

new perspectives

1/80

JOURNAL OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL





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1 Participants in the meeting of the Bureau of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council paying homage to Simon Bolivar by laying a wreath at his memorial in Panama in September 1979

2 World Peace Council President Ramesh Chandra addressing the meeting of the WPC Bureau in Panama in September 1979

3 WPC delegation to Viet Nam laying a wreath at the mausoleum of Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi in October 1979

4 Poster issued by the Preparatory Committee of the Forum on Peace and Disarmament held in Tokyo during the UN Disarmament Week in October 1979

軍拡競争を停止せよ!
軍事予算を削減せよ!



1979年国連軍縮行動週間
平和と軍縮討論集会

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Back Cover: "Friendly Children"-Painting by a Mongolian artist, Y. Urzhine.

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Act now to stop new US missiles threat!

Call of the World Peace Council

At a moment in history when favourable conditions for strengthening detente and the realization of arms reduction exist, a grave setback to the cause of peace has been perpetrated.

Despite large-scale international protests, in particular within NATO countries themselves, the NATO Council has adopted a decision to produce and deploy qualitatively new US nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Having rejected the socialist countries' proposal for immediate negotiations, NATO leaders have opted for the further build-up of armaments with the aim to upset the established balance of forces. Just as the Soviet Union was beginning the unilateral

reduction of its armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, NATO made its major move to date in an effort to achieve military superiority. This represents an extreme danger for world peace. It provokes a new escalation of the arms race, and threatens to reverse the whole process of detente.

Adopted under U.S. pressure with the assistance of other forces within NATO, the NATO decision shows that, ignoring the national interests of European peoples, the U.S.A. wants to shift to them the consequences of the arms race, by making Western Europe the American nuclear missile firing range. The role played by the FRG in this decision is to be particularly condemned.

This policy also endangers other regions of the world. Simultaneously with the plans to deploy in Western Europe the medium-range nuclear weaponry, the U.S. administration announced a new arms build-up aimed at securing from a position of strength, U.S. interference in the internal affairs of states in various regions of the world. The official and immediate approval by the leaders of China of the NATO decision adds to the concern of the peace forces.

Expressing the thoughts and sentiments of millions of peoples the World Peace Council resolutely and categorically condemns the NATO decision as a most serious threat to peace, detente and future of the world.

The large-scale international protest movement against the NATO missile armament has played an important and positive role. An ever greater number of ordinary people and politicians are becoming aware of this threat, resulting from the NATO decision. The minds and hearts of peoples have eagerly embraced the policy of detente. Nobody will succeed in convincing them of the necessity to reject it in favour of an accelerated arms race.

The mass campaign against new U.S. missiles in Europe has entered a new and decisive stage. Firm action of peoples, especially in those NATO countries, where these missiles are due to be deployed can put an

insurmountable obstacle for the realization of the new NATO plans. NATO assertions about its readiness to enter into "talks on arms control" will not deceive public opinion. Public opinion has always opposed attempts to settle conflicting issues from positions of strength.

We call on all peace forces to increase their actions against the new U.S. missiles in Europe! The NATO decision must not be implemented!

Contrary to these plans the decade of the 1980s must become a period of practical measures achieved through negotiations on the basis of equal security to strengthen confidence between peoples and states, to stop and reverse the arms race.

For this purpose, the World Peace Council calls on the peoples to make 1980 a year of popular actions for military detente.

We invite all peace loving people to join with us in the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace to be held in Sofia on September 23-27, 1980.

With renewed energy the World Peace Council will cooperate with all the peace forces for the cessation of the arms race, for disarmament and detente. Human and material resources must be used to end poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy which are the fate of hundreds of millions of people.

NO to new U.S. missiles in Europe!

STOP the arms race!

FORWARD to disarmament! STRENGTHEN detente!



World on Threshold of 1980s

Deploying U.S. Missiles in Western Europe would Endanger and Threaten Peace

ALEXEI CHITIKOV

THE world is standing on the threshold of the 1980s, and today Europe, as more than once happened in its history, has again found itself in a situation which can, perhaps, be described only as contradictory.

On the one hand, the process of international detente has struck rather deep root over the past decade. It is very essential that detente, at least in Europe, is today not just a good wish or proclaimed objective. The European states have already pledged themselves in numerous bilateral and multilateral documents to implement its principles.

In this connection, mention should in the first place be made of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

One cannot but note with satisfaction that the public forces of Europe made a considerable contribution to the preparations for and successful completion of this Conference, to strengthening and developing detente in the ensuing period.

On the other hand, the late 1970s were marked by unprecedented fierce counter-

attacks of the opponents of detente. Moreover, those who would like to torpedo it, to violate the solemn commitment undertaken by the states have been showing increasing coordination in their actions, broadening the front of attack on detente, acting, I would say, brazenly and impudently, having recourse to all sorts of lies and slanders to mislead public opinion, to work against the efforts of those who strive to halt the arms race.

But the central problem, the solution of which will, in the final analysis, determine what the future of mankind is going to be, is putting an end to the arms race and achieving real progress in the field of disarmament. If we fail to do so, the monstrous logic of the arms race can reduce to a naught everything that has been achieved with such effort in the sphere of political detente.

Deploying U.S. Missiles in Europe

The question of the possible consequences of the plans to deploy in Western Europe U.S. medium-range missiles and cruise missiles carrying nuclear warheads is assuming key significance. The NATO projects are not some routine "modernization" of the war potential. It is, as Leonid Brezhnev justly pointed out in his

recent speech in Berlin, a mine being placed under the very foundation of the edifice of peace in Europe.

And really, the deployment of the new U.S. weapons in Europe will inevitably upset not only the existing parity and balance of forces in our continent, but also in international relations.

It is an open attempt at achieving real military supremacy, which runs counter to the commitment undertaken by the USSR and the U.S.A. in the Vienna document signed by Leonid Brezhnev and James Carter. Moreover, the implementation of such designs can undermine the very foundation of detente, as detente can be based only on the principle of equal security.

There is no doubt that the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe would sharply increase the threat of a new conflict in the continent and around it, and would mean a weakening of European security in general. It is also clear that this would first and foremost affect those West European countries, which will agree to the deployment of the new missile nuclear weapons on its territory, as well as affect the position of their neighbours and allies.

At last, if the said plans are implemented, the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries will certainly be forced to take

ALEXEI CHITIKOV, *President of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet; President of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation (USSR)*

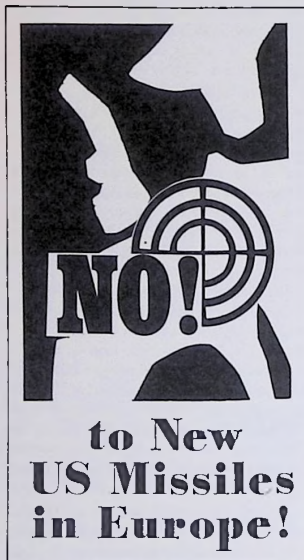
appropriate measures to strengthen their defence capacity.

Thus, instead of halting the arms race, instead of complementing political detente with that in the military field, instead of building-up confidence, the actions of the West would result in a new spiral in the arms and seriously prejudice the cause of political detente.

The opponents of detente are far from confining themselves to trying to drag these plans through. They are making every effort to prevent the coming of the SALT-2 Treaty into force. The treaty not only puts up certain obstacles on the way to a further quantitative growth and qualitative perfection of the most destructive strategic weapons, it also marks the start of their reduction paving the way to agreements of a larger scale and of a more comprehensive character in the field.

Myth of Soviet "Military Threat"

In seeking the implementation of their dangerous plans, the opponents of detente are using as a cover verbiage about a "Soviet military threat", although they fully realise that there has been no such menace. It should be remembered that when the leading figures of NATO and U.S. military circles discuss the problems of the



"NO"
to New U.S.
Missiles
in Europe



present-day balance of military forces so to say in their own milieu, they proceed from the premise, that at hand now is a balance of forces, and in some fields the West even retains certain advantages. Moreover, they also admit that the Soviet military potential is of a defensive nature, while the production and deployment by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty member-countries of some new systems of weapons is a response to NATO's course of actions. But at the same time in their speeches addressed to the public at large, the realistic attitude gives place to noisy, absurd claims, in which real facts are crudely distorted, and whose aim consists in dragging through new gigantic military appropriations.

Attempts to Revive Cold War

None of the concepts put forward by the opponents of detente can stand serious criticism or even a simple comparison. The "Soviet threat" myth is a common platform for all the advocates of a return to the "cold war", all the opponents of disarmament. It is spearheaded, as a matter of fact, not only against the USSR, but against peace and security in the continent and outside it. It undermines the efforts of all who stand for detente and disarmament. Without consistently countering this mendacious propaganda campaign it is impossible to hope today for success in the struggle against arms race, for disarmament.

As before, the Soviet Union is today persistently working for the attainment of one of its main foreign policy objectives, general and complete disarmament. We

are advancing to this goal gradually, step by step, by means of partial measures. But we proceed from the premise that each partial measure must be subordinated to this supreme goal, and telling evidence of this are the proposals formulated by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech in Berlin on October 6, 1979. They contain business-like realistic initiatives, that are of a comprehensive character and if implemented will ensure good progress for the cause of military detente in Europe.

Let us recall in brief the substance of these initiatives.

The USSR is ready to reduce compared with the present level the number of medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in the Soviet Union's western areas, of course, on condition that there will be no additional deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

Inspired by the sincere wish to end the stalemate in the efforts of many years to achieve military detente in Europe, the USSR, after consulting the other Warsaw Treaty states, had decided to reduce unilaterally the number of Soviet troops in Central Europe. In the course of the next 12 months up to 20,000 Soviet servicemen, a thousand tanks and a certain number of other military hardware equipment will be withdrawn from the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

The USSR proposes to start the next stage of the talks on the limitation of strategic arms immediately after the SALT-2 Treaty comes into force. Our country is ready to discuss the possibilities of limiting not only intercontinental, but also all other types of armaments, with due ac-

count of all related factors and with strict observance of the principle of equal security of the sides.

Confidence—Building Measures

The Soviet Union declares for further expanding of confidence-building measures in Europe. This question could be examined at a conference held at a political level with the participation of all European states, the U.S.A. and Canada.

We note with satisfaction that European public opinion has on the whole positively responded to Leonid Brezhnev's speech. We cannot, however, close our eyes to the fact that some politicians overseas and on the continent are feverishly trying to find pretexts and arguments to reject these proposals and belittle their significance. Distorting real facts they say that the Soviet Union's readiness to reduce the number of medium range nuclear weapons deployed in the Western areas of the USSR will allegedly not change the balance of forces and will be of no significance for resolving the question of the so-called "modernisation" of NATO's nuclear potential.

An attempt is made to impress on the public the unilateral measures declared by the Soviet Union, i.e. the withdrawal of 20,000 servicemen and 1,000 tanks from the GDR constitute allegedly an insignificant cut in the armed forces in Central Europe that will in no way change the existing preponderance of the troops of the Warsaw Treaty Organization over the NATO armed forces.

Characteristically, an attempt is made to make western public opinion forget, as it were, about U.S. advanced based weapons, including nuclear weapons, the nuclear forces of Britain and France, to gloss over the generally known fact that the whole of this military potential is spearheaded against the Soviet Union and the Socialist states, while the Soviet medium-range weapons constitute only a return measure.

Every effort is made to distract the attention of the people of the west European states from the fact that the deployment of new American missiles would increase the nuclear threat not to the United States, but to Western Europe. In doing so, they pass over in silence the statement by Leonid Brezhnev solemnly reaffirming that the USSR will never use nuclear weapons against the states which are renouncing the production and acquisition of such weapons and do not have them in their territory.

The peace initiative put forward by Leonid Brezhnev strengthens the hope of peoples for a lasting peace. It opens a possibility to prevent a new round in the arms race and to embark on the path of real disarmament, to preserve and multiply the fruit of detente and cooperation. It today depends on the NATO countries whether this opportunity is used. We would like to hope that the leaders of Western countries will display a feeling of responsibility and acting in the spirit of goodwill will follow the Soviet Union's example.

The peoples of the world are waiting for it.

Of course, official answers to the USSR's peace initiative will be given by governments. But parliaments and public forces can considerably influence the contents and character of these answers. A substantive broadening of the movement for European security and cooperation, which we all witness clearly at present and the prestige gained by it, allows as it seems to me, to hope that in the present situation it can and must make its considerable contribution to strengthening the trends towards detente, security and cooperation.

It shall save peoples from the danger of flooding West Europe with new systems of missile nuclear weapons and building up the arms race. The experience that has been accumulated shows that European public could do much for the resolution of a number of specific and important tasks.

We all realise how important it is not only to study the state of the problem of ending the arms race and of disarmament, but also to inform public opinion fully and objectively about possible ways and methods of their solution. The people, electors must know that they can and must express their will on matters, on whose solution the destinies of both Europe and the entire mankind depend.

Particularly important is to invigorate the work for creating a favourable climate in the U.S.A. and Europe for the ratification of the SALT-2 Treaty and immediate passing over to SALT-3.

Barring Death-Carrying Weapons from Europe

Of principle significance in the present situation is the work to explain the special danger stemming from the deployment in Europe of the "Eurostrategic weapons" as a move that does not accord with the vital interests of the Europeans, international peace and detente. Today it is necessary to bend every effort to bar the way to this

death-carrying weapon to Europe, to protect the peoples of our continent from the ruinous consequences it can bring along.

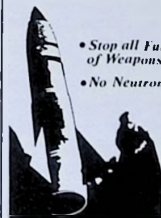
Now the prospects of the development of the situation in Europe, and in the world in general, the prospects of how things will proceed in the 1980s depend in a large measure on whether the reactionary-aggressive circles will be able to reduce to naught the momentum gained by detente, to impede it, or reverse it, or whether all the forces of peace will be able to accelerate its development.

I would like to stress once again in conclusion that the destinies of detente, the destinies of Europe and peace in the 1980s will be decided in the next few months. And we must all clearly realise this, proceed from this understanding in our practical work for strengthening peace and security, for countering the plans of opponents of detente.

The Soviet people are firm in their belief that the edifice of peace can and should be constructed.

The cohesion and determination of all the peoples of goodwill are its best guarantee. Their strong concerted will for peace shall make the forces of war withdraw.

STOP THE ARMS RACE!



• Stop all Further Production of Weapons of Mass Destruction!

• No Neutron Bombs!

• No Pershing II Missiles!

• The Five Nuclear Powers Must Negotiate Now Ban on All Nuclear Weapons

**WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
CALLS FOR ACTION**

Movement against Increased Military Spending in U.S.A.

MARK SOLOMON

DIRECT U.S. investments abroad grew dramatically from 1940 through the mid-seventies. In 1940, direct U.S. overseas investments were 11.3 billion dollars; by 1965, the figure had grown to 70.8 billion dollars; by 1974, U.S. direct overseas investments had leaped to 119 billion dollars. Significantly one of the most striking areas of growth in U.S. multinational investment activity has been in South Africa.

With things going badly for the U.S. in Viet Nam in the mid-sixties, the sphere of investment and search for strategic raw materials quietly shifted to the Southern rim of Africa and to the littoral states bordering on the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Not a traditional area of U.S. imperial activity, South Africa in 1965 accounted for roughly 650 million dollars in U.S. investments. By the early and mid-seventies that figure (kept secret by the corporate structure) now exceeds 5 billion dollars. (It is probably much higher, that is a conservative estimate made by Senator Charles Percy.)

Most of the major U.S. corporations are now active in South Africa, including the automobile Big 3. (The Chrysler Corporation, according to Senate testimony, even agreed to build a plant which could be easily converted to military production. This was done in order to gain assent from the apartheid government of South Africa for a Chrysler investment in that country.)

The highest rate of return on corporate investments came from developing countries. For example, from 1950 to 1965, the return to U.S. businesses on investments in South America was 469 per cent. In 1974, direct investments in developing countries amounted to 29 billion dollars. U.S.-based

transnational firms realized 52.2% rate of profit on that amount of money.

Significantly, the bulk of investments in developing sectors was in petroleum. In 1974 the rate of profits on investments in Mid-East oil was 360.6%. In that same year, U.S. petroleum investments throughout the world amounted to 54% of a total overseas investment of 119 billion dollars. Of the 25.2 billion dollars recorded in profits from overseas investment that year, some 13.5 billion dollars were earned from petroleum investments.

Those enormous profits from petroleum resources dramatized the importance to U.S. concentrated capital of raw materials from the developing Third World sector.

Of course, such a high rate of profit on investment in the extraction, refining, and marketing of petroleum was by no means the exclusive objective of transnational corporations and the U.S. government. A global reserve of cheap labour was also sought—a reserve that would also yield super-profits which in turn would compensate in part for the selected social payments made to Americans and for the "labour peace" which seemed to characterize labour-capital relations in the fifties and sixties.

Effect of Global Militarization

Thus, global militarization undergirded a three-pronged objective (upon which post-war "prosperity" was predicated): an especially high rate of profit on overseas investments, unimpeded access to increasingly vital strategic raw materials, access to pools of reserve labour for exploitation by multinationals (especially in such military client nations as South Korea, Taiwan, Nicaragua, Brazil, Chile, Puerto Rico, Republic of South Africa, Zaire).

However, in the mid-1960's a foreboding process of worldwide imperial contraction became manifest... even as the U.S. government attempted to guard the international frontier with enhanced military alliances, bases, listening post, military outposts, CIA interventions, etc.

By the middle decade of the 1960s, the retooled and streamlined industrial infrastructures in European nations (especially West Germany) and Japan were engaging in a serious economic challenge, on a worldwide scale, to the leading position of the United States.

Vitally, the United States, in fighting to prevent the contraction of its base on the Asian mainland, encountered a tenacious, protracted (and unanticipated) resistance on the part of the Vietnamese. Viet Nam became a quagmire requiring an outlay of perhaps 300 billion dollars. This massive expenditure came on the heels of growing expenditures for the military support of client states and for the garrisoning of hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops (and weapons) all over the world.

In order to meet the costs of virtually uncontrolled military spending, the government poured greater quantities of dollars into the economy; dead-end military spending was sending the U.S. economy into a dangerous, uncontrolled inflationary spiral. The cost of global militarization was finally becoming a canker upon the domestic economy.

By the mid-sixties it was also apparent that the United States' international balance of payments was in a deep crisis. Dollars from heated world-wide military spending flooded foreign money markets and declined in value, coming close to a total collapse. The dollar was drowning in a worldwide sea of capital inflation. At home, chronic price inflation (aggravated by the determination of corporations to maximize profits in order to service massive corporate paper debts to the financial sector of monopoly capitalism) became a way of life.

By 1974, in the words of one economist, the U.S. economy was characterized by "retarded growth, rising unemployment, increasing amounts of idle productive capacity and lower levels of investment in plant equipment".

Yet, the processes of imperial contraction appeared to be irreversible. The world was experiencing a dramatic shift in power: The U.S. was virtually pushed out of the Asian mainland (it is now seeking re-entry through China); an historic movement of Third World nations emerged to fight multi-

nationals (expressed in the UN in a call for a "New International Economic Order"); the socialist states increased their inner economic cohesion and experienced productive growth and increasing stabilization.

From Viet Nam, to Afghanistan, to Ethiopia, to the former Portuguese colonies of Southern and Central Africa, to the emergence of the Bauxite consortium in the Caribbean, to OPEC, to the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea—at a variety of levels the contraction of the sphere of unimpeded U.S. corporate and military power continued. Then, in the late winter of 1979 the Shah of Iran unexpectedly fell. The emergence of an Islamic republic in a nation that had hitherto been the chief gendarme of U.S. interests in the Middle East was a devastating blow—seriously altering an already rapidly changing world power balance. Shortly thereafter the brutal Somoza regime fell in Nicaragua.

In short, the international frontier of U.S. concentrated capital showed clear signs of coming to an end. This contraction intensified the interrelated problems of capital investments, access to strategic raw materials, and cheap reserve labour.

Playing the "China Card"

The most conservative sectors of U.S. capital called for return to the Cold War; they sought to use international red-baiting to attack the historic movement for indigenous control of resources as "Russian expansionism". President Jimmy Carter was successfully pressed to increase military spending, to consider playing the "China Card" in forging new worldwide alliances against transforming change, and to systematically place the burdens of the costs of increased global militarism, combined with imperial contraction, upon the shoulders of the U.S. people.

Within the United States the costs of military spending (even beyond the massive capacities of the U.S.) and the potential loss of sources of maximum profits on a world scale, led to a coordinated attack upon the system of social payments and selected concessions to labour.

A determined effort was made to "discipline and control" labour. The coal miners were confronted with a demand to "give back" their union-controlled health plan. Wage cuts, attacks on fringe benefits, sharp battles over cost of living adjustments, health care, retirement benefits, occupational health and safety, job classification, affirmative action, etc., became more pro-

nounced. Accompanying this determination to undermine the relatively favoured post-war position of labour, capital and government also sought to cut back social payments and roll back relatively favoured living standards of low income groups in the areas of housing, public education, health and social services. With price inflation a persistent, favoured aspect of economic policy, labour and the poor were forced to pay an ever increasing share of remaining social programmes (like social security) and bear the greatest share of rising costs of militarization.

Increase in U.S. Military Budget

Within the context of imperial contraction and increased global militarization, the political aim of the Carter Administration budget for 1980 becomes clear. That budget proposes a 3% increase in military spending over the rate of inflation—while hospitals and schools are forced to close. Five hundred million dollars is cut from school lunches, 800 million dollars is cut from youth public service jobs (mainly affecting black youth), etc. Thus, while 126 billion dollars is asked for military outlays in fiscal 1980, the Carter Administration deemed it "necessary: to cut 37 million dollars from community mental health centers and 67 million dollars from health manpower training.

This calculated decision to place the burdens of military spending and inflation upon those least able to pay also explains the emergence within the U.S. of the "liberal" managerial, "less-is-best" politician who counsels "austerity" and promises more efficient management (read "cuts") in government-sponsored social services.

The deepening crisis of imperial contraction also did much to explain the ferocious attack that was mounted by the Right and the "neo-conservatives" upon the SALT II treaty. SALT II will provide a vital, life-sustaining political framework for dealing with the deadly arms race. It will provide lowered ceilings on the number of strategic nuclear vehicles that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. can maintain, will ban certain types of weapons systems, and importantly will provide the foundation for a more extensive effort to cut the weapons stockpiles. But SALT can also rekindle the spirit of great power cooperation, international detente, and thus impede the right-wing effort to mount a military and propaganda attack upon the historic movement for national

independence by slandering that movement as "Russian expansionism". Thus, SALT II is an effort to effect balanced force reductions, and would defuse the contrived Cold War atmosphere promoted by the neo-conservatives and their oldline right wing allies.

Movement against Corporate Abuses

Significantly the mounting attack upon social payments, human services, and labour's interests is inspiring a major counter-attack. There is a reawakening of the spirit of social unionism in the labour movement and the creation of a promising political focus in the founding of the broadly-based Progressive Alliance.

That movement is founded upon a rising anger articulated by Douglas Frazer, President of the United Automobile Workers: "The leaders of the business community, with few exceptions, have chosen to wage a one-sided class war today in this country against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young, the very old, and even the middle class of our society."

The anger of the American public at the reckless and remorseless corporate disregard for human life expressed in the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island in the Harrisburg area in 1979 is further deepened by some inescapable facts that are becoming more widely known:

—Since World War II the percentage of taxes paid by corporations has dropped from 33.6% to 14.6% while the percentage paid by individuals has grown from 48.5% to 73.9%...

