

TRICONTINENTAL



**FOR
PRESIDENT**



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20

to the reader



Marshal Kim Il Sung, leader of all Koreans, has on two occasions made proposals for a solution to Korea's division. "On the Reunification of Korea," in Starting Points, presents these views. The second section of this issue of Tricontinental, Experiences and Facts, starts with our title, "The White Plague." The myth of race rules over South Africa in its most absurd and criminal extreme. The French journalist Edouard Bailby shows objectively the hateful manner in which apartheid functions. The section continues with "Conversations in the Northeast," by the Uruguayan writer Maria Esther Gilio. In her article, we are hit by the violent shock between the wealth exhibited from subcontinental Brazil and the extreme poverty in the Northeast, with its basic latifundism. Indonesia is the dream of big capital, which seeks a "democratic" Eden after the ferocious repression that accompanied the military coup and its criminal and inflexible control over the entire country. Proof of the gears of power in present-day Indonesia is the article by the Indonesian leader Ibrahim Isa, "Bloody Democracy," third in the section that ends with "Endemic Disease," by the Italian doctor Giovanni Berlinguer, whose well-documented evidence shows why

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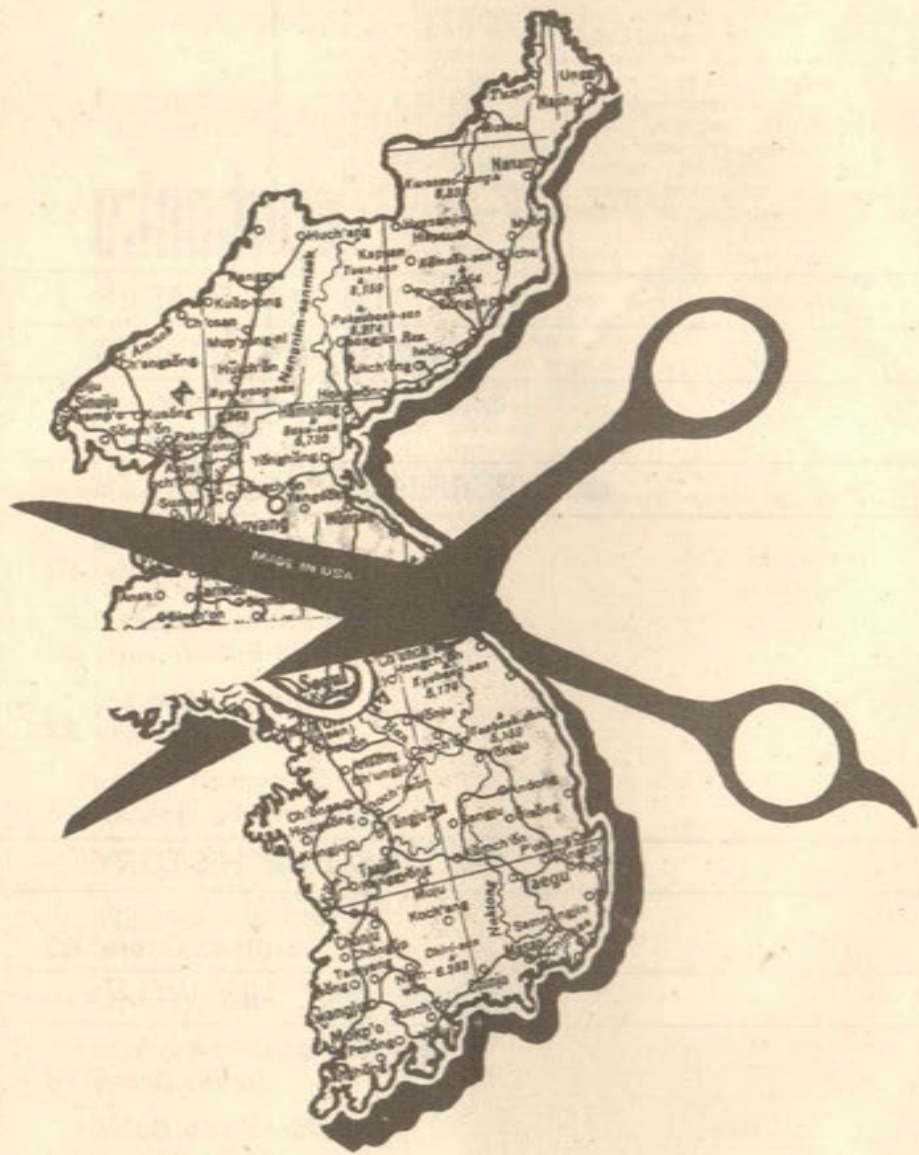
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imperialism and colonialism must be considered the chief pestilences that have afflicted humanity. US mass communications have accustomed us to the image of the Yankee soldier, proud of his rank, convinced of his invulnerability and of the grand destiny of his cause. Today the reality of Viet Nam presents a very different picture: demoralized troops, mass desertions, defeat and escape, fruits of the vital and forceful reply of a people ready to sacrifice all for their independence and liberty, and of the progressive acquisition of consciousness among the best of the North American people who seek a pure and bright future for their country rather than that of an octopus sucking the world. "Soldier Against the War" in Man and His World is the result of an interview with ex-soldier David Dorey who paints the growth among GIs of a determined opposition to their country's aggressive present. This section concludes with an interview with Hayif Hauatmeh, leader of the Democratic People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), entitled "Definitions of a Battle," which establishes important questions of principle concerning liberation in the Middle East. The report by Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, on eight months of struggle, from January to August 1971, is recorded, because of its significance, in Notes for History under the title "Fruits of a Struggle" and provides us with the rich result of the prodigious battle for liberation and the gradual decay of decrepit Portuguese colonialism. And finally, with a panorama of his nation's subjugated condition, the leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) Juan Mari-Brás, sketches in "From the Colony to Socialism," the future perspectives for the independence struggle of his country, included in Tricontinental on the March.

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On the Reunification of Korea

Kim Il Sung

More than a century ago, the US imperialists carried out the first aggression against the Korean people. In 1860 the armed ship **USS General Sherman** reached the coasts of the Korean peninsula intending to occupy the territory and pave the way to converting Korea into a US colony.

That imperialist adventure failed. Nevertheless, the United States never abandoned its project. At the end of the Second World War, under the banner of the United Nations, it occupied the southern part of Korea militarily and submitted its inhabitants to a regime of terror under the puppet Syngman Rhee.

The Korean nation, made up of the same working people, the same language and with profound historic roots, was artificially divided at the 38th parallel.

Still not satisfied, the US imperialists hoped to fulfill their old dream, and in 1950 they initiated a war of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Three years later they were defeated and obliged to sign the armistice of Panmunjon.

Despite the Korean people's struggle for reunification of their country, the Korean nation remains divided and US troops continue to occupy the southern part of the country.

The government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has always evidenced its desire for peaceful reunification of the country. The President of the Council of Ministers and Secretary-General of the Workers' Party of Korea, Kim Il Sung, declared in a speech on August 6, 1971, that his government was prepared to discuss the peaceful reunification of the country with all south Korean organisations and political parties, including the Democratic-Republican Party.

The US imperialists and the present puppet regime of Pak Chung Hee, rather than accepting the just and reasonable proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which have the support of the Korean population, north and south, declared a state of national emergency last December on the pretext of a false threat of aggression from the north against the south.

The false affirmation by the puppet Pak Chung Hee and the imperialists was revealed by the leader of the Korean people, Marshal Kim Il Sung, in a New Years speech and in the interview published by the Japanese paper *Yomiuri Shimbun* last January 10. *Tricontinental* publishes here the basic part of the respective expositions by Marshal Kim Il Sung in which he reiterates his firm position concerning the problem of Korean reunification and analyzes the tense situation that exists in the zone and that could be the prelude to a new imperialist aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

TODAY, THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE Korean nation, north and south, the aspiration to peaceful reunification of our homeland is increasing as never before.

For the first time in 26 years of liberation, the representatives of the Red Cross organizations of north and south Korea have succeeded in meeting in Panmunjon to discuss important questions that could mitigate to a certain extent the suffering which the separation of north and south has caused our fellow countrymen. The entire people of north and south Korea view with great joy these contacts which, however late, are now taking place between the two sides; and it is a unanimous desire that the conversations already initiated be influential in eliminating the barriers erected between north and south, and in the achievement of the peaceful reunification of the homeland.

And this is the very moment in which the reactionaries and

the government of south Korea proclaim the so-called "state of emergency" on the pretext of a "threat of aggression from the north against the south" and unleash an hysterical wave of fascist repression against the people.

Daily, these scoundrels invent every kind of infamous fascist-type law, ruthlessly repress even the most elementary democratic freedoms of speech, press, assembly and association, and maintain south Korean society in a state of permanent uneasiness and terror. A few days ago, despite the strong resistance of the opposition parties and the different sectors of the population, they fabricated a repugnant fascist law: the law of "extraordinary measures for national defense." What the reactionaries of south Korea basically seek with their fascist machinations, is to repress the increasing aspirations of the south Korean people for peaceful reunification and cause the contacts and conversations between north and south to fail, in opposition to the unanimous desire of the entire nation and against the course of the times.

The present puppet government of south Korea is made up of the same military gang that usurped power at gunpoint under the sponsorship of the Yankee imperialists, in order to smash the peaceful unification aspirations which, following the popular uprising of April 19, 1960, were reaching ever greater heights among the south Korean people. After assuming their puppet power, they tried to deceive the south Korean people with appealing slogans of "independence," "prosperity" and "modernization" but their true nature has been known to the world for a long time now. During the past ten years, south Korea has been following not a "road of independence" but rather a more inflexible dependency, not a road of "prosperity" and "modernization" but one of total ruin and destruction.

The puppet clique of south Korea finds itself submerged in a serious political and economic crisis from which it will never be able to emerge and so it debates with mounting uneasiness and desperation each day. With the proclamation of the so-called "state of emergency" and the unleashing of a new repressive wave, it seeks a way out of the pit it has fallen into, which is no more than its final and desperate death rattle. The fact of having proclaimed the "state of emergency" and false "threat of aggression from the north against the south" is an act of major depravity on the part of the south Korean puppet clique by which it tries to deceive the south Korean people and world public opinion and get a few more arms and dollars from its boss. History will never forgive this infamous betrayal of the fatherland and no one will be deceived by the stratagem.

In these days the puppet clique of south Korea, as is its custom, claims that we are about to launch an attack because we have now completed our war preparations. It is true that we are strengthening our nation's defensive capacity. This does not mean that we intend to resolve the problem of unification of the fatherland at gun point. If we are increasing defensive power it is to safeguard the country and the nation, to protect our socialist conquests from the aggression of the Yankee imperialists and the Japanese militarists.

Our armed forces are always devoted to self-defense.

Only when the imperialists, the reactionary classes and the counterrevolutionaries resort to violence against the revolution

does the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat respond with violence. This is the general principle of Marxism-Leninism and a guide to action for the government of our republic. For this reason all the ballyhoo by the south Korean puppet clique about a supposed "threat of aggression from the north against the south" is nothing but absurd demagogy.

Events demonstrate that no one is fooled by the south Korean puppet clique. On the contrary, their demagogy and their campaign of fascist repression provoke great indignation and protest among the south Korean people and the peoples of the world. Even certain ruling class circles of reaction and establishment publications in the United States and Japan point out that the proclamation of a "state of emergency" in south Korea is nothing but a cock and bull story invented more for internal purposes to overcome the social crisis than because of a real threat of aggression against the south. A western publication reported that the proclamation of the state of emergency by the south Korean politicians, far from being motivated by a "threat of aggression from the north against the south" is related to the many internal problems that must be solved and is designed to silence the discontent of the south Korean people who become more disgusted every day with the severe economic crisis, and to suppress student demonstrations, protests by intellectuals and the resistance of the opposition parties.

The south Korean puppet clique must discard the stupid illusion that the US imperialists and Japanese militarists are going to save them from catastrophe. The times and circumstances have changed. The period is past when the US imperialists can run the internal affairs of other countries at their whim, and for a long time now their own collapse has prevented them from answering even for themselves. Now the US imperialists are facing a profound political and economic crisis within the country and are becoming completely isolated in the international field. Sato's clique in Japan also finds itself confused by the discord that has arisen within ruling class circles and the energetic antigovernmental struggle by the great popular masses. When all is said and done, the situation of the south Korean puppet clique and that of its bosses is no different. Just as the Yankee imperialists and Sato's clique in Japan were unable to save the Taiwanese clique of Chiang Kai Shek from ruin or that of Thieu in south Viet Nam, neither will they ever be able to save the puppet clique of south Korea.

Up until now and despite this situation, the south Korean puppets have tried to maintain themselves in power by attaching themselves to the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists. They implore Yankee imperialism — which because of its own straits proposes to "reduce," however formally, its armed forces of aggression in south Korea — not to "reduce" these forces and they even open new doors for aggressive Japanese militarism. With these national betrayals, the south Korean puppet clique only precipitates its ruin.

Besides, it is truly ridiculous that the south Korean puppet clique should dream of achieving "unification" by smashing communism with the support of the Yankee imperialists and Japanese militarists. History has increasingly demonstrated that communism cannot be liquidated. The communist movement now

has more than 100 years of history, beginning with the Paris Commune. Up until now there has never been an imperialist nor a lackey of imperialism who didn't oppose communism. But none of them have been able to annihilate it.

Moreover, the successive puppet governments of south Korea, without exception, have used every kind of desperate force against communism under any slogan. But communism has not been wiped out in our country and instead has spread and has become stronger day by day. In the northern part of the republic, communist ideas have been the prevalent ideology and have become a great material force in all areas: political, economic, cultural and military. Communist ideology has also planted deep roots in the hearts of many revolutionaries and people in south Korea, so that fortunately today the chances are nil for the puppet clique of south Korea to achieve its dream of "unification" by smashing communism.

The south Korean puppet clique must open its eyes to the realities of today. If it persists in its vilely traitorous acts against the country and the nation, opposing the march of history, and failing to abandon its anachronistic way of thinking as it has up to now, there will be no escape for it. If the degraded south Korean politicians want to find some way out, even at this late date, they must frankly admit their crimes and stop prostituting the country and the nation to the Yankee imperialists and Japanese militarists, halt the vile maneuvers in which they are engaged today, put an immediate end to the fascist repression against the south Korean people and reply sincerely to the appeal made by the government of our republic addressed to achieving peaceful reunification by means of consultation among Koreans.

The government of the DPRK has repeatedly presented the most just and reasonable proposals for the independent and peaceful unification of the country. Just in the past year, the government of the republic presented eight points as one more proposal for peaceful reunification, in the fifth session of the Supreme Assembly of the People elected for the fourth period and, in particular, in the speech given last August 6, we made clear our disposition to make contact at any moment with all political parties including the Democratic-Republican Party, and with south Korean social organizations and personalities. All our plans and proposals for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland have the warm support and approval not only of the people of the northern part of the republic but also of broad popular masses and personalities of diverse sectors of south Korea. The south Korean politicians should also have the courage to reply to our just and impartial proposals, in keeping with this great national current. Only in this way will they be acting justly as members of the Korean nation. And I believe that only by acting in this fashion could the south Korean puppet government be pardoned, though late, for the crimes they have committed against the fatherland and the people, and find salvation.

If even at this stage the south Korean rulers decide to cut their bonds of dependency with foreign forces and end their national betrayal and conduct themselves like authentic Koreans, we would not question their past and we would solve with them the problem of the fatherland's peaceful reunification.

In the future, too, our party and the government of the republic will continue to insist on the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland and will do everything in its power to see this accomplished. But if despite our patient efforts, the south Korean puppet clique fails to reach an agreement with us and pursues its road of national betrayal, it will wind up being overthrown without ever having been pardoned for its crimes against the fatherland.

Although the Yankee imperialists are lying low now, their aggressive nature is the same as it always was and, unfortunately, will continue so. The mask of "peace" that the Yankee imperialists present is nothing more than a smokescreen to deceive the people. Nixon's perversity and cunning can outmatch anyone's. The Yankee imperialists have not given up their sinister plan to perpetuate the division of our country and convert south Korea into their permanent colony and they pursue their machinations of provocation against the north of the republic, by inciting the south Korean puppet clique.

