# 1980
# No Cruise Missiles, No SS20's: European Nuclear Disarmament

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## Summary:

Pamphlet from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation arguing for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Europe. Argues that by becoming nuclear-free Europe will prevent further proliferation and development of nuclear weapons.

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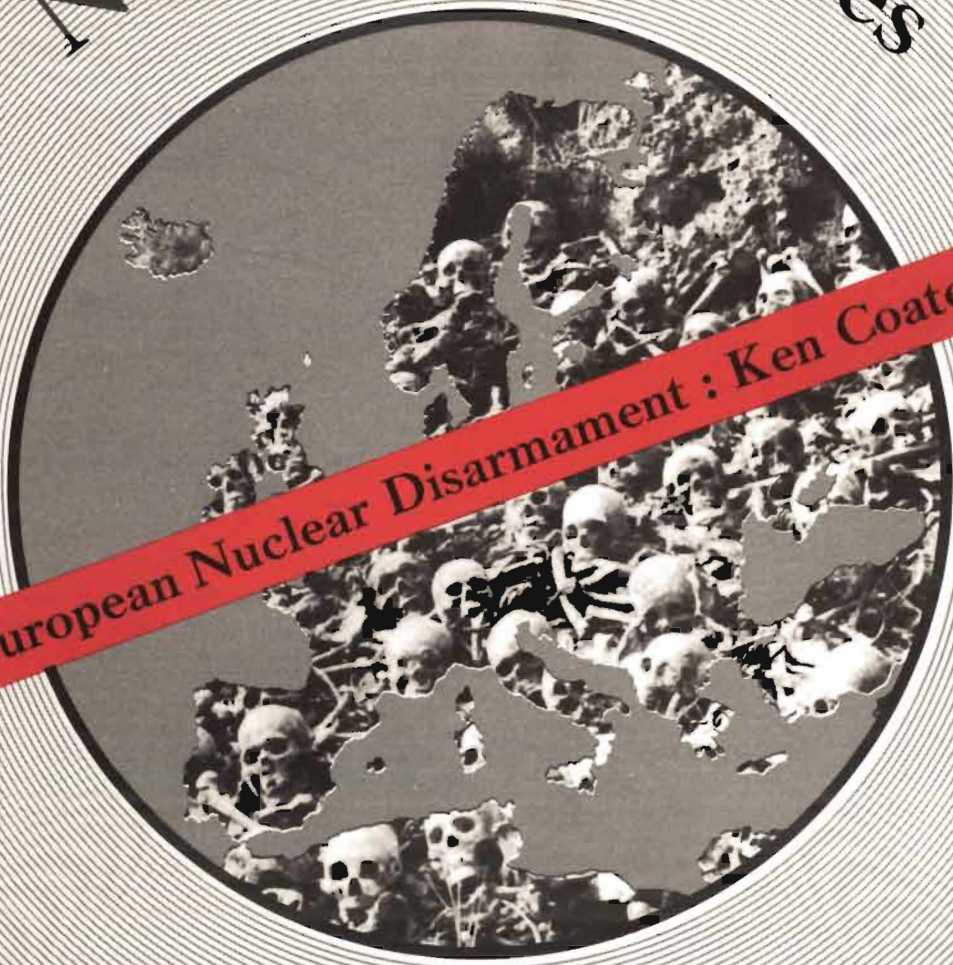
## Contents:

# No Cruise Missiles



European Nuclear Disarmament : Ken Coates

# No SS20's

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# European Nuclear Disarmament

"Remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death."

*Russell-Einstein Manifesto, 1955.*

## *I The Most Dangerous Decade in History . . .*

At the end of April 1980, following some months of consultation and preparation, an appeal for European Nuclear Disarmament was launched at a press conference in the House of Commons, and at meetings in a variety of European capital cities. The text of the appeal reads:

We are entering the most dangerous decade in human history. A third world war is not merely possible, but increasingly likely. Economic and social difficulties in advanced industrial countries, crisis, militarism and war in the third world compound the political tensions that fuel a demented arms race. In Europe, the main geographical stage for the East-West confrontation, new generations of ever more deadly nuclear weapons are appearing.

For at least twenty-five years, the forces of both the North Atlantic and the Warsaw alliances have each had sufficient nuclear weapons to annihilate their opponents, and at the same time to endanger the very basis of civilised life. But with each passing year, competition in nuclear armaments has multiplied their numbers, increasing the probability of some devastating accident or miscalculation.

As each side tries to prove its readiness to use nuclear weapons, in order to prevent their use by the other side, new more 'usable' nuclear weapons are designed and the idea of 'limited' nuclear war is made to sound more and more plausible. So much so that this paradoxical process can logically only lead to the actual use of nuclear weapons.

Neither of the major powers is now in any moral position to influence smaller countries to forego the acquisition of nuclear armament. The increasing spread of nuclear reactors and the growth of the industry that installs them, reinforce the likelihood of world-wide proliferation of nuclear weapons, thereby multiplying the risks of nuclear exchanges.

Over the years, public opinion has pressed for nuclear disarmament and detente between the contending military blocs. This pressure has failed. An increasing proportion of world resources is expended on weapons, even though mutual extermination is already amply guaranteed. This economic burden, in

both East and West, contributes to growing social and political strain, setting in motion a vicious circle in which the arms race feeds upon the instability of the world economy and vice versa: a deathly dialetic.

We are now in great danger. Generations have been born beneath the shadow of nuclear war, and have become habituated to the threat. Concern has given way to apathy. Meanwhile, in a world living always under menace, fear extends through both halves of the European continent. The powers of the military and of internal security forces are enlarged, limitations are placed upon free exchanges of ideas and between persons, and civil rights of independent-minded individuals are threatened, in the West as well as the East.

We do not wish to apportion guilt between the political and military leaders of East and West. Guilt lies squarely upon both parties. Both parties have adopted menacing postures and committed aggressive actions in different parts of the world.

The remedy lies in our own hands. We must act together to free the entire territory of Europe, from Poland to Portugal, from nuclear weapons, air and submarine bases, and from all institutions engaged in research into or manufacture of nuclear weapons. We ask the two super powers to withdraw all nuclear weapons from European territory. In particular, we ask the Soviet Union to halt production of the SS-20 medium range missile and we ask the United States not to implement the decision to develop cruise missiles and Pershing II missiles for deployment in Europe. We also urge the ratification of the SALT II agreement, as a necessary step towards the renewal of effective negotiations on general and complete disarmament.

At the same time, we must defend and extend the right of all citizens, East or West, to take part in this common movement and to engage in every kind of exchange.

We appeal to our friends in Europe, of every faith and persuasion, to consider urgently the ways in which we can work together for these common objectives. We envisage a European-wide campaign, in which every kind of exchange takes place; in which representatives of different nations and opinions confer and co-ordinate their activities; and in which less formal exhanges, between universities, churches, women's organisations, trade unions, youth organisations, professional groups and individuals, take place with the object of promoting a common object: to free all of Europe from nuclear weapons.

We must commence to act as if a united, neutral and pacific Europe already exists. We must learn to be loyal, not to 'East' or 'West', but to each other, and we must disregard the prohibitions and limitations imposed by any national state.

It will be the responsibility of the people of each nation to agitate for the expulsion of nuclear weapons and bases from European soil and territorial waters, and to decide upon its own means and strategy, concerning its own territory. These will differ from one country to another, and we do not suggest that any single strategy should be imposed. But this must be part of a transcontinental movement in which every kind of exchange takes place.

