

new perspectives

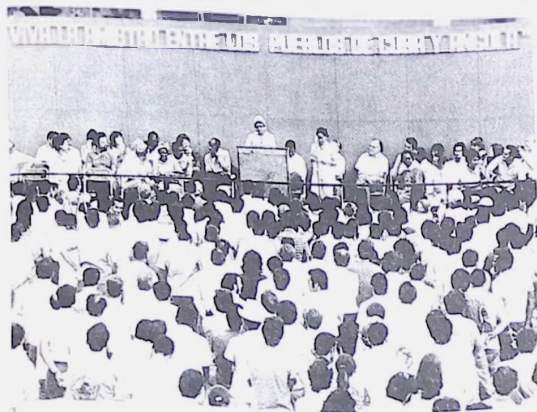
6/76

JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL





1 The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Janos Kadar, receives the Secretary General of the World Peace Council, Romesh Chandra, in Budapest in June, 1976.



2 The President of Finland, Dr. Urho Kekkonen, receives the delegation of the Bureau of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council in his countryhouse, near Helsinki, on 26 July 1976. The meeting was part of the observance by the WPC of the signing of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. (1 August 1975)

3 A meeting held in Havana to express solidarity with Angola on the occasion of the International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and in support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa held in Cuba in May, 1976 under UN auspices.

4 5 Public meetings held in Cuba by the Cuban Committee for Peace and Sovereignty of the People in support of the new Stockholm Appeal for general and complete disarmament, peace and social progress.



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"Dancing youth" - Picasso

Back Cover:
Drawing for a poster by a Czech artist, P. Major, on the new Stockholm Appeal for Stopping the Arms Race and for Disarmament, made at the instance of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

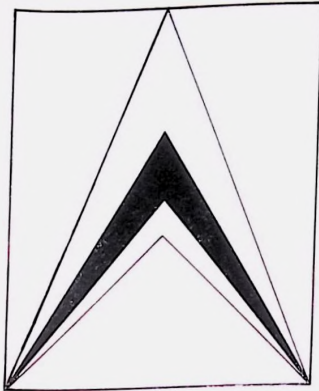
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QUESTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

New International Economic Order

Fouad Moursi

The DEVELOPING countries achieved great success when they made the entire international community to discuss the necessity of establishing a New International Economic Order. The idea which is quite new was embodied in a resolution by the non-aligned countries at their fourth summit conference held in Algiers in September, 1973. The conference declared that it was necessary to establish a new international economic system which would be more equitable as well as more capable of achieving progress for humanity at large, and of preserving peace the world over. Only a month later, the October war broke out, and a group of non-aligned countries, namely the oil producing countries, were able, for the first time in the history of international economic relations, to take decisions to revise oil prices in the face of formidable opposition on the part of foreign oil monopolies. While oil prices actually increased four times than what they were before the October war, the Arab oil countries forged an additional weapon, the weapon of oil embargo against developed capitalist countries.

Several signs emerged on the horizon at the time of a shrewd international attempt at circumventing the successful oil battle.

At that point, the Algerian President Houari Boumediene, called on behalf of the non-aligned countries, for convening a special session of the UN General Assembly to discuss the issue of all raw materials in their relation with the economic development of developing countries. This was done by the sixth special session of the UN in April/May, 1974. It produced two documents of immense significance, namely the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and a Programme of Action to bring this about.

The main idea underlying these two documents was the developing countries con-

vinction that they must achieve and complete their economic emancipation, not only within their territorial borders, but also at the international level.

The idea was consequently further confirmed in a UN resolution passed along with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of all Countries. It eventually found its detailed formulation in the seventh special session of the UN General Assembly in September, 1975, whose recommendations could be considered the starting point for the establishment of a New International Economic Order. Thus, the document issued by the session under the title, "Development and International Economic Cooperation", represents an agreement within the international community to discuss a number of major issues relevant to trade and development.

The developing countries, on their part, never stopped their intensified efforts in this direction. Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries had declared in the "Lima Declaration" that the advanced capitalist countries were bent upon resisting the economic emancipation of the developing countries, and were determined to maintain their "privileged position in international economic relations". In the Manila conference in February, 1976, the group of 77 countries issued a charter defining the stand of the developing countries on an objective basis taking into account the contradictions within the developing countries themselves.

Success of the Oil Battle

When the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) met late in 1973, and decided to increase oil prices several times, the balance of economic power was tipped in favour of the developing countries producing raw materials and energy.

These countries became increasingly self-assured to initiate a new strategy for development, and also became more aware of the need for common action among themselves.

The developing countries realised fully the possibility of tackling on a cohesive basis the task of transforming price relationships on the international capitalist market in their favour after the oil price battle. Previously, the growth of the international capitalist economy was based on the implicit assumption of continuing to obtain raw materials from the developing countries in unlimited quantities and at low prices. But now, it is no longer possible to accept the continuation of this situation, particularly in respect of oil, since oil was the first raw material to reveal this new form of strategy in the international capitalist economy.

The battle which started with oil was soon extended to encompass all other raw materials. It, thus, became the basis for the developing countries' endeavour to establish a New International Economic Order to be based on equitable relations in international dealings.

New Development Strategy

The practical solutions aimed at establishing a new international economic system must envisage a sound economic development. They should take into account previous experience when a developing economy was supposed to grow within the framework of the world capitalist market, and on the bases of outmoded forms of economic dependence. Thus, development went on revolving within the framework of the capitalist approach which only perpetuated backwardness and dependence.

Any new strategy for development should start by defining its direct objectives of meeting the basic needs of the people, food, housing, clothing, health and education. Rather than giving development the pattern of imports substitution or development of exports, interest should shift from the field of exchange to the field of production, with special emphasis laid on the production of food. Efforts should also be exerted for the realisation of a more equitable distribution of national revenues through the amendment of the structure of the gross national production. The technology required for its generation should include extensive mobilisation of national resources, particularly, local savings and available manpower. This would reduce the dependence of new sectors on foreign aid and in a way provide greater political independence with an economic content.

When the Lima Declaration drew up an objective for developing countries to raise their share in the world industrial pro-

duction from less than 10 per cent at present, to 25 per cent in 2000, this did not mean that the developing countries would undertake just any kind of industrialization to raise their share. It had to be industrialization that would ensure a balanced development to meet the needs of progress and prosperity of their peoples.

Hence, the developing countries should deal very firmly with the offers presented by certain advanced capitalist countries for the establishment of certain industries in the developing countries. These are industries which have become secondary and undynamic and which the advanced countries want to shift to other countries. These are either technologically simple industries, or those with intensive labour, or those which pollute the environment. It is within this context that we should discuss the ideas of the European side in the Euro-Arab dialogue, ideas which are limited to its willingness to develop and establish light and medium industries, and its fear of heavy industrialization, particularly in the circumstances of the slump from which the capitalist world is suffering, in the developing countries.

Price of Raw Materials

Considering that the raw materials constitute the major part of the developing countries' exports, and that their prices are mainly determined at the international capitalist market through mechanics controlled by multinational monopolies, the issue of raw material prices and markets is the decisive issue in international exchange. For, by reflecting on the developing countries' acquisitions of foreign exchange, it consequently reflects on their ability to import manufactured goods as well as on their balance of payments and, as well as on the value of their currencies, finally, on the value of their currencies. Hence, efforts are to be aimed at drawing up an integrated programme for the trade of raw materials seeking the correction of the functioning method of the mechanics of the world capitalist market.

It is based on two important ideas. The first is enhancing the bargaining power of the developing countries, and the second is reducing their dependence on the international capitalist market. Hence, the international programme deals with the formation of international federations for raw material producers, and the foundation of an international central body to finance it as well as fix prices for raw materials acceptable to both the consumer and the producer. It also aims at doing away with discrimination and impediments which developing countries face in trade, and at developing opportunities for strengthening trade relations with the socialist countries. Further, this process of greater

trade exchanges has to be encouraged among the developing countries themselves. There is no doubt that the giving up of the consumption pattern of the capitalist countries will provide the developing countries real opportunity to reduce their luxury imports.

The failure of the capitalist market mechanism to activate the flow and prices of exchanged goods, actually underlies the call for correlating prices of raw materials with those of manufactured goods in a way so as to absorb many of the negative effects of the current international division of labour. In such circumstances, the developing countries could not be asked to replace a bad division of labour by a worse division, and by this we mean what is going on in the sphere of transferring technology. The reinforcement of the technological base of the developing countries means the adoption of a strategy designed to provide good adequate technology at a reasonable cost, without, however, relinquishing the traditional technology which did prove useful and which could be efficiently developed locally. If this were not done, the developing countries would have to face a new division of labour where the advanced countries would have the advantage of using modern technology, and the former would be forced to impart this technology and use it without assimilating it. Hence, the developing countries would risk a new dependence, namely, technological dependence.

Transfer of Real Resources

The starting point in the transference of real resources is that it should be undertaken for development purposes according to priorities laid down by national plans in the light of the true needs of independent transference of resources to finance arms purchases or for consumption purposes. Further, there should be no transference of resources determined abroad according to the aid this or that country offers. For this reason, the international family should agree to earmark additional real resources in favour of the developing countries. The distribution of these resources among them should be entrusted to international organizations whose management should be under the control of the developing countries themselves.

At this point, a stop should be put to the squandering of human and real resources annually on producing and stockpiling weapons. Until 1960, military expenditures had amounted to 15 billion dollars, in 1973 they rocketed to 250 billion dollars, in 1974 to 270 billion dollars, and in 1975 they reached 300 billion dollars, increasing 20 times within 15 years only. Over this period, military expenditures increased

eight times in the Middle East countries, which are developing countries. These military expenditures the world over are scores of times more than the international aid extended to the developing countries, which reached 10 billion dollars only recently.

Internationalism in Economic Life

The acceptance of the principle of internationalism in economic life would have several consequences.

— recognition of the inevitability of an international balance in the exercise of economic power by giving the developing countries a bigger voice and weight in making decisions of interest to the international family. This would be considered a recognition of the inevitability of international democracy.

— recognition of the inevitability of an international organization for the exchange of raw materials. This must take into account the fact that any viable order of international economic relations should include a real solution for the problem of raw materials, their prices and markets.

— recognition of the inevitability of international control over new elements of power and progress on the international scene, notably, achievements of science and technology and multinational ventures. Hence, the recognition of the need for increased international supervision in international economic life, as well as ensuring international formulas for the transference of resources and technology to the developing countries.

It is to be remembered that the international capitalist economic system still exists, the developing countries are still an integral part of the world capitalist market representing therein the backward sector, the gap is still widening between the capitalist and the developing countries, and the largest part of the developing countries' trade and industry is still within the grip of private enterprise in the capitalist countries and of the multinational international monopolies controlled by US capital. Nevertheless, the capitalist countries are not quite unified in dealing with the developing countries. The reason for this is the relative weakness of European capitalism and its desire to maintain a certain degree of freedom of action in the developing countries.

The effectiveness of the required or adopted measures for a radical reorganization of international economic relations will largely depend on several favourable conditions, including particularly the following: the real progress made by the developing countries in developing their economy starting from radical social transformations, complete dismantling of their colonial structure, and proceeding towards industrialization; providing for food and

development of scientific and technological potentialities, and creating relations of mutual benefit.

Unless these far reaching changes are realised inside the developing countries, the transformations which could be reached at the international level would not have effective results. It is even possible that they may be used by a small privileged group of developing countries to pursue increasingly selfish interests. Serious cooperation among the developing countries themselves, whether for ending restrictions on trade, or for common planning for joint investments, is the need of the hour.

It would be particularly important to take into account the contradictions amongst the developing countries, between the oil and raw material producing countries and the less developed countries, with a view to enhancing the ability of all developing countries for development.

The allocation of 3 per cent of the national revenue of the oil producing countries for aid to the other developing countries is, no doubt, a worthy act on their part. Expanding cooperation between the developing and the socialist countries, a cooperation which has a non capitalist texture in international economic relations, will help strengthen equitable relations. It would also be a means of introducing new elements of stability in international trade so as to require the conclusion of long-term agreements covering trade as well as financial and technical cooperation agreements for establishing production projects under a new pattern of division of labour.

Battle for Economic Independence

Thus, when attempts are being made now for the formation of a new framework for international economic relations between the developing and capitalist countries under the term, the "New International Economic System", it should not be confused with the struggle of the developing countries for economic independence, for independent development, for liquidating colonial exploitation, and consequently fully dismantling the structure of inequitable international economic relations. Overthrowing colonial rule is an important issue, but the main part of the struggle of the national liberation movements would be the attainment of economic independence and sovereignty over natural resources.

QUESTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT



Making Rational Use of Oil Earnings

Egon Kemenes

THE SUCCESSIVE nationalisations of the oil wealth in the different Oil Producing Developing Countries (OPDC) and policy of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) have created a more favourable position for these countries than before. However keeping in mind the development from late 1973 up to mid-1976, only the **chances** of the OPDC countries have improved instead of their **actual situation** measured in real terms.

It seems that the adaptation process of the developed capitalist countries to the new situation in the world economy (including higher oil prices) has been quicker and more successful than the efforts of the OPDC countries to transform their higher oil incomes into real development performances. Briefly, the absorption of the losses in the capitalist world went on more quickly than the absorption of the gains in the OPDC countries.

As far as the developed capitalist countries are concerned, their total commercial

deficit decreased from 43 thousand million dollars in 1974 to 11 thousand million dollars in 1975, according to the GATT report on the world economy in 1975.

Even more favourable is the picture presented by the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an exclusive grouping of the advanced Western capitalist nations and Japan. According to the OECD **Economic Outlook** (December, 1975), total commercial deficit of the OECD countries was 34 thousand million dollars in 1974, but in 1975 they had achieved already again a trade surplus of 33.7 thousand million dollars.

A typical case is that of the German Federal Republic which covers about 90 per cent of its oil needs from abroad. However, it reached a high trade surplus in the last two years: 22 thousand million dollars in 1974 and 16.3 thousand million dollars in 1975. Also the rate of inflation (5.4 per cent in 1975) has been the smallest among the developed capitalist countries.

According to the estimates of Western experts and organisations (including the OECD), the dimension of the transfer of resources from the developed capitalist countries to the OPEC countries due to higher oil prices was not more than 2 per cent.

I am not referring here to the crisis phenomena in the capitalist world economy which have nothing to do with higher oil prices, namely, 18.5 millions of unemployed in the developed capitalist countries at the end of 1975, according to the ILO, and a decrease of 8 per cent in the level of production in 1975, according to the report of the GATT in February, 1976.

It is also a sign of the adaptation in the Western world that the different energy conservation and substitution projects have been postponed.

Decline in OPDC Monetary Reserves

As to the oil-producing developing countries, the results realised by the OPEC, due to the solidarity of its member-states and to the high level of the economic and market analyses elaborated by the staff of its Secretariat, are limited to the scope of the monetary reserves. Through recycling, most part of the monetary reserves of the OPDC countries are tied up to the capitalist monetary system, which is the most unstable element even of the capitalist world economy. The monetary reserves accumulated from petro dollars are melting away quickly for several reasons.

One reason is inflation. According to the report of GATT, the general price level in international trade rose by 40 per cent in 1974 and by 10 per cent in 1975. According to data published by the OECD Secretariat, the general price level in the OECD countries as a whole rose by 10.6 per cent in 1975, namely, by 5.4 in the German

Transforming Reserves into Investments

It is evident that the next step is very urgent: to transform the monetary reserves into real flows, investments, fixed capital. Monetary reserves accumulated from petroleum are not a final aim in themselves. They should be transformed as soon as possible into better food, housing, health and education, and, at the same time, they should be used to restructuring the internal economy.

Solidarity against imperialism and international capitalism, mobilisation of the large masses of the population, unity of the progressive forces, planning combined with the leading role of the state sector are necessary preconditions for realising this task.

What are the general perspectives for the development of the OPDC countries? Supposing that the share of investments in the GNP of these countries will rise from 20 per cent in 1975 to 27 per cent in 1990, then the annual average growth of the GNP between 1975 and 1990 should be 6.9 per cent, the highest among the regional groups of the total world economy including the socialist countries. However, due to the 2.8 per cent annual average increase of the population in these countries, the per capita GNP will increase from about 500 dollars in 1975 to only about 900 dollars in 1990. At the same time, the per capita GNP in the developed capitalist countries will be 6,500 dollars in 1990.

The reason for this relatively moderate increase is that the group of the OPDC countries includes, apart from countries with a small size but high oil income like Kuwait or Qatar, countries like Indonesia and Nigeria. Of the total population of 307 million of the OPEC countries in 1975, the population of Indonesia and Nigeria together comprised 214 million; with an yearly per capita GNP of 122 dollars and 200 dollars in the two countries respectively.

In Indonesia, even if the average annual rate of growth of the GNP between 1975 and 1990 is 7.0 per cent, the rate of increase of the per capita GNP will be only 4.2 per cent; this means that the \$122 per capita GNP in 1975 will be not more than \$225 in 1990.

The share of the OPEC countries in the total GNP of the world was 3.1 per cent in 1975; it will be 4.3 per cent in 1990. Their share in international trade was 4.8 per cent in 1975 and it will be 5.7 per cent in 1990.

This means also that the often mentioned spectacularly high share of the monetary reserves of the OPEC countries, 58 thousand million dollars at the end of 1975 in the total monetary reserves of the

capitalist world totalling 228 thousand million dollars, is a misleading illusion. Even a quick and optimal use of these monetary reserves could lead only very slowly to an improvement in the real position of the OPEC countries in the world economy.

The OPEC did its best in creating the financial preconditions for development; it is now the task and responsibility of the individual countries to transform the monetary reserves into actual development performance.

Strengthening Oil Economy

When choosing among the different fields of action, priority should be given to the oil economy, just because oil resources have a non-renewable character and thus time constraint is stronger in this special field.

While national control and nationalisation are a great achievement, this control is still a new and fragile phenomenon.

Even now, in Ecuador, Gabon and Indonesia, the share of the foreign companies in crude oil production is bigger than that of the national companies.

In the present stage, securing a bigger share in the final consumer price structure seems to be a more rational policy for the OPDC countries than a further increase in the crude oil price itself in real terms, that is, beyond compensation for inflation. In other words, processing crude oil into refined products instead of selling crude oil seems to be a more profitable policy in real terms; it gives also more impetus to industrialisation in the internal economy.

The basic contradiction is that OPEC countries are giants in crude oil production but they are dwarfs in processing their own crude oil.

The share of the OPEC countries in the world total crude oil production was 54.8 per cent in 1974. But their share in the total refinery capacity of this world, excluding socialist countries, was only 7.6 per cent. According to the OPEC Annual Statistical Bulletin (1974), the world total Refinery capacity in 1974, excluding socialist countries, was 56,307 thousand b/d, while that of the OPEC countries was 4,303 thousand b/d.

OPEC's Poor Share in Refining

The picture is somewhat different in the sphere of trade. The OPEC percentage of share in world exports of crude oil and refined products is as follows:

| | Crude oil | Refined products |
|------|-----------|------------------|
| 1970 | 86.3 | 24.9 |
| 1971 | 86.3 | 22.6 |
| 1972 | 85.0 | 21.6 |
| 1973 | 87.2 | 21.3 |

Federal Republic, 7.0 in the U.S.A., 24.9 in the UK, 11.2 in Italy, 11.0 in Belgium, 10.2 in Sweden, and 9.6 in France.

And inflation will not be stopped from one day to the other. The Federal German Institute HWWA has forecast in the developed capitalist countries a price increase of 8 per cent for the year 1976. This opinion is shared by other research institutes in the capitalist and socialist countries.

Another aspect of the problem is that the composition of reserve assets owned by the OPDC countries is unfavourable. While in the case of the industrially developed capitalist countries, their total monetary reserves amounting to 121 thousand million dollars at the end of 1975 comprised only 70 thousand million dollars in terms of the value of currencies, that is 58 per cent, the others being gold, IMF and other reserve positions, in the OPDC countries this share was as high as 88 per cent. Of their 58 thousand million dollars total reserve assets, the value of currencies represented 51 thousand million dollars. This means that in the reserve assets of the OPDC countries the share of the softer element, that is, of the currencies is higher, and, thus, their monetary reserves are more exposed to depreciation than those of the capitalist countries.

It should also be noted that the institutional framework of the capitalist monetary system, the IMF is under the control of the U.S.A., which is the only country having veto right by virtue of its quota share in this organisation.

It is due to this aspect that the increase of the export earnings of the OPDC countries have been slowing down: in 1975 it was 65 thousand million dollars, one-third less than in 1974.

It is true that the OPDC countries have succeeded, through the price policy of the OPEC, in transforming the non-renewable oil reserves into monetary reserves, but the latter are depreciable.

This tendency is against the interest of the OPEC countries as their share in crude oil is slowly increasing while that in the refined products is diminishing.

Also, the recent development of the share of the OPEC countries in the total refinery capacity is unfavourable:

Refinery Capacity (thousand b/d)

| Region | 1973 | 1974 | Increase 1974/73 |
|--------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| World | 53,522 | 56,307 | 5 per cent |
| U.S.A. | 13,755 | 14,597 | 6 per cent |
| OPEC | 4,213 | 4,303 | 2 per cent |

The development of the refinery capacity is slower in the OPEC countries than in the developed capitalist countries. OPEC countries have been relatively losing importance in the more developed stratum of the oil economy. However, among the OPEC countries, refinery capacity of Algeria and Iraq has been growing more quickly. This means that an anti-imperialist and progressive policy manifests itself also in economic rationality.

The following tentative calculation illustrates the profitability of exporting refined products instead of crude oil: in 1974, the price of one metric ton of Iraqi crude oil khor at Amaya, Basrah, 35.0 to 35.09 was \$93.82; in 1974, the price of one metric ton of motor gasoline, 93 R, export, was 118.21 dollars.

This is calculated from data and conversion factors published in the OPEC Annual Statistical Bulletin, 1974.

The difference is 34 dollars mt and 4.60 dollars b respectively, that is, 40 per cent in the favour of the refined product.

A bigger share in transport could also assure higher share from the final price and thus higher export earning for the OPEC countries without raising crude prices.

| No. of tankers above 6,000 tons (d.w.) | Total tons (d.w.) |
|---|----------------------|
| World Tanker Fleet (1 Jan. 1975) | 4,140 |
| Tankers registered under flags of OPEC member countries (1 Jan. 1975) | 52 |
| | 296,217,000 |
| | 2,344,019 |

According to those data, the share of OPEC countries in the world total tanker capacity has been marginal, as against their 55 per cent share in the world total crude oil production.

Even while exporting most part of the crude oil and/or refined products, the oil

sector could contribute by precious basic materials to the development of industry and agriculture in the OPEC countries. Presently, important quantities of natural gas are wasted by flaring on the oil fields, instead of using it for the production of nitrogen fertilizer urea for which there is a huge demand on the world market.

Natural gas produced and flared in selected OPEC countries in 1974

(million cubic metres)

| Country | Natural gas | | Percent of flared gas to production |
|-----------------|-------------|--------|--|
| | Produced | Flared | |
| Iran | 50,048 | 27,992 | 44.8 |
| Kuwait | 13,222 | 6,102 | 46.1 |
| Saudi Arabia | 47,310 | 39,087 | 82.6 |
| Libya | 12,045 | 2,270 | 18.8 |
| Vene- zuela | 46,426 | 9,852 | 21.2 |

The total quantity of natural gas flared in the five countries in 1974 was 85,313 million cubic metres. To illustrate the value and importance of this quantity, one might state that the total natural gas consumption of Hungary in 1974 was 5,215 million cubic metres.

Population Growth in OPEC Countries

While the oil sector offers a lot of possibility for internal development and industrialisation, the growth of the population constraints to measures for the urgent development of agriculture and industry have also to be considered.

In the next fifteen years, total addition to the population of the OPEC countries—Algeria, Ecuador, Gabon, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela—will be 158.2 million. This means that, figuratively speaking, in the next fifteen years a whole new country with a population of 158.2 million, that is, bigger than presently any one mentioned above, should be envisaged, with infrastructure, industry, agriculture, employment, schools, etc., apart from enlarging all these for the present population. This illustrates also that the whole situation underlying the economic policy in the developing countries is quite different from that in Europe, for instance, where the average annual rate of increase of the population is not more than 0.7 per cent or in the U.S.A. where it is 1.0 per cent.

The growth of the population has several consequences in different fields. The first relates to the problem of food.

The growing need for food cannot, on a

long run basis, be covered totally or mostly by imports, partly because of the high level of food prices on the world market and partly because of the dependency on food imports coming from the capitalist countries. Diversification of the internal economy and the necessity of creating new employment possibilities also need development of the agricultural sector.

In the present stage of the world food market, efforts aimed at increasing food production in the developing countries have a stronger motivation than ever before. In 1974, total cereal production of the world was 2 per cent less than in 1973. If we consider that, at the same time, some 70 million more people had to be nourished than a year before, we would understand the real importance of this relatively small decline in the production. At the end of 1974, the price of wheat was tripled as compared to 1971. The price of sugar rose similarly. From 1971 to 1974, its price has been more than doubled; further, from the beginning of 1974 to the beginning of 1975, it rose by two and a half and reached 600 dollars a ton.

The other consequence of the rapidly growing population is the urgent necessity of creating employment possibilities. Naturally, the ways and means of diversifying economy and of industrialisation, with a view to creating new jobs, are different in each country. This leads us to the broader subject of general development policy.

One element in the huge scope of development in OPEC countries seems to be neglected. This is the role of the construction of railway networks. Presently, the transport system in most of the OPEC countries is based on camions, buses and aviation, involving dependency on imports of equipment and technology. But one cannot forget that railway was an important factor of economic development in Europe in the second half of the last century. Its impact on development is manifold; it has a strong linkage to the development of heavy industry and by interconnecting the regions of a country it opens new segments of the home market, makes new resources more easily accessible.

A good example is Iraq where the reconstruction and modernisation of the railway network, with the help of the socialist countries, including the 550 km Baghdad-Basrah railway, gave a new impetus to the economic development of the country.

The importance of this means of transportation is beginning to be recognised also in other oil-producing countries. In an agreement concluded on 7 January 1976 between Japan and Iran, it is foreseen that Japan will contribute to the construction of a 1,200 km high speed railway between Tehran and Mashad.

Making Rational use of Oil Earnings

Misuse of Oil Earnings

Beyond speaking on the rational use of oil earnings, one has to speak about their misuse too. One case of this misuse is armaments, not motivated by justified defence needs. The military expenditure of the developing countries taken as a whole has grown at an annual rate of ten per cent since 1960.

A recent report of the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme states that in the developing countries a large part of the foreign exchange obtained through international trade has been used to increase military capacity rather than relieve the poverty of the population.

According to a recent analysis made by different U.S. organisations and personalities, in 1975 the countries of the world spent 300 thousand million dollars on armaments, as against the 270 thousand million dollars used for this purpose in 1974. In the developing countries, during the last fifteen years, military expenditure has been doubled, reaching 37 thousand million dollars in 1975. During this period military expenditures in the Middle Eastern countries rose eightfold.

According to official U.S. information, the U.S.A. delivered to Iran and Saudi Arabia military equipment worth about 10 thousand million dollars, far beyond the real defence needs of these countries.

The proposal for a World Conference on Disarmament made by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in the Special Commission of Disarmament of the United Nations should be supported also by the OPDC countries in their own interest.

For a rapid development, such a tremendous restructuring of economy and society in the developing countries is needed. This will require political and institutional pre-conditions, among them planning, the leading role of the state sector and the mobilisation of the large masses, in a

democratic way, for the formulation and the implementation of development plans.

A good example of this is Iraq where the oil industry, as the present leading branch of the national economy, is fully nationalised. The share of the state sector is 73 per cent in industrial production and 50 per cent in foreign trade. The state sector participates with 56 per cent in the fixed capital formation, and has a leading role in the implementation of development plans. This explains the success of Iraq in the development performance: from 1969 to 1974, production of the processing industry rose by 72 per cent, annual average rate of growth being 11.5 per cent, and agricultural production by 41 per cent, annual rate of growth being 7.1 per cent.

Although the OPDC countries are today in a stronger position than before 1973, two basic elements of their vulnerability have not yet changed. The first element is their dependency on the oil exports. The other element is their dependency on the developed capitalist countries as a market for their oil exports. In 1974, from the 27,355 thousand bid total crude oil exports of the OPEC countries only about 80 thousand bid, that is, not more than 0.3 per cent went toward the Eastern European socialist countries.