In addition, the Japanese militarists, reborn thanks to the work of Yankee imperialism, openly manifest their ambition to attack our country again. The Japanese militarists are making every kind of preparation to act as "shock troops" for the Yankee imperialists in a war of aggression against our country and are just waiting for an opportunity to invade us.

Under these circumstances, the entire south and north Korean people must be increasingly vigilant against the aggressive machinations of the Yankee imperialists and the Japanese militarists. By no means can our people permit the country to be captured by the Yankee imperialists and Japanese militarists to become their slaves, nor can we repeat the ignominious history of 1910 that brought the country to ruin. Everyone in the Korean nation, despite their political and religious differences, must unite firmly under the banner of salvation of the fatherland and independent reunification and must carry out an active struggle to frustrate the aggressive maneuvers of the Yankee imperialists and Japanese militarists.

Even those who have committed crimes against the country and the nation must rise up courageously against the aggression of the Yankee imperialists and the Japanese militarists, in this nationwide struggle for the independent reunification of the fatherland, by which they will be demonstrating their repentance. If the pharisaical south Korean politicians also want to redeem their crime of having betrayed the nation, they will have to respond by incorporating themselves into this struggle. They must fight to expel the Yankee imperialists from south Korea instead of begging them to stay and fight to frustrate the machinations of a new aggression by the Japanese militarists instead of opening the doors of the south of the country to them.

If the entire people of south and north Korea struggle together as one man, we will surely be able to turn back any imperialist aggression. If the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists finally unleash a war of aggression in our country, the entire people of south and north Korea will join in one single file in a life or death struggle against the enemy, and will completely annihilate the aggressors and unify the divided fatherland.

On the Problem of the Reunification of Our Country

TODAY THE GENERAL SITUATION in our country is developing very favorably for our people's struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

The successes of socialist construction made in the northern half of the country under the banner of the **Juche** idea further consolidate the political and economic basis for the independent reunification of the country, give great hope and confidence to the people of the southern half and vigorously rouse them to the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Lately, a tendency toward peaceful reunification is rapidly growing and the struggle against the fascist rule and for the democratization of society is gaining momentum as never before in south Korea. The massive advance of the student youth and people that has continued from before and after the "election" of the puppet president held last year, and brisk arguments about national reunification in public and political circles show that the tendency of opposing the present ruling system and demanding peaceful reunification is rising in south Korea with an irresistible force.

As our policy for peaceful reunification enjoys the unanimous support not only of the Korean people but of broad world public opinion, and as the tendency toward peaceful reunification grows in south Korea, even the south Korean authorities who had rejected any contact between the north and the south had to come out to the north-south Red Cross talks, pressed by the trend of the times. Though rather late and limited in scope the preliminary talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations now being held at Panmunjon are very significant since, at last, Koreans have gotten together to discuss the internal affairs of the nation. It can be said that this is a step forward in the struggle of our people for reunifying the divided country peacefully.

Our stand on the talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations is clear. We want to mitigate even by a day the sufferings our people are undergoing because of the division, by bringing the talks to a success with all sincerity, and pave the way, with it as a stepping stone, to the peaceful reunification of the country.

But the stand of the south Korean authorities is quite opposite. From the first day they were compelled to come out to the talks, they dragged on the talks under this or that pretext and poured cold water on the growing tendency toward peaceful reunification, saying: "Don't get too excited" and "it is premature." Saying, moreover, that we would soon "invade the south" because we have already finished war preparations, they proclaimed a "state of national emergency" and are again trumping up various evil fascist laws to buttress it and deliberately aggravating the situation.

Such a racket kicked up by the south Korean puppet clique cannot be interpreted other than as a design to prolong their remaining days by putting down the ever-growing tendency toward peaceful reunification in south Korea, scuttling contacts and negotiation between the north and the south and perpetuating the division. It is not accidental that even some reactionary ruling circles of the United States and Japan and the press

on their payroll say in this connection that the proclamation of the "state of emergency" in south Korea is not because of the threat of "southward aggression" but, rather, a political trick hatched up because of the internal situation.

The south Korean rulers can deceive nobody and solve nothing with such foolish tricks.

Frightened by the rapid and disadvantageous change in the internal and external situations, they seem to have gone on a rampage. But they need to cool their heads and think matters over calmly.

The times and situation have changed.

The situation today is different from that of the 40s, when the US imperialists could divide our country into the north and south, abusing the name of the "UN." The day has gone when the US imperialists can meddle in the affairs of other countries and rule the roost.

Now the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists can hardly attend to their own affairs.

We think the time has come when the south Korean rulers should give up the antinational stand they have held, seeking a way out by clinging to the sleeves of the US imperialist aggressors and ushering in the Japanese aggressors, turning their back on the compatriots.

If the south Korean rulers are to find a true way out, they should accept the national stand, give up even now their absurd assertion that they would "build up strength" with the backing of outside forces to overpower north Korea by force and attain "reunification by prevailing over communism," and accept our fair and aboveboard proposals to reunify the country in a peaceful way by joining the efforts of the Korean people themselves.

You asked me about our concrete program for the reunification of the country. Our program for national reunification is not different from the previous one. We have invariably maintained that the question of our country's reunification, an internal affair of our nation, should be solved not by the interference of outside forces but by the efforts of the Korean people themselves, not by war but in a peaceful way.

We clarified the program for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country in the eight-point proposals for national salvation advanced at a session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea held in April last year, in the speech made on August 6 last year and in the New Year address this year. We will invariably make every effort in the future to realize the program.

The success of the talks now going on between the north and south Red Cross organization amid great interest in the whole nation, will create a favorable atmosphere for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The south Korean authorities, talking about some sort of "stage," prattle that this can be done and that cannot be done and that only certain kinds of undertakings must be done first and the other things be deferred. These are delaying tactics and not an attitude for solving problems.

If the north-south Red Cross talks yield good results and mutual and free exchange is established between the families, relatives and friends torn apart in the north and south, their

suffering will be lessened and, at the same time, the frozen relations between north and south will be thawed and mutual understanding deepened.

It is a matter of vital importance for the peaceful reunification of the country as well as for peace in Asia and the rest of the world to remove tension in our country.

In order to remove tension in Korea, it is necessary, first of all, to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement between the north and south. We hold that a peace agreement should be concluded between the north and south and the armed forces of north and south Korea be cut drastically under the condition that the US imperialist aggressor troops are withdrawn from south Korea.

We have made it clear more than once that we have no intention of "invading the south." If the south Korean rulers have no intention of "marching north for reunification," there will be no reason for them to refuse to conclude a peace agreement between the north and south. If they truly want peace in our country and peaceful reunification, they should agree to conclude a peace agreement between the north and south, instead of clamoring about the fictitious "threat of southward aggression."

We call for north-south political negotiation to strengthen contacts and ties between the north and south and solve the question of national reunification.

Many problems arise in putting an end to the tragedy of the national split and reunifying the country peacefully. All these problems can be satisfactorily solved only through political negotiation between the north and south.

We are ready to have negotiations with all the political parties of south Korea including the Democratic-Republican Party, the New Democratic Party and the Nationalist Party, at any time and at any place agreed upon. Now the south Korean authorities are talking this or that without having a meeting. It does not help solve the question of reunification peacefully to reject negotiations, talking about "peaceful reunification" only in words. In order to solve the question of the reunification of the country peacefully, various political parties of north and south Korea must hold intensive bilateral or multilateral negotiations to exchange political views on national reunification and to find a reasonable way to peaceful reunification.

We always keep our door open to anyone for negotiations and contacts between the north and the south. If anyone, though he committed crimes against the country and the people, sincerely repents of his past doings and takes a road of patriotism for the peaceful reunification of the country, we will not ask about his crimes but gladly negotiate with him the question of the country's reunification.

When all the Koreans unite and fight along the road for the reunification of the country, we will surely be able to drive out the US and Japanese aggressors, tide over the crisis of national ruin created in south Korea and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country without fail. We are sure that though the question of Korean reunification is still complicated, there is a prospect of peacefully solving it sooner or later in accordance with the will of our people and on the principle of national self-determination.



The White Plague

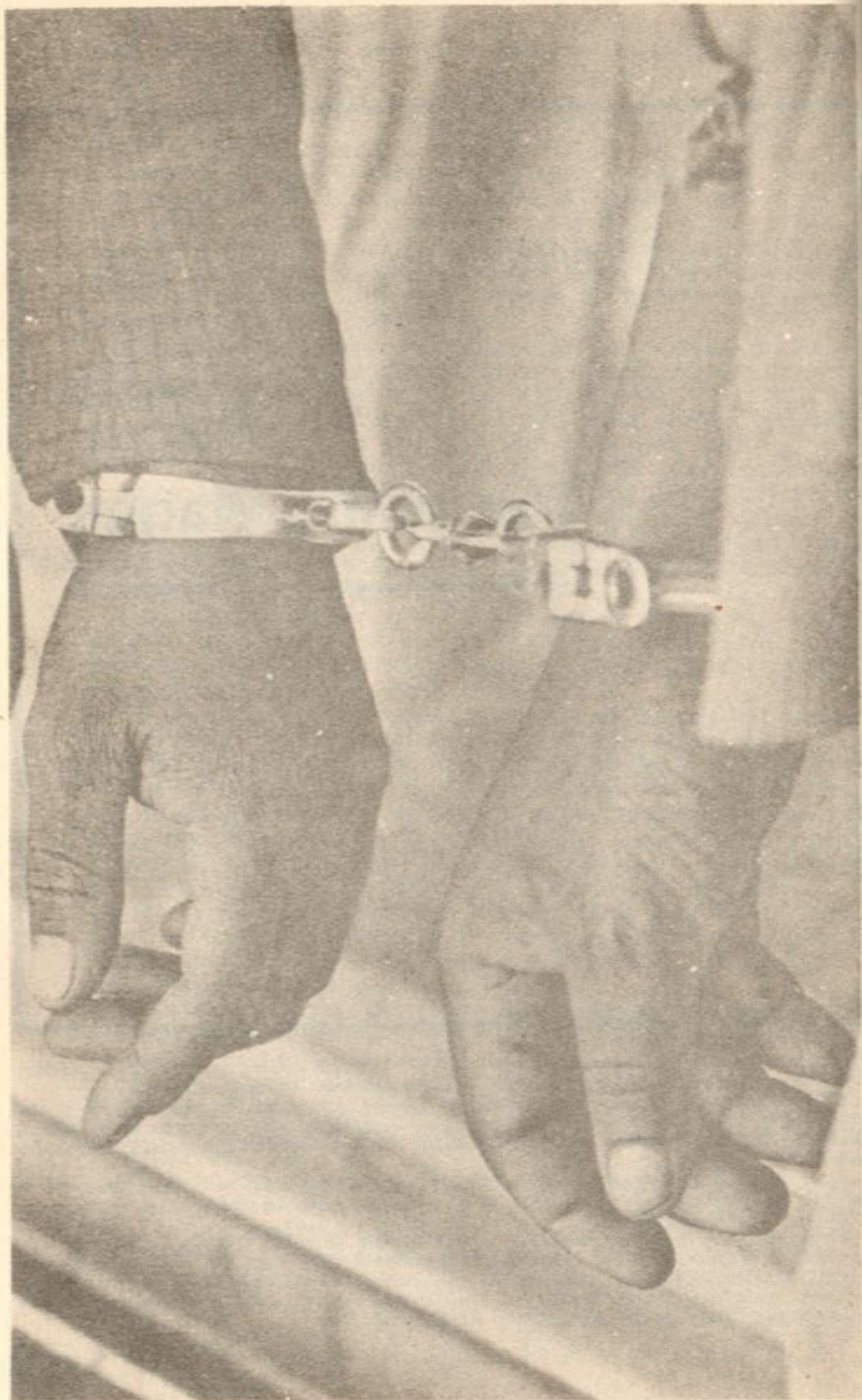
Edouard Bailby

On the African subcontinent a complex economic-social system that seeks to convert the Union of South Africa into a white imperial power is being constructed.

It its expansionist policy, subimperialism in South Africa projects the control of the greatest possible number of countries south of the Sahara, and especially Malawi, Rhodesia, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique and the bantustans themselves.

And while South African tentacles try to seize neighboring territories, independent or not, internally the racist regime of Pretoria imposes apartheid in an attempt to maintain the status quo.

We reprint the testimony collected by the French journalist Edouard Bailby on the application of the theory of separate development of the races, and its consequences — without digging into the real reasons of economic exploitation — in sex, education, housing, work and sports, that is, in the daily life of the black, colored and Indian inhabitants of the extreme south of the African continent.



THE FIRST colonizers who landed in South Africa more than three centuries ago were the Dutch. They settled in Cape province in the extreme south. In the 19th century they were joined by the British who tried to impose domination over the original colonizers but the latter refused to submit to the crown and left by the thousands for the unknown interior of the country. This exodus — the Great Trek — lasted some ten years, during which time the Dutch fought many fierce battles against the blacks whom they encountered along their march.

The Union of South Africa became a part of the British Commonwealth long before it obtained its independence in 1961. At present it is governed by descendents of the Dutch colonizers, the Afrikaners, whose language, Afrikaans, is very similar to Dutch and who are Methodists.

The Afrikaners control the principal governmental and administrative posts through the Nationalist Party; the demands of apartheid forced their coexistence with the English-speaking descendents of the British colonizers, who represent less than 40% of the total of 4 000 000 whites living in the Union of South Africa, including also some 300 000 descendents of French Huguenots and certain other European groups, compared to 14 000 000 blacks, 2 000 000 mestizos of various races and 650 000 Indians. These groups live in an area twice the size of France.

Officially apartheid is a system designed to stimulate the separate development of the four ethnic communities or, in other words, to pre-

serve the traditions, language and interests of each of them. It is based on one fundamental principle: a nonwhite must never control a white. "We wish to preserve our western and European way of life," the whites say, "and since we are in a minority, we are forced to protect ourselves so the majority doesn't swallow us." As self-justification, they point to the fact that the Union of South Africa is an industrialized country today with an extensive network of ultra-modern highways, skyscrapers, factories, and an exceptional rate of growth in the western world and unique on the African continent.

"As a counterpart of the progress we achieve by means of hard work and discipline," they add, "we give the blacks and other ethnic groups the opportunity to develop within the framework of their own traditions." This is what Prime Minister Vorster says in a very simple formula: South Africa is a multinational state and will never be a multi-racial state.

I saw for myself what this meant.

Landing at Johannesburg airport in the midst of gold mines whose fine dust is piled in parallelepipeds, and hundreds of villas with private swimming pools. I saw in the waiting room the first warning: Europeans only. The others — blacks, colored or Indians — have to go through another door into a separate room. This was my first encounter with apartheid. I was faced with it throughout my stay in the Union of South Africa, and even when I would have liked to forget it, events recalled its existence in the most unusual places. Whites, Blankes, Europeans, these three words mean the same thing. White: I saw, I saw again: I read, I read

again; I listened and listened again, whenever I opened a door to get into a bus. Embarrassing, irritating, offensive, humiliating, like wounds on the landscape. At times this expression of apartheid reaches grotesque extremes. For instance, in Komatipoort, on the Mozambique border, there are six different toilet facilities: one for white men, another for white women; one for black men, another for black women; one for Indian men, another for Indian women; but they've left out the colored. On the Cape peninsula, which extends some 40 miles into the Indian and Atlantic oceans, the tourist bus crosses an animal reserve in which some paths are reserved for whites and others for nonwhites.

The entire Union of South Africa lives under the apartheid slogan. In Johannesburg, as in the rest of the country, there are two types of buses: red for the Europeans and green for the non-Europeans. In the parks, on the avenues, at the bus stops, nonwhites cannot sit on the same benches as whites. The same segregation applies to taxis. Post offices and liquor stores have separate doors, one for whites and the other for nonwhites. Movie houses, theaters, restaurants, bars and night clubs are almost all reserved for whites. Blacks can't use the same elevator as whites; in sports centers, the blacks are shunted into a corner, and in Johannesburg station I saw entire corridors for whites only. In Durban, South Africa's Miami in the Indian Ocean, there are four beaches: one for whites, one for blacks, one for Indians and the other for colored. Nonwhites are absolutely prohibited from entering or staying in a hotel for whites. Apartheid is lax only when it would be too costly to enforce it, as for example in airplanes, where racial segregation is not applied. But once on the ground, the nonwhites take

one road and the whites another.

