - in large shiny caravans pulled by Land Rovers and Jaguars of recent vintage."

Onslow - "and Mercedes"

Wells - "Yes - accompanied by Mercedes and the odd Shogun".

As a positive way forward, Traveller organisation such as the East Anglian Gypsy Council, Essex Romani Association, North

We should remember that half a million Gypsies were killed by the Nazis. The Type of racism inherent in our governments current attitude laid the basis in the 1930's for this genocide. This is not just a British problem, throughout Europe the far right are using ethnic minorities as a scapegoat for economic crisis. For instance, more than 20 have been killed in a spate of anti-Gypsy attacks in Hungary recently.

Country Travellers Association and the Northern Gypsy Council, assisted by groups such as Safe Childbirth for Travellers, have been formulating their own policy proposals - "Alternative Proposals for the Constructive Reform of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act".

These proposals would form a much more constructive basis on which the Department of the Environment could consult, but will they listen? The government seems such more preoccupied with pandering to the prejudices of vested interests, such as the Country Land Owners Association to take an objective look at the problem of inadequate site provision.

LCTR has supported positive proposals coming from genuine representatives of the different Traveller communities. In addition it has endorsed the proposals from Humberside Law Centre for local authorities to strike facilities agreements with Travellers on

unauthorised sites. This would provide short-term amenities such as drinking water, refuse collection, sanitation and hard-standing in areas where there are no spaces on sites for Travellers camped illegally. Hardly earth shattering demands!

It looks as though the Tories will put their reform of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act on the back burner, and concentrate on the law and order issues surrounding the Public Order Act.

Again, this will do nothing to deal with root cause of the problem - the lack of sites. Labour Campaign for Travellers Rights has launched a "Right to Sites" campaign to promote positive alternatives to the government's muddled thinking. If you want to find out more about this campaign, please contact:

LCTR, Secretary, 84 Bankside Street, Leeds, LS8 5AD.

MOSCOW....SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER, 1993

Dave Yeomans

It was a profoundly saddening experience to stand in the vast expanse of Moscow's Manezh Square, next to the doomed Lenin State Museum, listening to the rattle of tank and machine gun fire and seeing the billowing smoke from Russia's parliament building climbing high into the cloudless blue sky. Not more than half a mile away, ordinary Russians were killing ordinary Russians in support of one group of ex-communist card holders who were struggling for power against another group of ex-communists of the same ilk. This was the 4th of October, and before the day would end, two of the key players, Vice President Rutskoi and parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, along with others, would be under lock and key in the former KGB's Lefortovo Prison. Those claiming to represent democracy would prevail over those claiming to represent democracy.

The deadly battle for Russia's House of Soviets, known as the Black House, (referring as much to the deed as to the building's smoke blackened exterior), cost almost 200 lives and several hundred injured. It was a sudden and violent climax to the struggle for power between Russia's parliament and President Boris Yeltsin's government.

Which side won is unlikely to be known for a long time yet.

Russia's transition from a so-called "communist" totalitarian state to a so-called market orientated "democracy" has a great distance to go. But President Boris Yeltsin has put an emphatic end to his favourite whipping boy - the parliamentary opposition. It was very often convenient for Yeltsin to put the blame for the failure of his government's economic policies onto the parliamentary opposition.

Now, he stands alone at Russia's helm....and the going is likely to get tougher and more dangerous.

It was on the 10th of August this year that President Yeltsin predicted several weeks of sharp political conflict when he said that the month of September would be the month "when questions of the constitution, elections, and essentially the fate of authority in Russia will be decided".

The parliament's speaker, Ruslan Khasbulatov, the same day, said the legislature was "in a combat situations" when addressing a conference on the social protection of the military. It is doubtful if either of these two adversaries, though now implacable enemies, and who, alongside Alexander Rutskoi, stood on a tank together to face down the August 1991 putsch, could have possibly imagined the eventual dreadful outcome.

Russia's deepening political and economic crisis continues unabated. From Russia's regions come signals of deep discontent and the desire for many, especially those with vast mineral wealth, to break away and go it alone. Charges and countercharges of corruption against people in the highest echelons of power were batted to and fro. The Vice President on the 18th September accused the President of preparing to impose a dictatorship and that a coup was immanent, warning the Parliament that it might not live to see the planned Congress of Peoples Deputies (the highest legislative body under the present, much amended, Russian Constitution) due to be held in November.

But what was the reaction of the people to all these provocative developments which would eventually culminate in the cataclysmic events of 3rd-4th October. From my own observation and discussions with Russians, the dramatic and tense confrontation being played out in Moscow left the overwhelming majority more exhausted, more politically alienated....and more cynical than ever before. People have long since lost the ability to distinguish who are the good guys and who are the bad. Most people have come to the conclusion that all those in power are simply self-seekers and thieves....a popularly held view these days, and not without justification. The primitive market has made it much easier to get an infinitive variety of spirits, liqueurs, cigarettes, beers, confectionary, coke and pepsi, and other such benefits of invariably Western manufacture. It is immeasurably easier to find such products than to find bread, milk, butter, eggs, cheese, medicines, etc, etc.... In the first 9 months of 1993, Russia's industrial output fell by 17% compared to the same period last year, which also showed a similar fall during the same period of 1991. In these circumstances is it any wonder the Russian people in the mass feel powerless and emasculated.

When President Boris Yeltsin dissolved parliament on 21st September he gambled on using what were clearly unconstitutional means to force through any vision he may be harbouring to extract the country out of its desperate and chaotic difficulties. Critical times may demand critical decisions, especially when we consider the potential collapse of a country with a huge nuclear arsenal.

But can one compromise with democracy? Western leaders, including Britain's Prime Minister John Major, were speedy in their expression of support for the actions of the Russian President to dissolve the Russian Parliament.

