

**BRASIL  
ANISTIA GERAL  
LIBERDADE**

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# The price

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**Neide Santos**

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*The much-touted Brazilian economic miracle is once more exposed in this work, which shows the sad socio-economic reality Brazil is experiencing today.*

*A debt-ridden country with growing inflation and a high index of unemployment and poverty — among other evils — is the result of economic penetration by the big transnationals, the vast majority of which are US enterprises.*

*Brazil: the Price of a "Miracle" also denounces the system of terror that reigns in that South American nation and reveals the resistance against fascism by the Brazilian people in order to eliminate that oppression and injustice.*

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# BRAZIL:

of a "miracle"

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The "Brazilian miracle" is all over. The costly propaganda indulged in by the bourgeois press in Brazil and abroad on the "miraculous" economic growth from 1968 to 1974 has been replaced by acid criticism and cruel doubts as to the future of the nation that, up until recently, was presented as an example for other underdeveloped countries to follow in ridding themselves of the distasteful adjective.

The period of euphoria of the Brazilian bourgeoisie was characterized by an accentuated growth of the Gross National Product — nearly 10 percent a year — in the above-mentioned period, by high interest rates and by a relatively low rate of inflation — one which, moreover, kept dropping until it reached a dubious 12 percent in 1973. Up until 1971, Brazil's foreign balance of trade was in the black — \$26 million to the good in 1969 and \$232 million in 1970.<sup>1</sup> Small but significant clouds began to appear on the horizon in 1974, and the apologists for the military regime quickly sought explanations for the crisis that loomed. For those pseudoscientists, the price of oil on the world market was at the root of all their ills.

The forecasts for 1974 were borne out, and the situation in the last few years has deteriorated considerably. In 1975, the GNP grew by only 4 percent, inflation rose to 20.5 percent and the foreign trade deficit reached \$3.5 billion. In 1976 the GNP did no better than the year before, inflation rose to 44.6 percent, and the trade deficit was \$2.151 billion — in spite of all the measures the regime adopted to try to come out even.

In 1977, the situation continued much the same or worse: zero growth was predicted, and, by July, inflation had increased by 26.4 percent. Now that the euphoria's over and General Ernesto Geisel is demagogically calling on the Brazilian people to help fight inflation and the economic crisis, it is important to analyze what the fruits of the economic policy developed by the military who seized power in 1964 really were.

1. *Visão*, August, 1976.



At the peak of the "Brazilian miracle," the then-all-powerful Minister of the Treasury Delfim Neto, answering criticism on the excessive concentration of income in Brazil, said that cake<sup>2</sup> had to rise before it could be distributed.

The military regime obtained a fleeting high growth in the last years of the '60s by intensively exploiting the workers, whose mean salary lost around 50 percent of its real value after 1964, and by opening the Brazilian economy to penetration by international monopolies. The cake had risen — at the cost of the people's work — but its distribution never favored the vast majority of the Brazilian workers; rather, it was served out to the ruling classes, especially the large international monopolies.

The following table speaks for itself:

#### CHANGES IN INCOME DISTRIBUTION 1960-70

% of the population	Percent of income			Mean income (in 1970 cruzeiros per month)		
	1960	1970	1960-70 (in %)	1960	1970	1960-70 (in %)
10 —	1.17	1.11	— 5.13	25	32	28.00
10	2.32	2.05	— 11.64	48	58	20.83
10	3.42	2.97	— 13.16	71	84	18.31
10	4.65	3.88	— 16.55	96	110	14.58
10	6.15	4.90	— 20.32	127	139	9.45
10	7.66	5.91	— 22.75	158	168	6.33
10	9.41	7.37	— 21.68	195	210	7.69
10	10.85	9.57	— 11.80	225	272	20.89
10	14.69	14.45	— 1.64	305	411	34.75
10	39.66	47.79	+ 20.50	815	1360	66.87
5 +	27.69	34.86	+ 25.90	1131	1984	75.42
1 +	12.11	14.57	+ 20.32	2389	4147	73.59
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>—</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>36.89</b>

Source: Carlos Geraldo Langoni, "Income Distribution and Economic Development in Brazil," *Visão*, August 31, 1976.

The table shows that only the richest 10 percent of the population in Brazil increased its share of total income (20.5 percent in this period). The relative shares of all the other social groups decreased. It is signifi-

2. This is a reference to the Gross National Product.

cant that the richest 20 percent received 62.24 percent of the national income in 1970, while the poorest 80 percent received only 37.76 percent.

Even more impressive is the fact that total income of the poorest 80 percent — 37.76 percent of total income — was practically the same as that of the richest 5 percent — 34.86 percent of the total — and the richest 1 percent received just as much as the poorest 50 percent.

Another aspect that brings out the essence of the old "miracle" is industrial growth. While clothing production increased by 1 percent between 1969 and 1972, textile production decreased by 4 percent in the same period, the production of electrical appliances increased by 113 percent, and that of rubber products, by 89 percent. The chemical industry grew by 69 percent, and the automobile industry — the most dynamic factor in the "miracle" — is now responsible for nearly 10 percent of the GNP.

It is also significant that the arms industry also reached a peak in this period. These figures show that the people's consumer goods industry grew little if any and even fell off in some sectors, thus reflecting the people's reduced buying power. In contrast, the industries that turn out luxury items expanded their production considerably, aimed at the richest 20 percent of the Brazilian population.

This process of income concentration promoted by the military dictatorship isn't the only result of the strategy of integration with the West as set forth in 1964.

The growing denationalization of the Brazilian economy — which, starting in 1969, was intensified — reached incredible heights. A study of the 342 largest companies in Brazil in 1972 that was published in *Visão* magazine stated that the transnationals controlled 40.4 percent of the net patrimony and 55.27 percent of the sales of the companies that were analyzed.<sup>3</sup>

The automobile industry is practically controlled by the transnationals. Two huge foreign firms control 93.7 percent of the tobacco industry, and 72 percent of the machine industry is controlled by foreign companies. In the case of the electrical equipment and electronic industry, the figure is 54.4 percent, and in the textile industry — traditionally a national concern — the figure is 55.4 percent.

If we consider that \$337 million in foreign investments were poured into Brazil in 1972 and that \$1.006 billion entered the country in the same way in 1975, we can see that denationalization is being speeded

3. Carlos Von Dollinger, "Empresas multinacionales en la industria brasileña" (Multinational Enterprises in Brazilian Industry). *Visão*, August 31, 1976.

up in Brazil. An analysis of foreign investments shows just who are the main beneficiaries of the dictatorship's economic policy. As of December 31, 1975, the seven countries with the largest investments in Brazil were:

	Investments (in thousands of US\$)	% of the total
1. The United States	2 395 222	32.1
2. Switzerland	890 357	11.9
3. The FRG	871 352	11.7
4. Japan	841 172	11.3
5. Great Britain	430 252	5.8
6. Canada	410 839	5.5
7. France	300 066	4.0

Source: Ministry of the Treasury, in *O Globo*, July 22, 1976.

These are the same countries that promoted the 1964 coup, with the United States at the head, and that tried later on to present the Brazilian model as the solution for the problems and difficulties of all underdeveloped countries. As we can see 13 years after the coup, the results of this imperialist policy are an economy in crisis, with low growth indexes, high rates of inflation, enormous deficits in foreign trade and a foreign debt of nearly \$30 billion; unfair distribution of the fruits of the labor of the Brazilian people; and a growing denationalization of the economy that threatens Brazil's national integrity.

This critical situation in the economic field is reflected in the sphere of classes in two processes that, though essentially different, are now determining the development of events. On the one hand, there is bitter wrangling going on among the various groups of the Brazilian and international bourgeoisie, each trying to grab as much as possible of the wealth produced by the creative efforts of the people. This bourgeois infighting is reflected in the political struggle being waged by those political parties that are permitted to exist and even among the various currents within each of those parties, such as in the disputes reflected in the bourgeois press about the country's future. On the other hand, the people's dissatisfaction is shown in the students' struggle, in the tense relations between Church and State, in statements by intellectuals and — in an incipient yet significant form — in the workers' struggles in the cities and countryside of Brazil.

## DÉTENTE AND COUNTERDÉTENTE

The "gradual and sure détente" that General Ernesto Geisel announced three years ago is ceding before a movement in the reverse sense. Even

when the regime announced this policy, it never had any intention of really returning democratic, constitutional prerogatives to the Brazilian people. Rather, it sought to polish the country's tarnished image abroad and broaden the bases of its system a little at home. The failure of this endeavor could have been predicted three years ago.

The slow but steady process of unmasking dictator Ernesto Geisel's so-called policy of détente continued this year. Its first reverse followed the parliamentary election in November, 1974. At that time, the Brazilian dictatorship realized that it deserved to be rejected by most of the people. Later, there was a period of sterile debates in the (controlled) Brazilian Parliament, in which the tolerated opposition party considerably increased its representation. This increase, however, did not take the form of a more coherent political attitude, since its leadership was composed of elements frankly disposed to conciliation with the regime.

Following its experience in 1974, the Brazilian dictatorship took some precautions in the municipal elections held in November, 1976. It prohibited all campaigning over radio and television, thus closing to the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB) a door that had been opened two years earlier, in the 1974 parliamentary election. The Party's weak behavior in 1974-76 lost it the confidence of many who had voted for it at that time.

Nevertheless, in spite of all the measures taken by the dictatorship, including Ernesto Geisel's countless propaganda-oriented trips into the Brazilian countryside, the MDB still obtained a considerably greater part of the vote in the 1976 municipal elections.

This whole process, in addition to other factors, led to substantial changes being made in the two parties created by decree of the dictatorship. After having its parliamentary candidates defeated in the 1974 election, the majority Arena Party needed all the economic and repressive support it could get from the state machine to win the municipal elections last year. Its political image is deteriorating rapidly, along with that of the government. Arena is no longer an apparently monolithic party, since the differences between the members of this grouping are now public. It has an ultraright wing, that is opposed to change of any kind. Though it is a minority faction in the party, it has military support — but it is losing its prestige hand over fist. In addition, Arena has other currents that defend institutional changes from the point of view of supporting the regime and that run the gamut from those who suggest changes in the electoral college or Constitution and favor a civilian president to "the renovators," liberals who are pining for representative democracy.

None of these currents, however, is organized in a determined group. Arena doesn't have very good prospects, from the electoral point of view;

In the near future. Rather, the MDB — much to its surprise — has found itself called upon to represent the dissatisfied sectors of the people. "The Giesel experiment" in the 1974 election, by opening the possibilities for a very politicized campaign over radio and television, threw an enormous, unexpected vote to the MDB, that was transformed from an insignificant force in the political game (one that was even sporadically subjected to repression) into a considerable opposition force — a fact that forced the regime, as we have said, to adopt restrictive measures in the 1976 municipal elections.

