

arena bulletin

ISSN 0256-7520

ASIAN EXCHANGE

QUARTERLY
BULLETIN
OF THE
ASIAN
REGIONAL
EXCHANGE
FOR NEW
ALTERNATIVES



"The war is won but the peace is not. The great powers, united in fighting, are now divided over the peace settlements. The world was promised freedom from fear, but in fact fear has increased tremendously since the termination of the war. The world was promised freedom from want, but large parts of the world are faced with starvation while others are living in abundance. The nations were promised liberation and justice. But we have witnessed, and are witnessing even now, the sad spectacle of 'liberating' armies firing into populations who want their independence and social equality, and supporting in those countries, by force of arms, such parties and personalities as appear to be most suited to serve vested interests. Territorial questions and arguments of power, obsolete though they are, still prevail over the essential demands of common welfare and justice."

-Albert Einstein, From an address on the occasion of the Fifth Nobel Anniversary Dinner at the Hotel Astor in New York, December 10, 1945. Published in 'Out of My Later Years', New York, Philosophical Library 1950.

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| 1. Introduction | 4 |
| 2. Overview of Peace and Security Situation in Asia and the Pacific | 6 |
| 3. A Brief Review of Peace Related Activity and Studies in Asia | 25 |
| 4. Peace Movement in Japan | 37 |
| 5. Nuclear Dumping in the Pacific | 53 |
| 6. Perspective: New Zealand's Relations with the USA, Britain and the Pacific | 67 |
| 7. United Nations University Regional Meeting on Peace and Security in Asia and the Pacific – A Brief Report. | 97 |
| 8. Resources | 117 |

Introduction

We are happy to present to the readers of **Asian Exchange**, this issue focussing on 'Peace and Security in Asia and the Pacific' which includes material from 'The State of the Art Report on Peace and Security Issues', that ARENA was commissioned to do for the United Nations University. The Report was prepared for and presented at the UN University's Regional Meeting on Peace and Security Issues held at Tashkent. The Tashkent meeting covering the Asian and Pacific region was part of a series of Regional meetings that the Regional and Global Studies Division of the UNU has organized in different parts of the world in relation to Peace and Security. We wanted to communicate and disseminate to the larger constituency that ARENA relates, the discussions that took place at Tashkent. The discussions were important from the point of view of particular situations of conflict and tensions, as in the case of the two Koreas; Tashkent was one of the rare occasions where a conference involving scholars and social researchers, and not government representatives was represented by participants from both North and South Korea.

The discussions at Tashkent were even more important in terms of telling both power blocs, the Soviet Union and the US, that people in Asia and the Pacific will have 'Peace' not via the illusory 'Security' provided by militarism and the dazzle of sophisticated military hardware but in the success of struggles in the region for justice, for participation, for a development harmonious with nature and ecology. At several points in the discussion at Tashkent, it became clear from the views expressed by those coming from different parts of Asia, that in the context of the present nuclear madness it is not a question whether the two super-powers can be equated or not, it is not a question as to which of them is less guilty or which of them is more deserving to be absolved but that both are part of the same logic. A logic which the Prime-Minister of New Zealand, David Lange (quoted in the paper on New Zealand) calls a "self-defeating logic, just as the weapons themselves are self defeating".

The UNU Tashkent meeting was also unique in that it brought together a number of independent scholars and researchers, who in their work are trying to move away from and break the East-West bi-polar logic. A bi-polar logic where every situation of conflict, of tension, of non-Peace caused quite often by totally other factors, like the denial of justice or basic rights to people is sought to be enveloped within the framework of East-West tensions. Both the actual state of affairs with regard to Peace and Security particularly in the developing world, as also the perceptions and discussions on it has been dominated by

this bi-polar logic and bloc politics. A situation in which one or the other side tries to demand a mode of perception, a particular style of intellectual and actual alignment. There is a need to constantly attempt to break down this logic, to refuse to become captives or prisoners of such cognition and perceptions.

This issue of **Asian Exchange** tries to make its own modest contribution to such efforts, by integrating other more important perspectives and perceptions not only of 'Peace' but also of 'Security'. An overall perspective that has informed the way we have looked at the situations of Peace and Security in Asia and the Pacific, at the activities related to Peace in the region as also the examination of movements such as the Peace Movement in Japan. The article on 'Nuclear Dumping in the Pacific' shows not only the kind of **dominant-dominated** relationship that exists on a world scale but how blind they are to the intrinsically suicidal character of such relationships, with respect to the very future of the natural ecology of humankind's shared resources such as the oceans. The focus on 'New Zealand' in the Perspective section of this issue of **Asian Exchange** is to provide an understanding of the attempts of a small country to break away from the stifling logic of Super-Power rivalry and competition. New Zealand has been very much in the news, not only over its policy of banning ships carrying nuclear arms into its harbours but also over the recent bombing of the Green Peace protest ship 'Rainbow Warrior' by the members of the Secret Service of Socialist France in New Zealand waters. We felt **Asian Exchange** readers would find it timely and appropriate, for us to include an article looking at New Zealand's relations with its immediate neighbours and the distant defenders of its 'Security'. Our reasons for including in the Resources section, the Declaration made at New Delhi, after the meeting of leaders from the 5 continents or the 6-Nation Summit is also to put on record, attempts at another level to assert the quest for 'Peace' outside of the logic of bloc politics. We have also included a fairly extensive coverage of important and useful resources from Japan for the use of those concerned with Peace in Asia and the Pacific. All this makes for we hope, a substantial double issue of **Asian Exchange** which we offer with our greetings for the New Year, a year that has been designated the 'Year of Peace'.

Finally we would like to place on record the support given by the Regional and Global Studies Division of the United Nations University. We thank them for allowing us to use material from 'The State of the Art Report on Peace and Security Issues in Asia and The Pacific' and for permission to publish extracts of the Report of the UNU Tashkent meeting prepared by Prof. Yoshikazu Sakamoto, Rapporteur of the UNU Meeting.

Lawrence Surendra.

Overview of Peace and Security Situation in Asia and the Pacific

"If the 20th century has witnessed the revolution of rising expectations in Asia, it is also witnessing revolutions of rising frustrations. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) lists 16 wars as the major wars of the century, from the Philippine-America War of 1899-1903 to the Kampuchean Civil War of 1975-1977, the least of which cost the lives of between 316,000 and 3,000,000 men, women and children, soldiers and civilians alike. Of these 16 major wars, 11 have been waged in Asia, 10 of them colonial or civil wars in which the people of Asia sought to gain or defend their sovereignty or to overthrow what they considered illegitimate regimes supported by outside powers. At this enormous cost in suffering and destruction, the people of Asia ended colonialism in the region; and its end generated great hopes and bold visions. But phoenix-like colonialism reincarnated in the various guises of neo-colonialism; and dreams of the freedom and the better life that independence would bring turned into nightmares of de-humanizing poverty, degrading oppression, and apathy born of helplessness and despair. A sign of the continuing torment of Asia is the militarization of Asian politics.¹

This overview has been put together with the help of inputs from Nalini Rajan (India), H.A.Quasheem (Bangladesh) and ARENA Documentation Files. Please also see Acknowledgments section of this issue of Asian Exchange.

Asian countries account for 2/3 rds of the population of developing countries. According to the SIPRI 1984 Year book,² "The developing countries in South Asia and the Far East (excluding China) have raised their share of Third World military spending from 15 to 20 percent between 1974 and 1983, but the growth of military expenditure has slowed in recent years in the major countries of the area, except in North Korea and Pakistan" We shall begin by examining the countries of Asia and the Pacific, in terms of geographic sub-regional groupings viz. South Asia, South-East Asia, East Asia and the Pacific.

South Asia

In South Asia, relations among the countries of South Asia continue to be strained. Relations between India and Sri Lanka are under severe strain over the question of Sri Lankan Tamils. There are tensions between India and Bangladesh over the question of Bangladeshi immigrants into mainly Assam, India's plans to go ahead and construct a wall on the Indo-Bangladesh border and over the sharing of river water resources.

"Pakistan's position as a border state to both Afghanistan and Iran has led the United States and the Arab countries to offer more financial support than previously. Thus the USA is giving Pakistan more than \$1500 million in military assistance in the coming five years, while Arab countries are contributing \$1000 million." (SIPRI Yearbook 1984). This has ofcourse heightened India's perceptions of Pakistan being a threat to it's security, also considering that in South Asia, these two countries have been the traditional foes and see "the primary task of the armed forces of each of the two countries as dealing with the potential threat from the other."³

India's armaments imports have largely been from the Soviet Union but now India is also turning to Western suppliers. Again according to SIPRI, "this is due not only to a desire to reassert its position of non-alignment and to be able to choose from a wider range of technologies, but also to problems in Soviet-Indian trade. India has had a barter trade agreement with the USSR since 1954, denominated in non-convertible roubles. India cannot, under the agreement, use these roubles, in surplus since 1971 to repay outstanding Soviet credits given for the purchase of Soviet capital goods and arms. The Soviet response to the rouble surplus has been to cut imports, which has had serious repercussions on both the industrial and agricultural sectors in India."

Prof. Maya Chaddha, writing in the 'India Quarterly', (Oct-Dec 1981) of the Indian Council on World Affairs, makes the

following analysis of the Security situation in South Asia. She writes:

"The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has profoundly affected the military and political balance in the region, particularly in South Asia. It has reversed completely the United States policy of balancing its interest between India and Pakistan. Also, the Soviet presence poses a new security risk for all the states bordering on Afghanistan; India, Pakistan, China and Iran. However, each faces a set of policy alternatives that may place them in direct conflict with the objectives of the others in the region. For instance, China as well as Pakistan see their interests protected by a closer alignment with the United States. India, on the other hand, cannot repudiate its economic and military ties with the Soviets. (In South-West Asia Khomeini has to date, pursued policies that seek a "negative equilibrium" designed mainly to keep both the Super Powers out of Iran).

"The renewal of the US-Pakistan alliance is however not without problems. Pakistan does not wish to excessively provoke India although how it can balance the desire to acquire weapons and modernise its armed forces with its need to keep India from neutralizing this, remains a puzzle. The June 1981 overtures to New Delhi, with the invitation to India's Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao to visit Islamabad was an attempt to do just this. There is yet another element in the situation that is certain to upset the equation between these two traditional enemies, i.e., Pakistan's acquisition of nuclear weapons. Although Pakistan denies its military purpose and the United States justifies its \$3 billion aid as a way to persuade Pakistan from acquiring the nuclear capacity, the Indian Government has serious doubts about the latter's ability or inclination to restrain the former. If Pakistan becomes a nuclear power, India will abandon all its hesitations and move full swing into the active production of nuclear weapons. This option is under serious consideration judging from the recent statements and commentaries in the Indian Press.

India's Pre-eminence in South Asia

"India's security policies have traditionally depended on three areas as buffers - the Indian Ocean, Tibet and Afghanistan. Over the years all three have ceased to be neutral zones. The Indian Ocean has become an area of intense rivalry between the two Super Powers; Tibet

is lost to China and now Afghanistan is under Moscow's protection. Since Pakistan was within the perimeters of the three buffer zones, it occupied the central place in India's defence and foreign policy. The 1971 War and the emergence of India as the dominant power in Asia had considerably eased the Pakistan problem. However, once again, propped up by \$ 3 billion in arms and economic aid, Pakistan looms large on India's security horizon. If the former acquires nuclear capacity and if the United States is perceived as aiding and abetting this, India may not be so anxious for the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan. So far, New Delhi has firmly declared its opposition to the continued Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, but now it must accept as given the long term American commitment to Pakistan and cope with its possible implications for its own security. Even if the Soviets were to withdraw, there is no guarantee that the United States will. In fact it might step up its support of the rebel forces in order to destabilize any pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan. This could only bring the Soviets back into Afghanistan. A strong Pakistan is not in Indian interests and if it needs to use the Soviets as a counter-weight to offset a US-Pakistan-China entente, then it is likely to do so.

China's Objectives in the Region

"China's recent overtures to India, Huang's visit to New Delhi in July 1981 and the invitation to settle the India-China border problem is intended to (a)reassure India against encirclement. If the China-India front were to come alive in addition to India having to deter a newly strengthened Pakistan it would certainly turn to the Soviet Union. (b)China believes that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is a military step ultimately aimed at itself. A close China-US relationship (with the United States willing to sell even lethal weapons to Peking), was meant to offset the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. The extent of Beijing's anxiety concerning Soviet intentions is obvious from its attempt to reassure Pakistan and signal a real willingness to negotiate with New Delhi. Above all China does not want a Soviet-India alliance emerging in South Asia. For this reason it seeks to prevent any further upsets in the area since this could profoundly alter and even threaten its own position in the region. A peaceful resolution of the Afghan crisis becomes all the more urgent for China since the

leadership in Beijing has finally "liberated" China from all the Maoists and extremists and once again re-dedicated itself to the "Four Modernisations" programme. Since economic problems are paramount for China, military confrontation with India and particularly with the Soviet Union must be avoided at all costs."⁴

Ever since the 1962 war with China, there has been a radical shift in India's defence perspective-away from the days of the Panchsheel doctrine and Gandhian non-violence. Not only has there been a massive arms build-up in the subcontinent as a whole, but India now harbours genuine hopes of emerging as an independent and, what is more, **dominant** power in the South Asian region.

Since India's foreign policy thinking is dominated by China and Pakistan, the diplomatic dimension necessarily takes into consideration the military security question as well. Although India's economic tilt has traditionally been associated with the West, her security tilt has been towards the USSR. This is of course tied to the issue of US-Pakistan and US-China relations, particularly since the early 1970s. Thus, in spite of India's attempts at diversification of arms purchases (notably from Britain and France), and her uneasiness about Soviet presence in Afghanistan, it is likely that the USSR will continue to be India's biggest arms supplier in the '80s. This is mainly because the Soviet Union, unlike the West, does not impose stringent conditions with respect to the internal development of weapons.

In spite of the Indian government's big build-up of supposed threats to security, the fact of the matter is that China, in the short run at least, is not interested in a war with India, because (a) she no longer views India as a Soviet puppet and (b) she is otherwise occupied elsewhere (Southeast Asia, etc.). As for Pakistan, although she might have weapons superiority in limited spheres, India has not only the industrial infrastructure to oust Pakistan in a war, but she also has a much greater capacity for defence-in-depth. Thus a two-front war possibility is much less of a danger for India than for Pakistan which is obviously worried about the Soviet Union's proximity. Besides, despite what Indian defence hawks might say, the actual amount spent on defence in India is far greater than in Pakistan, even though in percentage terms (of GNP) the latter might spend more. In short, it is clear, at least since 1971, that the military balance favours India. This will change only if there is a much greater commitment - a qualitative leap - on the part of US arms sales to Pakistan, which seems unlikely.

However, there is the other, more immediate danger of the spread of nuclear weapons in the Indian subcontinent. After the peaceful Indian nuclear explosion in 1974, there is new overwhelming circumstantial evidence to indicate that Pakistan is systematically engaged in producing a nuclear bomb. The government of Pakistan has in the past called for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia. But its insincerity can be gauged from the fact that this has in no way affected its commitment to or the pace at which it is pursuing the task of nuclear weapons building. Indeed, there is sound reason to believe that this call is an attempt on its part to squeeze as much propaganda advantage as it can because Islamabad is well aware that New Delhi would reject such a proposal.

The reasons given by the Indian government and its supporters for rejecting the nuclear-free zone are not tenable. They have argued that the correct approach to disarmament should be global in character and that a mere regional or bilateral approach will not only be inadequate but may "dilute and even frustrate disarmament efforts". These are but excuses for leaving open the option to produce and deploy nuclear weapons for reasons that have nothing to do with the much talked about threat from Pakistan, for it is obvious that a strictly adhered to nuclear-free zone would eliminate this "problem".

In spite of her dangerous forays into the nuclear field, India loses no opportunity in presenting herself as the champion of the developing world. She is, in particular, giving more importance to the non-aligned movement, because she seeks a position of dominance for herself, especially in South Asia. This India can achieve only if the superpowers and other contending powers like China can be kept out of the region, or failing this, have only limited scope for intervention. Equidistance from the blocs is a perspective which the Indian state can obviously empathise with.

In the case of India, "non-alignment" means having good relations with the US for economic reasons and with the USSR for security reasons. But this equation can shift depending on how India's relations with Pakistan, China and its sub-continent neighbours change. For example, the Soviet presence in Afghanistan definitely makes the Indian state uneasy at the geographical proximity of Soviet power--mainly because of India's geopolitical aims and desire to be recognised as the undisputed leader of South Asia.

If it is to try and achieve this aim then it makes sense for New Delhi to keep the NAM(Non-Aligned Movement) together despite its always fragile internal solidarity, and to seek its leadership. Because of various factors, India is in a position

to assume leadership being one of the three originators of the movement, the other two, Egypt and Yugoslavia, being either too discredited or too preoccupied with internal problems to take up this mantle.

Besides the prestige associated with being one of the founder members of the NAM, India by its size, relative degree of industrialisation and diversity of development is in a unique position. It can understand the problems of primary product producing countries as well as those seeking to expand production of manufactures. It is, itself, capable of being an aid-giver to other "third world" countries, of supplying technical expertise and of training the students of other countries in the NAM.

Hassan Abul Quasheem, in his look, at the 'Peace and Security' situation in South-Asia, sees the present turbulence in the sub-region, as "inherent in the development process" of "the most densely propulated and poorest area of the world containing about 900 million people". He says, "even out of the 800 million people of the world who are living at or below the absolute poverty level, 550 million belong to South Asia". In this regard he refers to Professor Mohammad Shamsul Huq (former Bangladesh Foreign Minister and Chairman of the Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies) who remarked that, the threats to the national security of a developing country are rooted in domestic causes and observed that the security mis-perceptions of South Asian states focus almost entirely on external threats.

Mr. Quasheem, referring again to Professor Huq, says, "that a deep-seated cause of the divergence in the security concerns of the states in the region appear to lie in their very conceptual basis, profoundly influenced by doctrines and structures of security overarching the polarised relations between the two power blocs". At the same time he observes, "the countries in the region along with all non-aligned countries and also some western countries have unequivocally rejected these doctrines as anachronistic and seriously endangering international peace".

In terms of continuing conflictual situations between the nation-states of South Asia, the following are significant. The Kashmir issue has been a basic irritant in Indo-Pak relations. Pakistan and India have fought three wars over Jammu and Kashmir. India has resisted Pakistan in trying to raise the Kashmir issue in international fora and in maintaining the status quo in Kashmir. Pakistan ofcourse has seized every opportunity to raise the Kashmir issue. As mentioned earlier, Soviet presence in Afghanistan has worsened mutual security apprehensions of India and Pakistan further.

We have at several points mentioned Afghanistan and Pakistan together. It is necessary to look at some complex intermeshed issues and problems, with regard to the present Pakistan-Afghanistan situation. In a special issue on Afghanistan, of 'Asian Issues' a publication put out by the Christian Conference of Asia-International Affairs (CCA-IA) Desk, the Executive Secretary, Mr. Clement John, says in his introduction,

"Due to super power politics coupled with the interests of the parties involved in the conflict no peaceful settlement appears to be in sight despite the efforts of the United Nations to resolve the dispute. The Russians on their part are in no hurry to leave Afghanistan - not at least till they have consolidated the revolution. The Americans too are not interested in settlement because they would like to see the Russians continue to be embroiled in Afghanistan; also, having suffered the humiliation of being branded as an aggressor in Vietnam at all international forums they want to see the same treatment meted out to the Russians. Given this background a political solution appears to be out of question for the time being atleast. The disunity amongst the guerilla groups and the understandable desire of the Pakistan rulers not to get directly involved in the conflict rules out any possibility of a military solution. Consequently, it appears that all the parties with their particular axes to grind will like to see the present situation prolonged.

"Meanwhile, the refugee problem apart from the personal sufferings caused in terms of being dislocated and forced out of their homeland poses other serious problems. Tension between the locals and refugees is on the increase. There have been reports of armed clashes between the two groups leading to death and destruction of property. Refugees have freely engaged in the arms and narcotic trade causing social unrest in the country. They represent a particular brand of politics that is basically supportive of the fundamentalist political parties in Pakistan. However, the people of North West Frontier Province have a history of secular politics. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan the Red Shirt leader also known as the 'Frontier Gandhi' was a congressite. North West Frontier Province was his stronghold until the advent of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan. This too has caused unrest and tension in the province, because the Afghan

refugees have freely indulged in local politics with the active connivance of the military regime causing resentment among the secular political forces in the province".⁴

One can see that Pakistan might find itself becoming increasingly a helpless pawn of super-power stratagems in that part of Asia and US perceptions - which need not be in Pakistan's long term interest. However it needs also to be stated that most independent observers in Asia agree that 'Soviet intervention' in Afghanistan, to the extent it runs counter to the principle of 'non-intervention', particularly military intervention, has heightened 'security' apprehensions in other parts of Asia. This has indirectly justified greater militarism, particularly in South-East Asia, but also South and East Asia and is cementing further the alliance of authoritarian politics and militarism. This is proving extremely damaging to the aspirations for a just and humane society among the people's of Asia. Seen from that perspective, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has had far-reaching consequences far more than merely being a major factor in the heightening of East-West tensions as generally viewed. Therefore beyond the framework of East-West cold-war tensions and US-USSR rivalries, there are some expectations from those concerned about Peace & Justice in Asia that the Soviet Union will end its Afghan intervention soon.

With regard to Bangladesh, given the geographical distance separating Pakistan and Bangladesh and with the passage of time, old hatreds have almost melted away between Pakistan and Bangladesh. India once considered an ally of Bangladesh nationalism and sharing a border with Bangladesh has become a greater cause for tension and suspicion. A major irritant is the disputes over the sharing of river waters of the Ganges-Brahmaputra river system and what are perceived as India's unilateral actions regarding the sharing of water. The Indian decision to build a barbed wire fence across the Indo-Bangladesh Border to check illegal immigration has caused further bitterness in Bangladesh-Indian relations

Tensions between India and Sri Lanka have been heightened by the massacre of Sri Lankan Tamils in July 1983 and the ensuing events. Sri Lanka's handling of the problem, a highly emotive issue to Tamils on the Indian side has not contributed in any way, either to solve the problem or lessen the tensions between India and Sri Lanka. There are also increasing signs of a embattled Sri Lankan government, pushed to the wall by chauvinism (Tamil and Sinhalese) that it helped generate, increasingly pushing for militaristic solutions causing a terrible internal mess and a potentially intractable international situation. A

situation which observers are beginning to refer to as the Lebanon of (South) Asia.

Amidst all these tensions in bilateral relations, security mis-perceptions, and potentials for larger conflagration in the sub-region, Quasheem says, "states of remarkable stability-India, Sri Lanka and Nepal exist along with those of chronic instabilities, such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan." The states in the region according to him "vary in political colour", from "parliamentary democracy (India) to military dictatorship (Pakistan and Bangladesh) to a marxist-leninist regime protected by Soviet military power (Afghanistan)". The individual State to people relationship, affecting in his opinion, the overall tense situation in the sub-region, even though among the people of South-Asia, there are many historical and cultural commonalities that would allow for greater friendship and understanding among the people's of South Asia.

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) an idea mooted by the late Bangladeshi President Ziaur Rahman, in April 1980 has finally become a reality. The meeting of foreign secretaries of the seven South-Asian countries in February 1985 in the Maldives, was one further step before the inaugural summit of the SAARC countries that was held in Dhaka, in the last quarter of this year. At the meeting of the Foreign Secretaries, in his inaugural speech, Maldives Foreign Minister Fathupla Jameel said South Asia was fast becoming a focal point in superpower military rivalry and there was no tangible development in efforts to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. He urged the SAARC member-countries to be alert and united to resist attempts to exploit the region by outside powers. All the seven members have shared their common concern over the escalating arms race threatening the world with a nuclear holocaust and called for an halt to the super-power rivalry in the South Asian region and to maintain the Indian Ocean as a Zone of peace.

However, for greater cooperation in South Asia to become a reality and for mechanisms for greater sub-regional cooperation such as SAARC to become it effective calls for a firmer political will on the part of the individual states to cooperate at the sub-regional level. This requires more than mere pronouncements about the need to move away from patron-client relationships with super-powers. Lastly, perhaps a very important factor will be the degree to which greater interaction among the South Asian people and people to people ties are allowed to flourish. This ofcourse depends on the degree of internal democracy. Therefore in the ultimate analysis, attempts by the people of South Asia to combat and fight authoritarian trends in their countries will be a very major factor towards Peace in the sub-region.

A final point deserving of mention in this review of South-Asia, is the militarization of the India Ocean. Since, the mid 1970, the US has turned the tiny Indian Ocean coral island of Diego Garcia into a military bastion loaded with sophisticated weaponry and communications facilities. Today, Diego Garcia serves as a center for the US Central Command (Rapid Deployment Force) which has its primary strategic concern the Middle-East and oil shipping lanes. The human rights of the indigenous inhabitants of Diego Garcia, the Ilois, were violated when they were systematically removed from their island by the British to make room for the US base. The Indian Ocean, once relatively unmilitarized, is now canvassed by about 50 US Naval vessels and about 25 from both the USSR and France. Furthermore, the Ocean is now bordered by nuclear weapon states Israel, South Africa and possibly India and Pakistan.

South East Asia

In South-East Asia, the tensions in Indo-China, i.e. Vietnam's presence in Cambodia, China's conflicts over Vietnam, Thailand's fears as a border state facing the tensions and problems caused by the unresolved situation in Cambodia, continues to affect the region. The continuing stalemate over Indo-China, however has brought the six ASEAN states close together, even if there are differences within them, as to how the problem should be solved. Malaysia and Indonesia, are more strongly in favour of keeping out big-power involvement in South-East Asia, as also in favour of keeping "in check" China. Thailand as a border state directly facing the tensions, Singapore as a city-state with its own in-built fears for its security and stability and Philippines with its ties to the US and given its continuing internal troubles and unrest, are advocating a different approach (from Malaysia and Indonesia) to the situations in Indo-China.

Pre-occupation about the Indo-China situations, has also meant that many of the outstanding problems between the ASEAN states, for the moment remain in the background, though one or the other of the ASEAN states do make it a point to remind the others of the outstanding problems between them. Seventeen years of economic and political cooperation have helped smoothen much of the rough edges and the Cambodian problem has helped to solidify ASEAN as a bloc, in which most of them have defence links with the West, yet inter-state problems remain.

Indonesia-the largest and most populous ASEAN member with a population of 155 million - is a committed member of the non-aligned movement. As such it has no formal military links with anyone. Singapore and Malaysia are also non-aligned countries but the two are covered by a loose defence pact with

Britain, Australia and New Zealand being referred to nowadays as the FPDA-Five Power Defence Arrangement. Under this pact, Wellington has stationed troops in Singapore and Canberra an air force unit in Malaysia, though there are discussions underway to withdraw the air force unit. Brunei which became fully independent just a year ago is likely to join the non-aligned movement. It's Army commander is a British officer 'on loan' and has a British presence through a Gurkha brigade controlled from Hong Kong.

Thailand and the Philippines have formal defence links with the US through the Manila Pact, though US troops are stationed only in the Philippines, at the Clark Air Force base and the Subic bay naval facility. All the six ASEAN members hold periodic defence exercises under bilateral arrangements or under their respective defence pacts. Singapore, the most enterprising among the six, has even developed a military presence in Thailand and Brunei for the training of troops.

However, inspite of what has been said and a cohesion of the ASEAN bloc over the unsolved Cambodia problem, there are still deep seated suspicions of each other, due to historical factors, with ethnic diversity being a contributory factor. Indonesia and Malaysia with largely Malay Muslim population, distrust ethnic Chinese dominated Singapore and have had problems with each other. Brunei although Muslim also has problems with Indonesia, over territorial questions and being in the same league as Indonesia as an oil producer. The Philippines plagued with internal problems and Muslim insurgency in the South, has problems with Malaysia over Sabah. Thailand's problems with Muslim seperatists in Southern Thailand (a situation less grave than in Philippines) has given rise to some differences with Malaysia.

Yet, almost all the ASEAN countries, "remain nervous of the intentions of the superpowers in the area and maintain their armed forces at a high state of readiness to deal with domestic subversion and external aggression. To this latter end, Singapore, Indonesia and possibly Malaysia are expanding their surveillance capability. Indicative of the region's financial situation ⁶ is Singapore's intention of buying four E-2C Hawkeye surveillance aircraft for cash." (SIPRI, 1984 Yearbook)

In South-East Asia special attention must be drawn to the Philippines, which has been undergoing a prolonged political and economic crisis, and which was brought sharply to the fore by the assassination of Aquino on August 21, 1983. The Philippines has been in crisis for many years, the killing of Aquino-the exiled former senator only stimulated resistance from nearly all sectors of Philippines society.

The downfall of the Marcos regime seems increasingly inevitable, though how it will go is difficult to tell. Because the Philippine military has grown in size and importance over the last 15 years, there is a great fear that one or several military officers will replace Marcos and violently crush all of this resistance. Many Filipinos fear U.S. military intervention should the large US bases in the Philippines be in danger of removal by a strongly nationalist alternative to Marcos. Because US military and economic assistance to Marcos is significant, the Philippines is high on the list of US foreign policy concerns. The Marcos government of predominantly Christian Philippines is also facing a running separatist war with the Muslims of the Southern island of Mindano.

Indonesia which is a non-aligned country has had problems internally with Irian Jaya, home of Papuan-Melanesian people and Indonesia's most backward province. Indonesia's troubles in Irian Jaya have also caused tensions in its relations with Papua New Guinea, with which Indonesia shares the vast Pacific island of New Guinea. Indonesia and PNG generally share good relations but strains often appear over their 800 km. border. Irian Jaya and problems over the island of Timor (security concerns for the Indonesian state), has brought periodic attention on Indonesia's human right violations. Indonesia is an active partner and participant in ASEAN and along with other ASEAN countries and western powers is concerned about the Security of the shipping lanes of the Malacca Straits that lead to the Pacific. Indonesia along with other ASEAN countries, particularly Singapore and Malaysia is strategically important not only to the US but also to Japan, as it straddles the Malacca straits, the vital waterway for tankers bringing oil from the Middle East.

Singapore strategically located at the tip of the Malaysian peninsula over-looking the Malacca straits has in recent years taken a very activist role in 'Security' issues. This has been both due to its smallness as a nation-state and corresponding 'bigness' of its fears of security threats; also Singapore looks for an active role in international specially western diplomacy given its tremendous trade dependence on the West.

Malaysia in contrast to the other countries, has been quietly trying to exert influence and build mechanisms to prevent super-power involvement in the sub-region. Analysts credit Malaysia for its contribution to concepts such as ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality) as also for spearheading an ASEAN attempts to declare South-East Asia as a nuclear weapons-free zone (NWFZ).

In the case of Thailand ruled by the Military and bordering

Cambodia, the 'Security' concern is paramount. The fact that Thailand also fought and suppressed Communist rebels, the 'Security' doctrine has been used to prevent the civilianisation of Thai politics, while at the same time using the situation to continually bolster military and defence requirements.

East Asia

This is perhaps the most complex and paradoxical of sub-regions in Asia. The countries of East Asia including Hong Kong (presently a colony or "British Dependent Territory" and possibly a future Chinese "protectorate") are the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, S.Korea, N.Korea, and Japan. For a number of reasons, chief among them being paucity of material, as also time and resources, it has not been possible to do a coverage that does full justice to the People's Republic of China (PRC) vis-a-vis 'Peace and Security Issues'. This is also true with regard to N.Korea or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DOK). Though both in relation to DOK and PRC, there is a substantial amount of studies and informed commentaries from other countries in the Asia-Pacific Region, in particular Australia. In relation to DOK, Colin Mackerras of the Griffith University, School of Modern Asian Studies, Centre for the Study of Australian - Asian Relations in a paper 'The Democratic People's Republic of Korea in World Affairs', says in his introduction to the paper, "Korea is one of the world's flashpoints. It is a divided country over the reunification of which much blood has already been spilt. The issue of Korean disunity appears (as of early 1984) to be as far from resolution as ever. It has come to involve much of the world, especially the United States, China, the Soviet Union and Japan, and thus assumes a danger to peace out of all proportion to the population of the Korean peninsula".

There have been some two-way contacts that have opened up between China and South-Korea in the recent past, which will hopefully lessen the degree of inter-state tension in the area. China's settling of the Hong Kong question, it's growing relations with Japan and it's slight Westward tilt, seems to have lessened (except for the case of Taiwan) the apprehensions in the region about China. This plus the fact that almost all the East Asian economies are flourishing, with growth rates in excess of 6 per cent, has meant that there are no simmering tensions which risk the possibility of escalating, like in South-East Asia. As for Japan (please also see the article on 'Peace movements in Japan' included in this issue) there are apprehensions given it's past record as an occupying power and present economic predominance over other countries in the region.

