# Electeration No. 2 Autur

Autumn 199



## TRIDENT

'What the hell is it for?'

CND Cymru works for international peace and disarmament and a world in which the vast resources now devoted to militarism are redirected to the real needs of the human community



#### THANK YOU, NEIL

The General Secretary of CND Cymru wrote to Labour leader Neil Kinnock on 20 August, following his decision to leave CND. This is the text of his letter.

Dear Neil.

I read with regret your decision not to renew your membership of CND and hope that you will reconsider this action. I believe that despite our differences on how to get rid of nuclear weapons it is best to discuss these in a principled way within the movement.

CND Cymru recognises that within our ranks there are differing opinions on particular issues but that overall we are seeking a world free from war and the arms race. Therefore, it is to our mutual benefit that we all try and work together to bring this about.

I'm sure that you would agree that the Labour Party's attitude to the immorality of weapons is closer to that of CND than the Conservative

Party's.

CND Cymru is a broad movement with many different political opinions but independent of any political party. Over the years many members of the Labour Party have played — and are still playing — a major role in our work, something I value very much.

I hope, therefore, that you will reconsider your decision to leave CND and also encourage all members of the Labour Party in Wales to join and be involved in the work of CND Cymru.

Yours in peace, Bob Cole.

A month later, on 19
September, a letter was
sent from the House of
Commons, signed on Mr
Kinnock's behalf by one of
his staff. It read:
Dear Bob Cole,

Thank you for your letter of August 20. I apologise for the delay in replying.

l am grateful for your views. Yours sincerely, Neil Kinnock.

# The view from the hot seat

Marjorie Thompson, chair of CND for the last twelve months, is standing for re-election at the conference this month (November). She spoke to Heddwch about her year in office, the Gulf War, Neil Kinnock, the Bush proposals and the challenges to the campaign in the future.

hen I took over from Bruce Kent, he said: "Welcome to the hot seat", and it's certainly been harder than I expected. But sometimes the more you have to deal with, the more you find you're capable of coping with."

What I've found really touching is the fact that everybody wants CND to exist and without sounding Victorian, it's a very noble thing. I'm constantly amazed by what people are willing to do to keep it going.'

Heddwch: Recently, Pres-ident Bush's announcement of unilateral cuts in the US nuclear arsenal has dominated the news. What's your view of the US move?

'Everyone is saying that Bush's announcement is not all it first seemed to be. But I think it's absolutely fantastic to hear Bush explain that the reason he's making these unilateral proposals is that negotiations take too long and it's important to do something quickly.

Therefore, it makes it safer and easier for CND to keep unilateral nuclear disarmament at the forefront of our campaign. The way Bush did this means we can keep pushing on the Trident question and demand that Britain do something, with no hesitation.'

Heddwch: What do you make of the Labour Party's failure to respond to the Bush initiative by proposing that Trident should be scrapped?

This completely contradictory to their stated aim and goal of ensuring that nuclear weapons don't proliferate.

You can't say "we want to stop proliferation, but we ourselves are going to engage in the biggest acquisition of increased firepower anywhere in the world". We've got to expose that hypocrisy.

'Neil Kinnock is being presented as someone who's prepared to be flexible in a changing world, but Labour have shown themselves to be absolutely cast in iron over this. Just

as in the Gulf War, they're prepared to let domestic political considerations over-ride everything.'

Heddwch: You obviously lost patience with the Labour Party when you said "good riddance" about Neil Kinnock's decision to leave CND. Do you regret that now?

I haven't had any negative feedback from ordinary CND members over my remarks. I think a lot of people felt "about time too." They felt we should have done something two years ago, when he left us in spirit.'

'In retrospect, I suppose I shouldn't have said he had a "lust for power", but I was annoyed by the sneaky way that they had decided to let it leak out to a few lobby correspondents that Kinnock was letting his membership lapse, just after Kaufman's article appeared in the Guardian (announcing Labour's plans to keep nuclear weapons as long as any other country has them).'

Heddwch: How do you see relations now between CND and ordinary Labour Party members?

'Of course you can be a member of the Labour Party and a member of CND and work inside the party on the issue. It's also very very important that CND is seen to be independent of any political party. We need to keep working in the Labour Party, but to have our friends and contacts in other parties.'

Heddwch: You had a 'baptism of fire' in the Gulf War and CND was criticised for allying itself too closely with far-left groupings and failing to build a broad antiwar alliance.

No movement could have stopped British participation in the war, but we'll be better prepared and able to create a broader movement in the future. In a way, though, the war revitalised us and put us back on the map.

Since then, we've made a deliberate decision to project ourselves as a peace movement — and I'm glad to say that CND Cymru is leading the way on this issue.

The recent remarks by US General Colin Powell have shown how right we are. He's saying they no longer need some of their tactical nuclear weapons because the Gulf War showed them that their 'conventional' weapons can 'do the job' just as effectively.

'It's no good saying that CND should restrict its campaigning to nuclear weapons. There was no such thing as a fuel air explosive when the campaign was launched in 1958.'

#### FACTS FOR FREE

Young people are in the process of making up their minds about the nuclear issue and are much more likely to discuss it with their friends and family. It's therefore important that they have the facts available to them before they make up their minds.

That's why CND Cymru is producing a new bilingual booklet for 18-year-olds. Using straight-forward language, figures and cartoons, the booklet gives the reasons for our opposition to nuclear weapons.

