

TEST BAN APPEAL

Clinton, as part of his election campaign, committed himself to working for a "comprehensive test ban" (a complete ban on the testing of nuclear weapons) by the year 1996. The previous Bush administration, as a result of pressure from congress, had established a moratorium on testing but one which included a provision to have 5 tests per year until 1996, when the situation would be reviewed.

Under the legislation governing the US moratorium these tests would be to help in retrofitting safety devices into existing nuclear weapons arising from a report on their safety a couple of years ago (The Drell Report).

France and Russia have also agreed a moratorium. China, although it hasn't tested for a year, has made it clear it intends to continue.

Britain has also made it clear that it wants to continue testing. The problem with this is that Britain depends on the US site to carry out its tests. Out of the 15 allowed by the US administration before 1996, Britain would apparently be allocated one per year. It is, therefore, putting as much diplomatic pressure on the Clinton administration to drop the commitment to a test ban and to use the 15 tests allowed under the current legislation.

Clinton is due to produce an inter-agency report and has taken advice from a number of the US agencies concerned. These agencies, however, appear to disagree amongst themselves and there have been a number of differing opinions from the different agencies.

Some in the Department of Defence (DoD) have been arguing that they should use the fifteen tests allowed over the next three years to develop a small nuclear bomb of below 1 Kiloton yield. This has apparently been lobbied for by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and by the research establishments concerned. Les Aspin, the Defence Secretary, has apparently said to the DoD that they are in favour of a CTB and they should go away and come up with proposals in line with this and to drop the 1 Kiloton limit proposal. Aspin has recently sacked a number of generals for mishandling the C-17 aircraft programme and would appear to be capable of asserting himself in this process.

The US Department of Energy has, on the other hand, argued that the 15 tests should be used for enhancing the safety of existing weapons and that a CTB should be put in place in 1996.

Some of the other agencies concerned have argued that the tests are too expensive and unnecessary, because there are other ways of gaining sufficient information on the safety of nuclear weapons. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has argued that the political costs to the US far out way any possible gain from testing. India, Pakistan, North Korea, Iran are all states with a nuclear weapons programme which would gain a great deal of political support should Clinton back down from his commitments. In addition countries such as Israel and South Africa would gain in their continued development of nuclear weapons from such a climbdown. If Clinton agrees to go ahead with the 15 tests, Britain will be allocated three of these. If this happens, France will reinstate their programme of tests and there will be a great deal of pressure on Yeltsin to do likewise. That will cause a great deal of tension between the US and the Yeltsin regime, which itself could undermine the race towards a 'free market system' in Russia, and the fragile political game being played between the two countries. A further complication is the state of the Russian test site, which is rumoured to be an environmental disaster area.

The Clinton administration is also under pressure from Congress to seriously work towards a CTB. It was Congress who initiated the moratorium under the Bush administration and that sense of commitment to it and to working for a CTB remains.

There are a number of people in the US who see Britain's position as being a serious obstacle to further disarmament. For example a bill being proposed in the US Congress by Democratic Congressman Mike Kopetski will require Britain to pay a portion of the costs for the test site in Nevada "including environmental restoration".

There are two reasons given by our government for continuing testing. One is to enhance the safety of existing weapons, the other is to develop new types of weapon. The first is, to some extent an admission that our current stocks are unsafe. Both reasons assume that nuclear weapons will continue to be a feature of Britain's foreign and defence policies in the long term.

Closely linked to the need for a complete ban on testing is the possibility that a number of countries throughout the world are at least on the threshold of developing nuclear weapons. A broad range of the political spectrum now accepts that something has to be done to stop and reverse this progress towards nuclear proliferation. Britain, although it has publicly supported diplomatic pressure on other countries, has privately supported their efforts to develop a nuclear bomb. For instance, the United States recently cancelled an agreement to sell Pakistan six warships because of their continued attempts to develop a nuclear bomb. Britain has agreed to fill the order for them instead. We would also appear to have been instrumental in supplying South Africa with the technology and the training needed to develop their bomb. Agreements have been reached with several countries by BNFL for the sale of plutonium, a quite bizarre move were we really trying to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

It is extremely important, therefore, that the British government is put under pressure if a comprehensive ban is to be possible in 1996.

A coalition of groups has been established to campaign for a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban. Currently the only major nuclear powers which are refusing to set up a moratorium on testing nuclear weapons are Britain and China. The current limited test ban treaty will be up for renewal and for extension in 1996, and both the US and Russia have indicated that they would like to see a comprehensive ban on the testing of nuclear weapons.

So far a number of prominent people have added their names to the appeal to our government to agree a moratorium on testing and to work for a comprehensive ban on testing. Pressure is being built up preparatory to the renegotiation of the Partial Test Ban treaty in 1995. Bill Morris T&GWU, Garfield Davies USDAW, Colin Christopher FTAT, Arthur Scargill NUM, George Brumwell UCATT, Joe Marino BFAWU, Roger Lyons MSF, Barbara Switzer MSF and Jim McCusker NIPSA have all so far agreed to put their names to the appeal.

The address for the coalition against testing is:

CND's national office
162 Holloway Road
London N7 8DQ

Fees are:- For Trades Councils and branches with up to 300 members £12. Branches up to 1,000 members £17. Branches up to 5,000 members £45. Branches up to 10,000 members £75. Branches up to 50,000 members £150. For branches with more members than this contact the office.

