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Onderwerp: Inreis vanuit Moskou via Kopenhagen van de internationaal secretaris van het Inter Kerkelijk Vredesberaad.

Bijlagen : 2

Op 13 mei 1982 omstreeks 12.50 uur arriveerde op de Luchthaven Schiphol met een lijnvliegtuig van de Koninklijke luchtvaartmaatschappij "KLM" - vluchtnummer KL 176 - vanuit Moskou via Kopenhagen, een persoon genaamd:

----- B A R T E L S W I M
internationaal secretaris van het Inter Kerkelijk Vredesberaad, nadere gegevens onbekend.

Tijdens een door deze persoon op 13 mei 1982 gehouden persconferentie op de luchthaven Schiphol werden namens hem stencils uitgereikt inhoudende de tekst welke betrokkene openbaar wilde maken tijdens de "World Conference Religious Workers For Saving The Sacred Gift Of Life From Nuclear Catastrophe" gehouden te Moskou van 10 tot en met 14 mei 1982. Het werd aan betrokkene tijdens voornoemde conferentie te Moskou niet toegestaan de tekst van het stencil in het openbaar uit te spreken.

Text by Interchurch Peace Council (I.K.V.), the Netherlands (Wim Bartels, international secretary) meant for the World Conference: Religious Workers for saving the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe, Moscow 10-14 May 1982.

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On nuclear disarmament / and organising our peace-work
(workinggroup 3) (workinggroup 4)

1. Ethical reflection

As religious workers for saving peace, we in the Netherlands, went through a long process of reflection and action. Highlights in this process since World War II were the declaration of the Netherlands Reformed Church in 1962, in which any use of nuclear weapons in any military strategy was condemned, and the establishment of the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council (I.K.V.) in 1966, in which 9 churches cooperate to promote peace work in the local parishes and to speak and generate actions in matters of peace, justice and human rights. I.K.V. is doing its work on behalf of these churches, without binding the churches by its positions. Its campaign, started in 1977, to free the Netherlands unilaterally from nuclear weapons, was based on the conviction that both use and possession of nuclear weapons have to be condemned morally, and that this moral position urges to search for new political solutions, because the logic of the deterrence system does not provide any way out. There were no such signs or indications that the threat system with these weapons did or could function as basis for disarmament. On the contrary! So we were bound to take the more fundamental position as religious workers of both opposing use and possession of nuclear weapons. This position is gradually taken by more and more christian people and churches in the world. It is for instance definitely the position now of the already mentioned Netherlands Reformed Church, and the Roman Catholic Bishops in the United States are coming more and more close to it.

But what to do in the moral contradiction which arises? Going on with the tradition wisdom of "arming in order (to negotiate) to disarm" is not acceptable and tolerable any more. Complete unilateral disarmament on the other hand is also not acceptable, since people have security-needs and -beliefs, which we have to take into consideration.

2. Characteristics of I.K.V.'s peace campaign

In this ethical and political urgency, I.K.V. advocates the way of the unilateral initiatives, unconditional first steps, being expressions of the

new policies we need, and fit to evoke a bi- and multilateral process towards disarmament and peace (as some British peace researcher stated: "unilateralists are bilateralists who really mean it"). A campaign was launched under the motto: "Help rid the world of nuclear weapons; let it begin in the Netherlands 400 local groups work at the grass-root-level to convince and put pressure upon the political parties, the churches, the trade unions, women- and youth organisations, school and educational institutes to take over the aims and strategies of this peace campaign.

Of course, in this context we also unconditionnaly rejected the new nuclear weapons Pershing II and Cruise-Missile in the so called "modernisation-program of NATO of 1979. A huge build-up of nuclear weapons has been going on for many years, both in East and in West, and we did not see how entering into a new phase of the arms race, on our side, could stop it, although we are also aware that for the huge Soviet build-up there is no acceptable rationale. We rejecte all the legitimations of this armament programm, and therefore did not demand less from our government and NATO-allies as withdrawel of their original consent with the modernisation-decision. More than two million people demonstrate last fall in the streets of Western Europe against this decision; 400.000 of them in Amsterdam on November 21, 1982! Unfortunately the start of the Geneva-talks on November 30th and the events after the 13th of December in Poland were a serious set back, because the new energy of the social processes in Europe was responded by old politics of this east - west bloc-system.

We had some success and effects on the level of parties and government, although not at all satisfactory to our demands. The government uptill now only decided not to decide, to postpone the decision to deploy these new weapons. With other words, we paralysed the machinery of Dutch government in this case, but we are determined to make further progress towards a complete negative decision in this matter of our government.

And the churches? They, despite the political concretisation of our peace activities, back the I.K.V. as their peace-movement. Of course, controversies arise inside these churches and many discussions take place, but still the majority in the synods want I.K.V. in their name and in order to stimulate them, to work out new ideas and strategies, to find ways out of the deadly and immoral logic and impasse of existing security policies.