Dependency on the developed capitalist countries means practically in most cases dependency on the multinational companies, the most powerful and aggressive elements of the capitalist world. Many of the MNCs are stronger than the individual OPDC countries.

In 1975, exports of the OPEC countries fell by 12 per cent, as a result of the narrowing markets of the main buyers of their oil, the developed capitalist countries.

The main reason for this shrinking in the imports of the developed capitalist countries is the decrease in their overall production: it was 8 per cent less in 1975 than in the previous year, according to a GAIT report published in February, 1976.

In 1975, the only region of the world where both imports and exports expanded was that of the socialist countries. According to the same report, exports of the socialist countries rose by 18 per cent, their imports by 20 per cent in 1975.

Need for Cooperation with Socialist Countries

The stable growth of the COMECON countries is a constant phenomenon in the present unstable world economy: from 1971 to 1975, their industrial production increased by 45 per cent as against a 10 per cent increase of industrial production in the developed capitalist countries during the same period.

The huge integrated socialist market is

a stable and reliable source of utilising oil energies. The socialist countries do this through their participation in the international division of labour, and through trade with, and assistance to the developing countries. Although the socialist integrated economy disposes of abundant oil reserves, the rapid expansion of the industrial production in the COMECON countries means also a growing demand for energy resources, including oil. In some cases also, the geographic situation of some Eastern European socialist countries provides an outlet for the rational use of Middle East and North African crude oil. At the same time, the COMECON has the capacity for the delivery of investment goods, transport equipment and also complex systems of food production, under medium and long-term agreements to the OPDC countries for mutual deliveries. The recent association of Mexico and Iraq (in June, 1975) with the COMECON, an organisation open for every country, proves that this possibility has been already recognised. Socialist countries have helped Iraq in the construction of electro-technical, petrochemical and pharmaceutical plants, as well as the expansion of the production of machines. Socialist countries deliver also equipment to the Iraqi oil industry.

An important advantage of trade among or with the COMECON countries is stability at both macro- and micro-economic levels.

Apart from the regular harmonisation of trade between the COMECON countries in the framework of their Five Year plans, a new phenomenon is the concluding of ten-year agreements for the mutual delivery of some goods having special importance for the contracting partners. The first such agreement was signed between Hungary and the Soviet Union in March, 1976; it foresees the delivery of Hungarian cereals and corned beef against Soviet crude oil, motor gasoline, cotton, timber and cellulose. The total value of the mutual deliveries will amount to 1,250 million dollars.

The delivery capacity of the Hungarian economy can be demonstrated by the fact that since 1968, Hungarian machine exports to developing countries rose yearly by 33 per cent. The exports of Hungarian food to Iraq grew fourfold during the last two years. The ten poultrys delivered by Hungary to Iraq illustrates the delivery capacity of Hungary in the field of complex food production systems.

The restructuring of the internal economy and society parallel with that of the external economic relations is a huge but, as the example of Iraq shows, promising and fruitful work. The developing countries, oil-producing or not, can always count on the support of the socialist countries, in the international organisations as well as in the bilateral and multilateral relations.

SINCE the early seventies, several international conferences have been held to draw up rules and regulations which would facilitate the process of transferring technology from the developed countries to the developing countries. This is to enable the latter to set up a base for heavy industry, without leading to a new kind of colonisation. But at the very time when these attempts were being made by the developing countries for the transfer of technology with a view to achieving economic independence, the developed capitalist countries were resorting to plans, policies and measures meant to effect a reverse transfer of technology from the developing countries to the former. They did so by encouraging the migration of people with proficiencies, and other skills, through the process known as "brain drain". The restrictions and barriers in the way of the skilled human resources wanting to immigrate to the developed countries were removed. This resulted in the problem of reverse transfer of technology (or the so-called migration of brains, or human skills) becoming one of the most important contemporary problems from which developing countries are suffering.

The term "reverse transfer of technology" is used as a synonym for the familiar expression "brains migration" or "Migrant skills".

Reverse Technology to U.S.A., Canada and U.K.

Certain developed capitalist countries, particularly, the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, have adopted over the past ten years a number of measures designed to facilitate and encourage the immigration of brains and other skills from the developing countries.

In other words, instead of transferring advanced technology to the developing countries, the developed capitalist countries have passed a number of laws which would facilitate a reverse technological transfer from the developing countries. All this is meant to undermine the future development of the developing countries. It is also meant to widen the scientific and technological gap between the developed and developing countries.

As a consequence of all this, the developed capitalist countries polarized no less than 300,000 expert and specialized immigrants over the period from the early sixties to 1972. Of these, 90,000 immigrated to the United States, 56,600 to Canada and 84,000 to the United Kingdom.

If we consider the professional structure, we would find that the great majority of emigrating proficiencies from the developing countries is made up of engineers (25 per cent), physicians and surgeons (20 per cent), physicists (10 per cent), and

QUESTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Problem of Reverse Transfer of Technology

Jawad Hashem

the rest from the category of technicians and middle cadres.

UN Studies on Brain Drain

The United Nations studies indicate that the developed countries (U.S.A., Canada, Britain) acquired more than 44 billion dollars of net revenues as a result of the contribution of the immigrating proficiencies in all its activities during the period 1961-1972, of which 30 billion dollars was the share of the United States, 10 billion dollars of Canada and four billion dollars of the United Kingdom.

The estimated investment or capital value for the brains emigrating from the developing countries to the three aforementioned developed countries amounted to about 50 billion dollars. Of this, about 33 billion dollars worth of estimated capital value was accounted for by people emigrating from Asia alone, particularly from India and the Middle East countries.

By the estimated capital value, it is meant the sums needed for the preparation of the required cadre since entering the school and until the moment of its emigration.

When comparing the above stated figures with some other financial flows, their importance and significance become clear. For, while the United States, Canada and Britain did not give more than 46.3 bil-

lion dollars in official aid to the developing countries during the years 1961-1972, those three countries received 50.9 billion dollars as capital value from the services of the immigrating proficiencies. This was so in the sense that they obtained proficiencies and skills from the developing countries without having incurred any costs or expenses thereon. To these should be added the other gains and utilities they obtained all along the period from the contribution of these "brains" to their economic activities as well as to their various scientific fields.

The phrase "development aid" used here and elsewhere in this article does not necessarily mean that it was given and used for development purposes or technological transfer. There is ample evidence in the experience of the Third World countries on the use of this aid for purposes other than development and evolution.

Loss to Developing Countries

The increasing flow of skilled human resources from the developing to the developed countries is in reality a reverse transfer of technology which has caused in the past, is causing at present and will be causing in the future great losses to the developing countries under an inequitable system of exchange. This firmly indicates the urgent need to review the traditional calculus methods of international economic relations so that these calculations would not be confined to money and commodity flows, but transcend them to include the flow of human productive resources as a result of the emigration of brains and skills from the developing to the developed countries.

Studies undertaken by the United Nations indicate that if the benefits the developed countries derive from the immigration of brains from the developing countries are evaluated in financial terms, the figures would be in billions of dollars. The developed countries benefit in three ways, namely:

- they do not bear the capital value for the preparation of the specialised cadre.
- they get the incremental value provided by this cadre to the various branches of economic activities; and they acquire financial resources from income tax levied on the earnings of the immigrating proficiencies.

Preliminary UNCTAD Study

The United Nations undertook a preliminary study through UNCTAD on the method of evaluating the economic dimensions of the migration of brains.

Even though this calculus method does not reflect the real dimension of the prob-

lem we are tackling, it is considered an index which could be enriched in the future through more studies. The calculus framework for gauging the economic effects of the migration of brains as shown in the UN study can be summed up as follows:

a) Gains acquired (or unshouldered costs) by the advanced countries as a result of immigration;

b) Lost gains (or shouldered costs) by the developing countries as a result of emigration;

c) Investment, or Capital value, acquired by the developed country (or lost by developing countries) as a result of immigration (or emigration).

An analysis of the calculus framework above mentioned, would show that the economic effects of the migration of brains could be gauged from two sides: "cost side" and "gain side". In other words, it is either a cost incurred by the developing country from which brains emigrated and was not shouldered by the developed country to which they immigrated; or a "gain" which the developing country lost and the developed country acquired. In case all internal and external circumstances and factors are identical in both the developing and the developed country, the gains acquired will offset unpaid costs, and the lost gains will equal the paid cost.

It should be underlined that the question of "acquired gains" or "lost gains" is something relative and does not necessarily mean their parity so that the gains acquired by the developed country are equal to the gains lost by the developing country, for the two gains, though they may be equal at a certain point in time, would inevitably differ in the long run. This will be so because the loss incurred by the developing country will increase the technological gap between it and the developed country, without the possibility of compensating for it.

It could be concluded that due to the high income standards in the developed countries, the gains acquired from the immigration of brains to these countries would be much higher than the gains lost by the developing countries.

It is not meant here to propose new specific policies to deal with the migration of brains, but to review the various proposals presented on this subject. A framework could then be suggested under which the developed countries would be obliged to increase their aid to the developing countries, and also to pledge to abstain from adopting measures meant to increase the immigration of proficiencies and skills. The developed countries should also make a commitment to transfer technology to the developing countries in a regular way, without any element of exploitation in it.

Capital Value of Reverse Technology

It would be useful to compare the sum total of net resources and aid transferred to the developing countries by the U.S.A., Canada and the United Kingdom, and the sum total of the estimated capital value for the skills emigrating from the developing countries acquired by the above-mentioned developed countries during the period 1961-1972.

While the total U.S. aid to the developing countries in this period amounted to 66,186 million dollars, the U.S.A. acquired capital value of skills emigrating from the developing countries, during the same period, to the tune of 33,879 million dollars. This is more than 50 per cent of all the U.S. aid given to the developing countries.

Here, it may be mentioned that the U.S. aid to developing countries in the years 1971 and 1972 was 14,462 million dollars, whereas the capital value of migrant proficiencies in the U.S.A. itself was 15,421 million dollars. The capital value, thus, was 107 per cent of the total U.S. aid during this period.

The capital value of the skills immigrating to Canada was always higher than the amount of aid extended by it to the developing countries throughout the period 1961-1972.

While the value of the net flow of resources from Canada to the developing countries was 4,222 million dollars during the period 1961-72, the estimated value for the proficiencies immigrating to it from the developing countries was 11,465 million dollars.

As far as the United Kingdom is concerned, the general rate of the proportion of the value of migrating skills to total aid was 56 per cent during the period covered by the study. This proportion ranged between 58 per cent in the period 1961-65 and 50 per cent in the years 1971 and 1972.

Foreign Debts of Developing Countries

We mentioned above that the calculus structure of the balance of payments should be revised so as to show the volume of flows of human resources and potentialities between the developing and the developed countries. This is necessary as those flows, in their final residue, are means of influencing the productive ability of nations, particularly the recipient countries, in increasing the rate of economic growth and technological progress.

The table here shows a comparison between outstanding foreign debts of the developing countries, quantitatively, by the end of 1972, and the estimated capital value for the same period. Hence, while the sum total of outstanding debts of

most developing countries reached more than 89 billion dollars, the capital value of the brains emigrating from these countries to the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom reached about 45 billion dollars, or more than 50 per cent of the volume of these debts up to 1972.

Looking at the figures relevant to the region of Asia, we find that while its outstanding debts to the developed countries reached more than 43 billion dollars, the capital value of the proficiencies emigrating from the Asian countries to the U.S.A., Canada, and Britain exceeded 33 billion dollars for the same period. In other words, the proficiencies and skills supplied by the countries of Asia to the above-mentioned developed countries reached 77 per cent of the volume of their debts to the developed world.

Outstanding National Foreign Debt of the Developing countries and the cumulative capital value of the proficiencies immigrating to certain developed countries up to the end of 1972

| Region of Origin | National Foreign Debt | Cumulative capital value of migrant proficiencies | Balance | Percent |
|------------------------|-----------------------|---|---------|---------|
| in millions of dollars | | | | |
| Africa | 16,248 | 3,089 | 13,159 | 19 |
| Asia | 43,244 | 33,108 | 10,136 | 77 |
| Others | 29,576 | 8,545 | 21,031 | 29 |
| Total | 89,068 | 44,742 | 44,326 | 50 |

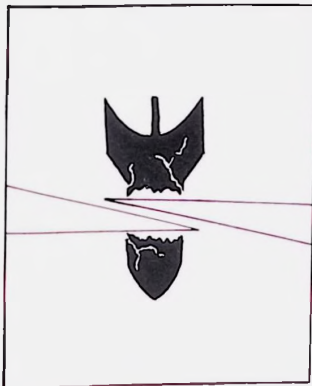
(Annual figures of gross flows to the United States from 1961, Canada from 1963, and the United Kingdom from 1964).

Other references to this subject are available in the annual report of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) for the year 1975 (statistical appendix p.83), and the study prepared by the UNCTAD under the title "The Reverse Transfer of Technology: its Economic Effects and Policy Implications", TD/B/C.6-7/1975 Chapter III, page 42.

It is to be noted that the skilled migrants to the developed countries pay a sizeable amount of income tax. In 1972, these migrants numbering 325,259 paid income tax to the tune of 948,157,000 dollars to the governments of the U.S.A., Canada and the United Kingdom.

Of these migrants comprising engineers, physicians and other medical personnel, professors, managers and other specialists from developing countries, 184,621 paid 662 million dollars in income tax in the U.S., 56,598 paid 204 million dollars in Canada, and 84,040 paid about 82 million dollars in the United Kingdom.

These are certain facets of the problem of the reverse transfer of technology which the developing countries have to take into account seriously.



Role of Public Opinion in Disarmament Movement

Konrad Lübbert

MORE than 40,000 people participated in a mass demonstration for disarmament in Bonn on 22 May 1976 which showed once again the role public opinion can play in the movement for general disarmament.

The demonstrators came from all parts of the Federal Republic of Germany in response to an Appeal which demanded a rapid end to the arms race and equally rapid measures for general disarmament.

Earlier, twenty thousand citizens of the Federal Republic, among them people with differing ideological outlooks, party and religious connections, members of company staffs and trade union leaders, scientists and artists, housewives and workers, members of the clergy and doctors, had signed the Appeal launched by the "Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation" of the Federal Republic. Among those who signed the Appeal were the wife and daughter of the former President of the Federal Republic Heinemann.

Bonn Demonstration for Disarmament

The demonstration in Bonn was the greatest gathering demanding disarmament that has ever been held in the history of the Federal Republic. Workers, students, scientists, members of local organisations and peace movements met in Bonn and through their broadly-based mass cooperation made the demonstration a highly significant event. The participants in the rally marched in three lines through the city. Chanting slogans in chorus, they tried to draw the inhabitants of the city into close involvement in the actions for disarmament. "Continue Helsinki" was one of the slogans, "Schools instead of Military Bases" was another. On banners were

slogans such as "Unitedly Secure Disarmament" and "Trade Union Solidarity for Peace, Democracy, Disarmament".

Many other banners testified that large segments of public life were represented in the demonstration, people who are directly affected by the vast sums of money spent on armaments. Among them are the unemployed, and many young people without facilities for training for jobs, students faced with the problem of overcrowded schools and colleges. There is also the problem of inhabited suburbs being misused for military purposes.

The speakers at the demonstration included the member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, Rev. Martin Niemöller, the daughter of the former President of the Republic, Prof. Ute Ranke-Heinemann, and the author Günter Wallraff.

The Appeal of the demonstration met with a powerful and unanimous response by the participants in the rally.

Constructive initiatives were taken to support the negotiations in Vienna relating to reduction in armaments and troops in Central Europe.



A view of the Bonn demonstration to Stop the Arms Race and for Disarmament

Never in the history of mankind, whether we speak about conditions of peace or about times when the outbreak of a war was imminent, has the world been full of such immense stockpiles of armaments. The cancerous multiplication and growth of these armaments and the militarisation taking place in the whole world in the wake of the arms race indicates one of the most frightening tendencies of modern times.

Dangers of Arms Race

The history of our nation shows us that there is always a time which is "too late". There have been dangerous processes like the terrible and macabre era of "national socialism". If one is not ready to see the danger in the present conditions concerning armaments, then trends relating to the

arms race, which are already getting such weight of their own, can only culminate in a catastrophe.

The Federal Republic of Germany, only thirty years after the last World War, has become the third military power of the world, after the USSR and the USA. The total sum of money spent on armaments in the world approximates to something like 275 billion dollars. The daily sums invested in means designed for murder and destruction amount to about 2 billion D-marks. This is money, our money, the money that is created through the work of the peoples. This money is used not in the service of life, but only to destroy life. This is money with which bargains are made with death. Within one single year, from 1973 to 1974, the export of arms to the developing countries increased by 40 per

cent. And this increase in the sums spent on armaments will be further inflated by new technology that will develop new armaments. The very special logic of development within the military complex is bringing the apocalyptic visions of horror closer to reality.

"Bargains with Death"

This process of bargains with death and playing on fear must spur us to act. We cannot any longer wait for a catastrophe to put an end to this dangerous process. Such a catastrophe would, as a matter of fact, spare none of us.

When the huge arsenals of weapons explode, they would kill all of us in the same way: socialists and so-called Christian-Democrats, liberals and communists, Christian people and atheists. If we wish to survive, then we will have to stand up against the present arms race.

The clock has not yet reached the zero hour, but it is very near that. There is still the possibility of making a change in the course of events. But we are standing on the edge of a cliff. Political detente must be followed by a detente on the military level. If there will be no military detente, the process of armaments will inevitably follow its own laws, despite politics. When Big Business in arms makes the politicians submit to its power, then it will be too late.

The successive escalations in armaments can be described as a creeping disease. The cancer spreads in the body from within itself and can be dealt with only at a certain point of handling and manipulation. After this stage, the patient will wither away as there will be no remedy left to cure him.

The increase in armaments attacks our society from within itself and makes a secure and prosperous living on earth impossible. We will have to be careful to see that the tumour itself does not reach any vital part of our society, such a vital part that there is no more remedy left. We must protest so that humanity does not reach any nearer the border of death. Together, united in strength, we must demonstrate against armaments before it is too late.

The viable possibility of an "overkill", in which mankind will not once, but twice or more times be killed and devastated, must make people understand this insane pathy, logical phenomenon.

The language of those who today oppose disarmament is strikingly paranoid in its essentials. Our destiny is today partly determined by people whose mental state cannot any longer be held to be normal.

Military-Industrial Complex

The paranoid cannot have a normal approach towards reality. The piling up of armaments, through complicated processes, influences politics. The military-industrial

Bonn Demonstration for Disarmament Appeal

STOP the arms race—For peace, social security and democratic reforms and rapid disarmament:

Do we have to continue the arms race? Do we need a high potential of armaments for our national security and peace? Can we afford to allocate billions every year for tanks, artillery, troops, planes and warships?

Our people, like all peoples of our continent, have had a painful experience of the arms race. This has not led to security but to insecurity. Europe has already suffered twice during this century from chaos and misery. No human being can hope to see the destruction of cities and industries into ruins and ashes from an atomic holocaust.

At this time, there is still much suspicion and fear of disarmament. But we must begin to start to walk upon the road towards disarmament and stop the escalation of armaments. For the Federal Republic, there can exist only political, not military security.

The last few years of political detente have brought about more security, more *bonafide* development than the years of confrontation and cold war that preceded them.

In Helsinki—at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—the states of Europe as well as the United States of America and Canada agreed to develop their relations based upon democratic and peaceful principles. They unanimously adopted an important document, a programme for cooperation. They declared that disarmament must now follow.

Armaments have never solved any problems and will not do so in the future either. They lead to suspicion and tension, misuse of valuable human labour, causing severe damage to the economy. They hinder necessary reforms and social progress.

Educational programmes are abandoned, hospitals planned for the future are given up, training for jobs is frozen, and the postal service is reduced.

There is no sign of ending the financial crisis and unemployment. The people must bear heavy social burdens. The process of armaments pushes the inflation spiral still higher.

Disarmament has become the key problem of our time.

It is necessary to take part constructively in the international efforts for disarmament through the convocation of a World Disarmament Conference, through banning new weapons of mass destruction, through banning chemical warfare, through limiting the atomic weapons arsenal, and through decreasing the number of troops in Central Europe.

Extracts from Appeal issued by the "Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation" in the Federal Republic of Germany on the occasion of the Demonstration for Disarmament in Bonn on 22 May 1976.

complex is becoming an obstacle in the way of further political detente.

The paranoiac approach to this development is inevitably connected with expressed fixed ideas: it is, in its turn, a result of thinking habits of old days. When others have sworn themselves to attack, not only their strength but also their aggressiveness will be wildly over-estimated. So the connection between fear and old ways of thinking results in opposition to disarmament.

It is, of course, not necessary to point out that the paranoiac is unable to meet the problems he is faced with. He is all too fixed in his mind to leave the narrow groove of his own illusions and prejudices. Pressing and necessary measures in the field of social security, schooling and education and health services must be put aside to meet the demands for armaments. Thirty times more money is spent today on armaments than on measures for closing the gap between the rich and poor nations.

In the FRG, more measures for armaments are now being included in the budget policy of the Federal government. On the other hand, resources allocated for long term activities for peace, especially where development aid is concerned, are diminishing. In the White Book of the Federal government, there is for the first time this year a clear passage which makes it obvious that the government sees nuclear armaments as a necessity. Such a thing ten years ago would have led to stormy protests from the public—churches, trade unions and political parties. But today, the majority do not even lift their eyebrows.

At the same time, there is also an awakening among the people. More and more people, trade unionists and also politicians are acknowledging the urgent need for disarmament. We are standing between negotiations aiming at disarmament and a swelling military apparatus.

In this situation there is no possibility of acting as a bystander, like a man who just looks upon what is happening. We are all involved. There is no possibility in taking up the attitude of being resigned to it all, for that would amount to a cynical approach to non-involvement. And it is impossible to wait, for the time is limited. Disarmament is the only way out for the future. There are no alternatives. Either there will be a change or the end will be disastrous. The victory of reason in the struggle against armaments is the only chance of survival. For that, we have to stand together. The Bonn demonstration for disarmament was not like climbing a mountain, only to descend afterwards. The Bonn demonstration was a beginning which will help us convince the people of our country of the necessity for strengthening the work for peace.

Vital Need for Military Detente

Guenter Engmann

BROAD circles of the peaceloving world are agreed that the process of political detente set in motion must now be supplemented and continued by effective measures of military detente, like armament limitation and disarmament.

While hardly anybody doubts seriously the necessity of armament limitation and disarmament, there continue to exist quite different views and also doubts about realistic possibilities. The sceptics, however, should recall the already several positive results of the unrelenting efforts by the Soviet Union, the other states of the socialist community and all other peace forces for military detente, however complicated the problems may be.

Encouraging First Steps

- Here let us mention:
 - the "Moscow Treaty on the Ban on Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere, in Cosmic Space and Under Water", signed on 5 August 1963 and coming into effect on 10 October 1973,
 - the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear arms, signed on 1 July 1968 and coming into effect on 5 March 1970;
 - the convention on the ban on the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological and toxic weapons.

Of special significance are doubtless the efforts made by the USSR and the USA toward a limitation of strategic armaments and a prevention of nuclear war. Let us hope that, following the agreements on a limitation of rocket-defence systems and the temporary agreement on some measures in the field of a limitation of strategic offensive weapons, there will come into effect as soon as possible a long term agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons, which should also include the qualitative aspects.

Already in the document on the "Basis of Relations Between the USSR and the USA," signed on 29 May 1972 in Moscow by the leading representatives of both states, it is underscored that both sides will see to it that "everything possible is done to prevent military confrontation and

the outbreak of nuclear war". And the "Agreement On the Prevention of Nuclear War" signed in 1973 at San Clemente contain the joint pledge "... to prevent the emergence of situations, which might lead to a dangerous aggravation of their relations, to prevent military confrontations and to make impossible the outbreak of a nuclear war between them and between either side and other countries".

The German Democratic Republic holds the view that detente-agreements between the USSR and the USA are of great benefit to all peoples. The slogan of an alleged "Conspiracy of the Super-Powers" spread by certain forces does not only completely contradict the facts, it also serves solely the enemies of detente and is clearly directed against the Soviet Union, the most significant force for peace and progress in the world. At the same time, it is necessary to include in the near future the other nuclear powers, too, in the process of limitation of strategic armaments.

Limiting Means of Mass Annihilation

Actually one of the most urgent tasks of military detente is the bringing about of effective limitation- and disarmament measures for mass-annihilation means, in particular for nuclear arms. Together with the Soviet Union and its other allies, the GDR cooperates constructively for the solution of this stratified and complicated problem.

Let us pick out some of the most urgent problems. The states of the socialist community attach particular attention to the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general ban on nuclear tests, a draft of which was tabled by the Soviet Union at the end of 1975. Of course, such a treaty can only have the desired effect, namely, contributing to a halt to the nuclear arms-race and creating new impediments to the proliferation of nuclear arms, if all those states which are able to conduct nuclear tests join it.

Therefore, the USSR and other socialist countries proposed to the XXXth General Assembly of the United Nations (at the end

of 1975) to initiate direct negotiations between all nuclear powers, with another 25 to 30 interested countries participating, in order to prepare the treaty. This proposal was accepted by the vast majority of the UN-member-countries. Thus far, however, the early convening of the envisaged group of states has failed due to the refusal of the other nuclear powers to participate in the negotiations.

In the course of the XXXth UN General Assembly, the vast majority of the states welcomed, too, the Soviet proposal to prepare an agreement on the ban on the development and production of new kinds or system of mass-annihilation means.

The Geneva Disarmament Committee is to prepare the text of such an agreement.

Soviet and U.S. Drafts on Environment

Furthermore, the Geneva Disarmament Committee, at the initiative of the Soviet Union, has been given Soviet and U.S. drafts of a convention on a ban on the misuse of the environment and the climate for military and other hostile purposes. Now it is necessary to find a compromise respecting also the interests of other countries, including those of the non-aligned states, so that the final wording can be submitted to the XXXIst UN General Assembly, which will be in session at the end of 1976. This would comprise a very essential step towards armament limitation, because, as is known to the international public, imperialist countries for a long time have been making experiments on the misuse of the environment for military purposes. Examples of this were the artificial rain-making and defoliation-missions carried out by the U.S. airforce in the criminal war against the Vietnamese people.

An implementation of such steps would bring mankind nearer to the aim finally to take effective measures towards a complete ban on, and the destruction of, all nuclear arms and other mass-annihilation-means.

Reduction of Armed Forces in Central Europe

As a result of the Helsinki Conference, the process of political detente has advanced further in Europe than anywhere else. It must be possible, therefore, on this continent, from which two bloody world wars have been unleashed in this century, to give an example of military detente.

Therefore, as soon as possible, distinct progress should be made in the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, negotiations, which first of all were initiated by the Warsaw Treaty member-states. It has never lacked the readiness

of the socialist countries to promote such a development. Only in June, 1976, the directly participating socialist states, the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR, further supplemented their proposal of 19 February 1976, which includes a reduction, on an equal basis, in all kinds of armed forces and armaments, including nuclear arms and carrier means. At the same time, this proposal meets essentially with the basic element of a Western plan by agreeing that in the first stage only Soviet and US armed forces and armaments be reduced. The proposal contains concrete figures on the mutual reduction of the number of tanks, nuclear-arms-carrying aircraft and rocket-launching sites with a certain amount of nuclear ammunition for these carrier means.

First, the armed forces of the other direct participants shall be frozen at the existing level, with reductions being reserved for another stage.

Thus, this proposal again is aimed at providing unconditional guarantee of undiminished security to all participating states, and at preventing unilateral military advantages. This principle which was agreed to in the preliminary talks, was based exclusively on proposals by the socialist sides. So was, for example, the draft-agreement of November, 1973 on the mutual reduction by 17 per cent of existing land, air, and nuclear forces in the course of three years. Afterwards the socialist side reacted several times to Western points of view, but never could it accept the basic view of NATO to bring to an equal numerical level the armed forces, and armaments of either side in the reduction-area (Poland, Czechoslovakia, FRG, GDR, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg).

No Unilateral Military Advantages

There exist too many objections like the entanglement of the military correlation of power in Central Europe with that in other strategic areas. Consequently, the NATO proposal of December, 1975 also could not be accepted. It provided for reduction of outdated U.S. nuclear rockets and Soviet tank forces on an unrealistic "exchange" basis.