As for Hong Kong, like Singapore given it's city-state size

and nature, and the fact that it was also occupied by the Japanese during the war, it's security fears are very much there. However unlike Singapore, Hong Kong as an entity fostered by China and Britain, with no foreign policy role for Hong Kong it's paranoia is considerably less and Hong Kong goes busily with the making of money. Though one must hasten to add in case the statement just made does not reinforce popular misconceptions of Hong Kong and in an effort to correct such misconceptions, it must be emphasised that the people of Hong Kong do also have strong 'Peace' yearnings. Having been an occupied territory during World War II has given the people of Hong Kong, a certain spirit of resistance against militarism and threats of foreign domination. This was amply demonstrated in the protests in Hong Kong, which had a large base of support, when the Japanese government contemplated a revision of Japanese history text books on World War II. Other than this, a number of local organizations, which come under an enlarged understanding of Peace activity, are engaged in activities relating to the Environment and Ecology, Nuclear Power, Women etc.⁸

Pacific

The Pacific region, which covers Australia, New Zealand and the 22 Pacific island states has been much in the news over their anti-nuclear stance and opposition to nuclear tests and nuclear dumping in the Pacific. At the 15th South Pacific Forum, the annual meeting of the heads of governments of independent South Pacific countries, held in Tuvalu in August, 1984, important decisions were taken regarding nuclear activity. The Forum agreed on the desirability of establishing a nuclear free zone in the Region at the earliest possible opportunity. A set of principles was adopted and a working groups of officials established to prepare a draft treaty for consideration by the Forum at its August 1985 meeting.

The security of shipping lanes that transect the Pacific is considered vital to the security of Europe and the US. Any threat to cut the trade connections with the Pacific Region would destabilize European and US Economies. Realizing this, the US has managed to keep a large profile in the Pacific Region through bilateral aid programs and outright doles, thus - in essence - buying a permanent presence in the area. Given the heavy US involvement in the region, the Soviet Union has not been able to develop economic or military ties.¹⁰

Europe and the US have currently the following main interests in the South Pacific:

* Security of transport lanes,

* Seabed mining and accessibility to Antarctic resources,

* Fishery Resources.

Finally considering that the above the three points are closely inter-linked to the question of ensuring access to resources (a major 'security' concern from the point of view of the developed countries¹¹), Europe and the US have also an interest in Soviet Union's strategies (political and military) affecting the South Pacific.

In the coming decades, there will probably be a rush to covet the commercially viable sea-bed mineral deposits of the Pacific. This is bound to have a profound effect on the developing economies of the South Pacific. More than any other place in the world - the resource question in the Pacific in the decades to come will be a source of great tension and contending global power politics.

Added to the potential struggle to exploit the untapped resources of the Pacific, is the ongoing use of the oceans of the 29 million square kilometre (roughly the size of Africa) territory, for nuclear waste dumping. The issue is very serious in the very immediate sense as well as in the very long term sense for the people of the Pacific.¹²

With regards to the other major, bigger more powerful countries of the Pacific, ie. Australia and New Zealand, they have been recently the focus of much attention on Nuclear Free Zone policies. New Zealand in particular has taken some courageous stands and has been very careful to emphasise to both super powers, the US and USSR it's attempts at a more neutral and non-aligned policy. This augurs well for other States in Asia, who at great odds (perhaps even bullying and pressures by Big Powers) are trying to evolve Non-Aligned Policies and give new substance and dimension to the concept of Non-Alignment.

There are indications of similar popular support in Australia, for policies pursued by the New Zealand Government vis-a-vis Disarmament and Nuclear issues¹³. As for the Australian Government its attitude was best signified in a headline of a Far Eastern Economic Review report from Sydney that said, 'Hawke sits on the centre Left disarmament fence'. The same report went on to say, "For a brief moment last (1984) November, Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden and various other government officials managed to convince the news media that the centre of world disarmament negotiations was about to move from Geneva to Canberra.

"'Corrective' world maps showing the southern

hemisphere uppermost are on sale in Australian souvenir shops, but Hayden's apparent triumph in reversing the world's political poles proved hollow within a day. Where his officials were quoted as saying it all could mean foreign minister-level talks between the United States and Soviet Union in Canberra, the reality was that both superpowers had agreed to send, separately, their officials to brief Australia on their existing arms-control positions - both still rock-hard and very far apart.

"The misunderstanding was partly explained by the heat of an election campaign in which Hayden was out to steal the thunder of two minority parties doing well on the simple theme of ending Australia's connections with virtually all things nuclear - from exporting uranium to hosting US defence installations."¹⁴

All this also indicates, the range of concern in Australia on issues related to 'Peace and Security', 'East-West relations', Australia's links with the rest of Asia and consequently on human right situations in Asia and the Pacific. This is reflected in the extent of research and other activity taking place in Australia among university based, as well as voluntary organizations, and in the growing peace, disarmament and anti-nuclear movements. These concerns have begun to increasingly influence the work of organizations such as the Australian Council of Churches, the Australian Council for Overseas Aid and related voluntary groups.

Conclusion

This quick brief overview of the region, has been done largely from the perspective of the Nation states in the Region. In that context, what also needs to be mentioned is that all the states in the Asia-Pacific region possess a doctrine of 'national security', which however is not a uniformly shared doctrine. What is relevant here to point out, also as an issue of urgent concern is the link up between militarization (which continues to accelerate) and doctrines of national security. This has meant that in most of the Asian countries gross violations of human rights, extrajudicial arrests are widespread and many of the Asian countries continue to resort to the use of "emergency" or "martial law" regulations to curtail and seriously limit political participation of the citizens in affairs of the state.

This overview has to be read in the shadow of authoritarianism within the region, tragically legitimised as it were, by a cynical world situation of "competition between the two super-powers and a contest for spheres of influence and which

is not confined to the super-powers but extend to many major nations including some in the developing countries".¹⁵ An ominous shadow of world developments, that is being, described as the "second cold war".

In today's world situation, the words of Einstein spoken 40 years ago seem still very apt. A world situation in which we also remember the fortieth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and of the founding of the United Nations. To those of us from the developing world, aspiring for a just and humane future for the people of developing societies and to this end with a deep yearning and desire to be spared being merely seen as puppets within "spheres of interests" of big powers, we also remember the thirtieth anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement. As we look to 1986-the Year of Peace, we remember these events as lessons, reminders and sign posts for what seems a difficult and hard struggle for Peace, Justice and Development of the people's of Asia and the Pacific.

Footnotes and references .

1) Jose W. Diokno, 'Militarisation of Asian Societies, published in, 'People Against Domination,' International Affairs, Christian Conference of Asia, Singapore/Tokyo, May 1981.

2) SIPRI Yearbook 1984, Taylor and Frances, London, 1984.

3) Ibid.

4) Dr. Maya Chaddha, 'Super Power Rivalry in South-West Asia: The Afghan Crisis 1979' India Quarterly, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, Oct-Dec 1981.

5) 'Afghanistan', Asian Issues, Vol.2, No:5, Jan, 1985.

6) The observation about the "region's financial situation" made in the SIPRI Yearbook can be misleading, if the dependence of the countries in the region on Western economic growth for their own growth is not adequately taken into consideration. A factor which in the particular case of Singapore, is exemplified in its recent economic downturn coinciding with slackening growth and protectionism in the West.

Viewed from the question of trade dependence, Singapore's intention to buy "surveillance aircraft for cash" (SIPRI Yearbook, referred to above) could also be seen as quid pro quo for its trade dependence on the West and the US in particular.

7) Colin Mackerras, The Democratic People's Republic of Korea in World Affairs, Research Paper No.27, School of Modern Asian

Studies, Centre for the Study of Australian-Asian Relations, Griffith University. (ISBN 0 86857 196 2)

8) Apart from a number of regional organizations which are based in Hong Kong, such as Asian Students Association, International Movement of Catholic Students-Asia, Young Christian Workers-Asian and Pacific Secretariat, World Students Christian Federation-Asia and Pacific Secretariat, Christian Conference of Asia-Urban Rural Mission and International Affairs, and Documentation for Action Groups in Asia (DAGA) there are also a number of local organizations. Notable among the HK organizations are the Asia Monitor Resource Center, the Centre for the Progress of Peoples, HK Friends of the Earth, Joint Organization for Concern on Nuclear Energy, Association for the Advancement of Feminism and the the HK Federation of Students who are all active in issues [] relate to Peace and Justice and Peace and Development through their own particular activity of social concern.(Please also see section on 'Resources' in this issue.)

9) Countries of the South Pacific at their latest meeting(Aug 4-6,1985) in the Cook Islands have "endorsed" an Australian made draft for a regional nuclear-free zone treaty.

10) Much of the information presented here is from 'Ambio, - A Journal of the Human Environment', issue on the South Pacific, Vol.XIII, No:5,6, 1984, Sweden.

11) It is of interest to refer to U Thant "The truth, the central stupendous truth, about developed countries today is that they can have - in anything but the shortest run - the kind and scale of resources they decide to have....It is no longer resources that limit decisions. It is the decision that makes the resources.This is the fundamental revolutionary change - perhaps the most revolutionary that mankind has ever known".quoted in Narindar Singh, Page 144.

12) James Branch, The Waste Bin: Nuclear Waste Dumping and Storage in the Pacific, Ambio,Vol.13,No. 5-6, 1984. This article has been reprinted in this issue of 'Asian Exchange'.

13) See for example 'Peace Link', independent publication of the New Zealand/Aotearoa peace movement.

14) Hamish McDonald,Far Eastern Economic Review, 7 March, 1985.

15) Ninan Koshy, Director, Churches Commission on International Affairs of the World Council Of Churches in ' Militarization and National Security' paper presented to the Asian Heiwa Conference,held at Okinawa and organized by the Christian Conference of Asia, International Affairs Desk.

A Brief Review of Peace Related Activity and Studies in Asia

Introduction

In countries of the developing world and in regions like Asia, it is always difficult to specify and isolate separate forms of activity that go in the name of 'Peace' or 'Ecology' or 'Environment'. However, as we are all aware this does not mean that such concerns are absent or work relating to such concerns does not go on. All these different concerns important and fundamental as they are, become inevitably part of larger systemic concerns.

In trying to deal conceptually with the problematique of 'Peace', one fact however is very clear that it is very difficult to deal with 'Peace' in a unique and separate sense. This is also the reason that in the contemporary world, Peace is always referred along with other concepts such as 'Development', 'Justice' and 'Security', as 'Development and Peace', 'Peace and Justice' or 'Peace and Security'. The specific link up of Peace and the resultant term thus signifying a particular perspective or approach to Peace. A crucial determinant as to how 'Peace' is linked seems to be the State. In the case of activity that is not directly related to the State, the perspective or conceptual approach is delineated by the use of terms such as 'Peace and Justice', 'Development and Peace' etc. each use reflecting a differing conceptual approach to and emphasis on 'Peace'.

Peace and Security, Doctrines of National Security and 'Security' oriented studies.

With regard to the use of the term 'Peace and Security', a term closely aligned to the perspectives of the State and different from the perspectives of other sectors, the question to be raised is 'whose security?'. Many studies initiated by scholars and institutions, at the behest of the State particularly in developing countries, take for granted the concept of 'Security' (ie. meaning the Security of the Nation-State concerned) and then proceed in an almost technocratic sense as how to "preserve", "protect" and "defend" this 'Security'.

We are aware in fields such as Human Rights, how concepts historically specific to the evolution of events in the West in the immediate aftermath of World War II, became universal concepts and took roots in Asia and other parts of the developing world¹. One can also see a similar pattern in relation to concepts such as Security. One expert in International Affairs, says:

"The doctrine of national security was born in the USA after the Second World War and spread to the Third World. Its fullest expression is the thesis of flexible response and its emphasis on counter-insurgency warfare. Some of its theoreticians were French military men following the Indochinese and Algerian wars. But the Americans developed it. Its first experience was in the Philippines, afterwards Korea, Vietnam and Indonesia, and after the Cuban revolution in Latin America.

"According to theoreticians of national security doctrines, internal subversion is the most important threat to national security. The main front is the internal front. This means that there is a latent and permanent war between the State and an enemy who is identified within the people. The characterization of subversion as the enemy is wide and limitless 'subversion is more than the mere objective emergence of an armed group. The phenomenon of subversion is much more complex, profound and global'. Theoreticians of counter-insurgency warfare have pointed out that the enemy is found everywhere and anybody providing him aid, even at the humanitarian level must be considered an enemy as well. While the theory has been developed primarily in Latin America its application to South East Asia and Korea is evident. These are all allied to the United States. The conflicts related to

Indochina and the Soviet and Chinese roles in them have only stimulated the union between militarization and national security".²

Most practitioners of 'Security Studies' quite often choose to ignore these dimensions of 'Security' concepts and what flows from it. The research and studies of many of the Strategic or Defence Study Institutes in Asia, are of this genre. In general their work is shrouded in secrecy, and whatever they put out for public consumption falls largely within the category of "security studies" we have described earlier - an unquestioned use of concepts such as 'Security'. This has therefore meant, that an area of studies already marked by lack of public access and debate, when viewed from even narrow policy perspectives has tended to become completely sterile and irrelevant. Not to mention their extremely limited usefulness if any, from the point of view of 'Peace', not only long-term noble aims such as 'Peace for all Mankind' but even immediate short-term ones, such as Nuclear Free Zones and Confidence Building Measures. These security studies are however not our proper concern here.

Studies and Activity related to Peace and Justice and Peace and Development

The term Peace and Justice relates to and originates, though not exclusively, from Christian inspired thinking and activity related to 'Peace and Justice'. Speaking before the UN General Assembly in 1965, Pope Paul VI, stated "Peace is the fruit of Justice. If you want Peace seek for Justice." Matter of fact, Christians seem to have gone one step further from saying that Justice leads to Peace to clearly stating that the increasing denial of Justice in an international context is threatening Peace.³

Christian thinking ofcourse is a reflection of just one strand of religious thinking on Peace. Religious traditions have not only tried to evolve/relate ethical concepts to Peace but to also draw upon their philosophical foundations to help human society confront and grapple with modern man's propensity towards violence and self-destruction. There is also emerging some interest in this area of Peace studies/activity and one would have to pay specific attention to it.⁴ Scholars have pointed to the necessity of examining more closely from the perspective of peace studies, "works written about and by Asian Cultural/Religious perspectives on issues of violence, war and conflict resolution".⁵

Another Asian scholar/activist Sulak Sivaraksa whose activities from an enlarged conceptual understanding of 'Peace',

can be seen as that of a 'Peace activist' in an essay entitled, 'Buddhism and Non-Violence,'⁶ says, that, "Buddhism is indeed known to be the religion which regards peace and non-violence as its cardinal virtues". He adds that, "In Buddhist terminology, the world is full of dukka", ie. the dangers of impending world destruction through nuclear weapons, atomic fall-out, air, land and sea pollution, population explosion, exploitation of fellow human beings, denial of basic human rights, and devastating famine". He then attempts to look at ways of drawing upon Buddhist philosophical traditions to deal with problems of peace and humankind's threatened future.

In trying to draw attention to religious philosophies and philosophical traditions, and their contributions to 'Peace', we have cited above some preliminary references merely as examples or pointers. In a Review such as this, it is not possible to make any exhaustive coverage of works done from some of these religious and philosophical perspectives. Nonetheless the necessity and value of doing such a coverage and which will have a larger educative value, across religions and peoples in Asia, needs hardly to be emphasised.

However, the fact that religious/philosophical traditions are not very much a conscious and separately identifiable activity in relation to Peace is because Justice quite understandably is a greater pre-occupation particularly in poorer developing societies in Asia. Peace then becomes a part of, a corollary of Justice, of development, of the fulfillment of some of the basic needs and rights of vast proportions of the population. This also accounts for the fact that the understanding of Peace as the absence of war, or even as the absence of the threat of war as is case in the US and Europe (as also in the USSR) has very little relevance in developing societies in Asia.

Viewed from such a perspective therefore, activity relating to Peace in Asia as also possibly in the other developing continents of the world, encompasses a larger canvass than just disarmament concerns as for example is the case with the Western Peace movements. This must not be understood to mean that there is no concern about or focus on specifically disarmament related issues in Asia. The mounting arsenals of weaponry and destruction in the world is giving rise to groups in Asia and the Pacific focussing on this issue but which groups however also maintain strong links to issues of social justice and development. In countries like Japan, ofcourse there has been a longer history of 'peace activity' that can be said to have more levels of correspondance with similar activity in the West.

* Sorrow

However even in Japan, the fact that Japan is surrounded by a number of other developing societies in Asia has meant a continuous challenge to the concepts and orientations of Japanese 'Peace Activity' from the broader perspectives of justice and development issues. This is reflected for example in the articles published in 'Peace Research in Japan' a publication published by the Japan Peace Research Group.

With reference to the Third World in general, Chris Smith, a Research Fellow of the Program on Peace and Global Transformation of the UN University, has correctly pointed out that, "To suggest that the paucity of disarmament groups in the Third World denotes the non-existence of a peace movement is far from correct. A peace movement does exist in the Third World but it is amorphous disparate, often anonymous and most certainly marginalised. Where a peace movement can be identified is, in the struggle for a series of basic demands arising from the condition of underdevelopment, self-determination, civil and human rights, ecocide, militarism, human and cultural survival."⁸

It is with such an understanding or approach, one has to look at "peace" activity in general in Asia and more specifically activity that goes under the name of '**peace and development**'. Much of this activity takes place, within a secular milieu (or at least not attached to any religious labels) and can be seen as non-state activity (referred in UN parlance inaccurately as NGOs) with quite often an uneasy relationship to state systems. Organizations and groups that would fall within this category have literally mushroomed right across all the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

Within the scope of this activity covered by 'peace and development', increasingly there are efforts through a kind of praxis, to arrive at a more rigorous conceptual definition of what is meant by the term 'peace and development'. Much of these efforts started with first challenging the received notions of 'development' and attempts to define development by sharply outlining what is development and what is 'not' development. This entire range of literature⁹, one can broadly classify under, 'critique of development,' and covers a broad range of literature.¹⁰ This critique which began first within the realm of economics, then moved to more interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and multiple eclectic perspectives, is now being done from the perspectives of particular concerns and disciplines such as ecology and environment, science and technology and so on. These particular concerns or disciplines being used as prisms through which 'development' is refracted through and examined.¹¹ This has not only meant new critiques of development, but new methodologies as well in examining social

KASARINLAN, a quarterly publication of the Third World Studies Center of the Philippines is coming out with its second issue. Highlights of the second issue include:

- * The Meaning of Peace in Asia by *Randolf S. David*
- * Community Organization and People's Participation: The Philippine Experience by *Karina Constantino David*
- * Case Study: ZOTO and the Twice-told Story of Philippine Community Organizing by *Jurgette A. Honculada*
- * Peace and Security Issues in Southeast Asia by *Alexander R. Magno*
- * The Crisis in Philippine Agriculture by *Eduardo C. Tadem*
- * The Left and the Philippine Student Movement: Random Historical Notes on Party Politics by *P.N. Abinales*



and economic processes and which in turn have deepened the particular disciplines through which development is examined. A good representative of this genre of literature is for example, 'Economics and the Crisis of Ecology'.¹² The examination of concerns such as militarism and armament production is part of the conceptual framework of such literature and in the final analysis can be seen as contributions to 'Peace' Studies.

Ofcourse such perspectives have had their influence on what can be referred to as mainstream 'Peace Studies' and 'Peace Research' internationally. Interestingly, (some would say inevitably) the perspectives and problems of developing countries (as also that of women) have in an international context begun to influence mainstream Peace Studies. This is true for example, in the context of the work of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) and role of the Asian Peace Research Association (APRA) and the Latin American Council for Peace Research (CLAIP) in it. In the case of CLAIP, the founders backed, "the conception that defines peace not only as absence of war, of open conflict but as something much broader, that can be embodied in the context of the struggle for democracy and social justice in Latin America". Accordingly for CLAIP, "Peace actually means absence of any structural pressures that oppress liberty and their independent development of the nations, not only politically but also in economic and social terms."¹³

In Asia similar perspectives have been brought to bear on 'Peace studies/activity' by organizations such as the Asian Peace Research Association. Activities in Asia, that have brought in new orientations and made contributions to enlarging the concept of 'Peace', has been among others, activities such as the UNU Asian Perspectives Project. With regard to activities of the UNU Asian Perspectives Project, for example in the South East Asian Perspectives Project, research teams from Indonesia, Thailand and Philippines¹⁴ in examining the State formation in their societies and the role of the military, have not only shed new light on 'the politics of security' but are pointers to new conceptual orientations for studies on 'Peace'.

Any Review therefore of Peace related Studies and Activity must of necessity incorporate such a broader conceptual framework. Particularly, when in most Asian countries, apart from conventional security studies one finds the absence of a body of activity or research that would be considered "mainstream peace studies". (It is not possible to use a single definition of what can be called 'mainstream peace studies'. Basically by 'mainstream peace studies', we are referring to studies/research/activity that goes under the rubric of 'Peace Research or Peace Studies'¹⁵). It is therefore necessary, to examine other related activity and the new conceptual approaches

opened up to peace research and activity and their interaction on mainstream peace studies. This has been recognized by Japanese Peace Researchers, where mainstream Peace research has established itself as a distinctive discipline and field of activity.¹⁶

Peace Studies and Women's Perspectives

An important perspective from which both new contribution to Peace studies and activity, as well as important conceptual critiques of mainstream Peace Studies has come, is that from the perspective of women. Betty Reardon of the Commission on Feminism and Militarism of the International Peace Research Association, says that, "while Feminism may be lacking in structural analysis, peace research has suffered several analytic shortcomings. Both peace research and world order studies have also been sorely lacking in the personal, particularly the human dimension of analysis and prescription. In no area is this more evident than in the minimal consideration they have given to women's issues and women's movements and failure therefore to include sexism as a problem for research and analysis."¹⁷ She goes on to say that, **"Although the Women's Decade has made the 'invisibility',¹⁸ problem more evident in the field of development planning, it seems not to have enlightened most areas of research and scholarship which deal with politics. Most especially those areas which deal with military and security issues have been almost as impervious to the 'invisibility and consequent exclusion syndrome' as the established order has been consciously determined to keep women's concerns totally separate from hard security issues."**

In a presentation made to the UN Expert Group Meeting on "Women and Peace" (in preparation for the 1985 International Women's Conference), another Third World (Asian) feminist puts forward a similar critique. She also sees the women's movements in general and in the third world in particular having, "a great significance and contribution to make to (this) alternative vision of the future, for an alternative social order as against the present military world order."¹⁹ A report of a special symposium on 'Peace and Research and Women', in the Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ) Newsletter,²⁰ also deals with some of the complex questions, thrown up by the challenges to Peace studies/research/activity by women and women's movements.

The Report, quotes the vice-president of PSAJ, Hisako UKITA who opened the symposium, as having said, "Even peace research, a science for human fulfillment, has been neglecting the thoughts and feeling of women. To avert the critical situation threatening peace today, we should search for womanhood and its principle of life. Womanhood, not excluding but including world

affairs in a cognitive way, will work effectively only with a fair relationship between men and women". The Report says that, "To face women's issues in each social science means an attempt to criticize the insufficiency and distortion of the original analytical tools. Peace research should consciously recognize women as, sine qua non, research subjects. In order to transform itself from a mere assembly of individually established social sciences into a synthesis of them".

"To turn our eyes to studies on women in Japan we can find numerous works on women and peace, mainly from activist women rather than by professional scholars. Women's social practices in postwar Japan have backed up their intellectual search for the past, present and future of women. Based on such indigenous sources, we can launch into research fields which will change the pseudo-neutrality of academic society and take forward positive cooperation between researchers and activists especially women". The same Report also quotes one of the participants, Yoko Kitazawa, as saying, "to put the women's perspective in the context of social transformation will be significant in eliminating the war system and the oppression of women and other social minorities".

Concerns related to 'Women and Peace' have ofcourse expressed itself in various ways in the writings and activities of women in Asia, and which have been published both in Asia and internationally. For example the Research Unit on Women's Studies of the SNDT Women's University, Bombay, in one of its Newsletters,²¹ carried an article on 'Women and Peace' and which article attempted to deal with this whole concern from a historical perspective that deals with both the history of the women's movement and the peace movement. The author of the article says, "Because of the interdependency of the world area of peace efforts should be spread out all over the globe. When the rulers talk peace, war is at hand. **There is a strong consensus that women must resist militarism in all its forms because a militaristic society further reduces the power of women**".

Women activists and scholars (women and men) are also increasingly focussing on the double oppression of women caused by militarisation of societies. There have been studies that have dealt with instances of such women's oppression in history, as for example the Karayuki (young Japanese women sold into debt bondage to brothel-keepers throughout South-East Asia and North Asia) during the decades (1905-1930) of Japanese expansionism, following Japan's military victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904.²² From South-East Asia, in general and specially the Philippines a vast amount of literature²³ is emerging on this aspect and requires a more comprehensive and analytical coverage

than is possible in this brief review. This is true of literature from other countries in Asia such as Thailand, South Korea and this literature has been published both within Asia and internationally.

This genre of literature on the sexual oppression of women resulting from the process of militarisation of Asian societies, also links up to prostitution and tourism, and sees, "Asian women (as) being sexually exploited by a powerful alliance of militarism and tourism".²⁴ Here also we see contributions to Peace studies from the perspective of women dealing with the oppressive reality of women (in Asia and elsewhere). "An oppressive reality blessed by an authoritarian and militarised world order."²⁵

Footnotes and references

of Asian Cultural Traditions,' Lawrence Surendra (Paper Prepared for the UNU-UNESCO Meeting on Human Rights, New Delhi, December, 1982) Asian Exchange, Dec '82-Mar'83 Issue, Hong Kong.

2) Dr. Ninan Koshy, Director, Churches Commission on International Affairs, World Council of Churches, in 'Militarization and National Security' paper presented to the Asian Heiwa Conference, held at Okinawa and organized by the Christian Conference of Asia, International Affairs Desk.

3) VI Assembly of the World Council of Churches, statement on 'Peace and Justice'.

4) refer here to the work of regional organizations like ACFOD and national groups in Asia like ALIRAN of Malaysia and the writings of its President, Dr. Chandra Muzaffar, as also similar groups and institutions in Indonesia with regard to Islam and its relation to Social Justice etc.

5) Dr. Maya Chaddha, 'The Gandhian Strategy of Action; A Hindu Perspective on War and Peace', unpublished manuscript, to be published as part of a collection by Orbis Books, USA. Dr. (Ms.) Maya Chadda is Associate Professor Political Science at the William Patterson College, Wayne, New Jersey, USA and has written in several journals on Peace and Security.

6) Sulak Sivaraksa, 'A Buddhist Vision for Renewing Society, - collected articles by a concerned Thai intellectual', Thai Watana Panich Co. Ltd., Bangkok 1981. Also see his recent book 'Siamese Resurgence' published by ACFOD, Bangkok 1985.

7) 'Peace Research in Japan' the publication of the Japan Peace

Research Group as early as the 1970s included articles that focussed on 'North-South Problems' and 'Development Issues' in dealing with the problematique of 'Peace'.

8) Chris Smith, 'Disarmament, Peace Movements in the Third World', Third World Quarterly, Vol.6 No.4, October 1984.

9) Lawrence Surendra, 'An Outline Essay for an Annotated Bibliography on Development in Asia', Mimeo, ARENA Discussion Papers, Dec. 1984.

10) See for example among others, C.T.Kurien, 'Poverty and Development', CISRS, Bangalore, India, 1974, and Alexander.R.Magno, 'Developmentalism and the "New society" - Repressive Ideology of Underdevelopment', Third World Studies Center, University of the Philippines, Philippines in the Third World Papers, Series No.35, August 1983.

11) Recently there have been very good reports for example on the 'State of the Environment', notably the one done for Malaysia by the Consumer's Association of Peace (CAP) and one done for India by the Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) New Delhi.

12) Narindar Singh, 'Economics and the Crisis of Ecology', Oxford University Press, 1976.

13) International Peace Research Newsletter, Report on CLAIP/CEESTIM Conference on the Crisis of strategic doctrines and its repercussions on the Third World, Vol XX, No.1, 1982.

14) Unpublished Manuscripts and Research Perspectives presented at the UN University, Asian Perspectives Project, S.E.Asia Meeting, Salatiga, Indonesia, October, 1984.(To be published)

15) SEKI, Hiroharu, 'The Concept of Peace Research in Japan and its Political Context', Research Report No:6, Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University.

16) Kurino, Ohtori, Presidential Address to the 1984 Spring Session of the Peace Studies Association of Japan, PSAJ Newsletter No:4, Sept. 1984. See also, FUJIWARA KUICHI, 'Peace Research in Japan: A Critical Review'.

17) Betty Reardon, 'Sexism and the War System', Sangarsh, published by Vimochana-Forum for Women's Rights, Bangalore, India, Undated.

18) The 'invisibility' problem that Betty Reardon refers to is the attitude where analysts/planners/researchers treat women as if they did not exist or were 'invisible'. In relation to Asia

and the Pacific see a very recent and useful publication, 'Missing Women - Development Planning in Asia and the Pacific', Edited by Noeleen Heyzer, APDC.

18) Corrine Kumar D'Souza, 'A New Time Beginning', in Sangarsh referred earlier - Excerpts of presentations prepared for UN Expert Group Meeting on "Women and Peace"(in preparation for the 1985 International Women's Conference) Vienna, December, 1983.

20) TAKENAKA Chiharu, 'Peace Research and Women: A Special Symposium of PSAJ' (KANAGAWA, JUNE 30, 1984) PSAJ Newsletter, No:4, Sept. 1984.

21) Dr. Maitreyi Krishnaraj, 'Women and Peace', RUWS Newsletter, SNDT Women's University, Bombay, August 1984.

22) Mikio Hane, 'Peasants, Rebels and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan', New York, Pantheon Books. Hane notes that he has relied on the research of a Japanese Women, Morisaki Kanze, author of Karayuki-san, See also, the chapter on 'The Militarisation of Prostitution', (pages 18-45) of Cynthia Enloe's, 'Does Khaki Become You? - The Militarisation of Women's Lives'. Pluto Press, London, 1983.

23) See among this i) Alison Wyne, 'No Time for Crying', Resource Center for the Philippines, Japan, Tokyo. ii) Leopoldo M. Moselina 'Olongapo's R&R industry: A Sociological Analysis of Institutionalised Prostitution', in Makatoa: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Students and Practitioners of the Social Sciences, (Asian Social Institute, Manila) Vol.1, No 1. Jan-June, 1981.

24) See, Cynthia Enloe, quoted earlier. She also refers to Asian Women's Liberation, Tokyo on 'Prostitution Tourism', issue no. 3. 1980, 2) 'Providence and Prostitution; Image and Reality for Women in Buddhist Thailand', Change International Reports, 1980 and 3) 'Navy R&R threatens Sri Lanka', Women and Global Corporations, American Friends Service Committee, Vol.3, Nos 1&2, pA-9.

25) Ibid, also Corrine Kumar D'Souza quoted earlier.

Peace Movement in Japan

Santasilan Kadirgamar

An Introduction

The peace movement in Japan can be divided into two distinct periods. The pre-war pacifist movement and the post-war peace movement. Here we are primarily concerned with the post-war period. But the pre-war pacifist movement is not without significance. The contemporary peace movement has been considerably influenced and draws strongly from the pacifist tradition of the pre-war years. In this sense the peace movement in Japan has an unbroken continuity that stretches from the Meiji period to contemporary times, upholding a tradition in favour of peace, democracy, anti-militarism and dis-armament.

The post-war peace movement itself is divided into three periods. The first consists of the years immediately after the war and include the Hiroshima-Nagasaki atomic bombings, Japan's defeat, the first Hydrogen bomb test in the Bikini Atoll, Marshall Islands, and the Japan - U.S. Security Treaty in 1960. In this period the Peace movement focuses on and draws heavily from the experiences of the Japanese people as the first victims of atomic warfare. The popular appeal of the movement was summed up in the slogan, "No More Hiroshimas! No More Nagasakis!"

The second period is from the 1960s to the end of the

Vietnam War. The Japan - U.S. Security Treaty and Japan's tacit support to the U.S. in the Vietnam war re-awakened the anti-militarist tradition of the pre-war years. The struggles of the peoples of the Third World, their right to self-determination and the wars of national liberation brought an awareness of the larger dimensions of peace to sections of the peace movement. The post-Vietnam period the late 1970s and the 1980s mark the third period.

There is today a growing crisis feeling among the people. The increasingly rightward shift of the government, attempts to give legal recognition to the Yasukuni Shrine - the focal point for right-wing nationalism, U.S. and West European pressure on Japan with its already eighth largest military budget in the world to re-arm and further develop its military capabilities, and the deployment of the Tomahawk cruise missiles in the Pacific have brought a new sense of urgency to the peace movement. In addition the growing anti-nuclear movement in Europe has encouraged and strengthened the movement in Japan.

FIRST VICTIMS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The peace movement in Japan is characterised by a victim and aggressor syndrome. Most of the movements have focussed on the Japanese as victims of the most brutal forms of attack that human civilization has experienced. The memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki legitimized the peace movement, giving it considerable strength and power to mobilise public opinion. The testimonies of the 'hibakusha' (the atom bomb victims) have been used widely to awaken peace consciousness and for peace education. Dr. Arata Osada's "Children of Hiroshima", containing appeals and documents written by students who experienced the atomic bomb disaster, and Michihiko Hachiya's "Hiroshima Diary" containing records from the standpoint of a doctor, of victims who sought treatment in the two months after the bombing, are some examples of the numerous publications available on the subject. Publications include documented information and data, novels, short stories, poems, and text book readers on peace education. Films, slides, paintings, photographs and comics were used with considerable success.¹

In March 1954 a Japanese fishing boat the Daigo Fukuryūmaru was exposed to radiation from the hydrogen bomb test conducted by the U.S. in the Bikini Atol, Marshall Islands resulting in the death of one crewman. A national committee composed of citizens groups, especially house-wives, collected 34 million signatures calling for the ban of hydrogen bombs. In 1955 the first Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs was held in Hiroshima and thereafter became an annual event taking place in Hiroshima, Nagasaki or Tokyo. The foundations were thus laid for a

broad-based and strong national peace movement.