The free booklet will be distributed widely through students' unions and youth clubs, as well as being available at CND stalls. We also hope that groups will agree to send copies to all first-time voters in their area (using the electoral register).

Copies are available for the cost of postage (for single copies, enclose a s.a.e.) from Brian Jones, 72 Gwyn Street, Yr Alltwen, Pontardawe, SA8 3AN (Tel. 0792 830330).

#### Politicians must face the nuclear challenge

President Bush has proposed unilateral cuts in the nuclear arsenal of the USA. How should CND react. Bob Cole, General Secretary of CND Cymru, gives his view.

et us make quite clear at the beginning that CND Cymru welcomes any cuts in the armaments of any nation, whether unilateral, bi-lateral or multilateral.

So it is heartening to witness the USA making unilateral cuts in its nuclear arsenal and to hear Tom King agree to scrap Britain's tactical and short-range warheads.

However, behind the slick publicity aimed at making a public relations triumph for Bush, just what does it mean for the peace movement in Wales?

First and foremost, Bush is not giving much away. His move will leave the USA with its major strategic nuclear weapons largely untouched. This is because the US's major weapons are submarine-based while the Soviets' are land-based.

As Martin Walker reported in the *Guardian* 'While Mr Gorbachev declared his eagerness to respond and match President Bush's proposals, as they stand they call for the elimination of the main strength of the Soviet nuclear force, its SS-18 multi-warhead missiles, while leaving America's main submarine strategic forces untouched.'

Nevertheless, we are witnessing major changes in the arms race which we must welcome and encourage. Here in Britain, we need to exert maximum pressure on all the political parties to seize the opportunity to rid us of the

nuclear menace as soon as possible.

It is not enough to scrap Britain's smaller weapons while at the same time proceeding with Trident and the new tactical air-to-surface missiles (TASMs). We cannot expect Gorbachev to keep responding by cutting his weapons while we increase ours by a factor of 8 (from 64 warheads on the Polaris fleet to 512 on the Trident).

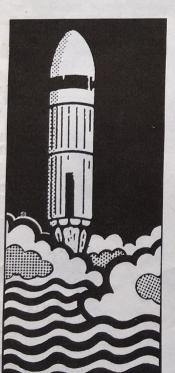
It is a tragedy that while we can pay £10 billion for Trident the health and education services are being starved of resources. It is an even bigger tragedy that the Labour Party now supports Trident just when it could be an election winner by scrapping it and using the money saved for the

health service.

Until who ever is in power does that, our job is to campaign to expose the folly of Trident. As Field Marshal Lord Carver, former Chief of the Defence Staff said: 'What the hell is it for?' Polaris did not deter the Argentinians from invading the Falklands and the combined nuclear weaponry of the USA, France, Britain and the USSR did not deter Saddam Hussein from invading Kuwait.

Trident and the new TASMs have no conceivable use in today's world. As a general election looms we have a golden opportunity to quiz every candidate about where they stand on these weapons.

CND must not flinch from the task that lies before it. Our job in Wales is to make sure that every prospective candidate is quizzed about their attitude to Trident. If they support it, then they must justify the expenditure and answer Lord Carver's question – what's it for, who's it to be used against?



#### **Boycott Trident**

H otpoint washing machines and Mazda lightbulbs should come off the antinuclear campaigner's shopping list, say the organisers of the new GE/GEC boycott.

British company GEC and the US company General Electric (GE) are two of the biggest manufacturers of nuclear weapons components, particularly for Trident submarines, and they're not likely to listen to arguments about the morality of what they are doing.

What will affect both companies is economic pressure, and the huge range of household and medical products for which they are responsible makes them extremely vulnerable to consumer pressure.

CND and the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons (MCANW) aim to make GEC and GE aware that hospitals and households won't subsidise them any longer.

The British boycott will take up the work of the US 'corporate responsibility organisation' INFACT, who have been organising a boycott of GE since 1986.

INFACT have already run the highly successful boycott of food manufacturers Nestle, forcing the company in 1984 to make significant changes in its marketing of bottled baby-milk in the Third World.

The campaign against GE — which is the third largest company in the US — has over five million supporters across the United States, including a number of hospitals which have refused to buy highly expensive medical equipment.

The first result was seen last year with GE's decision to stop producing the neutron generator, the 'trigger' for every US nuclear bomb since the 1950s, and is due to be implemented in 1992.

CND and INFACT's research reveals the sheer extent of both companies' involvement in nuclear weapons. GEC and its subsidiaries receive over twenty separate contracts for the British Trident system, including managing the construction of the Trident warhead plant (a contract which was in line for a further 'secret \$25 million' Government subsidy, according to a Guardian report in February 1991.)

So what should come off that shopping list? The Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons will, obviously, be concentrating on items you can't get at the supermarket while CND is emphasising the boycotting of products which may be cheaper but still have a significant economic impact; and alternative suggestions are available for all products.

The boycott includes Hotpoint, Creda, Cannon (not the copiers), Jackson, Redring and Xpelair (owned jointly by GE and GEC), Thorn, Mazda and Tungsram lighting (GE) and the GEC telephone brand.

Copies of the boycott pledge form, a boycott campaigning pack listing alternatives and background information will shortly be available from West Midlands CND, 54 Allison Street, Birmingham B5 5TH; 021-643 4617.



