

new perspectives

1/77

JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

TO UNITE OUR STRENGTH





1 The Prime Minister of Finland, Martti Miettunen, addressing the World Conference to End the Arms Race, for Disarmament and Detente, in Helsinki on 23 September 1976.

2 The Vice President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, Sándor Gaspar, presenting the "Order of Peace and Friendship" to the WPC Secretary General, Romesh Chandra, in recognition of his services to the cause of peace, in Budapest on 7 October 1976.

3 World Peace Council Peace Ship for Lebanon, "Kunda", in Helsinki (October, 1976), taking medical supplies for the PLO and the Lebanese patriotic forces. The Peace Ship which was put at the disposal of WPC by Soviet Peace Committee also carried medical equipment, donated by the people enroute, at various ports in Europe, including Gdansk, Rostock, Marseilles, Livorno and Piraeus.

4 WPC International Commission of Enquiry into the Violations of Human Rights in session in Basel (Switzerland) on 1 September 1976.

5 Madam Enma Oblea, widow of General Juan Jose Torres, former President of Bolivia, who was murdered in Argentina where he was living as a political refugee in June, 1976, giving evidence before the WPC International Commission of Enquiry in Basel.

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Front Cover: Design of a stamp issued by the United Nations in the series "To Unite Our Strength".

Back Cover: Design of a poster for the World Conference of Solidarity with Cyprus, and for the Implementation of UN resolutions on Cyprus held in Frankfurt/Main (FRG) in October, 1976. The artist has shown Cyprus as a bleeding eye cut in twain as a result of an imperialist conspiracy.

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WORLD TO END FOR DISARMAMENT

OF WFC

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Is there a Rainbow in the Sky?

Romesh Chandra

THE NEW YEAR—1977—has opened with new hopes for new victories, new advances for peace and national independence, new steps towards making the process of detente an irreversible process. A fresh breeze of optimism and confidence pervades the air.

The World Peace Council has just appointed a commission to prepare for the observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the World Peace Movement and the birth of the World Peace Council in 1979–1980. And as we approach the first meeting of this commission, we ask ourselves: What are the results of the work of the World Peace Council, of the World Peace Council, of the hundreds of millions of defenders and builders of peace over all these years?

The prophets of doom will point to the growing stockpiles of ever more horrible weapons of mass destruction, to the dangers of armed conflicts in this region or that, to the increasing numbers of the hungry and the poverty-stricken. And they will argue that we are nearer a world nuclear conflagration than at any time before.

Is this the result of the efforts of the peace forces over a period of nearly three decades? The prophets of doom spread their pessimism of despair, the pessimism that leads to inaction, to total surrender to the forces of imperialism and war.

What have the peace defenders, the peace builders, achieved through their ceaseless efforts, through their struggles and their battles?

Let us proudly proclaim the successes scored and the advances made by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries—victories for peace and liberation in every part of the world, victories for detente. The Peace Programme of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and its further development in the Programme adopted by the 25th Congress have, through their implementation, helped to change the international climate.

Let us repeat again and again the beautiful names which signify that imperialism and fascism can and shall be vanquished—Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea, and Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Greece, Portugal.

This is the direction in which the world is going. Look up at the sky: there is a rainbow high above the earth. And make no mistake: the peace defenders, the peace builders have helped in making this rainbow.

What does detente mean for the peoples of the world? Detente has been created by the struggles of the peoples. And in its turn, detente creates new conditions for the intensification of the struggles of the peoples and for their speedier victory.

This is the period of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and its Final Act, which gave a new impetus, unparalleled in its effect, to every people's battle for a new life, for peace and national independence, for democracy, justice and social progress.

What have the peace forces achieved? A few years ago we said—and rightly—that the work of the World Peace Movement, of the World Peace Council, had contributed in a decisive manner to the prevention of a third world war. Today we proclaim—and the truth is evident—that our work has contributed vitally not only to the

prevention of a third world war, but also to lessening the danger of a world nuclear conflagration.

The shift in the balance of forces in favour of peace is now big enough to make it more difficult than ever before for imperialism to launch a third world war.

This is the meaning of detente.

The optimism and confidence with which 1977 opens are more than justified. Nevertheless, detente is not yet an irreversible process. The key task of the world peace movement today is precisely to make detente irreversible.

The arms race has reached such proportions that it constitutes the major obstacle to the consolidation of detente.

This is the reason why the World Peace Council has launched the greatest mass movement in its history—the campaign around the New Stockholm Appeal. Already four hundred million signatures on the Appeal have been collected, and millions of more people have endorsed it through their membership of national organisations that have collectively supported it. The New Year will see the further expansion of this effort of the peace forces on the key issue facing humanity today.

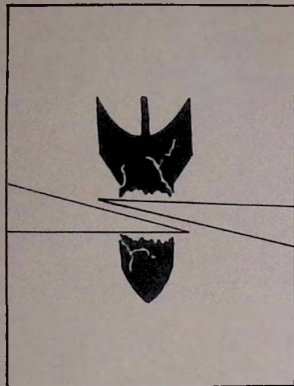
The expansion and consolidation of detente is not an automatic process. Our optimism is not the optimism of the opium smoker. Detente can and will advance, provided the peace forces continue their struggle and intensify it.

If it is necessary to fight the defeatism of the pessimists, it is equally necessary to prevent optimism from turning into complacency. Our optimism is based on a realistic assessment of the international situation and the main direction in which the world is moving.

Nineteen seventy-seven will mark the 60th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. For sixty years, the peace policy of the Soviet Union has played a vital and decisive role for the advance of mankind. In the most recent period, it has been the Soviet Union again which has been at the heart of every struggle for the defence and building of peace in every continent. The 60th anniversary will be celebrated by the peace forces by intensifying their actions, strengthening the Soviet Union's peace programme and initiatives.

The World Peace Council has called for the convening of the broadest and most representative congress of the peoples—the World Assembly of the Builders of Peace—which will take place in Warsaw from May 6 to 11, 1977. The central aim of this Assembly is to work out ways and means for the widening and strengthening of the peace movement at all levels—international, continental, regional, national and local—through common mass actions on every issue which affects the peoples, thus contributing towards making detente irreversible.

Never before have so many public international and national organisations, political parties, mass movements been willing to join hands with the World Peace Council in joint actions for peace and detente. They come together not out of fear of the ravages of war, but above all, out of the belief that it is possible not only to prevent war but to build peace, to build a new world.



Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament

Václav Regner

AN ANALYSIS of the social and economic consequences of armament and disarmament must take into account the fact that in the last few years, for the first time in history, conditions exist which offer a real possibility to make all nations free from threats of war, hunger, misery and slavery. At the same time, the world faces the necessity of demanding an end to all wars. It will be sufficient to remind all concerned that the present intensity of the accumulated nuclear weapons is six hundred thousand times greater than the intensity of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. And this is only the beginning of a new stage of the scientific-technical revolution, during which human beings are to master new spheres of macro- and micro-cosmos, to acquire the ability to change nature. But at the same time, all this is fraught with the possibility of all this knowledge being misused against mankind itself.

The preparations of a new war have become an unbearable economic burden. We can realise disarmament and the optimal solution of its social and economic consequences only by maintaining and developing the process of detente in Europe and in the world. The basic problem, therefore, at the present time, is to keep this process going, to counter the moves of the opponents of detente in the Western countries, and to supplement political detente with military detente.

It is needless to emphasize that disarmament would benefit all the countries and that a balance of interests exists among all countries in this sphere.

—socialist countries could at a faster tempo realize their economic and cultural development with the aim of a quicker and better fulfilment of the still growing demands of the working people. (In Czechoslovakia, in the years 1971–1975, the consumption of foodstuffs grew by 23 per cent,

the sales of industrial goods by 37 per cent, and in the years 1976–1980, personal consumption will grow further by 23–25 per cent.) This task could be solved in a shorter time if we were not forced to invest great sums of money in the defence of the State, and if we could convert the defence industry and use it for peaceful production. The socialist countries desire, at the same time, to relieve the world of the threat of living with the stockpiles of weapons and make easier the position of working people of the whole world, who are bearing the chief burden of armament. This is the expression of humanism in our foreign policy, which is not based on the standpoint of a pure national and state interest, but in the interest of all working people.

Social and Economic Consequences

—for the developed capitalist countries, it would provide the means for building more houses, reducing high taxes, providing better education and health care free of charge, material security in old age, etc. The expenses on armaments are higher than the expenses on social and economic needs of the people.

—it would be possible to raise the level of the economy of the developing countries to the level of the developed states and to use the money, spent by the developing countries for military purposes, for development of their own economies. The countries of Africa and Asia expend, for instance, 8.5 per cent of their GNP on military purposes. The value of military equipment, bought by them in the years 1963 to 1973, amounted to 128.6 thousand million dollars, that is, more than 10,000 million dollars per year.

—at the same time it would be possible to solve a few urgent tasks of world importance, for example, protection of the environment.

—it would lead to stopping the waste of resources, of energy, metals, etc.

One of the important aspects of the analysis of the social and economic consequences of disarmament is to take a stand against the arguments of the protagonists of armaments. It is especially necessary to point out the lack of substance in the argument that arms provide the instrument of economic growth and of new labour opportunities. This fiction must be exposed.

The production of weapons does not stimulate economic and social stability, but it inevitably slows down economic development.

The means for unproductive military purposes are taken from the process of production as a whole; thus the means for meeting the urgent socio-economic needs in many countries are inevitably reduced; the profits of the monopolies from the production of arms are made at the expense of the taxpayers, which means especially the working people. Marx had already in the last century pointed out that military expenses in the matter of economic interpretation were tantamount to a notion casting into the water a part of its capital resources.

These facts show that the most militarized capitalist countries (U.S.A. 7 per cent and Britain 5 per cent of GNP for military purposes) have faced a decline in production as compared to the less militarized countries. They could not stop the economic crisis of the mid-seventies, and both countries had the highest percentage of unemployment (U.S.A. 8.5 million or 9.2 per cent, and Britain 1.3 million or 5 per cent).

Bogey of Unemployment

The urgent task is to show the hollowness of the arguments that disarmament would lead to the closing of arms enterprises,

which would cause mass dismissal of employees and a total decline in production; that, owing to their specialised nature, the armaments industries would be quite impossible to convert for civil production; that great economic problems would arise; that the fall of prices of the strategic raw materials, resulting from the stopping of the manufacture of arms, would seriously damage the economic interests of some developing countries; that the stopping of military research and development would lead to a general slow-down of the scientific-technical development; and that, generally speaking, the stopping of military production and development for military purposes would cause a general decline in the "will to buy" and create difficult problems relating to the structural reorganization of the whole national economy, etc.

It will, of course, be necessary to overcome certain difficulties connected with the conversion of the arms industry for peaceful production. In socialist countries with their planned economy, this could be realized by means of long-term planning in a more organized manner. In the event of a successful outcome of disarmament negotiations, the change from the production for military purposes to the production for peaceful purposes could be realized in the socialist countries in a relatively short time without any negative consequences for the people working in the armaments industries.

Objective conditions for the conversion of war production exist, according to the praxis after the Second World War, even in the capitalist countries.

At the end of the war in Algeria, one million French residents returned to France, and the economy there absorbed them. It shows that the solution of even complicated problems exists in the whole complex of economic resources, used by the Western countries for influencing their economic life, beginning with taxation, interest, and similar operations, up to various programmes of direct state economic activity.

Future of Scientific Research

The argument that disarmament would soon be followed by a slowing down of the scientific-technical progress of mankind, as in the present world a great part of the scientific research activity is financed from military sources, has no substance. It cannot be taken as an argument against disarmament. The risk connected with the continuation of the arms race is too high. And the research for military purposes is, at the present time, so much specialized that using it to seek a solution of the most urgent "civil" problems of mankind is seldom possible. If only a part of the huge

resources spent on research for military purposes is used for the solution of some of the fundamental problems of mankind, it would have far more beneficial results. The stopping of the arms race and disarmament would certainly increase the demand for research in the civil field.

The change-over from using material, labour and financial resources for producing armaments, which have no other utility except a destructive one, to produce the wherewithal for serving the present and even perspective demands of development of the world's economy, social-economic prosperity of the developing countries, liberation from hunger, social misery and oppression of vast masses of people, and universal development of mankind, would be a great step forward, worthy of the best human ideals in the entire history of mankind. On this base-line it is possible to work out alternative programmes with higher aims, like providing full employment and meeting the social demands of the working people.

Generally, there exist even here two types of programmes. The first type of programme can deal with the development of the social potential of different groups of people in particular countries. This will lead to further development of human beings, their creative energy, ethical norms, programmes of qualitative development of conditions and ways of life. The second type of programme can relate to increasing personal and social consumption of goods and services, humanization of labour, reconstruction and development of the urban and provincial complexes, fulfilment of the rights of every human being in his own home surroundings, corresponding to the historical and socio-economic conditions, problems of infrastructure (communications including telecommunications). Other programmes can deal with education, health care, social security.

A plan, for example, may be drawn up for the resources needed, including the employment of experts, to tackle the problem of pollution of the environment in the U.S.A. This would need thousands of millions of dollars. The entire sum may be equal to the amount spent on six years arms' production in that country.

Conversion of War Industry

It is necessary to meet the questions of conversion of war industry into peaceful production concretely. This has to be done in the following ways:

— according to the social system of a particular country;

— according to the concrete stage of economy of the capitalist countries, especially today, considering the present situation of the economic crisis and contemporary stage of the deep general crisis of capitalism (par-

ticularly from the standpoint of the deepening gap between increasing military expenditures and the cuts imposed on expenditures for the restoration of economy and on social measures, which is sharpening the class struggle and increasing the present rate of high unemployment);

— according to the influence of the masses of people in a given country, for instance, the level of the struggle of the trade union movement for new priorities in the state budgets;

— a whole row of concrete projects have been already elaborated, for instance, by the French CGT and groups of workers and trade union functionaries from the enterprises of the biggest exporters of weapons in Britain (Vickers Armstrong, Rolls-Royce, Hawker Siddeley);

— an elaborate socio-economic programme of disarmament ought to concretely convince public opinion about the necessity and possibility of conversion of military industry and show the concrete advantages, for instance, of cutting down the taxes, checking inflation and state insolvency, and narrowing the difference between the allocation of resources for social and military expenditures.

Propaganda of Military-Industrial Complex

The existing apprehensions of the loss of labour opportunities, which are purposefully blown up by the military-industrial complexes of the capitalist countries, and even by the workers (the recurring thesis being: I am against the war and for peace, but work in the production of weapons gives me earnings and the possibility to maintain the family), have to be effectively countered.

Conversion of the war industry would obviously not be possible without certain changes in the structure of the state, economic and political authority in the Western countries. This would need a broad basis of peaceful, democratic and progressive forces, and the removal of all influence of the military-industrial complex and the forces of militarization of the given states. The conversion of the arms programmes into programmes of peaceful production is in conflict with the vested interests of the circles close to the military-industrial complex, and with their authoritative position in several countries. The decisive features of the realization of the programme of disarmament will, therefore, be the concrete extension of the social base of the peaceful, anti-military forces, and the development of a broad alliance of all social classes and circles. They have to be entrusted with the task of isolating and breaking the power of the most aggressive military circles, the heart of which lies in the military-industrial complex.

Taking Steps Towards Military Detente

P. Szabo Jozsef

RELAXATION of international tension is one of the essential requirements of our era. It is obvious that any worsening of the international atmosphere, when the two sides have weapons of complete annihilation at their disposal, would be beyond reason. The recognition of this fact was seen in the course of negotiations over European Security: it was also embodied in the Final Act signed at the Helsinki Conference in 1975.

Detente has been established by the changes in the balance of world forces. The manifold advances of the socialist countries have also contributed to strengthening of detente. It reflects not only the socialist countries' interests, but also the common interests of everyone, that is, the lifting of the danger, which loomed overhead, of nuclear war.

In recent years, significant steps have been taken in Europe to liquidate centres of tension. This led to the creation of those conditions which assisted in bringing about a security system where the application of force was given up and mutual respect for each other's interests was accepted in the field of inter-state relations.

Political and Military Detente

It is common knowledge that the dynamism of political detente can be ensured only by achieving military detente. The two aspects of detente—with the primacy of the political one—are closely linked to one another.

The developments taking place in the field of international politics promote the diminution of the military factor's importance.

As far as the military factor of detente is concerned, it still belongs to the basic category of state security. Therefore, it is understandable that questions of this kind should be carefully studied. Military detente can be reached by taking long-term measures and making mutual compromises, which would inspire confidence among all concerned. Thus, it needs more time and patience than political detente.

Military detente in Europe is dependent on the state of relations between the two military organizations, the Warsaw Pact and

NATO. NATO is a product of the Cold War. Its declared purpose is to protect the so-called Atlantic community, but, in reality, its main aim is to mobilise the military forces of the West against the socialist countries of Europe, and mainly against the Soviet Union. The Warsaw Pact was brought into existence as a counter-act to NATO.

As the Soviet Union and the United States are the leading powers of the two military organizations, it will be worth paying attention to their relations, which may influence the political and military situation in the continent. Consequently, the events taking place in Europe, besides the regional political interests, acquire global political value.

The probability of another war breaking out in Europe considerably receded in the mid-seventies, with the two sides having acquired nuclear parity. This was also due to the changes in the balance of forces in relation to the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

East-West Agreements in Europe

It was in the midst of these favourable circumstances that various important agreements were signed which strengthened detente. These related to the relations between the two German states, the fourpower accord concerning West Berlin, and the agreements signed by the East and West German governments, and the GDR and the Senate of West Berlin, the Soviet-West German agreement including the renunciation of force. There were also other agreements like the German-Polish agreement on the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border, the agreement signed by Czechoslovakia and West Germany invalidating the former Munich agreement, and the Helsinki Final Act which covered all the above-mentioned accords.

Vienna Talks

In the Vienna talks on the Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Central Europe, the attitude of NATO countries has not been helpful at all. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, GDR, and Czechoslova-

kia, who are participants, in the talks, submitted a whole series of positive proposals on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states is of great significance concerning the Vienna talks. The participants in the Bucharest meeting expressed their earnestness in exerting further efforts for the sake of working out generally acceptable accords.

The Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-states stated:

"The states represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee recall that all participants in the all-European Conference (on security and cooperation) acknowledged their interest in the efforts aimed at reducing the military confrontation and at facilitating disarmament, which are called upon to supplement political relaxation in Europe and to strengthen their security. Guided by the desire to facilitate materialisation of this common interest, the Warsaw Treaty countries have of late taken fresh initiatives aimed at making progress in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. They attach great importance to these talks and are prepared to exert further efforts for the sake of working out generally acceptable accords. They are convinced that the achievement of such accords is possible if all parties to the talks apply the agreed principle of not prejudicing the security of any of the parties, if the interests of the security of all states of Europe are taken into consideration."

The Declaration went on to stress that "the process of reduction of armed forces and armaments should be developed further, both in Central Europe and throughout the European continent. This refers both to national armed forces and to forces stationed on foreign territories."

Since military detente has to be a concomitant of political detente, it cannot be left only to official agencies to bring it about. It has to be worked for by the masses of people also in the peace movement and other mass organizations.

It has to be remembered that military detente in Europe is inseparable from the military problems of other continents. The situation after the Second World War had vividly shown that local wars and a series of conflicts which endangered peace were due to the legacy left behind by the colonial system and the manoeuvres of neocolonialism in several parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The achievements in the field of political detente have to be extended to the military field, too. Simultaneously, detente has to be generalized so that the concept of security and cooperation can be realised in Asia, Africa and Latin America, also.

Mobilising Public Opinion in Struggle for Disarmament

Enrique Manuel Bescos

IT was in the year 1961, when a report on the "Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament" was under preparation, that the former Secretary General of the United Nations mentioned that the world spent about 120,000 million dollars for military purposes, a figure corresponding to 150,000 million dollars according to the prices of 1970. That year military expenses already amounted to 200,000 million dollars, and the experts reckoned that, if military expenses continued taking up a similar proportion of world production, they would reach in 1980—and this has already actually happened—a level of 300,000 or 350,000 million dollars (at the same prices of 1970).

Disarmament and Development

During the decade 1960–1970, the military expenses amounted to an estimated total of a billion and eight hundred and sixty million dollars. This figure can be assessed in its real dimension if one notes that it corresponds almost to the gross national product of both the United Kingdom and Italy, or that of the developing countries of South Asia, the Far East and Africa, whose population is about 1,300 million people. By taking another point of comparison, it can be stated that these expenditures showed an oscillating rate of a 6 to 6.5 per cent of the normal amount of the gross national product of the whole world.

In seventy years (1900–1970), excepting the period after 1948 when it reached a 6 per cent yearly increase, the real burden that armaments represent for the whole world has increased by an annual average rate of about 5 per cent. If this continues at such a rate of increase, it would mean that by the beginning of the next century mankind will spend for military ends resources corresponding to the total world production of 1968. This can be seen in an even more dramatic light if one observes that in 1968 the world assigned resources for military purposes amounting to more than the total world production of 1900. (Philp Noel-Baker in "UNESCO Courier", November, 1970.)

The magnitude of these figures, based on statistical data of unquestionable seriousness and objectivity, brings to light questions—but not answers—about the socio-economic consequences of armaments.

In fact, this subject is closely related to any solution for the problems of economic development. The credits granted by developed countries for military purposes are thirty times higher than those given for economic development.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this, in principle, are far from encouraging for reaching the intended New International Economic Order.

Nonetheless, it is worth pointing out all those figures and statistics must be considered at present within a particular context, related to the new balance of forces at the international level that has characterized our time during the past three decades.

The principle of peaceful coexistence among nations having different national systems, which has made it possible to check the advance of imperialism, is also a basis for halting the arms race and working for complete disarmament to eradicate war for ever.

Reconversion of War Industry

It, however, must be noted that the forces that oppose the halting of the arms race are by no means weak. There obviously exist sectors that need wars and arms to implement their aggressive policies. For this reason, the struggle for disarmament has been subjected to sharp criticism in certain quarters to the extent of stating that these questions cannot be solved.

It is the vested interests of a few (quantitatively speaking, but representing tremendous power) which is responsible for the ideological distortion about the impossibility of tackling the problem of reconversion.

Expenditure on Military Research

The total average research in the whole world consumes about 4,000 million dollars,

while about 25,000 million dollars are spent for research and technological development in the military field. This research is not only the principal incentive for that expenditure, but also an important focus of interest for highly qualified labour which withdraws from the civilian development activities. (The figure is about a hundred million people at present). This includes the diversion of human and material elements from research of top priority on issues of such importance as agriculture, demography, or environmental pollution, to name a few.

The human mind cannot but assimilate distortedly the influence of such conditions. This ideological distortion finds its expression in nihilism, pessimism or irrational interpretation of modern society, apart from the impact of anguish and depression caused on all human beings by the system on which war and the arms race are based. Nevertheless, this does not prevent those feelings being stimulated for the sale of certain goods, as, for example, armoured rooms. There are advertisements which popularise these armoured rooms as having a double use: "as living and a playing-room for the family in times of peace, and a shelter against radioactivity if war breaks out."

There is no impediment to reconversion whatever, were it not for the opposition of a microscopic minority. In order to bring about a halt to the arms race and achieve disarmament, it is important to counter the propaganda of those who stand for continued manufacture of armaments.

Armaments Limitation

Armaments limitation has its supporters among important sectors of public opinion in the United States also. They have realised that in the post-war period, the United States military budget reached the hitherto unheard figure of nearly 1,200,000 million dollars. This had resulted in an increase in inflation and taxation pressure, as well as in a severe contraction of the internal market and a set-back to the United States foreign policy. That was the reason for the remarkable change in public opinion in the U.S.A.

The need of the hour is to mobilise public opinion in favour of disarmament. That mobilisation will allow in time to lay the foundations for a New International Economic Order, eliminating the causes that give rise to spending of huge amounts on war purposes. It would narrow the social and economic differences between the so-called developed and the underdeveloped countries (fluctuating between 5,000 and 200 dollars per capita) and provide the possibility for a human being to live with both dignity and justice within the framework of a peaceful world.

Conference that they had to deal with an issue of decisive importance for the future of the world—the problems relating to the progress of peoples in the developing countries, peoples who were not responsible for their backwardness.

"Our experiences, amassed in the course of the decades of socialist construction, have proved that even a country short of natural resources, with a small territory and relatively small population, is able to proceed successfully if it is free and independent and if it finds friends and supporters beyond its borders who are ready to engage in mutual assistance. What is valid for socialist Hungary can also be valid, under favourable circumstances, for countries with underdeveloped economies."

The main purport of the Conference was spelled out in detail by the Secretary General of the World Peace Council, Romesh Chandra.

The Conference, he said, was the first assembly of representatives of public opinion from every continent ever to be held, to deal exclusively with vital issues of the struggle for independent advance of the developing countries, the struggle for what was rightly called the New International Economic Order, the struggle against neo-colonialism.

While stressing the close connection between development and disarmament, he dispelled certain confusions about the concept of development. "It must be understood clearly that we are not saying, as some would like us to say, that any steps towards development can take place only when the world is disarmed. Such notions can only help the enemies of both development and disarmament. The struggle for development is itself a major and



István Szilárd, General Secretary of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, addressing the World Conference on Development.

vital contribution to the struggle to end the arms race and for disarmament."

Fight for Economic Independence

Romesh Chandra elaborated this aspect of development thus: "The fight of the peoples for economic independence is at the same time a fight against those forces which create poverty and hunger, and are responsible today for the arms race. The big multinational corporations, which make profits from arms production on a scale unprecedented at any time before in human history, are the same multinational corporations which make profits out of the hunger and poverty of the millions of our peoples in the Third World."

He made it clear that there could not be an effective peace movement in the world which did not take into account the fact

that the struggle for development was a vital part of the struggle for peace or for making the process of detente irreversible.

At the opening day of the plenary session, a number of messages received from heads of state or government were read out.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, János Kádár, endorsed the main thesis of the Conference, the indivisibility of peace and development.

"The cause of social and economic development is closely connected with the cause of international peace and security. Development is impossible without lasting and universal peace. At the same time, the continuous strengthening of the national independence and sovereignty of the young states, liberated from colonial oppression, their socio-economic progress and their anti-imperialist fight for the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and against neo-colonialism embody an essential contribution to the further consolidation of world peace."

India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in her message laid stress on the need for ending economic inequalities created by those who had founded empires and exploited their colonies. "If such inequalities persist, and millions of people are compelled to exist in poverty, the future of the world will be endangered. Thus, the challenge of development is inseparably linked with the struggle for peace and universal harmony. Obviously, development can take place only in conditions of peace and stability."