It may be said that the MDB represents the people's aspirations for electoral change. Its platform is very broad and general, centered on a demand for increased democracy, civil freedoms and some timid socio-economic demands. It is not a "popular front," since its cadres do not include any representatives of the people. Its stalwarts are all old politicians with a strong electoral base; adherents of democratic liberal tendencies who favor a "reformed" capitalism; and, of course, a smattering of out-and-out opportunists, rightists and self-styled leaders who have taken advantage of the prevailing dissatisfaction. Other sectors of the MDB made pledges to their electors as far back as prior to 1964 and must honor these pledges. Lastly, there is still another sector that entered the electoral field within this party around 1965 and has clearer ideas concerning political and social changes. This sector was hit quite hard by the repressive apparatus and painted the official declarations of the MDB in more vivid colors, entering into debate on such themes as income inequality, trade union freedom, torture and foreign investments. Some of the members of this sector grouped themselves in the "authentic" group that was quashed with the annulling of the terms of office of some of its members. This group obtained an important victory this year with the election of Alencar Furtado as leader of the Party in the House, defeating the MDB leadership's candidate. It is clear in this party picture that the MDB right wing is the most logical element for an eventual political combination leading to a "democratic opening," as it maintains an image of equanimity and moderation before the military and civilian cadres attached to the regime that took over in 1964.

By the end of last year this political-party picture clearly showed a considerable setback for the defenders of "democratic normalization" and a reappearance in the bourgeois newspapers of a "hard line" which, it should be noted, had never totally disappeared. Nevertheless, the first half of this year was very significant in this regard. It is important to emphasize that, in spite of this change, the liberals had not, at least up to the middle of the year, been silenced; rather, their activities had simply been curtailed.



In his speech at the end of 1976, Geisel announced what this year's "perfecting of democracy" would amount to. His theme song was the economic crisis — which, he said, was based on the crisis in oil.

The series of annulments of terms of office of deputies and other leaders of the MDB that was begun at the beginning of the year indicated a movement in this regard. This first victim of Institutional Act No. 5 (A15) was Glenio Mathias Peres, leader of the MDB in the Municipal House of Porto Alegre, who, in his speech on taking office, had denounced the existence of torture in Brazil.

At the same time, on the level of the government and of the parties created by the dictatorship, 1977 began with reiterated demonstrations by broad sectors of the population — including workers, businessmen, priests, artists, lawyers, students, professors and other intellectuals — in favor of democratic freedoms and against censorship, the A15 and other instruments of repression.

In early February, a political event of great importance to interbourgeois differences took place: José Papa Júnior, President of the Trade Association of São Paulo, spoke out severely against what he called the "spurious regime" and called for a return to a fully legal state. His statement was supported by some businessmen's groups but was rejected by others.

Almost at the same time, Severo Gomes, Minister of Industry and Trade, championed a return to a democratic regime and called an industrial magnate attached to the group around former head of the Brazilian dictatorship General Emilio Médici a fascist.

Ernesto Geisel lost no time in showing where he stood: he immediately demanded that Severo Gomes — who was known for making statements with nationalistic content and was considered responsible for the development of the political crisis in the business sector — resign.

For their part, the elections of the leaders of the parties in Parliament reflected the radicalization of the debates raging within the ruling classes. Alencar Furtado, of the "authentic" group, was elected leader of the MDB in the Lower House, and ultratough Eurico Rezende defeated the liberal Luis Vianna Filho to head Arena in the Senate.

The difficult situation confronting the sectors that favor democratic normalization is seen, for example, in the speech given by Luis Vianna Filho last March. The majority Arena Party Senator from Bahia State declared that it was very important for true democrats and especially for the political and governmental world to promote peace and conciliation in the country with a view to searching for institutional normalcy. He emphasized that almost no progress had been made toward institutionalizing a democratic juridical order.

In the midst of this situation, at the end of March, the opposition party — now not so tolerated — rejected the draft Judicial Reform, preventing its approval by having all its representatives in Parliament vote against it. This was the last straw, and the regime accused the MDB of imposing a "minority dictatorship," closed Parliament for two weeks, promulgated the Judicial Reform by decree and adopted other measures aimed at preventing the MDB from obtaining new electoral victories in 1978. Principal among these were the calling of indirect gubernatorial elections for 1978, an alteration in the composition of the electoral college, indirect elections of a third of the Senators, a ban on radio and television coverage of the electoral campaigns and a reduction in the number of votes required for the approval of Constitutional amendments (cut from two thirds down to a simple majority).

Nevertheless, the debate in the heart of the Brazilian ruling classes continued, after only a brief truce.

The MDB began to agitate on the thesis of contact with the military, considered an essential matter by the moderate Franco Montoro, and went on to defend the calling of a Constituent Assembly. In May, with an increase in the number of student demonstrations throughout the country, the MDB leaders spoke out in favor of the students. Deputies of that Party — Ayrton Soares, Santilli Sobrinho and João Gilberto — gave speeches in the various assemblies, meetings and marches held by the young people and were called "high school students of communism" by Arena Senator Eurico Rezende for their participation in the assembly held by the university students of Brasília.

In early July, after "authentic" Deputy Alencar Furtado, MDB President Ulises Guimarães and other MDB leaders had severely criticized the military regime during a TV program, Alencar Furtado was removed from office by means of the A15. This was the culmination of a whole series of similar measures adopted against other MDB members, from which his case differed only in that the measure was applied against one of the top leaders of the Party.

In conclusion, we may say that there is a clear tendency to increased harshness in the political action of Geisel's regime but that, even so, the "liberals" who laud democratic normalization continue to be active.

This impasse within the ruling classes could be expected to be reflected in the armed forces, and this was confirmed when more than 100 colonels issued a widely publicized statement in the first half of the year. After opening with a strong anticommunist statement of faith, the document demands measures that coincide with those called for by the opposition sectors. In the period being analyzed, the high military command levels gave several violently anticommunist speeches, in which they denounced the infiltration of "subversive" elements at all levels. This debate shows

the existence of contradictions in the heart of the ruling classes with regard to Brazil's development perspectives as a consequence of the present economic crisis and the deepening of the people's struggles.

Another important aspect to bring out is the influence of sectors of international capitalism that are interested in pushing "democratic normalization" with the aim of participating more directly in the decision-making apparatus, now limited to the national and international monopoly groups that belong to the ruling group.

At the beginning of the second half of this year, the main theme on the Brazilian political scene was who would succeed General Ernesto Geisel, whose "term" would end in March, 1979. Generals Silvio Frota, now Minister of the Army, and João Batista de Figueiredo, head of the National Information Service, are the most favored candidates. The political, economic and social situation of the country shows that Geisel's replacement as head of the regime will not be effected peaceably. Arena Senator Magalhães Pinto, President of Arena and long-time politician of the liberal right, also announced his candidacy, and in early August influential majority party Senator Jarbas Passarinho recanted on a declaration he'd made two days earlier in which he'd said that Brazil was arriving at a "point of maturity that will permit the military men to return to their barracks and power to be returned to civilians."

In spite of this picture, the interbourgeois differences and the increase in the people's struggles show that you cannot dismiss the possibility of a solution different from the one touted by the most reactionary sectors of the ruling classes in Brazil.

## **THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE**

As we have already pointed out, 1977, in addition to being characterized by a sharp political and economic crisis, has been a period of internal social struggle, in which broad sectors of the population — including workers, public officials, women's organizations, students, artists, progressive sectors of the clergy, lawyers, newspapermen and other intellectuals — have taken part.

The discontent of these broad sectors of the population is manifested in countless clandestine publications and in documents published in the regular press, in which they call for a return to democratic freedom and an improvement in the standard of living of the workers and speak out against repression, arbitrary arrest and torture. Some of these publications and documents go much farther and call for an all-encompassing amnesty for prisoners, "bandits" (those who have been expelled from the country and whose citizenship has been revoked) and political exiles.

The workers are beginning to create free, representative entities outside the official trade unions that are completely controlled by the dicta-

torship. The May 22, 1977, São Paulo daily *Força* reported, for example, the appearance of an organization called the Independent Association of Metallurgical Workers. The rightist, reactionary publication warned that it was an idea that might catch on, since it was based on the incapacity of the present trade union structure to cope. To give a concrete idea of how these government trade unions function, suffice it to say that police agents visit their headquarters constantly and tell the trade union "leaders" how they should handle every contingency in the social crises or any other event.

The São Paulo *Força* stated that two officers of the metallurgical workers' trade union in Santo André (in São Paulo State) were arrested on May Day for distributing the trade union paper to workers who belonged to the union. Later on, the editors of the paper were visited by an investigator from the Department of Political and Social Order who indicated the editorial line the publication should take.

One of the antiregime forces that has demonstrated the greatest militancy and organization is that of the students. Many people speak of its resurgence. However, the Brazilian university students have never been inactive since they were hard hit by the massive repression in 1968, when many of their cadres joined the revolutionary organizations that put up heroic resistance against the dictatorship. The militancy of the movement was felt throughout these years, in spite of the threatening presence of Decree 477. The movement for reorganizing the students began to bear fruit in the second half of 1975, when a meeting was held in Niterói, Rio State, with representatives from more than 50 academic leaderships. At that meeting it was agreed to organize a Human Rights Defense Week to raise funds for political prisoners. The week was only partially successful, however, because of repression.

In 1976, there were several student strikes presenting demands related to study and the universities, protesting against Decree 477 and voicing solidarity with comrades who were arrested. A lot of work was done in this period to create free university organizations, in open defiance of the dictatorship's prohibition.

With the worsening of the political, social and economic crisis in Brazil, the student movement attained greater organization and coherence that reached its peak last May, when thousands of students took to the streets in the main cities of Brazil (Brasília, São Paulo, Rio, Belo Horizonte and Bahia) in demand of democratic freedom; an end to repression and torture; amnesty for prisoners, "bandits" and political exiles; and freedom for the students and workers who were arrested in São Paulo on May Day. The movement's demands also include a call for the workers' standard of living to be raised. It is important to point out that workers, MDB Deputies,

members of the clergy, women's organizations and other sectors joined in these demonstrations.

Repression was immediate. Hundreds of policemen equipped with the most modern means to quell the masses were mobilized for every announced demonstration. They even resorted to the use of helicopters to intimidate the demonstrators. The struggles wound up with mass arrests of students, but, in spite of the repression, the student movement remained active and apparently went constantly deeper, catalyzing the broadest people's movements against the military dictatorship.

In the sphere of social struggles, the staunch attitude of broad progressive sectors of the Brazilian clergy is outstanding in its denunciation of the violations of human rights in the country and in defense of the workers — especially the peasants who are threatened with being evicted from their land — and the indigenous population. Governmental repression led to the imprisonment of several priests who took the side of the peasants in conflicts over land possession in the northern and central-western parts of the country.

In the second half of 1976, the then-active and thus-far-not-identified Brazilian Anticommunist Alliance kidnapped and brutally beat up the Bishop of Nove Iguaçu, in Rio State, whom it accused of being a Communist because he was defending the interests of the poor workers of his community and because he denounced the crimes committed by the para-police Death Squadron.

In that same period, Father João Bosco Penido Burnié was murdered when he asked a police delegation from Mato Grosso to intervene on behalf of the wives of peasants persecuted by the police. His murder had repercussions throughout the world and was a weighty factor in the aggravation of tensions between the Church and the Brazilian fascist state.

The last three years have also seen several other murders — of imprisoned revolutionaries — that the dictatorship has tried to present as suicides or attempted escapes, a fact that shows that the regime's repressive methods haven't changed a bit. Other thorns in the regime's side were handily made to "disappear" without a trace, and the tortures practiced by the Army and police have been denounced time and again — even by the Order of Lawyers of Brazil (OAB).

In spite of all this brutality, it is ever more difficult for the Brazilian fascist dictatorship to keep on committing these crimes with impunity, because every such act meets with public protest and steps up the people's struggle. In this regard, we point to the students' broad strike movement of solidarity with their comrades and the workers who were arrested, the denunciations of torture presented by social organizations, the organization of the relatives of political prisoners and international solidarity with the oppressed people of Brazil.