#### APATHY RULES?

Some say students have not got time for peace issues; nor do the working class, never mind its youth – and don't forget the non-white community in Wales! So APATHY RULES – O.K.

Such negative views are all too common in the peace movement, but we in Cardiff Peace Shop don't share them. Instead we would like to know what these hypothetical individuals think about peace and related matters.

How we go about it demands a lot of thought and hard work. We have some ideas but we could do with a lot more – and of course the necessary muscle for plans to work is priceless.

If you, the reader, are a student, or part of the Islamic community, do you have any ideas on how we can take the Peace Movement from its committee rooms to less common ground?

If you have an idea or a piece of good advice, no matter how small, please share it with us. If you are already involved, get in touch. We need to share experiences and learn from each other.

Our start has been with Cardiff Students Union, having stalls, getting friendly with the sabbatical officers and the student newspaper. Students themselves have also shown fresh energy and interest.

We are grateful for the help we have received. It certainly has destroyed some of the myths of student apathy. Our next step is Cardiff community centres and the people involved.

One of our main tools has been the Manifesto for the Earth, published in the last issue of Heddwch. It's a terrific initiative, spurred on by Linda Walker of CND.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Dawn Clarke, Cardiff Peace shop.

# Postcard power to write off acid rain?



It might taste of very weak vinegar. On a bad day it could be sharp as lemon-juice. Most often it will seem pretty bland. The stuff is acid rain and it now constitutes the most grievous environmental threat to Wales.

ith embarrassment, the government agrees. Maps published this year by the Department of the Environment show that even if the current target of cutting 60 percent of our emissions of sulphur dioxide (the major acid gas) is reached by the year 2003, large areas of Gwynedd, southwest Clwyd, western Powys, and much of West Glamorgan and the Heads of the Valleys area will still be unprotected from acid fall-out from our fossil-fuel burning power stations.

Indeed, Wales accounts for a disproportionately large area of those parts of the UK which will remain vulnerable after 2005. Secretary of State, David Hunt has stated recently that 'because of the acidic nature of some Welsh geology progress will not be as great as we would like'.

Geology, espcially in Gwynedd, is indeed a factor here. Snowdonia is one of the most sensitive eco-systems in Western Europe, and one of the most threatened by any build-up in acidity.

You don't need to be a scientist to understand this. Merely note that the National Park has now a large problem caused by the spread of rhododendrons, which thrive in acid conditions. The flowers of course, are the colours of litmus paper after a dip in weak acid.

The simple point to be made here is that Wales cannot change its

geology. Instead, what ought to be happening is that the government pays attention to the advice of bodies such as its 'Acid Waters Review Group' which reports that if acidifed lakes such as Llyn Gamallt and Llyn Brianne are to be returned to 'pristine conditions', then at least 90 percent cuts in our emissions of sulphur dioxide must be made as soon as possible.

Bodies such as Friends of the Earth Cymru state that the only way these cuts can be made is by the introduction of pollution-controls such as 'Flue Gas Desulphurization' (FGD) equipment.

Yet in the run-up to electricity privatisation, the government reneged on plans to fit FGD to 11,000 megawatts of power-station. (None of this was in Wales, by the way).

It now claims that equally effective reductions can be made by burning low-sulphur coal. This is wholly unrealistic.

In fact, the acid threat to Wales has been increased by the recent applications by National Power and Power-Gen to release sulphur dioxide and oxides of nitrogen from fossil-fuel burning power stations which pollute Wales.

FoE Cymru has protested directly to Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Pollution that these applications should be turned down as they will have a directly deleterious effect on the Welsh environment. FoE Cymru has also approached David Hunt for a personal meeting to discuss the more general problem of Welsh acidification.

Regarding individual acid black spots, the National Rivers Authority has now adopted the dubious strategy of liming either the affected waters, or the surrounding land catchment areas.

In an effort to convince our political masters that Welsh acidity must now be taken far more seriously, FoE Cymru has produced an 'acid rain postcard', a copy of which is enclosed with this issue of *Heddwch*. To join in this vital campaign, just add a stamp and address to your MP at Westminster.

It may seem an insignificant action, like using less electricity at home and work, but this type of individual lobbying is necessary if we are to affect the political hesitation and environmental ignorance which are the real causes of acid damage to Wales.

For more free postcards, contact FoE Cymru, 3, James St., Porthcawl, Mid Glam. CF36 3BG.

Robert Minhinnick

STOP PRESS: Plans to burn
Orimulsion fuel at Pembroke Power
Station could add substantially to
acid pollution in mid Wales and
beyond. Orimulsion – a mixture of
bitumen and water, imported from
Venezuela – has a high sulphur
content. But National Power do not
propose to fit FGD at Pembroke.



Areas of excess acidity above the soils' critical load

The crash of a Tornado in Cardiff Bay on 12 September brought to 28 the total of low flying military aircraft which have crashed in Wales since 1980. The three in 1991 have come close to major disasters, missing Newport, Carno and Barry or Cardiff by seconds.

ow flying is obviously dangerous. It can make life a misery – especially for people living under the 'ultra-low flying zone' in Powys. It uses up vast amounts of fuel and damages the environment. So why do the RAF do it?

