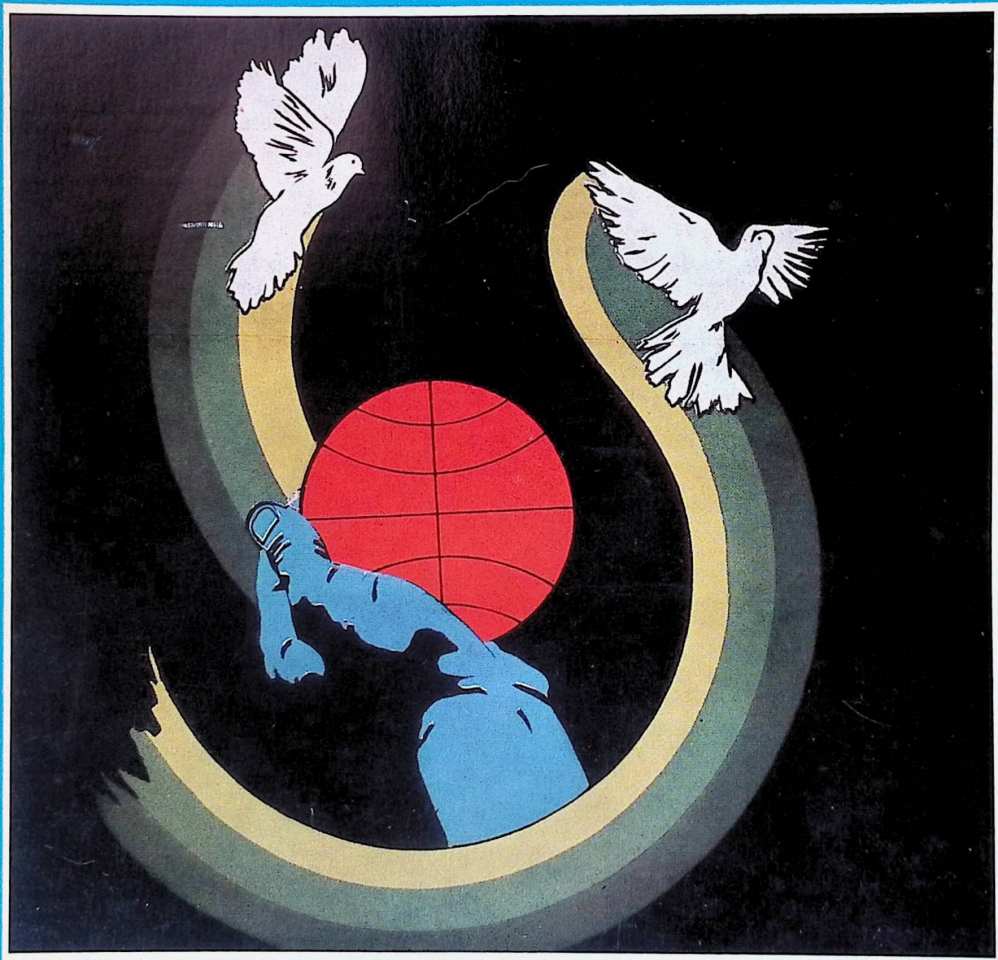


new perspectives

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JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL





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1 Plenary session of the International Conference of Solidarity with the People of Afghanistan, sponsored by the World Peace Council in Kabul in August 1979.

2 and 3 Participants in the inaugural session of the International Conference of Solidarity with Afghanistan

4 People of Kandahar, a major commercial centre of Afghanistan giving a welcome to the President of the World Peace Council Romesh Chandra who visited that city after the conclusion of the International Conference of Solidarity with the People of Afghanistan

5 The First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Edward Gierek (centre) receives the President of the World Peace Council Romesh Chandra in Warsaw in August 1979 on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the Hitler Nazi invasion of Poland. The President of the Polish Peace Committee Jozef Cyrankiewicz is sitting on the left of Mr. Gierek.



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REFLECTIONS ON AN IMPORTANT OFFER

FRANK JOACHIM HERRMANN

In many countries in recent weeks, a debate has been generated as to how international détente can be effectively supplemented by measures of a military nature. The stimulus for this discussion was provided by the address by Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which he delivered at the celebrations to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic in that country's capital, Berlin, presenting the world with far-reaching measures for disarmament.

What thoughts come to mind if, in the present complicated situation in the world, when as a result of the manoeuvring of imperialist forces dark clouds are looming over the positive results of détente with the threat of a return to the Cold War, the chance suddenly appears of an important advance towards peace, indeed a very important advance, perhaps one of the most important advances since the turn towards détente?

What is involved is the Berlin peace initiative of the Soviet Union, with its meaningful amalgam of concrete measures, far-reaching gestures of willingness, and fundamental proclamations of socialist policy for the cause of peaceful coexistence and disarmament. It comes precisely at the right moment and is amply suited to inspire those seriously desiring to see the flow of détente maintained, instead of having to watch it being thwarted and emptied of meaning and forced into an opposite direction by its opponents. By virtue of its innate realism and constructive reasoning, the Berlin initiative is all the more convincing and hence all the more effective in reality.

A few historical observations

Whosoever on this planet desires peace, cannot have failed to appreciate the immeasurable possibilities opened up by the socialist concept of the future of our continent—and ultimately not just ours—expressed in the Berlin initiative. Let us for a moment ponder on a bit of history. Twice during our century, imperialist war ventures have emanated from the centre of Europe, which plunged a multitude of peoples into the deepest suffering and unprecedented destruction, not least the German people themselves.

Although after 1945 there was only one possible conclusion to be drawn from the lessons of history, namely once and for all

to prevent Europe becoming a breeding ground of tension and potential war, and although from that date it was clear that our continent could only have real prospects for the future as a region of peace, security and cooperation, in actual fact, developments, as is well known, took a tortuous contradictory course. We know why. Indeed over the course of decades imperialism has left nothing undone to keep tensions smouldering and repeatedly to fan them to ignition point. On many occasions it would not have taken much more for a new world war to erupt in flames.

But to the crux of the matter. This consists in the fact that tremendous changes in favour of progress, socialism and peace have had and continue to have an effect on this planet of ours, changes ushered in by the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism in the Great Patriotic War on the decisive front of the Anti-Hitler Coalition. Among these changes are the founding of the GDR and the positive development of our republic within the community of fraternal countries. Another change is that imperialism with all its innate aggressiveness and volatile nature can no longer act as it pleases as was formerly the case. Were this not so, it would be highly doubtful if Europe could have reached the fourth decade without war, which we are now entering, despite the dangerous, oft extreme schemings of the belligerent forces of imperialism.

The significant progress which has been made since the beginning of the seventies in the process of détente can be attributed to a major extent to the growing strength of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community, and to their constant and consistent endeavours for a stable and lasting peaceful order. The more, however, this process has taken root and been accelerated, the greater the resistance which has been raised against it west of our frontiers by the adherents of political and military confrontation. After all the imperialist calculation that it would be possible to use détente for the same purpose against the socialist countries (a purpose for which the methods of the Cold War had proved inappropriate) misfired at an early stage. It turned out that socialism has increased in stability and pervasiveness and that the ranks of the fighters against imperialism, the campaigners for a lasting world peace have been broadened and given new strength.

Détente in danger

The enemies of détente have considerably stepped up their counter attack, more than a little spurred on by the vacillating, compliant governments of those capitalist countries, which have had to climb on the détente bandwagon at the last minute because it would have left without them in any event. The international conflict has sharpened noticeably, not only on individual issues but on the whole content and character of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders. Hence, there is no lack of negative trends and features manifesting themselves in the world. It is no exaggeration to say that our planet runs the risk of sliding once again into the Cold War, if preventive steps are not taken, if developments are

The offer

The Soviet Union is prepared to reduce the present number of medium-range nuclear missiles stationed in its western areas, provided that no further medium-range nuclear weapons are deployed in Western Europe. Within the next twelve months, up to 20,000 Soviet military personnel, 1,000 tanks, as well as a specific amount of other military equipment will be withdrawn from GDR territory. In addition, the Soviet Union is prepared, in cooperation with other countries, to implement further confidence-building measures in order to reduce the danger of a war.

Frank Joachim Herrmann, *Publicist, GDR*

not kept on a firm détente course and persistently advanced.

All this is disturbing and gives cause for thought, and this is why Leonid Brezhnev's declaration and proposal at the GDR's 30th anniversary celebrations in Berlin, and on which Erich Honecker elaborated, gives so much reason for satisfaction and encouragement.

If one looks at the NATO reaction to date, one finds that voices of reason and realism are to be heard alongside a clamour for more armaments which is even shriller and more distasteful than before. Western commentators speak of a "thunderclap", of "astonishment" and "confusion" in the Brussels headquarters of the Atlantic alliance. They are trying as quickly as possible to regain the initiative for the imperialist manipulators, who had the wind so abruptly taken out of their sails by the initiative. The Swiss "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" in a frenzy of rage complains about what it describes as "aggravated Moscow peace propaganda". That phrase really needs to be savoured. "Aggravated peace propaganda." Surely one cannot use enough reason and do enough that is constructive for the cause of peace. Persistent pursuit of the most elementary and basic of humanity's vital interests is not only legitimate but mandatory. To be brutally frank, to get down to the bottom of problems, to highlight the urgency of their solution, to point the way to such solutions and to adopt such a course, entails acting responsibly.

"Astonishing" here "astonishing" there. In no way is such vocabulary an accurate description of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist states. For the aims of this policy have always been clear and their formulation always timely. Nor has any attempt ever been made to conceal how these aims are to be achieved. Similarly, the peace policy of the socialist community has been an open book before the world public for years, for decades. Who can wonder that those in NATO whose aggressive plans stand to be handicapped and frustrated by it, prefer to draw a veil over their pre-occupation with stirring up hostility to socialism, their pre-occupation with armaments, with the danger of a new world war. Can anyone with any sense at all be surprised at the rage of such circles at the fidelity to principle, the flexibility, the logic, the full openness and effectiveness of socialist policy, which expresses the aspirations of millions upon millions of people for peace, security and a life without the ever new fear of annihilation, or more precisely, without the fear of any annihilation at all?

The offer

Leonid Brezhnev has put forward far-reaching proposals in this field. As he

stressed, the Soviet Union is prepared to reduce the present existing number of medium-range nuclear weapons stationed in its western areas, provided that no further medium-range nuclear weapons are deployed in Western Europe. In addition he announced the reduction of Soviet troop strengths in Central Europe. A unilateral measure, it should be noted, and therefore an advance concession for which there is no counterpart in NATO spheres. Within the next twelve months, up to 20,000 Soviet military personnel, 1,000 tanks, as well as a specific amount of other military equipment will be withdrawn from GDR territory. Furthermore, the Soviet Union is prepared, in cooperation with other countries, to implement further confidence-building measures in order to reduce the danger of a war.

Erich Honecker stressed the necessity of acting even more energetically to consolidate détente. The securing of peace essentially depended on an end to the arms race, which was the immediate priority. The GDR was noting attentively all steps by the FRG which served the further normalization of relations between the two German states as well as the limitation of arms, and disarmament. It saw every possibility of clarifying a range of questions which would bring progress towards securing peace and achieving disarmament. "What both the citizens of the GDR and the citizens of the FRG need," emphasized the General Secretary, "is not the deployment of medium-range strategic missiles in the West European NATO countries, but cooperation between the two German states on matters of disarmament in the spirit of the policy of peaceful coexistence."

Clear words, unambiguous standpoints, convincing actions, and constructive proposals. Who is threatening, one must ask: Leonid Brezhnev, when he gives a precise analysis of the present international situation, specifically with reference to our continent, and extends important offers for more détente in it, instead adding further dangers for it, or NATO which is stepping up its armaments and is pressing on with plans for the stationing of new American medium-range missiles with nuclear warheads in Western Europe? Clearly one should not confuse cause and effect. What represents a threat to peace: the nuclear missile plans of the USA and NATO for Western Europe or the warning of Leonid Brezhnev of such a potentially literally explosive measure and his assertion based on the logic of things that the Warsaw Treaty in such an event can not stand idly by? The answer is clear: If NATO brings about such an exacerbation of the situation, then the cause of the threat indisputably comes from them, and the effect can only be that the socialist alliance increases its defence capacity accordingly. Despite ef-

forts by western commentators to stand the issue completely on its head, they cannot thereby alter the truth by one iota.

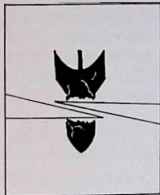
How NATO arms itself

We know the method only too well. Every time the Soviet Union issues new proposals to limit the arms race, NATO strategists have complained the louder about an apparent shifting of power parity. Now they declare that they must, as they put it, "close the arms gap", in order to counter the self-manufactured so-called threat from the East. Using false pretexts, they seek to strike fear in simple souls through tales of an apparent military superiority of the Soviet Union, in order that their own increased armaments and aggressive intentions appear pure and clear. But what are the real facts? Over the past ten years, NATO's military expenditure has reached a total of 1,327,000 million dollars. Whilst the 1976 total was 148,300 million dollars in 1978 it was no less than 188,400 million dollars. It is planned to increase this figure at a yearly rate of 3 per cent in real terms.

Furthermore, the USA has spanned the world with its bases and is constantly increasing its military presence abroad. In 1949, the year of NATO's foundation, Washington sustained bases in 39 countries, whereas today the figure is 110, including several close to the territory of the Soviet Union. In Western Europe and Canada alone, the USA possesses more than 74 bases. In Western Europe, more than 300,000 American soldiers and officers, as well as 8,000 nuclear warheads, and more than 3,000 nuclear delivery vehicles are stationed. Significant facts to be sure.

What is the alternative?

The decision-makers in the NATO states are standing at the crossroads. Détente, or a considerable exacerbation of the danger of a new world war? For the peoples, for every clear-minded peace-loving person, the answer to this question can only be an emphatic and decisive yes to the continuation of détente.



Menace of Military-Industrial Complex Profit Motive of Transnationals Intensifies Arms Race

MAX SCHMIDT

OUTSTANDING humanists and intellectuals with unambiguous orientation to democratic ideals have been trying, throughout centuries, to track the mysteries of war and the secrets behind its genesis. What actually was and is the motivation to pile up heaps of weapons? What are the motive forces behind the arms race? Is the arms race rooted in individual traits of politicians or in national peculiarities or in individual intentions of national leaders? Or is it not rather the fabric of social conditions from which the arms race originates? There are quite a few people who have continued to suggest that the arms race was a consequence of the existence of two different social systems. To subscribe to such a notion would imply that prior to the advent of real socialism the entire history of mankind had been nothing but an era of peaceful togetherness of all peoples and nations.

That is untrue, as we all know. The arms race actually began to take shape at a time when private control over the means of production was not restricted at all. Our history is packed with evidence of enormous arms race ambitions of States, all of them capitalist, that tried hard to outmatch one another, to annex one another's territories, to win colonies and to grab them from others. Inherent to capital are the urges for ever new profit-bearing conditions of utilisation as well as for maximum profit and for policies to ensure, support, and expand such a profit system. These are some of the major causes of the arms race. It is rooted in a society which is called capitalism and which finds itself, today, in its imperialist stage.

It is by no means accidental that the dynasty of the Krupps has gone down in

history not merely as a forge of armour but primarily as a prototype of this correlation between profit and the arms race.

Those drawing wealth from redistribution of national property and a fortune from armament will, naturally, seek to obtain ever more and increasingly costly armament. That, however, is feasible only under clearly defined social conditions, in a society in which the decisive means of production are in private hands. Therefore, the motive forces behind the arms race, today, are closely associated to the laws underlying that very socio-economic system where monopolies and administration are interconnected and where capital expansionism is united with official policies which are governed by the above laws.

A very close interconnection between political goals threatening peace and military intentions with profit interests is characteristic of the armament monopolies, the leading military clique of NATO, the major imperialist countries, and the organs used by those States for militarisation.

Vice in U.S. National Economy

Let us look at the U.S.A.

George F. Kennan, the well-known diplomat and political scientist, in his recent book "Clouds of Danger" defined the military-industrial complex as a "phenomenon of American life". He produced evidence to the effect that the weight of the military as a client of business and the role played by the Pentagon in industrial life had ramifications throughout all facets of society. The fact that the U.S.A. has acquired the "habit" of spending over 100,000 million dollars on armament, every year, was called by Kennan a "vice in national economy".¹

That vice is politically reflected in military and political strategies hatched in the Pentagon and at other levels of the U.S. administration for the purpose of gaining military superiority, particularly in

terms of hardware, and with a view to accomplishing the expansionist objectives of imperialism. That vice is economically reflected in the overpowering positions held by Rockwell International, Lockheed Missiles and Space, General Dynamics, Boeing, General Electric, and other international armament corporations.

A letter was sent to President Carter by 171 U.S. generals and admirals, in early 1979, questioning the validity of detente and asking for more armament. Some of those who had signed the letter, including ex-General Paul L. Freeman, now hold executive positions in armament corporations. Freeman works for Litton Industries Inc. who obtained armament deals worth almost 1,000 million dollars in 1976 alone. Here, you have a very specific example of that "vice in national economy" which, as we should add, is a menace to life.

U.S. Armament Corporations

The internationally structured armament corporations of the U.S.A. are the first to grab for themselves the lion's share of the fortune coming up when NATO's strategic armament programme is going to be put into practice. Here are some facts and figures:

(a) Rockwell International are greatly involved in both the development and manufacture of the neutron weapon. They received from the Treasury research and development subsidies worth 606 million dollars in the fiscal year of 1976.²

(b) U.S. President Carter gave instructions to start production of a new missile system, just before signing SALT II. That missile system, MX, is based on a programme run by Aerojet General, Hercules, United Technologies, Honeywell, Northrop, Rockwell International, Westinghouse, Logicon and Geodynamics. They have drawn or will gain approximately 30,000 million dollars from that strategic missile programme alone.

MAX SCHMIDT, *Professor; Director, Institute of International Politics and Economics (GDR).*

(c) The super profits made from the Cruise Missile programme, one missile being sold for about one million dollars, have gone primarily to General Dynamics and Boeing.

(d) The overall cost of the Trident programme had been originally assessed at some 16,300 million dollars, but it has gone up to something over 22,000 million dollars. That treasure will be pocketed by General Dynamics Corp. The record-breaking profit made by it in 1977 amounted to 103.4 million dollars.³

The military-industrial complex, with the armament corporations as its economic core, has achieved an extreme amount of power at all levels in the U.S. society. The fixed assets owned by the Pentagon, for example, are worth more than 200,000 million dollars, that is, more than all property controlled by the nation's 65 biggest industrial companies. The Pentagon signs annually 200,000 contracts with about 120,000 suppliers, with roughly 39,000 million dollars having been spent on those contracts in the 1978/79 fiscal year alone. Eleven per cent of all labour in the U.S.A. is employed within the reach of the military-industrial complex. About 50 per cent of all research and development potentials of the U.S.A. are directly or indirectly applied to military projects.⁴

Profits from Arms Race

Here are some more profiteers ranking high in the Pentagon's book of commissions:⁵

	(in millions of dollars)
1. McDonnell-Douglas Corp.	2,465
2. Lockheed Aircraft Corp.	1,510
3. Northrop Corp.	1,480
4. General Electric Co.	1,347
5. United Technologies Corp.	1,233
6. Boeing Co.	1,176
7. General Dynamics Corp.	1,073
8. Grumman Corp.	982
9. Litton Industries, Inc.	978
10. Rockwell International Corp.	966
11. Hughes Aircraft Co.	911
12. Raytheon Co.	784

Military Industrial Complex in FRG

Now, let us take a closer look at the Federal Republic of Germany. True, the military-industrial complex of the FRG is smaller than that of the U.S.A., but, nevertheless, it is increasingly comparable to a cancer growth which penetrates the organism of society. The points of military-

political command in that State are the control panels from which hostile activities are launched against peace and detente. All these are directed primarily at the States having real socialism. The strategic and tactical thinking of ruling political forces is being increasingly oriented towards hegemony over Western Europe. FRG corporations are among the most important arms manufacturers in capitalist Europe, and they have been increasing the armament portions in their turnover totals, year after year:

(a) Armament deals account for 67 per cent in the turnover of Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm GmbH or, in absolute figures, 1,200 million DM. The trend is rising.

(b) The figures for Krauss-Maffei AG, Western Europe's biggest suppliers of tanks, are 78 per cent or more than 1,000 million DM.

(c) Other armament billionaires in the FRG include

- Siemens AG, about 2,000 million DM;
- AEG-Telefunken, about 2,000 million DM;
- Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke Fokker GmbH, more than 1,000 million DM⁶.

The development of ever new and more expensive weaponry systems is systematically supported by the State, adding in a sinister way to the rising spiral of armament spending. While every capitalist will always try to minimise production cost for highest possible profit, as long as civilian commodities are on the production programme, the contrary will apply, as soon as production is switched to armament. Basically, three to five per cent is paid by the State on all outlays incurred in an armament enterprise. Price boosting, consequently, is flourishing in the armament sector. A fine illustration of that profit strategy has reached the public in the context of the MRCD/Tornado combat aircraft which had been quoted originally at 15 million DM and is quoted now at 82 million.

At present, the FRG is a supplier of weapons and other military equipment to 50 countries, annual sales accounting for more than 2,000 million DM. Many countries have obtained for their own manufacturers licences on weaponry systems from FRG firms.

The ideological advocates of the military-industrial complex have tried to belittle the part played by armament expenditures in GNP. According to their propositions, it was "as little as five or six per cent". Yet, even such amounts represent magnitudes of grave import for the situa-

tion of working people as a whole, and they are likely to bring drastic cuts to social services and other amenities.

The military-industrial complex, typically, is a conglomerate of the reactionary military, administrative bureaucracy, armament corporations, and militarist ideologists, which may be seen from the following facts:

State's Share in Armament Business in FRG

(a) The State has a vested interest in armament corporations and, consequently, becomes a direct beneficiary of armament profits. For example, MBB is the most outstanding armament corporation of international profile in the FRG. Almost half of its assets are owned in the form of shares by two State governments, 22 per cent by the government of Bavaria which is generally known for having embarked on full-scale confrontation to detente and arms control and 20.25 per cent by the State government of Hamburg.

(b) There are many retired generals, other military ranks, and public servants who have joined armament business.

(c) A legion of publicists and other ideologists is busy finding ideological justifications for and to back up the high-intensity armament programme and expansionist policies of the military-industrial complex. Adelbert Weinstein, Rüdiger Moniac, Cay Graf Brockdorf, and Wolfram von Raven are the names of some of those publicists, some of them with high military rank, who are closely associated to NATO and military bureaucracy and indulge in some kind of intellectual arms race to substantiate and enforce physical arms race.

NATO's Link with International Armament Capital

NATO, today, is a powerful military machine in the service of policies which are fully aligned to the interests of international armament capital. Military superiority is its ambition and expansion its orientation. Included in the land and air force potential of NATO in Europe are roughly 1.5 million men, 11,000 tanks, and 3,400 aircraft.⁸

NATO is a military and political complex with hundreds of generals and offices attached to it and with many authorities by which politico-strategical decisions are taken with repercussions on the destiny of numerous States.

NATO, today, also is a powerful intellectual force to produce major ideological

effects which are all opposed to the peoples' aspirations for an end to the arms race, peace, and security. A paper entitled "Ideological and Moral Aspects of Defence", for example, was prepared by staffs and conferences of NATO. The paper is a catalogue and blueprint of guidelines and recommendations for those used to advertise the policies of the military-industrial complex and a list of techniques and psychologically effective "arguments" to fight the "danger of detente". There have been other official NATO publications, such as the "NATO Letters", in which the arms race is praised and psychological warfare fanned up and recommendations made on how to undermine the Final Act of Helsinki.

It has become quite obvious that the ideologists of NATO are no longer satisfied with "slogans of danger" of merely short-term effect. What they are trying to do, to push through their strategies, is to translate them into long-lasting ideological effects.

The following confession was made, in that context, by Edward Le Fevre, one of the directors on the board of General Dynamics, and outstanding representative of the international armament industry: "It is necessary to make people believe in the existence of long-lasting danger."

To use confusing lies, to conceal real danger, and to interfere with the affairs of other States, this is the subversive ideological concept of the military-industrial complex.

Socialist Defence Policies

We wish to set truth against such lies. Truth also implies the explanation of reality in the context of socialist defence policies.

The socialist States' efforts to keep their military potential to the necessary level are by no means motivated by pressures inherent in their system. There are no social groupings or individuals whatsoever who could potentially benefit from armament. The efforts made by the socialist States to maintain their defence capability are in no way economically motivated. Their only motivation results exclusively from the fact that socialism is compelled to protect itself and to apply to that purpose such means and funds as are absolutely necessary. For every single rouble, mark or crown a socialist state is forced to spend on defence is lost for direct elevation of physical and cultural living standards of its own people.

Military spending is quite alien to the

very nature of socialism, because of social ownership of the means of production and social acquisition of any surplus produced by society. This is one of the reasons why such persistent efforts are being made by the socialist States to have the arms race, at last, terminated, the burden of armament reduced, and the resulting free funds used meaningfully.

My own State, the German Democratic Republic, was compelled to set aside for her own protection and external security 8,600 million marks this fiscal year. But one may rest assured that we could easily make quite different allocations for those funds. We could have spent much more on housing construction, child care, education or subsidies to stabilise retail prices, had we not been under the pressure of coping with aggressive intentions of others against us.

Sometimes, proposals are made to the effect that the countries of socialism should establish a good example by reducing their own defence potential. That would not only provide more funds for social services and cultural activities but also put up a sign of goodwill. Sure, we would immediately reduce our own defence budgets and take effective steps towards disarmament, if the other side reciprocates. However, unilateral initiatives by our side would encourage those circles who have all the time been trying to win military superiority. Besides, there has been much historic evidence to the effect that the beneficiaries of the arms race have never reciprocated to such gestures of goodwill.

