

Tok Blong SPPF

January 1986 #14



Photo by Gil Hanly

Greenpeace III (The Vega) prepares to leave Auckland, New Zealand on its way way to Moruroa to protest continuing French Nuclear Testing, September 1985.

TOK BLONG SPPF is pidgin english as used in many parts of the Pacific. It might literally be translated as "this talk belongs to SPPF" or, SPPF Newsletter. TOK BLONG SPPF is published four times per year by the South Pacific Peoples Foundation of Canada, 407-620 View St., Victoria, B.C., Canada V8W 1J6, and is available to donors of SPPF (minimum \$10 yr.). SPPF exists to raise critical issues in the South Pacific to a Canadian audience through a variety of public education methods, and to assist in getting relevant Canadian financial, technical and other assistance into the South Pacific to assist islanders in their self-development. TOK BLONG SPPF is edited by Phil Esmonde.

SPPF

Update

We have been busy over the past few months.

As well as coordinating the national tour of Roman Bedor and Owen Wilkes and dealing with the unexpected arising from the tour (see "Good researchers not liked" article), we continued to provide audio-visual material, assist University of Victoria students with their research, put out information tables and develop further programs.

With the kind assist from Serge Cote', we were able to print a leaflet on the French in the Pacific in French, and to reach new audiences with the information. Many volunteers helped over the Christmas period in handing out leaflets at liquor stores. Owen and Roman also carried the leaflet with them across Canada on their tour. We are pleased to say that there are approximately 10,000 leaflets out since October.

At press time, Chris Plant is completing our newest slide show - one giving a good overview of the whole Pacific region. It should be ready for rental/purchase in approximately one month. More information in the next newsletter.

The weekend of January 18 and 19, Phil Esmonde delivered a paper to 500 people at the People's Enquiry into the use of the Nanoose underwater testing range. Title of the paper was "Nanoose and a nuclear free Pacific". After minor corrections and addition of a footnote, the paper will be available for those interested: price is \$1.

Somewhere in between all these programs and activities, Phil conducted a whirlwind 25 day tour of Hawaii, Fiji and New Zealand, travelling within these countries and meeting activists from development, church, nuclear and indigenous movements. The tour has generated several possible further activities and assisted in gathering further resources. Needless to say, the first-hand contacts are invaluable for our work in raising awareness in Canada of the Pacific. While in the Pacific, Phil gave a seminar at the University of Hawaii, was interviewed by a newspaper in New Zealand and had an interview aired on Fijian radio. More information on Phil's trip will be forthcoming.

Major events coming up include the third NFIP (Nuclear Free Independent Pacific) Canadian support network meeting in mid-February and RIMPAC exercises (see article on RIMPAC).

In May, the University of Victoria is convening a Conference on Islands of the World. This will bring many Pacific islanders to Victoria. We hope to be able to interview some for the newsletter.

Thanks to all who are supporting our efforts, and to all those who help in a variety of meaningful ways.

New Democratic Party Supports Nuclear Free Pacific

**At its June, 1985, National Convention,
the NDP passed the following motion . . .**

New Democrats believe the Pacific region, and in particular Australia, New Zealand and the 5 million people in the 21 smaller Island nations of the Pacific must become more central in Canadian International policy.

The Pacific region is one of importance to Canada and the party. However, at this point we have done little to pursue the concern. The Committee has drafted a resolution dealing primarily with the issues surrounding a nuclear free and independent Pacific region. Further work is necessary to develop NDP policies on Canadian economic and other relations with the Pacific Rim. We should also seek to improve party contacts with Socialist International affiliates in the region.

The Pacific has long been a key region in the global nuclear arms race and popular efforts for nuclear disarmament. It is the last frontier of the colonial independence struggle and is an important region for human rights concerns, indigenous people's issues and democratic socialist opportunities.

The Pacific has borne the brunt of the nuclear age since 1945. The nuclear powers have used the region for above-and-below-ground nuclear weapons tests, nuclear delivery vehicle tests, nuclear waste dumping, nuclear weapons deployment and a proliferation of military bases. The peoples of the Pacific have been treated with total disregard and have suffered from radiation fallout, social dislocation, continuing formal and informal colonialism and economic dependency.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that:

New Democrats seek a nuclear-free and independent Pacific.

We call on the government of Canada to support and promote a nuclear weapons free zone in the Pacific at the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the South Pacific Forum and in Canada's relations with the United States, France, Britain, and the Soviet Union. We call on the government of Canada to press for an end to French nuclear testing in the Pacific and to work for a continuation of the moratorium on the dumping of nuclear wastes in the Pacific.

We call on the government of Canada to support New Zealand's courageous stand against nuclear weapons on its soil and in its harbours and to provide New Zealand with diplomatic and military intelligence support in answer to U.S. retaliation against its non-nuclear policy. We call for the de-militarization of the region and an end to Canadian participation in shelling of the Hawaiian island of Kaho'olawe.

We call for greater international efforts to strengthen the newly independent nations of the Pacific and to encourage an end to remaining colonialism. We support the indigenous peoples of the Pacific in their efforts to win land rights and greater political power. Canada should also increase its development assistance in the area.

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Bedor/Wilkes Tour a Success

Despite difficulties at the start and finish (see "Good researchers not liked" story) the Canadian speaking tour of Owen Wilkes of New Zealand and Roman Bedor of Belau was a success and helped greatly to increase awareness of Pacific issues in Canada.

The tour was sponsored nationally by SPPF, Project Ploughshares, and the Canadian NFIP support network, with SPPF doing the tour coordination.

Due to good local organizing by some 75 groups, Roman and Owen were able to directly reach some 3,000 people. They also reached millions of others through radio, television and newspaper reports of their talks. In total there were 20 newspaper articles (including the national Globe and Mail), 22 radio interviews (including the national show MORNINGSIDE, and while Roman was in the U.S., National Public Radio's show, "All Things Considered") and 4 television interviews.

A most beneficial part of the tour was the networking which took place between Owen and Roman and a variety of organizations across the country. Owen was a keynote super speaker at the founding convention of the Canadian Peace Alliance, while Roman was able to meet with indigenous people in Vancouver and Ottawa, including native lawyers who were able to give Roman different perspectives on how to legally fight U.S. attempts to overturn Belau's constitution. Roman also met with the President of Lawyers for Social Responsibility, who is willing on behalf of his group to support Belau, and to address the United Nations concerning the Compact of Free Association.

Owen and Roman had a meeting in Ottawa with Parliamentarians for World Order which gave Canadian MP's a chance to learn more of the Pacific. In New York, Roman addressed the U.N. Decolonization Committee, spoke to the 20th Anniversary dinner of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) and met with representatives of the U.N. Secretary General's office to update them on the Belau situation. In Washington, Roman met with Congressional staff working on the Trust Territory issue.

Like any tour, the private small meetings with other organizational representatives do much to increase interest, knowledge and action on a specific issue or area. It was the same with this tour. Meetings with representatives of peace groups, church groups, government civil servants, lawyers, researchers, Greenham Common women, representatives of Kanaky (New Caledonia), and Greenpeace help to affirm Pacific work and action. And, talks to groups such as Rotary Clubs are important for introducing information on the Pacific to new audiences.

Our thanks to all who helped make this tour possible.

- Phil Esmonde

The Pacific: Protecting the Source of Life

by Roman Bedor

For our people, when you destroy the land, you are really touching somebody's life. Land and ocean are viewed as the source of life, they are not real property that you can put a price tag on and dispose of when the price is right. Legend has it that the lands and the waters met and mated and the people of the islands are their children. When we see the ocean we see it as the Japanese would see the rice plantations or the Americans would see the cornfields—it's not a wasteland. It's where we came from, and the responsibility of the people is to protect it so that it can pass to the next generations.

The Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) movement began in 1975 when the Pacific Conference of Churches organized a conference in Fiji, bringing together Pacific islanders to talk about French nuclear testing. We saw that what was happening in Polynesia is also happening in the other regions in the Pacific, and we established a network to oppose nuclearization of the Pacific. The NFIP movement now includes 185 organizations.

Nuclear Testing

We have been quite successful. We stopped the Japanese from dumping nuclear waste in the Pacific. We took a stand, and the governments of the Pacific countries immediately started to follow our lead. We opposed French nuclear testing, and now every country in the Pacific is calling for an end to French testing. France has conducted over 125 nuclear tests in the Pacific. They were testing in Algeria, but when Algeria became independent 20 years ago, France was kicked out, and they moved their testing to Moruroa atoll near Tahiti, where they are still testing today.

Nine out of the ten South Pacific countries just adopted a treaty for a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. It's not perfect, but it's a step forward for those islands which do not have con-



Graphic/Margo Vitarelli/Nuclear Free & Independent Pacific Conference 1983.

stitutions declaring them nuclear-free zones. New Zealand is standing up banning visits by nuclear-capable war ships. Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and my country, Belau have nuclear-free constitutions. We want to keep the Pacific nuclear-free for ourselves; we are not doing this at the suggestion of one of the superpowers. We see ourselves as outside the East-West confrontation. New Zealand, for example, has begun to look at itself as a Pacific nation, rather than as an extension of the U.S.