The President of Iraq, Ahmed Hassan El-Bakr, in his message warned against the intrigues of the capitalist and imperialist countries, headed by the United States of America. They were directly responsible for the existing inequality, and the economic plunder of the developing countries, resulting from the present international economic relations.

A message from the Prime Minister of Mauritius and Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, affirmed that development could not be achieved without peace. Political independence must be followed by economic independence. It was their aim to fulfill this goal in Africa.

The Prime Minister of Jamaica, Michael Manley, drew attention to the threats meted out to the developing countries seeking an independent path of development. "Innumerable obstacles," he said "are put in the way of countries striving to control their resources for development."

After the plenary session, the Conference divided itself into four commissions which discussed in detail for two days the main items on the agenda.



Mrs. Ilona Sebestyén, General Secretary of the Hungarian Peace Council, greets Romesh Chandra, WPC Secretary General, on the eve of the World Conference on Development in Budapest. Also in the picture are (L to R) László Reczei and Tibor Pethő, Vice Presidents of the Hungarian Peace Council.

Commission Reports

The **First Commission**, on "Inter-relation between Peace and Development in the New World Situation", in its report made it clear that peace was unthinkable without the political and economic independence and development of the backward countries. "There is an inseparable link between the process of detente and economic and social development, which have a reciprocal effect on each other... The strengthening of detente and the establishment of a new economic order are closely interconnected." (The First Commission was chaired by Vasco Cabral, Minister of Economy and Planning (Guinea-Bissau); its rapporteur was Yves Grenet (France); and the discussion was initiated by Prof. Sergei Tulpanov (USSR)).

The report of the First Commission stressed that the liquidation of the arms race would contribute to the strengthening of detente and peaceful coexistence. It would make it possible to end the trading in arms supplied by the imperialist countries, which were such a burden on the budgets of the developing countries and, at the same time, one of the instruments of neo-colonialism.

The report stated that imperialism tried to replace colonialism by neo-colonialism. It also destabilised governments which were inclined to introduce economic and social reforms, as for example, in Chile, Bangladesh and Thailand; imperialism had also made unsuccessful attempts at destabilisation in India.

It condemned military pacts and military bases which imperialism had been setting up in different parts of the world. A new, dangerous axis had been formed by South Africa, Israel and Iran, with the help of imperialism.

At present, imperialism was trying to give NATO global powers and breathe new life into SEATO, ANZUS, CENTO, and to set up a new military and political alliance in the Persian Gulf and the region of the Indian Ocean.

In its programme of action, the First Commission suggested, among other things, mobilising public opinion against imperialist bases, supporting the proposal of the Colombo Conference of Nonaligned Countries for convening an extraordinary session of the United Nations on disarmament.

The report of the **Second Commission** on "Developing Countries and the Challenges from Various Forms of Colonialism" exposed the activities of the multinational corporations. In the economic sphere, it said, neo-colonialism acted through "economic aid", private foreign investments, the activities of multinational corporations, etc. (The Second Commission was chaired by Mrs. Parabi Mukherjee, General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee; its rapporteur was Pablo Gonzales Casanova



Prof. Jozsef Bognar addressing the World Conference on Development.

(Mexico), and the discussion was initiated by Ignacio Chavez (Colombia)).

In the political sphere, neo-colonialism used old and new methods of intervention, direct aggression, use of mercenaries, creating conflict between developing countries, and "destabilisation" of governments seeking economic independence.

World Conference against Destabilisation

The **Second Commission** proposed the calling of a World Conference against Destabilisation in 1977. It also suggested the formation of a Committee under the World Peace Council to study the operation of the multinationals and to coordinate actions in various countries against these multinational corporations. It called for an intensive campaign to expose the distortion of news about the Third World through the imperialist domination of the mass media.

The **Third Commission**, on the "Struggle for a New System of International Economic Relations", pointed out that "the inherited international economic system is one of the most powerful props of the power of monopoly capitalism today". (This commission was chaired by Jozsef Bognar, Director of the World Economic Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who also initiated the discussion; its rapporteur was Fouad Moursi (Egypt)). In its report, the Third Commission stated that the struggle for the New International Economic order ought not to delay the

implementation of urgent measures for economic and social reform in a developing country. Such patterns of reforms could not be imported from abroad.

The report pointed out that there should not be concentration on purely GNP rates of growth. A basic needs strategy should be adopted, and the use of luxury consumer goods should be reduced.

In its programme of action, the Third Commission recommended the expansion of the mass base of struggle for the establishment of the New International Economic Order, mobilising public opinion for carrying out profound socio-economic reforms to enable the developing countries to curb the dominance of the multinational corporations, to put an end to the recycling of the oil revenue of the developing oil producing countries to the developed capitalist countries, and to use it instead for their economic development and that of other developing countries.

Cooperation with Socialist Countries

It also recommended holding international seminars on strengthening economic, trade and technical cooperation between the socialist and developing countries.

This had become doubly necessary in view of the continuing policy of the imperialist forces, not only to disrupt the unity between socialist and developing countries, but also the unity among the developing countries themselves.

The Third Commission reached the unan-

imous conclusion that all the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces had to take up a united stand all over the world to realise a new type of international co-operation, which would change the present system of international economic relations in favour of the developing countries.

"The struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order cannot hide the fact that in the wake of decolonisation, attempts are still being made to continue the old domination through neo-colonialist policies. The majority of the developing countries constitute an integral part of the world capitalist economy, and they thus pattern their development to a great extent according to the laws and contradictions of the capitalist economy. It is through the mechanism of these very laws and contradictions that neo-colonialism works today. This is done under the innocent cover of aid, free exchange and market prices; and the main vehicles of this neo-colonialism are the multinational corporations."

The **Fourth Commission** on "Ways and Means for Development" urged "the developing countries to bring about profound internal socio-economic transformation in the interest of their peoples". (The Fourth Commission was chaired by Jorge Arturo Reina, Rector of Tegucigalpa University (Honduras); its rapporteur was Beademariam Eyassu (Ethiopia), and the discussion was initiated by Bhupesh Gupta (India)).

There was urgent need to reorganise obsolete agrarian structures which were a remnant of feudalism, and for industrialisation on a non-capitalist path. Socialism provided a broad social base for development in the Third World. "Socialism has always been, and will be the most reliable bulwark of freedom and independence of all nations."

The action programmes of the four commissions suggested taking the most stringent measures to curb and ultimately end the activities of the multinational corporations, which had become the instrument of imperialism for exploitation and destabilising progressive governments.

The World Conference on Development also suggested actions in support of peace and development in various regions and countries in the five continents, like the Middle East, the Lebanon, the Mediterranean, Indian Ocean, East Timor, Southern Africa-Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, South Atlantic, Panama Canal, Chile, and other Latin American countries with fascist regimes, the Caribbean countries, Jamaica and Guyana.

The World Conference on Development ended on a confident note that the peace forces would mobilise themselves further to take up the challenge of imperialism in the economic sphere with greater vigour.

Role of Unctad in Development

Paul Berthoud

THE WORLD Peace Council had indicated to UNCTAD that the World Conference on Development (October, 1976) could usefully explore what could be the possible contribution of the people of the world towards making the work of UNCTAD better known and towards assisting in ensuring the implementation of UNCTAD decisions and programmes, so that the new international economic order may become a reality.

This is a penetrating question in more than one sense. Indeed, UNCTAD, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which operates on an almost global basis, with 156 member States, does so at the governmental level. We may often appear, as a consequence, to be somewhat remote from the core of the process of development, which must be centred on the fate of the human being at the national level; and possibly also remote from the struggle of the peoples of the world themselves in pursuance of development. We must keep in mind, however, the fact that action for development has to take place at several levels: intergovernmental co-operation, national governmental action and people's involvement.

This is not the place to dwell at length on the problem of the interactions between those levels. Suffice it to say that we in UNCTAD are very conscious of the fact that, when dealing with international trade, we work for the cause of development at the level of intergovernmental co-operation, in a realm of action which is composed by definition of a society ruled by the principle of the sovereign equality of States. We are also conscious of the fact that our action consequently takes place at what could be described as the macro-level—a level that can affect development only—so to speak—in the second degree, as the primary responsibility for development can rest only at the national level. In one sense, one could say that international co-operation does not in itself ensure that development will take place. It does, however, provide a chance for development to take place, by ensuring pre-conditions of distributive justice at the level of States that might facilitate development.

We have to be very clear about this fundamental point. The transposition in developing countries of the results of a distributive justice at the macro-level of States into a true distributive justice at the real level of the human being as the beneficiary

of the development process, raises searching problems and questions that are well-known to all those who deal with the development process. We are all too familiar with the frustrations arising from the difficulties and failures encountered in that respect.

Distributive Justice at National Level

And yet, whatever those difficulties are, we must pursue an effort which needs in a true sense to be complementary to the various elements of a global strategy. This is the price we have to pay for the complexity of our modern life. In our world of today, so terribly shrunk at the technological level and so stratified in political terms, we must, as individuals, accept the responsibility of influencing the process of inter-governmental co-operation for development, in respect of international negotiations, this means that we must show interest in the aims and purposes of such negotiations, we must express our views at the national level, and through this we must try to influence the determination of the positions taken by governments in the negotiations. At the stage of implementation of the international decisions arrived at, it is no less important, at the national level in developed and particularly in developing countries, to seek an effect of distributive justice in the translation of the benefits accrued to the country, to the level of the local communities and of individual human beings, to seek a spreading of the development process in a fully human perspective.

What we must seek, therefore, is a true cohesion of international action and people's action, and it is as partners that those who work at the intergovernmental level and those who deal with the development process in local situations should view their respective roles. Direct action to influence national decisions and situations, and intergovernmental co-operation, must fully intertwine and mutually support each other. We must remember at all times that the ultimate objective of any development action is the welfare of the human being, and that it is at the national level, in direct contact with the human reality, that the decisions which mould the direction of development are taken. We must also remember that pre-conditions of distributive justice at the level of States are an important element of the development pro-

cess, and that we must assist in realising those pre-conditions by using all possible means of influencing intergovernmental concertation and the distribution of the effects of that concertation.

In concrete terms, what does this mean in relation to the contribution of the World Peace Council towards disseminating the work of UNCTAD and assisting in the implementation of its decisions? I think it is fair to say that the implementation of the UNCTAD IV resolutions will depend heavily on the broad support they will receive from the mass of the people within nations, who can exercise influence by expressing their will through a great number of national institutions, organisations and associations, through political parties, trade unions, universities, academies, to cite a few examples.

Here I am happy to mention that UNCTAD had received and is receiving much support from a number of organizations which are connected with it through special institutional arrangements, whose scope of activity transcends national borders and which have national membership associations in many countries, that is, international nongovernmental organizations, among which the World Peace Council figures prominently.

This is a very considerable potential resource for the pursuance of the objectives of UNCTAD, one that can exercise a strong influence on decisions taken by governments and in parliamentary deliberations, and in general on the attitude of a country towards the implementation of UNCTAD resolutions.

This movement of support, naturally, needs first of all complete and accurate information on UNCTAD issues. Indeed, a legitimate question is: what is this movement to be all about?

Against the background of deliberations and decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, and of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, UNCTAD IV has been a further, more concrete step in search of an adjustment of international economic relations in the direction of a more equitable participation of the developing countries in the benefits of world trade.

Was UNCTAD IV a Success?

Was UNCTAD IV a success? Was it a failure? Any evaluation of a conference as large and as complex as UNCTAD IV is bound to be a delicate matter, not to say a dangerous exercise. On balance and on the whole, however, I would perhaps venture to say, that more concretely than on any of the previous occasions, UNCTAD IV has brought closer together across the

table the points of view of the partners in this world-wide dialogue. The results left nobody happy. But this is quite natural for a successful negotiation. In the aftermath of an exercise in which agreement could be reached midway only because both parties accepted to make substantial concessions, there is a natural tendency on the part of all concerned to reflect on what has not been gained rather than on what has been achieved. A more sober view, however, must lead us to a positive, if qualified, assessment of the results of UNCTAD IV.

Leaving apart here the political level, we can note, on the substantive side, that the Nairobi Conference has set into motion processes that will in turn reveal whether changes can be brought about in the international economic order. It opened prospects which, admittedly, only time will show whether the necessary momentum will be gained for the set objectives to be attained. One could say, in a way, that UNCTAD IV has opened doors; it remains to be seen whether we shall pass the threshold. But the opening of doors represented important, indeed indispensable steps.

Programme for Commodities

Much of the debate in Nairobi centered on commodities, and a resolution was finally approved on an integrated programme for commodities. This resolution offers the design of a conceptual set-up and of an operational system. It provides for a single framework, for a time schedule and for an overseeing mechanism. Action is to be undertaken at two levels: in respect of single commodities and in respect of a common fund to support the financing of commodity buffer stocks.

As for single commodities, we now have to launch a series of consultations, to be followed by negotiations for commodity agreements, on an agreed list of individual products of particular interest to developing countries. But this will have to take place within a single framework, thus bringing for the first time an element of overall coherence to the process.

The decision on the common fund for commodities taken at Nairobi can be said to be fairly typical of the halting pace that characterizes North-South international negotiations today. No decision was taken to establish a common fund. There was not even agreement in principle on such a fund. Agreement was reached, however, to convene a conference to negotiate a common fund. The key result is thus to emerge from a process of negotiation that is to take place early in 1977. What UNCTAD IV did was to commit the parties to engage in such a process.

The results of the Nairobi Conference in the field of the transfer of technology

have been very encouraging. In a variety of other fields also, progress was made toward an adjustment of international economic relations that would improve the position of the developing countries and contribute to meeting the requirements for their development. This progress varied in pace and importance from case to case. It points unmistakably, however, in the direction of a correction of out-dated structures that have proven to be a hindrance to the development of the weaker partners in international economic life, in the direction of a more equitable deal for the developing countries.

Debt Problem

In contrast, I could not avoid mentioning that we have been greatly disappointed with the results of UNCTAD IV on the question of the debt problem of the developing countries in particular, and on the subject of money and finance in general. UNCTAD IV only reaffirmed a general interest in the problem of debt and agreed to keep the issue alive by entrusting its further consideration to meetings to be held in 1977. On the broader issues of money and finance, that is on the questions of the transfer of resources to developing countries, of short-term balance-of-payment problems, and of monetary reform, no decision whatsoever was taken at Nairobi. This was a serious shortcoming of UNCTAD IV, and it should be for all a cause for concern.

New Phase in International Economic Relations

But the negative aspects of UNCTAD IV cannot obscure the overall picture. The world today faces the prospect of entering into a new phase in international economic relations. A process has been set into motion. It was prepared by many years of analytical work and by the building of political pressure. This led to the orientations which emerged from the seventh special session of the General Assembly, UNCTAD, as an operative arm of the General Assembly in the field of trade and development, is called upon to translate these new orientations into practical measures UNCTAD IV did, in effect, open prospects in that direction.

Only determined action on all fronts, however, can ensure that those prospects will be transformed into actual steps in the direction of a new economic order that will ensure a world that is fair to all, a world that provides justice and dignity for man.

{This article is based on the speech made by Mr. P. Berthoud at the World Conference on Development, convened by the World Peace Council in Budapest in October, 1976}

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The struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order cannot hide the fact that in the wake of decolonisation, attempts are still being made to continue the old domination through neo-colonialist policies. The majority of the developing countries constitute an integral part of the world capitalist economy, and they thus pattern their development to a great extent according to the laws and contradictions of the capitalist economy. It is through the mechanism of these very laws and contradictions that neo-colonialism works today. This is done under the innocent cover of aid, free exchange and market prices, and the main vehicles of this neo-colonialism are the multinational corporations."

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In concrete terms, what does this mean in relation to the contribution of the World Peace Council towards disseminating the work of UNCTAD and assisting in the implementation of its decisions? I think it is fair to say that the implementation of the UNCTAD IV resolutions will depend heavily on the broad support they will receive from the mass of the people within nations, who can exercise influence by expressing their will through a great number of national institutions, organisations and associations, through political parties, trade unions, universities, academies, to cite a few examples.

Here I am happy to mention that UNCTAD had received and is receiving much support from a number of organisations which are connected with it through special institutional arrangements, whose scope of activity transcends national borders and which have national membership associations in many countries, that is, international nongovernmental organisations, among which the World Peace Council figures prominently.

This is a very considerable potential resource for the pursuance of the objectives of UNCTAD, one that can exercise a strong influence on decisions taken by governments and in parliamentary deliberations, and in general on the attitude of a country towards the implementation of UNCTAD resolutions.

This movement of support, naturally, needs first of all complete and accurate information on UNCTAD issues. Indeed, a legitimate question is: what is this movement to be all about?

Against the background of deliberations and decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, and of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, UNCTAD IV has been a further, more concrete step in search of an adjustment of international economic relations in the direction of a more equitable participation of the developing countries in the benefits of world trade.

Was UNCTAD IV a Success?

Was UNCTAD IV a success? Was it a failure? Any evaluation of a conference as large and as complex as UNCTAD IV is bound to be a delicate matter, not to say a dangerous exercise. On balance and on the whole, however, I would perhaps venture to say, that more concretely than on many of the previous occasions, UNCTAD IV has brought closer together across the

table the points of view of the partners in this world-wide dialogue. The results left nobody happy. But this is quite natural for a successful negotiation. In the aftermath of an exercise in which agreement could be reached midway only because both parties accepted to make substantial concessions, there is a natural tendency on the part of all concerned to reflect on what has not been gained rather than on what has been achieved. A more sober view, however, must lead us to a positive, if qualified, assessment of the results of UNCTAD IV.

Leaving apart here the political level, we can note, on the substantive side, that the Nairobi Conference has set into motion processes that will in turn reveal whether changes can be brought about in the international economic order. It opened prospects which, admittedly, only time will show whether the necessary momentum will be gained for the set objectives to be attained. One could say, in a way, that UNCTAD IV has opened doors; it remains to be seen whether we shall pass the threshold. But the opening of doors represented important, indeed indispensable steps.

Programme for Commodities

Much of the debate in Nairobi centered on commodities, and a resolution was finally approved on an integrated programme for commodities. This resolution offers the design of a conceptual set-up and of an operational system. It provides for a single framework, for a time schedule and for an overseeing mechanism. Action is to be undertaken at two levels: in respect of single commodities and in respect of a common fund to support the financing of commodity buffer stocks.

As for single commodities, we now have to launch a series of consultations, to be followed by negotiations for commodity agreements, on an agreed list of individual products of particular interest to developing countries. But this will have to take place within a single framework, thus bringing for the first time an element of overall coherence to the process.

The decision on the common fund for commodities taken at Nairobi can be said to be fairly typical of the halting pace that characterizes North-South international negotiations today. No decision was taken to establish a common fund. There was not even agreement in principle on such a fund. Agreement was reached, however, to convene a conference to negotiate a common fund. The key result is thus to emerge from a process of negotiation that is to take place early in 1977. What UNCTAD IV did was to commit the parties to engage in such a process.

The results of the Nairobi Conference in the field of the transfer of technology

have been very encouraging. In a variety of other fields also, progress was made toward an adjustment of international economic relations that would improve the position of the developing countries and contribute to meeting the requirements for their development. This progress varied in pace and importance from case to case. It points unmistakably, however, in the direction of a correction of out-dated structures that have proven to be a hindrance to the development of the weaker partners in international economic life, in the direction of a more equitable deal for the developing countries.

Debt Problem

In contrast, I could not avoid mentioning that we have been greatly disappointed with the results of UNCTAD IV on the question of the debt problem of the developing countries in particular, and on the subject of money and finance in general. UNCTAD IV only reaffirmed a general interest in the problem of debt and agreed to keep the issue alive by entrusting its further consideration to meetings to be held in 1977. On the broader issues of money and finance, that is on the questions of the transfer of resources to developing countries, of short-term balance-of-payment problems, and of monetary reform, no decision whatsoever was taken at Nairobi. This was a serious shortcoming of UNCTAD IV, and it should be for all a cause for concern.

New Phase in International Economic Relations

But the negative aspects of UNCTAD IV cannot obscure the overall picture. The world today faces the prospect of entering into a new phase in international economic relations. A process has been set into motion. It was prepared by many years of analytical work, and by the building of political pressure. This led to the orientations which emerged from the seventh special session of the General Assembly, UNCTAD, as an operative aim of the General Assembly in the field of trade and development, is called upon to translate those new orientations into practical measures UNCTAD IV did, in effect, open prospects in that direction.

Only determined action on all fronts, however, can ensure that those prospects will be transformed into actual steps in the direction of a new economic order that will ensure a world that is fair to all, a world that provides justice and dignity for man.

(This article is based on the speech made by Mr. P. Berthoud at the World Conference on Development, convened by the World Peace Council in Budapest in October, 1976)

Peace and Environmental Development

M. K. Tolba

SOCIAL JUSTICE, peace and environmentally sound development in today's world is a complex and vital subject. Each one of these three issues is of critical importance to the task of enhancing man's welfare. Moreover, a dispassionate and deep appreciation of the inter-relationships among these vital issues, especially at the level of national policy formulation, is crucial to the sustainable and internationally harmonious improvement of the quality of human life. There is no doubt that without such an appreciation, the notion of development has little meaning in human terms.

Three principal aspects of the broad notion of "social justice" are pertinent here: eradication of acute mass poverty, an equitable distribution of income, consumption and wealth; and popular participation in work and decision making. Social justice must be sought within and between nations for the present and future generations. And when I speak of peace, I do not mean merely an absence of political conflict but rather a state of harmonious and mutually satisfying relationships among peoples and countries.

It is now recognised that past trends and patterns of economic growth have not been satisfactory. The benefits of growth have been distributed very unequally between and within countries, while the production and consumption patterns accompanying that growth have led to a rapid depletion of natural resources and have often caused unacceptable levels of environmental degradation.

Extrapolations based on past growth have at times led to cautionary warnings against economic growth as such. However, it is important that concern about economic growth is placed in a correct global perspective, because the experience of growth, and of the attendant improvements in standards of living, have been widely divergent both among countries and within countries. Growth is not bad per se, but if we ignored the variable pattern of growth and the benefits which have occurred, our examination of the issues involved in the contemporary problem of world development would not be scientifically correct. Moreover, we would encounter difficulty in

our search for development patterns which are consistent with international harmony, social justice and peace.

Problem of Acute Poverty

It is depressing and deplorable that there are today hundreds of millions of people who live in grave conditions of poverty—conditions in which they are denied such basic needs of decent human living as adequate food, water, health, shelter, clothing, education and employment. The recent World Food Conference, the important work by the World Bank on poverty and income distribution, the World Health Organization's initiatives in the area of basic health needs of people in developing countries, the recent United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT), the World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress and International Division of Labour, as well as the work done by UNEP since its establishment, have all helped clarify the nature and dimensions of the task of eradication of acute mass poverty. It is estimated, for example, that something like 70 per cent of the world's population does not have access to safe water, that more than 450 million people may actually be starving, that 200 million people may be without jobs and that the lowest 40 per cent of the population in developing countries are on the average receiving only 12.5 per cent of the national incomes generated.

While the imperative for continued economic development is compelling enough in view of the urgency and the magnitude of the task of eradicating mass poverty, there are also other reasons for the argument that continued economic development is essential to the global enhancement of the quality of human life. There are at least three important aspects to this point.

Impact of Population Growth

First, the impact of population growth. As we all know, there is no unanimity regarding the cause-effect relationship involved or on the most appropriate policies necessary in this highly charged field. However, a consensus has emerged, especially since the World Population Confer-

ence at Bucharest in August, 1974, that while high rates of population increase in relation to resource availability create environmental problems and hinder the task of development, minimum needs for decent human living must be satisfied if success is to crown any policy to control birth rates. This view is supported by historical observation of how, in most developed and some developing countries, improvement in levels of living have been accompanied by falls in birth rates. Thus, to those environmentalists who are rightly concerned about the environmental consequences of expanding populations, I say that the vicious circle of poverty and population growth can only be broken by accelerated socio-economic development.

Secondly, widespread material deprivation engenders patterns of human behaviour which are environmentally damaging—a phenomenon which, with its cumulative impact over time, makes living conditions of the poor still more precarious and vulnerable to natural forces. A common and tragic example of such a poverty-environment relationship is the widespread dependence of the poor on firewood for domestic fuel. To a poor household, firewood is often the only source of energy for cooking and heating. But the resultant felling of trees in poverty-stricken areas, unless properly compensated for by public action, eventually leads to cumulative erosion of good agricultural soil and eventually to desertification. Similarly, pressures of subsistence living may force farmers to cultivate marginal lands intensively, year after year, and such poverty-induced environmentally imprudent farming practices will in time turn once productive soils into barren lands. Neither of these examples should be taken as conjecture or theory: there is ample proof that ecological catastrophes are being brought about in precisely this fashion.

In the urban sectors, dwellers in shanty towns, deprived of access to basic facilities for drinking water and waste disposal are frequently forced to use open water or open grounds for washing, cleaning and waste in unhygienic ways, and to live in makeshift shelters surrounded by accumulating domestic waste. The degrading conditions of life in urban slums already call for urgent amelioration in the interest, not only, of social justice and peace, but also of protection and improvement of the human environment.

Furthermore, it is estimated that the world's urban population will grow by about 1,300 million people in the next twenty five years. If present trends continue, 75 per cent of these people will live in slums—thus creating an even more serious and indeed catastrophic human environmental problem. Therefore, in both the rural and the urban context, there are sound environmental

reasons for promoting the enhancement of living conditions of the poor.

Thirdly, economic development of the low income countries or low-income groups within developed countries is conducive to the economic well-being and environmental enhancement in developed countries or regions as well.

If developed and developing countries see their own economic wellbeing and social progress in the global perspective of sustainable and harmonious world development, a mutually beneficial collaboration could ensue. This could take the form of appropriate trade, investment, development assistance and development and transfer of technology that would be conducive not only to improved living conditions for the peoples of the developing countries but also to economic wellbeing and social progress in developed countries while protecting the integrity and beauty of the human environment everywhere.

Course of Development

Therefore, the case that can and should be made is not against economic development per se, but rather against the course it has taken in many developed countries, and several developing countries in the last few decades.