# MARIGHELLA

## Notes on his life

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**Claudia González**

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Eight years ago, the military dictatorship assassinated one of the most beloved sons of the Brazilian people: Carlos Marighella. Fighting Communist, courageous revolutionary, representative of a heroic people, Marighella waged a struggle for freedom and socialism for more than 40 years. He never lost his faith in the people. In 1964, he issued a public accusation against the perpetrators of the coup. It was a call to rebellion against the forces that still keep the Brazilian people in a state of exploitation

and repression. Aware of the bold courage required to make the denunciation, the fascist military dictatorship murdered its author on November 4, 1969.

Marxism teaches us that men make their own history, based on historically determined conditions. This is why it can be said that Marighella was a product of the rebellion of our people. The grandson of slaves, the son of a black mother and of an immigrant Italian father, Marighella was direct heir of a long-suffering, courageous peo-

ple with a history of more than 450 years of struggling for freedom. In response to a French newsman's question, Marighella said, "I am what revolutionary practice, placed in the Brazilian context, has made me."

Marighella's revolutionary practice was developed from youth. He worked with workers, students, peasants, intellectuals, priests, soldiers and small businessmen — always as a part of the people. He fought against both domestic and foreign exploitation and spent several years in jail. He denounced the extortion and pillage of his country by US monopolies. He fought against the Nazi war of aggression and traveled to the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and other countries to learn from their experiences.

He was born in Baía, the first capital of the empire, a city of slave rebellions and of popular insurrection, on December 5, 1911. He was a happy child, with a rebellious, fighting, humane spirit. He grew up in a workers' neighborhood, where he learned of the people's misery and exploitation and saw people living in crowded conditions and children without schools, without health, with no hopes and no future. A brilliant student, Marighella gave classes in mathematics and worked as a draftsman to pay for his studies. He led struggles against racial discrimination. With the port workers, he studied Marxist philosophy — which guided him throughout his life. He joined the Communist

Party after having been a member of the Red Student Federation.

He drew his own conclusions from his studies of Brazil's history, with its teachings on the Indians' pride and rebelliousness against the Portuguese colonizers and the courage of the runaway slaves who, using guerrilla forms of struggle, established their own free territories in the jungle, such as Palmares, that lasted 65 years. These studies also included the resistance put up against the invasion of Pernambuco by the Dutch (1630-49), in which guerrillas like Luis Barbalho were formed and opposed the invaders heroically; the resistance offered the Portuguese in the 18th century; and the development of the working class struggle against national and foreign oppression. This was the "Brazilian context" of which Marighella spoke.

From his first contact with Marxist-Leninist ideology, Marighella consciously worked with the phenomena of class struggle. His revolutionary consciousness grew constantly. He struggled to support the Great October Revolution and against Nazism and its agents in Brazil (the Integralists). He was imprisoned several times, the third time from 1939 to 1945. He never yielded under torture, but instead became more determined to defend his ideals. He satirized the police and organized political work among his fellow prisoners.

In 1946, after World War II was ended, he was one of the most militant Deputies of the Commu-

nist Party in Parliament, denouncing the pillage of Brazil by imperialism. He defended the interests and demands of the people. With the cold war, the communist Parliamentarians were persecuted. Marighella returned to the underground, working as a journalist and as a communist leader in São Paulo, organizing the workers and peasants. In that period, he was one of the most active organizers of the protest movement and of the mobilization backing the heroic Korean people.

In 1959, an important link in the imperialist system in this hemisphere was broken. The Cuban Revolution emerged triumphant. Marighella watched events with great emotion and studied this experience. Its example inspired him passionately. In 1962, together with naval workers, he organized a Congress of Solidarity with Cuba.

In Brazil, within the framework of bourgeois democracy, the people continued raising the banners of justice, freedom, human rights, independence and structural reforms. João Goulart took anti-imperialist measures, such as regulating the amount of profits US companies could send abroad and defending the self-determination of the peoples. Imperialism prepared to overthrow him, as former US Ambassador Lincoln Gordon cynically admitted (*Veja*, March 9, 1977), because imperialism had lost confidence in Goulart. The US Government financed political groups and organizations such as the Institute of Economic and Social Research



(IPES) to pave the way for the military coup in 1964. It also played an important role in the later consolidation of the regime, supplying the gorillas with warships, tanks, transport planes and fuel (all under cover of alleged maneuvers near Montevideo), preparing for possible resistance. The military coup of 1964, that sought to interrupt the process of the people's struggle, caught the people unprepared.

The advance of socialism, the existence of a socialist country in the heart of the Americas (Cuba) and imperialism's loss of important strategic positions in the world showed that the struggle in this continent would have to be taken to extremes. Brazil, the largest power in South America, with great economic, political, social and military weight, obedient to the orders of the US command, started, with its fascist military dictatorship, to practice a policy of terror in an attempt to keep the people submissive and silent so as to permit the application of the new imperialist strategy in this part of the world.

Marighella quickly understood what would be the role of the gorillas in power. They had a doubly sinister task, for they were to crush any and all aspirations for freedom and independence in Brazil and its neighboring countries, repressing the struggle of the Brazilian people and of their brothers. The dictatorship immediately put this plan into operation, first with the invasion of the Dominican Re-

public and later with events in Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay and — most recently — Chile.

In 1967, Marighella began denouncing the Brazilian military forces as the main support of the United States' imperialist strategy in South America. These military forces were being prepared to support the warmongering policy of the United States in any country in which US imperialism attacked the people's revolutionary struggles.

What was to be done? Marighella and other comrades tried to organize the people's resistance, starting as soon as the dictatorship was installed. For him the most important thing was to resist, to keep the fascists from obtaining their objectives. He, Mario Alves and some other comrades tried to attack the Military Club in downtown Rio de Janeiro, and he had to go into the underground again. The police were after him, but he was determined never to turn himself in.

Together with some workers and revolutionary military men, he published the first issue of the newspaper *Resistance*. Forces of the repression arrested him on May 9, 1964, and tried to murder him. He reacted by calling on the people to fight. His ardent spirit of resistance is expressed in a poem he called "Rondo of Freedom," which goes, in part:

You must have no fear.  
You must have the courage to  
[speak out.

Some have a vocation as slaves,  
but slaves have rebelled against  
[slavery.

To get up off your knees  
is not to renounce being free.  
Even those who have a vocation as  
[slaves  
should be forced to be free  
when the chains are broken.  
You must have no fear.  
You must have the courage to  
[speak out.

He used all forms of struggle:  
the underground movement and  
political and ideological struggle.  
He wrote *Why I Resisted Arrest*,  
*Brazilian Crisis*, *Internal Struggle*  
*and Dialectics*, *Marxism and Eclectic-*  
*icism* and *Some Questions on the*



*Guerrilla Struggle in Brazil*. He expressed his ideas in his books and in international conferences and forums where he developed his revolutionary activities. He sent messages to the people, speaking to them of the need to fight the fascist military dictatorship. He expressed his solidarity with the struggle of the African peoples, attacking the position of the Brazilian dictatorship, that supported the colonialist policy of the Salazar dictatorship.

On returning to his country, he worked to organize the frontal struggle against the regime that was tyrannizing the people and went into direct action. He and other comrades of the Communist Grouping of São Paulo constituted one of the instruments of the resistance, creating National Liberating Action. Marighella traveled to almost all parts of the country, using his energy and work capacity to further the revolutionary struggle. Faced with the violence the dictatorship had loosed against the people, he proclaimed the violence of the masses, rebellion, struggle, the seizing of power by the revolutionary forces, the overthrow of the dictatorship and the establishment of a government with another structure.

In a message transmitted over São Paulo's Radio Nacional when the broadcasting station was seized by a revolutionary group of National Liberating Action in September, 1969, Marighella said:

The measures that the Brazilian military dictatorship uses

to fight against and repress the people are barbaric and unworthy, destined to defend the personal interests of the military men who are in power, the interests of the large capitalists, of the latifundists and of US imperialism; but the measures that revolutionaries are using to combat the military dictatorship are legitimate and inspired in patriotic sentiments. No honest man can accept the shame and monstrosity of the regime instituted by the military men and their armed forces in Brazil.

Marighella organized the guerrilla unit, which he considered an important instrument in the liberation struggle of the peoples. However, he said that the decisive factor for victory lay in the people's support and their unity. It was absolutely necessary to work for that unity, which should begin with the unity of the revolutionary forces that opposed the dictatorship and favored the expulsion of US imperialism from the country, a change in the military regime and power in the hands of the people.

Our struggle for the people's freedom is not hurried, and it has no time limit; it is not a military takeover, a coup or a farce to replace men now in power, leaving intact the class structure of Brazilian society.

Marighella was concerned at the dispersion of the Brazilian revolu-

tionary movement. It was necessary to work for its unity. The source of common inspiration had to be the struggle against US imperialism and the military dictatorship.

To this end, he proposed a program of unity that included the following points:

1. Overthrow the military dictatorship, repeal all the institutional laws promulgated since 1964 and form a people's revolutionary government with all the forces that had helped overthrow the dictatorship.
2. Expel US capitalists from the country and confiscate their goods and property and those of all who collaborated with them.
3. Wipe out the latifundia; give land to the peasants; and free them from oppression and poverty, giving value to the Brazilian man.
4. Establish freedom in the country; eliminate censorship; transform and improve the people's living conditions; and stop the policy of reducing wages while increasing prices, taxes and rents.
5. Reestablish relations with Cuba and all other socialist countries; change Brazil's status as a US satellite; and follow an independent foreign policy.

Because of his radical position against the military dictatorship



and imperialism, the government considered him to be "public enemy number one," and in reply Marighella issued a call to the Brazilian people which said:

The military took power by violence in 1964, and they themselves opened the road to subversion. They cannot complain nor should they be surprised that patriots are working to topple them from the command posts they shamelessly usurped. When all is said and done, what kind of order do the gorillas want to keep? That of killing students in the public square? The shootings by the death squadron? The tortures and beatings in the DOPS (Department of Public and Social Order) and in the military barracks?

The government denationalized the country and turned it over to the United States, the Brazilian people's worst enemy; US citizens own the biggest land areas in Brazil; they hold a large part of the Amazon and of our mineral wealth, including atomic minerals. They have missile bases at strategic points in our territory; US spies from the CIA operate inside our country as if they were in their own house, guiding the police in

how to hunt down Brazilian patriots and advising the government on repression.

The dictatorship says there is a subversive plan and conspiracy to overthrow the government by politicians deprived of their rights; a witch-hunt has been launched that savagely seeks the command of the subversion, but the command of the subversion lies in the popular discontent, for no one can bear such a government.

The movement that creates such terror among the gorillas rises from below, upward. It does not come from the politicians deprived of their rights, but springs from the guts of the discontented people, now determined to turn to the strength of the masses for their unity and organization.

Marighella was unable to complete all his revolutionary work. At the time of his assassination he was filled with confidence and love for the people. He was 58 years old.

He was convinced that others would have to follow his path. And so it was. When Marighella died, many took up his banners, mainly the youth. Many fighters followed his example.