Low flying was designed for lowlevel (nuclear) bombing runs over central and eastern Europe to avoid Warsaw Pact radar and anti-aircraft defences. Britain is no longer planning for a war in Europe.

After a recent crash in Wales, the RAF said: 'We either fly low or we die'. In the Gulf war, Tornado pilots flew extremely low and sustained the biggest losses of all allied air forces. In other words, they flew low and they died. Low flying was abandoned in favour of the US tactic of attack from the 'middle air'.

Recently-retired USAF Maj-Gen Perry Smith caused apoplexy in the RAF when, during the war, he described the British low-flying tactics as 'suicidal'. But the evidence suggests he was right.

Seven out of 40 RAF Tornados were lost in the Gulf. Three of them simply 'flew into the ground'. Two were damaged by the explosion of their own bombs. Only two were shot down and — it seems — these may not have been victims of sophisticated surface to air missiles, but of Iraqi soldiers 'lying on their backs' and putting up a curtain of bullets from their automatic rifles, which were then sucked into the Tornadoes' air intakes.

It is at least debatable whether low-flying is a useful tactic for any future war. Maj-Gen Perry Smith says it is not. The USAF abandoned low-flying during the Vietnam war and pulled out of development of the JP233 'runway denial' bomb, which the Tornadoes deliver, because they considered it too dangerous.

If low-flying aircraft are lost in training, it's obvious they will be lost in action when they are flying even lower (down to 50 feet) and facing hostile fire. The RAF (and the British public) seem to accept this as a price worth paying.

British defence analysts are divi-



# Twisted logic of low flying

ded, with some supporting the RAF line that they are the best and that the Americans are simply 'scared' to fly low. Others believe the RAF continue to fly low because they always have flown low. To stop, or cut back, would damage morale and lower the RAF's public visibility.

Low flying may be an irritant, but there are still many people who would be unwilling to question the assertion that it is 'the sound of freedom'

Alex Renton of the *Independent* wrote on 24 May: 'The Gulf also had to provide the vice-marshals with ammunition to fight the post-war battle in Whitehall: principally against the drastic reductions in air force spending planned in the Government's ... Options for Change document. High among these was the planned disbandment of three Tornado squadrons.' It's worth re-

membering that RAF St Athan is the maintenance base for Tornadoes.

Malcolm Spaven of Edinburgh University, who specialises in the politics of low-flying believes public opinion will not shift unless civilians (especially children) are killed in a crash. After the Carno crash, the RAF admitted that this may be only a matter of time.

As we went to press, the government announced a 33% reduction in low-flying sorties over the next three years. But they have not learnt the lessons of the Gulf and continue to insist that low flying is a necessary tactic. CND Cymru must keep up the pressure for a total re-think

To challenge the 'logic' of low flying is one step towards challenging the whole twisted philosophy of 'defence', 'peace through strength' and 'deterrence'.

**James Stewart** 

Air force admits low flying threat to civilians on the ground

#### RAF WARNS OF CRASH RISKS

Shropshire Star

he RAF are prepared to accept civilian deaths as the price of continued low flying over Wales.

'Statistically, one must say that there is an increasing likelihood that a civilian will be killed on the ground,' said Michael Hill, head of public relations for RAF Strike Command. He was speaking after a collision over Carno in Powys, in which the pilots of an RAF jet and a civilian

Cessna were killed.

Wreckage from the crash fell on houses and gardens in the village, but miraculously, no-one on the ground was injured. There have been 28 crashes involving low-flying military planes in Wales over the last 10 years.

There will come a time — unfortunately — when there will be fatalities on the ground. Mr Hill told a press conference in Carno on 30 August.

#### AIR MAIL

Dear Heddwch,

I've just read Heddwch and it's full of all sorts of good articles. But I have to admit, I was hoping for some in-depth coverage of the low flying campaign.

I've been involved campaigning against low flying for at least three years in Canada

I'll happily give out leaflets if that's the most effective means but I'm tired of half measures. Below are some of my ideas for a Welsh campaign against low-level flying.

Research - My experience with successful environmental campaigns in Canada is that careful research is the way to sympathetic publicity, which in turn educates the public and creates the necessary pressure for change.

Political pressure - MPs and Euro MPs who have the necessary knowledge and are willing to make a fuss are

valuable.

Letters and leaflets – Letter writing on a grand scale is good. Elected politicians do read personal messages. Leaflets seem to me like throwing away paper unless there are new facts to publicise.

International pressure – Governments do not like to be criticised internationally. Letters to newspapers in other countries which share the same problems can be effective. Also letters to their Defence Ministries or to their Prime Minister.

International coordinated action - The Canadian Peace Alliance is trying to set up an international meeting for all affected countries this autumn.

Civil action – When all else fails, campaigns of disruption to make the running of the offending operation difficult can be useful.

I want to see the end of low-level flights in 12 months and have plenty of energy to give to it. Any advice, let me know.

Gillian Metcalf Lampeter.

#### IN THE LIONS DEN

The National Council of Christian CND (of which I am a member) held its September meeting in Scotland instead of London, where it meets six times a year.

There were a dozen of us altogether and we were warmly welcomed at the Peace Camp at Faslane where we stayed for a couple of nights.

Some 28,000 acres of land has been taken by the MoD in Dumbartonshire alone, much of it being left derelict.