Australia has stopped selling uranium to France, which is now buying it from Canada and the United States. Australia took France to the International Court of Justice to stop the nuclear tests and France lost the case, but continued to test. Australia sent scientists to France to convince France to give up their testing. France said that its own land did not have the same geology as Moruroa, and tests could not be done in France. So Australia commissioned a study and came up with 12 sites in France much better suited to testing than Moruroa.

The Americans are doing the same thing as the French, but in the northern Pacific. From 1947 to 1963, the U.S. conducted about 70 nuclear weapons tests in the Marshall Islands. The Marshallese people have been relocated from their lands. The effects on the people are so severe that they are beyond any words. Imagine 70 repetitions of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The people in the Marshall Islands have the world's highest rate of cancer.

The U.S. government has stopped testing nuclear bombs in the Pacific, but continues to test ICBM and MX missiles by launching them from Vandenberg Air Force base in California to the Marshall Islands. If we were to reverse that, with the missiles launched from the Marshalls to California, would that be acceptable to the American people? If it's not good for the Americans in California, then it's not good for people who live in our part of the world. On Ebeye, where the people of the Marshall Islands have been relocated to make room for the missile testing, they have to import tinned food from Japan, they have to import rice from Japan, and they have to import drinking water because of the radioactivity.

Keep Voting 'til You Get It Right

The Republic of Belau is administered by the United States through the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement. The people want their country to be nuclear-free, and they put that in their proposed constitution. On July 9, 1979, the UN sponsored a referendum on the constitution, and it was approved by 92% of the votes, despite U.S. objections that it would not accommodate American military interests.

The nuclear-free provision of the constitution declares that no nuclear weapons shall be used, tested or stored within the 200 miles of the islands, either on the ocean or the land. It also provides that the land shall not be used for the benefit of foreign entities, which means that the U.S. government cannot make the local government an agent to condemn private land for military use, as has been done in the Philippines.

One month later, the U.S. court on the islands declared that the referendum was unofficial, even though it was conducted by the UN. On October 9, 1979, the U.S. sponsored a second referendum on an amended constitution without the antinuclear and land use provisions. The U.S. spent \$100,000 for "public education," money which was used to buy beers and to sponsor barbecues; all over the islands there were parties. It was a clear case of bribery. All the television was in the hands of the United States, and they used TV and the media against us.

Roman Bedor is an attorney from the Pacific island nation of Belau and a leader of the Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific movement. This article is adapted from a talk he gave in New York on October 29, 1985, sponsored by National Mobilization for Survival and the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy.

Our women traveled all over the islands by car, by boat and on foot, visiting every house. They urged people to accept the money and vote against the U.S. version of the constitution, which was defeated by 80%. But that was not the end. In order for the U.S. to really test the will of the people, we had a third referendum in July 1980 to ratify the nuclear-free constitution, which passed.

We argued that we had exercised our right of self-determination and we should not have a fourth referendum, but the pressure from Washington was so strong that the new constitutional government held another referendum. The people voted on a U.S.-proposed treaty called the Compact of Free Association, which said that one-third of the islands could be used for U.S. jungle and guerrilla warfare exercises and for a U.S. naval base.

We went to Washington to stop the referendum, which was illegal because it would have a treaty prevail over the provisions of our constitution, the supreme law of the land. Americans taught us about democracy; we took our three branches of government from your constitution, our freedom of speech from your Bill of Rights. We found ourselves arguing in favor of the American principles, against Americans, and the American court went against us. We had the fourth referendum, the treaty was rejected, and Washington decided that we needed a fifth referendum.

The fifth referendum was on September 4, 1984. Its purpose was similar to the other referendum to overturn the nuclear-free constitution. The amount of money that they used jumped from \$100,000 to over \$500,000. It's quite a large sum of money for only 7000 voters. It did not work.

For Whose Defense?

If you tried to convince the people of the Marshall Islands that the military, whether the Soviet Union, France or the United States is for their protection, they would think you are insane and need to have your head examined. We have seen our islands destroyed by nuclear weapons. Our islands were used as battlefields in the last World War. Before the war, we were told that the Japanese military would defend and protect us; it never did.

We live quite far from the superpowers. We have never asked any superpower to defend us with nuclear weapons. None of the islands has ever requested to be defended by a military base. Would the Soviet Union invade

the Pacific islands simply because we are friends of the United States or attempt to adopt their form of government? We see it quite to the contrary—if we have a military base on the islands then that base would cause us to be involved in war.

Our so-called enemies change from year-to-year. A few years ago, our people were told to take a very strong stand against China, because China was a Communist country. Now we are friendly with China. The United States and the Soviet Union used to be allies during the war. If we change the course of our society at the stroke of a pen in Washington or Moscow, then it doesn't leave us much future.

The Real Threat

The threat to the Pacific today is not the Soviet Union; the real threat is colonialism. Colonialism brings weapons to the islands, colonialism takes land away from people, and colonialism chases the people away from their lands so that their lands can be used for a golf course. When the military relocates Pacific people, they cannot cultivate their lands, and they are jobless. We have a subsistence society; a cash economy cannot be put in place overnight.

We are economically dependent on the U.S. I think the U.S. designed it that way, because during the Japanese ad-



ministration the economy was quite independent. We had a fishing cannery and a lot of factories on the islands. After the U.S. moved in, the economic structure changed. For instance, the fishing industry now sends local fish to San Diego to be processed into cans, and canned fish is shipped back to the islands.

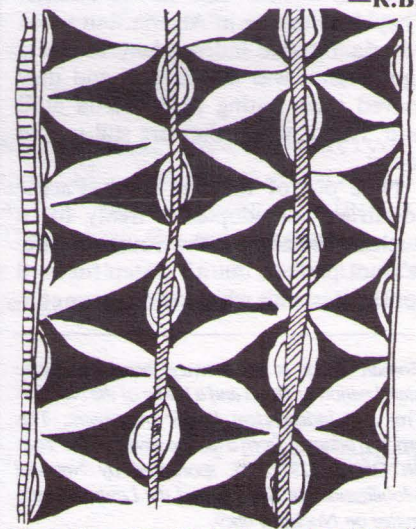
The U.S. government has said strongly that it will not provide more financial support to the islands, which may be a blessing. The UN and the U.S. came up with the Trusteeship Agreement in which the U.S. took the responsibility to support the islands' economy. If the U.S. wants to discontinue the aid, then the Trusteeship Agreement is being violated, and we would be happy to terminate it, so that we can get on with our process of self-determination and seek economic assistance from other sources.

Strategic Denial

A few years ago, the king of Tonga asked Australia for aid to build a harbor. Australia said "We will give you all the grants you need, but you must allow us to use the harbor for our navy, along with the United States." He went to New Zealand, and New Zealand said the same thing. He realized that the United States must be behind this, and he approached Washington and the answer was, "Yes, we will give you the aid, but we will ask the right to use the harbor." So he rejected that. He went to Europe for a vacation and when he came back there was a lot of publicity that he had a deal with the Soviet Union. The USSR would fix the harbor with no strings attached, except that he would be friendly with them. The U.S., New Zealand and Australia moved in and tripled aid on condition that the Soviet Union could not use the harbor. And so that's how the denial concept came about—we are being paid to deny the

Soviet Union. The U.S. would be able to allow its allies' warships into our ports, but we would not be able to invite whomever we want.

—R.B.



Graphic Margo Vitarelli/Nuclear Free & Independent Pacific Conference 1983.

Johnston Atoll: A little-known but key location

In October 1985, Owen Wilkes of New Zealand and Roman Bedor of Belau toured Canada on a speaking tour sponsored by the South Pacific Peoples Foundation (SPPF), Project Ploughshares, and the Canadian Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Support Network. Phil Esmonde, co-ordinator of the national tour and Executive Director of SPPF, wrote the following article based on Owen Wilkes' presentation in Victoria.

Owen Wilkes is currently a researcher for Peace Movement Aotearoa, an umbrella organization for 300 peace groups in New Zealand. He has previously worked as a researcher for the Oslo Peace Research Institute and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

With this background, it is not surprising to find Wilkes loaded with information on militarism in the Pacific.

During his Victoria talk, Owen used the example of Johnston Atoll, a chunk of coral located 850 nautical miles southwest of Hawaii, as a microcosm of what occurs in the Pacific.

Johnston Atoll, he explained, is a U.S. possession discovered in the 19th century. It has never had an indigenous population, and was taken over and declared a bird sanctuary by the U.S. Prior to WW II, the U.S. Navy took the Atoll, dredged around it, and expanded it so that a runway could be built.

The Atoll has continued to be enlarged and today resembles an oversized, unsinkable aircraft carrier.