We must resist any attempt by the statesmen of East and West to manipulate this movement to their own advantage. We offer no advantage to either NATO or the Warsaw alliance. Our objectives must be to free Europe from confrontation, to enforce detente between the United States and the Soviet Union, and, ultimately, to dissolve both great power alliances.

In appealing to fellow Europeans, we are not turning our backs on the world. In working for the peace of Europe we are working for the peace of the world.

Twice in this century Europe has disgraced its claims to civilisation by engendering world war. This time we must repay our debts to the world by engendering peace.

This appeal will achieve nothing if it is not supported by determined and inventive action, to win more people to support it. We need to mount an irresistible pressure for a Europe free of nuclear weapons.

We do not wish to impose any uniformity on the movement nor to pre-empt the consultations and decisions of those many organisations already exercising their influence for disarmament and peace. But the situation is urgent. The dangers steadily advance. We invite your support for this common objective, and we shall welcome both your help and advice.

Several hundred people, many of whom were prominent in their own field of work, had already endorsed this statement before its publication. They included over sixty British MPs from four different political parties, and a number of peers, bishops, artists, composers and university teachers. The press conference, which was addressed by Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, Mary Kaldor, Bruce Kent, Zhores Medvedev, Dan Smith and Edward Thompson, launched a campaign for signatures to the appeal and by Hiroshima Day (August 6th, the anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Japan) influential support had been registered in many different countries. Writers such as Kurt Vonnegut, Olivia Manning, John Berger, Trevor Griffiths, J.B. Priestley and Melvyn Bragg had joined with church leaders, political spokesmen, painters (Joan Miro, Vasarely, Josef Herman, David Tindle, Piero Dorazio), Nobel Prize winners and thousands of men and women working in industry and the professions. British signatories included the composer Peter Maxwell Davies, the doyen of cricket commentators, John Arlott, distinguished soldiers such as Sir John Glubb and Brigadier M.N. Harbottle, and trade union leaders (Moss Evans, Laurence Daly, Arthur Scargill and many others). It was generally agreed that a European meeting was necessary, in order to work out means of developing the agitation, and in order to discuss all the various issues and problems which are in need of elaboration, over and beyond the text of the appeal.

The Bertrand Russell Foundation is working on the preparation of this Conference. A small liaison committee has been established to co-ordinate the work in Great Britain, and various persons and groups have accepted the responsibility for co-ordinating action in particular fields of work. For instance, a group of parliamentarians will be appealing to their British colleagues, but also to MPs throughout Europe; academics will be writing to their own immediate circles, but also seeking international contacts; churches are being approached through Pax Christi; and an active trade union group has begun to develop. Lists of some of these groups will be found at the end of this pamphlet, which has been

prepared in order to outline some the issues at greater length than proved possible in the appeal itself.

## *II "A Demented Arms Race . . ."*

1980 began with an urgent and concerned discussion about rearmament. The Pope, in his New Year Message, caught the predominant mood: "What can one say", he asked, "in the face of the gigantic and threatening military arsenals which especially at the close of 1979 have caught the attention of the world and especially of Europe, both East and West?"

War in Afghanistan; American hostages in Teheran, and dramatic pile-ups in the Iranian deserts, as European-based American commandos failed to 'spring' them; wars or threats of war in South East Asia, the Middle East, and Southern Africa: at first sight, all the world in turbulence, excepting only Europe. Yet in spite of itself Europe is at the fixed centre of the arms race; and it is in Europe that many of the most fearsome weapons are deployed. What the Pope was recognizing at the opening of the decade was that conflicts in any other zone might easily spill back into the European theatre, where they would then destroy our continent.

Numbers of statesmen have warned about this furious accumulation of weapons during the late 'seventies. It has been a persistent theme of such eminent neutral spokesmen as Olof Palme of Sweden, or President Tito of Yugoslavia. Lord Mountbatten, in his last speech, warned that "the frightening facts about the arms race . . .show that we are rushing headlong towards a precipice".[1] Why has this "headlong rush" broken out? First, because of the world-wide division between what is nowadays called "North" and "South". In spite of United Nations initiatives, proposals for a new economic order which could assist economic development have not only not been implemented, but have been stalemated while conditions have even been aggravated by the oil crisis. Poverty was never morally acceptable, but it is no longer politically tolerable in a world which can speak to itself through transistors, while over and again in many areas, starvation recurs. In others, millions remain on the verge of the merest subsistence. The third world is thus a zone of revolts, revolutions, interventions, and wars.

To avoid or win these, repressive leaders like the former Shah of Iran are willing to spend unheard of wealth on arms, and the arms trade paradoxically often takes the lead over all other exchanges, even in countries where malnutrition is endemic. At the same time, strategic considerations bring into play the superpowers, as "revolutionary" or "counter-revolutionary" supports. This produces some extraordinary

alignments and confrontations, such as those between the Ethiopian military, and Somalia and Eritrea, where direct Cuban and Soviet intervention has been a crucial factor, even though the Eritreans have been engaged in one of the longest-running liberation struggles in all Africa: or such as the renewed Indo-China war following the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, in which remnants of the former Cambodian communist government appear to have received support from the United States, even though it only came into existence in opposition to American secret bombing, which destroyed the physical livelihood of the country together with its social fabric. A variety of such direct and indirect interventions owes everything to geo-political expediency, and nothing to the ideals invoked to justify them. Such processes help promote what specialists call the "horizontal" proliferation of nuclear weapons, to new, formerly non-nuclear states, at the same time that they add their pressure to the "vertical" proliferation between the superpowers.

Second, the emergence of China into the community of nations (if this phrase can nowadays be used without cynicism) complicates the old pattern of interplay between the blocs. Where yesterday there was a tug-o'war between the USA and the USSR, with each principal mobilising its own team of supporters at its end of the rope, now there is a triangular contest, in which both of the old-established contestants may, in future, seek to play the China team. At the moment, the Chinese are most worried about the Russians, which means that the Russians will feel a constant need to augment their military readiness on their 'second' front, while the Americans will seek to match Soviet preparedness overall, making no differentiation between the "theatres" against which the Russians see a need for defence. It should be noted that the Chinese Government still considers that war is "inevitable", although it has apparently changed its assessment of the source of the threat. (It is the more interesting, in this context, that the Chinese military budget for 1980 is the only one which is being substantially reduced, by $1.9 billion, or 8.5%).

Third, while all these political cauldrons boil, the military-technical processes have their own logic, which is fearsome.

Stacked around the world at the beginning of the decade, there were a minimum of 50,000 nuclear warheads, belonging to the two main powers, whose combined explosive capacity exceeds by one million times the destructive power of the first atomic bomb which was dropped on Hiroshima. The number grows continually. This is "global overkill". Yet during the next decade, the USA and USSR will be manufacturing a further 20,000 warheads, some of unimaginable force.

World military spending, the Brandt Report on North-South economic

development estimated, ran two years ago at something approaching $450 billion a year or around $1.2 billion every day.[2] More recent estimates for last year show that global military expenditures have already passed $500 billion per annum or $1.3 billion each day. Recently both the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation both decided to increase their military spending annually over a period of time, by *real* increments of between 3% and 4.5% each year. That is to say, military outlays are inflation-proofed, so that weapons budgets will automatically swell to meet the depreciation of the currency, and then again to provide an absolute increase. It is primarily for this reason that informed estimates show that the world-wide arms bill will be more than $600 billion per annum or $1.6 billion each day very early in the 1980s.