These are some of the visible signs of apartheid immediately evident to the tourist or traveler. Even foreign sailors stopping over in South African ports are subjected to these regulations. The only public places where racial mixing is permitted are in the churches at Sunday mass, where men and women of all colors pray together. That is, with the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church, which is precisely the church that most Afrikaners belong to and which does practice apartheid. Except on this unique occasion, nonwhites can only appear in the same public places with whites if they are working there. That is, racial segregation is such that it is virtually impossible for whites to have contact with nonwhites outside of work hours unless they invite each other to their homes. For example, it is forbidden for a white and a nonwhite to have a drink together in a public place. In South Africa, people of different colors can't even walk together on the street, because there's no place they can meet.

Numbers

"We aren't citizens, we're simply numbers. Slavery was supposed to have been abolished in the 19th century but here we continue to live like slaves." The author of these words is James Mafuna, a black of 30 and some years. For 18 months, he has been working as a journalist for the *Rand Daily Mail*, one of the most important English-language newspapers in the Republic of South Africa and one of the few that has taken a liberal stand. Like all blacks, Mafuna is classified administratively in a category, a specific section, and his identity has

been reduced to a computer card. Everyone who has worked for ten consecutive years in Johannesburg, and for the same boss, belongs to section 10-1-A. If you work for 15 years in the same city with different bosses, you are in section 10-1-B, and so it goes. Any breach, even after 20 or 30 years of work, can put you into an inferior category which means an interminable series of miserable administrative obstacles and job, housing, and travel problems. Mafuna, one of the eight black journalists who works on the *Rand Daily Mail*, receives a relatively "exceptional" salary because they pay him almost as much as his white colleagues for doing the same work. However, as a black, he does not have the right to live where he wants nor to move around freely. "Because I am black," he told me, "I can't even live with my wife." It is a fact that, according to the law, a black citizen born and living in a city or district which is part of the white area — which includes more than 85% of the Union of South Africa — cannot change his place of residence without specific authorization. Since his wife lives on one street and he on another, they have to meet in the home of their in-laws. "When my wife was pregnant, we talked for a long time about where the child should be born. It was a sterile discussion: we quickly reached the conclusion that, no matter what we did, our child would be subjected to the same restrictions and humiliations as we are." Mafuna is a man whose dignity has been trampled on and who cannot hide his rebellion against such injustice. His manner of speaking reflects the emotion of a tormented and morally wounded man. But he still has courage. "I refuse to be reduced to the level of a

vegetable," he said. "I won't let them destroy me." He studies French at night "in order to be able to read the French-speaking African writers"; he studies and submerges himself in reading. When I asked him if I could publish his name, he answered: "For us, blacks, our entire existence is a permanent problem; if I have a few more difficulties, it doesn't matter..."

Implacable Laws

Apartheid crystallized as a doctrine in 1948, but in practice it was simply the culmination of three centuries of racism. Each law approved reflects the systematic intention of the white minority to maintain economic and political supremacy over the rest of the population. Certain examples will serve to demonstrate this fact. A black cannot remain within the city for more than 72 hours without special authorization, which can be withdrawn at any moment and on any pretext. Neither are you permitted to have under your roof for more than 72 hours, a married daughter, a son more than 18 years old or any other relative. If declared "surplus" at any moment, he can be forced to leave his house and live some place designated by the government.

Without judicial mandate and at "whatever reasonable hour of the day or night," the police have the right to enter and register any spot in which there is reason to believe that a black man of more than 18 years of age is committing the sin of living with his father without prior authorization. Moreover, a policeman has the right to register every servant's room occupied by a black in a white household.

At any moment it can be a crime for an African to be in the city at night without a written authorization. Every black more than 16 years

old must carry a reference book. This identity card is somewhere between a passport and a police record and gives the complete biography of the bearer. It gives him the right to work within a clearly defined area and no other. If he should have to be away from work more than a year or gets sick and has to leave the area specified for more than six months, his permission would be withdrawn and he would be sent back to the rural zones. If he has the bad luck of losing his identity card he must go from city to city in search of an identity.

Because of a job reservation law, a black cannot hold posts reserved for whites nor receive the same salary for equal work. Employers are also prohibited from replacing white workers with black workers. Through these drastic laws, whites maintain the best jobs and highest salaries. According to available statistics, only 2% of them live below the level of subsistence. As a result of the privileges that apartheid confers on them, whites in the lowest economic categories have a class spirit which is not social but racial. Segregation in the Union of South Africa has reached such proportions that restaurants and cafeterias prefer to hire European tourists as temporary employees before engaging black employees, and don't hesitate to say so in the press.

No school for black children can function without government authorization; this authorization can be denied if the government considers that the school is of little interest to blacks. Worse still, it is an offense for a black resident in the city to teach any of his black friends to read and write; it is also an offense for a white to teach his servants to read.

Ever since 1927, sexual relations between persons of different "races" have been strictly prohibited by law and the infractions are punish-

able with a jail sentence. It must be pointed out, incidentally, that a growing number of white South Africans take weekend excursions to the Swaziland and Mozambique brothels to enjoy the pleasures forbidden in their own country. Interracial marriages have also been prohibited since 1949 although it should be noted that they have not been exactly stimulated by three centuries of racism.

A black teacher cannot give lectures in a white club and a black cannot attend any type of meeting organized by whites. No black can buy land in the Union of South Africa; in certain cases they are permitted at most to be proprietors of small shops. Blacks cannot participate in strikes, organize trade unions or political parties in the white zone, etc.

The same laws, with few differences in detail, are applicable to colored and Indians.

Absence of Conflict

"But how can you expect that, with one wave of a magic wand, we could overcome the natural antagonisms among people of different races?" Piet Nel, top official in the Ministry of Information and descendant of French Huguenots, said:

Look just at what is happening in the rest of Africa, where blacks kill each other over tribal questions and coups d'etat occur one after another. With our policy of separate development, the Union of South Africa is politically one of the most stable countries in the world. Economic progress goes ahead without any problem and one practically never hears of racial incidents. It is precisely to avoid them that we maintain the special green

buses for blacks and separate lines at the voting booths.

The same attitude was expressed by the Minister of Sports, Frank Waring, when last September 12 he declared that multiracial sports were unacceptable because they led to "considerable racial conflict."

The strongest argument the whites use on every occasion is that based on economic progress.

In the Union of South Africa, they point out blacks earn triple what they can earn any place else in Africa; they have their own schools, three universities, their own reservations and some day they will even have their own states within the Union of South Africa. So why do the people of Europe hate us so consistently? We aren't criminals.

A horrifying rationalization! The whites are dishonest in their racism.

When I told a young white woman what I thought about all this she commented: "Separate buses and benches are not important, the blacks don't even notice them. What really counts are the schools, hospitals and housing we construct for them."

Exploitation

Apartheid or separate development is conceived so that it extracts the maximum profit from the systematic exploitation of the tremendous work force supplied by nonwhites and no amount of housing, schools and hospitals constructed for blacks can alter this fact. The laws are clear: under no circumstances can a black be superior to a white, except in the territories specifically reserved for blacks, however intelligent, industrious and efficient he may be. In the restaurants, the head waiter is invariably

white; in the factories all the engineers and technicians are white and in the hospitals, all surgical operations are performed by white personnel. Nevertheless, according to a study published recently in the South African press, out of a total of 525 white bus drivers on "whites only" buses in Johannesburg, 78% were prepared to accept black drivers "provided they could do the work." This reaction is truly notable in the Union of South Africa and is discussed in the English language press, which is more open to dialogue than the rest.

In the suburbs of Johannesburg, a modern city with 1 300 000 inhabitants, where boredom reigns as soon as night falls, I knew the director — a black man — of a secondary school for black children attended by 500 students. This man, 49 years old, has a university degree and a teaching experience of 26 years; he earns 270 rands a month or approximately \$130. The beginning salary for a white teacher is 295 rands. Why this discrimination? Why is there a scale of values based completely on racial criteria? According to 1967 official statistics, the average monthly salary of a white man in manufacturing was 232 rands compared to 64 for an Indian, 59 for a colored and 43 for a black. In construction, the white earns an average of 237 rands while the black receives scarcely 41 rands. These proportions have not changed significantly in recent years because they are governed by very precise laws. It is also interesting to observe that the government invests 19 rands a year in the education of a black child and 270 rands in that of a white child.

Muriel Horrell has written about this in an extraordinarily useful book: *Introduction to South Africa*, published in Johannesburg by the South African Institute of Race Relations. The difference in income

between whites and nonwhites was so scandalous that last September 16, Harry Oppenheimer, magnate of South African industry and President of the Anglo-American Corporation, demanded equal salary for equal work for all workers, independently of their "races." The entire country shook with indignation; the *Financial Times* of Johannesburg immediately published an editorial stressing that the idea was very generous but that the whites would inevitably feel obliged to reduce their own salaries if it was accepted that those of nonwhites should be raised. In other words, Oppenheimer's idea would be extremely costly to put into practice.

Therefore it seems that, unfortunately, only a few enterprises will continue — illegally — paying equal salaries to whites and nonwhites for the same work.

White Opposition

It is Vorster's Nationalist Party government that will remain in power in the Union of South Africa up until the next elections within five years. With 127 seats in the Parliament out of a total of 174, this party holds an absolute majority. The interests of the Afrikaners are very solidly protected.

In his Capetown office, furnished with books and newspapers, de Villiers Graf, — leader of the United Party, the principal opposition group made up chiefly of white English-speaking South Africans — explained his policy in detail. He believes that blacks must have parliamentary representation, which they don't now have, and that they must be allowed to elect eight white members to Parliament to represent their interests. When I asked him if he opposed apartheid he answered me very gravely, playing with his eyeglasses in his right hand: "This depends on what you

mean by apartheid. Let's say I am against the policy of the present government." The only deputy of the Progressive Party, which opposed apartheid, Helen Suzman, put it this way: "There are only hawks and super-hawks in the vanguards of the government party and its legal opposition."

A glance at the daily press confirms this. Chipso Kachingwe, daughter of the Ambassador of Malawi and black, of course, is in a Catholic college for white girls. The question was raised in a ministerial meeting in September when it was asked: "Isn't this an infraction of apartheid?" "Absolutely not," the Minister in charge replied, "because Miss Kachingwe is the daughter of a foreign diplomat." It also created a scandal in the Union of South Africa when Prime Minister Vorster permitted himself to be photographed seated between two blacks at a banquet held during the recent visit of Hastings Banda, President of Malawi. Other scandals were caused by the fact that the government authorized an African diplomat to live in a white section of the Cape; because Prince Pinda Dhalamini, son of the King of Swaziland, was operated on in a hospital for whites in Johannesburg; and because last September 11, for the first time, colored were allowed in the Bloemfontein hippodrome. The slightest exception to the absolute taboos of apartheid, almost invariably causes a wave of protests. If the government practically ignores this, it is simply due to the need for labor or because it has to make a distinction between foreign blacks with diplomatic status and the blacks of South Africa.

There has been tremendous discussion around the question of mul-

tiracial teams. The whites are disgusted by the foreign boycott of their teams and increasingly interested in restricting the application of apartheid in sports. There is a suggestion in the air for authorizing nonwhites to participate on white teams at international meetings held in South Africa; and that an "international" stadium could be constructed for use by all "races." Perhaps nonwhites could be included on teams that compete abroad. These are ideas suggested in the press and over radio. "It is absolutely grotesque," a black man said to me indignantly. "They scorn us, they humiliate us, they keep us out of public life, and when there are international competitions they want to take a few good black athletes to exhibit them among the whites. I decline."

Furious because the white cricket team was recently unable to play in Australia, Vorster gave a hot speech accusing an Australian "minority" of having sabotaged the trip. "That's the joke of the year," a black in Johannesburg told me. "For 300 years a minority has been imposing its laws here."

The Homelands

For purposes of "separate development" the whites have divided South Africa into zones and reservations. More than 85% of the territory is the white zone where only whites can be proprietors. Within this zone, there are well defined "black spot" sectors, cities or districts for nonwhites. The inhabitants of these areas make up the work force of the white zone and are therefore authorized to enter the white sector daily to work there. Under apartheid, the colored are grouped together mainly in Cape

province and the Indians in the Durban area, while the blacks remain concentrated around the big industrial cities.

In addition to the "black spots" in the white zones, eight Bantu or native land areas have been created in various regions of the Union of South Africa outside Cape province for the purpose of regrouping blacks of different ethnic origin and thus favoring their separate development. These territories are very arbitrarily defined and are frequently made up of innumerable small properties because they were extended little by little by state purchases of lands owned by whites which were then handed over to blacks. They are now semi-autonomous areas that cover an approximate 13% of the Union of South Africa. The majority were created out of nothing on extremely poor land. In theory, the blacks of the native lands are owners of their individual ground and have their own schools, hospitals and stores; they enjoy a certain grade of autonomy in the management of their own affairs under the vigilant eyes of white "assistants" placed there by Pretoria, of course. Blacks in these areas can only enter the white zone with special authorization; in any case the great majority of them do so only in order to go to work in a city or a specific factory where they are employed under a contract that obliges them to return to their native land after a year. In other words, the whites have created a labor reserve on which they can draw any time they consider it necessary. According to official statements, "when these native lands have stable institutions and a viable economy, they will be able to obtain their independence and become a part of a South African Union with a political and economic common market." In reply to a journalist who asked whether the govern-

ment of Pretoria would permit these future states to be totally independent and possibly to have relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, Prime Minister Vorster made a marvelous reply: "We will play fair, but of course we will advise them against this." It is not by chance that the Union of South Africa buys arms from France and Great Britain.

The Transkei

The Transkei is the most advanced of the native lands. I took a forty-minute flight in a Piper Comanche from the port of East London to Umtata, capital of Transkei, 140 miles away, preferring this to the alternative of a 17-hour train trip. Buses are extremely scarce and there is no regular airline. In Umtata I saw Hans Abraham, General Commissioner of the white South African government who has therefore been supervising the development of political structures in the territory as well as its economic progress over the past 11 years. With a population of 2 000 000, the Transkei covers approximately an area the size of Denmark; legislative power is in the hands of an assembly of 109 blacks of whom less than half were elected by universal suffrage. The Cabinet selects this assembly by secret ballot and it consists of a Prime Minister (the present Prime Minister is the black conservative leader Kaiser Matanzima) and six ministers, supported by a white Secretary of State. Although Transkei has its own flag, its own national hymn and its own citizenship, its autonomy is nevertheless somewhat limited by the fact that it cannot revise the Constitution given it by the all-white South African Parliament in May 1963.

Abraham is a robust man with ears almost doubled over and a

nose on which are mounted a pair of dark glasses. He is over concerned with his measured words. He speaks frankly:

If we, the whites, weren't there to help the blacks of Transkei — the Xhosas — they would be dying of hunger. They are good people, very peaceful, but lazy and careless without any sense of discipline and organization. The same thing happens with all the blacks. The women work in the field while the men live as beggars. Do you know of any other country where you can rest for four or five years? That's what happens in Transkei.

Abraham doesn't hate blacks but he considers them a permanent loss; nevertheless, like a good white, according to his words, he kills himself working to put them on the right road.

A white government official told me: "Oh, Mr. Bailby, the blacks like Mr. Abraham a lot. He's very good to them, you know, very dedicated..."

Umtata is a city with a provincial air in which the women carry their children around the waist in multicolored blankets. There is very little to indicate that Transkei is the key to "one of the most dynamic political experiments of all times." The gap between employment and population rate increases every year. Such is the present situation that some 300 000 inhabitants of Transkei have to work elsewhere. The average earnings for a black teacher are about 100 rands a month; less than 40% of the children of Transkei attend school and out of every hundred that receive primary education, not more than 30 finish their studies. Van Zyl, an important white official in Umtata, gave me the answer: "All this takes time, as you

know. Maybe there will be work for everyone in the world within 50 years." With an annual budget of 32 000 000 rands, 12 000 000 collected from local taxes and contributions, Transkei lives poorly. Last year 180 000 Xhosas received permission to work for a year in the white zone. "In the Republic," as the whites say.