Just remember what happened after the defeat of 14 imperialist powers' aggression against the young Soviet State, when the Red Army was reduced to one-ninth of what was necessary to meet that aggression. Reinforced armament and, eventually, the fascist invasion of the Soviet Union was the imperialist States' reaction.

Remember what happened when the USSR reduced her army by more than two million men in the late fifties, accompanied by sizeable cuts on armament and military spending. And when the USSR took an independent initiative to reduce her own armament budget in December 1963—that was another sign of goodwill—but it was ignored. On the contrary, the U.S.A. started its aggression against Viet Nam and increased its own armament efforts year after year. Despite all those developments, the USSR has refrained from increasing its own defence spending for eight years. Socialism, as it exists in reality,

has displayed a maximum amount of goodwill.

Realistic critics of the foreign policies pursued by the Soviet Union and the community of socialist States necessarily have to conclude that the military factor had never played and is not playing now a decisive role in the strategies of the foreign policy of socialism. The socialist States' military potential had always been and remains to be restricted to self-protection and defence. Neither in history nor against the background of modern developments has there ever been any single evidence to the effect that a socialist State or the socialist community was or is an initiator of the arms race. Those who undertake careful analysis of arms technologies, in particular those relating to weapons of mass destruction, must necessarily arrive at the conclusion that the Soviet Union and socialism as a whole have merely responded—in a carefully balanced manner—to imperialist challenge.

Today, there is almost parity of forces, and that parity is the very level from which military confrontation has to be reduced. Any attempt, however, to change that parity in favour of one side violates the legitimate interests of equal security for all. Equal security has to be preserved, but—important to all parties—at a lower level of armament.

We have got to demonstrate in a much more effective way where the sources of the arms race are, in order to have them dried up by action. We have got to tell people what specific, realistic, and necessary steps have to be taken for arms limitation and disarmament.

These are two aspects of one entity: to disclose the causes of armament and to fight for real steps towards disarmament.

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Global Aspects of Disarmament Problem

Mobilising World Scientific Community to End Arms Race

A. KALIADIN

THE ending of the arms race and subsequent liquidation of the huge stocks of diverse means of destruction and extermination of human beings represents one of the most topical and ambitious tasks facing mankind as a whole. The solution to the disarmament problem is of paramount importance, first of all, for the security and indeed survival of mankind, and secondly, for the feasibility of tackling other global problems.

Among these problems one should cite the provision of livelihood to hundreds of millions of persons, the build-up of the energy, raw material and food potential of mankind, the eradication of backwardness in the developing countries, preservation of the planet's ecological balance, and a host of others. However, topping the list is undoubtedly the problem of ending the arms race and instituting real disarmament.

The policy of the arms race brought about by imperialism poses a real threat to humanity's peaceful development, indeed to its very existence. Particularly grave are the problems caused by the existence of arsenals of nuclear, chemical and other mass destruction weapons the use of which is capable of triggering disastrous consequences on our planet. Detrimental implications of the arms build-up are not confined to the aggravation of the danger of nuclear catastrophe and revival of cold war atmosphere in international relations. Through diverting huge material and manpower and intellectual resources into non-

productive efforts, the arms race hampers the advancement of mankind and deprives nations of the means that are vitally needed for meeting urgent social and economic requirements. Colossal defence spending complicates the tackling of continually aggravating and vitally important global problems.

The nature and scope of these problems is such that if humanity wants to avoid serious trouble ahead, it cannot afford to squander a great share of its economic and R & D and technological potential on the arms race.

We are witnessing the diversification and strengthening of links between the struggle against militarism and the solution of the most important problems, such as the achievement of economic and social progress both in individual countries and in the community of nations as a whole, provision of material facilities for the advancement of modern civilization, transformation of detente into a global and irreversible process involving all regions of the world.

Nuclear Arms Race—Lowering of Nuclear Threshold

Nuclear arms race creates the biggest danger for mankind.

It is common knowledge, that today's stocks of nuclear weapons are sufficient for destroying the world several times over. The data to this effect is available, *inter alia*, in a number of reports prepared by groups of experts of the UN, the experts being scholars of international standing. These weapons, including their delivery systems, are being continually improved which enhances their efficiency. In the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons a trend is clearly visible which is conducive

to a higher probability of the use of nuclear weapons. Thus the emergence of weapons of increased radiation ("neutron weapons") results in the lowering of the so-called "nuclear threshold". While presenting this new type of nuclear weapon as only an anti-tank weapon, its proponents were clearly ready to allow for its use with more ease than would be the case with so-called classic types of nuclear weaponry. The same end of lowering the "nuclear threshold" is served by the miniaturization of nuclear weapons. Trends in the development of delivery systems for nuclear weapons are quite in keeping with the creation of relatively small nuclear warheads.

The development of the MARV system with its manoeuvrable warhead capable of changing direction at the final stages of the trajectory and the emergence of cruise missiles lead to the possibility of much higher accuracy of targetting, whereby the target is hit in the radius of tens of metres, rather than under one kilometre which was typical of the preceding generation of rockets. Such accuracy increases severalfold the probability of destroying land-based ICBMs in their silos. As a result, the so-called preemptive strike becomes increasingly probable. In other words, the use of high-accuracy delivery systems may be designed to ensure military advantage very early in the war through striking at the enemy's weapon arsenals and installations, which in turn may lead to aggravating the danger of nuclear conflict.

Nuclear peril is increased also by the fact that non-proliferation of nuclear weapons remains an issue far from final solution. Particularly grave would be the appearance of nuclear weapons in the hands of the states located in specially explosion-prone areas of the world. The NPT, in force since 1970, has considerably curbed the dangers inherent in the spread of nuclear weapons. However a number of states are not parties to it, and they have a considerable potential for developing nuclear weapons. South Africa and Israel, known for their aggressive stance, present new danger in this respect. The spread of nuclear technology objectively encourages countries to have capabilities for potential nuclear weapons. In 1984 approximately 30 countries that do not possess nuclear weapons will have nuclear reactors with potential capacity for producing about 30,000 kilograms of plutonium which theoretically is sufficient for manufacturing 10-20 kt bombs daily.

Chemical warfare has improved con-

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siderably, not only in terms of efficiency. The development of multi-component chemical weapons, comparatively safe to handle since noxious substances are formed only as a result of the blending of components in the process of delivery towards target, has considerably removed the remaining technical and operational limitations arising from the deployment of chemical weapons.

Typical of the current stage of the arms race is its qualitative orientation. In the context of swift scientific and technological advancement the danger arises of a fundamentally new mass destruction weapon emerging. It is believed that 10 years would be the usual period for an important technical discovery. Such discoveries may serve both mankind's good and destructive ends. The emergence of new types of mass destruction weapons and their systems is one of the most dangerous aspects of the arms race.

The main motive force of the arms race is the drive by the aggressive side to change the balance of forces in its favour. It is to this end that new weapons are developed and old ones perfected, that numerical build-up takes place. Naturally, in the interests of its security the other side cannot accept the imbalance and acts accordingly. The general result is that the balance is preserved. However, the danger remains that the aggressive side may at some stage believe it commands military superiority. Such illusions may induce it to capitalize on the alleged superiority which will lead to war.

World's Military Spending: A Great Waste

It is estimated that the world's military spending has for some years stood at about 350 billion U.S. dollars a year in current prices. The sum should be seen as a sheer deduction from mankind's material resources. Indeed, defence-related activities in the world absorb annually the volume of resources approximately equal to two-thirds of the aggregate GNP of the countries representing the poorer half of the world's population.

Military spending today is illustrated in terms of its size by the following facts. The World Health Organization has spent about 83 million dollars in the past 10 years to eradicate smallpox in the world. However this sum would fall short of the price-tag on one modern strategic bomber. WHO's programme to eradicate malaria, believed to require about 450 million dollars for execution, is being put off owing

to lack of funds. However, what has been spent on it in the past few years represents only half of the daily military spending and amounts to only one-third of the price of a Trident submarine equipped with nuclear weapons.

Huge human resources that could be profitably used in peaceful areas are diverted to programmes designed to develop means of destruction. Furthermore, each new generation of weapons requires more R & D effort. Since the arms race is being increasingly channelled into the qualitative direction, defence attracts the highest skill bracket of manpower (scientists, specialists, managers, skilled workers).

Huge military spending aggravates inflation and complicates balance of payments situation. This results in economic disruption in some countries.

Such global problems as the preservation of the ecological balance are being compounded as a result of the arms race in a most direct manner. Military activities in peace-time, defence industries, military installations, exercises and other related activities make an adverse effect on the otherwise badly affected environment.

War causes particularly acute harm to the environment. During the Vietnam war U.S. troops used a chemical substance that contained dioxin. In the four-year period more than 110 kg of dioxin were sprayed over about one million hectares of forests and lands of South Vietnam. The substance is marked for fast absorption by ecosystems and living organisms forming them. The substance is almost impossible to remove once it has made inroads into ecosystems. A consequence of dioxin application may be the transformation of a contaminated area into an uninhabitable territory for a long time. The aftermath of the Vietnam war, particularly the use of dioxin and its impact on the environment and ecosystems, is such that the period of restoration is estimated to be several decades at least.

The arms race also has adverse implications for the development of international economic relations, particularly, trade. Trade is especially affected through restrictions imposed on so-called strategic items that may include anything from commodities to sophisticated technology. The political aspect of the problem is also very important. If military rivalry is eliminated or at least substantially weakened, considerable obstacles like mistrust and suspicion would be removed which are hampering the implementation of global projects.

Problem of Unemployment

Arms race proponents do their best to present this dangerous process as something just short of serving the peoples' best interests. They claim, for instance, that disarmament or discontinuation of some concrete programmes of armaments may increase the number of unemployed. This concept will not stand up to any criticism. Indeed, the resources currently used in defence-related fields could, in the event of reduction or discontinuation of this or that area of production, be channelled to peaceful projects. If thus used, these resources would provide jobs to more persons than is the case, usually, with defence industries. As a rule, military-related production depends on more sophisticated technology and costlier machinery than civilian fields. Therefore manpower costs represent a smaller share of production costs in defense fields than in civilian ones.

According to U.S. government estimates, one billion dollars creates 76,000 jobs in military industries. However, the same sum would create over 100,000 jobs if used for financing civilian projects run by the Federal government in the U.S.A.

Another myth spread by the proponents of the arms race is that defence R & D allegedly encourages discoveries in the civilian sector, thereby advancing technological progress in peaceful fields. In doing so they refer to nuclear energy, civil aviation, radiolocation, space technology and some other areas. However, experience shows that findings of civilian R & D are used in military fields in a much wider manner than the other way round. But even in cases where military discoveries are used for peaceful purposes it does not follow that similar discoveries would have been impossible for purely peaceful ends if the same resources had been made available as for defense R & D.

The arms race is in sharp contradiction with the vital interests of mankind as a whole. All this heightens the significance of military detente and disarmament as the avenue of the main thrust for mankind's peaceful future. At the same time international developments have reached the stage at which genuine possibilities exist for executing a broad range of measures designed to curb the arms race. These possibilities arise from the establishment of an approximate balance in military terms between the USSR and U.S.A. and between the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO. The progress of political detente in

international relations is yet another reason for the emergence of such possibilities.

In this context the measures to limit arms, albeit individual and partial, merit attention. At any rate, these measures that have become a reality make it possible to observe how favourable for the solution of global problems disarmament may turn out to be. Thus, the Moscow treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water (1963) put up considerable obstacles for radioactive contamination of the environment. The non-proliferation treaty of 1970 created more propitious conditions for the advancement of cooperation in peaceful applications of nuclear energy which is undoubtedly geared toward the solution of the energy problem. The treaty prohibiting the placing of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons on sea-bed and ocean-floor and under them and the treaty concerned with the principles of research and utilisation of outer space laid the basis for further steps towards peaceful exploration of the seabed and outer space. The Convention on the banning of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological weapons and on their destruction has prevented such a global disaster as artificially caused epidemics. Finally, the Convention banning military or any other hostile use of natural environment is directly aimed at preventing adverse effects on it.

The curbing of the global arms race and its reversal is a task of tremendous complexity affecting the entire complex of political, strategic, economic, organisational and technical problems.

The world today is characterised by the presence of states having different social systems, each with its specifics arising from the economic level, particular political situations and political development, distinct national backgrounds. These states interact in most diverse ways. The latter include the state of war, or acute hostility, or close alliance, as well as a combination of cooperation in some fields with uneasy relations in others. In spite of this complicated and contradictory socio-political picture, it is objective reality that eradication of the danger of war, termination of the arms race and radical disarmament are vitally essential. The future of mankind depends on the solution to this problem. It can only be tackled through collective efforts of nations and actions of many states irrespective of their social systems.

A prominent role in this can be played

by scientists and scientific community whose voice is particularly relevant in the struggle against the creation and perfection of dangerous weapons of mass destruction, various types of nuclear weapons, development and manufacture of which are unthinkable without the participation of highly qualified specialists—scientists, engineers, technicians.

Mobilising World Scientific Community

The most important area of activity of the World Federation of Scientific Workers is concerned with its efforts to mobilize the world scientific community for the struggle to ease international tension and act against the development, stockpiling and use of atomic, biological and chemical weapons, for general and complete disarmament.

The WFSW is mounting considerable effort so that science and technology be used exclusively for humanistic ends, for mankind's benefit. The WFSW does a great deal to enhance the scientists' responsibility before society for their discoveries, for the nature of utilisation of results of their research. Work in this direction is of great importance since without the participation of scientists, engineers and technicians the qualitative arms race would be over.

The Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community are waging an unrelenting struggle with a view to solving the problem of ending the arms race and bringing about real disarmament.

The socialist community of nations has put forward a realistic programme which, while strictly observing the principle of undiminished security of all sides, envisages the ending of the further qualitative and quantitative build-up of arms, concrete measures designed to limit arms, including a ban and destruction of some types of existing weaponry, the exclusion of certain spheres and areas of the world from the arms race, systematic reduction of military spending, etc. These proposals are fully in keeping with the interests of the entire humanity and serve a powerful impulse and milestone for peace-loving public all over the world in the struggle to check the arms race and achieve disarmament. The nuclear field is the most important direction of this thrust.

The problem of abolishing nuclear weapons could have been solved in a much easier way at the time they first emerged. It was then that the USSR had proposed to ban them for good. The USSR has not

slackened the thrust in this direction since then.

In 1978 the USSR advanced a proposal to end the production of nuclear weapons in all their shapes and sizes and to gradually reduce their stocks until they are completely abolished. This proposal was later elaborated and developed in the Committee on Disarmament. The Soviet Union did its best to achieve accord on SALT-2. Further, the Soviet Union is trying to bring about a speedy and successful completion of the tri-partite talks on the general and complete ban on nuclear weapons tests, to make headway at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and arms in Central Europe and at the talks on banning weapons, as well in a number of other directions.

In 1975 the Soviet Union put forth a proposal calling for a conclusion of agreement to ban the creation of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons. The conclusion of such an agreement would be an obstacle for the qualitative arms race. It would make it possible to reconvert the resources and means for peaceful purposes, including global projects. The reduction of military budgets would also be an important step that will make it possible to release additional funds for peaceful purposes while at the same time placing material constraints on the arms race. Soviet foreign policy is also searching in this direction, proposing various possible approaches toward the solution of this problem.

Alongside these efforts, of extreme importance is the stepping up of massive international actions in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for achieving a decisive breakthrough in the ending of the arms race. It is becoming increasingly important to involve in the international movement against the arms race new segments of the world's population, to strengthen the unity of peace forces, to become deeply aware of the fact that it is only through the converged efforts of the entire peace-loving mankind that a way could be opened up towards disarmament and eradication of wars of extermination.

The truth about the lie of the century

In view of all the lurid trash piling up in the bookshops of the capitalist world which seeks to bring a third world war nearer by representing it as inevitable, every publication which lays bare the mechanism of psychological war preparation, deserves particular credit. This is all the more true if the publication in question takes as its subject such a standard lie as the legend of the "Soviet threat" which, as everyone knows, was used to justify the war of intervention waged by the imperialist powers against the infant Soviet state, the preparation of the Second World War, the ushering in of the cold war after 1945, the pressurizing of and interventions against national liberation movements, the spiralling up of the arms race, and the torpedoing of all attempts to achieve disarmament.

That this lie of the century is totally without foundation is shown by Gerhard Kade, Vice-president of the International Peace Institute in Vienna, with solid arguments and incontestable facts in a book which has recently appeared in the Federal Republic of Germany: *Die Bedrohungslüge - Zur Legende von der 'Gefahr aus dem Osten'* (The Lying Legend of a "Threat from the East"). He points out that the Soviet Union in the over sixty years of its history has never attacked another country or people. "The six decades represent a history of struggle against aggression, against imperialist attacks, and against the practice of subjecting nations to military menaces, which has its ultimate origin in the drive for profit." Set against this is the fact that in the period since 1945 alone the U.S.A. has in a total of 215 cases either threatened or actually used its military might. On 33 occasions U.S. imperialism threatened to use nuclear weapons, twice against the Soviet Union. In 121 cases other imperialist powers engaged in acts of aggression.

Gerhard Kade adduces documents to prove that all important initiatives for

disarmament and the policy of peaceful coexistence came either from the Soviet Union alone or from the socialist community of states. The continuity of the struggle for disarmament may be traced from the proposals for a general limitation of armaments and military forces, which the USSR put forward at the Geneva Conference in 1922, up to the present day. Since 1945 alone there have been over 100 Soviet proposals aimed at achieving disarmament and military détente. All these proposals have been informed by a single idea: the need to secure in the long term the most important of human rights, the right to a life in peace. And to those in the West who ask if these proposals are sincere or only propaganda, the author has this to say: "One ought to take the socialist world at its word. One should conclude the proposed agreements. The mere imputation that the socialist countries do not mean their peace initiatives seriously, carries no conviction."

The high-ranking NATO officers who assert that the Warsaw Treaty is arming excessively, are left without a leg to stand on. The bourgeois media's juggling with figures concerning Soviet defence expenditure, troop level and "gaps in the Western arsenal" is exposed as the fraud it is.

● Between 1965 and 1978 the military budgets of the NATO countries rose by more than 100 to 200 per cent. Soviet defence expenditure in the seventies even sank by 700 million roubles. Today the arms expenditure of the USSR came to about 93 dollars per head of the population, while in the U.S.A. they come to 391 dollars. In the period after the Second World War the NATO countries have spent about twice as much on armaments as the countries of the Warsaw Treaty.

● The hysterical campaigns in the West about "bomber gaps" and "missile gaps" have always served the sole aim ushering in new rounds of the arms race. This is also shown by the listing in the book of all the

most important innovations made by the U.S.A. and the USSR in the field of military technology since 1945, which reveals that the U.S.A. has generally introduced new weapons systems several years before the Soviet Union.

● The assertion about the Soviet Union's allegedly higher troop levels ignores the fact that the Pentagon in making its calculations includes both the Soviet Union's frontier troops and internal security forces—Civil Defence, for example. The same goes for construction units. The kind of work they do is carried out by private firms in the United States. Moreover, besides the 2.5 million members of the U.S. Army there are over a million civilian employees who work for it. It is also a fact that in 1976 an approximate military balance existed between the forces of the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty states in Central Europe. While after 1976 the Warsaw Treaty did not raise its force levels and the socialist states at the beginning of the Vienna talks proposed a reduction of force and armament levels in Europe and the "freezing" of the force levels of both sides, since that date the NATO countries have repeatedly increased the number of troops they have in Western Europe.

Besides, the author notes, a mere comparison of figures is misleading. "(Such a comparison) leaves out of account historical experience, variations in geographical situation, the differing nature of possible dangers to the security of different countries, of differences of military development. Thus, for example, in recent years NATO has lamented the strengthening of Soviet security forces. In doing so it has deliberately refrained from mentioning two things: first, that NATO has a powerful naval offensive capacity which has been further expanded in the seventies, and second, that the Soviet Union has a 40,000 kilometre coastline to defend."

The language of figures, the nature of the problems involved, and the aim of their policy of peace reveal that the socialist countries in strengthening their armed forces in no way go beyond the real needs of their security.

The lie of a threat from the socialist countries—Gerhard Kade's argument proceeds—stands in contradiction to the socio-economic and political system of socialism. In support of this he mentions three basic facts:

First, the fact that under socialism there is no monopolistic ownership of the means of production, and that consequently the

subjection and plundering of other nations, foreign sources of raw materials and markets are foreign to its nature;

Second, that neither in the political nor the economic sphere there is any social stratum or group that would have a material interest in war or could derive economic benefits, privileges or profits from armaments or war preparations;

Third, the fact that given their grand economic aims and social policies the socialist countries would sooner let all those who work so diligently with hand or brain reap the fruits of production for peace today rather than tomorrow. To guarantee the success of their peaceful plans extending decades into the future, they are in no need of any warlike conflagrations in which people would be killed, civilization destroyed and the achievements of humanity annihilated. "If an intense desire for peace informs every utterance and every measure of socialist policy, it is not a matter of tactical ingenuity, but a proof of the meaning of socialism, which makes theoretical, historical and practical nonsense out of the lying assertion that it constitutes a threat."

Imperialism on the other hand, continues to rest on the exploitation of its own and the oppression of other peoples and the plundering of the latter's natural resources. Its aggressiveness and the arms race are derived from its drive for hegemony and profit. "Maximum profits through armaments—this is in fact an essential driving force of the arms race unleashed and stepped up by the military-industrial complex. Experience shows that the big capitalist arms monopolies make two or three times as much out of arms deals as they do out of the production of civilian goods." Thus the lie of the century about the "threat from the East" turns out to be something invented by the arms industry in order to protect its own existence.

The lie of a threat on the part of the socialist countries provides nothing but a pretext for an unrestrained arms buildup and preparations for war. At the same time NATO strategists are pursuing the aim of weakening the socialist countries economically by constantly accelerating the pace of the arms race, of forcing them to divert resources from their social programmes and abandon their strategy of steadily rising prosperity for the people, and hence of weakening these countries internally. "Hitler also entertained the hope that all one needed to do was to give the Soviet Union, that "clay colossus", a sharp knock

from without, and it would collapse as a result of its internal difficulties."

Turning to the imperialist inventions about a "Soviet threat" to the developing countries, Gerhard Kade notes that the socialist countries were always among the first to recognize the 82 new states which emerged in the period between 1945 and 1976 and voted for their entry to the United Nations. Besides, the Soviet Union proposed that a part of the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council should be diverted to the solution of the pressing problems facing the developing countries. "Does that look like a 'threat'?"

The lie about a Soviet threat is rather intended to help justify imperialism's neo-colonialist policy of annexation and intervention, with which it aims to restore colonialism to its former positions. Close on 100 military actions have been unleashed since 1945 by imperialist powers against newly emergent nations. So if there is to be any talk of a threat to Africa, it should rather concern those who oppose the establishment of a new economic order in the world based on equity and are ready to resort to any kind of military violence the moment their accustomed access to raw materials is barred.

Finally, the author takes issue with the lie about the "export of revolution", with which the imperialist powers have sought to underpin their legend of a Soviet threat since 1917. "No reputable bourgeois historian would deny," he writes, "the important impulses for the development of democratic political and social forms that emanated from the French revolution. Every one of them, however, would rightly resist the notion that the American or German bourgeois revolution had been delivered from Paris "on order". Revolutionary changes are a result of the internal social processes taking place in individual countries. "It is after all logical: Exploitation gives rise to resistance to exploitation. Oppression lends determination and strength to eliminate oppression. The internal contradictions and their aggravation in any particular country are the root cause and motive determining the movement of social progress."

However, if one regards "peaceful co-existence" as a policy designed to prevent the emergence of "revolutions" in the capitalist countries by all means (and hence also at the cost of progressively undermining the democratic constitution), while at the same time continuing one's attempts

to generate new "revolutionary situations" in the socialist countries by means of psychological warfare, it is not surprising if worn-out concoctions of the cold war are resorted to—the lie about the threat from the East. It is, however, hardly believable that the revival of the cold war should be effective as a guarantee against social up-heavals or revolutions within the realm of imperialism now, since the cold war of the past was not even in a position to prevent the collapse of colonial empires.

In addition, the publication contains a host of remarkable confessions on the part of important bourgeois politicians, military and media organs showing that the legend of the "threat from the East" is a lie. A comprehensive appendix containing documents and quotations from speeches by such leading politicians as Hitler, Churchill, Adenauer, Haig, Strauss and Brzezinski, as well as conclusive press quotations, reveals the source of the lie of the century and its utilization by Nazi Germany, by the advocates of the cold war and the Federal Association of German Industry in the Federal Republic of Germany for their deliberate design of a maximum arms build-up. The careful reader will notice that the Nazi scare propaganda used by Hitler in his ideological preparation for the Second World War differs not at all either in spirit or letter from the scare propaganda in the days of the cold war, nor does it differ—or only very slightly—from present-day propaganda utterances. Last but not least, the peace proposals and disarmament initiatives tabled by the socialist countries are included.

Summing up it can be said that Gerhard Kade's book is a sober analysis which should be on the bookshelves of every peace-loving individual. It will put the reader in possession of even more pointed and convincing arguments to counter the enemies of détente, arms limitation and disarmament and to dissipate the lies of their propaganda and expose them in the eyes of the world as enemies of humanity. It is in every sense an inducement to bring one's own experience to bear in the political debate. Its significance for the peace movement is self-evident. It would therefore be highly desirable if a new and updated edition were to be prepared in due course.

Gerhard Kade, *Die Bedrohungslüge – Zur Legende von der "Gefahr aus dem Osten"*, Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, Cologne 1979, 294 pages



30 Years of COMECON

Influence on Broadening International Economic Cooperation

A. KODATCHENKO

THE objective evaluation of the role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) in the implementation of the goals of the New International Economic Order requires answers to a number of questions concerning the main quantitative and qualitative indicators of its functioning. First of all, in what terms COMECON's influence on international economic development might be measured comprehensively.