Elaborating upon the basic choice and strategy of I.K.V. to think of unilatera initiatives in the political and military arena, the following characteristics of our peace-campaign can be described:

- The campaign is meant to give the average citizen his or her responsibility back again in matters of peace and the armsrace, in matters of basic human survival. One could call this the pastoral motive behind the campaign, because the churches ought to help people in their powerlessness. Steps are proposed, which can be made independent of decisions by others, and initiated at the grass-root-level. In fact, the campaign is aiming at building up a new political power in society, the responsible individuals and public opinion, putting pressure upon their own politicians from below.
- This strategy is needed because of our mistrust in the willingness and effectivity of the official security-elites of our countries in regard to making new steps, needed to break through the existing deadlocks in thinking and acting, like the legitimations of the armsrace called deterrence, modernisation, and sometimes simply "defense". The peace-movement's mistrust is particularly related to the existing international negotiation process on disarmament. These negotiations take place between leading nations of both powerblocs and are kept within a bipolar military- and security system that until now has never achieved disarmament or arms reductions by means of negotiating; on the contrary, the negotiations in the past always produced some additional armaments, particularly in the field of the more technically-advanced and refined weaponry.
- The peace strategy should be build upon the device of "self-obligation". Not just stating how a peacefull world looks like, not declaring in what respect others have to change their behaviour and policies is important, but making clear in what way one can make independent steps oneself, which can bring about a new more global process. Therefor you will see that I.K.V. takes a hard position in regard to policies of its own government and the western alliance. This also explains why we only feel supported by governments and peace institutions in Eastern Europe applauding our activities, when they also take their own independent initiatives, if needed initiatives by peace-minded groups and institutions, also independent from their own governments. Does this mean lack of coherence, coordination and organisation of the strategy of the (international) peace movements? No, it means instead that we cooperate on a concrete, powerfull basis, as it is shown now by the cooperation in between West-European peace movements and in between them and the new emerging american peace movement. It is even emerging between movements and institutions in East and West. The right principle of togetherness is, we think, that of "cooperative unilateralism".
- Final characteristic of I.K.V.'s peace campaign is the priority for political, rather than purely military steps and solutions. The military strategic and not at least technological developments have to very high degree their own

logics, which can only be changed by new political options and decisions.

3. Political aims of our peace-campaign

The over-all political goal of the West-European peace movement is the realisation of a nuclear-free Europe. We want this for ourselves, sure; we don't want to be the "theatre" of any future nuclear war between east and west. But we want also a nuclear-free Europe, because we think it is our best contribution for the necessary military and political disengagement between east and west. By giving our struggle for peace and disarmament this clear geografic connotation, we try to gain back a more political powerfull position to interfere in the global power struggle between the existing superpowers and their ongoing negotiation-processes, also on our security interests. About us, but without us, sofar.

To put this aim of denuclearising Europe in the context of the ongoing negotiations in Geneva on middle-range missile-systems; we want the real zero-option. That is to say, not the U.S.-version of it, which is clearly more aiming at winning the public opinion in the west, than winning disarmament with the negotiations-partner, the Soviet-Union. Zero-option, whereby the cancellation of these 572 planned NATO systems of cruise missiles and Pershings II is being exchanged for the total intermediate range potential, which the USSR has built up since 1959, including those Soviet missiles targetted at China, but excluding all sea- and air based western systems targetted at the Soviet-Union, can not be taken as a serious negotiation offer.

But without taking over the western propaganda-tric, in which the SS 20's are taken as pretext for the deployment of the new missiles from NATO, it is clear that we also vehemently oppose the deployment of hundreds of Soviet ss 20's targetted at our cities and other targets in Western Europe. So our real zero-option for Europe also includes the dismantling of all Soviet nuclear weapons For Europe, and we could for that sake not react enthusiastically on presidents Breshnev's recent decision to establish a moratorium on the deployment of the SS 20's, because according to many western experts with the deployment of 300 of them the SS 20-programm is virtually completed.

In general we have much distrust in the ongoing Geneva-negotiations. To quote an earlier statement by I.K.V. and the West-German peace movement ASF: "The negotiations about this zero-option are in fact not yet serious negotiations to prevent stationing, but will probably set a euro-strategic balance. This will also be the case, if the USSR succeeds in including the American "forward based systems", as well as the English and French systems in the negotiations

The concept and ground of the Geneva-negotiations of a euro-strategic balance we consider dangerous in itself, since it will legitimate in addition to the global concepts of balance of the Salt-process, a regional concept, that could become a new impuls to armsrace in Europe.

Zero for us therefore really means zero; a nuclear-free Europe as a step towards a nuclear-free world.