In reality, Western proposals of an "asymmetrical reduction", in most cases supported by propaganda on all possible "facts" of an alleged "Soviet military menace", are but endeavours by the NATO powers to hide the increase in their own armaments in a bid to gain military advantages. The facts are too well known, and need not be repeated again. "No unilateral military advantages!"—this is the formula the negotiating partners in Vienna had accepted long ago. Now the time has come to act according to this principle.

It is, in a way, an implementation of

the Final Act of Helsinki, which paved the way for continuing the policy of detente and not of cold war.

Military Detente

So both the example of the Vienna negotiations and of all other efforts for military detente show that successes in the struggle for armament-limitation and disarmament can only be achieved through the consistent and joint struggle by all forces interested in peace and security. The enemies of detente and disarmament, which are to be found above all in circles of the military-industrial complex of imperialist countries and its political exponents, must be challenged still more determinedly.

In the interest of military detente, the implementation of another Soviet proposal is of extraordinary significance, namely, the practical preparation and early convocation of a World Disarmament Conference. Meanwhile, this proposal dating back to 1971, already, has found a broad international echo, it is supported by the vast majority of states.

The endeavours of the states of the socialist community for military detente, which occupies a significant place in their peace policy, give ample proof of it. Despite all opposition, these states take armament-limitation and disarmament seriously. The vital interests of mankind demand that undiminished attention be devoted to the gradual solution of this problem.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, Erich Honecker, has said:

"We support actively the Soviet initiatives, above all, for the holding of a World Disarmament Conference, for a ban on all nuclear tests, a ban on the development and production of new mass-annihilation means and for the conclusion of a worldwide treaty on the renunciation of the use of force in international relations. Together with the other socialist states the GDR comes out persistently for successful negotiations in Vienna on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe on the basis of the principle of undiminished security."



THE TWO STOCKHOLM APPEALS

Gordon Schaffer

INEVITABLY, as the campaign for the new Stockholm Appeal gathers strength, the minds of many of us, who took part in the first Stockholm Appeal, go back to the struggle of 1953 and to the triumphs and the setbacks of the years between. In concentrating on that first Appeal on the call for a ban on all nuclear weapons, the world peace movement alerted the peoples everywhere to the realisation that the infinite destructiveness of atomic weapons had introduced a new dimension into human affairs. The challenge was peace or illimitable catastrophe. And, as we look back, the evidence is clear from documented United States sources that powerful forces in that country were anxious and ready to use the bomb—in 1948 at the time of the West Berlin airlift, in Korea, in Viet Nam when the French faced defeat, and, according to the latest statements by U.S. Commander Westmoreland, in the latter stages of the aggression against Viet Nam. It is equally clear that the voices of the people, expressed in the hundreds of millions of signatures to that first Appeal, halted in their tracks the advocates of nuclear war.

It must be remembered that the first Stockholm Appeal had a second clause; it condemned as criminal any nation which, from that time onwards, should be the first to use the atomic weapon. The Soviet Union gave full support. The Western powers not only resisted this demand, they introduced the NATO blue print for the first use, in certain circumstances, of nuclear weapons.

First Stockholm Appeal

At the time of the first Stockholm Appeal, the United States thought it had the monopoly of atomic weapons. As we went round collecting signatures we were abused by those who said that we were seeking to weaken our own country. It was only a few years since the anti-Fascist alliance had saved us all from the Nazi horror, and

the victorious allies had pledged themselves to continue in peace the cooperation achieved in war. Yet the campaign of hatred was unbounded. The McCarthy attack on all progressives was in full flood in the United States. In Britain, it was exemplified by the cartoon of a little boy pointing to the word "peace" scrawled on a wall, and saying to his mother, "Someone's written a dirty word". In Birmingham, Alabama, (U.S.A.), the local radio station broadcast an announcement: "If anyone calls at your house to talk about peace, hold him in conversation while someone calls the police."

But the people fought back. The signatures poured in, from some fascist countries where men and women risked liberty and even life. In Britain, Labour MP, Sydney Siverman, presented a million signatures to parliament.

I remember vividly one peace conference at that time when the hate campaign was at its height and I quoted to our peace workers the words of St. Joan, in Bernard Shaw's play, as she faces her accusers: "I will go out to the common people and let the love in their eyes comfort me for the hate in yours."

The common people understood that ours was the noblest cause in all human history. And they understand today.

The atmosphere in Britain during the present campaign is very different. For one thing, many of the most powerful voices are on record for disarmament. These include the conference of the Labour Party and that of the Trades Union Congress. We have the unique situation that the Executive of the Labour Party, officially the sovereign body of the movement, is demanding cuts in arms expenditure which a Labour government is refusing to carry out. Government spokesmen, including Prime Minister Callaghan, express their hopes for progress in the talks on mutual and balanced arms reductions in Vienna, but they have yet to match their words with

deeds. There are also strident voices, including that of Conservative leader, Margaret Thatcher, calling for increased armaments and indulging in a return to the cold war attacks on the Soviet Union, but even some of her fellow Conservatives have repudiated her. The main struggle of the peace forces is to break through the barrier of silence imposed by the television, press and radio on the Helsinki Final Act with its promise of the most far reaching measures of cooperation for the benefit of all the countries and its pledge to match political detente with genuine measures of disarmament.

Campaign for New Stockholm Appeal

So our campaign behind the new Stockholm Appeal is not just to alert people to the dangers, as it was 25 years ago, but to mobilise their support for actions to implement the Helsinki pledges and the disarmament resolutions overwhelmingly adopted by the United Nations, including those for cuts in the arms budgets of the nuclear powers with part of the saving devoted to the developing countries, the renewed demand for a ban on all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and the call for a world disarmament conference. In this campaign, the various peace organisations—and we have a number in Britain—are linking the campaign for the new Stockholm Appeal with other appeals. The Declaration of York, carried unanimously at the Forum to End the Arms Race and for World Disarmament last April, made much the same demands (the conference, in fact, endorsed the Stockholm Appeal as well) and this is the basis for work in many of the organisations represented at York. The National Peace Council has been concentrating on the Bradford appeal by the non-governmental organisations linked with the United Nations, with its stress on the demand for a world disarmament conference, with the peoples' representatives, as



well as those of the governments taking part. The Women for World Disarmament have a petition concentrating on the demand for a ban on nuclear weapons and the condemnation of their use as a crime against humanity. All these are within the main stream of the world campaign behind the Stockholm Appeal.

Development of Arms Trade

For us in Britain, the section of the Stockholm Appeal demanding an end to the arms race is of special significance. The way orders for armaments are being presented as a means of combating the unemployment, which is affecting millions, is immensely dangerous. Even more dangerous is the development of the arms trade as a means of buttressing the national economy. An organisation, "Campaign against the arms trade" has been set up and is providing a mass of information on this subject.

Before the Second World War, Philip Noel-Baker and Fenner Brockway, two of our veteran peace campaigners, published books to show how the manufacturers of armaments—the "merchants of death"—fomented international tension and sabotaged chances of disarmament in order to maintain their profits. The sordid story was exposed in the U.S.A. by the Nye Commission appointed by F.D. Roosevelt following public pressure. Official U.S. documents during and after the Second World War, revealed how the arms firms and the international trusts armed the Nazi Reich. Today, these lessons have not been learned and the British government actually employs its own arms salesmen. The threat to the peoples' hopes for disarmament can be judged from the fact that discussions on new arms programmes deal with the 1980s. In other words, the arms race, in their view, will continue.

Roy Mason, our Minister of Defence, has constantly used the threat of unemployment to counter the demands of the Labour Party Executive for cuts in arms expenditure. He recently boasted in the House of Commons that some 50 Labour MPs had appealed to him for arms contracts for their constituencies. He affirmed that the members of trade unions did not support the official policies of the unions for cuts in armaments. Of course, when workers are threatened with loss of jobs, even though they are on war contracts, they and their unions will fight to retain them. But they know that arms expenditure is a waste of labour and resources and that these could be constructively used to improve education, health and other social services now being subjected to vicious cuts.

Switch from War to Peace Production

In this respect, we are seeing another

important development here in Britain. The Shop Stewards at Lucas Aerospace who represent 14,000 manual and technical staffs at seventeen factories and embrace a number of trade unions, have prepared a report, running to nearly 1,000 pages on specific proposals for the switch from war to peace production. These are not just ideas: they are concrete plans. A planning committee was set up in each factory to make a detailed study of the design, development and production capabilities of the plant. The whole work force took part in discussions of what socially useful projects could be manufactured as an alternative to the present arms production. The detailed projects that have emerged, many of them making use of the advanced technology and sophisticated instruments that went into such projects as Concorde, the supersonic airliner, provide a striking illustration of the creative abilities and skills waiting to

be unleashed in a world dedicated to peaceful progress.

The projects provide for electronically operated and remote-controlled equipment for use on the ocean beds, which comprise 70 per cent of the surface of the earth, development of marine agriculture, electrically powered road vehicles, railway engines to run on both rail and road, new types of medical appliances and many others.

The shop stewards in presenting their report to their employers and the government said that "the workers are prepared to press for the right to work on products which actually help to solve human problems rather than create them".

That is the promise of the new Stockholm Appeal and the campaign surrounding it.

Peace is not just the absence of war, but the opportunity to harness the creative abilities of mankind for all the peoples of the world.

STOP THE ARMS RACE

To make detente irreversible

STOP THE ARMS RACE

To move forward rapidly towards
a New International Economic Order

STOP THE ARMS RACE

To defend the peace and build a new world

STOP THE ARMS RACE

TOGETHER for Banning All Nuclear
and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction!

TOGETHER for General and Complete Disarmament!

TOGETHER for the Calling Without Delay of the United
Nations World Disarmament Conference!

Extracts from New Stockholm Appeal

THE DISINTEGRATION of the colonial system of imperialism is one of the greatest achievements of our times. The creation of scores of new states is a major factor in the development of international relations. After winning their political independence, these countries had to tackle huge problems like the liquidation of backwardness in various spheres of their economic and political life. Their first and foremost task is to win economic independence from world imperialism.

During the period of colonialism, foreign capital controlled the natural resources of the enslaved and dependent countries. Even in 1952, the multinational corporations of six developed capitalist countries controlled 89.6 per cent of the mining of 22 major mineral raw materials in the developing countries. The winning of political independence did not put an end to this control. What is more, at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies, the multinational corporations (MNCs) intensified their expansion in the developing countries and enlarged their scope. This was due to various reasons, one of which was the growing difficulties in the economy of the advanced capitalist countries themselves, namely, the lack or shortage of cheap raw materials of high quality, the rising cost of manpower, increasing competition, etc. Their expansion also increased as a result of the facilities created by some developing countries in their efforts to encourage foreign investments.

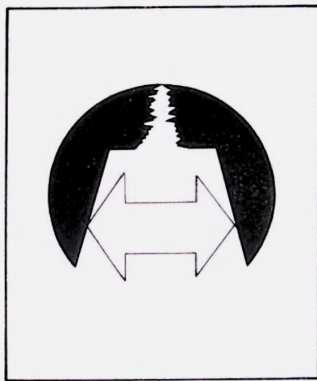
Theory of "Restricted Sovereignty"

In order to justify and, mainly, to promote this expansion, bourgeois economic science advanced a number of theories about the new features of the modern corporations. It is upon these that the theory about the 'restricted state sovereignty' of the nation state over its economy was founded.

The domination of the MNCs over the economy of the developing countries affects their state sovereignty, as each independent country must control its economy itself, develop it according to its needs. However, this is not enough. No country can develop in isolation, as a self-sufficient economic entity. Every country should take part in the international division of labour, and in international economic relations. But it should do so on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

The developing countries, therefore, face the task of changing the present basis of their participation in the international capitalist division of labour, and the pattern of their economic relations with the developed capitalist countries which has been

STRUGGLE AGAINST MULTINATIONALS



Multinationals Subvert Sovereignty of Developing Countries

Petko Petkov

established by the monopolies on an unequal footing.

The multinational corporations are the main obstacle to the independent development of the developing countries, because their basic aim is to get maximum profits.

The MNCs avail themselves of cheap manpower in the developing countries, and benefit from the lack of strict and legal labour safety norms and measures for the protection of the environment, and a weak trade union movement, etc. **In order to intensify their exploitation of the peoples of the developing countries, they strengthen their ties with the local reactionary forces, pay bribes, finance plots and coups d'état.**

The struggle of the developing countries for economic independence is being waged under favourable external conditions. The states of the world socialist community are developing at a rapid pace, becoming the most dynamic economic force in the world. Their readiness to render all-round assistance to the young

states in the latter's struggle for economic liberation from imperialism stems from the international essence of socialism. The consolidation of unity among the developing countries themselves against the domination of the MNCs is yet another important factor.

The success of the struggle for putting an end to the domination of foreign capital depends on the character of power and on the influence of the progressive forces upon it. Naturally, this success is the greatest in the countries with a socialist orientation in whose economy foreign capital may participate, without, however, having a dominant position in it.

The economic domination of foreign capital is strongest in the countries with reactionary and pro-imperialist regimes with their 'open door' policy towards foreign investments.

In certain fields, the developing countries have scored some successes in their struggle against the multinational corporations. The prices of certain commodities (oil, for example) on the world capitalist market are no longer determined exclusively by the MNCs. However, the struggle in this sphere is only just beginning. Its result will depend on a number of factors: further restricting foreign capital in the economy of individual countries, consolidation of the state sector, strengthening of unity among the developing countries, establishing organisations of countries exporting a given raw material, expanding relations between these countries and the socialist states, developing new forms of these relations (production cooperation, the establishment of joint enterprises), etc.

New Tactics of Multinationals

The multinational corporations are adapting themselves to the changing conditions. The struggle of the developing countries for economic independence, their growing unity, the extension of their cooperation with the socialist states, the growing economic difficulties in the advanced capitalist states (the present economic crisis) compel the multinational corporations to modify the forms of their expansion, to change their orientation and even to make certain concessions. All this, however, does not alter their essence or their basic purpose: the extraction of maximum profits and undermining of the progressive regimes in the developing countries.

Under the pressure of the aforementioned factors, the MNCs are compelled to adopt such forms as joint enterprises, the sharing in production and services, etc. These forms, which also offer certain advantages to the developing countries, are a means of continuing the exploitation of these countries and of binding them

to the economy of the developed capitalist states. In all cases the participation of local capital is a factor which largely contributes to this trend. The adoption of the MNCs is a testimony to their flexibility and to their striving to conceal the nature of their expansion.

The multinational corporations are also investing capital in the processing industries, in their endeavours to impose a new, neo-colonialist division of labour on the developing countries, to transform them into producers of labour-intensive products, to increase their technical and technological dependence (the construction of enterprises for the production of big and small parts, of enterprises with an unfinished production cycle, etc.

The sale of a portion of the shares of the MNCs to state-owned companies and private individuals in the developing countries is a peculiar form of adaptation which has developed in the past few years. However, this does not change the nature of the MNCs. This is true of the MNCs of the United States, France, the German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Japan, etc.

The sale of part of the shares (less than half, judging by practice so far) is an attempt further to strengthen the alliance of monopoly bourgeoisie in the developed capitalist countries and the bourgeoisie in the developing states, a means of facilitating the expansion of these corporations and of concealing their neocolonial nature.

Controlling Foreign Capital

In their efforts to overcome their economic backwardness, the developing countries are interested in benefiting from the technical achievements of the developed capitalist states, modern technology, experience, etc. which the MNCs possess.

The most advantageous way of doing this is to purchase technical equipment, licences, patents. They may even allow foreign capital directly to operate in their economy, but for specific periods of time, to a limited extent and in specific fields. However, in order to reduce the negative effects of such investments, it is necessary to find the most suitable forms, the profitable conditions, to establish control over them and to develop and consolidate the state sector of the economy in every respect, to carry out profound structural changes and to strengthen the relations of these countries with the socialist countries.

The multinational corporations, it must always be remembered, are the nucleus of the monopoly capital of the imperialist states, the striking force of world imperialism, the main enemy of progressive change in the developing countries and of their independent development.

Multinationals: Enemy of Independent Economic Development

T. N. Siddhanta

THE EVENTS in Chile leading to the fascist coup in September, 1973 brought into sharp focus the menace of the multinational corporations to national independence and sovereignty, and to progressive socio-economic measures in developing countries. Further, the Chilean episode exposed threadbare, as perhaps never before, the close coordination, on the one hand, between the multinationals, the U.S. Government and the notorious CIA, and, on the other, their collusion with internal counter-revolutionary forces.

Since then the U.S. Senate itself has exposed a series of sordid deeds of the U.S. multinationals, as well as the CIA, of crude interference in the internal affairs of different countries to protect their vast holdings and profits. The Chilean events have also laid bare the role of the World Bank and the IMF as being tools of United States neo-colonialism. The counter-revolutionary subversion in Chile is not an aberration but constitutes a conscious strategy of the multinationals and their home states, particularly of the U.S. Government, to meet their neo-colonialist ends, to perpetuate their domination over the vast natural resources of the developing countries and to destabilise such governments which are not amenable to their neo-colonialist designs.

It is neither a solitary event, nor the first of its kind. Almost every major global corporation has contributed its share, in some part of the world or other, in activities involving blackmail, subversion, murder, or a coup. We might recall the coup in Iran overthrowing Dr. Mossadeq; the murder of Patrice Lumumba, the military coup and massacre in Indonesia, coups in Latin American countries, military intervention against Angola and various other overt and covert subversive acts being organised in different countries.

It has been the experience of the developing countries that the multinationals and their home states have the sole aim, not of building up and strengthening the economies of the newly independent coun-

tries, but intensifying neo-colonialist penetration and exploitation and to keep these countries economically backward and weak, subservient to imperialist economy and politically amenable to neo-colonialist influence and pressures.

It is significant, to give one example, that within two years of the reactionary military coup in Indonesia, the junta approved 2,828.3 million U.S. dollars worth of foreign investment.

In Chile, Uruguay, Indonesia, Bangladesh (after reactionary take-over), the process of de-nationalisation was started with doors being made wide open to multinationals. The Gulf Oil Chairman in course of his deposition before the U.S. Senate Committee described their agents in different countries as "door openers" for the multinationals.

Menace of Multinationals

Almost every country, and also the UN and its various agencies, have woken up to the vicious nature and activities of the multinationals. The overwhelming opinion is that they constitute a veritable danger to national sovereignty and economic independence, and that they do not hesitate to adopt any tactics and methods to retain their domination and to ruthlessly remove any obstacle in the way of their profit maximisation.

The developing countries have had enough warning of the industrial and political activities of these giants who are mostly of U.S. origin and wield enormous economic power. Every developing country has its own experience of the obstructionist and subversive role of the multinationals which in collusion with internal reaction, both within and outside the government, impede progressive socio-economic measures and policies for achieving economic independence.

At the height of the national liberation struggle of Angola against the interventionists, the Gulf Oil Corporation withheld payment of oil royalty to the legitimate Government of Angola led by the

MPLA. The recent thrust of the counter-revolutionary elements in collusion with external reactionary forces to overthrow the Government of India, headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was aimed at reversing the progressive policies being pursued of building up a powerful state sector, of non-alignment and anti-imperialism and establishing closer relationship with the Soviet Union and the socialist world. In India, for example, the foreign oil companies, both U.S. and British, fought all along the line against the setting up of the State Sector in the oil industry. In 1960, when the Soviet Union offered crude oil and petroleum products at much cheaper prices than were being charged by the oil multinationals, the latter refused to refine the Soviet crude in their refineries in India and sell the products. They propagated the myth that India had no oil reserves and, therefore, had to depend on the multinational oil cartel. The Nehru Government acted firmly and set up the State sector in oil industry with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. And today the Indian oil industry, its exploration, refining and marketing, is almost entirely in the State sector. Similarly, the drug multinationals refused to lift the imported pharmaceutical raw materials through the State Trading Corporation of India from socialist countries at one tenth of the U.S. prices.

It is the multinationals of U.S., Britain and the FRG in the main, and their military-industrial complex, which continue to flout and subvert the sanctions of the United Nations against the racist regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe, and Namibia. These are regions of fabulous profits created by exploiting fantastically cheap African labour which is deprived of every semblance of democratic and civil liberties.

In the context of building up the military base in Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, which has within its range of electronic surveillance all the sea lanes and the littoral states from the Subic Bay in the East to the Persian Gulf in the West, it should be remembered that direct U.S. investments in the littoral states of the Indian Ocean were estimated at 10,000 million dollars in 1971. The U.S. gets 85 per cent of its natural rubber, and 80 per cent of its tin from Southeast Asia, and 54 per cent of manganese ore, 47 per cent of cobalt, 24 per cent of Chrome and 22 per cent of graphite from Africa.

According to the *New York Times* report of 18 May 1976, U.S. capital investments in the Republic of South Africa are now estimated at 1,500 million dollars. This accounts for 40 per cent of all U.S. investments in Africa. Beginning with 1972, U.S. investments in South Africa have been growing at the rate of 20 per cent a year.

About 30 U.S. monopolies are operating in Namibia by basing themselves in South Africa.

Armaments Manufacturers Lobby

The struggle to stop the arms race and for disarmament is essentially a struggle against the multinational corporations who dominate the armaments industry in the United States. In fact, food and armaments are two largest export earners of the U.S.A. It is not accidental that the two military aircraft manufacturers, Lockheed and Northrop, top the bribe list of U.S. multinationals. The multinationals control half the world trade and the developing countries depend on this trade for four-fifths of their export earnings. During 1966-70 alone, these corporations salted away some 11.5 billion pound sterling from the developing countries. That is half as much again of all the "aid" given to the Third World by the developed capitalist countries over the same period.

That the international cartels and their dominant position in the Third World countries comprise a serious threat to their independent economic development and one of the main obstacles to their economic advance was repeatedly stressed at the Lima meeting of the UN Economic and Social Council's Inter-Governmental Commission on Multinational Corporations (March, 1976).

The international conference convened by the World Peace Council at Toronto, Canada (14-16 November 1975) also called attention to this threat posed by the growing power of the multinational corporations.

The struggle of the developing countries to regain control over their natural resources and to establish a New International Economic Order is essentially a struggle against the predatory role and activities of the multinationals and the states backing them. During the last few years, a series of important meetings of developing countries have highlighted the significance and prospects of this struggle.

The Andean Pact of 1971 between Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador and Columbia constituted an organised revolt in Latin America against the U.S. multinationals.

The Algiers Conference of non-aligned countries in 1973, was a turning point in this worldwide struggle against imperialism, neo-colonial exploitation and the plunder of multinationals.

Algiers Declaration against Multinationals

The Algiers Declaration on multinational corporations said:

"The heads of State denounce before the world public the inadmissible policies of multinational companies, which encroach upon the sovereignty of developing

STRUGGLE AGAINST MULTINATIONALS

countries, and violate principles of non-interference and the right of nations to self-determination, which are the basic conditions for political, economic and social progress in these countries.

"In addition, the Conference recommended a joint action of non-aligned countries in regard to multinational companies within the framework of a global strategy designed to qualitatively modify the system of economic and financial relations which have subordinated our countries to the industrialised countries."

United action of the OPEC countries, above all of the Arab Oil producing countries in October, 1973 is a landmark in the struggle against the multinationals which dealt a telling blow to the oil multinationals, the notorious seven sisters who were so long plundering the oil resources of West Asia. Before this Iraq had nationalised the oil companies in 1972.

The adoption of the Declaration on the establishment of a New International Economic Order in the teeth of violent opposition of the U.S.A., Britain, West Germany and Japan at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly held in April-May, 1974 is the high water mark of the struggle of the developing countries against the rapacious nature of the existing international economic relations suited to neocolonialism and multinational depredations.

The UN Declaration recognises "the right of every country to adopt the economic and social system that it deems to be the most appropriate for its own development and not to be subjected to discrimination of any kind as a result thereof; and to have "full permanent sovereignty over its natural resources and all economic activities. In order to safeguard these resources, each state is entitled to exercise effective control over them and their exploitation with means suitable to its own situation, including the right to nationalisation or transfer of ownership to its nationals, this right being an expression of the full permanent sovereignty of the state. No State may be subjected to economic, political or any other type of coercion to

prevent the free and full exercise of this inalienable right".

The Dakar Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials (February, 1975), and the Havana Declaration (March, 1975) reiterated the determination of the developing countries to defeat the neo-colonialist conspiracies and end the plunder of multinationals.

The developing countries with the consistent support of the socialist countries are battling in the UNCTAD for the last twelve years for evolving concrete measures to protect their interests. The imperialist countries and the multinationals will not easily agree to make changes in the existing pattern of international economic relations and the international division of labour of the colonial era to the detriment of their interests. In fact, the U.S.A. in particular, has made it clear that it rejects the New International Economic Order as envisaged in the UN Declaration. The U.S.A. refuses to accept the sovereign right of the developing states to nationalisation, and to become master of their own resources.

The Kissinger proposal at the Nairobi UNCTAD Conference in May, 1976 is, in fact, a manifesto of neo-colonialism to perpetuate the domination of the multinationals over the resources and economy of the developing countries.

Plunder by Multinationals

Apologists of multinationals try to propagate the theory that these corporations are just economic or industrial organisations, albeit giant, which possess a vast amount of capital to invest and control scientific and technological know-how. And that the developing countries who are short of capital and in need of technical know-how for industrialisation should take advantage of the resources of these corporations instead of railing against them.

Several myths are spread about the global corporations to attract the newly independent states and to tone down their hostility towards these corporations.

According to one such myth, the multinationals are vehicles for transfer of resources to the developing countries who suffer from insufficient accumulation of capital and resources. But the experience of developing countries has revealed the fact that the multinational corporations continue to fatten themselves by draining out the resources of the former by various means so as to keep the developing countries backward and dependent on the imperialist countries.

Against a rate of 7.1 per cent return on capital in Europe, the U.S. multinationals realised in 1970 a rate of return of 34.7 per cent in the countries of Asia and 22.3 per cent in Africa. For every dollar inflow

in the developing countries, they extracted 3.3 dollars in 1970 against 2.4 dollars in 1965. The late President Allende speaking about Chile had said: "The companies who became proprietors of our copper—considered generously—invested more or less 15 to 18 million dollars fifty years ago and they have taken away in this period about 4,500 million dollars."

He further said: "...while throughout the world these great consortiums have taken an average profit of not more than 7 or 9 per cent, in our country and at different times these figures reached an incredible profit of 60 per cent, 70 per cent and 190 per cent."

Industrially developed nations, according to Mexican economists, repatriated from developing nations profits amounting to 22 billion dollars during 1965-70, twice as large as their promised overall assistance to developing countries during the entire development decade 1960-70.

Besides draining out resources by way of profits, royalties, technical fees etc., the multinationals also manipulate prices. In this regard the Reserve Bank of India in a study of foreign companies operating in India observed:

"The factor of pricing of imports also brings forth the question of overcharging the price of machinery and materials sold by the foreign collaborator from sources indicated by him. There are reported to be instances where prices of certain materials charged by foreign collaborators were 10 to 15 per cent (and in some cases even 30 per cent) higher than those of goods available in alternate markets. Restrictions put by the collaborator on the sources of supply of goods imported by the Indian counterpart gives the former monopolistic rights of selling his own products on which he can charge higher prices than those in other markets."

The other myth peddled about is that along with the multinationals will come modern technology to the developing countries. The research and development of technology of the multinationals are highly centralised and concentrated in a handful of multinationals. Besides, technology is a tool against competitors and for reaping superprofits. The ILO Director-General's Report to the World Employment Conference in Geneva in June, 1976, admitted that "...very few of the applied research and development activities of the multinational enterprises have been undertaken in the developing countries. In 1966 only 6 per cent of the total research and development expenditure of American multinational enterprises in the manufacturing sector took place abroad. And of this, the amount done in subsidiaries in developing countries was negligible."

The developing countries are used for

dumping obsolete machinery and outdated technology, and harmful processes of production, particularly those creating pollution, and that too at high cost, causing repeated breakdowns and disruption of production and economy.

For example, in India, while examining the operations of the giant U.S. multinational, IBM, the Indian Parliamentary Committee observed recently that although IBM, ICL and ICIM have been operating in a field of highly sophisticated technology, they have almost made no contribution in developing and disseminating this technology within the country. According to the Committee, "obsolete equipment in developed countries provides a very profitable source of revenues to IBM for use as rental machines in countries like India".