—The bottom fifth of the nation's income earners control only 5% of the nation's wealth, while the top 1% earn 10% of the national income. The top 5% in this country control more than 25% of the nation's wealth, and in the words of Representative Ron Dellums "probably more, if we could learn about the full extent of their business chicanery through access to their corporate and banking records."

The growing movement against corporate abuses in the domestic economy is at least equalled by the potentially powerful coalition of social groups working to end the suicidal arms race and to transfer funds from military spending to human needs. That movement, at varying levels, embraces a growing sector of labour, the Black community, the women's movement, the elderly, youth, etc. Most promising is the recent statement of the religious movement that ending the arms race will be the issue of the 1980s.



Arms Race Depletes Resources and Pollutes Environment

ANTERO HONKASALO

**"Thus at every step we are reminded
that we by no means rule
over nature like a conqueror
over foreign people, like someone
standing outside nature . . ."**

— F. Engels in *Dialectics of Nature*

THE energy crisis and exhaustion of the irreproducible natural resources are not only important to world peace because the ownership of natural resources has always been one of the main reasons for wars and conflicts between nations, but also because the limited resources as such demand their effective and rational utilization. It is dangerous for the human race to use the scanty irreproducible natural resources for the arms race; these resources are highly needed to solve economic problems of developed nations, and environmental problems on the whole globe.

These questions are treated here in the context of thermodynamic concepts. It is shown how the second law of thermodynamics helps understanding the total influences of man's production process to the environment and their interactions with world peace.

Man's productive activity has a basic property common with all life; he is capable to work more than is required for his generation and subsistence. Human work creates value owing to this property, that is, man is able to do surplus work not only in the social but also in the biophysical meaning of the word (Kremyanski, 1979).

This activity, however, obeys the second basic law of thermodynamics; the order, negentropy, created by life, is attained at

the cost of increased entropy of the totality. The meaning of the second law of thermodynamics, the entropy law, can be described for example as follows (Bertalanffy von, 1965): "The direction of physical events is prescribed by the second principle of thermodynamics, which says that the general trend of physical happenings is toward most probable states, that is, maximum entropy and progressive destruction of differentiation and order . . . 'Higher', directed forms of energy (e.g. mechanical, electric, chemical) are dissipated, that is, progressively converted into the lowest form of energy, i.e. undirected heat movement of molecules; chemical systems tend toward equilibria with maximum entropy; machines wear out owing to friction; in communication channels information can only be lost by conversion of messages into noise, but not vice versa, and so forth."

The entropy law is qualitative, not quantitative. Although the law has been supported by all man's practical activities, this tendency can be realized in different ways.

Life as an open system uses the physical and chemical stocks and flows of low entropy of nature, especially solar radiation. The exhaustion of the low entropy stocks of sun is a precondition of life in a cosmic scale. With photosynthesis the green plants can store part of the solar radiation which in their absence would immediately turn into dissipated heat. The animals use these stocks of low entropy. Man is dependent on

the solar radiation stored by green plants both directly by using them as food and raw materials as well as indirectly by combusting the solar energy saved from degradation from millions of years ago in the form of coal and oil.

Use of Tools

Important for political economy is N. Georgescu-Roegen's (1977) argument about man's place in the biosphere described by the law of entropy: "All other organisms than green plants . . . speed up the march of entropy. Man occupies the highest position in this scale."

Human beings have in a certain period of their evolution begun to use tools. This means that man does not any more "suck" the low entropy stocks of his environment only with his own organs. He extends his capabilities with tools, and is thus increasingly dependent on the irreproducible natural resources. As the end result of man's productive activity in the known universe is waste and an increase of entropy of the totality, it is unscientific and utopian to consider that environmental hazards can be reduced to zero. The most sophisticated technical circulation systems produces at least dissipated heat, a decrease of the irreproducible natural resources, as well as some occupational diseases and disturbances in human labour forces.

The problem is not whether the irreproducible natural resources will eventually

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be exhausted—limited supplies do not allow for unlimited drawing of raw materials and energy—but for how long these resources are required to last 10; 100 or 10,000 years (Georgescu-Roegen, 1975).

On the time scale of life itself, 10,000 years is a short period, it is short even on the scale of human society. Agriculture began some 10,000 years ago. Although the decisions concerning the use of irreproducible natural resources will exert a great influence on the life of all future generations of mankind, the time span of their use in capitalist planning is hardly a generation ahead.

The concept of entropy is related to the concept of information. Since its opposite, negentropy, can be considered as a measure of the level of organization of matter, some scholars use it as a synonym for information. The evolution of life has thus far lead to formation of increasingly complicated systems of matter on the biosphere of the globe, i.e., the information capacity of the biosphere has been increasing (Kunicki-Goldfinger, 1979), and the rate of increase has been accelerating.

While consuming irreproducible natural resources, both energy sources and high order systems of matter, man is able to create an increasing amount of use values with decreasing amount of social labour. He breaks his own biological limits. About only 1–2% of the energy used in industry in developed capitalist countries is produced by human muscles (Honkasalo, 1979), and his ability to receive information, about 100–300 bits/second, is no more a limit for processing information in the production process. This however does not mean that man can break the biological limits of the biosphere, its ability to absorb dissipated heat, chemical pollution and wastes. Man cannot exist without an ecosystem, but any natural ecosystem can well do without man (Eilart, 1976).

Since all life not only has to ensure its own development but also its existence, it is for the human society important to increase its labour productivity in such a way that makes it possible for it as a system to adapt to continuously changing environment and also to the alternations in its own inner structure. The accelerating use of the irreproducible natural resources opens possibilities for a certain stage of life. It cannot however continue indefinitely in the present fashion but should rather create material prerequisites for the adaptation of human society to rearrange its production process so that first and foremost the pre-

servation of the structure of ecosystems and their continuous functioning is guaranteed. This means that the increase in productivity is based as much as possible on the reproducible resources and solar energy.

Stopping Arms Race

The most important way to decrease the extravagant use of energy, natural resources and human labor is to stop the arms race (Georgescu-Roegen, 1977). The negentropy production, which the armament development means, is no progress in the evolution of the biosphere or the human society. Arms production is a major consumer of most important and scanty raw materials. Between 5 and 10% of the world's annual production of these materials is devoted to arms. About 400,000 high level engineers and scientists—about one quarter of the total of such personnel in the world—are occupied with military research.

The strong interperce changes in oil and natural resources will further shake the balance of the capitalist world economy, and accelerate inflation.

This kind of economic crisis has its interconnections with world peace. It is well known that the imperialist countries have many times in history attempted to solve their unemployment problems with the help of the arms race. According to J. Kuczynski (1971) this tendency can easily be seen in the Federal Republic of Germany. After the oil crisis of 1973–1974 even this did not help: the unemployment rate in the leading capitalist countries has reached the level of 5–10% of the total work force. The army of the unemployed has been a pool of new recruits for the rightwing militaristic movement since the rise of fascism, and of course war has been a way for imperialist countries to get rid of the excessive amount of unemployed hands.

The arms race may occasionally decrease unemployment and increase the economic growth; at least the unemployment statistics can be made more "beautiful". J. Kuczynski (1971) however points out that the productivity of labour has increased during the decade 1960–70 more in those developed capitalist countries that have used a minor part of their GNP for the arms race. The productivity of labour is a sum of many economic and technical parameters and should be interpreted with caution; it can however be considered a fact that the widespread public opinion in leading capitalist countries on the benefits of the arms race to economic growth is

fully incorrect. On the other hand, the real costs and benefits of the arms race can only be seen, when comparing them to the other funds of the budgets of the capitalist countries.

The U.S. Government, during the oil crisis 1973–1974, threatened the Arab countries with war, if they stopped the oil deliveries. It can, therefore, be imagined what risks to world peace can arise during 1985–1990 when the U.S. will be critically dependent on oil. President Carter's energy policy is too moderate; it cannot alter the situation, and the oil monopolies even attempt to counteract this policy.

In October 1978 in Wroclaw, Poland, about 150 scientists and artists from all over the world convened an "International Conference of Intellectuals for Peace" in honor of the World Conference held in the same place 30 years before. The 1978 Conference gave a declaration for all progressive scientists and artists to join the struggle against the arms race, intensified the imperialist countries, against their attempt to start another cold war, and against any form of neocolonialism. The importance of the peace movement for scientists is even greater today than in the days of the first Wroclaw Conference when the first nuclear bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima a few years earlier.

Imperialism threatens today the development of life on earth even without open war in the form of destruction of ecosystems. Every day one species of green plants or animals becomes extinct and never will be back on earth; chemical and physical pollution increases and raw materials are exhausted; the march of entropy in the imperialist countries has reached a fatal speed.

The following words expressed by K. Marx in his *Capital* are more acute than ever: "...Capitalist production therefore develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the labourer."

As a conclusion it can be said, that disarmament is an urgent necessity based on natural laws, and not only social ones. It can be seen, that the capitalist world system is in conflict more and more with the most elementary principles of biological evolution. Socialism has far greater possibilities to adapt to the changes in the environment and in the ecosystems with its democratic centralism and planned economy, than the economic system based on anarchy.

Arms Race Distorts Scientific Research and Development

ALEXANDRU PUIU

TOTAL general disarmament, and in the first place, nuclear disarmament, constitutes today one of the major tasks of international life. Its solution has assumed a vital importance in the elimination of the danger of a devastating war and for the realization of a world peace that will enable peoples to dedicate their efforts to development and progress. The arms race, which has acquired unprecedented dimensions, is an obstacle blocking the way to the liquidation of under-development and to the solution as well as of other important issues upon which the future of humanity depends.

Highlighting the organic tie between disarmament and development, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has emphasized the achievement inherent in general disarmament: "Fulfillment of this imperative contemporary requirement is the sole method by which the peoples can be liberated from the nightmare of a totally destructive thermonuclear war, and from the monstrous expenditures which now weigh upon the shoulders of all nations making it impossible for them to devote all their resources to progress and civilization." (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Road to the Construction of the Developed Multilateral Socialist Society", Vol. 7, Political Publications, Bucharest, 1973, p. 989-990.)

The arms race brings about distortions in economic development in all States, feeds inflation and provokes breakdowns in the balance of payments, creates artificial barriers to the transfer of equipment and technologies, and to the development of exchanges between nations. It is the

cause of irrational management of human resources and raw materials, and contributes to the pollution of the planet and to the upsetting of its ecological balance.

While bringing out the close inter-relationship between disarmament and development, we at the same time keep in view the necessity of mobilizing world public opinion to put pressure upon the governments to the point of persuading them to take effective action directed toward general and total disarmament.

According to our understanding—although support given to developing countries cannot be expected to limit itself to the materials made available through disarmament and although the struggle for the liquidation of under-development should be pursued energetically and on a broadening scale even within the context of the present arms race—real material progress on the road to disarmament will create the conditions and provide the means that lend themselves to complete solution of the problems with which developing countries are faced. Consequently, disarmament constitutes an essential requirement for the building of a new international economic and political order of a nature to assure rapid economic and social progress for all the peoples of the globe.

Since international life must be directed towards these objectives, we may refer here to the Romanian proposal of 1975 on the constitution of a Development Fund administered by the United Nations, which has been formed, thanks to the contributions from all States, and, in the first place, from the developed States. One source of supply for this fund would be created by the reduction of the military budgets of all

States and the unconditional transfer of half of the means thus saved to the Fund under consideration.

Dividends from Disarmament

A great many studies have been worked out over the years containing various calculations of "dividends" from disarmament. Each differed from the other principally in relation to the base year taken for the calculations and the theoretical estimate made of disarmament. Thus, one study undertaken under the auspices of the UN pointed out that if half of the world military expenditures made during the period 1970-1975 had been invested in the civil sector, annual production would have been 200 billion dollars greater than it actually was at the end of that time. (Economic and Social Consequences of the Armament Race and Its Extremely Harmful Effects on World Peace and Security, UN Document.)

The reduction in the military budgets of all States by 10% in 1977 would have produced a "dividend" from disarmament of around 40 billion dollars of which 20 billion dollars could have been allotted to funds for development administered by the UN. This sum would have been greater than all the net flow of capital under the control of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and earmarked for development during the period 1975-1978 as expenditure on specific national projects in these countries. Similarly, it would have been greater than the total public assistance to development made available in 1976 to the developing countries, by 17 developed capitalist countries, members of the Committee of Assistance for Development.

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The resources made available by the reduction in military expenditures could be used, therefore, primarily to stimulate investments—the fundamental condition for economic growth in all countries and the cardinal problem of economic and social development of the entire contemporary world. The reconversion of the "dividends" from disarmament to investment would contribute materially to the reduction of the economic and technological gap which from an industrial point of view divides the developing from the advanced countries.

In 1970 it was estimated that to reach a rate of growth of 6%—the central objective of the second decennial of development—would require an increase in the rate of gross national product accumulation of 0.5% a year if the figure of around 20% was to be realized by 1980. (Resolution 2626 (XXV) of the General Assembly of the United Nations).

Other studies show the need to attain even higher levels: to cut down, between now and the end of the century, the per capita income difference between the rich countries and the poor countries by half, the latter countries to attain a rate of investment of 30–35% of the gross national product, even in certain instances, 40%. Thus, at the moment, the total net investments operating in the interest of the developing countries (not including the OPEC countries) is valued at around 150 billion dollars, and their military expenses—which are between 31–33 billion dollars—represent between one-fifth and one-quarter of the domestic accumulation earmarked for investment. (According to date in "Disarmament and Development: An Analytical Study and Examination of Possibilities for Action", Doc. ECOSOC E/AC.54/L.90.)

Reconversion of Military Industry

From this it is clear that the reduction of military expenditures is not automatically equivalent to the growth in investments, but reconversion in this direction is favoured by the fact that in the majority of developing countries, as in the socialist countries, the programmes of economic and social development, are to a great extent, outlined and financed by the State.

Apart from this, it would be worth-while to give some consideration also to the importance that the idea, according to which the development funds administered by the UN should be used to benefit the countries which annually reserve for their own development around 20% of their

national revenue would assume for a just re-allocation of the resources liberated by the reduction of military expenditures.

For the developing countries, therefore, steps toward disarmament would tend to be equivalent to an appreciable growth of potential investment for production. The cumulative effect produced by the allocation to the developing countries of supplementary resources over a longer period of time, together with the opportunity afforded to the developed countries integrally involved in the process of reducing military expenditures to materially increase aid to developing countries, would influence the speed of economic growth.

Since the arms race leads to a tremendous waste of natural resources, it becomes all the more anachronistic in the present context of "the crisis of energy resources and of raw materials" not to rationalize the consumption of these materials as an immediate necessity.

The problem of the effects of disarmament on the consumption of raw materials should be studied primarily from the point

"The arms race which leads to a tremendous waste of natural resources becomes all the more anachronistic in the present context of the crisis of energy and other natural resources."

of view of passing over to the rational use of the world's natural resources, to the more exacting utilization of these resources for the development of industry for the transformation of raw materials in the developing countries; and to the introduction of sanity into international trade—all fields in which exporters as much as importers have long-term interests.

Impact of Disarmament on Economic Growth

The impact of disarmament on economic growth should also be analysed from the point of view of the requirements for the promotion of scientific-technical progress. The scientific and technical revolution has placed its powerful imprint indelibly on the

whole economic-technical development of these last decades and it will go on conditioning still more the future economic growth.

Wasteful Research for Military Purposes

However, the arms race has introduced tragic distortions in this field also, through its monopolization of the principal research-development resources for the benefit of the military and at the expense of the civil sector of the community. Thus around 400,000 engineers and men of science (that is 25% of the scientific personnel of the world) are directly engaged in research and development activity of a military nature, equipped moreover with the most highly perfected installations and laboratories. This activity absorbs annually 25 billion dollars; that is, 40% of world funds allotted to research, while for medical research devoted to the protection of the health of mankind, only 4 billion dollars per year are made available.

By the priority position it enjoys as well as by its concentration in several of the advanced industrial countries which are in control of superior material, financial and human potential, research for military purposes functions both as the driving force of the arms race and as the lever for deepening the scientific-technical chasm between the peoples. At the same time, the means at the disposal of research and development for military ends explain the much greater rapidity with which the techniques for war are perfected, compared to the rate at which problems vital to the socio-economic progress of humanity are resolved.

Over a long period of time attempts have been made to justify the preference accorded by certain governments to research for military objectives by arguing that the results obtained in this field find their echo also in the field of civil production. Recent estimates indicate that these consequences have been considerably exaggerated as a means of giving added motivation to the arms race. The relationship is rather the other way round; the advantages that the military sector derives from civil research are more significant than are those obtained by the civil sector from military research.

Quite apart from this controversy the problem with which we are confronted is that of the practical possibilities for the conversion of military to civil research, with the object of making use of the gigantic scientific and technical potential already

in existence throughout the world for resolving the grave problems facing humanity today.

Analyses carried out under the auspices of the UN have led to the conclusion that, directed to peaceful ends, resources used up today for military research-development projects could have profound effects on economic-social development for humanity. In line with this thinking, a list has been drawn up of fields in which research and development of a military character could be reconverted—using the same resources—into research-development projects for peaceful purposes.

Reconversion in the direction of peacetime research projects of the sums now spent on military research, would open up broad perspectives for progress in the world economy. The rational evaluation of the scientific potential of humanity has become a necessity of the first order, when one considers that the future economic growth of humanity is presenting itself in the form of fundamental problems connected with the production of new sources of energy that will be economically viable, the exploitation of immense resources of the seas and oceans, improvement in existing techniques and technologies, which fail in the rational utilization of energy, including oil, the perfecting of meteorological forecasts, protection of the environment, the protection of the health of the population, etc.

It is precisely in such vitally important domains that the impact of military research on the civil sector has remained insignificant in relation to the resources which have made their financing possible.

The passing over to general disarmament, and, in the first place to nuclear disarmament, today constitutes the fundamental requirement for restoring to scientific and technical research its original and essential function as the basic instrument in the wide-sweeping and complex process of liquidating under-development and accelerating the economic and social progress of all peoples.

Negative Consequences of Arms Race

The negative consequences of the arms race on economic development are equally due to the fact that one of the principal economic instruments used in the politics of domination and the perpetuation of dependence in the international arena is becoming the export of military goods and services. The expansion of the international trade in armaments constitutes not only a pathway to the acceleration and generali-

zation on a world scale of the arms race, but also a drag on the liquidation of under-development. Herein lies the reason why we consider that one cannot speak of the impact of disarmament on development without pointing out the negative role that the importing of arms plays in exhausting the resources which the developing countries procure through the export of their raw materials.

Arms Race Harms Developing Countries

By dragging the developing countries at a giddy pace into the arms race not only is the explosive character of the arms race being aggravated around the world, but the practical possibilities for liquidating under-development have been substantially reduced.

While coming out strongly for the implementation of concrete steps to advance disarmament, our country has always attached and continues to attach great importance at the same time to partial measures of a nature to contribute to the dimi-

"Reconversion of the war industry in the direction of peacetime research projects will open up broad perspectives for progress in the world economy."

nation of the danger of armed confrontation; to lead to the stimulation of efforts in favour of disarmament; and to step up negotiations for the adoption of commitments in support of disarmament. Within this framework, Romania has made its opinion known abroad regarding the SALT talks. Outlining the position our country takes on these talks, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has emphasized: "We attach particular importance to the SALT II conversations between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., and we consider that, while they are limited in character, should their outcome signify success, this would exercise a positive influence on detente in Europe and around the world."

Public opinion in our country has noted with interest and satisfaction the results of the meetings between L. I. Brezhnev, Presi-

dent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America, talks which have concluded in the signing of a new Treaty on the limitation of offensive strategic arms, SALT II, and other bilateral documents also.

Socialist Romania, which fights with never-failing perseverance to help to bring about disarmament, putting forward constructive initiatives to this end, has welcomed and will always welcome every deed, every measure, all contributions of whatever nature that serve progress in the cause of disarmament. The programme of proposals relative to disarmament drawn up on the initiative and through the guidance of the president of our country, Comrade Ceausescu, sets its sights on measures to "freeze" and gradually cut down military expenditures and armed forces and armaments; measures directed toward reducing the danger of military confrontation, among others, the adoption by all States of a commitment not to install new troops or new armaments on the territories of other States and to proceed to the withdrawal of all foreign troops to within the limits of the national frontiers and the dismantling of military bases now in existence on the territories of other countries; measures to bring about military disengagement in Europe, among these the undertaking of negotiations working toward the dissolution simultaneously of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and the conclusion of a pan-European pact renouncing force and the threat of force; measures aimed at the creation of the conditions necessary for effecting nuclear disarmament, among which would be the undertaking by States now having nuclear armaments not to use such weapons against States lacking nuclear arms; and the creation of denuclearized zones in the Balkans and other regions.

Our country is deeply convinced, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly pointed out, that through the resolute action of all States and of all peoples, on whom rests the decisive role in solving the major problems of contemporary humanity, significant progress can be made on the path to the adoption of efficient measures for stopping the arms race and reducing expenditures on arms, accomplishing the noble aim of disarmament and in the first place, nuclear disarmament, thus opening the perspective of a world without weapons and without wars, a world of peace and progress, benefiting the whole of humanity.

Intensifying Struggle for NIEO

Nonaligned Countries must Plan Common Strategy to Resist Neocolonialist Domination

DIDIER RATSIRAKA

THE new international economic order is a concept which changes with the latitudes; and so it is necessary for us to analyse the international situation objectively so that we can speak the same language, and bring our actions into line with common objectives.

The failures of the various UNCTADS need no longer be demonstrated; everyone is aware of them. What can we salvage from UNCTAD, and particularly from the 5th UNCTAD in Manila?

Arrogance and contempt marked the response of the western industrialized countries to the reasonable resolutions introduced for consideration by the developing countries, on such topics as necessary adjustments in the industrialised countries' machinery of production and exchange; the necessity to increase subsidies for the developing countries; and, finally, the transfer of technologies.

Representatives of rich countries of the "centre" in Manila paid lip service to these aspirations of the developing countries, while their real intentions were to maintain at all costs the iniquitous machinery which enables them to preserve their domination and to export their crisis and their inflation to the periphery.

They overlooked the following:

— if the United States can today set itself the target of being the foremost granary in the world, it does so after having seized the lands of the peaceful indigenous people of that country, and after having reduced to slavery a considerable part of the population taken by force from Africa.

— if the United States can boast nowadays that it is also the leading industrial power in the world, it does so after having purely and simply pillaged the raw materials of other continents.

— those countries which are the main centres of capitalism forget that their present wealth has in large part been acquired by colonising and despoiling whole continents.

If their colonial interests and their multinationals are nationalised, they claim massive indemnities. But what would they say if we were to demand of them indemnity for their colonial plundering? If we should demand reparation for the blood shed by our sons on the battlefields to save the West from fascist domination?

The subversive arrogance of these industrialised countries, however, is easily explained. It bears the seal of its origins—the primitive, violent accumulation of wealth which strengthened the monopolies now reigning as masters in our countries.

Fashioned by violence and having grown in the obsessive search for maximum profit, the monopolies and the multinationals—the mainstay of the big exploiting powers dedicated to hegemony and domination—have no choice but to oppose the total liberation of the oppressed peoples of the Third World and the development of humanity in harmony.