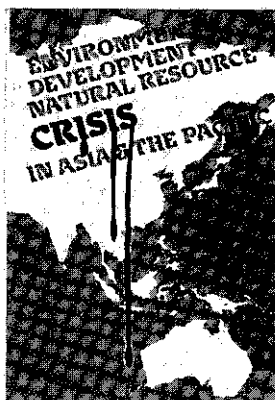
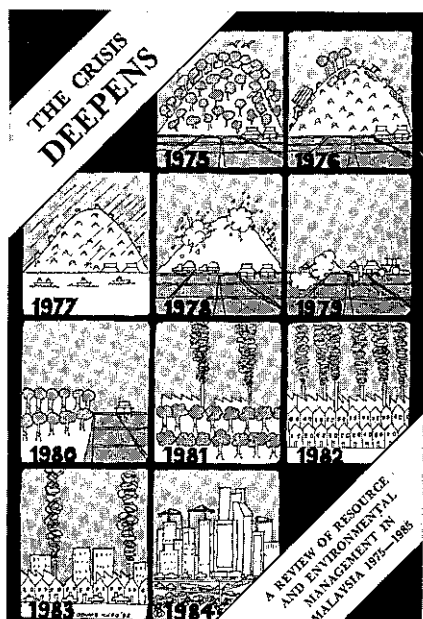
The movement achieved a position of strength and legitimacy unparalleled in the rest of the world. The peace movement drew support from labour, youth, feminists, intellectuals, environmentalists, politicians and political parties, religious organizations and some sections of the business community. A noteworthy feature was the degree of womens participation, women very much being in the vanguard of the peace movement. Noteworthy because inspite of its rapid modernization Japan remains a very conservative society in which women are disadvantaged in the social, economic and political life of the country. Two other groups that played a vital role in the growth of the peace movement were the Japan Teachers' Union and the Hibakusha (atom bomb victims). Beginning in 1951 the Japan Teachers' Union made efforts to organize peace education at local and community levels rallying people under the slogan "Never send pupils to war again." The testimonies of the Hibakusha touched the conscience of the people, and became a vital element for peace education in both schools and the community.

In the early 1960s strains were beginning to show within the movement against A and H bombs. This was the result of policy differences and the resulting friction that occurred between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Differing interpretations were offered with reference to the partial nuclear test ban treaty. The Communist Party insisted that the movement distinguish between the nuclear arms of socialist nations and those of capitalist nations. The Socialist Party insisted that all nuclear arms be prohibited. The anti-nuclear movement split and the there after two separate conferences were held annually, one organized by Gensuikyo and the other by Gensuikin.² This split no doubt weakened the peace movement considerably in the next two decades.

Subscribe to Asian Exchange

Annual subscription rates (four issues):

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------|
| Japan,Australia and New Zealand | US\$ 30.00 |
| Rest of Asia (Individual) | US\$ 10.00 |
| (Institutions) | US\$ 20.00 |
| USA and Europe | US\$ 50.00 |



Another SAM PUBLICATION

Sahabat Alam Malaysia
(Friends of the Earth Malaysia)
37, Lorong Birch, Penang,
Malaysia.

THE PEACE CONSTITUTION, MILITARIZATION AND THE THIRD WORLD

"Hiroshima and Nagasaki are clearly the touchstones of the peace movement in Japan; this is both a strength and a weakness. The mobilizing issue is nuclear arms, but it has been difficult to translate this into effective opposition to the gradual development of Japan's Self-Defense Force".³ The 1955 Hiroshima World Conference stated in its appeal that "a struggle against military bases has to be fought along with the movement against A and H bombs."⁴ But in practice the anti-nuclear movement largely stressed the "victim consciousness" and tended to overlook the militaristic build-up that was taking place within Japan itself. This has been largely due to a multiplicity of factors. The high economic growth that has continued in the last two decades has made the people more conservative. The younger post-war generation of Japanese tend to be apolitical. The mainstream left movement has failed to develop the potential for opposition to militarization that exists among the people.

Nevertheless there exists a strong tradition among grassroots and peoples movements and among intellectuals legitimized by the "peace constitution" that focuses on the growing attempts to militarize Japan. Tabata Shinobu, President of Doshisha University was in the forefront of the anti-war and

anti-militarist campaign in the post-war years. "His anti-war and anti-militarist campaign" says Katsumi Ueda, "emanates from his spirit of resistance, and this spirit originates in his conviction that progress in history lies on the side of those who resist power, authority, and dictatorship of the majority."⁵ He was a prominent constitutionalist who campaigned in defence of the peace clause, Article 9, in the Japanese Constitution. In the preamble to the Japanese Constitution is the following assertion that has become historic and remains fundamental to the peace movement in Japan.

"We the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honoured place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognise that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want." These ideals were given concrete expression in Article 9 of the Constitution. "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognised."

This "Peace Constitution" came out of the experience of Japan as aggressor as distinct from the experience as a victim of war referred to earlier. Three million Japanese and fifteen million other Asian people died as a result of Japan's war of aggression in East and South East Asia. As Nishikawa Jun states, "the Japanese people have a deep sense of responsibility for war as well as painful experience as the victims of war. This unique Japanese sensitivity and experience helps to account for the fact that Japan possesses a Constitution which renounces war as a means of settling international disputes."⁶ The Japanese people did have a unique sensitivity, an experience that was a complex blend of victim and aggressor. The question is how far do they still retain this sensitivity. The experience of being aggressor has got blunted over the years. There is a growing trend among right-wing circles to look upon the Constitution as one that was imposed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). Whether the Constitution was imposed or not is a matter open to

debate. What is significant is that the "peace constitution" struck a responsive chord among the Japanese people. It has been stoutly defended by the opposition in the Diet and by the peace movement. Not only did Japan get a "peace constitution", but SCAP also laid the way open for the re-emergence of a strong left movement which was one of the more constructive developments of the post-war years in Japan. SCAP perceived the role of the Socialists as a check on the rebirth of Japanese militarism.

The Socialists in the prewar years had been largely pacifists. They had opposed militarism and had paid a heavy price for it. They were not a party to Japanese Imperialist aggression in Asia. The Socialist Party and the Communist Party were now able to speak with a principled voice on behalf of peace, oppose militarization and reject rearmament. Their existence has helped to sustain democratic institutions and encourage popular participation in politics in the face of increasingly rightwing and conservative challenges. As a result Japan together with India remain the two countries in Asia that retain the characteristics of an open society in which the Marxist left and socialists of all shades have a legal existence and the right to organise and function politically. The Socialist Party has advocated that Japan like India should adopt a neutralist or non-aligned position in relation to the U.S. and the Soviets.

Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution today remains a pious declaration, no better than the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; adhered to in theory but flouted in practice. Japan today has the eighth largest military budget in the world. Right-wing business leaders have called for a revision of the Constitution under the pretext of establishing an "autonomous constitution". They have in addition suggested that the state introduce a military draft system, maintain a 1000 nautical mile sea lane defense in response to the US demand for a Japanese military buildup and to make the introduction of nuclear weapons accepted policy thereby nullifying the "Three Non-nuclear Principles - the non-possession, production, and introduction of nuclear weapons" promulgated in 1967.

A hidden but steady militarization has been going on since 1950 when the Police Reserve Force was established and formally developed into the Self-Defence Forces in 1954. The United States - Japan Security Treaty became the focus for opposition especially in 1960. Today the Japan Socialist Party and other opposition parties have softened their opposition to both the Self-Defence forces and the U.S. - Japan Security Treaty. The opposition today primarily focusses on retaining the expenditure on defence, which in reality is military spending to below the

one percent of the GNP limit. The mainstream peace movement consisting of Gensuikyo and Gensuikin have increasingly tended to concentrate on nuclear disarmament issues seeking a national consensus, and have tended to play down issues such as the US-Japan Security Treaty and the Self Defence Forces.

While the mainstream movement has been primarily concerned with the nuclear threat which in many ways overshadows the peace movement in Japan there is nevertheless a conscious attempt being made by smaller groups and intellectuals to give a broader and more relevant definition to peace concerns in Japan. In the forefront of this more recent trend are the Pacific Asia Resources Centre with its journal AMPO and SEKAI KARA and the Peace Studies Association of Japan. Both have primarily a research and opinion-building orientation, but have within their membership activists attempting to give a new dimension to the peace movement. This development takes place primarily in the seventies. As Yoshikawa Yuichi explains, "The anti-Vietnam war movement which flourished from the late 60s on to the 70s added a new character to Japanese activism. The peace movement hitherto had been built around the experience as victims of Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Bikini: a movement of refusal to ever be victims of war again. In the anti-Vietnam war movement Japan ceased to be viewed a mere victim and recognised that it was also an aggressor. The Japanese government stated that. 'As under the Security Treaty, Japan cannot remain neutral concerning the Vietnam War,' clearly indicating that Japan was another enemy of the Vietnamese people."⁸

Tsurumi Yoshiyuki has pointed out that looking at the rise of the no-nuke movement in the U.S., Europe and Japan, one finds that the South of the world is completely out of the picture. One wonders then whether there is no peace movement there. But from the view point of the people in the South, the peace movement in the advanced nations is somewhat arrogant. As he put it "The peace, democracy and prosperity we enjoy are partially supported by the conditions imposed on the third world - violence in their countries, oppression of their human rights, and poverty. The peace movement is for us what anti-imperialism is for the Third World. Unfortunately, however, the awareness of this relationship is more clearly seen by the activists in the Third World."⁹

Yukawa-Hirao Keiko looking at the post-war period from the view point of peace education notes that Japan is at the turning point, in the content of peace education. Peace education in Japan has remained past oriented and has focused on "peace" in contrast to "war". "However, when we reflect on the outcome of research concerning 'structural violence' in society, we find it has begun to broaden its scope to include underdevelopment,

pollution, poverty, discrimination, oppression and other ills of society which hinder the full development of the individual. Recently, teachers (although only a few) have begun to interest themselves in North-South relations, the structure of poverty, oppression by governments, international and inter-cultural communication and so forth."¹⁰

The Pacific - Asia Resources Centre (PARC) in a statement of its aims for the next decade has stressed the importance of solidarity movements launched by Japanese people concerned with Third World peoples. It has drawn pointed attention to the speed with which the Japanese government and business interests are establishing close links with the Third World, strengthening their partnership with repressive and authoritarian regimes in Asia in conformity with the U.S. global military strategy. It perceives in the increasing overseas 'economic aid' of the Japanese government which at the same time is increasing its military expenditure, an attempt to create a new 'Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.' Consequently PARC observes that, "Organized into this structure, we, the Japanese people and the people in the rest of Asia are divided, put into a situation antagonistic to each other, and unable to live together in the equal and liberated mutual relationship which we aspire for. We must overturn this unequal and oppressive structure. We want to accomplish this with the power of the people, and the power of people's movements. We reject the idea that the fate of the people of the world is fatalistically determined by the superpowers who divide the world and confront each other."¹¹

This growing concern in bringing Third World priorities into the peace movement is certainly welcome. But it is quite evident that Japan has a long way to go in this direction. While PARC through its journals does focus on Third World issues and perspectives most of the Japanese people do not know the things that are written about in AMPO. The information, or picture of the world, which is given to the Japanese public through the mass media is very different. In some ways the mass media in Japan has become the counterpart of American mass consumption society.¹²

The media is largely concerned with the sensational and when it comes to the third world - the curious the exotic and fascinating sights and happenings. Establishing linkages and solidarity with Third World people's movements within the framework of the struggle for peace is a challenge that the peace movement in Japan has to face. Even the existing Third World concerns of the few but deeply committed activists and intellectuals is largely confined to South Korea, the Philippines and the ASEAN group of countries. There are very, very little attempts made to understand and relate to South Asia. In fact

the term South Asia itself is hardly used, the South Asian region being very often classified under South East Asia. Africa remains very much the 'dark continent' in the Japanese perception of the world.

1980s - THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

After the split that occurred among the two main groups in the peace movement in the 1960's mass interest and support for the movement declined considerably. The 1980s however saw a spectacular revival. The issues that had been kept alive by citizens groups and people's movements gained a new momentum. This arose from an acute feeling of crisis that the danger of a nuclear war was increasing in East Asia. It was widely believed that nuclear weapons were being deployed on a large scale in South Korea and the Pacific. It was strongly suspected that the three non-nuclear principles were being violated within Japan. The disclosure made by former U.S. Ambassador to Japan, Edwin Reischauer in 1981, that the U.S. did not consider transit through territorial waters or port calls as 'introduction' of nuclear weapons lent credence to this suspicion. The port calls made by U.S. air-craft carriers suspected of carrying nuclear weapons fuelled these fears. Japanese Self-Defence Forces began to participate in joint military exercises under the U.S. command in this period. The rapidly growing European anti-nuclear movement to some extent influenced the revival in Japan. The United Nations' Special Sessions on Disarmament (UN SSDII) in 1982, provided the occasion for a massive signature campaign. An anti-nuclear petition bearing 80,000,000 names was submitted to the U.N. In Hiroshima 200,000 persons and in Tokyo 400,000 participated in anti-nuke rallies.

The aims of the movement as given below were however strictly limited to the nuclear threat. They were:

- (1) To make known to the people of the world the terrible effects and suffering caused by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and nuclear tests.
- (2) Immediately to adopt an international convention outlawing the use of nuclear weapons as a crime against humanity.
- (3) To expand nuclear-free zones in many parts of the world where production, possession, introduction or attack with nuclear weapons will be totally prohibited.
- (4) To draft a treaty for disarmament to be strictly implemented within a limited time-frame, in which measures for nuclear disarmament shall be given top priority.¹³



INSIDE ASIA

the new magazine on Asian affairs

Among our major concerns: human rights, environmental crises, militarization in Asia and nuclear proliferation.

Issue 7 out soon, includes:

Aidan Foster-Carter on the dimensions of Korean nationalism; articles on Pakistan and the bomb; environmental activism in India; New Zealand's campaign for a nuclear-free Pacific; Laos—an assessment of the last ten years; the Philippines' long road to socialism; the slum dwellers in Bombay; Nepal's labour movement.

Previous issues have included:

Praful Bidwai on Bhopal; Walden Bello on the economic disaster of the Philippines; Noam Chomsky and Ben Kiernan on Kampuchea; John Gittings on China's bomb; **articles on**—Japanese trade unions; the Tamil struggle in Sri Lanka; the women's movement in Pakistan; Thailand's military politics; China's new economic policies; FRETILIN's struggle in East Timor; nuclear dumping in Malaysia; repression in Taiwan; the Morong nuclear reactor in the Philippines; and Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia.

Plus Asian literature and Asian short stories, and a comprehensive reviews section.

Subscribe now!

Free sample issue on request.

Inside Asia, 242-244 Pentonville Road, London N1 9UP, U.K.

The movement failed to come to terms with the Japan - U.S. Security Treaty, the problem of the military bases and Japan's own militarization. No attempt was made to confront the government with these issues, and to expose the contradictory posture it adopted in the United Nations, advocating peace and nuclear dis-armament on the one hand while expanding the Self-Defence Forces and increasing military expenditure. In fact several groups and organizations of a more conservative nature preferred to avoid these issues. The traditional left too fell in line in order to win maximum support among the people.

The anti-nuclear movement of the 1980s revealed the contradictory nature of the Japanese people's approach to peace. A great majority of the people did not want war, and were in favour of retention of Article 9 of the Constitution. Neither did they want to forego the present affluence that in effect was based on the exploitation of the Third World. They were prepared to tolerate the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty as a deterrent to the USSR which was held in distrust but at the same time were apprehensive about rapid and massive US arms build-up that could aggravate the strains between the superpowers and spark another war in which Japan must necessarily be among the first victims.¹⁴

In 1984 once again differences that arose between the two major groups, the Gensuikyo and the Gensuikin, wrecked the preparations made for a joint peace march. This again is regarded as a manifestation of the rightward shift that has taken place among some of the major organizations. Citizens groups and grassroots movements that gave rise to the National Movement for the Non-Deployment of Tomahawks have persisted in demonstrations and protests particularly in the military base areas, attempting to give a new and relevant direction to the peace movement.

The peace movement in Japan is today at the crossroads. The direction it will take is based on the experiences of the past thirty years or more remains to be seen. The movement has had its periods of strength and militancy focussing on the peace agenda both for Japan and the world. It has had the reputation of being one of the strongest and broadbased national peace movements in the world. No doubt it has had its periods of weaknesses, dis-unity and dissension. Differences and controversies on programmatic and organizational questions have occurred from time to time. But on the other hand new currents have emerged in the peace movement responding to the changing global situation and the Asian situation in particular. Objective analysis and Third World perspectives are characteristic of these new trends.

There continues to be a deep and widespread aspiration for

peace among the Japanese people. It is however a vague notion of peace inadequately articulated. In a survey of the attitudes of Japanese students to peace and democracy a researcher has arrived at the conclusion that students and parents in Japan gave importance to peace as a symbol and value. Asked to discuss their 'ideal Japan' and the role therein of democracy, capitalism and socialism, and despite the complete lack of any mention of peace when they were given the assignment to write the essay, 23 of the 43 students included "peace as an essential attribute of their ideal Japan, and most treated it as the sine qua non, prior to all other attributes." Their ideal Japan was a country that always has peace, where there is no war and which does not go to war. This peace consciousness is strong among Japanese, young and old, to uphold and defend Article 9 of the Constitution and promote what they perceive as a special mission and role for Japan in today's troubled world.¹⁵

Opinion polls have shown that 44 per cent of the Japanese oppose any military alliance in comparison with 30 per cent who support the government's Western alliance. 71 per cent are in favour of using diplomacy and economic aid to maintain peace; while less than 20 per cent support a strengthening of Japan's Self-Defence Forces and closer military ties with the United States. 78 per cent of the Japanese fear that it is U.S. military adventures which are most likely to draw Japan into armed confrontation. 75 per cent of those polled oppose any increases in the military budget and 51 per cent would like to see the military budget reduced.¹⁶

Concerned intellectuals have warned that U.S. pressures on Japan could create the conditions for a return of authoritarian and militaristic patterns of rule that have been common in Japan's history. Dr. Mushakoji, founder and former director of the International Studies Program at Sophia University and presently Vice-Rector of the United Nations University in Tokyo, has expressed the view that too much pressure from the United States on Japan could be counterproductive, undermining the very political stability of Japan itself. Kamo Takehito, Professor of Political Science at Waseda University has warned that Nakasone may appear to the Reagan administration as pro-American, but his deepest commitments and connections are to traditional Japanese militarism.¹⁷

Prof. Yoshikasu Sakamoto of the University of Tokyo discussing peace in East Asia has remarked that international relations in postwar East Asia has been determined by placing too much weight on what the United States and the Soviet Union decide, with little choice left to the other states. He suggests that this should be changed. "Who will play a leading role in changing it? It would be difficult for Japan or China to do it

alone. If Japan seriously thinks about denuclearization and China seriously thinks about disarmament, both China and Japan should act as a peace axis in Asia." He also stresses the need to legitimise citizens movements and to find ways of giving "effective political play to their responsibility."¹⁸

Meanwhile Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone has been increasingly advocating the need for Japan to boost its self-defences capabilities to protect itself "as a member of the West against foreign aggression." In a commencement speech recently before 390 graduates of the National Defense Academy he claimed that Japan's efforts to promote a high quality and effective self-defense is helping maintain the security of democratic countries. He added that these efforts were contributing to the "peace and stability of Asia and the world."¹⁹ This view directly contradicts the feelings of ordinary Japanese people who at the most accept the status quo relating to the Self-Defense Forces and the US-Japan Security Treaty, and do not favour strengthening them. The above statement also indicates how far the Japanese government has departed from the foreign policy formulated in 1956: such as the use of the UN as the main instrument of Japanese diplomacy, co-operation with the free nations and the promotion of Japan's national interest as part of the Afro-Asian bloc.²⁰

Chihiro Hosoya formerly Professor of International Politics at Hitotsubashi University and presently Vice-President International University of Japan expressed the following view in 1978 with reference to attempts at expansion of defense power: "There is something ominous in the fact that voices seeking the strengthening of defense power are becoming louder... The expansion of defense power, which will become linked with the revival of a 'military big power' Japan, will disturb the stability of North East Asia. We must avoid the 'dangerous road' of making the various South East Asian nations recall the nightmare of Japanese militarism and of fanning their sense of guardedness towards Japan."²¹

The question that looms large before the peace movement and all those concerned with the future of Japan is which path will Japan take. Will it take the path laid before it by the long and sustained tradition of pacifism and peace; or will it proceed along the path of militarization that brought it enormous disaster not very long ago. Will those entrusted with power and authority persist in the theory of deterrence which Professor Albert Legault in the Asahi International Symposium 1983 so pointedly referred to as a theory which rests on immorality, and thereby become a party to the balance of terror which Professor Legault called "a form of international terrorism which is being practiced by the superpowers at the expense of the international

community." Or will the Peace Movement succeed in putting Japan on a path where she will be in the vanguard for world peace and justice for its people.²²

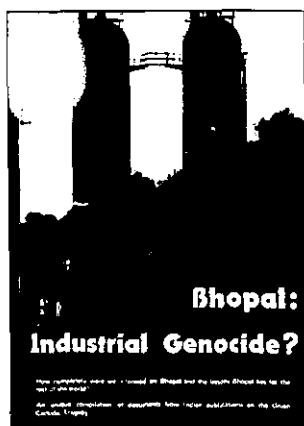
NOTES

1. Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ), Newsletter, No.4, Sept. 1984, pp.7-10. (Introduction to English Materials on Hiroshima and Nagasaki useful for Peace Education by Morishima Hiromu, Hiroshima Institute of Peace Education). See Resources section of this issue of Asian Exchange.
2. GENSUIKYO is the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs closely related to and supported by the Japan Communist Party. GENSUIKIN is the Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs closely related to and supported by the Japan Socialist Party.
3. B.Jaye Miller, "The Nuclear Experience: Japan's Unknown Peace Movement", Socialist Review Number 78 (Vol.14, No.6) November-December 1984. p.75.
4. Yoshikawa Yuichi, "The Peace Movement in the 'Victim Nation': What will 'No Nukes' mean in Japan in the '80s?", AMPO: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review, Vol.14. No.2, Tokyo. P.6.
5. Katsumi Ueda, "Tabata Shinobu - Defender of the Peace Constitution", in Nobuya Bamba and John F.Howes (ed.), Pacifism in Japan:The Christian Socialist Tradition, The Minerva Press, Kyoto, Japan, 1978, P.221.
6. Nishikawa Jun, PSAJ Newsletter No.1, May 1979, P.1.
7. Yoshikawa Yuichi, AMPO Vol.14, No.2, 1982, pp.5-6.
8. Yoshikawa Yuichi, "Japan's Anti-Nuclear Movement: How Effective Can It Be - A Brief Report on the Conflicts in the Anti-Nuclear Movement in Japan", AMPO Vol. 16. No.3, 1984, P.29.
9. Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, "The Peace Movement and the Third World - Questioning the Peace Consciousness of Advanced Nations," Mainichi Shimbun, Evening Edition, May 15, 1982., quoted in Yoshikawa Yuichi, AMPO Vol.14. No.2, 1982, P.7.
10. Yukawa-Hirao, Keiko, "Peace Education in Japan," PSAJ Newsletter, No.4 Sept.1984, P.6.
11. "New Phase for the Pacific-Asia Resources Centre-Its Aims and Activities," AMPO, Vol.16. No.3, 1984, P.57.
12. "Japan's National Illusion Machine - What the World" Looks Like through the Japanese Mass Media," (Interview with Kogaea Tetsuo -

Interviewer: Douglas Lummis), AMPO, Vol.16. No.4, 1984. P.28.

13. Hitoshi Ohnishi, "The Peace Movement in Japan," International Peace Research Newsletter, Vol.XXI. No.3,1983, Tokyo, Japan P.26.
14. For a fuller discussion of the attitudes of the Japanese people see Yoshikawa Yuichi, AMPO, Vol.16. No.3, 1984. PP.28-29.
15. Joseph A. Massey, Youth and Politics in Japan, Lexington Books, D.C.Heath and Company, U.S.A., 1976, PP.65-66.
16. B.Jaye Miller, Socialist Review, Number 78 (Vol.14, No.6.) November-December 1984, P.78. Also see Ueno, Hirohisa "Japanese People's Attitude Toward Nuclear Weapons," PSAJ Newsletter No.3 Sept. 1983, PP.4-8.
17. Ibid., P.73.
18. Proceedings - Asahi International Symposium, "In Quest of Nuclear Diarmament," March 19-31, 1983. Asahi Evening News, Tokyo, Japan. PP.123-124 and P.128.
19. the Daily Yomiuri, March 18, 1985.
20. Radha Sinha, Japan's Options for the 1980s, Charles E.Tuttle Co., Tokyo, 1982, P.219. Quoted from S.Matsumoto, "Japan's Voting Behaviour in the United Nations" in H.Itoh (ed.) Japanese Politics - An Inside View, P.188, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1973.
21. Ibid., P.216, Quoted from C.Hosoya, "Course for 'All-Directors', Japan to take," CHUO KORON, Oct. 1978.
22. Proceedings - Asahi International Symposium, March, 1983. P.46.

**Available
from
ARENA PRESS**





सामाजिक विज्ञान प्रलेखन केन्द्र

SOCIAL SCIENCE DOCUMENTATION CENTRE

INDIAN COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

GRAM : ICSORES

PHONES : O : 385959
R : 624155

SERVICES AVAILABLE

1. compilation of short/selected bibliographies tailored to the needs of the scholars,
2. facility to study on all days of the year except three holidays (i.e., 26 January, 15 August & 2nd October) in the premises of SSDC ; publications not available in the library are procured from other libraries on inter-library loan basis,
3. supply of photocopies of articles/documents of interest from out of a rich collection of back and current issues of journals/serials as well as unpublished theses and research reports, subject to the provision of the Copyright Act,
4. facility to get cyclostyling/rotating/electric scanning,
5. financial assistance under Study Grant scheme for visiting libraries for collection of material for research.

Kindly address all enquiries to:

The Director

SSDC-ICSSR.

35. Ferozeshah Road.

New Delhi-110 001. INDIA

Nuclear Dumping in the Pacific

James B Branch

The South Pacific Region, because of its vastness, is an attractive dumping ground for nuclear wastes. Indeed, the area is already being used for this purpose. For example, from 1946-1970 the US dumped 100,000 curies of low-level nuclear waste in Pacific Ocean sites and the US Navy has plans to sink at least 100 obsolete nuclear submarines in the Pacific over the next three decades. Controversy now rages around a Japanese proposal to dump radioactive wastes from the country's 25 nuclear reactors into the Pacific. Pacific islanders have formed citizen action groups to fight the plan and no resolution is in sight.

The Pacific islands' experience with the nuclear age began in 1945 when the B-29 Enola Gay took off from Tinian in the Northern Mariana Islands to drop an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Over the years, the Western nuclear powers have left a trail of radioactive debris in the wake of their nuclear testing programs. The experience for the Pacific islanders has been traumatic. The United States conducted nuclear weapons testing at the Marshall atolls of Bikini and Eniwetok in the 1950s, contaminating once-populated islands. Within four months of the testing, ocean

currents transported the contamination 1200 miles west to Guam where radioactivity (gross beta) in the marine food chain increased to 100 times that of ambient levels (1). Bikini was eventually declared safe for habitation and the people returned to their native island only to be evacuated a second time when high radionuclide counts were found in their bodies. More examples:

- * In 1981, nuclear waste from the French weapons testing program washed on to reefs near the island of Moruroa as a result of heavy winds and seas. According to Admiral Jacques Choupin, Head of the French Nuclear Experimental Center, the wastes came from tests held before 1975 (2).

- * Relatively small amounts of nuclear waste, involving 31 containers, were dumped by the University of Hawaii 30 miles east of Honolulu on 21 occasions during a period of 16 years ending in 1970(3).

- * During the period of 1946-1970, the US dumped 100,000 curies of low-level nuclear waste in ocean sites, including along the coast of California. US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) studies of these sites found ruptured waste containers and radionuclide concentrations in the surrounding sediments and water above expected ambient levels (4).

However, the greatest amount of radioactive material introduced into the Pacific and other world oceans has come through the atmosphere due to nuclear tests conducted in the Northern Hemisphere.

Nuclear Waste Storage and Dumping Schemes

Origin of Waste

Japan, with 25 reactors, has the second largest commercial nuclear program in the world; the US, with over 70 plants, is in first place (5). But, the Japanese government is projecting 58 plants by the year 1990. Other Pacific countries possessing nuclear power include South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines. In the case of Japan, much of the spent nuclear fuel is currently being shipped to France for reprocessing. Most high-level waste is being stored at special sites adjacent to the plants while the governments involved seek permanent storage and disposal solutions. In addition, all of these plants generate low-level wastes which are generally stored in metal containers filled with concrete, Japan has 460,000 such containers and the number is increasing by 60,000-70,000 annually (6). Nuclear wastes are also produced by defense activities. Waste produced by the French nuclear weapons testing program was apparently buried on an undisclosed island in Polynesia prior to 1975. What is happening to it now has not been publicized. The US Department of Navy has

plans to sink at least 100 obsolete nuclear submarines in the Pacific over the next three decades (7). Each vessel reactor contains 62,000 curies of residual radioactivity. The disposal of one such nuclear submarine would nearly equal the entire amount of radioactive material already dumped into the ocean by the US. The Navy, in its environmental impact statement, claims that no measurable amount of radioactivity would be released into the environment. Recently, the Navy announced that it will study land disposal options for the submarine reactors. The National Advisory Committee on Oceans and the Atmosphere is preparing a report to the US Congress recommending that the US end its 14 year moratorium on ocean dumping, and consider resuming radioactive waste dumping in the oceans.

The Japanese Plan

In 1979, citing the London Dumping Convention (LDC) as its legal authority, the Japanese government announced its intent to experimentally dump 10,000 drums (500 curies) of low-level nuclear waste at 30°N 147°E, a site north of the Mariana Islands. The dumping was scheduled to occur in the autumn of 1981 after Japan ratified the LDC treaty (8). Full-scale dumping of up to 100,000 curies a year was to commence in the same location after the Japanese government verified the safety of its experimental program. The dumping has been postponed while Japan seeks the understanding and consent of the Pacific islanders. Research is presently being conducted on possible sites and technologies for land storage and disposal within Japan.

US-Japan Studies

In 1980, a bilateral agreement between the US and Japan launched a feasibility study of Pacific island sites for the storage of 10,000 tons of high-level spent nuclear fuel from reactors in Japan, Taiwan and South Korea (9). The islands of Palmyra, Wake and Midway were under active consideration as potential sites (10). The study was to end in 1983, but so far no information has been released by either government. However, the US recently announced at the United Nations that there are no plans at present to build a nuclear fuel storage facility in the US Trust Territory Pacific Islands. The environmental impact studies for Pacific island storage are continuing at this time. In July 1983, Marshall Islands President Amata Kabua, without the knowledge or consent of the residents of Bikini, offered the Japanese government the unpopulated and heavily contaminated islands of Bikini atoll for the storage of high-level nuclear waste. Japan declined the offer on technical grounds. It was reported that the Japanese government did not want Pacific islanders to assume plans for ocean dumping were being abandoned in favor of land storage (11).

CRISIS MEETING FOR NUCLEAR-WASTE DUMPERS

(New Scientist, Sept. 1985)

A crucial meeting of the London Dumping Convention (LDC) will grapple with the issue of radioactive-waste disposal.

If the convention fails to achieve consensus on the suitability of the seas as a disposal route for low-level radioactive waste, there is a risk that the whole fragile edifice of global accord over marine disposal will start to crumble.

The LDC, with 56 countries as signatories, is the only dumping agreement which takes in all the oceans. Key developed nations like the US have already made veiled threats to pull out of the convention if the LDC decides next week to outlaw the dumping at sea of all categories of radio-active waste.

The US could be followed by Japan and Britain, which both opposed a decision taken in 1983 to suspend dumping of low-level wastes pending a technical review.

The convention categorises wastes under three headings, black, grey and white. Black wastes are the most harmful to the marine environment and include cadmium, mercury and high-level radioactive waste (the heat-producing wastes derived from the spent fuel elements of reactors). These are banned.

Sub Seabed Disposal

Both the LDC and US law currently prohibit the ocean dumping of high-level nuclear waste. Even so, the US has spent in excess of \$30 million researching the disposal of spent nuclear fuel on the ocean bottom. One site under study for sub Seabed disposal is in the same Pacific location as the proposed Japanese dump site. Ocean dumping is somewhat primitive and consists mainly of placing canisters filled with waste on the ocean floor. A more sophisticated (and much more expensive) technique involves sinking waste-loaded projectiles 30-100 meters into ocean bottom sediments. There is currently a debate within the LDC as to whether sub Seabed emplacement constitutes "ocean dumping." the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration is of the opinion that it does not (12). If this view prevails, sub Seabed disposal would not be regulated by the international community. At the eighth meeting of the LDC, which was conducted in February 1984, a majority of the nations attending endorsed a resolution that subseabed disposal is indeed dumping and therefore prohibited. The snag here is that LDC resolutions are non-binding upon member countries.

