

NEW TIMES

12

MARCH 1979



A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

1004

Chu Van Ching + Nchay



**THE COURAGE
OF VIETNAM**

**THE SOVIET UNION
IN PICTURES**

Yuri Filipkov is a worker. To be more exact, he is a tool fitter, and that is a painstaking and responsible job. The Moscow Jig-Boring Machine Plant, where he has now worked for twenty years, manufactures unique and expensive machines — programme-controlled extra-high precision tools.

Since the plant exports goods to more than fifty countries, Filipkov and some of his comrades often go abroad to install and adjust machines. Filipkov, for instance, is well known to importers of these tools in Brazil, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Spain.

Yuri Filipkov recently graduated from an engineering school. His work has been highly appraised by the state — he has been awarded the Order of Labour Glory Third Class.

Photos: Yuri Filipkov (right) at work ♦ Assembling a machine ♦ At an airport ♦ With his daughter ♦ Favourite pastime.

Photos by Boris Kavashkin



LESSON FOR WHOM?

The fighting in Vietnam is continuing as the Chinese authorities drag out the announced withdrawal of their forces. Of the three provincial centres seized by the aggressor, only Lang Son has been liberated, Lao Cai and Cao Bang are still in the hands of the invaders. Only some rear-echelon units have been pulled back across the frontier line, while the strike forces are being regrouped and here and there are even engaged in offensive action.

Disquieting too is the fact that in a number of occupied districts the invaders are building fortifications and dwelling houses, the intention clearly being to perpetuate the occupation and settle ethnic Chinese who formerly lived in Vietnam.

It is not excluded that Peking has embarked on another manoeuvre designed to deceive the world. "The Chinese also intend to return to a border that they—not Vietnam—have defined, which will put them in a stronger bargaining position," the U.S. Christian Science Monitor has observed. But there will be no bargaining. Vietnam has firmly declared that until the aggressor's forces have pulled out beyond the historical border line its representatives will not sit down at the negotiating table.

The Peking rulers may be expected to spring new surprises. For it obviously is not by chance that Peking has not denied the facts set forth in the statements of the Soviet, Vietnamese and Laotian governments testifying to the threat of Chinese invasion hanging over the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, on whose borders it is concentrating troops.

But the farther the Chinese leaders go in their reckless abandon the more clearly visible becomes their moral and political defeat. This is plain not only to Vietnam's friends, but also to those who can in no way be suspected of sympathy for the citadel of socialism in Southeast

Asia. "Who taught whom a lesson?" asks the Wall Street Journal, which reflects views current in the U.S. business world. "China has come away from this war with its reputation damaged and its nose slightly bloodied." Apart from the fact that the end of the aggression is not yet in sight, this is a fair judgment.

"Punishing" a country with a population of 50 million hardly redounds to the credit, to put it mildly, of a country with 800 million people. The people of Vietnam, however, have denied the aggressors even these fictitious laurels. They have once again demonstrated that they are able to stand up for themselves. Peking's blitz war has been proved a dud. The invaders have learned by their own experience the shattering impact of retaliation by an angered nation. Not by hearsay but at first hand the Chinese strategists have made the acquaintance of Vietnamese military skill. According to a news item in the Western press, the Peking leadership has circulated among high-placed officials a document admitting that China is not in a position to wage modern war in Vietnam.

Peking has let it be understood that it hoped to place our country in a difficult position by attacking its ally. But in this respect too the Chinese strategists have been disappointed. The Soviet Union is living up to its treaty commitments to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and has warned the aggressor of the severe penalty in store for him if he persists in engaging in international brigandage. The Soviet position has been duly evaluated by the world community. The Russians come out looking like "a force for moderation," the Wall Street Journal has commented.

How does Peking now look in the eyes of all mankind? Even those who so far have harboured all manner of illusions can see that the policy of the Chinese leaders presents today the most serious threat to peace. Even quarters from which such admissions are least of all to be expected frankly concede that the Soviet Union has correctly assessed the aggressive substance of Peking policy.

When the U.S. adventure in Vietnam reached a dead end, Senator George Aiken recommended that the United States simply declare a victory and then withdraw. Today Peking propaganda is shouting from the house tops that China has won in Vietnam. However, Peking appears to be in no hurry to act on the second recommendation contained in this useful piece of advice and to pull out before it is too late.

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Editor-in-Chief: MIKHAIL FYODOROV

Associate Editors: L. Bezymensky, V. Chernyavsky, S. Golyakov, V. Gushchin, O. Kashoyan, V. Kuznetsov, B. Pishchik, V. Sidenko, I. Trofimova, D. Volsky.

Editor of English edition: E. Smirnov

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The Peking leaders unleashed aggression against Vietnam in the hope of preventing the strengthening of this outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia. But these hopes are doomed to fail. The forces of peace, freedom and progress are on Vietnam's side. Repelling the brigand attack, the Vietnamese people are working with redoubled energy.

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Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, arrived in Moscow on March 12 for a friendly visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. During their talk on the following day Leonid Brezhnev and Edward Gierek stressed the desire of the CPSU and the PUWP to expand ties along the Party, state and public lines. They reaffirmed their countries' determination to give all necessary support to the just cause of the Vietnamese people and stated that the present developments were proving forcefully that it is essential to wage a consistent and persevering struggle to deepen international détente and extend it throughout the world.

Premier Alexei Kosygin arrived in India for an official friendly visit on March 9. (See p. 8.)

Progressives the world over observed International Women's Day on March 8. In its greetings to Soviet women, the CPSU Central Committee said: "The Soviet women's struggle for peace and international co-operation and against the dangerous arms race started by imperialism is deeply appreciated. By expanding and strengthening ties with your friends in the socialist countries and the working women of all continents, you are helping to implement our Party's Leninist peace policy."

Representatives of more than 100 countries and 30 international organizations attended the International Emergency Conference in Support of Vietnam, held in Helsinki from March 6 to 8. The delegates discussed proposals to launch a campaign of solidarity with and assistance to Vietnam. (See p. 10.)

A Vietnamese Foreign Ministry statement on the Chinese aggression and on China's March 5 statement announcing the start of the withdrawal

PANORAMA



On March 11 Leonid Brezhnev was presented with his credentials as Deputy of the newly-elected Tenth U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

Photo by Sergei Kosyrev

of its troops from Vietnam was circulated in Hanoi on March 6. "If China really withdraws all its troops from Vietnam's territory," the statement said, "the Vietnamese side is prepared to start negotiations with the Chinese side at Deputy Foreign Ministers level on the resumption of normal relations immediately after the Chinese army crosses to the other side of the historical frontier line which both states agreed to respect."

The government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos issued a statement in Vientiane on March 7, demanding that China immediately stop concentrating troops on the border with Laos, discontinue actions jeopardizing its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and cease interfering in its internal affairs.

The U.S.S.R. Permanent U.N. Mission handed a statement on Micronesia to the U.N. Secretary-General. The statement draws attention to the fact that the United States is undertaking actions to dismember and seize this strategic

trust territory in the Pacific in violation of the U.N. Charter, in contravention of the U.N. Security Council and in defiance of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples.

An international conference was held in Vienna on March 5-8 to discuss new initiatives in East-West co-operation. In the final communiqué, prominent businessmen of 14 European countries and the United States, representatives of nongovernmental organizations and of international and national committees for European security and co-operation, and the Soviet delegation stressed the need to expand economic, scientific and technical co-operation between countries with different social systems.

The U.N. Security Council met at Jordan's request on March 10 to discuss the situation in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories. Z. Terazi, permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization, stressed that the United States' actions were encourag-

ing Israel in its policy with regard to the occupied Arab territories. Tel Aviv's policy of annexing these territories — expulsion of the Palestinian population, systematic destruction of Arab villages and simultaneous establishment of militarized Israeli settlements — jeopardizes the very survival of the Palestinian nation on its own soil.

President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France visited Rumania from March 8 to 11. In their statement, the Rumanian and French leaders expressed satisfaction with the state of their countries' economic ties and outlined new measures to develop them. They also stressed the need to observe and effectively realize the provisions of the Final Act of the all-European Conference, to deepen détente and expand co-operation.

Luis Herrera Campins, elected President of Venezuela on December 3 last year, was sworn in at Caracas on March 12. The ceremony was attended by numerous foreign delegations. The Soviet delegation was led by First Vice-President Vasily Kuznetsov.

President Benjedid Chadli announced the composition of the new Algerian government on March 9. The newly-instituted post of Premier is held by Mohammed Abdelghani, who is concurrently Minister of the Interior. Mohammed Ben Yahia has been appointed Foreign Minister.

President James Carter arrived in Egypt on March 8, accompanied by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Secretary of Defence Harold Brown and a group of high-ranking Pentagon officers. On May 10 he arrived in Israel. (See p. 15.)

Pakistan has announced its intention to withdraw from the CENTO military bloc.

DETENTE—SOME REFLECTIONS

MIKHAIL LYOV

The turn for the better in international relations, especially in Europe, in the late 1960s and early 1970s—the multiform practical signs of an easing of international tension, the landmark events in this process and above all the 35-nation top-level meeting in Helsinki in 1975—unquestionably gave all unprejudiced people a clear idea of how much the states and nations stand to gain from détente. In this new climate the millions for the first time in decades could feel that the sphere of interstate relations and fundamental world issues need not necessarily be a domain of danger and threat, but can hold out the prospect of a more tranquil life, security and material and spiritual benefits for every individual.

Beneficial to All

With the easing of tension the danger of another world war receded. Intercourse among states was given new impetus and this in turn enabled them to obtain a better understanding of one another's views, positions and legitimate interests and to shape their own policies accordingly. New prospects opened up for mutually beneficial economic co-operation as did additional channels for reciprocal cultural enrichment. All this is plain for all to see. There is no doubt that if a worldwide referendum were to be held on détente the overwhelming majority in every country would be in favour of continuing, deepening and expanding it.

But while the desirability of détente and the benefits directly accruing from it are obvious to all, its vital necessity is not always appreciated as fully. It is often said that in our time there is no rational alternative to a policy of détente, but not always is the categorical imperative implied in this precise thesis clearly visualized.

It is particularly important to give thought to this today, when the reactionary forces in the West are stepping up their efforts to under-

This is the first of two articles on this subject.

mine the very foundations of détente and when the aggressiveness of Chinese policy has become sharply pronounced and is introducing new serious complications in the international situation.

In these circumstances, as Leonid Brezhnev said in his speech to voters on March 2, "the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet government are exerting every effort to promote co-operation among the forces of peace, freedom and progress, to foil the schemes of aggressive quarters, to uphold and deepen détente, and fully to ensure the Soviet people, our allies and friends the possibility to live and work in peace."

The imperative need to secure détente is dictated by the fact that mankind has reached a point in the development of civilization when it is faced with problems that must be resolved if the conditions for normal life in the future and continued progress are to be preserved. These are the global problems of our time, they affect not only some, but all nations, not only a few, but all states, not only one or another group, but all humanity. These are of course not new problems. They have matured in the course of years, decades or even longer periods, but today, in our time, they have acquired, or are acquiring, so acute a character that their solution can no longer be put off indefinitely.

These global problems cannot be solved by the efforts of any one state or group of states. For this the joint efforts of all states, irrespective of their social systems, geographical location, size, military strength and cultural differences, are needed. Such joint efforts are of course possible only in a climate of détente, stability of interstate relations and greater international confidence. Let us examine this thesis in the light of some of the global problems facing the world today.

Danger Point

The prime problem undoubtedly is that of ending the arms race,

especially the nuclear arms race. That race has been going on for decades; even the nuclear race already has a long history which began with the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Today, if it is not stopped it can acquire a new quality and present a danger of an altogether new magnitude to humanity. This is stressed in the Soviet proposal on practical measures for ending the arms race submitted to the special General Assembly session on disarmament. "The accelerating and expanding process of the development, manufacture and deployment of new types of weapons and systems of armaments is acquiring ever more dangerous features," it says. "The soaring destructive potential in the arsenals of states is already sufficient to challenge, if activated, the very existence of man on earth." The full meaning of these words will be appreciated if it is recalled that the destructive power of a single large nuclear warhead today is the equivalent of that of all the explosives used by the belligerents in World War II, which, as we know, took a toll of 50 million lives.

Yet the arms race is still continuing, moreover, at a pace clearly outstripping progress in the matter of agreements to limit it. Weapon systems the numerical and qualitative limitation of which will not lend itself to mutual control are already being developed and are nearing the production stage. In other words, in some respects things may reach a point when the possibility of concluding controllable arms limitation agreements will be ruled out.

Openly aggressive strategic doctrines are being propounded to vindicate new systems of nuclear weapons. According to recent U.S. press reports, the U.S. Defence Department has put before President Carter a proposal aimed in effect at the creation in the 1980s of a "first-strike potential" pivoted on new systems of nuclear super-weapons with an enhanced targeting accuracy, primarily the MX mobile inter-continental missile and the

Trident-2 submarine-based missile. Incidentally, a leading U.S. missile designer, Robert Aldridge, is reported to have resigned in protest.

The implications of the pre-emptive strike strategy are well known. If a state were to acquire a nuclear strike potential that would preclude retaliation, or at any rate to believe itself in possession of such a potential, this would greatly increase its temptation to gamble on winning an aggressive war. How much this would heighten the danger of nuclear attack and what dire consequences this would have for the stability of the entire structure of interstate relations is obvious.

The same striving for military superiority over the socialist and other countries underlies the decisions of the Washington and Brussels sessions of the NATO Council on new programmes for the deployment of armed forces and their equipment with ever more destructive types of mass annihilation weapons.

The Soviet Union's policy on this question has been clearly enunciated by Leonid Brezhnev. "The Soviet Union," he has said, "has always been and remains strongly opposed to such concepts. Our efforts are directed precisely at averting the first strike and the second strike, indeed at averting nuclear war in general. Our approach on these questions can be formulated as follows: the defence potential of the Soviet Union must be at a level that would deter anyone from attempting to disrupt our peaceful life. Not superiority in weapons, but a course aimed at reducing armaments, at easing the military confrontation—such is our policy." In their Moscow Declaration of November 23, 1978, the Warsaw Treaty states jointly stated once again that they do not seek military superiority and never have sought it, and that their efforts in the military sphere are directed and always will be directed exclusively at securing their own defence capability.

But sincerely dedicated to peace as the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are, they cannot be expected to embark on unilateral disarmament. To terminate the arms race agreed steps by all states in co-operation with one another are needed. Hence the timeliness of the appeal which, in connection with the opening of the sitting of the Committee on Disarmament in Ja-

nuary, Leonid Brezhnev addressed to all states and peoples, to all statesmen responsible for the life and well-being of their countries, to redouble their efforts in order to bring about a decisive turn in the struggle to end the arms race.

Clearly, there is a dialectical link between political détente and efforts to stop the arms race. If political détente were complemented with measures to reduce military tension this would not only prevent the worst from happening, but would pave the way to a profound and long-term normalization of the world situation as a whole. But if the reactionary forces succeeded in torpedoing political détente and turning the march of world events back to confrontation and cold war, how could any serious progress towards the termination of the arms race be expected? How in these circumstances could humanity hope to resolve this crucial issue on which its entire future depends? Balancing on the brink of war would hardly be conducive to progress in talks on ending the arms race and on disarmament. Past experience, that of the 1950s, for example, is proof of this.