It is now generally agreed that development strategies which focus merely on accelerating the growth of national output are simply not viable. Exclusive reliance on growth has failed to bring about a broadly based participation in the benefits of development; in particular, it has failed to achieve reductions in the extent of poverty or to generate employment on significant scales; and that, in some instances, it has even exacerbated already glaring income, consumption and wealth inequalities. It has been estimated, for example, that 80 per cent of the increase in the world's wealth during 1960-71 accrued to countries with per capita income of 1,000 dollars and above, while only 6 per cent accrued to countries with per capita income of 200 dollars and below. These growing extremes in income and wealth distributions are prejudicial to the protection of human environment and to world peace. Moreover, such strategies have been, as I said earlier, very costly in terms of resource depletion, environmental pollution and the lowering of the quality of human life.

It seems to me that there are at least three important reasons why recent events in the development sphere have failed to meet expectations. First, there has been an uncritical dependence on the "market mechanism" to determine what is to be produced and in what quantities, how it is to be produced and where the production activity is to be located. While markets may often give valuable guidance to public policy, they typically do not take fully

into account social and environmental considerations (which are often regarded by economists as "externalities"), and thus, cannot adequately reflect human needs. While "market forces" respond to prevailing distributions of purchasing power, these distributions may themselves be far different from what would be desirable from the standpoint of social justice, or of guaranteeing conditions of decent human living for all.

A second fundamental cause has been that priorities for public investment have not necessarily been guided by a conscious concern to raise levels of living, of the poor in particular and to protect and enhance the human environment in general. In many developing countries, governmental direction of growth has been dominated by the urge to adopt foreign production patterns, technologies and life styles as quickly as possible. In the process, much that was good in traditional culture and ways of living has been lost in the effort to "develop". Moreover, such patterns of growth have eroded the foundation of self-reliance at both national and local levels, and have failed to foster mutually beneficial cooperation between developing countries themselves. In developed countries, meanwhile, the drive towards increasing material consumption have also led to wasteful use of mineral resources that are today critically important to the industrial and agricultural development of developed and developing countries alike.

Quality of Human Life

A third main cause of the failure of growth to better the quality of human life in global terms has been inadequate knowledge about the changes in the human environment in its broadest sense and too much readiness to accept purely economic indicators of national success. We have chosen to measure our accomplishments in very narrow terms such as growth of industrial or aggregate production and growth of income per capita. We have not looked at our quality of life comprehensively enough; nor have we looked far enough into the future. Only now are we beginning to reflect on the fact that the world spends about 300 billion dollars a year on armaments and only about 15 billion by way of aid; or that the per capita consumption of resources or energy in a rich country may be more than a thousand times the average consumption in a poor country. What that means for this generation is alarming enough; for future generations it implies a dim prospect, unless fundamental changes take place soon in the policies which nation-states pursue.

It is unrealistic to hope for peace, tranquility and harmony within societies or

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among nations while development patterns remain environmentally destructive and socially unsatisfactory. There is no peace for the man who is denied basic material necessities of life. Nor is there peace in the heart of the man who is denied the psychological and social satisfaction of living and working as a human being in a community of people. The discontent and the frustration generated under such conditions is liable to find expression in the form of spreading crime, violence, the breaking up of deeply valued institutions like the family, and outright social and political upheavals with consequent human suffering. Moreover, under such circumstances, there is a risk that, prodded by internal pressures of military-industrial growth, moved by the quest to obtain command over vital but rapidly depleting resources, or acting in a calculated effort to induce artificially the lacking social unity and national purpose, governments may be tempted to indulge in adventurism, regional conflicts and international confrontations.

Thus it is essential to adopt a cooperative and global approach to the problems of world poverty and of the contemporary human condition. Every country is of course free to choose the path of development it considers most appropriate to its own historical, social, economic, political and physical circumstances. Nevertheless, considerations of rationality, humanity and of interdependence require that national development policies now be guided by lessons learnt from past growth experience and by a vision of achieving a global enhancement in the quality of human life.

The complexity and magnitude of the task of world development are such that one can only be extremely modest and cautious in putting forth suggestions for suitable strategies, policies and measures.

Yet I believe there are available some guideposts that we must not ignore if we are to achieve a lasting improvement in the quality of human life. Let me merely point to the more outstanding of these guideposts.

First, developing countries should make a serious effort to evolve decent minimum standards for housing, health services, nutrition, clothing, education and employment. Public policies should be consciously guided towards achieving, in a phased manner, the satisfaction of basic human needs in accordance with these standards.

Reorienting Patterns of Production and Consumption

In developed countries, too, patterns of production and consumption must be re-oriented in ways which are conducive to a rational and just and humane social order and to economic justice and environmental protection and enhancement. Actions directed towards this end should include the limitation of armaments production, curbs on the wasteful uses of energy and of natural resources, development of resource-saving and energy-saving technologies, schemes addressed specifically to improving blighted living conditions especially for urban populations, and a growing emphasis on cultural, artistic and other non-materialist sources of human happiness. The implementation of such measures will of itself, through international trade and other relationships, benefit the countries of the Third World.

Secondly, spatial location of productive activity, and therefore of settlements, must be guided within and among countries along such lines as would respect the "carrying capacities" of ecosystems, basic social institutions like the family and fundamental individual and social values. There is today a need and a considerable opportunity to spread industrial development widely over rural areas of developing countries, to foster growth of small and medium sized towns and to relieve the extraordinary pressures on the human environment inherent in the uncontrolled growth of cities.

Further, the imperatives of social justice as well as environmental protection require the rural areas of developing countries be fully integrated in the mainstream of development.

An important implication of spatial planning for environmental enhancement and social justice relates to the international distribution of new industrial capacity. The establishment of a New International Economic Order agreed upon by the UN General Assembly implies, in part that developing countries must strengthen their industrial base. The second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation held in Lima in

1975, declared that by the year 2000 the share of developing countries in world industrial production should increase to 25 per cent from its 1974 level of 7 per cent. The achievement of that target should, of course, be pursued on the basis of environmentally sound programmes.

The third principal guidepost for socially just and environmentally sound development is appropriate technology. Innovation in technology and its adoption, whether in industry, agriculture or infrastructure should be guided by public policy designed to conserve resources, save energy, minimise waste and generate employment.

There is likely to be considerable coincidence between considerations of environmental protection and enhancement and those relating to appropriate technologies. Small-scale well and pump irrigation for water supply, and the use of village refuse and wastes to make biogas energy and fertiliser are two cases in point. Moreover, the responsibility for evolving appropriate technology should not be confined to developing countries alone. An excellent instance of the emergence of appropriate technology from a developed country is the technique recently developed in the United States for drilling seeds into untilled, mulched, contoured and terraced soils. This new farming technique bears the promise of extending the nutritive life of topsoils several times their normal spans, while saving energy and expanding employment.

Mobilising Popular Participation

Finally, no matter how sound the public policies for environmentally responsible and socially just development are, it is vital for administrative and institutional mechanisms to mobilise popular participation in their implementation and their continued evolution. Since the notion of "quality of life" has an abiding subjective aspect, it is essential that the population at large should participate actively in the formulation and implementation of development programmes and projects. Participation is a two-way concept: the citizen at large comes to understand the aims of the society in which he lives and thus responds positively to public policies and the planning authorities benefit from the first hand experience of citizens in facing development and environment problems and working out their own, often traditional solutions. Of course, the perception of developmental-environmental issues at the level of an individual or a group may not always coincide with society's broader long term perception.

In conclusion, I should say that when development and environmental goals are defined appropriately, in the light of considerations of social justice and global enhancement in the quality of human life, there are no conflicts between environ-

mental improvement and development. In fact, they will be complementary and will actually tend to coincide. Moreover, pursuit of development along environmentally responsible and socially just lines by all countries will contribute greatly to healthy international cooperation and to the implementation of a just and lasting new international economic order and to international peace.

To realise this ideal, it is necessary to evolve alternative patterns of development and lifestyles in both rich and poor countries. Evolution of such alternatives underscores the urgent need for prudent environmental management. By environmental management we do not mean management of the environment but management of the actions of man that affect the environment. Prudent environmental management requires us to master the social consensus and economic means necessary to guide man's activities so that they enhance the environment; it is a fundamental necessity of our times to match up to this challenge, at the community, national and international levels.

In the years ahead, we face the task of meeting the minimum human needs of mankind and of avoiding environmental catastrophes. Contrary to doomsday prophecies we do not believe that disaster is inevitable.

But the urgency is extreme: there is very little time in which to set right our approach to environmental management and to meet the legitimate demands of the world's poor. What is required is not incremental ad hoc steps taken for environmental protection, but prudent environmental management accompanied by the realisation that the ultimate self-interest of all nations is inevitably merged in an inescapable web of interdependence. We need to act far more thoroughly and speedily than hitherto to redress environmental and human grievances, to do so, we must harness the energies of all sectors of society in this effort. The job is difficult but not impossible: given enough political will, adequate resources and sound scientific advice, the obstacles will be overcome.

(This article is based on the speech of Mr. M. K. Tolba at the World Conference on Development in Budapest in October, 1976)

PEACE and development are indivisible and a necessary precondition for the elimination of mass poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, disease and unemployment.

More than 700 million people live in acute poverty and are destitute. At least 460 million people suffered from a severe degree of protein energy malnutrition, even before the recent food crisis. Scores of millions live constantly under threat of starvation. Countless millions suffer from various debilitating diseases and lack access to the most basic medical services. The magnitude of squalor and urban slums is growing. Illiterate adults grew from 700 million in 1960 to 760 million in 1970. In the Third World, human resources are wasted by nearly 300 million people being unemployed or underemployed. Sharp inequalities exist within and between countries. One billion people are going to need jobs by the year 2000.

In most developing countries, the richest 10 per cent of households receive 40 per cent of personal income, whereas the poorest 40 per cent receive 15 per cent or less. The inequalities at the international level are only too well known and were well aired at UNCTAD IV in Nairobi. In 1972 the industrial market economies with less than $\frac{1}{5}$ of the world population accounted for $\frac{2}{3}$ of world output. At Lima, a decision was taken to locate 25 per cent of this output in developing countries by the year 2000. A quarter of the world's population lives in countries with an average per head of less than U.S. \$200.

This is the background to the situation which led in 1967, on the 50th anniversary of the ILO, in response to a resolution presented by the workers to the launching of a World Employment Programme by the unique tripartite organisation of workers, governments and employers in equal partnership. This Programme has been at the centre of ILO action and was its main contribution to the Second Development Decade. But it has not achieved its expectations and poor countries have remained poor or poorer, while the rich have got richer. The situation of world poverty led the ECOSOC to adopt by consensus in 1973 a resolution to combat mass poverty and unemployment and gave ILO the role of the catalytic UN agency.

The ILO's analysis of contemporary theories of development had shown that these were not successful. The UNRISD, the Cocoyoc Group, the World Bank, the CDP had begun to mention the need to focus on social aspects of development.

In the ILO this thinking led to the calling of a World Employment Conference. Preparations took place over a one and a half year period. Professor Jozsef Bognar (Hungary), and Mr. B. C. Bhagwati, the President of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, were among our special

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defined as not only the items of personal consumption such as food, clothing and shelter, but also community needs of water, health, sanitation, education etc. and furthermore that the active participation of the people was necessary in the delineation of policies to be followed. The main instruments for attaining this goal would be to increase the volume and productivity of employment and to take national and international measures of economic and social policy to bring this about.

Apart from national employment strategies and policies, the Conference examined international manpower movements, technologies for productive employment creation in developing countries, the role of multinational enterprises in employment creation in developing countries, and active manpower policies and adjustment assistance in developed countries. The Conference was attended by nearly 1,300 delegates from over 120 countries. Workers, governments and employers produced by consensus a document, **Declaration of Principles and Programme of Action**, covering all the items and running into 119 paragraphs.

The Conference endorsed by consensus the Basic Needs Strategy which implies that hard structural reforms and other difficult political options would have to be adopted nationally and internationally. It requires strong political will to effect these reforms where the primary responsibility lies with states for their own development, but there is a consensus to revitalise strategies and policies currently in force.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Conference, the ILO is currently preparing proposals for carrying out structural reforms.

These proposals would also include specific suggestions on rural development for which the ILO has been named the lead agency in the UN Task Force on Rural Development. It will be a critical area in which exists the maximum opportunity to provide useful employment.

Development is of universal concern, and more particularly that of developing countries which are afflicted by the scourge of poverty, malnutrition and want. If we can achieve, as a result of mutual deliberations, even a mile of an increase in the rate of growth, a better pattern of growth, an improvement in national and international equity and eliminate once and for all mass poverty and unemployment, then we would indeed have done well.

[This article is based on the speech of Mr. A. Pathmarajah at the World Conference on Development, held in Budapest in October, 1976]

Basic Needs Strategy for Development

A. Pathmarajah

consultants and advisers in the preparation of the document eventually issued as the basic policy document for the Conference, under the title of **Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A One-world Problem**.

The document presented an approach thought to be more effective than the present International Development Strategy for achieving the social objectives of development. This new approach concerned itself with both national and international policies and was designed to ensure that the emerging patterns of economic relations effectively contributed to greater social progress for the scores of millions of people who continue to live in conditions of deepest poverty, squalor and deprivation.

The report suggested the adoption by each country of a basic needs approach which aimed at the achievement of a certain specific minimum standard of living before the end of the century. Basic needs were

Imperialism is Main Obstacle to Development

Victor Perlo

THE MAIN obstacle to development comes from imperialism, and especially from the predatory rulers of the U.S.A.

Imperialism has had to adapt itself to the tremendous changes in the world; the victories of working people, of socialism; the liberation of more than a billion people from the shackles of political colonialism. But imperialism retains its basic thrust to repress the people wherever it can, to plunder their resources and subject their labour to the most brutal exploitation, to use their lands as bases for military aggression.

During the last three years alone, the profits of U.S. corporations on their foreign investments came to a record 69 billion dollars, representing a return of 20 per cent per year on invested capital. But on investments in the developing countries, the rate of profit surpassed 50 per cent in 1974.

Such superprofits are extracted out of workers by the jackboots of repressive regimes, using imperialist-supplied armaments. They require racism, subjecting the non-white majority to deprivation of all human rights and to brutal labour conditions. But the struggle against imperialism, for liberation, is reaching new heights. I need but mention the recent victories of the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Angola. And in many other developing countries, which earlier became free from foreign occupation, there are significant social and economic advances; in socialist Cuba, in the OPEC countries where the grip of the oil monopolies has been loosened, and which are using a fairer return on their resources to start the process of development; in countries of the Caribbean which are taking over their bauxite and other natural resources; in a number of African countries taking a progressive course; in India, turning back reaction and carrying out reforms. But today the focus of world attention is on southern Africa, the last major stronghold of colonialism, of the most evil, decadent apartheid, indentured labour, extreme racial discrimination and mistreatment, mass imprisonment and killings, barbarism equalling that of Nazism.

The progressive forces of the world have paid tribute to the heroic fighters of

Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa. They also condemned the manoeuvres of Henry Kissinger, who orchestrated the attempts of the fascist racists to maintain their grip, strove to split the front of fighters and to find agents for neo-colonialism, tried for a pseudo solution that would make U.S. imperialism the dominant exploiter and oppressor, and tried by all means to force repeal of the limited United Nations actions against apartheid and colonialism, and prevent decisive UN action.

Imperialist Interference

Kissinger had denounced "outside interference" in African affairs; threatened war, no less, against those he accused of this.

Let us see who is interfering.

What about the multinational monopolies, mainly of Britain and the United States, which dominate the economy of South Africa?

— Guilty is Mobil Oil, which organizes the supply of petroleum to Ian Smith.

— Guilty is Union Carbide, which bought the votes in Congress to ruin the United Nations embargo on Zimbabwe chrome.

— Guilty is IBM, which assured critics that "only" one per cent of its profits come from South Africa. That means "only" a current rate of 25 million dollars per year after taxes, or 20,000 dollars for each of its South African employees. Many of these millions are from supplying South African military and police with computers used in suppressing the Black population.

— Guilty are Chase Manhattan, Citibank, and other capitalist banks which finance the Vorster regime.

— Guilty are Lockheed, Textron, and other U.S., British and French munitions-makers supplying armaments for the latest 40 per cent rise in the South African military budget. Without the economic and financial support of multinational corporations, the racist regimes could not survive.

— Guilty are the U.S. and British armed forces collaborating with the racist forces. As the U.S. Armed Forces Journal writes: "South Africa has continued its pledge of full support to the free world and is prepared to apply everything in its power to meet the Communist threat." It called for diplomatic manoeuvres, such as Kissinger's "strengthen the Free World military

posture", that is, the military grip of imperialism on southern Africa.

— Guilty are U.S. and British imperialism, recruiting mercenaries to assist the colonialists and racists in South Africa.

Now what about those who assist the liberation struggles, such as the Soviet Union and Cuba, which gave such vital and timely help to the Angolan people; and countries such as Mozambique, Angola and Tanzania, which are now giving aid to the people of Zimbabwe?

They are not guilty!

Their assistance exactly accords with resolutions of the United Nations calling for the end of colonialism and apartheid, and urging upon governments to assist in that struggle. They are doing their duty. And it is the duty of every people, of every civilized government, to assist in this struggle.

We can see where the Kissinger methods led in the case of Chile. Was it not Kissinger's Committee of Forty that coordinated the destabilization activities of the CIA, of ITT, that led to the bloodiest tyranny in the history of the Western Hemisphere? They talk hypocritically of stopping terrorism in the chambers of the United Nations, but they have unleashed the Pinochet terrorists who murder great Chilean statesmen on the streets of Buenos Aires and Washington, without interference from the U.S. police.

U.S. Help to Chile's Butcher

U.S. banks shamelessly loan hundreds of millions of dollars to the butcher Pinochet and supply him with armaments, as the multinationals return, with their rates of profit restored through the impoverishment of the Chilean people.

Fascism has played havoc with the Chilean economy. Manufacturing production has declined one-third, the sharpest crisis decline of any country in the world. Since the coup, the cost of living has gone up 75 times, while real wages were cut to a fraction.

Imperialism uses the Pinochet regime to attack the attempts of developing countries to build the New International Economic Order of UNCTAD, to smash the Andean Pact and the cooperative efforts of copper-producing countries.

The heavy weight of the capitalist economic crisis falls on the majority of developing countries, hit by inflation of prices of imports, decline in the prices of goods they sell, and a blocking, instead of expansion of outlets, for their manufactured goods in the developed capitalist countries.

However, in the countries where the people have established firm control, and are going forward on the basis of mutual cooperation with the developed socialist

countries, there is genuine development, there is progress in living conditions.

I have seen in socialist Cuba the building of homes and schools everywhere, the development of modern industry and agriculture, and the rise in peoples' standard of living, and the flourishing of their political and cultural activity, despite the vicious U.S. embargo.

I have seen the enthusiasm of the petroleum workers in Iraq, where important reforms are underway.

In India, where reaction has been repulsed and steps taken to curb imperialist intrigues and to institute economic and social reforms, the cost of living has been forced down and production has increased significantly.

The world stands in admiration of the rapid reconstruction and development carried out by the people of Viet Nam, aided by the peoples of other socialist countries. The world condemns the vicious refusal of the U.S. government to provide the billions of reparations which it pledged, and which would only fractionally make up for the incredible damage done by U.S. armed forces in Viet Nam.

United States imperialism, in defiance of UN resolutions, is striving to tighten the bloc of developed capitalist states against

both the socialist countries and the developing countries. This is the purpose of the Trilateral Commission of tycoons from the United States, Western Europe and Japan.

"Zero Growth" Campaign

In the economic sphere, the aims are to cut off the developing countries from the socialist countries and to create artificial conflicts between them; to split the developing countries between oil producers and oil consumers, along regional or religious lines; to concentrate development on accelerated extraction of raw materials for the imperialist factories, and especially for the armament plants.

This is accompanied by an intensified "zero growth" and "negative growth" campaign, directed simultaneously against the developing countries and the workers and oppressed minorities of the capitalist countries.

The problem of the developing countries, they are told, is not plunder by multinational corporations, not the multiplying drain of interest on indebtedness to the banks, not the price scissors. No, it is too many people!

Do the developing countries need modern industries to provide employment and

needed commodities, and equipment to improve their agriculture? Not for them. Let them build windmills and tribal handicrafts!

Do some of the OPEC countries have funds for investment? Let them spend part of the billions to buy armaments from Lockheed and serve as janissaries for the Pentagon and Exxon, and turn over the rest to the New York banks.

Do the developing countries desperately need modern forms of energy for irrigation, for industrial processing, for overcoming backwardness and poverty? But there is an "energy crisis". U.S. imperialism, consuming a grossly disproportionate share of the world's energy, and creating 40 per cent of the world's pollution, demands that the poor people in the United States and the poor countries in the world economise on energy to "solve" the crises of energy and the environment.

As for those developing countries which take steps to achieve economic independence and development, imperialism launches economic reprisals at the very least.

Punishment for OPEC Countries

The countries of OPEC are subjected to discriminatory tariffs, in comparison with other developing countries, as "punishment" for their collective action.

Now there is a big move in the United States to impose economic sanctions against the Arab countries resisting Israeli aggression.

And there is a mounting campaign to cut off the contracted supply of uranium for India's nuclear power reactor, on the racist grounds that the Indian people cannot be trusted with uranium, only the Pentagon war hawks can.

And a complete embargo is maintained against those developing countries that take a decisive turn to form socialist governments and economic systems—Cuba, Viet Nam, the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea in particular.

But the attempts of imperialism are doomed. Not automatically, but because the world's peoples will defeat imperialism and achieve development. It is the duty of all honest people, all supporters of peace everywhere, to assist the liberation struggles in the developing countries, and especially today in South Africa.

And I may state that many thousands of people in my own country are doing their part.

History will bury the Kissingers, the Vorsters, the Ian Smiths, the Pinochets, in ignominy. The future belongs to the struggling masses of the developing countries, to the working people of the capitalist countries, to the peoples of the socialist lands pioneering the future course of humanity.



A cartoonist's view of the powerful influence wielded by the U.S. multinational corporations, called "fat cats" in common parlance, over the President of the United States of America.

Planning and Development in Opec Countries

Mohammed Ali Abdel
Karim El-Mashta

OIL producing countries face several tasks, foremost among which are the creation of the prerequisites for future progress and rapid development, and the elimination of the traces of economic dependence on the world capitalist market.

To carry out these tasks, there are two conflicting main trends.

The first trend is encouraged and fed by oil monopolies and supported by the bourgeoisie, the remaining feudalists, compradors, parasites and a group of bourgeois intellectuals and technocrats. The advocates of this trend affirm the necessity of pursuing the path of capitalist development for producer countries, considering that this path leads to prosperity and economic progress. The path of development and prosperity for oil exporting countries, they believe, is the path of subjugation to oil monopolies and remaining within the framework of the world capitalist market.

On the other hand, the second trend calls upon producing countries to pursue a new path of development, one that is suitable to the nature of the contemporary age, the age of going from capitalism to socialism, a path that avoids capitalism and establishes the founding steps of socialism by consolidating the public sector in industry and agriculture, diversifying production, achieving a balance in the economic structure of producer countries and adopting the method of comprehensive scientific planning.

False Theory of Backwardness

The path and horizons of political, economic and social development in producing

countries are full of several difficulties and complicated aspects.

We shall deal here with some issues raised by the question of development in oil producing countries.

Bourgeois thought attempts to identify backwardness in several countries on an unreasonable and unrealistic basis. Some bourgeois thinkers resort to a geographic interpretation of backwardness. They use a compass in which the northern indicator points to the advanced countries and the southern indicator points to the backward countries, among which are the oil exporting countries (the OPEC countries). These countries, according to bourgeois thinkers, are like the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America suffering from backwardness, considering it as a natural geographic aspect since one cannot change the map of the world or the direction of the compass. A number of social and psychological justifications are brought forward to affirm this geographic trend. It is claimed that tropical regions put man and society in a state of lassitude and consequently create a climate for backwardness while the natural environment of the northern countries conditions man to love his work and initiates in him a will for progress.

This geographic interpretation fails to take into consideration the different nature of social regimes and the role of imperialist regimes. It affirms reactionary theories which justify the investments of some northern imperialist countries in the south, including the oil producing countries.

Besides these geographic theories, there are other theories which are of a more scientific nature, such as the theory of

"stages of economic growth" laid down by the U.S. economist Rostow. According to this theory, the world is divided into different stages of development. Countries lying in the north are in the highest stages of development while backward countries are in the lower stages. On the basis of this theory, developing countries should accept this historic and geographic condition. Peoples of developing countries should wait for the coming generations so that they may be able to attain more advanced stages. Some try to show that backwardness is a special attribute of the peoples of Asia and Africa while ignoring historic reality. History shows that the people of the East, including our Arab peoples, gave birth to advanced civilisations far back in history and prior to capitalist development.

Limitation of Income Theory

In addition to geographic and historic theories which attempt to interpret backwardness, there are other theories and interpretations which define backwardness on the basis of some qualitative economic indicators. Some economists divide the world into advanced and developing countries according to the national economy and its relation to the number of inhabitants or the per capita income. Many international organisations sometimes base their judgement on this indicator. Neither can per capita income nor the national income in relation to the number of inhabitants be a scientific criterion to measure the progress or the backwardness of one country in relation to another, because this measurement is subject to rapid changes and many fluctuations. For example, the per capita income of many oil producing countries has increased as much as that of the member-countries of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development in recent years.

The following figures published by The Economist show the rates of per capita income in the member-countries of OPEC and the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development in 1974.

Countries	Per capita income (in U.S. dollars)
Kuwait	12,000
Abu Dhabi	21,000
Qatar	12,500
Libya	6,200
Saudi Arabia	4,800
Venezuela	2,000
Iran	1,000
Iraq	1,000
Algeria	600
Indonesia	100
United States	6,700
France	5,000
Japan	6,000
West Germany	3,500

This table shows clearly that the indicator of national income, national product or the rate of per capita income represents a distorted image of the level of development in some countries. It would not be reasonable to say that Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates or Kuwait are more advanced than the United States, Japan or West Germany. There are other trends which try to lay down compound qualitative indicators to differentiate between advanced and developing countries. Among these indicators are population density, the size of the urban population as compared to the rural population, the revenue of the industrial sector in the national income, and the rate of ensuring a nourishing diet, etc.

Gap Between Income and Development

The above-mentioned indicators could be characteristics showing aspects of differences between advanced and backward countries. However, we still need to point out a clearer and more specific indicator showing the basic element of difference between these countries. On the basis of this indicator we may draw up an integrated strategy for oil producing and developing countries which would guarantee that they are on their way to keeping pace with the advanced countries. The basic specific indicator, one that is more scientific in differentiating between the development of different countries, is the level of development of the active and material producing forces. According to this indicator, the main oil exporting countries (the OPEC countries) would be characterised by a negligible development of producing forces and consequently a low productivity of work in comparison with the advanced capitalist and socialist countries. One may consolidate the study of this indicator by many quantitative indicators, amongst which are the rate of higher, intermediary and technical education, the rate of individual consumption of electricity and power, the rate of manual and intellectual work, the number of tractors per one thousand farmers, as well as other indicators which show the nature of development of the producing forces.