After WW II, Johnston Atoll was used — between 1958 and 1962 — to test nuclear explosives high in the atmosphere. Up to this time the U.S. had no idea what an explosion in space would do, and Johnston Atoll seemed a good place from which to launch the experiment.

Wilkes noted that a gigantic test took place on July 9, 1962. A few seconds later, streetlights in Honolulu went out and burglar alarms went off. This was the first discovery of EMP — Electro Magnetic Pulse — which is a surge of electrical energy from an explosion in space which burns out electrical circuits over a vast area of the earth's surface.

Wilkes pointed out that the U.S. had built a rocket launching facility on Johnston Atoll in order to get the nuclear weapons into space. In 1964, this facility was turned into an anti-satellite warfare system. Wilkes said that with all the attention on Star Wars, etc., it is little known that the U.S. had its own system

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for bringing down others' satellites between 1964 and 1975. This system was composed of 2 rocket launchers with nuclear weapons on board. Wilkes indicated that had these been used, they would have violated the treaty on Outer Space which bans explosions in space.

Also in the 1960s, Johnston Atoll was considered as a possible site for testing biological warfare weapons. This was rejected though when it was found that migratory birds using the Atoll might bring the germs back to the U.S.

In 1971, the return of Okinawa to Japanese administration precipitated another role for Johnston Atoll. The Japanese didn't want the chemical weapons stored on Okinawa. They were leaking and people had already been poisoned. So several hundred tons of mustard gas, nerve gas, etc., went to Johnston Atoll. According to Wilkes, a cyclone in 1972 passed over the island and ruined the buildings, leaving the cannisters exposed to the warm, humid, salty atmosphere where the casings are deteriorating even further.

Wilkes indicated that the U.S. is planning to build an incineration factory to destroy the old stocks, as well as spend some \$21 million to build a new storage facility for new stocks to be held for possible use throughout the Pacific theatre.

In the early 1970s, Johnston Atoll became the repository for 17 million litres of agent orange, the defoliant used in Vietnam and the cause of birth defects, etc.. Wilkes said that in 1977 an incinerator ship was sent, and all the agent orange was burnt. He wondered what happened to the deadly dioxins, noting that dioxins are created by burning agent orange.

Wilkes went on to point out that 85% of the time winds blowing on Johnston Atoll are blowing away from Hawaii, and that currents are flowing away from Hawaii 100% of the time. Where they are blowing towards is the Marshall Islands, but he suggested that no one seemed to really care what that might mean to the Marshall Islanders.

To underscore this point, Wilkes noted that the nuclear tests in the atmosphere and the agent orange burning took place only between July and September, when winds were 100% away from Hawaii (and towards the Marshall Islands).

On a matter not readily well-known, Wilkes stated that the U.S. has a National Nuclear Testing Readiness Center on Johnston Atoll, in case they ever wish to resume atmospheric nuclear testing. He indicated that the 1963 treaty banning atmospheric testing was only acceptable to the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff if they were allowed to keep facilities for immediate resumption of tests. The facility at Johnston Atoll is being maintained at a cost of \$12-14 million per year and could be operational within 6 months of a decision to start testing again.

Part of the U.S. Star Wars program includes a nuclear-pumped- X-ray laser. Wilkes says that the testing of such a device would no doubt happen at Johnston Atoll.

In summary, Wilkes noted that Johnston Atoll is the place the U.S. Military does anything which is too secret or too dangerous or too unpopular to do anywhere else in the world.

He noted that much of the atmospheric nuclear testing (other than by the Soviets and the Chinese) had been carried out in the Pacific. The British, the Americans and the French were involved in this testing, with the Pacific people suffering the consequences of it.

Wilkes pointed out that most of the testing of missile systems by the U.S. and the USSR is done in the Pacific. The Americans send missiles from California to land at Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands, while the Soviets send missiles to the Northwest Pacific and the South Pacific.

Wilkes said we never hear the U.S. complain about the Soviet testing because the U.S. fears criticism of its tests. Wilkes called this a "neat little example of functioning detente between superpowers". He also said it epitomized the way the Central Pacific is viewed as a "free fire zone".

Wilkes talked about the increasing militarism of the Pacific, with deployment of the Trident submarines, the 27 Soviet submarines, the huge anti-submarine warfare systems and the extensive U.S. command and control facilities, communications bases, satellite ground stations, electronic spy networks, etc., throughout the Pacific.

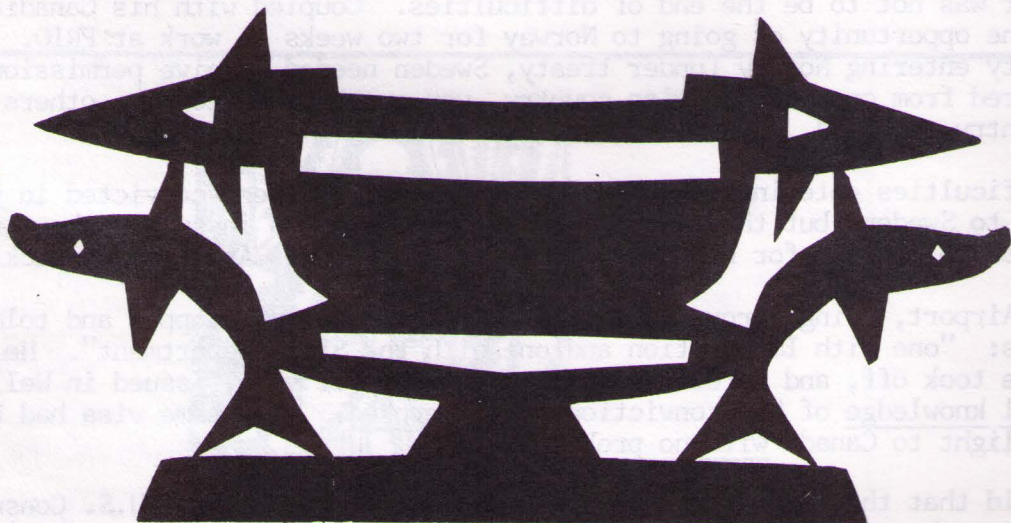
He indicated that an installation at Massett in the Charlottes was part of the Ocean Surveillance Information System (OSOS) used to pinpoint the position of any ship, and thus generate targeting co-ordinates.

He also talked about the use of Nanoose Bay for testing anti-submarine warfare systems for the U.S.. He challenged the audience that if they wished to do something about the nuclear arms race, Nanoose would be a good place to start.

Finally, he talked about the use of Esquimalt and Nanoose as ports of call for U.S. Navy vessels carrying sea-launched cruise missiles, and indicated that U.S. allies are being pulled more and more into U.S. strategic nuclear war fighting doctrine through increased ship visits and through increasingly provocative joint military exercises in the Pacific.

In a challenge to learn what is going on in the Pacific, Owen Wilkes ended by stating:

"If we are interested in peace in this part of the world, then we should be thinking of doing something in this part of the world rather than just in Europe."



Santa Catalina food bowl

Good Researchers Not Liked

Owen Wilkes is a good researcher. He has worked for the Oslo Peace Research Institute in Norway, and the highly-regarded Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in Sweden. Currently he is a researcher with Peace Movement Aotearoa, the umbrella agency for peace groups in New Zealand.

When Owen arrived in Canada to join Roman Bedor for a national speaking tour, he was stopped by Canadian Immigration because he had a record. In two sensational European trials Owen had been charged and convicted in Norway and Sweden for offenses which were claimed to contravene the securities acts of those countries. In Norway, Owen and a colleague gathered information from public sources and published a book indicating the extent of military installations in Norway, many of which were never publically known. For this "crime" of publishing public information, Owen was fined. In Sweden, Owen sketched, from a public highway, a military antenna (which was noted on a published public map). It seems in Sweden one is not allowed to notice or sketch such things from public roads: these things do not exist! Owen was convicted and was banned from Sweden for ten years.

Canada Immigration decided that Owen was inadmissible to Canada and scheduled a hearing, at which time it was felt that Owen would be perhaps deported.

Through telegrams from organizers representing 50 groups, through well-known Canadians supporting Owen's right to be able to speak publicly and indicating that he is not a threat to national security, and through the assistance of a lawyer in Vancouver, a Minister's Permit, issued by the Minister of Immigration, was approved 2 hours before the hearing (and one hour before a national press conference) was to proceed.

This however was not to be the end of difficulties. Coupled with his Canadian tour, Owen took the opportunity of going to Norway for two weeks to work at PRIO. He had no difficulty entering Norway (under treaty, Sweden needed to give permission as if you are barred from one Scandinavian country, you are barred from the others if the barring country objects).

With no difficulties entering one of the countries he had been convicted in (he also tried to go to Sweden, but they couldn't process the papers in such a short time), Owen returned to Toronto for his next day's flight, via Los Angeles, to Auckland.