If therefore we dare to state that these western industrialised countries are the exponents of an anti-humanitarian attitude, this is not insence, or provocation, or a gratuitous affirmation on our part, and even less is it gut hatred of the people of these countries. It is a simple reminder of the oppressive reality of imperialism, and oppression that is very obvious to the peo-

ples of the Third World, who are enduring it. And, moreover, the peoples of the industrialised countries also know something of it.

Today, the disparities between the industrialised nations and the poorer nations can no longer be tolerated.

The capitalist countries account for 2/3 of the exports and imports in international commerce; around 50% of world imports occur between countries of the Occident, and 70% of their exchanges take place among them.

One can consequently argue that these 20 countries of the West are vulnerable, being so sensitive to everything that affects the economic activity of any one of them. The world as a whole, however, is even more vulnerable because, as we have just pointed out, these capitalist countries control 2/3 of the exchanges in international trade.

The developing countries however, are the most vulnerable of all; for they depend on these same capitalist countries for 70% of their transactions; and it is on the financial markets of London, Paris, New York, etc. . . . that the main financial party in these transactions is to be found.

In their current operations the principal oil exporting countries have at their disposal for example a net surplus of 35 to 50 billion dollars. This phenomenal sum however will go to swell the finances available on precisely these western markets. The outrageous thing is that the Third World has an enormous unsatisfied demand for loans for investment purposes; while, on the other hand, we see a mass of unused petro-dollars.

In these circumstances it is inevitable that the UNCTADS and the "north-south dialogue" should end up each time in an impasse.

Restructuring of World Economy

Practically speaking, what does the Third World want?

The Third World wants a new political, economic, commercial, and cultural order that is just, equitable and democratic.

It wants more justice and equity in the economy and in international commerce, through the adoption of certain measures; improvement, stabilization and guaranteeing of the principal exports of the developing countries; the revalorisation of raw materials and stabilization of export returns; indexation of the prices of raw materials in line with those of industrial products, in line with inflation; to put an

end to exchange inequality; to have access to the markets of the industrialised countries through the lowering of customs barriers; and an increase in aid and easing of the debt burden.

In short, the Third World calls for the general restructuring of the world economy, as the present crisis is structural, a crisis of imperialism and capitalism.

And so, confronted by the reasonable demands of the developing countries and by a world crisis which they claim is due to the increase in oil prices, the capitalist countries make use of classical means of interfering in the market:

- manipulation of the rates of exchange
- reduction of aid for development
- expulsion of the unfortunate immigrant workers
- protectionism
- reduction of consumption
- price increases of manufactured goods
- export of inflation.

Talk of indexation sparks the liveliest opposition of the industrialised countries. In their view indexation would bring in its wake a rigidity completely at variance with a market economy, and above all would create a dangerous precedent which is all the more dangerous because they do not themselves control their own inflation. Naturally, therefore, according to them, indexation would run the risk of sharpening the spiral of inflation.

Stabilization of export returns, on the contrary, is the formula that worries the rich countries the least, for the good and simple reason that it offers them the most. They are favourably inclined toward it because it is the solution which least affects the structures of the market economy while it enables the countries benefiting from it to continue to import industrial goods at a sustained, if not a growing rate.

It must never be forgotten that massive exports to the developing countries is a vital necessity for the rich countries; first of all because they need markets in order to grow; and then, because in this way they can restore in their favour a balance of payments upset by the rise in oil prices. What we have is therefore the squaring of the circle: the positions of the rich and of the poor countries are irreconcilable.

Clearly no one renounces tremendous privileges willingly or with a light heart; there must be constraint. The capitalist boss, for example, cannot be reconciled to making concessions unless the workers' trade unions put pressure on him. With

capitalism in its final stage, that is, imperialism, it is no longer the workers of all countries who should unite, but also all workers, all the oppressed nations and their objective allies.

Cooperation of Developing Countries with Socialist States

The developing countries are, specifically dependent on the large foreign transnationals and their networks. Paradoxical as this may seem, the rice from Madagascar bought directly in a country of the Third World costs more than if the same rice were bought through a European broker. On the other hand, Madagascar coffee bought by a socialist country costs more than if it were bought through a French or English agency. And in this connection, we may be permitted to speak parenthetically of our relations with our socialist friends.

We should recognise with deep gratitude that the socialist countries are our objective allies in our struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism. Further, the socialist countries have never colonised us. Were it not for the socialist countries, the imperialists would have literally cut the Third World to pieces and divided it among themselves.

Without the support of the socialist forces, the national liberation movements would have had great difficulty in winning victories.

The consequence is that, perhaps unavoidably, our relations with our friends in certain socialist countries remain enveloped in swaddling clothes stained by imperialism.

We have seen that the capitalist countries practise economic spoliation. Their self-interest determines the conditions governing international relations by virtue of their double character of being the world's main grain dealer and workshop. Consequently, they have the ability to manipulate the world market on the basis of parity among their own currencies.

In such circumstances, we frequently encounter the hardship of the world market price in our free commercial exchange with our friends of the socialist countries.

For this reason we say to our socialist allies, in a spirit of fraternity: Relations between friendly countries are not obliged to submit to the iniquitous market regulations that are the brain-child of imperialist countries, unless it is to prove that unequal exchange is inescapably in the nature of

earthly things. We end the statement in parenthesis here.

Need for a Common Strategy

If the developing countries are to strengthen their position in international relations, and particularly in the north-south dialogue, so as to be able to give effect to their views on the setting up of a new international order, they must organise and unite instead of appearing separately at international negotiations. A new international order presupposes a new national order. Let us first adopt a common strategy.

It is now notoriously known everywhere— for everything has now been said on the matter—that the great danger of a strategy resting exclusively on an integrated programme and the Common Fund is that it condemns the developing countries to playing the role that they have always done in the international division of labour, namely, supplying certain raw materials on conditions set by the buyer and acquiring manufactured goods on the conditions of the seller.

This would reduce the developing countries to satisfying the needs of other more powerful and richer nations.

In such circumstances the developing countries would continue to divert their labour power away from production of foodstuffs or themselves, without the slightest guarantee that the foodstuffs they would have to import would be sold to them at prices acceptable to them.

U.S. Domination in Foodgrains Market

The era of relatively cheap cereals to which we have become accustomed will quickly end once the United States (the leading granary in the world) gets the opportunity to increase prices of foodgrains.

A single example would suffice to illustrate this. In the light of its continuing balance of payments deficit, the U.S.A. has a long-term interest in seeing that the price of wheat remains high. As soon as the stocks of American wheat began to touch the saturation point and the price of wheat dropped below the record levels of 1973-74, President Carter ordered a reduction in the land surface used for wheat growing by 20% in order to cut down the reserve and to force prices up.

Could not the enormous surpluses of currencies of the nonaligned oil producing countries be better used in all-out investment in the cultivation of wheat and rice in the nonaligned countries, which do not

produce oil, than in real estate in the big capitalist centres?

We know that the OPEC countries are in general big importers of wheat and rice. A confidential American report on the outlook for the export of agricultural products from the U.S.A. between now and 1986 estimates that the price of wheat, starting in 1980, would again begin to rise and overtake the price levels of 1973-74. The U.S. Minister of Agriculture is working on a vast programme for the development of rice cultivation in the U.S.A. which would evolve into a sharp competition with the traditional producers of the Third World.

There is still another phenomenon which merits our attention at this time, because of its importance in our definition of our strategy for development and collective self-sufficiency.

Between 1970 and 1976, the United States imported 20 billion dollars worth of so-called "complementary" products (that is, those that are not produced on American soil) and 40 billion dollars worth of so-called "supplementary" products (that is, those that the Americans do not produce in sufficient quantity to meet their needs, and which they must import). The importance of this is that the "supplementary products" are being provided to a greater and greater extent by the developing countries, and less and less by the developed countries. This means that the United States is buying more and more of its food supplies in the Third World.

In consequence, it appears that on a world scale, the developing countries are again on the way to shouldering the burden of feeding the American population which is already in the grip of overconsumption. In the meantime, our traditional cash crops are facing stagnating demand owing to the production of substitute products (synthetics or ersatz). But a further very significant phenomenon is appearing, in connection with the situation in the countries of the Third World taken individually, and this phenomenon is really serious. The fact is that these countries must cope with a fluctuating demand for their commodities, a demand that is extraordinarily irregular and changing, both in quantity and price.

Let us for the moment leave aside the question of price, for we are all familiar with it.

Vulnerability of Countries Producing Commodities

In terms of quantity, this irregular demand can be the cause of a sudden fall in

export revenues of developing countries. This has already happened with certain countries.

Let us give a few examples to get a clear idea of this phenomenon.

From 1975 to 1976, sales of sugar to the U.S.A. from Brazil fell from 100 million dollars to zero, while those of the Philippines rose in weight from 800,000 pounds to 2,400,000 pounds. In the same period, cocoa sales from Ghana to other developed countries fell from 2 million pounds to almost nothing, those from Chad fell from 5 million pounds to zero. At the same time, U.S. imports of cocoa from Liberia and other countries of West Africa climbed from zero to 4 million pounds.

Take the case of cotton. Mexican sales of cotton were cut by half and those from Pakistan by 90 per cent by the developed importing countries. At the same time, the cotton sales from Egypt rose four times and from Sudan fourteen times from the previous level.

These few examples taken from Western publications reveal the vulnerability of the producing countries and the position of strength of the big consumer countries. These countries, for either political or economic reasons, can choose arbitrarily at all times from among a great number of countries which supply the same product.

So, we can see that even if we can assure some reasonable margins for the fluctuation of the prices of our products through a stabilization fund covering raw materials, no producing country can be sure of selling a fixed quantity of its product every year, except by being politically reduced to unconditional serfdom.

Such economic dependence means that the big consumer capitalist countries can divide us at leisure and reign over us as masters. Given these conditions and considering that their export receipts finance a good part of the national budget of developing countries, they are in no position to draw up viable plans for development.

Developing Countries Must Trade Amongst Themselves

The developing countries have to think of some other practical way of improving their lot.

What the nonaligned countries, and possibly all the other countries of the Group of 77, require is to increase trade among themselves. Actually, everybody knows that the trade between the developing countries is insignificant, (6% of world trade, and 2.5% only, if oil is excluded) owing to the

fact that their economies are competitive rather than complementary. But this very weakness in the south-south exchanges itself constitutes a decisive argument in favour of diversification of agricultural production. Instead of carrying on a triangular trade through the medium of transnationals, the Third World countries would be well advised to exchange among themselves the foods they require.

There are three ways to get over the problems cited above.

a) As producers of raw materials, we should not appear on the international market singly; we should organise and assist each other to obtain the most profitable price while we are preparing to process our products ourselves.

b) As importers of industrial products we should agree to reserve our purchases on a preferential basis from the rich countries which are ready to give us the best credit and price conditions or from those countries which do not oppose our demands for a new international economic order, as well as from those who assist us in our struggle for national liberation.

c) Thirdly, we should multiply the networks of communications and transportation among south-south countries.

At present, transportation lines, and the networks of trade, banking and insurance still run North-South and South-North as in the days of colonial empires.

South-South Dialogue

We thus reach one conclusion. A serious and responsible South-South dialogue must be started before a North-South dialogue is opened, the conceptions and initiatives of which are not ours. A South-South mutually advantageous trade could provide a formula for inter-Third World solidarity.

The negotiators for the countries at the periphery would strengthen their positions vis-à-vis the developed countries if they had the political will to decide not to buy products from the North until after they had exhausted all possibilities of securing supplies in the other countries of the Third World.

It is apparent that the condition sine qua non for the success of such a step is the avoidance of political and economic serfdom; in other words, the maintenance of effective political independence.

We have seen that the oil crisis (which is nothing but the direct consequence of the crisis of imperialism and of the dollar) has been largely used for resolving the inter-Atlantic contradictions which so bother the

United States. As oil prices rise, Japan and Europe find themselves obliged by force of circumstances to finance the recovery of the American economy. The western oil trusts, thanks to the oil crisis of 1973-74, have benefitted directly; so much so that the U.S.A. since 1975 has enjoyed a favourable commercial balance with the group of countries of the Middle East.

In contrast to the United States, which can in the final analysis live in national self-sufficiency, supported by its immense reserves of raw materials and energy, Europe and Japan are extremely vulnerable. Taking advantage of the increase in oil prices the Americans have succeeded in re-establishing their hegemony throughout the Western world and their supremacy in the world as a whole.

We are witnessing the massive penetration of U.S. companies into European and Japanese economy; U.S. firms are buying up entire sections of the European and Japanese industrial structures.

Oil Crisis and Developing Countries

Let us here review the impact of the oil crisis on the developing countries.

In 1973, we warmly welcomed the victory of the oil producing countries, and the formation of OPEC. Economically and commercially it was truly revolutionary; for it was conceived as a blow to put a stop to a form of exchange of raw materials and industrial products that was becoming ever more unequal and insupportable.

It constitutes the first dent made in the sacrosanct international division of labour. And it is without doubt the best example for the countries producing other raw materials to follow today, if they wish to free themselves from economic tutelage to the big industrial trusts. However, since it has reinforced the domination of the "periphery" by the "centre", this OPEC action, revolutionary in itself, is in danger of losing its significance if its ultimate effect is to be the penalizing of the developing countries that do not produce oil, rather than the centres of imperialism.

Since the energy crisis of 1973, the capitalist countries have tried to divide the Third World into two groups: OPEC and the countries not producing oil. We should not fall into this trap! We must therefore study and analyse carefully and in all sincerity what has taken place in order to draw the necessary lessons and to make this victory not that of OPEC alone but of the whole of the Third World in general, and of the nonaligned countries in par-

ticular. The oil weapon must be made the common weapon at the service of all non-aligned countries.

A gap separates the announced priorities for use of oil resources and their real use. Despite everything that may be done, this gap will not be bridged from one day to the next; and so the producing countries will go on "recycling" an important part of their surpluses in currencies in imperialist centres. This is done, first of all, in the form of imports (agricultural products, manufactured products, armaments...), and then in the form of financial, industrial and real estate investments.

What interest do the oil producing countries have in buying up buildings and hotels in the centres of capitalism? The interest is all the less apparent since this real estate could very well be nationalised one day by the capitalists.

What interest do the Arab producing countries have in investing their petrodollars in the financial markets of the capitalist countries? Most of the banks belong to the Zionists and their allies! If the Arab oil producers continue to behave in this way, they will become the grave-diggers of their own cause.

Cooperation among Nonaligned Countries

What solutions then do we propose to prevent the splitting up of the nonaligned countries and to cope with our common problems?

We believe that the oil-producing non-aligned countries with large currency surpluses should come to the assistance of the other developing countries which do not produce oil and whose balance of payments is severely affected. To be precise, they should increase their aid to the national liberation movements in Southern Africa.

The oil-producing countries with large currency surpluses should invest massively in the other nonaligned countries, particularly in agriculture, so that these latter could produce foodstuffs which are necessary for all.

Developing countries that produce basic raw materials (other than oil) are not able to impose a really remunerative price for their products on the industrialised countries. Neither can they—and we have already underlined this—oblige the industrialised countries to buy a specific quantity of their products each year. And it is in this connection that we call for solidarity from the oil-producing nonaligned countries, asking them to use the power of oil to compel the

industrialised countries to buy these basic products at a price and in an agreed quantity each year. And this is not only possible, but, we believe, indispensable!

If, instead of placing petrodollars in the Western banks and financial institutions, the oil-producing countries placed only one-third of these amounts at the disposal of other nonaligned countries (one hundred billion dollars), we could use a part of it to set up an account which would be used to buy up stocks of basic products to sell at a worthwhile price instead of leaving it to the monopolies to speculate with these products and enrich themselves at our expense.

We could use another part to finance the development projects of the nonaligned countries that are not producers of oil.

The oil-producing countries could compel the industrialised countries to agree to indexation of basic products in line with inflation of the prices of industrial products.

We should start thinking in terms of setting up a Monetary Fund of the Nonaligned Countries. The main objective of this Fund should be to promote economic and monetary cooperation with a view to bringing about the integration of the economies of the member countries, and to speed up economic growth, to help member countries to cope with the balance of payment deficits, to encourage exchange between member States and to try to ease the conditions for current payments, to watch over the stability of the exchange rate, to coordinate the positions of the nonaligned countries on problems of international finance and economics.

The creation of a Development Fund of Nonaligned Countries would enable the member States to speed up the process of development.

United and imbued with purpose, we shall be able to repel every form of trialogue or cooperation à la mode stable boy, à la horse-and-rider.

United and powerful, we can face up to a North-South Dialogue or a Trialogue.

Before any North-South Dialogue or any Trialogue, we must organize, and so strengthen our structures so as to make of them genuine institutions serving the right to development, to economic and financial independence and to our collective self-sufficiency.

This article is based on the report made by the President of Malagasy Didier Ratsiraka at the 6th Summit of the Heads of State and Government held in Havana (Cuba) in September 1979.



Manila and After

Strengthening of Developing Nations will Bolster World Economy

GAMANI COREA

What were the successes and failures of UNCTAD V? The survey here answers this question in the spirit that the Manila Conference would have an impact on how the international dialogue evolves itself in the future on restructuring relations between the developed and developing countries.

IN three critical and crucial areas, the Conference at Manila (UNCTAD V) did succeed in providing openings at least for the international community to involve itself in the period ahead in important consultations, even negotiations. If these ongoing consultations and negotiations unfold in a positive and constructive manner, they could provide a crucial and important complement to the process started at Nairobi and open up the way for an assessment of the Manila Conference which in retrospect might seem to be useful. First of all, in the area of international trade in commodities, the Conference at Manila did succeed in adopting, by consensus, a somewhat comprehensive resolution which not only endorsed and affirmed the objective and the activities pertaining to the Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities, and to the ongoing efforts to arrive at individual commodity agreements in respect of a number of products, but also provided new dimensions in respect of facets of the commodity problem which, though figuring in the Integrated Programme, had not received particularly sharp attention after Nairobi. In particular, the Manila Conference did endorse the objective of build-

ing or working towards an international framework of cooperation in two very vital areas—in the area of the marketing and distribution of commodities, and in the area of the processing of these commodities. The resolution called not only for studies on these issues on the part of the UNCTAD secretariat; it also called for the establishment of an international framework of cooperation which presumably can only be brought into being through a process of deliberation, consultation and negotiation between member Governments.

I think that this is a very significant development, because up to now the machinery of UNCTAD has given its attention to the need to regulate commodity markets and prices through individual commodity agreements and through the Common Fund. With the new resolution we turn our attention to other, perhaps even more dynamic, aspects of the commodity economy, the aspects of marketing, distribution and processing which are inherent to the very structure of world commodity trade. If, in the period after Manila, this resolution enables the international community to arrive at definitive and useful results in this realm, then I believe that the Conference itself would prove to have been significant. The problem of marketing and distribution of commodities touches on a variety of aspects, including the role of transnational

corporations in international commodity trade. Similarly, the question of the processing of commodities touches on such vital issues as access to markets and the question of the emergent trend of protectionism. These aspects to bring within their compass a number of key problems which are of central importance to the whole question of restructuring international economic relations.

Protectionism and Structural Adjustment

Secondly, the Manila Conference also produced, through consensus, a resolution dealing with the very vital subject of protectionism and structural adjustment. The question of protectionism was, of course, one of the issues which was given great prominence at Manila. This was inevitable in the context of recent developments. The very fact that the protectionist issue came to be the subject of particularly sharp focus, the very fact that it was the occasion for an expression of views on the part of the different constituents of the international community, this in itself was of value from the point of view of the contribution made by the Conference. But, more specifically, the resolution itself did provide for action on two fronts. It called upon UNCTAD, within its intergovernmental machinery, not only to review and identify problems, but to formulate recommendations on the general problem of protectionism. Likewise, the resolution called upon the intergovernmental bodies of UNCTAD to formulate general recommendations on the question of structural adjustment.

These resolutions carry within them the seeds of somewhat extensive negotiating

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processes. After all, the general problem of protectionism on which we have been invited to make recommendations is very much linked to the entire question of the way in which the future world trading system evolves in the light of the industrialization of the developing countries as well as other parts of the international economy. The task of formulating recommendations on this very fundamental issue does open up prospects for the involvement of Governments in a new area of activity which can hopefully bring out positive and meaningful results, and I would say the same of the mandate given to pursue the question of structural adjustment. What is interesting about the resolution adopted at Manila is that it recognizes by combining these two issues in a single decision, the very intimate link between protectionism and the problem of structural adjustment. At Manila, it would be true to say, at least potentially, a process has been launched, a process that could lead the international community to positive results.

Transfer of Resources

Thirdly, the Manila Conference also pronounced itself on certain issues in the field of money and finance. The Conference adopted by consensus a resolution on the transfer of real resources which reflects the current thinking of the international community in respect of this very important issue. The resolution embraced the question of bilateral assistance, multilateral assistance, the role of private capital flows, and also the question of the massive transfer of resources. But, at the same time, the Conference adopted a resolution, not by consensus but by vote, pertaining to aspects of the more fundamental question of the reform of the international monetary system itself. This resolution identified a number of requirements for the future evolution of the monetary system and for the first time called upon UNCTAD to establish an intergovernmental group of experts to deal with fundamental aspects of this problem, particularly those aspects which bring out the relationships between the evolution of the monetary system and issues in the field of trade and development.

UNCTAD has always contributed to the ongoing debate on the reform of the monetary systems; it has not been the forum, and it is not envisaged that it would be the forum, where negotiations on the specifics of monetary reform take place. Nevertheless, the invitation by the Con-

ference for Governments to engage themselves in UNCTAD on this issue opens the way for UNCTAD to make a very useful contribution in the future to the whole debate on the reform of the global monetary system. I hope that this opportunity will be grasped by member States and that we would be able to fulfil the expectations that are embodied in the resolution.

These are three critical areas—commodities, world trade in manufactures and protectionism, and the area of money and finance—in which the Manila Conference initiated, negotiating processes of one kind or another. There are, at the same time, a number of other areas in which the Conference took decisions by consensus relating not perhaps to new negotiations but to somewhat extensive and multifaceted programmes of action.

In the field of technology, the Conference adopted two resolutions unanimously which pertain to the reverse flow of technology and to the very fundamental issue of the technological transformation of developing countries. We have always seen this subject of building up the technological capability of developing countries as constituting the reverse side of the coin to the transfer of technology. UNCTAD is already involved in the negotiation of an International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology, and that it should now turn its attention to the technological transformation of developing countries is an important and appropriate result of the Conference.

In regard to the Code itself, the Conference was unable to resolve the wider issue of the character of the Code, whether it should take the form of a legally binding instrument, or of guidelines, but it did endorse the convening of the negotiating Conference in its second round and referred these issues to that Conference.

Then again, in the area of economic cooperation among developing countries, the Conference at Manila did produce an important decision by consensus setting out the parameters of an extremely extensive programme of activities in this field. The Conference was able to break the impasse or deadlock which had prevailed earlier regarding the ability of UNCTAD to call meetings of experts from developing countries—these meetings have now been authorized, as also has the need for UNCTAD to give support to many aspects of cooperation among developing countries which were called for by the developing countries at their Arusha meeting.

World's Poverty Problem

In the area of the least developed countries, the Conference was again able to arrive at a far-reaching resolution giving new support to the least developed countries, a resolution which in a sense could constitute a new attack on this problem, which I have described on many occasions as constituting the core of the world's poverty problem.