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TUCND

NEWS

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THE CLOSURE OF SWAN HUNTERS - A NATIONAL TRAGEDY

Nothing could so eloquently demonstrate the bankruptcy of the present governments defence and industrial policies than pushing Swan Hunters into receivership. It isn't simply that ship yard or the jobs in the yard which we have lost but the jobs that are dependent on it, the skills which the yard represented and the industrial capacity as a resource for the rest of industry. Neither is it just tyneside which has been blighted by this. We need heavy engineering in this country for the good of the economy overall. Without such a base Britain will never be able to function adequately in the international market for manufactured goods.

TUCND have been arguing for years that, as a result of our governments bloated defence budget our manufacturing industry had become dangerously overdependent upon the manufacture of weapons. Civilian manufacturing in Britain is given a pittance compared with the support offered our competitors. A study for Leon Brittan, the Tory EC commissioner for competition, recently revealed that Britain gave less per worker to manufacturing industry than any other country in the EC, with the exception of Portugal. While we gave £183 per worker between 1986-88 Germany gave £650 and Italy £700. The highest was Luxembourg who gave £850 per worker. This isn't a free market.

We have argued long and hard that what this country needs is not yard closures, or support for arms sales abroad, but a substantial cut in the defence budget with the savings made being made available for support to our civilian manufacturing base, allowing the current arms industry, such as Swan Hunter, to move into working for the civilian market place.

In Japanese shipyards 85% of the steel is cut and 65% of the welding is done by computer controlled machines, not because of far sighted industrialists but because their government give tax relief on the purchase of such equipment. Japan also gives subsidies for Research and Development. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries is a bank, a ship owner, a shipyard, they have interests in power

generation and in the Australian coal mines. So they build the ships, run the shipping line which transports coal for Japanese power stations. The function as an efficient economic entity and this has been brought about by conscious government policies to make the different parts of a process work together efficiently.

It is a gross distortion to claim that the closure of Swan Hunters is the result of market forces or that shipbuilding is a 'sunset industry'. The shipbuilding industry has been broken up and fragmented by direct government intervention. The nationalisation programme was intended to take the fate of a key industry out of the irresponsible hands of the share dealers, so that it could be built up in a way which benefited the whole of our economy. The privatisation process, instead of establishing economic industrial unit which made sense in the modern world, such as Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, set up nineteenth century style capitalist companies, without the capital base to invest at a level which would make them capable of competing in the international market and which were in competition with both their suppliers and their customers. Structures as relevant to the modern world as the use of leeches in medical practice.

There is a massive market for civilian ships because of the increase in world trade, the increasing age of many of the worlds ships, especially oil tankers, and, in the face of such events as the Braer tanker disaster, increasing demands for safer vessels. Yet we simply can not compete with other yards in Europe and in the Far East.

Japan now has 40% of the world shipbuilding orders and Britain less than

1.5%. This is the result of our silly governments policies towards industry. Our government wag a finger at naughty Japan for supporting their industries who in return laugh all the way to the (Mitsubishi) bank.

The final straw for Swans was when VSEL in Barrow decided to put in a 'loss-leader' tender to build a helicopter carrier for the navy. This vessel is of doubtful utility but was campaigned for in order to aid the ailing warship building industry, which is being decimated by the end of the cold war. VSEL have made huge profits on the Trident programme but have been consistently unable to compete on price with either Swan Hunters or Yarrow's in Glasgow, leaving a



The Atlantic Conveyor - By any standards, including this governments this type of ship is needed for defence, yet the governments maritime policies mean that within five years our merchant fleet could be reduced to nothing. What's the point on spending fortune on defence when we cant defend ourselves?

number of people to question the quality of their management.

That a facility as valuable as Swan Hunter should be forced to close should never have happened and this government should resign because of it. Since Major is so keen on nineteenth century solutions perhaps he could do the decent thing and shoot himself instead of shooting the rest of us, and the economy, in the foot.

J Barnes (Editor, TUCND News)

A TRIBUTE TO DANNY PEARSON

Danny Pearson, a former TASS and then MSF convenor in VSEL Barrow, died recently.

He was a remarkable man. Here was a person who had spent 20 years building machines which in common with most others in his position he saw as staggeringly beautiful, and yet he could recognise that the function they performed, both for the country as a whole as well as for the workers who built them, was an obscenity.

His solution was not to denigrate them or the people who built them, but to work for an alternative which would allow the human ingenuity and productive capacity which made the product an object of admiration to be used for humanity's benefit. It was the fact that it was used against the interests of humanity which made the submarines he helped build such an obscenity for Danny.

I first met Danny when CND were considering funding a research project about alternative work. A negotiation was taking place between a group of trade unionists drawn from Barrow Trades Council and from VSEL on the one side and TUCND on the other over the possibility of a grant from CND to fund research into alternative work for VSEL.

At the time I the secretary of Carlisle Trades Council and a rep for the Northern Region on the EC of TUCND and so was party to the negotiation. There was a disagreement over the input from CND into the group which would be overseeing the research. The group from Barrow felt CND should not participate, and I felt they should. Danny didn't agree. He felt any profile for the peace movement in the group would be a serious obstacle to getting the people in the yard to cooperate with the research. Danny won, I lost.