The indicator of the development of the producing forces, both active and material, could also serve as an indicator to study the difference in the rate of development of the oil producing countries themselves. In this case, one may state that countries like Iraq, Algeria, Venezuela and Iran are more advanced than Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, although the per capita income of the latter countries is by far higher than per capita income of the former countries.

Misuse of Economic Surplus

The backwardness of the producing forces in the oil exporting countries is a natural outcome of the policy of imperialist exclusion and oppression and the continuous plunder of the resources of these countries. Any new strategy for the rapid development of the oil producing countries necessitates speeding up the development of producing forces (both active and material). This is a complicated and long-term task and requires extensive economic and political efforts. Some try to show with artificial figures that oil producing countries will achieve development and quickly catch up with advanced countries. However, we should consider that such a task is met by many serious obstacles. Even with an annual increase of 10 to 15 per cent of the national income, estimated by some of the oil producing countries as an annual rate of growth, there will always be a wide gap between the advanced and the oil producing countries, particularly if we take into consideration that the development of producing forces in the conditions of the OPEC countries is weakened by several elements, among which are the following:

a) The majority of oil producing countries have begun to develop their industrial and agricultural production as well as their infra-structure from a very low level. Therefore, the percentage development does not indicate a real and absolute increase in production.

b) The growth of national income depends on the exploitation of one resource, namely, oil.

c) As a result of the natural framework of more than one oil producing community and the presence of feudalist and bourgeois categories, most of the economic surplus is absorbed internally and by imperialist monopolistic companies. These categories and companies cooperate to export the economic surplus from the producing countries to the advanced countries. This means that the economic surplus in some oil producing countries is not exploited in the interest of economic and social progress, which should be the case, but in most cases for the interest of imperialist countries and parasitical and owning classes. The profits of U.S. oil monopolistic companies reached 12 thousand million dollars in 1974 as a result of the continuous plunder of the peoples of oil producing countries.

In this manner, we note that Western and, in particular, U.S. companies have robbed the oil producing countries of billions of dollars in recent years in the form of monopolistic profit. We should also take into account the vast Arab oil income which has been diverted to Western countries, particularly the United States. Many studies have estimated that total Arab

income employed in 1974 in the Western countries ranged between 35 to 40 billion U.S. dollars, that is, one-third of Arab petroleum revenues.

A significant part of expenditure in the oil producing countries was not veered to development. Instead, it was wasted by parasitical and owning classes as well as by large unproductive categories, such as government and administrative organisations, which proliferated in the oil producing countries in a manner that does not serve the interests of economic development. Meanwhile, a large part of oil resources were sucked in by imperialist countries through armament programmes, the expenditure on which multiplied several times in the past five years in some petroleum countries, or else through atomic programmes which aim at finding the necessary finances for some Western countries, such as the United States, France and England, suffering from internal shortcomings in financing their nuclear programmes. They, therefore, soak up billions of dollars from some oil countries. The objective of these nuclear programmes, as it seems, is still far from realising the aspirations of developing countries in regard to technology, economy and science.

Imperialist Countries Export Inflation

Imperialist countries have absorbed most of the petroleum revenues by means of exporting world inflation to oil producing countries. It is estimated that the prices of imports of oil producing countries have increased by 100 per cent from the beginning of 1973 to 1976.

If we consider the pattern of inflation in exporting modern technology to oil producing countries, which takes place through pledges and contractor operations carried out by Western countries, we will find that inflation reaches more than 200 per cent and sometimes 500 per cent. This inflation exported by the advanced countries to the developing countries decreases the degree of benefit from petroleum materials. These elements as a whole play a role in keeping the economy of the oil producing countries dependent on advanced countries.

Moreover, the rate of economic growth in these countries is not in line with the nature of the increase in national income which oil producing countries achieve by improving their revenues through nationalisation, revision of prices and production.

It is necessary to point out that the increase in oil revenues in recent years has created a new contradiction in the position of oil producing countries, namely, their increasing reliance on oil revenues. This is so as oil has become for many such coun-

tries, the only source of exportation which maintains the equilibrium of the balance of payments and supplies finance for national development plans and the budget. One of the examples which we can mention in this context is the rise of the relative importance of the petroleum sector in Iraq in relation to the gross internal product (in commercial prices) from 25.3 in 1972 to 60.6 in 1974. The role of oil in financing the national development plan reached 97 per cent in 1976 (if we exclude external loans). Meanwhile, the contribution of petroleum resources to the revenues in the ordinary budget in Iraq increased from 40.4 in 1972-73 to 87.5 in 1974-75.

Oil: Only Source of Export

In respect to countries like Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Libya, oil is perhaps the only source of financing development plans and budgets. The contribution of oil to the national income of these countries in 1974 ranged between 85 and 90 per cent, while the share of oil in the total national product from 1968 to 1973 (before the revision of prices) in Kuwait ranged between 64.7 and 78.3 per cent, in Saudi Arabia between 60.9 to 71.3 per cent, and in Libya between 70.9 and 73.5 per cent. Perhaps petroleum will become the only source of exportation for the majority of the OPEC countries.

The total exports of Saudi Arabia in 1974 reached 126.58 billion riyals (the dollar is equivalent to 3.55 riyals), while the total exports of crude oil and products reached U.S. dollars 126.46 billion. This means that Saudi Arabia's exports in 1974, according to reports issued by the International Monetary Fund, were 100 per cent petroleum exports. Kuwait's total exports in 1974 reached 3.21 billion Kuwaiti dinars (the Kuwaiti dinar is equivalent to 3.45 dollars), while petroleum exports (crude and products) reached 3.09, that is, 96.5 per cent of the total exports of Kuwait. Iran's exports in 1974 reached 1,623 billion riyals (the U.S. dollar being equivalent to 67.6 Iranian riyals), among which oil exports (crude and products) reached 1,577 Iranian riyals, that is, 97 per cent of the total Iranian exports.

This increasing role of petroleum in the economies of the OPEC countries, particularly the Arab oil producing countries, creates a new and complicated situation. One should be aware of the fact that their economic independence will continue to be threatened by and subject to the whims of oil monopolies which dominate to a large extent the world oil market. Hence, the importance of adopting a new policy in the oil producing countries, which would aim

at the development of the productive forces at a fast and planned rate, cannot be over-emphasised. This would orient oil revenues to the development of industrial and agricultural sectors, and the creation of suitable conditions for the rapid growth of the national economy. All this would go to consolidate economic independence.

There are, thus, two contradictory trends in the development of oil producing countries. The one relating to following the capitalist path would lead to the continuation of economic dependence, and the other, the non-capitalist path, would create suitable conditions for the rapid and future development of oil producing countries.

Imperialist Strategy of Oil Surplus

The imperialist strategy currently aims at creating an oil surplus in the international market and consequently destroying the oil market and the unity of the OPEC countries. For example, the rate of oil production in the first part of 1976 of the OPEC countries reached 28 million barrels daily. This met world demand. But the productive power of oil in the OPEC countries amounts to about 38 million barrels daily, that is, a surplus of about 10 million barrels daily. The trend to increase this surplus in an unreasonable way would threaten not only the position of the oil producing countries and the structure of prices, but also bring about the fast depletion of the most important oil fields in the world, such as the Ghawar, Sifaniya and the Abkik fields in Saudi Arabia, the Barkan field in Kuwait, and the Sadr field in Libya. These rare fields are exploited to date through a natural flow and by means of digging a minimal number of wells with a high rate of productivity, which could lead to the depletion of the extractable reserves of these huge oil fields in the mid-eighties. Such a policy does not give due consideration to the extraction coefficient.

Thus, the Ghawar field in Saudi Arabia, for example, whose reserves exceeded 664 billion barrels at the beginning of 1974, was producing at a rate of 4.6 million barrels daily throughout 1974 with low productivity wells.

Production has been taking place through a natural flow. If this policy of productivity continues, the extraction coefficient will not exceed 40 per cent, that is, the extractable reserve in the Ghawar field will not exceed 26 billion barrels. Considering that the annual rate of production, according to the rates of production in 1974, reached 1.7 billion barrels annually in the Ghawar field, it means that the extractable reserves in this enormous deposit of oil, which are more than double the reserves

of the United States, could be depleted before 1990. And this may be the fate of the largest oil field in all the oil producing countries.

Danger of Dwindling Reserves

The peoples of the producing countries, thus, will find that their rich oil fields are in danger of being quickly depleted and they will be unable to compensate them, except with small fields, at a time when their needs for oil will increase as a primary material, a source of energy, and a source of national development. This will take place also at a time when world needs for oil will have increased.

This situation in particular necessitates that the OPEC countries adopt a policy of programming production on a scientific basis. It has to be done in accordance with the interests of the peoples of those countries, and the requirements of preserving the main deposits in the world. Plans have to be drawn up to ensure an increase in the extraction coefficient in every productive field, and to put an end to the policy of depleting oil wealth.

The question of programming production today for the oil producing countries is one of the most important tasks. It would ensure their unity, enable them to preserve their oil wealth and guarantee the continuity of fair prices for oil. Therefore, all the efforts of the oil producing countries should be mainly channeled to explore for more oil, define the real reserves of their deposits, preserve existing deposits, increase the oil extractive coefficient by means of maintaining the pressure of deposits, discontinue the natural pumping method, and use water injection wherever necessary, increasing productive wells in a manner that is suitable to the necessity of preserving the pressure of deposits and increasing the extraction coefficient.

They have also to ensure that the oil revenues do not migrate to the developed capitalist countries.

Oil producing countries should increasingly seek to industrialise oil and refine it in their countries. In this manner, they would be contributing to the creation of the conditions allowing for the development of their productive forces and exporting finished products to the advanced countries and to increasing oil revenues. The oil sector should continuously be merged with the other economic sectors to guarantee the fast development of the productive forces, both active and material, and to guarantee that the majority of the peoples of the oil producing states obtain a fair share of the resources of oil by means of adopting a policy of redistribution of the national income in the interest of all classes and categories.



The Asian Peace Conference

Observer

THE STRUGGLE for establishing peace and security in Asia, a continent which has suffered greatly from colonialist exploitation and domination, needs the efforts and common actions of all Asian states. Asia has reached a stage when evolving a common approach to the question of Asian security can be seriously worked for.

The international situation has improved considerably with the emergence of détente as a positive force in world affairs. The victories in Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos have given a great set-back to imperialism and neo-colonialism in the Asian continent. At the same time, however, imperialism has made it clear that it has no intention of leaving Asia alone. It will continue to use every weapon in its armoury to project its old policy of keeping Asia divided and making Asians fight Asians.

All this is evident enough from the hotbeds of tension which are being perpetuated by the imperialist powers in different parts of Asia. The military coup (October, 1976) in Thailand, engineered by the CIA, has blocked the emergence of democratic trends there. This country had earlier suffered a great deal under military dictatorships subservient to U.S. imperialism, which had made its presence felt by not only having military bases, but also U.S. troops in Thai cities and towns.

The conflict in the Middle East is being manipulated in the typical manner of "divide and rule", to strengthen the reactionary forces in Israel, Lebanon and other Arab states with the aim of destroying the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which had come to symbolise the forces of social progress in the region, not only in a verbal sense, but in action also.

The imperialist powers headed by the U.S.A. are strengthening their military bases in the Indian Ocean and in several Asian countries, as also in Australia.

The U.S. threat of destabilisation has become a sinister version of the Sword of Damocles, hanging over the progressive countries in Asia, which are trying to follow an anti-imperialist path of independent development.

A New Milestone

It was against this background of certain very positive trends in Asia, the victories of the states in Indochina, the strengthening of the nonaligned movement, and also new dangers posed by imperialism and neo-colonialism, that the Asian Peace Conference, sponsored by the World Peace Council, met in Ulan Bator, capital of the Mongolian People's Republic in October, 1976.

The Asian Peace Conference marked a new milestone in the struggle of the Asian peoples in seeking ways and means for bringing about peace, security and cooperation in Asia.

The deliberations at the Asian Peace Conference, attended by delegates from 16 Asian countries, and also Australia, and representatives from socialist countries—Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary and Poland—and other countries like the U.S.A., Sweden, Zimbabwe and Venezuela, covered a wide field.

In greeting the Asian Peace Conference, Yu. Tsendenbal, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the People's Republic of Mongolia, drew attention to the tensions still existing in Asia, including the Middle East, Cyprus and the Korean peninsula. He rightly stressed the urgent need for furthering the struggle by all peace-loving and progressive forces, all Asian countries for a peaceful future in Asia.

"The Mongolian People's Republic is firmly convinced that the road to a durable peace in Asia, without wars and armed

conflicts, is in the establishment of collective security in the whole continent through joint efforts by all countries in the region of the world."

The Secretary General of the World Peace Council, Romesh Chandra, in his address, dwelt on the dangers threatening Asia: "Imperialism has been weakened but not eliminated. It has been defeated in Asia, but it wishes to regain its lost positions... The imperialists' weapon is disunity. Our weapon is unity. It is a lesson more and more countries are learning... Any system of Asian security must include all countries of Asia."

On the opening day, the Conference heard four reports on "Safeguarding Peace and Security in Asia—an urgent problem of today" from leaders of delegations from Mongolia, Soviet Union, India and Iraq.

They were N. Sadnom, President of the Mongolian Peace Committee, Rakhim M. Esenov, President of the Turkmen Peace Committee (USSR), Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee, General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee, and Aziz Sherif, General Secretary of the Council of Peace and Solidarity in Iraq.

Ulan Bator Declaration

In its main declaration, called the Ulan Bator Declaration, the Conference underscored the fact that a stable peace and a durable security in Asia was possible only with the joint efforts and common action of all the Asian states. All this could be achieved on the basis of principles which are a further development of the principles of Panchsheel and the Bandung Conference.

The Ulan Bator Declaration outlined these principles thus: renunciation of use of force in the relations among states, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, right of every nation to decide its own destiny, impermissibility of annexation of others' territories through aggression, the inalienable rights of the people over their natural resources and to carry out socio-economic transformations, to settle all international disputes by peaceful means, to adhere in good faith to obligations under international treaties, and extensive development of economic and other forms of cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

The Asian Peace Conference also dealt with other issues; it adopted several resolutions supporting a just peace in the Middle East, the peaceful reunification of Korea, the nonaligned movement and the decisions of the Colombo Conference, the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

It welcomed the normalisation of relations in the Indian sub-continent, extended support to the liberation struggle in East

Timor, called for the release of patriotic people and peace fighters imprisoned in Bangladesh, and the 100,000 political prisoners in Indonesia.

The Conference discussed briefly the situation in other continents and expressed its solidarity with the national liberation struggles in Southern Africa—Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa—and with the peoples of Chile and other Latin American countries struggling against fascist regimes.

Conference against Destabilisation

One of the major proposals made by the Conference was for calling a World Conference against Destabilisation in 1977.

The resolution on this subject warned against the sinister activity of imperialism in Asia which had been witnessed in Bangladesh, where the head of state, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was assassinated; in Thailand, where a CIA-engineered coup had brought a reactionary junta into power; in Lebanon, where the dangerous "step by step" policy of US imperialism was bearing evil fruit. The destabilisation threat was also aimed at India, but it had been averted through the vigilance and timely action of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the unity of all patriotic forces.

"Destabilisation is the modern version of this imperialist game (of divide and rule) ... Imperialism wants to stage a come-back in Asia by the back door, in order to retain in new forms its age-old economic domination and indirect political control."

Lesson of Indonesia

On the issue of destabilisation, a pointed

The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Mongolian Peace and Friendship Organisations, Naymyn Luvsanchultem, who presided at the plenary session of the Asian Peace Conference, making his speech of welcome.



The Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the People's Republic of Mongolia, Yu Tsendenbal, meeting delegates to the Asian Peace Conference in Ulan Bator on 16 October 1976.

reference was made at the Conference to the overthrow of the government of Indonesia, engineered by imperialism in the middle sixties, which had not received the attention it deserved at that time in the rest of the world.

While the delegate from the Indonesian Peace Committee, S. Munir, gave details of the sufferings of the people of Indonesia, including the 100,000 political prisoners, had endured during the last 11 years under a reactionary military regime, Ambassador Harald Edelstam of Sweden made the telling point that peace-loving forces at that time did not speak out as strongly as they should have done against the massacres in Indonesia.

Mr. Edelstam, who was posted to Jakarta

as Sweden's ambassador soon after the military coup in Indonesia on 1 October 1965, was an eyewitness to many tragic happenings in that country.

Addressing the Asian Peace Conference as a member of the World Peace Council delegation, Ambassador Edelstam said: "I wrote report after report about the happenings in Indonesia. On 15 December 1965, President Soekarno mentioned in a speech that about 90,000 people had been killed and liquidated during the two and a half months after the coup. He expressed his indignation and great worry about this. In 1966 his position weakened and in 1967 he was ousted and put under house arrest.

"During this time, several million people were killed or put into prison camps... We must not forget them and the fate of the many who are still kept in the prison camps of Indonesia."



Message to PLO

In separate messages to the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Lebanese patriotic and democratic forces, the Conference expressed its solidarity with their struggle against the conspiracy hatched by U.S. imperialism, Israel and the Arab reactionary forces.

The Conference also expressed its alarm over the military interference of the Syrian armed forces in Lebanon, and called for their immediate withdrawal.

The Asian Peace Conference in Ulan Bator, which was the first conference of Asian countries to be held after the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation (1975), gave a tremendous fillip to the peace forces to mobilise public opinion in favour of establishing peace, security and cooperation in Asia.

THE IMPERATIVE need for strengthening the struggle for the establishment of a durable peace and security in the Asian continent has been repeatedly discussed at various international and regional forums by representatives of peace forces.

The process of detente is evidently approved on the European continent, finding its expression in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Consistent and honest implementation of the provisions and principles of the Helsinki document is of special significance for further confirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems in the interests of world peace and the security of nations.

The development of Soviet-U.S. relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence in the direction of removing the threat of nuclear war and limitation of the arms race is an integral part of international detente. Treaties and agreements signed in recent years between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. not only correspond to the interests of the peoples of these countries, but to the interests of all the peoples.

Under the favourable influence of a general improvement of the international situation, important changes in favour of peace and security are taking place on the Asian continent as well.

The victory of Viet Nam and the formation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the victory of the national democratic revolution in Laos, and the national liberation movement in Kampuchea have removed one of the dangerous hotbeds of tension and serious obstacles in the way of strengthening peace and security in Asia and the world over. The people's victory in Indochina, attained with the all-round assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as with the support and solidarity of peace-loving and progressive peoples of the world, has dealt a serious blow to the policy of imperialist aggression and neo-colonialism in South-east Asia, and has promoted, to a great extent, the creation of favourable conditions for peace, democracy and social progress on the Asian continent.

One of the most important factors in consolidating peace and security in Asia is also the continuing process of normalisation of the situation on the South Asian subcontinent in the spirit of the Simla and Delhi agreements.

The national self-consciousness in Asia is increasingly growing, and the historic lessons of the people of Indochina have greatly contributed to this development. The Asian peoples are aware of the fatal consequences of blindly going along with the imperialist policy. The imperialist strategy of forming blocs has failed and many Asian countries are siding with the



ASIAN SECURITY: A Vital Need of the Times

N. Sodnom

non-alignment movement, the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial nature of which was once more lucidly demonstrated at the Colombo Conference held in August, 1976. The relations between Asian countries and the countries of the socialist community are extending and developing. Bilateral relations among countries are being strengthened in Asia, and tendencies towards settlement of disputable problems by peaceful means and towards the development of mutual beneficial cooperation are growing as well.

However, it is necessary to state that the reactionary imperialist circles continue as in the past to follow a policy of aggression, war and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, suppression of the national liberation movements in Asia. The

situation in the Middle East which is fraught with serious consequences to world peace, may serve as proof of it.

The Mongolian people stand resolutely with the righteous cause of the Arab peoples and express their full and firm solidarity with their just struggle for the defence of their national independence and sovereignty.

Middle East Crisis

The entire Mongolian public consider that the Middle East crisis can and should be settled on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, and on the basis of ensuring the lawful demands of the Arab people of Palestine, including their inalienable right to the establishment of their own state and providing an international guarantee of security to all countries in the region. The cause of the just settlement of the entire Middle East problem calls for the reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference, in which the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine should take part on an equal footing with other interested parties.

The crisis in Lebanon, which has led to the fratricidal civil war, gives rise to deep concern. The events in Lebanon are aggravating still more the explosive situation in the Middle East. The conflict in Lebanon should be solved by peaceful, democratic means on the basis of maintaining territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty of this country.

In our view, the proposal by the Soviet Union on the Middle East and the Geneva Peace Conference, which was submitted to the 31st session of the UN General Assembly, and received wide support of the world public, can form a basis of settlement of this crisis.

The artificial partition of Korea is not only a flagrant violation of the legitimate right of the Korean people to the reunification of their homeland, but also constitutes a serious threat to peace and security in Asia.

It is imperative that all the U.S. troops be withdrawn from South Korea and the Korean people be given the opportunity to decide their own destiny without any external interference on the basis of peaceful and democratic reunification of their motherland. The Mongolian people will support in the future the efforts by the Governments of the DPRK in this matter.

The continuous threat to the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus on the part of aggressive circles of imperialism gives rise to a legitimate concern of the progressive public in the world, including the Mongolian people.

Imperialist Military Bases

In spite of the obvious bankruptcy of their aggressive policy in different parts of Asia, the imperialists still indulge in going on with burdening the Asian countries with military bases, turning now to the so-called strategy of islands. The Pacific Ocean doctrine of the U.S.A. is, in essence, an expression in a different form of the former policy of U.S. imperialism, aimed at the suppression of the national democratic movements, forces of peace, social progress and democracy in Asia. The setting up of military, naval and air force bases on Diego Garcia is vivid proof of the fact that the U.S. military and monopolistic circles are trying to exploit it for their aggressive and neo-colonialistic ends in the region.

There are still forces existing in Asia which stand in the way of international detente and the discontinuation of the arms race, or disarmament, and which are ignoring the generally accepted international treaties and agreements in the field of nuclear arms limitation. The peoples of Asia and other countries condemn the continuous nuclear tests in the atmosphere, poisoning the environment with radioactive fall-out, and which are conducive to intensifying the arms race.

In this connection it is necessary to stress the importance of the new Soviet proposal on the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and universal banning of nuclear tests, the implementation of which will be of extreme importance to all the peoples irrespective of the continent to which they belong.

Under the present circumstances where many Asian countries are affected by the aggressive policy of imperialism and reaction, it is imperative to strengthen and further intensify the struggle for the establishment of durable peace and a genuine security on the Asian continent.

The establishment of peace and security in Asia meets the interests of not only the peoples of Asia, but also the whole of mankind and will facilitate the strengthening of the process of general detente, making it irreversible and stable.

It is quite obvious that without the elimination and liquidation of hotbeds of tension it is impossible to solve the common problems of many Asian countries, the problem of socio-economic and scientific development and uplifting the living standards of the people.

The vital interests of the peoples of our continent compel us to think seriously over the further consolidation of peace and safeguarding security in this vast region of the world.

The clue to the settlement of this urgent problem is through the realisation of the idea of the establishment of collective security in Asia.

In the report of the Central Committee of the MPRP to the 17th congress of the party (1976), Comrade Tsendenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP CC, stressed that "the Mongolian People's Republic is vitally interested in seeking ways of consolidating peace and security in Asia. We proceed from the fact that a lasting peace and security in Asia can only be ensured through the joint efforts of the states of the continent."

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe gives a good example of how to solve the problem of continuing efforts and actions of states for consolidating peace. Here a question arises: If in Europe, where two world wars started and sharp political problems have existed, a common understanding has been achieved, why cannot the Asian countries gather around one table to settle common problems? The experience of the all-European conference clearly demonstrated that by united efforts and a display of goodwill and realism, mutually acceptable decisions can be reached on the most complicated international problems.

Principles of Asian Security

The aim and essence of the idea of the establishment of collective security in Asia consist in the elimination of wars and imperialist aggressions from the life of the Asian peoples and guaranteeing conditions for national prosperity for them.

The collective security in Asia must be based on such principles as renunciation of the use of force in the relations between states, respect for sovereignty and inviolability of state frontiers, non-interference in the internal affairs, broad development of economic and cultural cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. At the same time, it means the realisation of such measures as the right of each nation to decide its own destiny, the inadmissibility of annexation of territory by aggression, the right of peoples to exercise full sovereignty over their natural resources and to carry out the socio-economic transformations, peaceful settlement of disputes, fulfilment of the obligations under international treaties in good faith.

Such a stand is in full conformity with the principles of the Bandung Conference, the UN Charter, and agreements concluded between the Asian countries in the interests of cooperation and universal peace.

In this connexion, we can recall such important documents as the Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and India, the treaty between Iraq and the Soviet Union, and the Mongol-Indian declarations and others.

Collective security of the Asian continent provides for a fundamental reconstruction of the whole system of international relations in Asia on the basis of mutual understanding and equal participation of all Asian countries. The statements of the opponents of the idea of collective security in Asia that it is directed against some state are groundless.

The prerequisite of Asian security on the collective basis is reviving fully the spirit of Bandung in the relations of the Asian countries. It is high time that Asian countries and the spirit of dissociation and distrust, imposed on them for centuries by colonisers and imperialists, and gather again and discuss the vital problems of securing lasting peace and stability on our continent.

Peace-loving and progressive forces should mobilise all strata of the public with a view to exerting influence on their governments and parliaments, to make them understand the necessity of joint efforts on the part of all Asian countries to ensure security on this continent.

The Asian peoples' aspiration for peace and security is manifested in different proposals for creating peaceful zones in various parts of Asia. The Mongolian people attach due attention to these initiatives. Proposals for establishing zones of security on a collective basis in any region of Asia could become an integral part of the entire process of ensuring peace and security in the whole continent.

Despite various difficulties and obstacles in the way of ensuring collective security in Asia, there exist at present creative forces which could translate this idea into practice.

The correlation of forces in the international arena is irrevocably changing in favour of the peace forces, national liberation movements, democracy and socialism.

The persistent peace-loving foreign policy activities of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community is directed towards realising the goals of the collective security.

In the programme for further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence of peoples, set forth by the XXV congress of the CPSU, an essential part is devoted to the cause of ensuring security in Asia on the basis of joint efforts of states of this continent. The struggle of the socialist countries for collective security is enjoying evergrowing support of the Asian peoples and the peoples of the world over.