The Conference resolution envisages the convening of a global meeting on the problems of the least developed countries at a later date. Parallel to this were consensus decisions on the problems of land-locked countries and island developing countries.

In the area of shipping it is important to note that at Manila it seemed possible at long last to bring the Convention on a Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences into legal effect, because at Manila announcements were forthcoming of a number of countries taking decisions to ratify the Convention. I believe that we have now some 56 countries, representing about 75 per cent of world tonnage, that have signified their decision to ratify the Convention, and this makes it possible to bring the Code of Conduct into legal effect.

I would like also to mention in this connexion another important decision taken at Manila on the basis of consensus, and that is the decision on the role of UNCTAD, a decision which recognizes the contribution which UNCTAD could make to the ongoing negotiations in the field of international economic relations, which recognizes the need to give to UNCTAD a degree of flexibility and of adequacy in the availability of resources, and also the need to strengthen and rationalize the governmental and internal structure of UNCTAD itself in order to make it a more effective instrument of the General Assembly in the treatment of international economic issues.

Failures at Manila Conference

There were areas in which UNCTAD V failed to arrive at decisions and referred resolutions to the Board. On the subject of trade between countries having different economic and social systems, a resolution was adopted affirming the decisions taken at UNCTAD IV, but referring to the Board the draft resolutions submitted to UNCTAD V.

Similarly, a draft resolution relating to the question of the adoption of common features to deal with the problems of the

reorganization of debts of interested countries was similarly referred to the Board.

There were a number of other draft resolutions also referred to the Board for action. The Board has also been requested to make an evaluation of the multilateral trade negotiations because the Conference was unable to do so—and the Board is to make such an evaluation on the basis of a report by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD together with other relevant documents.

Issues of Structural Change

But having said this, I do want to highlight one of the prominent failures of UNCTAD V and that was its failure to reach agreement on the over-all agenda item dealing with the wider issue of structural change itself. I was myself somewhat disappointed at this result because it is my feeling that had we succeeded in arriving at a consensus on this agenda item the image of the UNCTAD Conference would have proved to be vastly different. Because of the importance of this issue, because of its many dimensions, there was naturally a particular public interest in the discussion of this item, and the fact that the Conference was unable to produce a result did naturally contribute to the feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction with the over-all result of UNCTAD V. I think that this situation is an unfortunate one in a sense because in my view we came somewhat close to a consensus on the operational parts of a draft resolution relating to this agenda item.

What proved difficult to secure at Manila was agreement on the preamble, and I must say that in the concluding stages of the Conference time did prove to be too short, given the complexity of the issue and the timing of the proposals, to make it possible for the Conference to arrive at a decision. However, this issue is not a dead one, it is, I hope, still very much alive, and has been referred to the Trade and Development Board for action.

These in brief are some of the highlights of the Conference. I have tried to list some of its successes and some of its shortcomings. But, of course, it is not a comprehensive enumeration of the results, or a fully fledged assessment of the outcome. I do feel, however, that in looking at UNCTAD V one must give some importance to the very fact that the Conference did devote itself to the very wide range of issues that formed its agenda.

The very fact that basic issues pertaining

to structural change, pertaining to fundamental changes in prevailing relationships, formed the subject of international discussion by governments at an international conference—I think this itself will impart its influence on the climate of world thinking in the future. It will have its impact on the way in which the international dialogue evolves in the period ahead. From this point of view, I think it is important to see UNCTAD V not just as a specific isolated particular event, but rather as part of an ongoing process, part of a process where a contribution was made to the ongoing discussion and dialogue and debate on crucial issues. No one can say that as a result of UNCTAD V we have now a vastly changed climate in regard to relations between developed and developing countries. Such a change in climate might still be forthcoming as a result of the way in which the ongoing negotiations and discussions unfold. From that point of view, UNCTAD V may still be seen to have contributed to it. It is true that, had the perceptions of the various problems been stronger, the results themselves might have been more markedly different. But I do think it is important to set UNCTAD V in the perspective of the wider canvas against which it took place.

The Energy Issue

It has been said that one of the reasons for failure to reach agreement on the wider issue of structural change at the Manila Conference was the inability to arrive at a consensus on how to deal with the energy issue. This has been the subject of much comment in the aftermath of the Manila Conference. But you will appreciate that there had been no in-depth preparation with a view to taking up this issue at Manila as one of the particular items on the agenda.

The energy issue has many dimensions. To the oil-producing countries, its facets include the need to safeguard the real value of their earnings, the need to safeguard the real value of their reserves, the need to safeguard the rate of depletion of their natural resources, the need to give an impetus to the process of development transformation. To the industrialized countries, the energy issue has also many facets—the need to bring about viable patterns of consumption, the need to ensure regularity of supplies, the need to ensure stability in financial markets. To the non-oil-importing developing countries, the energy issue implies and involves the need

for cushioning the balance of payments problems that face them, the need for them to have access to financial resources to promote their development process, the need for support in their efforts themselves to explore and conserve energy. For all groups of countries, the energy issue is deeply concerned with progress on the technological front. Given the complexity of these subjects, it is not surprising that the energy issue could not have been dealt with in Manila under the over-all theme of structural change, or interdependence. I feel that there are possibilities for co-operative relationships in respect of this problem within the developing countries themselves and between the developing countries and the developed countries. But I believe that the basic themes of Manila, the basic themes of structural change, of interdependence, of the need for an evaluation in the rules and principles governing international economic relations—these will remain of relevance in the period ahead. They cannot but continue to dominate the dialogue on international cooperation in the period to come.

In the current context, I often hear it said that the crisis, and the difficulties facing many parts of the world economy, serve as a constraint to adequate responses to problems concerning development, to problems of relevance to the North/South dialogue. But the growth and prosperity of the developing countries needs to be seen as a potential instrument for promoting the economic recovery of the global economy itself. The development needs of the developing countries should not be seen as an additional constraint in a difficult economic situation. On the contrary, they should be seen as an opportunity for bringing about a revitalization of the global economy itself. The strengthening of the economies of the developing countries cannot but contribute to the expansion of world trade and to the markets of all other member States of the global economy. The strengthening of the developing countries, therefore, not only by the transfer of resources, but by the more fundamental changes needed in prevailing relationships, should therefore be seen as forming an integral and inherent constituent part of the interests of all groups of countries of the international community.

This article is based on the statement made by Mr. Gamani Corea, Secretary General of UNCTAD to the Economic and Social Council in 1979.

Need for Effective Utilisation of Science and Technology for Development

JOZSEF BIRO

AS long as there exist differences in the levels of development, economy, culture and sciences of various regions, countries and nations, as long as millions cannot appease their hunger in one region, while food is wasted in another, the task and mission of development activities will not lose their timely character. However, development is possible only in peace, and, at the same time, the obvious precondition of the maintenance of peace is development. To put it briefly, development is equal to peace and peace is equal to development, whereas the core of development is scientific and technological progress.

Mankind today is at the crossroads. As a result of the massive advances in science and technology, mankind now possesses the capability to build a true millennium—to wipe out mass hunger, mass unemployment, and mass poverty; to raise the quality of life and culture to new heights hitherto unknown in human history; to build a truly united peaceful and harmonious world. However, the same scientific and technological advances also open up the terrible possibilities of keeping large masses of people starving and destitute; polluting the rivers, seas, fields, fauna and all that Nature has bestowed upon man; and worst of all destroying the planet Earth not one, not ten but a hundred and more times over.

Science and technology, when employed to further the interests of private profit can lead society and the world only into dangerous situations and crises. There exists a direct relationship between the develop-

ment of science and technology on the one hand and the evolution and proliferation of weapons of mass extermination, on the other. Weapons are becoming more and more effectively destructive; and a real threat to peace is arising from the possibility that this destructive technology may become ever more widely available to adventurous and irresponsible regimes.

Effective measures should be taken immediately to reduce the arms race, which in turn, would result in the reduction of the armament programmes. Furthermore, the process of detente should be extended to the military field, since peace is not simply the absence of war, but it includes also activities that promote the solution of problems of global and regional nature. The negative consequences brought about by the uneven development witnessed all over the world can be diminished only if positive steps are taken to reduce armament and to ensure the success of political and military detente. The recent signing of SALT II is thus regarded as an international event of paramount importance, and it is sincerely hoped that it will soon enter into force, thus opening up the way to further negotiations.

Modernization of productive forces on the basis of advanced scientific and technological achievement should pursue solely the objectives of increasing the welfare of people and of strengthening good neighbourly relations among nations; it should never become a pretext for supporting the aggressive designs of certain countries; nor should it promote the capacity to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, or prolong technological dependence, or facilitate domination by one people over another.

Arms Expenditure in Developing Countries

It is regrettable that certain circles, with the active support of the large international monopolies, often use the weapon of political and economic threats, against the political and economic sovereignty of the developing countries and against their right to freely dispose of their own natural and economic resources. Attempts like these generate further conflicts in the developing world, one of the consequences of which is that the expenses of armament increase at a faster rate than their gross national product in a number of developing countries. This sets back their development and diverts their scarce financial and human resources from productive economic activities.

Economic development is closely related to the presence or absence of raw materials and energy resources. Limited and exhaustible natural resources need to be used in a judicious manner. The wealth of one nation should not be recklessly and wastefully exploited by another nation. The energy production of the world cannot be increased at the previous pace, thus consumption has to be rationalized. It is especially in the developed countries that the saving of energy has become an important economic question. At the same time, in the less developed territories economic growth needs considerably more energy. For example in the production of up-to-date rockets and aircrafts, titanium is a dominant component, which is a power-intensive product. The production of steel and special alloys uses up much energy, as well, to say nothing of the military, chemical and nuclear industry. It should be, therefore, pointed out that the arms race withholds vast energy resources from the production of goods intended for civil consumption.

Let me refer to another example that is characteristic in this regard. According to estimates the quantity of gasoline used for military purposes can be put at 100 to 110 million tons per year, which is roughly double the volume used in the whole African continent. And gasoline is just a part of the energy consumption by the military-industrial complex.

Then there is the question of the inter-relationship between population growth and the anomaly of the food production. It is well known that world population has surpassed the four billion mark. Population growth is steady and fast, over the past 25 years the world's population increased by one and a half billion people. Should the population increase at such a rate, food supply can be ensured for a short time, unless overall measures are taken in the field of agriculture and food processing. Thus more care should be taken of soil preservation, cultivation of land, mechanization and chemical processing. Prompt measures are required for the decrease of losses at harvesting, transportation and storing in the developing countries.

It is but natural, that the developed countries are supposed to make efforts to level the crop capacity of the fields, by increasing the low yields. Development is greatly impeded by the efforts of certain circles, to bring about monopolistic positions in the food industry.

JOZSEF BIRO, *Dr., Former Minister of Foreign Trade (Hungary)*

Cooperation Among Developing Countries Vital in Establishing NIEO

LE HONG PHUC

THE economic order of the present capitalist world is the result of imperialist and colonialist expansion on a world scale over a long period of time. It is also the system of relations of exploitation by means of which the natural resources of the underdeveloped countries have been pillaged in order to serve the monopoly interests of imperialism; it is the result of the international capitalist division of labour which made the underdeveloped countries into dependents forced to supply basic raw materials dirt cheap and getting in return finished products at monopoly prices set by the developed capitalist countries. This system has for many centuries kept the absolute majority of the peoples of the world in misery, backwardness, ignorance and other forms of distress.

The fact that imperialist and colonialist forces are seeking by every means possible to preserve and consolidate the unjust world economic order to secure monopoly profits and to put into effect a policy of expansion on a world scale is one of the causes of the profound crises at present rocking the economic relations of the capitalist world. The root cause of it all is the ever-growing gap between the developed capitalist and the developing countries, the permanent source of conflicts and tensions and of innumerable disastrous economic consequences for humanity.

In the light of these historical realities, the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order should above all help in the development of independent, sovereign and progressive economies of the underdeveloped countries based on absolute sovereignty of States over their natural resources and their economic activities. This struggle by its very nature should eliminate from international economic life every relationship based on

exploitation, or of subordination to imperialism, colonialism or neo-colonialism, Apartheid or Zionism, hegemonism and imperialist expansionism.

Therefore, this struggle is inseparable from the struggle for the highest and noblest aims of our time—the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Six years after the sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, it is not very reassuring to have to state that the basic resolutions of the UN on the New International Economic Order have been put into effect only to the minimal degree. Evidence of this is available in the results of the recent UNCTAD V Conference in Manila. The fundamental cause of this situation is the frenzied and concerted counter-attack of a certain group of imperialist, colonialist and international reactionary forces.

Characteristic of the situation is that State monopoly capitalism in certain imperialist countries and the transnational monopolies have made use of their dominant positions in international economic relations to practise a policy of discrimination, exert pressures, split the movement for a NIEO being carried on in the nonaligned and other developing countries, and to separate the developing countries from their natural allies, the socialist countries. All their conspiracies and machinations, in the final analysis, are designed to keep the developing countries within the orbit of dependence, and to recover the investments and economic positions of imperialist countries there on the basis of preserving the existing world economic order.

A striking phenomenon of these last years has been that, having suffered heavy defeats in Indochina, Africa and the Middle East, the forces of imperialism and colonialism have been obliged to beat a retreat to the sidelines while they force into the forefront their most reactionary and warring regional gendarmerie.

Disruptionist Role of Peking Leaders

In eastern Asia, and in particular in Southeast Asia, such forces are engaged in exploiting and making as much profit as possible from the warlike and reactionary nature of the Peking leadership, dividing and sabotaging the national liberation movement and the socialist countries. The fact that they are giving strong support to the expansionists and hegemonists in Peking by reinforcing their modern military potential is a dangerous game that seriously threatens the peace and stability of the region and of the world.

Under cover of aid for development, the Peking rulers are trying to attain their expansionist and hegemonistic ambitions while at the same time strengthening imperialism, by torpedoing developing countries' struggle for independence, both political and economic.

As a direct victim for many years of the expansionist and hegemonistic aims of the reactionary leaders in Peking, we in Viet Nam feel we must appeal to all the forces of peace, of national independence and of democracy and social progress throughout the entire world, to redouble their vigilance in face of this present conspiracy of the international forces of war-mad reaction.

The struggle for a new just and equitable international economic order is not solely the affair of the States. It is in particular part of the militant struggle of all the forces of peace, of national independence, of democracy and progress. It is not carried on only by confrontations and negotiations within the UN, it constitutes even more the pressing task of the movements of the peoples of the world for peace and progress.

The consolidation and development of economic cooperation between developing countries is imperative in order to enable them to develop their economy, assist one another and coordinate their foreign policy vis-à-vis the activities of the transnational monopolies, imperialism, colonialism and other forces of reaction.

Another essential thing is the development of economic cooperation between the developing and the socialist countries on a State-to-State basis on a long term basis. Therein lies the indispensable external link for the economic liberation of the developing countries, since it is a means of their diversifying their economic relations and of achieving sound and stable conditions for development of an independent, sovereign and progressive economy.

LE HONG PHUC, *Economist (Viet Nam)*

Transnationals Hinder Use of Science and Technology in Developing Countries

RINATO G. VASALLO

THERE are three main factors that oppose or present obstacles to the use of science and technology for creating prosperity in developing countries.

These factors are the transnational corporations, latifundia, arms race. If legislation is passed in developing countries to control properly these activities, the social and economic aspects of these countries will change.

When we say that material prosperity, that technical and scientific development has created in the world of today, has scarcely reached the majority of mankind, we are not creating just a phrase. It is a cruel and unpleasant reality. There are powerful forces which subordinate to their interests, not only the economic aspect, but also the political, social, institutional and cultural values of the developing world.

The developing countries cover two-thirds of the non-socialist world population, but only register 17 per cent of the global production under an economic imbalance which increases every year. Even though, during the period 1950-75, the GNP of the developing countries tripled in the industrial field and doubled in the agricultural field, their position of imbalance has not changed. According to the total GNP per capita, the disproportion between the developed and developing countries which at the beginning of the 1950s was from 1 to 10, today is from 1 to 13, and the curve of deterioration is worsening.

When analyzing the share of the participation of the developing countries in the world market, we can observe that it has decreased from 27 per cent in 1953 to 17 per cent in 1975.

RINATO G. VASALLO, *Member of the Executive Board of the Socialist Movement; Vice President of the Argentine Peace Council (Argentina)*

The main responsibility in the increasing deterioration in the economic position of the developing countries is that of the transnational corporations. They impose their own laws on the developing countries as owners of the most advanced technologies to create imbalances in exports and imports of these countries. Thus, the tendency to lower the prices of raw materials and food and increase the cost of industrialized goods creates a permanent deterioration in the economy of the developing countries.

For example, in Tanzania in 1965, in order to purchase a tractor it was necessary to export 17-1/2 tons of sisal. In 1972, 42 tons was necessary to purchase the same tractor.

In Argentina in 1976, in order to purchase a tractor it was necessary to sell 25 tons of cotton; today, 80 tons are required.

The UN Conference on Trade and Development in 1972 showed the power of the transnational corporations: they control 20 per cent of the industrial production, 40 per cent of industrial export, and 30 per cent of the global exchanges of the developing countries.

The transnational corporations obtain

from their investments in these countries around 10,000 million dollars per year. To this must be added their profits on exports which range from 10 to 13,000 million dollars.

The transnational corporations constitute an economic phenomenon which in the last 30 years has created serious problems for the progress of mankind as a whole.

It is clear that the interests of the transnational corporations are opposed to the development of independent national and political economies. They, thus, constitute the most serious obstacles to the use of science and technology for the development of developing countries.

Harmful Consequences of Latifundia

Latifundia also oppose the use of technology in the agricultural field. In Argentina, land is not exploited in a proper manner due to lack of advanced methods of agricultural production.

The small landed estates in Argentina are an irrational system which is characterized by poor productivity as it does not permit adequate use of technology.

In the countries where latifundia do not exist and advanced methods of agriculture are used, such as France, England, Germany and other developed countries, every hectare produces much more wheat than Argentina. The same position exists in the other Third World countries.

It is estimated that the rural population of the world comprises one hundred million families; half of them live in poverty.

Latifundia and their immediate consequence, the small estates, are obstacles to the use of agrarian technologies. The result is lack of food, rising prices of goods, increasing unemployment, migration to big cities, and other serious social and economic effects.

Participants in a National Seminar on Science and Technology for Development organised by the Argentine Peace Council in Buenos Aires in 1979



Arms Race: An Absurd Tragedy

Arms Race is the most absurd tragedy of our times. The great possibilities of science, technology and invention are not put at the service of mankind, but at the service of its destruction.

Today, the armament expenditures exceed 450,000 million dollars per year. According to the U.S. magazine, "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist", in 1973 countries in the world invested 30,000,000 dollars per hour in armaments.

To this must be added the waste of creative capacity of mankind. The number of people in the armed forces in all the countries of the world is around 26,000,000 men; more than 50,000,000 persons, directly or indirectly, are related to military production. According to the facts provided by the UN, one out of every four engineers and scientists is involved in projects connected with the arms race.

As against this senseless waste of resources, which no one has the right to use in order to destroy mankind, we have this statement of Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the UN at the Vanderbilt University in the United States: "There are 500,000,000 persons suffering from famine, 10,000 die every day because of malnutrition."

According to a statement of George Atkins, a representative of the World Health Organization (WHO) in Mexico, in spite of progress in this twentieth century, famine and malnutrition affect three fourths of mankind.

There are four main issues that must be solved: famine, health, illiteracy, and agricultural development:

- In order to meet the most urgent necessities of 460 million people having a poor balanced diet, 8,000 million dollars are required.

- For better health conditions in the developing countries, 7,000 million dollars would be enough.

- To end illiteracy 1,500 million dollars are required.

- For agricultural development 3,500 million dollars would suffice.

In order to solve these main issues for the welfare of mankind, 20,000 million dollars would be enough. This would be less than a tenth part of the amount today invested in military purposes.

An end to the arms race, as well as to the waste of material and human resources, would show what science and technology can achieve by way of providing peace, justice and wellbeing for mankind.

Ending Pharmaceutical Colonialism

Developing Countries must Cooperate in Manufacturing Drugs

CARLO FONSEKA

THERE is no gainsaying the fact that pharmaceuticals (i.e. medicines or drugs) play an important role in protecting, maintaining and restoring the health of people. In Britain, for example, there are 30,000 to 40,000 medicinal products on the market. No less than 15,000 drugs with brand names are on sale in India. In 1963 in Sri Lanka 4,000 drugs were being used under a much larger number of brand names. The question arises whether so many kinds of drugs are necessary for the purpose of protecting, maintaining and restoring the health of people. Medical science would answer that question with an emphatic no.

Why then has technology been deployed for the manufacture of so many drugs?

In Sri Lanka in 1963, the number of drugs then being used was reduced from 4,000 to 2,100 on the recommendations of a Drug Sub-committee headed by Professor N.D.W. Lionel. In 1971, this number was further reduced to 600.

In India, a government committee concluded that the country's health needs required only 116 drugs.

During his short tenure as President of Chile, Dr. Salvador Allende revived a programme aimed at reducing the national pharmacopeia to a few dozen items. Within one week after Dr. Allende was deposed in 1973, many of the most outspoken proponents of such reforms were murdered.

In 1978, a WHO Expert Committee working with governments, drew up a list of about 200 essential drugs which are considered to be sufficient to meet the basic health requirements of most people. This was done partly to counter what the Director-General of the WHO has called the phenomenon of "drug colonialism". Under the political leadership of the Third World, five UN agencies (WHO, UNCTAD, UNIDO, UNDP and UNICEF) are collaborating to curtail the unrestrained business activities of the multinational drug companies.

About 40 per cent of the total health care budget in developing countries is

spent on drugs. Yet the diseases most prevalent in the Third World are caused by malnutrition and infection. Obviously there are no drugs to cure malnutrition because malnutrition is caused by social and economic factors. These must be changed in order to improve the diet of the mass of people in Third World countries. Infections are best dealt with by improved hygiene, clean water, better infant feeding practices, control of disease vectors and so on.

The result of spending as much as 40 per cent of the total health care budget on the purchase of drugs is that sufficient funds are not available for the implementation of other health measures. Therefore, science should be deployed to identify drugs of proven efficacy and safety necessary for the health needs of the country, taking into account factors such as the pattern of prevalent diseases, financial resources and the type of health personnel available.

The experience of Sri Lanka in reforming the structure of production, importation and distribution of pharmaceuticals during the period 1972-76 under the then Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, Mr. T.B. Subasinghe should be of immense value to other Third World countries. In fact, the UNCTAD Secretariat has placed on record its conviction that "the efforts of the Sri Lanka National Formulary Committee and the State Pharmaceuticals Corporation have had a major impact in reducing the cost of drugs without compromising quality" (TD/B.C. 6.21).

What specific contributions could science and technology make in relation to drugs in developing countries?

a) A list of essential drugs could be drawn up taking into consideration the prevalence and severity of diseases for which the drug is relevant, and the effectiveness, toxicity and cost of the drug.

b) Brand names should be abolished and drugs marketed under generic names.

c) Third World countries should cooperate in the manufacture of drugs and set up centres of technology to conduct research and disseminate information on drugs.

CARLO FONSEKA, Professor, (Sri Lanka)

UN Studies on Dominance of Transnationals in Developing Countries

HALINA MALINOWSKI

THE role assumed by the Transnational Corporations (TNCs) in the world economy is reaching enormous proportions. Much more in-depth knowledge about the means by which they dominate so many vital parts of the world economy is needed. To be able to fight their damaging influence, in particular with respect to developing countries and their road to development, it would be helpful to be equipped with facts which speak for themselves.