He talked to me after the discussion and it was clear he had listened to every word. He hadn't used the moral authority he had from being the convenor at the plant we were interested in doing the research in - he had listened. Disagreeing with him didn't make me the enemy for Danny. If you had a point he would see it and respect you for making it.

Danny argued for years amongst the people he worked with, with the company and with the people in the community he loved that to become so committed to Trident in the way VSEL planned to be was a grave error.

What make that yard's products so beautiful is that they are a testament to human ingenuity. That that human ingenuity should be so wasted in the face of so much need internationally affected Danny deeply. He was a clever man, you couldn't do the work he did if you weren't bright, but he simply couldn't understand why any company should dedicate itself so totally to a product which clearly had such a limited application and such a limited production cycle. To be so close to something so

precious as the ability to create something as remarkable as the Trident submarines, but to have to watch that ability wasted by a small minded short sighted management and by a gruesomely reactionary government must



Danny

have been hard to take

He was a lovely man. The world is a richer place for having had him in it. A socialist and a democrat to the last, he was very much a man for all seasons and he will be sorely missed.

J Barnes (Secretary, Trade Union CND)

This year saw a repeat of a debate on TUCND's role over nuclear power. A motion from the Yorkshire area of the NUM, condemned the omission from the first draft of the annual report of anything dealing with nuclear power. TUCND depends on national unions as a way of disseminating information to their members. Since most of the relevant unions have a position in favour of nuclear power it would be difficult for us to campaign over this issue. However, opposition to nuclear power is an important part of CND's policies and as such ought to be reflected in TUCND's activities. The argument in this instance was resolved by inserting a section calling for the conversion of facilities being used to develop nuclear power to being used for the development of other forms of energy production.

One emergency motion was taken dealing with the continued sanctions against Cuba by the United States. This was moved by the Greater London Association of Trades Councils.

A full report of the AGM is available from TUCND's office.

TUCND'S AGM

evolved over a number of years and which seems to work very well.

In the coming year TUCND will continue to concentrate on arms conversion, and issues relating to the economic consequences of our government's current emphasis on defence spending to the detriment of other areas such as industry, education, transport, housing and health. Much of the work on conversion is channelled through a group called the National Trade Union Defence Conversion Committee.

One of the things which the AGM decided was that TUCND would put a greater emphasis on producing pamphlets for general distribution. The small pamphlet we produced earlier in the year dealing with the situation in the former Yugoslavia was well received and people felt that it was a useful contribution to the debate. There appears to be a pattern evolving where 'western states', especially Britain, are encouraging the use of armed intervention in certain cases. The AGM felt that this was the type of issue we should be producing material on.

TUCND held its AGM in March this year in London. There were 52 delegates representing 18 unions at a national level together with 4 trades councils and a regional TUCND body.

The AGM had two speakers, Jane Travers, a CND Vice Chair, and Tom Sibley who works as the head of research for MSF.

The AGMs business is based largely on the annual report and the finance report. Elections also take place for TUCND's EC. This year's chair is Brian Didsbury, a full time official for the T&GWU in Manchester. The two vice chairs are John Chowcatt, an Assistant General Secretary in MSF and John Geleit a full time official for the GPMU.

The annual report is intended not just to reflect the last years work, it also includes an assessment of how we feel the work should pan out in the coming year. Largely because TUCND's function is already fairly well defined the AGM does not attract many motions. Most of the policy discussion, therefore, centres on the annual report. This is a style of operating the AGM which has

CAMBODIA THE TRAGEDY CONTINUES

PILGER

John Pilger quotes Primo Levi the Jewish writer who survived the German concentration camps in the introduction to the last issue of the New Internationalist - "If understanding is impossible - knowing is imperative, because what happened could happen again". Pilger edited an issue dedicated to the situation in Cambodia.

It is clear as events unfurl that the US and British policies in this area have been consistently aimed at establishing a place for Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. Pilger has been instrumental in bringing this to the public eye and has done the world a considerable service in doing so. Without his tenacity it is unlikely that the reality of the Khmer Rouge regime would ever have been made public and unlikely that the British and American role in maintaining them would ever have been revealed.

THE WEST'S POLICY

The UN agreed a substantial amount of aid to Cambodia should they agree to a UN sponsored 'Peace plan'. This plan involved imposing the Khmer Rouge as an equal part in the interim government and insisting on the Cambodian government forces being disarmed. The Khmer Rouge were also supposed to disarm but this was clearly never their intention. The US promised some \$60 million in aid conditional on the plan being accepted by the Cambodian government. Very little of this has been given with the exception of some \$2 million towards building roads in the Khmer Rouge controlled areas in the North of the country which have allowed them to become economically independent, through the extraction of gem stones and the illegal logging of hard woods.

Cambodia is being recolonised by western companies and personnel. As Pilger points out "The UN's American financial advisor, Roger Lawrence, has charge of the Central Bank of Cambodia and 'represents' Cambodia at meetings of the Washington dominated World Bank and the IMF". The financial structure being imposed on the people of Cambodia are those of the Free Market favouring western investors. The alternative promoted following the Vietnamese invasion, of a society built on a respect for humanity rather than one of respect for the Dollar has been systematically undermined by western sanctions and by military support by the west of a bunch of genocidal swine which make up the Khmer Rouge leadership.