Being an Asian state, the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the cause of establishing stable peace and collective security in Asia is one of the main objectives of its persistent peace-loving foreign policy.

ASEAN PACT AND U.S. ISLAND STRATEGY

Walter Hundt

THE ASSOCIATION of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) comprising Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, which was ostensibly formed in 1967 for regional development, has now undergone a gradual change in its political overtones.

The ASEAN summit meeting held in Indonesia in 1976 sought to widen its sphere of influence. But from the viewpoint of historical development, this "traditional" Asian regionalism has been isolationist, pro-imperialist and anti-revolutionary in character. Imperialism and the reactionary forces in Asia have been using this "regionalism" for their own ends, directing it against the national liberation movements, the socialist countries, and the peoples of the very countries which comprise the ASEAN pact.

In the past, the ASEAN states which all follow the capitalist way of development under the leadership of bourgeois forces and partly in cooperation with feudal circles, one-sidedly orientated themselves towards the imperialist power centres as far as foreign policy and external economy are concerned. In face of the strategic position of the ASEAN states, their significant potential of raw materials with strategic importance (having first or high places in world production with regard to tin, mineral oil, India-rubber and wolfram), of man-power (more than 200 million inhabitants), and their absorbing capacity for capital and commodity export, the imperialist states are intensifying their activities in these countries in order to enlarge and strengthen the inter-state relations.

In this way the U.S.A. strives to secure its global strategy in South-East Asia also under new conditions. According to the U.S. concept, the Philippines, Indonesia and Singapore could be important links in their "island strategy", while Thailand and Malaysia could be important continental bases.

Taking advantage of the imperialist contradictions, Japan is trying to dominate the ASEAN region to serve its "raw material diplomacy", making use of the beneficial conditions for investments and gaining greater political influence. (Japan is the main investor in Thailand, and the main trade partner of Indonesia, etc.)

We may recall here the 1974 anti-imperialist mass demonstrations in Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia which were directed against such a one-sided dependence of these countries.

The European Economic Community, being the third greatest business partner of the ASEAN states, is also expanding its positions by trying to make use of the joint bodies of the EEC and ASEAN which have been set up recently. There are, however, certain tendencies in the ASEAN countries to pay greater attention to defending their national economic interests against the offensive of Japanese and Western monopolies. Australia and New Zealand also are making great efforts to develop more stable relations with the ASEAN region and are quite successful in doing so.

Military and Strategic Position

As to the military and strategic position of the ASEAN region, it must be taken into account that in 1975, the five ASEAN member-states had regular troops numbering about 633,700 and paramilitary units comprising about 243,900 men, and spent 1,591 million dollars for military purposes. Thailand and the Philippines are members of SEATO and ASPAC, Malaysia and Singapore belong to the five-power pact ANZUK (together with Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand). Therefore, foreign troops are stationed in Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, along with the presence of the U.S. fleet near their shores.

There are, of course, certain developments in the domestic policy of some ASEAN countries which do have their impact. So the overthrow of the military dictatorship in Thailand in October 1973 opened up possibilities for a certain, though narrow, democratization, and enabled the establishment of parties and mass organizations of the working people—a process which abruptly ended with a reactionary military coup in October, 1976.

The legalisation of the Communist Party of the Philippines and its participation in carrying through the programme of reforms for a "new society", especially as far as the transformation of the conditions in agriculture is concerned, can considerably

contribute towards strengthening the democratic forces.

These and other processes render difficult the activities of U.S. imperialism and certain reactionary forces, activities which are undertaken in order to dominate the ASEAN countries to serve imperialist interests by means of concentrated "warnings of the communist threat" and attractive financial offers. These reactionary forces wish to integrate ASEAN into the imperialist system of pacts and military agreements by trying to impose on them a "military variant", an anachronism in the face of international developments. These forces do not stop talking about the need for common military executive bodies, multi-lateral manoeuvres and coordinated training measures. Here, the aim is the establishment of a network of security arrangements for the member-countries and respective "coordinated operations" on the basis of the experiences of the General Border Committees of Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand (committees of the defence ministers or ministers for internal affairs for the bilateral "fight against subversion").

The statements of President Ford made after his visit to Indonesia and the Philippines in 1975, and his readiness to give "military aid" were apparently directed at strengthening such endeavours.

China's Support for ASEAN

The Chinese Maoist leadership has been obstructing for the last many years a drawing together of the ASEAN countries with the Soviet Union and the socialist community of states, thus making them serve their policy which is directed against détente.

In the relations of the ASEAN countries with the People's Republic of China, there undoubtedly are such factors like the need for protection against the Maoist group's basic attitude of annexation and big power chauvinism vis-a-vis South-East Asia, as well as the fear of the activities of the armed Maoist groupings guided by it, and the fact that a large Chinese population in the ASEAN countries (Singapore 75 per cent, Malaysia 34 per cent, Thailand 13 per cent) exerts a remarkable economic influence there. Since autumn 1975, the Maoists obviously have been increasingly "praising" the work of ASEAN as an organization.

The development of new power relationships in the world, particularly in South-East Asia, has also encouraged certain trends in the ASEAN countries relating to a more realistic appraisal of issues of foreign policy. This has resulted in a partial rearrangement of political positions. These trends indicate a gradual shift towards the internationally decisive development of



detente and peaceful cooperation. It is obvious that the ASEAN states have been increasingly making efforts to reduce their complete political and economic dependence on and their one-sided orientation to the imperialist powers.

New Trends in ASEAN Countries

One of the means of achieving this end was the establishment of diplomatic relations with the socialist countries and the growing economic and cultural contacts with them. But certain contradictions in the various steps that have been taken in this respect by the ASEAN countries and the danger of temporary set-backs in these new relations must not be ignored.

The ASEAN countries are beginning to realise the new conditions in Indochina, and the need for a just solution of the Middle East conflict. They have also been assessing the world impact of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the movement towards international disarmament, the reshaping of international economic relations on the basis of full equality or the further struggle against colonialism and racism. It is being recognised to an ever increasing extent that the membership in imperialist pact systems contradicts the basic national interests of the ASEAN countries, an expression of which is found in the endeavours to loosen military commitments, and to desert from the pacts.

For confirming its avowal to non-alignment, Malaysia had already in 1973 resigned its membership of the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) and declared that the British, Australian and New Zealand troops would only temporarily be stationed on its territory on the basis of the ANZUK Pact and that it was striving to change this situation. Thailand and the Philippines were among the initiators of the decision

on a gradual dissolution of SEATO by 1977. While the democratic forces of Thailand, before the October, 1976 coup, had pushed through a stipulation on the complete withdrawal of the U.S. troops from and the closing of their bases there, the Philippines called for modifying the military agreements with the U.S.A.

Neutralising South-East Asia

Growing attention is being paid to the neutralisation of South-East Asia. This was first stated in the Declaration of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Conference in Kuala Lumpur, in November, 1971. It was subsequently further defined at the Bali Summit Conference of the ASEAN countries in February, 1976.

The foreign ministers of ASEAN have tried to proceed from the international reality of detente and cooperation, thus identifying in certain ways their suggestion of establishing a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia without interference by foreign powers" with the world-wide process of detente. Again and again numerous documents of the ASEAN organisation and speeches of leading politicians of its member-countries stress that the chances for implementing their proposal depend on the safeguarding of a favourable political climate in the world, and the continuation of the international endeavours to strengthen detente, as well as on safeguarding of peace and security in the region and genuine independence of the ASEAN countries.

The setting-up of such a zone of peace in South-East Asia could be an effective step towards the goal of Asian security provided the narrow regional and isolationist policies which are deliberately promoted by imperialism, as well as the efforts which exclusively aim at the regional solution without regard to the continental and world-wide safeguarding of peace, are given up.

The ASEAN as a body has emphasized that the Bandung principles of 1955 are fully valid, and supported the objectives of the United Nations in general and the principles of peaceful coexistence, in particular, including respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, abstention from threat or use of force, peaceful settlement of international disputes, equality of rights and self-determination, non-interference in internal affairs of other states. It is of interest that in addition to the Declaration of Kuala Lumpur, various documents and communique which have been signed since then, first of all with socialist countries, fully or partly subscribe to essential principles of a system of Asian security.

The discussions about the idea of a South-East Asian zone of peace among

ASEAN countries showed that there were great differences among them in interpreting the term neutrality. Here certain regionalist tendencies of bourgeois-nationalist hues had also appeared.

Repeatedly there have been attempts to define neutrality in a restricted sense as a "position beyond power rivalries and conflicts of the big powers", and to give an anti-Soviet meaning to it as well as to explain the term security in an anti-communist sense as "guarantee against internal disturbances and upheavals". To follow such interpretations would amount to extremely limiting the utilization of the ASEAN proposal of a collective safeguarding of peace in Asia and to defer its implementation indefinitely.

In contrast to this, non-governmental forces like trade unions, peace councils, solidarity committees, and other sections of the public have been stressing the anti-imperialist orientation of the proposal for a security system in Asia, and the need for transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. This fact should be taken into account also in further developing the idea of the South-East Asian zone of peace, although some of the member-countries of ASEAN allow relatively little scope to the progressive and democratic forces in those countries to function.

The consistent implementation of the ASEAN concept of neutrality in the region would include the recall of all foreign troops, the withdrawal from all imperialist military pacts, the dissolution of all foreign bases, and finally, opposition to all efforts to reorient the functioning of ASEAN in military terms. The peoples of Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines now face the vital task of making an effective contribution towards safeguarding peace in the region, in the interest of all peoples and in accordance with the objective requirements of our times.

As has been stated earlier, the "traditional" Asian regionalism, exemplified by ASEAN, is not conducive to bringing about Asian security and cooperation. This regionalism is isolationist, pro-imperialist and anti-revolutionary, which is exploited by imperialism and the reactionary forces in ASEAN countries. It thus gets a reactionary orientation directed against the socialist countries, the national liberation movements and the peoples of the countries comprising this regional pact.

On the other hand, what is needed is to direct even regional efforts to achieving the wider unity and cooperation of peoples in the whole of Asia on the basis of the anti-imperialist struggle. The masses and their progressive organisations should be associated with, and take part in the movement in the entire continent to realise the concept of peace, security and cooperation in Asia.



LATIN AMERICA

Chile and Brazil to Form Fascist Axis

Pinochet's fascist junta is buying more and more arms with a view to forming a fascist axis with Brazil to strike at all democratic and peaceful trends in Latin America. Some of the aspects of the military policy of the Chilean junta have been examined in a study made by the Committee for Solidarity with Chile in Cuba. Extracts from the study are published here.

It is clear that Pinochet's fascist junta in Chile has rejected all the basic principles which have been postulated by the non-aligned countries in the political, diplomatic and military fields. Pinochet's regime has thus become an enemy of world peace. The junta is determined to oppose the struggle for liberty and independence of peoples and countries; it does not believe in the possibilities nor in the need of general peace and security among all states. It is not only indifferent to the universal application of the principles of peaceful coexistence and democratization of international relations, but it has transformed itself into the standard-bearer of forces which are moving in the opposite direction.

The dictator, Augusto Pinochet, bases his military and political doctrine on the same geopolitical concepts that led to the Second World War and, later, to the limited wars that have followed until our days. As he explicitly indicates in his booklets, all of which have been edited by the Chilean Army, his "geopolitics" is inspired by the works of Ratzel, K. Jellen and Karl Haushofer. The latter has been considered to be the "father" of the nazi-fascist concept of "vital space" and a probable co-author of *Mein Kampf*.

"The world is really at war, a war that does not follow the classic pattern of linear fronts and open and declared enemies."

According to General Gustavo Alvarez Aguilu, Chief of the General Staff of the Army of Pinochet, "we are in a world war". This is the first premise in their strategy. The enemies in this war are the Western World, with its "ideals of liberty", and the Eastern World, "under Marxism Leninist totalitarianism".

The nonaligned countries, according to Pinochet's henchmen in the army, are a "hesitating group", searching "indistinctly for facilities from one or the other side, in accordance with the monetary and limited political, economic or social interests".

The second premise is that Chile is in this war, because, by its "geographical position", it is in the Western sphere and is committed to participate in the "continental defence".

Axis under Brazilian Leadership

Pinochet's clique has transformed itself into the principal proponent for the creation of a "fascist axis" with Brazil in the Southern hemisphere. It already counts on the subservience of Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay, and it considers that some sectors of Argentine Armed Forces are already actively working for the same thing. The axis, under Brazilian leadership, is sought to be built up gradually to cover all fields.

The Chilean junta is trying to institutionalize the "Inter-American Defence System", to bring about a close alliance between the U.S. Pentagon and the "fascist axis". The ultimate aim is to impose the strategy of war "against communism" on the armed forces of other Latin American countries.

The Chilean junta is taking steps to strengthen its armed forces to meet a possible upheaval of the Chilean people, and to carry out aggressive actions against re-

gimes in Latin America which have adopted anti-imperialist positions (which for the junta are synonymous with "communist positions").

To be able to cope with vast military requirements, the junta has practically doubled the recruitment in the military service and intensified the training of officers in the different branches of the armed forces. Military training at all levels has acquired a clear warlike character with anti-communist, anti-Peruvian and anti-Cuban connotations, and even some racist admixtures expressed in the "racial" superiority of the Chilean army over the Bolivian "Indios" and Peru's "Cholos". Militarization also penetrates all spheres of civil life, especially education and the mass communication media.

To carry out its aggressive conception of "national security", the junta has embarked on a big armaments drive. It is making plans for the strengthening of the armed forces to meet any contingency in an "internal war", and the eventuality of a clash with Peru.

According to the *Latin American Times*, already at the end of 1974, the Chilean Junta was among the ten principal arms purchasers in the United States.

In less than two years, the junta spent 65 million dollars on armaments with the direct backing of the State Department. This amount surpasses by 3 million dollars the total amount spent by Chile on arms in the preceding 22 years, according to the *Latin American Times*. During 1974, the fascist junta spent 7 per cent of the national budget on arms purchases. The highest level in former years was just 2 per cent.

It resorted to many subterfuges, with the connivance of the U.S. State Department, to buy arms in various countries, including France, Great Britain, and the German Federal Republic. When mass protests were made in these countries against arms sales to the fascist junta, arms were purchased through indirect means.

The Chilean junta is expanding the military and political contacts with countries which are not only strongly equipped for war, but are also producers or sub-producers of arms (South Africa, Brazil, Israel). The parallel political aim is the establishment of closer bonds with "countries with a similar affinity" of "spearheading the struggle against communism".

The Chilean junta is also carrying on negotiations with China and Jordan to buy arms and spare parts.

A state that buys such an enormous amount of sophisticated weapons in less than two years, including all sorts of equipment operatively useful for offensive operations, cannot be considered to be following merely the example of the traditional buying of arms in Latin America.

U.S. Intervention in Chile Sustains Pinochet Regime

Abraham Feinglass

THE STATE Department of the United States tried in 1976 to show that it was seeking peace in Africa. It sent its Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, to visit several African states in April and September, 1976, "to make peace". It is, therefore, necessary for all the people to know the role of the Secretary of State and the State Department of the United States, over the years in different fields, and the kind of "peace" they believe in.

Let us take Latin America. In 1976, Henry Kissinger advised us by letter that he could not let our delegation look in on human rights in Chile, because the United States does not interfere in the affairs of other nations. This was from the man who, as the head of a Committee of Forty, gave 500,000 dollars to buy the Chilean Parliament not to elect Allende president, and then when that failed, spent 11 million dollars in the financing of opposition papers and opposition parties in Chile to help bring about the bloody purge which resulted in the death of their elected President.

What is the record of our State Department? In 1956, it extended a warm hand of welcome to the Hungarian refugees and allowed thousands of them to enter the U.S.A. In the early 1950s, the State Department permitted a million Cubans and, more recently, thousands of Vietnamese refugees to come into our country. If anyone wants to come into the United States on the plea of political tyranny from the Left, we receive him with open arms. But let us examine the action of our State Department when it comes to people who are being oppressed by fascist and Right-wing regimes.

After the exposure of the U.S. complicity in the murder of democracy in Chile, we were finally successful with the help of Congressman Harrington (who examined CIA files), and enormous pressure from church groups and other humane organisations, in getting the State Department to

open our doors to 400 Chilean refugees in one year's time.

Two hundred and fifty of them have so far been allowed into the United States.

Despite the fact that thousands of Chilean children living in Peru clamoured for an opportunity to come to the United States, the U.S. embassy's antipathetic position was emphasised when only 10 were given visas.

Later, only 200 additional refugees from Latin America were allowed in, but even those 200 could only come in if the Attorney General of the United States would grant them parole status. A letter in this regard was sent to Kissinger early in 1976, but which he did not sign. Finally, he signed that letter permitting the Attorney General to allow the granting of parole status to these pitiful 200 additional people.

At a meeting between the Attorney General, the State Department and the Immigration Department, the Attorney General Levy said that the letter was not proper and it would take many more months before this matter is cleared up. In the meantime, hundreds of more Chileans will be killed.

The Speaker of the Uruguayan Congress, Gutierrez, requested the right to come to the United States. It was not given. He was killed. His daughter and 29 other refugees were abducted and have since disappeared.

A new problem has been created. There were in 1976, according to all sources, 6,000 to 8,000 political prisoners in Chile. But now, the Pinochet regime has learned new ways of dealing with political opponents. They no longer detain people through arrest, but rather, people just disappear. And since people are not arrested anymore, no one can be charged with murder.

It is ironic that even supporters of the Chilean junta, like Valasco and Janic

Castile in Chile, had to stand outside the hotel during Secretary of the Treasury Simon's visit to Santiago in 1976 and distribute leaflets denouncing the regime of the junta. Both of these politically important people, Right-wing Christian Democrats who supported the Pinochet Regime, were exiled from Chile, so that even Frei, the man who welcomed the junta publicly, had finally to speak out against the regime, denouncing them as murderers.

Blot on U.S. Labour Movement

It is, of course, a terrible blot on the labour movement which I represent that Andrew McClellan, returning from a visit to Chile, said that the unions in Chile now are to his liking, and are struggling for the workers. It is sad that the American labour movement, through its official spokesman, gives aid and comfort to these enemies of freedom in Chile. The American labour leaders denounced the former democratic and genuine trade union movement, and now they hail the junta-established and controlled labour unions that cannot strike, bargain or even act for the membership on the most elementary level.

We here in Chicago, and in particular those of us associated with the University of Chicago, carry a heavy share of guilt for what has been happening to the people of Chile. It is from the Economic Department at that university, personified by Dr. Milton Friedman, that the glib rationalizations have come, rationalizations for the vast suffering of the common people of Chile in these last years.

Students trained by Dr. Friedman have had their hands on the controls in Chile. The professor himself has visited that bloody land to provide high academic blessings to its economic policies.

Dr. Friedman said recently: "In spite of my profound disagreement with the authoritarian political system of Chile, I do not consider it as evil for an economist to undertake technical economic advice to the Chilean government..."

Irony of Friedman Thesis

It is with some irony that I remember the basic Friedman thesis: that only where business is totally free to pursue profit without limitation by government authority can there be real democracy. In Chile, somehow, this logic seems to have been turned upon its head. The big monopolies, the ITT's, the Firestone, the copper companies, the feudal landlords, have all been given total economic freedom. No government bureaucrat stands in the way of their actions. No one seeks to control prices or to regulate any corporate activities. Properties once nationalized in the Allende period

have been sold back to private enterprise. The economies of a free and democratic society in the Friedman model are all there. But the society remains one of bloody and relentless oppression. Freedom for multinational corporations in that land coexists with bloody terror for its people.

And the Friedman formula for fighting inflation has been followed to the letter. For him, as for the U.S. administration here at home, the one cure for inflation is in the reduction of government expenditures and restraint in the money supply.

In Chile, those who follow the School of Economics of people like Friedman have demonstrated how well they have learned and applied such lessons. Government expenditures—save for those needed for the

army, the navy, the air force, and the secret police—have been drastically reduced. The money supply has been cut back. Interest rates have risen astronomically.

All of this, according to the Friedman model, built on the most sophisticated economic thought of the eighteenth century, should have cured Chilean inflation. Stability and balance should have come by way of the free market.

It had a degree of success: In 1975, Chilean prices rose only 340 per cent: In 1974 it had been 376 per cent. The consequence of Friedmanism has been not only continued inflation and depression, but literal starvation of the peoples of Chile.

After the dictatorship in Chile took over with the aid of the CIA, the buying power

of the average Chilean family fell by 50 per cent. It is estimated that less than 40 per cent of Chilean families make even as much as the minimum wage. And it is estimated that under this minimum wage, it will allow food in an amount of only about a thousand calories a day per person. This is about half of the minimum satisfactory level of consumption established by the World Health Organization.

During the years of Allende, infant mortality was sharply reduced. In the first year of administration of the present "freedom loving" junta, infant mortality increased by 18 per cent. In the last year of Allende, unemployment had been 3.1 per cent. Now it is running more than 20 per cent in most of the country.

That free market whose majestic operations serve so harmoniously the welfare of the entire state, according to classical economic theory, has in Chile brought sound gains! Yes, it did help the big property owners. In 1972, under the Popular Unity government, workers received 63 per cent of the total national income. By 1974 their share of national income had been slashed savagely to 38.2 per cent. Property income meanwhile had increased from 37.1 per cent to 62 per cent. To him who hath, much was given. The economic liberties here applied would seem to be the freedom of a wolf pack to kill and destroy all in its path.

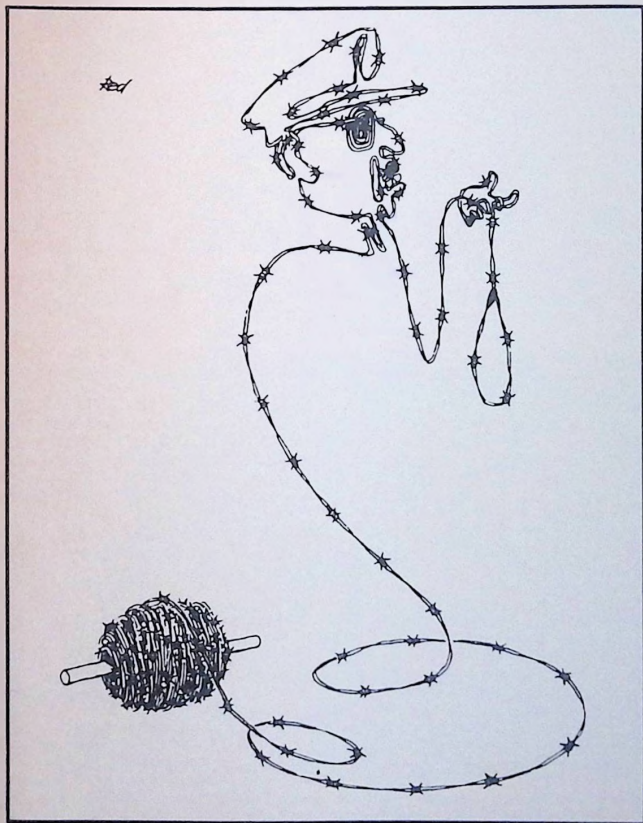
The Secretary of the Treasury, William Simon, visited Chile in 1976. It was the same Simon, of course, who fought against any real assistance to the people of New York in their recent financial crisis. But if Simon found the economic philosophy of New York hateful, what a "friend" he had in Chile. According to the "New York Times" of 17 May 1976, the Secretary warmly congratulated the Pinochet government for bringing "economic freedom" to the Chilean people.

May we not suspect that something of the same kind of "economic freedom" for the most ruthless power of corporate wealth and economic repression for common people represented the domestic goal of Simon and the administration for which he spoke.

It is, as I said to begin with, ironic that the people of Chile somehow do not recognize the "economic freedom" they have won. It is odd that they cannot, with Milton Friedman, rejoice that the economic problem, a merely technical issue, is now being solved by the more enlightened members of the economic profession.

Instead, in blind and irrational responses they resent being thrown into poverty. They lament their loss of collective bargaining rights and jobs. They sorrow at the death of their children. In the regime's concentration camps, they scream at merely physical tortures from these apostles of "economic freedom".

"Friedmans economic model which has produced inflation, depression and starvation coexists with bloody repression in Chile."



Resistance Against Fascism

Volodia Teitelboim

WE KNOW from painful personal experience that fascism is hostile to detente in the international field. All the policies of Pinochet's junta prove that he is not only the enemy of the people and the nation of Chile, but also he is the enemy of peace, security and peaceful coexistence. He has ignored the clear resolutions of the last two General Assemblies of the United Nations on Chile, and also the principles of the nonaligned countries. This is the reason why he has also strongly condemned the Colombo Conference (August, 1976).

The dictator Pinochet bases his power on hatred and hostility like Hitler. He shares the Nazi Fuehrer's geopolitical ideas. On 11 September 1976, Pinochet dictated, at his own initiative, several seditious constitutional acts aimed at institutionalising the fascist state in Chile and legalising crime in a system where no human rights are protected from arbitrariness and tyranny. Pinochet has defined his domestic policies as "internal war", a total war against the Chilean people, to which they do not submit. His international policy is one of war. We are not exaggerating. His golden dream is a third world war, and his followers believe in his delirious dream. They say it themselves. Pinochet's Joint Chief of Staff, General Gustavo Alvarez Aguilera, claims: "We are in a world war. This is the first strategic premise. In this war we are on the side of the Western world, with its ideals of freedom in all fields of human activity. We are opposed to the Eastern world, subjected to Marxist-Leninist totalitarianism."

The Junta declares itself at war and wants to end the capitalist world to do the same. One of the Junta's members, a General of the Air Force, Gustavo Leigh, maintains that "the greatest mistake of the Western world was not to have understood this simple truth. The threatening situation which has overshadowed the capitalist world since the fall of Indochina is a result of the suicidal strategy with which the major world powers naively believe that they can assure peace for humanity."

Real Dangers in Latin America

What do this and other topical events tell us? They show that Latin America is going through a particularly difficult period in its history. The intervention of multinational corporations, the phenomenon of

large-scale militarization, the aggressive intervention by the Pentagon, with the help of puppets like Pinochet and others, are real dangers. Their object is to suppress the movement of national liberation in Latin America, to promote fascist, profascist or extremely reactionary dictatorships, which are ferociously repressive in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Paraguay, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Haiti. They are conspiring for total colonisation of Puerto Rico. They are practising organised and systematic crime in Argentina. They are trying to destabilise the elected governments.