In the present short article, it is difficult to embrace all aspects of such a multidimensional evaluation. But still it is worthwhile to identify the main guidelines of such an analysis.

Embracing 18.7 per cent of the world's territory and 10.4 per cent of the world's population (437 million), COMECON celebrates its thirtieth anniversary this year. Thirty years is a sufficient period for an international organization to properly appraise the results achieved in comparison with other models of economic cooperation and integration in the contemporary world.

The salient feature of COMECON's community is that its members have similar socio-economic systems and they apply the same methods of centrally planned development based on dominance of publicly owned means of production. It means that business cycles with their painful recessions and high rates of inflation and unemployment, typical for market economies, are completely eliminated for this group of countries.

The principles on which the COMECON's membership is built are fundamentally different from those practised in the market economy groupings. They are based on

genuine respect for national sovereignty, independence and national interest, non-interference in internal affairs, full equality, mutual benefit and friendly mutual assistance.

Results Achieved and Future Strategy

The results achieved in COMECON's economic development show clearly enough that this community possesses the unprecedented ability to build modern economic structure in a comparatively short historic period of time. For 30 years of its functioning the rates of growth of COMECON's aggregate national income were three times, and the industrial production four times, higher than in the western market economy countries. COMECON's members have increased their share in world industrial output from approximately one-sixth to one-third of the total. Industrially, they are now more powerful than the U.S.A. or the West European countries taken together.

The progress achieved by the Council members in gaining economic power enabled them to increase substantially the living standards of its population. In the socialist society, improvements in the standard of life are the final aim of the socio-economic policy. The effective tactics applied in this field are a steady increase in wages in real terms. About 20 per cent of the total private consumption comes from social funds, which provide free services, as well as pensions and allowances. The rate of growth of social funds is, as a rule higher than those of wages. (Patterns on government expenditure on social services. U.N., 1979, pp. 47-49.)

The rapid growth of national income as a basis for parallel increase of the living standards of the population has been the major way of proving that the COMECON community has acquired great dynamism in its development.

The future strategy of social and economic development of COMECON's countries, envisages more emphasis put on augmentation of effectiveness of production in general, especially on further acceleration of labour efficiency. Such a move is stipulated by the high level of production potential reached, the accelerated pace of scientific and technological progress, and the improvements in management and skilled personnel training. The move towards the intensification of economy is caused also by the relative exhaustion of extensive sources in expanding reproduction. All the member-countries have reached the saturation point in employment of the adult population. The demographic situation is not entirely favourable for the growth of employment rates in the next two decades. The sources of labour reinforcement have been practically exhausted in recent years, mainly due to the agricultural intensification in the majority of the countries.

Under these conditions, the planning and management mechanisms are faced with a task to speed up efficiency.

Due to what is stated above, COMECON's member-countries are doing their utmost to exploit the advantages of mutual cooperation and integration as a powerful tool to raise the efficiency of production of the community as a whole.

Mechanism of Integration

The COMECON community applies economic integration for the benefit of all its member states, for promoting of economic growth and the well-being of the population.

Cooperation in planning and especially in coordinating national economic plans are the principal methods of deepening the international socialist division of labour. The socialist integration stimulates the growth of efficiency through use of its main instruments.

A. KODATCHENKO, *Professor; Director, Secretariat of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development.*

COMECON's economic integration provides measures to specialize production on a multilateral basis. At present, in the machine-building field alone, there are 78 multilateral agreements signed for specialization and cooperation in production, covering the output of more than 8,000 engineering items.

The socialist integration means joint exploitation of natural resources to meet their fast growing needs in energy, fuel, and basic raw materials. An example is the oil pipeline "Friendship", built in the late sixties and early seventies by five countries. The pipeline provides considerable savings to each country. By 1975, it had already paid back three times over. Another example is the pipeline "Soyuz", one of the biggest projects in the current five-year period, built by seven countries.

The socialist integration creates opportunities for the construction in each country of modern large scale enterprises, with specialized production lines.

The socialist integration allows for raising the efficiency of the leading industries by constructing modern interstate complexes.

The socialist integration stimulates the rapid and effective implementation of enlarged scientific and technological innovations in key branches of national economy. In the field of scientific and technical cooperation, 56 centres or coordinating activities have been set up, and over 14,000 theoretical and applied studies have been completed by joint effort. Many of them have already produced a great economic effect.

Agriculture and food industries are

increasingly important fields of COMECON's integration. The cooperation in this field is aimed at improving the effectiveness of raising livestock and crop farming in all member countries.

Advantages of Socialist Methods of Integration

One of the advantages of the socialist methods of integration is that COMECON has created conditions for gradually closing the existing gap in the levels of social and economic development of member states. As a result formerly economically backward countries, such as Cuba and Mongolia, have made rapid progress within the community framework.

Observing the achievements reached, it is appropriate to emphasize bottlenecks which COMECON's integration might confront in the near future:

- 1. Thus, there is some tensility in some countries of the socialist community. The purpose of future goal-oriented cooperation programmes in this field is to identify and eliminate such shortages in the future.
- 2. The most overwhelming task is to enhance the economic interstate complementarity on the basis of deepening international division of labour and specialization within COMECON.
- 3. The formulation and implementation of long-term programmes for specialization and cooperation in production should be speeded up.
- 4. The socialist countries need to raise the effectiveness of management and to this end broaden the exchange of management skills.
- 5. It is necessary to ensure a more efficient administrative performance of the mechanism of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

COMECON in International Economic Cooperation

In analysing COMECON's role in international economic cooperation, it is appropriate to pay attention to its growing contribution to the promotion and reshaping of international economic relations on democratic and just principles.

Such interest is motivated mainly by their resolute stand against any concept of automatic development and proceeds from the understanding that broad and mutually advantageous cooperation of states in economic, scientific, technical and other

fields is a necessary pre-condition of their accelerated social and economic progress. The creation and/or strengthening of large scale and long-term international cooperation will undoubtedly positively influence the processes of detente and disarmament, providing a solid basis for peaceful coexistence of countries having different socio-economic systems.

The socialist countries' basic approach to strengthen international economic, scientific and technological cooperation is set forth clearly enough in a number of their official statements of recent years. (See, for example, the Joint Statement by Socialist Countries at the Fourth Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (TD/211).

These statements stressed the necessity to abolish all forms of discrimination in international economic relations. Such relations should be guided by principles of peaceful coexistence, non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, irrespective of their socio-economic system, and their national sovereignties. These principles presuppose observation of full equality and mutual advantages of international cooperation in all spheres and at all levels. Strict application of these principles, rejections of discrimination and any other artificial obstacles in all forms, foreign domination and exploitation are the prerequisites of successful international economic cooperation.

Decolonization in Economic Sphere

The efforts of COMECON countries in utilizing these principles constitute their genuine and considerable contribution to the establishment of a New International Economic Order. The socialist countries support the demands of the developing nations of restructuring of international relations in accordance with the progressive principles of a New International Economic Order. It means, first of all, that the process of decolonization must be extended to the economic sphere; it is essential to put an end to the oppression perpetrated by the foreign monopolies and by their exploitation of the natural and human resources of developing countries.

From its organization in 1949, COMECON has been functioning as an international body never practising any form of discrimination against other states and open for all other states' participation. This principle is formally fixed in its Charter. The socialist countries have undertaken the



COMEA-building in Moscow

A recent session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance



necessary organizational, legal and economic measures to enable other countries and international organizations to take part in the work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The Comprehensive Programme of 1971 also reaffirmed COMECON's willingness to develop economic relations with all countries, irrespective of their socio-economic systems. The COMECON is involved in the activities of some 60 international inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations. The activities of COMECON are fully in line with the principles of the United Nations Charter and help to materialize the provision of the Final Act of the recent Helsinki and Belgrade Conferences.

Cooperation with Developed Countries

Economic relations between COMECON and industrially developed countries have become increasingly important. The biggest share in East-West economic relations belongs to Europe, more than 70 per cent of the total trade turnover between capitalist and socialist countries. For a number of West-European countries, for instance France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy, the socialist states have become an important partner.

In this connexion, it would be relevant to stress the importance of compensation agreements as an effective tool of extended cooperation. The implementation of compensation agreements not only expands output and helps to build new production facilities, but also raises labour productivity through the diffusion of the latest scientific and technological innovations. Economic relations between the COMECON and industrially developed Western countries have already become a stabilizing factor in world economy. According to recent calculations, economic ties with COMECON's countries alone have provided jobs for 2 to 2.5 million workers in Western countries.

However, the present volume and structure of economic ties between COMECON's members and the Western countries do not correspond to its possibilities. The development of economic cooperation between COMECON as its partners is hindered by balance of payment difficulties. In this connexion it is necessary to express once again that the socialist countries can expand their purchases on western markets only to the limit of the volume of their receipts for exported goods. Naturally fundamental changes are needed in this sphere. Western countries should eliminate discriminatory practices in their relations with COMECON countries. The lessening of unbalanced trade between East and West might be regarded as an effective solution to the problem as a whole.

COMECON and Developing Countries

As far as the developing countries are concerned, COMECON devotes special attention to the expansion of equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation, thereby contributing to the implementation of their socio-economic programmes, meeting their national needs and eliminating the remnants of colonialism. The main form of economic cooperation between them is trade. However, the growing importance in recent years is attached to expanding economic assistance.

Today COMECON countries render economic and technical assistance to 78 developing states. This assistance is aimed at solving the major development problems of the young sovereign states and promoting their economic independence. It is effected on the basis of intergovernmental agreements providing for long-term mutually beneficial cooperation.

COMECON countries, in order to implement their assistance programmes, have rendered developing states with longterm credit on favourable conditions.

A total of 3,560 projects have been, are

being, or will be built in developing countries with COMECON's technical and economic assistance. Of these, about 2,900 are already operational. As a result of cooperation with COMECON, some developing countries have laid the basis for their national independent economic complexes. Thus, the backbone of India's state sector comprises 338 enterprises built with the assistance of COMECON countries. For example, intergovernmental agreements on scientific and technical cooperation have been signed by the Soviet Union with Algeria, Bolivia, Guinea, India, Iran, Iraq, Columbia, Morocco, Mexico, Syria and other countries.

Training local personnel holds an important place in COMECON's cooperation with developing states. The number of students, post-graduates and probationers from developing states studying in vocational schools, institutes and research institutions in member-countries has exceeded 50,000 from more than 100 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

On the other hand, specialists from COMECON go to developing states to render technical and other assistance. Many institutions of higher learning and secondary specialized schools have been built, as well as training centres and vocational schools. Over 170 institutions of different types are under construction in the developing states with COMECON's assistance.

COMECON's economic and technical cooperation with developing states is a positive factor strengthening the latter's position in the struggle against the vestige of colonialism, in raising the socio-economic and cultural standards of the people of the developing countries.

In conclusion, the COMECON members are persistently working to broaden international economic cooperation which is becoming a factor of increasing importance of the progressive principles of a New International Economic Order.

Mongolia's March Towards Building a New World for Its People

BHAGAT VATS

MONGOLIA is an ancient country, but a young nation, which has blazed a trail of its own in the twentieth century. Since its revolution in 1921, under the heroic leadership of Sukhe Bator, Mongolia has been making steady progress, surmounting many odds, to modernise and industrialise itself on the basis of the non-capitalist path of development.

I visited Mongolia as a representative of the World Peace Council in September 1979 at the invitation of the Mongolian Peace Committee. What strikes a visitor most is the boundless fervour and enthusiasm of the Mongolian people to build their country.

Mongolia's population of 1,300,000 comprises 70 per cent young people who are below 35; its economic, industrial, educational, cultural institutions are all young; so are its towns and cities. This vast land, four times the size of France, is poised for a great take-off in its industrial development. The people of Mongolia are acquiring knowledge in every field, learning new skills, new techniques to transform their agro-industrial economy into an industrial one with a strong agricultural base. And they are succeeding in the tasks they have undertaken—the Mongolian nation is on the march to win new victories, peaceful victories in all spheres of economic and cultural activity.

It would be worthwhile to go back to the time when Mongolia broke the chains of feudal slavery, oppression of foreign rulers and internal reaction, to appreciate the progress made in the last five decades. At that time the Mongolian race was on the very verge of extinction. It was due to a kind of genocide which was practised there for centuries by the foreign oppressors, who had distorted Buddhism into Lamaism as a vicious tool of their policy. Every Mongolian household was forced to send the flower of its manhood into the Lama order

to lead a life of celibacy and parasitism. Seven hundred monasteries were established in Mongolia where in 1921 one-fifth of the population of the country (approximately 100,000 people) lived a parasitical, non-productive life. A disastrous consequence of this policy was the forced assimilation of the Mongolian people under which Mongolian women were obliged to marry in greater numbers men belonging to the race of the foreign oppressors.

President Yumjogin Tsendenbal of Mongolia recently described the poverty of those times, thus: "When it was freedom from the Chinese invaders and White Guards, who were tools in the hands of Japanese militarists and other imperialist forces, Mongolia had no industry, no modern transport and no reasonably developed agriculture. It was a country of poverty and almost complete illiteracy and its trade and economy were dominated by foreign capital."

Here one should hasten to add that Mongolia has got out of this feudal backwardness as a result of the devoted efforts of its people during the last five decades and more.

We may quote President Tsendenbal again to show the rapid progress which has been made in recent years: "Here are just three facts that give an idea of how Mongolia has changed under people's rule. It now takes our country just five minutes to produce as much as it produced in 1922. Life expectancy has more than doubled in this period and today averages 65 years. In 1925 there were only two doctors in Mongolia; today we have 21 doctors per 10,000 inhabitants, or more than in such developed countries as Britain, France, Italy or Japan... Life has shown that as a result of our Party's policy of increasing cooperation with socialist countries, Mongolia's economy and culture have made rapid progress, raising our country to the level of medium-developed countries. It should be noted that the Mongolians' standard of living is superior to that of most Asian peoples and many times higher than that of the Chinese."

The Mongolian people have received tremendous help and cooperation from the Soviet Union in consolidating their political and economic independence, defending it from encroachments by foreign powers, including a massive invasion of Mongolia by the Japanese militarists in 1939, and building its economy. This Mongolian-Soviet cooperation is, in fact, a marvel of the present times.

Mongolian-Soviet cooperation is visible in different parts of Mongolia where modern industry is being built, new towns and cities are beginning to flourish, more roads and railways are being laid, and the first steps are being taken to tap the rich natural resources of Mongolia.

The industrial-technical base which was started to be set up some decades ago with Soviet help and cooperation is enabling Mongolia to benefit from its membership of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). The selfless cooperation that is being rendered to Mongolia by the socialist countries in Eastern Europe will transform the face of this country in a few decades.

An indication of the vast mineral resources Mongolia possesses is already available in the geological surveys that have been completed with the help of the socialist countries. Over 500 minerals, deposits or ore outcroppings, including ferrous, non-ferrous and rare metals, have been discovered so far.

The surveys have shown that Mongolia has sizeable deposits of tin, phosphate rock, copper-molybdenum ores, gold, coal, kaolin, gypsum, zinc, refractory clays, fluor spar and other minerals.

While geological prospecting goes apace in various parts of Mongolia, progress has been made in starting the exploitation of these resources in certain specific fields.

Darkhan—City of Friendship

The city of Darkhan which is rightly called the friendship city has become a symbol of CMEA activities in Mongolia. A gloomy and depressing place in 1960 with only a small railway station, a wayside halt with a few run-down shacks, Darkhan today is a bustling modern city with 60,000 people, broad avenues lined with trees, factories and plants, housing complexes, a modern theatre, administrative offices. It also supplies electric power to some mechanised cooperative farms in its suburbs.

BHAGAT VATS, *Journalist and author*
(India)

I spent a day and a half in Darkhan, 160 kilometres from Ulan Bator, which gave me a feel of the rapid development that is taking place in Mongolia. A number of industrial consumer enterprises, including a fur coat factory, a meat packing plant, a milk and candy enterprise, a brick-making factory, have been built in Darkhan with the help of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. They are working to full capacity, some have four shifts, increasing the gross output of Mongolia and its export resources.

What struck me most in Darkhan was that all the enterprises are being run by the Mongolians themselves, with only nominal help in certain enterprises of a few specialists from the socialist countries which had initially helped in setting them up. The average age of the directors and chief engineers of these enterprises is between thirty and thirty-five, sometimes it is less. Another impressive feature is the large participation of women, both as workers and specialists, in this industrial activity. At the brick-making factory I met a woman who is an MP, Mrs. N. Tsendpil. She has another distinction, she is the Vice Chairperson of Mongolia's Parliament.

The theatre in Darkhan is the hub of cultural activity where Mongolia's rich ancient folk music and dance are being preserved and developed. A half-hour performance of dance and music improvised at short notice for the representative of the World Peace Council by the young producer, I. Nyamgavaa and his ensemble, comprising very young people, will remain a lasting memory with me of Mongolia's rich heritage of dance, song and music.

The Mongolian architects who helped plan Darkhan have divided the city into three parts with green belts in between them—the administrative part, the industrial area and the one reserved for apartment buildings.

Erdenet-Industrial Giant

Another city which is on its way to becoming world famous is called Erdenet. Here is being constructed Asia's biggest copper-molybdenum ore-dressing plant whose first section was inaugurated on 14 December 1978. This Mongolian-Soviet project will become an industrial giant which will bring Mongolia on the industrial map of the world. It was rightly described by President Tsedenbal on the occasion of the commissioning of its first section as opening another golden page in the history of the traditionally fraternal mutual relations and all round cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union.

The first section of this plant will handle four million tons of ore a year. When it goes on full production it will be one of the largest enterprises of its kind in the world. Its impact on the economy of Mongolia will be tremendous—it will double the country's industrial output and export capabilities.

Erdenet is developing as a new modern city with an architecture of its own; it will bring the comforts of urbanisation to a large number of people. But its greatest contribution will be to put Mongolia on the road to becoming an industrial-agrarian state. This is another city of Mongolia's future.

Peking Rulers' Hostile Propaganda

Wherever one goes in Mongolia today, the hostile activities of the Peking rulers against Mongolia come up for discussion. While the Mongolian people entertain no hostility towards the common people of China, they do regret the Peking rulers' hegemonistic and expansionist policy which they say has served as a brake on Mongolia's development. Mongolia could develop faster if it did not have to spend a large part of its resources to defend its border against innumerable provocations from China.

Mongolian publications warn against the bellicose propaganda of the Peking rulers who have openly stated that they regard Mongolia as one of their "unliberated territories".

Several representatives of Mongolian public opinion I met stressed the need of exposing the collaboration of the Peking rulers with the forces of imperialism and war in the western countries. They expressed great concern about the militarisation of China with the supply of arms from the U.S.A., Britain and other western countries. They hoped that the workers in those countries would join the progressive forces in the world to raise their voice against China's militarisation which would pose a serious threat to peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

According to official Mongolian statements, the number of provocations committed by the Chinese rulers against their neighbours over their 20,000 km.-long border in the last ten years exceeds the number of all border conflicts during the same period in the rest of the world. The Mongolian statements list in particular the



Ulan Bator's changing skyline with new apartment buildings



Children of Mongolia

following Chinese provocations against their neighbours: the Chinese invasion of Indian territory in the Himalayas, the armed seizure of the Paracel islands belonging to Viet Nam; the invasion of Viet Nam in February 1979; China's territorial claims against other neighbouring countries; and schemes to use the Chinese living abroad for 'destabilising' the Southeast Asian countries.

Chinese claims against Mongolia are completely hollow as Mongolia was never part of China. In fact, Mongolia all through the centuries has zealously preserved its own distinct cultural heritage.

Ulan Bator-Mongolia's Capital

Ulan Bator, the capital of Mongolia, represents in a unique way this ancient country's past, present and future. The past is preserved in all its positive aspects in the museums, libraries, theatres, ancient monuments and monasteries of Ulan Bator. The present is visible in the hum of activity in all spheres, in the new skyline of the capital with modern multistoreyed apartment and office buildings, while the country's future is being made in factories and plants, the university, the institutes and polytechnics.

Anyone who goes to Ulan Bator cannot consider his visit complete without seeing the Fine Arts Museum. Its rich collection of paintings, tapestries, sculptures, jewellery, costumes, musical instruments, vividly portrays the ancient culture of Mongolia.

Mongolia's history has been recorded in many books which were written in the past centuries. These books and other manuscripts are well preserved in the State Library of the Academy of Science in Ulan Bator. The art of calligraphy was well developed in Mongolia centuries ago as shown by manuscripts written in the old Mongolian script. Some are literally engraved in letters of gold, silver and other precious metals on bronze plates. The collection of rare books in this library includes those written in Mongolian, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pali languages, on various subjects like astronomy, philosophy, medicine, etc. There are also books in English, Russian, German, French on Mongolia's history. The latest addition is a Mongolian-English dictionary compiled in the U.S.A. in 1973.

The University of Mongolia has an impressive record of imparting education to the young nation. The Vice Rector of the University, Dr. T. Miegombo told me that before the revolution of 1921 less than one per cent of the population could read

and write and that too was confined to the religious circles. Today, the Mongolians have forgotten what the problem of illiteracy was like. Every fourth person in Mongolia is at present studying in some school or college.

Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace

During my stay in Ulan Bator I called on the Most Venerable Khamba Lama Samaagyn Gombojav, head of the Buddhist hierarchy in Mongolia. The Venerable Gombojav is full of energy and vigour which one sees in the way he carries out his many tasks, including those of President of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace and member of the Presidium of the World Peace Council.

The Venerable Gombojav who is a man of great erudition and learning in Buddhist philosophy, culture and religion, is widely respected in Mongolia and many other countries, for his humanism and passion for world peace.

In our talk, his remarks related in the main to the cause of strengthening peace: "The World Peace Council is one of the strong guarantees that there will be peace in the world. The WPC is doing much in the field of ending the arms race, to ban the production of weapons of mass destruction. Our main task (in the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace) is also to contribute to the cause of peace in the world, to have cooperation with other peace-loving forces, with all non-governmental organisations, governmental agencies, religious and non-religious organisations, public bodies dedicated to peace. We are always happy to meet with close friends from the WPC with which we are cooperating in the joint struggle for peace."

The Venerable Gombojav spoke of the threat of the Chinese rulers to peace and security not only of the peoples of Asia but of the whole world. "Many Buddhists know well what this dangerous doctrine of Maoism has brought about in Kampuchea."

The Venerable Gombojav said that a delegation of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace had recently visited Kampuchea and seen the terrible tragedy enacted there. "I think it is the sacred and noble duty of all peace-loving and progressive people to help our Kampuchean brethren who are in such a terrible state."

Mass Media in Mongolia

My meeting with the editor-in-chief of Mongolia's main newspaper, "Unen" (Truth), organ of the Mongolian People's

Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian government enabled me to know the tasks the mass media there have to deal with in countering hostile propaganda of the imperialists and the Peking rulers. Mr. T. Namsrai said that Mongolia published 70 periodicals, and each family subscribed to at least three of them.

Mongolia also publishes journals in Chinese, Russian and English, while the Mongolian radio broadcasts in several languages including English, Chinese, Russian and French.

Wherever I went in Mongolia, I found a passion for peace. In a sense the young and old in Mongolia are all in the peace movement which is effectively run by the Mongolian Peace Committee. I was able to participate in one of its events, the observance of the Week of Solidarity with Chile, in Ulan Bator on 10 September. The solidarity was expressed at a public meeting in a textile knitwear factory where young workers, both men and women, spoke and condemned the fascist Pinochet regime which had been propped up by the U.S. imperialists. The photograph of Allende and placards expressing solidarity with Chile held by many participants in the meeting in the capital of Mongolia were a memorable symbol of international solidarity with Chile.

Mongolia is already taking its first steps in encouraging international tourism. I saw groups of tourists from a number of western countries in Ulan Bator. Mongolia, a land of great charm and beauty, has a lot to show to the world including its famed Gobi with its two-humped camels and wild life.

As I returned from Mongolia, I met members of the Mongolian delegation which was travelling by the same plane to go to New York to participate in the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Mongolia has been taking several initiatives in the UN relating to strengthening peace and intensifying the struggle for establishing a New International Economic Order.

All this is in keeping with the enormous efforts the young nation of Mongolia is making to build a new world for its people.

Industrial Policy of Sri Lanka

P. P. MANIKAM

EVER since the early thirties, there has been a growing demand for industrialisation in Sri Lanka. The prevailing poverty and backwardness of the Island at that time was attributed in a large measure to its colonial status as a supplier of cheap raw materials and agricultural produce to Britain and a captive market for manufactured goods from the industrialised countries of the West. Agitation for industrial development to reverse this trend and achieve a balanced economic growth for raising the standard of living of the people was gaining ground throughout the thirties.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, when the Island was cut off from its traditional sources of supply, there was a widespread scarcity of all types of manufactured goods. In order to meet this scarcity a number of manufacturing units were set up. These included factories for the manufacture of ceramic-ware, drugs, rolled steel, plywood, card-board, acetic acids, glass, etc.

Immediately after the War a programme of modernisation and expansion of the war-time industrial units was initiated. These large-scale units (by Sri Lanka standards) included the cement factory at Kankasanthurai, the paper mill at Valachenai, the vegetable oil plant at Seeduwa, the ceramics factory at Negambo, the caustic soda-chlorine plant at Paranthon, the plywood factory at Galle and the steel mill at Enderrumulla.

Unlike on the earlier occasion when the small-scale, war-time units were set up largely with local initiative and know-how, the modernisation programme swung to the other extreme and depended entirely on foreign expertise from the feasibility stage right through to the operation of the plants.

Dependence on Foreign Technology

This total dependence on foreign technology package for the establishment of industries led to two undesirable developments. In the first place, production processes, plant, machinery and organisation for operation were all transferred wholesale from the developed countries without any critical examination of their appropriateness to local conditions. Sometimes even proto-type equipment was supplied under the guise of latest technology with the main objective of utilising the local factories as testing ground for new equipment or process designs.