So the policies have brought the Cambodian economy to the floor and destroyed any hope of a reasonable future for the people of the region.

According to John Pedler, a former senior foreign office official and now Britain's representative on the Cambodia Trust, who met with a number of the worlds foreign policy makers "Specifically I was told in

Washington, at the top career level that 'The President will not accept the Hun Sen Government' and that 'we are working for a messy sort of solution with a non-Hun Sen government, but without the Khmer Rouge who will continue to lurk in the jungles'.

This scenario is clearly aimed at destabilising the Vietnamese government rather than bringing about a reasonable future for the Cambodian people. One of the problems with this is that there is no real reason why the Khmer Rouge should contain themselves in the jungles. Militarily the only answer to the Khmer Rouge was Hun Sen government army which would easily have coped with them were it not for the systematic support given by the west.

What Pilger has clearly demonstrated is that a peaceful solution to the Khmer Rouge problem was entirely possible. They enjoy little support amongst the population whereas the Hun Sen government did.

established by the UN in Yugoslavia, to investigate the Pol Pot regime.

3:- Give diplomatic support in the UN for a duly elected government for Cambodia

4:- Give material support to the newly formed Cambodian National Army so that they can resist the military activities of the Khmer Rouge.

It would be very useful indeed if you could write to the Foreign office and to your own MP urging them to support these measures.

THE SAME POLICY IN ANGOLA

When Savimbi lost the election in Angola he restarted the civil war there. It would appear that the war has taken a particularly



Toul Tum Poun primary school in Phnom Penh. These are the people who will be paying the price of our governments covert support for the Khmer Rouge.

Returning Cambodia to the grand sized brothel of the pre Khmer Rouge days simply re-establishes the conditions which led to the ousting of the US sponsored regime. The instability planned by the British and US governments will be a return of the nightmare for the Cambodian people which may take another 20 years of fighting and of misery for the people there to overcome.

vicious turn and will eventually lead to Savimbi's military defeat.

The democratically elected Angolan Government accused two others of supporting and encouraging Savimbi. These were Britain and South Africa.

Unlike the situation in Cambodia, however, the Angolan Government has not collapsed and the impending changes in South Africa are bound to signal a massive change in the logistic support Savimbi is likely to be able to gain. The policy behind supporting Savimbi is clearly aimed at destabilising the whole of Southern Africa. In five or ten years time, if the British government has its way, we will be seeing large numbers of starving people in that part of the world. It is important, therefore that the Labour Movement in Britain does what it can to ensure that the people of Angola are allowed to chose their own government without being hindered by the grubby international aspirations of the people running our current foreign policies.

WHAT WE SHOULD BE DOING

There is a solution for this country. The measures which should be taken are

1:- release of the \$880 million development aid promised to Cambodia at last years conference in Tokyo.

2:- Insist on Pol Pot being tried by the International Court of Justice and press for a UN war crimes tribunal, such as that already

GUIDELINES ON WHAT TO DO IN THE EVENT OF AN ACCIDENT INVOLVING A CONVOY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE SHOOTS ITSELF IN THE FOOT

In the early 80's the Thatcher government in what must be a classic example of political misjudgement issued a booklet called 'Protect and Survive' about civil defence in Britain. This was one of the reasons why CND began to rapidly expand in the early 1980's and the civil defence programme of which the booklet was a part became a focus for intense campaign activity throughout the country.

It looks as though Major's government has done the same, only in line with his current practice without the same melodramatic panache.

Trident and Polaris warheads are transported from Burghfield near Reading to the submarine base in Coulport near Helensburgh, and nuclear bombs are



A lorry carrying nuclear warheads stuck in a traffic jam in Newcastle.

transported between Burghfield and RAF Honington in East Anglia. They travel in convoys of specially built lorries with armed guards and police escorts.

After years of refusing to admit that these convoys exist, the Ministry of Defence, while denying that there is any possibility of a major accident involving these convoys, has issued a set of guidelines to local authorities on what to do in the event of such a serious accident.

These guidelines do not provide the basis for the protection of the public. They are simply a cynical attempt to reassure them in the face of what is a staggeringly risky practice.

THE CONVOYS WOULD BE ILLEGAL IF THEY WERE CARRYING A CIVILIAN CARGO

It is illegal in Britain to carry nuclear material and high explosives on the same vehicle for obvious reasons. Yet this is exactly what the Ministry of Defence are doing. Nuclear warheads are made up from a

central core of radioactive material surrounded by conventional high explosive.

The Trident warheads also have a small tank of highly volatile fuel. The small rockets for which the fuel is intended are there to guide the warhead to its target as it re-enters the atmosphere. It is possible that the fuel is kept in the tank throughout the warhead's lifespan because the draining and refilling of the tank with this volatile fuel in the presence of high explosives may be regarded as too dangerous. Were it an industrial process which involved such risks, the people responsible for creating such a threat would be prosecuted and possibly imprisoned.

THE POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR EXPLOSION

The report to the US congress on the safety of their nuclear warheads is known as the Drell report after the scientist who headed

the team which produced it. It concluded that the conventional explosive in the Trident warhead could be detonated if it were to sustain a serious knock and it could also be detonated were the warhead to come close to a fire. There is apparently an additional risk from the electrical pulse generated by a radio transmitter, which could trigger part of the mechanism and cause a detonation.