With the help of Pinochet, supported by the Brazilian military and the racist government in South Africa, the enemies of our peoples are trying to extend their control to the South Atlantic with a war pact which would be the extension of NATO.

Imitating the sinister axis of the Second World War, Berlin-Rome-Tokyo, the ambassador of the Chilean fascist Junta in Brazil is proposing the formation of a bloc comprising Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia and Paraguay, to attack other countries. They want to use the dangerous Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Aid to promote military aggressions in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, fomenting the out-of-date anti-Cuban hysteria, which they are now extending to Mexico, Jamaica and Guyana.

Millions of Latin Americans gave their complete approval to the first Stockholm Appeal a quarter of a century ago, and today they are supporting the new Stockholm Appeal with renewed enthusiasm.

We Chileans think about the Chileans in our country, but we also think, suffer and identify ourselves with the cause of all peoples who suffer repression, fascism and war. The drama of Palestine and the Lebanon is ours. We have not forgotten those who died in Iran.

In their search for agreements and the united action of all anti-fascist forces, the Popular Unity of Chile has just compiled a document of fundamental principles, in which the international principles that guided the government of Salvador Allende are set out, and which today the people have adopted as their permanent banner: Respect for the principles of self-determination and of non-intervention; the development of links with the peoples of Latin America and of our brother countries, which are based on peace and respect; the re-

establishment of friendly relations with all nations, certainly with Socialist countries; solidarity with the powerful universal forces of peoples who are working to build peace, and those who are struggling for their national liberation in the so-called developing countries. These are once again the central points of the foreign policy to which the popular Chilean movement aspires.

In Chile, the Junta spends 70 times more dollars on "defence", that is, on repressing the people and preparing for hostilities, than on education.

It is spent on the bloated militarisation which means machine guns instead of bread, concentration camps and torture chambers instead of jobs.

Their policy is one of imprisoning, flogging, assassinating their opponents within or outside the country. Many opponents just "disappear".

Murder of Orlando Letelier

On the same day that the General Assembly of the United Nations, which for two consecutive years had condemned the Junta's crimes and its constant violation of human rights, was inaugurated in New York (September, 1976), the Junta's DINA, in collusion with the CIA, assassinated the eminent Chilean, Orlando Letelier, a week after robbing him of Chilean nationality. He had been Minister of National Defence, Minister of Foreign Relations, and Minister of the Home Office in the Popular Unity Government, as well as Chilean Ambassador to the United States. They killed him by means of a typical gangster method which they used two years ago in Buenos Aires to assassinate a general who was loyal to our country, Carlos Prats.

Orlando Letelier, a socialist militant like Salvador Allende, died like thousands of other Chileans who were loyal to their people, but he died three years after the coup in Chile (September, 1973), far from his country, which means that the crimes continue and are extended beyond the frontiers of Chile.

With respect and emotion, we bow down in front of this great figure, this unforgettable martyr of freedom, Orlando Letelier. He is a new symbol of those who have fallen in the struggle in Chile, in Latin America, in all countries where there is a fight against fascism, reaction, imperialism and the agents of war and death.

Our people are not folding up their banners. Their spirit of resistance is strong, confident as they are of the huge expression of solidarity which crosses five continents.

There is no doubt that the struggle of our people, supported by the immense worldwide solidarity, will succeed and Chile will be a country of freedom and peace in the future.

NEW POLITICAL CLIMATE IN GREECE

Nicos Poulipoulos

RECENT agreements on U.S. military aid to Turkey and Greece, the war imposed on Lebanon with the main aim of destroying the liberation movement of Palestine, the dangerously stagnant Cyprus question, with the Turkish government refusing to comply with the decisions of the United Nations, and the tension in the Turco-Greek relations over the Aegean waters, mirror the new plans and manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism in the hot region of the East Mediterranean and the Middle East. These plans aim to bring about a re-alignment of forces in this region.

The roles which Turkey and Greece are supposed to play in these plans are dif-

ferent, and apparently the role of Greece is secondary in the mind of the U.S.A. The U.S. agreement with Turkey shows clearly that the main factor on which the Pentagon and the White House base their plans is Turkey's blatant Soviet-phobia. The information which appeared in the international and Greek press, according to which NATO has decided to entrust the defence of the Aegean Sea to Turkey, in case of exceptional need, confirms the above view. The disavowal of the above information by unknown but "official" circles in the U.S.A. was meant only to calm Greek reactions. The geographic location, and the politically backward state in which the Turkish

people live, have made Turkey in the eyes of the U.S. State Department a better choice than Greece for the execution of U.S. plans. This is the reason why the Secretary of State Kissinger worked for the establishment of conditions there, which would facilitate U.S. plans. The State Department was interested in having a democratic cover for the West in Turkey. So it helped in the creation of a military state there, with the military staff directing the state of affairs, and a parliamentary government offering the democratic cover. The Pentagon was unable to create such a situation in Greece, as the Greek political leadership resisted complete submission to the U.S.A. We should not underestimate the fact that both George Papandreu and Panayiotis Kanelopoulos, leaders of the Progressive Party and the Conservative Party respectively, supported a national popular line.

There are, certainly, elements among the reactionary circles who have deep roots of servility to autocratic authority. But we believe that neither political nor military leaders and officers will deviate from a correct national line at a critical moment, when national interests and the integrity of the country are in danger.

The forces created by the fighting democratic traditions of the Greek people will stand in the way of any adventurist action. The events which occurred in 1940, during the fascist aggression, are evidence of this spirit of the Greek people. This is the reason why the U.S. secret services, despite their great efforts, succeeded only partially in their plans in Greece with the help of the military junta. Finally, the U.S. imperialists had to retreat in defeat from Greece, with tragic Cyprus as their only award, which I do not believe was their only aim. Anyway, they did not succeed fully, even in this plan, as they failed in their plot to murder Archbishop Makarios.

The overthrow of the Greek junta and the restoration of a parliamentary government have created a new political climate in Greece. The liberalism of the civilian population has widened, and the anti-U.S. feeling goes on parallel with an increased sympathy for the USSR, which did not hurt Greece in any way as the U.S.A. did. The reactionary theory of super-powers, which attempts to equate the USSR with the U.S.A., finds no ground in Greece and the Sonnenfeldt dogma, advanced by the Pentagon to expose the Soviet leadership, failed, because it became clear that it was only an invention of the diplomatic circles of the U.S.A. The USSR, by its constant presence in the Mediterranean, has shown that it is not inclined to accept any imperialistic intervention or action against the independence of the Mediterranean nations and the Middle Eastern nations. The Brezhnev declaration of 30 July 1976



The President of the Greek Anticolonial League, Nicos Poulipoulos, addressing a meeting in Athens for solidarity with Cyprus.



Cypriot women at a meeting in Nicosia demanding the end of Turkish occupation of part of their country.

regarding intervention in Italy, the stress laid by him on the value of peaceful co-existence, and the contribution of the Helsinki Conference agreements to international peace and security, show the constant attachment of the USSR to the Helsinki spirit. The U.S.A., on the contrary, steadily acts against this spirit. Every Greek knows that the establishment of the junta in Greece, and the Turkish invasion of Cyprus are the work of the CIA. Even the recent imperialistic interventions in the Aegean regions, which create an immediate danger for peace in this area, have been planned by the Pentagon. The present United States policy towards Greece helps only to estrange Greek friendship with the people of the U.S.A. Undoubtedly, there is still some U.S. influence in conservative political circles in Greece, but this is only due to the fact that they are afraid that better relations with the USSR might take Greece into the socialist camp, sooner or later.

The Greek people, however, are now conscious of the fact that the defence of the country cannot be solely based on siding with the West. They also realize that relations with the East can offer support to the Greek interests and security.

Problem of Cyprus

The problem of Cyprus is one of the foremost important ones for the U.S.-Greek relations. As long as the U.S. State De-

partment continues its pro-Turkish policy, it will be difficult for the Karamanlis government to align with the U.S.A. totally. Only if the U.S.A. makes it possible for a solution of the Cyprus question to emerge, according to the decision of the UN, it might be possible for a section of the political circles (not the people) in Greece to believe that the U.S.A. has benevolent feelings towards Greece.

The solution of the Cyprus question on this basis, however, is not in their plans. I think that the actual crisis relating to the Aegean question has a different aim. Maybe, the aim of the U.S.A. is to force Makarios and the Greek government to accept the division of Cyprus and the U.S. plans totally, and then offer another solution for the Aegean which will be acceptable to the Greek government. Karamanlis is really in a difficult situation. The programme which he presented before the elections, under the name of "New Democracy", was progressive, including among other things, the legalization of the Communist Party. With the formation of the new government after the elections, Karamanlis started to retreat and began to compromise with the U.S.A. regarding the military bases, and showed even more submission than the Turks in this case. After the withdrawal of Greece from the military section of NATO, the problem of the U.S. military bases could be used profitably for the solution of the Cyprus question, but Karamanlis failed in acting

properly. He also failed in taking a brave and constructive step towards the USSR and limited his activities to exchanging visits with the leaders of the Balkan states. Recent events show that the "waiting attitude" is wrong and leads to more complications. On the contrary, a daring move towards improving relations with the USSR would have a beneficial effect on the solution of the Cyprus question and of other problems as well. An opportunity was given to Greece by the recent reiteration by the USSR regarding the holding of an international conference under UN auspices to find a way for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on the Cyprus question.

The Karamanlis government did not benefit from this proposal of the USSR, and so it lost the chance to make diplomatic advance on two points. It could have pushed forward a solution for the Cyprus question and avoided the Aegean crisis. This would have made the State Department think things over; it also would have given the opportunity to those European nations, inspired by pro-Greek feelings, to recognise and support the just stand of Greece on the Cyprus question.

A move to better relations with the USSR would not be an obstacle for our entering the European Common Market. On the contrary, this would help in solving the question of our participation in it. The European Common Market can be the centre of a movement for Western Europe's independence from the United States' political and economic tutelage.

Relations with USSR

A diplomatic approach to the USSR does not mean that we would join the Eastern camp; neither does the USSR demand it. There is at the moment an identification of interests between the USSR and Greece regarding the Mediterranean problems. Soviet policy favours the strengthening of peace in this area, which is in agreement with the European interests as well. The question is, will Karamanlis dare to make a change in his foreign policy to improve relations with the USSR? And if he will, is there any danger that he will be overthrown? Such a danger does not exist at this moment, because Karamanlis being a rightist cannot be accused of bringing Greece into the Soviet bloc.

If the Karamanlis government goes on following the policy of retreating and compromising, it will reach a deadlock, and then, the danger of being overthrown will be immediate. As it has happened many times in the past, the reactionary Right will be summoned by our foreign "friends" to govern Greece. But the Greek people will resist any such move in a determined way.

Cyprus is Not, and will Not be Alone

Evgenia Kiranova

THE IMPERIALIST conspiracy against Cyprus to destroy its independence and integrity, partition it and turn it into a NATO base, has aroused great indignation and protest all over the world. The enemies of Cyprus who had thought that the world would forget the tragedy of this small island and ultimately accept its partition as a fait accompli have been mistaken.

That did not happen and will not happen. The peoples of the world have condemned the imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus, which reached its extreme form with the coup d'etat organised by the Greek fascist Junta on 15 July 1974 and the almost consecutive invasion of the Turkish army on 20 July 1974. As a result of these manoeuvres, the 40 per cent of the territory of the island was occupied by the Turkish forces, including 70 per cent of the resources of the country, and more than 200,000 people were uprooted from their homes and turned into refugees. Foreign intervention and military operations caused wide-scale destruction and death.

The seriousness of the situation and the danger that a sovereign state and a member of the UN might even cease to exist, with all its consequences for the peace and security in the region and the world, has been fully considered by the United Nations Organisation. The UN resolutions on Cyprus have clearly and repeatedly demanded respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, withdrawal of all Turkish troops, and return of the refugees to their homes in safety.

There has been, however, no sign or wish on the part of the aggressors to respect the UN resolutions. The situation continues to be tragic for the Cypriot people and fraught with serious consequences for the peace and security of the region, and the very existence of Cyprus itself.

The necessity to unite all peace forces and all those international and national organisations, which had already been engaged in various activities of solidarity with and support for Cyprus, as well as to involve new forces in these struggles,

became obvious as the conspiracy against Cyprus continued and new plans were hatched to destroy its independence and territorial integrity.

An International Committee of Solidarity with Cyprus thus came into being in accordance with the decisions taken by the International Conference of Solidarity with Cyprus, held in Nicosia on 19 July 1975. Earlier, a similar conference held in London on 10 May 1975 had also discussed this matter.

National organisations and some of the already existing national solidarity committees with Cyprus in over 50 countries, as well as over 30 international organisations, joined the International Committee of Solidarity with Cyprus.

The aim of this International Committee is to mobilise public action all over the world for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus. A detailed programme of action has been elaborated, on the basis of which the international solidarity movement for Cyprus began acting with ever greater vigour.

International Solidarity with Cyprus

The International Committee of Solidarity with Cyprus is open to all national and international organisations which are ready to join the struggle for the implementation of the UN resolutions in the struggle to defend the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, to help in the solution of the humanitarian problems relating to the refugees and the missing people, a terrible tragedy for the whole population of the island.

The appeal of the International Committee to all countries, to form national committees in support of Cyprus and for the mobilisation of public opinion for the implementation of the UN resolutions, has had a good response. Now there are National Committees of Solidarity with Cyprus in many countries in all the continents, including Great Britain, Sweden, Federal

Republic of Germany, France, Denmark, Panama, Mexico, U.S.A., Australia, Finland, etc. The consecutive meetings of the International Committee have marked the growth in the number of peace organisations standing side by side with the Cyprus Republic, as also the increasing number and variety of the actions undertaken for the implementation of UN resolutions without further delay.

The world peace movement has launched a world-wide campaign under the slogans: "Implement the UN Resolutions on Cyprus Now!" and "Save the Cyprus Republic!"

Foreign governments and Ministries have been approached and requested to use all their influence for the implementation of the UN resolutions. Several letters have also been sent to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary General, and to the UN Security Council, in support of the UN resolutions on Cyprus, and calling for action to get them implemented.

Messages to the President of the Republic of Cyprus have expressed solidarity with, and full support for the just cause of Cyprus and for the Cypriot people's fight to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of their country.

Frankfurt Solidarity Conference

The strongest expression of the growing support of the world public opinion for Cyprus, and the growing understanding that the Cyprus problem is one of the most important international issues of the moment and closely linked with the problem of world security and peace, was the World Conference of Solidarity with Cyprus, and for the Implementation of UN Resolutions on Cyprus, held in Frankfurt/Main from the 29th to the 31st of October, 1976.

Among the participants in the Frankfurt Conference were over 400 delegates from 45 countries in all continents and representatives of 15 international organisations. They included representatives of Socialist, Radical, Communist, Liberal, Centre, Agrarian and other political parties, leaders of trade unions and mass organisations, high level representatives of different churches and religious circles, world famous scientists, writers, lawyers, journalists. A big number of deputies belonging to parliaments in different European countries also attended the Conference.

The participation of an official Parliamentary delegation from Greece, including representatives of all political parties in the Greek Parliament, had its own significance. Many international organisations were represented by their high level officials. In the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany were included the representatives of 23 democratic organisations. A large Turkish delegation, expressing the views of the Turkish democratic

and peace-loving forces, joined its voice in the defence of the rights of the Cypriot people to live in peace, and of the territorial integrity of the independent, sovereign state of Cyprus.

The convening of this conference had become an urgent necessity as the situation in Cyprus was continuing to be grim and threatening the peace in the very sensitive area of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Frankfurt Conference noted with grave concern and anxiety that the UN resolutions had not only not been implemented, but they were continuing to be flagrantly violated, which was aggravating still more the situation.

The component elements of the Cyprus tragedy are the continuing occupation of 40 per cent of Cyprus territory by the Turkish troops, the 200,000 refugees who, despite repeated UN demands, are not allowed to return to their homes, and the unknown fate of thousands of missing persons and undeclared prisoners of war. Further, the number of displaced people is increasing due to the continuing expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the Turkish occupied areas. In their place, people from Turkey are being brought to Cyprus as settlers, for colonising the Turkish-held region and changing the demographic composition of the island.

Flouting of Helsinki Principles

The Frankfurt Conference on Cyprus, expressing its anxiety over the fact that the UN resolutions had not yet been implemented, stressed once again the close

interrelation between the struggle for an independent sovereign, nonaligned Cyprus and the struggle for the peace and security in this region and the world. It is closely linked with the problem of safeguarding peace and security in Europe and the fruitful development of cooperation among the European states. The Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe reflected the positive changes since the end of the Second World War. It unanimously adopted the Final Act, establishing the main principles on which European countries should base and develop their relations in the interest of peace, security and cooperation. Well, in the case of Cyprus, all the commonly agreed upon principles in Helsinki have been flagrantly violated. To mention them concretely, they are the following: sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty, refraining from the threat or use of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international laws.

The Cyprus problem today is a seat of tension which is endangering peace in the sensitive area of the Eastern Mediterranean and Europe, where lasting peace could only be based on securing the rights of every single state, however small it is. That is why the people of Cyprus struggle not only for their legitimate rights, but also for the validity and the implementation of the principles adopted by the Helsinki Conference on European security.

Obvious also is the connection between the solution of the Cyprus problem and the success of the struggle for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. If, instead of being a friendly nonaligned state, Cyprus is to be turned into a NATO military base against the Arab peoples, it will aggravate the situation of the region and make the solution of the problem more difficult.

Impact on Middle East Situation

The fact that the biggest percentage of the increased military expenditure on a world scale is concentrated in the Middle East region and the Mediterranean, ties up the problem of safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus with the general problem of disarmament. The Cypriot people view the permanent solution of the problems of their island in its full demilitarisation through the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the liquidation of the British military bases and the acquisition of secure international guarantees for the independent, nonaligned state of Cyprus. This would turn Cyprus, as desired by its people and many times expressed by its President, into a bridge of peace in the crossroads of three continents.

In its Declaration, the World Conference of Solidarity with Cyprus and for the Implementation of the UN Resolutions on Cyprus said: "The Cyprus crisis is not the result of internal conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, but of the imperialist strategic plan to partition the island, destroy its independence and bring it into the network of military bases aimed against the peoples of the area."

The Declaration called on all peace forces to intensify their efforts to promote all measures for furthering the implementation of the UN resolutions on Cyprus.

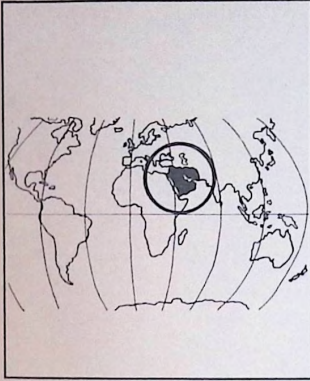
In a message to the United Nations, the Conference appealed to the General Assembly, and all member-states of the UN who value peace and independence, to make every effort to enforce the implementation of the UN resolutions on Cyprus, and to take steps for the convening of an International Conference on Cyprus under UN auspices, as proposed by the Soviet Union and accepted by the government of Cyprus.

During the World Conference of Solidarity with Cyprus in Frankfurt, a young Turkish-Cypriot said a few simple words: "Cyprus belongs to us Cypriots, Turks and Greeks."

There was everything in these words—the truth, the feelings, the aspirations of the Cypriots, the desire of a people, united over the centuries by a common destiny—to live together in peace and equality, without foreign interference and without the presence of foreign troops and foreign military bases.



The President of the FRG Committee of Solidarity with Cyprus, Josef Weber, greeting the WPC Secretary General, Romesh Chandra, at the World Conference of Solidarity with Cyprus, and for the Implementation of the UN resolutions on Cyprus, in Frankfurt/Main on 29 October 1976.



EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Foreign Intervention in Lebanon Must End

Farouk Maassarany

LEBANON has been the battlefield of one of the most cruel and murderous civil wars for a year and a half now. About 50,000 persons have lost their lives, besides those maimed and badly injured. Hundreds of thousands of Lebanese have had to leave their homes and take refuge somewhere else, usually abroad. Several hundreds of thousands of workers from other Arab countries who worked in Lebanon to earn their living have also left. The devastation and destruction is estimated at tens of thousands of dollars, and the administration has collapsed. Public services are practically at a standstill. The full magnitude of the problem can be realised by remembering that Lebanon has a population of about 4 million, 600,000 of whom are Palestinian refugees, occupying an area of scarcely 10,000 square kilometres.

What has brought this about? A lot has been written and said about the causes of the situation in Lebanon. But as the truth has been subjected to so many distortions, and as these partial versions are sometimes accepted as the truth, it is more than ever necessary to dwell in brief on these events and their development.

Before the beginning of the civil war, there was intense political activity in Lebanon. This became possible in this Middle Eastern country especially because of the democratic freedoms prevalent there, and which were themselves the fruits of a long struggle and constant vigilance.

The apparent prosperity of the country served to hide an acute multiform crisis, this prosperity being the prerogative of the few. They benefited from the barbarous capitalist regime in force and the decaying and anachronistic structures and institutions left behind by the semicolonialist domination of the French mandate. These institutions were, in fact, founded on the introduction of religion into all the realms

of the life of Lebanese society, whether it was a question of executive power, legislative or judicial, of the army or education, the enrolling of officials or legislation pertaining to social life, and the standing of a family. Every aspect of life was covered. Most of those who were favoured with privileges by the colonialist regime were from amongst the Maronite community, and naturally enough from this community's most ardent defenders. But other traditional politicians of differing views and faith also wanted some sort of foothold in the structures of power. Certain of these politicians asked for a new way of cutting the cake, but always on the same religious basis.

Unity of Popular Masses

The popular masses, irrespective of their religious belief, seeking to put an end to these privileges from another age, were led by a large grouping of progressive parties and patriotic forces. They all rallied around a common political platform aimed principally at setting up modern lay institutions for the country, following the example of parliamentary liberal regimes of a Western type. There was nothing more than this.

The actions of the Christian and Muslim masses, once they joined together, successfully developed within the framework of democratic freedoms. It is worth stressing that the problem before these united Christian and Muslim masses was to conduct a common struggle against an enemy enjoying the support of internal and external reaction, and mainly of the conservative and obscurantist Saudi Arabian leaders.

The most reactionary Lebanese forces were put on the defensive. All they could do was to yield more and more ground.

The greater part of the Palestinian population, which had been expelled from their

homeland in 1948, came to live in our country. The Palestinian Resistance Movement, which rallied all the population, had its active forces in our country since the massacre of the Palestinians during the Black September of 1970 in Jordan. But this time, the Palestinian Resistance was closely linked with the progressive and patriotic forces of the host country, Lebanon. The Israeli military incursions did not distinguish between the Lebanese and the Palestinians; these incursions took place unhindered because of the negligent attitude of the authorities towards their responsibilities regarding the country's defence. These incursions, however, and their disastrous consequences only served to strengthen the ranks of the brother peoples of Palestine and Lebanon.

Counterattack by Imperialism

Such was the situation on the eve of the civil war. This situation arose in the context of a Middle East fabulously rich in oil and other resources, where U.S. imperialism was intensifying its efforts to recover and strengthen its positions. The imperialist policy activated by Secretary of State Kissinger aimed at dividing the Arab peoples, cutting them off from their proven friends, wiping out the Arab liberation movement and setting Arab against Arab. All this was done by exploiting rightist tendencies which were building up in some so-called progressive Arab countries, while counting on the support of Israel and conservative Arab regimes. These latter regimes involved themselves more and more in this collaboration, as they were frightened of the Arab masses being radicalised by the influence wielded over them by the popular struggle which was going on in Lebanon, a country which had become, because of the democratic liberties, a microcosm of the Arab world and a battlefield of all those trends and contradictions. Finally, to complete the picture, let us mention the evident interest of the Israeli expansionists to do their best to establish a Pax Americana in the area, so as to maintain their hold over the occupied Arab territories and to block the way to the recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Thus the main obstacle to the realisation of these objectives was nothing else but the Palestinian Resistance Movement itself, which was closely linked with the national movement of the progressive parties and patriotic forces of Lebanon.

The field chosen for the removal of this obstacle could be Lebanon. The fascist and reactionary forces were given the green light to use weapons to liquidate their opponents, weapons which the "Holy Alliance" of U.S. imperialists, Israeli expansionists and Arab reaction was providing,

and had done so for many years, to these reactionary forces.

Syrian Military Intervention

It was at this precise moment (April-May, 1976) that the Syrian military started its intervention in Lebanon. Its promoters "justified" it by saying that it was to stop the bloodshed, save the territorial integrity of Lebanon and prevent its partition, to protect the Resistance and the Palestinian people, and to resolve the Lebanese conflict peacefully by dialogue between the parties to the conflict.

However, instead of putting an end to the bloodshed, this intervention, which was limited to the invasion of territories controlled by the National Movement, itself directly produced new Lebanese victims from among the Lebanese population in Beirut as well as in Tripoli, in Saïda and Bekaa. The same intervention was accompanied by the strengthening of the military might of the rightist forces, allowing them to commit new massacres of the population in the progressive sectors in the Maronite ghetto. Many Syrian soldiers lost their lives as they came up against the tough resis-

tance of the National Movement to this intervention.

Far from preserving the territorial integrity of the Lebanon, a large part of the southern region of the country fell under the absolute and permanent control of the Israeli soldiery, because of this Syrian intervention.

Far from preventing the partition of Lebanon, the possibility of partition was, on the contrary, reinforced and deepened.

Far from protecting the Resistance and the Palestinian people, the Syrian armed forces went on to bomb the camps of the Palestinian refugees, killing thousands of Palestinians.

Finally, far from finding a solution to the crisis by negotiation, the negotiations which were started on the eve of the intervention were interrupted.

The impasse persists.

In fact, the Syrian intervention is only one aspect of the competition which is taking place among rightist Arab leaders, in becoming the principal Arab partners in the United States conspiracy in the Middle East.

All this is a part of a deliberate policy whose aim is to put down the Palestinian

Resistance and its ally, the National Movement of Lebanon, as a prelude to a "solution" to the Middle East conflict. Such a "solution" could lead to the creation of a confederation among Syria, Jordan, a part of the West Bank, and Lebanon, unified or divided, under Syrian hegemony. All this would take place, naturally, according to the plans of the U.S. imperialists, Israeli expansionists and Arab reactionary leaders, to the detriment of the Palestinian Arab people, their national rights and the democratic aspirations of the Lebanese popular masses. It is so self-evident that there is no need to elaborate.