Exploitation of Cheap Labour

The basic aim of multinationals either in the developed or developing countries is not to create more employment. They move their capital and production units from one country to another in search of cheap labour, raw materials and lucrative markets to maximise profits. Because of mobility of capital in search of higher and higher profits, even whatever employment is created proves to be unstable and uncertain.

While, on the one hand, direct foreign investments have increased by more than six-fold in Hongkong, seventeen-fold in South Korea, three-fold in Malaysia, about four-fold in Singapore and six-fold in Taiwan between 1967 and 1972, average hourly earnings of labour say, in Hongkong and Taiwan, are one-twelfth and one-eighteenth respectively of the U.S. wages in the same electronics industry. Other industries too offer the same position. Compared to Japan, the wage level in South Korea is only 20 per cent, in Thailand 38 per cent, in Philippines 42 per cent.

The multinationals in the name of recycling the so-called petro-dollars mounted pressure to get the enhanced revenue out of increased oil price back to their coffers by means of selling armaments, or by investment in the U.S.A. and other developed capitalist countries, in the big monopoly concerns and in other direct and indirect ways. That they have been to a great extent successful, with the exception of countries like Iraq, cannot be gainsaid.

The unity and solidarity of the developing countries is an important factor in the struggle for establishing the New International Economic Order and for internal socio-economic development. These countries have to be vigilant in face of increasing hostility of the imperialist countries, especially the U.S.A., which have set before themselves the sole aim of dividing the Third World countries and disrupting their unity.

Multinationals: A New Stage of Imperialist Monopoly Concentration

Emil Bjarnason

REPETITION has made it almost trite to point out that the international sales totals of multinational corporations exceed the gross national product of most countries. To say this is to recognize that the multinational corporation is the major economic force in the imperialist world, but without analysis of its specific features, the statement is more or less meaningless.

The growth of multinationals is important because they represent a new stage of imperialist monopoly development transcending national boundaries and in many ways circumventing the sovereignty of the countries in which they do business. The century old dictum that capital has no fatherland takes on new meaning.

There are well established multinational corporations based in England, West Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Canada, Japan and other countries. Some of these, such as Royal Dutch Shell, Lever Brothers, Mitsubishi, Alcan, are long established and among the giants of international monopoly capital. Yet the overwhelming majority of international corporate monopolies are United States-based and controlled.

It would be semantic inversion, however, to regard these international bearers of capital as instruments of U.S. imperialism. They are U.S. imperialism.

United States government statistics provide detailed information on the operations of some 300 multinational corporations, accounting among them for approximately 70 per cent of the total business done by all U.S. multinational corporations. (All statistics mentioned in this article are derived from U.S. Government "Survey of Current Business").

Export of Capital

In 1970, this partial list of U.S.-owned MNCs accounted for total world-wide sales of \$ 424 billion. Allowing, therefore, for the remaining 30 per cent not included in the statistics, total U.S. MNC sales obviously exceeded the GNP of either the Federal Republic of Germany or Japan and equalled half the GNP of the United States itself. (This does not mean that half the U.S. GNP is accounted for by MNC's. About one quarter of the total worldwide sales were made by foreign subsidiaries. In addition, sales by the parent companies themselves would include duplications, that is sales among themselves).

In 1970, about three quarters of the worldwide sales of U.S. multinationals was sold in the United States market. The bulk of the remaining quarter was sold by their foreign subsidiaries in the countries in which they were incorporated—an indication of the extent to which the export of capital has replaced the export of goods.

Multinational corporate business has expanded at an extraordinary rate in recent years. This may be seen from the sales of the foreign-owned subsidiaries, called Majority-owned Foreign Affiliates of U.S. MNC's (MOFA's):

Total Sales by Majority-owned Foreign Affiliates of U.S. MNC's

| | |
|------|-----------------|
| 1966 | \$ 98 billions |
| 1972 | \$ 211 billions |
| 1973 | \$ 292 billions |

Such sales have thus been growing at 17 per cent per year compounded, since 1966, and at 32 per cent in 1973 alone. This is, of course, far greater than the growth rate of economic activity as a whole and indicates the very rapid rate at which this group of U.S.-based monopolies is expanding its control over the international economy.

While international investment proceeds from many motives, including access to raw materials, protection of market positions, etc., the main stimulus is the search for high rates of profits. In accordance with the principle of the falling tendency of the rate of profit, returns on investment tend to fall in industrially mature countries. It is, therefore, more profitable to direct investments to less developed, and preferably underdeveloped areas.

This is clearly demonstrated by the published returns earned by the multinationals in 1970:

Percentage Net Profit after Tax

| | On Net Worth per cent | On Total Assets per cent |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| All U.S. Manufg. Companies | 7.1 | |
| U.S. MNC | | |
| Parent Companies | 8.8 | 5.3 |
| Foreign Subsidiaries of U.S. MNC's | 17.1 | 7.1 |
| Including: | | |
| Canada | | 4.8 |

| | |
|---------------|------|
| Latin America | 7.2 |
| Venezuela | 14.1 |
| Libya | 20.4 |
| Middle East | 58.5 |

Thus, a given investment in the Middle East produced more than ten times as high a return as the same investment in the U.S.A. itself.

It is this search for profit, and not any patriotic desire to fill the needs of the U.S. economy, that motivates foreign investment. Thus U.S. subsidiaries in the Middle East, mainly oil companies, grossed \$ 22 billions in sales in 1973. Of this total, only \$ 2 billions represented shipments to the U.S.A. The other \$ 20 billions represented mainly sales of oil by U.S. subsidiaries in the Middle East to consumers in Europe and elsewhere. The 58 per cent rate of profit on this business is sufficient commentary on the notion that it was the OPEC governments who were responsible for the oil price crisis.

Penetration of Canada

U.S. multinational corporate monopoly is an international phenomenon, leaving unaffected no part of the world except the socialist countries.

Nevertheless, the penetration of Canada by these corporations is altogether unique. In 1973, Canada's Gross National Product was \$ 117 billions, and total sales of Canadian subsidiaries of U.S.-owned multinationals was \$ 56.5 billions. Thus, while the domestic sales of U.S. multinationals within the U.S. amounted to about one third of the U.S. GNP, (this does not contradict the previous estimate that world-wide sales of U.S. multinationals equalled half the U.S. GNP) the sales of their Canadian subsidiaries amounted to one half of the Canadian GNP. This is a vast intensification of the situation fifteen years ago, when the then Governor of the Bank of Canada, James Coyne, asserted that no other politically independent country had ever been dominated economically to one half or even one quarter the extent that Canada was then dominated by the U.S.

At the same time, it should not be imagined that the exploitation of Canada by the U.S. multinationals is a one-way process. There is a substantial number of Canadian-based multinationals, some of which rank high in the hierarchy of international corporations. Companies such as

Falconbridge, Inco, for the CPR, Alcan, the Royal Bank, MacMillan Bloedel and many others, are notorious for their exploitation of under-developed countries, particularly in Africa and Latin America. Interestingly, a high proportion of Canadian multinational investment is in the U.S.A. Another aspect of the situation is that some, but by no means all, Canadian multinationals are themselves controlled by U.S. capital.

Implications of MNC operations

It is apparent that the international character of the multinational corporations enables them to exercise a high degree of independence of the state, including the state in which their controlling centres are domiciled. In the case of subsidiaries, such independence may even encroach on the sovereignty of the host countries.

Since the typical MNC maintains parallel or vertically integrated operations in many countries, it enjoys the possibility of circumventing the policies and laws of its host countries. An obvious example is the manipulation of "transfer prices". Since much of a subsidiary's or parent company's "cost" will consist of imports purchased from related members of the MNC's international family of companies, it is a relatively simple matter to adjust the transfer price in such a manner that the bulk of profit will accrue to the subsidiary in the country where the tax is lowest. Similarly, the existence of parallel facilities in numerous countries can frustrate national regulatory laws by switching operations from one country to another.

The attempt by a government to control prices is a case in point. When the Nixon government imposed a price freeze in 1971, it soon became virtually impossible to buy American made lumber in the American market. U.S. consumers, however, were able to buy any amount of imported (and therefore uncontrolled) Canadian lumber at double the controlled price. The "Cana-

dian" companies supplying the lumber were, for the most part, wholly owned subsidiaries of the U.S. parent companies who were suddenly unable to supply U.S.-produced lumber.

The percentage importance of MNC imports in U.S. consumption is not sufficient to defeat price control in general, although it may have significant effects in individual areas such as lumber or oil. In the case of Canada, however, the likelihood of the present price control regulations being effective must be judged in the light of the fact that approximately half of all material goods consumed in Canada are imported, and that a huge proportion of Canadian imports consists of transfers between foreign parent companies and Canadian subsidiaries.

Canada's incomes policy could, therefore, prove a bonanza for the multinationals. Their Canadian branches, in export industries, can take full advantage of rising world prices, while their employees' wages are prevented from rising. At the same time, those branches which are importers can pass on to Canadian consumers whatever price increases the MNC's may impose from outside the country.

Destabilisation Pressures

The operations of the MNC's also lie at the heart of the international monetary crisis. In the past decade, the international monetary system has been subjected to increasing destabilising pressures from the huge accumulations of the United States dollars, in Europe and elsewhere, resulting from twenty years of U.S. overspending on military adventures, subsidisation of comprador governments and foreign investment.

A huge part of this "foreign" holding of U.S. dollars was, in fact, in the hands of foreign subsidiaries of United States MNC's. These were in a position to transfer billions of dollars, almost instantane-

ously, from one country to another to take advantage of fluctuating interest rates, in their unceasing search for maximum rates of returns. Thus any government which sought to stem inflation by a "tight money" policy with its accompanying high interest rates was instantaneously faced with inflationary inflows of Eurodollars. The resulting wild swings of inflation, balance of payments, exchange rates, etc. played a major role in making the Bretton Woods monetary system finally unworkable.

During the immediate postwar period, up to and including most of the decade of the sixties, the capitalist economy was to a large degree stabilised by the operation of Keynesian, state monopoly regulation of the economy. It was during this same period, however, that accelerated export of capital led to the present overwhelming dominance of the MNC's and consequently to the internationalisation of contradictions. National economic policies, Keynesian or otherwise, will therefore no longer cope with contradictions which have assumed an international scale, and there is, accordingly, little prospect that state monopoly capitalism can resume that relatively stable growth conditions of the fifties and sixties.

To sum up, multinational corporations are the concrete expression of the export of capital, a fundamental aspect of imperialism. Their overwhelming dominance, not only in international trade, but also in the internal economy of capitalist states, puts a period to the era in which state monopoly capitalism could operate through national economic regulation to stabilize the capitalist economy. Their international operations in search of the maximum profit serve to destabilize both the national and the international economic order and to bring closer the day when such a system becomes totally unworkable.

STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

STRUGGLE

for Peace and Development is Interlinked.

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

have to face challenges from various kinds of neo-colonialism, including activities of multinational corporations.

WORLD PUBLIC OPINION

must be mobilised for the struggle for a New International Economic Order.

WAYS AND MEANS

for achieving Development include decisive role of profound socio-economic domestic transformations (nationalisation, industrialisation, land reform).

Extracts from the Documents of the
"World Conference on Development"
- Budapest - October, 1976



SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

Isolate Racist Vorster Regime

O. R. Tambo

ONCE again, on 16 June 1976, in the Johannesburg African township of Soweto, the militant opposition of the people to centuries of oppression, broke out into the open to the resonant battle cry: "Amandla ngawethu - Power to the people!!"

The world has since watched with horror as that noble effort was mercilessly drowned in blood by the oppressor gendarmes of the fascist regime of white minority rule.

After all, the chief of the gendarmerie himself, B J Vorster, had ordered that his security forces should "use all means at their disposal" and "act without regard to persons".

The African National Congress of South Africa dips its revolutionary banner in respectful memory of the brave youth and other patriots of the heroic uprising in Soweto and elsewhere in our country.

The militant battle-cry of those whose mighty heartbeats have been silenced by the guns of the fascist brutes still resound throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. That battle-cry is a rallying call to the millions of the black oppressed to join the ranks of the invincible revolution.

Indeed, the next of kin of those who fell and went to sleep forever should, together with all the oppressed people, draw comfort and inspiration from the fact that the price they paid is an immortal contribution to our noble cause for freedom and human dignity.

Their names have entered into the register of revolutionary martyrs who have, in the course of our protracted and bitter struggle, laid down their lives rather than submit to slavery and tyranny.

Basic Question of Power

The June uprising in our country posed once more, in action, the central question

of our struggle, the question of the transference of political power from the fascist and racist minority to the democratic and anti-racist majority.

Even as the students took to the streets to demonstrate against the imposition of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in African schools, Vorster knew that the question of power had once again been brought out into the fore.

To challenge the imposition of Afrikaans was to challenge also the imposition on the black majority against its express will, of the Bantustans, slave wages, the pass laws, landlessness, votelessness etc., by the White minority.

The students were defending and advancing the positions of the liberation movement of our country, for a democratic, progressive and humane educational system in a democratic, progressive and humane South Africa.

That is why the blood-thirsty Vorster regime had to confront unarmed children with the most deadly weapons that French, Belgian, British, U.S., Israeli and South African industry could produce.

Vorster's infamous and criminal call for "the maintenance of law and order at all costs", on which the police generals of the racist regime base their moral authority for the cold-blooded murder of our children, was but a natural reaction as far as the fascist White minority regime is concerned.

For, indeed, it has set itself the task to maintain for ever the racist laws, to defend unbendingly the fascist order.

The cost is writ large in the unknown hundreds who have been wounded in Soweto, Alexandra, Tembisa, Mabopane and elsewhere.

It is writ large also in the hundreds of others who have died at the hands of successive apartheid regimes, Joseph Mdluli

in Durban in March, the 12 martyrs of Carletonville in 1973, the 69 assassinated at Sharpeville in 1960, the 18 patriots shot down in Alexandra Township in 1950—the list is long and gruesome.

It encompasses all the millions who have perished at the point of a gun or under the whip of a white farmer; those who have been recklessly sacrificed in the search for gold in the bowels of the earth; those who have been starved to death while they were still infants or diseased prematurely into their graves.

The history of the colonisation of our people is a history written in the blood of these Black millions. The colonial system of apartheid was born dripping with the blood of our people. Its perpetuation demands that it must suck even more of the blood of our people.

Increased Repression and Persecution

Even now it should be expected that the Vorster regime will intensify the repression and persecution of the patriots of our country. Already hundreds of people have been jailed. Once again the numbers of those rotting in Vorster's jails will swell dramatically.

The June uprising itself was preceded by a sharp wave of repression directed against the African National Congress and other democratic forces. Other stalwarts of our movement have fallen victim to the current wave of arrests. Others like Joseph Mdluli have been murdered. The racist Minister of Justice has admitted that more than 90 detainees died in 1975 alone.

So long as the regime of White minority domination exists, so long will there be massacres of the oppressed and struggling people. For, the regime draws its authority to rule our country solely from the guns it has accumulated.

When the peaceful demonstration of the children was put down by force of arms, the mass of our people joined together in



A Cuban cartoonist's view of the rising tide of struggle in South Africa against Apartheid and for national liberation.

Granma (Cuba)



One among the hundreds killed in South Africa



A Soweto schoolboy killed by bullets of the fascist police in South Africa being carried home by his father

a veritable uprising. With stones and simple weapons, they tried to defend themselves from and destroy the fascist monster that had murdered the youth of our country.

For the Bantustan leaders to have called on the people to "remain calm" was an act of treachery. They once again exposed themselves as the representatives of the oppressor regime among the ranks of the oppressed people.

The discussions that have taken place between the Vorster regime and representatives of the so-called Urban Bantu Councils will solve nothing.

The African National Congress equally rejects the decision of the White "parliament" to set up a "commission of enquiry" into the June uprising.

This is only a ploy through which the racist regime hopes to buy time for itself. In the end, the outcome will be that the commission will condemn the people for having struggled at all. By its praise, it will give further encouragement to the brutal security forces to commit yet more outrages in the future.

On this score, we can have no illusions. No commissions of enquiry, no meetings between Vorster and "Bantu representatives" or the U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger will solve the fundamental issue facing all the people of our country—the transfer of political power from the minority to the majority. Rather, the opposite is indicated.

Yet, the June uprising showed practically that the people as a whole, both Black and White, reject the White minority regime.

The will of the people has been expressed in no uncertain terms in the streets of Soweto and elsewhere. It is the task of the African National Congress to ensure that that will triumph, that the June uprising is continued to its successful conclusion.

As we have said before, we have only one task at hand. That task is the seizure of power together with and in the name of the oppressed and democratic majority.

Our experience had clearly demonstrated that the counter-revolutionary violence of the racist regime will never deter the people from following the path of revolutionary struggle. Such is the position even today.

Our victory is, therefore, more imminent today than it has ever been in the past. Many years of unceasing work inside the country by the African National Congress and other democratic forces have made this possible.

The independence of Mozambique and Angola, under Frelimo and the MPLA respectively, and other changes in Africa and the world have also contributed decisively to this process.

In this situation, the African National Congress has, therefore, decided further to redouble its efforts to overthrow the hated apartheid regime.

We are entering a very difficult period in our history. Many more of our people will be called upon to make the supreme sacrifice. The enemy himself will throw in everything he has in order to ensure our destruction. Victory, however, is certain.

There is only one solution of the South African problem available to us and the

rest of humanity. That is the seizure of power by the oppressed and democratic majority through armed revolutionary struggle.

We call on the peoples of the world to redouble their support for our movement and our cause. We address this call to all those friends of our revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the socialist countries and democratic forces in the imperialist world who have stood with us even when our task seemed hopeless to some. We address it also to all those who were misled by Vorster's propaganda into believing that any other solution was possible.

The need is ever more pressing that the Vorster regime be completely isolated internationally. The Security Council has just reaffirmed that apartheid constitutes a crime against humanity.

It is the urgent task of democratic humanity to bring to book the international collaborators of the criminal Vorster regime. All effort must go towards forcing the governments and the multinational corporations of Western Europe, North America and Japan to break their ties with racist South Africa.

The international campaign for the unconditional release of the political prisoners must be infused with a new vigour and a sense of urgency.

All steps should be taken to defeat the lying propaganda of the Vorster regime. Together with this, we must thwart the efforts of this regime to gain international acceptance for the perfidious Bantustan programme and its puppet spokesmen.

Soweto: New Phase of Struggle in South Africa

Joe Zulu

JIMMY Kruger, the Minister of Justice of South Africa, stated two days after the killings in Soweto, "accept the good faith of the Whites". This call to the Blacks clearly demonstrates the totally hypocritical and arrogant attitude of the racist South African regime towards the oppressed Black majority. The language issue, which was the immediate catalyst for the violence, is a classic example of why Blacks cannot and do not have faith in White authority. On the contrary, every action, every move by the government or its officials is received with suspicion. This, of course, is not at all surprising—in all the decades of oppression and exploitation there is not one single example of "good faith of the Whites" irrespective of which particular White political party was in power.

The strikes in Soweto and their aftermath have made headlines internationally and have sharply re-focused attention on the repressive South African system. But they are only a culmination of a situation which has been developing for the past three or four years. It is a situation of increasing militancy, of a developing sense of Black dignity and pride, of a willingness to confront authority and make demands, of a growing unity of purpose, of a growing confidence in the ability of Blacks to achieve liberation and the need to fight for it.

The reasons for this developing situation are manifold and interlinked. We can only briefly touch on some of them here and even then with a rider that they be not looked upon as separate and isolated incidents but part of a pattern and a continuing process.

The broad, general features of racism in South Africa, of White minority oppression and exploitation of a totally alienated Black majority, is well-known. Abysmal poverty and hunger due to subsistence wages, separation of families, of husbands from wives, of children from parents, under the notorious Pass Laws, unemployment

and deprivation of skills under restrictive labour legislation, slum housing of millions of Blacks in peri-urban ghettos, the continual affront to the dignity of Blacks by the use of derogatory language, for example, "Kaffir", "Boy", "Cannibals", etc., the overwhelming violence of the state in the manner in which officials, especially the police, raid homes without warrants and with no respect for privacy or decency, the beating up of Blacks at the slightest or no excuse, the lack of health facilities, recreational amenities and adequate schooling, the confining of millions of Blacks in impoverished, barren, rural areas ("reservos") from whence they may only leave with the permission of authority, above all the total denial of even the most elementary human rights. This is the ugly face of apartheid South Africa. Blacks have always fought to overthrow this system and the last fifty years have been years of continual struggle, protests, demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, etc. More recently the struggle has become sharper and assumed greater militancy.

Growing Militancy of Masses

The underground African National Congress inside South Africa and its external wing has played an important role in the growing militancy of the masses of the people. The ANC has called upon the people to organise and prepare for armed struggle in various ways, including, radio broadcasts, "illegal" pamphlet distribution, underground newspapers, word of mouth propaganda and so on. Not without reason did the racist regime attribute the strikes in Soweto to the work of the ANC. It is noteworthy that the marchers and strikers used the slogans and the clenched fist salute of the ANC.

The past few years have also seen the growth of the Black consciousness movement, embodied in the Black Peoples' Convention and the South African Students Organisation. The major impetus in these

organisations has been the Youth who totally reject White authority and call for self-reliance, dignity and pride in Blackness. Their outspokenness, courage and militancy, their contempt for White authority, their lack of fear of arrest, imprisonment and death, their placing of liberation before education has had an inspiring impact on urban Black workers who now increasingly use the strike weapon to make their demands and protests despite the fact that strikes by Black workers are illegal.

The independence of Mozambique has acted as a pointed example. It demonstrated the successful outcome of the Black Armed Struggle against an apparently stronger, oppressive, imperialist power which was supported not only by international imperialism but also by white South Africa. The fact that revolutionary Mozambique borders on South Africa and that it has come out firmly on the side of the Black oppressed has turned men's mind to the thought that logistics and supply are now soluble problems.

The independence of Mozambique sparked off meetings and demonstrations of support inside South Africa and Black South Africans now readily shout slogans such as "Viva Frelimo", "A luta continua", etc.

A most significant boost to Black morale was the outcome of the liberation struggle in Angola. Racist South Africa sent in major military forces to intervene in Angola in an attempt to defeat the MPLA. The victory of the MPLA and the withdrawal of the South African armed forces are seen by the Blacks as not only a defeat for white South Africa but also as destroying the myth of the superiority of their armed might. The confusion and uncertainty of the White population with regard to South Africa's involvement and withdrawal from Angola has further enhanced the confidence of the Black majority.

The armed struggle in Zimbabwe and the Smith regime's inability to come to grips with the freedom-fighters is another example to the Blacks. The killing of South African Whites by the freedom-fighters and the South African Government's unwillingness to get involved on the side of Smith is seen, *inter alia*, as a sign of uncertainty and weakness, as a sign of fear of stretching the armed forces too much. The attempt to loist a lukewarm, reformist tribal-racist constitution on Namibia in the face of SWAPO's increasing militancy and strength is seen as another example of the same fearful attitude of racist South Africa.

"Black grievances build up from early childhood. They take shape in resentment—and occasional violence—in high school years."

Thus wrote the Johannesburg "Sunday Times" in an editorial on 13 June 1976. Three days later violence erupted in Soweto and it was the very high school youth who were the backbone of the uprising. The violence spread like wildfire to Alexandra, Pretoria, Krugersdorp, to the whole of the Witwatersrand, to Natal and the Cape. Hundreds have died, thousands have been injured and as we write this, two months later, there is still no end in sight.

The immediate catalyst was the attempt by the Bantu Education Authority to insist early this year that both Afrikaans and English be used as medium of instruction in African schools. Black teachers, parents and educationists protested against this on the ground that it would be too burdensome for the children and that there were not enough teachers qualified to teach in Afrikaans. The protests were ignored.

Representations were made to the Minister of Bantu Education, deputations (led by government-approved Blacks) went to the Department of Bantu Education. They were ignored. Several township school boards, who defied the order to use Afrikaans, were dismissed. From 17 May 1976 until just before the violence on 16 June 1976, over seven schools with more than 7,000 students went on strike. This militant protest was also ignored. Forty-eight hours before the violence Leonard Masala, an Urban Bantu Councillor, warned of another Sharpeville (1960) when 156 Blacks were shot at by police if the matter was not resolved urgently. He, too, was ignored.

Yet, two days AFTER the violence had erupted, the racist Minister of Justice had the temerity to call upon the Black People to "accept the good faith of the Whites". Well, may one ask, 'what good faith?'

"A Bloody Nightmare"

The insistence by the government on imposing Afrikaans as a medium of instruction resulted in increasing stubbornness on the part of the students who regard it as the language of the oppressor.

On the morning of 16 June 1976, 10,000 students began a march from Soweto in the direction of Johannesburg. Their purpose was to lodge their personal, direct protest against the use of Afrikaans. Their march began peacefully and the students were laughing and joking. On the way they were stopped by a large force of police on foot and in vehicles with guns at the ready. When the students saw the guns they tried to turn back but were surrounded by the police, and teargassed. They began throwing stones at the police, shots were fired and a 13-year old child lay dead. This angered the students who again and again attempted to get past the police, contemptuous of the guns, and each time more

of them were shot. A peaceful march had turned into a bloody nightmare created entirely by the callousness of authority.

Within a short time the violence spread throughout the Rand, Alexandria, Carletonville, Pretoria, Krugersdorp, Witbank, Middleburg, etc. Students at the universities of Turfloop and Zululand rioted and the universities were closed. Ninety-one Indian and African medical students were arrested for demonstrating. Students at the Coloured University of the Cape went on strike. A second wave of strikes struck two weeks later and as we write violence has erupted in several townships in Cape Town adding their bloody quota of the dead and injured.

The targets of attack in almost every instance were official buildings and institutions and the homes and shops of government stooges. Bantu Affairs Department offices, Urban Bantu Council offices, hostels, schools, banks, post offices, libraries were targets. Police and Bantu Affairs Department vehicles were stoned and burned as well as PUTCO Buses. The demonstrators sang, "Nkosi Sikelele Afrika" and chanted "Amandla" (Power) and "Izwe Lethu" (Our Land). This clearly shows the political nature of the people's action and their recognition of what are enemy targets. The demonstrators also attempted on several occasions to march into White areas and the police were equally determined to prevent this—a recognition by both sides that the police would find it difficult to shoot wildly if this were to happen, as well as the impact and dangers it might have for the White population.

Where warnings, appeals and protest failed, violence succeeded. Shortly after the uprising began, the authorities suspended the introduction of Afrikaans in African schools. Who is to deny the logic that in the face of the violence of the racist state, the only successful counter is the people's violence?

New Mood of Militancy

The strikes have sharply drawn attention to the new mood of militancy among the Black oppressed. The youth in particular, to whom the future belongs, have demonstrated their willingness to defy authority, to confront the police directly, to show contempt for death rather than live on their knees. It is these very youths who will be called upon to fight with weapons in their hands and they have militantly shown their readiness to fight. South Africa will not be the same again.

Like all morally bankrupt rulers, the racist regime can only see a solution in more violence and repression. Despite the fact that there are several preventive detention acts on the statute book, another was added to the roster shortly after the

strikes began. Hundreds of students, journalists and others, including Africans, Indians, as also coloureds, have been detained in the wake of the strikes. The conditions of detention may be gauged by the fact that one Black student leader has already died within a month of detention. As in many such cases, the authorities claim that he committed suicide.

As the strikes spread to other parts of the country, officialdom continued to see the bullet as the only answer.

Armed Struggle in S.A.

Given the arrogance, ineptitude and ignorance of the rulers and considering the militancy, determination and contempt of authority on the part of the Black masses, South Africa is in for a permanent period of unrest, war and bloodshed. The inevitable outcome of this will be Black majority rule. The Whites are aware of it and are becoming increasingly fearful, but like all ruling classes are unable and unwilling to bring about meaningful change. This negative attitude is due to their inherent self-interest and the profits they get from the system. Apartheid is synonymous with profit in South Africa and the one cannot be dismantled while the other remains intact.

The fight for liberation is on the verge of a qualitatively new phase. In the near future, an organised armed struggle led by the ANC will break out within South Africa. This is inevitable and imminent given the militant mood of the masses and the intensified work of the ANC which has reached a high degree of preparedness and organisation. We cannot go into details here. It is obvious that the rulers see in the increased armed repression as the only method of coping with this development.