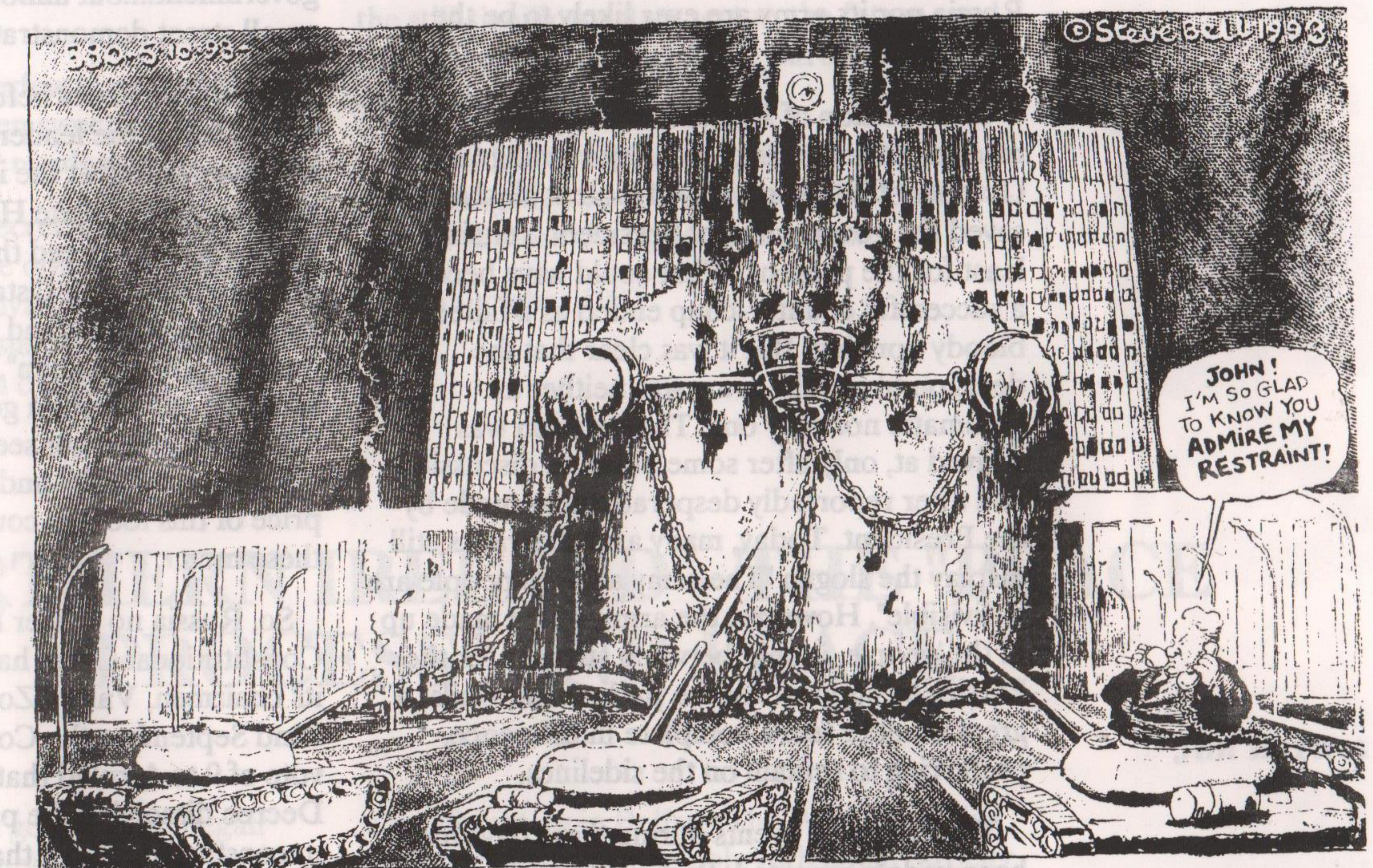
This support reflected a stark contrast to the position adopted by those same leaders who at the time of the anti-Gorbachov coup in 1991 were the first to their condemnation of the coup leaders breach of that very same Constitution.

The stand-off between the parliamentarians and their supporters occupying the White House in protest at its "dissolution by decree" and the president and his supporters, deteriorated by degrees. Accusation, charges and countercharges were, each day, becoming

more strident and extreme. After some days the building and its occupants were completely isolated. All communications, water, gas and electricity were cut, leaving only a small generator which quickly exhausted the available stock of fuel. Meetings were held by candlelight.

There are times in a nation's march when historic events determine its future direction. There were fateful hours during Friday 1st October when this may have been such a case for Russia and its people. Towards the end of the parliamentarians abortive occupation there existed an unarticulated but perceptible growing sympathy for the parliamentary underdog. Many people, beyond the supporters of the much criticised Parliament, felt a genuine sense of outrage at the government decision to cut-off all normal services, particularly water, from the lawmaker deputies. Perhaps the wartime blockade of Leningrad still haunts the Russian psyche, especially since the case of the Russian opposition was not against reform as such...but against what it claimed was a reform process which was too quick and too deep, and which had no clearly defined strategy for its evolution.

But this precise time, in my opinion, was the



point when the deputies lost all.

Naturally concerned at the escalating tension, not only in the capital but throughout the vastness of Russia, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Alexi II, offered to mediate at talks between the two sides. The discussions were held in the Danilovsky monastery in central Moscow. Meeting directly for the first time since the standoff began, the presidential and the parliamentary delegations reached what amounted to a preliminary deal at 2:40a.m. on Friday. Under the agreement the city would reconnect the services to the White House, while the parliament would place all the weapons inside the building under a joint

Copyright Steve Bell

guard. But at the session of parliament that morning the overnight agreement was rejected by the remaining 150 or so deputies, who defiantly stated their belief that the political winds were beginning to favour them. Khasbulatov told reporters "The breakthrough is coming and the junta headed by Yeltsin will be thrown out of power". This in my view was a grave error of judgement and was probably the hinge on which the whole situation turned. Public sympathy simply melted away.