Over the past several years the United Nations economic bodies have proposed a number of actions and carried out in-depth research studies to support these actions.

The UN Commission on Transnational Corporations at its fourth Session (16-26 May 1978). "... noted with appreciation the Centre's (Transnational Corporation Centre's) comprehensive integrated study on transnational corporations entitled 'Transnational Corporations in World Development: A Re-examination' (E/C. 10/38).

"The Commission drew attention to the usefulness of the study, not only for the work of the Commission, but also for many other international organizations, both within and outside the United Nations system, as well as to individual Governments. In particular, the study should be useful in the preparation of the code of conduct and its follow-up-work, the comprehensive information system, as well as technical cooperation. The study was a contribution to the literature on the subject and contained numerous suggestions for further research." (Commission on Transnational Corporations—Report on the Fourth

Session, 16-26 May 1978, Economic and Social Council, Official Records, 1978, Suppl. No. 12-E/1978/52 and E/C. 10/43).

This survey will—as much as possible—concentrate on the role of TNCs in regard to the problem of transfer of technology. It will point out certain passages of UN documentation for interested Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) which would like to bring available information to their constituencies. Those who may become more deeply interested in the problem are referred to documents from which the passages quoted here have been taken.

Transnationals Dominate Import-Export Trade

Here are some striking general figures:

"The importance of the role of transnational corporations in developing countries may be judged from the fact that there is reason to believe that the majority of the developing countries' imports, in particular of intermediate and capital goods, originate with such corporations, while a large proportion of these countries' exports pass directly and indirectly through them. Intra-firm or 'related party' trade forms an important proportion of the total trade undertaken by transnationals. It has been estimated that over 30 per cent of all world trade falls under this category. In 1970 half of the manufactured goods exported by US transnationals seem to have been traded on an intra-firm basis between parents and majority-owned affiliates, while 32 per cent of U.S. imports from developing countries in 1973 were intra-firm deliveries from majority-owned affiliates. In 1975,

moreover, 32 per cent of U.S. total imports came from majority-owned affiliates, and a further 13 per cent from related parties—viz., firms in which 5 per cent or more of the voting stock was owned by U.S. transnationals. No less than 88 per cent of U.S. bauxite imports, 80 per cent of U.S. rubber imports, 68 per cent of U.S. cotton imports and 67 per cent of U.S. banana imports came from related parties.

"Transnational corporations control many of the most important export products of developing countries and a very high proportion is exported on an intra firm basis. Thus in 1968 the mining affiliates of U.S. transnational corporations in Central and South America exported 82 per cent of their total sales directly to their parent companies. In the case of a number of commodities, the bulk of world production and processing is controlled by a relatively small number of transnational corporations; by less than ten in the case of copper, iron ore, nickel, lead, zinc, tin, tobacco and tea, while in the case of bananas three firms share 70 per cent of the world's production, marketing and distribution, and six transnational corporations control 60 per cent of bauxite production capacity, and 70 per cent of aluminium production capacity. In some cases, the whole of a country's output is exported by a transnational subsidiary to its parent company—this is true of bauxite exports from the Dominican Republic and Haiti. There are in fact only a few commodities, such as jute, and hides and skins, in which the role of transnational corporations is not important, either in the production or marketing and distribution." (Unequal Partners—North-South Dialogue: A Balance Sheet on the Eve of UNCTAD V, by Garret Fitzgerald, United Nations, 1979).

International Code of Conduct

In the Programme of Action on the establishment of the NIEO, the developing countries stated the following:

"All efforts should be made to formulate, adopt and implement an international code of conduct for transnational corporations" and with respect to transfer of technology.

"... (c) to bring about assistance, transfer of technology and management skill to developing countries on equitable and favourable terms.

"These are some of the features of the activities of transnational corporations that have given rise to proposals that their activities be monitored or controlled to ensure that their operations are not disadvantageous to the economics of developing countries. The problems that transnational corporations pose in developing countries derive from the fact that these companies are understandably pursuing private goals that are not necessarily compatible with maximising the social benefit of the developing countries with which they are involved.

"The idea of a code of conduct (International Code of Conduct for the Transfer of Technology) is opposed in some developed countries and particularly by transnationals, both on the grounds that the proposed code contains so much vague phraseology as to be unenforceable, and also, somewhat contradictory on the grounds that its implementation as a legally-binding code would reduce the volume and increase the cost of technology transfers to the developing countries. It is argued that if the code is too strict the owners of property rights in technology will be reluctant to sell these rights to developing countries or will charge higher prices for them.

"The argument that the adoption of such a code will lead to a halt in the transfer of technology is not, however, very convincing since the prices being paid for the transfer of technology far exceed the marginal cost of supplying the technology which is already in existence. That transfer is largely costless from the point of view of the enterprise supplying it and at least some of the provisions of the code which are directed against cartels and restrictive practices that are difficult to defend, even in the context of a system of property rights in technology, appear very desirable if developing countries are to be protected from exploitation." (Unequal Partners, by Garret Fitzgerald, UN)

Some Striking Examples of TNCs Activities

Tobacco Monopoly: "At present, tobacco manufacturing in the developing countries and in the developed market-economy countries is largely dominated by seven large corporations or Transnational tobacco conglomerates (TTCs): British American Tobacco, Imperial Tobacco Company, Philip Morris, R. J. Reynolds, Gulf and Western, the Rupert/Rembrandt/Rothmans Group and American Brands.

"The power of the leading TTCs resides in their control of world cigarette manufacturing (accounting for about nine tenths of all processed tobacco). Their direct operations account for more than 39 per cent of total world cigarette output... Because TTCs are increasingly involved in licensing, selling and coproduction relations with other firms, including State monopolies and producers in the socialist countries, the figure of 39 per cent seriously underestimates the market shares of brands subject to their control.

"In such an economic framework of oligopolistic power, the developing countries are totally at the margin in the marketing decision process. Developing countries supply 55 per cent of world leaf tobacco...; their processed exports are almost non-existent.

"The progression of the tobacco transnationals to the privileged status they now enjoy has served to intensify the dependence of the developing countries on two major industrial centres. The bipolar relationships between the developing countries and the TTCs implanted in two industrial centres imply that there are no trade relations between developing countries, save those carried through the mediation of the tobacco transnationals." (Marketing and distribution of tobacco—Study prepared by the UNCTAD Secretariat, UNCTAD-UN 1979; TD/B/C. 1/205) (United Nations publication—Sales No. E.78.II.D.-14).

Transnationals and Food Processing Industry

"The growth of transnational activity in the post Second World War period has brought with it the emergence of an international food processing industry with a number of characteristics. United States firms, which together with United Kingdom firms dominate the industry, tend to centre their activity in domestic markets of developing countries whereas European and Japanese TNCs are drawn more to con-

solidating their own source of food supplies from developing countries.

"On the whole, food processing TNCs have introduced the same oligopolistic mode of competition in developing countries with emphasis on brand-name advertising and using essentially the same processes and techniques used elsewhere. Although the modern segment in which foreign investment is concentrated represents only a small part of food processing activity in the aggregate, it is the fastest growing segment and has already come to dominate certain sub-branches within the industry in many developing countries...

"... On balance, developing countries as a group are becoming increasingly dependent on food trade as they continue to rely on the export of cash crops for foreign exchange while their foodgrain trade deficit mounts upward. With respect to trade, the transfer and development of technology in the food processing sector has the objective of expanding the value of exports, particularly among developing countries themselves, and increasing local self-sufficiency...

"The complexity of the economic and social considerations involved in articulating a technology policy in the food industry in developing countries strengthens the argument for the creation of an adequate institutional framework for the transfer and development of technology in general..."

(Technological policies in the food industry: issue for research. Report by the UNCTAD secretariat; UNCTAD-United Nations, 1978. TD/B/C.6/40) (16 November 1978).

Electrical Industry—Dominance of Big Companies

"From the time of Edison and the Siemens brothers, technology in the electrical industry has been a source of advantage to leading producers. However, many, if not most, new inventions have come from small firms and from individuals, and in many cases the inventions were later purchased and refined by the big companies. As regards capital goods, companies have directed research towards developing larger and larger production units that can raise efficiency. This tendency calls for larger turbines and generators that can raise megawatt and megawatt output more rapidly than per unit costs rise.

"So far as consumer goods are concerned, the object of research is to improve the manufacture and marketing of existing products and to invent new products.

"The giant operations of today... generally hold the greatest number of patents and hence exert a strong influence on the market. This is especially true in the chemical and electrical industries... Between 1939 and 1955, General Electric obtained 10,797 patents, AT and T received 8,539 and RCA registered 7,894. In Germany, the five largest firms controlled 49.4 per cent of all domestic electrical patents in force in 1962.

"Mergers have intensified concentration in the industry. The largest companies have made numerous acquisitions of smaller companies in the course of their development. General Electric alone has made over 100 takeovers at home and abroad since its founding.

"... Philips expanded into TV production in the United States market with the takeover of Magnavox in 1974 and Matsushita followed suit with its acquisition of Motorola in the same year.

"In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the major TNCs of the electrical industry invested heavily in the developing countries, following the course of other oligopolistic technology-intensive industries... An increasing proportion of exports from developed to developing countries consisted of sales by parent TNCs to their world network of subsidiaries. By 1970, about 20 per cent of electrical exports from the United States were intra firm transactions of TNCs."

(The international market power of transnational corporations—A case study of the electrical industry; Study prepared by Mr. Richard S. Newfarmer at the request of the UNCTAD Secretariat. United Nations, 1978—UNCTAD/ST/MD/13, 14 April 1978).

Concentration in Pharmaceuticals

In the pharmaceutical industry "concentration of drug production occurs also at the enterprise level. The world's 10 leading drug companies account for nearly one quarter of the world pharmaceutical output. Some 50–60 transnational companies account for the bulk of drug manufacturing. Within functionally separate sub-markets the extent of concentration is much higher, with one or two manufacturers at times accounting for nearly all sales. In the case of the United Nations, it has been found that in each of the 13 major therapeutic groups, the four leading firms account for 60–80 per cent or more of sales. The leading drug companies control a significant part of the technology required for drug production. Research and development work in the pharmaceutical sector is

performed principally by these companies, and is geographically concentrated in a small number of developed market-economy countries. Technological innovations in this sector are geared to the market needs of the developed world.

"The impact of the transnational drug companies on developing countries is even stronger than on developed ones. These companies, in addition to providing drugs to developing countries through the channels of international trade are also often in control of a large portion of domestic drug production in these countries, primarily through the mechanism of direct foreign investment.

"... If each of the developing countries was to act alone, it would not be easy to reduce their external dependence in the pharmaceutical field to any significant extent. However, joint action by several developing countries through the pooling of resources would make it possible to overcome some of the basic obstacles involved. A co-operative arrangement could be set up that would include countries that have the capability to produce basic chemicals needed for drug production, those that wish to concentrate on drug formulation and packaging and those that could supply the raw materials (essentially petroleum) for the production of the basic chemicals. Such cooperation could... also conduct research and development activities and collect and disseminate information on drugs on a collective basis, thereby facilitating the transfer of pharmaceutical technology and know how to the developing countries. In this way, developing countries would have taken a significant step towards strengthening their technological capability in this sector."

(Major issues in transfer of technology to developing countries—A case study of the pharmaceutical industry, prepared in cooperation with the UNCTAD Secretariat by Dr. Sanjaya Lall of the Institute of Economics and Statistics, Oxford University; the Secretariat expressed "its appreciation to the World Health Organization for its competent study", United Nations—UNCTAD, *ments and suggestions with regard to the 8 October 1975—TD/B/C. 6/4*).

Transfer of Technology

"The experience of the last twenty-five years in the development of Third World countries has many dark spots. The transfer of technology from rich to poor countries, especially through the private market channels of transnational corporations, has

not helped in the relief of poverty and hunger in the Third World. Development strategies stressing massive transfer of resources, including technology, did help in the growth of output in some countries. But in most of these, massive transfer did not lead to significant improvement (either in relative or in absolute terms) in the living conditions of the majority of people. Most of the Third World remains ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-housed and illiterate. The economic and social change witnessed in the recent past can best be described as dependent development."

(Comment by Surendra J. Patel on Technological transformation of the Third World; Integrated Technology Transfer—2, *Impact of Science on Society, UNESCO Volume 28 No. 4, October-December 1978*; also see UNESCO Volume 28, No. 2, April-June 1978—Integrated Technology Transfer—1.)

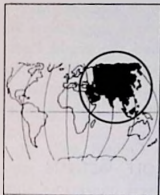
Restrictive Business Practices

"... The restrictive business practices notably those of the transnational corporations have adverse effects on the economic development of the developing countries, particularly in the field of production and marketing of manufactures and semi-manufactures.

"Through practices such as licensing, patent and cartel arrangements, price fixing, transfer pricing, exclusive dealing arrangements, consignment selling and so-called voluntary quotas etc., not only do they restrict trade but they also prevent appropriate transfer of technology needed by developing countries to accelerate their industrialization so as to expand their production of manufactures and to realise an increased share of manufactures in export markets.

"... The Group of 77 took note of the fact that the United Nations General Assembly has decided that a conference to negotiate a set of multilaterally agreed equitable principles and rules for the control of restricted business practices should be convened between September 1979 and April 1980 for this purpose.

(ARUSHA Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations—UNCTAD V, Manila, May 1979; TD/236).



World Peace Council Pledges Solidarity with Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos

THE World Peace Council has pledged full solidarity with the peoples of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos in their struggle against Chinese expansionism and imperialist subversion.

The solidarity was pledged during the visit of a high level WPC delegation to Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, the three states of Indochina which are in the front-line of the struggle for peace in the world, in October 1979.

The WPC delegation, led by its President, Romesh Chandra, comprised the following members: James Lamond, member of Parliament from the Labour Party (Great Britain), Rosel Walther, member of Parliament, member of the State Council of the GDR, a leader of the National Democratic Party (GDR), Dmitri Mamliev, Secretary, Soviet Peace Fund, Jeanne Yves Farge, member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC (France), Carlos Sanchez Cardenas, member of Parliament (Mexico), and Sakou Kaba, Ambassador of Guinea in the USSR.

In all the three countries, the WPC delegation was urged to arrange maximum publicity to expose the new conspiracies of the imperialist powers and the expansionist and hegemonistic Peking regime as the depth of these conspiracies against the Indochina states is not fully known in the world.

There is also urgent need for extending international solidarity to them.

The delegation which visited all the three states of Indochina, Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos from 13 to 27 October 1979 was received with great love and affection in each of these countries. The WPC delegation's visit was treated like the visit of a head of state.

In Viet Nam, the WPC delegation was in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, the northern province of Lang Son which saw some of the most brutal destruction at the hands of the Chinese aggressors in February-March 1979, and the southern province of Long Be, and Halong Bay. It visited the re-education centre where senior officers, including generals and colonels, of the former army of the puppet regime in South Vietnam are being helped to become useful citizens. This is a humanitarian measure to deal humanely with those who had committed war crimes.

The WPC delegation was received in Viet Nam by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and other leaders of the government, the Communist Party of Viet Nam and the People's Committees.

The WPC delegation warned against the renewed threat of aggression by China against Viet Nam, the campaign of lies and slanders spread by the Peking rulers

and the imperialists against the Vietnamese government. The Chinese troops are still massed on the Vietnamese border in a state of full preparedness.

The World Peace Council has called for the worldwide observance of the ninetieth birth anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh which falls on 19 May 1980. It is proposed to hold a Seminar on that occasion in Viet Nam on the life and work of Ho Chi Minh, and the impact of Vietnam's struggle on the peoples of the world.

Warning against New Threat of Aggression by China

AT a press conference in Hanoi on 16 October 1979, Mr. Romesh Chandra said:

"The World Peace Council appeals to all men and women of all countries, who cherish peace and national independence, to raise their voices against the sinister plans and preparations which have been

WPC delegation to Viet Nam in Sang Be where a New Economic Zone has been set up





Lang Son suffered some of the worst destructions in the Chinese aggression of Viet Nam in February-March 1979. The Chinese aggressors took away even the rails to China from Lang Son province

made by the Chinese leaders to carry out a new aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

"The delegation of the World Peace Council which is visiting Viet Nam at this time, has received here incontrovertible evidence of these plans and preparations by the Chinese armed forces, which are backed by open declarations made by Chinese leaders to 'teach another lesson' to Viet Nam. The daily provocative actions and attacks by Chinese forces—on land, by sea and from the air—against Viet Nam and the massing of more divisions than ever before of the Chinese army along the Sino-Vietnamese border are clear proof of Chinese intentions to attempt a new aggression in pursuit of their expansionist and hegemonistic policies.

"The Chinese preparations for a new aggression are inextricably linked with the new arms buildup planned by the Pentagon and the NATO in Europe—with the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles and even the neutron bomb and the consequent dangerous intensification of the arms race. True to the description which the Chinese leaders have themselves given to China as 'the NATO of the East', the Chinese aggressive policies against the countries of South-East Asia are well coordinated with the NATO plans in Europe. It is no accident that during these days Chairman Hua Guo-feng will be visiting European NATO countries, including those which are earmarked by the Pentagon for the deployment of new U.S. weapons.

"Members of the World Peace Council delegation have seen with their own eyes the wanton and wilful destruction committed by Chinese forces in Lang Son during the aggression of February-March 1979. Chinese armed forces killed innocent women and children and old people, and systematically blew up hospitals, schools, theatres and factories—all places of economic, educational and cultural value.



WPC delegation to Viet Nam holding a press conference in Hanoi on 16 October 1979 at which the WPC President Ramesh Chandra appealed to the peace forces to raise their voice against Chinese plans to start a new aggression against Viet Nam



WPC delegation to Viet Nam at a re-education camp for senior officers, including generals and colonels, of the former puppet army of South Vietnam

"The World Peace Council is certain and confident that any new aggression by the Chinese leaders against Viet Nam will be defeated by the Vietnamese people in the same way as the February-March aggression.

"At that time worldwide solidarity with the Vietnamese people, demonstrated particularly at the International Emergency Conference of Solidarity with Viet Nam, called by the World Peace Council in Helsinki, played an important role in ensuring

the early end of the Chinese leaders' diabolical attack.

"At this hour world public opinion can and must again play a decisive role in preventing a new Chinese aggression. Already news has reached the World Peace Council of actions being taken by national peace movements in scores of countries in all continents in solidarity with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

"The World Peace Council calls for a world-wide HANDS OFF VIETNAM campaign to stop the Chinese aggressors' criminal plans. Let the Peking leaders and their Washington partners know:

"Viet Nam is not alone! The world stands with Viet Nam, today and tomorrow, for all time!"

Ho Chi Minh's 90th Birth Anniversary

At the conclusion of the WPC delegation's visit to Viet Nam, the WPC President Ramesh Chandra, in a statement in Hanoi on 27 October 1979 called for worldwide observance of Ho Chi Minh's 90th birth anniversary to mark the great contribution made by him and the people of Viet Nam to the best causes of humanity.

Mr. Ramesh Chandra said: "The World Peace Council has had the privilege of standing by the people of Viet Nam in their heroic struggles and battles during all the thirty years since the foundation of the world peace movement. Viet Nam has inspired hundreds of millions of men and women, fighting for peace, national independence, democracy, justice and social progress in all countries of our planet.

"The delegation of the World Peace Council, at the conclusion of its memorable visit to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam reiterates the peace movement's deep gratitude to the government, the Communist Party and the people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for their unparalleled contribution to the struggle for peace and detente, disarmament and international security, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and exploitation of man by man.

"During its stay in Viet Nam, the delegation had the honour of being received by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong; by the Vice-President of the Republic Nguyen Huo Tho; by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam Xuan Thuy; by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Nguyen Co Thach; by the Chairmen and other leaders of the People's Committees of the cities of Hanoi and Ho

Chi Minh Ville and the provinces visited; and by other outstanding representatives of the people.

"The delegation visited the northern province of Lang Son, victim of some of the worst destructions by the Chinese aggression of February-March 1979; the new economic zone in Song Be province in the South; that wonder of wonders, the beautiful Halong Bay; it visited a re-education camp for senior officers—generals and colonels—of the former puppet army of South Vietnam. The delegation was able to learn of the conditions of the Hoa ethnic people and visited the areas in Ho Chi Minh City in which large numbers of them live.

"The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is engaged in a vast movement of the entire people for national reconstruction and national defence. The Chinese aggression and the dangerous threats by Chinese leaders of a new aggression against Viet Nam, have compelled the Vietnamese people to divert part of their national effort to the urgent problem of defence.

"The new conspiracies and plots of U.S. imperialism and its partners against Viet Nam and their alliance with the Peking leaders are also matters of grave concern.

"The campaign of lies and slanders against Viet Nam, launched by the U.S. imperialists, the Chinese expansionists and their partners in regard to the so-called 'refugee problem' is directed at weakening the universal love and affection for Viet Nam amongst the peoples of the world and at confusing world public opinion. The delegation has received incontrovertible evidence in South Vietnam of the friendly attitude towards the people of Hoa ethnic origin and of the humane policy towards even the perpetrators of grave crimes among the highest officers of the former puppet regime and army.

"The imperialist-expansionist campaign of falsehoods can never succeed. The peoples of the world stand more solidly

Life is beginning to reassert itself in Kampuchea after its liberation from the terror and genocide of the former Pol Pot regime. The People's Republic of Kampuchea under President Heng Samrin is reviving the schools which were abolished by the former regime which killed three million people in less than four years



than ever with Viet Nam—and in particular today, when Viet Nam faces new provocations and attacks by the Chinese hegemonists, who treaten a new aggression.

"The delegation of the World Peace Council wishes to place on record its gratitude to the Vietnam Committee for the Defence of World Peace, its President Phan Anh and all its members and workers for their warm and affectionate hospitality and the splendid organisation of the tour of the delegation.

"The delegation began its stay in Viet Nam by paying homage to the memory of President Ho Chi Minh and laying a wreath at his mausoleum.

"The World Peace Council calls for the observance in all countries of the ninetieth birth anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh, which falls on 19 May 1980. This will be an occasion to recall the great contribution made by the immortal Ho Chi Minh and his country, Viet Nam, to the best causes of all humanity.

"Viet Nam fights for the world! The world fights for Viet Nam!

"Viet Nam is not alone! The world is with Viet Nam, today, tomorrow and for all time!"

International Solidarity with Kampuchea

During its visit to Kampuchea, the WPC delegation met President Heng Samrin in Phnom Penh who heads the new government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The WPC delegation which was in Phnom Penh and the Siem Reap province saw evidence of the terrible barbarism perpetrated by the former Pol Pot—Ieng Sary regime on the Kampuchean people. The delegation also examined the testimony given by witnesses before the People's Revolutionary Tribunal which tried Pol Pot and Ieng Sary in absence on crimes of genocide in Phnom Penh in August 1979. Three million perished under the regime of death of Pol Pot—Ieng Sary.

The WPC delegation condemned the imperialist powers and their allies, the Peking rulers, for their nefarious efforts to spread lies and slanders in support of the enemies of the Kampuchean people and to prevent food from reaching the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The former regime of death led by Pol Pot is gone for ever, it can never come back; the regime of life led by President Heng Samrin has come to stay.

The World Peace Council has called for an all-out international campaign for the immediate recognition of the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea headed by President Heng Samrin.