CRISIS MEETING FOR NUCLEAR-WASTE DUMPERS

Low-level wastes, along with substances such as arsenic and lead, are on the grey list and need special permits for disposal at sea. But dumping has been halted while a technical review has been carried out by a panel of scientists selected by the International Atomic Energy Agency and the International Council of Scientific Unions.

That review has been completed; but now the argument is about how to interpret its findings and what to do next. Some countries want all radioactive wastes put onto the black list, making the ban on low-level wastes permanent. But the US says the technical review backs its call for a resumption of dumping.

There is dissention in the American camp, however. One member of the US administration's delegation to the LDC has told the US Environmental Protection Agency that far from giving a seal of approval for sea dumping, the review demonstrates that "we don't know enough about the impacts of ocean disposal of low-level waste to predict what will happen in the future".

In a bid to smooth the way to possible compromise at the convention, the US State Department has circulated a confidential document to members of the LDC setting out the US position. New Scientist has seen a draft of the document. The State Department writes that the technical review "did not find evidence of serious risk to human life or the marine environment from ocean dumping of low-level waste...".

(Contd./...)

THE PACIFIC RESPONSE

Announcement of Japan's intent to dump nuclear wastes in the Pacific aroused the concern of Pacific islanders and their governments.

Confrontation With Japanese Scientists

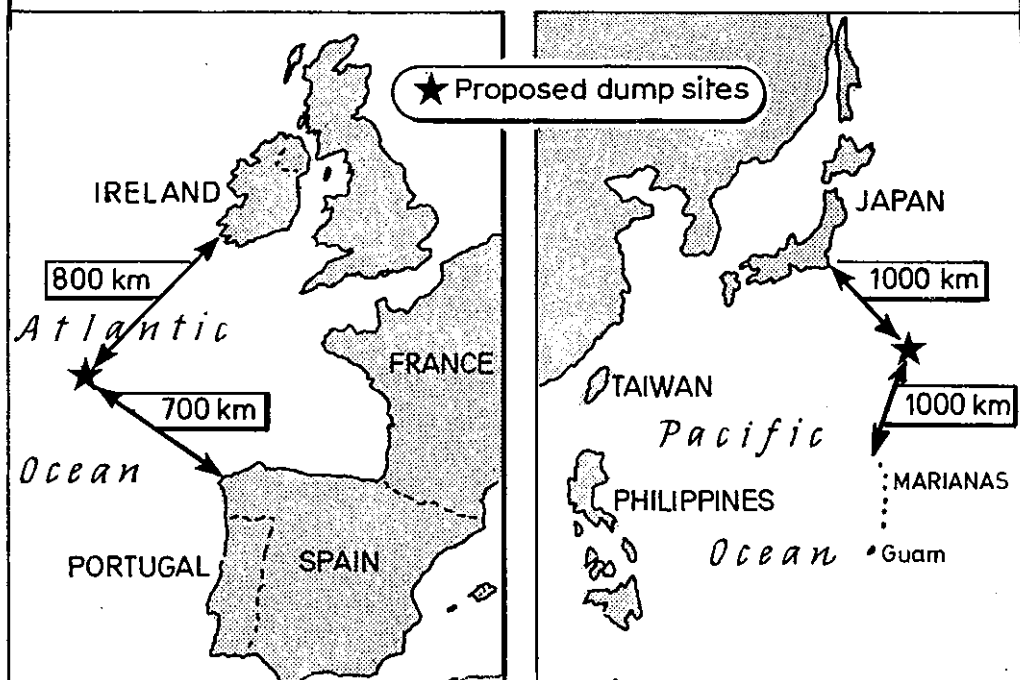
Elected leaders from Guam, Saipan, Samoa, Nauru, and the US Trust Territory Islands formed an association and met on Guam in 1980 to consider Japan's plan to dump low-level nuclear wastes near Maug in the Northern Marianas. Representatives from Japan's science and Technology Agency (STA) were invited to discuss the dumping plans and safety assessment with these Pacific leaders.

CRISIS MEETING FOR NUCLEAR-WASTE DUMPERS

The document warns: "The cause of environmental protection will not be served if major parties feel compelled to exempt themselves from guidelines imposed by majority vote and without adequate consideration of all factors". The US government is clearly setting great store by the technical panel review. But its own scientific adviser, T.A. Wastler, has written a 17-page critique of the technical review claiming it was too limited, since it concentrated on data from the existing dumping ground in the North Atlantic (see map)

"What the panel has produced is in no sense either thorough or objective, nor does it deal in any comprehensive way with the impact on either man or the marine environment". He criticises the "unverified sketchy and insensitive models which are apparently the only available analytical tools at this time".

The State Department says that the review panel has calculated that past ocean dumping of low-level waste is likely to cause 1000 deaths from cancer over 10,000 years, or one out of every 100 billion deaths during that time. The panel declined to comment on whether such "detriment" was acceptable.



The arguments against the dumping were emotional and initially unsupported by scientific evidence. Nevertheless, the meeting had a dramatic effect on STA officials who stated publicly that Japan would not dump until the understanding of the Pacific people was obtained. The STA officials promised to travel throughout the Pacific islands and explain the plan as many times as necessary to gain the approval of the people. These presentations began three months later with a visit to Guam and Saipan by a team of Japanese nuclear scientists and top STA officials. They brought with them the details and data to support their draft safety assessment (13). The Northern Marianas government obtained the services of Dr.W.Jackson Davis from the University of California, to review the Japanese data. Dr. Davis had analyzed the environmental consequences of the dumping which occurred off the California coast, and became an outspoken critic of ocean dumping. In May 1981, the Northern Marianas released Davis' findings, which documented serious weaknesses in the Japanese safety assessment (14). Davis found that the hypothetical models used by STA assumed that the released wastes would diffuse evenly throughout the ocean. Surveys of the US dumpsites demonstrate that the wastes in fact remain concentrated in the dumping area where they can contaminate fish. Altogether, Davis found what he believed to be seven major errors in the Japanese safety assessment and he concluded that the proposed dumping could endanger the health of both Japanese and Pacific islanders.

In September 1981, Dr.Davis met with STA officials on Guam at the third annual meeting of the Pacific Chief Executives Association. By that time, it was clear the Japanese were up against a formidable anti-dumping movement backed by scientific evidence and that the STA might have underestimated the dangers of dumping. As a result, Japan announced a further delay in the dumping project. As of October 1984, the final safety assessment of the Japanese proposal has not yet been released.

Petitions

In response to Japan's nuclear waste dumping announcement, many citizen groups were formed throughout the Pacific Region which petitioned against the plan. In addition, resolutions of opposition were passed by island legislatures and coalitions of island governments including the Asian Pacific Parliamentary Union, South Pacific Forum and the South Pacific Conference. The Lt Governor of Guam and the Governor of the Northern Marianas traveled to Tokyo to present the Japanese Diet with a formal anti-dumping petition representing seventy groups throughout the Pacific Basin with memberships of several million people. The petition requested a more thorough safety assessment of Japan's dumping plan, and provided data from Dr.Davis' investigations as

evidence to support the request. The Governors also met with Ichiro Nakagawa, Japan's STA Director. It was at this meeting that Nakagawa made the now famous statement that one could "embrace and sleep in the same bed" with Japan's drums of nuclear waste without danger.

A world-wide petition campaign against French nuclear testing and Japan's nuclear waste dumping plan was initiated by an anti-nuclear group in Japan as a result of an appeal made by J.Roman Bedor, a citizen of the Republic of Belau. To date, individuals from 76 countries have signed including representatives of 18 Pacific island countries. The petitions were presented to STA on March 1, 1983. Mr.Okazaki Toshiro, an STA representative, told the delegates presenting the petitions that "we would like to proceed with nuclear waste dumping as soon as possible, since the safety assessment has already been completed as far as Japan is concerned" (15). During meetings between Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke and Japanese Prime Minister Yasahiro Nakasone, held in January 1984, Japan announced a further postponement of the dumping until 1985, while it pursues the possibility of storing its low-level nuclear waste on land. It was made clear that Japan still refuses to give up the dumping plan competely, agreeing only to continue discussing the plan with Pacific island leaders. In August 1984, the Japanese Science and Technology Agency declared that it had resumed its plan to dump in 1985.

The Rarotonga Conference

The South Pacific Forum and the South Pacific Conference both agreed in 1977 that a comprehensive environmental program was desirable for the Pacific Region. On March 8-11,1982, the Conference on the Human Environment in the South Pacific was held in Rarotonga to consider regional environmental policies. Wide-spread concern was expressed at this meeting regarding nuclear testing and radioactive waste disposal. These concerns were translated into policy statements known as the "Rarotonga Declaration," wherein the Conference declared that "the storage and release of nuclear waste in the Pacific regional environment shall be prevented," and "testing of nuclear devices against the wishes of the majority of the people in the Region will not be permitted" (16). The Conference further resolved that "Japan, US and other governments should be requested to abandon their studies of specific proposals to store or dispose of nuclear waste in the Pacific regional environment... They should be strongly urged to research alternative methods of disposal outside the region," Finally, the Conference requested all eligible Pacific island countries and territories to accede to the London Dumping Convention.

The Conference adopted two primary strategies too block nuclear dumping in the Pacific Region: 1)The modification of the LDC through resolution or amendment of by laws initiated by the Pacific island members and other sympathetic countries, and 2)the establishment of a Pacific Regional Dumping Convention that would prohibit dumping in the Pacific and take precedence over the LDC. Article 8 of the LDC provides that contracting parties of the treaty with a common interest in protecting the marine environment in a given geographical area may enter into regional agreements. There are already several precedents for such regional conventions, including the Oslo Convention and the Barcelona Convention, which explicitly prohibit dumping of radioactive waste into the North and Mediterranean Seas, respectively. The proposed regional Dumping Convention ultimately became known as the "Convention for the Protection and Development of the Natural Resources and Environment of the South Pacific."

London Dumping Convention

By the 1983 LDC meeting, the two Pacific island governments of Nauru and Kiribati acceded to the LDC. Papua New Guinea were already an LDC member country, as were New Zealand and the Philippines. In the 1983 LDC meeting, Nauru and Kiribati, supported by a scientific document prepared by Dr.Davis (17), proposed an amendment to ban all radioactive dumping at sea. The amendment was tabled until 1985 to allow for further scientific study on the environment effects of dumping. However, the amendment had considerable support as the LDC members were about equally divided on the issue of a total ban (18). The Pacific proposal did lead to the approval, by a 75% margin, of a non-binding resolution introduced by Spain calling for an immediate two-year moratorium on all nuclear waste dumping. The US voted against the resolution despite the fact that the US Congress had just passed legislation establishing a similar domestic moratorium. Japan also voted against it, along with four other countries. The British government, which still had an active nuclear sea-dumping program in the Atlantic, announced it would ignore the moratorium (19). At the same meeting, contracting parties to the LDC agreed to decide in 1984 whether subseabed emplacement of high-level nuclear waste is defined as dumping and prohibited under the existing convention. Even though the moratorium was legally non-binding, trade unions in Britain and throughout the world heeded the message of international opinion. As a result, 1983 marked the first year since 1946 in which no nuclear wastes were dumped at sea. To date, Fiji and the Solomon Islands have also joined the LDC. The

BRITAIN MAY IGNORE MORATORIUM ON DUMPING

(New Scientist, 3 October, 1985.)

Britain's future in the only global convention covering the disposal of radioactive waste at sea is in doubt. Last week, 25 member countries of the London Dumping Convention voted in favour of a Spanish resolution to continue a moratorium on dumping of low-level radioactive waste at sea, Britain, was one of six countries that voted against.

Before the vote, Britain's Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Food insisted that it was "vital" to the future of the convention that a decision on whether or not to continue dumping should be based on the scientific and technical assessments of safety.

But the Spanish resolution, agreed by the convention, said that "in the final analysis social and related factors may outweigh those of a purely scientific and technical nature". (Ironically, this is the view taken by the British government when it is discussing how decisions will be taken about where to dump nuclear waste on British soil).

Earlier, a panel of scientists commissioned by the signatories to the convention had reported that there was no evidence that the dumping of low-level nuclear waste was dangerous. Radioactive doses to humans were "virtually the same whether the release was into the atmosphere, shallow seas, the deep ocean, or land disposal other than deep geological depositories".

The Spanish resolution is not legally binding. But the conference chairman, Jeff Holland from Canada, said that it "imposes large moral persuasion" on signatories to the convention. Britain, meanwhile, has said that it will ignore the resolution and dump low-level waste at sea, provided its own study by the Department of the Environment considers it to be the "best practicable environmental option". This study is expected by the end of the year.

To date, the moratorium on disposal of low-level waste at sea has cost Britain nearly 30 million pounds in storage facilities for the 3500 tonnes of waste involved. A further 10 million pounds may have to be spent over the next two years to combat the corrosion of the special waste drums and to allow repackaging of some of the material to meet more stringent safety standards.

ninth LDC meeting will be held in September 1985. This will be a critical session in that the Nauru/Kiribati amendment will be voted upon. The vote will be close as it must pass by a two-thirds majority. Unlike a resolution, an amendment to the LDC is binding upon all member nations.

Convention for the Protection and Development of the Natural Resources and Environment of the South Pacific

Three meetings of Pacific island experts have been conducted in the South Pacific Commission (SPC) headquarters at Noumea for the purpose of drafting the Convention treaty documents and protocols. The mandate of the experts was made very clear by the Rarotonga Declaration in its statements of policy which prohibits nuclear waste disposal. As a result of proposals introduced by the nuclear countries represented, the proposed language of the draft convention was twisted to read that "contracting parties shall take all appropriate measures to prevent, reduce and control pollution in the Pacific resulting from the storage and disposal of nuclear waste and the testing of nuclear devices" (20). In addition, the Convention area has not been decided upon. The majority of the island governments want a much larger area designated than the proposed 200 nautical mile area around each island, which would not include the proposed Japanese dumpsite. So far the expert meetings have failed to produce a consensus. A fourth expert meeting will be held in 1985, and the plenipotentiary Convention has not yet been scheduled.

The US territorial government of Guam has been a primary advocate of the Convention. When the Convention treaty is ready for ratification, the US territorial island governments including Guam will be unable to sign. The irony of this situation is not lost upon the Guamanians.

Report on Radioactivity in the South Pacific

In order to assist in the preparation of the Regional Convention treaty and its various protocols, the South Pacific Commission brought together a technical group of scientists to review and document the problems of radioactivity in the South Pacific Region. Their extensive and impressive report (21) considered all possible sources of ionizing radiation and radioactivity including natural, medical, and industrial radiation and that from nuclear explosions. An entire section of the report is devoted to radioactive waste storage and disposal. Among its many conclusions, the Technical Group found that exposure to artificial sources of radiation (primarily from atmospheric nuclear tests), is considerably lower in the South Pacific Region than it is for those living in the Northern Hemisphere. Concerning the risks involved with low-level nuclear

waste dumping, the Technical Group concluded that current international standards are restrictive enough to pose little risk to human health or environmental safety. The Japanese dumping rates are well within these limits, and the Technical Group felt that the proposed Japanese dumping operation is not a significant environmental safety concern. However, the Group did emphasize that scientific understanding of oceanic processes and transfer pathways is insufficient for exact predictions to be made. With respect to the sub Seabed disposal of high-level nuclear waste, the Technical Group felt that research should continue as it is too soon to assess its safety or practicality. The Technical Group was not able to examine any documents pertaining to the proposed storage of high-level nuclear waste within the South Pacific Region, but expressed concern with the possibility of accidental releases of radionuclides.

CONCLUSION

It appears that Japan intends to dump unless prevented to do so by international law. The US, in voting against the LDC moratorium on dumping, and in its continuing research of subseabed disposal techniques, is apparently attempting to keep open the option of ocean dumping. However, the attitudes of many nuclear nations are changing toward finding permanent land disposal techniques, as witnessed by the 1983 and 1984 LDC voting.

The scientific community wants a decision based upon evidence rather than emotion. The Technical Group on Radioactivity in the South Pacific region has pointed out that there is little scientific basis for a prohibition against dumping, but the Group concedes that legal, political and moral principles may dominate the evaluation of nuclear ocean dumping plans. The general feeling among islanders is that they need no further scientific evidence to take actions designed to protect their ocean environment and their health. **The people of the Pacific islands have not received any benefits from the nuclear power industry, yet they are being asked to accept the radioactive garbage of this industry. Palau Legislative Speaker Tasiwo Nakamura said it best when he appeared before the Japanese scientists on Guam... "you don't throw the seeds of a poisonous fruit in the yard of your neighbour."**

References and Notes

1. A H Seymour, Radioecology. p.151 (1961).
2. United Press International (Pacific Daily news, Guam, August 15, 1981).
3. G K Kakesako, Honolulu Star Bulletin (Hawaii, February 4, 1981).
4. R S Dyer, in Nuclear Waste Management: The Ocean Alternative, T C Jackson, Ed. (Pergamon Press, New York, 1981.)
5. K R Smith and M J Valencia, East-West Perspectives, p.11 (Summer, 1980).
6. Y Junko, Ed. Han-Genpatsu News, No.18 (Tokyo, 1983).
7. Draft Environment Impact Statement on the Disposal of Decommissioned, Defueled Naval Submarine Reactor Plants, (US Department of Navy, Washington, 1982).
8. Low Level Radioactive Waste: Dumping at the Pacific, (Radioactive Waste Management Center, Nuclear Safety Bureau, Science and Technology Agency, Tokyo, 1980).
9. Nuclear Spent Fuel Storage in the Pacific, Serial No.96-27, (Hearing Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Ninety-Sixth Congress, Washington DC, 1980).
10. K Larson, Glimpses of Micronesia and the Western Pacific, 21,30 (1981).
11. Y Junko, Ed. Han-Genpatsu news, No.18 (Tokyo, 1983).
12. J E Kelly and C E Shea, Oceanus, P.42 (Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, 1982).
13. Environmental Safety Assessment on Sea-Dumping of Low-Level Radioactive Wastes (Provisional Translation). (Radioactive Waste Management Center, Nuclear Safety Bureau, Science and Technology Agency, Japan, 1980).
14. The Proposed Japanese Oceanic Nuclear Waste Disposal Program: A Scientific Analysis, (prepared by W J Davis, and issued by the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, 1981).
15. Y Junko, Ed. Han-Genpatsu News, No.16 (Tokyo 1983).

16. Report of the Conference on the Human Environment in the South Pacific, (South Pacific Commission, Noumea, 1982).
17. W J Davis, J Van Dyke, D Hirsch, M A Magnier and S P Broeder, Evaluation of Oceanic Radioactive Dumping Programs, (1982).
18. W J Davis, Delegate to the 1983 London Dumping Convention, Santa Cruz, California, personal communication.
19. C Curtis, Ocean, 16, 22 (1983).
20. Working Papers, Second Meeting of Experts on a Draft Convention for the Protection and Development of the Natural Resources and Environment of the South Pacific Region, (South Pacific Commission, Noumea, 1983).
21. Radioactivity in the South Pacific (Topic Review No.14, South Pacific Commission, Noumea, 1983).

ARENA BOOK SERVICE

We are pleased to announce
commencement of
ARENA Book Service
In cooperation with
Twilight Books Co., Hong Kong

Our book service is aimed to provide specialised services
in the social sciences with particular reference to Development and Social Transformation
that regular commercial booksellers and book importers in the region are unable to
meet with or are not interested.
for further details write to:
ARENA Book Service.

Twilight Books Co.
Rm 1501A, 15/F.,
611 Nathan Road, Man Loong House,
Kowloon,
Hong Kong.

or ARENA
Rm A4, 2/F., Block G,
Hung Hom Bay Centre,
104-108, Baker Street,
Hung Hom, Kowloon, H.K.

Perspective:

New Zealand's Relations with the USA, Britain and the Pacific

Kevin P. Clements

New Zealand is situated in the South West section of the Pacific. It is an isolated nation surrounded by sea. To the West and 1600 kilometres away lies Australia, to the North lie New Caledonia, Fiji, Vanuatu, Tonga and Samoa all of which are over 2,500 kilometres away. New Zealand is 10,000 kilometres from the West coast of the United States and approximately the same distance from Japan and Singapore. New Zealand is an island nation, therefore, surrounded by sea occupying a unique geo-political position within the world. New Zealand is also a relatively small nation in world terms. While its land mass is similar to that of Great Britain and Japan, (26.9 million hectares) its economic, political and military importance is much more modest. At the end of 1981, for example, New Zealand's population was 3.2 million people compared with 117.6 million for Japan, 229.8 million for the United States, and 55.8 million people within the United Kingdom. On the other hand New Zealand's population is larger than that of most of its neighbouring Pacific Island countries, 600,000 in Fiji, or 100,000 in New Caledonia. (New Zealand Official Yearbook 1983:83-84.)

New Zealand's armed forces are also modest, 12,808 regular navy, army and air force personnel and defence expenditure is amongst the lowest in the world. In 1982, for example, the government spent 593.65 million dollars on defence or 2.0% of the Gross Domestic product. (New Zealand Official Yearbook, 1983:294). Gross domestic product in 1982 stood at 28,598 million dollars, Gross National product was 27,969 million dollars or 8,740 per capita.

New Zealand can be defined, therefore, as a relatively small, isolated, economy heavily dependent on trade and subject to the vagaries of the international market for our exportable commodities. Our Foreign policy has always reflected these facts as it has evolved over the 145 years since European settlement/colonisation began. Because New Zealand is a small isolated country there has always been a tendency to look for larger protectors of national economic, political and military interests. To a very large extent New Zealand's foreign policy can be explained in terms of a gradual evolution from dependence on the security offered by British Imperial policies to a dependence on the power of the United States and attempts to negotiate more independence within the framework of "Pax Americana".

During the latter half of the 19th century New Zealand was systematically developed as a "Farm" for Britain.

With the introduction of refrigeration in 1882 and steam navigation in the late 19th century the development of exports of frozen meat and dairy products assured the dominance of the United Kingdom in New Zealand's external trade. These developments, with a continued substantial investment of British capital, particularly in farming and food processing industries, established that degree of specialisation to meet the needs of the British market, which shaped the entire economy during its first hundred years" (NZ Official Yearbook 1983:27)

New Zealand's foreign policy -- such as it was up until 1935 -- reflected its very specialised role within the world division of labour and the interests of the United Kingdom completely. 'As one commentator puts it "for most of the period from 1870-1940 it would be anachronistic to think in terms of New Zealand Foreign policy. Until the first world war it was largely accepted by the New Zealand Colonial Government (Or Dominion government as it was called after 1907) that Foreign Policy was a matter for the Imperial Government in London." (Kennaway, 1972:13).

There was no machinery for the independent conduct of foreign policy in New Zealand during the first 103 years of its existence. The High Commission in London as the only overseas representation that New Zealand had until 1941. Foreign and defence policy was conducted by a small section of the Prime Minister's department designated as the section on Imperial Affairs. By and large. New Zealand's economic, political and military interests were completely integrated with those of British imperial interests. Being a nation surrounded by sea this isn't altogether surprising since New Zealand clearly did not have the capacity to develop its own effective naval defences and since the Royal Navy was the largest in the world it was assumed that this was the most effective protection of New Zealand's foreign policy and defence interests in the South Pacific and in Europe. The early phases of New Zealand's existence as a white settler colony can be characterised as one of almost total dependence on the United Kingdom. This dependence has economic, political and military dimensions and reflected a very profound emotional/sentimental attachment to the United Kingdom which most white settlers regarded as "home". This dependence meant that when New Zealand was called upon to participate in wars alongside forces from the United Kingdom, troops/ships were dispatched and put at the disposal of the United Kingdom's armed forces. This pattern of making troops available to larger powers has been followed in recent times also albeit without the jingoism associated with the late 19th and early 20th century campaigns. The cost of this military support has been high for New Zealand. As Professor Keith Jackson indicated in 1974:

In 1885 New Zealand first offered its troops for Imperial Service, and between 1899 and 1903, 6,500 New Zealanders fought for the imperial cause in South Africa. Over 100,000 New Zealanders fought overseas in World War 1, nearly 10% of the population and approximately 140,000 persons served overseas during the second world war or roughly 48% of the male population between the ages of 18 and 45 years. These are astonishingly high figures and the costs were commensurate. Casualties in the six wars fought during the course of this century, including the South African War, the first and second world wars, Korea, Malaya and Vietnam were 28,323 killed and 57,867 wounded and injured" (Jackson, 1974:17-18).

The military costs of being so closely aligned with British policies were relatively high for a country as small as New Zealand. The chief purpose of this close relationship with Britain was to secure defence of New Zealand as cheaply as possible and to try and win some influence in Imperial affairs by

demonstrating an overall commitment to British leadership while seeking to modify it when and as occasion demanded. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, for example, the New Zealand Prime Minister, R.J.Seddon sustained the idea of New Zealand and Britain colonising the South Pacific together. In 1899 he tried to persuade the British government to send troops to Samoa and beat the Germans in the rush for Pacific territory. The early government sought to use New Zealand's loyalty to the Empire to try and extract favourable consideration of New Zealand's interests in the Pacific and elsewhere. Until the Balfour report of 1926, however, which clarified the legal and constitutional position of the Dominions within the British Empire there was an assumption that Dominion interests would be subordinate to the interests of Great Britain.

In this context it is interesting to note that when the Statute of Westminster was passed in 1931 making it possible for the Dominions to become fully independent states New Zealand did not accept it. It was not until the first Labour Government was elected in 1935 that there was any significant expression of a slightly more independent approach to foreign policy. But,

"Even in the late 1930's the New Zealand government took the view that the primary object of its defence policy was 'the preservation of the integrity of the Empire as a whole, and not merely the local defence of each component part'" (Kennaway 1972:18)

The first Labour Government like all the previous New Zealand administrations believed that the best way to preserve the integrity of the Empire was to ensure that Britain was supreme in Europe, the North Sea and the Atlantic. It was considered that this was the best defence of New Zealand and Australia even though both countries were located on the other side of the world. This affirmation that New Zealand's security was best guaranteed by a strong Britain in Europe produced a curious myopia within New Zealand. Instead of focussing primary attention on the Pacific and Asia, New Zealand directed most of its attention to London, and Europe. Here its perception was determined to a large extent by that of the British Foreign office on whom it relied for intelligence information and political assessments.

It is true that during the early years of the first Labour Government 1935-1938 there was an attempt to develop a more "idealistic" internationalist approach to foreign policy but this was still largely focussed on European rather than Asian or Pacific affairs. Most disagreements with the United Kingdom were minor rather than major and related to differences of emphasis rather than substance. As a former Secretary of Foreign Affairs

put it:

"The British navy guaranteed the security of New Zealand and the British market provided almost the sole outlet for New Zealand exports. Britain was the source of the funds required for New Zealand's capital development and of most of the manufactured goods which New Zealand could not produce for itself. The relationship was one of mutual benefit" (G.Laking 1980:10.)

The first really independent move the first New Zealand government made was to join the League of Nations seperately from the United Kingdom in order to give expression to the "internationalist" sentiments of the Labour Party. The most critical factors, however, precipitating a change in the relations between New Zealand and the United Kingdom were a consequence of the shifting balance of power during the second world war and a recognition that New Zealand's security interests were threatened primarily by an expansionist Japan that Britain was unable to contain.

When the second world war was declared in New Zeland, the Prime Minister, Michael Savage, made the following statement:

"Both with gratitude for the past and with confidence in the future we range ourselves without fear beside Britain. Where she goes, we go, where she stands, we stand. We are only a small and a young nation, but we are one and all a band of brothers, and we march forward with a union of hearts and wills to a common destiny" (quoted in Kennaway, 1972:20).

Sentimental and actual links with Britain made this a relatively easy statement for Savage to make in 1939. Behind the scenes, however, New Zealand service chiefs were facing up to the fact of Britain's weakness east of Suez and the fact that Japan was the dominant Pacific power apart from the United States. The easy and convergent relationship that existed between the UK and New Zealand because of the Imperial connections meant that political or military relationship with the United States remained underdeveloped at this time. This meant that there was considerable "private" uncertainty within the government about whether or not the United States would see its interests co-inciding with the interests of New Zealand and Australia in the event of Japanese hostilities. The period, from 1939-1941 was one in which New Zealand was forced to develop a greater degree of independence in foreign policy formulation than had ever existed prior to this time. On the one hand the government provided traditional support for British military activities in Europe and dispatched the bulk of its armed forces to European and Middle East battlefields where they remained despite the fact

that the most significant direct threats to New Zealand security came from Asia. At the same time New Zealand was forced by military pressure to begin thinking of ways in which it could ensure that the United States would become a firm ally in the event of Japanese hostilities that would affect the defence interests of New Zealand. This reappraisal was precipitated to some extent by the UK itself which acknowledged that if France fell and Britain was carrying on alone it would be severely pressed to defend British interests in Asia should Japan upset the delicate balance with the United States. British strategy rested on sending a major fleet to the Singapore base if a crisis warranted it. This rather lukewarm commitment worried New Zealand politicians and they accelerated the search for ways of ensuring that defects in British strategy could be rectified by the United States. At the beginning of the second world war it was clear to everyone that the British did not have naval supremacy any longer. Indeed military observers acknowledged as early as 1905 (after the Japanese defeat of the Russian fleet at the battle of Tsushima) that Japan was a naval power in its own right. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was not considered an adequate protection against an expansionist Japan and this was demonstrated most clearly during the second world war. Within a few days of the attack on Pearl Harbour the two major British battleships, the Repulse and the Prince of Wales were sunk by Japanese aircraft eight days after arriving in Singapore as the first instalment of the promised British Far Eastern fleet. It was this act more than any other that precipitated a reorientation of both Australian and New Zealand Foreign policy away from complete dependence on the United Kingdom as the major protectors of Australia towards an embrace of the United States as the only power capable of providing effective defence in the Pacific region. From 1940-1945, therefore, it can be said that New Zealand and Australia had two protectors which resulted in what Kennaway describes as "dual Dependence" (Kennaway, 1984:23). This new dependence and the new basis for strategic alliances in the Pacific region was underlined by the Australian Prime Minister John Curtin who dramatised the new relationship with the United States as follows:

The Australian government therefore regards the Pacific struggle as primarily one on which the United States and Australia must have the fullest say in the direction of the democracies fighting plan. Without any inhibitions of any kind, I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom. We know the problems that the United Kingdom faces.. but we know too that Australia can go and Britain still hold on. We are therefore determined that Australia shall not go and shall exert all our energies towards

the shaping of a plan, with the United States as its keystone, which will give to our country some confidence of being able to hold on until the tide of battle swings against the enemy" (J.Curtin, quoted in Kennaway, 1974:25-6).

While New Zealand was not as effusive in its embrace of the United States as the Australians, they nevertheless realised that the security of New Zealand rested on forging a close alliance with the United States in order to ensure the security of New Zealand against the risk of Japanese invasion. (It was not known at the time that the Japanese had no intention of invading Australia and New Zealand and their actions suggested otherwise). The most important consequence of a threatened Japanese invasion and a concerted move to establish a close relationship with the United States was that New Zealand was forced to develop an independent capacity for assessing New Zealand's national interest. It is true that the first Labour Government of 1935-1938 developed a measure of independence from the Imperial strategy and pursued a policy of international co-operation and support for collective security through the League of Nations but New Zealand did not possess any diplomatic corps, relied on the British for information and assessments of different problem areas and operated with a very limited sphere of manoeuvrability. Without an independent foreign office and independent sources of information it was very difficult for New Zealand to develop an informed foreign and defence policy based on a recognition of New Zealand's strategic location in the South West Pacific. Professor F.L.W. Wood notes that "New Zealand was pitchforked into diplomatic activity by events. Wartime events showed only too clearly that overseas politics were of profound importance to New Zealand and that mistakes were dangerous" (F.L.Wood 1958:303-308).

Prior to 1941 the only diplomatic mission that New Zealand had overseas was in London. In November 1941, Walter Nash, the Minister of Finance in the Labour Government was appointed as Minister to the United States. This was New Zealand's first diplomatic mission in a foreign state. This was soon followed by diplomatic posts being opened up in Canada, Australia and Russia. These early diplomatic ventures while a response to a very specific wartime threat and a desire to consolidate close relationships with Pacific allies, were the first official recognition that New Zealand's peace and security interests had to be secured in the Asian and Pacific region. While the outcome of the war in Europe was critically important the second world war marked the beginning of a reorientation of New Zealand's strategic interests towards the Pacific and towards larger powers within the Pacific that would be able to secure New Zealand's strategic interests in the absence of Great Britain.

It was the second world war, therefore that finally precipitated the development of a more independent foreign policy for New Zealand--albeit one characterised by dual dependence on the United States and the United Kingdom. In 1943 the Department of External Affairs was established under the leadership of A.D.Macintosh. This small department began the business of working out how to come to terms with the Pacific and what this meant for New Zealand. In the first instance this meant working out an association with Australia which was a country that a former Secretary of Foreign Affairs, George Laking, has said "Was a country which by and large we much preferred to ignore and towards which, when we were obliged to consider it, we adopted a disdainful attitude: one which was assiduously fostered by the British, who like us, have always been jealous of Australian vigour and potential" (G.R.Laking, 1984:23).

The major reason why the fledgling department of external affairs and the New Zealand government had to consider a closer relationship with Australia was a recognition that both countries were not taken very seriously by their major allies/protectors in terms of some of the critical decisions being taken by both the United States and the United Kingdom in relation to conduct of the war itself and to post-war plans.