Secondly, this whole process of getting consultants to prepare feasibility reports, depending on their advice in all the subsequent stages of the project-evaluation for the Feasibility Report, preparation of preliminary designs and specifications for tenders, evaluation of tenders and the award of contracts—and again employing the consultants to supervise the construction of the plant and invariably its operation at the earlier stages, firmly established a dependent subordinate relationship. More of this later.

By the early fifties substantial progress was made in the industrialisation programme referred to earlier. The cement factory was the first to go into production. All the others were at various stages of construction except the steel mill on which only some preliminary work had been done.

In the meanwhile there was another development which had a very adverse effect on this programme. Once the war was over, all types of imported manufactured goods became freely available in the Island once again and the products of the local factories found it extremely difficult to compete with these imports. Besides, in the absence of a popular Swadeshi movement in Sri Lanka (as in India for instance) there was the traditional consumer preference in the country for imported goods. Consequently finished products began to pile up in the war-time units and the government was faced with a situation of having to write off mounting losses.

On account of the widespread unemployment already in the country, the government was not in a position to close down these units and thereby add to the unemployment pool. Instead various protective measures, such as import controls, were adopted to give relief to local industry. This in truth prompted the import lobby (comprador class), which had a dominant voice in the local press through the virtual monopoly of all advertisements, to mount a vicious campaign against local industries.

World Bank's Opposition to Industrialisation

It is against this background that one has to view the recommendations of the World Bank Mission which was in Sri Lanka in 1952 to study and report on an economic development programme for the Island.

The emphasis of the World Bank Mission was on the development of agriculture and infrastructure facilities. The Mission strongly urged the government to leave commercial and industrial ventures in the hands of the private sector. As far as industries were concerned, the World Bank Mission favoured only small and medium-scale units.

With regard to the various projects under construction or at various stages of planning at that time, the World Bank Mission recommended the virtual abandonment of almost all the units except the cement factory which had already been completed.

The government acting on the World Bank Mission's Report promptly froze all the funds for the paper, ceramics, oils and fats and chemicals projects on which work was in progress and abandoned the steel project at Endoromulla. However, it was soon realised that the World Bank Mission had not examined the technical and economic aspects of the government's industrial projects carefully and their adverse comments were not based on sound arguments.

Moreover, a large investment had already been made in these projects and most of them were nearing completion. Under these circumstances the government had no alternative but to proceed with the completion of these projects.

The government in Sri Lanka at that time was fully committed to private enterprise. It was not at all in favour of state industrial and commercial ventures. But the local comprador class had neither the capacity nor the willingness to risk their capital in industry. So the government was forced to the conclusion that the key to the future

of industrialisation of Sri Lanka (especially large-scale industries) lay in the hands of foreign capital.

Support for Public Sector—Cooperation with USSR

There was a major shift in the industrial policy of Sri Lanka when a new Government, pledged to a radical programme of work and a strong bias in favour of the public sector, was swept into power in 1956. The importance of heavy and basic industries to the economy was emphasized and pride of place assigned to the public sector. As there had been very little response so far from private capital (both local and foreign) in spite of the very attractive inducements offered by the previous government to invest in industry, the new government in Sri Lanka was forced to look elsewhere for assistance in implementing its policy in regard to industrialisation.

In this they found an ally in the USSR with which Sri Lanka had just established diplomatic relations. Negotiations on economic cooperation between the two countries, finalised in 1958, identified no less than 17 projects for the establishment of which the USSR agreed to provide the necessary technical expertise and financial assistance. The projects identified in the industrial field were iron and steel, automobile, tyres and tubes, flour milling, prefabricated building components, cold storage for preservation of fruits and vegetables and the exploitation of peat deposits.

Due to a variety of reasons—lack of trained and experienced personnel and organisation in the Department of Industries which was the implementing agency, absence of infrastructure facilities and above all opposition from certain political parties and other vested interests—there was a long delay in the implementation of these projects and it was only in 1967 that the first of these projects, the rolling mill at Oruwela, went into production. This was followed by the tyre factory at Kelaniya during the following year and the flour mill at Mutuwal some time later.

Three noteworthy features distinguish this technical assistance programme from the earlier experience in the implementation of the Post-War Development Plan from 1946 to 1956. Firstly, at every stage from the preliminary surveys of the local market, raw materials etc., right through to the construction and operation of the plants, local technical personnel were as-

sociated with Soviet specialists and decisions were arrived at as far as practicable on the basis of joint discussions.

During construction and initial operational stages, the Soviet specialists always insisted that the local technical personnel be responsible for decision-making while they (the Soviet specialists) remained in the background, only to step in promptly if things went wrong. This arrangement helped to build up local expertise effectively and was in sharp contrast to the earlier experience with foreign consultants and specialists from the West.

Secondly, complete documentation on all aspects of a project was furnished to enable the local organisations, if necessity arose, to fabricate certain components and spare parts on their own. Training of local personnel in Soviet institutions was also very thorough.

Thirdly, prior to this technical assistance programme from the USSR all construction work on large-scale industrial projects was invariably entrusted to private foreign contractors and foreign consultants were responsible for the civil engineering designs. At the suggestion of the Soviet aid agency, the State Engineering Corporation in Sri Lanka was established first to undertake part of the design and construction of the first three major Soviet-aided projects.

The 20-year period from 1956 to 1976 has been marked by a steady growth of industries in Sri Lanka. These industries cover a wide range of products including such basic and essential goods to the economy as cement, steel, refined petroleum products, paper, plywood, textiles etc.; consumer goods such as ceramics, glass, readymade garments, footwear, plastic goods, food preserves etc. Most of the large-scale industries are in the public sector with the exception of a few (especially textiles) being in private hands.

Change in Industrial Policy

Let us now examine the position after the 1977 elections when a new government was returned to power with an overwhelming majority.

The government, on the advice of the World Bank, has generally adopted a laissez-faire approach on economic matters. In the field of industry, the entire hope of the present government appears to centre on the success of the Free Trade Zone, or Investment Promotion Zone established in Sri Lanka to attract foreign capital.

As far as the public sector industries are concerned, we have noted earlier that during the past 25 years it has been marked by a steady growth and it now occupies a dominant position. We also noted that a wide range of productive resources and skills were available in the public sector and gave the right stimulus for building the base for a flourishing industrial economy. However, the policy of the present government in regard to the public sector is still not quite clear. From the statements of senior members of the government it appears that they view the entire public sector as inefficient and corrupt and over-staffed and which therefore cannot be put to right. Perhaps this is what has prompted the government to hand over the management of the public sector textile mills to the private sector. The same policy is being followed in regard to public transport as well.

A disquieting trend in the management of the public sector enterprises is the continuous overstaffing which has now assumed very serious proportions. In addition to overstaffing, political supporters without the requisite qualifications and experience have been appointed to senior positions of responsibility. Perhaps the government is of the view that the public sector enterprises have to be wound up sooner or later and therefore there is no harm in utilising them as a cushion to absorb some of the unemployed for the time being and thereby release the pressure on the government.

The present unsettled state of affairs in Sri Lanka has also accelerated the exodus of skilled workers and trained and experienced supervisory personnel from the public sector, so much so that there is today an acute shortage of these categories of employees in most public sector enterprises. At the same time, the services of increasing numbers of foreign experts (most of whom are in no way more skilled than those locally available) are obtained at an enormous cost to the economy. Under the guise of getting things done expeditiously, design and construction contracts are awarded to foreign firms at exorbitant rates.

Taking an over-all view of developments during the past two years, one gets the impression that there is a complete reversal of the policies followed by successive governments in Sri Lanka during the past 25 years towards the attainment of the twin goals of balanced economic growth and self-reliance.



Trade Union Movement in South Africa

Apartheid Regime's New Controls to Oppress Black Workers

JOHN GAETSEWE

The South African Congress of Trade Unions, based in London, has drawn the attention of the International Labour Organisation, in a memorandum, to the new measures being taken by the apartheid regime in South Africa to tighten the control on the movement and freedom of the black workers. As it is, the entire life of the African workers is regulated by the pass system.

The so-called official commissions appointed to go into the working of trade unions in South Africa have made recommendations which will increase the discrimination against the right of black workers to organise themselves into trade unions.

These recommendations have been exposed in the memorandum submitted to the ILO by the General Secretary of SACTU, John Gaetsewe. Extracts from the memorandum are published here.

YEAR after year we have spoken out for the oppressed and exploited workers of South Africa, adding detail after detail to the list of repressive measures taken against workers there. We have described the numbers of laws and regulations which are passed every year to consolidate control over black workers, and the inrush of foreign capital to South Africa to exploit the workers.

We have also documented the increasing struggles of the workers against these conditions. Today, despite mounting unemployment, despite police harassment and the threat of imprisonment for illegal strike action, black workers in South Africa are defying both the employers and the state in rounds of strike action. Through their actions they are pointing sharply the way for those organisations and individuals in the international community who are committed to the destruction of apartheid in South Africa. By their own activity the workers of South Africa are posing sharply the tasks for the development of international solidarity work against racism and exploitation in South Africa. They are demonstrating that international solidarity with their struggle demands more than a moral stand against the common enemy—

JOHN GAETSEWE, *General Secretary, South African Congress of Trade Unions.*

against the racist oppression and exploitation which binds the struggles of the workers in South Africa to those of their brothers and sisters in other parts of the world.

We would like to focus attention on the manoeuvres of the racist South African regime to create confusion in the international community by the creation of the Wiehahn Commission. What follows is SACTU's analysis of the Wiehahn Commission, and its implications for the black workers in South Africa.

Wiehahn Commission: "Makes Apartheid More Efficient"

In considering the Report we need to examine the Commission's findings and recommendations within the wider context of the country's ruthless system of exploitation, national oppression, and aggressive discrimination, its neo-fascist techniques, the coercive apparatus of a police state, its naked defiance of international conventions and gross violations of human rights. Only by adopting a broad perspective can we succeed in identifying the interest that the Commission serves in opposition to the interests of workers who are the victims of the apartheid system.

SACTU goes on record in warning that the Wiehahn Commission will not only NOT change the fundamental basis of

apartheid but will instead serve to strengthen the employers' and government's control of the trade union movement.

We must guard against any tendency to discuss the Wiehahn Commission and the government's White Paper in isolation from the structure and the history of national oppression and apartheid in South Africa. To accept the Wiehahn Commission as a "step in the right direction" is to accept nothing less than the fundamental tenets of apartheid.

In short, the Wiehahn Commission and the government's White Paper presuppose the entire apartheid system. In fact, as the London "Financial Times" has said, they only serve to "make apartheid more efficient".

Workers' Struggle in SA

Despite our rejection of the Wiehahn Commission, it would be wrong to fail to ask why this Commission was created. Why was this Commission necessary in the first place?

Here the history of the workers' struggle in South Africa is essential to the proper understanding of this question.

— The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 was a response to the white miners' strike of 1922 and also reflected the need to establish a system of labour control to administer the migrant labour system. This does not mean that the white miners' strike of 1922 had benefited the black mine workers. But it means that the ruling class of that time intensified the control over the black workers of certain jobs in the mines.

— Similarly, the 1946 African Mine Workers' strike led the government of the day to set up the Industrial Legislation Enquiry in the late 1940s. Out of this enquiry came the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953—and many others which are brutally being used to oppress and undermine independent trade unions and deny blacks the right to strike—and later the amended Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 which forced the racial separation of registered unions and re-introduced statutory Job Reservation on the basis of race. These pieces of oppressive labour legislations were obviously a response to the increasing militancy and organisation of the black workers.

— In less than five years, the South African regime has set up three commissions to look into labour laws, and none of them has recommended any change in the structure of the apartheid system. The Interde-

partmental Committee of Inquiry into Riots on the Mines, was set up in 1975 and in its final report admits that "the migrant labour system is the root cause of the uprising in the mines".

Mass Uprising—Strike Wave

It is equally true that the Wiehahn Commission and the Riekert Commission are direct responses to the strike wave that hit South Africa in 1973 and the mass uprisings that began in 1976 in Soweto.

The history and the present situation show that the ruling circles institute changes only in response to economic and political crises. This point must be fully appreciated before we can understand the specific recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission.

Turning first to the composition of the Commission, we note that there were eleven white commissioners and only three black commissioners, each representing a particular ethnic community. In other words, one African representing 18 million Africans, one Coloured representing 2.5 million coloureds, one Indian for 750,000 Indians.

And more importantly where are the black workers and their elected representatives? No one was there to represent the tailing masses, the voteless, the silenced majority.

Thus it is clear that the Commission was set up by the apartheid regime, staffed with its own supporters, to deal with its own crisis and to recommend solutions to problems for which the black workers have no responsibility.

With this necessary background perspective, let us look at the specific recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission that attempt to respond to the related problems of economic stagnation, high unemployment, inflation, declining profits, international hostility and popular unrest. SACTU goes on record to state that the principle purpose of the Wiehahn Commission is to provide new machinery to control the black workers and to consciously destroy the independent black trade unions that have emerged over recent years.

Recommendations of Wiehahn Commission Will Weaken Trade Unions

1. African trade unions will be allowed "registered status".

While this would appear to be a progressive step resulting from many decades

of struggle for this right, careful investigation shows that the contrary is true.

Only registered trade unions, according to the recommendations will be allowed to conclude agreements with employers or have union dues automatically deducted. The sole decision of whether or not a union is eligible for registration rests with the Industrial Registrar and his criteria of "stability" and "suitability". This is the government's way of ensuring that there will be no politics in the trade union movements, i.e., status quo acceptance of apartheid.

This whole system of state control registration of unions undermines the independence of the trade unions which participate in it, and saps the collective power of the workers. But the effects are more than this. The government's White Paper has further restricted this recommendation to exclude migrant workers from membership in registered African trade unions. Only those Africans with Section 10 (a) and (b) rights under the Urban Areas Act are eligible for membership. We must ask who this small section of Africans are, especially after having been told for so many years that all Africans are migrants in South Africa. Migrant workers not only comprise a large proportion of presently unregistered African trade unions; they are also often among the most active members. One union claims that if these conditions are accepted its membership will be reduced from 10,000 to 2,000 members.

Therefore, we must conclude that "registration" under these terms is a sham that will serve to cripple and attempt to smash the strength and unity of present unregistered African trade unions. SACTU has always maintained that recognition must come through the struggle and the strength of the workers vis a vis the exploiters—it can never be a concession granted by the oppressors themselves. Legality must not be confused with emancipation.

2. Abolition of Statutory Job Reservation.

Again, the struggle against statutory colour bars, especially since the adoption of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956, would appear to have won through this recommendation. But again we see that this is not the case.

The Mines and Works Act and the Black Building Workers Act, two separate statutes legislating job reservation are outside the scope of the Commission and these will, thus, remain in effect.

SACTU maintains that instead of eliminating colour bars, the effect of these recommendations, if enacted in legislation will be to increase the rate of exploitation of the African workforce and hence the profits of the capitalists.

3. Training Schemes.

This recommendation is also interesting in its implications. Is this not a desire to create a division within the total black working population by fostering the development of a politically acquiescent section of the oppressed community, a black middle class that will identify with the racist regime rather than struggle for liberation from the entire structure of apartheid? It should never be forgotten that the government failed to receive support from any blacks during the mass struggles of 1976, and subsequent to that.

4. Racial Closed Shop

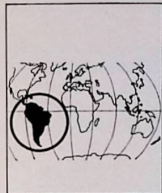
The Wiehahn Commission refused to recommend the abolition of the closed shop practices or their amendment so as to prohibit their use for the purposes of race discrimination. Yet, as a minority of the Commissioners argued, "it is unacceptable that it should be recommended on the one hand that work reservation be abolished and on the other that its most commonest form should be perpetuated and statutorily sanctioned."

Yet with or without the right to strike, and with or without the right to registration, the black workers will continue to organise and demand economic and political rights. It is precisely because of the continued militancy of the black workers demonstrated through recent strike action that the government has seen the necessity for new and more effective controls.

Riekert Commission

A further report has come out recently which complements perfectly the aims of the Wiehahn Commission to control and restrict the freedom of black workers at the workplace. The Riekert Report outlines recommendations for more rigid control over the rights of residence of black workers, i.e. a refined influx control system.

We must not take the view that the proposed changes in both the Riekert and Wiehahn reports represent merely cosmetic changes to ward off foreign pressures. On the contrary, they are clearly both parts of a new coherent strategy of greater control over the lives of the oppressed people of South Africa.



Uruguay's Repressive Regime

Perpetrator of Atrocities and Torture

In a study of the totally repressive conditions prevailing in Uruguay, the Uruguayan Peace Council has appealed to the peoples of the world to extend the fullest solidarity with and support to the people of Uruguay to restore democratic norms in their country.

The study, a summary of which is published here, shows that the Uruguayan regime holds the world record of violations of human rights.

In Uruguay, hundreds of persons remain "missing" for months following their detention, and in many cases no information is ever obtained about their fate.

To cite just one example, we shall mention the case of trade-union leader Oscar Tassino who was detained, according to specific communications addressed to the International Labour Organization, on July 19, 1977. However, the government's official letter to the above-mentioned office says that he was detained on February 10, 1978 and released on that same date. This affirmation is contradicted by the fact that no new information about his fate has been available since his detention in July 1977.

This cruel form of repression has spread beyond the Uruguayan frontiers and is being implemented by special corps subordinated to the OCOA (Co-ordinating Body of Anti-subversive Operations) which, in its turn, is operating under the orders of the Army Intelligence Service which was until June 1978 headed by General Amaury Plant. Two of its commandos were involved in the kidnapping of Uruguayans Lilian Celiberti de Casariego, her two children—Camilo, 8, and Francesco, 3—and Universitario Rodríguez de Diaz in November 1977 in the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil, all of whom were later mentioned by the Uruguayan government as having been detained in Uruguay on November 25, 1978. The same method was used in the case of Elsa Altuna, who was detained in Buenos Aires on February 1, 1978, later to appear in Military Prison No. 2 in Montevideo.

Political Assassinations

On August 31, 1978, several political leaders opposed to the regime received bottles of wine that had been previously

infused with a potent anti-parasitic drug, "Foxdrine". The wife of one of them, Mrs Maria Cecilia Fontana de Heber, died on September 4, 1978, several hours after having consumed part of the contents of one of those bottles.

Only a few days later, the dismembered body of Roberto Sacus Gallinal, the treasurer of the National Party which has been suspended by the regime, was found on the outskirts of the capital, Montevideo. Members of that same political organization and former MPs Washington Bermudes, Oscar Lopez Balestra, Horacio Polla and Juan Carlos Silva were prosecuted for "glorifying on a public occasion a person wanted by the military justice".

Hundreds of persons are being sentenced without any kind of legal guarantee, due to the subordination of the judiciary to the executive power, and more specifically, to the commanding officers of the Armed Forces, as has been verified by various international organizations of lawyers. An example of this situation was the sentencing to 14 years of imprisonment of General Liber Seregni without any specific proof being submitted and with a number of judicial aberrations in the charges.

"Prison Expenses"

A generally little known aspect of the repressive practices of the Uruguayan dictatorship is the extortion and systematic pillaging of political prisoners and their families.

For two years now, with increasing sternness and to an ever greater extent, the military authorities have been demanding that the Uruguayan political prisoners who have served their fixed terms in prison should pay, as a condition of their release, substantial sums of money as so-called

"prison expenses" the "settlement" of which is determined by military tribunals on the basis of criteria fixed by secret internal regulations. This settlement is uncontested by the prisoner, the latter being notified of them only for the purpose of making the payment.

On the other hand, the rates of these payments are readjusted annually according to the country's monetary situation, but always at rates determined exclusively by the military administration. Thus for each day spent in prison, a prisoner was charged 1.50 new pesos in 1972, while the respective sums for the years 1973-78 were 2.50, 3.50, 5.00, 7.00, 10.00 and 15.00 new pesos. To illustrate what this means in practice, it is sufficient to quote the example of Flavia Shilling, who had been detained since 1972 and who had to pay to the military authorities 15,000 new pesos for her release.

The number of prisoners is constantly changing, but in general terms it is about 5,000, while during the massive round-ups of 1975 their number exceeded 8,000, at times reaching a maximum of 10,000.

There are six main prisons, and 60-75 concentration camps all over the country. In the capital, Montevideo, there are more than 30 army barracks and various other places where prisoners are held. In the interior of the country there is one such place in each of the 18 provinces, plus a number of others, including those of Laguna del Sauve, Bella Union, La Paloma, Santa Bernardina, Santa Clara, San Ramón, or Paso de los Toros, to quote some of them. These have a permanent population, maintained by successive detachments of new arrivals, of no less than 2,000 prisoners, and at times even much more than that for prolonged periods of time. In the majority of cases, the detainee is listed as "missing".

Specialized Centres of Torture

The widespread practice of torture in dealing with prisoners has led to the existence of a number of centres of special notoriety for their savagery and refined brutality. Many such centres remain unknown for long periods of time, due to their being established in houses requisitioned from the prisoners themselves or in abandoned factories. Following are several examples:

- The "Inferno" No. 13 Armoured Battalion;
- The Police Department No. 5, Maldonado 1211, formerly a dry-cleaner's shop;
- The Army Intelligence Service (SIDE), Luis A. Herrera, Burgues;

- The Private home at Rambla 5505, in the Punta Gorda district, Montevideo;
- The premises formerly occupied by Swift cold-storage plant, in the Cerro zone;
- A farmhouse near the Carrasco airport;
- The Marines' compound, "The Green Inferno".

Censorship is so widespread that even circulation of the magazine "UNESCO Courier" is banned in the schools.

Hundreds of detainees who have completed their sentences or who, in accordance with them, would be in a position to be conditionally released are being detained through the illegal application of the Constitution Act. 189, Para. 17. Such is the case of accountant David Cámpora, whose release was ordered by a military judge on May 23, 1974 and who is at present in Military Prison No. 1; Alicia Suárez (October 1978), at present being held in a barracks of Paso de los Toros. Many other detainees are being incarcerated in the Central Prefecture of Police in a similar manner.

Another method being utilized is that of sequestering the detainee once his release has been ordered by the military judge, and then opening a new trial by means of which he is once again sentenced to some months after being brought by his sequestrators before a new military judge. Such is the case of the leader of the University Students Federation of Uruguay, Luis María Bozzano, whose release was ordered in April 1976. However, Bozzano had "disappeared" for three months and then was returned to be sentenced.

Restrictions on Freedom of Movement

Thousands of Uruguayans who have left the country due to reasons of political persecution, including unemployment or the lack of financial means, are victims of the dictatorship's arbitrary decisions to refuse to renew their passports.

The delivery of such documents must be authorized by the Ministry of the Interior, an organ that has been charged with such transactions since September 1973. There are already thousands of cases of persons who, after arriving at an Embassy or Consulate of Uruguay and waiting three or four months for an answer, finally receive the information that "the renewal requested has not been authorized", leaving them helpless, without documents, a situation which violates the country's Constitutional stipulations and universally recognized norms of international law—in particular the "right to freedom of movement".

Two final elements which may perhaps complete the picture of the repressive situation existing in Uruguay; the appearance of centres of tuberculosis in the prisons and the authorities' refusal to permit the International Red Cross to provide assistance to the relatives of prisoners, especially their children.

Concern of International Organizations

The ILO, at the 188th session of its Committee on Trade-union Freedoms meeting in Geneva on November 14-17, 1978, stated that it "... takes note of the information on the detained trade-unionists and points out that it is necessary for the government to present more data ... Finally, it appears that the Uruguayan government is not answering the new allegations concerning maltreatment in order to make detainees confess, or those concerning the detainees' very precarious measures of self-defence."

At its 188th session in Geneva, the Committee recommended to the ILO's Executive Council "that it express concern over the slowness in adopting a legislation based on the principles of trade-union freedom ... and that it draw the Uruguayan government's attention in particular to the fact that the obligation imposed on trade-union leaders, in the bill on professional associations, of making a statement of 'democratic loyalty' could lead to abuses."

At the last General Conference of UNESCO, held in October-November 1978 in Paris, a dozen international organizations having consultative status expressed their condemnation of the violations being committed in Uruguay. In particular, the International Union of Students (IUS) presented a revised edition of its report presented to the Director General in 1975, and the World Federation of Teachers' Unions (FISE) presented a new report, which was supported by various other international organizations.

At the same time, a memorandum was presented containing 3,300 signatures of mathematicians all over the world who were asking that UNESCO intercede to secure the release of the eminent scientist and mathematician, José Luis Massera, sentenced summarily to 20 years of imprisonment by a military tribunal after having suffered extremely harsh treatment.

At its last two meetings of March and September 1978 (Lisbon and Bonn respectively), the Inter-Parliamentary Union again considered the situation of various Uruguayan members of parliament who have been imprisoned and tortured, declaring

as unsatisfactory the information provided by the Montevideo government concerning the maltreatment and the prosecution of these legislators.

On April 8, 1978, the text was released of the document submitted by United States lawyers William Butler and Luis Reque of the American Bar Association to the Uruguayan authorities after their visit to Uruguay, demanding that "measures be taken against the tortures and for the release of detained persons who are not being brought to trial".

The Parliament of Europe again studied the case of Uruguay in July, 1978, calling for the release of Professor Ricardo Viloro who, after completing a five-year sentence, was sequestered and tortured by the "Naval Fusiliers". On that occasion, the President of the Christian Democratic Party of the Federal Republic of Germany, Kurt Bidekopf, stated in a letter to the Uruguayan government: "The number of prisoners, the level of tortures and the situation of human rights in your country is astonishing and if these actions continue, it will be impossible for Germany to continue its economic and political relations or to work together with you, especially in the framework of international organizations which give financial assistance to your economy through the World Bank."