The WPC delegation found that life had begun to return to Phnom Penh which had been turned into a ghost city by the Chinese puppet regime in Kampuchea. One hundred thousand citizens have already returned to their homes in the capital.

The government of President Heng Samrin has already been able to take the first effective steps towards the reconstruction of Kampuchea. Food has started coming to



Participants in a mass meeting in Ho Chi Minh City addressed by the WPC delegation to Viet Nam in October 1979

Phnom Penh—particularly from the Soviet Union and Viet Nam and from other socialist countries.

The World Peace Council has appealed to all governments, to all inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, to all individuals, who value peace, national independence, and human life to intensify their efforts to send food, as well as medicine to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Every such effort can contribute towards saving the lives of the hundreds of thousands of victims of the grave food shortages and even famine, resulting from the crimes committed by the Pol Pot-leng Sary regime.

WPC Statement on Kampuchea

In a statement at the conclusion of the WPC delegation's visit to Kampuchea, the WPC President Romesh Chandra called on the peace and progressive forces in the world to intensify the campaign for the recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea led by President Heng Samrin.

The statement made on 24 October 1979 said:

"The World Peace Council appeals to all governments, to all inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, to all individuals—who value peace and national independence, who value human life—to intensify their efforts to send food as well as medicines to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Every such effort can contribute towards saving the lives of the hundreds of thousands of victims of the grave food shortages and even famine, resulting from the crimes committed by the Pol Pot-leng Sary regime.

"The World Peace Council delegation which has just visited the People's Republic of Kampuchea, was able to see evidence of the terrible barbarism perpetrated against the population of Kampuchea by

the Pol Pot-leng Sary regime, in particular the extermination centres, the torture chambers and prisons, both in Siem Reap province and in the capital, Phnom Penh. The delegation also heard evidence from many who had lost their entire families and suffered starvation and virtual slavery under the murderers' regime.

"The World Peace Council has also examined the testimonies given by witnesses to the People's Revolutionary Tribunal which tried the principal perpetrators of the genocide against the Kampuchean people.

"The World Peace Council calls for worldwide actions to condemn the regime which brutally killed three million men, women and children of Kampuchea. The imperialist powers and other reactionary regimes continue desperately to extend their support to the handful of remnants of the Pol Pot gang of murderers, hypocritically pretending that they are opposed to the Pol Pot regime's crimes and are providing 'only humanitarian aid'.

"The World Peace Council delegation had the honour of being received by President Heng Samrin, who commended the work of the World Peace Council and explained in detail the actual situation in Kampuchea.

"The delegation was glad to note that the regime of death has been ended, once and for all.

"Life has begun to return to Phnom Penh, which had been turned into a ghost city by the Chinese puppet regime. One hundred thousand citizens have already returned to their homes.

"In many villages rice has begun to grow again in a substantial fraction of the cultivable land, hundreds of thousands of children are back in school. Hospitals and centres for the distribution of medicines have begun to work.

"The government, headed by President Heng Samrin, has already been able to take the first effective steps towards the reconstruction of Kampuchea. It has the full support of the people of the entire country—the four million who have survived the genocide of the Pol Pot-leng Sary regime.

"Food in substantial quantities has started arriving in Phnom Penh—particularly from the Soviet Union and Viet Nam and from other socialist countries. Its distribution is being organised effectively among the most needy all over the country.

"In a few months, the Heng Samrin government will be able to ensure substantial food supplies from the harvests inside Kampuchea itself. But the need is urgent now—above all for food, to tide over the present critical period when two million face hunger and starvation.

"The World Peace Council condemns the nefarious efforts by U.S. imperialism and the Chinese expansionists to spread lies and slanders, in order to continue their support to the enemies of the Kampuchean people and to prevent food from being sent to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

"The World Peace Council calls for an all-out international campaign for the immediate recognition of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, headed by President Heng Samrin.

"The World Peace Council calls for the observance all over the world of 7 January 1980—the first anniversary of the liberation of Kampuchea from the Pol Pot-leng Sary genocidal regime—as Kampuchea Solidarity Day, to intensify the efforts for material assistance and for the recognition of the Heng Samrin Government."

Joliot Curie Medal for President Souvanouphong

During its visit to Laos, the WPC President Romesh Chandra presented the Joliot Curie Medal, WPC's highest award, to Comrade Souvanouphong.

Laos is also threatened by the aggressive postures of the Peking rulers who are hatching several conspiracies against the Lao people. There is danger of intervention by China into Laos; the Peking rulers have already been making many attempts to create division among the Lao national minorities, numbering 68, which live in the northern areas of Laos bordering on China.

All these countries, Viet Nam, Kampuchea, and Laos need the fullest solidarity of the peace forces in the world which needs to be organised on an urgent basis.



People of Kampuchea who began a new life after their liberation in January 1979 need immediate help to tide over the threat of famine and disease, the aftermath of the genocide perpetrated by the Pol Pot regime

Security and Cooperation in Asia

Essential for Peaceful Life of Asian Peoples

N. LUVSANCHULTAM

IN the light of great positive changes in international life, the vital issue before peace-loving and progressive forces is to consolidate the existing detente and spread it to all regions of the world, and firstly to the biggest and most populated continent of our planet, Asia.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Helsinki in 1975 proved that the most reasonable and effective method of solving the urgent tasks facing humanity is to unite efforts of all states without any exception and settle them by peaceful means.

The results of this unprecedented event in the history of mankind have exerted a favourable influence upon Asia which had become an area of big and small military conflicts during the post-war period.

In this regard the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural, Yu. Tsendenbal has said: "The settlement of current complicated specific problems of the Asian continent naturally demands time and patient efforts of all states interested in solving them. The experience of Europe in taking positive decisions about complicated problems has proved that there is no problem which cannot be solved if all states unite their efforts and show goodwill and realism."

During recent years, the national liberation movements of Asian peoples have reached a new stage as a result of the process of relaxation of the international situation. This is a factor in favour of maintaining and developing good neighbourly relations and mutually fruitful cooperation between Asian states.

The most favourable influence in strengthening peace and security in Asia was exerted by the historic victory of the

peoples of Indochina who put an end to the most dangerous hotbed of war in the Asian continent. This victory removed serious obstacles on the road to strengthening peace and security in Asia, to further deepening the process of international detente.

The April revolution of Afghanistan in 1978 also made a significant contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and security in Asia. The Afghan people have now taken to the path of building a new life, free from exploitation of man by man.

One of the positive factors in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and for consolidation of international peace, security, and detente is the movement of nonalignment which includes the majority of Asian states.

Another active force in the struggle for establishing peace and security in Asia is the peace-loving public opinion of our continent. It was on the initiative of these peace forces that Asian peace conferences were held in Dacca, Baghdad, Ulan Bator and a meeting was organised in Samarkand in the seventies which adopted important documents reflecting the aspirations of the Asian peoples for peace and security in their continent.

As the Ulan Bator Declaration said: "We, the progressive peace-loving forces of Asia, will make our continent, Asia, a continent of lasting peace, security and fruitful cooperation."

However, we have to take into account the fact that Asia is still an object of imperialist intrigues which create dangerous hotbeds of war and tension in the continent. It is enough to mention in this context the unsettled situation in the Middle East and Cyprus. Further, attempts have been made to obstruct the initiatives of the Korean People's Democratic Republic relating to the peaceful reunification of Korea without interference from outside.

Imperialism is continuing to strengthen its old and new military bases in Asia. There are still imperialist military blocs which are serving as an instrument for

foreign interference in the affairs of Asian countries.

Expansionist Policy of Peking Rulers

As a force hostile to socialism, peace and security of peoples, the present Peking leadership is making every effort to undermine the unity of all peace-loving progressive forces, to put an end to detente, to spread distrust and hostility among states and to wage a nuclear war.

The Peking rulers are using every means to carry out their expansionist schemes in relation to neighbouring countries. This has been proved by China's aggressive war against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and Peking's policy of interference in the internal affairs of Laos and Kampuchea.

Peking's armed aggression against the socialist Viet Nam was a direct result of the policy of threat, blackmail and pressure having been carried out for many years by the Chinese leaders against countries in Southeast Asia, particularly Viet Nam. Criminal actions of Chinese aggressors fully demonstrate before the world the aggressive nature of their policy which presents a serious danger and threat to the cause of peace and security of the peoples of Asia and the whole world.

Nevertheless, objective reality today is such that any intrigues and provocative actions cannot stop the process of development of international relations of our time. The peoples of Asia can effectively oppose imperialism and international reaction by uniting their collective efforts to defend their vital interests.

It is quite clear that in order to turn Asia into a continent of peace and security, it is necessary to achieve military detente. This must include elimination of hotbeds of tension, abolition of military-political groups and blocs, liquidation of imperialist military bases, cessation of the arms race.

Peace and security in Asia should be based on principles like the non-use of force in international relations, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of states and the right of every nation to decide its own destiny, prohibition of annexation of others' territories by aggression, settlement of international conflicts by peaceful means.

The Mongolian people are fully determined to continue their struggle for the realisation of this goal of establishing security and cooperation in Asia. They are always on the side of peoples struggling for consolidation of national independence, freedom, development and universal peace.

N. LUVSANCHULTAM, *Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Mongolian Peace and Friendship Organisations; Member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council (Mongolia)*

United Nations Initiatives in Making Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace

THE United Nations has taken several initiatives during the last decade on converting the Indian Ocean into a Zone of Peace.

It is now proposed that the General Assembly of the United Nations should call a World Conference in 1981 on the Indian Ocean. The Conference which may be held in Sri Lanka or Mauritius will discuss ways and means to implement the General Assembly's Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

The UN Ad Hoc Committee of the Indian Ocean at its meeting in New York on 15 October 1979 suggested to the General Assembly to convene the World Conference on the Indian Ocean in 1981.

The proposal on the convening of a World Conference on the Indian Ocean has been the result of the work of the UN Ad Hoc Committee for a Conference on the Indian Ocean, and the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean convened in New York in July 1979 at the suggestion of the UN General Assembly. The Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States adopted a Final Document in July 1979 which deals with the convening of a Conference on the Indian Ocean, its denuclearization, and strengthening of international security in the region through regional and other cooperation.

The Final Document of this Meeting in its report recommended of the General Assembly to entrust the Ad Hoc Committee, "which should be expanded for this purpose", to undertake the preparatory role for the proposed Conference.

A résumé of the major UN initiatives on converting the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace is published here.

The Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970, in a resolution sent to the United Nations, called upon the General Assembly to adopt a declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace from which great power rivalries and competition, bases conceived in the context of such rivalries and competi-

tion, as well as nuclear weapons should be excluded.

The following year, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace as contained in its resolution 2832 (XXVI) of 16 December 1971.

In 1972, by its resolution 2992 (XXVII) of 15 December 1972, the General Assembly established the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean with the mandate to study the implications of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

Subsequently, at its twenty-ninth, thirtieth and thirty-first session, the General Assembly adopted relevant resolutions in which, *inter alia*, it requested the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean to undertake consultations with a view to convening a conference on the Indian Ocean.

At its thirty-second session, by its resolution 32/86 of 12 December 1977, the General Assembly decided that, as the next step towards the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean, a meeting of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean be convened in New York.

The General Assembly, at its tenth special session devoted to disarmament (1978), noted the proposal for establishing the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace taking into account its deliberations and its relevant resolutions, as well as the need to ensure the maintenance of peace and security in the region.

At its thirty-third session, by its resolution 33/68 of 14 December 1978, the General Assembly decided, *inter alia*, to convene the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean in New York from 2 to 13 July 1979, which other States not falling within this category, but which had participated or had expressed their willingness to participate in the work of the Committee, could attend upon the invitation of the Committee.

Since the adoption of its resolution 2832 (XXVI) of 16 December 1971, the General

Assembly has repeatedly expressed its deep concern at developments that portend the extension of the arms race into the Indian Ocean, and at the competitive escalation of the military presence of the great powers in the Indian Ocean, thereby increasing tension in the area and posing a serious threat to the maintenance of peace and security in the region.

The nonaligned countries which, through the Declaration of the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970, first called upon all States to consider and respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, have since then consistently extended their unanimous support to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, through other meetings of Foreign Ministers and summit conferences of their heads of State or Government.

Similarly, the Organization of African Unity has repeatedly called for and consistently reiterated the commitment of their member States to the objective of the early establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean free of military bases and nuclear weapons.

The General Assembly has, since the adoption of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, been inviting the great powers and other major maritime users of the Indian Ocean to extend their practical cooperation in implementing the Declaration. So far, some of the great powers and major maritime users of the Indian Ocean have not been able to cooperate effectively with the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean.

The General Assembly has noted that talks were initiated between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America regarding their military presence in the Indian Ocean, and that the two countries have kept the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean informed of the current situation concerning their talks. These bilateral talks, it is noted, were limited in scope and were not primarily designed to and did not fully meet the objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. In this regard, the General Assembly has expressed its regret over the suspension of these bilateral talks. It was encouraging to note that recently the USSR and the United States have agreed to meet promptly to discuss the resumption of these talks; it is to be hoped that these talks would fully meet the objectives of the

Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

The General Assembly has also considered that the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean requires cooperation among the littoral and hinterland States to ensure conditions of peace and security within the region as envisaged in the Declaration and to ensure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of these States.

The Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean and the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean have formulated certain principles of agreement for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

Limits of Indian Ocean as Zone of Peace

In the context of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace should cover the Indian Ocean itself, its natural extensions, the islands thereon, the ocean floor subjacent thereto, the littoral and hinterland States and the air space above.

The final limits of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace have yet to be agreed upon.

The great power military activity, conceived in the context of great power rivalry is a threat to stability and security in the Indian Ocean, and therefore the great powers are called upon to:

(a) Halt forthwith the further escalation and expansion of their military presence in the Indian Ocean and, in this context, undertake not to further strengthen their existing military bases nor to acquire new military bases.

(b) Desist from conducting military manoeuvres, exploding nuclear devices and the deployment of military forces for the purposes of threatening or using force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of any littoral and hinterland State of the Indian Ocean in contravention of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

(c) Enter into immediate consultations with the littoral and hinterland States with a view to formulating a programme for the elimination of their military bases, military installations and other logistical supply facilities, the deployment of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and every manifestation of their military presence.

Elimination of Military Bases

Recognizing the determination of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean to preserve and protect their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, all littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean are called upon to:

(a) Take action to ensure that warships and military aircrafts as well as other military forces may not use the Indian Ocean for any threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of any littoral and hinterland State of the Indian Ocean in contravention of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

(b) Undertake in this context, not to assist the great powers in their military activities in contravention of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

Denuclearization of the Indian Ocean

(a) The nuclear-weapon States are called upon to undertake not to establish nuclear bases in the Indian Ocean and to refrain from conducting nuclear test activities in the Indian Ocean.

(b) Similarly, the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean should agree not to acquire or introduce nuclear weapons in the Indian Ocean themselves or to allow their introduction by an external Power. (Some delegations voiced objections against this sub-paragraph, and the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean recommended that further negotiations should take place on it in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean.)

(c) The littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean uphold the fundamental objective of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons by all States and reaffirm their conviction that production, acquisition and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction are detrimental to the maintenance of peace and security of the world and call upon nuclear-weapon States to undertake concrete measures of nuclear disarmament leading to the eventual elimination of nuclear weapons.

Non-use of Force in Settlement Disputes

The creation of the Indian Ocean peace zone requires inter alia, the following:

(a) The renunciation by States of the Indian Ocean area of the threat or use of force against any other State in that area and the affirmation of their resolve to settle

their disputes with one another by peaceful means and without resort to force, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and relevant United Nations resolutions or bilateral agreements or other decisions taken among themselves by the States of the area.

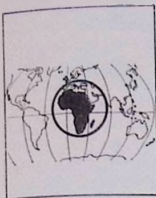
(b) Reiteration of the commitment by the States of the area to conduct their relations on the basis of the principles, purposes and provisions of the United Nations Charter, especially those concerning sovereign equality, respect for the territorial integrity and political independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

(c) The reaffirmation of the right of self-defence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Strengthening International Security

The concept of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean would be strengthened and maintained by a system of universal collective security without military alliances and without the use of force except in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and without interference with the existing regional arrangements. The littoral and hinterland States should also undertake to consider negotiating measures for promoting or enhancing the stability of the Indian Ocean area at a lower military level based on the principle of undiminished security of the States concerned and taking into account the need of all States to safeguard their security. The nuclear-weapon States, in order to contribute to this climate of security, should undertake effective arrangements to assure the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

The Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean reaffirms the right of all States to use the Indian Ocean for navigation and other peaceful uses, freely and without hindrance, in conformity with international law and customs, provided no threats are posed to the independence, sovereignty or territorial integrity of the littoral and hinterland States in contravention of the United Nations Charter. In this regard, the States of the region also reaffirm their right to refuse to grant to the great powers facilities for their warships or military aircraft which are or could be used in the context of great power rivalries or for any other purpose that may be detrimental to the sovereignty, territorial integrity or security of the States in the Indian Ocean.



Movement of Solidarity with People of South Africa

E. S. REDDY

THE United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, together with anti-apartheid movements, especially in countries which continue to collaborate with the apartheid regime, form the core of the solidarity movement with the people of South Africa. This solidarity movement today has to meet immense challenges.

In paying tribute to the solidarity movement, we cannot but pay tribute to the national liberation movement of South Africa—one of the noblest movements of this century, and a pioneer, and inspirer and often a guide to other liberation movements.

It is the righteousness of its struggle, and the heroism and sacrifices of its militants which have inspired a worldwide solidarity movement.

Where else can one find nobler documents of freedom than in the programmes of the South African liberation movement? Where else can one find more inspiring epics of freedom struggle than in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the defiance of children after Soweto—not to go back to the Battle of Isandhlwana in the last century?

But I would like to point out that if the liberation movement has its numerous martyrs, the solidarity movement too has its own share of heroes.

A large number of people in many countries have gone to jail, or been subjected to assaults by the police or racists, or risked their careers, not to speak of the sacrifices of their time and money because of their convictions.

The movement of solidarity with the South African people has a long history.

The Pan African Movement—at its very inception in London in 1900—called for international support to the rights and

aspirations of the African people of South Africa.

A solidarity movement developed in India long before the Indian Government raised the South African problem in international forums in 1946.

Freedom in South Africa was a major concern of the Garvey movement in the United States and the Caribbean in the 1920s. The struggle in South Africa was the foremost concern of the International Committee, later renamed Council on African Affairs, established by Paul Robeson in 1937, until it was paralysed during the cold war in 1951.

I recall my own participation in a demonstration in front of the South African Consulate in New York in 1946—under the leadership of Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois—to protest the bloody suppression of the African mine labour strike and the Peggung Act against the Indian community. It took place during the visit of a delegation of the African National Congress, led by its President, Dr. Xuma, to the United Nations.

One can cite many other antecedents to the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain—most notably the Defence and Aid Fund led by the Reverend Canon L. John Collins, and the tireless labours of people like Lord Fenner Brackway.

But I believe that the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain, relatively young as it is, has had a special role. Its experience in Britain, as well as the experience of similar movements which have developed in many other countries, provide useful lessons for future action.

I would like to recall briefly the situation in 1959 when the Anti-Apartheid Movement was launched in Britain.

Spread of Liberation Movement in S.A.

It was a time when the liberation movement in South Africa—after the Defiance

Campaign, the Congress of the People, the Women's agitation and the resistance against forced removals—was subjected to severe repression through the notorious Treason Trial and the banning orders under the so-called Suppression of Communism Act.

The liberation movement in South Africa had spread throughout the country, in the cities as well as the reserves, and had earned the right to recognition as the authentic representative of the people. But the apartheid regime was determined to stifle it by repression, and disorganize the people through the creation of so-called homelands under headmen and chiefs.

At the same time, driven by cold war calculations, the major Western Powers had reinforced their links with the apartheid regime. The Simonstown Agreements had been concluded only a few years earlier. The Western media had constantly tried to libel the liberation movement with the communist label.

It was in that context that the liberation movement appealed for support of decent men and women abroad—particularly to deprive the apartheid regime of its external support.

The sanctions resolutions of the Conference of Independent African States and of African peoples, organized by the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, were the African response.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain, with its boycott campaign, was the response in the West, and it helped establish anti-apartheid and solidarity groups in many other countries.

The response from the United Nations was to come soon—with the 1962 General Assembly resolution on sanctions, which established the Special Committee against Apartheid.

The sanctions campaign was thus launched at a time when the liberation movement

E. S. REDDY, *Director, United Nations Centre against Apartheid*

was obliged by the apartheid regime to take the fateful decision to go beyond non-violent and legal struggle.

Today, more than twenty years later, we face a new situation, after the tremendous escalation of repression and resistance. Will the international community enable the liberation movements of southern Africa to destroy the racist regimes and emancipate the whole of the African continent—or will external forces allow the apartheid regimes to bring about a wider conflict?

The new stage of the crisis in southern Africa, and of the liberation struggle, requires new strategies.

Isolating Apartheid Regime

The United Nations and its Special Committee against Apartheid have called for an international mobilization against apartheid—to isolate the apartheid regime and to lend full support to the national liberation movement, so that apartheid can be destroyed and the threat to peace averted. They have made this call after consultation with the anti-apartheid movements and other public organizations.

In the past twenty years, as the solidarity movement developed at the governmental and non-governmental level, the situation in South Africa itself has grown from bad to worse.

There has been a great intensification of racist domination; the establishment of bantustans; a series of obnoxious repressive laws; the massacres of Sharpeville and Soweto; the executions of patriots from Vuyisile Mini to Solomon Mahlangu; and the tortures and killings of eminent leaders in detention.

There has been a tremendous military build-up, accompanied by numerous acts of aggression against independent African States. There is now the imminent danger of acquisition of nuclear capability by the apartheid regime.

Some people tend to feel despondent that the solidarity activities have been in vain. I believe that that is very wrong. We should not underestimate the tremendous victories of the international campaign against apartheid.

The unanimous condemnation of apartheid by the international community—however hypocritical or superficial in the case of some—is of no small significance.

The arms embargo against South Africa, the funds for assistance to the oppressed people and the international convention against apartheid have hardly any precedents in history.

In the United Kingdom, the abrogation of the Simonstown Agreements—essentially because of public pressure—was not an insignificant achievement.

I see the "Muldergate scandal", above all, as a tribute to the international campaign, and a sign of decadence in the apartheid regime.

We must recognize the growth of the anti-apartheid forces in the past twenty years and of their potential strength, if they are mobilized and concerted.

Africa is no more a colonial preserve.

The climate in Western European countries is very different from that in 1959 when they were still fighting colonial wars or had not become reconciled to the loss of colonies.

Even the major Western Powers are conscious that their economic interests in independent Africa are more important than their stake in apartheid.

I do not ignore the dangers ahead.

Ever since the debacle of the apartheid regime and the Western secret services in Angola, and especially since the Soweto massacre, there have been frantic attempts to stem the tide of revolution in southern Africa. The recent trends in some Western countries, and the resurgence of racist lobbies, are certainly a cause for concern.

It seems that some powerful politicians in Britain and in the United States would

Poster issued by the ANC Treason Trial Defence Committee to help the political prisoners in South Africa

**SOLIDARITY
WITH ANC
FREEDOM
FIGHTERS!**

**FREE THE
TREASON
TRIALISTS!**

like to hitch the future of their countries to the fortunes of the apartheid regime, and violate solemn commitments in the United Nations.