Global Problems

Another global problem which all states and all peoples want to see resolved is that of energy. The issue here is not so much the difficulties encountered by some capitalist countries as a result of the increase of oil prices by the oil-producing countries in recent years; these difficulties are merely the price they have to pay for their own neo-colonialist policy, one of the most glaring manifestations of which is the systematic jacking up of the prices of modern machinery and other industrial equipment in order to retard the industrialization of the developing countries and to establish imperialist control over their economies. The genesis of the energy problem as a global problem is altogether different. It stems from the historically conditioned overemphasis on oil as an energy source in all the developed industrial and developing countries. Since the reserves of oil are not inexhaustible and oil consumption is continuing to grow extremely rapidly, the world may find itself faced in the not distant future with serious and even unpredictable consequences,

primarily economic but also political.

There is of course a way out. It is to be found in accelerated development of other energy sources, above all the thermonuclear and solar. Research and development projects in these spheres are under way in many countries, but no one can say how soon they will produce results on a scale wide enough to power substantial sectors of the national economies from new sources. What is clear, however, is that the time needed for this could be significantly cut if the nations really joined efforts in basic research and the technological development of new energy sources. That such co-operation is possible is obvious, and steps have latterly been taken in this direction (the Tokamak thermonuclear installation and development of thermonuclear laser technology are instances). But here too much will depend on the continuation of détente, on the level of interstate confidence, which can be built only in the process of carrying détente forward.

The same applies to the global problem presented by population growth. According to United Nations estimates, the population of the world, which has more than doubled in the course of this century, will increase by half as much again, to about 6,000 million, by the year 2000. This alone—quite apart from the continued population growth in the more remote future (though it might be mentioned that the first half of this century is already more remote from us than the first half of the 21st century)—will create a multitude of problems of gigantic dimensions, from the need to provide more jobs to a sharp expansion of food production, which already now falls short of the requirements of a substantial part of the population of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It will be necessary also greatly to expand the medical care, educational and social security systems. As in the case of energy, the solution of this problem on a worldwide scale is hardly conceivable without considerable expansion and deepening of interstate co-operation in a climate of détente.

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the national and international problems arising from the growth of population will be insurmountable unless there is a radical reduction in the most wasteful governmental spending of all—military

spending, which in the capitalist countries today, far from declining, is swelling from year to year, swallowing up an ever bigger share of the national product.

Another problem that cannot be solved except in the context of détente and its deepening and extension farther afield is the overcoming of the economic lag of the developing countries. The dimensions of this pressing issue are truly enormous, but the progress made in tackling it is minimal, and in many cases the gap between the developed and developing countries is actually growing. The Declaration on the Deepening and Strengthening of Détente adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1977 on the initiative of the Soviet Union directly links with détente the creation of "conditions whereby all states can put all their resources to the task of improving the living conditions of their peoples without fear of coercion, threat or use of force."

Protection of the environment on a global scale is also directly connected with the deepening of détente. The threat to the ecological balance that has been steadily mounting in recent decades appears to be recognized everywhere. The concept of Man's triumph over Nature that was the symbol of the progress of civilization for two centuries has given way to the concept of rational interaction between Man and Nature. But the substitution of one concept for another cannot change much. The steadily accelerating industrial development, not only in the old industrial regions but also in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, brings to the fore more and more major problems relating to the protection of the environment which cannot be resolved on the scale of separate countries. Take if only pollution of the atmosphere, which knows no frontiers.

The past 5-10 years have seen some steps to promote international co-operation in environmental protection and some progress has been

made in this sphere. Notable among the bigger undertakings projected for the immediate future is the convening on the initiative of the Soviet Union of an all-European congress on environmental protection. It is thanks to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which laid a solid foundation for détente, that such an assembly has become feasible. But there can hardly be any doubt that before long it will be imperative urgently to concentrate effort on environmental protection on a worldwide scale. It is difficult to imagine how mankind will meet this challenge unless the sphere of détente is expanded, unless the system of interstate relations is put on a more stable footing.

As recently as the 1950s and the 1960s the exploration and use of outer space, the ocean floor and the seabed seemed to belong if not to the realm of science fiction then at any rate to the domain of pure science. The economic significance of all this for humanity was still unclear and was not regarded as being realistic. In the 1970s, however, with the development of exploratory and experimental work it is obvious that even the foreseeable future is inconceivable without multiform utilization of outer space for resolving economic tasks, from exploration for natural wealth concealed in the earth's crust to the creation of fundamentally new communications systems, including television relay systems. The first practical results of space research are already being applied in the economy. The same holds good for the seas and the oceans: the time is approaching when the colossal mineral resources of the seabed will be put to economic use.

But the solution of problems relating to the use of outer space and the oceans on the scale needed by mankind will demand—and indeed is already demanding—effective coordination of the efforts of all states. And this is possible only given the establishment of stable

peaceful relations among them in the context of détente.

Burden of Responsibility

It may of course be said that while all the problems mentioned here are universal and their solution is in the direct interest of all nations, of all countries, by no means all states are responsible for their genesis. This is indeed so. It is the imperialist powers and not the socialist countries that started and are stepping up the arms race. Moreover, had all the nations of the world been living in conditions of socialism at the time man came into possession of nuclear energy there would be no nuclear weapons altogether and consequently the danger of a nuclear holocaust would not have arisen. Were it not for the centuries of ruthless exploitation of the colonial peoples by the capitalist states, the problem of overcoming the economic backwardness of yesterday's colonies—the developing countries of today—would not exist. The problem of the environment too, perhaps, would not be so acute were it not for the plunder of Nature by the capitalist monopolies, which in their drive for superprofits are ready to lay waste the entire planet. And, of course, if socialism and communism prevailed the world over, if planned, balanced development of the economy were the rule everywhere, energy and food problems of the kind that confront the world today would never have arisen. All this is true. And socialism is not obliged to, nor will it, pay for the sins and crimes of capitalism.

But this is not to say that socialism can ignore the increasingly acute global problems of today. The world we live in is a world in which diametrically opposite social systems coexist, and at the same time a world faced with colossal universal problems. To evade these problems is impossible, to postpone their solution is dangerous.

As it is, far too much time has been lost as regards such a crucial matter, for instance, as termination of the nuclear arms race. It will be remembered that as far back as 1945, immediately after the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Soviet Union proposed that nuclear weapons be banned, and in subsequent years and decades it advanced ever new proposals appropriate to each successive stage of the nuclear arms race.

By refusing to give serious consideration to the Soviet proposals, the United States and other Western countries have assumed the full burden of responsibility for the scale the arms race has acquired today. All the more important then is it that talks between the five nuclear powers—the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Britain, France and China—be started without further delay, with a view to the removal from their arsenals of nuclear weapons of every type, as the Warsaw Treaty states proposed in their Moscow Declaration of November 23, 1978.

No, the socialist world does not bear any responsibility for the consequences of capitalist overlordship, for the results of capitalist policy. But the realities of the present-day world are such that the socialist countries must be prepared to co-operate with all states, irrespective of their social systems, in the matter of positive action to resolve the urgent universal problems. And they are prepared to do so. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are constantly taking the initiative in this respect. For the co-operation to acquire dimensions commensurate with the tasks facing humanity it is essential to consolidate, deepen and expand détente. This is the crucial thing.

But is it realistic to speak of deepening détente in the present circumstances, when the process of reducing international tension has been noticeably retarded? This we shall discuss in the next article.

THE BREZHNEV-KADAR MEETING

The leader of the Hungarian Communists, Janos Kadar, visited Moscow from March 5 to 7 and had talks with Leonid Brezhnev. Though brief, the visit was useful and fruitful. The talks, held in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere, covered a wide range of questions relevant to relations between the two countries, the prospects of economic ties in particular. A joint approach to many current international issues was defined.

Friendship between the Soviet Union and Hungary, between the Soviet and Hungarian Communists rests on a very firm foundation dating back to the early days of the October 1917 revolution in Russia. "Our people, our working class have no more reliable and true a friend than the Soviet people, the Soviet Union," Janos Kadar stressed.

Co-operation between the two countries extends to all spheres. The U.S.S.R. is Hungary's main trade partner. The economic relations with the Soviet Union and other members of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) are highly important for Hungary since nearly half of its national income comes from foreign trade. Special attention is now being given to the broadening of integration ties with the Soviet Union. Industrial co-operation with Soviet enterprises and long-term Soviet orders play an important role in the development of many branches of Hungarian industry.

"The socialist community," Leonid Brezhnev noted, "is not completely isolated from the economic situation in the capitalist world with its price fluctuations, inflation and sharp rivalry. In this context it is particularly evident that the future belongs to socialist economic integration."

The two leaders expressed confidence that a further extension of production co-operation and specialization on a bilateral basis and realization of long-range programmes of co-operation between the CMEA members are certain to advance the national economies and

heighten the economic potential of the entire socialist community. It was from this angle that Soviet-Hungarian co-operation was discussed and new areas of expansion were outlined.

The Moscow meeting confirmed the desire of the Soviet Union and Hungary to work jointly with the other countries of the socialist community and all who are alive to the gravity of the present world situation for an improvement of the political climate. In line with the Moscow declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee the Soviet Union and Hungary will continue to do all in their power in the interest of détente and disarmament. Leonid Brezhnev and Janos Kadar also noted the importance of the recent peace initiatives for the conclusion between the participants in the all-European Conference in Helsinki of a treaty renouncing first-strike use of both nuclear and conventional weapons, and for an agreement on new confidence-building measures.

In their review of current international issues, the two leaders naturally paid special attention to the situation in Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union and Hungary vigorously condemned China's aggression against Vietnam, regarding effective solidarity with Vietnam as their internationalist duty. Aid to the Vietnamese people, it was stressed, is the common task of all who are dedicated to peace, freedom and justice.

"Comrade Kadar and I," Leonid Brezhnev said, "have drawn a definite conclusion from the recent events: the unity of the socialist community must be strengthened still more. By acting in concert, we brought about détente. By continuing to act in the same way, we shall be able to counter any attempts to bring the world back to the cold-war times or to something even worse."

Regular meetings at summit level contribute importantly to the activity of the fraternal parties and help to find a mutually acceptable and harmonious solution to the problems facing the socialist countries. There is no doubt that the latest Brezhnev-Kadar meeting will likewise give a fresh impetus to Soviet-Hungarian co-operation.

A. PIN

TRIED AND TESTED

From Our Own Correspondent
VASILY TRETYAKOV

Premier Alexei Kosygin's official friendly visit to India, where he arrived on March 9, is the biggest event in the political life of this country in the recent period. He has met with President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, Vice-President Basappa Danna Jatti, Prime Minister Morarji Desai and his deputies Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram, and Minister of External Affairs Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and discussed with them questions pertaining to the further development of friendly Soviet-Indian relations and topical international issues. The Soviet Premier has addressed the Indian Parliament and a mass meeting outside Delhi's historic Red Fort, where the flag of independent India was hoisted 31 years ago, and met with the activists of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society and leaders of the Communist Party of India. He has toured the country in the east, west and south, visiting the heavy engineering works in Ranchi (Bihar State), which was built with Soviet assistance 15 years ago and which is called the "Indian Uralmach" after the famous Soviet plant; the Amul society of dairy co-operatives which unites 250,000 peasants in Gujarat State, and the space research centre in Bangalore (Karnataka State). And everywhere these meetings were a manifestation of the feelings of friendship and sympathy binding the Indian and Soviet peoples.

Everyone you meet here will tell you that Soviet-Indian friendship has stood the test of time. The Soviet Union, it is stressed in Delhi, has always been on the side of India in its hour of trial, when it especially needed support. Indian and Soviet positions are identical or similar on such crucial issues as

strengthening international peace and security, easing tensions, curbing the arms race, promoting disarmament, and ensuring the peoples' right to free and independent de-



Alexei Kosygin and Morarji Desai.

TASS photo

velopment. The two countries stand firmly against war and aggression, for respect of the independence of all states, for universal and lasting peace. It was to this end that the historic Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation was signed in 1971.

"Our friendship," Alexei Kosygin said at the banquet given in his honour by the Indian Prime Minister, "rests on the trust which the leaders of our countries and our peoples have in each other, and this

trust, in its turn, stems from the fact that we have always been honest with each other and have never let each other down."

Therein, generally speaking, lies the "secret" of the stability and steady growth of all-round Soviet-Indian co-operation.

Indo-Soviet relations had a long history, Mr Desai said at a meeting in honour of the distinguished Soviet guest, adding that he was happy that the friendship between the two countries, based on mutual trust and respect, had grown stronger still in the past two years.

The mutually advantageous economic, trade, scientific and technical ties between India and the Soviet Union have been developing for over a quarter of a century now. The enterprises built in India with Soviet assistance account for 80 per cent of the equipment produced for the iron and steel industry, 60 per cent of the heavy electrical engineering goods, 35 per cent of the steel, 70 per cent of the oil, a third of the output of oil products, and a fifth of electrical energy.

The high quality and fruitfulness of Indo-Soviet economic co-operation, Prime Minister Desai stressed at the banquet given in honour of the Soviet head of government in the Presidential Palace, had played a big role in the building of India's industrial infrastructure, particularly in the iron and steel, and heavy and electrical engineering industries. The Bhilai and Bokaro iron and steel works, the heavy engineering plant and the state pharmaceutical corporation

were monuments to Indo-Soviet co-operation, he said.

The Soviet Union and India are now drawing up long-term plans of social and economic development. Indians are keenly interested in what place Soviet-Indian co-operation will have in these plans. And so it is not fortuitous that much attention in the Delhi talks is devoted to the search for new areas of economic partnership that would accord with the interests of our countries' national economies. The

talks will be climaxed by the signing of a long-term programme of economic, trade, scientific and technical co-operation.

This programme was initiated last December. At that time the Financial Express wrote with satisfaction: "This is the first long-term agreement which the Soviet Union has negotiated with a country outside the socialist bloc. This agreement could be a forerunner to similar such understanding between India and other East European countries."

The Indian press stresses that the long-term programme of co-operation will be of importance for India's economy and will serve both its present and future needs. "The programme," Mr Vajpayee said, "is a logical extension of the carefully nurtured structure of our economic co-operation spanning three decades. That programme is in consonance with India's developmental priorities, and will further vitalize the existing multifarious Indo-Soviet co-operation. A very important aspect of the programme is that the two countries have agreed to co-operate in the setting up of projects in other developing countries, which will also serve to strengthen their economic independence and self-reliance."

The vistas the programme is opening up are impressive indeed. It provides for the further modernization and expansion of production capacities of the key projects built with Soviet assistance, creation of condition for the production of new types of goods at those enterprises, and training of technical specialists. New joint steps will be taken in such fields as fundamental and applied sciences, space exploration, ferrous and nonferrous metal industries, oil production and search for new oil deposits, and agriculture.

It is a well-known fact that Soviet-India friendly relations play an important part in ensuring peace and security in Asia. The Soviet Premier is discussing crucial international issues with the Indian leaders. His visit is taking place at a time when the courageous people of Vietnam at repelling the attacks of the Chinese aggressors, when the Chinese leadership's hegemonic ambitions, which imperil world peace, have fully manifested themselves. The parties to the talks expressed the wish that the restoration of peace and security in this region requires the complete and

unconditional withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnam.

Premier Kosygin's speech in the Indian Parliament has evoked keen interest in the country. This applies particularly to the part in which he appealed to all those who cherished peace not to miss even the slightest opportunity to unite efforts in the struggle against aggression, against the policy of blackmail and dictation, to strengthen the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations and to strive for the achievement of mankind's noble aim — lasting peace on earth.

After the speech I interviewed N. P. Nanda, a member of the Indian Parliament's upper chamber.