Imperialist Conspiracy

The patriotic forces of Lebanon, of course, have rejected this global conspiracy. The Israeli sea blockade of Lebanon, reinforced by a Syrian land blockade, had made the living conditions of the population in the areas under the control of the National Movement still more difficult. But these measures cannot intimidate us. They can only strengthen the fighting spirit of our people and increase our people's determination. The Syrian people, on their part, would never accept the negation of their old traditions of anti-imperialist struggle. The Arab masses also will stand more and more on our side to defeat this conspiracy.

Need for a Lebanese Solution

In spite of our determination to meet the challenge of arms, and to defend ourselves in this fight which has been thrust upon us, the National Movement will give its full support to President Elias Sarkis, who has just come to power, to find a solution to the crisis and one which the Lebanese will put into effect.

We realise at the same time the dangers which the continuation of the fighting and the Lebanese crisis could mean for the peace in the Middle East and in the world. And this is not just of concern to us. It also concerns all the forces interested in safeguarding peace and supporting the cause of national independence of peoples.

The conspiracy must be exposed and foiled.

The indispensable condition for starting to solve the problem lies in the immediate withdrawal of Syrian forces.

International public opinion must be immediately mobilised towards these ends and to stop the foreign intervention in Lebanon. Only then will it be possible to stop the bloodshed and to go forward towards consolidating the unity of our country, establishing its national independence and safeguarding its territorial integrity, and preserve effectively the movement of the Palestinian people for having their sovereign state.

Conspiracy Against Lebanon and PLO

The International Conference on the Conspiracy against the Lebanese and Palestinian Peoples at its meeting in Helsinki (September, 1976) appealed to all Arab patriotic forces to unite in the face of the imperialist, Zionist and Arab reactionary conspiracy, to defend the Patriotic and Progressive Movement in the Lebanon and the Palestinian Revolution under the leadership of the PLO.

In a Declaration adopted by representatives of 56 countries and 14 international organisations, the Conference said that the unity of the Arab patriotic forces would contribute to defeating the U.S. imperialist conspiracies not only in Lebanon, but the whole Middle East.

In a reference to Syria's intervention in the Lebanon, the Declaration said: "This military intervention on the side of the right-wing forces has escalated the tension, increased the danger of the country's partition, made more difficult the attainment of a democratic solution of the crisis and further disrupted anti-imperialist Arab unity."

The International Conference suggested the following steps for solving the crisis in Lebanon:

- Immediate cessation of all military actions by Syria and withdrawal of all its troops from Lebanon.

- Immediate end to the Israeli naval blockade, the cessation of all piratical actions by the Israeli ruling circles in Lebanese territorial waters, and an end to all forms of Israeli military intervention in Lebanon.

- Solution of internal Lebanese problems by the Lebanese themselves without any foreign interference, on a democratic basis and by peaceful means, with the full participation of the Lebanese Patriotic and Progressive Movement, the only representative of the patriotic forces in the country.

- Implementation of the 1969 Cairo Agreements, concluded between the Lebanese authorities and the PLO, which define the relationship between the Lebanon and the PLO and guarantee in all circumstances the right of the Palestinian Revolution to struggle for restoring the national rights of the Palestinian people.

Imperialist Conspiracy to Partition Lebanon

Tellervo Koivisto

IN the Middle East, which is politically, economically and militarily one of the most important areas of the world, both political and military tension is seriously being aggravated. It doubtless constitutes the most imminent threat to durable world peace. In spite of the efforts made by the world peace forces, no international agreements to end these tensions have yet been possible to achieve, through which all difficult questions could be solved in a way that satisfies all parties.

The approach of certain powers to the solution of the Middle East crisis, up to now, has rested on a completely erroneous basis. It has not met the requirements which can lead to satisfactory agreements acceptable to the people concerned.

The solution which is sought to be imposed by these powers on the Middle East region is not related to reality. Their intention has been to impose an imperialist solution which is not based on respect for the interests of all the nations in the region affected by the crisis; they do not respect world public opinion, nor the political balance of forces that has been clearly reflected in the contents of the resolutions adopted by the UN on the Middle East crisis.

Danger of Separate Agreements

Agreements that have such starting points naturally cannot be successful. A clear-cut example of such agreements is the Sinai disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel, which is based on the concept of separate agreements, created by the United States for its Middle East policies. Its errors were serious. It was concluded in the framework of inadequate international control; it ignored completely the Geneva Conference on the Middle East, which is still expected to be reconvened; it excluded the Soviet Union, which like the

U.S.A. is an important party to the Geneva Conference.

In the light of today's situation, one would be justified in saying that acts like the Sinai agreement increase the threat of a larger war in the region, destroy the existing possibilities towards unity, cause great human suffering to the population of the region, and distort all chances of necessary social and economic development.

The internal war, which has been going on in the Lebanon for more than a year and a half now, is a consequence of the policy to acquire unilateral benefits, on which the Sinai disengagement agreement very clearly was based. The Lebanon became a seat of war as the imperialist forces, whose interests Israel is defending in the Middle East, considered it necessary, together with the reactionary elements in the Arab world, to interrupt the consolidation of democratic developments in the Middle East. These forces also wished to distort the unity of the front which was created against the Israeli aggression, and to draw the attention and resources of the Arabs away from the liberation struggle for regaining of Arab territories now under Israeli occupation. One of their intentions was undoubtedly to give a blow to the ever strengthening Palestinian liberation movement.

The change which has taken place in the world balance of forces, more and more in favour of socialism, had given rise to a remarkable anti-imperialist movement in the Middle East, a movement which was directed against both the feudal and capitalist repression and exploitation. This was evident, for example, in the reforms put into practice in Syria and Iraq in the sphere of industry and agriculture, and the emergence of progressive regimes in various countries. These concrete expressions of an anti-capitalist development had

a beneficial effect on the anti-imperialist popular movement. This popular movement wanted the Lebanon to be a part of the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the Arabs. On the other hand, the Lebanon, through its ruling circles, has been very strongly linked with international capitalism. The contradictory factors in this most serious crisis have existed for a long time, and the solution proposed by the rightist forces was to ignite an internal war. The creation of the present situation is in full harmony with the long-term plans of imperialism: to disperse the progressive Arab forces and, after that, to get a complete hold on the Middle East region with its rich sources of oil and its strategic position in the world.

Imperialist Conspiracy Against PLO

From these facts it is quite clear why it is the Lebanon which has become the seat of sanguinary battles. A noteworthy additional factor is that the Palestine Liberation Organisation and its activities are centred in the Lebanon. The PLO and other progressive circles in the Arab world had condemned the disengagement agreement of Sinai, which served the interests of international imperialism, Israel and the reactionary forces in the Arab world. The growing support and authority of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people had found many expressions: in the results of the local elections in the Israeli-occupied West Bank regions, in the UN resolutions on Palestine, and in the growing sympathy given by the world public opinion to the rights of the Palestinians.

The forces of imperialism decided to strike and eliminate the PLO by denying it all opportunity for action in the Lebanon, as it was done previously in Jordan.

In spite of the gravity of the present situation, one may be justified, considering the background of the positive developments elsewhere in the world, in being hopeful as to the Middle East issue. On the basis of the defeats imperialism has suffered and which it is facing, it will not be an exaggeration to say that today it is increasingly impossible to imagine such a pseudo-peace to be lasting. It cannot last as it safeguards the interests of the imperialists, ignores the rights of all parties concerned, rejects the growing will of the peoples to liberate themselves from imperialism, and does not take notice of the changes which have taken place in the political relationship of forces.

Still, we must not close our eyes to the special difficulties in the struggle in the Middle East.

Solidarity with PLO

The Palestinian people have been mercilessly scattered. They do not have at their disposal the same natural preconditions for

a unified action as the other peoples have in their fight for liberation, like their own homeland and living together.

The Middle East is both politically, economically and militarily one of the most important regions in the world, and this fact, together with the defeats imperialism has been suffering elsewhere in the world, pushes imperialism to make dangerous moves to control the region.

Public opinion in the Western world has to overcome an extraordinarily strong opposition when taking a correct and balanced view of the Middle East situation, as political Zionism and the Jewish religion have deliberately affected the minds of peoples.

To know and recognise these special difficulties does not constitute a barrier in the path of the world peace forces, but they help us to bring into correlation the intensity, scope and timing of their activities.

We know that the contribution made by the peace forces in the Middle East itself for a just peace in the region is the key to the final victory. That is why the continuing struggle of the PLO and other progressive forces in the Arab world and the intensification of this struggle are of utmost importance.

Within the world peace forces, growing acceptance for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people is a matter of great satisfaction. The most clear-cut example of it is the development which has taken place in the UN regarding the Palestinian question.

Palestine Question in UN

In the history of the UN, the world organisation has at no stage negated the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians. However, since 1947 when the Palestinian question was discussed for the first time in the UN, a change has taken place in the world relationship of forces in favour of the peace forces, which has been to the disadvantage of imperialism. It has found its echo also in the internal relations within the UN, and so also in the manner in which the Palestinian question is treated in that world body. A remarkable turning-point took place in regard to the Palestinian issue in the UN at its 29th General Assembly in 1974. At the initiative of the socialist and nonaligned countries, the Palestinian question was then included as a separate issue on the agenda of the UN. For the first time, the matter was dealt with on the basis of the national rights, and for the first time also, in the presence of the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people.

Now, the Palestinian question is no more treated as a refugee problem only; it has taken its proper dimensions. As to the results of the 29th General Assembly, it was

significant that the resolutions stressed that the Palestinian people had the right to determine their own destiny without foreign interference and that they had the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine. Simultaneously, the PLO was granted the status of a permanent observer, and thus the PLO was recognised as the sole legitimate representative of its people.

In spite of the positive developments, one has to ask a question: What are the means at the disposal of the UN to prevent the continuous flouting and nullification of its resolutions, typified by Israel's attitude vis-a-vis these resolutions? It is clear that without outside support, Israel would have no possibilities to take such an attitude. That is why the peace forces, while supporting the UN resolutions and its activities in all possible ways, anticipate that the UN would intensify its activities for the implementation of its resolutions. It becomes ever more evident that one of the questions of greatest concern as to the UN's existence has become the Palestinian question.

The UN has never in the course of its history condemned the acts of any state as strongly and for so many times as it has done in the case of Israel's acts against Palestine and other Arab countries. That is why it must be more and more in the interests of the UN to establish a just and durable peace in the Middle East, recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people.

As to Finland, I may state that the Finnish Palestinian Society has been working for two years, in cooperation with the Finnish Peace Committee and the Committee of Solidarity with Arab Peoples. Up till now, this society of solidarity, through the organizational structures of the Finnish Peace Committee, has been acting, in the first place, to support the cause of the Palestinians. The solidarity activities with the Palestinian people have now taken a similar place to those relating to the liberation struggles of the Chilean, Vietnamese and African peoples.

In the public mass media we have been able to bring about a change—although it is inadequate—about the situation in the Middle East. Instead of the previously one-sided pro-Israel information, the press now gives also information carrying facts on the real background of the Middle East problem and also about the Palestinian issue. At the moment, the Finnish public opinion is more open for acceptance of correct information about the Middle East issue than ever before. The interest in the cause of the Palestinians has been growing in such a way that the Finnish Palestinian Society now has to reorganize its structure in order to respond to the growing numbers of people who want to join the society. The demands of the Finnish Palestinian Society at the moment are:

- Israel must withdraw from the occupied Arab territories;
- the Palestinians have the right to national self-determination within the boundaries of their own state;
- the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians;
- the struggle of the Palestinian people for their sovereignty constitutes a part of the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

Reconvening Geneva Conference

The Finnish Palestinian Society in its activities and public contacts has been underlining that the only right procedure, in order to achieve a lasting peace, is to reconvene the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. This is the only procedure to guarantee that the peace agreement will include all the problems, all sides, so that all parties in the Middle East crisis get their rights guaranteed.

The development that has taken place in regard to the international role of the PLO would ensure that the UN Security Council resolution of 1967, which serves as a basis of the Geneva Peace Talks, is expanded in such a way that among the negotiating parties the PLO finds its rightful place. The development within the UN in the 1970s regarding the Palestinian question offers a new basis for solving the Middle East problem through the resumption of the Geneva talks and ensuring PLO's participation in them. Anyway, it is clear that separate agreements at any level will only produce a "solution" whereby the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people within their own boundaries would be put aside. And that is why such moves must be denounced, as they do not bring about any lasting peace.

One has to note with satisfaction the official Finnish foreign political line about the Palestinian question. The official representatives of Finland have, in the UN and other international organizations, taken the stand that the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people must be guaranteed and that the PLO must be recognized as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; that Israel must withdraw from the territories it has occupied since 1967.

At this moment one of the most urgent issues before the world peace forces, the international solidarity movement and the world public opinion, must be the consolidation of their activities, so that the joint attempts of the reactionary forces in the Arab world, of Israel and international imperialism to divide the state of Lebanon, to destroy the progressive Arab forces and the Palestinian resistance, can be prevented from succeeding.



South Africa's Illegal Occupation of Namibia

Hermann Klenner

NAMIBIA, a rich country as big as France, Belgium and the Federal Republic of Germany put together, is continuing to be subjected to exploitation and oppression by foreign colonial capitalists. The African inhabitants of Namibia, outnumbering the Whites of the country by seven to one, live under the double dictatorship of the Whites in their own country and of the apartheid regime in the Republic of South Africa.

The inhabitants of South West Africa, as Namibia was called until 1968, have suffered over ninety years of foreign colonial rule. The German imperialists occupied the territory from 1884 to 1915. They killed over three-quarters of the Namibian people and took their land and cattle. From 1915 the South African White upper class made themselves at home there, at first illegally, and then from 1920 under a League of Nations' decision to confer the mandate over South West Africa as "a sacred trust of civilisation... upon His Britannic Majesty, to be exercised on his behalf by the Union of South Africa".

In other words, the mandate was nothing more than "legalized" colonialism. For twenty long years (1946-1966), the United Nations appealed to South Africa in vain to fulfill its mandatory obligations. Then the General Assembly terminated the League of Nations' mandate on 12 June 1968 and proclaimed itself responsible for the territory which it officially called "Namibia" at the desire of the people in that country.

Today, an obviously illegal situation has arisen. Nothing has changed in South Africa's occupation of Namibia.

The first General Assembly (1946) unequivocally rejected South Africa's application to be allowed to integrate South West Africa into its own state territory. But South Africa has pursued a policy of de facto and de jure integration: a South African administrator rules Namibia, its

European inhabitants elect a Legislative Assembly which sends representatives to the South African parliament and senate. In 1969 Namibia was also economically integrated into South Africa and is now ruled economically, politically and ideologically from Pretoria.

Apartheid in Namibia

The "apartheid" policy pursued by the White minority in South Africa has also been exported to South West Africa. Apartheid is open racial discrimination against all non-Whites. Apartheid, says the Special Convention set out for ratification by the United Nations in 1973 against the votes of the U.S.A., Great Britain, Portugal and South Africa, is a crime against humanity and endangers peace. In Namibia it is applied in all its brutality.

Since the last century, Namibia has been divided into two parts by what is called a "Red Line". To the north of this line lives over half the total population in African reserves. The area to the south is called the "Police Zone" and covers two-thirds of the country. It is here that the most fertile land, the mineral resources, the ports, roads and urbanised areas are situated, and where only Whites are allowed to settle permanently. Nevertheless, even within the Zone, the Whites are by far outnumbered by the African workers necessary to operate the farms, mines and industries. These Africans, with few exceptions, are required to live in segregated villages or compounds which must be separated from the white settlements by a buffer strip of 500 yards, and are allowed to live there only if in possession of a labour permit. Thus, the whole African population of Windhoek, the capital, was forced to shift into a ghetto four miles from the city which is called "Katutura" in the Herero lan-

guage, meaning "we have no place of our own".

Marriage between Whites and Africans is forbidden. Sexual relations between them may be punished by up to five years imprisonment. Fines and jails are held in store for anyone "who utters any words or does any other act or thing whatever with intent to promote any feeling of hostility between Natives and Europeans". Needless to say, no White has ever been charged and sentenced under this law.

A complicated pass system controls the movement of all Africans in their own country. Non-Whites need a permit to enter the Police Zone either from their northern reserves or elsewhere (generally only males who have been recruited for work receive such permits). Within the Police Zone, non-Whites need a permit or pass if they wish to travel within the Zone, buy a railway ticket, go beyond the borders of the reserve, farm or settlement in which they live or work, remain in a reserve to which they have not been allotted for more than 48 hours, remain for longer than 72 hours in a part of the city where they were not born or do not live permanently.

Within the "proclaimed" areas, which include all principal urban areas of Namibia, Africans must show one of the following: a permit showing the existence of a contract of employment; or a permit to seek work (usually valid for seven days); or a visitor's permit, for which a fee must be paid and which is valid for 14 days or less; or a licence to work as a casual labourer or as an independent contractor for which an African must pay a fee and carry a badge.

Even when equipped with the necessary passes or permits, Africans in the urban areas may be arrested without a warrant if adjudged "idle or disorderly persons", if found to be habitually unemployed, habitually absent from work or leading a "dis-

salute" life. He can then be brought before a magistrate who calls upon him to give a "satisfactory" account of himself.

One should add that the forefathers of the German minority in Namibia, today some 20,000 people, were the Kaiser's colonisers and are the most reactionary of the "master race" living there. The main street in Windhoek is still named after the German Kaiser and another is called after the father of a leading Nazi, Goering. According to a UN document, their first loyalty is still to the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm II, and their second loyalty to Hitler Germany!

Whites Dominate Namibia's Economy

All commodity production (mining, fishing and agriculture) are in the hands of the Whites. The Africans in the northern reserves, where water is scarce, are not allowed to sell their agricultural products outside of their reserves and mineral resources do not exist there.

Black workers working for the White Namibian capitalists produce something like half the world's karakul pelts. Some 28 million dollars profit is made annually by exporting them, mainly to the FRG, Italy, France and the U.S.A. where they are turned into Persian coats.

Namibia is the second largest supplier, after South Africa, of another valuable product, gem diamonds. In addition, Namibia has a great variety of mineral deposits including copper, uranium, lead, tin, vanadium and petroleum. A thriving pilchard (sardine) and lobster industry has developed along the otherwise inhospitable coast. Namibia's three largest mines are owned by South African businessmen and U.S. multinationals; in 1971 they gave a profit of some 60 million dollars.

The role of the Africans in this capitalist economic system is that of exploited workers, but their living conditions are similar to that of slaves. They are permitted to go out of their reserves only if they have work, and then they must live separated from their families. They are not allowed to change their place of work and in their non-working hours they are forced to stay in their compounds. They must carry a "mark of engagement" bracelet on their wrists; they are sent back to the reserve after the labour contract has expired.

Under the contract system, a worker is not allowed to change his job or negotiate for better conditions. This is a "naked form of capitalist exploitation".

All male Africans over 18 living on a White farmer's land must be employed by him. An African who is found on a "White" territory without permission can be allotted to the employer there as a labourer.

Strikes by Africans are absolutely forbidden. Nevertheless, from December, 1971 to

January, 1972 an unprecedented strikewave spread through twenty centres, covering almost half the total labour force in the Police Zone. The mining industry and the public service in Windhoek were paralysed. The strike achieved only one result: it is now easier, in theory, for workers to change jobs. The basic wage for Africans lies between 6 and 11 rand (8 to 15 U.S. dollars) monthly (miners of European origin earn over 200 rand).

According to the Master and Servants Proclamation of 1920 an African worker can receive up to three months' jail if he does not come to work or does his work carelessly or improperly, or if he uses abusive language to his master, his master's wife, or any person placed in authority above him. In this legislation, the system of exploitation and oppression are visibly merged.

Political Terror

Open political terror is an essential element of this system expressing its whole character. It violates daily all political and civil rights, as formulated by the UN General Assembly.

The de facto possessors of political power operating illegally look upon Namibian citizens as subjects of the Republic of South Africa. Namibians are subjected to laws made by South African racists. They are charged and sentenced by juridical bodies which underlie South African jurisdiction and sometimes even by South African courts. They are then kept in jails and concentration camps partly on South African territory, including the infamous Robben Island.

South Africa's sharpest judicial instruments are the "Terrorism" and the "Communism" Acts. The latter defines communism in article 2 as "any doctrine promoting political, industrial, social, or economic change in the Republic or the Territory by disorder, by unlawful acts or by encouraging hostility between White and non-White". Anyone who is thus labelled "communist"—and this is done by the State President personally without there being a right of appeal—is outlawed and his personal freedom limited; he may enter only certain areas, under some circumstances may not leave his house, may not take part in any meeting with more than three (!) persons, may not have any contact with other "outlawed" persons, not do certain types of work and must report regularly to the police. Any "outlaw" who disobeys this law is punished with up to three years' imprisonment.

The "Terrorism" Act of 1967, like the "Communism" Act of 1950, was extended to Namibia at a time when the country was already placed directly under United Nations' competence. Such "terrorist" acts

ranged from forcible resistance to the administration of the territory, obstructing traffic, causing foreign firms not to invest in Namibia, and just as much as beating someone up in a night-club. The minimum sentence for all such "crimes" is five years' prison and the maximum penalty is death.

The "Terrorism" and "Communism" Acts are pure instruments of arbitrariness and terror. They are in clear contradiction to such basic human rights as the right to life, liberty, security of person and legality. Section 6 of the "Terrorism" Act makes it possible for any policeman above the rank of sergeant to arbitrarily arrest a Namibian, if the former believes that he knows of a past, present or future intent by the latter to commit terrorist activities (in the arbitrary sense of the Act), and to keep him in custody until the African has "satisfactorily" answered all questions put to him. The "Terrorism" Act negates the principle that everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial. In Namibia the defendant must prove his innocence if the prosecutor claims that the defendant's act could have one of the twelve "results". Similarly, according to Section 11 of the "Communism" Act, the person who has been proscribed as a "communist" must prove that the information he received could not encourage "communism".

The "Terrorism" Act was made retroactive for five years and the "Communism" Act (Section 1) defines a communist as a person who was a communist "at any time before or after the promulgation of this Act"!

That the White "master race" tortures African prisoners, whether sentenced or not, is known ex-officio through UN bodies.

The most common form of torture is regular public whippings of prisoners. The South African police also tortures Namibians in the following manner: beatings, imprisonment in dark cells, electric shocks or hanging a prisoner up by a rope for a whole minute with one of the policemen then telling him: call the UN if you think they will help you!

Due to the imperialist policy of obstructing the many anti-racism resolutions passed by the UN, it is possible for the South African racists in Namibia to continue committing such crimes. The imperialists both tolerate and support the apartheid regime and thus carry the main responsibility for the fact that little progress has been made for the self-determination of the people living in southern Africa.

United Nations and Namibia

After the General Assembly of the United Nations terminated the League of Nations' mandate for South Africa over South West Africa in resolution 2145 (XXI) and took the

territory under its own auspices, the Security Council has continually dealt with the illegal and peace-endangering occupation of Namibia. No less than 14 Security Council resolutions—some of them with similar content—have been passed from 1968 to 1974. The resolution moved in May–June 1975 was vetoed by the three big Western powers. Thereupon, the General Assembly in November of the same year, called upon the Security Council—in resolution 3399 (XXX)—to continue discussing the matter and to take measures in line with the UN Charter. In the last week of January, 1976, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution—S/RES/385 (1976)—condemning both South Africa's policy of occupation in Namibia and its use as a military base for aggression against Namibia's neighbours.

Earlier, the General Assembly had appointed in 1967 a special Council for South West Africa/Namibia (RES 2248) which is composed of 25 countries since 1974. Of the socialist countries, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia participate in it. The tasks of this Namibia Council—which, according to the late UN Secretary General, U Thant, acts as a "government in exile"—were laid down by the General Assembly to be as follows:

- to seek to establish itself within the Territory of Namibia, and to continue to meet with Namibians living outside the country;
- to represent Namibia wherever required and also to issue identity cards and passes to Namibians;
- to observe and analyse inside Namibia foreign economic investments, South African legal and administrative measures, violations of human rights;
- to act as trustee for the UN Namibia Fund;
- to intensify the transmission of news and information to and from Namibia;
- to report to the General Assembly each year.

The probably most significant measure taken by the Namibia Council is Decree No. 1 of 27 September 1974 on Namibia's natural resources. The decree was fully approved by the General Assembly and prescribes that all purchase and sale, all export, all utilization and processing of Namibia's natural resources (animals and minerals) is illegal, unless the UN Namibia Council gives its written permission. It further lays down that all means of transport used for such a purpose must be confiscated and anyone violating this decree must pay compensation to the future government of an independent Namibia.

The General Assembly then did more. It appointed Sean MacBride as UN Commissioner for Namibia in December 1973 and he presented a programme of action to the Namibia Council until 1976.

One can only urgently hope that the

Namibia Commissioner will begin using his authority in line with Decree No. 1 by proposing interim injunctions at competent courts, for instance such as in Rotterdam or Bremen, that the minerals and furs exported illegally from Namibia without the Namibia Council's permission be confiscated in the Council's favour. Then the courts of the "free world" would have a good opportunity to show just exactly how free they are.

Western Powers' Support to S.A.

There can be no doubt that without the economic, political, military and ideological support of the Western powers, the peace-endangering and illegal occupation regime in Namibia would have toppled long ago. One can go even further and say that the imperialist countries have a material interest in maintaining the present situation in Namibia.

All of the country's more important natural resources, its animal breeding and fishing industries are controlled by foreign capital. South African, British, West German, Japanese and Canadian trusts and conglomerates draw their profits from Namibian poverty. And even in accordance with the concepts of capitalist law, this profit is illegal because it comes from goods which have been stolen, in accordance with Decree No. 1 of the Namibia Council.

As one of the latest reports given by the competent ad hoc committee of the UN Human Rights Commission declares in its conclusions, there does not exist the least sign of the Republic of South Africa giving up its illegal occupation. On the contrary, the apartheid laws are increasingly applied and racial discrimination has worsened, and the resolutions passed by the UN bodies for Namibia are ignored. The small changes made in the worst of the forced labour laws after the general strike in 1971–72 were undertaken to appease international public opinion without any basic alterations being made in apartheid policy.

The South African government has tried to persuade the United Nations and particularly the other African states to limit their activities to discussion only.

Its plans now are to divide the real owners of the country, the Namibians, into six "native nations" with "self-government" which would receive their own "homelands" into which they would be forcibly re-settled. As the territory to be allotted to them has no minerals, is desert-like and lacks water, Africans would be forced to continue to work under almost slave conditions for their white exploiters, and economic necessity would continue to act as the basis for racial and class rule.