The alternative of African majority rule is beyond their comprehension. Their attempt to bring about reforms which leave the basic structure unchanged have no meaning in the South African context.

Shortly the seeds of an armed struggle will be sown inside South Africa. They will find fertile soil among the Black masses. One cannot prophesy the stage by stage development of the armed struggle, for South Africa has a highly organised economy with sophisticated lines of communication, large factories and mines with the most modern machinery, all wholly dependent on Black labour. Aware of the sensitive nature of the economy, the racist regime will turn to more and more brutal methods of repression to prevent the seeds from germinating. Yet, as the present strikes have shown, it is impossible to turn back the tide though they may succeed in prolonging their tenure by harsh methods and indiscriminate killings.

FROM the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean, along the Iranian coast are scattered some thirty military bases and centres, the most important being CHAH BAHAR, KHARG, and BANDAR ABBAS. In 1972, the estimated cost of building the installations for the three bases amounted to 600 million dollars for one, and 200 million dollars for the other two. But now the total figure for these bases has come to over 2,000 million dollars.

These three strategic bases constitute a complex able to receive Polaris submarines with nuclear warheads and missiles, aircraft-carriers, a squadron of strategic bombers, the most powerful fleet ever to belong to a NATO member, with the exception of the U.S.A.

More bases are being built inside the country, including the one close to the sacred city of GHUM, which is supposed to be exclusively for nuclear missiles. This base is situated only a few hundred kilometres from the Soviet border, and has been employing some eight hundred U.S. personnel.

The Pentagon has an important monitoring station on the island of Abou Noussef (one of the three islands in the Persian Gulf occupied by Iran in November, 1971).

Espionage against USSR

The U.S. journalist, Jack Anderson, has declared that Teheran was going to allow the CIA to carry out spying activities against the USSR from its territory.

It has been planned to set up anti-aircraft missile installations along the southern coast of Iran and in the oil region. With this in view, Britain has agreed to supply 1,000 "Rapier" anti-aircraft missiles to Iran.

In 1974-75, the Shah's regime spent more than 8,000 million dollars on arms from the U.S.A., Britain, France and a few other imperialist countries. The West European countries have only cornered rather a small part of the Iranian military market. Among them, Great Britain comes first, followed by France and Italy. One hundred Hoverat and 1,000 missiles have been ordered from Britain. The 760 "Chieftains" which were ordered have been delivered to Iran, but due to some technical defect, Iran has ordered 1,200 more. The British Defence Secretary announced recently that new models of Chieftain tanks were going to be produced for Iran.

Out of the 36,000 million dollar budget for 1975-76, 10,000 million dollars have been earmarked for defence. Between 1973 and 1975, Teheran ordered sophisticated equipment from the U.S.A., amounting to almost 10,000 million dollars. According to U.S. officials, "Iran has bought every-

ASIA



Iran's Militarisation Threatens Peace in the Region

Ahmed Anzari

thing but the atomic bomb" ("Le Monde Diplomatique", May, 1975).

In the year, 1974-75, among the clients who bought arms from the United States, Iran and Saudi Arabia came first, representing together 41.44 per cent of the total amount of U.S. sales (9,511 million dollars).

Iran exchanges oil for arms supplied by large U.S. companies. A U.S. spokesman declared that this exchange implied buying General Dynamics 300 F-16 fighter bombers, 200 F-1 aircraft and a few more Boeings.

U.S. Senate Report

According to a report by the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate, published on 1 August 1976 in Washington, DC, the sale of U.S. arms to Iran has amounted to 10,000 million dollars since 1972, and the United States has become the principal supplier of arms to Teheran in all fields. The report similarly indicates that the U.S. civil and military personnel

in Iran have increased from 16,000 in 1972 to 24,000, and that by 1980 the figure could reach 60,000 or more if the current flow of stockpiling of arms continues. The report goes on to say that Iran has neither the personnel nor the industrial and technical capacity to use and maintain highly sophisticated military equipment, hence the necessity of sending an increasing number of U.S. technicians to Iran. Arms sales are reaching new alarming levels, according to the report, and the presence of U.S. technicians in Iran could create a potentially dangerous situation. In the case of a military crisis, "American personnel in Iran could be used as hostages".

The report cited, as an example, the possible use of U.S. arms in the eventuality of an Iranian intervention on the occasion of a new conflict between India and Pakistan.

Commenting on this report, Senator Hubert Humphrey stated: "There are good reasons to believe that the President and the Secretary of State are not fully aware of the considerable implications as regards the foreign policy of American-Iranian military relations".

These arms sales went up again in May, 1972 when Nixon, then U.S. President, in direct collaboration with his chief adviser Henry Kissinger, signed a secret agreement with Iran. It gave the Shah the assurance that the United States was ready to sell Iran "virtually all the conventional arms" that the country wanted.

Despite Senate criticism of the increasing volume of U.S. military supplies to Iran, Henry Kissinger visited the Shah in Teheran on 7 May 1976 and agreed to sell him about 15,000 million dollars worth of additional U.S. arms in the next five years.

According to Kissinger, an agreement covering the sale of 6 or 8 U.S. nuclear reactors to Iran will be concluded soon.

Interviewed in Teheran by journalists, the U.S. Secretary of State said that the sale of U.S. arms to Iran was essential to the security of the United States, to the stability of the region, and to maintain the balance of power with the Soviet Union. He went on to say that "Iran's effort for self-defence is very much in the interests of the United States, and is not a favour we are granting Iran".

Two days later, General Toufanian, Chief of Ordnance of the Iranian army, went to London to buy arms worth over 2,500 million dollars.

Thus, in one week alone, the Shah bought 17,000 million dollars worth of arms for the next five years, through draining Iran's petroleum resources.

Iran's Expansionist Aims

These millions of dollars which come

from the exploitation of the people and their resources are sunk into armaments. It is part of the arms suppliers' conspiracy; the money is not really being spent to ensure Iran's defence against a possible aggressor. No neighbour is threatening Iran. The actual reason for such a policy of over-armament is that it responds to imperialist interests and to the Shah's expansionist schemes.

The strategic naval bases in Iran are similarly envisaged as a means of enabling imperialist air and sea forces, as well as submarines, to step in rapidly and at the right time against the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples in the region.

In this regard, the statement by Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Head of the U.S. Navy operations, is significant:

"In the case of future U.S. military interventions abroad, the technically best equipped bodies, the Air Force and the Navy, will first be called to extend their support to the indigenous armies of our threatened allies."

Everything can be bought with oil revenue, even atomic weapons, but in order to have a modern, super-equipped army (250,000 soldiers and 70,000 gendarmes), it is imperative to train efficient cadres, technicians and officials.

Let us know what the Shah had to say some time ago at Teheran's War Academy: "The lack of experienced military cadres is the only obstacle to the militarisation of Iran. Rest assured that as quickly as you can form cadres from the armed forces, we will deliver arms, and the best..."

Three thousand Iranian soldiers will receive training at military bases in the United States. There were more Iranian military trainees receiving instruction in the U.S.A. in 1976 than from any other country. The Iranian regime is also making great efforts to train military cadres in Iran. In 1974, there were 7,200 students in military schools. This figure increased by 20 per cent in 1975.

In the establishments for higher education, discussions have taken place in order to provide up to 15,000 places reserved for the first-year students to the military. Thousands of young military recruits are presently following university courses.

According to the U.S. press, ten years from now Iran will still not have the necessary cadres for its army. The U.S. government is sending thousands of U.S. military personnel to Iran. A thousand U.S. military personnel have been given leave from their official functions in order to serve in the Iranian Army as mercenaries.

The Associated Press correspondent, Hugh Stephenson, has stressed that "a thousand U.S. civil servants, most of them Vietnam veterans, control the largest

helicopter school in the world, in Isfahan, where they teach the Iranians to maintain and pilot their squadron".

At present, 30 U.S. companies are supplying military equipment to Iran, with 3,000 instructors and technicians teaching the handling of sophisticated weaponry to the Iranian armed forces.

When all the orders for military equipment are delivered, Iran will be the biggest military power from the Mediterranean region to the Indian Ocean. It will be placed among the ten major world military powers. This military power is being organised under the direct control of the Pentagon, and has assumed the role of gendarme in accordance with the Nixon doctrine.

The Nixon doctrine states that, from now on, the United States will avoid direct intervention in a limited conflict, the essential role in the field going to their clients. Nixon stated: "We shall provide military and economic assistance asked for by the people concerned, according to the circumstances, but shall expect the nation directly threatened to take its own basic responsibility and provide for its own needs, as far as troops are concerned."

Is Iran Heading towards a Nuclear Military Policy?

ACCORDING to the latest plan of the Iranian government, it has adopted a nuclear programme to generate about 23,000 M.W. of electricity by 1992. There will be twenty nuclear stations, of which eight are to be built by the U.S.A., eight by France, and, at least, two by the Federal Republic of Germany.

A complex of four reactors of 1,000 M.W. capacity, without fuel, and without taking into account the financial expenses, costs at least 6 billion francs (1975: 4.5 francs = 1 dollar).

For this purpose, 100,000 tons of natural uranium will be needed. So an agreement has been reached between Iran and South Africa regarding the supply of 50,000 tons of uranium, at the cost of 10 dollars a pound.

What are Iran's objectives? Are they peaceful or military? Is not Iran's military programme adventurist?

Let us, first, try to examine the economic aspect: Iran has huge stocks of oil. In 1973, the prospected oil stocks were evaluated at over 8.8 billion tons. In 1974, annual oil production reached about 300 million tons. The known gas reserves were estimated at about 7,560,000 million cubic metres, which is higher than the reserves in the United

At the time when the British army was forced to withdraw from the Persian Gulf, Iran took its place.

The U.S. Under-Secretary of State, Joseph J. Sisco, had recalled in this respect: "When the British informed us of their intention to leave the Persian Gulf, we decided to encourage and help the two key countries in this zone, namely, Iran and Saudi Arabia, so that they would be given the possibility of becoming the main elements of stability, progressively as the British departed."

In October, 1971, Iran, Britain and the U.S.A. came to a secret agreement that the Iranian army should become the most powerful in the Middle East, following a four year programme.

In November 1971, only two days before the proclamation of the Federation of the Emirates, the Iranian army took possession of three small islands (Abou-Moussa, and big and small Tumb). Iran is sending arms and military advisers to South Yemen to help the reactionary forces there. It has been involved in all sorts of intrigues in Baluchistan (Pakistan), and the Shah explicitly declared that, if need be, he would occupy Baluchistan.

States, and second only to the USSR. In 1974, annual gas production had reached 50 billion cubic metres. While eighteen billion cubic metres was used or exported, 60 per cent was just flared, that is wasted.

The cost price of petrol for the Iranian government is from 12 to 14 U.S. cents a barrel (in the framework of a true nationalisation). On the other hand, the price of petrol for capitalist Europe or Japan is 120 to 160 times more than the Iranian price. If one takes into account the fact that gas is a free product in Iran, one can better appreciate the potential of our energy resources to produce electricity.

In short, Iran could produce electricity very reasonably for the next 30 to 50 years without having to take recourse to nuclear energy, and without importing uranium. There is no economic reason for Iran to abandon these immense natural energy reserves for the development of the country.

Apraps this very point, the Shah of Iran has shamelessly declared:

"We have decided not to use oil for lighting, heating and providing energy for factories; we must get 23,000 M.W. of electricity as quickly as possible from nuclear energy..."

In December, 1973, Iran intervened militarily in the liberated zone of Dhofar to suppress the revolutionary movement there.

In 1975, there were over 10,000 Iranian soldiers in Oman. Iran also created at one time provocations at the Iraqi border, and gave direct military aid to the right wing of the Kurdish movement, to the extent of sending troops inside Iraqi territory. All these testify to the Shah's expansionist aims.

Iran's Subservience to Pentagon

At the request of the Pentagon and the State Department, the Shah sent 50 F-5A fighters to Saigon in 1972, and recently 24 FSFs to King Hussein of Jordan. The Shah has also sent bombers to Pakistan, Oman, Ethiopia, and probably to North Yemen.

In order to justify the Vietnam expeditions, the Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that according to the agreement signed between Iran and the United States, Iran and the US could make such exchanges. Another provision of the above-mentioned agreement stipulates that the material sold cannot be used without the

consent of the USA. This shows that the links between the Pentagon and the Iranian army are forged in such a way that the Iranian regime can do nothing without the authorisation of the U.S. State Department.

After the Second World War, the Iranian army progressively put itself at the service of the United States by taking the following steps: agreeing to have US military advisers in Iran; joining the Baghdad Pact (later CENTO); entering into a bilateral agreement with the USA (1959); and making the law relating to diplomatic immunity for US military advisers in Iran.

After the *coup d'état* in Iran engineered by the CIA (August 1954), and the restoration of the Shah, who had fled from Iran, to his throne, the USA and the Pentagon managed to acquire a free hand in the internal affairs of Iran, particularly in the Iranian army.

The major characteristics of Iran's warlike policy consist in relying on military power in order to crush the revolutionary movements in the neighbouring areas, seeking supremacy in the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman, resorting to military actions outside Iranian borders, threatening peace and security in the whole region, and build-

ing strategic air and naval bases to enable its imperialist allies to take advantage of them.

In the economic field, Iran systematically follows a policy of integration with the economy of imperialist countries, above all the U.S. economy. It is wasting millions of dollars of the country's oil revenue to buy sophisticated armaments for the greater profit of foreign monopolies.

Inside the country, Iran is developing a policy of terror and repression of unprecedented violence. Fascist methods have officially become government methods.

Iran's domestic policy is to build social life in the country along fascist lines.

Faced with the Shah's dictatorship, the people are reacting and the people's movement is developing against it. The social basis of the Iranian regime is getting narrower. However, the guardian of the *status quo* is assiduously carrying out the strategy of the imperialists, is leading Iranian policy towards the Pentagon adventurist line, and is intensifying the arms race in the neighbouring countries. This is how Iran is threatening the peace of this region.

Accordingly, it has been decided to use all resources to buy arms and to establish nuclear installations. One can easily see that the Shah's choice is not an economic one, it is totally **political** and in accord with the strategy of imperialism.

It is clear that nuclear technology has an important role to play in the development of the country's industries in the long run, but one must ask how, by what means and at what price can Iran bring this programme to fruition? On the world scale, imperialism has picked out certain regimes on which to confer nuclear power, with a view to fighting the socialist camp and the movements of national liberation. We do not know the whole story of the handing over of nuclear technology to South Africa, Israel, Brazil, Iran, South Korea and Japan, but certain disclosures are making the situation clear.

Israel-Iran-South Africa Axis

One can see an axis developing between Israel, Iran and apartheid South Africa with a view to further coordinating their aggressive policy and their economic and energy ties. The warlike policy of these three pillars of imperialism also determines the aim of their nuclear energy programme.

After the discussions between the U.S.A. and Iran about nuclear technology and the purchase of nuclear reactors, the Shah, in an interview with the U.S. journal, "Business Week" (in November, 1975), revealed

his intentions concerning the use of nuclear energy for military purposes.

"The purchase of American reactors has been delayed, as they have asked for guarantees that the reactors will only be used for peaceful ends and not for the production of atomic arms. But we are not in agreement about giving these guarantees. We are an independent country. The French and the Germans would never dare ask such a thing."

It is not by chance that the Shah has declared his intentions regarding the atomic bomb openly. Certain confidential CENTO documents had revealed a long time ago that the Shah already had this idea.

Why this difference between the United States and its partners? The reason is that following the international agreements for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the United States is obliged to appear to be cautious about passing on the secrets of nuclear technology, even to its close allies like Iran.

Faced with US reservations in this field, Iran turned towards other nuclear powers, like France, which have no obligations as regards nuclear non-proliferation.

Other foreign countries are also helping Iran. The West German KWU Society has already begun construction on two nuclear reactors (1,200 MW capacity each) at Bouchehr in the Persian Gulf, and only recently Japan offered to sell nuclear reactors to Iran and to help with research and the finding of suitable technicians. It is the first

time that Japan has agreed to export nuclear reactors.

The authorities in the Iranian regime have shown that the option for nuclear power is a political one. In their research programme, the object is to **treat uranium**. At the moment, the uranium retreatment programme, which leads to the production of plutonium, the base material for atomic weapons, is very much in question in a peaceful context.

Once the reactors are built, what would stop the Iranian government from using the waste products for extracting plutonium for atomic bombs? The declarations of good intentions on the part of certain representatives of the Iranian regime in favour of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons do not correspond to their actions. The Shah's regime is in the habit of acting, whenever its interests dictate, in perfect contradiction to its official declarations and international treaties which it has signed.

Iran accepts non-intervention, direct or indirect, in the affairs of other countries, at a time when the Shah's army has invaded Dhofar, and represses the revolutionary movement.

Here we have flagrant examples of the hypocritical attitude of the Shah's dictatorial regime. No one can dispute the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, but the Iranian regime's policy has clearly shown that its nuclear programme is directed to military ends.

The Struggle of Cyprus: Danger of Partition Must be Averted

Yannakis D. Potamitis

"CYPRUS fights for the world and the world fights for Cyprus".

This slogan, which has been adopted by the International Committee for Solidarity with Cyprus, describes very accurately, in a concise and precise form, the true nature and content of the struggle of the people of Cyprus. It contains the essence of their fight, which is a fight against world imperialism, against NATO-U.S. plans and machinations for the conversion of the island into an unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Eastern Mediterranean, into a NATO-U.S. spying centre, into a nuclear base, into a hotbed of war, conspiracies and plots. It is a fight against those forces who oppose disarmament and detente, a fight for international principles and world order, a fight for peace in the world, and for the world.

Cyprus occupies a strategic position between three continents—Asia, Africa and Europe. And an imperialist base on Cyprus means a base for aggression and spying, a base for machinations and manoeuvres against the socialist countries of Europe, against the progressive regimes in Africa and Asia and the liberation movements of the area, a base against the progressive forces of South Europe, a new base for the Sixth Fleet, which will allow it more easily and more freely to move around, close to the coasts of Lebanon and Israel, to devise plots and conspiracies by its agents, as in the case of Lebanon, to protect and aid as in the case of Israel.

Cyprus is required by the U.S.A. as a link in the chain of bases which it occupies from Gibraltar to the Arab Gulf and the Indian Ocean, as a base from which its control over the oil-producing territories of the Arab Gulf may be more easily exercised and attained (it is well known that Cyprus was earmarked as the first target in the plan for the "attack on and occupation of the oil producing countries"), as an outpost of protection for Israel which is playing the role of the policeman of the U.S.A. in the Middle East. Furthermore, since the U.S.A. sets foot on Cyprus, it will be able more easily and more intensively

to intimidate Greece and Turkey, and deter them from any attempt to follow a non-aligned policy, to keep a better control over these two NATO allies and the respective U.S. bases, and last, but not the least, to demand a share for the United States monopolies in the oil which is said to exist in the Aegean Sea, thus creating a further source of interest for them there through which the U.S. presence in the Mediterranean might be consolidated.

Nevertheless, Cyprus has courageously stood up against all these plans and frustrated all these attempts. It has consistently stood by its non-aligned policy, and rejected all U.S. plans for a "settlement of the Cyprus problem" which, in one form or another, are aimed at one and the same purpose—the intrusion of the U.S.A. into the affairs of the island, and the establishment of NATO-U.S. bases which would fill the vacuum that the departure of the British would create.

Cyprus Demands Demilitarisation

Cyprus demands not the establishment of new bases but dismantling and abolition of the existing British bases which were imposed on the people of Cyprus by the Treaties of Zurich and London that led to the foundation of the independent state of Cyprus.

Cyprus demands demilitarisation and peace, national independence, sovereignty and the cessation of all foreign intervention in its affairs. To this end, it will continue to fight, supported by all the progressive forces of the world to whom it is deeply indebted.

The history of the Cyprus problem is a fairly long one. It goes back several decades before its independence when the British masters of the island consistently refused to the people of Cyprus the right to self-determination. When the British saw themselves compelled to leave the island, they devised a Constitution that contained the seeds of separatism and division between the two communities. The British, however, managed to "return" to the island and impose their military pres-

ence by a Treaty which provided them concessions in the form of large "Sovereign Bases", which were, in fact, converted into modern military and air bases. These concessions also gave the right to Turkey and Greece to keep troops on the island and to Great Britain, Turkey and Greece to intervene in case of an attempt "at the overthrow of the constitutional order".

The people of Cyprus had to accept what had been imposed on them, but never did they cease to fight for complete independence and true sovereignty of their state, or to struggle against the presence of military bases and foreign troops on their soil, or against the right of foreigners to intervene. Simultaneously, they tried to improve on the Constitution in order to make it workable and to promote cooperation between the two communities. Unfortunately Cyprus had to face imperialist intrigues which instigated chauvinism, engineered terrorist activities and attacks on progressive persons which in the end led to some intercommunal trouble in 1964. This gave the opportunity to the U.S.A. to start interfering in the affairs of the Cyprus Republic.

Imperialist Partition Strategy

Under what seems to have been a long-term policy of Whitehall aiming at partition of the island, and in line with the U.S. policy of replacing the vacuum left by the British in the Middle East, the representatives of the United States started visiting Nicosia, Ankara and Athens in hurried attempts to seize Cyprus from within by having their own plans accepted by Archbishop Makarios and the Cypriots. Dean Acheson advanced the idea of Cyprus simultaneously being united with Greece and partially ceded to Turkey, with a cantonal system of government and provision for a Turkish (NATO) base in the north. According to a U.S. journalist, it was a "scheme which would have made the island a NATO aircraft carrier, and would have abolished political independence after it had been extracted by force from an abdicatory British Conservative Government". This scheme

was rejected by President Makarios and the people of Cyprus.

The U.S.A. did not give up and persisted in its intrigue against Cyprus. A plan by General Lemnitzer, the U.S. Commander of NATO, was forwarded through George Ball of the Foreign Office, and accompanied by greater pressures. This was also rejected by the Cypriots and the President of Cyprus.

The President had, therefore, to be removed from the Cypriot scene, after two unsuccessful attempts on his life and the rejection of all U.S. plans about Cyprus, the coup against Makarios and his legitimate Government was staged by the Greek Junta. This was followed by the invasion of the island by the "socialist" Eisevit's Government. All this was done in concert under the direction of the U.S.A., which tried to bring about by war and devastation in the island what had not been brought about by talks and pressures through U.S. envoys to Cyprus.

The U.S.A., however, could not manage to accomplish their aims and desires. Archbishop Makarios survived the attack by the Greek Junta, the sons of the Cyprus people fought and delayed the Turkish advance, which could only be carried out owing to the betrayal and the cooperation of the Greek Junta and the cunning attitude of Turkey which took advantage of two cease-fire agreements in order to advance. The Greek Junta was overthrown in Greece and the U.S. plans once more failed.

Nevertheless, 40 per cent of the soil of the Cyprus Republic has been brought (by the Turkish evasive tactics which twice violated the cease-fire agreements) under Turkish occupation, 200,000 (one-third of the population) Cypriots—Turks and Greeks—have become refugees in their own homes, 4,000 persons are missing with the Turkish side refusing to give any details of their fate or to cooperate in their tracing. Further, 9,000 Greek Cypriots who are in enclaves in the Turkish occupied territories are being chased away daily in instalments in an endeavour to clear the whole occupied territory of the Greek Cypriot population.

At the same time, "cargoes" of Turks from the mainland, mostly of a very low educational and cultural standard, are being brought into Cyprus, occupying the houses and appropriating the properties of the evicted and departing Greek Cypriots. This is being done by the Turkish leadership to change the demographic character of the population of Cyprus and give rise to claims for "self-determination" of the Turks.

The U.S.A. has not ceased to be "interested", and it is always probable that, benefiting from the confusion existing in

the area, it may attempt to create a further unacceptable situation. It has created the problem of Lebanon; it has created the crisis in the Aegean sea, by encouraging the Turks to play with fire on the question of the underwater reef rights. By giving recently to Eisevit a reception in the United States appropriate to a Prime Minister, Kissinger and Ford wished to stress that they endorsed Eisevit's adamant views on the problems of Cyprus and Aegean Sea. It was obviously meant to bring pressures to bear on Greece in regard to the Cyprus problem.

Fiction of Communal Differences

All peace forces in the world which are untringly working to save Cyprus, to save peace, can and must frustrate the U.S. plans for eradication of Cyprus from the map of independent states and membership of the UN. They must frustrate the plans for partition of the island between Greeks and Turks on the pretext that Greeks and Turks—as they are saying about the Christians and Moslems in Lebanon—cannot live together. Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived together peacefully for decades, worked together, were educated together, played together—and even during the Greco-Turkish wars of 1912–1913, of 1921–1922 and the First World War (when Greece and Turkey were in opposing camps), their relations were not disturbed. In the Second World War, Greek and Turkish Cypriots fought together and died together in the anti-fascist struggle, while, in later years, martyrs of the Greek and Turkish community, fighters for socialism and social progress, fell victims to the same reactionary forces in Cyprus and were shot down by the same pistols.

So the story of intercommunal differences and of intercommunal strife is a fiction invented by those who were used to the principle of "divide and rule" and who instigated, by the well-known means of bribes, propaganda and rumours, the chauvinistic elements in both communities and pushed them into such acts as to make it appear that the Greeks and Turks could not live—and more so—thrive together. Yet, this story is contradicted by history, is contradicted by the cooperation on an international level, particularly after the tragic events of 1974, of the progressive forces of Turks abroad with the Greek Cypriots, by the action and efforts of the progressive Turks who have issued proclamations denouncing the Turkish aggression and occupation and who work for an independent, sovereign, integral, unitary Cyprus state, denouncing also the Denktash regime, and its attitude to Cyprus.

It is thus fully clear that the Cyprus problem is a problem of foreign aggression and occupation of a small country by a

big country, a problem created by imperialism in collaboration with certain countries in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is a problem which is kept alive because the people of Cyprus do not wish to surrender themselves to the imperialists, or deliver their country to the NATO war-mongers. Cypriots do not wish to recognise a "fait accompli" and sign their extinction with their own hands. The problem is closely linked with the Middle East problem, and with the Lebanese crisis, and has great similarities with both.

In these conditions, the U.S.A., with Kissinger as the initiator of every move, is continuing its efforts to impose a NATO solution. It is pressuring its allies, the Government of the FRG, the countries of the Common Market, the Secretary General of NATO, and encouraging Turkey's chauvinist plans, for realising, its dreams for supremacy in the Aegean sea and the Eastern Mediterranean, for occupying Greek islands and other Greek territories and for a revival of the Ottoman Empire. In their plans and endeavours the U.S.A. utilises also the services of some extreme rightists in Cyprus who are actively engaged now in propaganda trying to lead people to believe that a solution of the Cyprus problem can be brought about only by the "West".

The memory of past events, however, is very fresh in the minds of the people of Cyprus. And they do very well remember that the evils that befell upon this country, and their brothers and sisters, have been brought about by imperialism.

President Makarios's Firm Stand

Archbishop Makarios, as the representative of the whole population of the island, has said "No" to these plans, and has repeated that "we shall never recede and with our own hands endorse the donation of part of our fatherland to Turkey". The intercommunal talks, which were viewed upon as the best means to an agreed settlement, have been discontinued, as Turkey has failed to give to them a meaningful content or to submit propositions which could create hope for a constructive result.

It is thus quite clear that the Cyprus problem can find its just and right solution only by the extension of international assistance and solidarity with the people of Cyprus, by the implementation of the UN Resolutions on Cyprus (respect for its independence, territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty, non-aligned policy, withdrawal of all foreign troops, return of all refugees to their homes in conditions of safety), for the calling of an International Conference as proposed by the Soviet Union and accepted by the Government of Cyprus, for the application of the Helsinki principles to which Turkey is a party, for isolation of Turkey on an international level.



LATIN AMERICA

Menace of Brazilian Fascist Expansionism

Hermes Assuncao

DETENTIONS, tortures, kidnappings, murders—the same methods employed by gangsters and kidnappers—are now officially used in Brazil. This is considered as the only way to ensure the "security" of the monopolies and their partners.