"I fully agree with your Prime Minister that no peace-loving country, no self-respecting man can remain indifferent to the Chinese aggressors' adventures," he said. "They are putting human life and world public opinion at nought. They grossly violate international norms and arrogate to themselves the right to punish nations that refuse to do their bidding. We Indians went through the bitter experience of seeing our territory invaded by the Chinese in 1962, and Peking is still occupying some of our northern areas. Anyone encroaching upon the sovereignty of an independent state should be severely punished. As I listened to the Soviet leader, I felt ever more that Soviet-Indian friendship is not only a private affair of our two countries, but a weighty factor of stability and international security.

"Soviet-Indian friendship is strong because it accords with the vital interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India, with their hopes and aspirations, and consequently has become their common cause in the full sense of the word. Soviet-Indian friendship is also strong because the policy of peaceful coexistence followed by our two countries is the only right policy in our day. It is a policy that leads to peace and not to war, to friendly constructive co-operation and not to hostility and mutual distrust."

The cordial welcome given the Soviet Premier in India and his fruitful talks with its leaders show that the Soviet Union and India are promoting precisely this type of co-operation, that they are following the right policy — a policy of trust and mutual understanding.

Delhi, March 13

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THE NEWS

IRAN

In a recent talk with journalists Iranian Foreign Minister Karim Sanjabi outlined the basic foreign policy principles of the new regime. He named independence and non-alignment as factors central to the new foreign policy course of Iran. All international treaties and accords not consistent with the interests and equality of their signatories would be annulled. Mr Sanjabi declared Teheran's intention to leave CENTO which, he said, has been of no use to Iran. He stressed that his country wanted to maintain sincere and friendly relations with the Soviet Union and refused to serve as a base for aggression or hostile propaganda against it.

In a statement issued on March 11 following its legalization, the Tudeh (People's) Party noted that despite the extremely difficult conditions of underground work under the Shah's regime and the losses it suffered, the Tudeh Party, as the party of the working class, had made a tangible contribution to the victory of the people's revolution. The Party declared its support for Ayatollah Khomeini and its belief that an alliance of all forces participating in the revolutionary movement is essential for attaining the goals of the revolution.

URUGUAY

In a statement circulated in Montevideo, the banned Communist Party drew attention to the fact that terror was being intensified in the country. A new wave of arrests has been unleashed by the ruling military regime, which is now going through a grave political crisis. Over 150 people had been thrown into jail in the past two months.

The political prisoners, now numbering more than 6,000, are subjected to torture. The reactionaries have struck the main blow at the Communist Party and the National Convention of Workers, the largest

WORLD OPINION IS WITH VIETNAM

OLEG KHARKHARDIN
Vice-Chairman, the Soviet Peace Committee

The unleashing by Peking of a war of aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the outrages committed by the half-million-strong Chinese army in the border districts of that country have glaringly demonstrated to the whole world the militarist and hegemonistic substance of the policy of the present Chinese leadership. Peace-loving men and women everywhere are angered by this cynical trampling of the most elementary norms of international law and the principles of the United Nations. It is noteworthy that protest actions have been joined also by representatives of quarters that until recently closed their eyes to the dangers arising from the militarization of China and the growth of its expansionist appetites.

The convocation, on the initiative of a number of international organizations, of the International Emergency Conference in Support of Vietnam was extremely timely and accorded with the striving of mass movements to heighten the efficacy of their protest actions. The Conference, held in Helsinki, was attended by some 400 delegates from 102 countries, among them Cabinet ministers, members of Parliament, leaders of Communist, Social Democratic, Liberal and other parties as well as of trade unions and women's and youth organizations, and prominent churchmen.

The Conference met in a country whose people, government and principal political parties have condemned China's aggression and demanded the withdrawal of its forces from the territory of Vietnam. President Urho Kekkonen took patronage over the assembly, and its first sitting was addressed by Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland Aarne Saarinen, General Secretary of the Social Democratic Party Ulf Sundqvist, General Secretary of the Centre Party Mikko Immonen, Deputy Premier Johannes Viro-lainen, and leaders of Finland's trade

International Emergency Conference in Support of Vietnam

to different nations and adhering to different political views and religious convictions. Among the speakers were President of the World Peace Council Romesh Chandra, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation Freda Brown, Secretary-General of the World Federation of Trade Unions Enrique Pastorino, Member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA—Party of Labour of Angola Pascal Luvualu, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile Luis Corvalan, Member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party Raymond Guyot, the well-known Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis, General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana Cheddi Jagan, General Secretary of India's ruling Janata Party Madhu Limaye, leader of the Parliamentary group of the Communist Party of India Bhupesh Gupta, the Italian Senator Tullio Vinay, the U.S. trade union leader Abe Feinglass, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation Ros Samay, Minister of Health of Laos Souk Vongsak, Chairman of the Communist Party of Paraguay Antonio Maidana, President of the Christian Peace Conference

unions and other mass organizations. Their speeches echoed the wave of meetings and demonstrations held throughout the country to demand an end to the Chinese aggression.

The delegates gave a standing ovation to Phan Anh, Chairman of the Vietnamese Peace Committee, when he mounted the rostrum as envoy of the heroic people of Vietnam. His moving speech made a deep impression on the participants in the Conference. The head of the Vietnamese delegation expressed his people's gratitude to the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, to all progressive forces that have again come to the support of Vietnam in an hour of trial.

The meeting lasted for three days, with sittings going on until the early hours of the morning, and was addressed by more than 100 delegates representing people belonging

The Presiding Committee at the Helsinki Conference

TASS photo



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Karoly Toth, National Chairman of the Zimbabwe African People's Union Samuel Munodawafa, as well as party, trade union and public leaders from Bangladesh, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, Egypt, Britain, Guinea, Mali, Iraq, Iran, Israel, Japan, Congo, Mexico, Namibia, Nepal, Senegal, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Syria, Turkey, and many other countries, those of the socialist community included. Their speeches were pervaded by an awareness that the emergency situation created in the world by the Chinese aggression requires of all peace-loving organizations utmost intensification of effort.

It was pointed out that Peking enjoys the overt and covert support of world reaction, in particular of U.S. imperialism. Neither was the position taken by politicians who are seeking to whitewash Peking and equate the aggressor and his victim passed over in silence. Many of the speakers stressed that Peking's actions ought to open the eyes of those who, ignoring the lessons of the past, are in fact helping to arm China with modern weapons. The head of the Soviet delegation, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. parliamentary group Alexei Shitnikov, cited in his speech Leonid Brezhnev's words that "no one should have any doubt that the Soviet Union is true to the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation linking our countries." The head of the Soviet delegation stressed that the Helsinki Conference could play a truly epochal role if it further strengthened the unity of the public forces at this crucial moment and became the point of departure for an even broader worldwide campaign of solidarity and support for the Vietnamese people.

The Conference ended with the unanimous adoption of an appeal to all peace forces to intensify the worldwide movement of solidarity with Vietnam so as to compel the Chinese authorities to end their aggression without delay and unconditionally to withdraw all Chinese forces from Vietnam, strictly to respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to refrain from extending Chinese aggression to the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and other countries in the region. The participants in the Conference, deeply convinced that the Chinese people cherish peace, issued an appeal urging them to demand that the Chinese leaders stop their

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aggression at once and withdraw all their troops from the territory of Vietnam.

"The great Chinese people, with whom the peace forces have always shown their solidarity in the struggle for independence and freedom, must have it made quite clear to them that all the peoples of the world condemn this unjust war against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam," the appeal to the Chinese people says.

A programme of agreed action to expose and isolate politically the Peking rulers was also adopted. It takes account of the experience already accumulated in actions such as meetings, demonstrations and picketing of Chinese missions, appeals to governments and parliaments, collection of funds for material aid to the people of Vietnam, and boycott of ships with cargoes consigned for China after the example of the Swedish dockers in Göteborg and Australian port workers in Sydney.

In the evening of March 8 a number of Finnish organizations sponsored in Helsinki a mass meeting and march of solidarity with Vietnam, with Conference delegates among the speakers.

It is indicative that the repeated declarations by the Chinese that they were withdrawing from Vietnam—declarations made to the accompaniment of continuing gunfire—did not deceive the delegates to the Conference. They rightly asked whether these declarations were not a manoeuvre designed to abate the wave of mass protest against the brigand attack.

It must be noted, that not all organizations and movements of a liberal-pacifist order took a clear-cut, uncompromising stand and condemned China's aggression against its southern neighbour. The important thing, however, is that the Chinese invasion of Vietnam gave new impetus to unity among all the genuinely anti-war and anti-imperialist movements, all democratic and progressive forces, on a common platform of joint action against the aggression and the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of Peking in general.

There is no doubt that the Helsinki Conference will be a new stimulus to the strengthening of co-operation and unity among the peace forces and will heighten the effectiveness of mass actions in support of Vietnam's just cause. ■

NT SCANNING THE NEWS

trade union centre outlawed by the authorities after the June 1973 coup. Jose Luis Massera and Vladimir Turliansky, members of the Communist Party's executive and former members of Parliament, and Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee Jaime Perez, who is seriously ill, have been held in solitary cells for years without trial.

Many prisoners are disappearing. In the past few months alone 200 arrested persons have officially been listed as "missing." The few who do manage to obtain release are virtually deprived of all civil rights.

The Communist Party has called on the U.N. Commission on Human Rights to discuss the present situation in Uruguay.

■ AFGHANISTAN

The free distribution of land among the landless and land-poor peasants and among the nomads has begun in nine provinces of Afghanistan under a decree which went into force on March 5. This is the second stage of the land reform. The first stage, launched in ten provinces on January 1, is now nearing completion. Over 11,500 peasant families in these provinces have received plots of land for cultivation. As many as 400,000 jeribs [one jerib equals 0.2 hectare] of the land confiscated from feudal estate owners have been distributed. Under a decree issued by the Revolutionary Council, those who owned more than 30 jeribs had to turn the surplus over to the government bodies concerned.

The peasants are giving every support to the reform which is doing away with the age-long feudal order in the countryside.

■ SOUTH KOREA

The establishment of a new political organization—the National

ARMS FOR THE AGGRESSOR

British Industry Secretary Eric Varley arrived in Peking on February 24, at the height of the Chinese aggression against Vietnam, to sign a long-term trade and economic agreement under which London plans to sell arms to China.

On that same day a mass protest demonstration was held outside the Chinese Embassy in the British capital, with the participants — Communists, Labourites, trade unionists and representatives of many progressive organizations — chanting "Hands off Vietnam!"

From there the demonstrators marched to No. 10 Downing Street and handed a letter addressed to Prime Minister James Callaghan in which they urged him to condemn China's aggression and refuse to sell it jump jet Harriers.

Seeking to mollify public opinion, the Prime Minister and other members of the government say arms

deliveries will account only for a fraction of Anglo-Chinese trade. The British are being told that the sale of aircraft and other military hardware to Peking will help to open the Chinese market wide for British capital and consumer goods and thus improve the economic situation at home.

But is that so?

According to the trade and economic agreement Mr Varley signed in Peking on March 4, Anglo-Chinese trade in the years ending 1985 is to amount to £7,000 million and London has promised to grant China a credit of £2,500 million. The Chinese leaders have set their sights on militarizing the country and are above all interested in arms and equipment for the enterprises linked with war production.

British arms firms are in a hurry to profit by deals with China, especially in view of the loss of the

Iranian market. British Aerospace is negotiating the sale of Harriers. The Chinese plan to buy 100 of them and then to manufacture them at home on a British licence with the help of British specialists. The whole deal is to amount to about £1,000 million.

Peking is also negotiating with Vickers Ltd. on the production of tanks on a British licence, reports the London Daily Telegraph.

British Shipbuilders and British Hovercraft are in the midst of negotiations with Peking on the sale of warships and other weapons. Their representatives were on the delegation headed by Mr Varley. A Chinese delegation is to arrive in Britain this month for a four-week visit.

As we see, official assurances that arms deliveries to China constitute but a fraction of Anglo-Chinese trade are groundless, to put it mildly.

China's attack on Vietnam has clarified the attitude of various British public and political quarters towards its policy. The reactionary forces now openly back the Chinese plans to involve the United States and Western Europe in a pact against the Soviet Union. In their

Western negotiators are continuing their exercises in arithmetic, insisting that first it must be established why, according to Western statistics, the socialist countries have in the area in question 150,000 more servicemen than NATO. The Western diplomats are unable to explain where they got this figure, and press for a virtual head count, soldier by soldier. Yet there is no point in turning political talks into something of a statistical haggles, for the socialist countries long ago submitted all the relevant data and the West has no grounds for doubting their validity. All the more so since many Western experts and political figures have on repeated occasions conceded that there is a parity of strength between the military groups facing each other in Central Europe.

The NATO countries, persisting in their version that there is an imbalance between the numerical strength of the two sides, continue to cling to their idea of asymmetrical force reductions.

opinion, the Chinese leadership has proved in practice that its policy is spearheaded against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and not against the West. Their mouthpiece, the Daily Express, insists on the sale of Harriers to China at all costs. And to add weight to the demand, it again trots out the "Soviet menace" bogey. "The power of Russia in the world is too great for our comfort," the paper writes. Prodding China openly to further aggressive actions, the Daily Express says it is no concern of Britain's how the Chinese use the arms they buy from it: "If we sell arms and other equipment to the Chinese we cannot expect to wield a veto on what they then do with their property."

In the meantime part of the British Establishment is reappraising its attitude to Peking's adventurist policy. The Financial Times stresses that the Chinese aggression against Vietnam "casts doubt about the steadiness and the predictability of the Chinese leadership" and adds that "bankers would have reason to tread more cautiously towards a nation which seemingly goes to war so lightly." The Guardian is alarmed that China may use British arms not only against the Soviet Union,

but also against the other neighbours whose territories it covets. Peking, the paper says, is claiming several groups of South China Sea islands and their seizure might cut the sea routes from Japan to Singapore.

The government's decision to supply arms to the Chinese militarists is meeting with growing opposition also within the ruling Labour Party itself. The International Committee of its National Executive has asked the government to reconsider the supply of Harrier jets to China "since this supply will undermine the prospects for East-West peace." The Chinese aggression has been sharply criticized by the Tribune Group, which includes several dozen Left Labour M.P.s, in a statement which stresses that "the Labour Party's declared policy for peace and détente will have little credibility if the Labour government insists on an arms deal with an aggressor."

The dangerous flirtation with the Peking militarists may not only undermine Britain's prestige in the international arena, but impair the Labour Party's chances in the general election this year.

V. PAVLOV
Our Own Correspondent

London

THE SAME OLD REFRAIN

Last summer the socialist countries, in an effort to get the Vienna talks out of the blind alley, put forward proposals that went a long way to meet the West's position and opened a realistic avenue to agreement on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The Warsaw Treaty states declared their readiness to compromise and to agree to the setting of equal collective ceilings for armed forces; accepted the Western proposal to confine the reductions for the time being to ground forces and to freeze air strength; agreed to the reduction of U.S. and Soviet forces at the initial stage in proportion to their numerical strength, and consented to selective reduction and limitation at the initial stage of the types of Soviet and U.S. armaments specified by the NATO countries.

At first the reaction of the West to the socialist countries' initiative was positive. The head of the information department at NATO headquarters in Evre qualified it as highly significant. Washington Post commented that the Warsaw Treaty countries' proposals helped substantially to narrow the gulf between the two sides at the Vienna talks, and the London Times said they helped to lay an auspicious groundwork for agreement. Favourable opinions were voiced by U.S. President Carter, West German Chancellor Schmidt and British Prime Minister Callaghan.

The Western participants in the talks also were well disposed towards the proposals and promised to study them. But the 15th round in the talks passed, then the 16th, and now the 17th is under way, and the "study" is still going on. In the meantime the

This predilection not only for arithmetic, but also for geometry, has serious implications, for according to the asymmetrical scheme the Warsaw Treaty countries would be required to reduce their forces 2.5 times as much as the NATO countries.