The course of events started on 21st September, which 6 weeks earlier had been predicted as a 'hot' time politically, came to a bloody head on the 3rd and 4th October in fighting heavier than Moscow had seen since Tsarist times. Tanks, howitzers and heavy machine-guns began pounding the sealed-off building at just before 9a.m. on the 4th. By 5.30p.m. the assault was over. Many parliamentary deputies had abandoned their occupation and their more determined colleagues at the last moment, lured by the offer of government and administrative jobs.

What people believed would never happen had indeed happened...the Russian army had used its weapons against Russians. Neither Russia nor its army are ever likely to be the same again.

The decision of Russia's military, taken at a meeting of generals on Sunday evening (3rd October) following a day of violent clashes, saved the government of President Yeltsin..... at least for the present. What could have become a successful counter-coup ended as a failed and bloody uprising. But it was clear that the decision to use the army was neither an automatic nor easy one. The decision was arrived at, only after some hours of discussion and after reportedly desperate pleas made by the President. Today, many army barracks still display the slogan "The army and the people are indivisible". However, the army, being made up of the people, is split between support for the President, support for the parliament, whilst a great number feel a complete indifference, preferring to remain on the sidelines.

The course of events during these days have been widely reported. Perhaps later they must become the subject for serious and objective analysis. During these hours the country looked into the face of far more serious situation....civil war.

The eyewitness reports of a journalist in both the Kremlin and the parliament building speak of an atmosphere of "panic". One such journalist, Sergei Parkhomemko, a correspondent with the Russian liberal daily "Segodnya" (today) said "The atmosphere was absolutely chaotic...."

At one point there was no Kremlin anymore. Everything was out of control". The journalist, who watched the events from the floor where President Yeltsin has his office said "The

President appeared to me to be not very lucid. He did not seem capable of pressing the control buttons. Everything remained chaotic". The journalist was asked whether Yeltsin spoke on the telephone and gave orders during the crisis. "Not at all. He was paralysed", Pharkomemko said, he added that he had tried to wire an account of what happened for his newspaper, but that the censorship introduced by presidential decree had blocked its publication. (Ed. The article was published by the English language 'Moscow Times' 7th oct, under the headline "Its only the beginning", after the lifting of the censorship restrictions)

It was probably clear to the holed-up parliamentary leadership on Sunday night (3rd), who knew the calibre and personality of their government opponents, that things were not going smoothly in the Kremlin. It was indeed strange that it was not the President who addressed the nation from a subsidiary TV studio on that crucial evening, but the first Deputy Prime Minister, Yegor Gaidar, with an appeal to the citizenry to take to the streets in support of the government. Moscow's Mayor, Yury Luzhkov, immediately followed Gaidar. He too supported the president and government....but announced an immediate ban on all street demonstrations!

About two hours before this, the democratic legitimacy of the leaders of the parliamentary side evaporated at the instant when from the balcony of the White House, Ruskoi and Khasbulatov ordered the taking of Russia's main TV station at Ostankino, some six kilometres distant, and when they called for the "taking of the Kremlin". Did they anticipate this could be achieved via gentlemanly negotiations! Though this was not seen by Russian TV, it was filmed live by CNN and shown on cable. The price of this footage could be a high one for these men.

So, Russia no longer has a parliament, its Constitutional Court has been suspended and its chairmen, Valery Zorkin, dismissed. (On 22nd September the Constitutional Court, by a vote of 9 to 4, ruled that the Presidential Decree dissolving the parliament was unconstitutional and that the President could be impeached). The supreme legislative, executive and judicial power is concentrated in the hands of one man. In any language - despite the ingenuous "lesser of two evils" approach - such a situation can only be described as what it isdictatorship.

Even after the Parliament had voted on the 22nd September to strip Yeltsin of his presidential powers for his decree dissolving that part of the legislature, Khasbulatov was quoted as saying "All legislative power has effectively been eliminated....All power is now in the hands of the President".

The following day the special session of the Congress of Peoples Deputies voted by 636 to 2, to relieve Yeltsin of his responsibilities.

The Russian media, especially the TV and Radio, was far from being an objective and impartial mirror of the constitutional crisis, indeed for a long time it had displayed its own crisis of identity, having simply switched to serving a new master..."He who pays the piper ..." Some months before the dissolution decree, the leading opposition paper 'Pravda', by order of the government's press service, was banned from sending their journalists to any press conference given in the Kremlin. Two days after the Decree a government order was issued shutting down the national parliamentary paper 'Rossiskaya Gazetta'. Sadly after the shooting had ended the situation deteriorated dramatically and speedily.

On the same evening that the White House deputies surrendered, Presidential Decree No 1578 was issued to introduce censorship of newspapers and magazines. Yeltsin also suspended the publication of 15 opposition newspapers including Pravda, Den, Sovetskaya Rossia and Rabochaya Tribuna. In addition the popular opposition programme '600 Seconds' was also closed.

A strict 11pm to 5am curfew was introduced and police authorities given sweeping powers to detain and deport 'illegal' residents.

Another presidential decree issued Monday evening outlawed hardline opposition parties, including the National Salvation Front, Working Russia, the Russian Communist Workers Party, the Union of Officers and others.

President Yeltsin's close ally, Moscow Mayor Yury Luzhkov, said he planned to dissolve the Moscow City Council which, ever since the President attempted to dissolve it on 21st of September, firmly sided with the parliament (and some days later he did). Other Soviets (councils) around greater Moscow Region were also banned. A Yeltsin aide, Pyotr Filipov, said at a press conference on the 5th of October "the president's advisors are trying to decided whether to dissolve all regional soviets or just those that opposed his September decree", etc., etc., etc.

Whether some type of Russian democracy can emerge, or whether the country will slide into the abyss of dictatorship or whether the country will disintegrate into a welter of regional conflicts remains to be seen. There are distinct signs to suggest that any of the above scenarios could be possible.