# THE **LIBERATION** MOVEMENTS SPEAK

*The World Conference against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa was held in Lisbon, Portugal, June 16-19. Four leaders of the liberation movements of the area attended: Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe; Oliver Tambo, of the African National Congress of South Africa; and Sam Nujoma, of SWAPO of Namibia.*

*On June 18, the African leaders gave a press conference in which the unity and strength of the liberation movements in the struggle against the oppressing, colonialist regimes of southern Africa were reflected.*



## ON MATERIAL AID

*Joshua Nkomo:* Our people and specially our youth need material aid; this is providing schooling for them; this means providing food and clothing for them, so we do hope that some of the supporting nongovernmental organizations that are here, or the conference itself, can create a fund for the liberation movements of southern Africa, and that might alleviate some of the problems that face us. And that is apart from the arms, of course; those arms would be very much welcome, because we are in a period where we need arms much more than the other material help. But of course soldiers must eat; they need clothes and footwear. All those things are important.



## **NAMIBIA AND WESTERN "PRESSURES" ON SOUTH AFRICA**

*Sam Nujoma:* I must say that an impression has been created by the western news media, and racist South Africa in particular, that the suspension of the Turnhalle Conference is something positive, that it is progress. But, as far as we are concerned, there is no progress whatsoever. Only two days ago, we also learned from the news media of racist South Africa that Vorster is going to appoint a so-called administrative general to administer the territory. This is exactly the same attitude as the puppets with their masters who in Turnhalle have decided to create the so-called interim government. Those are similar maneuvers. So it doesn't make any difference whether Vorster is ready to replace Vanmerder with the Vanseik. It's all the same thing.

Whereas our goal is to continue and intensify the African liberation struggle in order to achieve real independence, which our people inevitably desire in Africa, as well as progressive mankind.

But I would like to underscore that there has been no progress. Just intrigues by those who are assisting South Africa because of their economic interests in Namibia and South Africa itself, to create the impression that Vorster is ready to give up Namibia. If Vorster was ready to give up Namibia, why would Vorster maintain more than 50 000 troops in Namibia? And more military bases are being built; more airfields with very expensive material. For what purposes. That means racist Vorster is not prepared to decrease his colonial administration of Namibia.

The "contribution" of the West can only be welcome if they do it within the framework of the United Nations and support the activities of the UN Council for Namibia, which is the only legal authority over Namibia; but our experience has been Western support of racist South Africa, to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia.



## NO MORE WORDS ABOUT NOTHING

*Robert Mugabe:* When we say we have talked enough, what we are trying to convey is that, in reality, we are tired of talking about nothing. The British have been getting us to talk about nothing. We talked about nothing at Geneva last year, and we spent many weeks on a merry-go-round. Now we are not prepared to be invited to another Geneva. We vowed the British that we had taken a serious position to resolve the conflict which exists in our country. We have asked for their plan for resolving the con-

flict. And the British are not forthcoming with any arrangement. We would like them to recognize that, in our situation, the conflict is between the British, as the colonial power, and the people of Zimbabwe, as represented by the Patriotic Front. That these are the only two organizations, the two bodies, which must resolve the conflict, and negotiations must be between them about something, not about nothing. About removing the causes which have led to the war. That's the starting point. We're not prepared to talk about theoretical constitutions containing democratic aspects, like one-man vote. Not that we are not for this, but that the starting point must be correct. People are at war just now. What is going to happen if we have to consider independence? Is it not that Britain and ourselves must sit together and finally decide that the transference of power must be effected? This is what we would like to talk about. In other words, shall we in the process agree that the instruments of control, including military control, shall be in the hands of the people; or is it Smith who is going to control the country militarily? This is where we differ with the British.



*Oliver Tambo:* I think, if I may add to this, that what takes away so much from the sincerity of the British is that not only do they talk about nothing

when they do talk, but they involve Vorster in a discussion about the liberation and the freedom of the people of Zimbabwe. As long as the British approach the matter from the point of view that one of the colonizers, Vorster, is presumed to have an interest in the future of Zimbabwe, then these talks are hardly ever to have any meaning. We understand the purpose of this. Zimbabwe is being used to project Vorster as a liberator, not only of the bantustans, but a liberator too of the people of Zimbabwe. That would be the only effect of any "liberation" that could come as a result of the participation of a regime which, even as I speak, is slaughtering people in South Africa, all over the country — and not for the first time. Vorster can hardly be a peacemaker. On the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that, since it is such an important factor in the future of Zimbabwe, the invasions that are being launched against the independent, sovereign state of Mozambique must be directed by those who, evidently, have an interest in the future of Zimbabwe, Vorster included.

The people of South Africa object to the suggestion that the people of Zimbabwe depend for their liberation on the opinion, on the participation of a self-confessed racist, a clear and proven murderer, the administrator and perpetrator of what the United Nations has described and characterized as a crime against humanity. It is a serious reflection on mankind that the head of this regime should continue to be projected as a liberator of the people of Zimbabwe. This is, as Comrade Mugabe says, a matter solely between the British and the leaders of the people of Zimbabwe.

And I'd like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the world community to the continuing murders that are taking place in South Africa and to say that this has been made possible by the support which the South African regime continues to receive from France, West Germany, Britain, the United States — the gang involved in maintaining the system in South Africa. And they must be held accountable and responsible and answer for the fact that today in South Africa children are being killed again; many are being maimed with bullets, and hundreds are being collected into jails, and we know what happens when they get there. They are assassinated, thrown out of windows. It has been going on for a year now, and it's going on today. It will be going on for as long as Britain, the United States, Canada, France, West Germany, Japan continue to sustain this evil regime.

We hope that this Conference will at last ensure that numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations, by the OAU, by the non-aligned movement, by various international organizations, are carried out to the letter. And the responsibility for that rests not with the United Nations but with the peoples of Africa and their organizations.

*Joshua Nkomo:* May I add this. Now, the so-called British initiative. What does Dr. Owen say? Dr. Owen says they're going to work out a constitution, and this constitution must go through the British Parliament and so on and so forth. But then, when do we request Mr. Smith to give up power, when do we say to the British, "we are serious," if we are expected to work out the Constitution first? Do we then ask Mr. Smith to walk out of power? And, as Comrade Tambo said, Mr. Vorster is also supposed to play a role. And Vorster is the man who is assisting the oil companies that have been breaking sanctions, to assist Smith to run his murderous trips into neighboring territories. How otherwise would Smith move from Rhodesia into Mozambique, into Botswana if he did not get the oil that flows across the Limpopo River into Rhodesia, assisted by this man called John Balthazar Vorster?

This is the man Dr. Owen wants to use for this round. Now, we do not want to be taken for another ride. We were taken for a ride in Geneva, and we have said, "No, you can't take us for another ride." As Comrade Mugabe said, "We are at war, and what is at stake is to discover and remove the causes of the war." And the people who can remove the causes of the war are the people who are fighting. Not the Salvation Army, but the People's Army. Not the church councils, but the army and those that are contesting and want to remain dominant over the people of Zimbabwe. So this is what we are saying to Dr. Owen. It's not that we're saying we don't want to talk. We will talk. But the right thing to talk about is the war and how to remove the causes of the war. If Dr. Owen is ready to do that, we will talk with him. But, if he wants some beautiful-looking Constitution that is meaningless, then it's a waste of time. We have got to continue the armed struggle and free ourselves. After all, Britain abandoned the effort of removing the "rebel" until we took up arms against the rebel.

## **NAMIBIA: THE PEOPLE WILL DEFEAT THE ILLEGAL REGIME**

*Sam Nujoma:* The SWAPO and the Namibian people are capable of fighting and defeating the racist and fascist regime of South Africa imposed on Namibia. Therefore, we do not need foreign troops. All that we need at the present moment is some stated weapons in order to be able to wage an effective war of liberation against the enemy forces whose troops are very well equipped, supplied with the armaments of human destruction by France, West Germany, Britain, the United States and all others who are trying to defend their economic interests by maintaining the illegal South African administration in Namibia, through which they can continue to exploit Namibia's mineral wealth, while the Namibian

people are suffering from hunger, disease and undernourishment. We don't need foreign troops. We are capable ourselves of fighting and defeating the enemy.

Secondly, we are fighting to liberate each and every inch of Namibia, including the Walvis Bay; we are making it understood that, during the German occupation of our country, Walvis Bay used to be a British enclave. In this respect, the SWAPO of Namibia does not recognize German colonialism in our country, nor British colonialism nor the Boer colonialism.

## A TRUE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF ZIMBABWE

*Robert Mugabe:* We have concluded that, if any "settlement" is reached, that settlement will not amount to a real settlement. What we are trying to say is that the British just now really cannot cause us a settlement in the country, because they continue to say they are weak, they have no means of bringing down Smith, and the whole exercise they are engaged in is really to get us to stop fighting so they can install a kind of puppet government which will secure their own economic interests. Well, that sort of a solution is not a real solution, and this solution would not be acceptable to us; it won't operate in the interests of the people of South Africa either, because a neocolonialist solution in Zimbabwe will mean a base created for the further entrenchment of capitalist interests in South Africa. But what we are after is a genuine settlement which will remove the long-standing grievances in Zimbabwe and see a government which has the wishes of the people installed; and this government can only get installed if it has got the full instruments of power, and not a government which will rely on the Rhodesian forces for the security of the country.

*Oliver Tambo:* We make a distinction as it were between a solution and a "solution," in quotes. We make a distinction between majority rule and "majority rule," in quotes.

We believe that Vorster and even the Carter Administration are basically agreed about what is meant by "majority rule." What do they mean by majority rule in South Africa? Vorster says by "majority rule" he means that the African people will be ruled by their majority, in the sense that, in the Transkei, for example, the Xhosas will be in the majority over other tribes; in Natal the Zulus will be in the majority over other tribes; and in some other part of the country some tribe will be in the majority over another. So you will have a series of Bantustans, each ruled

by a majority; therefore you have "majority rule." That is not majority rule. "Majority rule" which means you maintain the Bantustans and have that type of majority rule as considered by Vorster but separates what is called the urban Bantu from the rest of the population and says there should be "majority rule" in the Sowetos or even in the urban areas, "majority rule" there, with Bantustans everywhere.

That's completely meaningless. There can be no majority rule with the Bantustans. But it is meant "majority rule" in respect of the Africans or the blacks generally who live in the cities, excluding the 87 percent who are supposed to live in 13 percent of the country's territory, then that is not majority rule either. So we're not talking about the same thing.

Majority rule means rule by the majority of the 26 million people of South Africa, without reference to Bantu or other expressions of racism. When the enemy puts on your uniform and comes to you as a friend waving your flag, be careful. And we are being careful about the expressions that are being used today very popularly: national liberation, peaceful settlement, majority rule. We are being careful to make sure that the person who wears this uniform of national liberation, uses our slogans, is in fact our friend and means to go along with us to the end of our journey: total and true liberation.

I am referring to the current expressions about peaceful settlement today, current expressions about majority rule, current expressions even by Vorster when he says he is decolonizing and he approves of majority rule, meaning what I have said he means. But we know our friends, and, when they speak our language, we know what they mean. We know our enemies, and we want to make sure that, if they say they have changed, they have indeed changed. Therefore, we have to be vigilant, and already, as I have indicated, the expression "majority rule" covers a sinister scheme to perpetuate our domination.