What can be said of such a position? "Frankly speaking," Leonid Brezhnev said on March 2, "this is simply a tactical move on the part of the Western countries, an attempt to evade agreement precisely at a time when the positions of the sides as regards the substance of the question have come significantly closer together."

When Western representatives are reproached with adhering to a disruptive position and ignoring the interests of their negotiating partners, they point to their initiative of December 13 last year. The gist of this initiative is that the West European countries and Canada promise to make a "substantial contribution" to the force reductions, but only at the

second stage of the negotiations. And this promise which contains no concrete commitments is served up as a "modification" of the Western position!

It hardly need be said that this approach is alien to the very purpose of the Vienna talks. It is a matter of simple logic that all the direct participants in the talks should reduce their armed forces in proportion to the potential they possess. Moreover, there should be full clarity from the very outset as to what concrete commitments are involved. And, needless to say, no one is entitled to restore his previous strength and still less to exceed it.

The representatives of the Western powers at the Vienna talks are thus continuing to harp on the same string. This is the main reason why the elaboration of an agreement on the reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe is dragging out.

Y. SIBIRTSEV

Alliance for Democracy and National Unification—has been announced in Seoul. It is headed by three opposition leaders: former President Yoon Bo Sun, former presidential candidate in the 1971 election Kim Tai Chung, and clergyman Mahm Suk Hun. They issued a declaration of national salvation calling upon Koreans to unite efforts to get all anti-democratic laws repealed, abolish the present anti-national regime and the rule of Park Chung Hee, and bring a democratic government to power. The declaration said a coalition of 15 democratic and religious organizations had been formed to achieve these aims.

The declaration was expected to be made public at a meeting of more than 200 people on March 1, to be held on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Korean popular uprising against Japanese imperialism. But the meeting did not take place because nearly all these people had been put under house arrest by the authorities. In the opinion of observers, the object of the latest repressions is to bar the opposition forces from projected talks on reunification of the country.

■ CYPRUS

The trial of seven members of the ultra-Right EOKA-B organization involved in the July 1974 coup has ended in Nicosia. The indictment said the actions of the accused had plunged Cyprus into an unprecedented catastrophe. The seven men were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

In its address to the President of the republic in January this year the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) stressed that many persons directly involved in the putsch and their accomplices were still at large. AKEL pointed out that the purge of the government bodies was being delayed by the authorities despite the fact that the relevant law had been passed in 1977.

AFTER THE ELECTION

On March 1 Spaniards went to the polls in what was the fourth election in slightly over two years to elect 350 deputies and 208 senators.

Such frequent elections may be explained by the specific character of Spain's political development after Franco's death and the need to consummate the transition from the Franco dictatorship to democracy as quickly as possible. Each one of the preceding elections was a major landmark on the way to this goal.

In the national referendum on December 15, 1976, the Spaniards were asked to state their views on the political reform law which was to regulate the projected socio-political changes.

Six months later, on June 15, 1977, they went to the polls to elect the first post-Franco Parliament. Its main task was to frame and approve the country's Constitution.

In the national referendum on December 6 last year the Spanish people voted in support of the new fundamental law.

The adoption of the Constitution, in its turn, required the election of a new Parliament.

Many political analysts and prominent journalists regarded the March 1 election as a test for the government headed by Adolfo Suarez, as a sort of duel between the ruling Union of the Democratic Centre (UDC) and the Spanish Socialist Labour Party (SSLP).

The election to the Cortes took place in a complex situation. As a public poll conducted by the newspaper *El Pais* in mid-February showed, the two problems that worry Spaniards most are the economic crisis and rampant terrorism. Last year, for instance, the rate of inflation stood at 16.5 per cent, as a result of which real incomes dropped sharply while the number of unemployed topped 1.2 million. Terrorist organizations of all kinds stepped up their activities.

Aware of the gravity of the situation, the UDC leaders did their utmost to win the election by a big margin. All the members of the UDC Executive Committee, the ministers and the head of the government took an active part in the election campaign.

The government adopted decisions to raise pensions and to appropriate additional funds for the development of the public sector of the economy. Particular attention was paid to publicity.

All this could not but have an effect on the results of the election. It was won by the UDC which polled over 8 million votes and obtained 167 seats in the Congress of Deputies and 120 in the Senate.

Until the last day the UDC's main rival, the SSLP, was ahead of it (as the results of practically all the public polls showed) by two or three points. Its leaders were sure of victory. Eventually, however, it polled only slightly over 5 million votes, which gave it 121 seats in the Cortes.

What are the reasons for the Socialists' losses in the election?

No small part has been played by the same old anti-communist, anti-Marxist campaign. Foreseeing the possibility of an SSLP victory, the newspaper *Ya*, for instance, tried to frighten voters by saying it might jeopardize the entire democratization process.

It is also said that the Spanish Socialist Labour Party has not suc-

ceeded in persuading the electorate that it is really ready to govern the country. Its ambiguous stand on certain issues and its inconsistency, which became especially manifest during the election campaign, alienated some of the party's supporters. While criticizing the Suarez government's shortcomings, it did not really propose any concrete measures to eliminate them.

A big success was scored by the Communist Party. Together with the United Socialist Party of Catalonia (the party of the Catalan Communists), it not only confirmed that it was the biggest political organization in the country after the UDC and the SSLP, but strengthened its position in the supreme legislative body. Two years ago it polled about 1.6 million votes (which gave it 20 seats in the Congress of Deputies), and this time it polled over 1.8 million (23 seats). The Communists were the only party to increase their vote. They won more votes than two years ago in practically all the provinces.

The neo-Francoist Democratic Centre suffered a crushing defeat, and its hopes of remaining on the political scene are fading.

Observers note the success of the political organizations of the autonomous regions, which polled more votes than on June 15, 1977. This applies particularly to the Basque Country where almost half a million ballots were cast for their candidates, while the candidates of the UDC and the SSLP together polled only slightly over 348,000 votes.

The number of these organizations' representatives in Parliament has changed accordingly. In 1977 they had nine deputies and five senators, and now they have eleven in the lower chamber of the Cortes and nine in the upper. All this testifies to the discontent of the Basque population with the Suarez government's nationalities policy. There is similar discontent in other parts of the country.

The next step now is the formation of a new Cabinet. The UDC, with its 167 seats in the Congress of Deputies, has practically secured the right to form a government. There is no doubt that Adolfo Suarez will proceed to do so before long, but most likely it will only be after the municipal elections, scheduled for April 3, that the composition of the new Cabinet will be announced.

Madrid A. MEDVEDENKO

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THROUGH THE FROTH OF HIGH-FLOWN TALK

"I leave today on a new mission in the service of the oldest of human dreams—the dream of peace," President Carter said before flying to the Middle East on March 7.

Mr Carter's stay in Egypt and Israel and his talks with their leaders were covered by hundreds of journalists from many countries, the United States included. But the search for peace in the Middle East was, perhaps, given the least attention in their numerous reports. Such cardinal issues of Middle East settlement as the fate of the Palestinians, the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and even the details of the scanty "autonomy" promised to the West Bank and Gaza Strip population by the parties to the separate deal were relegated to the background.

The Daily Telegraph wrote that Mr Carter's main task was to secure U.S. interests in the Middle East. It was in this vein that nearly all newspapers commented on the attempt of Carter, Sadat and Begin to get the stalled Camp David deal moving. The unprepossessing picture of their real intentions showed through the smoke screen of the high-flown talk about peace. The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization described these intentions and actions as "an open challenge to the will and interests of the Arab nation and disregard of world opinion and international law."

In its March 9 issue the Washington Post dwelt on "the things the United States can do to express interest in maintaining security in the Middle East." "Underwriting an Egyptian-Israeli settlement is a good beginner," it wrote. "Establishing a

military presence in each of those countries is an obvious follow-up. A third possibility is to develop an American naval presence in the Persian Gulf. A fourth possibility is a naval presence in the Red Sea. A fifth is moving squadrons of American warplanes around the area periodically."

Concrete steps for the realization of this plan became known too. The U.S. Administration is reported to be studying the question of forming a new naval force to be deployed in the Indian Ocean. It will be called "the U.S. Fifth Fleet." It was also reported that Mr Carter received with "understanding" Menachem Begin's proposal to turn over to the United States the Israeli air force base Ezion in Sinai and a deep-water mooring in the Sharm el Sheikh port (under the separate deal these bases are to be returned to Egypt). There were reports that Washington is seriously considering the construction of a NATO naval base in the Israeli seaport of Haifa.

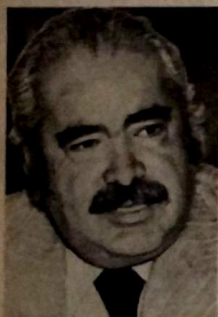
All this gave the Israeli Communist Party General Secretary Meir Vilner grounds to say that "the intention is not to secure peace but to set up American military bases and a military bloc, which represents a conspiracy threatening the security of Israel and the entire Middle East, and the independence of all countries in the region."

This conclusion is borne out by the latest actions of the U.S. Administration. Early in March, President Carter sanctioned urgent arms supplies to North Yemen to the sum of \$390 million. Washington sent Saudi Arabia two planes equipped with the AWACS early warning system. They will make flights over the territory of that country. The U.S. aircraft carrier *Constellation* has entered the Arabian Sea.

Thus President Carter's "mission of peace" has undergone a radical change before our eyes, developing into gunboat policy and a further escalation of tension.

G. KASHOYAN

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS



Luis Herrera Campins

Luis Herrera Campins, who was inaugurated President of Venezuela on

March 12, was born in Acarigua (Portuguesa State) on March 4, 1925. He was educated at the Central University of Venezuela and the University of Santiago de Compostela in Spain, and is an LL.D.

He took an active part in the foundation of the COPEI (Social Christian) Party. In 1952 he was arrested for his part in the student movement against the reactionary dictatorship of Perez Jimenez and deported from the country. After the overthrow of the dictatorship, he was elected to the National Committee of the COPEI Party and was repeatedly returned to the Congress. In 1961-70 he led the par-

liamentary COPEI Party. From 1968 to 1977 Dr Herrera Campins was Regional Secretary of the Christian Democratic Organization of America.

Nominated for the Presidency by the COPEI Party, he was elected for a five-year term (1979-84) last December.

President Herrera Campins has promised to take steps to combat inflation and growing living costs. He has declared that his government will follow a foreign policy aimed at preserving and strengthening relations with all the countries of the world, including socialist, on the basis of the principles of mutual respect and in the interests of peace.

IDEOLOGICAL AND SPIRITUAL UNITY

JANOS BEREZ

On March 21 sixty years ago the Hungarian Soviet Republic was proclaimed. The first state of the Hungarian working people existed for only 133 days, but even during this short span of its life the Republic, which entered into a military and political alliance with the land of the October Revolution, accomplished feats so momentous and generated ideas so lofty that its memory and experience live to this day.

Below we print excerpts from Janos Berecz's book "In a Fraternal Alliance" which has appeared in Budapest.

1919. Two Soviet States

Hungarian patriots, adherents of socialism, take pride in the fact that the ideas of proletarian internationalism as the basic principle underlying the relations of friendship between socialist states were embodied for the first time in history in relations that existed between two proletarian states, Soviet Russia and the Hungarian Soviet Republic, in the course of the 133 days, from March 21 till August 1, 1919, of that Republic's existence.

The moral unity of the two countries was based on Lenin's teaching. Lenin favoured the establishment of relations with the Hungarian Soviet Republic and directly participated in organizing them.

To this day those Soviet-Hungarian relations can serve as a model of friendship based on Lenin's ideas. And although the international situation today has become more favourable for the socialist countries, the theoretical and practical experience of the internationalist relations between these two proletarian states has lost none of its topical significance.

In its very first programme document the Hungarian Soviet Republic "declares complete ideological and spiritual unity with the Russian Soviet government, and offers to the proletarians of Russia military alliance." On March 22, on instructions from Bela Kun, Ernő Por, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary, contacted Lenin by radiotelegraph from Czepel, greeting him on behalf of the Hungarian working class as "the leader of the international proletariat" and declared: "The Hungarian Soviet Republic proposes to the Russian Soviet government to conclude a close defensive alliance." That same evening Lenin transmitted a message in reply: "I conveyed

your greetings to the Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). They were received with tremendous enthusiasm." The following day Izvestia described that historic event thus: the delegates noticed that the Presidium of the Congress had received some fresh news. Lenin hurriedly left the hall. Amidst general excitement, it was announced that a Hungarian Soviet Republic had been proclaimed. "The new Hungarian Soviet government offers a defensive alliance against all the enemies of the working class," the paper wrote. "It is hard to describe the enthusiasm with which this news was received by the Congress participants. They rose to their feet with one accord and sang 'The Internationale'."

The Congress lost no time in sending a wireless message to the government of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, stating, among other things, the conviction of the Congress "that the time is not far distant when communism will triumph all over the world. The working class of Russia is making every effort to come to your aid."

On March 24 Bela Kun, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, sent a letter to the Paris Peace Conference in which he openly spoke of an alliance linking the Hungarian Soviet Republic with Soviet Russia. "The alliance with Russia is not a formal diplomatic alliance, but something much more important.... It is natural friendship which rests on the identity of the structures of the constitutions of both sides, and which, the Hungarian government believes, can on no account be compared to an aggressive bloc. On the contrary, the new Hungarian republic is firmly resolved to live in peace with all the other peoples and to direct all its activity towards peaceful reconstruction of the

country." In a telegram to Bela Kun the then Commissar for Foreign Affairs of Soviet Russia, Georgi Chicherin, also described the Hungarian Soviet Republic as an ally: "The appearance of an ally in Central Europe is extremely valuable for us."

Despite tremendous difficulties, the two revolutionary governments strove to be in constant communication with each other. Great importance was attached to this contact by Lenin, who wrote in the very first wireless message of greetings on March 22: "It is absolutely necessary to maintain constant radio communication between Budapest and Moscow." In the second half of April he sent, as Chairman of the Council of Defence, a telegram to the front in which he wrote: "It is necessary to enter a part of Galicia and Bukovina so as to establish connection with Soviet Hungary. This task is to be carried out as speedily and reliably as possible.... The other task is to establish a reliable railway communication with Soviet Hungary."

In the face of fierce resistance from the imperialist states and their bourgeois henchmen, the counter-revolutionaries' sallies, and numerous internal difficulties, the Red Armies of the proletarian states did their utmost to link up the two revolutionary forces, to establish direct contact between them. The Entente imperialists mobilized all their allies in Central Europe to prevent this contact at all costs. This is evidenced by the telegram which Dimitriu, a Rumanian lieutenant-colonel attached to the French command in Belgrade, sent to the Rumanian General Staff on March 25, 1919: "The French ask the Rumanians and Czechoslovaks to do everything to prevent a link-up between the Hungarians and the Ukrainians. The Allies have already undertaken the necessary measures to isolate Hungary from the rest of Europe...."

Blind hatred for socialism and fear of a union of the proletarian states induced some bourgeois politicians to offer their services to international reaction to help carry out that unsavoury scheme. On March 25, 1919, Eduard Benes, Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister, wrote to Prime Minister Clemenceau of France asking him to isolate Soviet Hungary

from Soviet Russia: "The Bolshevik revolution in Hungary has created an exceedingly difficult situation for our country.... The territory of the Hungarian Ruthenians, which separates the Rumanians from the Czechoslovaks, provides free passage for Bolshevik agitators and Bolsheviks from Eastern Galicia and Russia.... In the name of our common cause please close this channel as soon as possible."