As a part of this process, new weapons are continuously being tested. At least 53 nuclear tests took place in 1979. South Africa may also have detonated a nuclear device. New missiles are being developed, in pursuit of the ever more lethal pin-pointing of targets, or of even more final obliterative power. In 1980 the Chinese have announced tests of their new intercontinental missile, capable of hitting either Moscow or Los Angeles. The French have released news of their preparations to deploy the so-called "neutron" or enhanced radiation bomb, development of which had previously been held back by President Carter after a storm of adverse publicity. In the United States, the MX missile, weighing 190,000 pounds and capable of throwing ten independently targeted and highly accurate 350 kiloton (350,000 tons of TNT equivalent) warheads at Russia, each of which will be independently targeted, with high accuracy, is being developed. The R and D costs for this missile in 1981 will amount to $1.5 billion, even before production has started. This is more, as Emma Rothschild has complained,[3] than the combined research and development budgets of the US Departments of Labour, Education and Transportation, taken together with the Environmental Protection Agency, the Federal Drug Administration and the Center for Disease Control. The MX system, if it works (or for that matter even if it doesn't work) will run on its own sealed private railway, involving "the largest construction project in US history".[4] It will, if completed, "comprise 200 missiles with 2,000 warheads, powerful and accurate enough to threaten the entire Soviet ICBM force of 1,400 missiles".[5] No doubt the Russians will think of some suitable response, at similar or greater expense. As things are, the United States defence budget from 1980-1985 will amount to one trillion dollars, and, such is the logic of the arms race, an equivalent weight of new weaponry will have to be mobilised from the other side, if the "balance" is to be maintained.

All this frenetic activity takes place at a time of severe economic crisis, with many western economies trapped in a crushing slump and

quite unable to expand civilian production. Stagnant or shrinking production provides a poor basis for fierce rearmament, which nowadays often accompanies, indeed necessitates, cuts in social investment, schools, housing and health. The price of putting the Trident system into Britain's arsenal will probably be outbreaks of rickets among our poorer children.

But military research takes priority over everything else, and the result is staggering. In the construction of warheads, finesse now passes any reasonable expectation. A Minuteman III multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle (or MIRV, as such a vehicle is conveniently described) will carry three warheads, and each warhead has an explosive power of 170,000 tons of TNT (170 kilotons, or kt). A Minuteman weighs 220 lbs. The first atomic bomb ever used in action had an explosive force of 12kt, and it weighed four tons.

Miniaturisation of megadeath bombs has made fine progress. So has the refinement of delivery systems. This is measured by the standard of Circular Error Probability (CEP), which is the radius of that circle centred on the target, within which it can be expected that 50% of warheads of a given type might fall. Heavy bombers of the second world war, such as those which visited Hiroshima and Nagasaki, had a very large CEP indeed. The Minuteman III system expects to land half its projectiles within a 350 metre radius of target, having flown more than 8,000 miles to do it. The MX, if it goes according to plan, will have a CEP of only a hundred metres. Such accuracy means that it will be perfectly possible to destroy enemy missile silos, however fortified these might be. The Russians are catching up, however. Their SS 18 and SS 19 missiles are already claimed to have CEPs of 450 metres.

If rocketry has advanced, so too has experimental aviation. The Americans have already tested Stealth, an aeroplane which "is virtually invisible to Soviet radar". Critics say that invisibility has been purchased at the cost of multiple crashes, since the new machines are fashioned into shapes which are decidedly unfunctional for flying, in order to elude detection. Stealth is a fighter, but plans have been leaked (in the course of the American elections, during which, apparently, votes are assumed to be attracted to the most bloodthirsty contender) for a similarly-wrought long-range bomber. Officials in the US Defence Department insist that contorted shapes are only part of the mechanism which defeats radar detection: apparently new materials can be coated onto aircraft skins, to absorb radio waves. By such means, together with navigational advances, it may be hoped to secure even greater accuracy of weapon delivery.

Two questions remain. First, as Lord Zuckerman, the British Government's former chief scientific advisor, percipiently insists, what happens to the other 50% of warheads which fall outside the CEP? The military

may not be interested in them, but other people are. Second, this remarkable triumph of technology is all leading to the point where someone has what is politely called a "first-strike capability". Both the Russians and the Americans will soon have this capability. But what does it *mean*? It clearly does *not* mean that one superpower has the capacity to eliminate the possibility of retaliation by the other, if only it gets its blow in first. What it does signify is the capacity to wreak such destruction as to reduce any possible response to an "acceptable" level of damage. This is a level which will clearly vary with the degree of megalomania in the respective national leaderships.

All informed commentators are very wary about "first strike capability" because with it the whole doctrine of mutually assured destruction (appropriately known under the acronym MAD) will no longer apply. With either or both superpowers approaching "first strike" potential, the calculations are all different. Yesterday we were assured, barring accidents, of safety of a bizarre and frightening kind: but now each new strengthening of the arsenals spells out with a terrifying rigour, a new, unprecedented danger. Pre-emptive war is now a growing possibility. It is therefore quite impossible to argue support for a doctrine of "deterrence" as if this could follow an unchanging pattern over the decades, irrespective of changes in the political balance in the world, and irrespective of the convolutions of military technology.

In fact, "deterrence" has already undergone fearsome mutations. Those within the great military machines who have understood this have frequently signalled their disquiet. "If a way out of the political dilemmas we now face is not negotiated", wrote Lord Zuckerman, "our leaders will quickly learn that there is no technical road to victory in the nuclear arms race".[6] "Wars cannot be fought with nuclear weapons", said Lord Mountbatten: "There are powerful voices around the world who still give credence to the old Roman precept – if you desire peace, prepare for war. This is absolute nuclear nonsense."[7]

Yet serious discussion of disarmament has come to an end. The SALT II agreements have not been ratified. The Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is breaking down, and the non-nuclear powers are convinced that all the nuclear weapon states are flouting it, by refusing to reduce their nuclear arsenals. It is true that following the initiative of Chancellor Schmidt talks will open between Senator Muskie and Mr Gromyko in order to discover whether negotiations can begin on the reduction of medium range nuclear arsenals in Europe. But unless there is a huge mobilisation of public protest, the outcome of such talks about talks is completely predictable.

*III Limited War: the End of Europe?*

In spite of detente, and the relatively stable relations between its two main halves during the past decade, Europe remains by far the most militaristic zone of the contemporary world.

At least 10,000, possibly 15,000, warheads are stockpiled in Europe for what is called "tactical" or "theatre" use. The Americans have installed something between 7,000 and 10,000 of these, and the Russians between 3,500 and 5,000. The yields of these weapons range, it is believed, between something less than one kiloton and up to three megatons. In terms of Hiroshima bombs, one three megaton warhead would have the force of 250 such weapons. But nowadays this is seen as a "theatre" armament, usable in a "limited" nuclear war. "Strategic" bombs, for use in the final stages of escalation, may be as large as 20 megatons. (Although of course those destined for certain types of targets are a lot smaller. The smallest could be a "mere" 30 or 40 kilotons, or two or three Hiroshimas). Towns in Europe are not commonly far apart from one another. There exist no vast unpopulated tracts, plains, prairies or tundras, in which to confine a nuclear war. Military installations nestle among and between busy urban centres. As Zuckerman has insited "the distances between villages are no greater than the radius of effect of low yield weapons of a few kilotons; between towns and cities, say a megaton".