There are three possibilities, therefore, arising from a serious accident involving one of these warhead-carrying vehicles.

i) A nuclear explosion - the Drell report admitted that this was a possibility, but an unlikely one with the US warhead. Other authorities argue that there is a strong possibility. The British government claim that the British Trident warhead is a different design from the US model. However, it is designed to perform exactly the same function and to have exactly the same characteristics. It is likely, therefore, that it will be very similar.

Another point worth noting is that the Drell report draws heavily on what is known as 'three dimensional' computer modelling. The British Government does not have this technology available and so is not in a

position to rule out what it may find. The most accurate statement it could make is that there is a probability that British warheads would react in the same way, and therefore a probability that they too are prone to the risk of the high explosive in them being detonated.

A nuclear explosion would be 200 times (check this) the size of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

ii) The second is what is referred to as a 'partial yield' nuclear explosion.

iii) The third is a conventional explosion which would scatter a cloud of plutonium over a wide area.

If the conventional explosive were to be detonated there is a risk that this could cause a nuclear explosion. Plutonium is both toxic and radioactive. Breathing in the dust would probably be fatal. There are varying estimates of how far such a cloud travels, the shortest being about 5 kilometres. In a built up area this could encompass 100,000 people.

THE GUIDELINES

These have been issued to the Emergency Planning Officers of local authorities. Their contents reveal that in reality the government does not have any serious plans to deal with a major accident. A number of local authorities have expressed surprise that these loads should be travelling through densely populated areas, and that there is so clearly nothing that could be done in the event of an accident.

The advice given to local authorities is to evacuate people within a 600 metre radius from the warhead and have them take cover; advise the public living in a 45 degree arc up to 5 kilometres downwind of the warhead to close their doors and windows, shut off any air conditioning and remain where they are. People will be advised not to collect their children from school and to stay tuned to the radio so that they can be given information on what to do.

However, local authorities do not have the resources to inform the public of what to do, to prepare shelters for them, to prepare public buildings against the possibility of such a hazard or even to train the staff to make contingency plans. Very few, for instance, have any public warning sirens.

BUT IF there is a hazard from plutonium dust, sheltering will provide only minimal protection, and there is no reason whatsoever to suppose that such a cloud would be limited to five kilometres downwind. Evacuation will be impossible. Warning the public will be impossible. These guidelines are nonsense.

THE NUKEWATCH NETWORK GROWS

Nukewatch is a network of people who track and monitor these convoys of nuclear

weapons. It is because of the work of this group that the existence of these convoys has been made public. A major effort has been made recently to expand the network and to increase the amount of activity it carries out. Up till recently information has largely only been available about convoys on their southward journey because they have been monitored by the Peace Camp at Faslane. Because the group has expanded, information is now also becoming available about convoys travelling north, and about convoys which travel to and from RAF Honington.

This network is expanding all the time and looks likely to seriously undermine the ability to continue with the transport of nuclear warheads in this fashion.

WHAT WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO DO

Convoys travel from near Reading to near Peterborough or to near Bury St Edmunds. From Peterborough they travel to Newcastle and from there to Coulport near Helensburgh. If you live near a major road

along that route you could be involved in the tracking network.

A number of initiatives are being developed currently. One is to press local authorities to object to the convoys travelling through their areas, another is to gather support for an Early Day Motion in the House of Commons.

If you would like any further information or would like to be placed on the contact list for Nukewatch write to TUCND for an information pack.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BOMB

At the end of March 1993 De Klerk, the head of the white government in South Africa, revealed that his regime had built six nuclear bombs in the mid 1980's but that they had recently dismantled them and the manufacturing facility. He said that the government had decided to develop the bomb in 1974 but that they were now concerned that such bombs would fall into the hands of the ANC and that they had dismantled them, together with the manufacturing facility.

De Klerk claimed that the intention had been to reveal the existence of these bombs should their government look vulnerable to



The reason why South Africa claim to have got rid of their nuclear bombs

military takeover by either popular forces within South Africa or by troops from neighbouring countries. They would do so in the belief that this would stimulate the United States to intervene militarily to resolve such a conflict.

They appear to have been afraid that troops from Angola and Mozambique, supported by Cuban troops, would invade. Given the fact that South Africa has consistently intervened militarily in both those countries, their fears should be taken seriously.

In the mid-1980's the African National Congress revealed it had secured information which indicated that South Africa had developed a Nuclear Bomb. According to their information the bomb was an enhanced radiation device (neutron bomb) which kills living creatures but leaves property relatively unscathed. Part of their information consisted of maps showing how

such bombs could be used against exclusively black areas. At the time the white regime in South Africa denied the claims; but were they able to develop such weapons it would make sense from their point of view to develop them in a way which could threaten the population.

In 1980 Professor Renfrew Christie, a Cape Town academic, was jailed for passing nuclear secrets to the ANC. At his trial it became clear that South Africa had been working on the development of a Nuclear Bomb since the 1960's.

What the ANC were also able to reveal was the way in which South African nuclear technicians were trained in both British universities and in British government establishments associated with the civil nuclear power programme. The British

government did not deny this but claimed that the technicians were destined for civilian nuclear power programmes and had no connection with any military programme.