More money is being spent there than on the Channel Tunnel. Around £250 million has already been spent, mostly on a massive ship lift. This lift stands 16 storeys high and is designed to lift Trident submarines out of the water, their displacement being twice that of any other submarine.

The water of Gareloch contains five times normal levels of radioactivity. To give us an idea of the size of a Trident submarine, we were told it would fill Glasgow's George Square and the area covered by the Civic Centre.

On Sunday morning an action took place. Four women members decided to paint the fence with quotations from the Book of Daniel.

Many other people joined us on Sunday morning from as far as Newcastle and Glasgow. We were about three dozen in all. The painters managed to get all their painting done before being arrested. They were taken into the base, and our Service went on.

It was a great weekend. We really should be getting heavily involved in the Anti-Trident Movement. The first submarine is due to be launched this winter but is not expected at Gareloch until 1994: campaigners hope they may not yet arrive.

Rowena Thomas Wrexham

# A failure of imagination

Book Review. The Gulf Between Us: The Gulf War and Beyond, edited by Victoria Brittain. (Virago, 1991. £5.99)

· 'All war is a failure of imagination.'
The phrase belongs to just one contributor, Edward Pearce, but the message it carries leaps from almost every page of this short but powerful book

The failure of imagination began, as Alexander Cockburn and Andrew Cohen point out, with the generous help given by the West for nearly a decade to Saddam Hussein to help him bomb, gas and torture his own people and those of his neighbour, Iran.

It continued with the relentless build-up to the war after Saddam invaded Kuwait, and its finest hour was when an American journalist described the bombing of Baghdad as 'just like the Fourth of July'. In plain English, as Pearce says, 'We have the means to kill, but perhaps not the means to mind'.

The contributors to the book do their best to make up the short-comings of our collective imagination — in vastly, surprisingly, differing ways. Some authors make their case through a painstaking marshalling of facts and analysis — such as Faleh'Abd al Jabar's account of the political events inside Iraq leading up to the invasion of Kuwait or Barbara Rogers' piece on the hijacking of the UN by the USA.

Others like Fadia Faqir try to lead us, as she puts it, into the 'eye of the Storm' through fictionalised accounts (based on fact) of the experience of individual Arab women caught up in the war or the impact of it. 'Having no say in what takes place in the political arena, they, together with their children, are the forgotten casualties of the cycles of violence.'

Like Faqir, Grace Paley tries to weave personal experience and global analysis together in her account of American peace activists' resistance to the war. She concludes with a damning inventory of the purposes of the war, and its terrible results. 'This has been a war to ensure that Americans can continue to make war, and like it.'

Edward Pearce's piece deals with the 'bright-eyed mediocrity' of most of the British media in suffocating public imagination about the real meaning of 'collateral damage' and 'soft targets'. But really it is a mighty outpouring of rage against the dying, and all those of us who chose not to imagine how they died.

The book was written within weeks of the end of the war but we now know, through aid agencies such as UNICEF, that they are still dying in Iraq. They are dying because Allied troops bombed water towers and sewage systems and power stations, and they are dying because the U.S. and Britain have so far not agreed to relax sanctions to allow in food and medical supplies to Iraq.

Reading this book now will make it harder to forget that, for millions of Iraqis, the war has not ended.

Jo Edwards.

• Peace campaigners have worked out that 6,000 protestors were arrested in the USA during the war. As one of them said: 'Bush said he couldn't hear any anti-war voices, but he wasn't listening.'

THE GULF TO TO WAR

Meanwhile, an International War Crimes Tribunal has been hearing evidence about what really happened in the Gulf War.

Ramsey Clark, speaking to the first hearing in New York on 11 May said: 'It was not really a war. It was the use of technological material to destroy a defenceless country. From 125,00 to 300,000 people were killed ... we recognise our role in history is to bring the transgressors to justice.'

More information is available from the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal, 36E 12th St., 6th floor, NY, NY 10003

(Information from People to People).



d Stallard



#### NIREX's nuclear waste farce

Environmental groups have slammed the announcement that Sellafield is the preferred site for long-term disposal of low and intermediate level nuclear waste.

'This is a farce,' said Pete Roche, Greenpeace Nuclear Campaigner. This proposal is not based on science, but on the need for a political solution.'

Consulting Geologist Philip Richardson, commented: 'there can be no confidence in an exercise which, having searched the whole UK mainland and continental shelf, identifies two nuclear sites as the best candidates for a repository.'

The people of Cumbria are gather-



ing force to oppose the dump, and Greenpeace is calling for all nuclear waste to be stored on site, above ground, in a monitorable and retrievable fail-safe fashion.

At a press conference, NIREX acknowledged that it would be extremely difficult to retrieve the waste after the site had been closed and sealed following its planned 50

NIREX and the nuclear industry has previously argued that retrievability could be built into the design of a waste dump.

It is now clear that this only applies during the operating life of the dump.

Pad Green, the Friends of the Earth Radioactive Waste Campaigner, said: 'NIREX has been attempting to convince the public it can deal with any problems with the waste. This is not the case, NIREX do not plan to retrieve the waste if problems occur after site closure. NIREX's policy seems to be to dump the waste and forget about it."

Meanwhile, scientists working with the British Geological Society have warned NIREX that it is scientifically impossible to predict accurately the behaviour of the geology over the extremely long time scales involved.