At Pearson Airport, going through U.S. Immigration, Owen was stopped and told he had two problems: "one with Immigration and one with the State Department". He was held as his plane took off, and later his valid U.S. transit visa, issued in Wellington, N.Z. in full knowledge of his convictions, was revoked. This same visa had been used on Owen's flight to Canada with no problems.

Owen was told that the reason for the revoking could be had at the U.S. Consulate in Toronto. There he was told he needed to re-apply for a visa, likely wouldn't be given it, and that no answer would be available until December 3 (conveniently enough, Owen's Ministerial Permit expired December 2).

Tour organizers were therefore forced to buy Owen a new one-way ticket to Auckland at the cost of \$1600.

... CONTINUED ...

A letter has been sent to Secretary of State George Schultz outlining the problems the U.S. government has caused and requesting compensation.

No response (even acknowledgement) has yet to be received.



Thanks Phil Rankin!

On Thanksgiving weekend most of us were enjoying the holiday.

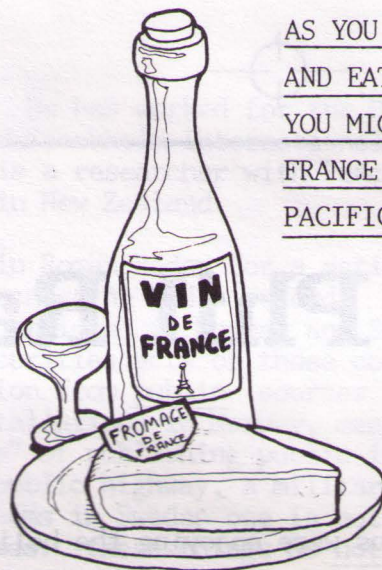
Not so one Vancouver lawyer. Lawyer Phil Rankin of Rankin, Bond and McMurray was spending his weekend phoning lawyers in Norway and Sweden, gathering information from myself and Owen Wilkes, and preparing to go to an Immigration Hearing if necessary.

We would like to acknowledge the legal assistance provided - by donation - through Phil Rankin. We very much appreciate his determination and hard work in helping Owen Wilkes start his Canadian tour.

- Phil Esmonde



SPPF French Lea



AS YOU SIP YOUR FRENCH WINE
AND EAT YOUR FRENCH CHEESE
YOU MIGHT CONSIDER WHAT
FRANCE IS DOING IN THE
PACIFIC.....

In "French" Polynesia

- * between 1966 and 1975 France conducted 41 atmospheric nuclear tests at Moruroa and Fangataufa Atolls. It was only after strong protests from New Zealand and other Pacific governments that France finally went underground.
- * French underground testing at Moruroa takes place despite opposition from Tahitians and Pacific governments.
- * accidents at Moruroa include deadly plutonium wastes being washed into the lagoon. The Atoll is believed to have several serious cracks from the testing, as well as being known to have sunk.
- * total tests in Polynesia now number some 120. France has a stated policy of testing 10-12 nuclear devices per year.
- * in late 1984, France announced that it would continue nuclear testing in Polynesia until at least year 2000.
- * French testing is opposed by the Pacific Conference of Churches, the Pacific Trade Union Forum, the Pacific Islands Students Association, and every Pacific island government. France ignores the residents of the region.

** over **

If you would like quantities of this to friends or include in organizational leaflet is 5½ × 8½. Suggested donation per 100. However, they are available

aflet in Circulation

- * residents of "French" Polynesia have been sent to France on military flights for treatment of unusual cancers. An army doctor working for the French Polynesian government has estimated that 10 % of the Polynesia population has been sent overseas for treatment.
- * France has kept a strict security net around Moruroa Atoll, and has refused a thorough independent study of the results on the environment of the tests.

In New Caledonia

- * France has maintained New Caledonia (located 1,000 miles from Australia) as a colony since 1853.
- * France kept the indigenous people - the Kanaks - on reserves (made up of the poorest land) which they were not allowed to leave without French permission. If a Kanak was off the reserve after 10 PM they could be shot. This situation went as late as 1946.
- * through a conscious immigration policy, the Kanaks were made a minority in their own homeleand.
- * while France says that independence for New Caledonia and equality for the Kanaks are to be worked for, in early 1985 France announced the building of a huge military base in New Caledonia. Stationed at the base would be fighter aircraft. France has also sent a nuclear submarine to New Caledonia.
- * New Caledonia is important to France as a backup for its nuclear program in Polynesia.

SUPPORT THE PACIFIC PEOPLE

- * write to : Embassy of France, 42 Sussex Dr., Ottawa, Ontario, K1M 2C9. Tell them what you think.
- * Consider boycotting French products for a month, and let the Embassy or a French Consulate know why you are doing so.
- * write a letter to our government asking what their position is. -----

Prepared by South Pacific Peoples Foundation, Victoria, B.C.
407-620 VIEW ST. VICTORIA, B.C. V8W 1J6 (381-4131)

leaflet to pass out, include in letters
ional mailings, write SPPF. (Size of
ation to assist cost of printing: \$2
ble free too.)

SACRED HAWAIIAN ISLAND SHELLLED BY CANADIAN NAVY

AGAIN!!?

Bi-annual RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific) military exercises will be taking place again in May of 1986. As part of these exercises, the Canadian Navy shells the Hawaiian island of Kaho'olawe despite requests from the Hawaiian Congress and Senate that we not shell it.

In 1984, Canada was the only foreign country to shell this island, which is on the U.S. National Registry of Historical Sites.

SPPF believes Canadian shelling of this island - regardless of claims that none of the 544 archaeological sites are damaged - is an insensitive, disrespectful and shameful act.

We ask our readers to let the government know their feelings on this issue.

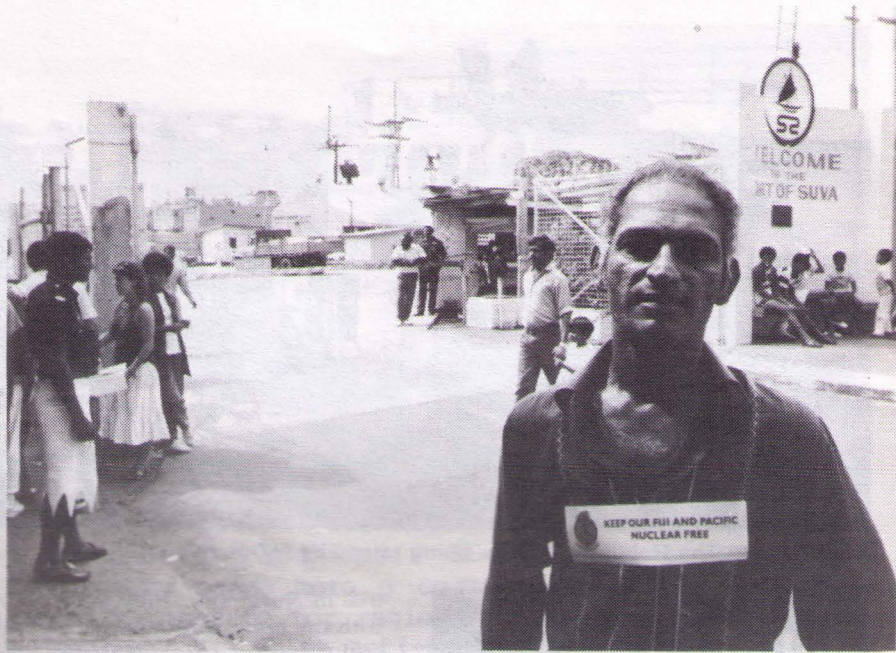
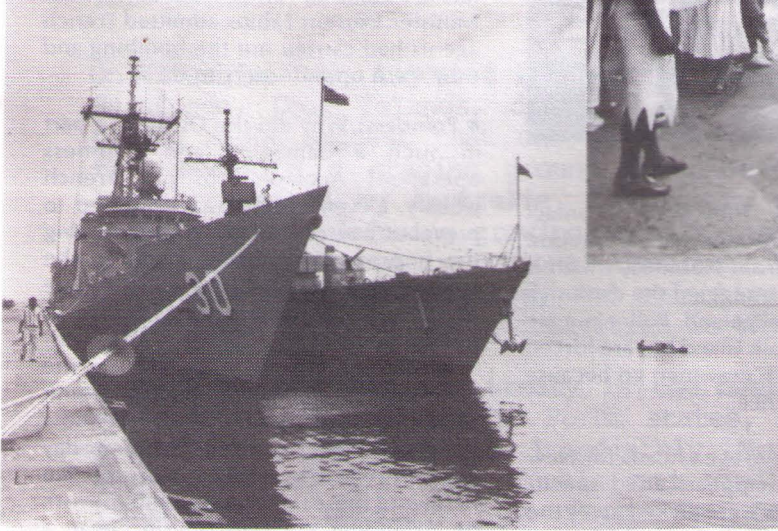
Should we or should we not honour the request of the Hawaiian people?