There has been a strong indication that South Africa cooperated with Israel in the development of this bomb and that they held a joint test in the Indian Ocean in 1979. This was monitored by a US satellite. De Klerk, the head of the white South African government, is now denying that there was any collaboration. A story was also circulated, from within the Bush administration, that the satellite had been hit by a meteorite. Also the statistical probabilities of a body the size of a satellite being hit by a meteorite make that story a little less credible than the existence of Santa Clause. The story is further undermined by the fact that there were two flashes monitored by the satellite.

The CIA has expressed "some concerns over the accuracy of South Africa's

declaration" and there are strong indications that South Africa has stockpiled enough enriched uranium to manufacture up to 24 such bombs.

However, Mordechia Vanunu, the Israeli nuclear technician who revealed the extent of Israel's nuclear weapons programme and was subsequently kidnapped by Israeli agents, also revealed that 'Israel routinely collaborated with South Africa on nuclear matters'. Another source, Mr Ari Ben-Menashe, a former Israeli security agent has claimed that Israel reached an agreement in the 60's with South Africa to share technology in exchange for a test site and some funding for the programme.

Since Israel's programme is based on plutonium rather than uranium it is also possible that South Africa exchanged material with Israel and has developed other types of bombs.

Professor Christie told the Guardian recently that he believed that South Africa had developed a battlefield nuclear weapon of about 2-kilotons capable of being fired from the G5 and G6 heavy artillery guns. These very large guns were developed in collaboration with Gerald Bull and have a range of 25 miles. Gerald Bull, the scientist who was involved in developing the 'supergun' for Iraq was murdered in 1990, probably by Mosad, the Israeli intelligence service.

Professor Christie is also said that he believed South Africa may have developed a 10 kiloton bomb which would be dropped from aircraft.

Some sources say that the announcement by De Klerk was a damage limitation exercise because the US government was about to make public its understanding of South Africa's position on nuclear weapons.

A number of things are clear from this rather complex story. The first is that De Klerk is clearly lying through his teeth about the development, deployment and nature of the nuclear weapons South Africa developed. The second is that it is extremely difficult to develop such weapons without the support of one of the existing nuclear powers such as Britain. The third is that it is possible to get rid of nuclear weapons after having developed and deployed them.

Finally De Klerk sited the probability that the ANC will soon be the government in South Africa as the reasons for getting rid of their nuclear weapons. For De Klerk at least, therefore, the possession of nuclear weapons is incompatible with democratic government.

THE SITUATION IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

A LETTER FROM PEACE NEWS

3 February 1993

To the Editor TUCND News from the Editor, Peace News.

Dear Editor,

It is dangerously short-sighted to suggest, as Jim Mortimer does ["What Next In Yugoslavia" TUCND News 8] that the war in the former Yugoslavia is nothing more than a product of "extreme nationalists and religious fanatics".

We cannot wish the people of the Balkans back to the social harmony of Tito's Yugoslavia - and we cannot construct a false dialectic between socialist "democratic centralism" and demands for ethnic identity. Slobodan Milosevic, more than any one person responsible for this sequence of wars, claims to be acting in the defence of both Tito-style market socialism and medieval Serbian expansionism. It was his nationalism, not that of Slovenia's Milan Kucan or Croatia's Franjo Trudjman, that made armed conflict inevitable once the old Yugoslav federation began to split along national lines.

A common misconception is that EC Recognition of Croatia and Slovenia was

railroaded through by the Germans in December 1991, and that these recognitions were premature. But - given that the war in Croatia was already nearly six months old by the time that recognition came, and that Slovenia had been at peace for nearly five months - recognition was, if anything, rather late in coming.

The most significant criterion for recognition, at the time of the Badinter Commission's report was not minority rights - this is rarely in itself treated as grounds for diplomatic recognition - but control over the territory claimed by the governments in question. This, it could be argued, is what made Germany's championing of EC recognition for Croatia controversial. Croatia at that time did not control one third of its pre-1991 territory.

It is widely argued that the failure to recognise Bosnia-Herzegovina in January 1992 contributed to the war there (and that tragic country's subsequent eventual recognition has given it nothing more than a seat at the United Nations). And the increasingly bizarre obstacles placed by Greece against EC recognition of Macedonia have contributed to a growing climate of uncertainty and fear in what was, at the time I visited in May, one of the least nationalist (and least militarised) countries in Europe.

It's too late to reassemble Tito's Yugoslavia. Even the army - a mirror-image

of the old Yugoslavia, with Serbo-Croatian the language of command - has been superseded on the statute books by the explicitly Serbo-Montenegrin "Army of Yugoslavia" and on the ground by the vicious and rapacious ethnic militias, serving but nominally independent of Serbian state power.

One of the shameful things about Europe's response to the wars in the former Yugoslavia is that our peace movements have been very slow in reacting - and that when they do react they are often reluctant to hear what is being said by those working in the region. Contact addresses for the anti-war and women's groups in the region are available from ourselves, the National Peace Council and many CND regional Offices; articles by these courageous (but internationally isolated) activists appear regularly in Peace News.