The International Atomic Energy Agency has warned NIREX that waste streams containing paper, gloves and other organic material could increase the solubility of certain radionuclides, including plutonium, by up to 10,000 times.

This means that the rate of contaminated groundwater movement back up to ground level could be faster than predicted.

NIREX's own research has shown that a volume of potentially explosive gas, up to 400 times the volume of the respository, could be produced. This could seriously undermined the integrity of the dump.

NIREX does not propose to present a full safety case for scrunity at the planned public inquiry. Instead, Friends of the Earth fear that safety issues will be decided in secret, between NIREX and the regulators, after the construction of the £2.5 billion respository.

 At a meeting in London in October 1987 a consensus amongst anti dumping groups was agreed:

1. No Dumping or Disposal of 2. They should seek responsible

and acceptable solutions to storage. 3. At present nuclear waste including spent fuel, should be stored in a fail-safe condition above ground, on site at nuclear facilities where it is produced. It should be constantly monitored and retrieved if necessary

4. Production of waste by nuclear power generation and reprocessing should cease.

and re-packaged.

**Hugh Richards** Welsh Anti-Nuclear Alliance

#### PEACE INVADERS

Peace campaigners 'invaded' the army's war games village on Mynydd Eppynt in Powys on 31 August. Jill Freeman was one of them.

The red military flag flew against a blue August sky as the Peace Picnic Convoy drove past the barrier onto Mynydd Eppynt and into the Sennybridge military ranges.

White east-European-style houses shone like a summer holiday village on the Welsh Only moorland sheep watched us.

What a peace picnic it was! We moved into the 'village churchyard'; some ate; some wrote and pasted peace fake messages on gravestones, then on the 'church' and the mock family homes and farm buildings where the soldiers usually

We talked a lot and looked CND around: balloons decorated trees and some daffodil bulbs were planted in the shape of a CND symbol. Some peace picnickers showed themselves around an open Beautiful peace house. banners appeared on the church, between the trees and on an army lorry.

For a moment, in the sun and among friends, we almost forgot that this is a place where men learn war, a place which cost £7 million to build, at a time when health, education, housing and other social needs are neglected - that this is a monument to the sickness of our society.

We left behind messages expressing our horror of the war machine and our hopes for peace.

The village was empty. On the return journey beyond that red flag, we passed a bus steamy with Territorial Army soldiers on their way up to practice killing.

Soldiers kill - society applauds. Civilians kill society punishes.





'Mothers for Peace' came into existence in 1981. The two women cofounders envisaged individual mothers building bridges across the Cold War divide

In September 1991, five women - two from Japan, one from Moscow, one from the Ukraine and a Mexican American from Colorado - came to north Wales and stayed with three families in the Trawsfynydd

If anyone wants to know more about the organisation, the Welsh contact person is Frances Voelcker, Pant Glas Uchaf, Pant Glas, Gwynedd (Tel. 0766 75 657).



Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

AT THE FOREFRONT OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR A NON-MILITARISED WALES AND A PEACEFUL WORLD.

Contributions for Heddwch should be sent to James Stewart, 31 Romilly Crescent, Cardiff CF1 9NP.

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#### HOW NOT TO BURN OUT

have a friend who has been off work for two months. Last year her father died. Till then, she had been very active in the Peace Movement, worked hard as a psychiatrist and in her union and was involved in co-counselling. Her days were extremely busy and she went to bed knackered every night.

She coped, with difficulty, until her father's death. It wasn't just that she couldn't cope with his death, but that that event took the very last of her resources and, mentally drained, she couldn't cope with anything. She had

burnt out.

We are resources, like the rain forest, and we know it is sensible to exploit the forest in a slow and sustainable way that looks after the needs of the forest. So to be effective long term campaigners, two things are important. We must ensure that we are taking care of our own needs and we must make sure that we are not setting ourselves up to fail.

Activists often find it difficult to put their own needs first. Many of us feel it is selfish to put our needs ahead of the cause. We mauy also feel what we're fighting for is so important, it demands all our energies. But if we use our resources in this nonsustainable way, we may burn out and withdraw altogether. Surely it is preferable to do less but keep going

Activists should have a support system, so someone cares for us when we need it. This could be anything from a monthly massage to someone who will listen while we say how angry/tired/desperate we feel.

We need to look after our physical needs by eating well and taking enough rest and exercise. We also need to find the work interesting, challenging and enjoyable.

Activists can find resting difficult. There is so much to do. But one person cannot do all of it, liberation will not be won overnight and it is important to remember that anything we do is better than nothing. What we do will affect the people around us. Acting from desperation or helplessness is not useful. Even so, it will often be hard for us to refuse requests and self assertiveness course can be useful practice for saying 'No!"

The second necessity for effective long term campaigning is to feel we are getting somewhere. Someone who has spent the eighties working on third world development could easily look at Africa and the starvation there still and feel they've wasted their time. But the truth is

their efforts have saved many people's lives.

It is essential to set yourself ujp for success. It is important to distinguish between goals and dreams. Martin Luther King's dream was that "All people can be free at last." His goal on the other hand, was set for each

For CND, the dream is to rid the world of nuclear weapons, but the goals need to be set for each campaign. Even if we don't reach our goals, we must remember what has been achieved. Of course, we can learn from looking at what we didn't achieve, but it's not useful if we use it as a stick to beat ourselves over the head.