On December 15-16, 1978, an international colloquy took place in the Medici Hall of the French Senate on "The State of Emergency and Human Rights in Uruguay". Participating in it were outstanding lawyers and political personalities of various parts of the world. Detailed reports were presented: Senator Bernard Parnantier gave the opening address, followed by Hipólito Solari Irigoyen (Argentina), Salvatore Seneses (Italy), J.G.H. Toolen (the Netherlands), Pierre Mertens (Belgium), Edmond Pettiti (France), Edgardo Carvalho (Uruguay), Robert Goldman (United States), and Jean Louis Weil (France).

In the conclusions of the colloquy's deliberations, Dr. Louis Joinet stated in a summary: "It has been shown here that the Uruguayan military government holds the world's record for violations of international agreements and treaties on humanitarian questions. It has been stressed here that this process is reaching such a level of degradation that, for the first time—in January 1978, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights could do nothing other than condemn the Uruguayan government by 17 votes for and one against."

Puerto Rico Must be Independent

KAREN TALBOT

THE World Peace Council and its National Committees in 130 countries are resolutely committed to solidarity with the Puerto Rican people in their just struggle—spanning more than a century—to rid themselves of colonial domination and to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination, sovereignty and national independence.

The moment is overdue for the people of Puerto Rico to take the natural and human resources of their beautiful island, to take their own destiny, into their own hands.

For too long the Puerto Rican people have endured the stranglehold of the colonial exploitation of their resources which has yielded super-profits to the corporations of the colonial Power. United States investments in Puerto Rico total more than its investments in any other country in the hemisphere, other than Canada, and result in profits that amount to well over half of all the profits derived from investments in the rest of Latin America. The enormous return an investment is due in no small measure to the fact that Puerto Ricans must work for only about half the wages of workers in the United States who hold similar jobs.

For too long the Puerto Rican people have suffered from a single-crop agricultural economy dominated by giant sugar plantations that displaced a more diversified and economically sound agriculture. Now, the agricultural economy is being all but totally destroyed.

For too long Puerto Rico has been bur-

dened by the narrow limitations of an industry largely related to arms production.

For too long Puerto Rico has known extreme inflation, unemployment and poverty—the bitter legacy of colonial rule.

Puerto Rico has been victimized by what amounts to forced migration of over 40 per cent of the population—people who must seek some meagre livelihood in the United States, where they end up in ghettos, subjected to continuing intense deprivation, discrimination, racist indignities, political repression and incarceration.

For too long the people of Puerto Rico have been used as guinea pigs for hazardous experiments, for the dirty, dangerous and health threatening types of industrial production such as petroleum processing, while the cleaner types of production are carried out in the United States.

The scourge of colonialism is perhaps most visible in the legal structure that deprives the people of the most elementary civil and human rights, and reserves the fundamental decision-making to the United States Government. Intense political harassment and repression is the inevitable outcome of such conditions—a daily fact of life for those who protest against and resist United States colonialism.

As if all these factors were not enough, the cultural genocide is perhaps the most onerous affront. The destruction of a culture is carried out most effectively through the imposition of the language of the colonial Power. In Puerto Rico—which is in every way culturally a Latin American nation—English has taken precedence over Spanish, particularly in the schools and mass media—a situation that has been only partially alleviated recently as a result of the protests of the people.

But might not the word "genocide" be more apt in describing the sterilization of a large percentage of women of child-bearing age that is done in the name of "family planning", the aim of which is to achieve a smaller population "less prone to social problems"?

The Puerto Rican people must have the right to decide whether they wish their island to continue to be a giant military installation, where, in addition to large-scale military-related production, a high proportion of the arable land is taken up by military bases and where there exists the stifling atmosphere of an occupied territory.

The people of Vieques are having their idyllic surroundings destroyed, their economic livelihood deeply eroded and their peace of mind greatly disturbed by the intense bombing practice taking place at the nearby naval base.

They are courageously resisting and protesting this intolerable situation in the face of repressive and violent retaliation. Let there be no mistake their voices are being heard around the world. The World Peace Council stands with the people of Vieques.

The World Peace Council stands with all the people of Puerto Rico in their yearnings for self-determination, sovereignty and national independence and in their resistance to efforts to sidetrack these legitimate demands with talk of statehood and with plans for a sham plebiscite to be conducted under conditions of control by the colonial Power and intimidation by the enormous United States military presence.

We continue to join in the demand for the unconditional release of the patriotic Puerto Rican political prisoners who have served unjust, inhumane prison terms of unprecedented length in the United States.

The World Peace Council reiterates that its 130 National Committees in all continents, embracing hundreds of millions of people, will continue to act in support of the decolonization of Puerto Rico in solidarity with the struggle for independence of that country.

The above article is based on the statement made by Mrs. Karen Talbot, on behalf of the World Peace Council, at the meeting of the Special Committee on Decolonisation of the United Nations at its headquarters in New York on 14 August 1979.



Problem of Vietnamese Refugees U.S.A. and China Must Fulfil their Obligations

A raging campaign is being carried on by the media of the Western countries and China against Viet Nam on the issue of the Vietnamese refugees. The malicious propaganda is not only one-sided but also full of distortions, half-truths and lies.

To put the record straight, the Vietnamese authorities have issued a statement entitled "Those Who Leave (The Problem of Vietnamese Refugees)" which answers the following questions: Who are the refugees?, Why are they leaving?, How to settle the problem?

Extracts from this statement are published here.

THOUSANDS of people are leaving Viet-Nam seeking to settle somewhere else.

Who are they?

Why are they leaving?

How to settle the problem?

It is clear that a problem of this kind, owing to its human and political implications, cannot be treated in a simplistic way by means of a few humanitarian tirades sprinkled with political slogans on human rights. It can only be grasped within the present context of Viet Nam, which is facing multiple problems left by several decades of war and more than a century of colonization; it can only be solved by taking into account certain exigencies and restraints, some related to universally accepted principles, others connected with concrete historical and social circumstances.

First Exodus of Refugees

The first population exodus of these long years of war in Viet Nam took place in 1954. Under the terms of the Geneva Agreements the French expeditionary corps was regrouped South of the 17th parallel. About 800,000 people followed them South: soldiers and police, civil servants, businessmen, but mostly Catholics (more than half a million) who had been living in villages put under ecclesiastical authority, both temporal and spiritual. The campaign that accounted for that Catholic exodus had been carefully prepared by the Franco-American services. This was a political operation which aimed at providing the Southern regime led by the integrist

Catholic Ngo Dinh Diem with a popular support, both military and political. The Catholics regrouped in the South were to serve as a frame for a powerful army bankrolled, equipped and trained by the Americans; the rest were assembled in parishes concentrated in strategic regions. Saigon in particular was surrounded by a belt of Catholic parishes which prospered thanks to substantial U.S. aid and from which columns of demonstrators would march on the city to voice support for the government.

Paris Accord—1973

After the signing of the Paris Accord of 1973 and following the withdrawal of U.S. troops, the U.S. services, anticipating the defeat of the Thieu regime, worked out a plan for the evacuation of several hundred thousand people. This new exodus was to serve as a pretext for a political campaign to discredit the Vietnamese revolutionary government and would provide personnel for opposition movements in exile, or even an emigre government.

The rapid collapse of the Thieu regime and the lightning victory of the revolutionary forces left the U.S. services little time. About 150,000 people were taken away helter-skelter in the last weeks by sea or air. Among that first wave of refugees there were:

— Many generals and other army officers who had perpetrated after unforgivable crimes: Nguyen Cao Ky, the air "vice-marshal" who had sworn to defend the country to his last breath against the

"communists", was among the first to fly to the United States.

— The influential members of former pro-U.S. Governments, first of all Thieu, followed by many cabinet ministers, deputies, high-ranking officials, leaders of political parties, politico-religious sects, rabid anti-communists, people regarded by the U.S. services as running a "high risk".

— Rich merchants and industrialists who had been able to buy their places on the departing planes from U.S. officials in charge of organizing the exodus;

— The staffs of many U.S. services, including intelligence agents and torturers as well as cooks and maidservants taken to the States by their masters.

— People who should have no reason to flee but who were seized by panic on account of the terrifying spread by U.S. psychowar services: the communist victors would perform wholesale massacres, there would be a bloodbath, women found with varnished fingernails would have them torn off, everybody would be sent away to do hard labour, young girls would be forced to marry war invalids, etc. . .

Those with money, gold, foreign currencies, diamonds could settle in the United States or France to set up business; technicians were recruited by the administrations or private firms of those countries; the others had to resign themselves to doing hard work or living from subsidies. In the United States, in particular, the local populations did not give a warm welcome to those immigrants who, not knowing the language of the host country and lacking professional qualifications, had to lead a hard life. The U.S. administration, like the reactionary Western organizations, has been recruiting among those refugees agents who specialize in slander campaigns against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

Some of the refugees, former officers and mercenaries of the Saigon army, have been receiving training in special camps. They are to be reintroduced into the three countries of Indochina in order to man the subversive networks there. Trained agents can come back quite easily to Kampuchea and Laos overland; in the case of Laos they just have to cross the Mekong river; and to Viet Nam by sea.

Counter-revolutionary Networks

It would be utterly naive to believe that after their defeat, the U.S. services have lost all interest in Indochina and will allow Kampuchea, Laos and especially Viet Nam

to follow their destinies. The many counter-revolutionary networks set up by the Americans in Viet Nam continue to keep in touch with foreign countries, mostly by sea. The South Vietnamese coast, nearly 2,000 kilometres long, cannot be entirely patrolled by the Vietnamese navy. Between Viet Nam and the neighbouring countries—Thailand, Malaysia, Hongkong, the Philippines, and even Australia—ships are plying clandestinely, taking away those who wish to leave the country—businessmen seeking fortune elsewhere, counter-revolutionary agents who feel insecure—and bringing to Viet Nam specially trained agents, weapons, and also money to finance counter-revolutionary organizations. From Laos, Meo people continue to depart, going to Thailand. Also called H'Mong, they are hill tribes that the CIA had organized into a 30,000-strong army before liberation and who used to serve as the best prop for pro-U.S. regimes in Laos.

Brain Drain to Detriment of Viet Nam

This is the way things happen: a rich merchant wants to leave Viet Nam, against payment of a handsome amount of cash—2,000—3,000 U.S. dollars on an average—a clandestine organization will take him and his family to a coastal port where they will hide in one of the hundreds of fishing boats that put out to sea every day. At sea, they are picked up by ships which will take them to neighbouring countries. For an "intellectual", especially a technician with good qualifications, the journey will be free of charge, for the point is to perform a "brain drain" to the detriment of Viet Nam and simultaneously raise a political hullabaloo.

Let us point out that those with relatives living abroad, especially in France, and who submit applications to this effect, are authorized by the government to leave the country legally in order to settle abroad.

From 1975 to 1978, there was thus a regular outflow, of limited scope, of emigrants, both legal and illegal. It posed no serious problem either to Viet Nam or to the host countries.

The Hoa Exodus

In 1978, a new element was to give the problem unprecedented gravity: the Hoa.

This is the designation given to people of Chinese descent living in Viet Nam and other countries of Southeast Asia: Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines,

about 1.5 million of them live in Viet Nam, with two major concentrations, one in provinces bordering on China, the other in Cho Lon, a separate part of Ho Chi Minh city. The presence of Hoa people in Viet Nam is by no means recent; for the past twenty centuries, each time a particularly disastrous natural calamity, or a change in the political scene, happened in China many Chinese would leave their country to seek refuge in Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese authorities would grant them permission to establish separate villages or town quarters. There they lived together, speaking the Chinese language, observing the customs and habits of China, but recognizing Vietnamese jurisdiction. The second or third generation would start learning the Vietnamese language, going to work in other villages and quarters, mingling with Vietnamese folk, and would finally become Vietnamese. A large number of present-day Vietnamese are thus of Chinese descent, and the normal historical process was the gradual integration of immigrants into the Vietnamese national community. There never was any discrimination against the Hoa, who were called by the friendly and familiar appellation of "Chu Khach" (uncle guest, uncle foreigner).

In the border provinces, especially in the coastal province of Quang Ninh, the Hoa established large villages of farmers and fishermen. The Bay of Ha Long is dotted with small islands, many of them peopled by Hoa fishermen. In those border provinces, the Vietnamese live in peace side by side with not only the Hoa but also other ethnic minorities: Tay, Nung, Meo, Zao.

French Colonization: Policy of Divide and Rule

French colonization, begun in 1859, brought about an important change in the economic and political status of the Hoa and interrupted the historical process of their gradual integration into the Vietnamese national community. Following the classical method of conquerors, divide and rule, the French turned the Hoa colony in Viet Nam into a separate community. They used Hoa traders to collect rice in the villages with a view to exporting, and retailing industrial goods imported from France. Thus the profits drawn from that two-way trade were shared between French firms and Hoa merchants. A Hoa comprador bourgeoisie came into existence which, acting in concert with the French colonial administration, stemmed the development

of a Vietnamese bourgeoisie. Solidarity between Hoa and Vietnamese workers was impeded by the special status accorded the former by the French, a status superior to that granted to the "natives". The Hoa community was allowed to administer its own affairs and had representatives who dealt directly with the French administration, these representatives being for the most part members of the Hoa bourgeoisie. The Hoa workers were thus caught between conflicting feelings: those which attracted them to the Vietnamese workers, and those which tied them to the Hoa community. While a number of them took part in workers' and patriotic movements side by side with the Vietnamese, many were prisoners in the meshes of communal life in Hoa villages and quarters and came to share with the Hoa bourgeoisie a feeling of superiority vis-a-vis the Vietnamese population.

U.S. Military Intervention

United States intervention, accompanied by an enormous inflow of dollars and goods, was a period of great prosperity for the Hoa bourgeoisie. It held practically the monopoly—at least 80 per cent—of all important commercial, industrial, and banking businesses in South Viet Nam. Many of its members became business "Kings", reigning over such domains as scrap iron, cement, sodium glutamate, barbed wire... Cabinet ministers and army generals allied themselves with the Hoa comprador bourgeoisie in order to get rich. The militaristic and bureaucratic regime in Saigon, which was born of the war and grew rich as the war proceeded, was closely tied to the Hoa comprador bourgeoisie.

Liberation from the U.S. neo-colonialist system completely upset the living conditions of the Hoa businessmen. No more U.S. dollars, no more U.S. goods, no more hold on foreign trade. Some immediately fled abroad, but others remained in Cho Lon where they owned important stocks of merchandise, foreign exchange, gold, diamonds, large trading and industrial establishments, luxurious residences.

The stocks of goods were quickly distributed to innumerable small shop-keepers and peddlers who took advantage of the scarcity of commodities and set the prices skyrocketing. An ubiquitous network of rumour-mongers in the immense city of Saigon-Cho Lon would at intervals create panic and provoke a rush on one commo-

dity or another. In this way fat profits were reaped. With the money thus collected, the big Hoa bourgeoisie and its agents went to the countryside where they bought up as much as possible of the supply of rice, meat, fish and vegetables, which would be resold to the urban population at exorbitant prices. A whole stratum of traffickers got rich at the expense of the people, who suffered from acute shortages of necessities while in push bars and restaurants, the rich customers would order drinks and dishes that cost as much as the whole monthly salary of a middle-ranking cadre.

Peking Xenophobic Propaganda

This situation could not of course last for ever. State stores and people's co-operatives were gradually organized and they narrowed down the field of activity of the traffickers. In March 1978, the big trading firms, whether owned by Hoa or Viet people, were ordered to close. The stocks of goods were purchased by the state and the big traders had to devote their capital to productive activities: handicrafts, agricultural or fishing undertakings... It is to be noted that this measure affected Viet as well as Hoa traders, but Peking nonetheless claimed it to be a discriminatory and xenophobic step aimed at the Chinese. How strange to see a government styling itself a socialist one protesting against the suppression of commercial capitalism in another country!

Peking's campaign against Viet Nam concerning the Hoa question in fact started long before the decree of March 1978 on private capitalist trade in South Viet Nam. As early as the last months of 1977, Peking agents, acting under the direct control of the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi, were telling the Hoa community that Peking would soon make war against Viet Nam: that in these conditions the Vietnamese would certainly start massacring the Chinese; that the Hoa would be well-advised to leave Viet Nam as soon as possible and go back to China where a warm welcome would be accorded them by the Chinese Government and where they would be able to participate in the reconstruction of great China. For the Hoa living in the provinces along the border between the two countries, the situation was a tragic one; to leave Viet Nam would mean to abandon their houses, gardens, and occupations in order to go and live in China, which most of them hardly knew at all, but

to stay would mean running the risk of finding themselves caught in a crossfire in case of armed conflict and facing the necessity of taking up arms one day for one side or the other. China was only a few dozen kilometres away, and so many Hoa living close to the frontier opted for leaving.

When they arrived at the frontier, the Chinese authorities did not allow them to take the normal passages for crossing, thus compelling them to ford streams and travel along jungle tracks. Chinese cameramen were on hand to film poignant scenes of exodus which helped the Peking propaganda machine to present the Vietnamese people to Chinese and world opinion as an ungrateful people who, forgetful of the great assistance granted by China, were now persecuting and expelling Chinese residents. In this way and with the backing of Western mass media, Peking was able to launch an anti-Vietnamese campaign as early as 1978, harping on two major themes: a Viet Nam driven by hegemonistic ambitions attacking Kampuchea; an ungrateful and xenophobic Viet Nam.

China's Aggression against Viet Nam

In 1978, about 160,000 Hoa people left Viet Nam in the conditions described above, most of them starting from the border provinces. We shall see again many of those Hoa when China attacked Viet Nam in February-March 1979. For, once back in China, large numbers of Hoa were given training and formed into special units specializing in reconnaissance, commando, and sabotage operations: having lived for long years in the border region, they knew every nook and cranny of it. In the course of that aggression, the Chinese command considered them to be a precious trump-card.

The precipitate departure of Hoa people threw the economy of some provinces in Viet Nam into utter confusion. This economic dislocation was to become one of the targets of Peking, specially in Ho Chi Minh city where lived particularly large numbers of Hoa traders and workers. Clandestine Peking's subversive networks urged the Hoa population to engage in economic sabotage. The Chinese invasion of February-March 1979 and the subversive activities of on-the-spot Peking agents put the Hoa in Viet Nam in a particularly distressing situation; many decided to leave the country in order to avoid having

to face agonizing choices. Hence a massive wave of departures in 1979. Hoa businessmen and traffickers did not of course wish to go back to China but sought to emigrate to countries of Southeast Asia—Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, where 20 million of their compatriots were already living and where they were controlling the main economic levers. A comprehensive organization was thus set up with a view to taking the Hoa to those countries.

The impasse in the negotiations between the Vietnamese and Chinese Governments and the bellicose declarations of Deng Xiaoping with regard to Viet Nam have given rise to great anguish among the Hoa community. The problem of leaving the country assumes special gravity. So long as Peking's warlike policy continues, it is to be expected that the exodus will go on.

Political and Humanitarian Problems

In the outflow of people leaving Viet Nam it is thus possible to make a distinction between those who are doing so for economic reasons and the Hoa, whose departure is based on much more complex factors. These departures give rise to two kinds of problems.

— Political problems: who is responsible for this human tragedy? What is at stake politically?

— Humanitarian problems: How to alleviate the sufferings of people reduced to leaving a country where they have been living for long years?

One need not be a learned scholar or a shrewd politician to see that the deterioration of the living conditions of people in South Viet Nam is not desired by the revolutionary administration. The Vietnamese are not the only people in the world to recall the responsibility of the men who had sent their troops to Viet Nam: the Washington leaders, who are at present among those shouting the loudest at Viet Nam.

If the U.S. Government, and its allies, had contributed to the reconstruction of Viet Nam, this would certainly have spared many South Vietnamese the necessity of leaving their country. On 1st February 1973, the then President of the United States, Richard Nixon, sent to Prime Minister Pham Van Dong the following message:

"The President wishes to inform the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam of the principles which will govern the United States'

participation in the post-war reconstruction of North Viet Nam. As indicated in article 21 of the Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam signed in Paris on January 27, 1973, the United States undertakes this participation in accordance with its traditional policies. These principles are as follows:

- 1. The Government of the United States of America will contribute to postwar reconstruction in North Viet Nam without any political conditions.

- 2. Preliminary United States studies indicate that the appropriate programs for the United States' contribution to postwar reconstruction will fall in the range of 3.25 billion dollars of grant aid over five years. Other forms of aid will be agreed upon between the two parties."

Thus the U.S. Government can use no pretext to evade the fulfilment of that written and formal pledge. And yet, for the past six years, Washington has not disbursed one single dollar for a country that U.S. weapons had terribly ravaged. For the U.S. this is not only a political question but one of moral credibility.

Senator George McGovern rightly pointed out: "The war left tragic, lasting scars on the land and people in Viet Nam. The cost to that country is difficult to grasp, so deeply did it affect every aspect of Vietnamese life. Because the major share of the damage was inflicted by the vast military operations of the United States—from bombing to shelling, to defoliation, to population relocation—the U.S. has not only a pragmatic interest but a moral obligation to do what it can to help heal the wounds. Even if the scale of aid which we can now contribute is small in relation to the need, it is important for our country that we give it—important to our own self-respect, to respect for the United States in the world community, and to the goodwill it can foster between Americans and Vietnamese."

Political obligation, moral obligation: any self-respecting American will think of the problem in these terms, the more so since the United States is the country which can most effectively help both in the reconstruction of Viet Nam and in providing the emigres with a decent livelihood.

Responsibility of U.S.A. and China

Responsibility for the refugees thus should not fall on the countries of Southeast Asia, as is now the case, but on the United States in the first place.

As for the Hoa living in Viet Nam, who has driven them to the present tragic situation? As early as 1955-57, an agreement was reached between the Vietnamese and Chinese Parties and Governments under the terms of which the Hoa would henceforth fall under Vietnamese jurisdiction and would be gradually integrated into the Vietnamese society. The Vietnamese authorities did all they could to implement this agreement. The Hoa were allowed to engage in whatever trades and occupations they wanted; they could enter the administration or become officers in the Vietnamese army; they could be elected to the National Assembly or be admitted to membership of the Communist Party of Viet Nam. It is only due to the subversive activities of Peking's networks and its warlike policy that the Hoa have found themselves in the present situation.

It is indeed strange that Peking should strive its utmost to denounce Viet Nam for persecuting the Hoa while keeping its mouth tightly shut when Pol Pot was massacring the half a million Hoa who were living in Kampuchea. Indeed tens of thousands of those Hoa fled the Pol Pot regime and sought refuge in Viet Nam—a burden for the Vietnamese authorities. And when Vietnamese negotiators asked that the Chinese Government repatriate those refugees to China, the Chinese delegation turned a deaf ear. It is not the interests of the Hoa that the Peking leaders care about, but only the possibility of using them for political and propaganda purposes. It is only logical that China should give shelter to those Hoa who no longer wish to live in Viet Nam and not, let us say it once again, the countries of Southeast Asia.

The two main responsible parties, the U.S.A. and China, having refused to shoulder their political and moral obligations, the considerable burden constituted by the refugees has fallen on the ASEAN countries. It is only legitimate that these countries should protest and ask to be relieved of this responsibility. (This is, however, no justification for inhumane measures.)

Attitude of Vietnamese Government

The Vietnamese Government only wants certain principles to be observed:

- Those who leave should do so legally, after performing all necessary administrative formalities;
- Clandestine departures, organized en

masse with the complicity of national and international reactionary forces, affect the security of the country, disorganize its economy, and infringe national sovereignty; such departures are therefore prohibited.

The major political fact in this question is the vast anti-Vietnamese campaign launched throughout the world by the mass media of Peking and the West in a well-orchestrated manner.

This campaign is no novelty. It has indeed started in Washington where the U.S. leaders, unable to use Viet Nam's tribulations to erase from people's minds the immense responsibilities of their government and stubbornly refusing to honour their aid pledge, seek to give a good conscience to the American people.

Jimmy Carter has found the method: human rights. Viet Nam, the victim of U.S. barbarity, will thus find itself in the dock while the U.S.A. will smartly join the ranks of the defenders of law and justice. There have been former friends of Viet Nam who have lent a hand to this legerdemain trick; some in good faith and without being aware that they are being manipulated; others knowingly. The mass media have immediately supported the operation. On 27 December 1976 the Los Angeles Times ran a big headline: "No human rights, no aid!"

From the U.S.A. the campaign has spread to Europe. Now, the Western and Peking press, radio and television are in a frenzy over the question of refugees. The U.S. and European Governments are seeking to put the problem in a tragic light and isolate Viet Nam from its Southeast Asian neighbours. All this concerted action has given rise to an atmosphere of cold war vis-a-vis Viet Nam.

Danger of Another War

This cold war may lead to a shooting war for world opinion is being conditioned for a passive acceptance of a new aggression upon Viet Nam. In the eyes of the imperialist forces and the Peking leaders, this country is guilty of at least three "crimes":

- that of being a third-world country which stubbornly refuses to be integrated into the world economic system set up by the multinational companies;
- that of being a socialist country; Viet Nam is considered the vulnerable link of the socialist system at present;
- that of being the major obstacle to Chinese expansion into Southeast Asia (in

fact it has played this role repeatedly in the course of history).

It is no accident that while the campaign is being feverishly conducted, U.S. and French military missions have made long stays in China to make a study of weapons to be supplied to the Chinese army and the strategy and tactics to be recommended to it. Although the failure of their invasion in February-March 1979 has seriously shaken the Peking rulers, their aggressiveness has not been damped down. Deng Xiaoping keeps talking of giving Viet Nam a new lesson and looks to Washington and West European capitals for support to a new adventure.

Anti-Vietnamese Campaign by China and Western Countries

Such is the true political stake in this violent anti-Vietnamese campaign on the subject of the refugees.

The same Western and Peking mass media that shed tears over the Vietnamese refugees are hushing up the fate of Palestinians forced into exile and have let the millions of victims of the "great cultural revolution" sink into oblivion. Human rights are not their true concern.