The imperialist butchers and White Guards made it impossible for Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary to come into direct contact. The two fronts were never joined. "We are aware of Hungary's grave and dangerous situation and are doing all we can. But speedy assistance is sometimes physically impossible," Lenin wrote to Bela Kun.

The leaders of the two Soviet states, however, maintained regular radiotelegraphic communication. Kun and Chicherin exchanged several hundred telegrams, informing each other about their foreign policy moves, their plans, the actions of the imperialist powers, and the military situation. Kun asked for copies of the decisions of the Third International, as well as, if possible, all the decisions and ordinances of the Soviet government, the newspaper Izvestia, and other documents.

V. I. Lenin and Tibor Szamuely (centre). Moscow, May 1919.



What could not be transmitted by radiotelegraph was sent by courier. Even before the proclamation of the Soviet Republic, the Hungarian Communist leaders had dispatched their representatives to Lenin to inform him about the situation in Hungary, the revolution that was maturing, and the developments. The couriers displayed great courage and resourcefulness in crossing front lines with these messages and documents.

An important role in these contacts was played by the visit to Moscow of Hungarian People's Commissar Tibor Szamuely. He arrived in Moscow by plane on May 25, the day of a universal military training parade. Lenin attended the parade in Red Square and there he met with Szamuely. In his speech he introduced Szamuely to the jubilant Muscovites: "Comrade Tibor Szamuely, one of the most valiant fighters of the Comintern, a People's Commissar of the Hungarian Soviets, has just come to us, having flown across the Carpathians." Szamuely also spoke, after which he and Lenin made a tour by car of Moscow's squares, addressing the demonstrators. In his speeches, Lenin hailed the Hungarian proletariat and the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

Lenin's Greetings to the Hungarian Workers

From the very first days of the existence of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Lenin, in his radiotelegrams, supported and inspired it, and the most he did was to ask questions without giving any advice.

Laszlo Rudas, who went as the representative of the Hungarian Communists to the founding congress of the Communist International but did not make it in time and arrived in Moscow already after the proclamation of the Soviet Republic, met with Lenin and told him about the situation in Hungary. Lenin was particularly interested in the unification of the Party and the condition of the poor peasantry. In the course of the conversation, Rudas recalled, he asked Lenin to write a letter to the Hungarian workers and to help sustain their revolutionary enthusiasm with his influence and authority. "I cannot do that," Lenin replied. "I have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, all the more so, in the affairs of

Sixtieth Anniversary
of the Hungarian
Soviet Republic

states with whose internal situation I am not sufficiently familiar." However, by the end of May the situation had changed.

Ever since the middle of May the Hungarian Soviet Republic had been scoring military successes. On the other hand, internal reaction and international imperialism had intensified their attacks on the proletarian state. The campaign of calumniation and false rumours had also been stepped up. For instance, the Vienna press spread the rumour that Lenin had denounced the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Bela Kun and his methods. Former Social Democratic leaders were demanding that the dictatorship be "moderated" and the rate at which policies were being carried out be "slowed down." The tension mounted and Bela Kun and his associates appealed to Lenin for support.

In response to one such request, Chicherin addressed a note to the Austrian government exposing the slanderous allegations of the bourgeois press. "Neither Lenin nor any other member of the Russian Soviet government has ever spoken disparagingly, in statements or otherwise, of the Hungarian Soviet Republic or Bela Kun, contrary to what the Vienna press hounds ascribe to Lenin," he wrote. "Soviet Russia is watching the Hungarian Soviet Republic with the greatest friendly sympathy and rejoices in its successes. So far as Comrade Bela Kun is concerned, Lenin and the whole of Soviet Russia deeply honour and esteem him, paying tribute to the remarkable job he is doing."

In a telegram sent to Lenin on May 25 Bela Kun thanked him for this support and made another request: "In view of the expected attack of the Entente, the Right elements in the Party are sensing a favourable opportunity for themselves, and it would be a good thing if you declared, in an open letter to me, that we have only one alternative: either a proletarian or a bourgeois dictatorship." For his part, Tibor Szamuely, who was in Moscow at that time, personally informed Lenin about the situation in the

Hungarian Soviet Republic. This time Lenin found it possible and necessary to grant this request, and wrote his world-famous "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers" in which despite its brevity he outlined all the basic aspects of proletarian power. While stressing the peaceful character of the victory of the revolution in Hungary, he regarded as of the utmost importance the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. As a result of two revolutions, which had broken out in different conditions, he wrote, there had begun the epoch-making change "from bourgeois to proletarian democracy, from bourgeois to proletarian dictatorship."

The power of the proletariat is the highest form of democracy, but at the same time it is a dictatorship, which "presupposes the ruthlessly severe, swift and resolute use of force to crush the resistance of the exploiters." Lenin regarded coercion as a necessity and not an end in itself. Its extent is determined by the circumstances, by the resistance and intrigues of the enemies of the working class. But coercion is necessary precisely in order to show that the essence of proletarian dictatorship lies not in force, but in constructive endeavour, in building socialism, in creating a classless society. This requires a fairly long period of transition in the course of which it is necessary to suppress all resistance and to wage the class struggle in the new conditions. Only the working class can be the main, leading force of society throughout this transition period, because it has been politically schooled and steered, is best organized, and capable of "breaking ideologically with the entire bourgeois-democratic outlook." In this titanic work the proletariat must lead the vacillating peasantry and the petty-bourgeois strata generally.

While he laid this far-reaching programme before the Hungarian working people, Lenin at the same time took into consideration the aggression organized by the Entente, which had forced a gruelling war upon the Hungarian Soviet Republic. That war demanded firmness, determination, ruthless suppression of the enemy and of vacillations of any kind.

The petty-bourgeois Socialists, the Right and "Left" opportunists proved incapable of comprehending and applying one of the fundamental elements of Leninism—the dialectical

unity of proletarian coercion and proletarian democracy. Overdoing things, pushing them too far in either direction leads to the weakening of working-class power. Leftist abuse of power leads to the erosion of the class basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the worker-peasant alliance. Supplanting proletarian democracy with "phillyistine phrase-mongering about liberty and equality in general" undermines the class approach and leaves a loophole for the penetration of bourgeois ideology, facilitates the political attacks of the class enemy and exposes working-class power to mortal danger.

Internationalism

Enemies bore down on young Soviet Hungary from all sides. Troops of the Rumanian boyars, detachments of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, French mercenaries were preparing to crush the Hungarian revolution with the support and under the direction of the Entente imperialists. On orders from the Entente, on April 16, 1919, Rumanian troops and on April 27, Czechoslovak troops attacked Soviet Hungary on a wide front. A life-and-death struggle ensued in which experienced revolutionary fighters and trained soldiers were needed. About 100,000 Hungarians were fighting on the fronts of Soviet Russia. They would gladly have hurried home to the rescue of the revolution, but the revolutionary cause decreed otherwise.

The universal interests of the socialist revolution demanded of all peoples selfless defence of Soviet Russia. The leaders of the Hungarian Communists were fully aware that the principal aim of the imperialist powers was to eliminate the state headed by Lenin as the point of departure for the socialist transformation of the whole world.

In mid-April the Hungarian Soviet Republic radioed an appeal to the Hungarian internationalists in Soviet Russia, saying that "those who would leave the front and return to the land beyond the Tisza and the Danube in order to defend the revolution would be leaving the proletarian revolution in the lurch at the most critical moment. Those who are now prepared to lay down arms and abandon their posts are thereby harming not only the common cause, but also the young Hungarian Soviet

Republic. You fought under the red banner when the old regime still held sway in Hungary; you became conscious of your proletarian duty when the workers' revolution was only getting under way in your country, therefore you too contributed your share to the Hungarian revolution, you are the pride of the international proletarian revolution.

"The decisive battle is now unfolding. Do not abandon the field of battle... The Hungarian Soviet Republic orders all of you to remain at your posts."

On April 23 Lenin added to the address several accompanying lines in which he expressed his full agreement with the address and his confidence that the Hungarian comrades would give priority to the interests of the international cause.

Lenin, too, did everything to defend the Hungarian Soviet Republic, exploring every possibility of helping it. On May 1, 1919, on his instructions, the People's Commissars for Foreign Affairs of the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet republics sent an ultimatum to the Rumanian Foreign Ministry in connection with the intention of the "Rumanian landlords' government... to crush Soviet power in Hungary." The Ukrainian Defence Council ordered its troops "to take the field against landlord Rumania in order to help Soviet Hungary."

The former soldiers of tsarist Russia's army, the POWs who had stayed on in Hungary after the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian empire (in late October 1918, after the collapse of the monarchy, many Russian POWs went home)—Russians, Ukrainians and representatives of other nationalities—took up arms on a mass scale and fought in defence of the Soviet Republic. The Soviet internationalists fought heroically shoulder to shoulder with the Hungarian Red Army, the more than 1,000-strong detachment of Austrian Communist workers and Serb, Croat, German, Czech, Slovak, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Italian and other volunteers. In fulfilling their internationalist duty many of them died the death of heroes on the battlefields of Hungary. Their participation in the armed defence of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and the international support given to the revolutionary patriotic war were a remarkable manifestation of proletarian internationalism.

HELMUT KOHL'S "DUTCH CABBAGE"

The television programme on which he was to appear was called "People Ask, Politicians Answer." Helmut Kohl, leader of the West German oppositionist Christian Democratic Union, parked himself with dignity in an armchair in anticipation of the hit he hoped to make with millions of televisioners. He badly needed it, for his popularity with the West German voters, the latest public poll revealed, had dropped to a record low.

This took place in The Hague where the idea was conceived of broadcasting jointly with the Second Channel of the West German TV a series of public discussions with the participation of prominent politicians from the Federal Republic of Germany. With the direct election to the so-called European Parliament in the offing, this programme was designed to promote "mutual understanding among Europeans" and at the same time to serve as publicity for the West German way of life.

Several dozen German-speaking students of the Netherlands People's University gathered in the hall of the old mansion from which the discussion was broadcast live for Holland and the Federal Republic of Germany. The well-known TV announcer Reinhard Appel invited them to ask questions. The students did not keep Herr Kohl waiting. "Why are there still so many former nazis in the CDU?"

"What is the explanation for the Decree on Radicals, which debars dissenters from jobs, and how does this tally with all the talk about democracy?" "How is it that after two world wars started by Germany there are forces in the F.R.G. bent on obtaining mass destruction weapons?"

It cannot be said that Herr Kohl was not prepared for questions of this kind. As Reinhard Appel, who is well familiar with public sentiment in Holland, later admitted, "we expected critical questions, delicate subjects were even desirable." When speaking of Berufsverbot (ban on professional employment), for instance, Herr Kohl consulted a thick file of materials on the subject. But what neither Reinhard Appel nor he had expected was the persistence with which the participants in the discussion demanded clear-cut answers, nor how quickly they saw through subtleties and propaganda clichés.

None of Herr Kohl's demagogic tirades, which made him popular with his friends at home, had any effect here. Yet he exerted no little effort to show that it was none other than the

Communists that were responsible for the nazis' advent to power in Germany, to convince his listeners that the old nazis now in the CDU were guilty only of "sins of youth," to frighten them with the bogey of "Russian tanks," and to persuade them that the Bundeswehr was protecting the Dutch too.

But it was all of no use. Kohl, the professional polemicist, was thoroughly out-argued. Later, the organizers of the discussion complained that the questioners were impolite and even rude. But there were grounds for the drubbing he got: the discussion revealed a chasm between the views of the Dutch participants and the CDU political platform which, despite all the camouflage, is still a hodge-podge of savage anti-communism and survivals of the cold war.

It's useless to shake your fist after the fight is over, says the old proverb. The CDU leaders and their followers ignored the advice. On the very next day after the Hague fiasco they not only began to shake their fists, but also tried to make as much political capital out of it as possible.

First they tried to find a scapegoat. They found him in Reinhard Appel whom they accused of downright irresponsibility in choosing the participants for the discussion. The West German government also came in for censure: for giving people abroad a "bissed and distorted" notion about the Federal Republic.

After that the Right-wing press went after the Dutch participants in the discussion. From the newspapers' own commentaries and from carefully selected readers' letters there emerged a "brand-new" idea: Helmut Kohl had defended the "interests of Germany" from its enemies and detractors who had sold themselves to the Reds. The Dutch participants were described as "that gang from Holland," "Left provocateurs" and "the indoctrinated band" (this last designation came from Herr Kohl himself).

There was more to come. For instance, calls to "punish" the Dutch. The punishment suggested reflects the petty-bourgeois mentality of Herr Kohl's admirers. One issued the dire threat that after "such a dirty trick" he would "never again buy Dutch cabbage."

And so, having qualified the criticism of the CDU policy voiced in The Hague as an "anti-German sally," the leader of the West German opposition began to whip up the nationalistic

feelings of his followers in order to build up his popularity on the eve of the election to the European Parliament.

In the spate of comment on the TV discussion in West German newspapers, one would have been hard put to find any mention of the Dutch press reaction to it. The only paper quoted, though very briefly, was the Amsterdam De Telegraaf which qualified the discussion as a scandal. The West German newspapers claimed, moreover, that the views voiced by the Dutch questioners were not "illustrative" of public sentiment in Holland.

I telephoned a colleague of mine, Johannes van Leyden, the Bonn correspondent of the Dutch newspaper De



At the CDU masked ball. Extreme right: Franz Josef Strauss. Centre: Helmut Kohl. "The costume suits him well, but I'm afraid that the dagger is real," says one of the merrymakers.

Cartoon from Stern (F.R.G.)

Volkskrant, and asked him what he thought of such claims.

"De Telegraaf is a conservative newspaper and probably the only one in Holland that has negatively appraised the discussion," he replied. "As for how much the questions asked reflect the true feelings of my compatriots, I would like to quote a person who is above suspicion even in the eyes of Kohl: the Dutch Christian Democratic Premier Andreas van Agt. Immediately after the discussion he declared that Kohl could hardly expect any other reaction in Holland if he defended the Berufsverbot, declared for the statute of limitations to be applied in the prosecution of war criminals, characterized the behaviour of old nazis as "sins of youth," and approved of the deployment of nuclear weapons in the Federal Republic.

K. KARAGEZYAN

Bonn Our Own Correspondent

SEEKING ACCESS TO THE OCEAN

ALEXANDER BARYSHEV

On the walls of the Bolivian President's office in La Paz hangs a picture showing the ocean waves breaking against the rocky shore. It symbolizes, as it were, one of the main foreign policy objectives of all Bolivian presidents: to regain access to the Pacific for Bolivia which, situated in the western part of South America, is a landlocked country. This state of affairs has existed for about 100 years, since the early eighties of last century. Before that, beginning with 1825, when the Bolivians won state independence in a hard and long-fought war against Spanish domination, the country had an outlet to the ocean. Some 400 kilometres of its shores were washed by the Pacific and were open to the ocean winds.

"Saltpetre War"

After the war fought by Chile against Bolivia and Peru from 1879 to 1883 the ocean border line of Bolivia was shifted to the "roof of the New World," as the land now occupied by the Bolivians is often called.

Western historians who wrote much about this five-year war, known as the Pacific War, either say nothing or else speak vaguely of its real causes. Yet they are worth recalling because the aftermath of this war still mars the relations between the countries concerned.

The Latin American policy of Britain and the United States was openly imperialist already in the seventies and eighties of last century. The sharp rivalry between them spread to the Atacama Desert, between the Andes and the Pacific on the territory of Bolivia and Peru, which was rich in guano, large quantities of which were bought by European countries and the United States. Later on, rich deposits of saltpetre, a raw material

for gunpowder, were discovered there.