FOR A BACKGROUNDER & ISSUE FACT SHEET, WRITE SPPF, 407-620 View St. Victoria BC V8W1J6

(Remember, postage to the Prime Minister and MPs is free.)

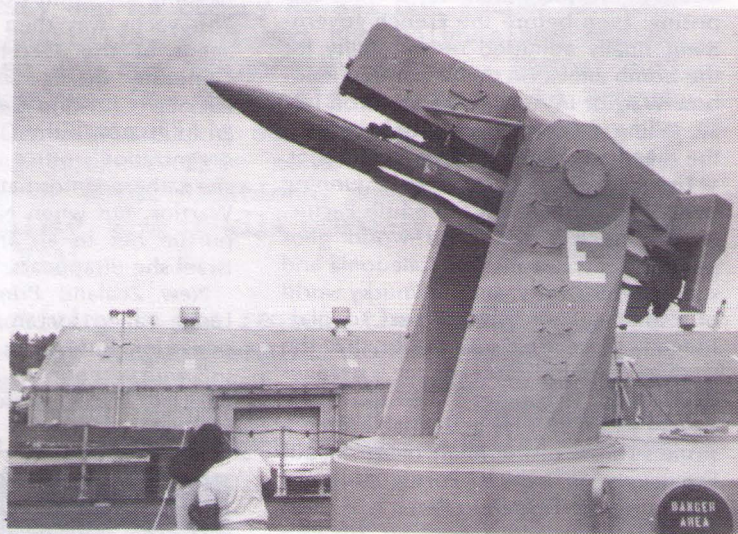


U.S. Visits Fiji

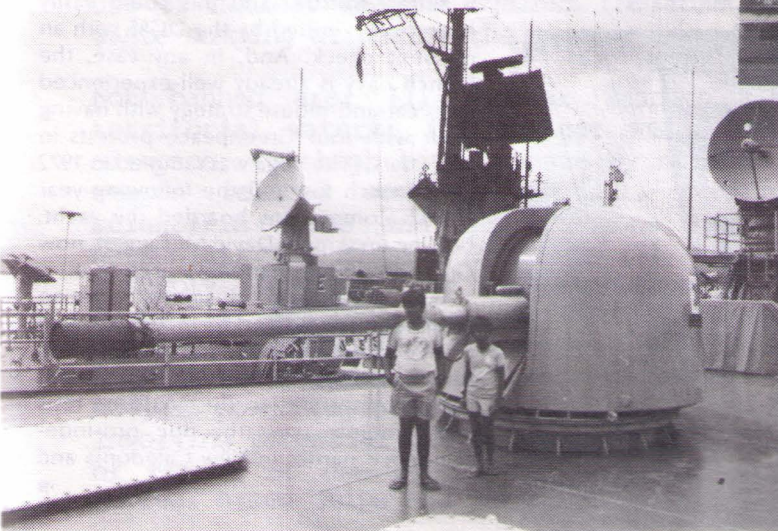


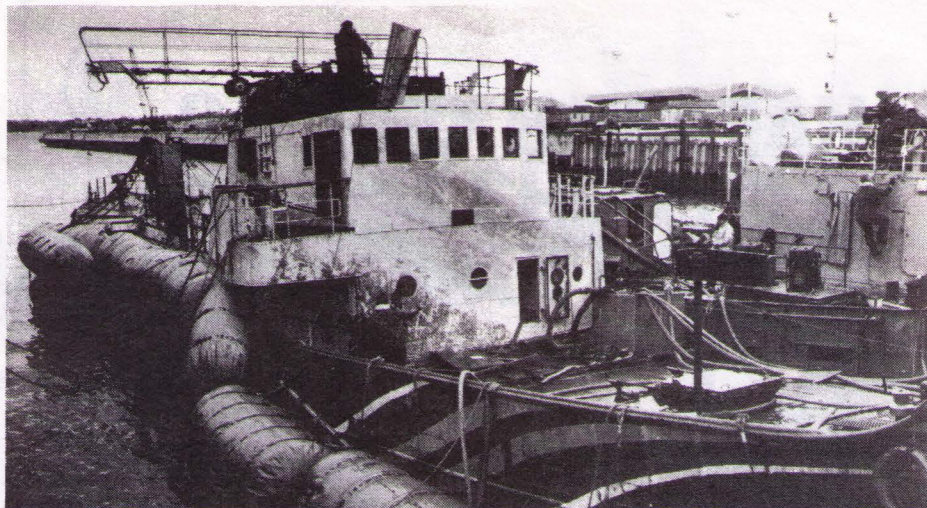
Photos by Cindy Biddlecom

The USS Reid and USS Brooke visited Suva, Fiji in October, 1985. They were greeted by a group concerned with the visit to Fiji of nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered vessels. Fiji police ripped up the groups' placards, stating that a demonstration of more than two people required a permit.



The U.S. vessels were open to the public, children getting exposure to modern weapons. One wonders how this public relations play effects kids such as these, admiring the high technology.





Afloat again: The Rainbow Warrior being raised by NZ navy men

Bombing Sinks French Image

by David Robie

Authors and filmmakers are flocking to record the bizarre scandal that has been dubbed "Underwatergate." Not surprising. Even before the French government finally admitted responsibility for the bomb attack on the peace ship Rainbow Warrior in Auckland Harbor on July 10, killing a Greenpeace crew member, the saga had the makings of a good plot.

The scenario is packed with stunning twists and turns set in the South Pacific. French nuclear tests and world geopolitics, the crisis in New Caledonia and superpower rivalry, and the murky world of espionage all have a part to play. Indeed, there isn't any doubt that the truth in "l'affaire" Greenpeace is stranger than fiction: Two mines placed against the trawler's hull as it lay at a wharf within a stone's throw of the heart of Auckland; Explosions in which Portuguese-born photographer Fernando Pereira, 35, died (he was drowned). And an obvious motive—the Warrior was about to lead a protest fleet to Mururoa atoll to challenge French nuclear tests.

Then the jigsaw starts coming together. A mysterious French couple carrying false Swiss passports in the names of Alain and Sophie-Claire Turenge, respectively 34 and 36, are arrested by the New Zealand police and charged with murder, arson and conspiracy to sabotage the Rainbow Warrior. On the face of it they are innocent tourists who had hired a minibus. But in fact they are unmasked as French secret service agents Major Slain Mafart and Captain Dominique Prieur who will face

trial in November. They were in contact with the crew of the *Ouvea*, an 11 metre yacht chartered from Noumea, which is believed to have smuggled the explosive devices into New Zealand. Police pursue the yacht to Norfolk Island but are forced to let three French crewmen go because of a lack of evidence.

■ **Submarine:** The *Ouvea* heads for New Caledonia and disappears amid speculation that the crew were picked up by the nuclear submarine *Rubis*, which was heading for Tahiti from New Caledonia. The yacht was then scuttled. Another agent of the secret service—Director Generale de la Securite Exterieur (DGSE)—Christine Cabon, is exposed as an infiltrator in the Greenpeace ecology organization's office in Auckland where she gathered information on the Rainbow Warrior. But when New Zealand police pursue her to an archaeological site in Israel she disappears.

New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange called for an apology and compensation. But France answered "it wasn't us" with a report by special investigator Bernard Tricot, a document so trans-

Happier days in the Marshalls



parent that even the author appeared to disbelieve it.

Lange warned that both Tricot and France would be embarrassed by it. "It's ticking away, ready to erupt," he promised. And as the ensuing scandal grew, Tricot's daughter, Marie-Claude, 40, committed suicide by throwing herself out of her fourth-floor Paris apartment. Then Defense Minister Charles Hernu was forced to resign late in September in disgrace and DGSE chief Admiral Pierre Lacoste was sacked with his organization facing a shake-up. Within four days, Prime Minister Laurent Fabius admitted French agents had carried out the bombing and they were under orders to do so.

■ **Pointless:** Why did the DGSE take part in such a damaging and pointless operation? According to one French weekly, *L'Evenement*, France wanted to prevent "overcurious eyes" from seeing the improvements being made to the landing strip on Hao Island, the rear base of the nuclear experimental centre at Mururoa. Another weekly *VSD*, said: "Instruments that help to analyse the parameters and effects of neutron bomb blasts had been installed on the Rainbow Warrior," and a "new neutron doomsday weapon" was to be tested at Mururoa. But neither of these theories is credible. Work on extending the Hao airstrip began a year ago and was undertaken in response to a request from the U.S. government which wanted a back-up landing strip, as on Easter Island, for its space shuttle. As for the neutron bomb, which France has been working on for the past five years, its prototype is ready. The larger powers have mastered its technique and underground neutron bomb explosions.