Liberation Movement in Namibia

The Namibians have been fighting the White "master race" since their first colonisation. With the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the Namibian people have created for themselves a political leadership and an armed section which is capable of leading the struggle against the occupation with all necessary means and methods. The SWAPO is recognized by the UN bodies as the only legal representative of the Namibian people.

The President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, summed up the situation in Namibia recently, thus: "Like all the colonized nations and oppressed classes, the Namibian people have painfully suffered from brutal denial of man's inalienable rights for more than three quarters of a century now... This cruel trampling of human rights in Namibia, which began under German imperialism, has been accentuated under the racist South African rule... under which the Namibian people cannot claim to have any human rights... The existing socio-economic system is based on the inhuman capitalist mode of production (with a special racist-colonialist character)... Thus, only the attainment of genuine national independence and social liberation can create the necessary conditions for human rights in Namibia."

"However, as in Namibia independence cannot be achieved through constitutional methods, it has become inevitable for the Namibian people to accept the necessity to wage an armed liberation struggle. Many sons and daughters of our people are watering the seeds of freedom and human rights in Namibia with their own blood."

"We are in the struggle to make the toiling masses of Namibian workers and peasants have direct access to the means of production, to open wide all the doors of all the available educational and cultural institutions to all Namibian people without regard to race, colour or ethnic origins."

The leaders of SWAPO while intensifying the armed struggle have not ruled out a negotiated settlement. But for any talks to be realistic they must be preceded by a public declaration on the part of the South African regime that it recognises SWAPO as the only authentic representative of the Namibian people, that it accepts the inviolability of Namibia's territorial integrity, and acknowledges the right of the Namibian people to independence and national sovereignty.

MULTINATIONALS' HIGH STAKES IN RACIST SOUTH AFRICA

Reinaldo Baro
and Armando Entralgo

In this survey of the penetration of the economy of South Africa by the imperialist multinationals, two Cuban economists, Reinaldo Baro and Armando Entralgo, reveal the political implications of this penetration. The multinationals are bolstering the racist South African regime and converting it into a gendarme of imperialist interests in Southern Africa.

DURING the last few years, world public opinion has shown itself to be increasingly sensitive to the role played by the multinational enterprises in exploiting the economies of the developing countries. The United Nations and other international organizations have denounced and condemned the activities of the multinationals in dominating and controlling material resources and other economic spheres in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is evident that these corporations collaborate in the execution of the imperialist policy of destabilization of governments that adopt measures in defence of the interests of their peoples. This collaboration was evident in the recent history of the multinationals' intervention in the overthrow and assassination of the President of Chile, Dr. Salvador Allende.

The most recent studies on the multinationals reveal their growing penetration in the South African economy. This penetration not only has economic implications, but also contributes to bolstering the racist South African regime and converting it into a gendarme of imperialist interests in the southern part of Africa. At the same time, by taking advantage of the very characteristics of South Africa for their own interests, the multinationals make possible the continuation and strengthening of the hateful system of apartheid.

Multinational enterprises would not go into South Africa if that country did not

offer a series of conditions which enable them to operate and to achieve the high rate of profits sought by all international monopolies.

Since the Second World War, the economy of South Africa has developed at a rapid pace. Between 1946 and 1966 the annual rate of economic growth at current prices was 8.3 per cent. In the period, 1967-72, the pace rose to nearly 10 per cent. But in the last few years, due to the economic recession that has hit the capitalist world, it has hovered around 4 per cent.

An exporter of capital from 1959 to 1965, South Africa has been forced in recent years to stimulate the entrance of foreign capital which it has received in the form of investments and loans, with a view toward financing the large-scale imports required to carry forward its planned development.

To alleviate the balance of payments problem, South Africa has taken measures to broaden its exports. With that in mind, it has attempted to lessen its great dependence on the United Kingdom. Currently, the Federal Republic of Germany is the major commercial associate of South Africa, which has also broadened contacts with the United States, Japan, France, Israel and other countries.

S.A.—Imperialism's Launching Pad

South Africa is viewed within the global strategy of imperialism as its launching pad on the African continent, and a supplier of minerals and metals in the face of possible embargos by other producing nations. The characteristic of South Africa that most interests the multinational enterprises, and provides an explanation for the increasing relations between them and the South African government, is the low cost of

labour, a factor related to the conditions of poverty in which the African majority lives under the apartheid system. There is an enormous gap between the wage levels of white and black workers, and this gap has been shown to be increasing. According to published data in 1945, the wage of a black worker averaged 25 per cent of that of a white worker; in 1970 this proportion had dropped to 17 per cent.

A wage analysis by sectors indicates that these differences are much greater in certain sectors of the economy such as mining, where the wages of a white worker were 20 times higher than those of a black worker at the beginning of this decade. In the particular case of mining, black workers' wages are depressed because of the South African government's policy of importing the work force from neighbouring countries where the standard of living is even lower. In 1973, Malawi provided 28 per cent of the miners, Mozambique 23 per cent; Lesotho 20 per cent, Botswana 4.7 per cent, Swaziland 1.2 per cent, and South Africa 22.5 per cent.

As recent studies show, the apartheid system has brought in its wake the constant lowering of living standards of the Africans. The apartheid system means, among other things, that the black worker must accept whatever work he is offered and must agree to be sent wherever it is deemed necessary. Another aspect of apartheid, which is of great interest to the multinationals is the impossibility of African workers participating in collective bargaining concerning their working conditions, or in strikes, except at the risk of arrest and stiff penalties.

Concentration of Multinationals in S.A.

A comparison of a list of the leading multinationals throughout the world with a list of the foreign enterprises operating in South Africa shows a high degree of duplication. It would appear that the largest international monopolies have flocked there to feed on the special characteristics of the South African economy. According to figures published in 1975, there are a total of 630 British companies operating in South Africa, followed by 494 from the United States, 132 from the Federal Republic of Germany, 85 from France, and more than 150 from other developed capitalist countries.

Mining was the first sector to attract foreign capital. Anglo-American Corporation, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment, and Union Carbide Corporation are but a few of the multinational enterprises operating in the mining sector of the South African economy. However, foreign investment in South African mining has been declining (from 66 per cent in 1936 to 33 per cent in 1960 and at present), due

primarily to the expansion of foreign enterprises in the manufacturing sector. It is estimated that 60 per cent of annual investments are now going into the manufacturing industry.

The predominance of United States and British capital is also apparent in the areas of banking and insurance. Early in the 1970s, it was estimated that two-thirds of the shares in South African commercial banks were in the hands of British banking subsidiaries.

Sixty per cent of the automobiles manufactured in South Africa in 1971 were produced by the three leading United States manufacturers: General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. Other major multinational auto producers include the Leyland Motor Corporation (United Kingdom), Volkswagen (Federal Republic of Germany), and Toyota-Rambler and Datsun-Nissan (Japan).

Other areas of the economy in which foreign capital is highly visible include the textile industry (primarily British capital), the oil refining industry (British and United States capital), and the electronics industry (primarily from the United States).

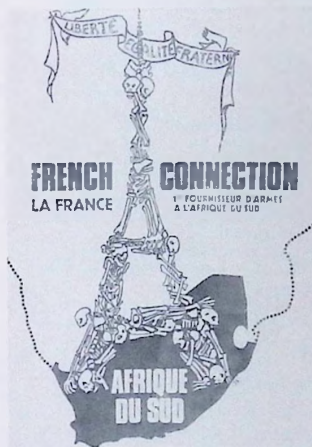
Inroads by Foreign Capital

Foreign capital has made impressive inroads into the South African economy in the last few years. According to the South African Reserve Bank, between 1969 and 1972, investments rose from 4,562 million rands (6,400 million dollars) to 7,786 million rands (10,900 million dollars). The same source lists investments of 1,499 million rands (2,100 million dollars) during the fiscal year 1974-75. It is expected that in the coming years, foreign capital investments will continue to grow. The South African government has encouraged this investment because of the need to finance several large-scale projects related to the 1974-79 development plan.

As for the sources of foreign investment, the major capitalist countries are also major South African associates. British enterprises are responsible for 58 per cent of all foreign investment in South Africa and, in spite of the rapid upswing in investments from other developed capitalist countries, the United Kingdom continues to be South Africa's major investor.

According to recent data, United States investment in South Africa has reached 1,500 million dollars with an annual growth rate of 20 per cent since 1972. United States investments in South Africa, although not quantitatively as great as those from the United Kingdom, are increasing at a fast rate. Another significant fact is that this investment represents some 40 per cent of all United States investment in Africa. According to *Le Monde* of 24 April 1976, of the 3,000 million dollars invested by

United States corporations in Africa south of the Sahara, 56 per cent is invested in South Africa. The latter also receives more than half of Washington's so-called economic aid to the rest of independent Africa. United States investments in South Africa account for more than 15 per cent of all foreign investments, making that country the second largest investor in South Africa. The United States is also becoming an important trading partner of South Africa. Between 1965 and 1975, trade between the two countries tripled, reaching nearly 2,200 million dollars, or 14 per cent of all South African trade.



The penetration of capital from the Federal Republic of Germany, along with its importance as a trading partner, is also increasing significantly of late. Trade between the two countries grew between 1972 and 1973 on an average of 36 per cent and represented 12 per cent of all South African trade, while the latter was the Federal Republic's second major trading partner in Africa. Capital from the Federal Republic of Germany collaborates with the South African racist regime in a number of important areas such as the military, atomic energy and the electronics industry.

Japan appears destined to become another major South African associate within the next few years. During the 1960s, trade between these two countries grew 500 per cent, jumping from a volume of

71 million rands (99 million dollars) to 401 million rands (561 million dollars). Japan is now South Africa's fourth largest trading partner, accounting for 10 per cent of its trade. More than 70 Japanese firms have opened offices in South Africa, among them Toyota Motors, Nissan Motors, Matsushita Electrical Industries, Hitachi, Tokyo Seiboku Electric, Mitsubishi, Sony, Nippon Seikou, and other major Japanese enterprises.

The participation of French capital in the South African economy is centered in banking and the oil industry, but above all it is concentrated in the military sector. France replaced the United Kingdom as the major supplier of arms to South Africa and has even granted licenses to manufacture certain weapons such as Mirage jets, Panhard armoured vehicles, and Chacua land-to-air missiles.

Agreements with Israel and Iran

Recent contacts made by the South African government as a part of its policy of expansion, aimed at breaking through its isolation, have resulted in agreements between South Africa and the governments of Israel and Iran. Also within this context are the efforts made by the South African government which have led to closer relations with the fascist regimes of Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile. South African trade with Israel jumped between 1961 and 1975 from 3 million to 120 million dollars, and technical assistance agreements have been signed between the two countries. Israel is an important arms supplier to South Africa.

South Africa has been engaged in modernizing its military apparatus during the 1970s. With that end in mind, it has gradually increased its defence budget, which now is the largest on the African continent. According to *Le Monde*, the South African Finance Minister presented a projected 1,352 million rand military budget for fiscal year 1976-77, which represents a 40 per cent jump over the previous fiscal year and accounts for one-sixth of the total national budget.

Maintaining Apartheid System

The South African government as well as the multinational enterprises are primarily interested in maintaining the status quo, i.e., the apartheid system, which provides such high profits to the latter. This identity of interests between the multinational enterprises and the South African government, in maintaining apartheid as a form of superexploitation of the African work force and in obtaining superprofits, is seen also in the fact that the foreign enterprises assist the South African government in recruiting labour in Western Europe.

HANDEL'S HUMANISM IN MUSICAL ART

Walter Siegmund-Schultze

SINCE 1952, an annual Handel Festival has been held in Halle (GDR) which has attracted a steadily increasing amount of international attention. The 25th such festival was held in 1976.

The music of George Frederick Handel is in the best sense political music: it is directed at the masses to stir them into action for all that is good and noble. A theme of peace and freedom from national oppression appears with a very convincing ring in almost every great work of Handel's.

For a quarter-century, the Handel Festival in Halle has served as a meeting point for artists and scientists from all over the world, in the spirit of peace and friendship among the peoples. Hardly any composer has such perfect themes on peace as Handel. It is no wonder that he was held in high esteem by such important masters as Beethoven and Brahms and the contemporary Shostakovich and Britten, to mention but a few.

Emotional Effectiveness

The emotional effectiveness of Handel's music and its militant ethical content are so strong that they can be used to strengthen the international peace movement, to stress and promote the need for peaceful coexistence, liberation from all forms of exploitation and oppression and firmly-based friendship among the peoples, regardless of any particular belief or political attitude. A symbol of this is an endless series of individual and choir songs, dance and instrumental pieces, ranging from the intense "Largo" (really an aria about love and nature) to the mighty "Hallelujah Chorus", from the folklike dances of the "Water Music" to the jubilant strains of peace in the "Music for the Royal Fireworks".

Romain Rolland called the "Hallelujah

Chorus" as the "March of Triumph of the Liberated People".

Whether Handel portrays human passions in a friendly way or sings the praises of the popular heroes in graphic biblical or ancient scenes so familiar to the people in his time, he always upholds the victory of good over evil, or peace, as personified in the beautiful "Christmas Chorus" in the "Messiah":

"Und er wird heißen: Wunderbar, Herrlicher, der mächtige Gott, der Ewigkeiten Vater und Friedefürst!"

(And he shall be called "Wonderful, Glorious, Almighty God, the Father of Eternity and Prince of Peace!")

Activity against Oppression

We are full of admiration for Handel's great work and we are convinced that his continual activity against oppression, his commitment to the cause of the people and to peace can be a powerful example for the contemporary artists who have resolved to serve peace and progress in their works.

The World Peace Council encourages in many ways the contribution to peace by the arts with reference to such excellent examples as Neruda, Shostakovich and Picasso. Handel, although he belongs to a different age, is also one of them.

Handel (1685-1759) was one of the geniuses of humanity. He was truly a humanist of the musical art, for he served humanity in all his works. He regarded the great themes of peace, freedom and friendship among the peoples as his own, and repeatedly modelled his works on them.

When one surveys the vast number of Handel's works, one can see the whole-hearted efforts which he made from his youth right up to old age to influence people with his art, not simply to entertain them, but also, as he declared to an

English lord, "to make them better." In his early years in Halle, he could only do this in small chamber music compositions, and in the field of church music, for which he composed, right up to old age, very important, profound and powerful sounding examples.

When he was 18 years old, Handel went to Hamburg, which already had a middle-class opera, and there made his first strides in the field of music and drama, arousing a lot of attention.

In Italy, at the age of 22, he developed in a short time into a highly-admired leading composer of Italian opera and cantata, in which he made above all the art of musical representation of characters and the art of the inner passionate formation of human emotional life into a masterly skill.

Exposed Tyranny

In 1710 Handel went to England which at that time was the economically and intellectually most developed country. There, in unison with the progressive forces, he displayed an astonishing artistic activity, which was concentrated on the value of human beings and their great aims. This found its climax, after many operas (he wrote 40 in all), in the creation of powerful dramas about the people, called "oratorios". Works like "Saul", "Samson", "Messiah", "Belshazzar", "Hercules" and "Solomon" portray the great hero of the people in the centre of a dramatic event, a hero who, with the masses, conquers the oppressors and sets up a realm of peace, of friendship amongst the people and of common happiness. These aims were still illusions in Handel's time, but they took on an unheard-of graphic shape in his musical fantasy. Whether he exposed the tyrant and put him up to ridicule, or sang of the Prince of Peace, calling upon the people to act, or glorified an affair of the heart and the harmony of happy family life, he became a symbol of an art committed to all peoples fighting for peace, happiness and freedom. Through his continual participation in social events, around 1745-46, when the Scottish counter-revolution threatened democratic achievements, Handel advocated the just cause with two songs for Masses as well as the "Occasional Oratorio" and "Judas Maccabaeus". He became a symbol of an art committed to all peoples fighting for peace, happiness and freedom.

This tradition in his music has effects which are just as strong centuries later as they were in his time. So it was but natural that in 1952, shortly after the founding of the GDR, the power of Handel's music and its power to convince should have attracted the attention of music-lovers to start an annual festival in his birth-place, Halle.

THE POSITION Belgium holds among the Western nations, despite its relatively modest resources, is well-known. Besides the investments which capitalist multinational companies have thought it prudent to invest there, Belgium is the location for economic organs of the Common Market. Since General de Gaulle made France withdraw from the military side of NATO, its headquarters, including the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE), has found refuge on our territory close to our main airport.

To study the activities of the various peace movements in Belgium over the past 30 years is almost like bringing to life the events of world history in recent times. And when we speak of the peace movements, we are aware that we are not the only ones in the Belgian Union for Defence of Peace (UBDP) who have a role to play in them. We know how to appreciate the contribution of other groupings in action, often joint action, in defence of peace, the freedom of peoples, and the independence of nations.

In the years 1949-50, when it was organised as a Belgian branch of the World Peace Council, the UBDP, although it had tended since its inception to link its actions with the big organisations of the workers' movement, could only count on the good wishes of certain individuals to help it in its work. For instance, Professor Francois Broners, who was discriminated against professionally because of his attachment to peace. Nevertheless, our organisation registered impressive successes in collecting a large number of signatures on the first Stockholm Appeal against the atomic bomb.

Campaign against German Rearmament

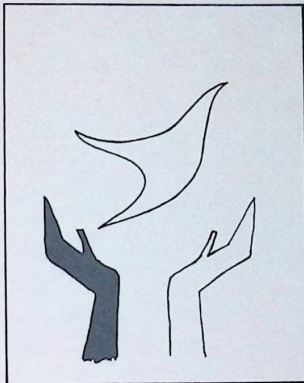
Then followed the campaign in the 1960s against German rearmament, with demonstrations and petitions, and opinion polls taken in factories against the setting up of German military bases at Arendonk and Baronville.

With the accession of Dr. Marcel Delvigne to the presidency of the Liège branch of the UBDP, and, working with our late friend, Isabelle Blume, national vice-president of UBDP, the Belgian trade union organisations of FGTB played a prominent role in all activity and gave it a new dimension.

In 1961, the peace militants launched a campaign against the arms race.

This kind of activity was to start anew in 1964 concerning the purchase of tanks; it succeeded in making the government postpone the purchase. In 1973-74, with what is called the "market of the century", 30 billion dollars were given over to replacing military aircraft. The protests against this action took the form of demonstrations, and in Liège, petitions were circulated in

NATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENTS



BELGIAN PEACE MOVEMENT: Thirty Years of Action in Cause of Peace

Rene Klutz

factories and work places. The government, however, managed to push through the measure with the help of its majority, although it was split over buying U.S. or French planes. But it did so only by making the false promise, which could be so effective in times of economic depression, of giving compensation in the form of job-creation programmes (and the workers are still waiting).

Opposition to NATO

Since its creation in 1949, NATO has drawn the opposition of peace movements and progressive organisations. This opposition grew when the danger of the Belgian airforce being provided with an atomic "wing" became more clear, or when with the help of the MLF (Agreements on Multilateral Force), West Germany was demand-

ing and was about to obtain nuclear armaments. The Belgian Parliament showed reluctance to this NATO proposal, with a Minister of that time, P. H. Spaak, admitting in an interview in January, 1966 with the Polish agency "Robotnicza" that it had happened that way "because a very large part of Belgian public opinion is against atomic arms for Belgium".

The following year saw the establishment of SHAPE (NATO's military command) in Belgium. Thrown out of France by General de Gaulle, NATO was looking for another country in Western Europe to settle in. But as target No. 1 of the Soviet atomic vehicles in the case of a general conflict, this installation would be undesirable anywhere, but particularly in highly populated countries like Belgium and West Germany. Atlantic "solidarity" played its part, along with U.S. pressure, and in July 1966, the Belgian Parliament disgracefully capitulated.

On the initiative of trade union organisations and many women's associations, the "8th of May Movement" was born in 1962, which characterised the political and social life of the country for five years with spectacular work stoppages, demonstrations in the streets, traffic hold-ups in big cities, and the sending of delegations to the authorities to demand a halt to nuclear testing, and for disarmament. Even after the official leaders unfortunately decided to put an end to the 8th of May demonstrations in 1967, spontaneous movements continued, particularly (and this is almost a symbol) at the Herstal National Arms Factory.

Anti-Atomic Marches

Alerted in 1964 to the grave danger inherent in the fantastic atomic potential accumulated in the two camps, and above all by the immediate danger of the fallout from repeated nuclear testing, the young from the schools and the factories began their "Anti-Atomic Marches". Small in numbers to begin with, the participants in the march increased from year to year to pass the 30,000 mark in 1966. At the same time, their impact on public opinion, as well as in official circles, grew. The movement was joined by trade union, political and religious personalities, who made up the sponsoring committees of the march.

The support of Cardinal Cardyn lifted the protests to a new level with the prelate making a courageous reply in a public session to clarify the issues. The aims themselves became more clear. Starting from an almost emotional opposition to the atomic threat, the young began to make forthright demands, like the signing of a non-aggression pact between NATO and the countries of the Warsaw Pact, European security and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. from Viet Nam.



Delegation from Liege of the Belgian Union for Defence of Peace, including MFs, Secretaries of trade unions and mass organisations, to the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1973 to demand ending of the bombing of Viet Nam.

Support for Viet Nam

It is certainly the war in Viet Nam, with all its attendant horrors and the danger inherent in it of sparking off a world conflagration, which demanded the most efforts and which registered the most tangible results on the part of the peace champions. It was from 1964-65 onwards, when the U.S.A. showed that it wanted to prevent the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, that the movement grew even broader in Belgium. However, the U.S. interests held sway for a long time before the public and government authorities agreed to denounce the U.S. administration for the continuation of the killings throughout the whole of South East Asia, which they should have done much earlier. In 1965, a provincial council agreed to ask cautiously the government "to intervene against all those whose action puts world peace in danger".

To achieve this there were continuous petition campaigns, repeated approaches to MPs and to the government, tens of meetings, film shows, the printing of thousands of posters, leaflets and brochures, the collection of medical supplies, the organisation with the aid of workers' trusts of collection of fresh blood to be transformed into plasma (1,400 bottles of blood giving 765 bottles of plasma were sent to Viet Nam), and the collection of more than a million francs for medical aid to Viet Nam or for the reconstruction of Bach Mai hospital which was destroyed by U.S. bombing at the end of 1972. Activities such as these came to a halt only in 1975 when "victory meetings" were held in several Belgian cities.

Liberation Movements in Africa

In addition to the experience of Zaire, where the people were more personally concerned, the Belgian peace campaigns have always attached importance to the colonies' battle for liberty. Special mention should be made here of the Committee against Colonialism and Apartheid, led by Paulette Pierson-Mathy and Jean Godin, as well as by the AKZA (Akte Komitee Zuid Afrika) in the northern part of the country. Without forgetting the receptions arranged for the visit of Agostinho Neto (Angola) and Marcelino Dos Santos (Mozambique) in 1971, we must mention that in collaboration with the two above-mentioned committees, the World Peace Council and the UBDP organised an "International Seminar on South Africa" (Brussels, October 17-19, 1973) on the eve of Angola's proclamation of independence.

European Security

Already very much in the minds of the peace movements since 1963, the question of European Security and Cooperation was brought up in the last anti-atomic marches, where militant Belgians (and not least Canon Goor, former Ministers Albert de Smaele and Jean Tervé, and Secretary of the Christian Trade Union, Robert de Gendt) played a prominent role.

In the same way, we can be happy over the positive results of the "World Congress of Peace Forces" held in October, 1973, Moscow, where the principal groupings of the workers' movement (MOC, FGFB, CSC, FPS, PCB, PSB...) and peace organisations (UBDP, MCP, Pax Christi, Pacem in Terris...) sent their best militants. Reas-

sured by the good relations at the Congress and its positive spirit, the militants continued to see each other and are working throughout the country to popularise the decisions of the Moscow Congress. New associations have been born from these contacts which have the advantage of being more representative of the great movements, embracing socialists, Christians and communists, than preceding ones. One of these is the Convention for Peace and Development, whose members include Abbot Tony Dhanis, Almoner of MOC, André Leonard, the National Secretary of the PSB, Pierre Galand, the Secretary of Oxfam, Canon Hoyoit and Jean du Bosch, Secretary of UBDP.

In Flanders Robert de Gendt and André de Smet, Secretary of the UBDP, have reorganised around themselves tens of movements highly representative of democratic opinion in a new association—Overleg Centrum voor de Vrede.

Middle East Conflict

The settlement of the Middle East conflict has constantly preoccupied the UBDP and the other peace movements. It has been the main subject on countless agendas, of various delegations and at many meetings. On a strictly Belgian level, our concerted action has led to the halting of construction of an Israeli armaments factory at Wallonia which could only, as the paper "Combat" of the Popular Wallon Movement pointed out in its edition of 21 December 1972, "damage relations between Belgium and the Arab countries... strengthen the Zionist camp, and... constitute a source of insecurity for the personal working there".

Support for Chile

Since 11 September 1973, the day when General Pinochet put an end to the glorious experience of Popular Unity in Chile, many demonstrations have been held in support of the Chilean people. Considerable sums have been collected, especially for the internal Chilean resistance. The tenacity of the friends of democratic Chile, and their consistent and firm action, made the Belgian government to ask for the recall of the Chilean Ambassador Nuno, who was directly concerned in Pinochet's coup d'état.

Belgian militants are now concentrating on their fruitful contacts for joint activity. The collection of signatures on the New Stockholm Appeal was made easier by this. Launched by the UBDP, this new appeal quickly met with the approval of nearly all the peace movements and won the signatures of hundreds of Belgian personalities, among them many MPs, senators, former ministers, socialist leaders, Christians and communists, belonging to all the trade unions in Belgium.

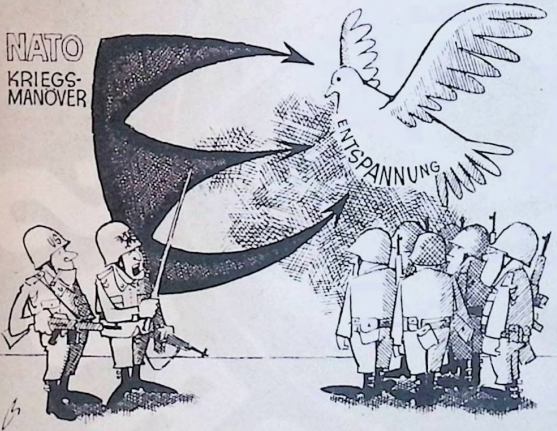


Granma (Cuba)



"The Lebanese Christian Rightists' left hand"
"Sturshel" Weekly (Bulgaria)

NATO
KRIEGS-
MÄNOVER



Horizont (GDR)



Daily World (USA)

**SOLIDARITY
WITH CYPRUS**