General Sir John Hackett, a former commander of the Northern Army Group of NATO, published in 1978 a fictional history of the Third World War.[8] In his book this was scheduled for August 1985, and culminated in the nuclear destruction of Birmingham and Minsk. At this point the Russians obligingly faced a domestic rebellion, and everyone who wasn't already dead lived happily ever after. The General, as is often the case, knows a lot about specialised military matters, but very little about the sociology of communism, and not much more about the political sociology of his own side. Of course, rebellions are very likely in every country which faces the immediate prospect of nuclear war, which is why the British Government has detailed contingency plans for the arrest of large numbers of "subversives" when such a war is about to break out. (These may be discovered, in part, by reference to the secret County War Plans which have been prepared on Government instructions, to cope with every problem from water-rationing to the burial of the uncountable dead). But there is no good reason to imagine that subversives are harder to arrest in the USSR than they are in Britain, to put the matter very mildly. Nor is there any very good reason to think that that the Soviet Union stands on the brink of revolution, or that such revolution would be facilitated by nuclear war. The contrary may be the case. General Hackett's novel has Poles tearing

non-existent communist insignia out of their national flag, and contains a variety of other foibles of the same kind: but we may assume that when it speaks of NATO, it gets things broadly right.

The General discusses the basis of NATO strategy which is known as the "Triad". This is a "combination of conventional defence, battlefield nuclear weapons and strategic nuclear action in closely coupled sequence". Ruefully, General Hackett continues "This was as fully endorsed in the United Kingdom as anywhere else in the Alliance. How far it was taken seriously anywhere is open to argument. There is little evidence that it was ever taken seriously in the UK . . . an observer of the British Army's deployment, equipment and training could scarcely fail to conclude that, whatever happened, the British did not expect to have to take part in a tactical nuclear battle at all . . . "[9]

General Hackett's judgements here are anything but fictional ones. The Earl Mountbatten, in the acutely subversive speech to which we have already referred, spoke of the development of "smaller nuclear weapons" which were "produced and deployed for use in what was assumed to be a tactical or theatre war". "The belief was", said Mountbatten "that were hostilities ever to break out in Western Europe, such weapons could be used in field warfare without triggering an all-out nuclear exchange leading to the final holocaust. I have never found this idea credible". If a former Chief of Staff and one-time Chairman of NATO's Military Committee found the idea unbelievable, this is strong evidence that General Hackett is quite right that NATO's basic strategy was indeed not "taken seriously" in the UK. Yet the doctrine of "flexible response" binds the UK while it remains in force in NATO, because it is enshrined in NATO's 1975 statement for Ministerial Guidance, in article 4:

> "4. The long-range defence concept supports agreed NATO strategy by calling for a balanced force structure of interdependent strategic nuclear, theatre nuclear and conventional force capabilities. Each element of this Triad performs a unique role; in combination they provide mutual support and reinforcement. No single element of the Triad can substitute for another. The concept also calls for the modernisation of both strategic and theatre nuclear capabilities; however, major emphasis is placed on maintaining and improving Alliance conventional forces."

Article 11b develops this beyond any possible ambiguity:

> "b) the purpose of the tactical nuclear capability is to enhance the deterrent and defensive effect of NATO's forces against large-scale conventional attack, and to provide a deterrent against the expansion of limited conventional attacks and the possible use of tactical nuclear weapons by the aggressor. Its aim is to convince the aggressor that any form of attack on NATO could result in very serious damage to his own forces, and to emphasise the dangers implicit in the continuance of a conflict by presenting him with the risk that such a situation could

escalate beyond his control up to all-out nuclear war. Conversely, this capability should be of such a nature that control of the situation would remain in NATO hands."

Yet so jittery and mobile are military techniques, and so rapidly does their leapfrog bring both superpowers to the unleashing of ever newer devices, that the settled NATO principles of 1975 were already, in 1979, being qualified:

"All elements of the NATO Triad of strategic, theatre nuclear, and conventional forces are in flux. At the strategic level, with or without SALT, the US is modernising each component of its strategic forces. And, as will be described below, the other two legs of the Triad are being modernised as well.
Integral to the doctrine of flexible response, theatre nuclear forces provide the link between US strategic power and NATO conventional forces – a link that, in the view of many, poses the ultimate deterrent against a European war.

With Strategic parity codified in the recent SALT II agreement, and with major Soviet theatre deployments such as the Backfire bomber and the SS-20 missile, some have perceived a loose rung near the top of the flexible response ladder. Thus, consideration is being given to new weapons systems: Pershing II, a nuclear-armed ground-launched cruise missile (GLCM), and a new mobile, medium-range ballistic missile (MRBM)."[10]

This fateful decision came at the end of a long process of decisions, beginning with Richard Nixon's arrival in the United States Presidency. So it was that NATO finally determined, at the end of 1979, upon the installation of nearly 600 new *Pershing II* and *Tomahawk* (cruise) missiles.[11] The cruise missiles are low-flying pilotless planes, along the lines of the "doodlebugs" which were sent against Britain in the last years of Hitler's blitzkrieg, only now refined to the highest degree, with computerised guidance which aspires to considerable accuracy. And, of course, they are each intended to take a nuclear bomb for a distance of 2,000 miles, and to deliver it within a very narrowly determined area. There is a lot of evidence that in fact they don't work in the manner intended, but this will increase no-one's security, because it merely means that they will hit the wrong targets.

President Nixon first propounded the doctrine of limited nuclear war in his *State of the World* message of 1971. The USA, he said, needed to provide itself with "alternatives appropriate to the nature and level of the provocation . . . without necessarily having to resort to mass destruction". Mountbatten, of course, is quite right to find it all incredible. "I have never been able to accept the reasons for the belief that any class of nuclear weapons can be categorised in terms of their tactical or strategic purposes", he said.

As Lord Zuckerman put it to the Pugwash Conference

"I do not believe that nuclear weapons could be used in what is now fashionably called a 'theatre war'. I do not believe that any scenario exists which suggests

that nuclear weapons could be used in field warfare between two nuclear states without escalation resulting. I know of several such exercises. They all lead to the opposite conclusion. There is no Marquess of Queensberry who would be holding the ring in a nuclear conflict. I cannot see teams of physicists attached to military staffs who would run to the scene of a nuclear explosion and then back to tell their local commanders that the radiation intensity of a nuclear strike by the other side was such and such, and that therefore the riposte should be only a weapon of equivalent yield. If the zone of lethal or wounding neutron radiation of a so-called neutron bomb would have, say, a radius of half a kilometre, the reply might well be a 'dirty' bomb with the same zone of radiation, but with a much wider area of devastation due to blast and fire."[12]

Pressure from the Allies has meant that Presidential statements on the issue of limited war have swung backwards and forwards. At times President Carter has given the impression that he is opposed to the doctrine. But the revelation of "directive 59" in August 1980 shows that there is in fact a continuous evolution in US military policy, apparently regardless of political hesitations by Governments. Directive 59 is a flat-out regression to the pure Nixon doctrine. As the *New York Times* put it:

"(Defence Secretary) Brown seems to expand the very meaning of deterrence alarmingly. Typically, advocates of flexible targeting argue that it will deter a sneak attack. But Brown's speech says the new policy is also intended to deter a variety of lesser aggressions, . . . including conventional military aggression . . ."

Obviously, as the NYT claims, this is liable to
"increase the likelihood that nuclear weapons will be used."[13]

*Where* would such weapons be used? That place would experience total annihilation, and in oblivion would be unable to consider the nicety of 'tactical' or 'strategic' destruction. If 'limited' nuclear exchanges mean anything at all, the only limitation which is thinkable is their restriction to a particular zone. And that is precisely why politicians in the United States find 'limited' war more tolerable than the other sort, because it leaves a hope that escalation to the total destruction of both superpowers might be a second-stage option to be deferred during the negotiations which could be undertaken while Europe burns. It does not matter whether the strategists are right in their assumptions or not. There are strong reasons why a Russian counter-attack ought (within the lights of the Soviet authorities) to be directed at the USA as well as Europe, if Soviet military strategists are as thoughtful as we may presume. But the very fact that NATO is being programmed to follow this line of action means that Europeans must awaken to understand what a sinister mutation has taken place, beneath the continuing official chatter about "deterrence".