I can also recommend Balkan War Report (monthly from 1 Auckland St, London SE11 5HU), which reprints articles from Belgrades respected weekly news magazine Vreme, as well as presenting on-the-spot reporting from all the region's capitals and giving detailed analysis of the wars from a military, diplomatic and humanitarian point of view.

Ken Simons

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EDITORIAL RESPONSE

It is dangerous to suggest, as Ken Simons does, that we can involve ourselves in the plight of the people of the former Yugoslavia without seeking a solution to that plight based on an analysis of the economic and political conditions which brought it about. The peace and trade union movements in Britain have a special responsibility to be considerate in their approach because of the problematic role our own government has played in the build up to this war.

A British peace organisation called The National Peace Council recently organised a speaking tour for three people from inside the various parts of the former Yugoslavia. They represented very different points of view and very different political backgrounds. What was interesting about them was both their lack of faith in the ability of Vance and Owen to achieve anything and their belief in the possibility of a peaceful solution to the countries' problems.

What they had to say was interesting if one is seeking a solution to the situation in the way Jim was seeking a solution. The key point which I believe Jim made was that there is little hope of a resolution to the current problem in the absence of a coherent social programme. The nationalists were voted into power because of a desire for

national sovereignty by the peoples of the various parts of the country. What they got were right wing nationalists (Trudjman, the Croatian president is openly anti-semitic and bases much of his position on anti-Serb rhetoric) thrown up in the transition from communism, without any real interest in social issues. The unseemly haste with which Britain and the rest of the EC recognised the statelets into which Yugoslavia fragmented itself, clearly played a role in creating the conditions where civil war became inevitable. In a classic of understatement Iraj Hashi, writing in Capital & Class no 48, puts it "...the EC recognition of Croatia, under pressure from conservative forces in Europe, despite an unfavourable report on the rights of minorities (in Croatia) by Judge Robert Badinter, the president of the French Constitutional Court, may prove to have been a mistake (particularly as it failed to stop further escalation of violence)". This was largely because the internal policies of the Bosnian, Croatian and Serb governments were based on a form of racist resistance to the other governments.

An example of the type of mess one walks into in the absence of an analysis of the political and economic conditions which lead to the war is the call made by one of the NPC speakers for a lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia. Quite remarkable for someone representing a peace movement.

Anyone who is prepared to stick their neck out and try to take a cool look at the situation in Yugoslavia is bound to attract flack. Jim

would be the first person to accept that his analysis may be flawed but I am glad he was prepared to make the attempt. In contrast Ken Simons doesn't offer any form of solution or any explanation why it was that an apparently stable country, where races lived together in harmony, should develop into a civil war where racism plays such an important part.

The idea that the war is primarily Slobodan Milosevic's fault is, to be frank, a little bizarre. In the beginning of the conflict Serbia was keen to maintain the integrity of Yugoslavia as an economic entity so that the relatively industrialised regions of Serbia and Croatia could help support the poorer areas, such as Bosnia. These would clearly have difficulty in maintaining an existence as a separate entity. This was especially important because of the massive debt burden inherited from the former Yugoslavian regime. Rather than advocating cancelling that debt, however, Germany and Britain undertook frenetic diplomatic activity to support Croatia's independence. This meant that that original plan, which it should be recognised was credible, never really became viable.

The rise of the fascists in Croatia meant that the recognition of Croatia made conflict almost inevitable. As M Barratt Brown puts it "...I believed at the time that it was inevitable that this recognition would actually escalate the violence. Croatia, with its semi-fascist regime, once recognised internationally would be bound to look south to Bosnia and Herzegovina to carve up this multi racial

NO MOOR FOR STAR WARS

It's just over ten years since Ronald Reagan made his famous 'Star Wars' speech in which he promised to build a shield of space weapons that would destroy any attacking nuclear missiles high up above the Earth. Since then, 'Star Wars' has become the most spectacular waste of money in military history - with more than \$32 billion lost in space.

Reagan's plan has now been scaled down and superseded by GPALS, or Global Protection Against Limited Strikes. More

modest it may be, but GPALS may well cost over \$100 billion to build.

Meanwhile on the North Yorkshire Moors, a new 'Phased array' radar is now in operation at Fylingdales and the famous golfballs are soon to be dismantled. At a cost of £160 million, the new radar has been described as a 'pointless pyramid' (and not just because it looks like a pyramid with the top loped off!).

With its new radar, Fylingdales is all ready to be integrated into the 'Star Wars' system, thereby becoming a part of the new North-South conflict and the targeting of Nuclear Weapons on Third World states.

Negotiations are also now underway with the Russians to share with them the information from Fylingdales as part of plans for a 'global shield'.

POINT THE FINGER AT FYLINGDALES!