In addition, for example, Vorster talks of wanting to get Namibia off his back. He talks of wanting to see Namibia free and independent, but at this very moment Vorster maintains more than 50 000 troops massacring and killing our people every day. Isn't that somebody using our slogan, putting on our uniform, in order to deceive us, in order to infiltrate within our ranks and destroy us from within? Even of those who are talking of supporting majority rule, for example...how can they withdraw if their companies own the gold and diamonds and uranium in Namibia and South Africa? They are still putting in more money. When the Rossing-Rio Tinto-Zinc's economy was on the verge of collapse, their banks went to the rescue of the Rossing-Rio Tinto-Zinc. These are the kinds of people I am talking about putting on our uniform and shouting our slogans.

## THE SATO: AN INSTRUMENT AGAINST THE AFRICAN AND LATIN-AMERICAN PEOPLES

*Oliver Tambo:* There are some maneuvers aimed at ensuring the survival of the colonial system in southern Africa. Those schemes need to be exposed and condemned. It is a sophisticated move to make South Africa an impregnable fortress and give it the capacity to carry out its much publicized policy of sending military missions to any part of southern Africa, and it will not end at that. This is a far-sighted, long-term plan to imprison South Africa, to subject it to perpetual threat and to deny it its freedom and independence. South Africa is building on the basis of a NATO-type organization, and, if it is allowed to do so, of course the effects on the prospects of the national liberation struggle are perilous. It is intended to ensure that there is no liberation, that there is continuous imperialist exploitation, not only in South Africa but in the rest of southern Africa. It is a scheme that is aimed at the independence of Mozambique and all the independent countries around that area. South Africa is being built into a military giant, and the involvement does not end with Argentina and Uruguay; the imperialists are specially involved in that kind of scheme. The South Atlantic Treaty Organization would be the NATO of the south. The objectives are the same. The peoples of Mozambique and Angola and Guinea-Bissau were confronted with a small country, weak economically: Portugal, but which had the backing of NATO and was able to sustain a war that went on for more than a decade and collapsed only thanks to the contribution of the Portuguese people. South Africa wants to be another Portugal, greater and stronger and more powerful, backed by another NATO, the SATO, ...but it cannot be. An organization that is being established with the participation of South Africa and the countries that have been mentioned is surely the counterpart; it is NATO in the south, and must be exposed.

I must say that there are members of NATO that have played a very positive role toward us, the national liberation struggle. For example, the Scandinavian countries; Sweden has made considerable contributions to the struggle.

## CONCERN FOR THE MISSIONARIES AND NOT FOR THE PEOPLE

*Joshua Nkomo:* You want to know who killed the missionaries? Now, as a matter of order, I suppose in the United States you are too far away from Zimbabwe to know how many murders there are. I suppose you only hear about the murder of the missionaries. They are murdering far more people than two or three missionaries. Now the regime of Ian Smith kills and murders people in Rhodesia under various pretexts, breaking the curfew, helping the freedom fighters, running with the freedom fighters, whatever that means.

Now the missionaries find themselves in a position where, for some reason or other, they are counted as people who help the freedom fighters, and Smith knows that there is understanding — some understanding — between the people and some — not all — some of the white missionaries; he got hold of our uniforms, our guns, gave them to some black mercenaries to shoot these people in order to bring about misunderstanding between us and the missionaries and, of course, those people whom the missionaries lead.

Now today we talked of killers. Smith is a killer, Vorster is a killer. Yesterday and today, Vorster killed a number of people in South Africa and is continually doing so. Ian Smith is murdering people in Mozambique. He sent his troops into Mozambique last night. May we take this opportunity to condemn what is going on in South Africa, the killing of innocent people in South Africa by the forces of Vorster yesterday and today, and of course his killing has been going on and it goes on every day. May we also condemn Ian Smith for again attacking the independent Republic of Mozambique and killing people there. Now these are the killers, and we take this opportunity to condemn what has gone on yesterday and today in South Africa and the killing of the innocent people of Mozambique by Ian Smith. The freedom fighters are not in Mozambique; they are in Rhodesia; that's where we are. He leaves us in Rhodesia and attacks Mozambique in order to remove the spotlight from Rhodesia to Mozambique, as if Mozambique were fighting against Ian Smith. It is us, the freedom fighters, in Zimbabwe, who are fighting within the country, and to try and confuse issues he has done what he did last night to the Republic of Mozambique.

*Robert Mugabe:* In addition, I would like to state that, in fact, the campaign against missionaries continues. So you do not have to look for the culprits from amongst the freedom fighters. Ian Smith is the person responsible for pushing Bishop Lamont out of the country; for depriving many other citizens of their citizenship; for imprisoning, as we are talking, several missionaries; and for killing other African priests, like Basil Nya-badza, and recently yet another reverend who was killed about two weeks ago, and the regime has admitted that its forces have killed these people. This is the culprit; you don't have to look for any culprit anywhere else. As we speak, there are three or four priests in jail for helping the guerrillas. We have very good relations with missionaries. They supply us with medicines, with food; sometimes they even give us shelter. This is the crime which they are said to have committed by Ian Smith, and hence the punishment.

## **CARTER'S DECLARATIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND ON SOUTH AFRICA**

*Oliver Tambo:* What President Carter meant is that the struggle is not for the transfer of power from the white minority to the majority of the people of South Africa, which is what the African National Congress is fighting for. And the struggle is not for the end of the brutal exploitation to which our people are subjected. He means that what South Africa needs is reform, improvements in salaries and slight adjustments with power — political power, economic power and national and military power retained by the present regime, the structure remaining as it is.

A civil rights struggle proceeds from the premise that the people are an independent people, their country is independent and sovereign; that they don't like their government or some of the things it does or some laws it passes and legislates, that they violate human rights of individuals or groups. This is not our position. We have no government as a majority. The black majority has no government in South Africa. It is not independent. It is not sovereign. It has never been. Vorster is not our Prime Minister. His government is not our government. We have nothing to do with it. We are not even allowed to have anything to do with it. Our position is *not* that we would like Vorster to do certain things for us, to pass more humane laws for us, to have his parliament

of whites only and to talk about us but to talk in human terms — we are not making that demand. Our demand is that we must make the decisions ourselves, make the changes ourselves, be the responsibility of our own future. The parliament, when there is a parliament, must be the parliament of the people of South Africa, not a parliament of white people legislating about black people. So the very expression "civil rights" goes to the roots of the whole issue in South Africa. The question of colonial domination, of racist domination, white minority rule which is exclusive for whites by whites about black people and perhaps about whites as well. But our struggle is not a struggle for civil rights. Our struggle is a national liberation struggle such as has been waged in Mozambique and Angola and everywhere else, in Namibia, in Zimbabwe. That is the type of struggle, for the transfer of power to the majority of the people of South Africa. It is not a struggle for the improvement of individual human rights. That kind of struggle will continue as it continues in every country — the struggle for civil rights and improvements — it goes on in the United States, and I would like to hope that there is no longer any cause for concern and worry about civil rights in the United States. If this were the case, we might pay more attention to this line than we do now.

At the moment, these statements are a confirmation, an attempt to confirm and consolidate a status quo: in South Africa, no liberation movement, no national struggle, no armed struggle is necessary; only amendments to apartheid, permission to go into a theater — these are civil rights. The right to stand on the whole platform and not on one part of it, these are issues of civil rights. To be able to board any bus and not to be segregated in different buses. That is a question of civil rights. That is not our struggle. Our struggle is for the total transformation of the entire social and economic structure in favor of the majority of the people and for the benefit of the country as a whole. And for peace, because there will be no peace until we achieve that.

# the international **crisis** and Jimmy Carter

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Teotonio Dos Santos

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## **The economic crisis**

The present international situation is characterized by a decline in the rhythm of economic recovery initiated in the second half of 1975 following a very sharp recession that lasted nearly two years. Still serious is the fact that this reduction in the rate of growth is accompanied by an increase in the rate of inflation and in the unemployment rates. Let us look at the data in this regard:

The more developed countries grouped in the OECD presented a growth rate in their Gross National Products of 4.5 percent in the second half of 1975 and 6.5 percent in the first half of 1976, and a growth rate of only 4.5 percent in

the second half of this year, according to the estimates of the OECD. A growth rate of the same or 5.5 percent was expected for the



first half of 1977, but there are many doubts that the second half of the year will present very favorable results. The econometric model of the Chase Manhattan Bank, for example, indicates a drop in the GNP of the United States in the last quarter of the year. This could only be offset by important investments, such as an increase in home construction in this period, which would only put off the crisis until 1978, "in more unfavorable conditions." The maintenance of the economic growth for a more prolonged period would increase the inflationary pressures, which would nudge 15 or 20 percent, which would drag the US and international economies to a state of anarchy with unforeseeable consequences.

Therefore, the facts are clear: the present economic recovery is both weak and short-lived. In the face of this evidence, there is a split between the main political currents in the capitalist world.

On the one hand, the conservatives call attention to the danger of a new wave of inflation that would inevitably accompany a policy of stimulating economic growth through increasing public demand. They propose measures for "cooling off" the economy, such as restricting credit, balancing the budget and imposing wage freezes. This policy would inevitably increase unemployment and touch off an unfavorable reaction among wage earners. In fact, this is what happened in the United States and almost all the European countries. Ford, Callaghan, Giscard d'Estaing and Andreotti were involved in a

growing confrontation with the trade union movements of their countries and in a very sticky situation with respect to public opinion in general.

On the other hand, the US liberals and Social-Democratic currents view with alarm the decline in the economic growth and the increase in the rates of unemployment — that are dealing their social bases, mainly composed of wage earners, a hard blow — and propose, basically, a policy of public investment that will reestablish economic recovery and "full employment" or at least reduce the unemployment rates. The Achilles' heel of this policy is the growing deficit of the capitalist countries, that would turn any policy of increasing public expenditures into an additional source of inflationary pressures that would act on an economy stricken by an increase in the rate of inflation. Sectors of US Democrats, the Labor opposition to Callaghan, the Union of the Left in France and the forces of the left in Italy are trying to find a solution to this situation from various political positions. Above all, the trade union movement has placed itself on a war footing to keep the workers from having to pay the consequences of the economic crises any more and, with greater or lesser strength, is drawing up a program for the nationalization of basic economic sectors as a more thoroughgoing reply to the upcoming economic crisis.

To this general description of the internal situation of the developed capitalist countries, it is necessary

to add the growing financial difficulties and serious international economic problems that present an even more dramatic picture of the international situation.

The international economic situation is characterized by the growing indebtedness of the dependent countries. Let us look briefly into each of these aspects so as to get a more complete picture of the present situation.

## **The financial crisis**

The international financial system now functions on the basis of a fluctuating monetary exchange rate, better known as the "monetary serpent." This floating of the most important currencies of the capitalist world is the direct consequence of the loss of confidence in the dollar and of the changes in the correlation of international economic forces in favor, above all, of Germany and Japan. The strengthening of the deutsche mark is a determining factor in the present European economic situation, as the German economy continues to make a good thing out of its high productivity in order to compete favorably on the world markets, including that of the socialist camp, for which it is the main supplier from the capitalist world. On the other hand, the weakened English productive apparatus continues dragging the pound sterling into one devaluation after another without permitting sufficient recovery for English exports. At the same time, no substantial change has been noted in the tendencies to-

ward increasing the deficit in the US balance of payments, which bodes ill for the recovery of the dollar, at least in the mediate future. Finally, the growing competitiveness of Japanese goods, that continue to invade the weakened US and European markets, increases the instability of their economic and financial recovery. Therefore, it is easy to understand how this situation favors the speculation that accentuates the fluctuations of the most important currencies. The International Monetary Fund is pressured by demands for economic aid by such important countries as England and Italy, and its financial reserves are weakened. As a result, it is forced to resort to increasing such doubtful means of payment as drawing rights and the sale of its gold reserves.