The fact that current Soviet military planning speaks a different language does not in the least imply that Europe can escape this

dilemma. If one side prepares for a "theatre" war in our continent, the other will, if and when necessary, respond, whether or not it accepts the protocol which is proposed for the orderly escalation of annihilation from superpower peripheries to superpower centres. The material reality which will control events is the scope and range of the weapons deployed: and the very existence of tens of thousands of theatre weapons implies, in the event of war, that there will be a 'theatre war'. There may be a 'strategic' war as well, in spite of all plans to the contrary. It will be too late for Europe to know or care.

All those missiles and bombs could never be used in Europe without causing death and destruction on a scale hitherto unprecedented and inconceivable. The continent would become a hecatomb, and in it would be buried, not only tens, hundreds of millions of people, but also the remains of a civilisation. If some Europeans survived, in Swiss shelters or British Government bunkers, they would emerge to a cannibal universe in which every humane instinct had been cauterised. Like the tragedy of Cambodia, only on a scale greatly wider and more profound, the tragedy of post-nuclear Europe would be lived by a mutilated people, prone to the most restrictive and destructive xenophobia, ganging for support into pathetic strong-arm squads in order to club a survival for themselves out of the skulls of others, and fearful of their own shadows. The worlds which came into being in the Florentine renaissance would have been totally annulled, and not only the monuments would be radioactive. On such deathly foundations, "communism" may be installed, in the Cambodian manner, or some other more primary anarchies or brutalisms may maintain a hegemony of sorts. What is plain is that any and all survivors of a European theatre war will look upon the days before the holocaust as a golden age, and hope will have become, quite literally, a thing of the past.

A move towards European Nuclear Disarmament may not avoid this fearful outcome. Until general nuclear disarmament has been agreed and implemented no man or woman will be able to feel safe. But such a move may break the logic of the arms race, transform the meanings of the blocs and begin a unified and irresistible pressure on both the superpowers to reverse their engines away from war.

## *IV We Must Act Together . . .*

If the powers want to have a bit of a nuclear war, they will want to have it away from home. And if we do not wish to be their hosts for such a match, then, regardless of whether they are right or wrong in supposing that they can confine it to our "theatre", we must discover a new initiative which can move us towards disarmament. New technolo-

gies will not do this, and nor will introspection and conscience suddenly seize command in both superpowers at once.

We are looking for a *political* step which can open up new forms of public pressure, and bring into the field of force new moral resources. Partly this is a matter of ending super-power domination of the most important negotiations.

But another part of the response must involve a multi-national mobilisation of public opinion. In Europe, this will not begin until people appreciate the exceptional vulnerability of their continent. One prominent statesman who has understood, and drawn attention to, this extreme exposure, is Olof Palme. During an important speech at a Helsinki Conference of the Socialist International, he issued a strong warning. "Europe", he said "is no special zone where peace can be taken for granted. In actual fact, it is at the centre of the arms race. Granted, the general assumption seems to be that any potential military conflict between the super-powers is going to start someplace other than in Europe. But even if that were to be the case, we would have to count on one or the other party – in an effort to gain supremacy – trying to open a front on our continent, as well. As Alva Myrdal has recently pointed out, a war can simply be transported here, even though actual causes for war do not exist. Here there is a ready theatre of war. Here there have been great military forces for a long time. Here there are programmed weapons all ready for action . . ."[14]

Basing himself on this recognition, Mr Palme recalled various earlier attempts to create, in North and Central Europe, nuclear-free zones, from which, by agreement, all warheads were to be excluded. (We shall look at the history of these proposals, below). He then drew a conclusion of historic significance, which provides the most real, and most hopeful, possibility, of generating a truly continental opposition to this continuing arms race:

> "Today more than ever there is, in my opinion, every reason to go on working for a nuclear-free zone. *The ultimate objective of these efforts should be a nuclear-free Europe*. (My emphasis). The geographical area closest at hand would naturally be Northern and Central Europe. If these areas could be freed from the nuclear weapons stationed there today, the risk of total annihilation in case of a military conflict would be reduced."

Olof Palme's initiative was launched exactly a month before the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, which gave rise to a Final Document which is a strong, if tacit, indictment of the arms race which has actually accelerated sharply since it was agreed. A World Disarmament Campaign was launched in 1980, by Lord Noel Baker and Lord Brockway, and a comprehensive cross-section of voluntary peace organisations: it had the precise intention of securing

the implementation of this Document. But although the goal of the UN Special Session was "general and complete disarmament", as it should have been, it is commonly not understood that this goal was deliberately coupled with a whole series of intermediate objectives, including Palme's own proposals. Article 33 of the statement reads:

> "The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of agreements or arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the zone concerned, and the full compliance with those agreements or arrangements, thus ensuring that the zones are genuinely free from nuclear weapons, and respect for such zones by nuclear-weapons States, constitute an important disarmament measure."

Later, the declaration goes on to spell out this commitment in considerable detail. It begins with a repetition:

> "The establishment of nuclear-weapons-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned, constitutes an important disarmament measure,"

and then continues

> "The process of establishing such zones in different parts of the world should be encouraged with the ultimate objective of achieving a world entirely free of nuclear weapons. In the process of establishing such zones, the characteristics of each region should be taken into account. The States participating in such zones should undertake to comply fully with all the objectives, purposes and principles of the agreements or arrangements establishing the zones, thus ensuring that they are genuinely free from nuclear weapons.
>
> With respect to such zones, the nuclear-weapon States in turn are called upon to give undertakings, the modalities of which are to be negotiated with the competent authority of each zone, in particular:
>
> (a) to respect strictly the status of the nuclear-free zone;
>
> (b) to refrain from the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against the States of the zone . . .
>
> States of the region should solemnly declare that they will refrain on a reciprocal basis from producing, acquiring, or in any other way, possessing nuclear explosive devices, and from permitting the stationing of nuclear weapons on their territory by any third party and agree to place all their nuclear activities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards."

Article 63 of this final document schedules several areas for consideration as nuclear-free zones. They include Africa, where the Organisation of African Unity has resolved upon the "the denuclearisation of the region", but also the Middle East and South Asia, which are listed alongside South and Central America, whose pioneering treaty offers a possible model for others to follow. This is the only populous area to have been covered by an existing agreement, which was concluded the Treaty of Tlatelolco (a suburb of Mexico City), opened for signature from February 1967.

There are other zones which are covered by more or less similar agreements. Conservationists will be pleased that they include Antar-

tica, the moon, outer space, and the seabed. Two snags exist in this respect. One is that the effectiveness of the agreed arrangements is often questioned. The other is that if civilisation is destroyed, the survivors may not be equipped to establish themselves comfortably in safe havens among penguins or deep-sea plants and fish, leave alone upon the moon.

That is why a Martian might be surprised by the omission of Europe from the queue of continents (Africa, Near Asia, the Far East all in course of pressing; and Latin America, with the exception of Cuba, already having agreed) to negotiate coverage within nuclear-free zones. If Europe is the most vulnerable region, the prime risk, with a dense concentration of population, the most developed and destructible material heritage to lose, and yet no obvious immediate reasons to go to war, why is there any hesitation at all about making Olof Palme's "ultimate objective" into an immediate and urgent demand?