The Zulus

North of Durban with its 690 000 inhabitants of whom 270 000 are Indians, is Zululand, a territory of undulating hills and valleys, conceded to the Zulus by the whites. There are a total of 200 parcels irregularly distributed over 22 000 km² on which some 2 500 000 Zulus live. The government of Pretoria has constructed a few dirt roads which permit them to move around within their territory, but the railroad and asphalt roads with good, well-kept restaurants, follow the white corridors that still cross the country.

Some 250 km northwest of Durban, in a small hamlet five km from Mahalbatini, I met Gatsha Buthelezi, Prime Minister of Zululand since his election in June 1970. He has his house, his garden full of flowers in a region where the harvests belong to the tribal community. Buthelezi is a black who is more and more discussed in the Republic of South Africa. Although he is officially accepted by the white authorities, he sometimes says certain disagreeable truths about them. Nevertheless, the Pretoria government is caught in its own trap and finds itself forced to continue the game for the moment.

Buthelezi was born in a Swedish hospital in the Union of South Africa; he is 43 years old and the

father of seven children; his religion is Anglican. At first acquaintance he seems timid and when I visited him we remained standing for several minutes in front of his leopard-skin covered sofa, simply smiling. When our two-hour conversation ended, however, we understood each other perfectly. Buthelezi is a frank man, warm, open and subtle in his replies. He closes his eyes for a long time before answering. The Zulus — and many other blacks as well — are identified with him; when he returned from a visit to the United States, thousands of blacks traveled long distances to welcome him enthusiastically at the Durban airport.

"Do you believe that the cause of the blacks is helped by visits to the Union of South Africa of heads of African states?" I asked him.

That doesn't cause any essential change, but when the President of Malawi was here recently, thousands of blacks went to see him at his hotel. They couldn't believe that a black like themselves could be received with the same equality as a white. They were deeply moved to see that he was really treated with respect and dignity. This stimulated them.

Buthelezi condemns apartheid, but he is a moderate man and was cautious when I asked him what he thought of the movement "Black is beautiful," which is gaining strength among the South African blacks. "No," he said, "the black is also beautiful. I detest racism no matter where it comes from but the fact is that whites create such a situation here that blacks are completely hopeless and are creating more and more children with the idea of taking by force pieces of the bastions of the white empire." Buthelezi does not try to hide the limitations of his power or the fact that the major part of the best lands belong to whites, or that apartheid creates an

impossible situation. In sum, that South Africa is the hottest spot in the world after Viet Nam.

Bedroom Cities

Buthelezi is hostile to the idea of separate development on the grounds that "culture can't be preserved in a jar." His chief preoccupation is the future of the townships, the bedroom cities for blacks outside the big cities like Johannesburg.

These people have no executive power; they are completely subjected to the laws of apartheid and live in a horrible state of poverty. They are exploited to the maximum and aren't even given the right to return to their native land if they want to. They are no longer Zulus or Xhosas; they are exiled workers, driven out of the white zone. If something isn't done to improve the lot of these people, there's going to be a revolution in the urban areas that will eat us all up.

With a population of 700 000, Soweto, a black city 20 kilometers from Johannesburg, is the third largest city in the Republic of South Africa. But since it is a black city, it doesn't appear on any map. To go there, you have to have permission from the authorities that is valid for only a few hours. The city is constructed on a circular plan divided into eight neighborhoods in which blacks are distributed according to their ethnic origin; it consists of rows of small houses with three rooms, bath and a garden. A government official showed me the last of the indigent neighborhoods, horrible and miserable, swarming with children. "We have replaced the indigent neighborhoods with these houses," he told me. "You can see for yourself that we aren't oppressors nor pigs." It is a fact that in Soweto the author-

ities have built schools, clinics, houses, stores and service stations. They have even built an attractive restaurant and a tower from which one can admire the panorama of the city. From all appearances, Soweto is a clean, well-designed working-class city.

I went back there later and got to know some well-off blacks who told me just what hell it really was to live there. When the black workers return to their homes with their pay on Friday night, bands of youngsters of undetermined origin, their faces covered with bandannas, attack them with bicycle chains and iron bars. Twenty crimes every weekend. There are 20 000 youths in the streets, half of whom stay all night in the unlighted streets. More than 70% of the inhabitants of the city live below subsistence level and are forbidden to leave the place to try to earn a living elsewhere. The only acceptable reason for a black to leave Soweto is to go to work in the white industrial zones during the day. In theory the black population of Soweto and all the other townships elects a municipal council to administer its affairs. But blacks have no property rights. Mr. Mamponya is the richest businessman in the city and is well known in Johannesburg because he is presented as a brilliant example of the benefits of apartheid, but he isn't allowed to open a supermarket. He is now manager of one or two small food stores but he is only permitted to sell consumer supplies of strictly basic daily need. No black in Soweto is permitted to sell furniture, clothing, household goods, gasoline, automobiles. The sale of these items is confined exclusively to whites, which clearly illustrates the economic use of apartheid. "They treat us as if we were baboons," a 30-

year-old black told me bitterly while he served me a drink in a friend's house. At the same time he told me that a black can serve alcoholic beverages to a white, but a white who serves drinks to a black can be fined for doing so. "One day when I was abroad, I had to go to the Embassy of the Republic of South Africa for a document. The secretary of the Embassy had the effrontery to ask me: 'How are things at home?' What a farce!" The black told me this anecdote to demonstrate the hypocrisy of "these people" but he immediately started to laugh. Despite apartheid, blacks still maintain their sense of humor.

The Race of Sirs

Whites only, Europeans only, Whites, Blankes, Whites, Whites... they've kept all the best for themselves. I saw them in Durban, on the avenue that runs along the sea, bowling on their manicured lawns. The women with their white skirts and hats, the men with their short white pants and colonial helmets. They bend lightly, watching each movement of the game, enigmatic, indifferent to the exterior world, presumptuous, and very satisfied to belong to the "white race," the race of sir.

Above all, Durban is a city of Indians, descendants of slaves brought less than a century ago by the British to work on the sugar plantations. "You should know," a local merchant, white of course, told me, "that the Indians are not discontented with apartheid. They know very well that the blacks would maltreat them just as they are doing in East Africa, if we didn't protect them." For this reason they reserve a certain number of jobs — the worst paid — and certain

urban districts for the Indians, so they can advance by separate development. Nevertheless, although autonomous territories for the blacks are contemplated, nothing has been set aside for the Indians and colored. The solution to this problem is one of the foremost questions of the Union of South Africa at this moment. Disputes have arisen within Prime Minister Vorster's majority party concerning whether native land should also be created for the colored. Where should they be put? Should they be definitively assimilated by the white community? In Capetown, the only white city in the Republic of South Africa where one can sense a growing feeling of liberalism, I met several people who did not reject the idea of including Indians and colored within the white community, possibly excluding blacks, but with a liberalized form of apartheid.

In this gigantic, dynamic and industrialized country, modern in so many respects, where blacks, lions and elephants are separated and placed on their own reservations, are there whites who really and sincerely oppose apartheid? There are, but only a handful. They admit that there aren't more than a few thousand. There are others who would be prepared to join them were it not for the question they ask themselves: "What can we do? We reject racism but we are a linguistic, traditional and cultural minority; how can we avoid disappearing in the mass of Africans?"

Organizations Against Apartheid

In Johannesburg I met some of these valiant white fighters who feel profoundly distressed in the face of such incomprehension and injustice. They belong to two organizations: the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, which are

patiently and modestly forging links among the various communities. They publish some extremely useful pamphlets and organize lectures and meetings. They have to watch their step because of the law against communism which imposes severe penalties on all attempts to introduce social changes. These two private organizations carry out admirable but limited work.

Occasionally individual actions against apartheid take place. In September, a 47-year-old Anglican pastor, Rev. Bernie Wrangmore, started a 40-day hunger strike on a hill overlooking Capetown, in protest against racial segregation and torture in the prisons. He seated himself under an umbrella, among the trees, and was visited by hundreds of South Africans of all colors who came to demonstrate their support. I myself saw them, seated on tree trunks and looking out across the sea to the prison on Robben Island where Nelson Mandela, a 53-year-old black, is sentenced to life imprisonment for having dared to demand an end to apartheid. On the fortieth day of his hunger strike, various tens of thousands of persons — white, black and colored — gathered on the hillside to make their presence felt in support of Rev. Wrangmore. "Each individual must discover the truth anew for himself," he told me, "for the good of all the men and women of this country."

With his actions, Rev. Wrangmore succeeded in bringing together in a public place South Africans of all colors and religions, something never before seen in this country where racism reaches such extremes that, at the farthest point of the Cape of Good Hope, where the oceans come together, at the entrance of a public lavatory the final announcement on the African continent is: White ladies only.

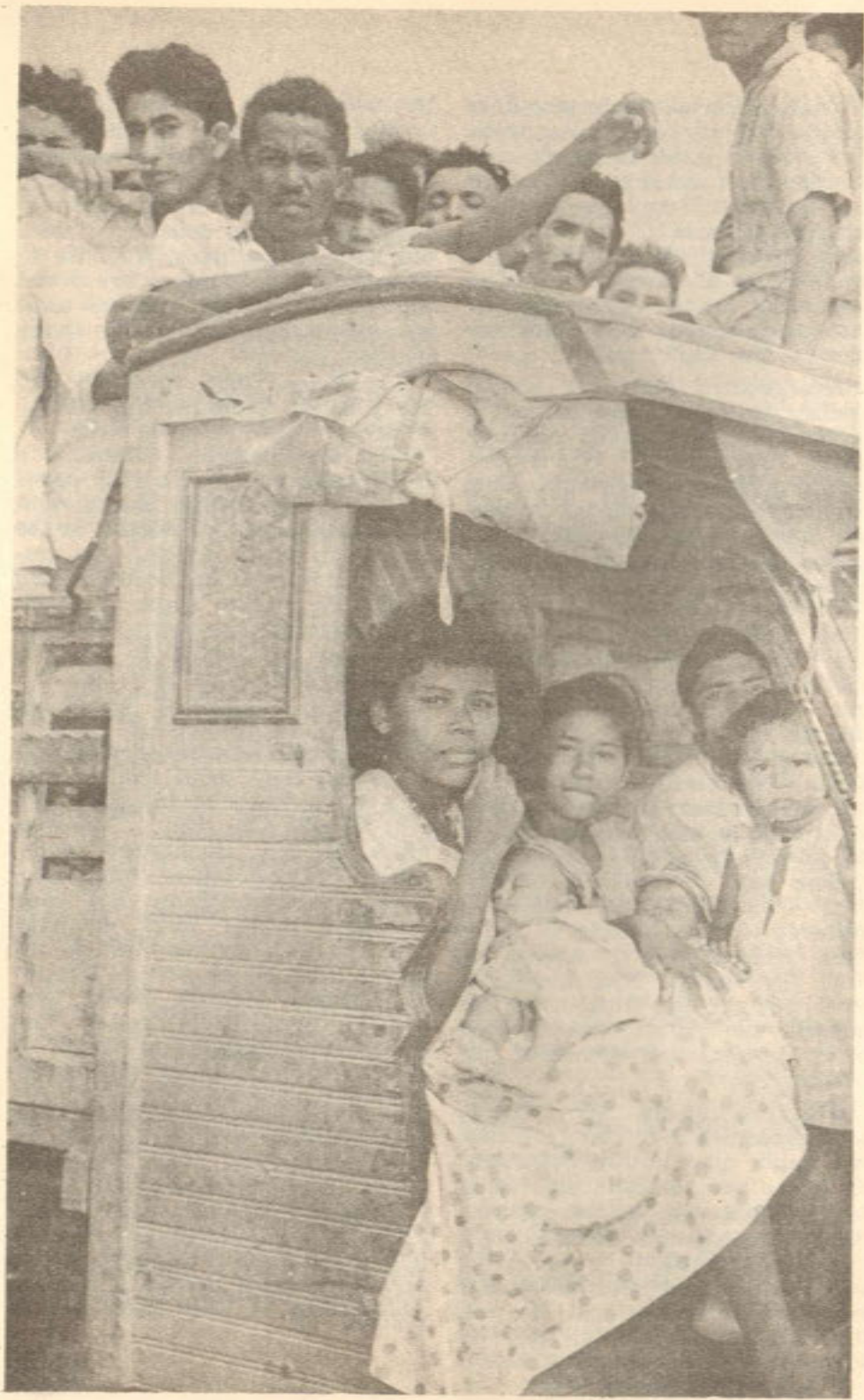
The Awakening

"We can hope for nothing more from the whites and so we must fall back on ourselves, we must open our own schools, create our own organizations and develop our own culture and traditions. We have to convert ourselves into a brave and hardworking people and we must be ready to defend our cause to the end."

The young man speaking, like many of his comrades, has become aware of what it is to be black.

"For some months," according to M. Moerane, editor of a daily paper almost exclusively for blacks, with the fourth largest circulation in the Union of South Africa, "an immense movement has been growing among the blacks. 'Black is beautiful,' these are the words that nobody had the courage to utter in public two or three years ago."

Growing numbers of blacks are reaching the conclusion that if whites impose separate development on them, they should follow that line to the letter of the law: "We will see who wins then..." Various more or less clandestine movements are now taking form; Saso, with a racial tendency, has some influence among black students. This group's activities must be added to those of the African National Congress (ANC), which was banned immediately after the Sharpeville massacre in March of 1930 (69 blacks dead and 178 wounded) and which continues to be the major clandestine movement in South Africa. If the white South African community persists in its racist posture, it is very possible that it is preparing the road to future bloodshed and the disintegration of its empire. One's own culture can't be saved by destroying others'.



Conversations in the Northeast

María Esther Gilio

Since 1964 the fascist regime of Brazil has received more than \$2 000 000 000 from private US credit and investment organizations.

In his recent annual report to Congress on Washington's foreign policy, Secretary of State William Rogers affirmed that Brazil offers optimum possibilities for the operation of US investments. According to data from the Ministry of Commerce and the Central Bank of Brazil, of the 679 large enterprises in the country, 520 are industries that are more than 70% controlled by foreign capital.

In its Latin-American economic supplement, *The New York Times* last year pointed to the growth of the Brazilian steel and electric industries, stressing that the Brazilian work force is abundant and relatively cheap in comparison to that of Japan and western Europe, and therefore, Brazil is viewed by foreign partnerships as a gigantic factory for supplying their own markets.

According to the study carried out by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, out of ten working Brazilians, six earn less than \$37 a month. Sixty per cent of the active population receives these hunger wages while only 1% of employed earn more than \$360 a month.

The increase in the exploitation of the working mass, fundamental basis for the false economic miracle, is demonstrated by a comparison of the minimum salary established by Getulio Vargas, \$64 dollars a month, with the \$44 dollars decreed by Garrastazú Médici in 1971.

In the Northeast, where there is abundant vegetation during the rains and famine during the drought, where wages of 50¢ a day are paid, 30 000 000 hectares of land lie idle in the hands of the latifundists. Daily, legions of Northeasterners abandon their lands and emigrate to the industrialized cities of the southeast, mainly São Paulo, where more than 75% of the country's factories are located. There they enter the ranks of the army of the unemployed, which now includes more than 70% of the labor force, and then become beggars or delinquents.

In this special article for *Tricontinental*, our collaborator, the well-known Uruguayan journalist María Esther Gilio — known above all to the reaction, which recently made an attempt on her life in her own home — describes the stagnant scene in the Brazilian Northeast and, in a frank and open conversation with Northeasterners, shows the hunger and misery the people in this area suffer.

Two-hundred hungry peasants stopped an army truck loaded

with rice and beans in the outskirts of Iguatu. They unloaded the food and distributed it. Driven by hunger, 500 peasants seized Piedra Blanca. They entered the food stores and prac-

tically devoured everything they found.

A train was held up by hungry peasants in the outskirts of . . .

The dilapidated old bus moves along the dusty road toward the heart of the dry Northeast. The tender green of the banana leaves has disappeared from the landscape. The plantations of papaya and cotton become more scarce and finally disappear totally. The damp orange earth crops out in small patches but with less frequency. A grayish brown covers the countryside, the houses, the people, the roads. It is the color of drought, a dull dead color that settles over the earth. The rocks begin to crop out among the low, sparse, thorny scrub. It reminds one of an avid, insatiable fire that had passed, devouring everything. And with it all the sun, so close that it seems one could touch it, impassible, almost white in a molten-lead sky, almost white after the fire.