We must, of course, persist in our efforts to persuade everyone to join the campaign against apartheid.

But the struggle for liberation cannot wait until all the racists, the militarists and the profiteers from apartheid see the light. The anti-apartheid forces must be mobilized to block the overt and covert alliances with apartheid.

Public opinion in the Western countries must be made aware that the forces which seek to cement links with apartheid are a menace to the future of their own countries. They endanger the survival of the Commonwealth, weaken the United Nations, risk the growing economic relations with African countries and create a gulf between their countries and vast regions of the world.

They are also building a Frankenstein which may well become a menace to themselves, as Nazism was forty years ago.

Twenty years is a short time, but these past twenty years have been too long a time for the oppressed people of South Africa to suffer increasing tyranny while other African countries became free. It is too long a time for the non-fulfilment of the decisions of the United Nations.

Twenty or thirty years ago, the African people asked for little more than consultation by their rulers, the abrogation of some racist laws, and the beginnings of a move towards democracy.

Today, they are struggling for much more—the total destruction of the apartheid system and the transfer of power to the people.

The time lost will be made up in the speed and extent of transformation of the South African society.

Solomon Mahlangu, who was born around the same time as the beginning of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, has become symbolic of the spirit of the liberation movement today. His last testament calls on us to rally all the potential strength of anti-apartheid forces—among the governments, in the trade unions and churches, in the campuses, among the communities of African origin all over the world—and wield it for a decisive confrontation with apartheid and its allies.

The United Nations, the OAU and the anti-apartheid movements will need to renew their strategies and structures, in cooperation with the liberation movements, for this international mobilization against apartheid.



Protection of Children in International Law

HANNA BOKOR-SZEGO

WHAT are the causes which have created the phenomenon of making the protection of children today the subject of international legal regulation?

It is indeed a new feature in interstate relations that treaties have been concluded in which the parties undertake the duty to ensure, each on its own territory, certain specific rights to the population. This new type of treaties concerning the protection of human rights is with respect to its contents directly related to the internal conditions of the parties to the treaty. Of course, the conclusion of such a treaty is preceded by mutual concessions on the side of the parties, in the course of which the states with different social structures exert an influence on each other's attitude. However, the contents of the actual regulations are finally determined by the economic conditions of our age, that is, by the objective social laws which influence their development. Consequently, treaties on the protection of human rights, including conventions related to the situation of children, can to some degree be a measure of the level of the social development of the community of states.

What were the reasons which called for the international protection of human rights?

In the course of World War II a recognition matured both in the internal life of the countries and on an international level that without the solution of fundamental social problems the conditions which are indispensable for the creation and maintenance of peaceful relationships cannot evolve either within the individual state or an interstate level. It became clear that there is a close link between the internal

conditions within the individual countries and the maintenance of international peace and security. If the fundamental rights of the population within individual countries are not respected, if the state is aggressive towards its own citizens—as the fascist states were—such a state will become aggressive towards other peoples too. Thus it became obvious that only that state can participate in a balanced way in interstate relations which ensures on its own territory the human rights of the population.

In connection with the fundamental objective of maintaining international peace and security, it has become one of UNO's activities to promote the respect of human rights.

International legal protection of human rights offers a very wide scope for the protection of the rights of children and for international cooperation unfolding in this field. This development, on the other hand—as it will be shown later—has a decisive influence exactly on the situation of children.

What development has taken place in international legal regulation in relation to the protection of children?

By the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century treaties bearing upon the fundamental problems of the situation of children were still out of the question. Some conventions concluded during this period aimed only at the coordination of the activities of states concerning certain outstanding problems, such as, for example, white slave traffic. At the same time conventions for the suppression of prostitution did not touch the crux of the problem. They did not abolish the actual causes inherent in the social system, the poverty and distress of working class families, the exploitation of female and child labour. As a reaction to the latter alarming

phenomenon certain international labour conventions came into being which laid down the minimum age for admission to employment and made medical examination compulsory.

At this time it was out of the question to establish international cooperation in the decisive problems of the lives of children. In this respect it is characteristic that the only concrete objective of the League of Nations which has any bearing upon our subject was to organize the cooperation of states against prostitution (see the Covenant of the League of Nations, § 23).

As a matter of fact, the League of Nations made a meagre effort to improve more effectively the situation of children. In 1924, the General Assembly of the League of Nations adopted a Declaration of the Rights of the Child. Let us see whether the comparison of the 1924 and 1959 Declarations will reflect clearly the global social changes which have taken place in the 35 years between the adoption of the two Declarations.

General Declarations on Children

The 1924 Geneva Declaration which includes five noble principles appealed in no way to the responsibility of the governments, emphasized in no way material guarantees, and did not incorporate the situation of children into the social conditions of the age. Thus, for instance, the Preamble of the 1924 Declaration turned to "mankind" with the pious request to do everything possible in the interest of children. The 1959 Declaration, on the other hand, calls upon the governments to recognize the rights of children and to ensure these rights by means of appropriate legislative and other measures.

There is not a single word in the 1924 Declaration on the creation of social con-

HANNA BOKOR-SZEGO, *Professor, Juridical Institute of Hungarian Academy (Hungary)*

ditions which could prepare the children for a career, it mentions only the securing of work for children by protecting them from "exploitation" (Principle IV). At the same time, according to the fundamental principle No. 7 of the 1959 Declaration, the child is entitled to receive education which will prepare it for its later career. Principle No. 9 declares quite definitely that the child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age.

According to Principle No. V of the 1924 Declaration children must be brought up so as to put the best of their talents to the service of their fellows. Principle No. 10 of the 1959 Declaration repeats this wish but stresses that the child shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood. The formulation of this demand shows a great change in approach.

A mere comparison of the two Declarations leads to the general conclusion that international cooperation with respect to the situation of children has changed in a positive direction within the framework of UNO.

What are the concrete results achieved in international cooperation which have a bearing upon the situation of children? It is impossible to deal in this article with the non-legal aspects of the problem, with the analysis of world problems whose solution, however, will determine fundamentally the situation of children. Such problems are the abolition of the armament race, the liquidation of the differences between the industrially developed and developing countries, the protection of the environment, etc. We shall outline the main milestones of development only in relation to our subject.

International Conventions on Human Rights

If we assess the main stages in the development of the general protection of human rights from the aspect of our subject, we find that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 and the two Covenants adopted in 1966 on Human Rights offer a wide scope for the protection of the rights of children. A number of special conventions have been adopted on the protection of certain human rights, too. Of these conventions those concerning the situation of women are of particular importance, since there is obviously a close relationship between the situation of children and the protection of women, of mothers.

We shall point out only two features of these international conventions which are of great importance from the aspect of the situation of children.

It is one of the characteristic features of development in the international protection of human rights that it extends the traditional list of human rights to economic, social and cultural rights. For, even if there are among the traditional civic and political rights some which are highly important for the child—first of all the right to life—the child can make use of many of these classical human rights only if the fundamental material guarantees are available for the child to become an adult. Here we have in mind rights such as political rights, the right to freedom of association with others, etc. It is also obvious that to enjoy these rights the child has to grow up. Consequently, the recognition of economic, social and cultural rights, such as the right to social security and to education are of particular importance for the child.

Another decisive feature of development is expressed in the desire that human rights have to be ensured to everybody without any discrimination.

In many countries of the world a great number of children are hit by discrimination from the moment of their birth. First of all, let us just think of racial discrimination. The prohibition of discrimination is of vital importance for the situation of children.

When prohibition of discrimination means that from the moment of its birth every child must be without discrimination in a situation where it can enjoy fully all human rights, it is obvious that up to the time of having become an adult the children must be given special protection.

The 1959 Declaration has expressed this idea already. At the same time, being of the nature of a "recommendation", it failed to determine the concrete duties of the states in relation to the offering of this special protection. Hence, the demand arises quite justly these days that the declaration ought to be converted into an international convention and this proposition is being discussed currently at various platforms of UNO.

Have any multilateral international conventions been concluded with at least some respect to the definition of the special protection to be offered to children?

With respect to the right of children to hygiene and health there is still no fundamental international convention which would ensure the world over at least free first aid for children.

There is no international convention to regulate in detail the schooling and education of children.

Some international conventions related to the special protection of children and adolescents have come into being within the framework of the International Labour Organisation, but in this field too the efficiency of special protection could no doubt be improved.

When we consider the situation of the child from the aspect of family law, we see that no international convention has yet been adopted for the special protection of children in this field, despite the fact that the situation of the child will raise problems beyond family law, such as the nationality of the child.

International law has developed in relation to the protection of children in special situations; the two Protocols adopted as supplements to the 1949 Geneva Conventions contain namely an absolutely justified enhanced demand for the protection of children in the case of international and non-international armed conflicts.

Finally, we have to mention a type of special protection which could be called enhanced special protection. This refers to the situation of children who, for some special reason, are physically, mentally or socially handicapped compared to the majority of children. So far no international treaty provides for the protection of handicapped children.

Thus, we can arrive at the conclusion that with the exception of certain aspects, there are no treaties concerning fields which are decisive for the special protection of children. It seems therefore justified to work out a comprehensive international convention which would determine the variants of special protection. Special protection ought to extend to all spheres of life, it should be asserted under normal conditions, but also in special situations.

It is quite obvious that the elaboration and adoption of an international convention on the special protection of children can in itself not create the social conditions necessary for the effective assertion of the special protection of the child. The first and foremost of these social conditions is to ensure all over the world peaceful conditions in which the child can live and grow up.

We see the importance of the international protection of the rights of children in the fact that it can contribute to the raising of demands which can finally lead to the creation of social conditions which will suit the special protection of the child.



Struggle of Guatemalan People against U.S. Imperialism

ALFONSO BAUER PAIZ

THE month of June is an important month in the history of Guatemala: on June 30, 1871, the liberal revolution headed by Justo Rufino Barrios triumphed, leaving a deep impression on the process of social change in the country. In June of 1944, the people staged a valiant and heroic national insurrection which led to the overthrow of the dictatorship of Jorge Ubico (fourteen years of tyranny of the die-hard large estate owners). It opened the way to the Revolution of October 10, 1944, which was, however, frustrated by armed U.S. intervention and the betrayal of high army officers, which forced President Jacobo Arbenz to resign on June 27, 1954.

The inexorable effects of historical laws which shape events as a result of the interconnections resulting from the maturity of the productive forces are easily noted in the history of Guatemala. This zig zag process shows pronounced swerves from left to right and vice versa, in continuous change, although some periods seem endless, such as that of the counter-revolution which took power for a quarter of a century.

As we may recall, a decade after its independence from Spain, obtained in September of 1821, the state of Guatemala, one of the five components of the Federation of Central America—the four others

were El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica—was governed by President Mariano Gálvez (1831–35 and 1835–38). His regime represented the progressive social forces of the age, determined to overcome the semi-feudal production relations inherited from the colonial era and establish the capitalist system, fighting for it against the bulwarks of the conservative reaction, the landowning and mercantile aristocracy and the Catholic Church.

During those seven years, Guatemala advanced economically and culturally despite the rough opposition of the ultra-right sectors. But reaction managed to take over the government, definitively breaking up the republic, the Federation of Central America. It installed an obscurantist regime in Guatemala which restored the epoch of the colony, without the Spanish crown. The oligarchy re-established colonial laws and institutions which were perpetuated by the military skill of the lifetime president, Rafael Carrera, who ruled practically until his death in 1865. His government had the protection of the British Empire to which it ceded the territory of Belize in 1859.

Reform Movement of 19th Century

The conservative regime lasted for six more years after Rafael Carrera. But the Reform Movement, inspired by the liberal ideas of the National Hero of the Americas, Benito Juárez, triumphed on June 30,

1871. It led to the forming of a government which revolutionized the economic structures. It seized the land from the Catholic Church (owner of over one third of arable land), displaced the aristocratic and parasitic families and promoted constructive work which advanced the economy and modernized Guatemala.

Its leader, Justo Rufino Barrios, understood the danger, hovering over Central America, consisting in the already demonstrated imperialist actions of the United States, which had earlier made use of the conservative regime of Porfirio Díaz to antagonize the progressive forces of the Central American isthmus. Justo Rufino Barrios decided to re-establish political unity in that region, among other reasons, to assure that the interoceanic canal which the U.S.A. proposed to construct in Nicaragua should be Central American patrimony and not U.S., nor that of any other foreign power. In this endeavour he was killed in combat in 1885.

At the beginning of the century, with the liberal regime already corrupted, the dictatorship of Manuel Estrada Cabrera which remained in power for twenty-two years (1898–1920) had to face U.S. imperialist penetration which seized the best lands in Guatemala to develop its fruit empire. The U.S. corporations also took control of Guatemala's natural resources and wealth, and its essential public services (transportation, communication and energy). The result was that the growth of the national productive forces suffered a setback, the incipient national bourgeoisie, which was excluded from the economic leadership, became a servant of U.S. monopoly. In the rural zones various forms of slave exploitation of the labour force were imposed. All this guaranteed the U.S. banana companies and other Yankee monopolies an abundant miserably remunerated army of workers which reduced production costs of coffee and boosted corporate profits.

That situation ceased with the triumph of the revolution which rose out of the June events in 1944. A new political leadership assumed power in Guatemala in October of that year. This revolutionary movement was the product of the development of the productive forces, of the incipient proletariat, of the peasant class and the patriotic petty bourgeoisie. The latter, with the massive support of the mentioned popular classes, initiated a social process of great historic significance, from the national as well as international point of view. What follows is a brief outline of this.

ALFONSO BAUER PAIZ, *writer from Guatemala*

Movement for Agrarian Reform

It was a democratic popular, nationalist, antifederal and anti-imperialist movement. In the internal political scene, it loosened the restrictions which held back the free development of the popular forces, and enabled the working and peasant classes to organize, for the first time, political parties responding to their interests. Finally, the communist party was founded, under the name of the Guatemalan Labour Party.

These social forces, after laying institutional bases of a democratic nature, undertook a plan of agrarian reform to pave the way for the subsequent industrialization of the country. This historic step led to the aggravation of the class struggle. On the one side were the peasants, the agricultural peons, the workers, the progressive petty bourgeoisie and a part of the nationalist bourgeoisie, while on the other side were the large estate owners and the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie. This rivalry reached its climax during the period of Jacobo Arbenz, after which a virtual class war was started and nurtured by the interests of foreign capital.

In the international arena, the Guatemalan revolution suffered the consequences of the cold war and the atomic blackmail orchestrated by the Pentagon and the White House. It had to confront the Washington government alone, absolutely isolated from the other Central American states and the rest of the continent, in unfavourable conditions for the socialist camp and peace and social progress-loving forces in the world.

Guatemala, threatened but not intimidated, represented the dignity of America at that time by resisting U.S. imperialism. Finally, it was struck by the armed aggression organized by the CIA, in June 1954. This was just one year after another CIA conspiracy had overthrown Prime Minister Mossadegh, defender of Iranian petroleum. A quarter of a century later, Iran became the owner of its own destiny and has given the Guatemalans confidence in the final triumph.

That optimism is not the product of mere wishful thinking but of an objective analysis of the national situation, of the Central American region, and of the current correlation of world forces. In effect, the enthronement of reaction in power a quarter of a century ago, as a result of U.S. imposition, meant the repossession of the leadership of the Guatemalan state by the tra-

"The neo-fascist ruling classes in Guatemala repress and persecute the workers and peasants and absorb most of the national income for themselves."



ditional agro-exporting bourgeoisie and the new segments of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie which developed under the propitious conditions for economic growth, created during the revolutionary decade. These classes have strengthened themselves to the extent that they absorb for themselves most of the national income, increased by the high prices of coffee, cotton, meat, cardamom and other products. At the same time repressive laws freeze salaries and neo-fascist authorities persecute and repress the workers.

The imperialists and their henchman have hatched a new conspiracy to prevent any social revolution from taking place in Guatemala. They have proposed to install a neo-fascist regime under the disguise of pseudo-democratic formalities, to allow only the parties of the ruling class to exercise power, with the support and involvement of the armed forces and multiple police forces. It is also proposed to maintain that system with blood and fire, with the help of paramilitary bands and other units specializing in kidnapping, torture, annihilation of leaders of the opposition. This kind of activity has already registered itself in the statistics of tens of thousands of missing or assassinated victims. Other measures taken by the imperialists envisage impeding the formation of political parties, unions and other associations by the people's forces. In short, they want to smash any endeavor of rekindling the struggle of the people.

Nevertheless, the military and fascist groups during the last 25 years have not been able to subdue the working, peasant and revolutionary petty bourgeoisie classes and other social sectors of intellectuals and artists. On the contrary, these classes have

not only resisted the unleashing of bourgeoisie violence, but they have also begun to prepare the counter-offensive, an authentic liberation struggle.

Despite the serious military setbacks having been suffered by the guerrilla movement since 1967, currently, the people have two armed organizations, the Rebel Armed Forces and the Guerrilla Army of the Poor which have filled their ranks with elements from the working class, including important indigenous groups.

The terrible persecution perpetrated by the military dictatorship, the absence of human rights, the lack of civil liberties and guarantees, the violence of the exploiters carried to insane extremes even against moderate social democratic elements have not succeeded in intimidating the people into renouncing their inalienable rights.

Under the most adverse conditions, the people have reached an appreciable level of organization and combativeness. The trade unions confront the bosses; there are mobilizations and marches from remote places into the capital; there are outbreaks of solidarity strikes; factories are occupied and properties taken over in rural zones by the working people. The unemployed, the impoverished, students at all levels, mothers and wives of the victims of reactionary terror, in short, all popular sectors are uniting.

The culmination of this patient and tenacious process of solidarity is the formation of the Democratic Front against Repression, an entity which is comprised of over 150 mass organizations of hundreds of thousands of Guatemalans, if not millions, willing to fight for their freedom and national independence and sovereignty, which are now controlled by foreign hands.

Contribution of Andres Bello to Cause of Latin America's Independence

LUBIO CARDOZO

ANDRES BELLO was an objective interpreter of his time. He was not a retrogressive leader, nor a futurist; he always gave clear, precise and scientific answers to all the questions existing in the Hispano American movement of his time.

He started his public work as a simple officer of the Spanish colonial government. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century itself, he realized how the Spanish colonies in Latin America constituted a world completely different from Spain, and how their link with the colonial power in Madrid comprised no more than political and military vassalage. That is why he did not hesitate to join the liberation movement of 1810 in Latin America and to accept a political task from the new Venezuelan government.

Andres Bello went to London on a diplomatic assignment, where he began a serious study of literature, history, law, natural sciences, economy; this knowledge later helped him to contribute to the cultural renaissance of Latin America.

Andres Bello was the most outstanding Latin American intellectual of his time. In the search for military and political autonomy during the long war of independence of Latin American countries, he played a significant role. This was especially so in all the ups and downs involved in finding a new democratic republican system—the most advanced organization of that time.

LUBIO CARDOZO, *Director of the Institute at Literary Research of Los Andes University (Venezuela)*

Andres Bello was born in Caracas on 29 November 1781, and died in Santiago, Chile, on 15 October 1865.

He lived in Venezuela up to the age of 28 and saw the last days of colonial domination of Spain.

During the phase of the war of independence, he was in London and returned to Latin America at the beginning of the republican era—a year before the death of the biggest strategist of the South American liberation movement, Simón Bolívar.

Andres Bello was the son of Bartolomé Bello and Ana Antonia López, a family which belonged to the strata of the poor whites of Caracas. We state this in the context of the strict division of classes and races existing in Venezuela during the colonial period.

Andres Bello who began his study at home continued it under Cristóbal de Quesada from whom he had his first lessons in the humanities, and the Latin language—a linguistic medium which proved to be very fruitful for Bello later on.

From the knowledge he received from Quesada, it was possible for him to enter the Santa Rosa Seminar from where he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in philosophy and sciences, on 14 June 1800.

He followed this up with the study of law and medicine, but due to lack of resources he could not finish it. An indication of the poor living conditions of the Bello-Lopez family is the fact that Andres Bello started to work at an early age.

He also worked as a private teacher and among his students was Bolívar.

In 1802 he worked in the Administration of the Captaincy-General of Venezuela as an Officer. In 1807, he was promoted Commissioner of War. One year later, the two Englishmen Mateo Gallagher and Jaime Lamb from Trinidad set up the first printing house in Caracas that enabled the publication of a newspaper called "La Gazeta de Caracas" and Bello became one of the editors.

Stay in London

Right after the events in 1810, the Government's Provisional Junta in the Captaincy-General of Venezuela sent several diplomatic missions abroad. Bello, together with Simón Bolívar and Luis López Méndez, formed part of the delegation sent to the British government in London.

In London, Bello could finish his intellectual development which was started at the small village in Caracas. He obtained wide and deep encyclopaedic knowledge orientated toward the humanities: philosophy, history, grammar, law, geography, classics and European literature.

He stayed on in London where he married María Ana Boleyn in 1814. Those were years of serious economic problems as the private tuition he gave to his pupils did not provide him with enough means to have a modest living. After his wife died, he married again in 1824. This time his partner was a woman of strong character who proved to be a great support for him. She was Isabel Antonia Dunn.

In 1822 he represented Chile in its Legation in London; in 1825 he became Secretary of the Legation of Colombia and in 1827, he was appointed *Chargé d'affaires*. Two years later he finally left England—a country where he had a solid intellectual development which characterized all his creative work, and where he was trained for those paramount tasks of a public man and writer which were waiting for him in that beautiful country of the Southern Hemisphere: Chile.

In London Bello published two magazines which were the best means to reveal ideas. The first magazine came out, in collaboration with Juan García del Río, in 1823. It contained an *Hispano American spirit*: "Biblioteca Americana" or "Miscelánea de Literatura, Artes y Ciencias."

He clearly stated the aims of this publication: "We, who are anxious in cooperating to remove ignorance from Latin America which is the cause of slavery and source

of humiliation and misery, are willing to show to the people the intellectual richness of the past centuries so as to prepare the generations in the coming centuries. This has encouraged us to undertake the printing of a newspaper called "Biblioteca Americana". (American Library)"

It seems that the magazine was financed by a "Society of Americans" formed by Augustín Gutiérrez Moreno, Pedro Creutzler, Juan García del Río and the Venezuelan Luis López Méndez. In Biblioteca Americana, Bello published his famous poem "Alocución a la poesía".

A substantial continuation of that magazine was "Repertorio Americano" (American Repertory) which appeared in October 1826. It closed down after four issues in August 1827.

Chile: His Second Home

Chile became the country to inherit the creative work of the Venezuelan writer. Bello devoted all his efforts to the development of that long strip of land facing the Pacific Ocean which received him as a native son. His work in Chile contained three great aims: education, literary and humanistic creation, and organization of that southern territory.

A great part of his work was written in Chile and printed in "El Araucano", a weekly paper of Santiago of which Bello was the chief editor. It was founded on 17 September 1830 and Bello took an active part in its production until August, 1853.

It is unnecessary to stress that the rest of his work—that is to say most part of it—was published in Chile and not only during his lifetime. Many of his manuscripts which his friends and students provided were published posthumously.

He held several posts in Chile including that of a Senator of the Republic, a position he held from 1837 till 1855. He also worked for the setting up of the University of Chile whose foundation was approved in 1824. The Chilean government appointed him the First Rector of that great institution.

The Royal Spanish Academy named him an Honorary Member in 1851, and promoted him Respondent Member in 1861.