If we are agreed that "it does not matter where the bombs come from", there is another question which is more pertinent. This is, where will they be sent to? Clearly, high priority targets are all locations from which response might otherwise come. There is therefore a very strong advantage for all Europe if "East" and "West", in terms of the deployment of nuclear arsenals, can literally and rigorously become coterminous with "USA" and "USSR". This would constitute a significant pressure on the superpowers since each would thenceforward have a priority need to target on the silos of the other, and the present logic of "theatre" thinking would all be reversed.

## *V Nuclear-free Zones in Europe*

If Europe as a whole has not hitherto raised the issue of its possible denuclearisation, there have been a number of efforts to sanitise smaller regions within the continent.

The idea that groups of nations in particular areas might agree to forego the manufacture or deployment of nuclear weapons, and to eschew research into their production, was first seriously mooted in the second half of the 1950s. In 1956, the USSR attempted to open discussions on the possible restriction of armaments, under inspection, and the prohibition of nuclear weapons, within both German States and some adjacent countries. The proposal was discussed in the Disarmament Sub-Committee of the United Nations, but it got no further. But afterwards the foreign secretary of Poland, Adam Rapacki, took to the Twelfth Session of the UN General Assembly a plan to outlaw both the manufacture and the harbouring of nuclear arsenals in all the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the

Federal German Republic. The Czechoslovaks and East Germans quickly endorsed this suggestion.

Rapacki's proposals would have come into force by four separate unilateral decisions of each relevant government. Enforcement would have been supervised by a commission drawn from NATO countries, Warsaw Pact adherents, and non-aligned states. Inspection posts, with a system of ground and air controls, were to be established to enable the commission to function. Subject to this supervision, neither nuclear weapons, nor installations capable of harbouring or servicing them, nor missile systems, would have been permitted in the entire designated area. Nuclear powers were thereupon expected to agree not to use nuclear weapons against the denuclearised zone, and not to deploy their own atomic warheads with any of their conventional forces stationed within it.

The plan was rejected by the NATO powers, on the grounds first, that it did nothing to secure German reunification, and second, that it failed to cover the deployment of conventional armaments. In 1958, therefore, Rapacki returned with modified proposals. Now he suggested a phased approach. In the beginning, nuclear stockpiles would be frozen at their existing levels within the zone. Later, the removal of these weapon stocks would be accompanied by controlled and mutually agreed reductions in conventional forces. This initiative, too, was rejected.

Meanwhile, in 1957, Romania proposed a similar project to denuclearise the Balkans. This plan was reiterated in 1968, and again in 1972.

In 1959, the Irish Government outlined a plan for the creation of nuclear-free zones throughout the entire planet, which were to be developed region-by-region. In the same year the Chinese People's Republic suggested that the Pacific Ocean and all Asia be constituted a nuclear-free-zone, and in 1960 various African states elaborated similar proposals for an all-African agreement. (These were retabled again in 1965, and yet again in 1974).

In 1962 the Polish government offered yet another variation on the Rapacki Plan, which would have maintained its later notion of phasing, but which would now have permitted other European nations to join in if they wished to extend the original designated area. In the first stage, existing levels of nuclear weaponry and rocketry would be frozen, prohibiting the creation of new bases. Then, as in the earlier version, nuclear and conventional armaments would be progressively reduced according to a negotiated timetable. The rejection of this 1962 version was the end of the Rapacki proposals, but they were followed in 1964 by the so-called "Gomulka" plan, which was designed to affect the same area, but which offered more restricted goals.

Although the main NATO powers displayed no real interest in all these efforts, they did arouse some real concern and sympathy in Scandinavia. As early as October 1961, the Swedish government tabled what became known as the Undén Plan (named after Sweden's foreign minister) at the First Committee of the UN General Assembly. This supported the idea of nuclear-free zones and a "non-atomic club", and advocated their general acceptance. Certain of its proposals, concerning non-proliferation and testing, were adopted by the General Assembly.

But the Undén Plan was never realised, because the USA and others maintained at the time that nuclear-free zones were an inappropriate approach to disarmament, which could only be agreed in a comprehensive "general and complete" decision. Over and again this most desirable end has been invoked to block any less total approach to discovering any practicable means by which it might be achieved.

In 1963, President Kekkonen of Finland called for the reopening of talks on the Undén Plan. Finland and Sweden were both neutral already, he said, while Denmark and Norway notwithstanding their membership of NATO, had no nuclear weapons of their own, and deployed none of those belonging to their Alliance. But although this constituted a de-facto commitment, it would, he held, be notably reinforced by a deliberate collective decision to confirm it as an enduring joint policy.

The Norwegian premier responded to this demarche by calling for the inclusion of sections of the USSR in the suggested area. As long ago as 1959, Nikita Khrushchev had suggested a Nordic nuclear-free zone, but no approach was apparently made to him during 1963 to discover whether the USSR would be willing to underpin such a project with any concession to the Norwegian viewpoint. However, while this argument was unfolding, again in 1963, Khrushchev launched yet another similar proposal, for a nuclear-free Mediterranean.

The fall of Khrushchev took much of the steam out of such diplomatic forays, even though new proposals continued to emerge at intervals. In May 1974, the Indian government detonated what it described as a "peaceful" nuclear explosion. This provoked renewed proposals for a nuclear-free zone in the Near East, from both Iran and the United Arab Republic, and it revived African concern with the problem. Probably the reverberations of the Indian bang were heard in New Zealand, because that nation offered up a suggestion for a South Pacific free-zone, later in the same year.

Yet, while the European disarmament lobbies were stalemated, the Latin American Treaty, which is briefly discussed above, had already been concluded in 1967, and within a decade it had secured the adherence of 25 states. The last of the main nuclear powers to endorse it was the USSR, which confirmed its general support in 1978. (Cuba withholds endorsement because it reserves its rights pending the evacua-

tion of the Guantanamo base by the United States). African pressures for a similar agreement are notably influenced by the threat of a South African nuclear military capacity, which is an obvious menace to neighbouring Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Angola, and a standing threat to the Organisation of African Unity. In the Middle east, Israel plays a similar catalysing role, and fear of an Israeli bomb is widespread throughout the region.

Why, then, this lag between Europe and the other continents? If the pressure for denuclearised zones began in Europe, and if the need for them, as we have seen, remains direst there, why have the peoples of the third world been, up to now, so much more effectively vocal on this issue than those of the European continent? Part of the answer surely lies in the prevalence of the non-aligned movement among the countries of the third world. Apart from a thin scatter of neutrals, Europe is the seed-bed of alignments, and the interests of the blocs as apparently disembodied entities are commonly prayed as absolute within it. In reality, of course, the blocs are not "disembodied". Within them, in military terms, superpowers rule. They control the disposition and development of the two major "deterrents". They keep the keys and determine if and when to fire. They displace the constituent patriotisms of the member states with a kind of bloc loyalty, which solidly implies that in each bloc there is a leading state, not only in terms of military supply, but also in terms of the determination of policy. To be sure, each bloc is riven with mounting internal tension. Economic competition divides the West, which enters the latest round of the arms race in a prolonged and, for some, mortifying slump. In the East, divergent interests are not so easily expressed, but they certainly exist, and from time to time become manifest. For all this, subordinate states on either side find it very difficult to stand off from their protectors.

But stand off we all must. The logic of preparation for a war in our "theatre" is remorseless, and the profound worsening of tension between the super-powers at a time of world-wide economic and social crisis all serves to speed up the gadarene race.

### *VI A Step Towards New Negotiations . . .*

Of course, the dangers which already mark the new decade are by no means restricted to the peril arising from the confrontation between the superpowers. In the past, these states shared a common, if tenuous, interest in the restriction of nuclear military capacity to a handful of countries. Once they were agreed upon a non-proliferation treaty they were able to lean upon many lesser powers to accept it.