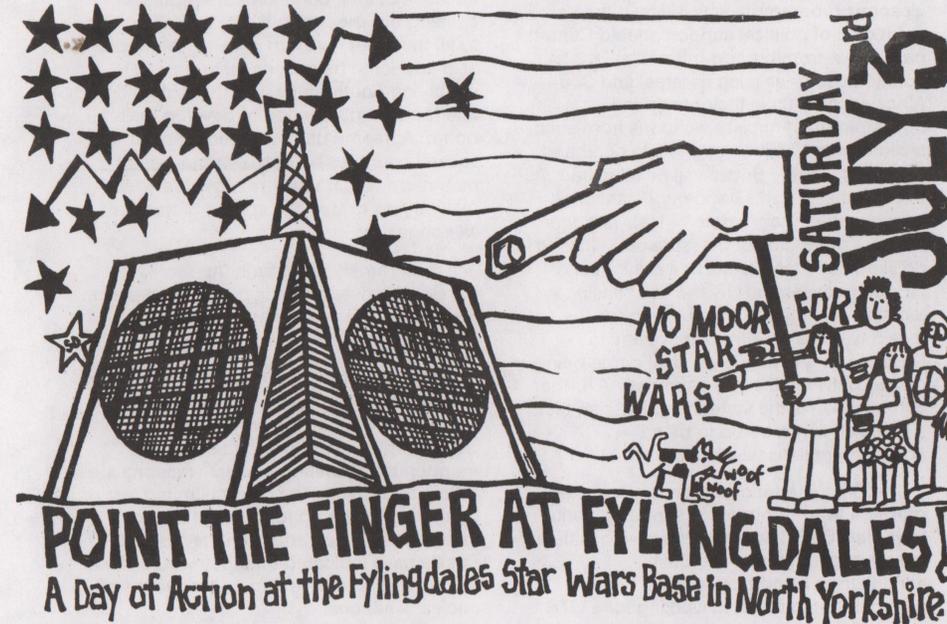
On Saturday the 3rd of July, CND is organising a day of action at the base. The day will include non-violent direct action to 'reclaim the moors from Star Wars', a peace picnic, a 'placard parade' - to alert people passing the base along the busy road to Whitby, music, children's games and... pointing of giant fingers at Fylingdales!

There will also be a peace camp over the Friday and Saturday nights.

Sunday, the 4th of July will also see the traditional Independence Day action at the nearby top secret US spy base at Menwith Hill (also likely to form part of the 'Star Wars' system). So join us for a complete weekend of fun and action on the Yorkshire Moors.

For more details send a SAE to: Yorkshire and Humberside CND, Lower Lumb Farm, Cragg Vale, Hebden Bridge, West Yorkshire, HX7 5SH. or phone 0422 - 883927.

Leaflets, briefing sheets and stickers available.



republic with the Serbs" (END Papers 23 p112). Bosnia's position between Croatia and Serbia meant that systematic land grabbing was bound to happen unless the security of that state was going to be guaranteed in the process of recognition. That process has clearly played a key part in creating and aggravating the war and in encouraging the political forces in Serbia bent on a greater Serbia policy.

The NPC speakers were not at one in the solutions they offered. The representative from Bosnia had no solution, or least not one he was prepared to offer a peace movement audience. The representatives from Croatia and from Serbia are working on a mixture of a non violent conflict resolution and conscientious objection to the war.

In a paper for the European Forum of Left Feminist Maja Korac, a sociologist from the University of Belgrade wrote "We live in a sick society. Nationalism is a horrible disease". In the past the peace movement may have been too readily attracted to the superficiality of nationalism, too keen to see sovereign rights of a 'state' in the abstract asserted in place of the right of communities to develop in harmony. If this is so, then we too in the peace movement are responsible for helping create the conditions which have led to this war.

The peace movement contacts referred to by Ken Simons have a great deal to offer. Perhaps we should listen to them and resist allowing our own hearing to be muffled by the gushing of our bleeding hearts.

BOMB THE SERBS!! HOW? WHAT FOR?

It is a massive indictment of British politics that, in light of her role while Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher should be taken seriously about anything. However, she hit a populist nerve when she was given air time to advocate bombing the Serbs.

The ferocity and viciousness of the war between Bosnia and Croatia quickly discredited her position and she slipped back to lurking in the relative obscurity of the leather benches of the House of Lords. However, the idea that we could bomb a solution into the former Yugoslavia persists.

A number of letters have appeared in the press from former military personnel recently, claiming that modern technology would make it possible for us to do things in Yugoslavia which have not been possible in other wars. What these overgrown boys with an itch to get into a real war forget is that technology has also been developed which facilitates guerilla war. It is less than credible to argue that what the Russian army were unable to achieve in Afghanistan, Britain's public schoolboys, with in some cases poorer equipment and on a lower budget, can do in Bosnia.

Germany, Italy and Bulgaria had over 30 divisions in Yugoslavia in the 2nd world war and failed completely to succeed in suppressing the population. Following the invasion of Czechoslovakia the Yugoslav army set up territorial defence forces which modeled themselves on the wartime partisans. It is these forces which constitute the nationalist militias

The complete lack of control over the sale of weapons internationally and Britain's policy of encouraging the arms trade for both unstable and repressive regimes has meant that Yugoslavia has been able to build a massive production facility in extremely sophisticated weaponry - and an understanding of how to use it effectively. That means that we do not have solution through superior military technology. During the Gulf War some US military personnel referred to such solutions as a 'Turkey shoot'. In military terms the only 'Turkeys' likely to appear in this conflict will be the ones we send there.

A military intervention against Serbia would be tens of thousands of troops, a constant flow of military equipment and a steady flow in return of young men being shipped back to Portsmouth in a box. It isn't Margaret Thatcher's rolling eyes which casts a doubt over her sanity, its her dangerous, irresponsible, belligerent policies.