Perhaps "it's only the beginning", Parkhomenko's article delayed by the censor, could not have been more aptly titled. With inflation again set to match last year's figure of 2000%, industrial production continuing to plummet, and with the world's financial institutions calling for an ending of subsidies to the still significant state sector, the future road to the capitalist market looks extremely bumpy and uncertain.

Meanwhile President Yeltsin has called for an investigation to determine who issued the decree to close the opposition press.

30th October 1993

NORTHERN IRELAND - THE "PEACE PROCESS" AND PEACE

Jim Barnes

A while ago the British government began quietly to put the possibility of some form of settlement, which included the possibility of a United Ireland on the table. The result was that the Protestant paramilitaries began a programme of indiscriminate killing. They made it clear they didn't care who it was or what their connection with the republican movement, so long as they were from the "catholic" community. The purpose was to make it clear that what was on offer from the protestant paramilitaries was a bloody process of ethnic cleansing were the union with the south to be seriously flagged up as a possibility by the British government.

Taxi drivers, dustmen, people delivering fast food, were all to be targets. One of the first they killed was a painter working at Shorts, the

aircraft factory in Belfast. The Provisional Sin Fien responded predictably with equal ferocity. Although attempting to be somewhat more discriminate as to the people they killed the Shankill road bomb destroyed their ability to represent themselves as being anything other than on a par with the UVF.

There is a serious problem for people within Mainland Britain in judging what is happening in Northern Ireland. Most assessment current amongst political activists here are from a point of view of mainland politics, not from what it is like to live in Northern Ireland. That means the perspectives and the solutions relate to conditions completely unrelated to those faced by the people of Northern Ireland. It may be, for instance, that the presence of British troops is part of the cause of the horrors facing

ordinary people there. It does not logically follow that withdrawing them will resolve those problems.

It is clear also that a united Ireland is the only logical long term structure for that country. But that does not mean that there are serious problems associated with a united Ireland with the Republic constituted as it is. The domination of education in the republic by the Catholic Church, the fact that Abortion is barely legal, divorce is difficult, the fact that contraception is legal only because of aids all point to a radical disadvantage for people, and especially for women, in the south compared to those in the North. It shouldn't be surprising that there is resistance to the idea of a united Ireland from some of the people in the north or that solutions offered by the left in mainland Britain do not have a resonance amongst a big section of the population there.

The late and odious Reginald Maudling, while he was the home secretary, said that the best we could hope for in Northern Ireland was an acceptable level of violence. I am convinced

that what he wanted was to generate a level of violence which would maintain the sectarian divide and obstruct the development of a progressive politics but remained manageable from the British governments point of view. British government intervention in Northern Ireland has produced the current situation.

The hatred between the communities there is not something, therefore, which can be dissipated by a deal between Dublin and Checkers with the coy offer of a couple of political sweeties. At least part of the reason for the British government's current posturing must be the cost of policing the results of their policies rather than any real interest in the quality of life for people of Northern Ireland.

Policing any community, be it in Northern Ireland or Medowell in North Tyneside, is only possible with some degree of consent and cooperation from the population. Without that consent the exercise becomes expensive and ineffective.

It would be a mistake, therefore, for us to believe that the paramilitaries on either side of the sectarian divide do not have support within their communities. They could not function without such support and a programme for peace will either have to isolate both groups or embrace both groups. Since Tory support in Northern Ireland is sectarian based it is difficult to see how they could do either. Their attempts to cut and run to cut costs could lead to a bloodbath.

In the long term the only way a resolution to the hatred, violence and killing has to be generated by the people in Northern Ireland and be commonly accepted by them.

If the political initiatives do have a resonance with the political desires and aspirations of ordinary people there then peace becomes a possibility. The list of things ordinary people will judge proposals on will be the impact of the proposals on jobs and on rights rather than the quality of John Major's public relations.

It is possible that a lack of appreciation amongst peace campaigners and political activists in Britain as a whole, of what it is like in Northern Ireland may become a stumbling block to peace there.

For those reasons we hope to carry a series of articles on the situation there, from a range of people representing a range of views.

The first concerns the anti sectarian initiative established a couple of years ago by the Irish Congress of Trades Unions. The article first appeared in the AEU Journal a year ago and is reproduced by permission of the author. We have also included a statement by the ICTU for good measure.

A leaflet issued recently by the ICTU



COUNTERACT

Our mission: -to stamp out intimidation.

This article first appeared in the AEEU Journal and is reproduced with the permission of Counteract.

Counteract is sponsored by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, backed by the AEEU, and although still young is already making an impact.

You don't have to shoot a man to destroy him. There are other ways - less violent, more subtle - of doing it. But it more or less amounts to the same thing in the end.'

So says Jim Quinn, a man who, though optimistic and undaunted, has a mighty and unenviable task in front of him. For, as development officer of an organisation known as Counteract, it's his job to tackle the huge problem of intimidation, discrimination and harassment that unhappily exists in Northern Ireland.

'The unit is sponsored by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU), so obviously we're mostly concerned with what goes on in the workplace, although our remit doesn't actually stop there,' he says. 'We're out to stop cases of intimidation, harassment and victimisation wherever they occur - as well as cold-blooded murder. A man who is forced out of his job and his home through threats, or made to work in an atmosphere of fear because of his religion, can have his life - and that of his family - ruined just as effectively as if he had a gun pointed to his head.'

Counteract was born out of concern expressed by the Peace, Work and Progress campaign of ICTU. This concern related to the issue of intimidation and religious harassment of men and women at work as well as those being isolated and attacked in their own homes. Intimidation was seen as one of the most blatant and unacceptable facets of sectarianism experienced in Northern Ireland.

Counteract's work began in August 1990 with the appointment of Jim Quinn and his assistant Noreen Moore, working out of a small office at the Belfast Centre for the Unemployed - a location that, it was hoped, would underline the fact that Counteract was seen as a unit that would operate with both trade unions and community groups. Seats on the management committee were allocated to Belfast Housing Aid, Belfast Trades Council and Belfast Centre for the Unemployed, as well as to individual unions who proposed nominees. Funding came mostly from 18 unions plus help from the government.