America, the Soviet Union and Britain tested their first successful

atomic bombs in 1945, 1949 and 1952. France joined the 'club' in 1960, China in 1964 and India in 1974, when it announced its 'peaceful explosion'. After a spectacular theft of plans from the Urenco plant in Holland, a peaceful explosion is now expected in Pakistan. Peaceful explosions in South Africa, Israel, Libya, Iraq, Brazil: all are possible, and some may be imminent.

One by-product of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the resumption of supply of American weapons to Pakistan (so much for President Carter's campaign for "human rights") in spite of clear presumptions involved in the agreement on non-proliferation.

And there is worse news. The announcement of a major programme of development of nuclear power stations in Britain, at a cost which commentators have assessed as £20,000 million or more, does not entail simply a headache for English environmentalists. It seems at least thinkable, indeed plausibly thinkable, that some entrepreneurs have seen the possibility of launching a new boom, supported on technological innovation, following the random exportation of nuclear powerplants to the Third World.

With such plants and a meccano set, together, if necessary, with some modest bribery or theft, by the end of the eighties there may be a Nigerian bomb, an Indonesian bomb, not a proliferation but a plague of deterrents.

Solemnly, we must ask ourselves the question, knowing what we know of the acute social and economic privations which beset vast regions of the world: is it even remotely likely that humanity can live through the next ten years without experiencing, somewhere, between these or the other conflicting parties, an exchange of nuclear warheads?

The moral authority of the superpowers in the rest of the world has never been lower. Imperatives of national independence drive more and more peoples to accept that their military survival requires a nuclear component. Even if Afghanistan had never been invaded, even if NATO had not resolved to deploy its new generation of missiles, this burgeoning of destructive power would remain fearful. As things are, the superpowers intensify the terror to unimagined levels.

In this new world of horror, remedies based on national protest movements alone can never take practical effect. while Governments remain locked into the cells of their own strategic assumptions. Yet something *must* be done, if only to arrest the growing possibility of holocaust by accident.

We think the answer is a new mass campaign, of petitions, marches, meetings, lobbies and conferences. The fact that talks on disarmament are stalemated, that United Nations decisions are ignored, and that con-

frontation has replaced negotiation only makes it more urgent that the peoples of Europe should speak out. All over Europe the nations *can* agree, surely *must* agree, that none will house nuclear warheads of any kind. The struggle for a nuclear free Europe can unite the continent, but it can also signal new hope to the wider world. With an example from Europe, non-proliferation will no longer be enforced (and increasingly ineffectively enforced) by crude super-power pressures, but also, for the first time, encouraged by practical moral example. A European nuclear free-zone does not necessarily imply reduction of conventional weapons, nor does it presuppose the demolition of the two major alliances. But the absence of warheads all over Europe will create a multinational zone of peaceful pressure, since the survival of the zone will be seen to depend upon the growth of detente between the powers.

No-one believes that such a campaign as this can win easily, but where better than Europe to begin an act of renunciation which can reverse the desperate trend to annihilation?

**FOOTNOTES**

1. *Apocalypse Now?* Spokesman, 1980, p.3.
2. Estimates vary markedly, because it is difficult to know what values to assign to Soviet military production costs. If budgets are taken, then Soviet expenditure is apparently greatly reduced, because under a system of central planning prices are regulated to fit social priorities (or cynics might say, Government convenience). The alternative is to cost military output on the basis of world market or United States equivalent prices, which, since the USA still has a much more developed economy than the USSR, would still tend to underestimate the real strain of military provision on the Soviet economy.
3. *New York Review of Books*, April 3rd 1980: "Boom and Bust", pp.31-4.
4. Herbert Scoville, Jr: America's Greatest Construction: Can it Work? *New York Review of Books*, March 20th 1980, pp.12-17.
5. "The MX system can only lead to vast uncontrolled arms competition that will undermine the security of the US and increase the dangers of nuclear conflict", says Scoville.
6. Apocalypse Now? *ibid*, p.27.
7. Apocalypse Now? p.13.
8. *The Third World War*, Sphere Books, 1979.
9. *Op.cit.*, p.50.
10. *NATO Review*, No.5, October 1979, p.29.
11. The acute problems which this missile has encountered in development make an alarming story, which is told by Andrew Cockburn in *The New Statesman*, August 22nd 1980.
12. F. Griffiths and J.C. Polanyi: *The Dangers of Nuclear War*, University of Toronto Press, 1980, 1980, p.164.
13. Editorial, August 1980.
14. This speech is reproduced in full in *European Nuclear Disarmament: A Bulletin of Work in Progress* (Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation), No.1, 1980.

*The European Disarmament Campaign is structured in a series of 'lateral' committees. For example, the parliamentarians who have already supported the appeal in Britain are forming an Inter-Party Parliamentary Committee, which will canvass further support in the House of Commons, and also write to MPs in all the other European Parliaments. An Inter-Party Trade Union Committee has been established for the same purpose, and there already exist committees of Churches and University Teachers, which are working in the same way. We urgently need volunteers who are able to co-ordinate similar efforts in other fields of work. The existing co-ordinators are:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Parliamentary: | *Stuart Holland and Michael Meacher, House of Commons, Westminster, London, SW1* |
| Churches: | *Mike Moran, Pax Christi, Blackfriars Hall, Southampton Road, London, NW5* |
| Universities: | *Jolyon Howorth, 19 Princethorpe Close, Shirley, Solihull, West Midlands* |
| Trade Unions: | *Walt Greendale, 1 Plantation Drive East, Hull, HU4 6XB* |

*In England a small Committee has been established to co-ordinate the various initiatives which are developing. It consists of E.P. Thompson, Monsignor Bruce Kent and Dan Smith (of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), Peggy Duff (of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace), Mary Kaldor, Stuart Holland, MP, and Ken Coates (of the Russell Foundation).*

*In Europe, it is hoped that national liaison groups will be formed, in order to help the preparatory work for a widely representative conference. There follows a preliminary list of European signatories, which gives some idea of the early responses to this initative.*

# International Supporters of E.N.D.

International Supporters of END have signed an endorsement of the appeal "A common object: to free all Europe . . .", which states that:

We have received with sympathy the proposal of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for an all European campaign to free the soil and territorial waters of all European states from nuclear weapons.

In our view, this proposal merits urgent attention, and we support its object. While consultation must take place within each country, to take into account the particular conditions of each nation's life, we urge that this be pressed forward immediately, with a view to the ecouragement of such an all European movement.

To facilitate this work we should welcome a European meeting to explore the problems involved in creating a nuclear-free zone, to discuss a variety of intermediary proposals which are already being suggested as

possible steps towards the objective, and help in the development of a major popular campaign for peace and disarmament.

We think such a meeting should be convened as soon as the organisational and financial problems can be resolved.