What is more, news reporters were on board the Rainbow Warrior for almost three months until the bombing—to cover the crew's evacuation of nuclear fallout victims from Rongelap atoll in the Marshall Islands, and there is not a shred of evidence that the ship was carrying such a sophisticated monitoring device. It is simply untrue. And this could easily have been verified by the DGSE with an element check. And, in any case, the French navy is already well-experienced in its cat-and-mouse strategy with having dealt with four Greenpeace protests in past years. (The *Vega* was rammed in 1972 by a French tug and the following year French commandos boarded the yacht, beating up skipper David McTaggart, now Greenpeace International's president.)

What was different this time? As yet no clear reason has been forthcoming. And France's image in the region certainly has hit rock-bottom, unleashing even greater public opposition to the Mururoa tests and wooing sympathy for pro-independence parties in New Caledonia and Tahiti.

The Partial Pacific Treaty

by Michael Hamel-Green

On Hiroshima Day, August 6 1985, eight South Pacific Forum states signed a treaty at Rarotonga, Cook Islands, declaring the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone. The timing might suggest that our governments are serious about preventing the region from becoming a staging ground for future Hiroshimas. Not so. Initiated and largely drafted by Australia, the treaty seems more a cosmetic measure aimed at containing and defusing growing popular pressure for regional denuclearization than a serious move towards regional disarmament. Its anti-nuclear provisions are so minimal, easily circumvented, and selective that the treaty imposes no significant constraints on super power activities in the regions.

Despite claims that the treaty is the best compromise that could secure consensus among the 13 South Pacific Forum states, only eight of the Forum countries were prepared to sign the treaty immediately (Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Cook Islands, Western Samoa, Kiribati, Tuvalu and Niue). Of the five who declined to sign, Vanuatu, and possibly also Papua New Guinea, Solomons and Nauru, would have preferred to see a stronger and more comprehensive anti-nuclear treaty. The real choice was not between a partial zone treaty and no treaty at all but rather between a partial zone that had the support of Australia, Fiji and the Polynesians states and a more comprehensive zone supported by the Melanesian states, Nauru, and potentially New Zealand, Kiribati and Tuvalu. New Zealand's reluctance to export its nuclear "allergy" abroad was crucial in Australia's success in winning over the uncommitted island states to the partial nuclear free zone concept. Since the treaty can come into force with a minimum of 8 ratifications, Australia already has the number required to make the zone a reality, and it will probably come into force by the August 1986 Forum meeting in Suva, Fiji.

Of nineteen major categories of nuclear activity in the region, the Treaty only bans five. The banned activities are: (1) nuclear weapons acquisition by member states; (2) nuclear weapons testing; (3) permanent stationing of nuclear weapons on land, inland waters or the seabed within zone states' territories; (4) use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against the zone by nuclear weapon powers; and (5) nuclear waste dumping at sea by the zone members themselves.

Not banned are: (1) nuclear weapons transit on ships and submarines within territorial waters; (2) nuclear weapons transit on aircraft through territorial airspace; (3) high seas transit by nuclear armed ships and submarines; (4) nuclear weapon related command, control, communication, intelligence, navigation and scientific bases and installations (such as NW Cape, Nurrungar, Pine Gap and Watsonia); (6) missile testing; (7) logistical support, rest and recreation, and resupply services for nuclear-weapon-carriers (eg Cockburn Sound in Western Australia) and logistical support for the monitoring of missile tests; (8) military exercises involving nuclear-armed vessels and aircraft; (9) nuclear powered vessel transit and portcalls; (10) uranium mining, processing, and export; (11) commercial nuclear power reactors; (12) nuclear waste disposal on land; (13) military alliances involving potential use of nuclear weapons by an alliance partner; and (14) the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons from the zone by nuclear powers deploying nuclear armed ships and planes within the zone.

In fact, the Treaty permits far more categories of nuclear activity than it prohibits. At the very least it should have been termed a Partial Nuclear Free Zone Treaty to help distinguish it from the real thing.

It would be less disturbing if the treaty omissions were in relatively marginal areas, but perversely the loopholes are in the very categories of growing regional nuclearization that are central to the regional and global arms race. The treaty will do nothing to stop the escalating transit and portcalls of nuclear armed ships and planes in the regions. It will not stop the regional deployment of some 350 tomahawk cruise missiles - each 15 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb - on US warships and submarines transiting the region (despite the fact that this well represent the first time that strategic weapons are introduced into our ports). It will not stop the regional deployment of Trident strategic submarines: once these submarines are equipped with Trident II missiles they will be able to reach soviet targets from South Pacific waters. It will not stop the growing Soviet, Chinese and US use of South Pacific waters for long-range missile testing. Finally, it will not stop the growing role of US electronic bases in Australia and other South Pacific countries in dangerous nuclear warfighting strategies, including Star Wars, limited war and first strike strategies. So far there has been little Soviet presence in the South Pacific in the form of military transit, but with an increasing US strategic presence in the region, the Soviet Union can be expected to respond by tracking and targeting US strategic forces. An increase in the Soviet presence will then trigger a further increase in the US presence, and inevitably the region will become more and more enmeshed in superpower rivalry and the global arms race.

As revealed in the official report of the Australian Chairman of the South Pacific Forum treaty drafting group, several Pacific island countries unsuccessfully sought to strengthen the provisions of the Treaty.

The ban on permanent stationing of nuclear weapons is being promoted as one of the treaty's strong points. Something that will stop any future US plans to store nuclear weapons on our territory or use Australian bases (such as Cockburn Sound) as a home port. However, this provision is easily circumvented; by using the rights of nuclear transit and port visits to increase the frequency and duration of ship visits so that a "de facto" homeporting arrangement can be achieved. Both Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu sought to close this loophole by seeking a definition of permanent stationing that would include limits on the duration and frequency of nuclear armed ship visits. They were overruled by Australia and others on the drafting committee. Already nuclear armed submarines are docked at Cockburn Sound 25% of the time. It would be perfectly possible for the US to station nuclear weapons on an auxiliary supply ship for most of the year in or close to Cockburn Sound, and to have nuclear-armed vessels repeatedly calling in for resupply purposes, without formally violating the treaty. Even in America's homeports, nuclear armed vessels would not be in port 100% of the time, so the distinction between official and de facto homeporting is somewhat academic.

Four South Pacific countries, Papua New Guinea, Solomons, Vanuatu and Nauru, pressed Australia to include a ban on nuclear-missile-testing in Protocol III of the treaty, which at present only covers nuclear weapon testing. This too was refused on the specious grounds that Australia and New Zealand already had dual capable delivery systems (eg Harpoon missiles). However Australia and New Zealand could not use their Harpoon missiles in a nuclear mode because they have already committed themselves not to acquire nuclear weapons, and in any case would not be required to sign Protocol III which is only for nuclear weapon powers to sign. A ban on missile testing was also rejected on the grounds that the treaty states did not have the legal power to ban missile testing in international waters. In a formal sense this is correct, but the point of Protocol III is to ask nuclear weapon powers to voluntarily forego their rights under international law within a specific region, not to deny international law or existing rights under such law. The wording of Protocol III in calling for nuclear powers to "undertake not to test any nuclear

explosive device anywhere within the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone" would already appear to cover international waters, and there seems no reason in principle why the Protocol could not be extended to cover missile testing or even nuclear weapons transit on the high seas or in international airspace. In any case the nuclear powers are already quite familiar with the concept of foregoing rights under international law for specific purposes: both superpowers agreed to forego weapons testing in international waters and airspace under the Partial Test Ban Treaty; the US unilaterally declared a zone of exclusion around Cuba in 1962; the UK did likewise during the Falklands War; and the French regularly declare exclusion zones around their Moruroa test site. It is merely a matter of declaring exclusion zones for peaceful rather than military purposes.

Vanuatu and Nauru also sought bans on uranium exports. Again Australia overrode the island countries, insisting that its uranium exports were safeguarded and destined for peaceful purposes only. This argument ignores the weaknesses in existing safeguard arrangements and the intimate relation between the spread of the civilian industry and the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

On the question of waste-dumping Papua New Guinea sought to strengthen the treaty by inclusion of a Fourth Protocol which would require all potential nuclear wastedumping countries (such as Japan, US, Britain, USSR) not to dump in either territorial or non-territorial waters in the region. This was overruled on the grounds that another treaty is being negotiated under the South Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP) which could accomplish the same end. However, the restrictions imposed under the SPREP Convention may not prove as rigorous as could have been achieved under the SPNFZ. Another problem is that the Raratonga Treaty fails to ban nuclear waste disposal on land. This means that even if we are successful in banning waste disposal at sea, nuclear dumping nations may seek to dump their waste on small uninhabited Pacific islands, with longterm hazards to the Pacific environment. France already stores sizeable quantities of high level nuclear waste at Moruroa and nothing in the Raratonga Treaty (or the new SPREP Treaty) would prevent this.