There were then three months of contacts and liaison with interested individuals and

organisations before the unit was formally launched in November 1990 with the following objectives:

To develop action policies and strategies in cooperation with trade unions, councils of trade unions and bona fide community organisations in an effort to alleviate the incidence of sectarianism and intimidation in the workplace and community.

To undertake research on the incidence of intimidation in the workplace, and to chart the trade unions' and employers' response to it.

That first year of Counteract's work was spent establishing itself as an organisation with specific objectives and a programme of work. It immediately identified the trade unions as an area of influence which could be encouraged to address the issue. Year two saw the development of guidelines for individual unions and workplaces on dealing with the issues and the development and implementation of a training programme.

'Basically, our work can be divided into three main areas - research; education and development,' says Jim Quinn. 'Of these, education is clearly the most important, but we can't get anywhere until the problem has been defined. Up till now there's little to work on - the issues have been seen to be too sensitive, too divisive. People have been frightened to open what they see as a can of worms.'

So now, following a pilot scheme, there's a full research programme under way, due to report by next July. This will involve a survey of a number of workplaces where both employers and trade union officers will be asked to respond to a questionnaire concerning incidences of intimidation, and procedures for dealing with the issue.

One specific example of the current research work involves the hi-jacking of vehicles. Each week ten vehicles belonging to British Telecom and the Post Office alone are hi-jacked and the drivers assaulted and threatened. The vehicles are used for 'joy riding', or for barricades, or are burned. Some are loaded with bombs (real or fake) and the drivers, in fear of their lives, are ordered to deliver them to the specific targets. The stress and anxiety suffered by these men has never, until now, been investigated. 'Education is vital to the success of our work,' says Jim Quinn. 'We go about it in a number of ways. We try to make people aware of what the problems are, what the effects are,

and how they can play a part in eliminating intimidation. We run residential courses for trade union officials who have a completely free agenda to discuss the issues. We may also present them with a real case of intimidation and ask them to come up with ideas as to how they would handle it.

We approach the employers, too, in an attempt to shoulder some of the responsibility for stamping out intimidation. Up till now they've been only too happy to leave it to the unions. We're also targeting such people as personnel managers to increase their awareness of the problems.'

The issue of unemployment is the biggest single cause of intimidation in the workplace'

Al Keeery - AEEU Divisional Organiser, Ireland

Declaration of workers'Rights (agreed by the Northern Ireland Committee of ICTU)

'I declare my support for every person to exercise his or her right to work. Furthermore, I declare my support for the right to work in Northern Ireland free from discrimination, victimisation or murder. I also declare that, whenever possible, I shall seek to counteract intimidation, discrimination and sectarianism in the workplace and in the community in general.'

STAND TOGETHER for PEACE, WORK AND PROGRESS

A statement of principles and Message to every Trade Unionist in Northern Ireland.

Within the trade union movement, workers pledge a special loyalty not just to themselves and their own interests, but also to the interests of others.

Whilst the primary objectives of the trade union movement are industrial and economic, we also campaign on many issues which are of interest to the wider community, such as:-

fighting for better conditions for disadvantaged groups in our community, whether trade union members or not;

establishing and protecting a National Health Service based on the principle of the best health care possible, irrespective of the ability of the patient to pay;

proper educational opportunities for our young people.

By definition, the word 'community' implies the same concept of loyalty to one's neighbours and fellow-citizens; they not only attack the individual victim, they attack the whole concept of living together in the community.

AS TRADE UNIONISTS THEREFORE WE MUST SPEAK OUT CLEARLY AND UNANIMOUSLY AGAINST VIOLENCE DIRECTED AT ANYONE IN OUR COMMUNITY. WE MUST NOT SUPPORT ANY GROUP WHICH SEEK TO PROMOTE VIOLENCE, INTIMIDATION OR SECTARIANISM IN ANY FORM.

If we in the trade union movement stand back and tolerate or condone threats to our colleagues we undermine the whole concept of 'community'. More directly we cheapen and sully the name of trade unionism. Given the purpose of trade unionism, our members should have a special understanding that the first loyalty of anyone must be the loyalty to one's fellow human beings.

It is that loyalty which gave birth to our movement. Without it, we are an empty shell.

We must protect it and protect any fellow worker who is under threat. No trade unionist should offend or threaten fellow-workers because of their religion, because of whom they serve, or because their jobs take them into certain areas or locations, such as police stations.

It is, of course, perfectly legitimate for trade unionists to have other loyalties as well and to seek to promote them by participating in, for example, voluntary organisations, campaigning

groups and political parties. There is a limit however to the methods which are legitimate in pursuit of these objectives. We must withdraw support from all those who advocate violence against others in pursuit of their objectives. That includes disowning those who do not appear to advocate violence but, by their statements, implicitly support or excuse its use, those who promote hostile living and working environments, and sectarian divisions among workers.

THERE ARE NO 'JUSTIFICATIONS.' NO 'LEGITIMATE TARGETS.' NO 'ACCEPTABLE LEVELS OF VIOLENCE.' THESE ARE FALSE EXCUSES AND DO NOT SERVE THE INTEREST OF WORKING PEOPLE, WHETHER CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT OR DISSENTER.

Workers who in any way assist, promote, or contribute financially to those who threaten these rights are not threatening anonymous, faceless groups of people. In reality they are threatening their fellow-workers, their trade union colleagues and their livelihoods.

The current political unrest is undoubtedly causing great tension in the community and the workplace, and there are elements, both sinister and mischievous, who are seeking to exploit that situation for their own ends. Amongst the tactics currently being employed in many areas in the province is that of intimidation of workers, either in collective groups or of one religion or the other, or named individuals.