**AUSTRALIA**
R. Arnold, Metalworkers and Shipwrights Union
Ken Bennett, Asst. Nat. Sec. Labor Party
Prof C. Birch, Univ. of Sydney
Hon. Lionel Bowen, Dept. Leader, Fed. Parl. Labor Party
Dr J. Camilleri, Latrobe University
J.L. Cavanagh, Senator
Don Chipp, Senator, Leader Australian Democrats
Manning Clark, Historian
Ruth Coleman, Senator
Prof R.W. Connell, Macquarrie University
Dr A. Davidson, Author
Peter Duncan, MP, former Attorney General, S. Australia
Doug Everingham, Vice-Pres. World Health Organisation
Herbert Feith, Monash University
George Georges, Senator
A.T. Gietzelt, Senator
Hugh Hamilton, Building Workers Industrial Union
Joe Harris, BRPF, Australia
Harry Hauenschild, Pres. Trades and Labour Council, Queensland
Ian Hinckfuss, Queensland University
Clyde Holding, MP
M.F. Keane, MP
James B. Keefe, Senator
Ken Kemshead, BRPF, Australia
J. Kiers, Peace Liaison Committee
Prof B.J. McFarlane Adelaide
A.J. McLean, Building Workers Industrial Union
G.D. McIntosh, Senator
C.V.J. Mason, Senator, Leader Australian Democrats
Jack Munday, Trade Unionist, leader of Green Bans
George Petersen, MP
Cyril Primmer, Senator
M.F. Reynolds, Deputy Mayor, Townsville
Mavis Robertson, National Executive, CPA
P.A. Rogan, MP
Dr Keith Suter, Vice-Pres. UN Association
Mark Taft, Assistant Nat. Sec. CPA
R.C. Taylor, Nat. Sec. Railways Union
M.E. Teichmann, Monash University
Bob Webb
Rev John Woodley, Unitarian Church
Richard Wootton, Unitarian Church, Australian Council of Churches

**AUSTRIA**
Dr Gunther Anders, Author
Dr Engelbert Broda, Chairman, Austrian Pugwash Group
Leopold Gruenwald, Author
Harald Irnberger, Editor in Chief of *Extrablatt*
Prof Eduard März, Economic Historian
Prof Dr Ewald Nowotny, Kepler University
Theodor Prager, Author

**BELGIUM**
Baron Allard, Anti-war and Disarmament campaigner
Jos Beni, President of CIDePE
Ghislain Deridder
Luc Heymans
Alois Jespers, President of IKoVF
Pierre Joye, Editor of *Cahiers Marxistes*
Paul Lansu, Student
Roger Leysen and twenty-three cosignatories
Ignaas Lindemans, President, Pax Christi (Flanders)
Robert Pollet, Gen. Sec. Belgian Fellowship of Reconciliation
Dr A. de Smaele, Former Government Minister
Y. Testebrians, Teacher

**CANADA**
Prof Gerry Hunnius, Sociologist

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**
Artur London, Author, victim of the Slansky show trial
Ivan Hartel, Artist

**DENMARK**
Villum Hansen, Chairman, Danish Committee for Peace and Security
Dagmar Fagerholt of Rungsted Kyst and fifty-two co-signatories
Ilse V. Kruedener
Sven Moller Kristensen, Writer, editor and literary critic
Niels Madsen, Emeritus Professor of Chemical Engineering

**FINLAND**
Prof Erik Allardt, Sociologist
Prof Dag Anckar, Political Scientist
Prof Osmo Apunen, Specialist in International Relations
Prof Göran von Bonsdorff, Political Scientist, Chairman of the Finnish Peace Union
Prof Antero Jyränki, Specialist in Public and Constitutional Law
Prof Jorma Miettinen, Radiochemist and Pugwash member
Pekka Oivio, Chairman, Finnish Trades Union Congress
Erkki Tuomioja, Associate Mayor of Helsinki
Prof Raimo Väyrynen, Specialist in International Relations and International Peace Research Association

Prof Georg Henrik von Wright, Historian and Philosopher of Science

**FRANCE**

Jean Barbut, Engineer
Bruno Baron-Renault, Movement des Radicaux de Gauches
Maurice Barth, Dominican Priest
Jacques Berthelet, Author
Paul Blanquart, Journalist
Jacques Paris de Bollardiere, General (retired)
Claude Bourdet, Editor, journalist
Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologist
Maurice Buttin, Advocate
B. Calvinhac
A. Carrouget
Georges Casalis, Theologian
Jean Cassou, Writer
Francois Cavanna, Writer
D.E. Chantal
Jacques Chatagner, National Secretary, Movement for Peace
Bernard Clavel, Writer
C. Costa-Gavras, Film Director
C. Delbo, Writer
Robert Davezies, Catholic Priest and writer
Paul Duraffour, MP (Radical Party), chairman of Disarmament Group in National Assembly
B. Enos
Jean-Jacques de Felice, Advocate
Madeleine Guyot, Nat. Sec. Movement for Disarmament, Peace & Liberty
Guy Guyot, Member of Executive, Electrical Trade Union, CFDT
Marianne Herblot
Pierre Jalee, Economist
Andre Jeanson, Former Trade Union leader
Michel Jermann
Alain Joxe, Pugwash associate, secretary French Peace Research Association
Prof Albert Kastler, Nobel laureate (Physics)
Claire Larriere
Henri Larriere, Sculptor
Sylvain Larriere
Claude Larsen, teacher
Yves Lebas
Parti Socialiste
Victor Leduc, Member, National Executive, PSU
Prof Henri Lefebvre, Philosopher
Michel Leiris, Philosopher
Albert-Paul Lentin, Editor, *Politique d'Aujourd 'hui*
D. Lepeuple, Electrician
Marie-Rose Lipmann, Civil Liberties Committee
Alfred Manessier, Painter
Leo Matarasso, Advocate
Michele Mattelart, Sociologist
Armand Mattelart, Sociologist
J. Meunier, Quaker
Jacques Mitterrand, Conseiller Honoraire de l'Union Francaise
Prof Theodore Monod, Member, Academy of Science, Natural Historian
M & Mme G. Moreau
Prof Jean-Claude Pecker, Member, Academy of Science
Louis Perillier, Former Résident général in Tunisia
Jean Pronteau, Former MP (Socialist party)
Jean-Pierre Quartier, Engineer
Bernard Ravenel
Madeleine Reberioux, Historian
Georgette Risser, Director of Research at INRA
M & Mme A. Saverot
Delphine Seyrig, Actress
Prof Albert Soboul, Historian
Gerard Soulier, Jurist
Haroun Tazieff, Director of Research at CNRS
Clara Thalmann
Mireille Thuegaz
M. Touraine, Sociologist
Victor Vasarely, Painter
Vercors, Writer
Roger Villemaire
Yvonne Villemaire
J. Villeneuve, Peace Researcher
M. Vergniolle
Bernard Wallon, Comité Droits et Libcrtes dans l'Institution Militaire

**GERMANY**

Prof Ulrich Albrecht, Political Scientist and specialist in peace studies
Rudolf Bahro, Author
Manfred Bannow
Joseph Beuys
Dr Carola, Peace researcher
Heinz Brandt, Trade Unionist
Delohone Brox
Dr Hans Gunter Brauch, Peace researcher and political scientist
Volker Bürger, Academic
Prof Andreas Dress
Dr Ingeborg Drewitz, Author
Prof Ossip K. Flechtheim
Volker Gekeler, Biochemist
Prof Dr Helmut Gollwitzer, Theologian
Guido Grunewald, Peace researcher
Sophie Guyot
Martin Harnisch, Lecturer
Wilfreid Heidt
Prof Dr Klaus Horn
Willi Hoss
Herr Krippendorf
Bernd Kubbig, Peace researcher
Rudolf Leineweber
Rosmarie Mayershofer
Prof Dr Oskar Negt
M.J. Paul
Dr Barbara Putz
Germaine Richter
Otto Schily
Dr P. Schlitt, Peace researcher
Prof Gerda von Staehr, Educationalist
Rudolf Steinke, Bahro Committee
Edeltrud Stommel
Thea Thoenges
Christian Willman, Academic
Dr Herbert Wulf
Peter Zoch, Academic
Dieter S. Zutz, Academic
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