While there was a good working relationship between the United States, Australia and New Zealand in relation to the war effort itself there was a tendency for the allied political leadership to adopt a "colonialist" attitude towards the government's of Australia and New Zealand. (Constitutionally, New Zealand was not legally independent until 1947 when the NZ parliament passed the Statute of Westminster which might explain some of the paternalism. It does not take into account the fact that New Zealand and Australia felt that by virtue of their commitments to the war effort they deserved to be treated as equals in the discussions about wartime and post war strategy). In any event by 1948 New Zealand and Australian leaders (especially the Australians were very dissatisfied with the tendency of the United States, the United Kingdom and China (under Chiang Kai Sek) to ignore their views. As K.Sinclair notes:

"Neither dominion was consulted when it was decided to confiscate the Japanese colonies in the Pacific after the war. They were also unhappy about the claims expressed by some Americans to retain after the war some captured bases in the Pacific. After all, Australia and the Pacific were more fully "Pacific" countries than any great allied power." (K.Sinclair, 1970:5).

It was the Australians who proposed a formal treaty between the two countries. This was known as the Canberra Pact of 1944 and was the first treaty of alliance that New Zealand signed separately from the United Kingdom. As such it marks a pivotal point in the evolution of a more independent foreign policy. It represented the first expression of an attempt to gain recognition of distinctive New Zealand and Australian interests on the part of the more powerful protectors/allies of New Zealand and Australia.'

"In this treaty. 'The Two countries agreed to set up' a regional zone of defence in the South Pacific after the war. They warned unnamed powers that the use of territory in wartime did not give any right of occupation after the war (a thinly-disguised hint to-or slap at-the United States.) They declared that the disposal of enemy territories in the Pacific was of such vital importance to the Australia and New Zealand governments that it should be decided only with agreement.

"They also declared that the principle of trusteeship applied to German colonies after world war I should apply to all colonies - the main purpose is the welfare of the native peoples and their social, economic and political development. They added that self government was the ultimate destiny of 'native peoples'. They decided to set up a South Seas Regional Commission to promote these objectives. These articles which apparently resulted from New Zealand initiative did not please the British who still possessed their own colonies in the Pacific and did not want to be told what to do with them.

The two Dominions also agreed to co-operate after the war in achieving self sufficiency in local production and in co-operating in industrial development and other matters' (Sinclair, 1970:6).

Since Australia and New Zealand agreed this treaty without consulting either the United States or the United Kingdom it provoked quite a bit of criticism--especially in Washington. (It is interesting to note that in the most recent disagreement with the United States and New Zealand politicians from both the Labour and the National Parties are suggesting a reactivation of the spirit of the Canberra Pact of 1944). The concrete results of the Pact were the establishment of the South Pacific Commission -- an important precursor of other Pacific regional arrangements and the New Zealand Australia Free Trade Agreement

of 1965 and latterly the Closer Economic Relationship (CER). Even though this agreement did not result in any greater recognition of New Zealand and Australian political views during the war it served as a symbolic and actual reminder that while both New Zealand and Australia were and are dependent on larger powers for their defence and security they wish to be treated as equal/sovereign partners in discussions about defence and security.

From the Canberra pact to ANZUS and SEATO

The successful negotiation of the Canberra Pact and an awakening of New Zealand to its immediate neighbourhood resulted in the New Zealand Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, visiting the South Pacific in 1944. He along with George Laking visited Fiji, Tonga, Western Samoa, the Cook Islands and the Tokelaus.

"It was the first such visit ever made by a New Zealand Prime Minister. In our own territories we found Samoa still under a type of military occupation which had continued without substantial change for some 25 years. In the Cook Islands we heard Polynesian children being taught about King Alfred and his inedible cakes and singing songs about robins in the snow. The Directors General of Education and health were promptly despatched to the islands to begin repairing the neglect of many years" (G.Laking, 1984: 23).

This visit according to George Laking marked the beginning of enlightenment. The New Zealand Labour government thus took a lead at the San Francisco conference in 1945 in pushing the development of the Trusteeship system, and placing Western Samoa under that system as the first trusteeship territory. It was actions such as this that aroused a certain amount of British displeasure since they saw the New Zealand Labour government challenging their maintenance of Empire and trying to precipitate the premature dismantling of the colonial system. At the same time the New Zealand government under Peter Fraser strongly supported the establishment of a strong United Nations to replace the League of Nations. This continued the First Labour Government's concern to promote international institutions for peace and establish collective security arrangements that would successfully resist every instance of armed aggression. The New Zealand delegation joined forces with other small nations in their opposition to the veto and tried to ensure that effective power lay with the General Assembly. There is no doubt that this activity at the end of the war provided another opportunity for New Zealand to develop a sharper perception of its international responsibilities and an awareness of its future as an independent nation.

Immediately after the war it looked as though the United States would run down its defense interests in the South Pacific [e.g. there was a conflict between Australia and the US over American use of the Australian naval base on the Manus Island (north of New Guinea). And the United States was under considerable pressure to remain in Europe and act as guarantor of European security.] In fact both Australia and New Zealand were obliged by events to develop a more self conscious view of their own interests because the United States tended to go ahead and do whatever it wanted to in relation to the occupation of Japan and post war strategic thinking. Despite the fact that the Australians, for example, were pushing for some post war defence pact with the United States the United States refused to commit itself. Most of these discussions centred on a peace settlement with Japan. Despite the fact that a Commonwealth Conference was called on this question in 1947 by the Australians and despite the plea of the New Zealand delegates that

"New Zealand's primary interest in the Japanese settlement is security.. it is imperative that our chief aims should be to support the imposition of the most rigorous control on Japan" (AJHR: 1947 quoted in B.Brown, 1970:12)

And despite the urgent call for a UN Peace conference on Japan no conference was called for the next few years largely because of United States - Soviet disagreements.

The Korean war provided another critical turn for the evolution of New Zealand's foreign policy and for the United States perception of where its strategic interests lay in the Pacific. Prior to the Korean war the US Secretary of State Dean Acheson made a speech (12 January 1950) in which he indicated that the line of security for the US in the Pacific ran through the Aleutians, Japan, and the Ryukus to the Philippines. This definition excluded Korea, Formosa, Australia and New Zealand. The North Korean attack on the South sharply altered US views on the potential danger of Chinese and Soviet power in the Pacific. Japan in turn became a very important bulwark against this threat for the Americans. Thus the Korean war forced the Americans to conclude a peace treaty with Japan that would be a treaty of reconciliation. New Zealand and Australia who had committed troops to the war in Korea made it very clear to the Americans that they would regard a regional security arrangement with the United States as an essential prior condition to their acceptance of a peace Treaty which provided no precise conditions over Japan's rearmament (see B.Brown, 1970: 15). The Japanese peace treaty was signed in San Francisco on 8 August 1951. A Security

Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States (ANZUS) was signed immediately before the peace conference opened on 1 August 1951. Brown suggests that the two treaties must be considered together. The Peace treaty restored Japan to full sovereignty, it placed no restraints on Japan's economy nor limitations on her military capacity and was only mildly punitive. Both New Zealand and Australia were worried primarily by a fear of Japanese militarism. While some people (e.g. Walter Nash leader of the labour opposition at this stage) were not entirely satisfied that ANZUS would be as effective an alliance as NATO was for Europe, there was a recognition that it was the best in the circumstances. Thus on 20 March 1952 the United States senate consented to the ratification of the ANZUS Treaty by acclamation. Thus the Korean war, the fear of a resurgent Japan, and the United States reappraisal of its defence commitments produced ANZUS.

It seems clear that most of the credit for ANZUS lies with the Australians. It was their negotiator Sir Percy Spender who seized the initiative and persuaded New Zealand that this was the best way to secure Australia and New Zealand's national security (see P.Spender, 1969).

Spender saw ANZUS not only as a Pacific security pact that would involve the US military in support of Australia and New Zealand (and vice versa) but also an alliance that would promote economic and political ties between the "Free" Pacific nations. The treaty itself consists of eleven articles. The most important in terms of peace and security questions being Articles 2-5. These state that:

Article II. In order more effectively to achieve the objective of this treaty the parties separately and jointly by means of continuous and effective self help and mutual aid will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article III. The parties will consult together whenever in the opinion of any of them the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened in the Pacific.

Article IV. Each party recognises that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and

maintain international peace and security.

Article V. For the purpose of article IV, an armed attack on any of the parties shall be deemed to include an armed attack on the metropolitan territory of any of the parties, or on the island territories under its jurisdiction in the Pacific or on its armed forces, public vessels or aircraft in the Pacific." (Text of ANZUS Treaty).

The United Kingdom was not asked to be a signatory to this Treaty so it represents a significant tilting towards the United States as the dominant ally of both Australia and New Zealand even though relationships with the United Kingdom remained very strong indeed until the 1960's. Unlike NATO, ANZUS does not explicitly link the armed forces of Australia, New Zealand and the United States in an integrated command. It is on the contrary a mutual defence pact albeit one between very unequal partners in terms of size and military importance.

In concrete terms this meant a continuation of linkages with the UK and defence matters but an accelerated development of defence links with the United States. ANZUS was signed by a New Zealand National party (Conservative) government. It was endorsed by the Labour Party, however, and became the major plank of a bipartisan foreign policy.

As a former National Prime Minister, John Marhsall, put it

"The Anzus Pact is the cornerstone of our strategic security. I have often said that I do not suppose that American sleep any sounder at night because they know that New Zealand will come to their aid if they are attacked, but we in New Zealand should certainly sleep better because the United States is on guard in our part of the world" (J.Marshall, 1975:13).

Because of an underdeveloped sense of national identity and confidence New Zealand has looked to the United States as the ultimate guarantor of its security, especially in relation to any possible nuclear war (that is until the current Labour Government) but from the end of the second world war until British entry into the Common Market the UK was considered the most important trading partner and an essential source of defence supplies/information/training also.

In practical terms this has meant that the National Party governments (which have dominated post war New Zealand politics) have tended to identify New Zealand's interests with these of the United States. The standard instruction from Wellington to diplomatic posts abroad has been "To be seen in good company,

i.e. alongside the United States and Western allies and limit damage as much as possible". Because of this dominant orientation, New Zealand and Australia have found themselves involved in East-West conflicts on the side of the West.

Just as the Korean war was the catalyst for ANZUS which became the central element in New Zealand's defense strategy so the Indo-China war of the 1950's led to the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) which was agreed on 8 September 1954. This linked Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand and the United States. It has a similar sort of collective security provision to the ANZUS Treaty but was focused more specifically on Asia - especially Indochina - and the United States added an understanding to the effect that the aggression sections of the Treaty (Article IV) applied only to "Communist aggression" otherwise it sought only to consult. SEATO was a much more explicit cold war alliance, therefore, and one that New Zealand contracted into because of its perception that New Zealand's defence interests lay with those of the United States. For the first time New Zealand assumed regional defence commitments and entered into Treaty arrangements with Asian countries other than Malaya with which it had a defence arrangement known as ANZAM which facilitated discussions between Canberra, Wellington and Kuala Lumpur on defence and security questions.

Initially, New Zealand was concerned about Soviet influence in Asia and the Pacific but after the Chinese revolution China provided the chief source of insecurity. It was under the provisions of SEATO that New Zealand committed a symbolic force to Vietnam during the Vietnam war. It was also during this war that the most significant questioning of New Zealand's foreign policy began. Until 1965 while there had been occasional discussions about the propriety or otherwise of New Zealand involvement in Malaya - later Malaysia - and New Zealand's support for the British in Suez, by and large it would be true to say that none of these activities provoked a deep public debate about foreign policy. It was assumed that elections were fought on bread and butter issues at home and foreign policy questions rarely entered the debates. There were debates within government circles about the utility/disutility of ANZUS, SEATO involvement in Korea etc. but limited public recognition of the consequences of different sorts of action.

The 1960's, therefore, mark another turning point a period of uncertainty about the wisdom of different foreign policy choices. There were two significant factors here, the first was Britain's decision to join the EEC and the second was the decision to commit troops to Vietnam. Both these dilemmas were imposed by our commitments to the UK and the United States. The

1961 decision of Britain to join the EEC posed an economic threat to our security that was as significant as the security threat posed by the Japanese in 1942. In the latter instance the United States stepped in to assist New Zealand. In relation to alternatives to the British market and the preferential trading arrangements given New Zealand there was no obvious alternative. New Zealand's pastoral industry was developed to supply Britain with meat and dairy products. In 1959-60, for example, agricultural products made up 93% of New Zealand's exports and 54% of these went to Britain. In the areas of dairy and sheepmeat production Britain took 91% of butter, 94% of mutton and lamb exports. Because of the Common Agricultural Policy it was assumed that New Zealand's preferential arrangements with the United Kingdom would disappear and the whole basis of New Zealand's economy put in question. Fortunately, President De Gaulle unwittingly came to the rescue of New Zealand with his veto over British entry which gave New Zealand until 1973 to begin product and market diversification and the development of transitional arrangements. This recognition that Britain would not be a reliable market eternally provoked considerable internal debate in New Zealand about our overall role in the world division of labour and resulted in some very rapid restructuring of the New Zealand economy which continues to the present day. The percentage of exports to Britain has dropped from 52% in 1960 to 12% in 1983. The most important consequences of the decision of Britain to enter the EEC was the recognition on the part of affluent New Zealanders that New Zealand's wealth was derived from a very narrow base and that we shared many of the structural features of third world countries that had been incorporated into the global system during a period of colonialism. This gave rise to a renewed analysis on New Zealand's own national identity and a realistic appraisal of where New Zealand stood in the world. The 'soul' searching continues to the present as New Zealand tries to discover economic formulae that will enable it to sustain the standards of living of the past in an uncertain future.

It was the Vietnam war, however, which provoked an even deeper debate about New Zealand's place in the world, our relationships with Asia and the South Pacific, and the sorts of responsibilities that were appropriate to a world of independent nation states struggling to develop and ensure peaceful relationships between themselves. The Vietnam war provoked a concern about the appropriateness of aligning New Zealand's interests so closely with those of the United States. In particular there was a recognition that if New Zealand's economic profile was similar to that of other ex-colonies maybe we should be a little more modest about aligning ourselves with wealthy western trading nations at the expense of developing linkages with the emergent nations of East and South East Asia, South Asia

and the South Pacific. During the height of the Malaysian confrontation with Indonesia, New Zealand had about 2,000 armed service personnel in Malaysia. During the height of the Vietnam war New Zealand had 550 men in an artillery unit. The overwhelmingly negative public response to the 550 men in Vietnam contrasts markedly with the virtual absence of any negative response to the New Zealand commitment to Malaysia (see B. Brown, 1970: 28-35 for an analysis of the differences). The National Party government of the day under Prime Minister Holyoake's leadership justified New Zealand commitment to the US war in Vietnam on a basis of national interest - (the domino theory was often advanced in justification), because the United States asked New Zealand to participate and invoked our obligations under SEATO as justification and in order to draw a line against Communist aggression in Asia. It also became apparent that the government made its decision for economic reasons also. In June 1969, for example, Mr. Holyoake wrote a letter to president Nixon on the subject of lamb quotas in which he stated that:

"New Zealand cannot be expected to play its full part in areas of international co-operation, including regional security arrangements to which the United States attaches importance unless it has the trading relationships, which provide it with the economic means. This is a direct relationship between New Zealand capacity to play its part as a good ally and its ability to earn from fair trading opportunities overseas. Restrictive action on New Zealand's exports to the United States makes it difficult for the New Zealand government to justify to our people its alliance with the United States in other areas" (Vietnam White Paper: 69, quoted in Kennaway, 1972:74).

Mr. Holyoake's comment underlines the extent to which New Zealand involvement in the Vietnam war was not a popular policy by any means. On the contrary, American leaders visiting New Zealand to confirm the commitment were always met by large and vocal demonstrations, the protest movement initiated widespread public discussions about the war and its impact on New Zealand, and the opposition Labour Party began adopting a critical role to the Government on the issue. Labour Party conferences, up until the election of the Labour Government in 1972 consistently opposed New Zealand's involvement. More importantly, however, involvement in the Vietnam war - which was increasingly seen as a shabby, disreputable war - started raising questions about the ANZUS alliance and New Zealand-United States relations generally. In the 1960's student protests sought the removal of US bases from New Zealand and in 1968 were successful in forcing the government not to accept the OMEGA installation. At the same time this antagonism to the United States in Vietnam was focussed on protests against visits from American nuclear warships. The opposition to the Vietnam war was elaborated into discussion and

debate about the appropriateness of New Zealand participation in American nuclear strategy. The New Zealand peace movement since the 1960's has consistently argued that New Zealand's involvement in ANZUS, its willingness to provide port facilities to US warships and its involvement in US military exercises creates more insecurity than security and makes New Zealand a possible direct target in a nuclear war or an indirect target. As George Laking put it "Vietnam brought to the surface deep philosophical divisions which have not yet been resolved. Indeed they have reappeared in recent times in debates about nuclear free zones and our relationship with ANZUS" G.Laking:1984:25

Thus while the Korean War and the Indo-China War of the 1950's resulted in the development of collective security alliances under the dominant influence of the United States. the Vietnam War within New Zealand resulted in a public questioning of NZ-United States relationships. With the election of the third Labour Government in 1972 there was an articulation of a more independent foreign policy epitomised by a recognition of China, the sending of a frigate to the French testing site at Muraroa (A cabinet minister on board signified the government opposition to French testing as did the case taken to the world Court) a recognition of the fact that New Zealand's security interests lay in the development of the South Pacific and South East Asian regions, a breaking off of sporting contacts with South Africa and an attempt to articulate a moral foreign policy. As Norman Kirk, the Prime Minister of the third Labour Government spelt it out:

"The new international situation makes it essential for small countries to stand on their own feet. The danger of war has receded, essentially because the great powers are disengaging themselves from areas of actual or potential conflict. This means that small countries can no longer rely on them as heavily as in the past but must be able and ready to look after their own interests. We must in future be more self reliant, and self reliance requires independence of judgement and action... we shall look at every question from the point of view of New Zealand's interests and New Zealand's concerns in the world. We shall consult other governments whose interests are involved, and we shall take these views into account. Naturally we shall work in partnership with those who share our views. But our actions must be our own. Our policy will be a policy of independence" (N.Kirk, 1973 quoted K.Jackson, 1980:20)

The third Labour Government stood in the idealistic internationalist tradition of the first Labour Government except

that in 1972 New Zealand had a developed foreign service, recognised the linkages between trade and foreign policy much more acutely, and located itself much more unequivocally within the South Pacific. The aspiration for independence as articulated by Norman Kirk received a shock after the oil crisis. The adverse terms of trade and the balance of payments crisis that ensued constrained an over-ebullient assertion of self reliant independent foreign policy. In fact as Jackson and others noted the downturn in the economy resulted in a reassertion of the need to return to traditional links with the United States, and the United Kingdom.

While the third Labour Government wished to encourage detente between the superpowers and work in a constructive humanitarian way within the South Pacific and in Asia it was defeated in the 1975 elections on a basis of its economic performance.

The National Party regained office in 1975 and immediately set about reasserting dependent relations with the United States and reintroduced cold war rhetoric characteristic of the 1960's. One of the National election cartoons depicted the Labour Government making New Zealand into a Communist society. The National Government announced soon after taking office that

"there had been no real cessation of world wide competition between the two great powers, and no detente in the Soviet development of its capability to project not just its influence but its military power world wide" (Report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1976:4 quoted in Kennaway, 1980)

Similarly the Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon stated that "all the actions of the Soviet Union in recent times point not to defence but to imperialism and aggression" (Muldoon, NZ Foreign Affairs Review Vol 26 1976:10-11). While this antagonistic rhetoric moderated over the next few years as New Zealand's trade quadrupled with the Soviet Union between 1975 and 1977 (By then the Soviet Union had become New Zealand's fifth largest export market) it served to restore a less independent client relationship with the United States. The National Government, for example, softened the Labour Government's position on a nuclear weapon free zone in the South Pacific and allowed US nuclear powered and armed warships to visit New Zealand ports. The Communist scaremongering of 1975-76 diminished somewhat as trading links with China and the Soviet Union expanded and as strategic studies demonstrated that the direct threats to New Zealand interests were slight from either the Soviet Union or China. In the absence of any obvious enemy it is a little bit difficult to explain New Zealand's very enthusiastic support for

military adventures of both the United States and the United Kingdom. The National administration, for example, supported the American invasion of Grenada and gave logistical support to the British during their Malvinas/Falkland campaign.

Such support can only be explained in terms of the National party's traditionally conservative approach to foreign policy and its willing embrace of the United States. Their position has been increasingly out of touch with the bulk of the electorate however. To give some examples, when the National Government indicated to the United States that they could resume port visits of nuclear ships this precipitated and accelerated opposition movement in the main ports. A notable example was the peace squadron on Auckland harbour which at great personal risk on occasion put small boats out onto the harbour in efforts to block entry of US warship into the ports. Simultaneously with these sorts of direct protests was the emergence of a nationalist peace movement that sought to make New Zealand into a nuclear weapon free state. This Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Committee campaigned from one end of New Zealand to the other in an attempt to get local councils, individual households, schools etc., to declare themselves nuclear weapon free zones. The results were spectacular. Over 2,075,757 people or 65% of all New Zealanders live in 94 nuclear weapon free zones.

This sort of movement nudged the Labour Party, as well as the Social Credit Political League, and in 1984 the neo-conservative New Zealand Party into adopting strong anti-nuclear positions during the 1984 election campaign. The Labour Party, for example, has had anti ANZUS and anti nuclear resolutions before its annual conference for many years. It could have passed a resolution calling for a New Zealand withdrawal from ANZUS during the 1984 conference. It decided instead to go for a policy that banned all nuclear armed or powered warships from New Zealand ports. It campaigned on this policy among others and was elected with 43% of the vote to National's 36%, the New Zealand party's 12.5% and Social Credit's 7.0% of the vote. Since all the opposition party's had strong anti-nuclear platforms one can see that 63% of the New Zealand electorate voted for a significant change to New Zealand's continued participation in the United States global nuclear strategy.

Non-nuclear alignment:

While opinion polls indicate that approximately 76% of the New Zealand population are totally opposed to the stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons and do not wish to be defended by them a much smaller proportion is in favour of withdrawal from ANZUS. The latest Heylen opinion poll (April 1984) indicated that the New Zealand population is split 45-45% on continuation of ANZUS

with 10% of the population either not indicating a preference or not understanding the question. It thus appears that the allegiance to a larger protector is an important element within the New Zealand national character. Earlier opinion polls, e.g. one done for the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies in September 1984 demonstrated strong support for a nuclear free South Pacific (78%) and a nuclear weapons free New Zealand (80%) but only 48% of the population was willing to support a neutral New Zealand. It was in response to this sort of opinion that the Labour Party formulated its policy of non-nuclear alignment.

The fourth Labour Government, therefore, stands directly in the idealist and internationalist tradition of all earlier Labour Governments. On this occasion responding to the democratic wishes of the New Zealand population it has opted to make a strong stand on disarmament issues not by leaving such negotiations up to the Americans as the National Party does but by speaking out as an independent nation and by keeping nuclear weapons at bay from New Zealand and within the South Pacific. They have opted to take a more even handed opposition to the deployment of nuclear weapons by any state. The current Labour Prime Minister, David Lange, has campaigned very actively to put this particular concern on the international agenda. In his speech to the United Nations General Assembly on the 25th September 1984 he expressed New Zealand's dissatisfaction to the nuclear weapons powers and raised the matter privately with the continuing build up in nuclear arsenals, the danger of intended nuclear war and the failure of the superpowers to make progress on arms control and disarmament issues. New Zealand on its own took a number of practical steps:

(i) It prohibited trips to New Zealand of nuclear armed and nuclear powered warships of all nations. This policy will in due course be reflected in legislation to make New Zealand nuclear free.

(ii) New Zealand also supported an Australian proposal for a South Pacific Nuclear weapon free zone at the August 1984 meeting of the South Pacific Forum in Tuvalu. David Lange argued the case for speeding up the pace of work on the zone and it was agreed that a draft of the treaty should be prepared for submission to the forum at its next annual meeting.

(iii) Some urgency has been given to accelerating progress on the resolution seeking to encourage and speed up work on a treaty to ban all nuclear tests in all environments. The government is particularly concerned about continued French testing also and has made strong representations to the French Government on this issue. But the goal is broader, New Zealand would like to see all nuclear testing stopped. (Disarmament and Arms Control

Information Bulletin, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Wellington, October 1984:2).

The Labour Government's policy of non-nuclear alignment has proven very difficult for the United States. This is because the United States has underlined on a number of occasions that ANZUS is essentially a nuclear alliance. During the 1982 election campaign, for example, the then Prime Minister Robert Muldoon asked the Reagan administration whether or not it was possible to have a non nuclear alliance? The answer was a firm NO. (Nic MacLellan:1984:11). Similarly a US official Jonathan Anderson stated in Canberra in 1982 that

"In the event of an attack upon Australia, the primary principle under which US forces would operate in meeting the requirements of the ANZUS Treaty would be the deployment of nuclear weapons. The nuclear principle is primary and fundamental to ANZUS"

Instead of it being an alliance of mutual benefit there is mounting evidence that it benefits the United States most of all. Admiral Robert J.Long, for example, former Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet addressed the US House Armed Services Committee in March 1982 and gave the following view of Australian and New Zealand from a US perspective:

"These nations are staunch allies and view the ANZUS Treaty as the foundation for their security. But their ability to project a military power is limited. Nevertheless, each contributes important support for our forces. For example, Australia provides access to ports, airfields and other facilities as does New Zealand. Australia also performs surveillance activities in the Indian Ocean area and in a contingency could provide invaluable protection of certain key blocs. In the South Pacific, Australia and New Zealand both play key roles in contributing to both the political and economic development of the new Pacific Island nations" (Peter Jones, 1984:33).

The value of ANZUS, therefore, seems psychological for Australia and New Zealand but it does have tactical and geo-strategic value for the United States. Certainly the range of US military installations in Australia must make that country a prime target in the event of any nuclear war. See Jim Falk, 1984 (Taking Australia off the Map.) The actual installations in New Zealand are rather less significant but symbolically important. There is a US airforce facility based on Christchurch for the US Antarctic Programme "Operation Deepfreeze". Interestingly over 50% of the planes that use the facility are

not going anywhere near the Antarctic, rather they are mainly cargo planes en route from the United States to Australia and Diego Garcia. Another new facility recently located is at Tangimocana in the North Island of New Zealand. Project Acorn is part of the US Naval Ocean Surveillance Information System (NOSIS) and opened in 1982. It connects with three or four stations in Australia through the Philippines and Hawaii as part of Bullseye: one of four worldwide networks that includes the SOSUS network of listening devices on the seabed which are used to detect Soviet submarines. SOSUS networks are used off the coast of Japan and linked arrays off Christmas Island are also part of this network. Another use of Tangimoana and the Australian SIGINT stations would be in wartime when they can be used to provide targetting information for Tomahawk anti-ship cruise missiles (TSAM) (Jones, *ibid.*: 36). These tangible bases as well as New Zealand and Australian involvement in different sorts of naval and military exercises with the United States enable the US to develop its Indian Ocean rapid deployment strategy and provide them with some critical information facilities especially within Australia. New Zealand also used to provide surveillance intelligence for the South West Pacific region.

Thus the declaration by the New Zealand Government that New Zealand wished to impose a ban on nuclear armed/powered ship visits to New Zealand seemed to strike at the heart of the taken for granted alliance the United States assumed it had with New Zealand in ANZUS (SEATO is now in abeyance). George Schultz, for example, when he attended the ANZUS meeting held in New Zealand two days after the Labour Party victory, when he was told of the proposed warship ban and revision of ANZUS told reporters that the US had had the same sort of problem with Labour in Australia after the March 1983 election but it was soon dealt with! New Zealand was given notice, therefore, that its intended action would antagonise the United States. In addition to banning nuclear ship visits to New Zealand, the Labour Government also gave warning that it felt ANZUS needed renegotiating. The former Labour Prime Minister, Bill Rowling, for example (current NZ Ambassador to Washington) stated in June 1984:

"Today ANZUS is a treaty out of time. Most people seem to recognise that. There is therefore a great opportunity for constructive change and equally importantly a strategy for change. Many of course would just throw the whole arrangement out the window but in my view that would be an impotent gesture. The best defence that New Zealand could possibly enjoy would be a politically stable and economically strong South East Asian region and we along with the Australians and the United States can do much to

United States since the New Zealand government has reiterated that it does not wish to be defended by nuclear weapons. At the moment, i.e. as of April 1985, the United States has not initiated any further sanctions against New Zealand but the administration has hinted that it will push the matter further at some stage in the future. Presumably this is a tactical pause because the American sanctions against New Zealand have resulted in a hardening of anti nuclear feeling within New Zealand as demonstrated by the most recent opinion polls. New Zealanders do not take kindly to being bullied and the US actions have been widely interpreted as an attempt to coerce New Zealand into reversing a decision that was arrived at democratically and which commands the support of the majority of the population. The Solarz hearings on this issue that took place on 18 March 1985 while critical also resulted in a considerable amount of support for New Zealand's right to make whatever decision it considered appropriate as an independent sovereign nation. There was considerable fear expressed, however, about the contagiousness of the New Zealand position.

"Only Representative Molinari was highly critical of New Zealand's actions. The other four witnesses, two scholars, a retired ambassador Martindell all pleaded for more understanding of New Zealand's position although they didn't necessarily endorse it ... Representatives Mo Udall and Jim Leach specifically criticised US overreaction. There seemed to be little stomach for economic sanctions but the withdrawal of New Zealand's economic benefits under GATT seemed like a distinct possibility". (ed Snyder, FCNL Washington, letter to author, 18 March 1985).

It appears that the New Zealand initiative of non nuclear alignment coupled with some concrete steps to this end has captured international attention precisely because of its freshness. As the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in parliament, Helen Clark, M.P., put it

"To a world overawed by the complexities of arms negotiations between the superpowers - and impatient with the lack of results from them -- New Zealand's move is a mould breaking one which cuts right across the impass and the stagnation of bloc politics. Its real significance is that yet another small, aligned nations is prepared to place conditions on the nature of its strategic alignment and to disengage from and withdraw support for the nuclear weapons strategies of the superpowers" (Clark, 1985:1)

Clark goes on to point out that New Zealand is not alone in

this particular policy, within the Warsaw Pact Rumania does not give support to Soviet nuclear weapons deployment. Denmark and Norway have policies of non deployment during peacetime and Greece negotiated an agreement with the United States to withdraw American bases harbouring nuclear weapons within five years. The Netherlands is also delaying deployment of Cruise missiles. Therefore the important point is that New Zealand is not alone in this action. If New Zealand can establish links with other nations seeking to generate an area of manouverability between the superpowers on this issue it should make a positive contribution to disarmament negotiations. The Five Continent Peace Initiative which met in Athens in January represented an opportunity to encircle the nuclear weapons powers and begin "an irreversible process of empowerment and self determination on nuclear matters" (Clark, 1985). It is only when non nuclear weapons states begin joining together to urge renewed political effort on the part of the nuclear weapon states that the process of disarmament will be stimulated. It is to this task that the fourth Labour Government in New Zealand is committed. New Zealand has a special role to play in this process. Since our geo-political location makes us safe from most external threats we can afford to take risks which countries more unfortunately located cannot. We can afford to set an example to these other nations and extend assistance to those that also wish to stand out against nuclear lunacy. To quote Helen Clark again.