All this hullabaloo should not cause men of goodwill to forget that there is a human problem, a tragic one in certain respects, that should be solved and for which quick and appropriate solutions should be found. For several categories are to be observed among the refugees:

— the great majority have left Viet Nam for economic reasons, unable to bear the privations and having failed to find occupations to their liking. Among them are not only big traders and rich traffickers but also mere employees—bartenders for instance—whose trades have dropped out of use and who could not muster the courage to go and reclaim new land;

— some are former war criminals or are now members of counter-revolutionary networks who feel they are about to be discovered;

— in the case of the intellectuals, there are various factors which combine in varying degrees. All have experienced a serious drop in their standard of living: when a medical doctor who used to travel in a car and live in an air-conditioned villa becomes a cadre in a public hospital, his salary is barely one-tenth of his former income. To this is added the difficulty he feels to adapt himself to the new society,

to the constraint of a revolutionary society which is, moreover, facing innumerable hindrances. It is with a heavy heart that those intellectuals resign themselves to leaving a country which, at bottom, they would like to serve.

Whatever category the refugees may belong to and whatever reason may be behind their departure from Viet Nam, the Vietnamese Government and the other governments concerned, together with the international community, must coordinate their action in order to resolve the problem.

The Vietnamese Government has agreed with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that the question be resolved on the basis of a seven-point accord which provides for the following modalities:

— All those wishing to leave shall perform the necessary administrative formalities with the Vietnamese authorities;

— The Vietnamese Government shall hand over to the UNHCR the list of would-be emigres so that the latter may approach potential receiving countries;

— The UNHCR shall organize the journeys of those who will have obtained the consent of receiving countries.

The Governments of rich countries, the U.S.A. in particular, should give assistance to the countries of Southeast Asia on which the burden of the refugees, especially the Hoa, has fallen. To date the governments of some of the richest countries have only picked technicians and intellectuals from the mass of refugees, abandoning the rest to the care of the ASEAN countries.

The Vietnamese people, fully engaged in healing the wounds of long years of war, fervently wish that this painful problem be resolved in the quickest and most humane way possible. Those who leave will remain for them brothers, friends, compatriots.

We earnestly call on people of goodwill throughout the world to

— Actively help the emigres to obtain decent living conditions in the receiving countries;

— Demand that the U.S. and Chinese Governments fulfil their duty vis-a-vis people whom their warlike policies have uprooted and driven into exodus;

— Be on their guard against political exploitation of the problem with a view to preparing for war.

For its part, Viet Nam is resolved to cooperate with all international organisations to settle this problem in the most human way possible.

China's

JOAN YUILLE

IN Southeast Asia, it is estimated that there are 17 million overseas Chinese, but no accurate figure can be given as many have taken up citizenship in the countries they reside in, and many have intermarried. In the main, the people of Chinese origin still preserve their own traditions, culture and religion and teach the Chinese language to their children.

They work in commerce, finance and banking, and also engage in many other occupations, hotel and restaurant-keeping, driving rickshaws, running opium dens and gambling houses, engage in maritime, river and land transport and practise Chinese medicine.

Nearly all the banks in Southeast Asia are run by the Chinese. Ninety per cent of the economy of Malaysia is controlled by the Chinese and in South Vietnam the Chinese formerly controlled 80 per cent of capital in commerce. While contributing greatly to the economic development in Southeast Asia, the Chinese have at the same time seized control of almost all the key positions in the economic life of these countries.

For many years overseas Chinese capitalists have constituted a considerable source of foreign exchange for China. It is estimated that Chinese living in Southeast Asia sent 3.5 billion U.S. dollars back to China from 1950 to 1970. Peking fosters the relationship with the overseas Chinese capitalists, and 30 deputies represent them in the Chinese National People's Congress. The investments of overseas Chinese are guaranteed by Peking as inviolable private property. By 1966, almost 140 factories in China had been established with capital from overseas Chinese.

Liberation of South Viet Nam in 1975

In Viet Nam, when the United States was defeated, all the billions of dollars that had poured in ceased overnight, and the higher standard of living enjoyed by many disappeared. South Viet Nam was faced with 3 million unemployed and large

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Complicity in Aggravating Vietnam's Refugee Problem

numbers of drug addicts and prostitutes with no means of support.

At first the new government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam allowed capitalist businesses to continue in order to keep things going, but the big traders, taking advantage of the shortage of goods, caused prices to shoot up and panic buying started. The capitalists bought up rice, meat, fish and vegetables from the peasants and the fishermen, and then sold them at prices far higher than the state trade service.

Ban on Capitalist Trading in 1978

The situation became impossible and in March 1978 capitalist trade was banned, and the scandalous profit making ceased.

The policy of liquidation of capitalist trade applied both to the Chinese and Vietnamese traders without discrimination.

Many of the small traders gradually integrated into the State trade service. With the money they had accumulated during the United States occupation, they helped to build up cooperatives for market gardening, poultry-raising, pig breeding or handicrafts.

Out of Viet Nam's total population of 50 million, one-and-a-half million are ethnic Chinese, and are called the Hoa people. A majority of these tried to adjust and take part in the hard task of reconstruction, but others could not adapt themselves to it.

Chinese Agents Spread War Rumours

To make matters worse, agents of China began circulating war rumours among the Hoa communities: "The Hoa people will be tried as traitors when China invades."

The other rumour spread was: "If they (the Hoa people) continued to stay, the Vietnamese would massacre them."

Unrest prevailed, and so began the exodus of the Vietnamese refugees, including the Hoa people.

Gradually a large and lucrative racket sprang up for the purpose of helping people to leave Viet Nam. Syndicates based in Hong Kong and as far away as Los Angeles charged 2,000 dollars a head for a single passage out of Viet Nam, sometimes assisted by corrupt officials, many

of them former servants of the Thieu regime.

Many refugees unable to meet these high charges of the racketeers and in order to avoid the currency restrictions which all countries impose left in boats in harrowing circumstances. The boats were unsuitable for sailing in the high seas and they took very few provisions with them. Many were picked up by passing ships, but no one knows how many got drowned.

The Vietnamese government, far from driving these people from its shores, has been trying to regulate the departures. It set up a special humanitarian grant for those wishing to leave through official channels, to join up with their families abroad.

Measures for Legal Departures

In May 1979 Viet Nam attended an international conference at Djakarta, specifically called to deal with the refugee problem.

Working closely with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Viet Nam has drawn up a 7-point programme for the orderly departure of the refugees.

— 1. Lists will be prepared by Viet Nam and potential receiving countries. Where names appear on both lists, exit qualifications will be made clear.

— 2. The UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees) will enlist support for this programme among potential receiving countries.

— 3. Viet Nam and the UNHCR will appoint teams to work on implementing this programme.

— 4. UNHCR personnel will work in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

— 5. Proper transport will be provided at regular intervals.

— 6. An authorised departure of people will be carried out as soon as possible and to the maximum extent. The number of such people will depend on how many applications for exit there are from Viet Nam and on the ability of receiving countries to issue entry visas.

— 7. The Vietnamese government will provide the UNHCR and receiving countries every facility to implement the programme.

Mr. Dale de Haan, Deputy UN High

Commissioner for Refugees, has said that more than 3,000 refugees have made an orderly departure under this scheme.

It has been difficult for Viet Nam to patrol its lengthy coastline to stop the illegal trafficking, and, of course, the Vietnamese government is unable to arrest ships remaining in international waters. Two Panamanian freighters and one Greek ship, Nikitas, have been arrested.

Inhuman Decision of British Government

The decision by Britain to cut off all aid to Viet Nam is, to say the least, very short-sighted. To stop the flow of "boat people" Viet Nam needs to be able to offer its people more food and the wherewithal to build a higher standard of life for its hard-pressed people.

The decision of the Common Market Commission to divert food aid planned for Viet Nam to feed Vietnamese refugees in other countries can only be deprecated. Either the decision must come from a lack of understanding of the real situation in Southeast Asia, or it is a political move to isolate Viet Nam and deprive it of its basic needs.

After suffering three years of droughts, then floods and thirty years of devastating war, Viet Nam needs food urgently, and it is only common humanity for the EEC to unload its food mountains for Southeast Asia.

Viet Nam Sets an Example to the World

Not only should food be sent to the refugees leaving Viet Nam, but also to the refugees that have come to Viet Nam, half a million of them from Kampuchea.

Viet Nam is setting an example to the world by sparing some of its meagre supplies of seed rice for Kampuchea, where malnutrition and protein deficiency is reaching crisis levels.

We hope that the Labour opposition in the British Parliament and progressive people everywhere will halt the disastrous policy of the British Government towards Viet Nam, and urge the Government to emulate the Danish, Dutch, and Italian Governments who are trying to change the decision of the EEC to cut off food aid to Viet Nam.



Situation of Children in New Global Realities in the Year 2,000

MIHALY SIMAI

WHAT will be the environment in which the children of the year 2,000 will have to live? This question cannot be answered easily and with scientific exactness. No doubt, projections are available. Global models have been developed by distinguished scholarly communities in different parts of the world. The major expected trends of the next two decades are emerging more clearly from the misty uncertainties of political, economic and social factors.

The new global realities which swept away the rosy pictures drawn by futurologists, technological optimists and journalists in certain countries are indicating the tremendous tasks mankind is faced with.

One of the troubles with global projections is the fact that even if they are realistic, they cannot show the details. Peoples, families and children live however in the "details" in the micro environment of shanty towns, villages, large urban settlements, study in well equipped or miserable schools. Still, no other means are available and we know also by experience that the micro-world of the children cannot be different from what is shaped by the main trends: political, economic and others. Demography is one of the main factors.

Every second another two hungry mouths must be fed in the world. The number of those born exceeds the number who die by 200,000 daily and the population of the earth increases by 6 million people a month. According to the latest calculations 72 million people must be added to the population of our planet yearly. The present tendencies of the demographic boom may

entirely be perceived only in decades or perhaps in a century. The measures referring to the modification of the present tendencies or the failures in implementing given measures will be fully experienced only by coming generations. However, the problems are already depressing. The number of the population of the world will have amounted to 6,000 million in 20 years; 50 per cent of which will be made up by children or adolescents. The proportion of children between 0-14 age will be about 32-33 per cent of the total population. The number will be about 2 billion.

In the following twenty years issues affecting the situation of the children will become increasingly important.

Several problems have come to the forefront to a great extent, such as, how social institutions ought to be transformed in the countries of the world and what tasks should be solved on an international scale in order to improve the actual situation of children and secure their future. Factors, changes and duties having an effect on the situation of children are naturally raised in different ways in certain country-groups of the world.

Situation in Socialist Countries

The socialist countries may well be proud of the results achieved in this field. This society has done a lot—far exceeding its possibilities at the given development level—to improve the living conditions of children and to secure the future for them. The situation of the children has improved to a greater extent than that of the whole society. And this is natural. Socialism is a future-orientated society and its activity and efforts for future generations are necessarily significant. Social and health services, development of the educational system and making it free, forming a wide-

scale network of vocational training, ensuring various cultural possibilities, institutional caring for homeless children and other measures have been generally acknowledged all over the world. Of course, it is clear that there are problems to be solved in the socialist countries as well, which require more energy and efforts of society. It is obvious that the efficiency of the above-mentioned measures must be improved. Social education of children must be taken greater care of.

The transformation of the European socialist countries naturally brings about new problems. Urban settlements becoming characteristic put new problems in the forefront: they need institutions of a new type which should ensure education, recreation, amusement and cultural possibilities for children. The importance of the family and the wider communities is changing for the latter. The role of the family is also changing. This demands additional material efforts, new organisational frames, forms and methods from society. Society has to prepare better for the change in financial needs and has to do more in solving the tasks concerning other fields.

Problems in Western Countries

There are many problems to be faced in regard to children in the industrially developed capitalist countries. Even the richest capitalist countries could not do away with social poverty and particularly with child poverty. Children's possibilities continue to be unequal. For the last 25-30 years the increase in the standard of living of these countries has not sufficiently improved the situation of all the children. The given model of consumerism though has senselessly increased the quantity of the consumed goods; it has caused a lot of damage.

MIHALY SIMAI, Professor; President of the Hungarian National Committee for UNICEF (Hungary).

Major problems, however, can also be found elsewhere. For example the network of pre-school institutions are backward in many cases. The education system is a means of reproducing social inequalities in the sense that the poor and the children of parents with low incomes do not get sufficient schooling. From the very start conditions are unequal for children with different social backgrounds.

There are many problems still to be solved, as for example, the question of homeless children in many industrially developed capitalist countries. Their number is rapidly growing. These psychological and sociological factors can be added to others which are connected with the general perspective of society—alienation from social environment, violence, juvenile delinquency, etc.

The situation of guest workers' children appears as a special problem. In France alone, half a million such children live in slums. The Federal Republic of Germany is not far behind in this respect.

The quality of problems concerning the situation of children is different in the developing countries. Demographic tendencies indicate a decreasing rate of children in the population of the developed capitalist and socialist countries in the coming two decades. So the rate of children living in the developed countries will be less compared to the number of children in the whole world. The problems of children living in the developing countries will significantly increase as the number of children keeps on growing in these countries.

According to demographic estimates 1.2 billion children will live in developing countries and 0.3 billion in developed ones out of 1.5 billion by 1980. So a great part of children are already living in the developing countries.

This means that the situation of children living in the developing countries has and will become the basic issue of the problem of children in the future.

In 1978, 10 out of 12 million children were born on this earth in the developing countries. Today one out of ten million are already dead. Another 400,000–500,000 will not survive till the 1980s.

Problems of Children in Developing Countries

The problems concerning the situation of children in the developing countries derive from several sources. The funda-

mental source, of course, is their economic position. Low national income, weakness in their economic and social institutions, one-sided international economic dependence are all expressing underdevelopment. High increase in the population produces several problems in this environment.

In the industrially developed countries, 10–15 per cent of the annual investments is necessary to maintain the production level per person, while the rest is for increasing production. In the developing countries, this rate is about 50–55 per cent.

Large strata of the population in the developing countries live in poverty. Nearly 40 per cent of them have such a low level of income that they cannot afford even the most basic needs. This covers more than a billion people. These strata have the highest increase in population and their health and hygienic conditions are the worst. The majority live in villages frequently far away from urban centres, in places difficult to reach. But there are many city dwellers who are also poor.

Migration to Cities

Under normal conditions and circumstances the development of a town favourably affects the situation of children. If there are employment possibilities, if housing is available, and if health and hygienic conditions are sufficient, then people coming into the cities can live under better circumstances than those in the villages, as they earn more and their lives become more interesting. Conditions for education and public health service in the urban areas are also better. All this can be sustained only if a given society is consciously organising and developing the influx of the population into the cities or the economic

development ensures the solution of such social tasks which are inevitable requirements for urbanization. But the situation is different in the developing countries.

A peculiar, rapid urbanization process is taking place. At present there are 172 cities in the world with more than a million inhabitants. By the turn of the century this number will have amounted to 375 and 200 of these will be in the developing countries. Huge metropolises are being formed. The population of Mexico City is estimated at 14 million and more than half of the inhabitants have moved to the capital during the past 20–25 years.

In the developing countries more than half of the children in towns live in slums, that is in huts, shanties and concrete pipes. This situation is connected with the character of the economic growth of the developing countries. The modern and traditional sectors exist side by side. Thus, relatively well-paid workers, protected by the trade unions, can be found in the cities, on the one hand, and, on the other, there are masses of people unemployed, temporarily employed, living in poverty or doing home-craft work. The employment growth in industry is far behind the increase in the number of those who are able to work in the cities. The number of city-dwellers and those able to work is increasing not only by natural birth but by the large influx of the population into the cities.

The inhabitants of shanty-towns, slums are not provided with sufficient, clean, healthy drinking water. The environment is polluted, very dirty. They lack the most elementary drainage. These children are not provided with the generally more developed health service and education system of the cities. These institutions do not reach them partly because their network is not or



Poster issued by the Greek Peace Committee on the International Year of the Child

hardly built up in the shanty-towns and partly because the children have to enter very early into drudgery, the often hopeless struggle for the daily bread. The shanty-towns are growing more rapidly than any other form of settlement on our planet.

The grave general situation is made worse by very bad nutrition. There are no global data but surveys referring to certain metropolises reflect frightening tendencies. 40-45 per cent of children living in the slums of some of these metropolises are underfed. Infant mortality in these areas is especially high and in the case of the poorest it amounts to 50 per cent. These strata are underfed or starve not only because of their low incomes. In these shanty-towns food is relatively more expensive than it is on the markets of the cities in the developing countries. Shop owners and hawkers have very little choice and that is offered at a very high price. At the same time low incomes do not allow these people to buy more than is enough for a meal or perhaps for a day. Thus those living in these areas spend 80-85 per cent of their gross income on food.

The data for children living in villages are less certain and scattered. This strata represents the majority of children living in the developing countries and in the world. Even by the year 2,000, 58 per cent of the inhabitants of the developing countries will live in villages and two-thirds of children will be born in rural areas.

On the basis of a survey conducted by WHO in 90 developing countries in 1970, 50 per cent of the inhabitants in 232 huge cities were provided with sufficient drinking water, but only 12 per cent of 1,026 million village dwellers had proper drinking water.

Child misery in villages is hidden though occasionally it is as terrible as in towns and the same is true for child work.

Working Children

Child work is continuing to be widespread. According to official data there are 52-54 million children under 12 belonging to the category "economically active". The real data may be many times over this figure. Children employed in factories have the worst situation. Thousands of children between 5 and 8 are employed in carpet weaving, tobacco factories or in other fields of industry having 72 working hours a week. Child work is not too visible and that is why it is less protested against in villages than in towns.

The situation of children cannot be gen-

erally examined or defined. Such needs as health service, nutrition, education (including vocational training), adequate housing, clothing, recreation, amusements, etc. can be met in the definite structure of social-economic relations on the given level of economic and social development. The situation of children can only be understood by the position of the whole society.

Impact of Arms Race

The international political situation and the question of arms represent a very important issue. If a significant part of the financial means and creative energy of mankind is frittered away on arms race the next two decades will not only lead to political but increasing economic and social tension as well. If the arms race is not stopped, the rate of arms expenditure may amount to 550 billion by 1990—calculated at prices in 1978.

Military expenditure has a rapid growth especially in the developing countries. While the rate of arms expenditure increased by 50 per cent in the developed industrial countries, there was a 250 per cent growth in this respect in the developing countries between 1960-1976.

Children have suffered most in "limited wars" since 1945. They were either directly struck by devastation, killed or disabled for their whole lives or millions were forced to leave their homes. Peaceful development is a principal condition for the improvement of the situation of children, too.

The task of improving the nutrition of the world and the children in it will not be easy.

We have to take into consideration that 800 million children live in such countries where income per person at present prices is about \$300 in current dollar terms and approximately 100 million children are literally starving. The rate of the undernourished is higher than this. The successful struggle against hunger cannot be isolated from the general efforts made for social and economic development. Getting sufficient food has two basic preconditions: increasing production and incomes.

World health care is also struggling with grave problems. There are three tendencies: further elimination of diseases, widening the basic health services, strengthening the struggle against the main causes of death. A major part of the improvement is focused in the developed countries. Growing costs and limited health services deprive millions of the possibility for basic treatment. In the majority of the developing

countries child health care remains especially a grave problem.

Increasing pollution of the natural environment may become a very serious problem. If mankind is not able to stop and turn back these tendencies of growing pollution, general living conditions will further worsen. It is obvious that pollution seriously influences children as the growing, developing body is very harmfully affected by polluting materials. Besides the child cannot protect himself as consciously as a grown-up. Growing pollution, especially water pollution owing to the use of chemicals in agriculture, is becoming a serious problem in the developing countries.

There are important problems in the educational system in many countries. Under the recommendation of UNESCO, free and compulsory primary education was accepted as a basic policy by almost all the countries of the world in the 1950s. Today, almost 30 years later in many countries barely one-sixth to one-third of the children of elementary school age are in school. The total number of illiterates over 14 is growing.

One of the most serious problems in the developing countries is to create 1.5 billion new jobs in the coming twenty years. This task can be solved only by organising the society and making significant changes.

Significant tasks must be solved on the international level too. Together with UNICEF other international organisations have to deal with the problems of children more actively. The mobilizing force of the International Year of the Child has resulted in active cooperation for the children between different international organisations both on governmental and non-governmental level. This cooperation should be made lasting, more intensive and regular, within the framework of UNICEF and around it.

Looking at the problems of the present situation the prospects of the coming one or two decades are not too encouraging. However, we cannot allow the problems to result in hopelessness and inactivity. The contrary must be true; on the basis of the existing and emerging problems we must set the correct priorities and we must mobilise and help. We must learn better how to work together nationally and on the international level. This is our responsibility and duty. Today we, adults, are responsible before children, before the future adults, before the coming generations. Our era will be judged by history according to our ability to live with this responsibility.

Sufferings of Palestinian Children under Israeli Occupation

The Committee for the Defence of Palestinian Human Rights under Israeli Occupation has in a study given an account of the sufferings undergone by the Palestinian children in the occupied areas.

Extracts from the study are published here.

CHILDREN are privileged in all parts of the world. In developed countries they are provided with basic needs that constitute a happy life, such as food, clothing, education and entertainment. In developing countries where facilities are more limited children have less privileges and at least enjoy their parents' affection. Palestinian children in the occupied territories and outside are denied any privileges. Instead they are subjected to oppression, exploitation, imprisonment, killing.

In fact, they constitute a target for the scorn and grudge of Zionist leaders and Israeli governments. Their elimination was demanded by Zionist poet Pileek and by General Raphael Etan on the evening preceding Israeli attack on South Lebanon. Golda Meir had also expressed her scorn for Palestinian children when she said that her sleep was disturbed at the birth of a new Palestinian child. This racist scorn explains best the situation of Palestinian children under Israeli occupation, especially when children constitute 48 per cent of the total Arab population.

Childhood Haunted with Fear

Palestinian children are born into the complicated intricate tragedy of the Palestinian people. In addition to the life of misery and dispersal, Palestinian children are exposed to practices of horror implemented by Begin's terrorist government. Armed soldiers for example break into Arab homes at night. They attack parents and relatives in front of young children. Army patrols fire their shots at night and during the day to terrorize inhabitants. Children are also horrified at the sound of Israeli tanks and the roar of Israeli jet fighters in the skies of the occupied territories. Furthermore, children

are alarmed at the sight of barbed wires and of the maltreatment their parents and relatives are exposed to at check posts and on the bridges.

Children living in Arab countries surrounding the Israeli-occupied areas do not escape this horror. Refugee camps in those countries have frequent experiences of Israeli military raids.

Education officials in the occupied territory planned an exhibition of children's paintings. These paintings turned out to be in gloomy dark colours picturing bars, women crying in front of their children, and of Israeli tanks and truncheons.

Hundreds of Palestinian children have been killed and disfigured during Israeli raids on Palestinian camps, and Palestinian schools.

Pictures of the crime that took place at the Beit Jala School were published in the U.S. "Time" magazine in the middle of March 1978. Israeli soldiers closed the windows in four classes in that school and threw tear gas bombs into the closed classrooms. Children broke their legs as they jumped terrified from third floor windows. Those of them who did not jump, were found fainting in their classrooms.

Students of the Beit Sahour School near Beit Jala were exposed to the same maltreatment. Children jumped from the windows but were not hurt this time because their classrooms happened to be on the first floor. One soldier painfully described the incident saying that Israeli authority was trying to create new nazis out of the soldiers. The soldier continued: "Children were falling into our hands like butterflies attacked with insecticides. They were between 8-10 years old and we saw them sitting on the fence with their legs broken after they jumped from the windows."

Moreover Palestinian children are also exposed to torture.

Arrests and Fines

In a memorandum issued by the "League of Human Rights and the citizen in Israel" about the harassment and arrests of children at the end of 1977, Israeli lawyer Felecia Langer wrote: "This is the ninth wave of demonstrations and anyone who has got a conscience can realize that the problem can be solved only by granting Palestinians their legal rights. I followed up this last wave of demonstrations on humanistic and professional basis, and saw that children have been carried away in large numbers to Israeli courts where they are convicted to imprisonment or payment of fines that amount to thousands of Israeli Liras. Those amounts are of course paid by refugee fathers who are also threatened by imprisonment if they do not pay. I saw a number of children bruised on the faces in a military court in Hebron. On the same day I saved a boy who was fainting under the beatings of Israeli soldiers in front of the Holy Mosque of Abraham in Hebron.

"I carried the boy to a hospital where doctors poured out their accounts of treating children who were attacked and torn apart by dogs. In a court for delinquents in Jerusalem, I stood in defence of 13 year old children, and despised the meaningless speech of the judge about the accused girls from Kalandia, in which he said that those girls ought to be oppressed for the security of the State of Israel."

Lawyer Langer added: "Prisons are thus overfilled with children who are beaten harshly even on the way when they are transferred from one prison to another. Lately, Israeli authorities have come across a new horrible method which they practice to isolate children from camps and prohibit them from participating in demonstrations or in any other manner in which they

would express their rejection of Israeli occupation. Israeli soldiers gathered children in one place and started beating them harshly. They also frightened the children with snakes and attacked houses at night arresting innocent children without charges against them. The same happened in the Balata Camp near Nablus."

In a supplementary to the memorandum, Felicia Langer published a list of names of sixty-seven students fourteen to seventeen years old and the names of schools they came from. Those children were imprisoned and fined. Israeli occupation authorities imprisoned young children in ordinary prisons together with old criminal prisoners and not in special reformatory prisons. They are even imprisoned with homosexual criminals who attack those children sexually.

Torture Against Children

During the demonstrations that took place on 18 March 1978 against the Israeli attack on south Lebanon, eleven children, twelve to sixteen years old, were arrested and dragged from the Kalandia Camp, where they lived, to prison, where they were tortured for seven months before being brought before a military trial. They were imprisoned and fined.