Many times, even if not always with enough energy, the real medieval brutality of the fascist regime in Brazil has been and is being denounced, along with the barbarity being practised in Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, Haiti, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Bangladesh, Rhodesia, South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, by progressive world public opinion.

The source of the basic cause of terror in Brazil lies in the **expansionist doctrine** which the ruling Armed Forces of Brazil are now implementing.

Those of us who denounce the crimes of the Brazilian dictatorship are being accused of being bad Brazilians who receive money to defame the Fatherland abroad. We firmly reject that ominous slander. We just intend to repeat only some of the statements made by higher Brazilian military officers on the fundamental principles of the doctrine which the *Escola Superior de Guerra* (ESG), (high military school), teaches to its pupils, based on the slogan, "Development-Security". (Development for them does not include social progress, and security is closely connected with repression with as much terror as is deemed to be necessary. They affirm, brazenly, that no country has been able to develop without the sacrifice of one or more generations...)

"Geopolitics of Brazil"

The ESG doctrine has been clearly spelt out in the book "Geopolitics of Brazil" by General Galberri do Couto e Silva, a Minister in the government of Geisel. He was formerly a director of the National

Information Service (SNI), the secret service of the Army, and chairman of the mighty multinational Dow Chemical-Brazil, till the very moment he was appointed to his present government job.

The high military commanders in Brazil presume that a war against the socialist countries is inevitable. Brazil, as a country of the Western and Christian world, therefore, has to bear its responsibilities which it will fulfil by getting itself involved in a total war. It will do so, on the one hand, through active participation side by side with the United States, and, on the other, by using its own resources to finance that Holy Crusade, as befits a big power.

Even though the cold war belongs to the past, as a result of the policy of detente endorsed unanimously at the Helsinki Conference, the strategy experts of the Brazilian Armed Forces have modified neither their opinions nor their expansionist plans. They strongly believe that detente is just a temporary phenomenon and that war is still inevitable!

General Galberri expresses this opinion in the preface to the second edition of his book. He has stated that even though this work was first published in the 1950's, he still thinks that nothing requires to be changed in it.

Thus, everything is very clear. The task consists in preparing the country to make war and win victory, not as a minor partner, but as a big power.

Obviously, Brazil had, as soon as possible, to become powerful economically and militarily, or in other words, a real world power. From the point of view of the ruling military junta, it was first necessary to impose and ensure "order" inside the country by every means possible. This involved suppressing any protest, be it of workers, peasants, students, cultural or religious bodies. And this had to be done

with due violence, especially in suppressing strikes or even simple expression of discontent.

Hollowness of Brazilian Miracle

The economic "miracle" in Brazil was sought to be wrought by exploiting the workers mercilessly (low real wages, extremely long hours of work, extortions of every kind). There was no other way to achieve it, except by eliminating the democratic, trade-union and all other freedoms, by complete repression and terror. In short, a miracle of the devil, a miracle of the group of people the CIA and the Pentagon has turned into its proteges to serve the U.S. imperialist designs. A miracle, of course, which has expanded and is expanding the war machine and the fabulous profits of the monopolies and their junior partners. This miracle has not resulted in an increase in the production of the people's bread. On the contrary, as official statistics show, the physical health of the Brazilian people is rapidly declining. The World Health Organisation (WHO) reports that more than one-half of the Brazilian population is affected by chronic undernourishment.

Once the Brazilian people were subdued, the military dictatorship could continue dominating neighbouring countries, trying, thus, to extend its "influence" and "protection" over the whole of South America. Nothing less than that, because, according to its doctrine on security, the Brazilian regime cannot tolerate the existence of any government "hostile" to its hegemonic aspirations; that is to say, any democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist government. That is why the Brazilian dictatorship was openly involved in the events in Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay and is now threatening the young independent Republic of Guyana.

Other countries are not excluded, for example Peru, whose nationalism and other acts disturb and worry the Brazilian ESG, and Argentina, whose frontiers with Brazil are called "hot frontiers" by General Galberri. Argentina considers seriously this statement as well as other concepts of this Brazilian General, according to which Brazilian families would settle on both sides of the frontiers, especially the "dry frontiers", i.e., those which are not affected by natural obstacles as rivers, and can be easily crossed during war. This would provide Brazil with a pretext in the future to claim those territories on the ground that they are "inhabited" by Brazilians, whose language, trade, culture and currency are all connected with Brazil.

Brazilian Designs in Africa

Brazilian geopolitics indicates that, besides South America, a subservient Africa,

as well, is indispensable for the "security" of Brazil and for the plans of total war against the Soviet Union and the socialist world. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that there should be no government "hostile" to the Brazilian designs on the Atlantic coast of the African continent.

The Brazilian ESG considers the South Atlantic as a Brazilian lake. Brazil is not confined in the East by the Atlantic Ocean; it has its Eastern borders on the African coast, and the route from Natal to Dakar is a Brazilian "strait"! The hegemony to the south of that strait is unquestionably Brazilian and must be recognised and accepted.

All this is possible to find in the work of General Golbery, as in some other publications. These are the facts. They create alarm among the independent countries whose governments are still "non-aligned" in Latin America.

As everyone knows, steps are being taken to turn NATO into a Military Pact of the whole Atlantic Ocean, from North Pole to South Pole, including Brazil and its closest ally in Africa, the Republic of South Africa. This constitutes a new and very serious threat to peace in our hemisphere.

The situation became even more serious after Kissinger, the well-known Nobel Peace Prize winner, designated Brazil, on behalf of the U.S. Government, during a recent trip of South America, as, "the new surging world power". So he increased the appetite of the Brazilian military dictatorship and aroused new and understandable concern all over the area.

A little earlier, an exceedingly serious situation was created with the conclusion of the Nuclear Agreement between Brazil and the Federal Republic of Germany. This is a much more serious and dangerous issue because it concerns not only Latin America and Africa, but also the people of Europe and the whole world.

According to the treaties in force, the Federal Republic of Germany is prevented from manufacturing and/or having the atomic bomb. But Brazil is not Brazil has not yet signed the NPT, and this, naturally, is not by chance alone. It has a free hand in the matter, and the visit and words of Kissinger mean the green light for it. Brazil already has its own war industry, and it is exporting conventional weapons. Soon, it will be able to manufacture also the atomic bomb for itself and West German imperialism. This is the monstrous creature which is expected from the coming together of "neo-imperialism" and the "surging new world power". In this sense, the "Miracle" still works!

Ambitions of Brazilian Dictatorship

It should not be forgotten that all this feverish activity of the Brazilian govern-

ment is supported by subtle diplomacy, which is quickly adapted to the changing world of politics. Through it, they first pursued a policy of "ideological frontiers", which later became "responsible pragmatism", but no change was envisaged in the ultimate purposes and aims outlined in the doctrine of the Brazilian ESG. Its diplomacy may even shock the world, voting against "Zionism" at the United Nations and even recognising the Peoples' Republic of Angola. Brazil is doing this as it needs urgently more loans from the Arabs and more African markets. At the same time, it ensures its presence in Angola with completely different intentions. It is not there to endow the government of Agostinho Neto with prestige, because the Peoples' Republic of Angola is precisely what the Brazilian dictatorship considers as most hostile to its purposes.

The ambitions of the Brazilian dictatorship have no limit, so to say. Brazilian fascism, therefore, is more dangerous than the fascism in Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. There the fascism hardly controls the situation inside those countries. The Brazilian dictatorship, on the contrary, has the power to pursue its expansionist aims. Its goal consists, undoubtedly, in turning

Brazil into a sort of United States of South America, looking towards the four main directions of the compass: Africa, the Pacific Ocean, the Caribbean Sea, even as far away as the South Pole, towards the Antarctica, whose economic and strategic value is not beyond the voracious designs of the Brazilian government. This constitutes, of course, a serious danger and not only for Argentina. In the same way, Brazil deals with the questions of the basin of La Plata and of the building of the industrial complex in Itaipu.

There is no reason to underestimate these plans, even if they may or seem to be fantastic. This, however, does not mean that these plans will be achieved, for its achievement depends not only on the authors of the projects.

They will not be accomplished, because the people are resolutely against them, in spite of many of our countrymen losing their lives in the struggle against Brazilian fascism, the terrorist dictatorship will not be able to turn Brazil into a silent and obedient churchyard. The people in America and Africa will never accept to be under the tutelage of the Brazilian dictatorship. Our people will not go after these false magicians.

Repression in Latin America

THE WORLD Peace Council at the meeting of its Presidential Committee in Athens in May, 1976 again drew attention of all the peace forces to the continuing repression being perpetrated by reactionary regimes in Latin America.

In a resolution, the WPC Presidential Committee urged world public opinion to unite their forces to stop this fascist barbarity and to condemn the actions of these governments.

The resolution said that the WPC, in its communications to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, had continually denounced the frequency of attacks against human rights in Latin America by repressive forces of several governments which are among the signatories of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Published here are extracts from the resolution:

The whole world knows of the brutal torture methods, the indiscriminate arrest, rape of women, assassinations, long prison sentences in sub human conditions, shootings, disappearance of men, women and children, deeds committed by police, military and para military forces of the governments of Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, Guatemala, Brazil, Nicaragua and Haiti where repression deals arbitrarily with the peoples' freedom and dignity, denying political prisoners the most elementary rights of defence which in those and other countries are granted even to the most dangerous criminals.

The human rights violations committed by the governments of the Dominican Republic and El Salvador are no less frequent.

Side by side with this situation, we note that repression has been stepped up in Puerto Rico by agents of U.S. imperialism, such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). As a result, there have been growing numbers of arrests, house searches and break-ins and violations of the civil rights of progressive militants and trade union and student leaders. Puerto Rican patriots have been imprisoned in U.S. jails for more than 20 years.

The Brazilian dictatorship abducts the most patriotic anti-imperialist fighters, without trace, and tortures them, irrespective of their political or religious affiliations. The arrest and imprisonment of church people who speak out against the dreadful tortures are frequent. The political police and military units have invented internal machines and means of torture which surpass the apparatus of the Nazi Gestapo.

ENDING MONOPOLY OF WESTERN MEDIA

Bhagat Vats

IMPERIALIST and colonialist domination of what are now called the developing countries had many facets, political, economic, cultural and other. After these countries won their political independence, economic and other facets of colonialism remained there in some form or the other. It took the developing countries with a progressive leadership some time to grasp the sinister nature of this continuing economic exploitation of their resources. Once this was done, the realisation was bound to arise of meeting this challenge effectively. It ultimately led to the demand, on the part of the nonaligned among the developing countries, for changing the basis of the old international economic relations. At their initiative, the concept of the New International Economic Order emerged and received the support of the United Nations by an overwhelming majority.

While the nonaligned countries were mustering their forces to project their views on the need to change the economic relations in the world, they had to contend with another aspect of colonialism which till then had not been exposed as it should have been. It was the monopoly of the Western media, particularly the news agencies, which functioned in these countries as an instrument of the imperialist powers. Under the deceptive slogan of the "freedom of the press", the Western news agencies were made to appear as independent institutions purveying objective news in an impartial manner. Many leaders of the developing countries were taken in by this slogan and allowed the Western news agencies to enjoy a monopoly of information in their media. It was made out that only media owned by private enterprise—in effect by the multinational agencies—could be "objective", in terms of the concept of "freedom of expression", and not media owned by the State.

Information Colonialism

Since the news agencies in the developing countries had limited resources, the Western news agencies propagated the myth successfully for many years that they alone could provide world news to them. This was information colonialism which was

sought to be perpetuated in the name of "freedom of the press".

One may recall here what the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said in this regard in her address to the Lusaka summit of the leaders of the nonaligned countries (1970):

"Those who dominated the world's political affairs and manned its economic controls also imposed a monopoly of ideas. For years we accepted their values, their image of the world and strangely enough even of ourselves. Whether we like it or not, we have been pushed into postures of limitations."

The real face of Western news agencies was fully exposed by their biased and distorted reporting of the imperialist intervention in Viet Nam and other countries of Southeast Asia, the Arab oil embargo of 1973, and the struggle of the liberation movements. Many correspondents of the Western news agencies were found to be working for the CIA, as revealed in reports of U.S. public bodies themselves.

Further, the Western news agencies showed their true colours when they were used in a blatant manner to buttress U.S. propaganda against progressive governments in the developing countries, facing the threat of destabilisation. Their one-sided and distorted reporting led to a greater scrutiny of their functioning by many nonaligned countries. The result was so horrific that these countries decided to find ways and means of ending this dependence under which they were obliged to print in their papers only international news "sifted through the editors in New York and London".

The Western news agencies do not function in a vacuum. They are part of the international media owned and controlled, directly or indirectly, by the multinational corporations which wield real power in the imperialist countries. The Western news agencies purvey to the developing countries, as "objective" news, policies and views of the politico-economic ruling system in the imperialist countries. These agencies play a sinister role in denigrating and vilifying the efforts of the developing countries to resist the neo-colonialist onslaughts.

The "economic service" of the Western

news agencies, including giving daily stock exchange rates of certain commodities from selected points of the globe, serves the interests of the multinationals and comprises a kind of economic espionage inimical to the interests of the developing countries.

Multinationals' Control over Ideology

A U.S. publication **Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations** (Simon and Schuster, 1974), has stated that the "three essential structures of power in underdeveloped societies are typically in the hands of global corporations: the control of technology, the control of finance capital, and the control of marketing and dissemination of ideas".

The authors of the book, Richard Barnett and Ronald Muller, have reached the conclusion that "the third great source of power of the global corporations in poor countries is the control over ideology—values that determine how people live". They stated that "global corporations are in a position to determine most of what people in poor countries see on the television or movie screen, hear on the radio, or read in magazines".

The book also traces the worldwide ramifications of U.S. media and reveals their dangerous dimensions.

The Rockefeller-Morgan group, by far the most powerful in the U.S.A., controls six of the country's largest banks. And it is through these banks that the group has a dominating position in the U.S. TV and radio networks, which in turn have a hold on the media of a large number of developing countries. The Rockefeller-Morgan banks have voting rights to 23.1 per cent of the stock of CBS (Columbia Broadcasting System), 24.6 per cent of ABC (American Broadcasting Company) and 6.7 per cent of NBC (National Broadcasting Company).

U.S. Media Networks

These radio and TV corporations are the most effective single medium for spreading the multinationals' marketplace ideology, especially in countries with high rates of illiteracy, an ideology which perpetuates poverty and inequality there.

According to **Global Reach**, the "US

networks play a dominant role in underdeveloped countries, particularly in Latin America. The Columbia Broadcasting System, for example, distributes its programs to 100 countries. Its news-film service, according to its 1968 annual report, is now received by satellite 'in 95 per cent of the free world's households'. In 1970 and 1971 both CBS and NBC sold more than a half billion dollars' worth of 'cultural emissions' overseas. In 1968 ABC International had controlling interest in 16 foreign companies that operated 67 TV stations in 27 countries around the world. (In Latin America ABC affiliates reach roughly 80 million spectators.)"

These corporations have a way of penetrating local TV and radio in the developing countries.

The multinationals exercise their hold on newspapers in developing countries through another medium, lavish advertising, the mainstay of newspaper business, which creates a psychological dependence.

Global Reach also reveals how the multinational corporations, apart from TV and radio, exert great power in underdeveloped countries by virtue of their control of other communications media. It states that the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1970 sold 100 million gramophone records abroad. United Press International (part of the Hearst worldwide publishing empire) and Associated Press together accounted in 1970 for 72 per cent of the news coverage in the 14 principal papers of Latin America. Global corporations dominate the advertising in these papers. **Reader's Digest** is published in 101 countries (9 different editions in Spanish alone) with a total non-U.S. circulation of 115 million. In 1954 the top 30 U.S. advertising agencies derived a little over 5 per cent of their total billings from overseas campaigns. In 1972, the world billings of these same firms had increased almost sevenfold, and one-third of the 7 billion dollars in total world billings came from outside the United States. The two largest U.S. advertising agencies, J. Walter Thompson and McCann-Erickson, by 1971 were earning 52 per cent and 61 per cent of their profits respectively outside the United States. An international placed advertisement in the **Time** magazine, with its 24 million readers throughout the world, constituting "an international community of the affluent and the influential, having more in common with each other than with many of their countrymen", suggests the extraordinary political impact of this development.

Global Reach makes out that this advertising by the multinational corporations, much of which has been described by the U.S. Federal Trade Commission as misleading, has been encouraging a mobile minority in the developing countries to live

"imported lives" by making it adopt the eating, wearing and travelling habits of the U.S. upper-middle class. "For the elite in poor countries, membership in the international consumption community has a cooling effect on reformist zeal."

According to other estimates, the British news agency Reuters has a dominating position in Asia and many African countries, especially in Britain's erstwhile colonies. Reuters and BBC comprise the double-barrelled propaganda gun of British imperialism; they are used relentlessly to undermine the will of the developing countries to emancipate themselves from economic and cultural colonialism.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Western media, radio, TV, newspapers and the news agencies always mount a campaign orchestrated against a developing country whenever it tries to assert its independence to take control of its resources into its own hands.

The problem of ending the monopoly of the Western media, especially in the sphere of news agencies, has been discussed in recent years by UNESCO and the nonaligned countries.

UNESCO's Probe into Media Monopoly

Let us, first, take up the efforts UNESCO has made in this direction in the teeth of vicious opposition from the Western media.

It was in the early seventies that UNESCO began to take interest in problems of mass communications, following a decision of its General Conference directing its Director General to "assist the member-states to formulate their policies relative to the great mass media".

In 1973, a symposium on the International Flow of Television Programmes, held in Finland under the auspices of UNESCO, reached the conclusion that the Western monopoly in TV was a one-way street. On that occasion, the President of Finland, Dr. Urho Kekkonen, in a paper to the symposium, made a telling point about "communication imperialism".

Dr. Kekkonen said: "Globally the flow of information between states—not least the material pumped out by television—is to a very great extent a one-way unbalanced traffic, and in no way possesses the depth and range which the principles of freedom of speech require. The experts gathered here have shown in their research that the developing countries are at the mercy of informational export by the industrialised Western countries, the great powers in particular. Just as within Finland there is a situation in the press described as a bourgeois hegemony, in the international arena there is a state of affairs called communication imperialism. I have read a calculation that two-thirds of the communication disseminated throughout the world origi-

nates in one way or another in the United States" (**Television Traffic: A One-Way Street?**, a UNESCO publication.)

In 1975 a group of experts met in Quito (Ecuador) under the auspices of UNESCO to study the lack of a balanced flow of information in Latin America. The experts found that 80 per cent of the foreign news published in Latin America was provided by extra-regional news agencies, mainly U.S. agencies, UPI and AP. To get over this dependence, the experts recommended that the governments of the Latin American countries should take greater responsibility in this sphere.

The imperialist media pounced upon the report of the experts and condemned UNESCO for endangering the "freedom of the press". Under the pressure of this attack, the Ecuadorean government, which had agreed to host a conference on communication policies sponsored by UNESCO in June, 1976, backed out of its commitment.

UNESCO then had to change the venue to Costa Rica where it held the conference a month later, in July, 1976. That the imperialist media attacked the proposed conference, without knowing what it would discuss and what its recommendations would be, speaks volumes of the much trumpeted slogan of "freedom of expression". It showed that this "freedom" was the exclusive preserve of the media multinationals, and UNESCO had no business to use this freedom to express its views.

In his address to the Inter-governmental Conference on Communications Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean, in San José (Costa Rica), the UNESCO Director General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow said that people had begun to ask what could be the true meaning of the term "freedom of expression" today in the case of countries where media was exclusively controlled by groups or families. At the international level, others wondered whether one could actually speak of freedom of information when the real owners of the information media were concentrated at a few limited points on the globe.

Need for Balanced Flow of Information

It was considerations of this kind that had led UNESCO to speak no longer of "freedom of expression" alone, but also of "access to and participation in communication", no longer only of "freedom of information", but also of "balanced flow of information". Information could no longer be a one-way affair.

The UNESCO Director General, in an obvious reference to the Western news agencies, said that in the view of many observers "certain large international news agencies" in their selection of news

systematically stressed the phenomena of tension or violence in the countries of the Third World. On the other hand, these agencies, in many cases, kept silent on events of a positive nature which occurred with increasing frequency in those same countries.

"It has thus come about that the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean region do not really know each other. The scant news they receive about one another reaches them from other sources. They see their faces reflected from afar in mirrors that deform them. The insufficiency of information in one country concerning another—which has often been denounced by statesmen and intellectuals of the region—is still a cause of concern. It behoves the conference being opened today (12 July 1976) to reflect on means to remedy this. Regional integration, which for many years has been one of your main objectives, undoubtedly depends on better mutual knowledge among the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean region."

The San Jose Conference in its recommendations gave priority to the establishment of a Latin American and Caribbean news agency, or a consortium of agencies, in the region. Its principles with respect to programmes, ownership, use and other aspects of organisation and operation will be determined by mutual agreement among the countries that wish to join it.

The aforesaid Latin American and Caribbean news agency would seek to complement its efforts appropriately with parallel efforts of developing countries outside the region.

Media Monopoly in Nonaligned Countries

At the time of the San Jose Conference, the representatives of nonaligned countries were meeting in another continent to discuss the same subject, how to end the monopoly of Western media in the world.

What is the genesis of this new awakening among the nonaligned countries?

Ever since Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, projected the concept of nonalignment in the world in the late forties, the Western media have been very hostile to it, taking the cue from John Foster Dulles who called it "an immoral and shortsighted conception". In the days of the cold war, nonalignment was dubbed "as nothing but a way station on the road to communism".

When the cold war abated, the Western media came out with the theory that nonalignment had become redundant and should be given up.

In Algiers (1973), the leaders of the non-aligned countries, at their summit conference, stressed the need for the "reorganisation of the present channels of information, which are a legacy of a colonial

past, and have prevented free, direct and fast communication between them".

In the light of this decision, the Foreign Ministers of the nonaligned countries at their meeting in Lima (1975) broached the idea of setting up a pool of their press agencies.

In March, 1976, an International Symposium on Information in Tunis, attended by 38 representatives and 13 observers from the nonaligned countries, underscored the need of ending the monopoly of Western media. In its final report, the Tunis Symposium stated that the non-aligned countries were at present suffering from a "sickness" caused by the "domination of their mass communication media" by the monopoly of the Western media.

The suggestion for drawing up the Constitution of the Press Agencies Pool took concrete form at a meeting of the Information Ministers of the nonaligned countries in Delhi (8 to 13 July 1976).

In a separate declaration, called the Delhi Declaration, the Information Ministers emphasised that self-reliance in the sources of information was as important as technological self-reliance since dependence in the field of information in turn retarded the very achievement of political and economic growth.

The Constitution of the Nonaligned Press Agencies Pool states that it would not be a supra-national news agency. "All Pool-participating news agencies have the same rights in terms of the circulation of the material each makes available to the Pool."

The Constitution further said: "All participating news agencies prepared to act as regional centres of redistribution of news items within the framework of the Pool, are welcome to do so, and to identify themselves for this purpose to other participating News Agencies."

Self-reliance in Information Sources

The Prime Minister of India, Mrs Indira Gandhi, in her inaugural address to the Delhi Ministerial Conference on the Non-aligned Press Agencies Pool drew pointed attention to the magnitude of the task of countering the distortions of the Western media. She said that the primary need was "the mobilisation of the necessary political will" to "rectify another lingering consequence of colonialism". Self-reliance in sources of information was as important as technological self-reliance.

Mrs Indira Gandhi said: "The media of the powerful countries want to depict the governments of their erstwhile colonies as inept and corrupt and their people as yearning for the good old days. This cannot be attributed entirely to the common human failing of nostalgia. To a large extent there is a deliberate purpose. Leaders, who uphold their national interests

and resist the blandishments of multinational corporations and agencies, are denigrated and their image falsified in every conceivable way."

The Colombo summit of the leaders of the nonaligned countries at its meeting in August, 1976 gave its approval to the setting up of the Nonaligned Press Agencies Pool. The Colombo summit thus heralded the beginning of the movement for ushering in a New International Information Order.

The Western media did not take long to attack the entire idea of a Press Agencies Pool of the nonaligned countries, as also the UNESCO conference in San Jose. These were described as "totalitarian" and "endangering the freedom of the press".

Decolonisation in Information

In France a section of the press, however, did not join this chorus of the Western media in attacking the Nonaligned Press Agencies Pool. It was understandable as France has its own problem of monopoly of information in whole provinces and a concentration of press organs in the hands of a few men and a few banks. It was typified in the strike in August, 1976 by the journalists of *France Soir* to protest against the take-over of their paper by M. Robert Hersant, the controversial French newspaper tycoon. This tycoon, who had earlier acquired another French paper, *Le Figaro*, already owned 11 daily newspapers, nine weeklies and biweeklies, 11 technical journals, a press agency, a publicity agency and printing presses.

It was against this background that France's *Le Monde*, in an editorial entitled "Nonaligned Countries and Information", stated that the West had not only a financial, political and cultural hold, but also a hold on information in the nonaligned countries. "Often unconsciously, it (choice of news by the Western media) takes on a subtle form of colonialism which tells the Third World the image the West has of it without really informing the West about the movements gathering momentum in the poor countries... It (the West) has abused too much the precise freedoms which it quotes as its authority."

As *Le Monde* rightly stated, it was logical that decolonisation should one day begin to take momentum in the field of information as it had done in the domain of politics and, with more difficulty, at the level of economics and finance.

The nonaligned movement has always had an anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist trend. This augurs well for hastening the process of decolonisation in the sphere of information, not only relating to news agencies, but also in the field of TV, radio, newsfilm, records, publications and the like, in the nonaligned countries.

Prevention and Suppression of Mercenarism

AN INTERNATIONAL Commission of Enquiry on Mercenaries has prepared a Draft Convention as the Prevention and Suppression of Mercenarism.

This is the first Convention of its kind to put an end to the practice of mercenarism in the world.

The International Commission of Enquiry on Mercenaries was set up at the initiative of the People's Republic of Angola in June, 1976 to analyse the phenomenon of mercenarism from the global point of view. The Commission was entrusted with the task of formulating proposals and concrete measures for the total elimination of mercenarism throughout the world.

The twelve clauses of the Convention define acts of mercenarism and suggest punishment of mercenaries.

In a separate Declaration, the International Commission of Enquiry on Mercenaries has stated that for twenty years now, armed intervention by mercenaries against the sovereignty of new states and the liberation movements had taken place. These mercenaries were recruited in the imperialist countries, including the U.S.A. and Britain, which had aided and abetted the crimes of these mercenaries.

The Commission in its Declaration has drawn the attention of international public opinion to the seriousness of the menace which the armed intervention of mercenaries presents to peace in Africa and the whole world. "It is urgent to act now to prevent the recruitment and travel of mercenaries to Namibia and Zimbabwe."

The Commission expressed the hope that a White Book will be published on the activities of mercenaries in Africa and in the whole world. It has asked those who are able to provide information on this subject to send it to the Minister of Justice, Government of the People's Republic of Angola, Luanda.

The Commission which was formally opened on 7 June 1976 by Angola's Minister of Justice, Diogenes Boavida, in Luanda, capital of Angola, began its work on 8 June 1976.

Its members, drawn from 42 countries

in all the continents, included legal luminaries, advocates and jurists. The Commission was presided over by Andre Maulde of the People's Republic of Congo.

Trial of Mercenaries

As part of this work, the Commission attended and observed all sessions of the trial of foreign mercenaries held in Luanda, in June, 1976, before the People's Revolutionary Court set up by the Angolan government.

(In all there were 13 mercenaries put up for trial, of whom ten were British, two U.S. and one Argentine. While one U.S. and three British mercenaries were sentenced to death, long prison sentences were imposed on the other nine.)

The Commission, in a statement on 19 June 1976 stated: "Having attended and observed all sessions of the trial of the mercenaries before the People's Revolutionary Court, the International Commission of Enquiry on Mercenaries is satisfied that the trial has been fair and conducted with dignity and solemnity."

"The Commission is further convinced that all rules of procedure have been interpreted in favour of or extended in favour of observing the rights of the defendants."

Earlier at a formal opening ceremony of the work of the International Commission of Enquiry on Mercenaries, Angola's Minister of Justice, Diogenes Boavida, expressed the hope that the Commission's work would help mobilise world public opinion to ban mercenarism altogether. The practice of mercenarism, he said, was fundamentally opposed to the interests of peace, freedom and the independence of the peoples. "The political significance of mercenarism, as a reserve weapon of the aggressive designs of imperialism, its reasons for existing and its consequences, the forms and recruitment and operations of mercenaries, the sinister nets of the agencies of international reaction—these are important aspects on which the studies and conclusions of this Commission will undoubtedly shed light."