To this financial instability must be added the instability of world trade, that, in spite of having experienced a slight increase last year, cannot hide its internal contradictions. This is so, first of all, because of the violent vying by the capitalist powers to place their products in an ever more limited economic space, in view of the threat of a new depression. The tensions between the United States and Japan, between England and the Common Market and between France and Germany are expressions of these contradictions. At the same time, the OPEC countries' decision to raise the price of oil, which went into effect at the end of 1976, threatened not only to accentuate the international in-



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flationary tendencies but also to decrease the volume of world trade for many countries, while increasing their balance of payments deficits. It is necessary to consider that the dependent countries increase their trade deficits every year and decrease the volume of their exports to a significant extent. Finally, the long-awaited relief that could be brought about by increased sales to the socialist camp is prejudiced by the deficit that these countries present in their trade with the capitalist world, which provokes ever more open opposition on the part of certain capitalist sectors to the expansion of such deficit-based trade. Such, for example, was the case of German Christian Democracy, that made this is-

sue one of its main electoral bones of contention.

This picture is incomplete without mention of the difficult financial situation of the dependent countries, whose international debt has now reached close to \$130 billion. This debt tends to grow, and it is clear that the insolvency of these countries with balance of payments deficits cannot be really curbed without a decrease in their imports — which will have serious effects on world trade and on the movement of capital to those countries. Thus, it is clear that the World Bank's and International Monetary Fund's mechanisms of aid are weakened, eroded away by the inflation in the ruling countries.



# SALT TALKS NOT BOMBERS



All these difficulties were already present in 1976, while the favorable effects of the economic recovery initiated in mid-1975 were still being felt. It is easy to imagine the explosive nature of such difficulties inherent to the international economic system, especially if the expected rise in the rates of inflation at the end of 1977 is confirmed. With an inevitable accentuation of inflation as a consequence of a recovery obtained at the cost of a strong accentuation of public spending — especially in unproductive spheres — and of an artificial and speculative stimulation of world trade, that all these mechanisms tend to set off, only an economic crisis worse than the

one of 1974-75 could reduce currency speculation, bring world trade down to a level compatible with existing financial means, reduce international inflationary pressures and create the psychological and political conditions for a moratorium on the debts of the dependent countries. But what political price would a crisis of this dimension have? This question is buzzing in the heads of all the leaders of the capitalist world.

The political impasse resulting from the weakness of the economic recovery, the unmistakable signs of a new depression and the international financial crisis is clearly to be seen. Thus, whether a new curb on growth is imposed — that will increase the present rates of unemployment and the sacrifices of the wage earners — or whether a policy of artificially maintaining the economic recovery is adopted through increasing the fiscal deficit — that will result in increased inflation — it is clear that there is a growing abyss between the economic option offered by capitalism and the interests of the workers and of broad sectors of the people.

The impossibility of resolving this impasse leads to a search for compromise solutions, whose eclecticism only accentuates the general crisis of capitalism and leads it to a corroding immobility. A situation of this kind only favors the development of a sense of growing insecurity with liberalism. If the people's movement doesn't take the offensive and deepen the process of revolutionary changes required by the situation, a political and psy-

chological atmosphere propitious for a hardening of bourgeois policy and for solutions based on force will be created. The facts, therefore, lead to difficult options; time is limited, and political masks will fall....

## Jimmy Carter and the crisis

We have analyzed the context of the economic and financial crisis. Now, let us study the most important political event in the present international situation — without a doubt, that of Jimmy Carter's election as President of the United States. This event has triggered the most discordant reactions. Some say that Ford and Carter are two of a kind; others think that Carter represents a rebirth of US leadership

in the world and an overcoming of the political crisis that reached its peak with Watergate. But, is it possible to know just who Carter is?

Carter is more a product than a producer. The way he carried out his campaign, seeking to present himself as an answer to a national need for honor and dignity; the way in which he built his image of a moral and religious man outside the Establishment in order to win the votes of the US middle class; and the studied way in which he sought to identify himself later on with the trade union apparatus, the Democratic Party and the liberals to guarantee his victory in the East — all these facts demonstrate that Carter was a candidate molded precisely to win the Presidential election without upholding any doctrinaire principles.



But the question persists: What will Carter do? Clearly, it isn't a matter of putting into effect his



ideas — which, because of their moralistic, ill-defined and subjective nature, have nothing to do with politics. The final stage of his political campaign forced him to pledge himself more firmly to the leaders of the Democratic Party, who represent the liberal wing of big capital; to the party machine controlled by the university youth and local political leaders; to the black and Latin-American minorities; and to the organized trade union movement. It is therefore clear that these are the forces that should guide the basic lines of his governmental program, if it isn't possible to think of the President of a country as acting on the basic social forces that supported his candidacy.

What are the basic issues that unite these social forces? They are strongly based on the principles of US liberalism. In our countries, it is very difficult to understand what this ideology consists of, as it unifies the interests of a ruling international bourgeoisie and those of broad social sectors that are exploited by this bourgeoisie. However, this exploitation appears in the context of an international economic domination and high technological level that guarantee exceptional conditions of national wealth. This is the source of the internal contradictions of this liberalism *sui generis*. Let us examine some of these contradictions.

The US liberal is, above all, an anticommunist, but not in the same way as is a conservative — whose anticommunism is, above all, passive, because he is backed up by

reactionary social sectors. The liberal tries to dispute ideological control over the masses with com-



munist. Unlike the conservatives, with their ideological cynicism, the liberals, whether honest or opportunistic, have to actively confront that ideological force that can contest its social bases more directly. Therefore, liberal ideology can be manipulated by big capital toward a policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union and can find common ground for action with European social-liberalism of a Social Democratic nature. Therefore, it can also find something in common with social reformism in the dependent countries, though this last may take diverse forms. This is why, paradoxically, liberal ideology served to "justify" the Korean War and the most brazen imperialist aggressiveness. This is why the "liberals" of the CIA, heirs of the intelligence services created to fight Nazism during World War II, can be proud of having split the workers' movement following the war and of having drawn most of European Social Democrats to support its cold war positions.

On the other hand, the liberals support a reformism based on growing intervention by the state to guarantee a "full-employment" economy. They support social laws against unemployment and back welfare policies that reduce the strong social conflicts derived from capitalist economic growth's increasing inability to generate demand and employment. This policy of public spending can only operate well in a period of economic growth and capital accumulation without strong impediments, in periods of the economic cycle when expan-

sion-provoking factors predominate. In those periods of the cycle in which depressive aspects prevail, the function of the liberals is, above all, to "convince" the workers and wage earners in general of the need to make their "contribution" to overcoming the crisis, cutting back on consumption in order to increase profits.

This, then, is the framework in which Carter's policy must move. It is characterized by an attempt to compete ideologically with the socialist camp; to split the unity attained by the European workers' movement in the last few years; to draw Socialists and those of the center into a common policy that will isolate the Communists (unity of the socialist, communist and Christian trade unions; of the Socialists and Communists; etc.); to contest the leadership of the people's movements and the freedom of the dependent countries, in view of their growing radicalization; and to step up the pressure on the countries of the socialist camp so as to shake off the Soviet Union's influence on them and bring them to a confrontation with the main power of the socialist camp. Domestically, it proposes a policy of increased public spending; an attempt to offset the inflationary effects of these expenditures; a search for a system of self-regulating wages and prices, the brunt

of which will fall on the former, with very little of it being borne by the latter; and an attempt to offset the social effects of the general crisis now facing capitalism in the present period, seeking to get as much as possible out of the not-very-promising perspectives offered by the present economic recovery, that is limited by the conservatives' precautions of limiting an economic boom with painful consequences in a not-very-distant future.

All this draws for us a picture of growing international tension, whether in the immediate future — when artificial, inflationary economic recovery may be accompanied by international aggressiveness by the United States against the socialist camp and other leading powers in the capitalist camp — or in the mediate future — when the irremediable failure of this policy of economic recovery and the violent crisis that will succeed it may put the conservatives back in the saddle with a much more rightist policy and strongly influenced by the growing fascist forces that tend to be strengthened in this context of false reformist solutions for a general crisis of capitalism, a crisis that cannot be overcome with a few passes of the magic wand of deficit public spending.

Note: This article was written in 1976.

# **LEBANON: fifth war with israel?**

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**Alcibíades Hidalgo**

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"Eretz Israel," the mythical state of Zionist ideology at its most extreme, extends from the Nile to the Euphrates and includes, naturally, southern Lebanon.

Since the end of the Lebanese war, the situation in the region that borders Israel has increasingly reflected the same instability which in its time and on a larger scale was true of the 19 months of combat in Beirut and the Lebanon mountains.

It is actually a return to the origins of a problem as old as the Arab-Israel conflict, once again manipulated in terms of the interests of Israel and its role in the Middle East.

Although international considerations surely deter the present leaders of Tel Aviv from any hope of adding the arid lands south of Litani to the map of Israel, other no less important objectives are now at stake along the flexible Israel-Lebanon border, scarcely an hour's walk from the Mediterranean to Mount Hermon.

## **THE ISRAELI CONNECTION**

Around October of last year, when an Arab-sponsored peace initiated the end of the Lebanon war, a force unknown at the time, the South Lebanon Defense Army, carried out a swift military offensive from the town of Oleia, a few hundred meters from the Israeli border.

A cordon of villages, mostly Maronite, fell under its control, and the possession of two strategic points, Khiam and Taibe, allowed the establishment of a triangular enclave which today, with some variations, remains

under its power, in the key zone where the borders of Upper Galilee, Israeli territory; the lands of Lebanon; and the Golan Heights, which belong to Syria, all meet.