- It will be clear that a nuclear free Europe does not simply stand for the existing Europe without nuclear weapons. We have therefore to be ready to think of necessary political, economic and cultural changes that will have to take place in both east and west, to give Europe its new security-identity for itself and for the world. A Europe, based on policies of detente, and on the lowest possible level of military armament. A Europe also, with new relations on equal terms with developing countries in the southern half of our world. A Europe also, which emerges out of a process of political disengagement from both of the superpowers, since we are sure that their global rivalry is not only a main impuls behind the armsrace, but also the reason of the deep devisic between the european peoples and countries. No serious process of disarmament and peace on world scale will be possible, without the prospect of overcoming the global bloc-division. Europe could and should make the start in that process! We ask the big powers not only to understand these demands from their European partners, but also -finally in their own interest also- to give space for it and do link up to these processes by garanteing their outcome and so back them. They should understand that these ideals on Europe are finally political concretisations of deep emancipatory processes within the peoples in Europe of west and east, and that it is unwise to work against historic developments and deep-rooted aspirations of peoples.

4. New alliances for peace

What we really need is building new alliances of peace-forces in the West, East and the southern half of our world, working against the global tendencies of arming, militarisation and exploitation. Peace-forces who first of all work within the context of their own political and military system and environment, but on the principle of "cooperative unilateralism" cooperating.

Cooperation then means: correcting each others, complementing, inspiring and backing in a deeply-felt solidarity among themselves. This will bring alliances between the different aspects of peace, like disarmament, detente, human rights, social justice, anti-fascist and anti-racist struggle. This will at the same time bring together groups, organisations, institutions working for these aims and for the integration of these aims in both west, east and south!

Let me tell you a bit about our experiences with this international build-up of solidarity among such ("like-minded") groups:

- In the process of preparing the massive demonstrations against the NATO-modernisation decision in West-Europe during the fall of last year, we started among West-European peace organisations a process of cooperation and coordination. In particular the peace-organisations present at a meeting in Copenhagen, on 5-6 September 1981 are closely cooperating, also in the field of political analysis and strategy (the I.K.V.-secretariat at The Hague serves as "International Peace Communication and Coordination Center", IPCC, for this group of peace movements, among which almost all the organisers of the demonstrations in 1981). We decided for instance to work out our solidarity, with groups opposing "on the spot" the preparations for the deployment of the new missiles, like in Comiso (Sicily), Greenham Commons and Molesworth (Britain) and Germany. The Scandinavians agreed to take also as their priority for actions in the fall the struggle against the new missiles, although their countries were not foreseen as deployment -base. The peace movements in Central Europe from their side decided to show their solidarity with the Scandinavians in their struggle to make a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries, but asked for refinement of this concept, as to include sea and air, in order to prevent the use of them by NATO for future sea or air-launching of the missile. Nowadays we are planning a common conference in Athens in October of the Nordic countries and delegations of Balcan-countries and of the Benelux, to coordinate our efforts for creating nuclear-free zones in Europe as a start in the process for a nuclear-free Europe.
- Also with the American peace movement a similar contact and exchange has been build up. Europeans have been invited to speak at the main conventions in the United States, in particular in the context of their new freeze-campaign, a proposal and campaign to achieve a freeze in research, production and deployment of nuclear weapons together with the USSR. In November 1981 we also made a common statement in Amsterdam, at the occasion of the hearing on disarmament of the World Council of Churches there. We agreed to back each others in actions and campaigns, and to let them function complementary to each other. European activists will be present at the big demonstrations in New York during the Special Session of the United Nations on Disarmament. Representatives of American peace movements will be in London and Bonn during the visit of their president Ronald Reagan to Western Europe in the second week of June, to give common statements on our struggle for disarmament and a new perspective for Europe, with the european peace movements.
- And in the east-west relations? Here also new alliances between similar "like-minded" movements or institutions are much needed, and do come into existence.

We have recognised tendencies of political emancipation, similar to ours, in the movements of Charta '77 in Tszechoslovakia, and Solidarnosc in Poland. More regular contacts between our movements can, as I.K.V. expressed in a recent message to Charta-movement, help both of us to become partners in our struggle for the realisation of the aims of the Helsinki-treaty: peace and disarmament, self-determination of the peoples and human rights. These are aims and values which belong together.

For I.K.V., churches are in particular important. Are there people in these institutions, who on the basis of deep belief and fundamental values are ready to rethink traditional values and patterns of thinking? We have build up close contacts with the Evangelical Church in the G.D.R., in particular its Theological Studydepartment. Here one can find important initiatives to look for alternatives to the armsrace and to militarism, together with proposals for first steps which can be made by people and government of the own republic. We have heard more ^{similar} courageous voices in this respect by religious workers in the churches of east and west.

It is in particular an important task for people from churches and religions to create new platforms for dialogue and discussions between east and west. Discussions for instance on a new peace concept for Europe, east and west.

We sincerely hope that many of you, present in this conference, are ready to do so!

Wim Bartels

International Secretary
of I.K.V.