Diogenes Boavida went on to say that there was need to create an international legal instrument to deal with the criminal nature of mercenarism in a clear and unequivocal way. This should cover the activities of those states or organisations which promoted, financed and organised mercenaries, or collaborated in the forming and sending of mercenary forces in other countries. "We believe that it is not enough to punish mercenaries as individual criminals. It is necessary to place effective responsibility on those who arm or employ them or assist their operations."

Victory of Peace Forces

The President of the International Commission of Enquiry on Mercenaries, Andre Maulde, in a statement in Luanda stated that the successful work of the Commission was a victory of the peace forces over imperialism which had been using mercenaries to oppose by armed violence the process of liberation and independence of peoples.

The Commission has asked the People's Republic of Angola to present the Draft Convention adopted unanimously to international organisations like the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

Before concluding its work, the Commission elected a Liaison Office composed of the following: President from Congo-Brazzaville, Secretary from the People's Republic of Angola, and members from Australia, Chile, France, Iraq, GDR, Tanzania and Viet Nam.

The Commission suggested the holding of an international symposium on the question of mercenaries.

At the closing session of the Commission, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Angola, Lopo do Nascimento, said: "We appeal to you all and to all the States and peoples who love peace and progress, to join us now, at all levels and at all times, in conducting a firm and determined fight, so that mercenarism, this abject enemy of the people, the reserve weapon of imperialism, shall be eliminated from the face of the world."

The Prime Minister of Angola said: "On the battlefields we gave the correct answer to the mercenaries and other aggressors, inflicting severe defeat on them, which we believe was a final blow to the myth of the invincibility of the mercenaries and a warning deterrent to future criminal adventures of imperialism. In the field of justice also, we think that with this trial before the People's Revolutionary Court we have demonstrated our strength and maturity to the world. Potential mercenaries should be aware of one thing—that in Angola dishonourable death on the battlefield or exemplary trial by the people's justice awaits them."

On the Draft Convention on the Prevention and Suppression of Mercenarism, the Prime Minister of Angola said: "We wished in some way to help in the first steps towards the emergence of a legal instrument of international character, which would be a strong measure for the prevention and suppression of mercenarism throughout the world. Because we are not only thinking of ourselves, but also of all the peoples in the world who are victims now, or who will be in the future, of mercenarism, the reserve weapon of imperialism. We are happy that our objective has been achieved."

Luanda Declaration

The following is the text of the Luanda Declaration adopted unanimously by the International Commission of Enquiry on Mercenaries on 10 June 1976 in Luanda.

I. For twenty years now, there have been armed interventions by mercenaries against the sovereignty of new states or against liberation movements. The mass media exposed at the time the massacre at Stanleyville, the armed interventions in Cuba, Southern Sudan, Nigeria during the civil war, in Guinea, Palestine, etc. Thus several African leaders were assassinated.

II. In the most recent period, the independence of Angola and the proclamation of the People's Republic were quickly followed by military intervention by the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of Zaire. Besides these interventions by regular armies, groups of mercenaries likewise invaded Angolan territory, where they engaged in armed actions of various kinds (attacks on detachments of the national Angolan army, ambushes, planting of mines, destruction of bridges and buildings), in the summary execution of prisoners and in the massacres of civilians.

III. The mercenaries who invaded Angola had been recruited in the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Portugal. Some of them were contacted by way of advertisements in the press and television broadcasts. Not only do various documents establish the existence of private recruitment agencies in the United States, and Great Britain, but there are also periodicals like *Soldier of Fortune*, from Colorado, which campaign for the recruitment of mercenaries. It is clear that the recruitment, travel and equipment of mercenaries could not be accomplished without the tacit agreement of the governments in the countries where they are recruited and equipped. More particularly, in as much as the intervention of the mercenaries is directed against the liberation

of peoples from colonial and neo-colonial domination, there can be no doubt that they act in the service of those who would like to suppress or prevent their liberation. This is all the more obvious since many of the countries concerned, in particular the United States of America, have legislation against mercenarism which is not applied.

IV. In fact, international organizations have condemned these activities on several occasions: Resolutions 2395 (XXIII), 2465 (XXIII), 2548 (XXIV) and 3103 (XXVII) of the United Nations General Assembly; Statements of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU (Kinshasa, 1967 and Addis Ababa, 1971). But these condemnations of mercenarism, which we applaud, have had no practical effect and public opinion has not yet forced the relevant States to give them consideration. Unfortunately, the too frequent glorification of mercenary activity by the mass media has not made it any easier to mobilise the great force which international public opinion represents.

Moreover, despite the victory won by the People's Republic of Angola in its just fight against foreign intervention, there are reasons for thinking that new actions of a

similar kind are now being prepared in Southern Africa and other parts of the world. The concentration of mercenaries has been discovered in Namibia and in Zimbabwe, under the aegis of the minority racist regimes now in power in these countries. Puerto Rico is similarly used as a base for mercenary aggression in Latin America.

Finally, new forms of mercenarism are continually being created in response to new needs to repress workers' struggles or movements for national independence throughout the world.

Multinational corporations and espionage agencies make more and more use of them. In all these aspects, mercenarism is revealed as the instrument of those who attempt to maintain, establish or restore fascism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and, more generally, of imperialism's counter-offensive against the progress of liberty and peace in the world.

V. The members of the International Commission of Enquiry on Mercenaries, called together at the initiative of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, coming from all the continents and representing forty-two countries, at a plenary session held in Luanda on 10th of June 1976, have decided to draw the attention of international public opinion to the seriousness of the menace which the armed intervention of mercenaries presents to peace in Africa and the whole world. It is urgent to act now to prevent the recruitment and travel of mercenaries to Namibia and Zimbabwe.

The imperialist powers are wholly responsible for the destruction and the crimes done in the past and which can be repeated in the future on African soil. Public opinion can and must put an end to military intervention by intermediaries. The drafting of an International Convention prohibiting recruitment, travel of support of mercenaries, and all kinds of should be whatsoever for their activities, strongly demanded of all governments to the international principles set out in the United Nations resolutions and declarations of the Organization of African Unity, to sign the International Convention, to ensure that their own national legislation accords with it, and to enforce its provisions effectively.

The members of the Commission hope that a White Book will be published on the activities of mercenaries in Africa and in all the world. They ask those who are able to provide information on this subject to send it to the Minister of Justice of the People's Republic of Angola. They appeal to all progressive people and forces in the world to make every effort to destroy this scourge of humanity which is mercenarism.

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Advertisement published in the U.S.A. in early 1976 for recruiting mercenaries for the imperialist intervention in Angola

Draft Convention on the Prevention and Suppression of Mercenarism

The following is the text of the Draft Convention adopted unanimously by the International Commission of Enquiry on Mercenaries in Luanda in June, 1976.

PREAMBLE

The High Contracting Parties

Seriously concerned at the use of mercenaries in armed conflicts with the aim of opposing by armed force the process of national liberation from racist colonial and neo colonial domination;

Considering that the crime of mercenarism is part of a process of perpetuating by force of arms racist colonial or neo colonial domination over a people or a State.

Considering the resolutions of the United Nations (Res. 2395 (XXIII), 2465 (XXIII), 2548 (XXIV) and 3103 (XXVIII)) of the General Assembly, and of the Organization of African Unity (ECM Res. 5 (III), 1964; AHG Res. 49 (IV), 1967; ECM Res. 17 (VII), 1970, and OAU Declaration on the Activities of Mercenaries in Africa—CM St. 6 (XVII), which have denounced the use in these armed conflicts of mercenaries as a criminal act, and mercenaries as criminals, and which have urged States to take forceful measures to prevent the organization, recruitment and movement on their territory of mercenaries, and to bring to justice the authors of this crime and their accomplices.

Considering that the resolutions of the UN and the OAU and the statements of attitude and the practice of a growing number of States are indicative of the development of new rules of international law making mercenarism an international crime.

Convinced of the need to codify in a single text and to develop progressively the rules of international law which have developed in order to prevent and suppress mercenarism, the High Contracting Parties are convinced of the following matters:

Definition

Article One: The crime of mercenarism is committed by the individual, group or association, representatives of State and the State itself which, with the aim of opposing by armed violence a process of self-determination, practices any of the following acts:

a) organizes, finances, supplies, equips, trains, promotes, supports, or employs in any way military forces consisting of or including persons who are not nationals of the country where they are going to act,

for personal gain, through the payment of a salary or any other kind of material recompense;

b) enlists, enrolls or tries to enroll in the said forces;

c) allows the activities mentioned in paragraph (a) to be carried out in any territory under its jurisdiction or in any place under its control or affords facilities for transit, transport or other operations of the abovementioned forces.

Article Two: The fact of assuming command over mercenaries or giving orders may be considered, as an aggravating circumstance.

Article Three: 1. When the representative of a State is responsible by virtue of the foregoing provisions for acts or omissions declared by the foregoing provisions to be criminal, he shall be punished for such an act or omission.

2. When a State is responsible by virtue of the foregoing provisions for acts or omissions declared by the foregoing provisions to be criminal, any other State may invoke such responsibility:

(a) in its relations with the State responsible, and

(b) before competent international organizations.

Article Four: Mercenaries are not lawful combatants. If captured they are not entitled to prisoner of war status.

Article Five: Crimes of mercenarism and other crimes for which mercenaries can be responsible. A mercenary bears responsibility both for being a mercenary and for any other crime committed by him as such.

National Legislation

Article Six: Each contracting State shall enact all legislative and other measures necessary to implement fully the provisions of the present Convention.

Jurisdiction

Article Seven: Each contracting State undertakes to bring to trial and to punish any individual found in its territory who has committed the crime defined in Article 1 of the present Convention, unless it hands him over to the State against which the crime has been committed or would have been committed.

Extradition

Article Eight: 1. Any State in whose territory the crime of mercenarism has been committed or of which the persons accused of the crimes defined in Article 1 are na-

tionals, can make a request for extradition to the State holding the persons accused.

2. The crimes defined in Article 1 being deemed to be common crimes, they are not covered by national legislation excluding extradition for political offences.

3. When a request for extradition is made by any of the States referred to in paragraph 1, the State from which extradition is sought, if it refuses, shall undertake prosecution of the offence committed.

4. If, in accordance with paragraph 1-3 of this Article, prosecution is undertaken, the State in which it takes place shall notify the outcome of such prosecution to the State which had sought or granted extradition.

Judicial Guarantees

Article Nine: Every person or group brought to trial for the crime set out in Article 1 is entitled to all the essential guarantees of a fair and proper trial. These guarantees include:

the right of the defendant to get acquainted in his native language with all the materials of the criminal case initiated against him, the right to give any explanation regarding the charges against him, the right to participate in the preliminary investigation of the evidence and during the trial in his native language, the right to have the services of an advocate, or defend himself if he prefers, the right to give himself or through an advocate testimony in his defence, to demand that his witnesses be summoned and participate in their investigation as well as in the investigation of witnesses for the prosecution.

Mutual Assistance for Criminal Proceedings

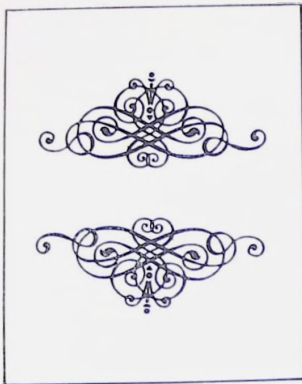
Article Ten: The Contracting Parties shall afford one another the greatest measure of assistance in connection with criminal proceedings brought in respect of any of the crimes defined in Article 1 of this Convention.

Duty of States to Insure Effective Punishment

Article Eleven: Every contracting State shall take all administrative and judicial measures necessary to establish effective criminal punishment for persons or groups guilty of crimes set out in Article 1 of this Convention. In particular, the State where a trial takes place shall ensure that effective and adequate punishment shall be meted out to the guilty.

Settlement of Disputes

Article Twelve: Any dispute relating to the interpretation or application of the present Convention shall be settled either by negotiation or by any International Tribunal or Arbitrator accepted by all Parties concerned.



THE GREAT Indian astronomer and mathematician, Aryabhata, who spurred the development of mathematics through various operations of the ZERO, explained the diurnal rotation of the earth, and became a founder of modern algebra, was born 1500 years ago at Kusumpura, near Pataliputra, now called Patna.

In celebrating his 1500th birth anniversary, the world of science is honouring one of the greatest scientific minds it has produced.

In fact, of all the sciences cultivated in ancient India, the contribution of mathematics to world science is the most significant. A famous work, "History of Mathematics" by F. Cajori, has pointed out that "both the form and spirit of arithmetic and algebra of modern times are essentially Indian and not Grecian". Much of the credit for this goes to Aryabhata, one of the most eminent ancient Indian mathematician-cum-astronomers who lived in the 5th century A.D. "In the history of mathematics, Aryabhata occupies a special position not only by his appearance at the head of the Hindu (Indian) mathematical renaissance but by the pattern and the tone set by him in mathematical investigations to be emulated by the generations of mathematicians to follow." (A Concise History of Science of India, p. 165).

It is also held that as an astronomer he was in the vanguard of the new astronomical movement which resulted in the recasting of this new branch of knowledge and giving it a more scientific look.

Aryabhata's mathematical-astronomical masterpiece, the "Aryabhatiya", consists of four sections in the form of Sanskrit verses. From his "Aryabhatiya", it has been worked out that he was 23 years of age in 476 A.D. when he wrote this famous work, which gives 476 A.D. as the year of his birth.

CULTURAL ANNIVERSARY

1500th Birth Anniversary ARYABHATA— India's Great Astronomer and Mathematician

Sachchidanand

The mathematical rules propounded by Aryabhata are given in "Gitikapad" and the "Ganitapada", the two of the four sections of his "Aryabhatiya". The other two, "Golpada" and "Kalakriyapada" deal exclusively with astronomy.

He gave a novel alphabetical system of expressing numbers with the help of consonants and vowels, based on the decimal place value principle. The modern arithmetical methods of extracting the square and cube roots of any number are attributed to him. His first rule for square root, when translated into English from Sanskrit, states: "One shall always divide the non-square place (avarga) by twice the square root of the preceding square place, then subtract the square (of the quotient) from the (next) square place, the quotient placed at the next place is the root."

Aryabhata made a great contribution in the early realisation by the Indian mathematicians of various operations with zero in the mathematical sense. Actually, the discovery of zero spurred the development of mathematics. He had also the clear conception of many geometrical configurations. He was the first to give the property of right angled triangle as the square of the "bhuj" (perpendicular) plus the square of the "koti" (base) being equal to the square of the "Karana" (hypotenuse). For the area of trapezium, Aryabhata correctly gave the expression $\frac{1}{2} h (a + b)$.

His treatise on circle is most explicit. He gave the formula for the determination of the value of π (π), the most important element in the geometry of circle which is the ratio of its circumference to its diameter. The English version of the formula states: "Add four to one hundred, multiply by eight and then add sixty-two thousand, the result is approximately the circumference of a circle of diameter of twenty thousand." For the first time it gave the value of π correct

to 4 decimals, that is, 3.1416. For the volume of sphere, he gave $147\pi r^3$ which slightly differs from the correct result— $\frac{4}{3}\pi r^3$.

Algebra had its crude beginnings in the efforts of the alter geometers of the Vedic times in India. Aryabhata's work in this field places him as one of the founders of modern algebra and pioneers in making it a distinct branch of mathematics. He gave the general solution of the quadratic equation of the form $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$. He also contributed to the analysis of arithmetic series.

With his geometrical background, Aryabhata gave the clear definition of trigonometrical functions such as "Jya" (Sine), Kotijya (Cosine) and others and also worked out many trigonometrical relations.

With all these mathematical initiatives, Aryabhata, as an astronomer, provided a new level of this branch of science. He is considered to be the founder of a mathematical-astronomical school based on rationalism.

Rotation of Earth

For the first time in India, about 1500 years ago, Aryabhata, the great astronomer, determined the physical parameters of various celestial bodies, such as the diameter of earth, moon etc. He was the first among the Indian astronomers to have mentioned the rotation of earth and its movement round the sun. In "Golpada", the last section of "Aryabhatiya", methods of representing planetary motions in a celestial sphere have been explained and such terms as horizon, equator, ecliptic, meridian defined. It also discussed the definition of solar year, lunar month sidereal day, planetary orders and movements and used these for the calculation of the true planetary positions and of true distance of planets from the earth. He also gave a scientific explanation of the eclipses of the moon and the sun.

Aryabhata's understanding of planetary motion is evident from his statement that "the Moon being below completes its small orbit in a short time, Saturn being above all others completes its large orbit in a long time". At that time they put Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn in the ascending order of distances from the Earth.

Aryabhata has also contributed through his mathematical genius in giving the different formulas for the eccentric and epicyclic model of movement of bodies with the same angular velocity.

India's first space satellite has been named after Aryabhata to honour the memory of one of its greatest sons.

In the history of human efforts in knowing the scientific order of the universe, Aryabhata will always have an abiding place.

INDIA celebrated in 1976 the birth centenary of Saratchandra Chatterjee, one of its greatest novelists. While many of his novels and short stories have been translated from the original Bengali into the major Indian languages and English, little is known about the life and struggle of this shy and lonely man.

Born on 15 September 1876, in the small village of Debanandapur in the district of Hooghly, Saratchandra had to face all the rigours that British colonial rule had imposed on India. His youthful years were spent in wanderings in search of a job in several Indian provinces, including Bihar, Avadh, Agra, and later in Burma. He led for years the life of a mendicant, even a tramp, which had one positive aspect. It brought the sensitive Saratchandra, imbued with a unique humanism, face to face with the life of the common people, workers and peasants. He was able to feel the depth of poverty in which they had been sunk, and the yoke of religious and other taboos of caste and creed they had to bear. He developed an innate sympathy for the downtrodden.

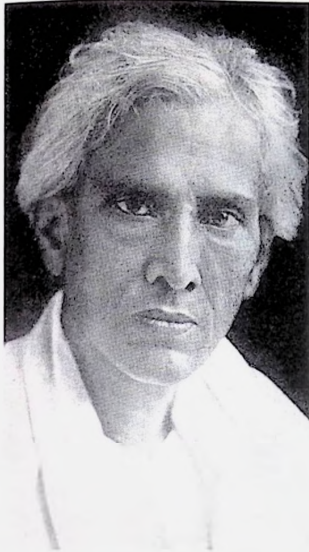
In these wanderings as a poor tramp, the most vital part of his character came to dominate his mind and heart. It was the spirit of protest against conservatism and tyranny of all kinds, social, religious, and political. Saratchandra was among the earliest writers of his time who wrote against British colonial rule in India and tried to rouse the people to fight for their liberation. He also attacked the education system imposed by the British colonialists and called it inimical to India's national aspirations.

Years of Struggle

Saratchandra had to discontinue his studies as he did not have the money to pay the examination fee for his second year in college. When his father died in 1902, Saratchandra had to sell his old bicycle to perform the last rites of his parent.

Unable to get a job in India, Saratchandra left Calcutta for Rangoon. He reached the capital of Burma in 1903 with just Rs 2 in his pocket. He was then 27 years old, "a pronounced failure both to himself and others." He wandered about in Burma, sometimes in the garb of a Buddhist monk, before he could get a clerk's job which brought him his first regular income. He became a clerk as his artistic accomplishments could give him no opening in his early life. He could sing well in a melodious voice; he was an accomplished painter, and an amateur actor (there was no professional theatre worth the name in those times). He had other interests too, including athletics and fishing.

It is, indeed, strange that till then neither he nor his friends could realise his writing



SARATCHANDRA CHATTERJEE – Man and Artist

talent. His first stories were published, almost by chance, in a Bengali journal in Calcutta after several years of his leaving India. In fact, when he found his manuscripts, which he had left behind with friends in Calcutta, in print, he had all but forgotten them. But he won instant recognition as a writer after the publication of his first major story, *Baradidi* (Eldest Sister). The story was serialised anonymously in 1907 in the journal *Bharati*. Until the name of the author was revealed in the concluding part of the serial, its readers thought that it was the work of Rabindranath Tagore, who was already well-known by then.

Later Rabindranath acknowledged that many people felt that Saratchandra was the better story teller of the two. Romain Rolland recognising Saratchandra's genius called him a first-rate novelist.

In Burma, Saratchandra got married. But his family life, after his wife bore him a

son, came to an abrupt end; the mother and child died in a plague epidemic in Rangoon.

Saratchandra who had settled down in Burma was asked by his friends to return to India to devote his time and energy to writing. His health had broken down and he was rather reluctant to give up a permanent post. But a firm of publishers in Calcutta promised him financial assistance to tide over his initial difficulties after coming back to India. This helped Saratchandra to make up his mind to leave Burma for good and start his literary career in Calcutta.

After his return to India, he married again and his second wife remained as his companion till the last day of his life. He died in 1938 at the age of 62.

Saratchandra preferred to live away from the hustle and bustle of a big city like Calcutta. His main works were written in a house he had built in Howrah district, not far from Calcutta, near the river Rupnarayan.

It is only in the centenary year of his birth that a short biography has been published in India which throws light on Saratchandra, as man and artist. It reveals his largeness and sympathetic heart, his sense of humour, and his zeal for the movement of India's independence. He was also known for his insight into child psychology.

Saratchandra remained shy and reticent throughout his life, shunning the limelight of fame which his works brought him.

He was sometimes criticised by his contemporaries for being a propagandist and not taking the line of art for art's sake. But he stuck to his convictions and fearlessly enunciated the need for change, for protest, in a society that had become moribund. He also raised his voice and wielded his pen against social and religious orthodoxy and the caste system, against the inferior position of women in a world dominated by men. Many of his writings are devoted to fathoming the innermost feelings of women who had to live in a society where divorce and even elementary permissiveness were unknown. He delved into the secret amours of women with tolerance, sympathy and understanding.

As he said in 1932, he wrote about "The exploited, weak and oppressed, who in their misery and helplessness cannot see why they are deprived of every human right. It is their misery that has made me speak out; it is they who have sent me to present their complaint before the bar of humanity."

Saratchandra continues to remain as one of the most popular writers in India today. His works will be read for generations to come as they deal with human problems which have yet to be surmounted.

THE ARTS IN WAR AND PEACE

Harry Francis

THAT there are unbreakable ties between art and the peace movement must surely be obvious, for only through the maintenance of world peace can art, in all its forms, hope to thrive—indeed survive. Without the conditions created by a stable peace the musician, the painter, the sculptor, the poet or the author, like all other members of the human race, cannot work at his or her best. For no man or woman of any kind of sensitivity can hope to maintain a standard of creative or technical artistic performance in the atmosphere of death and destruction that comes with a major war.

The possible exception, of course, was Shostakovich who, miraculously I think, produced his Seventh Symphony in the very teeth of the siege of Leningrad. But, magnificent as the work was, reflecting as it did the very spirit of the city's population, in its construction it would hardly be regarded as comparable with many of his other works which he was able to compose in a more relaxed atmosphere unhampered, as he was when composing the Leningrad symphony, by frequent interruptions by fire-fighting activities on the roof of the Conservatoire and the continuous overall threat of sudden death. To complete the work, he was, in fact, compelled to write the fourth movement at Kiubyshev, where the first performance took place.

I hope that I may be excused for dwelling at some length upon music, the art form of my own profession, but I feel sure that many of those involved in the other arts would agree with me that artistic progress is dependent upon peace. As long ago as June, 1933, Cecil Day Lewis, who later became Britain's Poet Laureate, speaking in London at a meeting of professional people concerned about the threat of atomic warfare, made the point that war would put an end to the existence of the author's brain no less than the children of his or her body. He went on to express the opinion that ideological

warfare affected the vision of writers whilst rearmament affected them economically.

How ironic it is that some twenty-three years later, the British Government struggles to maintain a so-called defence budget of 5,627 million pound sterling, whilst at the same time it tells the people that public spending must be cut by a further 1,000 million pound sterling!

State aid for the arts in Britain, though greatly improved since the conclusion of the Second World War, has always lagged behind that of most major European countries, both east and west. With the currently proposed government cuts in public expenditure, it is obvious that there is no chance that increased assistance for the arts will be forthcoming within the foreseeable future. Yet, 1,000 million pound sterling knocked off the defence budget, or considerably more, would in no way endanger Britain's security. Indeed, it is highly debatable whether there is any real threat to our security—except perhaps from the growing though still minority fascist elements within our shores!

Anti War Propaganda

In Britain, the period between the two world wars, unlike the pre-1914 years, saw a significant transition in the various fields of art. With few of the great creative artists of the nineteenth century still around, younger artists were having to draw more and more upon their own experience and imagination, and the experience of many of them had been gained under wartime conditions. It was, therefore, not surprising that their work sometimes reflected their experience of war and those responsible for bringing it about. In the world of cinema films like 'The Four Horsemen of Apocalypse', 'All Quiet on the Western Front', 'They Were with a Gun', and 'The Men I Killed', all added up to good anti-war propaganda as did such theatrical plays as 'Journey's End'. All these emanated from authors who, having in-

nessed the horrors of war, had been compelled to await the troubled peace of those years to tell their stories. With the exception of 'Journey's End', however, all the foregoing were Hollywood productions but at least one British film with an anti-war message to be remembered was 'Tell England', directed with great sensitivity by the late Anthony Asquith who also wrote the script which he based upon Ernest Raymond's famous novel. It told the story of the disaster of Britain's Gallipoli adventure against the Turks.

Challenge to Artists

During those mid-war years, however, with Britain in the grip of the depression and also facing the growth of Italian and German fascism, it would, I think, be true to say that the attention and activity of more socially conscious artists was directed to the economics of their various professions; the developments in Abyssinia and Spain, and the later betrayal of Czechoslovakia at Munich. The Spanish aspect of this attitude was perhaps best summed up by that great American then living among us, Paul Robeson who, in 1937, in a speech to raise funds to help the Basque children, who were then refugees in Britain, said:

"I am deeply happy to contribute to this cause of Spanish culture and of the Basque children in particular—a cause that must concern everyone who stands for freedom, progressive democracy and for humanity.

"Today the artist cannot hold himself aloof. Through the destruction in certain countries of the greatest of man's cultural heritage, through the propagation of false ideas of racial and national superiority, the scientist, the writer, the artist is challenged. The challenge must be taken up for this culture, a legacy from our predecessors, is the foundation upon which we build a higher and all-embracing culture. It belongs not only to us, not only to the present generation; it belongs to our posterity and must be courageously defended."

As we know, the great and important peace conferences held during the late 'thirties in such centres as Brussels, Geneva, Paris, Marseilles, Bristol and New York could not prevent the coming of the Second World War. So, once again, along with the rest of the population, and indeed the populations of many other countries, British artists found their lives disrupted and threatened. In Britain, however, there was one important difference of a progressive character, as compared with what had happened in the First World War, that must be recorded here.

Those responsible in government quickly realised that this time they were not going to boost the morale of the armed forces

and civilian population with the production of the trite and jingoistic songs, or cartoonists' caricatures of Hitler, Mussolini and the rest, in the same manner that such songs, and cartoons of the Kaiser and 'Little Willy', had been used in the 1914-18 debacle.

So through organisations specially set up for the purpose music, theatre and entertainment were provided for the armed forces by the Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA), and for the civilian population in the factories, air-raid shelters, hostels, rest centres for the bombed-out and homeless, hospitals, public halls and the rest by the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA), which was in fact to become the forerunner of the Arts Council of Great Britain.

Many of Britain's greatest musicians, thespians and entertainers contributed to Britain's war effort in this way, and a demand was created for the arts that had never been previously experienced and which still remains over thirty years later. It is surely both ironic and tragic that the meeting of such a demand had to await a time when millions of human lives were being destroyed among the armed forces and civilian populations throughout Europe and many other parts of the world.

Artists and Workers

Many artists and musicians did not, of course, find employment with CEMA or ENSA and, if fit, served in the armed forces,

civil defence services or National Fire Service, whilst others went into industry for the duration of the war. This meant a serious disruption of their professional lives but it did have the compensation that, considerably more than in pre-war days, they mixed with workers from many other trades and professions with whom they found themselves to have basically common interests—such as the need to establish and maintain a lasting peace throughout the world when once hostilities were concluded.