This valuable mineral could not but attract Britain, which largely controlled the economies of Latin American countries. By that time British capitalists had large investments in Chile's economy. They had granted big loans to the Chilean government and established close trade ties with that country. Peru and Bolivia were not overlooked either by the London City. However, when passions over the Atacama Desert rich deposits began to run high, the British, weighing all the pros and cons, decided to back Chile. There was good reason for this. Neither Peru nor Bolivia, then experiencing serious financial straits, could pay the interest on the numerous loans granted them. This consideration alone predetermined the sympathies and antipathies of the British capitalists in the future war. The pro-Chilean orientation of London was also explained by the fierce resistance of the British capitalists to the Peruvian government's decision to nationalize the saltpetre deposits with the aim of improving the state of its finances. Seeking to monopolize guano and saltpetre production, the British were obviously interested in the occupation of the Peruvian and Bolivian parts of Atacama by Chilean troops whom they believed to be more reliable.

The newly-emerged North American imperialism was also eager for a share in the local natural resources. The Monroe Doctrine proclaimed at that time declared against the interference of European states in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. However, North American capitalism was still too weak to play a decisive part in Latin American affairs. Perhaps this explains why Washington "forgot" about the Monroe Doctrine during the Pacific War, when it became evident that Chile was backed by

Britain, and merely expressed moral support for Peru. The United States' subsequent role as a mediator between the warring sides proved abortive. Hostilities intensified after the Bolivian authorities had sequestered the property of the Chilean saltpetre company operating in the Bolivian part of Atacama for its refusal to pay the government-introduced duties on the saltpetre mined in the desert.

The Barrier

Despite the courageous resistance offered by the Bolivians and the Peruvians to the invaders, the war unleashed by the Chilean army in the interest of foreign moneybags ended in victory for Chile. Under the peace treaty signed by Chile and Peru at Ancon in 1883 the saltpetrich Peruvian department of Tarapaca went "in perpetuity" to the victor. The fate of two other Peruvian provinces (Tacna and Arica) seized by Chile was to be decided by a plebiscite to be held in ten years' time. Bolivia, refusing to accept the loss of its territory along the Pacific coast (with the cities of Antofagasta and Tocopilla), concluded only a truce with Chile in 1884.

As was to be expected, the consequences of the Pacific War, especially the loss of an outlet to the ocean by Bolivia, became a source of serious and protracted disputes between the three countries. The new treaties, agreements and protocols signed in subsequent years did not advance the solution of the problem. Chile, not interested in holding a plebiscite on the former Peruvian territory, sabotaged the talks on this question. Peru's



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attempt in 1920 to get the League of Nations to reconsider the Treaty of Ancon proved unsuccessful owing to the opposition of the United States, which had gained strong positions in Chile by that time. It was only in 1929 that Chile and Peru concluded in Lima a treaty under which one of the lost provinces (Tacna) was returned to Peru.

This treaty was, however, supplemented with a protocol which blocked the solution of the problem of Bolivian access to the ocean. The protocol stipulated that none of the contracting parties (that is, neither Chile nor Peru) could cede any part of the Tacna or Arica provinces to a third state without the other party's consent. The reference in this context could only be to Bolivia. Thus, the problems of the three countries were closely intertwined, and a barrier was in effect raised to Bolivia's striving to regain an outlet to the ocean. (The Chilean authorities would not even hear of returning to Bolivia the territory it owned in the past.)

Diplomatic Efforts

Bolivia's economy today is largely oriented on the foreign market. It depends on the export of tin, lead and zinc mined in the country and the import of food and manufactures. Since the greater part of the export and import goods is carried by sea, Bolivia's desire to have its own sea gates is quite natural.

That is why nearly all Bolivian presidents invariably declared they would seek to secure the satisfaction of this age-old demand, imparting a bourgeois nationalist colouring to it. Some of them, depending on the circumstances, took a purely pragmatic approach. Others did so for demagogic purposes, in order to win over the electorate without proposing any constructive steps to overcome the deadlock. Still others, whipping up militarist and revenge-seeking sentiments and brandishing arms, used the problem

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as a pretext for establishing an authoritarian order in the country.

An instance of such an approach is the "initiative" addressed by Chile in 1975 to Hugo Banzer, then President of Bolivia. The Chilean fascist junta leader Pinochet offered Bolivia "a sovereign outlet" to the ocean in the northern border area, a 13.5-km-wide corridor, in exchange for a part of Bolivian territory believed to be rich in ore deposits. In the opinion of experts, the construction of a port at the end of the corridor—on a wide stretch of sandy beach—would be extremely difficult. But Bolivia needs a port, not a beach. Besides, ships will not be able to approach the shore because of the shallow waters. Of course, experts said, with the present development of technology everything is possible. However, as the Spanish magazine Cambio-16 wrote, the construction of all the necessary facilities would cost Bolivia a sum in excess of the foreign debt it has accumulated over the 150 years of its independence and backwardness.

Moreover, Pinochet's proposal was also juridically invalid since, under the protocol to the 1929 Treaty of Lima, no territory formerly owned by Peru can be ceded by the Chilean government to a third state without Peru's consent.

The aim of this proposal was to tie Bolivia to the junta-ruled Chile through political, economic and military co-operation and to convince La Paz that the problem agitating Bolivia would have been solved had it not been for the obstructions raised by Peru. This was designed to stir up anti-Peruvian sentiment among the Bolivians and to induce them to join the manoeuvres aimed at isolating Peru, which since 1968 has been ruled by a government objectionable to the United States.

"There is nothing extraordinary in the fact," Peruvian Communist Party leader Jorge del Prado pointed out, "that Pinochet's fascist government, an obedient tool of

U.S. imperialism, has in these circumstances again raised the question of Bolivia's access to the sea, with the aim not of realizing the legitimate aspirations of the Bolivian people, but whipping up a military psychosis against Peru."

Who Gains by the Tension

In connection with the chauvinistic bellicose campaign mounted against Peru, the Chilean Communists declared: "We emphatically condemn all that serves to incite a conflict between the peoples of Chile and Peru. Those who, in one or the other of these countries, or from without, strive, as the U.S. imperialists are doing, to create a hostile climate are harming the present and future interests of the peoples of both countries."

The Peruvian government, taking a firm stand, rejected this plan, which was also opposed by the democratic forces of Bolivia, in the army too. Hugo Banzer, who tried to strengthen his authoritarian rule by capitalizing on the sore problem, had to abandon the proposed deal. The Peruvian government regards the Bolivian demand as just. The same stand is held by many other Latin American countries which believe that leaving this problem unresolved, artificially whipping up passions and exacerbating tension over this state of affairs merely plays into the hands of the enemies of the Latin American peoples. It is the imperialists who seek to pit the neighbouring countries one against the other in order to undermine their anti-imperialist solidarity and, to the accompaniment of militarist propaganda, to make profits on arms supplies to these countries.

The problem of Bolivia's access to the Pacific awaits its constructive solution in the interests of the peoples of Bolivia, Peru and Chile.

IRAN, OIL AND THE WORLD MARKET

RUBEN ANDREASYAN

Clearance papers allowing a Japanese tanker to put to sea with a cargo of 245,000 tons of oil were signed in the harbourmaster's office in the Khark Island oil port on March 5. This was the first export shipment of Iranian oil after a prolonged interval. The consignment was paid for in cash at prices now prevalent in the world market, where, owing to the turbulent events in Iran, demand has begun to outstrip the supply. According to official spokesmen, Iranian oil will henceforth be sold direct to the consumers and not through the agency of middlemen, such as the International Oil Consortium which plundered the country for a quarter-century. The hitherto existing agreements with this consortium will be annulled.

The day the deal with the Japanese buyers was finalized, the members of the provisional government headed by Prime Minister Mehdi Bazarghan attended a mass meeting in Ahmedabad, a small town near Teheran, where Mohammed Mossadegh, whose name occupies a lasting place in the history of the Iranian people's struggle for control over their own oil, was buried under the watchful eye of the Shah's secret police 12 years earlier. Mossadegh, who was ousted from the premiership by the Shah with the assistance of the U.S. intelligence service, put through the nationalization of the British oil concession when he was Prime Minister in 1951-53.

Today Iran, freed from oppression, to which it had been subjected by the monarchy and the imperialists, pays homage to the memory of Mossadegh and other victims of the repressive regime of the Shah and is carrying forward the work they began. The grim epoch of exploitation by the oil cartel has been relegated to the limbo of the past.

Iran's Principal Natural Wealth

Iran has long been synonymous with oil. Its surveyed resources run

to 8,400 million tons, or more than 11 per cent of the known reserves of the entire capitalist world. Occupying third place for oil reserves after Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, Iran extracted 11-13 per cent of the total oil output in the capitalist world, which made it the third biggest producer after the U.S. and Saudi Arabia, and accounted for roughly one-quarter of the total output in the Middle East. The second biggest exporter after Saudi Arabia, it supplied 16-18 per cent of all oil in the capitalist world market. Its oil refining capacity — some 50 million tons annually — is sizable indeed for a developing country.

Needless to say, oil plays an enormous role in the development of present-day Iran. Owing to the increase of both oil prices and tax revenue from foreign companies, its export earnings increased tenfold since 1972 to reach the impressive figure of \$23,000 million in 1977. This accounted for approximately two-fifths of the country's gross national product, nearly four-fifths of its budget revenue, and some 90 per cent of its foreign currency earnings. In the period from 1972

to 1977 Iran netted nearly \$90,000 million from the export of oil. This provided the groundwork for ambitious plans for the modernization of the country, but the actual progress made in this direction was considerably more modest.

A substantial part of the oil revenue was not used to meet the needs of the economy and the people. One-fourth of the total was spent on the purchase of arms with the object of making Iran an imperialist military outpost on the frontiers of the Soviet Union and the policeman of the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. Thousands of millions of dollars went to the numerous members of the royal family, the court, ministers, high-placed civil servants and profiteers, and huge sums were squandered on the maintenance of punitive agencies, the army, a swollen state machinery, and on luxury imports.

The Shah turned the country into a gold mine for Western arms merchants and exporters of industrial equipment and consumer goods. But poverty and want remained the lot of the mass of the people. The oil boom was accompanied by galloping inflation, which not only cut heavily into the wages of industrial and office workers and the income of small tradesmen and artisans, but hit hard also at the medium-bracket bourgeoisie.

Thus, in the final analysis the oil income did not bolster up the regime of the Shah, but, on the contrary, hastened its revolutionary overthrow. The popular struggle against

the despotic rulers and dependence on imperialism merged with the struggle for social and economic progress, including the termination once and for all of the neo-colonialist exploitation of Iran's oil.

The Stranglehold of the Consortium

Imperialism exploited the country's oil wealth for nearly 80 years, ever since an enterprising British businessman named D'Arcy bought the first Iranian oil concession for a song in 1901. Since then only for two years, during the premiership of Mossadegh, was Iran master of its principal wealth, though even then it was unable to breach the imperialist export blockade.

In 1954 an international consortium made up mainly of the U.S. and British monopolies known as the Seven Sisters imposed on Iran a fettering 25-year agreement. While the 1951 nationalization law was not rescinded, the parties to the consortium established their control over the oil industry in the south of the country and agreed to pay the government half the earnings from the export of oil. In later years the ruling quarters, seeking to increase their own oil income and to carry out the Shah's modernization programme, exerted pressure on the consortium and concluded a number of agreements with other foreign firms on joint oil exploration and extraction.

In 1973 state control was established over extraction, but the foreign monopolies managed to retain strong positions. The National Iranian Oil Company undertook to co-ordinate its plans with the consortium, to employ its engineers and administrators, and granted it the right for twenty years ahead to sell up to four-fifths of Iran's oil output in external markets at \$1.60 less per ton than the world price. Forty per cent of this went to the U.S. monopolies, in conformity with their share in the consortium. It has been roughly calculated that in 1978 alone the participants in the consortium pocketed a "premium" of about \$250 million.

A specific feature of Iran's oil policy was, on the one hand, participation in joint steps taken by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, including agreed price increases, and, on the other, refusal

to join in any radical anti-imperialist move. For instance, the Shah would not support the embargo on oil sales to the West during the Arab-Israeli war of 1973. Teheran made no secret of the fact that it was supplying liquid fuel to Israel and South Africa.

Finding itself increasingly dependent on the U.S. and other Western countries, the Shah's government in 1977 reneged on its proclaimed principle of linking oil prices to the prices of imported goods, inflation and the decline of the purchasing power of the dollar.

Among the former regime's actions running counter to the national interests, the new leadership lists also the squandering of oil reserves, over-extraction, primarily to pay for the huge purchases of arms.

The Teheran press says that henceforth the size of Iran's exports will be determined by its actual foreign currency needs. It is believed that extraction will be limited to 150 million tons, or 60 per cent of the level before the oilworkers' general strike in the autumn of last year. Oil deliveries in exchange for arms are being annulled, and it has been officially announced that export to Israel and South Africa has been discontinued.

"Iranian oil is the property of the people," Hassan Narzih, the newly appointed managing director of the National Iranian Oil Company, said. "It will no longer serve to enrich the Western monopolies and local dealers. We shall never recognize the agreements imposed on us as though we were someone's colony."

Oil Shortage

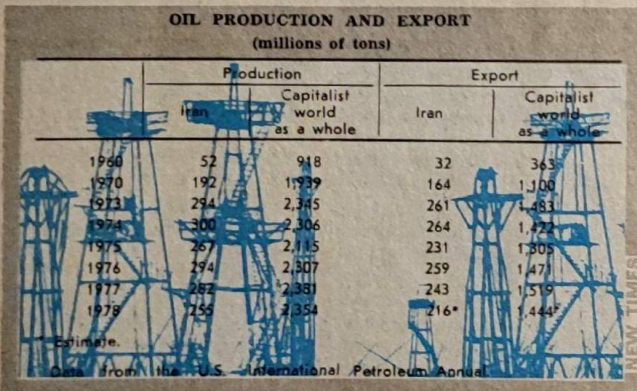
Some 37,000 oilworkers took an active part in the general strike, with the result that in late October and early November last year oil output fell from the annual rate of 300 million tons to 90 million, and export to 30 million tons. By threats and repression, the government of General Azhari forced some of the workers to return to work. Nevertheless, they struck on repeated occasions, and on December 27, 1978, extraction came to a complete standstill. In January, the oil fields began working again in response to a call issued by the opposition leaders, but output was confined to meeting essential internal needs. Considering that in the summer of 1978 oil ex-

port was at the 220-230 million ton annual level, it may be said that during the period when export was totally discontinued, from December 27 to March 4, the supply to the world market dropped by nearly 50 million tons. With demand exceeding supply ever since last summer and the Northern Hemisphere experiencing an unusually cold winter, supplies to consumers were seriously affected. It should be mentioned that Iran used to take care of quite a big share of the import needs of a number of countries — 44 per cent in the case of Denmark, 20-23 per cent in the case of Britain, Spain, Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg, 15-19 per cent in the case of Japan, West Germany, Canada, Austria, Switzerland, Turkey and Portugal, and 11 per cent of the United States' needs.

According to EEC estimates, the supply of oil to the Common Market countries in the first six months of the current year will be at least 6 per cent less than needed owing to the discontinuation of deliveries from Iran. U.S. President Carter has announced that he will put before Congress a programme of measures designed to cope with the problems caused by the interruption of the flow of Iranian oil. In February he paid a visit to Mexico to persuade the government of that country to meet the growing needs of the U.S. from the big oil deposits recently discovered in Mexico. U.S. Energy Secretary James Schlesinger has voiced alarm on repeated occasions. The sensation-hungry capitalist press has begun talking about the threat of an oil famine, a repetition of the 1973-74 situation, and the like. Needless to say, the entire blame is laid on the Iranian revolution.