"The New Zealand approach to disarmament is, I believe unique. The strong feeling we have against nuclear weapons are shared in most parts of the world. Yet our consciousness of their dangers has been conditioned by a feeling for what their development has done to our neighbours in the region. The miserable act of testing French nuclear weapons continues in their Polynesian territories today, yet France is not alone in treating the Pacific as a nuclear playground. I understand the Soviet Union tests weapons in Siberia on its Pacific rim. The Chinese are said to lob test missiles into the Pacific. The British tested at Christmas Island and in Australia. The United States conducted extensive atmospheric nuclear testing in Micronesia and still lobs missiles into Kwajalien atoll. Japan a Pacific country is the only nation in the world to have suffered nuclear attack. As a Pacific nation we cannot but feel for those who have borne the brunt of nuclear weapons development in our region. We have made and will continue to make, links between that and the colonialism which made it possible. The indigenous peoples of New Zealand are increasingly linking with other indigenous peoples of the Pacific in demanding an end to nuclear testing and colonialism and in demanding

sovereignty ... I believe that in time we will develop a strong Pacific consciousness. It comes as no surprise to me that independence on the nuclear issue has come to be one of the ways in which we express our national identity." (Clark 1985:6-7)

The anti nuclear stance of New Zealand, the positive concern for the remaining independence movements within the Pacific, the development of close links with Pacific Island countries on this issue (not all of whom support the policy wholeheartedly, e.g. Fiji and Tonga have reservations about it) means that New Zealand is helping create a regional consciousness of a global issue and seeking to work out practical ways and means of giving expression to this concern. Both the Australian and New Zealand Governments wish to maintain a high conventional security capacity in the region and hope that all nuclear superpowers will respect the territorial integrity of the South Pacific and not introduce nuclear weapons into the region. In addition to a non intervention policy for the superpowers, the New Zealand Government is working within the South Pacific Forum, which is the political body comprising the leaders of governments of the independent and self governing countries of the South Pacific, in order to promote a strong regional density. New Zealand will seek to advance its moral position with these countries by putting into practice a concrete programme of economic co-operation with the region as it has been doing for some years through SPEC (The South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation), SPARTECA, the South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Co-operation Agreement, The Pacific Forum Shipping Line and within the Forum of Fisheries agencies. Working with Pacific Island countries through positive shared development partnerships and seizing the opportunity within the South Pacific to exclude nuclear weapons from the area. This is the task that the New Zealand Government has set itself. It will not be an easy struggle. Already the United States has made New Zealand pay for its moral stand and has asked New Zealand to rejoin the nuclear fraternity when the government has made a decision to reject nuclearism. As David Lange indicated in the highly publicised debate on this issue in Oxford, 1 March 1985:

"There is no humanity in the logic which holds that my country must be obliged to play host to nuclear weapons because others in the west are playing host to nuclear weapons. That is the logic which refuses to admit that there is any alternative to nuclear weapons, when plainly there is. It is self defeating logic, just as the weapons themselves are self defeating; to compel an ally to accept nuclear weapons against the wishes of that ally is to take the moral position of totalitarianism which allows for no self

determination". (D Lange, 1985:20-21)

Whether New Zealand will be allowed to pursue this moral policy and be self determining will depend on a combination of external and internal factors. If the Labour Government loses the next election the National Party has indicated already that it will restore the ANZUS Alliance to its former operational levels. Much depends on the quality of the bilateral relationships that New Zealand develops with Australia. Many New Zealanders were disappointed that the Prime Minister of Australia, adopted the US position vis-a-vis New Zealand on the port access question and he is now under some pressure from within his party to modify the Australian Labour Party position. Recent talks between Kim Beasley the Australian Minister of Defence and Frank O'Flynn the New Zealand Minister of Defence are likely to result in a strengthening of conventional defence ties between both countries and a return to the spirit of the Canberra Pact of 1944. The achilles heel for the New Zealand Government will be, as it was in 1975, the state of the economy at the next election campaign. The current administration is in fact opening up the New Zealand economy and making it more vulnerable to external pressures. If New Zealand experiences any significant deterioration in economic activity and growth the more independent foreign policy will be in some jeopardy. There are no obvious immediate threats to new Zealand's security, so the administration has time to consolidate what it means by non nuclear alignment and indicate what additional coalitions might be added to relationships with old allies. The only sources of conflict in the region are internal struggles between the Kanak independence movement and French settlers in New Caledonia, and Tahitian independence struggles as well as some increased tension along the border between Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea. None of these conflicts threaten new Zealand's interests although it is possible that New Zealand might be able to play a mediatory role if called upon to do so.

CONCLUSION:

This paper had demonstrated that New Zealand has always been constrained in the formulation of independent defence and foreign policy by virtue of its dependence on larger powers as protectors. Early history was characterised by an assumption that British and New Zealand interests were synonymous with the result that New Zealand ignored its relationships with the South Pacific and Asian region. The second phase was characterised by a dual dependence with both the United Kingdom and the United States with the latter exercising a strong influence over New Zealand's perception of its own defence and security interests.

Labour administrations in New Zealand have always been

characterised by an idealistic, independent foreign policy that has been outward looking and internationalist in thrust. National administrations tend to accept the dominant western perception of where New Zealand's interests lie and often fail to take advantage of opportunities whereby New Zealand could make a positive contribution to the solution of regional peace and security problems.

The current Labour Government is making a rather unique contribution towards solving a global problem at a national and regional level. It deserves to receive international support for the stand it is taking since its interests are altruistic and it is acting on behalf of all nations that wish to see an end to nuclear lunacy.

References cited in text:

New Zealand Official yearbook. 1983. Wellington, New Zealand.

B.Brown 1970. New Zealand Foreign Policy in Retrospect. Wellington, NZIIA.

Helen Clark. "New Zealand's Non Nuclear Initiative", paper presented to Seminar on Disarmament and Security, NZIIA, 22-23 February 1985.

Disarmament and Arms Control Bulletin, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Wellington, No.9, 1984.

Jim Falk. 1984. Taking Australia off the Map. Penguin.

K.Jackson. 1974. "New Zealand's International Interests and the Search for Peace", pp.17-18 in S.Hoadley (Ed.), New Zealand and the Search for Peace, New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies, Auckland, 1974.

K.Jackson. 1980. "Attitudes and Alliances 1945-1976" in J. Henderson (ed.), Beyond New Zealand, Methuen, Wellington.

P.Jones. "Anzus: the Sheet Anchor of the Pacific", AMPO, Japan-Asia Quarterly, Volume 16, number 3.

R.Kennaway. 1972. New Zealand Foreign Policy 1951-1971. Wellington, Methuen.

R.Kennaway. 1980. "The Great Power Context", pp.23-28 in J.henderson (Ed.), Beyond New Zealand, ibid.

George Laking. 1984. "Sleeping with elephants", pp.23-26, New Zealand International Review, May-June 1984, Vol.IX, no.3.

George Laking. "The evolution of an independent foreign policy" in J. Henderson (Ed.), Beyond New Zealand, *ibid.*

J.Marshall. 1975. Evolution and Foreign Policy: The struggle for existence. Wellington, NZIIA.

D.Lange. "Oxford Debate", Ministry of Foreign Affairs Bulletin No.11, 1985.

K.Sinclair, 1970. New Zealand in the world. Wellington, Heinemann.

P.Spender. 1969. Exercises in Diplomacy. Sydney.

W.Rowling. "New Zealand Foreign Policy: Time for a change?", New Zealand International Review, May-June 1984, Volume IX, no.3, pp.7-8.

F.L.Wood. 1958. New Zealand People at War. Wellington, Internal Affairs.

United Nations University Regional Meeting on Peace and Security in Asia and the Pacific – A Brief Report.

Tashkent, USSR, 27-29 April 1985. Rapporteur: Prof. Yoshikazu Sakamoto

The meeting was held in the conference room at the Durmen Hotel, Tashkent, under the auspices of the UN University in cooperation with the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Twenty four participants from various parts of the Asia-Pacific region and five Soviet observers as well as two representatives of the UNU attended the meeting.

At the three-day conference, the following presentations were made, dealing with the five themes, to which each session was devoted respectively.

Theme 1: Regional Security in the Global Context

1. "Problems of Peace and Security in Asia," Academician E.M.Primakov
2. "Regional Security in the Global Context," Mr.Rasheeduddin Khan
3. "Strategic Aspects of Asia in the Global System," Mr.Tariq Ali

Theme 2: Subregional Issues

4. "Peace and Security Issues in Southeast Asia," Mr.Alexander Magno
5. "The Problems of Peaceful Development and Security in East Asia," Mr.Yang Jiarong
6. "New Zealand's Relations with the U.K., the U.S. and the Pacific," Mr.Kevin Clements

Theme 3: Cases of Conflicts

7. "Regional Peace and Security Coalesce and Clash in Indo-Pakistani Relations," Mr.K.P.Misra
8. "Peace and Security on the Korean Peninsula," Mr.Bruce Cumings
9. "The Iran-Iraqi War and Regional Security in the Gulf," Mr.Mohammed Ayoub
10. "The Conflict in Indochina," Mr.Khien Theeravit

Theme 4: Politics and Mechanisms

11. "Peace Plans for the Asia-Pacific Region," Mr.Yoshikazu Sakamoto
12. "The Non-Aligned Movement since Bandung 1955," Mr.Lim Teck Ghee
13. "Nuclear Free Zones as a Demilitarization Strategy in Asia and the Pacific," Mr.Richard Tanter

14. "Establishment of Peace Zones in Asia," Academician A.Yu.Yousupov

Theme 5: Agenda for Future Research

15. "State of the Art Report on Research on Peace and Security Issues in Asia and the Pacific," Mr.Lawrence Surendra

16. "Rapporteur's Summary," Mr. Yoshikazu Sakamoto

In his opening address, Dr.Kinhide Mushakoji, Vice-Rector of the UN University, expressed his gratitude to the Russian host organizations for enabling the UNU to hold this meeting at Tashkent -- a crossroads of civilizations located in the heartland of Asia. He then spelt out the three main purposes of this meeting. First, as part of the preparation for the International Year of Peace (1986), to generate input to the United Nations meeting on regional peace and security to be held in Bangkok toward the end of May, 1985. Second, to promote research on peace/security issues on the basis of a dialogue between global and regional scientific communities so as to redress the tendency for peace and security studies to be undertaken in metropolises without paying due attention to the views of the scholars of those Third World countries directly affected by the issues. To develop such a regional dialogue, he emphasized the importance of ensuring the participation of scholars holding divergent views. Third, to serve as a starting point for a regional dialogue on peace/security issues, with the hope that researchers of divergent views could sit at the same side of a table to engage in a common endeavor.

The meeting was opened by Academician P.N.Fedoseev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He emphasized the danger of an explosion of nuclear arsenals and nuclear power stations that could lead to the total annihilation, and the decreasing security resulting from the arms race. This, he continued, should be brought to an immediate end on a just and equal basis, including, among other things, the prevention of the militarization of space.

After referring to the interdependence between disarmament and development, he concluded by pointing out, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and militarism, how World War II demonstrated the possibility of states with different social systems uniting in the face of a common danger.

Three papers were presented on the first topic of: Regional Security in Global Context by Academician E.M.Primakov, "Problems of Peace and Security in Asia," Mr.Rasheeduddin Khan, "Regional Security in the Global Context," and Mr.Tariq Ali, "Strategic Aspects of Asia in the Global System." The session was chaired by Randolph David.

Academician Primakov, after pointing out the mutual dependence of the global and regional dimensions, emphasized the overall importance of global dynamics increasingly affecting the events in Asia, as a result of the scientific-technological revolution illustrated by the conceivable effects of nuclear war from which no country could escape. Thus, the struggle for nuclear-free and peace zones, he said, was of enormous importance, not as an effort to create a neutral zone of the pre-nuclear age, but as a means to resist and to slow down the arms race. He argued that, while the U.S., after failing to retain strategic superiority, stuck to nuclear parity, the USSR, though not allowing the U.S. to upset the parity, sought to lower the nuclear force level.

Mr. Khan summarized the main points of his paper which aimed at presenting his systematic thinking on the macro-aspect of the global context of peace security problems. As an unprecedented feature of today's world, he pointed to the globalization of vital human concerns, resulting from the convergence of the techno-scientific revolution, transformation of the communication system, increasing interdependence of economies, and so forth, which has made sovereignty almost obsolete.

A participant commented that the nuclear situation in Asia should also be examined, with China already a nuclear power, India having nuclear capability and Pakistan being a threshold nuclear power. He also described the unique situation of the Diego Garcia base, with few local inhabitants remaining on the island and no US reporters granted access. Another participant raised questions regarding whether, instead of saying the "obsolescence of sovereignty," one should not say its "dilution."

The next speaker, Mr. Tariq ali, highlighted the main points of his paper by saying that, while we all lived under the shadow of nuclear war, popular struggles against poverty, oppression and imperialism were equally important for peace and security Asia. He argued that US strategy had two related objectives; to crush social revolution and to weaken the USSR militarily and economically. He stressed that disputes within working class movements, occasionally leading to armed conflicts between states, provided relief to imperialism. He referred to the Sino-Soviet dispute, Sino-US rapprochement (both of which had weakened the Vietnamese revolution), the Sino-Indian border dispute which, in his view, was a sideshow of the Sino-Soviet conflict, Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea based on the fear that Pol Pot's Kampuchea would become a base for ASEAN, and the Pol Pot phenomenon seen in Amin's policy in Afghanistan. He said that, despite US obstructions, the USSR should be able to take unilateral initiatives for an Afghan withdrawal, and that to

justify its intervention on the grounds of external assistance to insurgents was tantamount to admitting that the present Afghan regime had little popular support. He suggested that the idea of a neutral Afghanistan with the guarantee of the USSR, the U.S., China and Pakistan be seriously considered. Noting that China has come to realize that its anti-Soviet policy has turned out to be counterproductive, he concluded by saying that the differences of social system between countries were important and relevant.

A participant asked for evidence showing the danger of Kampuchea becoming ASEAN's base resulted in Vietnam's invasion, and whether Vietnam, as the USSR in Afghanistan, should not have taken unilateral initiatives for withdrawal. Mr.Ali gave his interpretation as to the background of Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, and also supported the idea of Vietnam's unilateral initiatives for withdrawal but argued that Vietnam, unlike the USSR, had good reasons for concern over its security. Another participant, largely in support of Mr.Ali's argument, provided information on externally supported insurgent activities in Afghanistan which preceded the coup in 1978. he said the USSR, contrary to the policy of the U.S., was in favour of a political settlement in Afghanistan. A question was raised by a participant as to whether the U.S. should be treated as the sole imperialist power or the source of conflict should be identified case by case, since he hardly saw a distinction between the US policy toward Indochina and Nicaragua, and the Soviet policy toward Afghanistan, or Vietnamese policy toward Kampuchea. Mr.Ali responded by saying that the coup against Daud's regime was not masterminded by the USSR, which was a big difference from the US war in Vietnam; but he added that, although the Soviet intervention did not cause the disorder, it exacerbated it. Another participant, while appreciating Mr.Ali's contribution of adding the dimension of popular movements to the inter-state dimension as the basic framework for the peace/security discourse, questioned whether Mr.Ali tended to equate popular movements with socialist movements, and whether the analysis of the reasons for the failure of socialist movements in achieving unity was missing in his paper. Another participant asked whether Mr.Ali's argument implied support for the monolithic socialist world of the 1950s, whether conflicts between socialist countries could not be considered a sign of maturation of socialism, and whether the division within the capitalist world should not enter the picture. Comments were made by a participant on the aggressive action taken by the Kampuchean communists against Vietnam prior to the latter's invasion, and on the significance of the disillusionment among many regarding socialism resulting from its division. A participant, stressing the logic of the state, questioned whether a state which adopted socialism did not cease to be a state. Mr.Ali replied that, although he recognized the importance of non-socialist movements

such as peace movements, he took the view that movements that challenged existing state power tended to be socialist; he agreed that reasons for the failure of socialist movement should be analyzed; and that he was opposed to monolithic socialism, but thought socialism should retain a certain degree of unity because of the qualitative similarity of the system.

Under Theme 2: Sub-Regional Issues (Chairperson, Tariq Ali), there were three papers presented: Mr.Alexander Magno, "Peace and Security Issues in Southeast Asia," Mr.Yang Jiarong, "The Problems of Peaceful Development and Security in East Asia," and Mr.Kevin Clements, "New Zealand's Relations with the U.K., the U.S. and the Pacific."

Mr.Magno, by way of introduction, made a distinction between the state-centric concept of peace security and the concept defined in terms of the progressive achievement of a popularly desired social arrangement, the former conforming with the geopolitical concerns of the major powers which interpreted Southeast Asian security in their own terms. After describing the political, economic, cultural, ethnic, demographic as well as geopolitical complexity of the region, he pointed to the current polarization of the societies in the region into the pro-Western ASEAN bloc and the Indochinese states, coupled with the changing position of China. The main security concerns focused on domestic issues such as development, insurgencies and secessionism, made the foreign relations of ASEAN countries with Vietnam, China, the USSR and the U.S. highly complex. Further, he said, there were subsidiary intra-subregional conflicts, as well as the concern over Japan's remilitarization. He observed that, over the long term, tension between authoritarian regimes and democratic popular tendencies would rise. ASEAN's declaration (27 November, 1971) on a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, was developed into several initiatives to improve relations with Hanoi; but the declaration was stillborn. He argued that the relative lack of popular enthusiasm for these moves might be due to the preoccupation with domestic issues, i.e. equitable development and democracy.

A participant pointed out the need for a conceptual framework in which the various factors mentioned by Mr.Magno could be included, that technocratic authoritarian regimes were run by economists who took the political system as given, ignoring the need for participatory processes to attain equity, and that where basic needs had been met, the people had begun to voice demands for the attainment of more abstract values such as justice and participation, whereas no institutions were prepared to accomodate such demands. Another participant underscored the externally as well as internally induced militarization in the region, the need for dissociation from the international system

for the sake of security, and the importance of the question "whose security, threat perception to whom," with special reference to marginalized groups whose source of threat was frequently the state. A participant pointed out that, contrary to Mr.Magno's observation, the Thai perception of the Vietnamese threat did not reach a climax in 1975-76 but in 1978-79 at the time of the invasion of Kampuchea. A participant noted that the growth rate of ASEAN countries declined not only due to the general crisis of the capitalist economy but also because of the increase in military expenditure. A participant questioned whether concern with "internal security" was not related to that with investments and the "country risk," whether Japan's economic relations with ASEAN countries were connected with these countries' militarization, whether the economic crisis and the offensive from the North (IMF, etc.) aggravated the militarization of ASEAN countries, and whether a new formula of "collective security" might not be devised. Mr.Magno replied that the link between declining growth rate and increasing military spending reflected the sense of insecurity among the governing elite, that the expanded military was not so much against external aggression as against internal opposition. He also said that "collective security" arrangements as represented by SEATO were irrelevant to the people as a result of the alienation of the state from the people, who were concerned with a change in social structure in order to enhance their peace and security.

The second presentation was made by Mr.Yang. He said that, while the Asia-Pacific region was endowed with rich resources, a large market, and labour force of high quality, it was confronted with two kinds of threat -- the arms race and the tense conflict between the two superpowers, and the forces interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. Accordingly, he put forward four conditions for peaceful development and security in the region: First, the arms race should be stopped, on the recognition that an increase of deterrence would only result in the escalation of the arms race; second, the interference of outside forces should be stopped and foreign forces should be withdrawn from Kampuchea, South Korea and Afghanistan; the five principles of peaceful co-existence should be observed as the sole principle guiding the development of relationships among the countries in the region; and fourth, economic, trade and technical cooperation should be developed among countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, calling for a change in the unreasonable North-South relations and promotion of South-South cooperation.

Questions were raised by a couple of participants on the impact of China's Four Modernization programs on strategic thinking, the qualitative distinction China seemed to make between "hegemonism" and "imperialism," China's view on the root

causes of the arms race, and China's nuclear strategic doctrine as distinct from the deterrence doctrine of the U.S. Mr. Yang answered China needed a peaceful environment and was opposed to hegemonism, imperialism and neo-colonialism which gave rise to the arms race, and China's nuclear weapons were only for its protection as exemplified by its pledge for non-first-use. A participant asked about China's view on the effects of the high rate of growth in Asia in terms of internal disparity, class conflict, militarism and repression. Another participant questioned whether China's economic growth and the Sino-Japanese trade ties would in fact bring forth benefit to other Asian nations, and whether China's rapid economic growth would not cause internal problems.

Mr. Yang responded that China's economic development would favour peace in the region, China would strengthen economic cooperation with the East, West and the Third World, and any problems that might arise could be prevented should the right measures be expediently adopted. A participant commented that Mr. Yang seemed to attribute equal responsibility for the arms race to the U.S. and USSR, that the USSR had made a number of proposals for arms control and disarmament which the US obstructed, and that the "equal responsibility" theses actually made China fall into the hands of the U.S. Mr. Yang replied that his presentation was both a criticism of the U.S. and USSR because that reflected the reality in East Asia, that, while he would not always attribute equal responsibility to the two superpowers, what was crucial was that the situation in Asia had become increasingly tense.

The next presentation was made by Mr. Clements who started out by remarking that short-hand language like "East," "West," "US," "USSR" missed the internal dynamics of a society and made the possibility of change difficult by dehumanizing and depersonalizing relationships in which the people counted. He said this was the mistake the US government made in trying to understand the internal dynamics of New Zealand (NZ). He then gave the historical background of NZ's growing search for South Pacific national identity which began during World War II and culminated at the time of the Vietnam War.

A comment was made understating the significance of recent developments and warning against the assumption that a fundamental change had occurred in NZ policy, for it took ANZUS for granted and would conform to the Australian, and ultimately the US, position in regard to critical aspects of its policy. Another participant rather saw NZ action as of great importance as an example of a smaller nation breaking the logic of bipolarity, comparable to the precedents of Yugoslavia and Romania in the socialist bloc. A participant, also emphasized

the function of breaking the logic of bipolarity performed by NZ and described the state of the peace movements in Australia, arguing that the questioning of the alliance with the U.S. stemmed from cultural roots -- the search for an Australian identity. The peace movements in Australia were in search of alternative, defensive defense, equidistance from the major powers, and non-alignment in a profound sense, including Australia's stance toward the US and Japanese investment.

Mr.Clements' response stressed the need of not underestimating the important internal dynamics in search of identity. He confirmed the significance of the logic-breaking role played by NZ, aimed at encircling the superpowers with sanity.

Four papers were presented on Cases of Conflict (Chairperson: Jim Anthony): Mr.K.P.Misra, "Regional Peace and Security Coalescence and Clash in Indo-Pakistani Relations," Mr.Bruce Cumings, "Peace and Security on the Korean Peninsula," Mr.Mohammed Ayooob, "The Iran-Iraqi War and Regional Security in the Gulf," and Mr.Khien Theeravit, "The Conflict in Indochina."

Mr.Misra, after mentioning the importance of the linkage between the global politics of the two superpowers and regional politics, pointed out the sources of conflict between India and Pakistan, such as the difference in terms of religious ideology, domestic political system (India being democratic while Pakistan authoritarian), foreign policy (India taking a non-aligned policy, Pakistan an alliance with the U.S.), and national identity (Pakistan's break-up leading to the creation of Bangladesh in 1971). The situation, he said, had been gradually improved since the Simla agreement in 1972 but had dramatically deteriorated since 1979 when Pakistan strengthened its ties with the U.S. in reaction to the developments in Afghanistan. He stated that although no regional organizations for cooperation existed in South Asia, small but irreversible steps had been taken starting with technical cooperation; but further progress would require greater political will.

Mr.Mishra's presentation was followed by that of Bruce Cumings. Mr.Cumings, after expressing appreciation of the presence of delegates from the two Koreas, which was an unprecedented experience for him, argued that the U.S. which had acted as the hegemonic center of the world, politically, economically, and among others, technologically, still held a position less vulnerable than its allies by distributing disadvantages to them, that the U.S. had a power gravity which made the USSR and China care more about their relations to the U.S. than their relations between the two, and particularly in Asia the U.S. played a hegemonic role which was unilateral, and

that the "Pacific basin" represented a combination of American hegemony and dynamic regional economy. In Korea, he stated, the U.S. retained the old policy of domination, with containment directed against North Korea and with the possibility of deploying neutron bombs and Intermediate Range Nuclear Force (IRNF) South Korea as well as mounting pressure on Japan to play a greater military role which would prove disastrous vis-a-vis Korea. Holding preponderant power in Korea, the U.S. was in a position to take initiatives such as immediate withdrawal of nuclear weapons from South Korea, positive response to the proposal on three-party negotiations, and the determination of the time-table for the withdrawal of US troops. He noted that there was much to learn from the independent initiatives taken by China recently.

Mr. Ha from South Korea made some personal observations on the presentation of Bruce Cumings. He stated that a conceptual framework for a balanced systematic analysis should be elaborated to cope with the complexity of the problem, that Mr. Cumings seemed to overestimate the military power of the US in the 1970s and 80s as compared with previously, that Mr. Cumings tended to underrate the danger of Japan's regional hegemony as illustrated by her increasing naval capability as well as economic and technological capabilities which would constitute the "Japanese threat," that the government and the people of South Korea shared the perception of threat coming from North, which probably indicated the inadequacy of the indices Mr. Cumings used to measure the North Korea military capability, that the government and people of both Koreas shared the perception of threat which was the legacy of the Korean War, that the internal problems of North Korea, which were in Mr. Ha's opinion the essential element for peace/security issues in the region, required further elaboration, that singling out specific weapons, such as tactical nuclear weapons in South Korea, without paying due attention to the overall weapons system and the wider context of US-USSR interactions was not appropriate, and finally that the three-party talks, having the potential danger of turning into 2.5 talks, should be combined with "cross recognition" (South Korea and China plus the USSR, on one hand, and North Korea and the U.S. plus Japan, on the other).

Mr. Hyon from North Korea expressed his appreciation of Mr. Cumings' paper which showed deep concern and understanding of the Korean issues and stated that the tension in Korea was related to US policy which had brought about a high concentration of up-to-date weapons, including nuclear weapons, as well as large-scale maneuvers, and moved in the direction of creating a US-Japan-South Korean alliance. Mr. Hyon noted that the U.S. had no need to bring in a large amount of sophisticated weapons if they were directed against a small nation like North Korea alone;

and herein lay the danger to the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. He said that North Korea recently proposed to hold North-South parliamentary talks as well as the proposal on three-way talks, with a view to removing mistrust and misunderstanding and rooting out the fear of a northward invasion or a southward invasion. To remove this fear on the part of both North and South, a Non-Aggression Declaration by the two would mark a big stride toward peace and reunification of Korea, which in turn would contribute to the peace of the world. Mr. Kim from North Korea, after emphasizing the strong wish of the new generation of Korea to bring about reunification through dialogue as members of this generation sought a bright future rather than to live with the memory of the past, raised the following questions -- what of the reaction of the US administration, congress and public opinion to the three-way talks proposal, and whether in Mr. Cumings' view South Korea would respond positively to the proposal for a North-South parliamentary talks.

Mr. Cumings responded to Mr. Ha's remarks that military changes and economic changes would provide the framework for a systematic analysis, that the U.S. had become even more powerful than earlier times since as compared with Western Europe, it was less constrained by allies and the domestic and foreign peace movements in Asia, especially in the aftermath of improved relations with Japan and China, that Japan should play no military role in Korea, that undoubtedly North Korean military capability was inferior in quality to the South in the absence of a transfer of new technology from the USSR, and also South Korean military expenditure outstripped the North on an annual basis, that denuclearization of Korea was essential in order to prevent the outbreak of a local nuclear war and its escalation, and that the three-way talks proposal was well received by some US Congressmen.

Concerning Mr. Hyon's comments, Mr. Cumings responded that the pressures on North Korea generated by the Team Spirit exercise were understandable, that the exercise had been conducted in South Korea because South Korea was considered a testing ground with no local resistance unlike in Germany, and that the proposals on a parliamentary talks, Red Cross talks and especially economic talks had great significance. In reply to Mr. Kim, Mr. Cumings said that the general public in the U.S. was ignorant of the Korean situation, that there seemed to be conflict and confusion within the administration, particularly between the State Department and the White House, and that some of the liberal Congressmen and even the Council on Foreign Relations showed a favourable response to the three-way talks proposal. He mentioned that, although hardly any significant domestic pressures had been generated in the U.S. for a change in the government's Korea policy, informed people could still gain

access to policy makers in the absence of general public interest.

Mr.Ayoob dealt with the Iran-Iraqi war in terms of three issue areas -- unique features, features common to other Third World regions, and regional peace/security in the Third World at a conceptual level. He argued that, unlike most inter-state wars in the Third World, the Iran-Iraqi war was drawn out essentially due to the failure of the Iraqi regime to distinguish between attacking a state and attacking a revolution. The war led to the polarization of the Gulf states into Iran and the conservative states where "state security" became synonymous with "regime security."

Mr.Khien, speaking on the Indochina conflict, emphasized that anti-Vietnamese feelings in Thailand were not subsiding but intensifying, that the root causes of the conflict originated in the region while the role played by the USSR and China were no more than contributing factors, that the root cause was Vietnam's colonial policy in Kampuchea and Laos relying on its military force and using the "Chinese threat" and Pol Pot's genocide as justification to ensure international support. He argued that Vietnam was not a proxy of the USSR; the USSR was used by Vietnam which needs to restrain China in order to engage in military action in Kampuchea. In his view, the Kampuchean situation had reached a stalemate and no bright future was in sight. He said a settlement would call for Vietnam's withdrawal from Kampuchea and Laos, combined with the removal of the Soviet base in Vietnam and the US bases in the Philippines. He concluded by regretting the absence of Vietnamese participants at this conference who would have presented the Vietnamese view.

A participant asked whether Mr.Khien would agree that Kampuchea had been stabilized as a result of the advent of the government in Phnom Penh, whether it was not a contradiction for Mr.Khien to oppose Vietnam's peaceful presence in Laos while supporting Pol Pot in Kampuchea, and why ASEAN did not respond to Vietnam's proposals which included its pullout within a certain negotiated time period. Mr.Khien replied that restoration of a peaceful order in Kampuchea was a remarkable achievement which, however, was made possible because those remaining in the country were non-political and easy to govern especially at the initial stage; but he maintained that the next generation would be more independent as economic well-being alone would not be enough. Mr.Khien continued that it was only the Kampuchians who had the right to decide who should or should not participate in the formation of their regime and the Pol Pot faction was also made up of Kampuchians, and that, although Vietnam's expressed intention of withdrawing "within ten years" was a positive sign, Vietnam had no right to stay even a single day, the withdrawal

being their duty not subject to negotiations. The same participant argued that Mr.Khien was inconsistent because, while giving realistic recognition to the de facto existence of Pol Pot, he gave no such recognition to the existence of Vietnam. Mr.Khien responded that, although he recognized the proposed Vietnamese time table as a good sign in terms of traditional diplomacy, he denied the right of Vietnam to stay in Kampuchea as a matter of principle.

Another participant stated that the occupation of one country by another was wrong, as demonstrated by the UN resolutions on the Indo-Chinese conflict, and that Vietnam's pullout could restore friendship between China and Vietnam. Mr.Khien restated his proposals put forward in his paper by emphasizing the two conditions -- withdrawal of all foreign troops from all countries including the Philippines and a settlement within the framework of the United Nations. A participant argued that the Thai government not only had no interest in the settlement of the conflict over Kampuchea but had a long history of expansionism vis-a-vis Kampuchea, and that Vietnam's proposals which had been undergoing significant modifications in favour of international control of elections had been ignored by Thailand. Mr.Khien said he did not agree with the historical interpretation given by the previous speaker nor did he agree with the policy of the Thai government, as he was against Thai expansionism just as he was against Vietnamese expansionism.

Mr. Likhit, another Thai participant, said that scholars should be objective and espouse principles which should be of universal applicability, not to Vietnam alone, and that both Mr.Khien and he had been actively opposed to the American war in Vietnam and had been hurt by Vietnam's behavior which did not differ from US imperialism. He then argued that, unlike Mr.Khien, he attached importance to the legacy of the Vietnam War and the Sino-Soviet conflict as determinants of Vietnam's action, that Thailand would suffer from the presence of refugees for generations, that the Thai people harboured apprehensions about the infringement of Thailand's territorial integrity that might occur as a quid-pro-quo in the negotiation with Vietnam, that the Thai people were concerned with the possible support of Thai communists by Vietnam, and that the Kampuchean conflict served to legitimize the presence of the military regime in Thailand. A participant pointed out that Mr.Khien's paper was useful in methodological terms because, instead of going back to controversy over the past, it focused on the future-oriented exploration of the mutual interests of the parties concerned.

Theme 4 was on Politics and Mechanisms and the Chairperson was Rasheedudin Khan. Four papers were presented on this topic:

Mr.Yoshikazu Sakamoto, "Peace Plans for the Asia-Pacific Region," Mr.Lim Teck Ghee, "The Non-Aligned Movement since Bandung 1955: A Historical Overview," Mr.Richard Tanter, "Nuclear Free Zones as a Demilitarization Strategy in Asia and the Pacific," and Academician A.Yu.Yousupov, "Establishment of Peace Zones in Asia."

Mr.Sakamoto identified five categories of conflicts affecting the peace of the Asia-Pacific region. Concerning (1) conflict between the two superpowers, he said that, despite an overall strategic "party" attained by the USSR, the historical memory of strategic inferiority seemed to persist to justify its possession of the power to overkill, while the US government being a captive of the historical memory of strategic superiority continued its efforts to develop a new weapons system such as SDI, and that he saw no distinction between the two super-powers as far as the force level and arms races were concerned. As peace measures, he put forward the establishment of a diplomatic forum for tension reduction and arms reduction in the region, activated by unilateral, independent initiatives to be taken by the two, and coupled with the policy of strategic delinking to be pursued by other smaller nations.

As for (2) regional conflict generated by the superpowers, he referred to Korea and Indochina, noting new positive functions that could be performed by East-West economic cooperation in light of the selective open economy policy taken by socialist countries; as for (3) East-East conflict, he touched on the USSR-China, China-Vietnam, Vietnam-Kampuchea conflicts as well as the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, emphasizing the need for recognizing, especially on the part of more developed socialist countries, the diversity and equality of socialist nations. In regard to (4) indigenous inter-state conflict, exemplified by the Indo-Pakistani and Iran-Iraqi conflicts, he raised a fundamental question as to whether Third World nations should accept the Western state-system as the model for nation-building precisely at the time Western developed countries were engaged in mutual coordination. Instead, he argued, Third World nations should build a "softer" state which was mutually less exclusive and internally more pluralistic. As for (5) intra-state conflict, he pointed out that it was closely related to uneven, unequal socio-economic development, and emphasizing the link between development and peace, he concluded that without creating a new paradigm for "alternative development" and "collective self-reliance" the Third World would have a bleak future and peace in this region would remain a pipe-dream.

Several participants questioned whether a "soft" state would not make Third World nations more vulnerable to the penetration of strong international actors such as the superpowers,

industrial countries and TNCs, whether "soft" states in the Third World would bring about a more anarchical situation and substitute international war with civil war, whether it was not wrong for less developed non-Western nations to seek to skip the historical stages of state formation Western states had gone through, and whether what Third World nations needed was not a strong state which could go hand in hand with internal democracy, counteracting the agents of transnationalization. A couple of participants asked the conditions for strategic delinking with special reference to the conceivable sanctions by a superpower, and the transnationalization of popular movements and institutional framework.