Torture includes hitting the children with a stick on their heads and sexual organs, solitary confinement with threats of being killed, pulling of hair, hitting the head against the wall, beatings.

Enslavement of Children

Rafic Halaby a correspondent of the Israeli Television showed a film in August 1978 about the employment of Palestinian children on Israeli farms. Strong reaction was provoked by that film which exposed further facts and dimensions of the situation referred to in Israeli newspapers as "The Slavery of Children". The places where children gather in all parts of the occupied territories waiting for work contractors and Israeli farm owners, were referred to as "slave markets".

Information was also disclosed about the involvement of high Israeli leaders in these matters. Parliament members from the Likud and Ma'arakh parties exchanged accusations in the Israeli Knesset relating to the issue of employing children.

A member of the Ma'arakh party accused Ariel Sharon of the Likud and Minister of Agriculture of employing Arab children on his private farm, and revealed that Sharon

employed 150 workers from Gaza including 25 children. Sharon refuted the accusation by showing a photograph of an Arab child, less than fifteen years old, working in a Kibbutz to which the Ma'arakh party member belonged.

Following the anger provoked by the employment of Palestinian children, Israeli authorities sent twenty teams to search for children who go to work in Israel and send them back. On 20 August 1978, 500 children were returned home by those teams, and on the next day 350 children were also sent back, yet to our knowledge and belief, this is not the right and final solution to the problem.

It was also revealed that young girls were also being employed. On 29 August 1978, the Jewish Agency stated that the agency was employing Palestinian girls, twelve years of age, in cleaning student residences in Romema Haifa. Those girls were employed by commissioners and their neighbours testified that this had been taking place for seven years. Those girls are moreover maltreated by administration officials of that residence.

Children working in Israel live in miserable conditions. They are locked by their employers in garages and stores. Their tragedy was unravelling when three children from Gaza were incapable of escaping from a fire that broke out in one of these stores. Israeli employers have made a fortune by employing Arab children, since an Arab child is paid 30-80 IL a day while an adult is paid 400 IL a day. Arab children moreover work 14 hours daily. They gather at 3 o'clock in the morning in special areas from where they are carried in Israeli trucks to their work, and are not carried back home before six o'clock in the evening.

This sad reality reveals how the discriminatory policy of Zionist leaders is carried out, aiming at condemning our Palestinian people to an illiterate poor lot. These Israeli leaders aim at making Palestinians into slaves living in bad conditions, similar to the condition of Africans in countries with racist regimes in Africa.

Children Deserting Classrooms

The normal growth of the number of Palestinian students has been hampered during Israeli occupation. This is especially true about students in the elementary and preparatory stages, and is due to the employment of children, which is planned and encouraged by Israeli authorities. This is in addition to the policy of poverty and exploitation practised against the Pales-

tinians by occupation authorities through the policy of economic annexation, and subordinating the economy of the occupied areas to that of Israel which in its turn is oriented for military needs.

Students are forced due to the high cost of living to leave school and work in order to help their families. Israeli authorities do not however enforce compulsory education in the occupied areas. Education is disrupted through limited opportunities for the educated. Money spent on education for Palestinian children is also insufficient, the budget being restricted by Israeli authorities. Besides, censorship is imposed on the kinds of books imported, and on the curriculum which has been changed to the detriment of the Palestinian children. Cultural and national matters relating to the Palestinian problem have been completely dropped out. Several schools have been permanently closed down and others were closed temporarily as an act of retaliation on the part of Israeli authorities against those schools which participated in demonstrations or in other means of expressing students rejection of Israeli occupation. And finally the deportation, resignation and expulsion of teachers have also had disruptive effects on education.

Poor Health Conditions

Health services provided for children have not developed in accordance with the regular growth of the number of children in the occupied areas. Such services have been even reduced because of the reduced number of doctors resulting from the deportation and expulsion of doctors by Israeli occupation authorities. By studying the health services provided for children in Ramallah, one gets a true picture of health conditions of children all over the West Bank. In the Gaza Strip however the situation was even worse.

The Field Hospital in Ramallah, which included 20 beds for children, was closed down directly after the 1967-war. The Old Hospital in Ramallah received 840 children in 1971 while it contained only 32 beds for children. In 1976 the number of beds was reduced to 23 while 1,200 children were hospitalised; the number of nurses has been reduced from 12 to 8.

The Zionists treat Palestinian children with scorn, depriving them of a happy childhood. This Zionist scorn is making Palestinian children to resist ceaselessly Israeli occupation by all the means at hand.

Black Children's Resistance to Apartheid in South Africa

The atrocities committed by the apartheid regime in South Africa on millions of innocent black children are now being resisted also by the children themselves. This heroic role of the black children has been described in a paper which was prepared by the African National Congress of South Africa for the International Seminar on Children under Apartheid, held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris in June 1979. The Seminar was organised by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and the Non-Governmental Organisations Sub-Committee to highlight the plight of children as an important contribution to the International Year of the Child. Extracts from the ANC paper are published here.

THE long history of resistance by the 22 million blacks, victims of apartheid in South Africa, is enriched by the courageous resistance by black youth and children. The reasons are not far to seek. From infancy disabilities are imposed on the children by apartheid. These include lack of proper medical care, housing, education, recreation facilities, total absence of social security and in fact the gross violation of all the ten principles of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child. The years of childhood are therefore devoid of the happiness enjoyed by children, and are filled with the bitter experience of struggle against apartheid and all its institutions.

The growing resistance of children against apartheid is indicative of the psychological and emotional instability that the system imposes on children. Repression by the regime indicates the extent to which the Pretoria minority clique can go to suppress any demands by the black population for change in its apartheid policies. The resistance of children must therefore be viewed in the general context of the struggle of the South African people for the complete eradication of the regime of apartheid, for the establishment of a democratic state.

ANC Youth League

This resistance took concrete form with the formation of the African National Congress Youth League in 1944, in the years of resistance against the forces of fascism and the upsurge of the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa. The Youth League activists who included 16-year-olds, declared: "Our goal is the

winning of national freedom for African people, and the inauguration of a people's free society, where racial oppression and persecution will be outlawed."

In the years that followed, the Youth League was to play a leading role in transforming qualitatively the nature of the struggle against apartheid. The youth called for a non-racial state, and stressed: "We only hate white oppression and white domination and not white people themselves. We of the Youth League take into account the concrete situation in South Africa and realize that the different racial groups have come to stay."

Resistance to "Bantu Education Act of 1953"

In 1953, the South African government introduced the "Bantu Education Act" which

imposed a separate inferior education on the African children of South Africa. The aim of this kind of education was stated by the then minister of Native Affairs, the chief architect of the policy of apartheid, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd in the Senate on 7 June 1954: "There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pasture of White society, in which he was allowed to graze."

The first innovation under the Bantu education system was the double sessions, with periods of three hours each and with classes of up to 70 pupils to one teacher.

No provision was made for free and compulsory education. The aim was to prevent students from rising in significant numbers to the levels where they could compete with their white counterparts. There was widespread resistance by the African people against this fraudulent attempt. Children were organized to boycott the government schools and in their place the African National Congress organized schools which were called "cultural clubs". By 1955 over 2,000 children had rejected Bantu education schools and had enrolled in ANC schools.

Children took part in massive demonstrations against Bantu education and stayed away from schools for months. Government schools were burned down as a sign of protest. Big rallies were arranged. The children were a great help at mobilizing and propagating since the struggle against apartheid was and still is to them a daily experience.



Demonstration in South Africa against the Apartheid regime



Plight of children in Apartheid South Africa—these photos were produced in an album by the Unesco Press and Audio-visual Information Division and the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa

Emergence of Soweto—1976

The emergence of Soweto in 1976 was not an accident isolated from the general struggle of the African people for the elimination of the system of apartheid. The eruption of school children, which was sparked off by the imposition of a language not desired by them, should by all means be considered in the background of the general struggle of the South African people against an imposed regime of apartheid.

This dispute, that was to expand to involve a confrontation between the oppressor and the oppressed, has marked another phase in the struggle against apartheid, the phase of the mass participation of the youth, and children as young as 8 years of age, in the struggle against all the institutes of apartheid. The eruption of violence was a result of months of frustration encountered in attempting to solve the problem through consultation. The issue had been discussed long before 16 June 1976. Teachers and children had been told by the Department of Bantu Education that they "have no right to choose for themselves, but should do what the department wants."

Clashes between students and the police on the issue of the Afrikaans language took place as early as February 1976. Memoranda were sent to the Department of Bantu Education. It was the frustration that motivated the move of the children from consultation to confrontation with the institutions of apartheid. Four weeks after the first school had gone on strike the Minister of Justice and Police, Jimmy Kruger, said, commenting on the uprising in Soweto: "Student unrest over dissatisfaction with their curriculum was brewing in Soweto for the past ten days. The first objects of resistance were institutions of apartheid—administrative offices and Bantu education schools. This is an indication of the psychological effects these have created in the children."

Within days the mood of total rejection of everything that stood for apartheid caught children in other areas of South Africa. It became obvious that the struggle was no longer confined to the language issue, but involved demands for better education. Slogans changed from "Away with Afrikaans!" to "We do not want Bantu Education!", and soon specific political demands were made. Calls for negotiations with authorities were met with brutal suppression. Resistance by children was met with brutality characteristic of the apartheid

regime. By the end of the year hundreds of students, ranging in ages from 8 to 16 years, had been detained. Most of these were kept in solitary confinement. Hundreds had been killed. Only after spending months in jail were some of the children acquitted. The use of the so-called Terrorism Act against children emphasized the nature of the Act which according to leading jurists deviates from almost all the principles of criminal justice.

By November 1977, 180 children below the age of 16 were in detention. Six children below the age of 16 are known to be in Robben Island today, serving five-year sentences.

Assaults on young children by the South African police became a daily feature. A doctor who examined one of the students just released from his 14-hour interrogation, certified that he had injuries corresponding to electric shock treatment, kicking and other assaults.

Flogging of Child Labour

The employment of black child labour in the farms of white South Africans is condoned by the regime. Under the most inhumane conditions of living in these farms, the children often defy the white owner. This form of resistance often results in floggings by the master. According to statistics of the Department of Justice, of the 42,315 floggings applied between 1 July 1972 and 30 June 1973, a great majority involved children below the age of 16.

Taking into account facts presented in this paper, it is clear that the children themselves are involved in the people's struggle against apartheid for the right to life, health and education.

The demands made by 8 and 10-year olds arise not out of emotions overshadowed by ignorance, but from the frustrations encountered from birth.

This resistance poses a challenge to the world, particularly during this International Year of the Child, to fully and concretely support the struggle so courageously conducted by children.

This resistance against apartheid by children is an indication of the extent to which the system has become unbearable to the victims. The call we are making for the complete eradication of this system is made more than before in defence of future generations.

Let the world come to the rescue of the children of apartheid!



Demand for Bill of Rights

Northern Ireland Needs a Political, Not Military Solution

MADGE DAVISON

THERE is a continued awareness that the question of Civil Rights is of paramount importance to the people of Northern Ireland.

Against a backdrop of continuing violence and repression, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association has rededicated itself to the pursuit of a peaceful political solution of the basic problems in Northern Ireland. This can be done through the introduction of a comprehensive Bill of Rights which would guarantee political and religious freedom and pave the way for the development of normal politics.

The task before NICRA as we enter the 1980s is not so different to that which faced us over the last 12 years. We are very much engaged in the task of creating a political climate in which Protestant and Catholic can live in peace free from terror exercised by the State or by paramilitary organisations. Our primary task continues to be one of drawing Northern Ireland politics and political institutions out of the dark ages and into the twentieth century.

No Military Solution

The British Government and many of our political leaders continue to seek a military solution to what is essentially a political problem. They refuse to accept the right of Northern Ireland people to enjoy the same democratic rights and freedoms as prevail in the rest of Britain and throughout Europe.

MADGE DAVISON, *Organiser, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (Northern Ireland)*

In this search for a military solution we have witnessed over the last number of years the brutal murder of at least 200 innocent civilians by the British Army, and continuing torture and repression of many others in police detention centres.

The activities of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in Castlereagh, the most notorious of these police centres, have been the subject of a recent investigation by the British Government. But the subsequent report by Justice Bennett was totally unacceptable to our Association.

At a recent NICRA conference, a resolution was carried overwhelmingly condemning the torture and ill-treatment carried in these centres and calling for a fully independent public inquiry.

Investigating Police Torture

As has been the case in Northern Ireland for many years, the police continue to be in charge of investigations against their own members.

Our Association has continued in 1979 to press for the establishment of an independent complaints machinery to investigate allegations made against the police. The continuation of non-jury trials and the admission of confession evidence, is a running sore in Northern Ireland politics. Our Association has been absolutely unanimous in its demand for a return of trial by jury and a court system in which the normal rules of evidence would apply.

On the issue of the situation inside Northern Ireland prisons, we have stated in reference to the current protests: "NICRA suggests that the ending of this terrible situation can be achieved by the recognition that it is the political situation here which has caused the present violence

and that prisoners convicted in special courts, under special laws, should receive political status without the recognition of any paramilitary status or control inside prisons."

Our attempts to highlight military and police repression continue to be thwarted, and, in the minds of many people, our objective in pursuing them distorted, by the constant campaign of violence by the Provisionals and more recently the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA). These groups continue to trample on the civil rights of everyone in Northern Ireland and treat with contempt the most fundamental rights of all—the right to life itself.



Cover of a booklet on the atrocities committed by the British army in Northern Ireland



British soldiers
in the streets
of Belfast

Taking cognizance that 1979 was designated as the International Year of the Child, NICRA drew up a Charter of Children's Rights which it propagated throughout Northern Ireland.

Young people have suffered particularly in Northern Ireland over the past 12 years. They have been cynically used by paramilitary organisations and singled out for harassment by the security forces.

Repression of the youth in Northern Ireland extends much further than this however. Job prospects for many young school leavers are bleak and educational opportunities are limited. If we are to provide them with a decent future, it is imperative that we secure a peaceful solution of the political problem in Northern Ireland which will guarantee their social and political rights.

We would ask our supporters to continue their support for our objective of Civil Rights for all in Northern Ireland. With this help "WE SHALL OVERCOME".

Our supporters can help in the following ways:

1. Send a telegram to the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, at 10 Downing Street, London demanding that she introduce a comprehensive Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland, in Parliament to guarantee the civil rights of people here and to help achieve peace.

2. Send a letter to the local British Embassy demanding a Bill of Rights, and also asking that the British Government should take immediate steps to end the torture and ill-treatment of suspects arrested by the Police.

The British Government must end the cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment of political detainees in Northern Ireland prisons.

Demand for Bill of Rights

The picture is not entirely dark however. NICRA has made considerable gains over the years in having progressive legislation introduced and having progressive institutions such as the Fair Employment Agency established. Our task now is to consolidate our gains and build on them for the future.

As has been our policy for many years, we will continue to demand that the British Government introduce a comprehensive Bill of Rights in Northern Ireland to retain those rights already achieved and to extend civil rights guarantees to areas not covered at present.

After nearly 12 years of work, we are more convinced than ever that the implementation of Civil Rights represents the only viable way to achieve peace here. We are heartened in that a number of political

parties who have been silent on the question of civil rights here have taken up our Bill of Rights demand in recent times. Among these have been the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) and Alliance Party; even the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and the Official Unionist Party had made mention of a Bill of Rights in their political submission to the previous Secretary of State, Mr. Mason.

We have been rather concerned, however, that recent statements on Northern Ireland from political leaders in the Republic of Ireland and the U.S.A. have tended to ignore the fundamental civil rights issue and have focussed their attention on finding new constitutional arrangements. Our Association is adamant that no matter what new constitutional arrangements in isolation (if any) are worked out for Northern Ireland, in the absence of a programme of civil rights reform they will surely fail.



Appeal for Solidarity

We would appeal to our supporters abroad to continue to highlight the demands of NICRA. The British Government in the past has reacted to international pressure to introduce reform. They can be made to do so again.

We in NICRA have paid tribute to the various international non-governmental organisations for their exposure of the violations of civil rights in Northern Ireland.

We recognize that without international solidarity, repression in Northern Ireland would be even more vicious.

Memorial to Child Victims of War in Lidice

MARIE UCHYTILOVA

WHEN I realised that thirty years after the war there exist hardly any sculptures commemorating the children who lost their lives during that holocaust, I concentrated my antifascist work on the preparations for the creation of a symbol of the five million children killed during the second world war.

I decided to start working on a composition, comprising one group of children who were murdered by the fascists as a group. I chose that group of children who were together asphyxiated in a gassing truck at Kladno, forty-two girls and forty boys, ranging between the ages of one and sixteen, all from the village of Lidice.

Why did I select this unconventional method of expressing my ideas in order to create a memorial dedicated to the child victims of war?

The substance of the idea and the artistic aspect of the work springs from the organic connection between its emotional documentary character and the deep symbolism of the whole thing. The young people of today, who have no direct experience of the horrors of fascism, are thus faced with one fascist crime which is shown in specific historic terms. This sculpture speaks eloquently to people of our times who are accustomed to search first of all for facts, and thus its concept is absolutely modern. It spells out clearly: this is fascism. Therefore, this sculpture is not only a symbol it is a realistic representation of a group of children of Lidice—those who were murdered together. It acquired its deep symbolism in a much more general sense: it stands for all children who became victims of war, and it talks out to everyone, whether they come from a country that has its own Lidice or Oradour, or not: Be vigilant! This is fascism!

On creating this monument I am deeply

convinced that in this period of intensified struggle for peace, works of art with a strong political content are very necessary.

This is in a way confirmed by the fact that the project was first publicised at a congress of the Union of Anti-fascist Fighters in 1973, where a model to scale was exhibited; it has called forth continuous interest. All the people—and there have been many—who have seen the model are of the opinion that by abandoning the standard sculpturing custom, by the reconstruction of one specific crime, we were able to produce a very strong and persuasive effect.

I have now been working on the sculpture for seven years, for more than fifteen hours a day, including Saturdays and Sundays, and in order to be able to work on the memorial, I have given up my teaching activities, and I built a special studio with my own means.

As the International Year of the Child, called by the United Nations, approaches its end I have arrived at the finishing stage of the work on the sixtieth figure of the composition. The whole composition will take up less than 20 square meters of space. Casting in bronze will cost, according to estimates, some five million Czechoslovak crowns. The metal consumption represents ten metric tons, which is one fifth of the annual requirement of the casting

shop. However, the metal has been prepared in various places of our country. It was collected by women, members of the Czechoslovak Union of Women. The staff of the foundry in Zukov have been very much interested in the work since the very beginning and are very keen to cast it. The work in the foundry will last one and a half years and will be done in voluntary shifts.

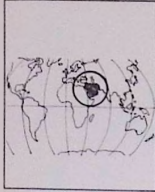
There is an account named Children of Lidice in the Kladno branch of the Czechoslovak State Bank. More than two million crowns have been paid into this account by individuals and Brigades of Socialist Labour from all parts of Czechoslovakia, without any formal collection having been announced.

When in January 1977 a competition was organised for the reconstruction of the National Cultural Memorial in Lidice, this memorial to child victims was included. The final protocol of November 1977 states that the competition had been successful, and recommends that the winning team of architects include the memorial of the children of Lidice, made by Academic Sculptor Marie Uchytilova in their design. The winning team of architects saw the memorial and they were very impressed by its composition and in its effect. They indicated that the memorial would be included in their final design.

Composition of statues of 82 Lidice children, who were together tortured to death by the Hitler Nazis, for a memorial to the child victims of war



MARIE UCHYTILOVA, Sculptress (Czechoslovakia)



Israeli Reign of Terror in Occupied Arab Territories

FELICIA LANGER

AN old soldier with a rifle and a stick, parachutists in the streets of Ramallah and Jerusalem; the city of Halhoul besieged, insulted and robbed, dead bodies of two of its youngsters, shot by the soldiers... A refugee camp sealed up with concrete, surrounded by soldiers like a ghetto... Palestinian children, who were babies in 1967, challenging the heavily armed soldiers, not deterred at all by the bullets, not frightened by the dead bodies of their classmates... A stone against an armoured car, Palestinian flag against a bullet... A deliberate decision to proceed in the struggle for their national rights, an ardent love for the land, as a part of their identity, against the wild expansionism, against the readiness to expropriate and rob more and more...

Such is the face of the territories occupied by Israel 12 years ago, from the very moment the first Israeli soldier put his foot there in June 1967...

After the Gauls conquered Rome in the 4th Century B.C., there was a dispute between the victors and the vanquished as to the weight of gold which Rome had to put on the scale for its redemption. Then, the leader of the Gauls, Brennus, put his sword on the scales and exclaimed: "Vae Victis" ("Woe to the vanquished").

This is the true motto of the Israeli practices in the occupied territories, characterized by constant and systematic violations of human rights of the vanquished in their homeland.

The occupation forces are basing their actions on the Defence Emergency Regulations (1945), inherited from the British Mandate, and which were bitterly attacked by Jewish lawyers during the British Man-

date. Mr. Yacov Shimshon Shapiro, who later became Israel's Attorney General and Minister of Justice, had the following remarks to make in 1946 about the laws Israel applies nowadays in the occupied Arab territories and inside Israel towards the Israeli Arabs. "The system established in Palestine since the issue of the Defence laws is unparalleled in any civilized country; there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany. It is our duty to tell the whole world that the Defence laws passed by the British mandatory government of Palestine destroy the very foundation of justice in this land."

Matters not covered by these regulations have been legally defined as offences by hundreds of orders and regulations enacted by the military governors and commanders. First among them is the right to arrest: In the Order for Security Regulations, the penal code for the occupied territories, every soldier has the right to arrest an inhabitant if there is a suspicion that he committed an offence. He does not need a warrant for 96 hours. A police officer has the right to extend this arrest for seven days, and then for another seven days, while a military judge has the right to extend the detention up to six months.

What are the offences? Participating in a demonstration, contacting an enemy, who is usually a relative, a brother, a father, a close friend, who the Israeli authorities claim, is a member of one of the Palestinian organizations which are illegal in the occupied territories and in Israel.

One of my clients, an old man in the Golan Heights, was sentenced for contacting his son—who was, under the provisions of the occupational law, an enemy—and was sent to prison for this crime.

Other offences include distributing a leaflet, writing a slogan, raising a Palestinian flag, granting asylum to a son, a daughter,

a brother and not reporting to the police about a suspicion that they may be involved in illegal activity. Training with arms is a crime, although the Israeli nation is militarily the most highly trained; but any training of Palestinians is forbidden. Armed resistance is a criminal offence, although according to UN resolutions fighters for freedom and against foreign occupation or oppression have to be treated as prisoners of war. But Israel has vehemently rejected this demand.

Those are the laws; and those convicted under these laws number in the thousands, scattered in the Israeli prisons. Together with them are those administratively detained, some of them for years without any charge. This administrative detention is extended from time to time for unlimited periods, a life imprisonment.

The prisons are terribly overcrowded. Daily there are new prisoners, those hundreds of demonstrators unable to pay the heavy fines imposed on them.

Fresh air, sunshine and sometimes even water are very scarce in the prisons: 23 hours in overcrowded cells, sleeping on the floor, sometimes sharing a mattress with another prisoner. A prisoner has only space enough to stretch his legs. This space is his living space; in it he eats and reads and prays. And when he dares to complain, there is solitary confinement.

Struggle against Oppressive Prison Conditions

The prisoners do not submit to this bitter fate, which they call a death sentence by instalments. They are struggling for human conditions, while the only weapon they have is their body. They were on hunger strike for months, but the stubbornness of the establishment was not shaken. Up till now, there have been four strike leaders.

FELICIA LANGER, *Lawyer (Israel)*

One of them, Mohammad Mahdi Bsiso has been banished to Shata prison, put there in a sort of prison within a prison, in poor sanitary conditions, in an overcrowded cell, isolated from all his friends. The heat in this area reaches 40 degrees Celsius. His fighting spirit is to be broken as an example, to intimidate others, who might dare to try to achieve more human conditions. But, as I know, they are determined to preserve their human dignity and their right to struggle for better prison conditions.

The population in the prison, the political prisoners, have not given up their ideas and ideals. The authorities are mistaken in thinking that if they have the bodies of the prisoners, they have them entirely. The ideas and beliefs are stronger than the bars. The prisoners know that they are not alone, that they are the sons and daughters of their people. The hunger strike in Ashkalan Prison caused mass demonstrations in the West Bank and Gaza and the solidarity movement among the progressive and peace-loving Israelis. The prisons and their inhabitants are a factor in creating a ferment among the people. They indicate that no oppression can calm those who are determined to sacrifice their freedom and their lives for their homeland.

I would like to analyze the true nature of the Israeli occupation in the light of International Law and practice.

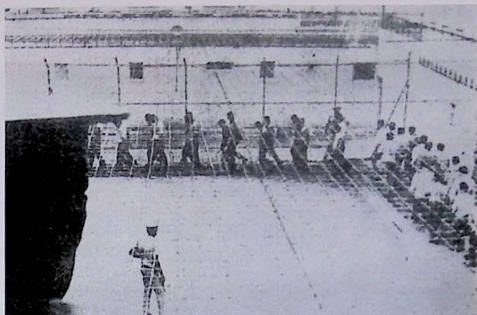
Israel's Policy of Deportation

Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention was drafted in response to the mass deportation of Jews and other nationalities which occurred in World War II. It expressly prohibits an occupying power from forcibly transferring or deporting civilian persons. Israel has, nevertheless, maintained an open policy of deportation. The deportations seem clearly aimed at depriving the Palestinian population of intelligent and active leadership. Doctors, judges, labour activists, lawyers, teachers, priests and mayors were deported during the years of the occupation, while in its first years there were a number of mass deportations from the Latrun area of the West Bank and from certain villages in the Golan Heights.