The oil shortage was promptly seized upon by the Western monopolies to jack up the prices charged for petroleum products and to pocket lush profits on this speculative operation.

It is noteworthy that each time OPEC proposes to compensate for inflation and the drop in the exchange rate of the American dollar by a moderate increase of oil prices, bourgeois government leaders and press commentators raise a clamour about the world being impelled into another crisis. But none of them has any criticism for the international monopolies when they announce



price hikes even though they possess sufficient reserves to cope with emergencies.

The fact is that there was no reason for panic. The Common Market countries' strategic reserves are designed to meet their normal needs over a period of 100 days, those of the U.S., 43 days, and Japan, 70 days. Besides, the monopolies have substantial commercial reserves. To satisfy the needs of Western consumers, Saudi Arabia increased its extraction in January by 50 million tons in terms of the annual rate, to an annual level of 475 million tons, which to a considerable extent compensated for the drop in exports from Iran.

That the OPEC countries, angered by the monopoly moves and taking into account the market situation, have also begun raising prices is quite another matter. As Kuwaiti Oil Minister al-Sabah said in late February, this measure was prompted by the "greed" of the international oil monopolies, which "have been reaping very considerable profits out of this situation." First, Saudi Arabia increased the price of the oil it put on the market in excess of the quantity it had normally exported. Then Kuwait increased its price by 9 per cent (or by nearly \$9 per ton). Its example was followed by Venezuela, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Libya.

Oil prices now have been raised practically to the level projected by OPEC for the last quarter of 1979—\$106 per ton — but they still are considerably lower than the level for on-the-spot transactions, which now is \$131-146 per ton. It is at this price that the National Iranian Oil Company is offering its oil. According to the company, it has many prospective customers on these terms.

Upholding the National Interest

The situation in the capitalist oil market is of course far from simple.

The OPEC countries are faced with the dilemma of whether to maintain the present level of oil extraction and prices or whether to meet the consumers halfway and increase output. This, however, would lead to a falling-off of prices and added financial losses for the exporters owing to the inflation. Besides, will they undertake permanently to compensate for the decline in Iranian exports? For this would mean pumping out more oil than would be in line with the OPEC countries' new policy of carefully husbanding their irreplaceable national wealth. All these questions will be put before the OPEC extraordinary conference to open in Geneva on March 28.

The growing striving of the OPEC members to regulate the flow of liquid fuel to the world market in conformity with their national interests is a serious blow to imperialist policy. At the same time there is a growing body of opinion in the West that in order to prevent a new energy crisis in the early eighties the OPEC members should be given an incentive in the form of higher prices instead of trying constantly to depress prices.

The point is that so far no real alternative has been found to the OPEC countries' oil resources. The North Sea, Alaska and China will not be able even in the second half of the eighties to take the place of the Arab countries and Iran as the principal suppliers of the West.

The developed capitalist countries will increasingly have to reckon not only with the actual needs of the oil-exporting developing countries, but also with their greater ability to stand up for themselves. No liberal regime would co-operate with the Americans to turn its country into an economic colony of the U.S., the Teheran Kayhan International observed on January 15. And this is precisely what Washington wanted. Twenty-five years ago the United States helped to overthrow the Mossadegh government in Iran; now

it was confronted with the revolutionary principles he had proclaimed. Whatever action the United States took, and not only in Iran but everywhere in the Third World, Washington would not be able to achieve its ends, the paper said.

It is indicative that the Iranian revolution prompted the Saudi Arabian government to buy up the remaining 40 per cent of the stock of the U.S. Aramco oil company. This ended the last big American oil concession in the Middle East. Speaking at the Arab conference on energy in early March, United Arab Emirates Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources Mana Said Al Oteiba said that the countries that want to ensure themselves a supply of Arab oil should help to bring about a just solution of the Palestine problem.

Apparently, however, the lessons of history do not sink in easily in Washington. In late February U.S. Defence Secretary Harold Brown and Energy Secretary James Schlesinger spoke of using armed force to secure the United States' interests in the Persian Gulf, and the hawkish Senator Henry Jackson even called for the creation of a joint Israeli-Egyptian strike force that could be used if the need arose. During his February visit to Riyadh Defence Secretary Brown, according to press reports, proposed that a U.S. military base be set up there, but the Saudi government rejected the idea.

Reading statements of this order by high-placed American officials, one cannot but recall the remark, attributed to Talleyrand, about the Bourbons after their restoration: "They have forgotten nothing and learned nothing." But the peoples have learned a great deal. They realize that in order to fight the aggressors and exploiters they must cement their unity and firmly and consistently stand up for their legitimate interests.

AGAINST THE POISON OF NOSTALGIA FOR NAZISM

VICTOR RYKIN

On a visit to Frankfurt on the Main last year I happened to witness the following scene at the entrance of a large disc shop. A boy of 12 or 13 was looking at the records of speeches by Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and other Nazi leaders displayed on a stand. Then, turning to his mother, he said: "We've got all of them except two." And the mother willingly bought the two lacking discs.

Was this just the usual disc-collecting craze? That is how some would like to represent it. Who, they ask, can take the utterly discredited ideas of Nazism seriously nowadays? Nazism has, indeed, been discredited in the eyes of the vast majority of older people who lived through the horrors of the war and perceived its causes and consequences. But for the boy I saw at the disc shop and, perhaps, for his young mother, Nazism is a rather abstract concept. They did not hear the howling of falling bombs, they did not see the death camps or the ruins of their own city. They might have seen the film about Hitler's career shown recently in West Germany. True, it does say he is to blame for the war and the defeat of Germany. But it also shows the impressive marches of troops (you won't see such marches today), the Führer smiling at everyone and women weeping with joy at seeing him. Moreover, it is said that Hitler loved animals, that he ate no meat and drank no spirits. It was on his initiative that the Germans began to build the autobahns they are still proud of. There was strict public order under the Führer, whereas today all sorts of terrorists are at large. Was Nazism really as bad as it is painted?

"The Truth About Hitler," a new book by Kurt Bachmann, is addressed to those who have not yet found

the right answer to this question. It exposes the forces that are fostering in the West Germans a nostalgia for "the good old days." The author openly polemizes with those who would like to "humanize" the ugly face of Nazism.

Kurt Bachmann, who will be 70 in June, belongs to the generation who saw how the brown plague spread in Germany and what inhuman crimes the Nazis committed. A Communist Party member since 1932, he went underground after Hitler came to power and headed a Party branch in Cologne. Bachmann was an active fighter against fascism. Together with his first wife Alice he took part in the French Resistance movement. In 1942 they were arrested and taken to Germany. Alice died in Auschwitz. Kurt Bachmann was transferred from one concentration camp to another until he was freed from Buchenwald at the end of the war.

Bachmann became widely known after he was elected chairman of the legal German Communist Party in April 1969, a post he held until 1973. At present, he is a member of the Presidium of the GCP Executive, takes part in the work of anti-fascist organizations, writes articles and pamphlets.

"The Truth About Hitler" is rather unusual in form. It consists of Kurt Bachmann's answers to questions put by Wilfried Reckert, a member of the Federal Executive of the Socialist German Working Youth. Reckert is only 30, of the same age as the Federal Republic of Germany. He is one of the numerous victims of the Berufsverbot: in 1973 he was dismissed from his teaching job for publishing anti-fascist leaflets and banned from the teaching profession.

The dialogue between two Ger-



mans belonging to different generations concerns first of all the circumstances in which Hitler came to power. Kurt Bachmann concentrates on outstanding political problems of today and events that are deliberately ignored or falsified in West Germany. "Hitler expressed in words and embodied in political and military practice the doctrine consistent with the gangster aims and views of the ultra-reactionary forces and groups of German financial and monopoly capital," Bachmann says. It would be wrong, he points out, to blame only one man, Adolf Hitler, for all the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis. Nazism would not have existed for a day without the support of German imperialism. Hitler came to power because the republican form of government no longer suited the German industrial magnates. They needed a fascist dictatorship "to make capitalist property more secure for a long time and provide better possibilities for extracting profit and carrying out far-reaching plans of expansion." The "order" established by the Nazi party facilitated preparations for a war for what they termed "Lebensraum."

Kurt Bachmann shows who needed fascism and how it came to power and how it was able to retain that power. Hitler, he stresses, was a master of fascist demagoguery. Asked by Reckert whom this demagoguery influenced most of all, Bachmann replies: the petty bourgeoisie, whom Hitler promised a way out of the crisis situation. In the eyes of small shopkeepers Hitler was "a man of the people" who had risen no higher than the rank of lance-corporal during the first world war. He skilfully played on nationalist and racist instincts, and was a sworn enemy of the revolutionary movement. "In his address to the industrialists in October 1922," Kurt Bachmann writes, "Hitler proclaimed the destruction and eradication of the Marxist outlook" the goal of the National-Socialist Party." Speaking in the Düsseldorf industrial club on January 27, 1932, Hitler said: "We have firmly decided to eradicate Marxism in Germany completely. . . . To prevent the people [meaning the organized labour movement—V.R.] plunging into a

ON ITS NORTHERNMOST ISLAND

From Our Own Correspondent
STANISLAV LEVCHENKO

But ninety minutes flying time from Tokyo, Honshu Island's spring-like winter gives way to a real sub-Arctic winter with raging blizzards and crisp and crunchy snow underfoot. Our destination, a city of straight and broad avenues, is conspicuous for the absence of milling crowds, so common a sight in other Japanese cities, and for its uncommon trams and uncommon Underground with its rubber-wheeled coaches. Snowfalls are so fast and frequent that often of a morning the residents of the smaller houses are obliged to dig their way out. For this is Sapporo, the largest city of Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost island.

One of the traditions for which Sapporo is renowned is its movement of friendship with the neighbouring U.S.S.R., a movement with a long and checkered history.

"We first set up a branch of the Japan-U.S.S.R. Society on Hokkaido 21 years ago," I was told by its executive secretary, Mr Akizuki. "Last year's jubilee celebrations were attended by people from nearly all the Soviet republics. Our main aim and purpose is to promote good-neighbourly relations and deepen mutual understanding.

"The Hokkaido branch," he continued, "has 257 collective members or a total membership of about 25,000. Represented among its officers and activists are all the country's main political parties, including the Liberal Democrats, the Socialists, the Communists and Komeito. Last year 800 islanders visited your country and of that number 150 were on Sakhalin."

"Certain news media contend," I remarked, "that the movement for friendship with the Soviet Union has no future in this country, that the Japanese, especially on Hokkaido, view their neighbour with suspicion."

"Nonsense!" Mr Akizuki retorted. "The propaganda you mention is the work of those circles in Tokyo with whose aid Washington and Peking hope to draw Japan into the orbit of their anti-Soviet strategy.

Bolshevik chaos, they must be put through a school of iron discipline and gradually cured."

Almost the day after the seizure of power by the nazis, the Communist Party was outlawed. Later, the ban was extended to the Social Democratic Party, the trade unions and other organizations. Concentration camps were built and prisons enlarged as the nazis' plan of liquidating whole countries and peoples got into its stride.

The horrendous nazi crimes against humanity were condemned all over the world. However, there are some who would like to whitewash fascism, especially in the eyes of the youth.

A West German newspaper recently carried a picture of a group of young neo-nazis. One of them, wearing a donkey's mask, holds a poster saying: "I am the ass who still believes that Jews were gassed in German concentration camps." But they were, and not only Jews but also Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and men and women of other nationalities, German anti-fascists included.

I happened to visit Buchenwald, Dachau and Mauthausen, where hundreds of thousands of people were exterminated. Though many years have passed, I can still see with horrifying clarity the handbag made of human skin, the heap of hair from the heads of executed people, the shoes of murdered children. This is what the youth in the donkey's mask ought to be shown.

Everything one sees in former nazi concentration camps is a grim reminder that no one must be forgotten, nothing must be forgotten, and vigilance with regard to the neo-nazi schemes must not be relaxed. This is the keynote also of the book under review. "Our historical experience, which is constantly being borne out by reality, shows that fascism, both the old and the new, must be given not a single inch of scope," Kurt Bachmann writes. "Fascism must be combated while there is still time and on a broad front, jointly with all those who are ready to uphold the democratic rights and freedoms set forth in the Fundamental Law and to work for an expansion of these rights

and freedoms. Fascism must not be allowed to raise its head again."

Many are asking what is the cause of the vogue for nazism and Hitler that has appeared of late. Who benefits by this vogue and is it accidental?

The time during which ex-nazis guilty of grave crimes and hiding from punishment may be prosecuted in West Germany expires at the end of this year. In 1968 the U.N. General Assembly adopted on the Soviet Union's initiative a convention on the non-applicability of statutory limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity. The Bundestag did not join the convention. This stand on the part of the West German parliament was sharply criticized by a number of parties and organizations of the country. Bachmann's book carries an appeal issued by the Association of Victims of Nazi Persecution — the Anti-Fascist Union. "The application of the statute of limitations would gladly be welcomed both by old and new nazis," this organization wrote in its appeal to the West German public on August 31, 1978. "All nazi criminals, former SS-men and their unions would start to brag openly of their heinous crimes and no action could be brought against them." In West Germany there are now about 150 neo-nazi organizations and groups which put out 109 newspapers and other periodicals.

The frequent reports of neo-nazi revival are arousing concern. At the beginning of February the Hamburg court heard the case of former Bundeswehr lieutenant, 23-year-old Michael Kühnen, and his accomplice, 21-year-old Friedrich Pützmann, charged with disseminating racist views and distributing nazi propaganda literature. Neo-nazis of different ages packed the courtroom. Some of them ostentatiously wore nazi badges. Kühnen, who declared himself the "Gauführer" of the "Action Front of National Soldiers," said the National-Socialist Party should be revived on a federal scale. He also insisted that Jews should be deprived of their West German citizenship and enjoy only the rights of guests. Statements of this kind are an echo of the past. At the same

time they give rise to concern about the morrow.

There is no fascism that would not represent a danger, Kurt Bachmann says. The roots of fascism — monopolies and their power — have not yet been extirpated. "Neo-fascism flourishes in an atmosphere of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, of campaigns of slander and defamation of existing socialism, the wrecking of treaties concluded with neighbouring socialist states, calls to leave the German question open, and to establish West German domination in Europe," the author of the book points out.

The struggle against the neo-nazi danger should not only continue but should be steadily stepped up. Even minor rights on which reaction encroaches should be defended. Kurt Bachmann writes with concern about young people who, disappointed with the existing system and faced with unemployment and lack of rights, may fall into the trap set by "brown rat-catchers." The lessons of history show that fascism can be prevented only by joint action of all contingents of the working people.

"In spite of the war unleashed by fascism, the peoples of Europe have again extended their hands to us," Kurt Bachmann said at the Mannheim Congress of the Communist Party in October 1978. "But they have forgotten no one, they have forgotten nothing, and this makes it incumbent upon us, Communists of the Federal Republic, to preserve for the younger generation and bring home to it the experience of our anti-fascist struggle. Comrades, to be loyal to the behests of the German Resistance fighters means to ensure that the threat of war and fascism shall never again emanate from German soil... The revival of the old and the emergence of new fascism must be prevented at all costs. Let us bar the road to reaction, let us bar the road to fascism."

Kurt Bachmann's book is an invaluable aid for anti-fascists. It provides new arguments and gives grounds for reflection upon many problems of the past, present and future. The dangerous nazi vogue must be discarded along with nostalgia for the nazi past — that is the message of the book. ■

"Although the grass withers under the winter snow, the roots continue to live on and shoot up next spring and when spring comes we know we shall soon be visiting our Soviet friends again. We tell the children of Sapporo about our trips to your country and last year we held a demonstration to demand of the authorities that they provide the proper conditions for recreation and hobby groups. But that is a far from easy thing to do here. For the time being we are getting more groups together to go to Artek and to the Young Pioneer camp outside Khabarovsk."