In the pre-war days, a number of prominent artists and musicians had played a leading role in the various peace activities, but towards the late 'forties those who were still alive and active found themselves joined by many hundreds of, in most cases, younger men and women who having lived through the horrors of a world war wanted no more of it. Organisations were set up under such titles as Authors for Peace, Artists for Peace and the Musicians' Organisation for Peace, and these met from time to time, under the banner of The Joint Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Peace, with other bodies such as Science for Peace, Teachers for Peace and The Medical Association for the Prevention of War.

I can best recall the activities of the Musicians' Organisation for Peace of which I was an Executive Committee member and bulletin editor for the period of its existence, which was approximately eight

years. Our President was Sir Adrian Boult and among our vice-presidents, committee members and general membership, which totalled nearly 700, were many of Britain's most celebrated performers and composers from all fields of music. It is sad to recall that, following the cessation of the Korean war, some apathy crept in leaving a handful of activists to carry on the work until even they decided to close down the organisation. I can at least claim to have been, at the meeting of the Executive Committee, the one remaining opponent of this misguided decision.

Artists in Britain, like their counterparts abroad, and like all other workers everywhere, need a stable peace and must, therefore, play a part in working for it. For if a major war should come, with the modern nuclear horrors available to those who would prosecute it, there would be no seemingly endless years of hostilities at the conclusion of which a vast majority of the world's population would be left alive to mourn the millions who had died; no returning to civilisation as we know it today; no CEMA or ENSA or morale to be boosted! At best, a minority of sterile semi-humans might be left, neither adequate in number, nor physically able to recultivate what may be left of the earth with no healthy children growing up to populate a world of the future. Modern war would in fact mean rapid progress to a conclusion that would leave few if any to write its history.



"Flying Dove"
which Picasso
painted specially
for the Second
World Congress
of the Defenders
of Peace, Warsaw,
(November, 1950).

Research on Peace and Conflict

Georg Fuchs

THE PEACE movement in its present form grew up in the years immediately after the end of the Second World War. At the same time, the forces of peace throughout the world became aware of the importance of scientific knowledge in the field of peace. Although individual scientists had already concerned themselves with the idea of world peace in earlier times, for example, the great philosopher Emmanuel Kant, there had never been a systematic scientific study of peace.

It was the horror of the Second World War with its 55 million dead, and in particular the horror of the two American atomic bombs being dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki that gave the peace movement fresh impetus. At the same time, there was growing realisation of the fact that the problems of securing and maintaining peace were far more complex than appeared at first sight. In keeping with the growing public importance of peace studies, more and more scientists came forward to take an active part in the peace movement. These changes also provided the background for the tasks of the International Institute for Peace which began work as a scientific and publicity institute in Vienna in December, 1969.

The general meeting of the Institute on 3 December, 1969, laid down the guidelines for future work. Right from the beginning there was the intention to make the Institute into a platform where not only scientists in different fields could meet, but also scientists living in countries of different social orders. In this sense, the scientific conferences of the Institute should offer the opportunity for objective and open discussions on a scientific level.

The locating of the Institute in Vienna fitted the bill in many ways; for Vienna is not only the city in which Berta von Suttner, the first holder of the Nobel Peace Prize, lived and worked, nor just the city where the Peoples' Congress for Peace took place in 1952, but Vienna is also the capital of the Republic of Austria, which pledged itself to eternal neutrality in 1955. This tradition, as well as the geographical situation of Vienna, made it far easier to carry out the tasks set by the Institute.

A number of important scientists from both East and West had already promised their cooperation in 1969 in what proved to be another favourable event. They were formed into a scientific advisory council, which has since been supplemented and expanded to include prominent representatives of social and natural sciences. At present, this council is made up of distinguished representatives of political science, political economy, history and contemporary history, international law, natural sciences and philosophy. They are all united by the common commitment to the cause of peace and by their determination to use their knowledge and skills in the service of peace studies and thus of the peace movement.

Even in the first discussions on the future activity of the Institute, there was general agreement that each scientific meeting of the Institute and each symposium should only deal with one special area of the whole problem of peace if the papers and discussions were to be on a scientific level. At present, four to five symposia take place each year, some of which are held in the offices of the Institute in Vienna, and some are held in other European capitals. However, meetings outside Europe are already planned for the very near future.

The Institute is conducting its symposia with ever increasing cooperation from other scientific institutes. In order to enable a profound discussion which really probes in depth, usually 40 to 50 scientists participate in a symposium.

Several symposia, which the Institute has held, have been concerned with the problems of European security and cooperation. The first conference on this topic took place in Vienna in February, 1971, with 65 scientists from 19 countries taking part, including 20 representatives from scientific institutes dealing with peace studies. Another symposium with the same theme took place similarly in Vienna in March, 1972. This was arranged by our Institute in conjunction with the "International Peace Research Institute Oslo" (PRIO). The economic aspects of European cooperation were the object of study for another symposium that took place in Budapest in June, 1972. Apart from our Institute, the other organiser of this symposium was the "Hungarian Scientific Council for World Economy", whose chairman J. Bogner (Budapest) delivered the main paper. The question of security and cooperation in Europe was also dealt with at several other symposia.

European Security

A continuation of this theme was the scientific conference in Rome, where new aspects of the economic relations between East and West in Europe were discussed in February of this year, with representatives from many influential Italian institutions taking part.

Scientists from eleven countries took part in the Rome symposium: Austria, Belgium, Holland, GDR, Italy, Poland, Rumania, USSR, France, FRG and Czechoslovakia. Representatives from several international research centres in Belgium, Austria, France and Switzerland participated in the discussions.

The symposium was directed by Prof. G. Kade, Vice-President of the Vienna Institute; M. Gutierrez, President of the International Law Organisation; Prof. F. Casati, Director of the Italian Association of International Organisations and Prof. A. Schaff, President of the European Centre of Social Sciences.

Most attention in the discussion was paid to three topics: the continuation of East-West talks on economic problems at an institutional level; the role of multinational

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combines in the process of European integration; the role of international production federations and associations in the integration processes of CMEA.

Implementing Helsinki Decisions

Other problems were discussed, too, from a scientific angle, all of which arose from implementing the Helsinki decisions and concerned economic cooperation, for example, legal, financial and other aspects of this cooperation.

The problems discussed by the symposium allowed scientists from both East and West to express their ideas in detail on the prospects of economic cooperation in Europe and to present their opinions on the ways and forms of implementing the decisions of the European Conference. Despite the differences of opinion which occurred, the scientists reached the unanimous conclusion that the principles of cooperation formulated in the Final Act of Helsinki formed a good basis for further, even more intensive cooperation within Europe in the fields of economics, science and technology, as well as environmental protection. There was no support in the symposium for the positions taken up by individual supporters of the traditional course of the EEC. The majority were in favour of extending and making more active equal economic cooperation on the European continent, and in favour of the removal of obstacles in trade between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe.

The symposium affirmed that the scientific circles of the European countries represented on it adopted positions which favoured the development of contacts between the EEC and CMEA.

The next symposium took place in Torun (Poland) in July, 1976. The title of it was "Europe after the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—Problems of Security and Disarmament from a World and Regional Point of View". Its organisers were the Polish Institute for International Affairs and our Institute.

Problems of Arms Limitation

The problems of arms limitations and disarmament form an important topic which

repeatedly appears at our symposia. Thus, in Berlin in 1973, a symposium dealt with the economic and social aspects of disarmament. Its organisers were the Institute for International Politics and Economics of the GDR and our Institute.

The results of this symposium were put in a book published by **W. Bredow** (Marburg an der Lahn) in 1974. The same two Institutes were the organisers of the symposium "Problems of Disarmament under the Requirements of International Détente" which took place in our Institute in Vienna in July, 1975.

The introductory paper was delivered by **N. Polyakov** (Moscow) which among other papers was followed by those of the IPRA study group and **P. Klein** (Berlin). Thirty-eight scientists from fourteen countries took part in the following discussion, to name but a few: **A. Kalyadin** and **G. Morozov** (USSR); **G. Kade** and **Count von Baudissin** (FRG); **P. Joannieme** (Finland); **S. Doernberg** (GDR); **J. Klein** (France); **K. Ota** (Japan); **M. Leitenberg** (USA); **S. Rossi** (Italy) and **V. Regner** (Czechoslovakia). Among other topics, these scientists tackled the problem of the danger of a spreading of nuclear weapons and the measures necessary to ban it.

Conferences, in which cooperation between Marxists and Christians in the service of peace is discussed on a scientific level, make up a large part of the Institute's activities. The symposium, "The Search for Peace from Differing Philosophical Viewpoints", which took place in Vienna in November, 1971, was merely the curtain raiser for a series of discussions on the same topic. This very productive symposium was conducted by our institute in conjunction with the Peace Research Institute of the Raman Catholic Theological Faculty of Vienna University.

The major papers of the symposium were delivered by **R. Weiler** (Vienna) and **N. A. Kowalski** (Moscow). This topic was continued in the symposium, "Ways and Means to Finding a Solution to the Problems of Social Development from Differing Philosophical Viewpoints", which took place in Moscow in September, 1973.

The chairmen of this symposium were

W. Hollitscher (Vienna), **A. Dordett** (Vienna), **H. Schneider** (Vienna), **H. Bertsch** (Berlin) and **A. Rasker** (Leiden). Further discussions on this or on related topics, took place in Henndorf, near Salzburg, in 1974 and in Tutzing (Bavaria) in 1975. On this occasion, the major papers were delivered by **A. Galkin** and **J. Samoshkin** (Moscow), **M. Simai** (Budapest) and **G. A. Wetter** (Rome).

In connection with this, the very productive cooperation between our Institute and the previously-mentioned Peace Research Institute of Vienna University must be pointed out. Several of the symposia run by our Institute were directed towards conflict research as a study-area within peace studies. Among others in this field was the symposium on the "Theory of Conflicts and Crisis Situations and Methods of Reducing the Escalation of Military and Political Crises", which took place in Vienna in 1972. This symposium included papers by **D. Senghaas** (Frankfurt on Main), **W. Shurkin** (Moscow) and **A. Eide** (Oslo).

Problem of Conflicts

A symposium took place in Zurich from 17 to 19 March 1976, on the topic "Methods of Avoiding International Crises and Conflicts"; it was conducted by the Vienna Institute in conjunction with the Research Institute of Political Sciences of Zurich University.

The symposium brought together a group of leading specialists in this field coming from twelve countries: Austria, Hungary, Great Britain, GDR, Poland, Soviet Union, USA, France, FRG, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland. This was, for all intents and purposes, a discussion meeting of a number of authors writing a book on the problems of conflicts. This will be the first attempt at compiling such a book from the joint efforts of scientists from both East and West, and this gives a special meaning to the significance of the meeting.

The participants in the symposium were in the possession of the texts of the most important papers which had been sent out in advance, and this gave the discussions an objective character from the very beginning. Despite the differences which be-

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came apparent in the approaches to the problems under discussion, particularly with regard to the concepts of how a crisis is caused, and despite the difficulties encountered with the terminology, the participants in the discussions largely agreed upon the character and content of the book.

"Aggressive Impulse Theory"

On the initiative of **W. Hallitscher** (Vienna), a symposium on "The so-called Aggressive Impulse Theory of War" took place on 31 August, and 1 September 1971. It dealt with a problem which is connected with basic research, but is still of extremely great practical importance. For the theory propagated by some psychologists and behavioural scientists that the cause of wars may be found in human impulse, is in itself capable of stirring up confusion and fatalism in the peace movement. This theory, which finds great support in the Western countries, would have war appear to be an inevitable natural phenomenon.

The results of this symposium, which strongly and fundamentally criticised these opinions, were published in book form, entitled "Aggressive Impulse and War".

In more recent years, world problems of modern civilization have also come into the field of peace studies—environment protection, resources of raw materials, energy supply and population growth. A symposium devoted to them took place in Prague in December, 1973; it was organised by our Institute in conjunction with the Czechoslovak Institute for International Relations.

The main papers were delivered by **J. Sedlak** (Prague), **F. Goldsmith** (London), **E. K. Fyodorov** (Moscow) and **A. Pecerri** (Rome), who appeared as the representative of the "Club of Rome". The symposium made a critical statement on the opinions of the "Club of Rome" on the "Limits of Growth". Part of the Prague Symposium was devoted to exploration of the sea and to the problem of water pollution. **Thor Heyerdahl** (Savona, Italy), **E. Mann-Bargese** (Santa Barbara, U.S.A.) and others spoke on this theme.

The symposium, "Social Aspects of Ecology" in Bratislava in October, 1975, was a continuation of the same theme. The main papers here were delivered by **I. Fratric** (Bratislava), **V. Labeyrie** (Tours, France), **E. K. Fyodorov** (Moscow), and **E. F. Winter** (Eichbuechel, Austria).

Symposia on Science and Technology

It is not possible here to give an exhaustive break-down of the whole of the Institute's activities, in particular of all scientific symposia. Suffice it to say that subsequent scientific conferences dealt with the following themes: education for peace; peace and the countries of the Third World; development prospects for peace studies; prognosis and prognostic science of contemporary international relations; the scientific and technological revolution and its significance in securing peace; questions

on the economic cooperation between states of differing social orders; the problem of sovereignty in connection with European security; the importance of the UN in securing peace, and other topics. Representatives of the Institute also take part in numerous international conferences of various organisations. At the World Congress of Peace Forces, which took place in Moscow in October, 1973, the Institute was represented by a delegation of renowned scientists.

The regular publication of the Institute is the quarterly "Wissenschaft und Frieden", which also appears in English with the title "Peace and the Sciences". The Institute's symposia are printed in this journal.

In addition, the Institute has published the following books: "The Aggressive Impulse and War", (Stuttgart, 1973); "On the Character of International Conflicts", (Cologne, 1973); "Economic and Social Aspects of Disarmament", (published in Cologne in 1974 in its original German text and in Varanasi, India, as an English translation entitled "Economic and Social Aspects of Disarmament", in 1974); "Problems of Peace, Security and Cooperation", (Cologne, 1975); "Nuclear Energy and World Peace", (Vienna, 1976).

The International Institute for Peace, whose administrative director is **Dr. W.S. Brusskov**, apart from its offices, has a lecture-room and a special library. The Institute has permanent contacts with most of the European and non-European peace research institutes and other bodies working for peace.

There is close cooperation with the World Peace Council, the Continuing Liaison Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces, and the Brussels Forum for European Security and Cooperation. In 1974, the Institute was recognised as a Non-Governmental Organisation by UNESCO.

Also in our Institute the guiding principles of the Final Act of Helsinki were the subject of studies and discussions in scientific circles. We see our task now in bringing to a discussion forum such problems that arise, or have arisen, from the implementation of the decisions taken at Helsinki on inter-state relations and East-West cooperation in industry, trade and economics. Such efforts would be necessary to bring about the solution to those problems which is so necessary for peace.

One of the basic principles of the Institute is to conduct discussions on a high scientific level, but to make the results accessible to the public at large as quickly as possible. All its activities are geared to the aim of supporting all forces working for peace, and so to secure peace.

World Peace Council Publications

The World Peace Council publishes brochures and pamphlets on various subjects of topical interest. A list of these brochures published recently in English, French, German and Spanish is appended here:

1. The New Stockholm Appeal (What it is and why you should support it)
2. World Peace Council Presidential Committee Meeting, Athens (1976)
3. Israeli Violations of Human Rights in the Occupied Arab Territories (Report of second session of WPC International Inquiry Commission)
4. Luis Corvalan: Words from Prison.
5. Freedom for Political Prisoners in Indonesia.
6. Save the Cyprus Republic: Implement UN Resolution on Cyprus.

Published by the Information Centre, World Peace Council, Lannrotinkatu 25 A, 5 krs, P.O. Box 18114, Helsinki 18, Finland.

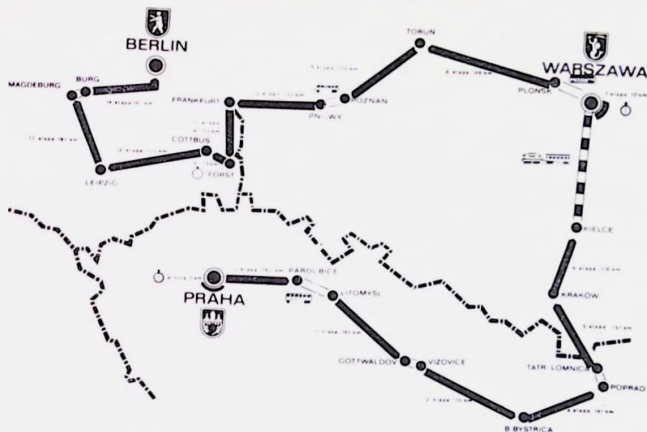
The Peace Race

Josef Mudroch

MAY 1st 1948 the clock showed 2.30 p.m. when the main referee gave the starting signal in Prague—and the colourful bunch of cyclists set off, on their historic course. The Peace Race had begun. At that moment nobody realized that they were witnessing a turning point in the history of international cycling. And not only that. From the very beginning, the idea of peace and friendship between nations was part and parcel of the Peace Race. This idea took hold of all those who participated and are participating in this biggest international amateur race. Over two thousand cyclists have, in all these years, taken part in it. The Peace Race, Prague-Berlin-Warsaw, has become a symbol of peace.

At the starting point in 1948, cyclists met from Poland, GDR, Czechoslovakia, USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Mongolia, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, FRG, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Spain, Switzerland, France, Italy, Monaco, Albania, Lebanon, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, India, Australia, Mexico, Turkey and from several other countries.

This cycling race was originally organized by the central press organ of the



Route of the Prague-Warsaw-Berlin cycle race.

Czechoslovak Communist Party **Rude Pravo**, and by the central press organ of the Polish United Workers' Party, **Glosludu** (now **Tribuna ludu**). Later, they were joined by **Neues Deutschland**, central press organ of the German United Socialist Party,

Initial Difficulties

In its early days, the Peace Race had to struggle against many difficulties. Looking back, participants find the first races almost unbelievable. The roads were, on the whole, dusty and the race took place in normal traffic. And cycling techniques were, in many respects, in their infancy. To record passing cyclists and their times, the organizers and referees could use only their

eyes and a stopwatch. And let us not forget that the race passed through towns and villages which still showed scars of wartime ravages. Warsaw and Berlin lay in ruins, so did many other towns along the road of the Peace Race.

And those were not the only obstacles. Representatives of the International Cycling Federation viewed the Peace Race with disfavour. Cyclists wishing to join their friends in the biggest international bunch met with endless difficulties. It was not always smooth going. The winner of the 5th Peace Race, J. Steel from Britain, was dismissed from his work. Some time later, Norwegian cyclists met with a similar fate: threats accompanied their first start, fol-



Garlands of Honour for the successful participants in the Cycle Race in 1976. The best entrant, Joachim Hartnick from the GDR (fourth from right), received the crystal cup from the Czechoslovak Peace Committee



Peace race in progress in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship

lowed by reprisals on their return home. Many years ago, the Italian Minister of the Interior forbade Italian cyclists from participating in the Peace Race.

The Peace Race, however, was international recognition after some years. In 1954, the Peace Race figured for the first time on the agenda of the International Cycling Federation (UCI) and was officially accepted as a sporting event. A representative of the UCI Achille Joinard declared: "We welcome heartily the Peace Race into our family. It will be a bridge of friendship for sportsmen, it will promote mutual understanding and will no doubt encourage the further development of cycling."

In May, 1968, Adriano Radoni, another representative of UCI, said at a press conference in Berlin: "The Peace Race is the most beautiful pearl in the necklace of international amateur cycling!"

The late Elio Rimedio, famous Italian cycling coach, told newspapermen on several occasions during his career: "With my charges, I won the World Championship, the Olympic Games, but still I am not fully satisfied. It is my dream and big ambition to win the Peace Race, to bring to Italy the most valued yellow jersey of all!"

Similar feelings were expressed by other cyclists who had joined the bunch of the Peace Race, because its yellow jersey with the peace dove always attracted, attracts and will continue to do so in the future, the best amateurs from all over the world. Hundreds of amateur cyclists from all continents have competed for it in the race's history.

Race Data

And now some figures: in the twenty-nine races since 1948, the cyclists from thirty-five countries and five continents covered 59,900 kilometres. The first course was 1,976 km long, divided into twelve stages. In 1975, the 1,915 km course was divided into thirteen stages and the winner Szurkowski made an average speed of 43.1 km per hour. It was the fastest race in the entire history of the Peace Race. The highest speed in 1973 by Likhatchev when km/h—was made in 1973 by Likhatchev when he won the stage from Torun to Poznan—150 km. What a difference with 1948 when the average speed of the winner Zoritch from Yugoslavia was for the whole course, Prague—Warsaw, 30.7 km/h.

The 26th race had the largest number of stages—eighteen. The course of the Peace Race was longest in 1963, 2,568 kilometres. Participation was highest in 1956 when 141 cyclists from 24 countries gathered at the starting point. And, finally, the most difficult Peace Race was that of 1953 when out of the original ninety-three cyclists, fifty-five dropped out along the road. On

the other hand, last year all but five of the cyclists who started from Berlin reached the finishing line in Warsaw. This fact alone demonstrates the growing standard of the participants' individual performances.

The highest number of stages won by Jan Vesely from Czechoslovakia was sixteen. Most stage victories in a single race fell to Likhatchev from the Soviet Union and Szozda from Poland, six each. What is more, in 1974 Szozda won four stages in succession!

The blue jersey of the winning team went most frequently to the Soviet Union—ten times, to Poland—seven times, to the German Democratic Republic—six times, and to Czechoslovakia—four times.

Stress on Friendship

When in 1975, Ryszard Szurkowski reached the finishing line of the last stage of that year's Peace Race with the yellow jersey, he became the most outstanding figure in the Race's entire history. It was his fourth victory, 1970, 1971, 1973 and 1975. In this he was unique, no cyclist who ever entered the Peace Race could claim such an achievement, not even the popular Adolf Schur from the GDR, winner of the 1955 and 1959 Peace Race.

In a book published some years back and called "Every Year in May", journalists set down their recollections of the Peace Race and explained how they felt about it. It may seem to some people that everything connected with the Peace Race is exaggerated, overrated. Yet who could forget beautiful memories. The Peace Race, Prague—Berlin—Warsaw, long ago overstepped the boundaries of sport. The friendships which had been formed there would bear of no obstacles. The idea of peace spurred on cyclists from one stage to another, through towns and villages, submerged in a sea of Picasso's doves. Let us, once more, enumerate some of the winners: Prosenik and Zoritch from Yugoslavia, Vesely, Maravec and Smolik from Czechoslovakia, Emborg, Olsen, Pedersen and Dalgaard from Denmark, Steel from Great Britain, Schur, Hagen, Peschel and Ampler from the German Democratic Republic, Krolak, Szurkowski and Szozda from Poland, Khristov from Bulgaria, Damen from the Netherlands, Maes from Belgium, Melikhov, Saikhudzhin and Lebedev from the Soviet Union, Guyot and Dangouilloume from France.

What are they doing today? Szurkowski and Maravec continue to race. Ampler, Khristov and Saikhudzhin coach, so do Melikhov, Peschel and Lebedev. Eluf Dalgaard, a Copenhagen businessman and winner of the 7th Peace Race, Olsen and Emborg meet every May at their friend Pedersen's who is not very mobile after a

serious car accident. Dalgaard wrote in a letter to the organizers: "In May I always suddenly feel somehow younger, as in the days of my cycling childhood when I used to put on the jersey of the national team. And I think I am back in my most beautiful race. I did a lot of racing all over Europe, but the Peace Race was the best of all, because of its incomparable atmosphere. One could be another cyclist's determined rival on the road, yet his best friend once the race was over. And the yellow jersey? It bears the peace dove, the most beautiful symbol of all mankind. This is why the Peace Race is unique, the one and only!"

How true it is. In May, the countries of Central Europe are full of blossom and people welcome with branches of lilac the main body of the Peace Race, these messengers of peace, friendship and cooperation between nations. The peace movements in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the German Democratic Republic endow each year this cycling race with prizes, so does the World Peace Council.

"This Magnificent Race"

In 1976, the 29th Peace Race was won by the Soviet team, the individual winner being Hartnick from the GDR. The start was in Prague, Adriano Radoni, President of the International Cycling Federation (UCI), declared: "This year, the Peace Race begins in Prague. I have known your country for a number of years. And every year I attend this magnificent race. Let me say that I find your capital, golden Prague, each time more beautiful, more attractive. Your country makes the dreams of young people come true. This race which is organized by three countries—Czechoslovakia, Poland and the German Democratic Republic—has a permanent place in the history of international cycling. It helps to strengthen the struggle for peace in the whole world!"

Nineteen seventy seven will be the year of a memorial Peace Race. For the thirtieth representatives of many countries from several continents will compete in this famous cycling race. Once more, people in towns and villages will line their path with peace doves, they will welcome them with flowers and decorate town squares and village greens with slogans of peace and friendship among all the people on this earth. Once more, the racers will contend with time, the burning sun, the rain and occasionally even snow. And very, very often even with themselves, to overcome fatigue and exhaustion. And once more they will compete for victory as individuals and as teams, for the most active rider and the best hill climber. And quite naturally, for part of the race Picasso's dove, symbol of peace and friendship between nations, will soar above the competing cyclists.



Horizont (GDR)



Granma (Cuba)



"Airborne Bribery"

Granma (Cuba)

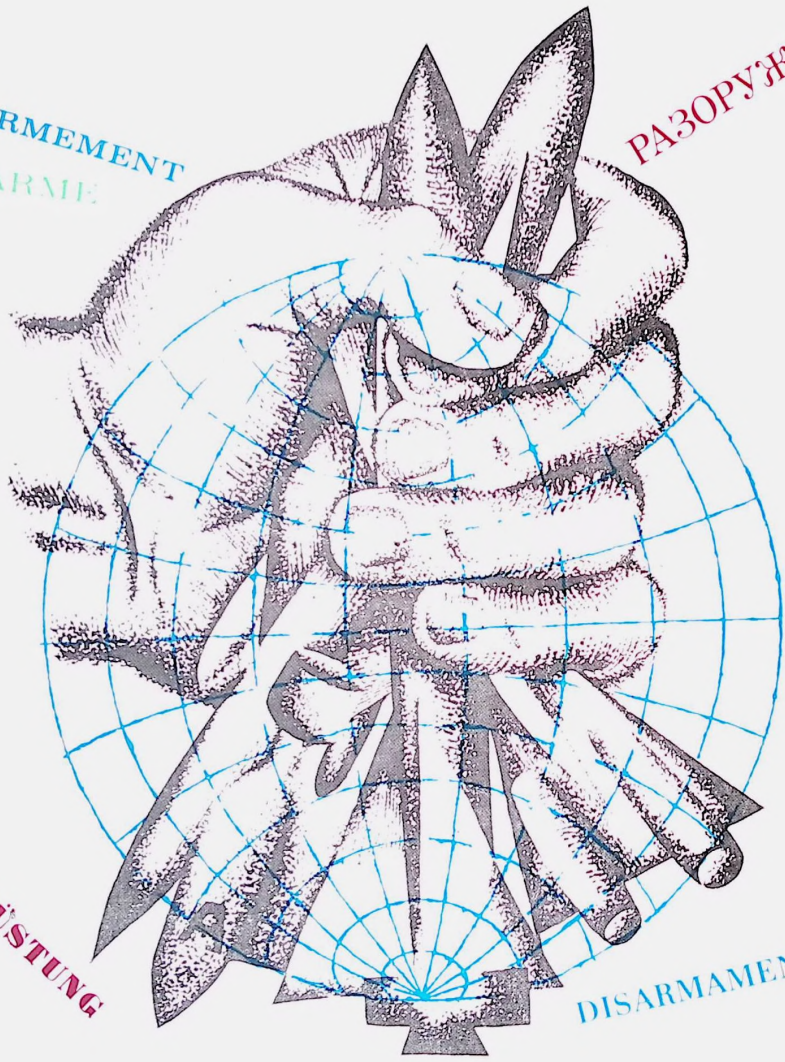
Daily World (USA)



"As you see, Monsieur, traditions change."
Daily World (USA)

DÉSARMEMENT
DESARME

РАЗОРУЖЕНИЕ



ABRÜSTUNG

DISARMAMENT