Maltreatment of Detainees—Use of Torture

The most troubling of the alleged human rights violations are those relating to torture and physical abuse of detainees. One hardly has to cite any authority to prove that such practices violate international law. They are prohibited under customary law as codified in numerous in-

Palestinian political prisoners in an Israeli prison.
"Twenty-three hours in overcrowded cells and one in this environment."



ternational documents including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Geneva Conventions.

Allegations of torture generally refer to interrogation proceedings in which a prisoner is questioned about his association with one of the various guerrilla organizations. In most cases the accused confesses and is convicted on the basis of this confession. Defence counsel frequently objects to the admissibility of these confessions, claiming that they were obtained through physical coercion. The accused testified that they were beaten and/or tortured and occasionally display the marks on their bodies in open court. Invariably they are disbelieved and their confession is ruled inadmissible.

The "Insight Report" of the "Sunday Times" in 1976, the report of the "Washington Post" in 1979 are exposures, although only partial ones, of the sad truth about the tortures, of which the Palestinians were warning for years. I have seen with my own eyes many victims of tortures with marks on their bodies; and I have been active, together with other progressive people in Israel, organizations and parties, and especially the League for Human and Civil Rights, to protest these crimes and to stop it.

The use of tortures as a common practice of the Israeli Shin Bet (Secret Service) investigators is taking place also nowadays. The new victims were the Bir-Zeit students, who dared to oppose the Sadat-Begin-Carter's "peace", trade union activists and others.

Failure to Repatriate and Reunify Families

The right to leave and return to one's country is not a legal right under the domestic law of most nations, but it is a right

under international law. It is recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other international documents. The hypocrisy and double standards of the Israeli authorities is obvious: all the rights to an undivided family, to a reunification are sacred, when a Jewish family is concerned; the same rights lose their sanctity immediately if a reunification is asked for by an Arab family. In such cases the criteria are transparent: as less Arabs as possible. This policy has been carried out for years, affecting many thousands of displaced Palestinians from the occupied territories, unable to return to their homes and to their beloved ones. The last case I dealt with was of a



Humiliating conditions faced by Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli prisons

widow, mother of ten children, asking to return to her native village, Kobar. The authorities opposed vehemently her demand to stay in her homeland, suggesting her to go to Saudi Arabia, to Brazil, or elsewhere.... She is staying now in her village thanks to our stubborn struggle for it, as a matter of the authorities' grace....

Colonization of Occupied Territories

Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention prohibits an occupying power from transferring parts of its civilian population into an occupied territory.

Israel is daily violating this article, starting from the first days of the occupation. The first official government action came in June 1967 when some 160 Arab houses adjoining the Western Wall in the Old City of Jerusalem were demolished in order to open a plaza in front of the Wailing Wall. Soon after, the rest of the adjacent "Jewish Quarter" was expropriated. Some 6,500 Arabs, both tenants and landowners, were removed from some 600 buildings over the next several years. Most of the houses were demolished and new ones built in their places for the new Israeli residents. In the past several years East Jerusalem has been encircled by a ring of Jewish settlements, and by now there are about 60,000 Jewish residents living there.

On the West Bank, three villages in the Latrun area (Emwas, Yalu, and Beit Nuba) were destroyed and their inhabitants forced to leave in June 1967, just after the end of the war. Their lands are now incorporated into "Canada Park" (which covers 4,200 dunums—1,050 acres—including 1,500 dunums of orchards) and the Mevo Horan settlement. Tourists and Israelis visiting the beautiful "Canada Park" do not know, that the roses there are growing on a grave of somebody's house and that three flourishing villages were situated there, only twelve years ago. The guides are explaining to the visitors, that in these places were settlements in ancient, biblical times....

Israeli authorities confiscated more than a million and a half dunums in the West Bank and are pursuing this policy day by day. Hundreds of new settlements have been established in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Galan Heights, and the Agriculture Minister Aric Sharon is speaking of the plan of about two million Jews living in the occupied territories. In these very days new settlements are being established under the auspices of the "peace treaty" with Egypt, while the jurisdiction of the

proposed "autonomy" will apply to the inhabitants of the West Bank, not to the land....

Consistent with this policy, there is a decision to establish a new municipal and administrative unit of all the settlements, (one such unit named "Shomron" was recently established) under a pure Israeli jurisdiction, which means, practically, to annex the territories on which the settlements are situated, to Israel. One third of the West Bank lands has been confiscated until now, while there are new orders of confiscation issued recently are ready for execution. So one can easily imagine the vast annexed territories, under the cover of autonomy.

As is written in Jeremiah, "Woe to him who builds his palace on injustice, his chambers upon fraud, who forces other men to work for nothing, holding back their wages."

But during the last months the provocations are escalating all over the West Bank. The settlers are attacking the Palestinians, shooting them, forcing them to clean the streets of stones during demonstrations. Moreover, they are establishing a sort of their own militia and declaring that they will "deal" with the Arabs by themselves, having enough arms for it, claiming that it is their vested right, because of the idleness of the authorities.

Collective Punishments

During all those long years, collective punishment became a trade mark of the Israeli occupation. In the course of this action, almost 20,000 houses were demolished. The legal base for this action were the Emergency Regulations. The house was demolished upon an order of the Minister of Defence if one of its inhabitants was accused or even suspected of an illegal act against the authorities. Thousands of women and children remained roofless. The maxim of the Geneva Convention saying that reprisals against protected persons and their property are prohibited was and is ignored, arrogantly, with a silent compliance of the U.S.A. while the recent demolitions in Silwad and Nablus took place during the "peace-talks."

The other instances of collective punishment are those imposed on whole cities. In 1969, there was an order issued by the Ramallah Military Governor forbidding people to buy sheep meat. In the middle of the grape season, in August 1970, the sale of grapes and their harvesting was forbidden, unless the notables of the area pub-

licly denounced the actions of the Palestinian organizations and the P.O. During the demonstration in 1976-77, many demonstrators were shot, mostly young boys and girls. In 1976 there was the longest curfew in Ramallah—eleven days. The inhabitants were forbidden to go to the East Bank and to receive guests from there. In April 1978 in Nablus the curfew was for seven days and the reason was given in "Ma'ariv" newspaper that the inhabitants did not collaborate with the police. They were prevented also to sell their goods. And the curfew in 1979 in Halhoul lasted 17 days, in a state of a full siege. The Bir-Zeit University was stormed by the police after almost every demonstration in this town and the students beaten and arrested.

Despite all these terroristic measures, which are openly and clearly contravening all the maxims of the law of nations, the struggle against the occupation is going on, its roots ensuing from the love for the homeland, which is invincible. This struggle is even more acute now, after the so-called peace treaty between Begin and Sadat was signed under the patronage of Carter.

Woe to the Victors

The right for self-determination is one of the basic human rights recognized by the law of nations. The Palestinians are paying for it with a sea of blood, and they will not give it up.

The victors are paying with corruption, embezzlements, growing dependence on U.S. imperialism, arms race, galloping inflation and the image of Sparta of the modern times.

So, the maxim of Brennus does not fit the last decades of the 20th century. It has to be paraphrased into: "Woe to the victors", as the expansion on the expense of other peoples is condemned to death.

Olympic Games - 1980

In the Name of Peace, for the Glory of Sport

V. SHEVCHENKO

WITH the approach of the 22nd Olympic Games, which open on 19 July 1980 in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, it becomes more evident that Olympiad-80 is attracting the attention of not only athletes and sports fans, but of state and public functionaries, different parties and organisations as well, of representatives of science, culture and technology, of businessmen from many countries of the world.

This is natural since the Moscow Olympiad has a number of peculiarities, the objective evaluation of which gives us ground to say that the staging of the Olympic Games, the first ever, on the territory of a socialist state, marks a new chapter in the modern international Olympic movement, which exerts an ever-growing influence on world developments.

It is noteworthy that for the first time in the history of mankind, the Olympic Games will be held in the country, the whole foreign and domestic policies of which tally fully with the ideals of the modern Olympic movement and are aimed at achieving peace and friendship between all peoples, at developing and strengthening mutual understanding and cooperation between peoples, irrespective of their political outlook and religion, race or nationality. The Soviet state puts forward and resolves this task in such a way so that sports and physical culture, as part and parcel of human culture, promote comprehensive development and improvement of personality, the development of mutually advantageous international contacts, and make them instrumental in promoting mutual understanding between all the peoples of our planet, which, as never before, need a durable and lasting peace.

By social responsibility of sports we mean the contribution made by physical culture

and sports of the Soviet society to international cooperation, and, consequently, to détente, to strengthening peace on earth.

Soviet sports have always been characterized by the international spirit. This is reaffirmed, in particular, by the fact that sports organisations in the USSR maintain regular friendly ties with athletes from more than a hundred countries. It is indicative that these contacts with many countries are maintained on the basis of inter-state relations. And this is of principled importance as it confirms the aspirations of our country for rapprochement between peoples and states with differing socio-economic systems in the interests of peace.

Modern Olympic Movement

Internationalism of Soviet sports is confirmed by the fact that the Soviet Union is represented in more than 70 international organisations in which we steadily come out against racism and apartheid, for the democratization of the international sports movement, and contribute to the development of the modern Olympic movement.

The loyalty of Soviet sports to Olympic concepts and internationalism is vividly shown in the activities of hundreds of Soviet coaches and other specialists in the developing and a number of other countries, where they promote physical culture and sports, set up modern sports centres and complexes. The regular holding of sports competitions in the Soviet Union on an international and continental scale, annual participation of Soviet athletes in hundreds of sports competitions overseas, is permeated with a spirit of internationalism and loyalty to the Olympic ideals.

Seventh Soviet Sports Festival

Fresh evidence of the manifestation and the development of the spirit of international mutual understanding was the 7th Sports Festival of the Soviet people, held in the summer of 1979. From this example

the people of the world could see for themselves how the Helsinki Accords, signed in 1975 and included in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which say that "in order to expand existing links and cooperation in the field of sport the participating States will encourage contacts and exchanges of this kind, including sports meetings and competitions of all sorts, on the basis of the established international rules, regulations and practice" are implemented in our country.

Being the largest national sports activity, which exceeds as to the number of contestants and types of sports in Olympiad-80, the 7th Sports Festival rendered hospitality to 2,500 athletes from more than a hundred countries. Soviet sportsmen viewed the 7th Sports Festival of the Soviet people as the dress rehearsal of strength before the Moscow Games of 1980.

The more than four-year preparatory period for Olympiad-80 in Moscow has been geared to the specific contribution of the Soviet Union to the materialization of the Helsinki Accords.

In the summer of 1976, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union L.I. Brezhnev on behalf of the Soviet people stated in his message to the members of the International Olympic Committee and to the participants in the 21st Olympic Games in Montreal: "The USSR supported and will support the modern Olympic movement. At present the Soviet people are getting ready for the Moscow Olympiad-80 and will do their best to hold it at a proper level, so that it will stimulate noble ideas of peace and friendship."

These words represent the quintessence of the attitude of the Soviet people to Olympiad-80, the truly great youth and sports festival of the whole world, as it is viewed by all peoples of goodwill.

A great deal reflects the profound and serious attitude of the Soviet Union to the forthcoming Olympic Games of 1980 (true, this was not always so during the preceding Olympiads on the part of the corresponding bodies in those countries where these Games were held); this is underscored, first and foremost, by the close attention that the state, party, trade union and other public organisations are devoting to the preparations for the Olympiad.

The Olympic Games will be attended by more than a thousand guests of honour, including heads of state or government, leaders of different parties, movements,

V. SHEVCHENKO, *Head of the Information Department of the Soviet Olympic Committee (USSR).*



Panoramic view of the Lenin Stadium in Moscow where the main events of the Olympic games will be held in 1980.

of these or other countries, prospects of economic ties.

Mutually Advantageous Cooperation

The preparations for Olympiad-80 have greatly expanded the possibilities of mutually advantageous cooperation. Therefore, business circles, in many countries, have displayed not only keen interest in it, but resolutely opposed the efforts of certain influential political groups in the U.S.A., Britain and certain other countries to boycott the Moscow Games.

The Organising Committee of Olympiad-80 has signed agreements on economic cooperation with such firms in capitalist countries as "Swiss Timing", "Coca Cola", "Kodak", "Olivetti", "Nikon", "Daimler Benz", "IBM" and many others—in all they total more than 100 foreign companies.

Here is, for instance, how the President of the Board of Directors of the Spanish "Wimer S.A." company, Mr. Jose Santivemi Cayderilla viewed the cooperation with Soviet societies: "When Moscow was announced the venue for the 1980 Olympic Games, we, with great enthusiasm, grasped the idea to use the Olympic boom to involve a maximum number of Spanish firms to cooperate with the organisers of the Moscow Olympiad. We consider that the noble ideals of the Olympic movement, and in particular, the ideological concept of the Moscow Olympiad, serve the cause of rapprochement between the people and this is in the interests of the whole of mankind. Our task, to a great degree, was facilitated by the fact that the organisers of Olympiad-80 opened new vistas for international cooperation in their preparations for the Games."

The above-mentioned proves that Olympiad-80 in Moscow has acquired the significance of not only the largest international sports event, but more and more becomes part and parcel of international relations, of the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between countries with differing social-economic systems, promotes the deepening of mutual understanding between the peoples. At the same time, it is noteworthy that these special features of the Moscow Games had stood out vividly already in the preparatory stage of Olympiad-80, the final part of which, no doubt, will give fresh impetus in the summer of next year to the noble ideals of the Olympic movement and will contribute to the common cause of the peoples—the achievement of peace on our earth.

international and national organisations, businessmen, people from the world of culture and science.

Sports competitions, which will be held in Moscow, and also in Tallin, Leningrad, Kiev and Minsk will be attended by more than 300,000 foreign and a similar number of Soviet tourists. And, finally, thanks to the 18-channel TV and 100-programme Radio Centre, Olympiad-80 will be followed by up to 2.5 billion listeners and TV-viewers. More than 240 of the best Soviet professional and amateur companies and many hundreds of the most outstanding Soviet performers will show their skills to the guests and contestants in the Olympiad. One can fully agree with those who assume that according to the diversity and grandeur of the cultural programme of the Moscow Games, which will be followed by one third of mankind, such a spectacle will be witnessed in history for the first time.

Equal Participation for All

The Organising Committee "Olympiad-80", headed by the Deputy Prime Minister of the USSR I.T. Novikov, closely follows the letter of the Olympic rules, granting equal possibilities for the participants in the Moscow Games, from all the national Olympic Committees which are recognized by the IOC, without exception. It should be noted that certain forces (and these are the same political forces which come out against peace and relaxation) are doing their utmost, often using unworthy methods, to boycott Olympiad-80 in Moscow and to get certain public circles to believe that supposedly the USSR is violating the Olympic Charter in opposing the participation in the Games of those countries, with which it does not have diplomatic relations.

In this connection it will be expedient to quote Lord Killanin's statement to the press during one of his visits to Moscow.

"It was especially important and valuable for me, as President of the IOC, that the Soviet Premier assured us of the readiness

of the Soviet government to closely cooperate in the future with the organisers of the Olympic Games and the IOC HQs. I fully agree with the statement made by Mr. Kasynin that the holding of the Games in Moscow, the arrival of many scores of thousands of participants and guests of the Olympiad in the Soviet Union will, to a great degree, promote the strengthening of international cooperation, peace and friendship."

It is known to one and all that the staging of the modern Olympic Games requires substantial expenditures not only for the technical aspects of sports competitions, but also for hosting and servicing hundreds of thousands of tourists, for providing the necessary communications for the mass media, etc.

All this requires the reconstruction of the existing and the building of new sports installations, airports, hotels, municipal transport facilities, etc. And this, in its turn, involves not only corresponding funds and manpower, but also equipment, materials and many other things.

From this point of view the preparations for the Olympic Games in Moscow are not an exception. However, the hosts of Olympiad-80 are using all the advantages of the planned economy characteristic of the socialist society, in solving these most difficult tasks.

The organisers of the Moscow Games successfully combined the demands of Olympiad-80 with the long-term plans of the development of Moscow, Tallin, Leningrad, Kiev, and Minsk, which envisage diverse social development of Soviet towns.

Thus, out of about 100 different projects, 78 are being built or remodelled in Moscow in connection with Olympiad-80. Of these hundred projects, 22 are sports installations.

The Soviet economy provides for 75 per cent of all the necessary materials, equipment, etc., while 25 per cent is provided by other countries, which includes five percent by developed capitalist states. At the same time, we bear in mind the international division of labour, possibilities

J. A. COMENIUS: Importance of Education for Peace

ZDENEK VRBA

THE name of J. A. Comenius—the teacher of nations as he is usually called—is known all over the world. He is often remembered in March, because he was born on 28 March 1592 at Uherský Brod in Moravia, Czechoslovakia. The birthday of this great educationist and humanitarian is celebrated in the socialist Czechoslovakia as Teachers' Day. A modern tradition, "The Comenius Days at Uherský Brod", an annual get-together of Czechoslovak and foreign pedagogues began here in 1956. A documentary centre for study of the life and work of this genius of world culture has been established in the local Comenius museum.

During his lifetime the renown of Comenius was based essentially on his new methods in language teaching and on his conception of the general reform of education. All this was published later in his famous work, "The Great Didactics" and other books which were highly appreciated.

After his death in 1670, it is true, his work was almost forgotten for a short period. But nevertheless it was brought to life again in the 19th century with the development of European society; since then the significance of his work has been increasing all the time.

The reason for his high reputation is due to the fact that Comenius was ahead of his time by several centuries on the subject of his clear understanding for the education of man and society.

In this tribute to J. A. Comenius, I would like to refer to another aspect of his great humanitarian heritage: the profound philosophical content of his work, and his



contribution towards education for lasting peace in the world.

It will not be possible in this short account to mention all his works, actions, suggestions and written documents that could illustrate his education for peace. If we trace the life and work of Comenius, we shall see that everything he did and wrote was imbued not only with a vision, but also with a gigantic and heroic struggle to realize the objective of his life-lasting peace in the world.

The whole life of Comenius was deeply affected by war. At the age of twelve he became an orphan and left Uherský Brod to live at his aunt's in the nearby town of Strážnice. Within a year the house in which he lived was destroyed by war. Later on he was tormented especially by the Thirty Year War which devastated and impoverished Europe. The war events brought great suffering not only to him but also to his family and friends. In the Polish town

of Leszno, the war destroyed his great literary work, his manuscripts. Long wars and religious intolerance made him a life-long exile with his native country coming under the yoke of foreign rule which lasted three hundred years.

Did Comenius become a great fighter for peace in the world three hundred years ago only because of his personal tragic experience of war and its horrors?

The cruel experiences of the wars must have affected the people of that period very bitterly. Nevertheless the personal experience of Comenius must have been even more intensive and painful.

As an outstanding pedagogue, he was able to reveal and understand also the other vital relations of man and mankind, the position and role of man in society.

Removing Inequality in Society

He was struck by inequality in human society, by the social, religious, property and race inequality. He saw the imperfect administration of states and communities, and he felt sure that that was the very source of all miseries, disasters and wars in the world.

His studies and contemplations culminated in laying out the programme of general reform of human society which was the supreme objective of his life work. He was not able to finish this programme in all its details because of the complexity of the task; but some of the wellknown conclusions will show clearly the ways he proposed to achieve a higher level of general education, to establish a World Parliament with representatives of all states with equal rights for the peaceful solution of all controversies and disagreements, to found the World Consistory of Churches for peacefully solving religious controversies and affairs, to develop an international language to promote understanding among various nations, to establish an International Centre of Science and other important measures.

ZDENEK VRBA, *Director of Comenius Museum, Member of the Presidium of the Municipal Peace Council at Uherský Brod (Czechoslovakia)*

Comenius's efforts for reform are connected with the above-mentioned aims supporting one another in their unity. Reform in the upbringing of the young is based on a new-type of school where equal and good education should be given to all boys and girls regardless of their origin and race. But it is not only upbringing on an equal basis that they should have, but also moral education for building their personality.

He proves that upbringing is a process with its inner regularity of man's development and psychology. Upbringing can be successful only if we understand this process and how to make use of it. This is the source of revolutionary changes and reforms in pedagogical methods. The schooling is continued by upbringing throughout life. He is aware of the importance of an educated man in society as a citizen or member of government. Higher culture enables higher democratization of society. He agrees with the right of every oppressed nation to revolt and throw out the exploiting ruler.

He sees the condition of any upbringing of human society in peace, in human co-existence and tolerance.

Comenius proves that one must begin upbringing oneself on the basis of peace, on behaving in the family, in society, and to overcome one's own aggressiveness. The man who himself is intolerant or even aggressive has no moral basis to participate in the struggle for general peace.

The school and educational institutions must inculcate kindness and understanding of one another. If they do not do it, and are being used to incite hatred, though it may be "sacred hatred", they will be preparing for a conflagration, says Comenius.

Opposition to Comenius from Vested Interests

In his lifetime, Comenius often met with misunderstanding: his contemporaries were often deaf to his efforts to build up a better society and promote peace. His thoughts on religious tolerance, equality of nations, general peace and spreading of culture met with opposition. This was due to the vested interests of various powers in the Europe of his time.

The philosophical antagonists had inveighed against Comenius saying that the realization of his plans would raise "the confusion of status", that there would be nobody to plough, etc.

In his polemics, Comenius strongly defended his truth and the demand for general culture for the people and other demands of this kind. He was firmly convinced that the reforming of society he had recommended would lead to a better human society for which everybody must work and try to live in peace.

What importance does Comenius's work and efforts for education for a better mankind hold for us—the people living in the 20th century?

Comenius's works show us clearly and convincingly that the struggle for a better mankind has not ended yet, not even after so many centuries. There are many countries where children do not have equal rights to education. There are certain powers in the world that deny equal rights to other nations and do not want to hear about a peaceful solution of international problems and controversies. There does not exist as yet the full scientific and educational cooperation of all the nations of the world for promoting the progress of all mankind. The upbringing in regard to peace has not been accepted yet in every state. There are even countries which support upbringing on the basis of hatred, racism and war.

The question of war and peace, the question of social progress continues to be of the highest concern for humanity.

The discoveries in the 17th, 18th, 19th centuries brought about the technological world revolution but the discoveries were unfortunately very often used for war conflagrations and against the people.

Mankind has acquired a more profound knowledge of questions of war and peace. Nevertheless, we are aware of the fact that enemies of peaceful efforts have existed all the time. The theories defending war came into existence a long time ago and in many countries there appeared even mass movements based on the rule of terror, racism and war.

Wars have reached all corners of the world; they destroyed tens of millions of people and brought unprecedented suffering to many others.

We can say that world developments have confirmed Comenius's views in many aspects. That may be the reason why Comenius's philosophy of peaceful construction of the world is very dear to us nowadays, even closer and dearer than it was in his own time.

Nowadays, only the enemies of progress can deny his conviction of the necessity to educate the people for peace, the ne-

cessity to organize the fight for peace and to establish international authoritative organizations for defending world peace.

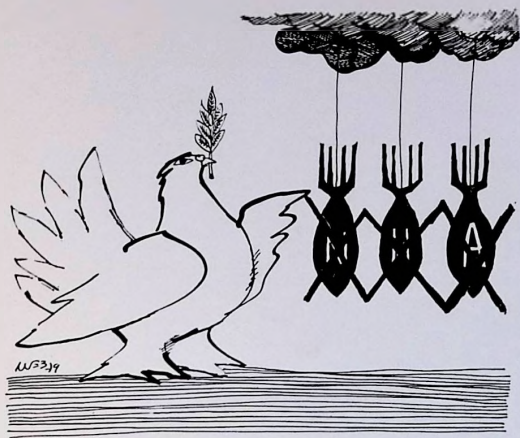
Only enemies of man and mankind can be against the idea of peaceful development of human society, and for the demand that war can solve all human problems; only the enemies of man and mankind can organize war pacts, increase the armament race and create the atmosphere and conditions that would bring further war conflagrations in the world.

Comenius could not lead his fight for a better society to its end, but he is very close to us thanks to his devotion to the struggle for preserving the peace in the world and thanks to his personal courage. On the other hand, mankind has achieved great progress. The regions, where the equal right to education has been ensured, both from the ideal and practical point of view, are increasing, the network of schools and education of a high standard are being built up including the stress which is being laid on moral upbringing and upbringing for peace of the young people.

The United Nations Organization and its Security Council came into existence towards the middle of this century. With the help of the progressive nations, the UN has been defending world peace for more than thirty years. That mankind is more educated in general is also one of the reasons leading to the growth of the greatest international movement—the movement of the world peace fighters.

The greatest international cultural institution—UNESCO—has been helping in the development of mankind's education. The social inequality of man has been done away with in a great part of the world.

Comenius's museum at Uherský Brod—in the native region of Comenius—in collaboration with the Municipal Peace Council organized a scientific colloquy on "Comenius and the world of a child" in September, 1979. The colloquy held during the International Year of the Child was sponsored by the Czechoslovak Peace Committee. It considered the work of Comenius in its historical process ranging from the 17th century to our days. Special attention was paid to the fact that studies and conceptions of Comenius have helped to improve the conditions of children in the world. At the same time the colloquy gave opportunity to consider the historical way of development of education of man and mankind for peace which is an inseparable part of Comenius's work in his struggle for a better world.



by Nuez (Cuba)

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1-3 People of Kampuchea after their liberation from the Pol Pot regime of death which killed three million Kampuchean in four years. As an aftermath of this genocide, the four million Kampuchean who have survived face the danger of famine, pestilence and disease. The World Peace Council has made an appeal for a worldwide effort to send immediate material assistance to Kampuchea in terms of food, medicine, clothing and even paper and exercise books for children.

The photos published here were taken by the cameraman of the Japan Press Service, Goro Nakamura soon after the liberation of Kampuchea in January 1979. The photos are from Nakamura's book entitled "Witness to Kampuchea" giving a visual portrayal of the horrible crimes committed by the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. The book was published by the Otsuki Shoten Publishers in Japan in July, 1979.

4 Participants in the 5th General Conference of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace held in Ulan Bator, capital of Mongolia in June 1979.