Mr.Sakamoto replied that strategic delinking might lead not only to economic sanction but also to the change of political regime in the delinking country, that the initiative for delinking therefore should come from below through popular movements, and that the delinking of a single country might not be a viable option and hence the need for collective arrangements, such as nuclear-weapons free zones supported by transnational popular actions. A participant commented that the basic aspirations of the people in the Asia-Pacific region were anti-dictatorship and anti-imperialism, the latter being based on nationalism of two types -- one autarkic, the other oriented to re-linking with the people of neighbouring countries. But, he emphasized, to build a regional community of the second type, the oppressive regimes in individual countries had to be eliminated. A participant, acknowledging the epistemological problem involved in the use of the Western state as a model, questioned whether systematic differentiation should not be made between the two superpowers, and whether a distinction should not be made between the international level and the domestic level, the latter referring to a long history of legitimate struggles for liberation. Mr.Sakamoto replied he did not distinguish between the two superpowers as far as the military capability to annihilate humankind which made them "super" was concerned, and that the causes of war required greater elaboration and could be discussed at the last session on the topics of future research.

Mr.Tanter, after endorsing the importance of a non-state centric approach and non-state actors challenging the logic of the state-system, dwelt on a wide range of demilitarization strategies which encompassed diplomatic initiatives in Korea and Kampuchea, arms limitations, alternative security for delegitimising reliance on arms, a more fundamental social-economic transformation of societies as well as the nuclear weapons-free zone (NWFZ). He argued that a NWFZ was important as a delinking strategy, as political area denial to nuclear powers, as discouragement of nuclear proliferation, as discouragement of hosting imperial forward deployment of nuclear

weapons, as a measure to raise the nuclear threshold, as a means to build confidence among nations and also among the people by diminishing widespread fatalism, and as a way to democratize relations among states. He divided NWFZ arrangements into multilateral and unilateral, the former referring to proposals on the South Pacific NFZ, the Indian Ocean Zone of Peace, the South Asia NFZ, Naval Arms Limitations talks, the NFZ in Southeast Asia, and the latter referring to the policy of New Zealand.

Mr. Lim, noting that this meeting coincided with the Bandung conference celebrating its 30th anniversary, emphasized the need to look squarely at the realities of the Third World where a majority of "non-aligned states" were characterized by dictatorial, authoritarian, repressive regimes, by militarization as illustrated by soaring military spending, by social-economic stagnation stemming from the international division of labour, by ecological crisis, and by subordination of the North-South struggle to the East-West conflict. He argued that, unlike 30 years ago, when the colonial system and foreign interests could be blamed, responsibility rested today with Third World elites as well as imperialism, that, while traditional progressive forces had lost creativity, new popular movements had emerged in the Third World which did not necessarily adopt a socialist-orientation but were concerned with justice, human rights, autonomy, cultural survival and ecology, with full awareness of the importance of controlling political power, and that the major powers should refrain from interference in the Third World to ensure Third World peoples the right to self-determination. While appreciating the bloc-breaking logic of the NWFZ, he stressed the need for creating an "Offensive conventional weapons free zone," for ASEAN's unilateral initiatives in demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops, and for building a network of non-governmental progressive forces for public education, exposure of information on arms transfers, secrecy laws, etc. He concluded that instead of the non-aligned movement, which was composed of a large number of countries spread throughout the world, regional or subregional non-alignment should be pursued, and that the problem of internal militarization should be tackled in concert as with the repression in East Timor, West Irian, Mindanao, and so forth.

A participant dwelt on what he thought to be positive achievements of the non-aligned movement -- the quest for peace in the 1950s, support for African national liberation in the 1960s, economic challenges in the 1970s, and the quest for the prevention of nuclear war in the 1980s. He added that NWFZ should be considered an application of non-alignment and that the movement for non-nuclear cities and towns should be extended to the Third World. Another participant, while acknowledging that non-aligned states which sought peace and justice internationally

should do the same at home, stated that the achievement of the non-aligned movement in promoting national liberation, especially that of small nations, should not be underrated.

Academician Yousupov, noting that this year was the 40th anniversary of the Soviet victory in World War II, said that the Soviet people contributed to the liberation of Europe, the acceleration of Japan's surrender and the advance of the national liberation movements in the Third World. Recalling that the Republic of Uzbekistan alone lost 650,000 people during World War II, he emphasized the current nuclear arms race piling up overkill capabilities had gone beyond the bounds of sanity, and put forward his view on the inevitability of local nuclear wars turning into an all-out nuclear war, and the urgent need for sincere talks accepting the differences in opinion. Supporting the idea of a zone of peace in Asia, which should be a realistic, feasible and phased undertaking devoted to the settlement of specific local conflicts, he spelt out his view in favour of the Indian Ocean Zone of Peace, a zone of peace in Southeast Asia with the participation of the states of Indochina, a zone of peace in the South Pacific putting an end to nuclear weapons tests in the region and barring US naval vessels armed with nuclear missiles, particularly the Tomahawk missiles, confidence building measures in East Asia, and the Mongolian proposal for a convention renouncing aggression and use of force in the mutual relations between the countries of Asia and the Pacific as well as the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to ensure security and a peaceful settlement on the Korean peninsula with the condition of the withdrawal of US troops.

A participant asked what Academician Yousupov thought was the role to be played by the UN regarding NWFZ or peace zones. A participant asked whether the Soviet Union had ever endorsed the idea of the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) put forward by the ASEAN countries, and whether the Academician agreed that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Southeast Asia. Academician Youspov replied that the proposal on a NWFZ in the South Pacific might be submitted to the UN, that, as long as the Kampuchean conflict remained unresolved, it would be difficult to implement troop withdrawal there, that the Soviet support for ZOPFAN was stated in certain documents, and that the elimination of misinformation and disinformation as indispensable for the development of mutual trust among the peoples of the world.

This session was followed by the last session on Agenda for Future Research. The Chairperson Dr. Kinhide Mushakoji stated that the purpose of this session Agenda for Future Research was two fold -- to analyze regional peace/security issues, and to identify regional problems to be researched not only by the UNU

but also by other organizations in the region such as the Asian Peace Research Association (APRA) and the Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives (ARENA). The chair called on Mr.Surendra to make a State of the Art Report on Peace/Security Research in the region, and Mr.Sakamoto, the rapporteur, to present his own view on what had been discussed and what should be further researched.

Mr.Surendra pointed out that the linkages between "peace/security," on one hand, and development, human rights, militarism, ecology, and cultural survival, on the other, varied depending on the society or region, signifying a particular perspective or approach to peace, that a critical examination of State-centric "security" doctrines and studies was necessary, and that in fact efforts had been made by Asian researchers to take a holistic approach in order to deal with the peace problematique from perspectives such as "peace and justice" and "peace and development" with due attention paid to militarism, authoritarianism and oppression in terms of issue areas and to non-state, non-governmental initiatives and movements in terms of agents of change. After giving examples of research activities along these lines, he mentioned the important contributions made to peace studies from women's perspectives. He then explained the nature and purpose of the annotated bibliography prepared by ARENA for distribution at this conference, emphasizing the importance of research and documentation undertaken in the region on peace/security issues which used to be dealt with almost exclusively from the perspective of metropolitan centers.

Mr.Sakamoto summarized the discussion in terms of two areas of research -- (1) conflict analysis and (2) peace analysis. He said that the meeting provided the participants with a good opportunity for mutual learning as to the diversity of the conflicts in the Asia-Pacific region, identifying the specific nature and structure of conflicts in each subregion -- among others, the Indo-Pakistan dispute, the conflict in the Gulf area and the Indian ocean, the conflict in Indochina and the division on the Korean peninsula. On the other hand, he said, further discussion was needed regarding the commonality and common roots of these apparently divergent conflicts. He argued that, in addition to colonial legacies and the impact of the Cold War, post-independence development or maldevelopment should be analyzed, with special reference to the militarization of the state and the regime, which led to the emergence of authoritarianism as well as the spiralling growth of military hardware and spending, that the concept "militarization" would provide a framework for analyzing the linkages between internal violence and international violence and also the linkage between nuclear weapons system and conventional armament, the latter being the immediate concern of the people of the Third World, and that research on the causes of militarization would thus serve to

identify a common conceptual framework in which the priority concerns of the people in the North and those of the Third World people would find a holistic linkage.

As for peace analysis, Mr.Sakamoto said that the discussion had not only centered largely on peace and security on the inter-nation, inter-state level, but also on the level of dissociative peace as illustrated by the frequent reference to "non-intervention," "non-alignment," "de-linking," "disengagement," and "coexistence." Thus, he pointed out, the focus was not adequately placed on associative peace, shedding light on conditions for inter-nation cooperation. The discussion on the state-system had suggested the need for collective self-reliance, which required further elaboration. Research on possible development projects, such as the Mekong river development program, which would promote not only economic but also political cooperation should be encouraged. Mr.Sakamoto added that, even on the level of international dissociative peace, there were many points which called for further research as regards: the tension reduction between the U.S. and USSR, whether there was a qualitative difference between the two in terms of the responsibility for the beginning of the Cold War and the arms race, especially as they had affected peace and security in Asia; China, which undoubtedly played a positive role in regard to the tension reduction on the Korean peninsula was not clear as to whether it was ready to take initiatives for arms reduction even prior to substantial disarmament on which the two superpowers might agree and whether China itself was ready to include part of its territory in a NWFZ in the Asia-Pacific region; implications of Japan's economic and military growth for the peace in the region and the role it should and could play in promoting arms reduction in Asia and the Pacific; conditions and prospects for utilizing intra-regional resources by the nations in the region for autonomous settlement of regional conflicts, such as a group similar to the Contadora group in Latin America, developing the spirit of Bandung; political and technical requisites for the denuclearization of the seas in the region.

Mr.Sakamoto pointed out that further analysis was needed concerning the role of non-state, non-governmental actors, along the lines of the discussion conducted on the impact generated by popular movements in New Zealand in pursuit of its denuclearization. He concluded by saying that research not only on plans for peace but also on the agents of change for a just peace was necessary, including an examination of the causes of the split and conditions for the unity of the movements for social change.

During the discussion a number of topics were proposed for further research as follows: In terms of subregional focus, the

crisis in the Middle East; in terms of issues and themes, (1) economic and social implications of the arms race and disarmament, (2) militarization of the regimes, with special reference to the links between the strategy and military organization of the superpowers and Third World military and paramilitary organizations which serve as surrogates, (3) the development and crisis of the world capitalist economy and their impact on peace and security in the peripheries, (4) West-West conflict, to which other parts of the world, particularly Third World peoples, have to adapt, (5) East-East conflict, with special reference to the Chinese concept of hegemonism, (6) different patterns of non-alignment in the Asia-Pacific region, depending on the geopolitical settings, political leadership, state of economic development, and other variables, (7) alternative security arrangements, (8) conditions for creating linkages between the peace movement in the North its counterpart in the Third World, (9) critical reexamination of Western epistemology as it affects the concepts, terms and paradigms used by Third World researchers; and finally, in terms of methodology, the need to establish a regional data bank on armament and disarmament initiatives, and the significance of international scientific exchanges, especially between the East and the rest of the world as exemplified by this conference, in order to eliminate misinformation and disinformation.

In his closing remarks, Academician Fedoseev said that this meeting was a remarkable success as, despite occasional heated debates based on divergent outlooks, it took a constructive approach to the task of common interest, namely, the prevention of nuclear war and the promotion of disarmament, that research should be focussed on the obstacles to peace and disarmament, and that the Soviet Academy of Sciences would continue to support the joint research activities of the UNU, as demonstrated by the cooperation extended by the Academies of the USSR and the Republic of Uzbekistan to this meeting in Tashkent.

Available from ARENA

A preliminary annotated bibliography relating on Peace and Security in the region. The Bibliographical survey basically focusses on the following major items, viz.:

- a) Asia in World System,
- b) Major Peace and Security problems in South Asia, South-East Asia, East Asia and Pacific,
- c) Case studies of conflicts and
- D) Policies and mechanisms for Peace and Security such as Non-Aligned movement, Nuclear Free Zone, ASEAN and Confidence Building measures.

However in order to cover the specific situations-nationally and sub-regionally, groupings under themes like 'Non-Alignment' have been done or additional sub-items used. The literature survey deals with what actually are the existing perceptions, orientations and perspectives within the region vis-a-vis the problematique of peace and security.

Cost per copy
US\$7.00 (Asia and Pacific region)
US\$10.00 (Rest of the World)
Cost includes mailing

Resources

Information on Peace related activity in Japan

A listing of major groups, institutions and individuals in Japan doing:

- (1) Research in relation to Peace and Security Issues and
- (2) Work in relation to Peace and Security Concerns with some comments on the focus of their work.

The groups and institutions are broadly categorised into:

- I. Mass organizations.
- II. Major Research Organizations.
- III. Other Groups and Institutions.

I. MASS ORGANIZATIONS

- (1) GENSUIKYO - The Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs 6-19-23, Shimbashi, Minato-ku, Tokyo 107.
Tel:(03) 436-3205 Cable Code: ANIATOM TOKYO.

Founded in 1955, major split occurred in 1963 when serious differences arose between the Japan Communist Party and the Japan Socialist Party. Closely associated with the Communist Party Gensuikyo has branches in all 47 Prefectures in Japan and claims a membership of over 2.5 million. Affiliated organizations include Trade Unions, Women's Organizations, Student and Youth groups, Religious organizations and Peace and Friendship groups.

- (2) GENSUIKIN - The Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs 4th Floor, Akimoto Building, 2-19 Tsukasa-cho, Kanda, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo.
Tel:(03) 294-3994. Cable Address: ANTIBOMB TOKYO

Closely related to and derives support in terms of membership and finances from the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO). Supported by the Japan Socialist Party, the Komeito (a Buddhist political party) and the Social Democratic League. Claims a membership of 2 to 3 million members through branches in Japan's 47 Prefectures and member organizations of SOHYO. Affiliated organizations include Women's organizations, Student and Youth groups, Religious organizations and Ecology groups. One of the founding members of the Pacific Concerns Resource Center in Hawaii and relates actively with the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement.

- (3) National Movement for the Non-Deployment of Tomahawks,
c/o TomakuimushiOsha, Nakamori Building, 2/F, 1-8-6, Kasuga,
Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 112. Tel:(03)813-1953

A coalition of Citizens groups that has recently come to the forefront of the Peace Movement. Grassroots movements in the 1960s emerged as a result of dissatisfaction with the two major peace organizations, especially the influence wielded by political parties and trade unions over these organizations. The decision to deploy Tomahawk cruise missiles in the Pacific by the USA after June 1984 prompted several anti-war and anti-military base movements to come together in organizing protest campaigns. One group with considerable experience in such campaigns is the Citizens Group in Yokosuka. The Movement in addition focuses on solidarity with the people of South Korea and of Asia and the Pacific, the rights of discriminated minorities, militant labour movements, and environmental pollution and destruction.

II. MAJOR RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS.

- (4) The Pacific-Asia Resources Center (PARC)
Office: 4/F, Seiko Bldg., 1-30, Kanda Jimbo-cho, Chiyoda-ku,
Tokyo.
Mailing Address: P.O.Box 5250 Tokyo International, Japan.
Tel:(03)291-5901
Publications: AMPO-Japan-Asia Quarterly Review (English)
SEKAI KARA (Japanese language quarterly)
Also a monthly bulletin with same title.

The English periodical AMPO founded in 1968 eventually led to the formation of PARC. Both grew out of the Japanese peoples movements and the anti-Vietnam war movement in particular, and aim at opening up a future in which the people of Japan and Asia

Resources

and the Pacific can live together in peace and harmony. One of the initial aims of AMPO was to act as a means of communication between movements and action groups of Third World countries where freedom of expression is suppressed. Today AMPO has become a part of the global network of people's movements. PARC is actively involved in Research, Documentation, Publication and Dissemination of Knowledge, Educational work and International Exchange activities, in the pursuit of its objectives. The emphasis is on research and analyses of the domestic and international aspects of the dominant structure and the widest possible dissemination of these studies so as to help those who are struggling against such oppressive structures. One of its priorities is to analyse the effects of the Japanese government's aid on the peoples of Third World countries. PARC has set before itself the task of developing liberatory visions and theories of an alternative future world community in which all people can live together in peace and equality.

- (5) Peace Studies Association of Japan (Nihon Heiwa Gakkai) Secretary-General Prof. Yuji Suzuki, Faculty of Law, Hosei University, 17-1, 2-Chome Fujimi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 102. Tel:(03)264-9395

Mailing Address: P.O.Box 5187, Tokyo International, Japan.
Publications: Peace Studies (HEIWA KENKYU,) [Japanese language] Annals of the Peace Studies Association of Japan, (NIHON HEIWA GAKKAI); published annually since 1976.
PSAJ - Newsletter (English)

The Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ) was established in 1973 for the purpose of encouraging and developing peace research in Japan. PSAJ has a membership of over 600 members, mostly University Academics, researchers, scholars and others. PSAJ has close contact with the Japan Peace Research Group, the Japanese Section of the Peace Science Society (International), the Coordinating Committee on Peace Research attached to the Japan Academy of Sciences, and the Institute for Peace Science at Hiroshima University. PSAJ is a member of the Asian Peace Research Association (APRA) and through it a member of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA).

The objectives of the PSAJ are to advance peace research in Japan in close co-operation with other domestic and foreign organizations in the same field, to pursue peace research firmly

Resources

based on the reality of Japan's war experience and Peace Constitution, and to promote peace research as a non-governmental movement for realization of peace values. A clear distinction is drawn between peace studies and strategic studies. The rules of PSAJ forbid membership to any person who belongs to an organization or institution which might use the results of the Association's research for purposes of war. Research concerns of PSAJ members include global problems confronting humanity some originated in Japan or intensified by Japan, such as the nuclear arms race, nuclear strategies, militarization, global structures of dominance and exploitation especially in the Third World, destruction of the environment and human rights. The PSAJ journal "Peace Studies" has covered extensively issues like Peace Education in Japan, Peace Building, Peace Movements - Their Theories and Practices, and Asian Peace Research.

MAIN ACTIVITIES OF THE PSAJ

The 1983 Spring Session was held on April 23, 1983 at Dokkyo University, Saitama. Under the main subject of "The Meaning of Peace and Reality", papers were read on the semantic analysis of 'peace' in Japanese, what peace means for the ordinary people, a political analysis of the present Nakasone cabinet which has been accelerating its militarization policies, and the economic disadvantages associated with a militarizing economy.

The 11th PSAJ Conference was held on November 12 and 13, 1983 at Hiroshima University. The conference was timed to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the PSAJ. The common theme of the first day was "Hiroshima-Nagasaki in the Post-war Period," in which peace research in Japan was reviewed and the new frontier in present and future peace studies explored while others discussed from various points of view the significance and universality of what Hiroshima-Nagasaki symbolizes. The second day was devoted to the two important themes, "Toward Peace and Order in Asia," and "Scientific Technology and Peace."

Other activities included sponsoring the 2nd Peace-Disarmament Educational Forum held in Yokohama on May 21 and 22, and the Hiroshima Conference by the Asian writers held in Hiroshima from July 27-30. The PSAJ published a Japanese annual, Heiwa Kenkyu (Peace Studies), vol.8 (Nov. 1983) featuring the problems of the new international military order. The Association also published Heiwagaku (Peace Studies), I, the first of a four volume serial publication, a newsletter in Japanese,

Resources

No.57-3 and No.58-1, and the English newsletter, No.3 (Sept.1983)

NEWSLETTER

Back Issues

Copies of Newsletter No.2 (1982) and No.3(1983) are still available. The main contents are as follows:

No.2:militarization, peace movement, integration. No.3:Soviet threat, nuclear attitudes, post-war arms race.

Visiting Japan?

It may be possible to arrange a meeting with Japanese peace researchers during your visit. Please advise the Overseas Liason Committee of your plans as far in advance as possible.

Newsletter Networking

The annual PSAJ Newsletter is available free of charge to all those interested in the activities of Association. In order to promote global networking of similar newsletters, it would be appreciated if informaton on the availability and contents of the PSAJ newsletter could be included in any newsletter you know. Information on the availability and contents of overseas newsletters can be included in our bi-annual Japanese newsletter.

Recent Publications

Heiwa Kenkyu (Peace Studies). Vol.8, 1983.

Short English summaries of the articles included in this issue are available from the Overseas Liaison Committee. Contact may also be made with the authors. The articles are as follows:

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| SHINDO Eiichi | Analyzing the New International Military Order: Regional Dimensions and Challenge to Peace. |
| SUZUKI Yuji | Militarization in Southeast Asia: A Case Study of Indonesian Politics under Suharto. |
| MATSUSHITA Hiroshi | Militarization in Latin America |
| KIMURA Shuzo | Militarization in the Middle-East |
| KITAZAWA Yoko | Militarization of the Third World: the Case of Africa |
| YAMAMOTO Takeiko | Enlargement and Expansion of the Military-industrial Complex in |

Resources

OHTSU Sadayoshi
OKUMURA Shigetsugu

SAITO Yasuhiko

MIZUGUCHI Nobuaki

FUKUDA Kiku
KURIHARA Akira

NEMOTO Hirotooshi

TANAKA Naoki

France; In Search of Rapid
Increase in Foreign Arms Sales and
Structural Changes in the
Armaments Industry.
Soviet Economy and Peace
American Economy and Peace;
Underlying Contradictions in Reagan's
Military Build-up.
Human Rights and Massive Exoduses of
People.
The Reception of Refugees in France
and their Human Rights.
United Nations and NGOs
Peace by the People: Through the
analysis of Japanese Mass Religion.
Toward a Philosophy of Peace: Some
Problem Posed by Yoshika Mitsuru.
To Bring Militarization to a Stop:
Our Alternatives and Restraints.

(6) Peace Research in Japan published by the Japan Peace Research
Group, University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan.

Volumes 4-10 were published from 1970 to 1979-80. The first
volume was published in 1967 and from 1970 the volumes were
brought out regularly each year. Contents include the report on
the progress of peace research in Japan, indepth analysis of the
the role of Japan in the Post World War era, information on
activities and the publications of Japanese peace research groups
and a summary of important documents, summaries of research
symposiums on peace research and so forth. These volumes are
very important as a record of peace research in Japan and has
interesting contributions such as 'A Survey of Asian Youths
expectations of and attitudes towards Japan-reflecting mixed
feelings of their hopes and apprehension' (in volume 5, 1971).
The volumes would be useful for any one interested in peace
research with its valuable articles which shows the discussions
on different aspects of peace research and has quite
comprehensive appendices.

(7) Asian Peace Research Association (APRA)

The Secretary-General APRA, Faculty of Law,

University of Tokyo, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113, Japan

Member of International Peace Research Association (IPRA)

Resources

III. OTHER GROUPS AND INSTITUTIONS.

- (8) The Institute for Peace Science at Hiroshima University
1-1-89, Higashi Senda Cho, Naka-ku, Hiroshima City, Japan.
- (9) Nagasaki Institute for Peace Culture (Nagasaki Heiwa Bunka Kenkyusho) 536, Aba-machi, Nagasaki 851-01, JAPAN.
Tel:(0958)39-3111.
- (10) Center for Christian Response to Asian Issues (CCRAI-NCCJ)
- Asian Documentation Program of the National Christian Council of Japan, Rm 57, 2-3-18 Nishi Waseda, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160, JAPAN. Tel:(03)202-0494
The CCRAI puts out at regular intervals a very useful documentation collection called 'Japanese Militarism Monitor', which is a collection of clippings from Japan's English language newspapers covering issues related to militarism, defence, armament and peace.
- (11) Institute of International Relations
For Advanced Studies on Peace and Development in Asia, Sophia University, (Jochi Daigaku Kokusai Kankei Kenkyujo)
7-1 Kioicho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 102, JAPAN.
TEL:(03)238-5161

The Institute of International Relations (IIR) was founded at Sophia University in April 1969. As its subtitle indicates, this Institute is particularly oriented towards research on the far reaching issues of peace and development in Asia; the themes should be understood as a focus for, rather than a restriction on, the activities and interests of the Institute's members. As of April 1984, the staff of the IIR, all of whom are faculty members of Sophia University, include a Director, ten Permanent Members, and three Associate Members, who are specialists on politics, society, economy, law, history and related fields. In general terms, it is an interdisciplinary centre concerned with the full range of issues that are treated in international studies, including international relations and comparative social scientific research.

The IIR promotes coordinated research projects among its own members and with other cooperating individuals and institutions, both in Japan and abroad. The monthly study meetings of the

Resources

staff contributed particularly to the development of two textbooks on international studies used widely in Japanese universities: Kokusaigaku: Riron to Tenbo (International Studies: Theory and Perspective), eds. K.Mushakoji and M. Royama (University of Tokyo Press, 1976; and Gendai Kokusai Kankei Ron: Atarashii Kokusai Chitsujo O Motomete (Contemporary International Relations: In Quest of a New International Order), eds. T.Kawata and K.Miwa (University of Tokyo Press, 1980). The study meetings of the staff in 1982-1984 were frequently devoted to the planning, implementation, and analysis of a comprehensive survey on the present scope and content of the international relations and area studies curricula in Japanese universities, as well as on the international consciousness and fields of interest of students taking such course in Japanese universities. The survey also collected comparable information from selected universities abroad to serve as a basis for international comparison. The results of this survey are to be published in Japanese and English.

The staff of the IIR also teach in the educational programs of Sophia University. They provide the core faculty for an undergraduate minor in International Relations in the Department of Foreign Studies and a graduate program leading to Master's and Doctoral degrees in International Relations (thirty-two students in residence in the Master's program and thirteen in the Doctoral program in 1984). The Institute also provides guidance and institutional base of support to foreign scholars and graduate students doing research in Japan and it welcomes many short-term visitors from abroad each year.

In addition to the textbooks noted above, the IIR has sponsored or co-sponsored the publication of three books (one in English, two in Japanese); several series of Research Papers (there are now forty-seven in the main English-language series); and the semiannual (since 1978) periodical The Journal of International Studies (partly in English, partly in Japanese, with abstracts of articles in both languages).

Since its inception, the Institute has also been the locus for or a participant in numerous research projects, symposia, lectures, and continuing study meetings at both the international and national levels, many of which have been devoted to themes connected with peace studies. For example, the first Asian Peace Research Conference was jointly sponsored by the Peace Research

Resources

Society International (President: W.Isard), the Japan Peace Research Group (President: T.Kawata), and the IIR in 1969 and held at Sophia University. The IIR's activities in fields such as peace, disarmament, and international understanding are too numerous to list here; but an outline of recent developments is contained in the pamphlet "Institute of International Relations: 1979-1984," a copy of which may be obtained by writing to the Insitute. For further information, write to: The Director, Institute of International Relations Sophia University (see address above).

- (12) Institute for the Study of Social Justice, Sophia University (Jochi Daigaku Shakai Seigi Kenkujo) 7-1 Kioicho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 102, JAPAN. TEL:(03)238-3023.

The Institute for the Study of Social Justice (ISSJ) was established at Sophia University in April 1981 to investigate the conditions of social injustice in the domestic and international arena, and thereby to promote social justice, and the peace and development of mankind. The Institute has sought support and cooperation from other groups both at home and abroad in pursuit of this objective. The Institute includes research, teaching, and action-oriented programs among its activities.

Research: The ISSJ has been the focal point for several research projects at Sophia University:

- (1) April 1979-March 1982: Research on Justice: theoretical study of the meaning of justice and empirical analysis of major issues of justice facing Japan.
- (2) April 1982-March 1984: Peace Research: Towards a Just World - In Search of Values and Methods of Peace and Development Education. The program included lectures, study sessions, and a study trip to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- (3) April 1982-March 1984: Food Problems in Developing Areas. In addition to interdisciplinary research on this theme, special seminars, lectures, and a music festival were sponsored on the Sophia campus each year on World Food Day (October 16).
- (4) February-April 1983: Field Research on relief and Rehabilitation of the Refugees and Displaced Persons in Pakistan, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Somalia. Sophia University had sent about 150 volunteers to help in th refugee camps in Thailand in 1980. In furtherance of such work, field research was conducted and contacts established in other

Resources

refugee areas by eight students and professionals, with financial aid from Caritas Japan and Sophia University.

Symposia and Lectures.

The Institute, in association with other groups such as International Christian University (Tokyo) and the Japan YMCA League, has sponsored international symposia each year, which included both guest speakers from abroad and Japanese participants. The dates and themes are as follows:

- (1) 1981 (Oct.30-Nov.1): "Human Dignity in the Age of International Mutual Dependency."
- (2) 1981 (Oct 22-14): "Development and Justice in Asia: Re-examination of Japan's Attitude."
- (3) 1983 (Dec.9-11): "World Refugees and Human Rights: Our Responsibility and Role."

The Institute also sponsors numerous lectures on campus each year. Among the more notable are two talks by Mother Teresa of the Missionaries of Charity (1981, 1982) and a dialogue with Lech Walesa of the Polish Workers' Union Solidarity (1981).

Action Programs.

In cooperation with the Sophia Relief Service, a service program established within Sophia University, the Institute has promoted direct action on behalf of justice. From June 1981 to November 1983, Sophia Relief Service collected US\$101,418 (¥24,392,174) on behalf of poor people and refugees throughout the world; these funds are distributed through the network of institutional contacts established with the help of the Institute.

Publications.

1. Annual: Shakai Seigi (Social Justice,) since 1982
2. Proceedings of the International Symposia of 1981, 1982 (the former was published by the Institute, the latter by the Japan YMCA League); and of the Field Research of 1983
3. Several pamphlets on topics of social justice.
4. The Sophia Relief Service, which has its office at the Institute, also publishes an occasional Newsletter concerning its activities (Sekaino Mazushii Hitobito ni Ai noTeo).

Resources

- (13) The Niwano Peace Foundation
202 Akasaka Grand House, 8-6-17, Akasaka, Minato-ku, Tokyo,
JAPAN. TEL:(03)478-0607
- (14) Japan Confederation of Atomic Bomb victims (Hidankyo)
5-31-7, Shimbashi, Minato-ku, Tokyo 105, JAPAN.
TEL:(03)438-1897
- (15) YMCA International Institute for Peace
7-11, Hatchobori, Naka-ku, Hiroshima 730, JAPAN
TEL:(082)228-2266
- (16) Hiroshima Institute of Peace Education
c/o Kyoiku-Kaikan, 2-2-5 Hikarimachi, Hiroshima, JAPAN.
- (17) Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation
1-2 Nakajima-cho, Naka-ku, Hiroshima, JAPAN
- (18) Hiroshima-Nagasaki Publishing Committee,
Shiba 1-419, Minato-ku, Tokyo 105, JAPAN
- (19) Christian Peace Exchange Committee
302 Toei Bldg., 4-31-7 Kotobashi, Sumida-ku, Tokyo 130,
JAPAN. TEL:(03)631-3110
- (20) Japan Christian Peace Association
c/o Rev. Shoji Hirayama, 19-5 Udagawa-cho, Shibuya-ku,
Tokyo 150, JAPAN. TEL:(03)461-5758
- (21) Jishu Koza
1-3-7 Mukugaoka, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, JAPAN.
An anti-pollution and anti-nuclear group.
- (22) Women's Coalition Against War
Puro Dakutsu Bldg. 2/F, 1-33-3, Hongo, Bunkyo-ku,
Tokyo, JAPAN.
- (23) Japan Women's Congress
1-33-3, Hongo, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, JAPAN.
TEL:(03)816-1862
- (24) Peace Studies Research Institute (Heiwa Mondai Kenkyujo)
Sokai University, Sokai Daigaku, Tangicho 1-236, Hachioji
City, JAPAN TEL:(0426)91-2211

Resources

- (25) World Council of Religion and Peace
Sumonkan, Wada 2-6, Suginami-ku, Tokyo 166, JAPAN
TEL:(03)383-1111
- (26) Rissho Kosekai (New Buddhist Group)
2-11-1 Wada, Suginami-ku, Tokyo 166, JAPAN.
- (27) Japan Sotoshu Relief Committee (A Zen Buddhist Group)
30, Hikari Bldg., Sugamo 1-28-5, Toshima-ku, Tokyo 170, JAPAN

GROUPS THAT ARE STRATEGIC AND SECURITY STUDIES ORIENTED.

- (28) Strategic Studies Society of Japan (SenryakuGakkai) Defense
Studies Bldg., National Defense Academy, 1-10-20 Hashirimizu,
Yokosuka-shi 239, JAPAN TEL:(0468)41-3810 (ext.2178)
- (29) Kajima Institute for International Peace (Kajima Heiwa
Kenkyujo) 5-13 Akasaka 6 Chome, Minato-ku, Tokyo 107, JAPAN.
TEL:(03)582-2251

PEACE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

- (30) Japan Association of International Relations (Kokusai Seiji
Gakkai) Isomo Bldg., Hitotsubashi University, 1-Naka 2 Chome,
Kunitachi-shi, JAPAN. TEL:(0425)72-1101 (ext.467)

A major organization that should have been listed under category II in this listing. Membership exceeds 800, primarily University Teachers and other researchers.

Has several groups with special interests.

Relevant to this listing are two groups:

- i) The Peace Research Group (Heiwa Kenkyu Bunkai)
- ii) The National Security Group (Anzen Hosho Bukai)

**INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH MATERIALS ON HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI
USEFUL FOR PEACE EDUCATION**

Compiled by,
Morishita Hiromu
Hiroshima Institute of Peace Education, PSAJ Newsletter no.4, 1984.