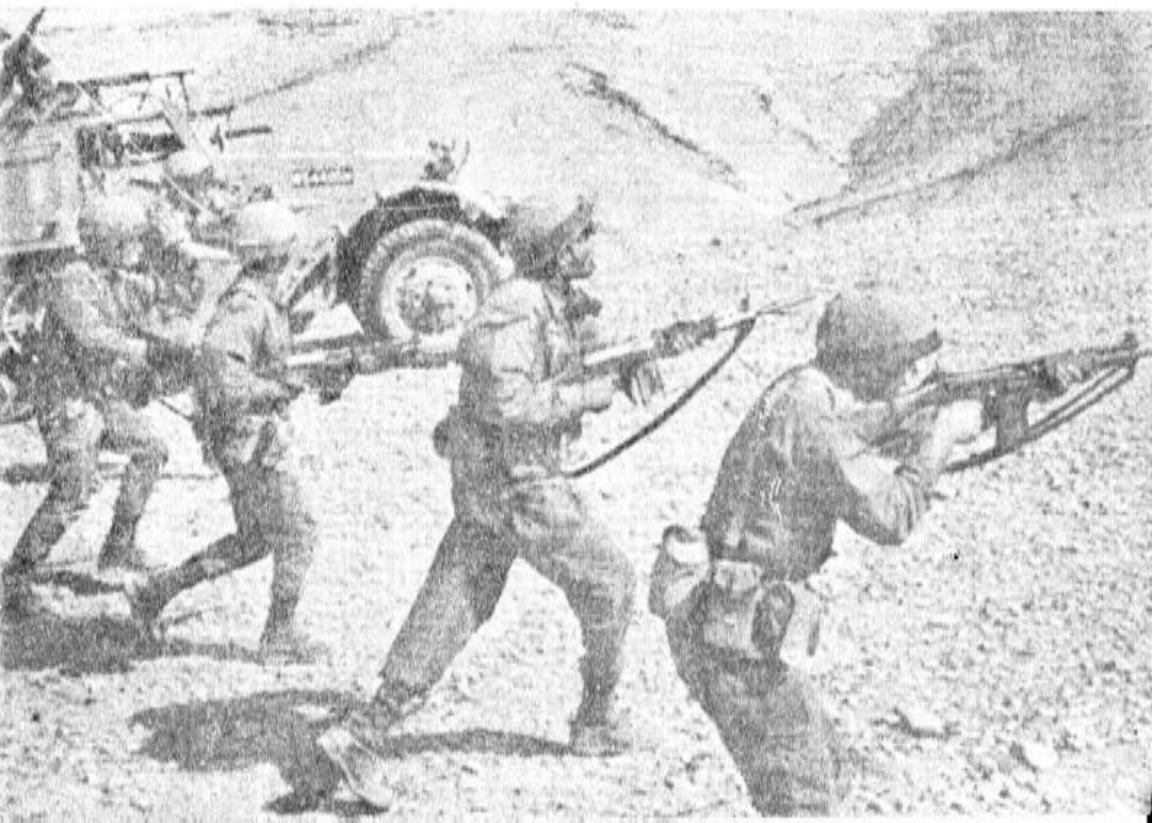
To the north, the forces of that army and those of a similar organization called Al Ansar occupied the most important town of the region, Marjeyoun, the site of the biggest Lebanese military installations near the border.

It didn't take long to establish the Israeli connection. The sudden presence in the ranks of the South Lebanon Defense Army of the right-wing paramilitary organizations predominant in Beirut, but of scant power in the south, indicated a transfer of troops possible then only through Israel.

The training of those forces and their equipping also indicated a bond with the enemy neighbor. All doubts were removed when Israeli artillery supported the actions of the local right-wing groups wherever necessary.

A little while later, the officialization of the "good border" policy — economic collaboration and Israeli proselytizing in Lebanese territory — clearly showed that the southern zone would not find the peace that Arab troops had rigorously imposed on the rest of the Lebanese nation.

The admitted objective was to then create a "security belt" to protect Israeli territory from the actions of the Palestinian resistance, which held important military positions in nearby Arqoub.



The impossibility, under these conditions, of fulfilling the Cairo Agreements which regulate the Palestinian presence in Lebanon frankly hindered the peace plans of that nation and favored the continuation of a conflict whose chief beneficiary is the Zionist state.

Through a local agent, the Tel Aviv government took advantage of a basic lesson of colonialism and also repeated it in South Lebanon.

## **FRENCH, ENGLISH, ISRAELIS**

The presence of Maronite population groups in the middle of a predominantly Moslem Chiite community was the factor of discord manipulated by French and British when they dominated Lebanon and adjacent Palestine in their respective colonial mandates.

In southern Lebanon, the privileged relations established in the last century by France with many Christian villages contributed to the unequal economic development still existing in the region, especially in the south and in the northern mountain zone of Lebanon.

British and French worked intensely to the very end of the colonial period to come closer to these towns in the hope of winning them to the side of colonialism and expanding the undefined borders to the north of Palestine.

At the start of the century, the proclamation of a future Hebrew state extending to the shores of the Litani was very common in Zionist circles. In the Sykes-Picot Agreements of 1916, signed between France and Great Britain among other pacts to partition the former Ottoman territories, the zones of the "wilayet," or district of Saida, which historically belonged to Lebanon, were conferred to Palestine under British control.

On the other hand, the economic ties between the two regions made them scarcely distinguishable during the negotiations between the colonial powers and later would be among the most evident causes of the exodus of the Palestinian population to the southern part of Lebanon, at the start of the Zionist policy of harassment against the Arab population of Palestinian origin and the proclamation of the state of Israel in 1948. At that date, and despite the weak participation of Lebanon in the first of the Middle East wars, 19 border villages were occupied by Israel; this was used to pressure the signing of an Israeli-Lebanese armistice in 1949.

The prevailing policy in Lebanon is to keep aloof from the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the country did not participate in the last two conflicts; however, this policy has brought few dividends in the south.

Since June 14, 1968, when the first direct attack against a civilian position, the town of Meiss el Jabal, took place, the escalation has continued. There were five major aggressions in 1968; 19 the following year; and more than 3000 violations of Lebanese sovereignty between that date and 1974, when it became abundantly clear that an undeclared war was raging in southern Lebanon.



The target of those aggressions was the refugee camps around the principal towns of the south, as well as the Lebanese people, who defended themselves largely by their own means and those of the Palestinian resistance.

With the start of the conflict in 1975, a paradoxical peace reigned in the south, once again demonstrating the useful character of a war of attrition.

## **POLITICS AND MISERY**

The impact of the Lebanese crisis, however, was economically more serious in the south than in the rest of the country. That region's economic underdevelopment could not resist 19 months of complete alteration of the mechanisms of commerce and agricultural production.

A predominantly tobacco-growing region, dominated by feudal relations of production in zones with poor farm yields or with a uniquely rocky terrain, the south is primarily a territory of the dispossessed.

The war accentuated those problems. Among the 28 000 Lebanese citizens who because of the vagaries of demographic equilibrium have no citizenship at all, more than half belong to the southern Chiite community, the poorest in the country.

The population exodus, which started with the Israeli attacks of May, 1970, has now reached alarming proportions. It is estimated that more than 125 000 inhabitants of the south left their homes between January, 1977, and this writing, and the larger number that left over the last seven



years has contributed to creating a misery belt around the Lebanese capital.

Demographic investigations by private institutions indicate an unexpected result of the economic crisis and the situation of insecurity: the Chiite community, fundamentally rural up to a decade ago, is today an essentially urban social group which supplies cheap manpower to the cities of the north and Beirut.

Before the war, 82 percent of the families of the zone — Christian or Moslem — received an average monthly income of less than \$200, according to the generous statistics, which, however, cannot conceal the disproportion with respect to the rest of the country.

The relative equality of Christians and Moslems in terms of the common poverty of the region, however, is not foreign to Israel's diversionist intentions in southern Lebanon.

The existence of population groups artificially separated from their neighboring communities for religious reasons, exacerbated by political

motives and differences in opportunities for education and employment maintained by the indolence characteristic of the Lebanese state, now allows for open cooperation between Israel and the right-wing groups, including the training of more than 500 men in Israeli territory, the linking of telephone communications between the two zones, or the innocent performance by a Lebanese folklore group in the city of Haifa, announced with approval from Tel Aviv.

## THE LIKUD IN POWER

When the Likud came to political power in Tel Aviv, some aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict were altered. Among them, that of southern Lebanon. The continuing instability, marked in recent weeks by the ambiguous role of US diplomacy, which offers the Arab governments guarantees against large-scale actions in the conflictive region, nevertheless appears to be headed for direct confrontation... or at least toward the tangible threat of this possibility.

A Palestinian military leader from the southern region, while showing us the barbed wire installations which are beginning to surround the area of Marjeyoun — identical to those used by Israel — expressed to us his conviction of a conflict within the next months, perhaps with limited objectives, like all the wars in the Middle East, but capable of impeding a lasting peace.

The presence of Arab peace-keeping troops throughout Lebanese territory, with the exception of the southern zone, seems to constitute one of the embarrassing elements which the government of Menahem Begin could handle in the classical Israeli political manner of exploiting every factor of disagreement in the complex Arab world.

The destabilization objectives of the Elías Sarkis government, present in extreme right-wing Lebanese groups because of internal struggles for power, also coincide with the Israeli plan.

The dismembering of the Lebanese state, maintained principally in an undeclared form, reaches its maximum expression in the south. A frontal attack by Palestinian troops beginning with the "weakest point" of the Arab world, which would also have repercussions on the Syrian position, is not a card too unworthy to be played by a "war cabinet" like the one which Menahem Begin now heads.

If Israel does not want to face the bothersome possibility of a resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, in which its intransigent position on the restitution of occupied Arab territories would also be difficult to explain to its natural ally, the United States, "the northern front" would be an excellent motive for making war before talking peace. The conditions are there.

# **KOREA**

## **The struggle for reunification**

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**Juan Sánchez**

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Kaesong is one of Korea's oldest cities, and for centuries it was the prosperous capital of the Choson Kingdom (country where the sun is born). Many Koreans continue calling their country by the old name: Choson. As for Kaesong, now a new and pulsing spot, with many modern houses, it is another of the cities reborn from the ruins of the war. It was one of the cities hardest hit by the criminal devastation of US bombings during the imperialist war of aggression in June, 1950. According to the Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett, who witnessed those bitter moments:

To tell the truth, at that time everything created by man was totally destroyed. In places where there had been cities and villages, weeds grew. The hills were bare. Napalm bomb fragments could be seen everywhere. Pyongyang, too, which had a population of 400 000 inhabitants, was reduced to ashes and its factories turned into mounds of rubble.



We reached Kaesong from the Korean capital. That morning our Korean friends came to the hotel where we had spent the winter night. They told us we would continue the trip to the line of demarcation with South Korea, occupied by the United States. That "line," which artificially divides the Korean peninsula in half, is a few kilometers from Kaesong.

We left by car. The streams and some small lakes were frozen and seemed to be covered with glass, for the temperature had dropped considerably during the night. But now the sun had come out again and covered the fields, warming the atmosphere. We took a narrow and dusty road along which a number of peasants were driving their carts.

The presence of a number of neat North Korean soldiers at several points along the road indicated that we were now very close to the line of demarcation between North and South.

And in fact a few minutes later we entered Panmunjom, the historic site where the armistice that ended the war of aggression against the socialist North was signed — that armistice which has been continuously violated by the Pak Chung Hi clique and its United States sponsors. We were taken to a sort of lookout from which we saw several uniformed "gringos" start shooting pictures, partially hidden in their military cabins. We quickly pulled out our camera and began to take pictures of them. They hid. Later, we had the chance to view through a window a meeting between Korean and United States military representatives in which the former energetically reiterated their denunciation of the violations.

When we left the 38th Parallel sometime afterwards, our companions explained with patriotic determination the historical task the Korean people will fulfill, the task of the present generation, which, as President Kim Il Sung has stated on many occasions, is the peaceful reunification of the country.

One of our companions, Comrade LI Wo Kon, then Foreign Affairs Chief of the General Federation of Literature and Art of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — to cite just one example — has been unable to see or correspond with his relatives for more than 20 years because they stayed in the southern part, where they must live and remain as foreigners, due to the division that has been illegally imposed by the US occupiers since the '40s.

It will be recalled that, in 1973, the United States and its followers presented a plan to the UN General Assembly for the simultaneous admission of "two Koreas," although they had actually been promoting that idea for some time back. The proposal was "to legalize" the country's division and maintain South Korea as a military base of aggression and a market for US products.

President Kim Il Sung has stated that the permanent division of Korea would cause the people enormous sorrow and suffering and would greatly obstruct the country's future development.

Our people (he noted) who have historically lived as a homogeneous nation with the same culture and the same language, do not want the country divided but instead want only reunification. If there are those in our country who are opposed to reunification of the homeland and want it to continue divided, they are only a few persons in power, landowners and comprador capitalists in South Korea.