Another area of dispute is the boundary of the zone, which extends only as far as the equator. Papua New Guinea argued for the zone to be based on the boundary of the South Pacific Commission: that is, to include the Micronesian territories north of the Equator, such as Belau, Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands. This was overruled on the astonishing grounds that "inclusion of the United States Trust Territory in the zone could complicate current negotiations on the constitutional future of these territories, especially since nuclear issues were a major element in these negotiations. These considerations did not appear to apply to the French territories in the South Pacific where the issues facing the movements for independence were different". The argument that nuclear issues were not present in the Polynesian and Kanak independence movements is patently absurd since all Polynesia independence groups are firmly opposed to French testing and the Kanak FLNKS is opposed to the recent stationing of French nuclear submarines in Noumea. Further, the nuclear concerns of Micronesian states such as Belau (which has a nuclear free constitution) and Federated States of Micronesia would seem to eminently qualify them for inclusion in the zone. The failure to include the Micronesia states is obviously an act of deference to the United States and a betrayal of the nuclear-free aspirations of most Micronesians. At the same time, it will make the treaty appear highly selective, discriminating against one nuclear power (France) while favouring another (the US). This can only serve to undermine the international credibility of the zone.

The treaty has other major weaknesses. Because of its minimal nature, especially its failure to ban mobile nuclear weapon systems and electronic bases crucial to nuclear warfighting strategies, it can scarcely be expected to secure unconditional guarantees from nuclear powers not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the zone. How can the Soviet Union realistically be expected to guarantee the zone

when it continues to be used for the mobile deployment of strategic weapons targeted on Soviet forces? Amazingly, there is nothing in Protocol II of the Treaty to prevent nuclear weapon powers from using the zone to launch nuclear weapons from the zone as distinct from firing nuclear weapons at the zone. There is nothing, for example, to restrain the US from firing submarine-launched Trident missiles or sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missiles from vessels in transit through the zone. This is a separate issue since even if the treaty were to permit transit it could still seek to bind nuclear powers not to fire nuclear weapons from their transiting forces.

In fact, it would seem hypocritical and inconsistent to insist on the right of nuclear powers to fire nuclear weapons from the zone and at the same time ask potentially targeted nuclear powers to give guarantees not to use nuclear weapons against the zone. Unless the zone is actually denuclearized - in accord with the United Nations concept of a "total absence of nuclear weapons" - then any guarantees given will be meaningless, and the zone will achieve nothing in terms of making the region safer from the threat of nuclear war. Significantly, the Soviet Union has only guaranteed the Latin American zone on the basis that Latin American states do not accept nuclear weapon transit within their territories.

A further weakness - of particular concern to the disarmament movement - is the potential obstacles to strengthening and extending the treaty. The Hawke Government is claiming that the treaty is stronger than the Latin American treaty since it includes bans on peaceful nuclear explosions and nuclear wastedumping at sea. This may be true but in one critical respect it is weaker. Whereas the Latin American zone only requires a two-thirds majority of the treaty parties for amendment, the Raratonga Treaty requires an absolute consensus. In other words, it will be much easier to overcome the weaknesses in the Tlatelolco Treaty - assuming the political will - than it will be in the case of the Raratonga Treaty. It will only need one South Pacific country with close ties to a nuclear power to veto any future moves to strengthen the treaty. The insistence on a unanimous amendment procedure suggests strongly that the Hawke Government is seeking to preempt future moves towards a more comprehensive nuclear free zone in the South Pacific. At the Raratonga Forum Meeting, the Spokesperson, David Lange, put the best face on the treaty by affirming that one could not climb a ladder by starting at the top. On the other hand it is equally difficult to climb a ladder with its rungs missing. In the case of the Raratonga Treaty, the rungs have been deliberately removed in advance.

What does the Raratonga Treaty accomplish? The gains are hard to detect. The treaty bans nuclear weapon acquisition but the only two zone countries with the technical capacity to develop nuclear weapons, Australia and New Zealand, are already bound under the Non-Proliferation Treaty not to acquire nuclear weapons. The treaty bans permanent stationing by external powers but this is easily circumvented under the provisions permitting nuclear weapons transit and portcalls. The treaty bans testing and will facilitate diplomatic pressure on France to ratify Protocols I and III, but after eighteen years France has still not ratified Protocol I of the Latin American Treaty; in any case, the same pressure could equally or more effectively be brought to bear by specific anti-French testing resolutions at the UN, further action in the World Court, and the dispatch of naval vessels into the French test zone. The treaty bans waste dumping at sea by zone states, but has no provision for signature by major dumping nations and leaves open the loophole of landbased waste disposal.

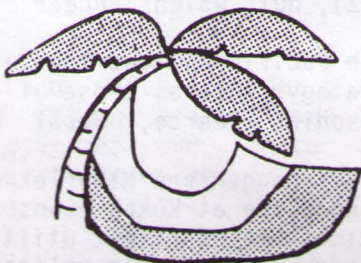
As against these "gains", the Treaty permits and implicitly legitimizes the worst aspects of the nuclear arms race and super power rivalry in the region. It will do nothing to keep out either Soviet or US mobile nuclear forces. It will do nothing to stop growing superpower rivalry in the region. It will do nothing to enhance our own or other people's security from nuclear war. But, even worse, it may actually damage the cause of regional disarmament. Historically, it is debatable whether the partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 was better than no treaty at all. On the one hand,

it served as a cover under which nuclear powers increased weapons testing (underground) and accelerated the arms race. On the other hand, it created an illusion of disarmament progress that led to the demobilization of the world disarmament movement for over a decade, with the disastrous result that there was little popular restraint on the arms race throughout the sixties and seventies. On a regional level, the Raratonga Treaty may have the same demobilizing effect of creating a false sense of complacency and security. Already both the Hawke and Lange Governments are making political use of the treaty to counter domestic pressures for more vigorous disarmament initiatives.

In the coming months, peace and disarmament groups will need to decide how they are going to respond to this latest exercise in manipulating public opinion on disarmament rather than working for disarmament itself (for the whole sorry history of government game playing on disarmament issues, read Alva Myrdal's *The Game of Disarmament*). It will be essential to educate people both within and outside the peace movement to the highly limited and partial character of the zone, and to continue to press for comprehensive nuclear free zones in the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. Nuclear Free Pacific networks in both Australia and New Zealand have produced alternative zone proposals that highlight the difference between the "Clayton's Zone" signed at Raratonga and the kind of zone that would be needed to prevent the region becoming a staging ground or battlefield for nuclear war. More specifically, the Australian Government should be challenged to attach an official interpretation to the treaty stating that it understands the treaty's nonstationing provisions to prohibit homeporting nuclear armed forces. If this is indeed government policy, then it is necessary to state this interpretation officially since there is no reference to "homeporting" in the treaty itself. It should also be challenged to extend Protocol II to cover the use of nuclear weapons from the zone itself and Protocol III to cover missile as well as warhead testing.

Over the next year, while the treaty is still in the process of being ratified, every effort should be made to support South Pacific countries such as Vanuatu, the Solomons and Papua New Guinea, in seeking a stronger treaty; and to have a strong disarmament movement lobby group at the August 1986 Forum meeting in Suva, Fiji. If this fails, it will be necessary to call for additional treaties to address the major issues of nuclear transit, missile testing and nuclear-related bases. Most importantly of all it will be necessary to continue mobilizing to create a nuclear-free zone in Australia's own territory. It is precisely the Hawke Government's concern to accommodate American nuclear bases and transit in our own territory that has prevented the emergence of a genuinely comprehensive South Pacific nuclear free zone.

Michael Hamel-Green is a foremost authority on Nuclear Free Zones, and a researcher living in Australia. This paper was delivered at a conference in Australia in September 1985.