How succesful you feel doesn't depend just on how much you achieve but also on how much you hoped to achieve. Success breeds success. If you set yourself up for failure, on the other hand, you are likely to become disheartened and lose energy.

Some of the courses of action in this article can be carried out immediately. Others will take longer because they go against behaviour patterns set over years. Don't be hard on yourself, but keep trying.

I will be running workshops to look at this subject and to practice some of the skills to prevent 'burnout'. If you are interested, please ring me on Cardiff 481369.

Colin Heyman

#### Arms trade

November 16 is a date not to be missed this autumn. Newport CND will be hosting a day of meetings, workshops and discussions related to the Arms Trade.

The venue for this event is to be Brynglas House in Newport from 11.00am - 4.00pm, and there will be an entrance fee of £2.00 waged or £1.00 unwaged. We are asking everyone to bring food to share communally.

We are hoping to run workshops on such subjects as 'The Arms Trade and the Third World, The Middle East and the Arms Trade' and 'Arms Conversion'. We will also be showing a video from the Campaign Against the Arms Trade. This should be a really good event if you help to make it so. Please watch out for further information which will be sent to groups soon. If you wish to find out more contact Newport CND on 0633 279018 or 0495 201124.

Hilary Kanaris, Newport CND.



This summer was the 10th anniversary of the setting up of the Greenham Common women's peace camp. Thalia Campbell from Aberystwyth, who was on the original march from Wales to Greenham, went back for a few days for the birthday.

I returned to Greenham on September 3. The weather was just like it was when we marched to Greenham in 1981, hot, golden, late summer days.

There were women of all ages sitting around the fire, from many parts of Britain as well as Spain, Italy, France and Austria. A woman jumped out of a taxi who had just flown in from Australia.

Many of these women had been dreaming and planning to come to Greenham for years, others were returning for the birthday. The woods began to fill with tents. There were some frustrating, exhausting problems with language. In the evenings we sang songs partly in French, partly in English.

Some people in a car threw something wet at us in the dark while we were singing around the fire. Women went into the missile silos during the night.

Late one night, when most women were asleep in their tents, a member of the US military came out, sat by the fire and said he had just arrived from America and couldn't wait to tell us how much he had admired our fortitude. He thought we deserved a monument. We had already discussed the idea of a commemorative sculpture in Cardiff.

After breakfast we spent a couple of hours hanging banners on the fence, but two UK military personnel very ungraciously removed them, so we put banners up in the trees, nearer to the road, and others 40 feet high in front of the gates on a washing line.

The media coverage we were given was fair — including interviews around the fire and a live debate on Sky TV News with a local opponent of the camp.

He now actually agreed that what we had been doing was right – and that we had won. But he did not like the look of the muddy camp and asked why we had not gone home.

We responded by saying that the cruise missiles were being recycled, the mentality of the base was still in power, that women have always tried to stop wars and that Greenham was our spiritual home.

#### Cash call

Peace campaigning is an expensive business and we will never have enough money to do all we want. However, when you realise just what we do with our limited finance and what we're up against I'm sure you will respond generously.

CND is continually at the cutting edge of politics; we are up against the most powerful forces possible – the MOD with an annual budget of £24 billion, plus the majority of the media and finally the political establishments of Britain's major political parties.

In Wales we would like to do more and as a general election approaches, we need your money to help us put our case. This year we have continued our campaigns against Trident and new nuclear weapons, cam-

paigned against the Gulf War, low flying, the continuing militarisation of large parts of mid Wales.

We have supported the campaigns at Llanishen atomic weapons factory in Cardiff, and the Swansea people opposed to nuclear submarines. We have also worked with the Campaign Against the Arms Trade to expose Britain's role in the export of weapons.

We have done all this on a very small budget. Now I am appealing to you directly to help maintain our position as Wales's leading peace movement by sending us a donation or — even better — completing a standing order to guarantee a regular income.

**Bob Cole** 

#### **SURVIVAL STUDIES**

*Understanding War,* by W.B. Gallie, Emeritus Professor of Political Science, Cambridge. (Points of Conflict Series, Routledge 1991.)

In this book Professor Gallie, now living and writing in west Wales, fills a gap in philosophical thinking about war by actually discussing the nature of war itself.

He makes two very important points about war that are of value in arguing for disarmament. One is that wars tend to escalate, and the other that the results of war are seldom those intended in starting the war, because war is not controllable politically.

Our attitude to war is based on the false idea that it can be used to control unwanted violent confrontational acts between nations or groups

of people. He says that these characteristics are inherent in war itself and that because we have the super-technology to make weapons and systems of mass destruction, these will make any war potentially suicidal for humanity.

Now in his eighties, Gallie has argued his case cogently and with commendable brevity. He concludes with practical ways for creating academic awareness of the need to change our attitude to war by creating 'Survival Studies'.

He says we need to engender a sense of intellectual community, patently missing in our present academic institutions, and to do this 'one must survive'.

Ann Lukes

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#### **Grass roots**

For several years now, in Llandrindod, our group has planted a tree to commemorate Hiroshima Day. The trees are in different sites in the town and the last four are in the Memorial Gardens. Each has a plaque reading 'In Commemoration of Hiroshima Day – August 6th 1945'.

The tree planting was preceded by a short Vigil in the town. These events are attended by the Mayor and whenever possible by a Press photographer. At this August's planting, 9 adults and 9 children attended. The tree, a rowan, is thriving, as are all the others.