The number of English materials on damages, victims and

Resources

sufferings caused by the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, is not large, compared with the number available in Japanese. However, those especially necessary and important for people in foreign countries have come to be translated and published in gradually increasing numbers.

1. DOCUMENTS AND NOTES OF ATOMIC BOMB EXPERIENCE WRITTEN BY SURVIVORS

Dr. Arta Osada, Children of Hiroshima 1951, Harper & Row Publishers, New York, San Fransisco, London

Documents written by students (elementary, junior and senior high schools and university) in Hiroshima who experienced the atomic bomb disaster.

The book is of monumental value as teaching material based on the experiences of the atomic bomb victims themselves. The quotation below is illustrative: "Then, in the morning when I got up, my elder brother was dead, and every member of my family died one after the other" (Kikuko Yamamoto, 5 years old when she was exposed to the explosion of the atomic bomb)

Dr. Takashi Nagai, Living Beneath The Atomic Cloude 1979, San-yu-sha Shuppan, 1-7-1, Suido, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo

Children's record of suffering due to the atomic bomb. These records are written by the students of Yamazato Primary School and Junior High School.

In Yamazato Primary School, over a thousand children died as a result of the atomic bomb as the school was located very near the hypocenter of the atomic bomb explosion.

These stories of children who survived the bombings were collected and published by Dr.Nagai, himself a hibakusha bedridden due to leukemia. The terrible situation on the day the atomic bomb was dropped can be realised before one's very eyes.

John Hersey, Hiroshima 1981, Bantam Books, 4-4, East Golf Road, DesPlaines, ILL.60016, USA.

Six survivors' stories of their experiences at the time of the bombing.

The first English documentary on the atomic bombing by an American journalist.

Eleanor Coerr, Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes 1977,

G.P.Putnum's Sons, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

The record of the struggle against disease by Sadako Sasaki,

Resources

who died of leukemia when she was twelve years old.

The pictures in this book make it convenient for teaching children.

- * Masuji Ibuse, Black Rain 1978, Kodansha International, 2-12-21
Ottawa, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo./10 East 53rd Street, New York, N.Y.10022
Black rain, containing radioactive fall out, falls on a young woman who later suffers from fearful "atomic disease." Her chance of marriage dissolves. The hero of the novel, her uncle, writes a diary describing the atomic bomb disaster, encouraged by his niece. Shigematsu the hero hopes for her happy marriage, but it is in vain as she becomes ill.

The novel brings home to us the fear of radiation and the humaneness of the hero to his niece. It has been used as teaching material for junior and senior high school literature classes.

- * Sankichi Toge, Hiroshima Poems 1980, San-yu-sha Shuppan, 1-7-1
Suido, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo
Toge's "Give Back Father," "August 5th," and 23 other poems.
Anthology of angry outcry against the atomic bomb. The plain expressions of the poems are appeal to the minds of people.

- * Miyao Ohara, The Song of Hiroshima 1971, Taihei Shuppan, 1-2-15
Nishi Kanda, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo
Poems of 21 poets (Tamiki Hara, Sadako Kurihara, Hiromu Morishita, etc.)

- * Kenzaburo Oe, Hiroshima Notes 1984, YMCA Shuppan, 2-3-18
Nishiwaseda, Shinjuku-Ku, Tokyo.
Essays. In the essays Oe pursues the misery and dignity of living and loving as a human being surviving the atomic bomb.
Through the disaster of the atomic bomb. The reader is made is made to think about life as a human being.

- * Kenzaburo Oe, Atomic Aftermath 1984, YMCA Shuppan, 2-3-18
Nishiwaseda, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo
Essays. In the essays Oe pursues the misery and dignity of living and loving as a human being surviving the atomic bomb.
Through the disaster of the atomic bomb, the reader is made to think about life as a human being.

- * Harman Hagadon, The Bomb That Fell on America 1946, Association

Resources

Prss, N.Y.

A long poem of 76 pages

Expresses the mental anguish of the bombings to the American people as seen through the eyes of a Quaker.

- * Hiroyuki Agawa, Devil's Heritage 1957, Hokuseido

A novel in which a writer comes back to Hiroshima to report about Hiroshima eight years after the bombing.

2. DATA ABOUT THE ATOMIC BOMB DISASTER

- * Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings, 1981, Iwanami Shoten, 2-5-5 Hitotsubashi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo

The book abounds in data and includes pictures, graphs and so forth. Description of the lives of the survivors, peace appeals, peace movements and other data about the atomic bomb disaster.

- * Michihiko Hachiya, Hiroshima Diary 1955, University of North Carolina, School of Medicine

Records during about two months after the explosion of the atomic bomb. The author himself was wounded but he continued to record the disaster.

The symptoms of the atomic disease of people who came to receive treatment were recorded faithfully and objectively from the standpoint of a doctor. This book has been widely acclaimed in many countries.

3. TEXT BOOK OR SUB-READER FOR PEACE EDUCATION

- * Hiroshima Institute of Peace Education, Hiroshima-Living in this Nuclear Age 1980, Hiroshima Institute of Peace Education, c/o Kyoiku-Kaikan, 2-7-5 Hikarimachi, Hiroshima

This book was issued as material for peace education for secondary school students.

The contents are "Hiroshima and the 15 Year War between Japan and China," "Nuclear Weapons and Japan Today," "The History of War and Nuclear Weapons," "Children of Hiroshima," "A Lawsuit by the Atomic Bomb Victims and the Problems that They are Facing." As supplement the book contains poems and songs.

Suitable for secondary school students.

Resources

- * Hiroshima/Nagasaki Peace Reader Editorial Committee, Living for a Peaceful Tomorrow - A Peace Reader for High School Students 1974, Private Publishing (c/o Hiromu Morishita, 1-2-14 Chuo, Itukaichi, Saiki-gun, Hiroshima)
 "Learning from The Original of Atomic Bomb Experience";
 "What is War"; "Problem We Face Today."
 The contents cover all problems concerning Hiroshima and provide data to the young generation who live in the nuclear age.
- * Yoshiteru Kosaki, Hiroshima Peace Reader 1980, Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, 1-2 Nakajima-cho, Naka-ku, Hiroshima
 Convenient data about the history of Hiroshima, miserable state of suffering caused by the atomic bomb, the Peace Park and cenotaphs in the park.
- * A Standard Curriculum For Peace Education (Draft), 1979, Hiroshima Institute for Peace Education, c/o Kyoku Kaikan, 2-7-5 Hikarimachi, Hiroshima
 A draft of curriculum for peace education at pre school, elementary school and junior high school levels.
- * Nagasaki Prefecture Editorial Committee, In the Sky over Nagasaki, 1977, Peace Resource Center, Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio 45177
 Book for children compiled by Nagasaki Prefecture Hibakusha Teachers Association. The story of a 400-year-old camphor tree that came back to life after the bombing.

4. FILMS

- * Committee of Japanese Citizens to Send Gift Copies of a Photographic and Pictorial Record of the Atomic Bombing to our Children and Fellow Human Beings of the World 1. Give Back the Human Race, 2. Prophecy 1982, Above mentioned Committee, Heiwa-Kaikan, 1-4-9 Shiba, Minato-ku, Tokyo
 The film about the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was brought back from The Archives in Washington, D.C. The films were produced from this original film.
 There are five language copies: English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Running time (1)20 minutes (2)41 minutes.
 "Give Back the Human Race" was edited mainly on the basis of

Resources

the appeals of the survivors who are living now suffering from the effects of the atomic bomb.

"Prophecy" describes the "living hell" of thirty nine years ago, the crisis caused by the nuclear arms

(1)is suitable for school education, (2)is suitable for adults.

- * Planned by Hiroshima city and Nagasaki city, and produced by Iwanami Movie Company, Hiroshima Nagasaki Iwanami Picture Company, 2-21-4 Misaki-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo

This is a record of the general suffering caused by the atomic bomb, described from the scientific view point. It is based on the report by the scientists who compiled "Hiroshima and Nagasaki-The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic-Bombings"(46 minutes)

5. SLIDES

- * Hiroshima appeal Committee, A,Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum
B,Hiroshima Wishes to Tell C,Bomb Survivors, Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, 1-2 Nakajima-cho, Naka-ku, Hiroshima.

A,These slides are composed mainly of photos and exhibits displayed in te Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

B,These slides deal with the after-effects of radiation, the destructive forces of the bomb and so on.

C,An attempt to express what happened 39 years ago in Hiroshima. The pictures are drawn by atomic bomb survivors. Aerial photos are also included.

6. PAINTINGS

- * Unforgettable Fire, 1977 Nippon Hosho Shuppan Kyokai, 41-1 Udagawa-cho, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo

A booklet of pictures about the atomic bomb drawn by ordinary citizens.

The drawings are simple but the pictures and explanations of the bombing are so real because they are a result of Japanese citizens' experience. The pictures are effective for communication.

Resources

7. PHOTOGRAPHS

- * Ittetsu Morishita, Hibakusha 1978, Morishita Ittetsu Photo Office, 4F Yoyogikaikan, 1-35-1 Yoyogi, Shibuya-Ku, Tokyo.

Works of photographer Ittetsu Morishita inquiring into the present state of survivors.

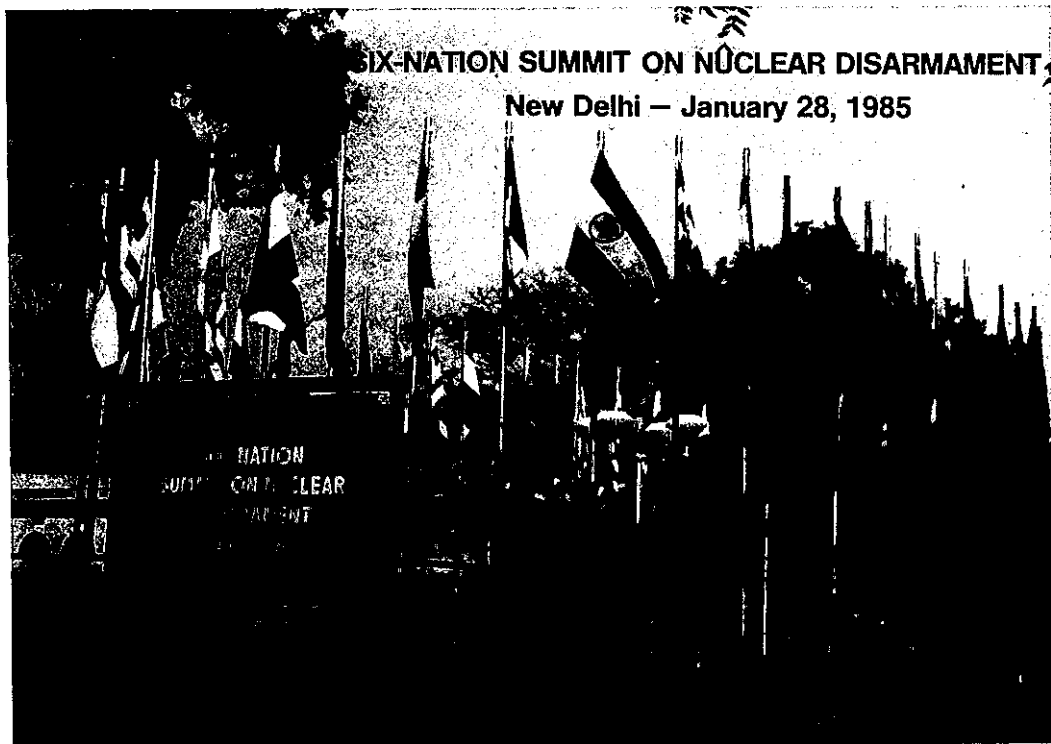
8. COMICS

- * Keiji Nakazawa, Barefoot Gen (3 Vols.) 1978, Project Gen, c/o

A story of "Gen", a boy of Hiroshima. The story tells of the hell of suffering from the atomic bomb, the pressure of the militarists during war time, the difficulty of life after the war, and so forth.

The pain and humour of Gen catch the heart of children today who are called "the comic generation." This opens a new direction for passing on the experience of the atomic bombing. This comic is translated into English and German.

Resources



SIX-NATION SUMMIT ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

New Delhi - January 28, 1985

The Delhi Declaration

Forty years ago, when atomic bombs were blasted over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the human race became aware that it could destroy itself, and horror came to dwell among us. Forty years ago, also, the nations of the world gathered to organise the international community, and with the United Nations hope was born for all people.

Almost imperceptibly, over the last four decades, every nation and every human being has lost ultimate control over their own life and death. For all of us, it is a small group of men and machines in cities far away who can decide our fate. Every day we remain alive is a day of grace as if mankind as a whole were a prisoner in the death cell awaiting the uncertain moment of execution. And like every innocent defendant, we refuse to believe that the execution will ever take place.

We find ourselves in this situation because the nuclear weapon states have applied traditional doctrines of war in a world where new weapons have made them obsolete. What is the point of nuclear "superiority" or "balance" when each side already has enough weapons to devastate the earth dozens of times over? If the old doctrines are applied in the future, the holocaust will be inescapable sooner or later. But nuclear war can be prevented if our voices are joined in a universal demand in defence of our right to live.

As a result of recent atmospheric and biological studies, there have been new findings which indicate that in addition to blast, heat and radiation, nuclear war, even on a limited scale, would trigger an arctic nuclear winter which may transform the Earth into a darkened, frozen planet posing unprecedented peril to all nations, even those far removed from the nuclear explosions. We are convinced that this makes it still more pressing to take preventive action to exclude forever the use of nuclear weapons and the occurrence of a nuclear war.

In our Joint Statement of May 22, 1984, we called upon the nuclear weapon states to bring their arms race to a halt. We are encouraged by the world-wide response to our appeal. The international support we received, and the responses of the nuclear weapon states themselves, have been such that we deemed it our duty to meet here in New Delhi to consider ways to further our efforts.

The nuclear weapon states have a particular responsibility for the dangerous state of the arms race. We urge them to join us in the search for a new direction. We welcome the agreement in Geneva, on January 8, 1985, between the Soviet Union and the United States to start negotiations on "a complex of questions concerning space and nuclear arms - both strategic and intermediate range - with all the questions considered and resolved in their-relationship". We attach great importance to the proclaimed objective of these negotiations: to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, ultimately to eliminate nuclear arms everywhere. We expect the two major nuclear weapon powers to implement, in good faith, their undertaking, and their negotiations to produce, at an early date, significant results. We will follow their work closely and we expect that they will keep the international community informed

Resources

of its progress. We stress that the agenda for and the outcome of these negotiations is a matter of concern for all nations and all people.

We reiterate our appeal for an all-embracing halt to the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. Such a halt would greatly facilitate negotiations. Two specific steps today require special attention: the prevention of an arms race in outer space, and a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Outer space must be used for the benefit of mankind as a whole, not as a battle-ground of the future. We therefore call for the prohibition of the development, testing, production, deployment and use of all space weapons. An arms race in space would be enormously costly, and have grave destabilising effects. It would also endanger a number of arms limitation and disarmament agreements.

We further urge the nuclear weapons states to immediately halt the testing of all kinds of nuclear weapons, and to conclude, at an early date, a treaty on a nuclear weapon test ban. Such a treaty would be a major step towards ending the continuous modernisation of nuclear arsenals. We are convinced that all such steps, in so far as necessary, can be accompanied by adequate and non-discriminatory measures of verification.

A halt to the nuclear arms race is at the present moment imperative. Only thus it be ensured that nuclear arsenals do not grow while negotiations proceed. However, this halt should not be an end in itself. It must be immediately followed by substantial reductions in nuclear forces, leading to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and the final goal of General and Complete Disarmament. Parallel to this process it is urgently necessary to transfer precious resources currently wasted in military expenditure to social and economic development. The strengthening of the United Nations must also be an essential part of this endeavour.

It is imperative to find a remedy to the existing situation where hundreds of billions of dollars, amounting to approximately one and a half million per minute, are spent annually on weapons. This stands in dramatic contrast to the poverty, and in some cases misery, in which two-thirds of the world population live.

Resources

Sri Lanka

- 11) Sri Lanka Catholic Studies Movement,
University Student Centre,
St. Joseph's College,
Colombo 10, SRI LANKA
- 12) Christian Workers Fellowship,
P.O.Box 381,
39, Bristol Street,
Colombo 1, SRI LANKA.
- 13) Centre for Society and Religion,
281, Deans Road,
Colombo 10, SRI LANKA
Contact: Fr. Tissa Balasuriya,
Director
- 14) International Centre for Ethnic Studies, (ICES)
8 Kynsey Terrace,
Colombo 8, SRI LANKA
- 15) Institute for Social Economic Studies, (ISES)
Editor, ISES Journal,
77/1, Davidson Road,
Colombo 6, SRI LANKA

Bangladesh

- 16) Nijera Kori,
40-A, Road 4-A,
Dhanmondi, New Market,
Dhaka-5,
BANGLADESH
- 17) Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies,
Adamjee Court, Motyheel Commercial Area,
Dhaka-2,
BANGLADESH

Pakistan

- 18) Idara-E-Aman-O-Insaf,
(Justice and Peace Commission),
3/12, Rimpa Plaza,
M.A. Jinnah Road, PAKISTAN
- 19) Tehrik-E-Niswan,
(Women's Organization),
43-2/C, Block 6,
Karachi-29, PAKISTAN
- 20) Women's Action Forum,
P.O.Box 3287,
Lahore, PAKISTAN

Resources

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Philippines

- 1) IMPACT Magazine,
2948 Noel Street,
United Paranaque III,
Paranaque, Manila,
P.O.Box 2950,
Manila, PHILIPPINES
- 2) Third World Studies Centre,
Rm 428, College of Arts &
Sciences, University of the
Philippines, Diliman,
Quezon City, PHILIPPINES
- 3) Nuclear-Free Philippines
Coalition,
2212 Pedro Gil St. Ana,
Manila, PHILIPPINES
- 4) Anti-Bases Coalition
Philippines,
55 Third St. New Manila,
Quezon City, PHILIPPINES
- 5) B A L A I,
Building Asian Links
Against Imperialism,
P.O. box SM366, Manila,
PHILIPPINES
- 6) Nationalist Alliance for
Justice Freedom & Democracy,
8 Rosal St. Cubao Quezon City,
PHILIPPINES
- 7) Philippine Federation for
Environmental Concern,
13 Kapiligan St.,
Quezon City, PHILIPPINES
- 8) IBON Data Bank,
P.O.Box Sm447, Manila,
PHILIPPINES
- 9) Institute of Religion
& Culture,
P.O.Box EZ 131, Ermita,
Manila, PHILIPPINES
- 10) Human Rights Desk,
National Council of Churches
in the Philippines,
879 EDSA Quezon City,
PHILIPPINES
- 11) Citizen's Alliance for
Consumer Protection,
23 Escaler St., Diliman,
Quezon City, PHILIPPINES
- 12) Ecumenical Center for
Development,
879 EDSA Quezon City,
PHILIPPINES
- 13) NASSA,
470 Arzobispo St.,
Intramuros, Manila,
P.O.Box 1160, Manila,
PHILIPPINES
- 14) Ecumencial Movement for
Justice & Peace,
Suite 704 Insurance Center Bldg.
633 Gen Luna St.,
Intramuros Manila, PHILIPPINES

Resources

15) Kilusang Mayo Uno
(May First Movement),
Rm 322, Regina Bldg,
Escolta Manila, PHILIPPINES

16) Church Based Consumers Movement,
879 EDSA, Quezon City,
PHILIPPINES

Malaysia

17) Sahabat Alam Malaysia,
(Friends of the Earth),
37, Lorong Birch, Penang,
MALAYSIA

18) Institute for Social Analysis,
(INSAN) 11, Lorong, 11/E,
Petaling Jaya, Selangor,
MALAYSIA

19) Third World Network,
87, Cantonment Road,
Penang, MALAYSIA

20) ALIRAN,
P.O. box 1049,
Penang, MALAYSIA

21) Consumers Association of Penang (CAP),
27, Kelawei Road,
Pulau Penang, MALAYSIA

Indonesia

22) LP3ES, Insititute for
Social & Economic Research,
Education & Information,
Jalan, S. Parman 81,
Jakarta Barat, Jakarta,
INDONESIA.

23) Lembaga Bantuan Hukum, LBH,
Legal Aid Institute,
Jalan Diponegoro 74,
Central Jakarta,
INDONESIA.

24) Yayasan Annisa Swasti,
(Women's Concerns),
Jl Panembahan 11,
Yogyakarta, INDONESIA.

Thailand

25) Alternative Tours,
Cultural & Tourist
Information,
14/1 Soi Rajatapan Rajaprarop,
Phayathai, Bangkok 10400,
THAILAND
(Contact: Dr. Seri Phongphit,
Director)

26) Asian Cultural Forum for
Development (ACFOD),
Bangkok 10500,
THAILAND. (Contact:
Mr. Sulak Sivaraksa)

Resources

- 27) Chulalongkorn Social Research Institute(CUSRI), Phayathai Road, Bangkok -5, THAILAND.
(Contact: Dr. Warin Wonghanchao)
- 28) Thai Volunteer Service, CUSRI, Institute Building, 4/F, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok 10500, THAILAND.
- 29) Justice and Peace Commission for Development, 2758 Soi-Saen Suk, Prachasongkroah Road, Bangkok 10310, THAILAND
- 30) Coordinating Group for Religion & Society, 495/44, Soi Yoo-Ormsin, Charansanitwong Soi 40, Bangkok 10700, THAILAND
- EAST ASIA-Hong Kong**
- 31) Asia Monitor Resource Center, Flat B, 8/F, 444-446, Nathan Road, Kowloon, HONG KONG.
(contact for also HK Friends of the Earth and Joint Organization for Concern on Nuclear Energy)
- 32) Asian Student's Association, 511, 1/F, Nathan Road, Kowloon, HONG KONG.
- 33) Hong Kong Federation of Students, 8A/F, Kingland Apartments, 739, Nathan Road, Kowloon, HONG KONG
- 34) Documentation for Action Group in Asia, (DAGA), 57 Peking Road, 5/F, Tsim Tsa Tsui, Kowloon, HONG KONG
- 35) Christian Conference of Asia, Urban Rural Mission(URM) and International Affairs(IA), 57, Peking Road, Kowloon, HONG KONG
- 36) Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives, (ARENA), Rm A4, 2/F, Blk G, Hung Hom Bay Centre, 104-108, Baker St., Hung Hom, Kowloon, HONG KONG
- 37) Young Christian Workers, (YCW) Asia Pacific, No.6, District No.1, Pui Man Street, Kowloon City, Kowloon, HONG KONG

Resources

About the Contributors

Santasilan Kadirgamar is a Tamil Sri Lankan History scholar who has taught at Jaffna University. He now lives with his family in Japan. His stay in Japan is perhaps an expression of the existential realities of Conflict and non Peace in most Asian societies today.

James B Branch is Administrator of the Guam Environmental Protection Agency. He graduated from San Francisco State University in 1962 and obtained an MS degree in Marine biology at the University of Guam Marine Laboratory in 1969. He has been working in the field of environmental protection on Guam since 1974, and represents the Government of Guam in matters concerning the South Pacific Regional Environmental Program. He is an advisor to the World Health Organization's Western Pacific Regional Center for the Promotion of Environmental Planning and Applied Studies, located in Malaysia. His article originally appeared in AMBIO, Vol.13 No.5-6.1984. We are grateful to Dr.James Branch for his interest and consenting to have this article reproduced in this issue of '**Asian Exchange**' focussing on 'Peace and Security in Asia and the Pacific'. We also thank the Editors of Ambio for permission to reproduce the article.

Kevin P Clements teaches Development Sociology at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand. Prior to that he has taught in Hong Kong University and till recently was the Director of the Quaker UN Office in Geneva. He is very active in the Peace Movement in New Zealand and was part of the New Zealand delegation to the International Conference to review the 1968 Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons(NPT) held in Geneva in September 1985. Dr.Clements also participated at the UN University Regional Meeting on Peace and Security in Asia and the Pacific, held at Tashkent, April 27-29,1985. His paper to the Tashkent meeting is being published with his permission for the benefit of readers of **Asian Exchange**.

Resources

Acknowledgements

This issue of **Asian Exchange** has been put together from material that was organized as part of 'The State of the Art Report on Research on Peace and Security Issues', that ARENA was commissioned to do by the United Nation University. The UNU Report was a collaborative effort of a number of people, institutions and groups. It is not possible to mention all of them here, but we thank everyone who in response to our circular responded promptly with relevant information and perspectives. It was most encouraging to have this response. Special mention however need to be made of the individuals who made major inputs to this report and inspite of the severe limitations of time within which it had to be done. **Ms.Nalini Rajan** and **H.A.Quasheem** for the part relating to South Asia and the Non-Aligned Movement and **Dr.Divya Pandey** of the Research Unit on Women's Studies, S.N.D.T. Women's University, Bombay. **Ms.Nor Ima bt.Kahar**, Librarian at the Institute for Advanced Studies Library, University of Malaya, for the part relating to ASEAN and **Ms.Shaika Zakaria**, Deputy Chief Librarian of the Institute of Advanced Studies Library, University of Malaya for extending her cooperation in the preparation of the UNU report. **Mr.Santasilan Kadirgamar**, for his work in relation to the Japanese Peace Movement and related information. **Mr.Kevin Clements** and **Ms.Diana Law** of the Christchurch Peace Forum for the inputs relating to New Zealand. **Ms.Janet Hunt** of the Australian Council For Overseas Aid for the information relating to Australia. The Christian Institute for the Study of Justice and Development, Seoul, S.Korea for their inputs to the bibliography on Korea. Mr.Ranjan Solomon of the Asia Alliance of the YMCAs and Prof. Maya Chaddha for their keen interest in the Report and sharing information on useful documents. Ms.Pushpa Somaiah for all the related background reference work and tying loose ends of the Report together. Thanks are also due to Prof.Syed Husin Ali, Prof.Randolph David, Prof.Yoshikazu Sakamoto, Asst.Prof.Surichai Wun'gaeo, Chairman of ARENA and the Council of ARENA for their cooperation, encouragement and support. Our sincere thanks are also due to Dr.Mushakoji Kinhide, Vice-Rector, Regional and Global Studies Division, UN University and who is also a Senior Advisor to ARENA and Dr.Takeo Uchida of UNU for their keen interest, support and cooperation not only to this Report but in general to ARENA work. Finally, at the ARENA HK Centre, putting all the material that came from different sources into the computer and getting the document ready was done so ably and patiently by Beatrice Lee. Our thanks to her.

-D.L.Surendra.

WIDESPREAD FAMINE, economic dependence on the West, debts worth billions of US dollars, cultural alienation, rural poverty, inappropriate development — these are some of the problems that still confront the Third World after years of independence from their colonial masters.

These problems are discussed in this book which is based on the Declaration of an international conference on Third World affairs held in Penang in November 1984. The Conference, the theme of which was 'The Third World: Development or Crisis?' discussed and analysed the structural problems facing the Third World today. The book is, in effect, a summary of the collective and collaborative thinking based on the rich experience of about a hundred leading activists, thinkers and writers on Third World affairs who participated in the Conference.

Some of the issues discussed in the book are:

- the economic crisis confronting the Third World;
- the depletion and drain of resources from the Third World;
- the rights of Third World peoples to basic human needs such as food, health and shelter;
- the position of Third World countries in international relations, democracy and human rights;
- issues relating to culture and lifestyles.

Action proposals are also given on how the various problems facing the Third World can be tackled.

In attempting to share the ideas that were generated during the Conference, this book will, hopefully, bring about greater awareness of the problems, dilemmas and crises currently faced by Third World nations, and so contribute to *genuine* development in the Third World.

The Third World Network is a grouping of organisations and individuals involved in Third World and development issues.

**THIRD WORLD NETWORK
87, Cantonment Road
Penang
MALAYSIA**

Advertisement

INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR ETHNIC STUDIES

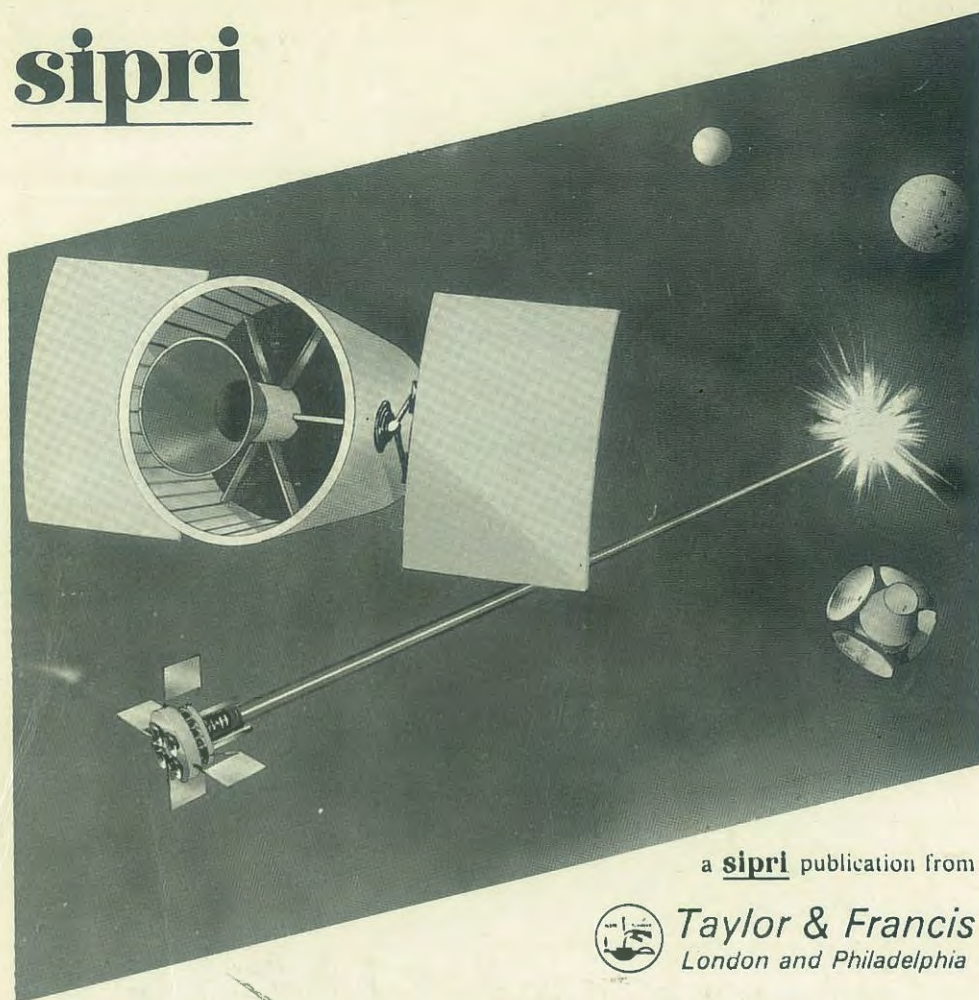
Ethnicity, far from disappearing in the modern world (as both liberal and socialist thinkers had hoped) is alive, and often vigorously reassertive, in both advanced and developing countries. The International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES) is concerned with comparative research into ethnicity, with an emphasis on conflict resolution. It is also vitally interested in women's issues and their interrelations with ethnicity.

ICES's first major monograph, 'From Independence to Statehood: Managing Ethnic Conflict in Five African and Asian States', edited by Robert B. Goldman and A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, is published by Frances Pinter, London. Another volume of essays, 'Education and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities', edited by Dietmar Rothermund and John Simon, will be brought out shortly by the same publisher.

ICES has published reports in pamphlet form on workshops it has organised on the following subjects: The Judiciary in Plural Societies; Education and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities; Education and Ethnicity; Cultural Minorities of Sri Lanka; Ethnicity and the Status of Women. Also available are the texts of two lectures sponsored by ICES: 'Social Action Litigation: the Indian Experience' (by Justice P.N. Bhagwati), and 'Realities and Dreams: Ebb and Flow in the Politics of Separatism' (by Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones). These publications are available at US\$1.00 each, inclusive of surface mailing charges. ICES also brings out a bi-annual journal, 'Ethnic Studies Report' (subscriptions, inclusive of surface postage: per copy, US\$8; annual, \$15; for two years, \$30). Cheques, bank drafts, payable to the International Centre for Ethnic Studies.

International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 8 Kynsey Terrace,
Colombo 8, OR 554/1 Peradeniya Road, Kandy, SRI LANKA

sipri



a **sipri** publication from



Taylor & Francis
London and Philadelphia

COUNTDOWN TO SPACE WAR

by Bhupendra Jasani and Christopher Lee

COUNTDOWN TO SPACE WAR is about the exploration of space. But it is not the usual account of adventure in the unknown; for the main actors are the military, and their main objectives are not distant planets but military power on Earth. SIPRI has discussed the militarization of space in various publications but never before has it put over the message with such simplicity and force. A popular author, together with SIPRI's space expert, explain to the layman why and how space has become the new military frontier. They make clear why satellites have become such vital military targets and why a future war between the superpowers would probably start in space.

What kind of anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons are in existence? Can we expect ASAT beam weapons to be deployed by the turn of the century? And what connection do these offensive weapons have with the systems referred to by President Reagan in his famous Star Wars speech? These questions are all tackled in COUNTDOWN TO SPACE WAR. We are on the brink of an intensified arms race in space weapons. COUNTDOWN TO SPACE WAR not only gives the background to the problems. It also looks for a way out . . .