Everything is still. The few animals fixed, immobile, as immutable as if death had frozen them there. No sign of life anywhere. Not a bird, not a man breaking earth with hoe in hand, nor a woman bleaching her laundry beneath the sun. On the porch of the ranch, a child sleeps on his back, arms and legs outstretched. No flies bother him.

But still the landscape changes every few kilometers: the green plots of fertile land crowded together with the rich vegetation of thick branched trees whose glistening leafage is densely intertwined, as if the tropical vegetation of the coast, traveling underground, had suddenly emerged triumphantly in the surrounding waste. But gradually these flashes of life become more widely spaced and disappear altogether. For hundreds and hundreds of kilometers, the bus travels over the roads of a dead planet, across long iron bridges over the dried-up

dusty beds of ancient rivers; now and again it goes through an empty village with a skinny cow sleeping in the square in the shadow of a cement obelisk. And suddenly, surprisingly, at a turn in the road, appear the trucks filled with people in search of the fertile rich south of their imaginations, fertile but actually not so rich for them. Old men, pregnant women, children huddled in vehicles that bounce along the holes in the road. All of them standing, clutching a pole stretched from one side of the truck to the other. They have sold everything they had and are now bound for the golden south.

And those who had nothing had to stay and accept the nothing; the handout the government offered them: the work fronts.

In the very heart of the wasteland at the end of the highway, are the barracks made of long dry branches, that serve as housing for the men with contracts and their families. Fifteen to twenty people sleep in each one.

At one end a fireplace; a few tree trunks on the floor to sit on, no place for clothing since each one has on everything he possesses. It isn't easy to approach the barracks. They are watched by the army which takes great care to see that no foreign journalist gets in.

Two kilometers from the small airport of Crateus, under surveillance by the fourth battalion, there was one of these encampments. It was Sunday and the place was quiet, without overseers or soldiers.

In one of the barracks, a young woman was cooking with the pot mounted on three rocks, an old man was sleeping in a hammock, several children were playing with stones near the door; in a corner, a woman was mending her sandals with

thick strands of straw. All this was caught and held by the sun whose rays entered in parallel shafts.

The woman cooking, who was 24 or 25 years old, with frank eyes and a full and direct attitude, answered my questions without interrupting her work. Moving with precision and certainty between pots and cans, she attended to the children, tasted the cocido adding salt or water, and arranged a lock of black hair that had escaped from hairpins and fell across her forehead.

"We got here on June 25th. We had a little field but this year it didn't produce anything."

"Didn't it rain in January and February?"

"In January it rained a few drops . . . we all planted. Then there was a little rain in February and a little in March and then it stopped. Nowhere near enough."

"But you planted."

"Yes, after the first rain everyone planted. But then there wasn't enough rain for things to grow."

"I've heard this story many times," said the old man, turning his back and closing his eyes.

Nilsa smiled.

"He's very rebellious," she said shrugging her shoulders. "There wasn't enough rain for what we planted to grow there in the sierra. Some people who lived in the lowlands had some growth but we had nothing, almost nothing."

"If the land yielded nothing why did you wait until June to come here?"

"Well, there were a few things . . . a few beans, a little corn, something."

"What do the people do while they're waiting for the rain?"

"What?"

"Do they look at the sky, pray?"

"They spend all day walking from

house to house and talking to people."

"Talking about the rain."

"Yes, always talking about the rain."

"Here the rainy season is one little shower," said the old man without looking at us.

"And what do people say?"

"Ah, if it would only rain. Ah, if we had a little rain so we could plant something. And some of them pray and make promises. It's all mixed up."

"You came on June 25th then."

"Yes, on June 25th we closed the house and came because there was nothing left . . . nothing . . . nothing."

The old man turned again and, with an ironic smile, said they still had the children left, crying from hunger.

Nilsa looked at me with an air of complicity and said:

"He always says those things."

"Don't people try to find a solution to the lack of rainfall?"

"Yes, they think about it a lot but they don't have any way to change it."

The old man had come over and was listening to us. Nilsa continued saying: "What can we do . . . lots of times we don't even have seeds; and then my husband looks for an employer to give him work and necessities. He works for a while and buys."

"People are soft here," said the old man fixing me with round, bright, nervous eyes. The people here don't know what strength they have."

"You say they're soft and you say they have strength."

"The people have strength but they don't know it."

"What strength do the people have?" Nilsa asked. "The strength to work and work."

"The strength to get what they want, to make demands on those who have and those who run things."

"They're not going to give us half of what they have."

"Nobody says they have to give it to us; we have to take it."

"He always talks like that," Nilsa said looking at me.

"Do you think he's wrong?"

"I don't know."

"They can kill one," said the old man, "they can kill 100, 1000, but they can't kill 10 000 000."

"That's what the leaflets say," said Nilsa.

"What leaflets?"

"The ones they said they threw in the barracks."

"Who says?"

"My husband saw them."

"Who threw them?"

"I don't know, they never threw them in this barracks."

"What did they say?"

"I never saw them and anyhow I don't know how to read. They showed my husband some; he said they talked about everybody uniting to fight, and that we were starving. A lieutenant came around to ask if we had seen the leaflets and who threw them. But we didn't see anyone. It's no one from here. They're typewritten and nobody around here has a typewriter. Nor enough money to send them to be done in the city. They kept asking and asking who had done it."

"Yes," said the old man, "now you see that what I say is true; the leaflets scared them, made them very nervous."

"Why were they so alarmed?"

"Because they also spoke against the army, saying that they didn't distribute the food properly, that they kept some for themselves," said Nilsa. "And that they defend those who keep us in starvation."

"Is that true?"

"And what's the army for," said the old man.

"And we are starving," said Nilsa.

"Those papers," said the woman

who was mending her sandals, "were not done on a typewriter."

"How many people sleep in this barracks?"

"With the children we're 18," said the mother.

"How many know how to read?"

"He and my husband," said Nilsa indicating the old man. "He can read the newspaper."

"Didn't you ever hear of the Peasant Leagues?" asked the old man.

"Yes, I knew about them."

"What are they doing now?"

"Nothing. The **Redentera** put an end to all that. They killed the leaders. Others disappeared."

"The police?"

"The police, the bosses and the people the bosses paid to kill them."

"Were there Leagues in this zone?"

"Those I knew about were on the coast, in the cane region."

"More than one was drowned or ground up in the sugar mill machines."

"And what's to be done now?"

"Everything is very difficult. When the people are starving they don't think of anything except food."

"That's true, but those who assault trains and towns are hungry too."

"Yes, but I don't know, I don't think that's very important."

"Would it be more important if the attack was made without the pressure of hunger?"

"Yes it would. I say the Northeasterner is soft but I only say it to annoy Nilsa. The Northeasterner is brave but that isn't enough. He needs people who can explain things to him and guide him."

"People from the church come here," said the woman with the sandals, "and give us guidance. But if they're seen coming they are turned away. They've talked to us about communities, about neighbors uniting and working together. But this is just

a dream to us. You know how we peasants are. We're like pigs with our noses to the ground. Everything is very difficult for us because we aren't very intelligent."

"Why do you say that? You're intelligent."

"If I were intelligent I'd be able to read and write."

"That's something you learn."

"He is intelligent and so he learned," she said pointing to the old man.

"I learned because I went to school," said the old man irritably.

"Maybe," said the old woman doubtfully.

"How much do you earn per day here?"

"Two cruzeiros. They pay us on Fridays, almost always in food: two kilos of beans a week, two of manioc flour, one of rice, two of rapadura (sugar candy) and four cruzeiros, more or less, in hand."

"Is that enough?"

"If you're alone, yes, but if you have two or three children you begin to get hungry by Wednesday. There are people here who have twelve children. By Monday they don't have anything left."

People had been arriving at the barracks from the village laden with packages of provisions for the week. Several men, two women and a youth. One of the men said: "I know what I'm saying because they read it to me in the 1971 Almanac."

"Almanacs are no good," said the youth.

"This Almanac always gives true prophecies."

"These people on earth who think they know more than God!" said the youth.

"The prophets don't want to know more than God," said the man.

"They receive God's wisdom." And then he added, "Now we're going to have three years in a row of

drought, mortality, high prices and lots of sickness."

"Where is the prophet from?" said the women with the sandals.

"From Joaceiro do Norte."

"Joaceiro do Norte is the land of many saints and prophets. Pray God no such disasters occur."

"There's no use waiting for God to intervene," said the man, "because people who talk about God don't do what God orders. This is a punishment."

"Have you been very wicked then?" I asked him.

"We are sinners and we don't know what we do."

"If we don't know what we do, perhaps God won't want to punish us," said the woman.

"He's going to punish us for sure because we talk a lot about him but don't obey him."

"In what way don't you obey him?"

"By not saving when we have, for the times we don't have. When people have something, they eat it all up and don't save anything for tomorrow."

"I have known people who ate pork, and beef, and chicken and bacon and beans and rice all at the same meal and didn't even bother to keep any for later. And the next day if they wanted to they could eat just as much all over again."

"Those are the rich."

"And God doesn't punish them," said the old man, looking at him aggressively.

"He punishes them, but not all punishments are the same. We sometimes can't see the punishments they get," said the man.

"I just beg God to exchange my punishment and give me the punishment the rich get," said the woman with the sandals.

I turned around smiling, expecting to find a mischievous expression on her face. But she wore an expression of earnest innocence.

Bloody Democracy

Ibrahim Isa

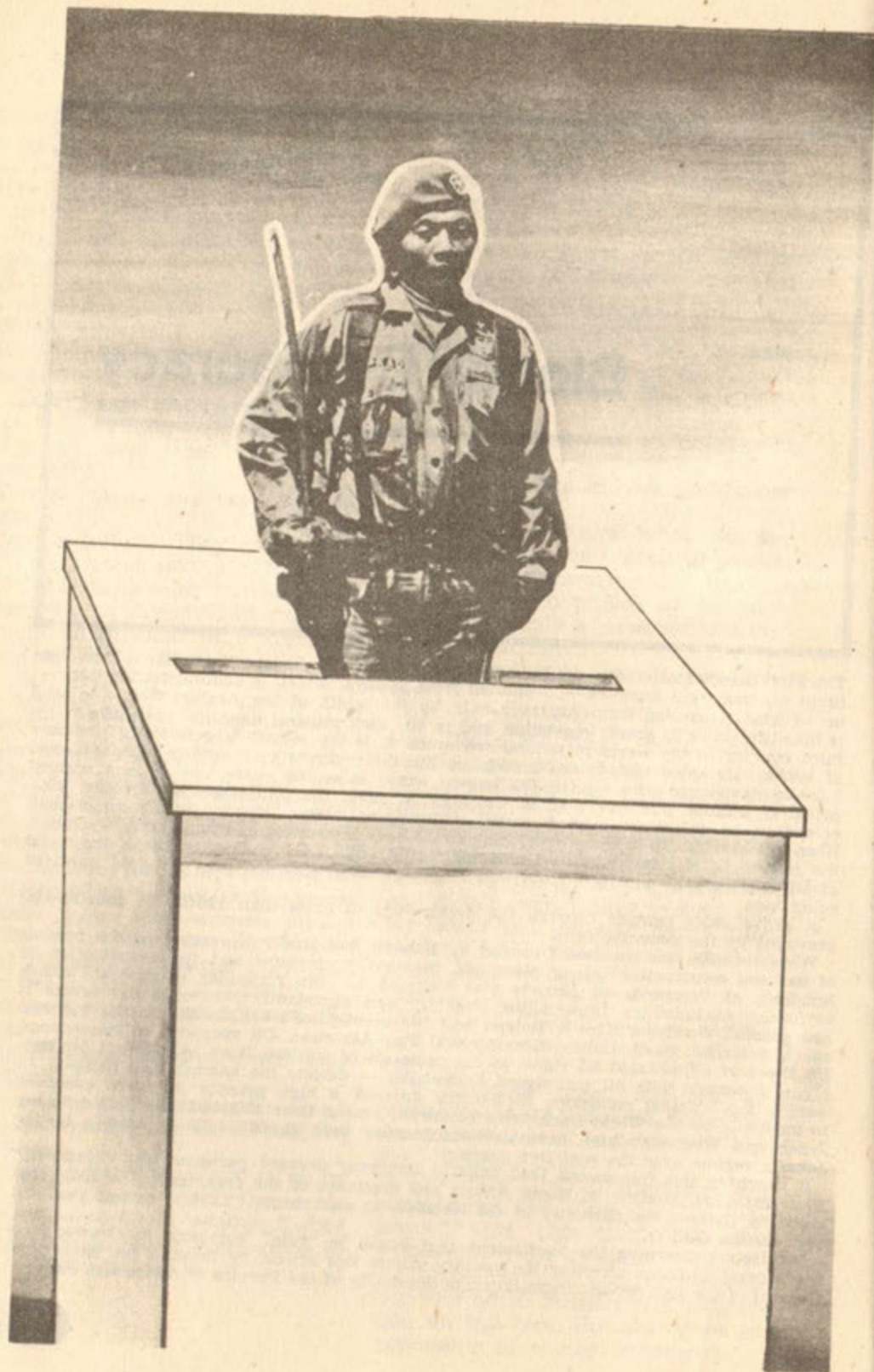
The 3000 islands scattered in the Indian Ocean that make up Indonesia are like a capricious braid running from Sumatra — separated from Malaya, which is continental territory — up to Irian, separated from Australia only by the width of the Arafura Sea. The land is bountiful both in green vegetation and in the rich mineral deposits that make it the third country in the world in natural resources. It is the second largest world producer of rubber; its spice islands are prodigious for their cloves and nutmeg and attracted intrepid navigators who circled the known world some 500 years ago. In any anthropological treatise one can read of the man of Java, the *pithecanthropus erectus*, who according to scientists existed many millenniums before man's famous antecedent, Neanderthal man. Up to there everything seems very interesting and suggestive, "exciting", the Hollywood documentary film narrator would add, if there didn't exist in the midst of all this the real and bare truth that no delirious imagination nor well-paid publicist could hide.

A grave crisis extends through the archipelago of more than 120 000 000 inhabitants, provoked by the generals' coup.

When, in 1966, the movement headed by Suharto and Nasution overturned the process of national construction taking place and persecution, tortures and the assassination of hundreds of thousands of patriots was followed by the surrender of natural wealth to foreign partnerships, imperialism promptly and abundantly recovered the favors it had granted. Goodyear Tire & Rubber had "its plantations", nationalized in the Sukarno epoch, returned; Shell, Caltex, Stanvax and Pan American Oil received oil concessions. US Freeport adjudicated all rights to the minerals of western Irian. A contract for supplying Indonesia with oil was signed Rockefeller — despite the nation's own national oil wealth and existing refineries. McNamara ordered a high priority on loans conceded to Indonesia by the World Bank. Nine countries, among them England, the United States, Japan and West Germany, have authorized more than \$2 000 000 000 in credits to the Jakarta regime over the past five years.

It is within this framework that Suharto last year decreed parliamentary "elections." Amir Mahmud, Minister of Home Affairs and president of the organization in charge of elections, defined the character of the elections in one phrase: "Like it or not you will vote for the Golkar."

Precisely concerning the Parliament that began to "rule" Indonesia in October and the general situation affecting the country, comes this article by Ibrahim Isa, Secretary-General of the Indonesian Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa and Asia.



By forcefully seizing power and taking over all the state apparatus and administrative machinery in the fields of politics, economy, culture, law, foreign trade and diplomatic relations, the Suharto clique of generals has set up a complete military regime of the most reactionary type in Indonesia.

In Suharto's cabinet, many generals are holding the post of ministers, and in all ministries the most important key positions are in their hands. In the "civilian" ministries, either the important post of secretary-general or the posts of director generals are in the hands of the fascist military clique.

All the key positions in the economic field are now occupied or controlled by reactionary generals and colonels. To cite just a few examples: the chairman of the Jakarta Chamber of Commerce is a brigadier-general (Usman - Ismail); chairman of Indonesia National Air Carriers Association, a brigadier-general (Djuhartono); director of the "private" Mandala Airlines, a brigadier-general (S. Sofjar); administrator of supply of rice, a major-general (Ahmad Tirtosudiro); chairman of All Indonesia Cigarette Manufacturers Association, a lieutenant-colonel (Brototenojo); director-general of the home trade a major-general (Muskita), etc., etc.