Vera Jones, Llandrindod CND.



CND Cymru has appointed a new part-time worker to develop the campaign in south Wales and support the work of peace groups in the area.

She is Mary Jones, a former CND Cymru press officer, who lives in Swansea.

Mary will be based at the Peace Shop in Cardiff

Our picture shows Mary with George Crabb, chair of the Peace Shop committee. Mae CND Cymru wedi penodi gweithwraig ran-amser newydd i ddatblygu'r ymgyrch yn ne Cymru a chefnogi gwaith grwpiau heddwch yn yr ardal, sef Mary Jones, cyn-swyddog y wasg i CND Cymru, sy'n byw yn Abertawe.

Bydd Mary yn gweithio o'r Siop Heddwch yng Nghaerdydd.

Dengys ein llun Mary gyda George Crabb, cadeirydd pwyllgor y Siop Heddwch.

### UNCONTROLLED POLLUTION

Should the sediment in Trawsfynydd Lake be subject to control under the Radioactive Substances Act 1960? **Hugh Richards** reports.

The threshold concentrations for low level radioactive waste subject to control under the Radioactive Substances Act 1960 is 400,000 Bq/Tonne. According to the 1988 internal CEGB document ('A Survey of the Distribution of Radioactivity in Trawsfynydd Lake Sediments') mean radioactivity for the lake down to a depth of 300mm is more than ten times that level (4,279,000 Bq/Tonne).

Block E has 8,258,900 Bq/Tonne, and Block K has 13,873,000 Bq/Tonne — 34 times the threshold concentration!

As the sediment far exceeds the concentration defined as low level radioactive waste under the Radioactive Substances Act 1960, and contains Alpha-emitters such as Plutonium, it should be subject to control under the Radioactive Substances Act and treated as nuclear waste.

The lake covers 4.869 Sq Kilometres, and sampling indicates that at least the top 300mm is contaminated. The volume of the contaminated mud is therefore 1,460,700 Cu Metres.

This roughly equals the *total* volume of Low Level Waste that Nirex is currently trying to dispose of

However, because the discharges into Trawsfynydd Lake were 'authorised', under the Radioactive Substances Act 1960, nothing will be done. The authorities have permitted the creation of a low level radioactive waste lagoon in the centre of a National Park.

This negligent and sloppy behaviour is unacceptable, and the individuals who are responsible must be brought to account.



#### **LOW FLYING**

#### A Wales Within Europe Perspective a one-day conference on RAF Low-Flying Policy to examine

- its military and political justification
- its impact on the people, livestock, and environment of Wales
- how we should respond.

Saturday November 30th 1991, 11am Rock Park Centre, Llandrindod Wells, Powys

speakers • debate • question & answer session • videos exhibition • refreshments available Booking fee £2. Booking forms from:

39 St James Crescent, Swansea SA1 6DR.
For information ring (0792) 774687 / 643542



Organised by David Morris MEP and Joe Wilson MEP

Your old banger fails its MOT and it is made clear that it should be scrapped. What do you do? You accept it. Only the nuclear industry has the nerve to try to bypass the MOT test. Nuclear Electric actually want safety standards cut so they can keep their Magnox stations going. They have chosen their most clapped out wreck - Trawsfynydd, to prove they can do it. We in Wales are to be guinea pigs for an industry that puts money before safety.

#### Trawsfynydd should never be allowed to re-start.

In a Long-term Safety Review carried out in September, the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate (NII) refused to grant Hinkley A a license to operate beyond the end of 1991 following doubts about the safety of the welds on the steel reactor pressure vessel. The welds are suffering from embrittlement as a result of bombardment by neutrons. As the welds age they become increasingly less ductile and more likely to crack under stress - particularly during cooling.

The vital gas outlet welds, at the top of the reactor, have now been discovered to be brittle, and could crack suddenly. If the welds were to break, an accident could occur involving a loss of coolant, a sudden loss of pressure at the top of the reactor, a collapse of the core, and a possible meltdown of the reactor. According to Eddy Ryder, HM Chief Inspector of NII, Trawsfynydd is "top of the league" in relation to embrittlement problems. The NII are worried, but are under pressure to relax the rules. Public pressure is needed to stop this test the way it stopped the last one at Trawsfynydd.

Dr John Large, speaking at Dolgellau on October 23rd, commented:

"The safety case is precarious. In the event of a reactor scram the reactor will have to be depressurised over a period of 12 hours. The combination of a 'scram' with more demanding requirements due to problems of ageing means that human intervention is necessary within 30 minutes. This breaks the cardinal rule governing the operation of nuclear reactors in the UK."

The accident that is waiting to happen was judged to be 'incredible'. There are no emergency plans. Our safety and well-being are threatened.

#### Time is running out but together we can stop the test:

Insist on the maintenance of proper safety standards. Safety should not be sacrificed to profit. Write to:

- your MP do House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA.
- HM Chief Inspector, NII, Thames House North, Millbank, London SW1P 4QL
- your local council.

Keep in touch: Return the slip below to WANA, PO Box 1, Llandrindod, Powys LD1 5RY

I want to be	kept informed	of the	campaign to	Stop the	Trawsfynydd	Test.
Name:						
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I would join	a demonstration at Trawsfynydd
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I enclose a	Donation of

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