I was also told the following touching story. Some eight years ago one Masahiro Moriuchi, a member of the Grassroots Society, spent his summer holidays in Artek, where he learned much about the Soviet Union, the October Revolution and Lenin. Back home he made up his mind that Sapporo must have its own monument to Lenin and for years on end he saved up part of his lunch and pocket money. However, by the time he enrolled at university he had realized that the authorities would not allow any such monument to be erected either in Sapporo or Tokyo for that matter, and, furthermore, since the money he had saved was far from enough, he decided to donate all of it to the Soviet Peace Fund.

The boys and girls who first went to Artek and the Khabarovsk camp have now finished school and some have gone on to college. But they still keep in touch with one another, and now they have decided to establish a Sunflower Society. "A good name, isn't it?" one schoolgirl remarked. "The sunflower grows in many parts of the Soviet Union, and the remarkable thing about it is that it always follows the sun."

Parents of the members of these two societies, some of whom also came around to our meeting, have their own organization known as the Society of Light. This society plans to learn more about the Soviet educational system and the activities of the Soviet Young Pioneer and Young Communist League organizations.

At the Japanese-Soviet Friendship

and Culture House I was introduced to its president, Mr Yasusaburo Shibano, a leading Hokkaido businessman.

"Hokkaido residents have a warm spot in their hearts for the House," he said. "Last year alone we drew a total attendance of some ten thousand. We have Russian-language courses and a Russian cookery class, run Soviet films and give recorded recitals. Last June I had an opportunity to visit several large Siberian cities and to gain some idea of the grand projects for the development of this territory. I am convinced that their implementation will make for broader and firmer mutually advantageous economic links between our countries."

While in Sapporo I met many sincere advocates of Japanese-Soviet friendship. Yet, it is Hokkaido that the reactionaries try to exploit in every way for actions hostile to the Soviet Union.

In a recent series devoted to the Self-Defence Forces, the Asahi Evening News happened to remark that Northern Hokkaido offered convenient landing points for enemy troops, especially Wakkanai, where a large force could be parachuted. What was the purpose of this remark? Perhaps to justify the large military presence on this northernmost island? Thus, the paper itself admits to the presence there of 50,000 Self-Defence Forces personnel, or as many as four divisions, including one armoured division, armed with missiles and heavy guns. The 2nd Division is stationed at Asahigawa, the 5th at Obihiro, the 11th in Sapporo and the 7th, with its 200 modern tanks, not far from the airport.

Further, while admitting that these forces are poised against the Soviet Union, the Asahi Evening News is unable to furnish any explanation for the need to whip up tensions in the immediate vicinity of a country which for so many years has been manifesting by word and deed its friendly disposition towards Japan and has been striving to strengthen peace and security in the Far East.

Thus directly opposed on the northernmost island are two different trends, two different attitudes to the Soviet Union. One seeks to foster the roots of friendship, the other to nip them in the bud, but, as I see it, the latter trend has scant chance of success.

Tokyo

LEARN RUSSIAN

Lesson 7

VOCABULARY

предоставлять право (на что?) (предоставить)	entitle
работники умственного труда	mental workers
отпуск	leave
широкая сеть (чего?)	wide network
оздоровительное учреждение	health-building institution
лечебно-профилактическое учреждение	disease prevention institution
санаторий-профилакторий	prophylactic treatment sanatorium
питание	diet
ничтожный процент	insignificant percentage
туристская база	tourist camp
получить широкое распространение	become widespread
здравница	health centre, resort
санаторий	sanatorium
дом отдыха	holiday home

Exercise 1. Translate the following text:

Конституция СССР предоставляет всем гражданам Советского Союза право на отдых. Для отдыха трудящихся создана широкая сеть самых разнообразных оздоровительных учреждений. Так, например, на крупных промышленных предприятиях и вблизи от места жительства работников предприятия созданы лечебно-профилактические учреждения, так называемые санатории-профилактории. Здесь ежегодно более двух миллионов рабочих и служащих без отрыва от производства укрепляют свое здоровье, проходят необходимый курс лечения, получают диетическое питание. Плата за путевки в такие профилактории составляет ничтожный процент от заработка.

Рабочие, служащие, работники умственного труда ежегодно получают длительные отпуска с сохранением заработной платы. Охране здоровья трудящихся подчинена организация санаторно-курортного отдыха, а также туризма. Ежегодно в санаториях, домах отдыха и на туристских базах отдыхают и лечатся около 50 миллионов человек. В последнее время широкое распространение получили здравницы для семейного отдыха. В них ежегодно проводят свои отпуска более 700 тысяч человек. Стоимость путевок весьма низкая, а большую часть этой стоимости оплачивают профсоюзы.

Таким образом, советским трудящимся обеспечены широкие возможности наилучшим образом использовать предоставленное Конституцией право на отдых.

Exercise 2. Translate and memorize the following equivalent terms:

наилучший — самый лучший;
 наихудший — самый худший;
 отпуск с сохранением заработной платы — отпуск с сохранением содержания — оплаченный отпуск;
 без отрыва от трудовой деятельности — без отрыва от производства;
 каждый год — ежегодно.

Exercise 3. Note the following words with the same root given below in bold type:

здороваться с другом	greet a friend
здоровый человек	healthy man
крепкое здоровье	sound health
приморская здравница	sea resort
система здравоохранения	public health system

Exercise 4. Translate into Russian:

1. Tourism is the best form of active recreation. 2. Many students study and work at the same time. 3. Hundreds of thousands of foreign tourists come to the Soviet Union every year. 4. Many of our resorts are located on the Black Sea coast. 5. The public health system in the U.S.S.R. provides free medical aid.

TAKING UP A POINT

I recently came across some issues of your journal in which you wax enthusiastic about Ethiopia and Afghanistan. One could also add Angola, Kampuchea and some other countries. The Soviet Union has stakes in many parts of the world. In my opinion, it is not for nothing that our Secretary of Defence Harold Brown spoke the other day of the strengthening of U.S. positions in Egypt and Portugal. He also mentioned China in this connection. The Americans have thus joined in the game, and who knows who will win.

Michael MacDERMOT
 New York, U.S.A.



Our
 associate
 editor
 DMITRY
 VOLSKY
 replies:

With the approach to international affairs reflected in your letter, Mr MacDermot, no one can win and everybody stands to lose. The present-day world looks least of all like a chessboard or a gaming table. To indulge in global gambles is an undertaking as irresponsible as it is dangerous. For, firstly, technological progress has made the world smaller than it has ever been: events in different areas are now closely interlinked. Secondly, and that is the main thing, politics has now emerged from the statesmen's offices into the streets. The broad masses are becoming increasingly conscious of their interests, their rights and, last but not least, their possibilities. They want to run their own affairs. Before going any further let me say that it is utterly alien to the nature of the Soviet Union to regard other states, irrespective of their size and level of development, as "objects of politics." We regard them as equal partners and we build our relations with them on the basis of mutual respect.

The fact that, whether you like it or not, the Soviet Union is linked with many developing countries by something more than ordinary partnership is another matter entirely. They have not only the same concrete political and economic interests, but also the same world outlook and the same ideas

about world development. This is a historical objective trend engendered by the world revolutionary process. You may find the term jarring, but you must admit — if you overcome your prejudices — that the national democratic revolutions were logical, even inevitable products of the situation in Ethiopia and in Afghanistan and in the other Asian and African countries where they occurred. Preservation of the status quo jeopardized not only the development of these countries but often the very existence of their peoples. It is well known, for instance, that hundreds of thousands of people starved to death in Ethiopia in the last years of Haile Selassie's rule and that his government did absolutely nothing to save them. Or take this example: could the Kampuchean reconcile themselves to the Pol Pot clique which was exterminating them at the bidding of the Peking expansionists?

As for socio-economic development, life is demonstrating again and again that it is practically impossible to resolve the problems facing the emergent states along capitalist lines. This is evidenced by the events in such a relatively rich developing country as Iran, where the Shah stubbornly and persistently sought to implant capitalism. It goes without saying that the people themselves must choose the path they want to take. And if the balance of forces within a country is favourable to capitalist development, the Soviet Union respects its choice, as this is evidenced, for instance, by our country's good relations with the ASEAN states.

But does Washington respect the choice of independent states? It is a pity the U.S. Secretary of Defence did not mention Chile among the countries where the U.S. position has grown stronger. The Chileans paid dearly for it. And those who indulge in global games stand completely exposed by staking on the Peking chauvinists whose aggression against Vietnam clearly reveals their attitude to the rights of nations and the interests of peace.

The conclusion one can draw from the above is clear, in my opinion: a solid edifice of peace and détente can be built only if the independence, equality and lawful interests of all nations are respected. This is precisely what guides the socialist countries in their policies. Let us hope, Mr MacDermot, that the developments will eventually convince you and your friends that there is practically no other alternative.

NT FROM OUR MAILBAG

It was with deep pain that I learned of the armed attack on the Vietnamese people by China which had been parading as a champion of peace and freedom. There is absolutely no justification for Peking's unceremonious violation of the standards of international law.

N. MOROZOV
 Syktyvkar, U.S.S.R.

Capitalist propaganda daily slanders the Soviet system. And that is not to be wondered at. For capitalism does not work any more and has nothing good to offer people. Seeing the vast progress made in the Soviet Union, capitalist propagandists are doing everything to discredit it. The so-called dissidents do really help capitalism and that is why they are in favour in the West.

G. B. SAWYER
 Willenhall, England

In your issue 6 I read the article "Disarmament Policy-Making" which says among other things that the U.S. President admits that Washington and Moscow are both vastly interested in averting the threat of nuclear war. But you are right in saying that there is a contradiction in the American Administration's policy on this issue. How, indeed, is one to understand Washington's intention to station long-range missiles in Western Europe? Such steps make one doubt U.S. peace assurances.

A. KUPLENSKAYA
 Moscow, U.S.S.R.

I am grateful to New Times because its articles help me to select the arguments and examples I need to popularize our common cause. Your journal convincingly exposes the peace-and-man-hating designs of imperialism.

Karl BEHNKE
 Bergen, G.D.R.

POSTSCRIPT

Haven for Offenders

The notorious swindler Flatto-Sharon, convicted several times in France, escaped to Israel after his last trial, and not only found refuge there, but became a Knesset (Parliament) deputy. His example in seeking a haven in Israel was followed by Lord Kagan, a prominent British businessman and founder of the Gannex raincoat firm. Learning that a warrant had been issued for his arrest on charges concerning alleged tax and currency offences (the sum mentioned was \$6 million), he also went to Israel. Although His Lordship is keeping his exact whereabouts a secret, he is not living in obscurity. Recently he wrote a scenario about himself for a British TV programme, in which he talked about prominent Britons.

Potatoes and Inflation



For U.S. House of Representatives Speaker Tip O'Neill's ancestors in Ireland, potatoes were a dietary staple, the only means of survival, writes Time magazine. Looking through the menu of a fashionable Washington restaurant, he

discovered it served fried potato peels at \$2.50 a portion. "Two-fifty!" he exclaimed, "And there's no potato!" The dish boiled his ancestral blood. His forbears did not know what inflation meant.

In Vain

Schoolteacher Bodo Kaiser, reports the West Berlin newspaper Der Tagespiegel, lost the suit he filed several years ago, in 1974, when he was fired on the grounds that he lived in the same flat with a woman teacher who had been dismissed earlier for being a member of the Communist Party. He had been seeking justice ever since, but all in vain.

No Go

John Eden, a prominent Tory, planned to send his wife to Switzerland for a holiday in April. But then it occurred to him that if the Labour government appointed an early election, she would have to fly back in haste to perform her role as a candidate's wife. And so he tried to insure against the consequences of a general election being called at the start of April, but was told that nobody could be found in Lloyd's

who would make out a policy covering that time. The risk was too great.

He Only Asked for Rain

South African farmer C.H.J. Badenhurst, reports the Globe and Mail, spent weeks praying for rain to save his crop. He thought his prayers had been answered when the rain cascaded on his wheat and maize. But it came with a bolt of lightning that killed two of his relatives. Later Badenhurst said the Almighty had obviously misunderstood him.

Racist Self-Defence

The well-known South African professional golfer Bobby Locke refused to pay Black house repairman Ndlovu for his work because he was allegedly dissatisfied with the result. When Ndlovu insisted on being paid, the enraged racist shot him in the shoulder. Haled to court in Johannesburg, Locke admitted that he fired a shot, but denied that he tried to murder Ndlovu. "I fetched my revolver in self-defence," he claimed.

Useful



Ducker and Ducker Ltd., a British firm, recently put

in the following advertisement in the West German newspaper Die Welt: "Secret tape-recorder briefcase. For top executives. Leather briefcase with two compartments and hidden tape recorder running four hours and twenty minutes.... Tape does not run in the absence of noise. Highly sensitive. Records voices in big and small rooms. Ideal for conferences and business talks."

Embarrassing

A U.S. Assistant Secretary of Labour flew to Japan to give a speech. The flight went off well, he arrived hale and hearty, but never delivered the speech. In Washington, says U.S. News and World Report, they forgot about the international dateline and the Assistant Secretary arrived a day late.

The First Step?



In some Swiss cantons women are still disfranchised. As the first step towards equality, the Geneva Council (city and cantonal parliament) recently voted after a heated debate to make needlework a compulsory discipline in schools not only for girls, but for boys too.

Drawings by V. Chakiridis



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COSTA RICA



There are not very many countries in the world whose coasts are washed by two oceans. One of them is the Central American republic of Costa Rica.

Nature has generously endowed this small beautiful country with a mild climate, majestic cordilleras and verdant valleys.

The population is slightly over two million and half of them are farmers. The main crops are coffee, bananas, cocoa beans, and maize. In recent decades the country has been building up its industry in the level of literacy, Costa Rica is second in Latin America (after Cuba).

The republic stands firmly for peaceful coexistence and international détente. It is the only Latin American country that has no army. One of the most prestigious organizations in the country is the Costa Rican Com-



mittee for Peace and Solidarity. The Soviet Union and Costa Rica maintain diplomatic and economic relations, and the volume of their trade grows year by year. The main product the Soviet Union imports from Costa Rica is coffee. On our part, we sell Costa Rica farm machines (there are already about 300 Byelorussian tractors working in the Costa Rican fields), metal-cutting lathes, and geodesical instruments.



Photos:

The Pacific coast

Avenida Central, the main street of San José, the Costa Rican capital

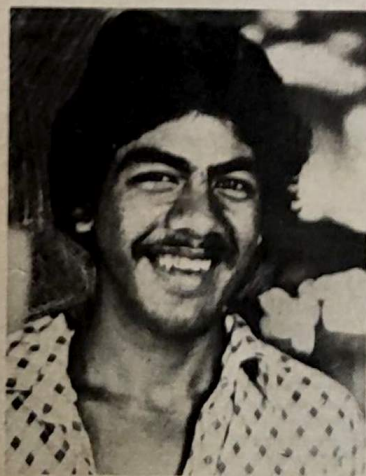
Monument to a soldier who fought North American filibusters in the 19th century

Coffee sorters at Las Trojas plantation

The Legislative Assembly building

The crater of the Poas Volcano

Young member of the People's Vanguard (Communist) Party of Costa Rica



The origin of these stone spheres, some of them over two metres in diameter, is unknown.

An old church in Cartago.

Text and photos by Oleg Ignatyev