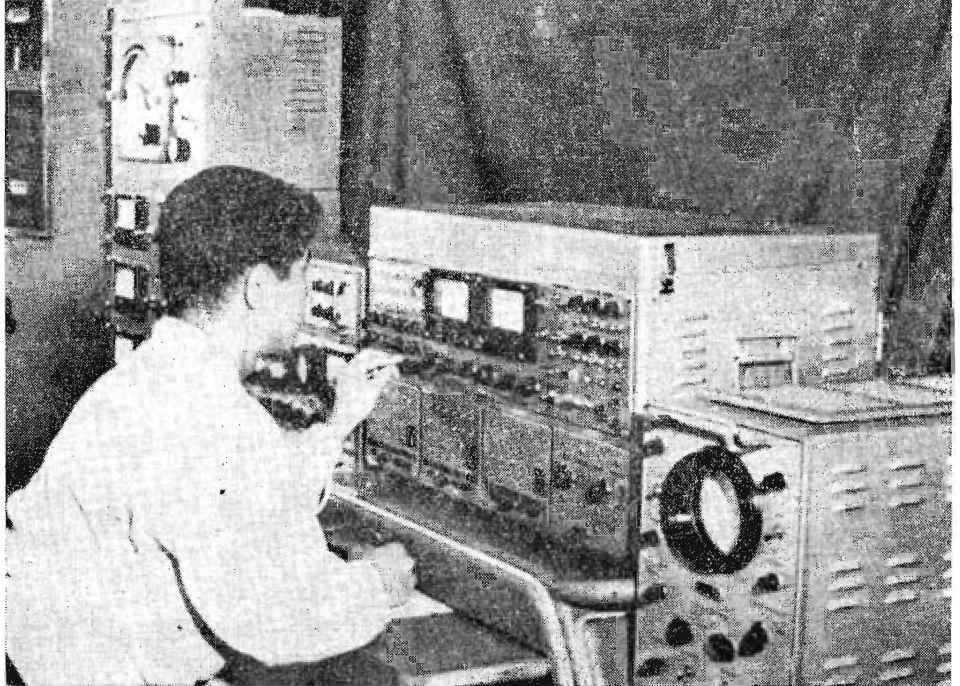
The Korean people's maximum leader also stressed: "Since the first years of the country's division as a result of the occupation of South Korea by US imperialist aggressor troops, we have been struggling consistently for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country."

When the shameless maneuvers of the empire and its local puppets for "separate" North and South admission into the UN as two distinct entities were revealed, the Government of the DPRK opposed the separatist maneuver and instead proposed entry into the United Nations "as one sole state," with the single state name of Confederate Republic of Koryo. That at least would achieve a confederate system before reunification. It proposed holding talks with the United States on the matter of concluding a peace agreement which would provide that the US would not interfere in Korea's internal affairs or block its reunification and that US occupying troops in the South would be withdrawn. But these efforts were stalled. Seeking a solution on this vital question, the DPRK has held talks with the Seoul authorities, as well, but they have also sabotaged all of Pyongyang's just proposals and, in addition, have once again intensified their war preparations and the criminal repression of students and other progressive sectors in the South, with the support of US soldiers. United States warmongering interests are behind the Pak Chung Hi clique, maneuvering its fascist escalation against those who struggle for the democratization of South Korean society and for the reunification of the country.

In the democratic North, we observed tremendous passion for the coherent and unified development of the entire nation which has always been and is one sole country. The day we visited Panmunjom, it was very significant to see how, south of the line of demarcation, where the US occupiers and their local allies were, there was undergrowth, and it was all dirty around the US barracks. The untended land was a symbol of the peasant's misery in the South, where, in many places, they still use the old pedal mill and are without water year after year, and hungry in spite of the inhuman work.

Just to the north, in DPRK territory, we noted how the valley was completely plowed, lovingly prepared for rice planting. For us this was the best evidence, a lesson without words, with the eloquence of deeds. Agricultural development and indexes of industrial growth in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are also undoubtedly a powerful force of attraction for reunification.

It should be noted that in August, 1975, the DPRK victoriously fulfilled its Six-Year Plan a year and four months ahead of time in terms of value of industrial production. It will soon be able to begin fulfilling the new



plan for national economic development: the Seven-Year Plan which is now in preparation.

Steel, electricity, cement and coal will continue to be the most important branches of industry.

President Kim Il Sung pointed out that the main factor in fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan is to mobilize and use internal sources, following the principle of basing oneself on one's own strength, without bringing in foreign capital. It is the concept of *Juche*. Kim Il Sung added that his country does not, however, reject the possibility of introducing certain technical achievements from other countries, but he insisted on the "principle of solving things for ourselves, based on the solid independent national economy already prepared in our country."

In recent statements to the Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun*, President Kim Il Sung referred, for the first time in public, to the promise of the new administration of President James Carter to withdraw US troops from South Korea. The Korean leader stated that this promise could be considered an attitude of good will toward his country, along with the recent abolition of restrictive measures on visits by US citizens to certain countries including the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. President Kim Il Sung stated:

But the problem lies between an electoral promise and its later fulfillment. Of course one must wait longer to see how President Carter fulfills his electoral promise, as only a few months have passed since he took office. Nevertheless, if we take into consideration what certain people are now saying with respect to the withdrawal of US troops from South Korea, there are many factors that contrast to Carter's electoral promise. In the United States they are now saying that the gradual withdrawal of United States troops from Korea will be over four or five years. The United States presidential mandate is for four years, but Carter proposes withdrawing the US troops from South Korea gradually over four or five years. We believe this means there is no wish to withdraw those troops during his presidential mandate.

On the same subject, he added, "We greeted with interest the promise made by Carter during his electoral campaign, but we are attentively following the way in which that promise is carried out. It is still early to draw conclusions about the Carter Administration."

The interview published in *Yomiuri Shimbun* also dealt with President Kim Il Sung's replies on the question of reunification:

Our people live in the hope that the country will be reunified. At present, the solution to the Korean problem depends on the Koreans themselves. In order for the problem of Korean reunification to be solved, it is essential that, first of all, the South Korean people gain consciousness and rise up to achieve the democratization of South Korean society.

After mentioning the struggles waged by the students and democratic and religious figures against the fascist regime in the South, President Kim Il Sung reiterated that "The problem of Korea's reunification must be solved on the basis of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, as we have already affirmed in the Joint North-South Declaration of July 4, 1976. Whatever future change there may be in the situation, the problem of Korean reunification cannot be solved outside of these basic principles."

He also pointed out that talks between North and South could not be renewed while the South Korean authorities practice a policy of fascist repression, as they do now. Reaffirming the DPRK's position on this vital question, President Kim Il Sung declared: "In spite of any change in the situation, Korea will be reunified, without fail, if the Koreans themselves actively make efforts to solve the problem of Korean reunification and the peoples of the world speak out even more strongly against the unjust policy of Korea's division and in favor of reunification."

The Korean people's struggle for the country's reunification received a vigorous impulse on the occasion of the International Month of Solidarity convoked by the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL). It cannot be forgotten that today's circumstances, particularly in Asia, are not the same as those that existed during the '40s, when the United States divided the Korean peninsula, using dirty maneuvers inside the United Nations to reject the proposal on the simultaneous withdrawal of Soviet and US troops so that the Korean people, north and south, could create a unified and democratic government.

The International Month of Solidarity ran from June 25 to July 27 of this year, in memory of the historic dates on which the aggression began and was defeated. During that month, in all parts of the world, activities were organized in support of the just cause of the Korean people.

# Always the 26th of July

## APPEAL FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF OSPAAAL ON THE DAY OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

*Now, 24 years after the attack on the Moncada Garrison by a group of Cuban patriots led by Fidel Castro, this deed has become a symbol for the liberation movement and all people who still face colonial and neo-colonial domination.*

*In 1917, the cannon shots of the cruiser Aurora not only announced the start of the proletarian revolution in Russia but were also the clarion call of new times for humanity: of power in the hands of workers and peasants and the defeat of capitalism's exploiting forces. In turn, the Cuban Revolution's entry on the stage of history was another milestone in the people's struggle for liberation. The age-old imperialist axiom "America for the Americans" ceased to be the rule, and US policy toward the continent was dealt a considerable setback.*

*The existence of a socialist state 90 miles from the United States was a challenge to that country's government. From its beginnings, US imperialism considered the Americas an area for natural expansion. Sometimes its occupation was violent and open; at other times, it was done on the pretext of defending hemispheric democracy, which did not rule out the use of fighting forces, military advisers, etc. The plunder of natural resources and intervention in Latin-American internal affairs were practices that, over the years, became customary. US predominance limited the Latin-American people's possibilities for struggle and determination of their own destiny but was taught a bitter lesson on January 1, 1959.*

*High US Government sources were caught unprepared by the course of events in Cuba, though the fact in itself was neither surprising nor in any way a matter of chance. It was the result of a long process of patriotic struggle started against Spanish colonial domination, a struggle*

which then had to pass through the frustrating stage of US intervention. The political consciousness of the Cuban masses, tempered during the prolonged war of liberation, was influenced by the ideas of the October Revolution, and anti-imperialist sentiment was radicalized over the course of time and the humiliations that foreign intervention brought with it.

During the turbulent years of the pseudorepublic, there was no event in which the people's presence was not directly felt. The young people who, at the end of the '20s, revealed the force of their patriotic anti-imperialist calling, made an indelible impression on their nation's destiny, now realized in full by the Cuban Revolution.

The heroic, selfless struggle of the Cuban people, which sceptics thought would never triumph, showed that, in the first place, the possibilities for revolution were real and that the existence of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, served as support for the struggle of a small country confronting US imperialism.

World public opinion well knows that the US imperialists didn't resign themselves to the existence of revolutionary Cuba; rather, the correlation of forces prevailing in the world today favors peace and progress. The temporary setbacks dealt revolutionary and other progressive movements do not alter this reality. It is an objective fact that the reaction and systems of exploitation are condemned by history.

There are numerous examples to prove this: the victories over colonialism and neocolonialism in Vietnam, Angola, Laos, Kampuchea, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Algeria, Cuba and elsewhere, fruits of their people's heroic struggles, in the first place, but also of the very important role played by internationalism through the aid and solidary support of the progressive forces, headed by the socialist camp.

The Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America salutes the successes achieved by the Cuban people in the fields of health, the economy and education. It requires great sacrifices for people — assuming the complex historical task of building a new society based on the work of all, under conditions of social equality, crushing man's exploitation of man and opposing discrimination and injustice — to eliminate the scars left by colonialism and neocolonialism, but the Cuban people, loyal to the principles of proletarian ideology, have not only done this

*but also consistently taken on the duties of internationalism. This is why Cuba's victories are also the victories of a humanity that struggles for a just future of peace and progress.*

*The Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America appeals to its member organizations, to other progressive forces and movements and to democratic governments all over the world to once more show their solidarity with the Cuban Revolution as proof of the people's victory over imperialism, our common enemy.*

*The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL also urges that every type of aggression against the fraternal people of Cuba — particularly the genocidal plots of the notorious CIA — be denounced.*

*Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL*

*Havana, July 21, 1977*

*"THIS GREAT HUMANITY HAS SAID, 'ENOUGH!'*

*AND HAS BEGUN TO MOVE"*

**BOLETIN  
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