Many generals are appointed as ambassadors in various important places. Where the ambassador is not a military man, the fascist clique of generals sends as many brass-hats as possible as members of that embassy, overtly or covertly. By so doing the fascist generals' clique has a tight control also in the diplomatic field.

Not only the central and executive bodies but the regional or provincial ones as well, even down to the village level, are controlled completely by the fascist military clique. The Minister of Home Affairs is a lieu-

tenant-general (Amir Mahmud), and his military is full of high- and low-ranking reactionary officers, holding important positions.

The majority of governors of the 26 provinces of Indonesia are major-generals, brigadier-generals, colonels, etc. Besides, there are hundreds upon hundreds of colonels, majors and lieutenants who are appointed majors or heads of districts and subdistricts throughout Indonesia.

The Farce of "General Election"

July 3, 1971, this regime of Suarto and his gang of reactionary generals, whose hands are dripping with the blood of hundreds of thousands of communists, democrats and patriotic persons massacred on a nationwide scale, staged the rotten political farce of a "general election" they had been preparing for several years.

The outcome of the voting and the dirty practice and manipulations perpetrated by the Suharto military clique before and during the "general election" clearly show that this farce was nothing but a political deception of the worst type rigged up in the crudest and dirtiest way.

This very expensive general election (it cost 20 billion rupiahs or US \$55 million) has enriched not only the pockets of the corrupt reactionary generals of Suharto's clique, but has also produced such rubbish as a rubber-stamp "parliament," "local assemblies" and "people's constituent assembly." It was entirely geared to deceive people at home and abroad by providing the appearance of "democracy" without its substance. Their real aim was to consolidate and widen their

reactionary military domination in all fields.

Suharto and his consorts up to this moment continue to shout at the top of their voices that the "election" was performed on the basis of "free," "universal," "direct" and "secret" principles. But on the contrary, all the facts prove sufficiently that nothing about it smelled of democracy, not even in a bourgeois sense.

Even the mouthpiece of US monopoly capital, the weekly *Time* (July 12, 1971), wrote:

The election was a costly (\$55 million) move designed to give the regime a measure of legitimacy. The government took no chances. Before the election it forbade criticism of President Suharto or the government's program. The nine opposition parties were allowed to hold village rallies but there were widespread charges of intimidation. In some provinces, army commanders prevented political rallies by scheduling military drills at the same time. The government also weeded out 2500 unacceptable candidates and arrested many others.

Another US imperialist weekly, *Newsweek* (July 12, 1971), admitted:

Occasionally, Golkar's steam roller tactics created outright hostility. Said one civil servant, "If you don't join Golkar, you will be politely fired. There is no freedom of voting." Peasants claimed that they were threatened with increased taxes and cutoff of such vital supplies as fertilizer and insecticides if they failed to vote for Golkar. There were even reports of physical violence.

The effort of Suharto and his clique to use the "general election"

as a democratic mask has failed, and the wicked and vicious nature of a military regime permeated with fascist crimes has been completely revealed.

Let us examine the facts.

The Birth of Golkar (Functional Group) as a Party

For several years now, Suharto and his clique have concerted a plan to ensure an absolute majority in the parliament, local assemblies, etc., as a result of the general election. It means that they intended, more than ever before, to manipulate these "democratic institutions" arbitrarily and at will.

To achieve this purpose, the generals' clique rammed the "election bill" through the rubber-stamp "parliament" in November 1969, by pressure and intimidation against political parties. The bill stipulated that in the 460 seat "parliament" only 360 members would be elected while the rest would be appointed by the generals' clique, mostly as representatives of the armed forces.

Other means used by the generals' clique to achieve the aim of completely dominating the parliament were: tightening its control over the political parties and "mass organizations," creating splits, screening their members, interfering in the formation and composition of their leading bodies, and even proposing that certain people be elected into the leading bodies of political parties.

But these were not enough for them! They wanted to be more sure about their complete control of the coming legislative assemblies after the election. They needed to have a political party which is completely under their command and becomes their effective political instrument.

For this, about two years ago, the generals' clique created a new political party of its own known as the

"functional group." They converted the military-dominated "joint secretariat of functional groups" (Sekbergolkar) into a political party which was instructed to take part in the "election" alongside with nine other political parties.

The military-directed political party Golkar, headed by a lieutenant-general (S. Sekowati) as its general chairman, is composed of about 200 "mass organizations" (mostly also controlled or dominated by the military) of "workers," "peasants," "lawyers," "women," "youth," "students" and all kinds of bogus mass organizations.

One of the chairmen of this fascist-type political party is a brigadier-general (Amir Murtono) and its secretary-general is a brigadier-general too (Sapardjo). Throughout Indonesia, all the branches of this political party are also directed by colonels, majors, captains of the reactionary armed forces of Suharto.

Suharto's Clique Backed the "Functional Groups"

Long before the polling-day on July 3, 1971, Suharto's clique had demonstrated openly its full backing of the functional groups (abbreviated in Indonesian language as Golkar) by all conceivable means. On many occasions they declared that "Golkar must win the "election." They even went so far as to decide one year ago that Golkar must win at least 130 seats out of the 360 contested in the election.

The Jakarta newspaper *Pedoman* (June 4, 1971) disclosed in its editorial that too many government officials, from ministers down to governors and heads of villages, from generals down to corporals, are committed to Golkar and openly canvas in the campaign to support it. The newspaper admitted that in practice there is no difference at all between the Golkar and the

government in their activities concerning the election.

Antar news agency (June 5, 1971) reported that Deputy Chief-of-Staff of the Strategic Army Command (Kostrad), brigadier-general S. Sofjar, during his campaign for Golkar before the election in one of the regions of Sumatra, said without concealment that it was the policy of the government to secure victory for the Golkar in the election.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hongkong) of May 15, 1971, printed two articles concerning the preparation of the election in Indonesia. The articles disclosed:

- Golkar, Suharto's new party power base, was privileged;
- the military is still very much the boss throughout the nation;
- army commanders have been tackling the Golkar conversion effort more along the lines of a military operation in which an officer's command is law.
- the Minister of Home Affairs Amir Mahmud issued a directive that the country's almost four million civil servants had to become Golkar members;
- it would be difficult for the functional groups to lose, backed as they are by the army and government and with unlimited funds;
- provincial and village heads have been warned that if they wish to retain their position they should make sure their area votes for Golkar;
- threats and intimidation are being openly encouraged as means of garnering votes.

Intimidations, Arrest, Murder

Due to the dirty and rude practices of the military and civilian authorities at all levels to make the Golkar win the election, many

known papers in Indonesia published protests, criticism and sarcastic remarks by various political parties and social groupings against the military regime's policy.

It was disclosed that the reactionary military rulers throughout Indonesia not only gave ample facilities and extraordinary privileges to the Golkar, but also resorted to intimidations, arrests and brutal terror against the people. Several months before the polling-day of July 3, 1971, some newspaper in Jakarta reported that arrests and even killings of opponents of the Golkar occurred in various parts of Indonesia.

The Jakarta newspaper *Suluh Marhaen* (June 3, 1971) reported that in one region of Central Java, Rembang, the head of the region dismissed government personnel and heads of villages because they opposed becoming members of the Golkar.

In its editorial of June 14, 1971, the Jakarta newspaper *Pedoman* admitted that the big issues widely discussed recently were:

—the use of coercion, oppression, intimidation against the people by the armed forces in their effort to back the Golkar and to corner the political parties;

—the attitude of the Minister of Home Affairs is not fair in acting as the referee of the elections;

—protests which have been launched against electoral campaign excesses of violations of fundamental human rights;

—political parties and organizations have appealed that the government should observe the rules of the game as has been stipulated in the bill of election.

Although many protests have

been voiced against the dirty practices and partisan policies of the military authorities, no changes have been made by the military regime. The military authorities went ahead shamelessly to achieve their goal: the Golkar must win an absolute majority!

They even banned two Jakarta newspapers, the *Duta Masjamat* (organ of the Moslem Scholars' Party, *Nahdatul Ulama*) and *Harian Kami* (organ of one section of the students' movement), for several days, because these two newspapers have published too many reports disclosing the dirty practices of the military authorities.

What Does the "Victory" of the Golkar Mean?

Knowing the background and nature of the Golkar and its relation with the ruling military authorities of Indonesia today, it was not surprising at all to anyone to hear the outcome of the election held on July 3, 1971.

Two days after polling-day, everybody already knew quite clearly that the Golkar (which is in fact a political party created, controlled, financed and directed by the generals' clique) garnered the biggest number of votes.

According to the official announcement by the military regime (August 7, 1971) the final counting of the votes in 25 provinces (out of 26) has shown that the Golkar was high on top of the list. It garnered 227 seats, which means 63% of the contested 360 seats, or 49% of the entire seats. Far down below on the list followed the *Nahdatul Ulama* (Moslem Scholar' Party) as the second with 38 seats, and *Par-musi* (Moslem Party) the third with 24 seats, and only then the PNI (Nationalist Party) as the fourth with 20 seats.

Such an announcement is rather misleading, since in fact after the

Golkar follows "the armed forces' group" with its 100 seats (directly appointed by Suharto). It means that the armed forces' group occupies 22% of the whole 460 seats of the "parliament." Combined, the military-directed Golkar and the armed forces' group will occupy 227 plus 100 seats, or 71% of the 460 seats, while the remaining 28% or 29% must be divided among the other political parties.

Such will be the face of the ugly parliament after the political farce of election staged by the military regime. It is quite clear to anyone that it is nothing more than a rubber stamp to legalize everything the generals' clique wants to do. Any reactionary bill or law can be rammed or railroaded through such a parliament. The parliament must pass everything which has been planned and decided in advance by the "war room" of Suharto.

That the regime intends to use the parliament merely as an out and out ornament of democracy to deceive public opinion and to consolidate its fascist rule can be seen also from the following facts: The political parties had no freedom to nominate their own candidates for the election. The list of the candidates of the political parties had to be screened and approved by the military authorities, and finally by Suharto himself. Police, military police, intelligence officers, etc. scrutinized and investigated the backgrounds and political attitude of each candidate. Eventually, Suharto got rid of more than 1000 names of candidates of the political parties, on the pretext that their loyalty to the new order was in doubt.

Rubber-Stamp Parliament of the Worst Type

With the overwhelming majority of the seats in the parliament under the direct control and dictate of

Suharto's clique of reactionary generals, the military regime can, more than ever, exercise its fascist rule wantonly and at will. The parliament is nothing more than a rubber-stamp, the worst of its kind. (The secretary-general of the parliament is a brigadier-general.)

In the past, parliament under Suharto's regime has been a rubber-stamp one, too. But the present parliament will be completely a toy to play with. With such a composition, the military regime can more easily ram and railroad everything through it without encountering any significant opposition.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hongkong) of June 26, 1971, wrote about such a situation: "Since the government exercised the power to screen all candidates and has also intervened in the internal organization of several major parties, there has never been any real threat that it would face a hostile parliament."

Members of the parliament representing the political parties have been selected, screened and approved by the military authorities. They are supposed to be loyal to the new order of the military regime and have no leftist tendencies in their political outlook. Besides, the whole combination of all political parties in the parliament (124 seats) is still a small minority facing the military-directed Golkar (227 seats). It is important to note also that many political parties willingly serve or cooperate weakly with the military regime for their own respective interests.

Such is the ugly feature of democracy and parliament under the fascist military regime of Suharto. With the domination of the legislative assemblies at all levels by the reactionary generals' clique, the

usurpation of power and tight control by the military rulers in all fields will be more complete and consolidated. Since five years ago, they have occupied the executive branch by force (ministries, services and other governmental or official institutions and agencies).

More than ever, the true nature of Suharto's regime as a fascist military regime is becoming clearer to everybody at home and abroad. A regime which wholeheartedly serves the interests of US imperialism and other monopoly capital. A regime which is putting hundreds of thousands of political prisoners into hundreds of horrible jails and concentration camps scattered throughout the Indonesian archipelago.

Total Sell-Out of the Country's Interests to Imperialism

During its brutal rule of more than five years, the military regime of Suharto, has revealed itself as a regime in the hands of compradors and bureaucrat-capitalists, the watchdog of US imperialism and other monopoly-capitalists. It sold out the country's natural resources in a big way to enrich the pockets of the corrupt reactionary generals and their consorts.

The reactionary generals of Suharto's clique and the US-educated technocrats turned the country into a new-type colony by throwing the door wide open to the invasion of foreign monopoly capital. Within a short span of several years under their rule, more than 355 foreign enterprises (with a total investment of more than US \$1.4 billion) began their operation throughout Indonesia to loot the wealth of the country out of the sweat and blood of the working people.

The oil-producing areas throughout Indonesia have been sold to more than 42 foreign oil companies, mostly US-owned, and huge on-shore and off-shore deposits of oil have been found in many places. The role of the director of the state-owned oil company Pertamina, lieutenant-general Ibnu Sutowo (notorious at home and abroad for his corruption), is very important in inviting and giving all kinds of facilities to foreign oil companies to rob Indonesia.

The military regime sold concessions for exploiting Indonesia's vast timber reserves to more than 56 foreign companies in 144 projects scattered in Kalimantan, Sumatra, Sulawesi (Celebes) and other islands. The extensive forestry loot by foreign companies will totally cover an area of 15.5 million hectares.

Big foreign companies in mining and other extractive industries such as Alcoa, INCO, Freeport Sulphur, N. V. Billiton My, Riotinto, Bethlehem Steel, Broken Hill, Pacific Nickel, Kennecott and a host of big Japanese companies are busy exploring and extracting nickel, copper, bauxite, tin, even uranium, in all parts of Indonesia.

With the "victory" of the Golkar and tighter domination by the military clique in all fields, the sell-out of the country will be stepped up. The reactionary generals chatter endlessly, endlessly about the virtues of foreign investments and foreign "aid." But the brutal truth is that Suharto's regime is in the hands of the most reactionary compradors and bureaucrat-capitalists, who are subserviently serving US global strategy in southeast Asia.

Contradiction and Clashes of Interests Are Sharpening

The last two years showed that more and more people have seen that the much-propagated progress,

industrialization, five-year development plan and other frauds peddled by Suharto and his clique only benefit a small privileged class and have nothing to do with the interests of the broad masses of workers and peasants. They are witnessing with their own eyes that corruption, abuse of power, ruthless suppression of democracy, persecutions, are inherent, inescapable, built-in features of the fascist military regime of Suharto. They have seen and experienced by themselves that the so-called new order has brought no improvement, no amelioration of conditions, but rather an increase of ruthless repression against the working people.

Crime has always been endemic among the reactionary officers of Suharto. While the generals continue to denounce corruption, they also continue to practice it. It is merely a screen behind which the generals' clique can continue its crimes.

Discontent, anger, and resentment against the crimes perpetrated by the generals' clique have assumed wider and bigger dimensions, and wider circles among the people are awakening to the damage that the generals are doing to the country's and people's interests.

Recent years have also seen contradictions and internal strife between the military and non-military interests sharpening. What was latent before, has gradually come to the surface.

Strong anger and displeasure against the arbitrary domination of the reactionary army in all fields has been felt and voiced throughout the country. Popular discontent toward the wide-spread corruption by reactionary high- and low-ranking officers is mounting every day.