Some of our members are now threatened with a sentence of death from the paramilitaries for doing nothing more than, for example, emptying dustbins, driving buses, fixing telephone exchanges, serving in canteens, delivering meals-on-wheels, belonging to one religious background or the other, building houses or administering housing programmes, delivering public services.

There are strong grounds for believing that the present unrest has been an important factor in some major industrial decisions taken recently. Grave concern has also been expressed at the negative impact on customer confidence and export orders due to the present unrest. This threatens existing jobs and makes it more difficult to create new ones.

We re-assert the demands of the 'BETTER LIFE FOR ALL CAMPAIGN' of the 1970s and in particular the right of everyone to security of employment and well-paid work, and the right to live free from violence, intimidation, sectarianism and discrimination - no matter what their forms or from where they come.

The trade union movement recognises that it cannot achieve these objectives by itself and we urge and encourage every constructive element in our society to seek to influence their

members to subscribe to and support the principles outlined in this statement.

For example, we would hope that the churches would continue their efforts to bring home to their members the inhumanity involved in all kinds of sectarianism and intimidation as well as in more overt acts of violence. Equally, we hope that employers and their organisations will do all they can to promote a positive response in their places of work. In particular, we would expect that they would take the necessary steps to ensure the elimination of intimidation, sectarianism and discrimination at work, and to promote their places of work as areas where workers from different backgrounds do not feel under threat as they carry out their tasks.

We would also urge the political parties to rid themselves of any vestige of support for violence and to spare no effort in trying to devise political arrangements which meet the needs and aspirations of the working people of Northern Ireland, the elimination of poverty, of poor housing conditions, and of deprivation of all kinds.

The Northern Ireland Committee ICTU believes that Government has a duty not just to seek to eradicate social and economic deprivation. They also have a duty to promote the positive protection of the rights of citizens who subscribe to the principles outlined above. For that reason we have long supported, and confirm that support, for a BILL OF RIGHTS for the people of Northern Ireland. We believe that a positive commitment by Government to the Bill of Rights would assist those who seek to promote constructive progress in various ways in the community.

IN CONCLUSION, WE WISH THEREFORE TO REASSERT TO ALL OUR MEMBERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND THAT IF, AS A TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, WE ARE TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF ACHIEVING OUR PRIMARY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES OF FULL EMPLOYMENT AND IMPROVED LIVING AND SOCIAL STANDARDS FOR ALL, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT:

WE STAND TOGETHER FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS AND WE STAND TOGETHER AGAINST VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION

THE JUNKIES' LAST BLAST?

Rebecca Johnson

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The nuclear detonation at 0200 GMT on October 5 in Lop Nor did more than just test a Chinese nuclear warhead; it tested international commitment to ban nuclear testing. So far the signs are encouraging. Neither France nor the United States jerked their nuclear knees in reaction, though both had made it a condition of extending their moratoria that no other country tests. Yeltsin issued a cautious statement that Russia would take the actions of other nuclear powers into account. Even the British Foreign office stated that 'the Chinese resumption was regrettable, but it was not necessarily a setback for proposals for a CTBT'. One might almost have inferred from this that the scientists at Aldermaston weren't toasting the Chinese with celebratory champagne for putting the international moratorium in jeopardy.

Both as candidate and as President, Clinton has declared support for a comprehensive nuclear test ban (CTB). On July 3, Clinton extended the moratorium imposed on Bush by the US congress in October 1992, arguing that to resume testing would undercut 'our nonproliferation goals', which would outweigh the benefits of the tests themselves.

Despite presiding over years of nuclear testing in the pacific, President Mitterrand underwent a conversion and enacted a French testing moratorium in April 1992 (not entirely unconnected with his Socialist Party's need to win over green supporters). Though a joint statement issued by Mitterrand and Prime minister Balladur said that the Chinese test had created 'a new situation', Mitterrand added in an interview that "I think we have to keep our cool. I am not in favour in the present situation...of resuming nuclear tests." A report on the effect of the suspension of nuclear testing on France's nuclear force is due out on October 15.

Popular protest forced the closure of the Semipalatinsk test site in 1989. Since Yeltsin had made a commitment to end testing in Novaya Zemlya part of his election platform, he had no choice but to extend the moratorium initiated by Gorbachev in 1992. But since the recent battle with parliament Yeltsin owes one to the Russian military, and it will be important to monitor whether nuclear testing will be part of the price he is required to pay.

Britain has refused to join any moratorium on nuclear testing, and has continued to lobby the US - on which British nuclear testing is dependent - to permit a resumption of testing in Nevada. In an extraordinary statement last November, one month after the US moratorium came into force, Viscount Cranborne, Under Secretary for Defence, stated: "The (Bush)

Administration in the US, like us, feels that the resolution proposed and passed by Congress is unfortunate and misguided..." On July 4, one day after Clinton extended the US moratorium to September 1994 British Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind reiterated the need to ensure "the highest possible level of safety and reliability" for Trident's nuclear missiles, and emphasised his meaning on July 5, by stating: "Only with testing can one ensure the safety and reliability of nuclear weapons."

US Democratic votes might have forced Britain to stop bombing Nevada, but the UK government wasn't going to stop trying to get that decision overturned. No wonder women went over the Buckingham Palace wall on July 6 to appeal to the Queen to respect the sovereignty of the Western Shoshone nation. She does, after all, get private chats each week with John Major, and who knows, if only she knows the facts she might to knock some sanity into his attitudes!

To the Western Shoshone the notion of buying and selling land is absurd. People do not own land; the earth belongs to the creator; we are given stewardship of the land to use and protect. The Western Shoshone nation roamed the area called Newe Segobia for hundreds of generations before Europeans arrived. After some years of conflict with miners and new settlers, and perhaps recognising the dangers of US concepts and laws of property, the Western Shoshone signed the Treaty of Ruby Valley with the government of the United States in 1863, permitting some travel and use rights on the land. No ownership was transferred, and it was understood that the treaty enshrined Western Shoshone sovereignty. A miserable history of legal incompetence and chicanery enabled the US military to take over the land and enclose a huge area for the purposes of nuclear testing. The Western Shoshone is the most bombed nation on this earth.