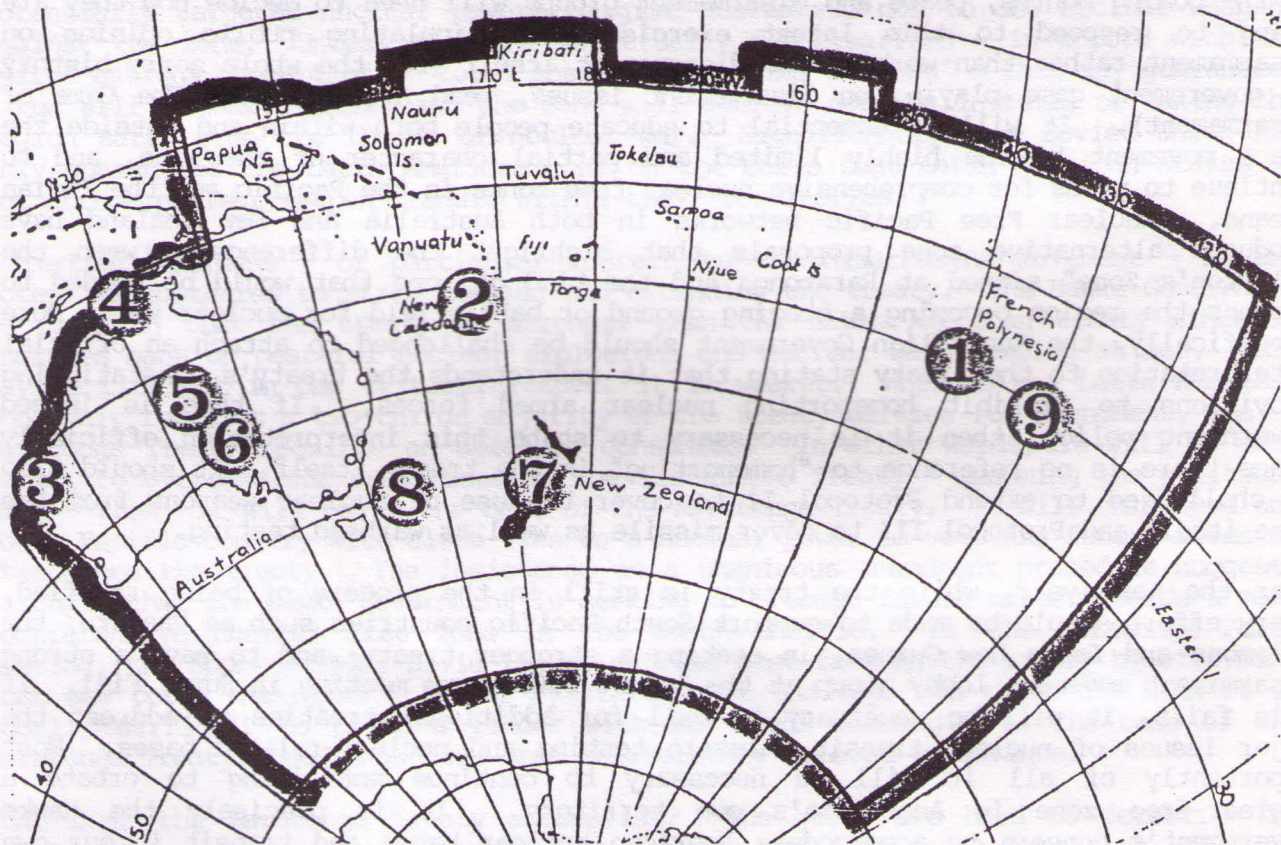
SCIENTISTS
AGAINST
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ARMS

P.O. Box 6289
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MILITARY NUCLEAR SUPPORT FACILITIES

within the

SOUTH PACIFIC TREATY ZONE



Elements of the infrastructure directly supporting the capability of France, the United States and Britain to engage in global nuclear warfare are identified. Besides those sites labeled there are facilities in a number of other categories which deserve mention:

- a) Sites of British nuclear tests in Australia (1952-1963).
- b) Sites of previous missile tests: Soviet, near Cook Islands (until 1977); Chinese, near Solomon Islands (1980).
- c) Ports/airfields visited by nuclear-armed vessels/planes in Australia, Fiji, Western Samoa and previously, New Zealand.
- d) Sites which are under foreign military control (such as the US Naval Support for Antarctica base at Christchurch, NZ), but which appear to have no direct role in nuclear strategy.
- e) Military installations of the South Pacific nations themselves which are operated in direct support of nuclear strategy, such as those of the Australia-New Zealand signals intelligence network (Watsonia, Pearce, Shoal Bay, Harman, Carbarlah, Tangimoana).
- f) Sites of uranium mines in Australia. Ranger and Nabarlek (near 4) are currently in production and development is taking place at Roxby Downs (near 6).
- g) Sites of facilities whose functions are of direct utility in the promulgation of nuclear strategy, but which are not under foreign military control. Examples are the LAGEOS and TRANET satellite monitoring stations and the OMEGA navigation transmitter station in Australia.

1. MORUROA & FANGATAUFA

France currently conducts underground tests of nuclear weapons at Moruroa. The atoll has been structurally damaged by the tests. Activity may be shifted to Fangataufa which was used previously as an atmospheric nuclear test site, like Moruroa. There is a quantity of plutonium waste material at a site on the shore of the Moruroa lagoon. Pacific Test Centre support facilities are located at Tahiti.

2. NOUMEA

The French nuclear-powered attack submarine Rubis was sent to Noumea in 1985. France has announced plans to build an extensive naval base and military airfield at New Caledonia from which its nuclear forces could operate in the Pacific.

3. NORTH WEST CAPE

The United States Naval Communication Station Harold E. Holt is the location a very-low-frequency (VLF) transmitter broadcasting to submarines of the US strategic nuclear forces. It is also a base for US military satellite communications (FLTSATCOM and DSCS).

4. DARWIN

The Royal Australian Air Force Base Darwin is used routinely by United States B-52 nuclear bombers and KC-135 aerial refuelling tankers on navigation training and ocean surveillance flights codenamed "Busy Boomerang" and "Glad Customer".

5. PINE GAP

The Australia/United States Joint Defence Space Research Facility Merino is the main ground station signals intelligence satellites which take photographs of potential targets and intercept communications. Information is relayed to the headquarters of US in agencies such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) and the National Security Agency (NSA) and is thence available to the Pentagon. At nearby Alice Springs the United States Air Force has a facility codenamed "Oak Tree" which is part of a global seismic network used to detect, identify and locate underground nuclear explosions.

6. NURRUNGAR

The Australia/United States Joint Defence Space Communication Station Casino is one of two main "mission readout stations" for the US Defence Support Project (DSP) satellites which detect missiles when they have been fired. The station is linked to the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) by satellite and submarine cable and represents one of the most important components of the US early warning system.

7. BLACK BIRCH

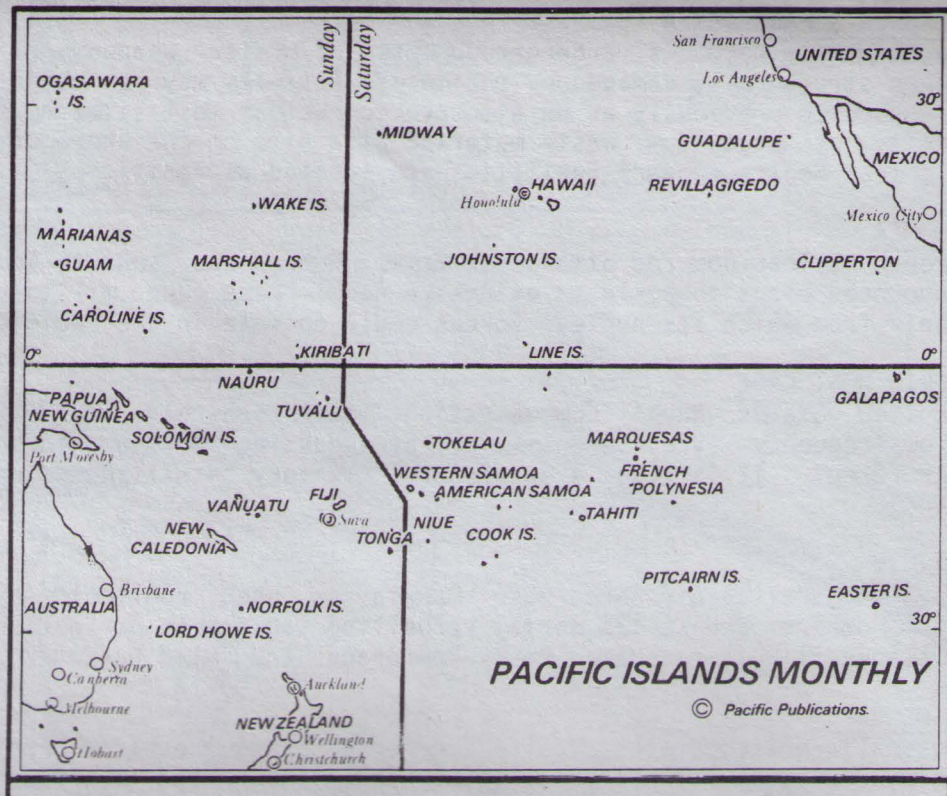
The United States Naval Observatory has a Transit Circle Station on the Black Birch Ridge near Blenheim, NZ. The positions of stars in the southern sky are being determined with the accuracy needed for the navigation of stellar-guided nuclear missiles (such as the Trident), the tracking of satellites and the alignment of future space-based weapon systems (such as the Star Wars X-ray laser "Excalibur").

8. TASMAN SEA

A location known only as Broad Ocean Area Three (BOA-3) has been prepared for use as a splash-down point for MX missile tests. Sensors have been attached to the ocean floor to detect the impact of unarmed warheads from missiles launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base, California. Aircraft involved in the tests may use Noumea as a staging point.

9. OENO

A site close to Oeno Island, which is under British control, was used in 1976-7 as a splash-down point for United States Trident missile tests. Negotiations have taken place between the United States and France to use Tahiti as a staging point for aircraft during further tests of new Trident missiles. The missiles will be deployed by both the United States and Britain.



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