Many former supporters of Suharto's clique, feeling that their own interests were hurt, have become bolder in voicing criticism against

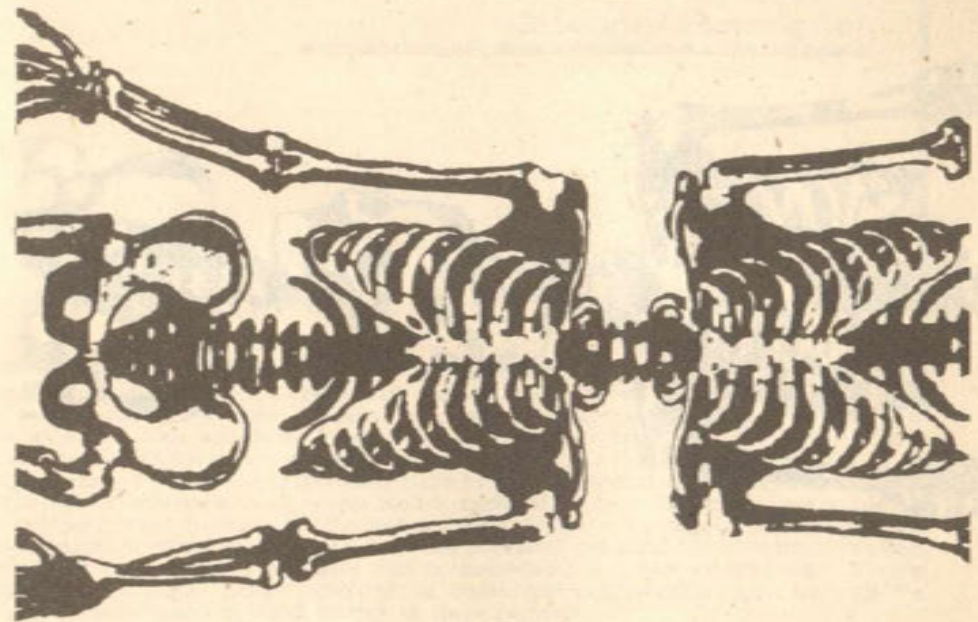
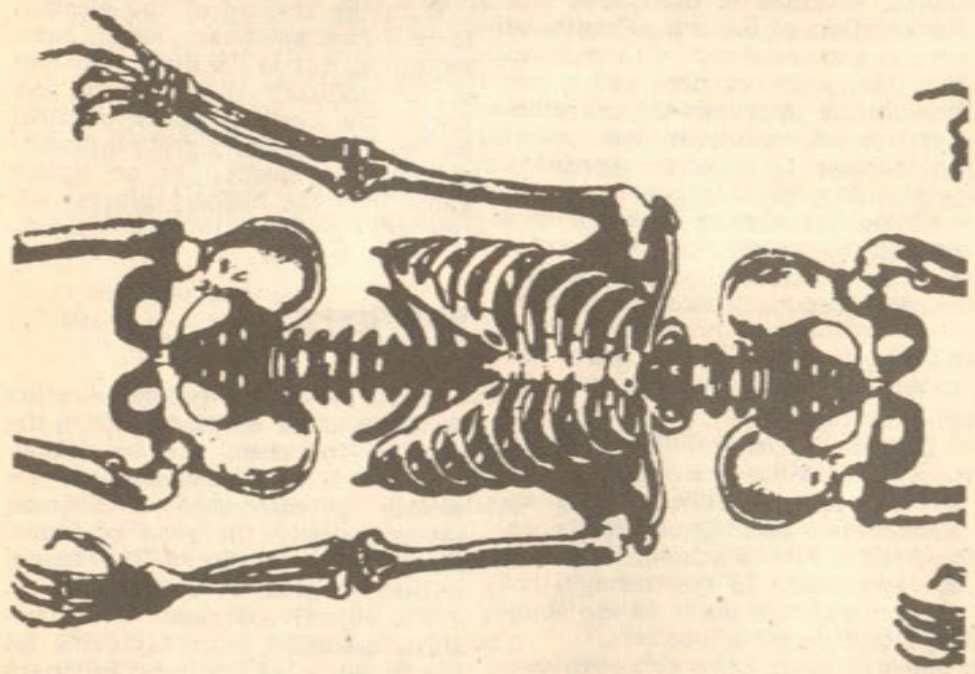
the regime's policies. In this connection, worth noting are the repeated demonstrations by youth and students in various big cities of Indonesia in 1969 and 1970 and the setting up of the Committee for Upholding the People's Sovereignty, White Group, Conference on Civilian Rights, etc., representing a faction of the reactionary forces opposed to Suharto.

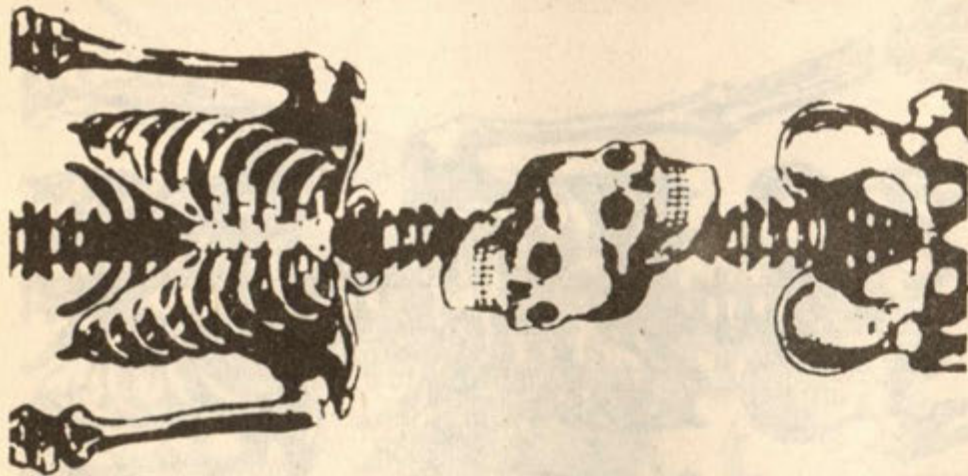
With the staging of the election farce, contradictions have been mounting, due to the dirty practices of the military rulers before and during the election. Many political parties and nonparty groupings considered the election as an unfair game with the military players using intimidations, threats and guns in order to win.

March Onward on the Road of Armed Struggle

From the recent general election and from other developments in the past in Indonesia, the revolutionary people of Indonesia can see clearly the correctness of the road taken, namely the road of armed struggle to overthrow the fascist military regime of Suharto.

The objective situation in Indonesia is becoming more favorable for the struggle of the revolutionary people of Indonesia. The development in the near future will inevitably show that the military regime of Suharto is strengthening its fascist rule, more brutal and ruthless than ever. With the whole legislative and executive apparatus completely in its tight grip, the generals' clique will be more wanton in exercising its reactionary rule. Facing such a situation, popular resistance and opposition against the fascist military regime will assume a broader scale.





Endemic Disease

Giovanni Berlinguer

Many terrible diseases such as pestilence, cholera, yellow fever, typhus, malaria, smallpox and others continue to cause thousands of deaths annually in the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, despite the fact that there are known therapeutic or prophylactic means of combating them.

The developed capitalist countries can claim to have eradicated them from their borders, thanks to the colonialist and neocolonialist exploitation to which they have subjected the underdeveloped countries. As the Italian doctor, Giovanni Berlinguer, points out in the present work, it would be wrong to deny the universal contributions of western medical science, but there is also a one-sided risk in maintaining a purely medical point of view concerning the public health problems of underdeveloped countries and ignoring the economic, military and political history of these peoples.

Inequalities in diet, life expectancy and disease in developed capitalist countries and in underdeveloped countries are analyzed in this documented article by Berlinguer, member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, which *Tricontinental* presents for its readers.

THE HISTORY of disease and contagion is closely linked to social and political events. The illnesses prevalent in a given country and a given epoch are, therefore, a true reflection of the relationship between man, nature and society. At the present time, due to international economic and political relations and the rapid diffusion of medical science, there is a closer relationship between the epidemiological context in different parts of the world and the demands of a "planetary" struggle against illnesses.

Despite this, a great portion of

the western texts on social medicine ignore the problems of the Third World and the socialist countries. Freeman's thick book, *Medical Sociology*,¹ limits itself to observing, on page 39, that social scientists have recently recognized that the experiences of a great many European countries at the dawn of industrial capitalism can be compared to the changes experienced by various African countries after the contact with European civilization, without describing the phenom-

enon and without seeing, beyond analogies, differences in development; and for the socialist countries, the only thing it says, on page 46, is that in the Soviet Union all public health problems are viewed from a "social point of view" — without considering that "social vision" always exists, and without analyzing what perspective relates or differentiates the socialist countries from the capitalist, and what are the reciprocal influences.

This concept ignores the fact that hygienic progress itself in the capitalist countries is intertwined with the history of colonialism. Three examples can be given:

1) The exportation of hunger.

From a dietary point of view, Europe until a century ago suffered great deficiencies in food similar to those that now affect the underdeveloped zones of the world. Southard recalls that in western Europe between the years 1000 and 1855 there were 450 local or general famines.² Citing multiple sources,³ Tizzano recalls that France, even in the 18th century when it was the richest country on the continent, suffered repeated starvation. In Sweden, the famine of 1772-73 raised the death rate to 52.6 per thousand. Animal protein consumption was fairly limited throughout Europe until the end of the 19th century: in France the Morvan peasants ate meat only once a year, those in Maine twice a year and those of Brittany only for religious ceremonies. Up until 1844 a third of the population of the United Kingdom lived on potatoes alone and another third could add bread and scraps from the slaughterhouse twice a week. Tizzano states that "the famines in Europe were overcome with improved methods of cultivation and with the increase in food supplies from overseas, along with

industrial development and the new methods of transportation and conservation that accompanied Europe's economic development." Along with the development of the productive forces themselves, the end of chronic famine in Europe was achieved by means of colonial nutritional plunder and the exportation of hunger to other continents. To this was added the human plunder in the relationship between America and Africa. According to the historian DuBois, the slave trade cost no less than 100 000 000 human lives and had as its consequence a demographic crisis that lasted for more than a century in Africa.

2) Cotton imports. One of the most serious endemic diseases in Europe over a long period was typhus (exanthematous). England and Ireland were hit in 1816, 1819 and again in 1846, when more than a million people became ill. After that the disease slackened except during wartime. Newsholme wrote that, in addition to the isolation of the sick in hospitals, the increasing use of cotton bedding and especially cotton underwear, the elimination of unhealthy housing, city planning, increased activity on the part of health officials in sterilization and disinfection with lime and other substances of contaminated dormitories, and changing the beds, played an important role in the reduction of the incidence of dermatological infection [...] before it was determined that lice was the bacterial element that caused it to spread.⁴

In this case the reduction of the incidence of epidemics was the result of many factors; among others one of the most important was the "change of fashion" that took place during the first half of the century due to the success of cotton processing (which made it possible to free people from woolen clothing that lasted for years and was almost never washed), as a result of colonial conquests.

3) Medical discoveries. Toward the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th there was a great spurt of knowledge about the pathological agents and insect carriers of the main diseases prevalent in the colonies (yellow fever, elephantitis, sleeping sickness, malaria, plague, etc.). In addition to humanitarian and scientific motivations, these discoveries corresponded to a need of the metropolis. Quarantines were not enough to protect the colonialist countries from tropical epidemics, and in any case they did not succeed in saving from contagion the military, the officials and the entrepreneurs sent there to occupy new lands and open canals (Panama, Suez) to transform the economy. It was necessary to know and to conquer at their root the causes of epidemics, or else colonial penetration would have been slowed down. Many investigations were actually made by British, French and US military doctors. The beneficiaries of these discoveries were, in the first place, the white residents, and only in the second place and to a lesser degree, the colonial peoples.

These three examples serve to avoid the risk of a one-sided interpretation of the complex relations between the hygienic history of the Third World and that of the capitalist countries (the idea of the "good white doctor" who brings health is still prevalent). On the other hand it would be equally erroneous to deny the universal benefits that western medical science has provided.

Another danger in a unilateral approach is that of taking a purely medical point of view which ignores economic, military and political history. For example, it is rather strange to read, still today, that "the discovery of emetine in 1912 limited the incidence of amoebic dysentery in the Far East and permitted such a renaissance, accord-

ing to Montel, that two periods of development can be distinguished in Indochina: before and after emetine."⁵ Whoever writes the history of Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam in this century will surely mark the periods differently and will give more weight to the Japanese, French, and US imperialists than to the amoebas, and will attribute the liberation of these peoples to their heroic struggle and certainly not to emetine.

In the hygienic history of the West and the Third World not only is there a distinct rhythm of changes evident, but these changes also take different, sometimes opposite courses. Certain differences are evident:

1) Relation between mortality and birth rate. In Europe, the reduction of mortality that accompanied its economic and cultural growth and even carried capitalism's development forward, is associated with a lowered birth rate. The annual rate of demographic growth in the first 50 to 100 years of industrial development was: 0.6% in England, 0.4% in France, 0.7% in Belgium, 0.8% in Germany, 0.8% in Italy.⁶ In Asia, Africa and Latin America there is a more rapid reduction in mortality than in natality and a demographic growth rate of from 2% to 3% and more (3.6% in Venezuela, 3.7% in the Dominican Republic, etc.).

2) Causes for progress in public health. The reduction in mortality verified today in backward countries depends on improved public health standards, in particular the progress of the struggle against infectious diseases, while the standard of living remains more or less the same (conditions of diet, income, housing, etc.). In 19th century Europe, however, the reduction of mortality had a greater relationship to the improvement of the standard of

living than to the progress of medical science.⁷

3) Relationship between hygiene and the economy. In the West hygiene, science and industry developed more or less in parallel, while the inhabitants of the underdeveloped areas had their first contact with a modern organization not through productive activity, as took place in past centuries in Europe, but rather through hygienic controls and mass vaccination or the distribution of insecticides. Thus medicine should have demonstrated that there is frequently greater diffusion of cultural than of economic events and also a tendency toward homogeneity of suprastructural events while there is less homogeneity and much more disparity in development and in living conditions.

As a result of the complex interrelationship of these factors, the countries of the Third World have a rapid demographic development, a slow economic take-off, and a faster rhythm of public health progression than existed in the capitalist countries during the 19th and 20th centuries. In the recent past this is documented, for example, in the comparison of periods of growth of life expectancy in Ceylan and Italy; Ceylan took six years, between 1946 and 1952, to move from a life expectancy of 42 years to 56 years, while in another epoch it took Italy a half a century between 1880 and 1930 to make the same progress.

Up to the present it can be said that the therapy and specific treatment of infectious diseases and other sanitary measures that have accelerated the progress of public health in the backward areas of the world, have operated with relative rapidity for different reasons: "the universal language" of medicine, as of

other sciences; the fact that social support, essentially that of public health education, has served to justify the existence of colonialism and even today, in order to demonstrate friendship or solidarity at the state level, hospitals, dispensaries or schools are donated; the needs of the chemical and pharmaceutical industries to open new markets, first to sell more and second to reduce the incidence of certain epidemic diseases; the phenomenon which has become much more evident in the past ten years of the colonial peoples' emancipation, of their determination to a better life at once, and the priority given to public health policy by many new governments; the example and the intervention of some socialist countries in the field of public health; the work — not free of contradictions but important in its totality — of the World Health Organization and other international agencies. The interrelationship of these factors in the complexity and variety of one country or another, one disease and another.

Despite the progress achieved, it is known that the health situation in underdeveloped countries is quite serious. It may be useful (as we have done) to take as a point of comparison, Europe in the 19th century, and to state that the improvements today are more rapid. But it cannot be forgotten, first, that the development of capitalism in the West was accompanied by contagious diseases and terrible sufferings on the part of the working class; second, that to evaluate a public health situation and determine the purposes of medicine, the only measuring stick must be the relationship between scientific possibility and the well-being effectively achieved.

On the basis of these possibilities, for example, the public health objectives for Latin America were defined in 1961:

...to increase life expectancy by at least five years at birth [...] to provide potable water and sewage for at least 70% of the urban population and 50% of the rural population [...] to reduce mortality between the ages of 0 and 5 by at least half the present figures [...] to control the most serious infectious diseases, eradicate those for which there are effective means to do so, particularly malaria [...] to improve nutrition [...] to train and educate as many doctors and public health assistants as are absolutely necessary [...] to intensify scientific investigation and utilize its results to prevent and cure disease.⁸

The results in Latin America were very inferior to the goals; in other underdeveloped areas (India, Pakistan and certain African countries), the situation even worsened in certain aspects. Among the most serious problems, we enumerate the following:

1) Hunger. This is the most widespread "disease" in the world, the most frequent cause of death both directly and as a co-cause of infectious and metabolic diseases and those affecting the nervous system and sensory organs. It has been calculated approximately (since the word "hunger" is not a part of international nosological classification!) that there are somewhere between 50 000 and 100 000 deaths a day in the world from malnutrition (as many as one death every second). Moreover, it is proven that where agriculture is not planned and modernized, there is a progressive reduction in per capita food production and on entire continents there is a "desperate race against time" between demographic development and the increase in the means of subsistence.

2) Infant mortality. The difference between infant mortality in the backward countries and in the in-

dustrialized countries approaches ten to one. If mortality during the first year of life is broken down between the first month and the next eleven, one sees that the ratio is 3 to 1 during this first period of life when deaths are frequently caused by genetic factors or illnesses during pregnancy, and reaches 20 to 1 during the next period, when environmental factors have a greater influence.