Like some burglar's kid brother, Britain was invited to join in the orgy of destruction in 1962; the scientists got high and don't want to go home now. The burglar is getting worried that some of the other kids from across the other street might gatecrash the club and even do more damage. The burglar wants to cool things, maybe even to clean up a bit of the mess; but Britain is keen to carry on.

China's test was not unpopular with the nuclear hawks, nor with some significant sections of the British Government. Recall that on July 12, after his ministers had expressed their disapproval of Clinton's extended moratorium, John Major, commenting on his discussions with Clinton at the G7 meeting in

Tokyo, signalled this invitation: "We will wait and see whether other people outside the United States sphere of influence continue testing, in which case I think that the United States and we would as well."

The other nuclear states fortunately decided not to make a CTB hostage to China's renegade action - this time. Wiser counsel prevailed. But where does this leave the test ban talks? Given breathing space, the UN Conference on Disarmament (CD) was this summer given a mandate to negotiate a test ban. The CD is a multilateral committee of the United Nations, comprising countries including the major nuclear weapon states.

Negotiations are scheduled to begin in January 1994. If the political will is really there, a treaty could be achieved very quickly. The US Congress has mandated the President to try for 1996, a date which has also been mentioned by France and China. For many years evoked as a stumbling block, verification of a CTB is now recognised (by all except the most intransigent nuclear addicts) to be technically feasible and could be speedily put in place. The Partial Test ban Treaty was negotiated in only 12 days, once the world realised the appalling consequences of atmospheric testing.

I think the a test ban is in the bag, but there are some dangers to watch out for. If any country detonates another test before a CTB Treaty is negotiated, it could blow the talks off course and open up a testing free for all with disastrous consequences for the 1995 Extension Conference of the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). The price for restraint now will almost certainly be a bargain with the promise of a certain numbers of tests per country leading up to 1996, or whichever date is chosen for the CTB to come into force.

That would mean allowing the US, UK, France, Russia and China to abuse the land of the Western Shoshone, the Maohi of Polynesia, the Nenets of Novaya Zemlya and the Uighur of Xinjiang Province...just a few more times before giving up. If that really has to be the price of getting them to stop testing forever then so be it

- but what a crazy notion! A crime is a crime is a crime. The production, acquisition and threat to use nuclear weapons are crimes against humanity, and we really shouldn't sanction any prolongation of this abuse or delay the decommissioning and clean-up of the contaminated sites.

What would the additional tests be for? Clinton assured us in his July 3 speech that the weapons in the US stockpile are safe and reliable. China is believed to want to test a new submarine and launch system. France, to test a new warhead, the TN75, for its new submarine launched missile M45. Russia's entire nuclear weapons programme is in disarray. What about Britain? A variety of statements from defence spokespeople during 1992 and '93 emphasise that the tests for Trident have been completed, and that testing is required for the 'safety of future weapon systems'. In short, they all want a few extra tests for new nuclear weapons development. Or to perfect computer simulation programmes which they hope will enable them to carry on adding to their nuclear arsenals without nuclear testing. This is not a very helpful signal to 'wannabe' nuclear states in the run-up to 1995.

What can we do about it? In Britain, we should now deluge our MPs, the Prime Minister (and, dare I say it, the Queen) with letters, petitions, lobbying and action demanding no more British nuclear tests under any circumstances, for any reasons; Britain's full and constructive participation in the CD (or, if that gets bogged down, in a reconvened Amendment Conference to the Partial Test Ban Treaty) to achieve a comprehensive test ban; that Britain should undertake its share of the clean-up of its past nuclear testing grounds, including Nevada, the restoration of the land to the Western Shoshone, and respect for their sovereignty, with compensation for past abuse and contamination.

We have a historic chance to begin the end of the nuclear arms race. Don't let the nuclear junkies blow it.

ROUND UP OF PEACE GROUPS

Chris Ford

This article is intended to provide some insight into the current situation amongst campaigning peace groups perceived by national organisations.

Rather than seeking methodological purity, the choice of groups was made in a fairly arbitrary fashion; groups were contacted which it was thought would open up areas of debate.

Various directories were consulted for suggestions, this tended to focus the attention

on the more established end of the peace movement. This process therefore biases against important aspects of the movement, most notably women's organisations, in favour of large formalised structures. A second limitation of this process is the demarcation drawn around the phrase "the peace movement", as will be demonstrated below since the cold war seems to have become more fuzzy around the edges. This does not make the

phrase meaningless; it does suggest we have to be careful in its use.

Any article that is based on such limited research is bound to be flawed. It is certainly less than comprehensive. My apologies in advance to those that may be offended by what follows or may quite justifiably feel they should have been included. The intention is not to be conclusive, rather to provoke discussion. It is hoped that PS can provide space in which the peace movement can critically look at itself. Any responses are therefore more than welcome.

As any peace campaigner who has committed his or herself with the words "Never Again" knows, humanity's apparent inability to learn from history limits our ability to move forward. The same is true of the peace movement itself. While individuals learn and develop through involvement in the peace movement (and this is a fundamental part of the process), we seem to remain frustratingly unable to convert our collective understanding to more effective action.

This we need to do. An important element of doing this is to look at the interface between theory and practice. So that the 'doing' can be underpinned by understanding as well as feeling, and the 'thinking' can be informed the realities of campaigning.

One thought that lies behind this article is that while national organisations have functions they need to perform as national agencies, a key part of their role is to facilitate local, grassroots activity. This does not necessarily imply the need for a structure of local groups. Much effective campaigning activity is undertaken by individuals.

In short, that campaigning in this sense is about participation: effective campaigning organisations will seek to involve their membership in making a difference, rather than seek to do it on their behalf.