In 1855 the Congress of Chile passed the Civil Code prepared by Bello.

In his lifetime itself, Bello earned great glory and the gratitude of the people to whose betterment he fully devoted his fruitful work in an active life of eighty-four years.

Situation in Chile Today

Economy Deteriorating, Human Rights Violated

LUIS EGUDIO CONTRERAS ABURTO

FOR many persons around the world, the struggle for human rights in Chile might at this moment appear to be something artificial and purely propaganda. However, there are two aspects of this problem which have to be studied in all their dimensions.

Before the military coup d'état in Chile on 11 September 1973, a Chilean or any foreign institution was not concerned with the issue of human rights in my country. The reason for this is very simple. Such issues, especially under the Popular Unity government, of which I had the honour of being a member, were non-existent as the regime respected human rights of the people. Here I must add, just by way of illustration, that it was only during the regimes headed by Alessandri and Frei that the question about the treatment of the detainees and common prisoners was raised. But even these questions about the living conditions of political prisoners were never related to the right to life, nor to the physical integrity of a person.

In regard to the period when the government of the Popular Unity was in power in Chile, I can state categorically that right from Allende to other levels, there was deep concern for the life and personal security of the citizens and inhabitants in Chile. Their human rights were respected.

Violation of Human Rights

There is no need to refer to statistics in order to convince even the most sceptical person that there can be no comparison between the state of things which existed at the time of Allende and the position today under the rule of the Junta in Chile. The people who were killed, or who were stated to have disappeared, or were exiled under the rule of the present regime comprise a very large number. There was no such thing during the constitutional government of Salvador Allende; only some

LUIS EGUDIO CONTRERAS ABURTO, Lawyer (Chile)

people had gone into voluntary exile at that time.

Here it may be stated that under the rule of the present regime, even the number of the people who have died from road and other types of accidents, which are frequent in Chile, is higher now than during the time of the Popular Unity government.

Before the coup in Chile on 11 September 1973, the courts of justice functioned in the full majesty of the law. At that time people could have recourse to protection under the provisions of the laws relating to habeas corpus. All these laws protected the rights of the people and laid down the norms which a government in power in Chile had to follow in regard to human rights.

At present, we may point out, from among the thousands of petitions made about the protection of life and property of people since 11 September 1973, those accepted by the present regime do not exceed three or four. There is the case of my son, Carlos Humberto Contreras Maluje, who is a "disappeared person". His case, due to the negligence of the Supreme Court, has not been taken up and his whereabouts are still not known.

Actually any court can be constituted during a holiday which is not obliged to look into the case of a disappeared person within 24 hours as stipulated, but it can take months to investigate it.

Another symptomatic fact showing the complete change in the situation in regard to human rights, which, in other words, is the real tragedy of human rights in Chile, is the transformation of the Office of European Migrations in Chile after 11 September 1973.

Chileans in Exile

I had the opportunity to get acquainted with its functioning when I worked in that Office as a clerk. Before the coup of 1973, the function of that Office was to transfer displaced European citizens to America and, in our case, to Chile where they were

provided with jobs according to the qualification they had in the old continent. But after the coup, this Office of European Migrations began to deal with the emigration of the people from Chile itself, people who were expelled, or left of their own accord due to the conditions prevailing in the country, including lack of security. Thus, the Office of European Migrations, without changing its name, turned into the office of the biggest and most massive Chilean migration and dispersion in the history of the country.

Another circumstance which explains the strength of the campaign for the restoration of human rights in Chile, and which, therefore, has a bearing on the struggle for the reestablishment of democracy in Chile, must be studied. It is that in my country everything that was built, achieved and won by the people in regard to civil rights, political rights and social rights, as well as trade union and working class victories, was the result of great struggles without compromising the basic demands of the people.

In fact, the people of Chile have been struggling incessantly for defending their rights. Even the Spanish colonialists could not subdue Chile for 300 years due to the strength of the Araucanians who bravely resisted the conquest of their land by foreigners. In recent times, the people of Chile continued their struggle until they achieved a significant victory in the setting up of the Popular Unity government in 1970. Thus, there is a continuing saga of struggle in my country for obtaining better living conditions, human dignity, and other fundamental concepts of human rights.

For more than 150 years, Chile had a constitutional order which had taken form and reality, not in a peaceful and idyllic way, but through a constant struggle of the people, through a conflict between classes and antagonistic sectors.

It is to be remembered that Chile at one time had a government and a parliament nominated by the owners of rural property who were cunning enough to manipulate the "vote" of their tenants, or were able to purchase it through bribery from the people who were "broke"—an expression used in Chile referring to the common people. All this was changed when the government of the Popular Unity was formed, which for the first time in our history gave top priority to the interests of the working and peasant masses as well as the national interests over the interests of the local monopolies and foreign multinational corporations.

Until the coup on 11 September 1973, there was a constitutional order in Chile; there were laws that allowed the flourishing and exercise of political democracy, of a rational and institutional system based on harmonious relations. At that time there was respect for personal freedom and individual liberty, an achievement of which we can be proud of. The workers' organizations had obtained recognition and legal status; the rights of people that had been won had reached a high level of development.

The coup d'état in September 1973 violently finished the institutional life of my country; a juridical system based on reason and logic was replaced by arbitrary power exercised by the new regime. This destroyed everything that we, Chileans, had achieved during our history to change the Chilean economy. From being merely a supplier of raw materials, which created dependence, Chile, particularly under the popular government of Pedro Aguirre Cerda began to consolidate its position through official measures. This process was further strengthened under the popular and democratic government of Salvador Allende. It reflected the conscious creation of a major area in the economy which was owned by the people as a whole and not by private companies or multinational corporations.

One of the first acts of the present regime, after incinerating the electoral registers—a clear evidence of its fear and hatred of democracy—was to change the CORFO-organization of state enterprises and to auction them to private monopoly interests. It was an expression of a feverish mania to get rid of everything that our people had historically created as a fundamental basis of an economic system which was more favourable and equal for all Chileans.

Destruction of Chile's Economy

While the Popular Unity government initiated acts for redistributing national in-



The working people of Chile demonstrating in Santiago on May Day (1979) for restoration of human rights in their country

come to activate the economy and raise the low standard of living, the present regime has put constraints on economic activity, closed enterprises or transferred them to individuals, and opened wide the door in Chile for a massive inflow of general and luxury goods from abroad, all of which have increased rates of unemployment to a level unheard of in our history.

In order to destroy the victories of Chile as a nation and as a people, the present regime created unlimited terror and unrestrained violence. It has given away its resources, and frustrated every possibility of advancing on its long road toward the future. In fact, the present regime is taking Chile back to a situation that can only be compared to the colonial period.

The fabric of Chilean society has been destroyed through massacres, the disappearance of people, the carelessness of the Supreme Court to fulfil its fundamental duty of protecting every person's life, honour and property.

The result is that more than 2,500 people are still on the list of persons about whose whereabouts nothing is known.

To sum up what has been said in this article, one may refer to the draft "constitution" made by the current regime which it intends to approve or present as approved and put into effect. It embodies what the present regime has been able to do in six years of power: creation of political outcasts, permanent defencelessness of persons; arbitrariness exercised in the name of national security, which is to secure and guarantee the present regime. All this, together with a strong will to perpetuate all injustices, and a novel system of owners and slaves, constitutes the real intention of the draft constitution prepared by the present regime.

A foreigner visiting Chile today would see counters of shops and stores full of imported goods. At the same time he would also find hundreds and thousands of petty traders and peddlers, including children, selling the most strange merchandise, postries, chocolates, combs, shopping bags.

A large number of people, including children, are also available for looking after parked cars for a small fee. The poverty and unemployment are so evident that no effort is needed to see them.

But the Chile of today is not only that. There is also hope that things will return again to the normal way, that democracy will return to Chile, and again life and freedom of a person will be truly respected.

New Initiatives of Cuban Peace Movement

EVA ROMAY

WORLD War II ended in 1945; it left behind 54 million dead, 90 million wounded, 28 million invalids and a four billion dollars worth of damage. But the imperialists immediately unleashed the cold war.

Cuba was a neo-colony at the service of U.S. imperialism. Nevertheless, in 1948 amidst the cold war, when the government of the United States attempted to impose the "Clayton Charter" on Latin America, in this small Caribbean island which had been fighting for independence and sovereignty for 100 years, the imperialist essence of the "Clayton Plan" was exposed.

An article by Carlos R. Rodriguez, published in the magazine FUNDAMENTOS, in November 1948, said: "The 'Clayton Plan', a name reserved for marshalling in the sphere of world trade... was presented to the 'International Conference on Problems of War and Peace', which convened in Chapultepec in 1945. As of then, the symptoms became evident of what the main objective of U.S. imperialism would be during the post-war period..."

From that early date, it was quite clear to certain sections of our people, that the struggle against the servitude and economic dependency, imposed by the United States, was part of the great universal struggle to safeguard peace and democracy and to win the independence of our peoples.

It was not fortuitous that in December 1948, an editorial in the aforementioned magazine wrote of the success of the "World Congress of Culture" held in Wrocław, during which the banner of struggle was hoisted against the only instigators and beneficiaries of war: the imperialists.

It was in this context of underlining the problem, which faced humanity after the end of World War II, that the "Congress of Defenders of Peace" was convened from April 21 to 25, 1949, in Paris and Prague simultaneously.

Our country, despite the obstacles and difficulties it had to overcome, sent a delegation of 12 persons, among whom was comrade Juan Marinello, dear to all, who was later chosen as a member of the World Peace Council.

The repercussion of that Congress was immediately felt in our country. The previous mobilization for the Congress, to send 12 delegates, united powerful popular forces, which began to work to convene a "National Congress for Peace and Democracy".

As conveners for the Congress were men and women of diverse backgrounds and ideologies; youth from the University Student Federation (FEU), from the Socialist Youth, prestigious artists and intellectuals, the Democratic Federation of Women (FDMC), workers from the Workers' Central of Cuba (CTC), masonic and religious institutions, etc.

The National Congress for Peace and Democracy, held in Havana from August 6 to 8, 1949, was attended by 2,000 delegates from all corners of our country.

The inauguration of the important event was held in the Amphitheatre of the Calixto García Hospital, and the opening speech was made by the eminent Cuban scholar, Don Fernando Ortiz, whose beautiful words represented the aspirations for peace of the Cuban people: "In the name of the Martyrs of the homeland and of those who aspire to perpetuate their teachings in the present and future, in the name of the Supreme Spirit of Civilization, I declare this Congress open."

The National Congress elected the executives of what was then called the "Permanent National Committee for the Defence of Peace and Democracy".

Among the resolutions of the Congress were the following:

- 1) The Congress entirely approved and embraced the Manifesto adopted by the World Congress of Defenders of Peace held in Paris.
- 2) The Congress categorically and resolutely rejected the false idea spread by the warmongers that war is inevitable.
- 3) The Congress rejected the idea that Cuba had to "fatefully" join some state or bloc of states and support an international policy aimed at unleashing a new world war.

Upon electing its executive board, the Congress placed the maximum responsibilities on Don Fernando Ortiz, who was elected President of the "Permanent National

EVA ROMAY, *Journalist (Cuba)*

Committee for the Defence of Peace and Democracy".

In those difficult times, the National Committee undertook many tasks, the most important of which are explained below.

First of all, we must mention the collecting of signatures in 1950 in support of the Stockholm Appeal to ban the atomic bomb. There were 786, 778 signatures below the Call from Cuba. If we note the number of inhabitants in our country at that time, and the hostile attitude of the government in office, that figure is an outstanding achievement since, in addition, it constituted a high percentage in relation with other countries in the American continent.

In the second place, there is another fact which reveals the role played by the National Committee in defence of peace, during the difficult times of the "cold war". In 1950 the United States invaded Korea, unleashing an unfair and cruel war. Under the slogan, "Hands Off Korea", hundreds of thousands of signatures were collected in repudiation of that war; the signatories also opposed the armies of puppet countries of Latin America participating in the aforementioned contest.

Our presence, with 57 delegates from

the most diverse sectors, in the Congress of Mexico in September of 1949, definitively demonstrated the position of the Cuban people regarding the issues of peace and war, pointing out that the universal road was the struggle towards strengthening peace, sovereignty and integrity of the peoples, an attitude faithfully maintained by our people up to the present time.

After the triumph of the Revolution, Cuba took steps on the sure and firm path towards socialism. New tasks have arisen during these years of struggle for detente and peaceful coexistence for our Movement for Peace.

Nevertheless, there is one constant which closely links the struggle waged in the difficult neocolonial times with the struggle today, under the new conditions of constructing socialism. That constant is the conviction that the struggle for peace is, at the same time, the struggle for the full integrity, sovereignty and fullest respect of the different nations still fighting to remove the colonial yoke anywhere in the world.

Thus, at its thirtieth anniversary in 1979, our Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples expressed its solidarity with the national liberation movements of all

countries aspiring to win real independence. Among the current tasks of the Cuban Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples are, in the first place, the work of effecting closer bonds with the working masses, jointly contributing with other mass organizations to maintain a widespread dialogue on the problems of peace and war, while also extending the solidarity with all peoples fighting for their independence.

In the second place, we must emphasize that the New Stockholm Appeal (1975) to stop the arms race and for general and complete disarmament was signed by the high political leadership of our country, which so worthily represents the whole of our people, demonstrating, once again, the high level of consciousness and the tremendous sensitivity of Cuba towards the most significant problems of current times.

Our movement, in addition, actively participates in international events in which it speaks on the issues of the arms race, disarmament, and in support of the national liberation movements.

Finally, our Movement maintains close contact with the Committees for Peace in different regions of the world and agrees with the view that currently the committees for peace—essentially in America—must work for the unity of all progressive forces, in order to have a dialogue in a decisive effort to reach the masses.

The Cuban Movement for Peace understands that to the extent that conflicts and tensions are eliminated in many nations, the road towards a solid, lasting, just and stable peace is further opened.

In recent years the activities of the Cuban Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples has been growing in different spheres.

The Cuban Peace Movement has set up several commissions involving specialists in various fields for furthering the cause of peace:

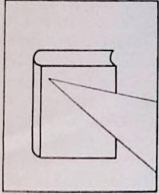
The Commission of Parliamentarians, Commission of Lawyers, Commission of Writers and Artists, Commission on Media, Commission on Development, and Scientific Commission.

The Cuban Peace Movement has established an Information Centre on behalf of the World Peace Council in Havana which is projecting the activities of the WPC in special bulletins and brochures in Spanish and English.

The Cuban Peace Movement is actively participating in the struggle for effecting disarmament, and in supporting detente, and the nonaligned movement.



Postage stamp issued by Cuba in 1979 to mark the 30th anniversary of the World Peace Movement



DISARMAMENT— World Problem No. 1

Reviewed by FRITZ RATHIG

ALONGSIDE the dangerous revival of the Hitler cult, and the glorification of Nazi and war crimes displayed in many books and films of the Western world, we witness a growing flood of writings on the book markets evoking the spectre of a new war triggered off by an "onslaught of the Russians" and depicting its course in minute detail.

Such books as that of the Belgian General Close "Europe without Defence?" (1977) or that of the British General Hackett "The Third World War" (1978), which have even been boosted on the bestseller lists, are of course designed merely to suggest the inevitability of a global conflict; they also prove, however, that no concepts favouring disarmament and detente can be expected from the military industrial complexes and their stooges in editorial offices and military headquarters.

The peace forces, however, are interested in laying before the public the whole complicated problem of disarmament in all its aspects, in arousing common understanding of the measures required or practicable steps and, above all, in mobilizing the masses of the people of all continents to take an active part in the struggle for the ending of the arms race, the banning of all weapons of mass destruction and for the ultimate transition to total disarmament.

Two books are particularly worth noting for the excellent contribution they make to this aim:

1) "Disarmament—World Problem No. 1", by Peter Klein and Klaus Engelhardt, Published by the GDR Institute for International Politics and Economy, Berlin 1979, pp. 224.

2) "Hiroshima—The After-Effects of the

FRITZ RATHIG, *Secretary of World Peace Council from GDR*

Atom Bomb Explosion and the Struggle for Nuclear Disarmament."

by Georg Fuchs

Published by the International Institute of Peace, Vienna, 1978, pp. 96.

As stated in the introduction of the first book, the publisher's intention is to provide an analysis of "the objective prerequisites and subjective possibilities of the popular struggle for putting the socialist ideal of disarmament into practice (italics by the reviewer) and to give an outline of the main aspects of the policy pursued by the socialist countries for the curbing of the arms race and for disarmament, while at the same time presenting the opposing positions taken by the major imperialist powers."

The authors—internationally renowned GDR scientists and disarmament experts—have fully succeeded in reaching their object. They formulate specific questions related to disarmament, which many people are concerned with, place them in their respective relevant contexts and provide an answer to them. They base themselves on a multitude of scientific findings as well as on historical facts which, taken as a whole, form a comprehensive and convincing argumentation, a welcome handbook for anyone seriously engaged in the struggle for peace, disarmament and detente.

While undertaking to prove that disarmament in our days constitutes world problem No. 1, the first four chapters deal with the socio-economic roots of the disarmament policies of states and their positions towards war and peace, and they also explain the close interrelation between exploitation and the arms race, between peace and war.

The nature and interaction of the political and military aspects of detente and disarmament are dealt with in detail and the importance of supplementing political by military detente is proved.

Excursions into history strengthen the conviction that the USSR's policy from the very beginning has been directed towards peace and disarmament and that there exists no doctrine in the socialist countries implying the need for material superiority of the socialist military potential as a prerequisite for the maintenance of peace.

The second chapter poses and answers the question as to the causes and extent of the escalated arms race at present and during the various stages following 1945. Numerous statements on this subject made by various Western politicians are recalled, which today they would prefer us to forget, giving a very clear picture of those who are really interested in—and responsible for—the arms race.

It is precisely these circles of the military-industrial complexes and their supporters who react aggressively towards any positive change in the international arena and who strive to manipulate public opinion in favour of imperialist aims. That is why they are spreading the lie of a military threat emerging from the socialist community and why they are making every effort to distort the concept of "security policy" by equating it with "guarantees for the imperialist system".

The authors examine the question whether the imperialists have a political strategy of disarmament of their own, but arrive at the conclusion that "there exists no disarmament strategy inside the NATO alliance, except the constant rejection of any disarmament initiative—if one could define this as a strategy. Much space is devoted to the specific positions on the disarmament issue held by the major imperialist powers—the U.S., FRG, Great Britain and France—and on the support lent to imperialist anti-disarmament policies by the present Peking leadership.

The third chapter is largely devoted to

the economic and social implications of the arms race and disarmament.

The book refutes such "theories" as: that arms build-up, arms export boom and escalation of the arms race boost and stabilize the economy, i.e. that they secure jobs, guarantee full employment and stimulate the entire innovation process of scientific-technological progress.

While disproving the diverging and often contradictory views published in capitalist countries on the social effects of armament and disarmament, the authors outline a clear-cut, comprehensive and scientifically-based position that proves the practicality and usefulness of disarmament and of conversion of the arms industry to peaceful purposes—here and now.

They discuss the diverse views, often diametrically opposed, propagated by various institutions, organisations and publications in capitalist countries and also mention such extremely valuable research work as that undertaken by Lucas Aerospace trade unionists or by that of Vickers, Great Britain, or by groups of research workers in the U.S.A. etc. pointing out its immense significance for the trade unions' struggle for peace.

Thus the book will prove a great help for winning the support of such groups and sections in capitalist countries, who suffer from inflation, price increases, unemployment and growing social insecurity.

"If the funds now spent on arms were used for peaceful purposes, they would provide a material basis for twice or three times as many jobs. Any increase in the military budgets deprives those employed in the civilian sectors of the material possibility to retain their jobs."

Their statements on the problem of conversion are interesting. The military-industrial complexes, it is pointed out, deliberately distort the implication and relevance of the economic and social problems involved in conversion, presenting them in terms that have no relation to the truth. Their object is of course to frighten people.

The last chapter reviews the entire process of military detente summing up the tasks ahead and evaluating the results achieved so far in the struggle for arms limitation and disarmament. While, interpreting the results of intergovernmental negotiations, which are inseparably linked with the international balance of forces, as a positive step forward, it correctly emphasizes that it is the worldwide democratic movement of the peoples for peace, security and dis-

armament that constitutes the actual root of these results.

The detailed knowledge of the outcome of intergovernmental negotiations on various levels which this book offers, is of particular interest now since, overshadowing the many multinational negotiations on UN and regional levels, the Soviet-U.S. negotiations, thanks to the signing of SALT II, have once more become the centre of political attention and their significance is obvious to anyone.

The book also deals with the Vienna talks on limitation of forces and armaments in Central Europe which have been conducted since 1973, and with the Final Act of the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, especially with its sections on disarmament and confidence-building measures.

It hardly needs to be mentioned that the authors, while proceeding from a description of the objective preconditions for disarmament and characterizing them as vital and ripe for action, they also give due credit to the growing role of mass struggle and the contributions made by numerous non-governmental organisations and institutions, including the World Peace Council. Anyone taking an active part in the struggle for the safeguarding of peace, for the promotion of detente and disarmament will confirm from his own experience that "the social consciousness of the masses, the understanding of millions of people of the basic issues of war and peace has matured. ... It is more and more growing into a material force which has already wrested from imperialism ever more concessions for bringing about political and military detente."

The annex contains a summary of the "most important levels of intergovernmental negotiations", "Disarmament treaties concluded after World War II", "significant initiatives recently taken by the USSR and other states of the socialist community" and "important initiatives and documents of international non-governmental bodies (1975-1977)".

Monograph by Dr. Fuchs

Another very remarkable contribution that will help in the struggle against weapons of mass destruction is a monograph by Dr. H. C. Fuchs, President of the International Institute for Peace, which he wrote after his participation in a Hiroshima symposium on damages and delayed effects caused by the dropping of atom bombs on Hiro-

shima and Nagasaki in August 1945 using his own experience and knowledge as a radiology expert.

Though strictly limited in subject but very considerable in depth, this publication on a shattering historical event—the dropping of the U.S. atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki—is in its precision and richness of data provided, its scientific conclusion and its historical context a valuable addition to the literature existing on this subject.

The thirty-six photos in the monograph are informative and moving. The delayed effects, as is known, particularly leucemia and malignant tumors, have fully developed only in recent years and there have been symptoms of genetic damage—the scourge of future generations. The political, military, medical and social implications of the Hiroshima/Nagasaki topic will invariably be linked with the demand for total prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction, no matter what form they might take.

Embedded in the first two chapters, "Previous History" and "The Struggle for Nuclear Disarmament" which outline the historical background and the political tasks lying ahead is an account supported by well documented scientific facts describing the destruction of human beings and material in an unprecedented and unimaginable inferno.

As a renowned roentgenologist, the author supplies a large quantity of material on the ionizing radiation of the atom bomb, on radiation sickness suffered by the victims and on delayed effects caused by radioactive fall-out.

"The special situation in which the survivors of the atom bomb explosion found themselves and, to a certain extent still find themselves, has brought into existence a new name: Hibakusha. They have to cope with numerous problems which are not only of a physical but also of a social nature."

The position of well-known scientists like Einstein and Russell on this issue are presented in addition to the contents of the intergovernmental treaties and agreements signed so far, including the Test Ban Agreement, the Antarctic Agreement, the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, SALT I, and others.



NO
TO NEW US MISSILES
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