Before assessing how some key peace organisations are doing this, it is important to establish what counts as effective servicing of membership. Unfortunately, there are no definitive answers to this. However, three ideas seem to me to be important;

- Empowering individuals to do what they want and/or can. This involves the national organisation being in dialogue with its activist grass roots and responsive to those agendas.
- Informing/educating membership. Arguably part of the previous idea since being able to use information is a key part of empowerment.

- Coordinating individuals activities, so that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts; and feeding that information back to members.

As well as being asked how organisations serviced their membership, discussion focused

around what difference the end of the Cold War had made to the organisation.

Campaign Against the Arms Trade. (071) 281 0297

Born out of the middle east conflicts of the early 70s, CAAT is "a broad coalition of groups and individuals committed to the following basic objectives:

- an end to the international arms trade, and Britain's role in it as one of the world's leading arms exporters;

- the conversion of military industry to socially-useful production."

There are 3 main areas of work: working on its own focus of concern, running an extensive library and information service, working with other organisations nationally and locally.

CAAT has no formal membership structure. there are individual supporters (who provided 70% of income on 1992) and affiliated groups - local branches of peace organisations, trade unions, churches, etc. There are also 21 sponsoring organisations who either helped set up CAAT or have since given major support.

The end of the cold war has affected CAAT to a limited degree. The focus of the activities remains the same, but the dynamic within the arms industry has changed. This latter has influenced the choice of priority for specific campaigns.

The main change identified was a shift which was described as a "return to the 70s"; where the agenda was not dominated by nuclear issues, nor the campaign by CND. The 80s were spent trying to get the arms trade on to the people's agendas, where as following the Gulf War and the end of the Cold War, the issue gets a more sympathetic hearing. This has lead to some confusion as different organisations cover the same ground. The problems are seen as teething rather than structural; the approaches being complementary rather than competitive.

Because people do not feel personally threatened by nuclear build up in a divided Europe, members of peace organisations are returning to their particular niches, and more balance between different organisations is developing.

CND

It is arguable that, in the mind of the great British public, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the 'Peace Movement' are synonymous. While this article demonstrates this to be an over simplification, it is true that CND remains the mass membership organisation concerned with peace issues.

A survey as this could usefully be done considering the 150 active local groups, the specialist sections, national and region structures.

As a child of the cold war, its end has necessitated a re-examination of its raison d'être. This is still on-going but, I was told, was beginning to focus on an analysis of the east/west confrontation being replaced by 3 new threats.

1&2) The twin threats of nuclear proliferation (horizontal and verticle), but especially the former. Horizontal proliferation (ie more countries having nuclear weapons) being encourage by the failure of current nuclear 'powers' to cease vertical proliferation (ie increasing numbers and sophistication of war heads amongst those 'powers').

3) The intensification and increasing militarisation of North/South conflicts. The danger with technological 'innovation' and the need for the military to reestablish its rationale, that these may become nuclearised.

In embryonic form thinking concerning the threat of North/North conflicts is being considered. This is based on observation concerning tensions between the 3 economic 'superblocks' of Japan, North America, and Europe.

While CND is the mass membership organisation covering a wide spectrum of views, it has to be recognised that there is greater diversity amongst the peace movement. CND is engaged in a wide range of bi-lateral relations with other peace groups and coalitions concerning specific issues.

The primary strategy that CND adopts is to shift public opinion towards nuclear disarmament. This can best be done though the existence of the network of local groups. This needs to continued by an increasing emphasis on basic campaigning and the provision of materials to allow this. National campaigns are conceived in this light being designed to "help" local groups get onto the streets.

European Dialogue (071) 272 9092

This organisation has been formed as a result of the end of the Cold War. It picked up the resources and a strand of work from END (European Nuclear Disarmament) and reoriented itself as the national agency for the Helsinki Citizens's Assembly.

END, possibly more clearly than the other organisations surveyed, was a product of the Cold War and the divided Europe that involved. The analysis was of a mutually reinforcing bipolar justification which undermined peace, democracy and human rights across Europe. The agenda was to reunite Europe, through all means of

generating dialogue, from below as well as applying pressure at the institutional level.

From 1987 END was working with Charter 77 to develop a European Citizen's Assembly; a forum seeking to bring together activists from East and West. With the revolutions in Eastern Europe this transmogrified itself into the Helsinki Citizens Assembly, aiming to network progressive groups across the CFCE area. European Dialogue is the national coordinating body for these activities. The third meeting of the Assembly is in Ancra, Turkey in December. It is entitled "Where does Europe End?"

The issue of nationalism and ethnicity are a current focus of activity with ex-Yugoslavia being top of the agenda.

There is at the moment little linkage with CND, the international aspect of whose work is not seen to be 'to the force' currently. As well as working with NPC to provide aid, European Dialogue is campaigning for then establishment of a transitional authority within the former Yugoslavia along the model used in Vietnam.

European Dialogue is a membership organisation which produces a newsletter four times a year, all members having the right to attend the assemblies. There is no local group structure. Although it calls itself Helsinki Citizens Assembly (UK), there are separate organisations in Scotland and the North of Ireland. Regional Dialogue, coalition of groups seeking a more decentralised constitutional structure within the UK, has been established under its auspices.

Medact. Medical Action for Global Security. (071) 272 2020

Medact was formed in 1992 as a result a merger between the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons and the Medical Association for Prevention of War. The rest of their Founding Statement says "People thrive when they feel safe. Security is a fundamental human right. National security is indivisible from global security, and in the future this must embrace the prevention of war and conflict by addressing causes which include hunger, poverty and sickness and the depletion and misuse of resources. Health care professionals have particular responsibilities and opportunities for playing an unique and influential role in such issues.... Public health is incompatible with war and the preparation for it.

The merging of the two previous organisation was not in response to the end of the cold war, it was instead a long overdue marriage of convenience between two organisations that had been working in very similar fields. Rather than being a response to the cold war ending, it was a response to the growing green agenda. This enlargement of scope towards