3) Infectious diseases. There are scourges that have been wiped out in the developed countries but that still persist in Asia, Africa and Latin America, such as cholera, scarlet fever, malaria, areas of plague, tripanosomiasis blood parasites, schizosomiasis. Just since 1964 nosological nomenclature has accepted the term "acute diarrhetic illness"; and nevertheless infantile gastroenteritis, caused by virus, protozoa, worms or deprivation, constitutes one of the major public health problems of the Third World. For Latin America, Dr. Martínez Junco stated that

...in Venezuela there were 8869 cases of malaria, 19 cases of human rabies, 586 cases and 52 deaths from poliomyelitis [...], in Costa Rica tuberculosis is the seventh most important cause of death among those between the ages of 15 and 44 [...], in Santo Domingo there are 25 000 cases of tuberculosis in a population of 4 000 000 [...], in Mexico there is a group of lepers numbering 14 233 persons; and between 1965 and 1968 — despite programs for its eradication — there were respectively 41, 52, 36 and 29 deaths from malaria and in 1969 there were 48 843 cases of this illness.⁹

Note that therapeutic and prophylactic treatments for these diseases have been known for a long time. The situation in many countries of Asia and Africa is still

worse.

4) **Life expectancy.** In 1961, life expectancy at birth calculated in six groups of nations according to per capita income, still ranged from a maximum of 70.6 years (more than \$1000 income) to a minimum of 41.7 years. In relation to the future, there is a United Nations study on life expectancy of those who will be born between 1980 and 2000, subdivided into four groups of nations on the basis of their economic levels. If new factors do not intervene quickly enough, those born in underdeveloped countries at the dawn of the next century will have a life expectancy of 15 years less.

The best informed doctors in the Third World are aware of this growing disparity between scientific possibility and actual health. They have declared:

We express our profound frustration as servants of the people. Despite tremendous technical progress, we are in a situation similar to that of our suffering peasant who wears himself out from sunrise to sunset to obtain a miserable yield, in the disproportion between our efforts and the needs of the population. There is not the least bit of defeatism in this approach. We only wish to view with our eyes open the true position of medicine and of doctors at this stage of social development.¹⁰

The causal interpretations for social and health conditions in the Third World that prevail in the World Health Organization (WHO), however, continue to be those expressed in 1958 by L. Scheel, president of the IV World Assembly of Health: "There are many proofs to support the fact that economic development is due, to a great extent, to the predominance in many parts

of the world, of certain preventable diseases. This is the reason why the direct path to improving men's lives lies in activity in the field of public health protection."¹¹

In a more explicit manner, F. Herrera (President of the Inter-American Bank for Reconstruction, in an article professionally titled "Health Is Wealth") writes that the health of the people and the economy are interdependent. When illnesses are frequent, productivity drops, and so salaries, living conditions and the educational level suffer.¹² It is the theory of the vicious circle between health, work, food production, education and health that constitutes the ideology of WHO. It would be sufficient to break the circle of underdevelopment at one point — at the level of health — to guarantee an ascending spiral. On this basis, it has been considered sufficient to increase the number of doctors and develop "sanitary aids" to conquer the major diseases and thus increase work productivity, multiply agricultural resources, reduce hunger and transform the vicious circle into better health. From this theory comes the analysis as to the number of doctors and the amount of public health assistance.

1) **The number of doctors.** The number of doctors and hospital beds is indeed scarce in broad areas of the world: the relationship of doctors to population is 1 to 500 in developed countries (USSR, Italy, Israel) and drops to one doctor for 50 000 inhabitants in certain Afro-Asian nations. Nevertheless it should be observed that there is no direct relationship between the number of doctors and the general health of a country. Italy, for example, has less favorable health conditions than countries that have fewer doctors, such as Sweden, England, France. The correlation between infant mortality, for example, and per capita income, food consumption and edu-

cational level is much greater than with the number of doctors.¹³

It should also be observed that there are social and political motives that prevent a sufficiently rapid growth in the number of doctors. Ethical and economic values that prevail in the Third World are not always humanitarian and frequently other professions have a greater attraction for the most brilliant minds. It is clear that not all doctors practice their profession according to the needs of the population. There are cases that reach the point of being aberrations (that would seem unbelievable were it not for the experience of the doctors that operated in the Nazi concentration camps) such as those recently denounced in Brazil:

Even doctors take part in the torture of political prisoners in Brazil; the grave accusation, with precise testimony, reached the International World Court in Geneva. According to this testimony, the Brazilian police requested the presence of doctors in the "torture sessions" a few months ago in order to "revive the prisoners when they lose consciousness and give them appropriate tips so that the torture will leave scarcely visible scars." This would prevent what had frequently occurred before, when the tortured victims who did not die during the interrogation were left "deaf, blind or insane," which was the proof of torture. The doctors would also be used "to indicate each prisoner's limit of resistance" so that, from the beginning of the treatment, the torture most indicated for obtaining rapid confessions could be applied. Moreover it would be usual to "torture one's spouse in the presence of the other, children in the presence of their parents."¹⁴

Fortunately, these cases are the exception. On the other hand it is frequently the case that doctors who

practice their profession "honestly" devote themselves more all the time to individual medicine and to clients who pay, following the western model even where only a small minority can pay for treatment; and it is frequent that urban residence is selected, even when the population is predominantly rural. In Senegal, for example, there is a doctor for every 2000 inhabitants in the cities, and one for every 60 000 persons in the country.

The diverse location of doctors in various parts of the country responds to criteria that are partly objective (the demand that specialized institutions be located in the big centers), in part is dictated by the greater or lesser wealth of the public health demands and in part by the possibility of being scientifically and culturally up to date. But essentially, the laws of the economy control this phenomenon even on an international scale. What happens, for example, in the relations among doctors in the United States, Great Britain and India is enlightening and at the same time paradoxical. It is known that many English doctors emigrate to the United States because private practice there guarantees them higher income than that of the National Health Service. But the equilibrium is maintained by the fact that a great many Indian, Pakistani and other doctors from the ex-British colonies migrate to England (or stay after having been sent there by their own country to study). Today 45% of the assistants in British hospitals are from overseas. The result is that there are whole nations with absolutely no doctors that have no aid whatsoever. And so mortality increases. But also this fact is used, reverted to the economic laws of the market. In British medical schools it is now difficult to find bodies for anatomical study;

the poor abandoned in the hospitals, the usual supply, are more scarce and families do not willingly surrender the remains of their dead for scientific purposes. And so from India, where the market in corpses is very active, refrigerated ships come filled with bodies purchased for a few pounds apiece, for use in study by young Britishers who plan to cure well-to-do Americans and by the young Indians who will work in the British National Health Service. The vicious circle is closed.

When a visitor enters a British medical school and sees how many Asians there are among the students, he gets the impression of a marked medical support being offered to the developing countries.

2) **Hygienic aid.** The Third World's serious hygienic conditions are not a result of its "historic backwardness" alone but rather of modern neocolonial relations with the metropolis. If this fact is ignored it is naturally surprising to someone who doesn't understand, how it is possible that endemic diseases are not fought with greater energy: "It is considered that an expenditure of 0.20 to 0.30 cents per person per year would permit extraordinary reductions in mortality and cases of malaria, which is something to make the rich countries think about."¹⁵

One can mourn for the happy colonial epoch: tropical diseases and agricultural problems have been the preoccupation of the colonial powers in Africa, and in many countries institutes for investigation have been created. The withdrawal of the colonial governments and the lack of qualified personnel in the new nations have led to a rapid deterioration in these institutes and the thesis is that if urgent measures are not taken, many valuable investigations will be lost.¹⁶

Fortunately, this colonialist thesis is disproved by anyone who recognizes that these institutions were usually in the control of the economic-political and military power, and that finally the new nationalist governments believe that, in the reconstruction of their country, certain of these institutions should serve ends that give the nation the maximum benefits of their investigations; and if some benefit can serve another country, it is the duty of the national government to authorize it.¹⁷ We have the statement that even multinational aid or that of agencies like WHO and UNICEF is frequently invalid because of the demand that certain industrial products be sold and that, in any case, it has little effect in relation to needs; the value does not exceed 5% of the hygienic budget, or from two- to five-thousands of the national budget. Finally, and more recognized all the time, there has existed the awareness of the true motivations for aid since as early as 1964, when Dalmastra and his collaborators wrote of the health program of the Alliance for Progress:

Its true purpose is that of a political instrument [...] we alert the Latin-American people and doctors, with the warning that we must count exclusively on programs we ourselves develop to solve our hygienic problems, submitting foreign technical and financial aid to the most absolute respect for our sovereignty.¹⁸

The experience in public health aid is subject to increasing criticism on the part of the peoples of the former colonies, but this reevaluation (for opposite reasons) is also taking place among the governments and economic forces of the West that seek to switch their Third World health policy from the fight against mortality to the fight against natality.

The correct aim of transforming procreation from an almost casual

fact into a conscious and responsible decision, and the vital necessity for insuring a worldwide balance between demographic development and food production, are unfortunately used to hide less noble motives: essentially the preoccupation with changes in the international political balance.

Sometimes these motivations come up in a specific form. In the US appeal for the Campaign to Control Demographic Exploitation, for example, one reads:

A world with underdeveloped and hungry countries will be a world of chaos, rebellion and war [...] We cannot permit ourselves the luxury of a half dozen Viet Nam's, nor even one more [...] National interest demands that everything possible be done to help the underdeveloped countries control their populations.¹⁹

The United Nations representative at the European Demographic Conference spoke of "the dangers that threaten humanity's economic and social progress today because of the general demographic tendencies in developing countries" where there is a higher rate of natural growth, and clarified who was threatened:

These differences in the evolution of the population of different parts of the world will have as their inevitable consequence the profound modification of the demographic balance between the principal regions. At the beginning of the 20th century, one out of every five human beings lived in Europe, while in 1960 the proportion is one European to every seven inhabitants on our planet. At the end of this century, that is, within less than 35 years, only one out of every ten persons will live in Europe (except the USSR).²⁰

The hypothesis that the present evils of the Third World (and the future evils of the entire world) will be a Consequence of excessive

prolificacy, however widely disseminated, is still a restatement of the Malthusian thesis refuted by Marx. Marxism affirms, on the other hand, that family planning is not a precondition but a logical consequence (with modern methods of birth control it can be added that it is a desirable consequence) of economic and cultural development. The Malthusian law of population was not confirmed in the phase of ascending capitalism and even recent experience demonstrates that the big countries have resolved problems of nourishment by transforming the economic-social base first and only later, in a spontaneous and deliberate manner, reducing the birthrate, while other countries where there have been no revolutionary changes and in which there have nevertheless been attempts to substitute them with birth control, there has been no reduction nor end to hunger.²¹

Even when these objections exist, birth control becomes increasingly transformed from a useful technique for guaranteeing a conscious procreation, into a social philosophy disseminated by the mass media, and a generalized application of contraceptives which switches from voluntary and often becomes coercive, approaching genocide. In India, when neither pills nor intrauterine contraceptives proved effective, fairly widespread surgical sterilization of men was used, described as voluntary but "paid" with two kilograms of rice, a knapsack or a plastic pail, a sari for the woman, umbrella, canned goods, 40 rupees and a lottery ticket.

Despite all this, the forecast of the Indian authorities is pessimistic, even catastrophic: "We are like a ship with a hole in it, now we are sinking slowly but at some point we'll go down all at once," the Minister of Social Affairs declared.

Even when drastic measures such as surgical sterilization might alleviate the crisis, it is difficult for the imbalance between food production and population to be overcome by using birth control as a primary measure and avoiding social-economic transformations (which also imply a struggle for conscious procreation) when these are already urgent and historically necessary.

In the same way it is impossible for the "vicious circle" between health and economic development, which the WHO theorizes about, to be broken by viewing the level of public health as the primary and universal key to people's growth.

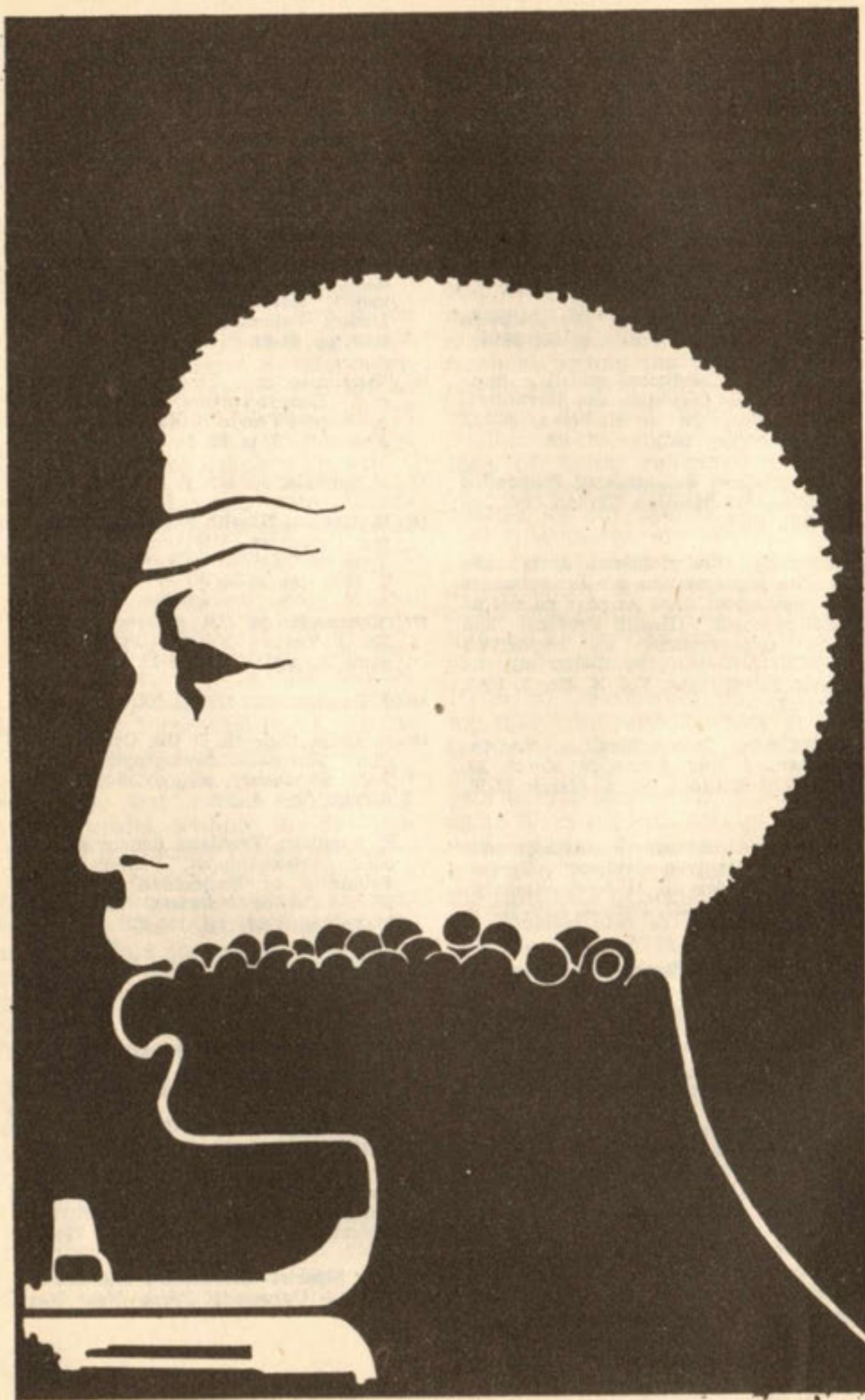
This theory, Lisitzin writes, "eliminates such ideas as the forms of production of material goods, relations of production, and class inequalities, exploitation, etc., which accrue from them."²² In other words it ignores the priority (in the historical sense, not in the ethical sense) of political economy over health, the impossibility of obtaining not partial successes (which are always within the reach of health services), but rather universally stable results, without the development of productive forces, including medical sciences, and without a transformation of social relations including the distribution of resources. This theory does not succeed in explaining serious health problems in certain highly industrialized countries, and as far as the Third World is concerned, it overlooks the common causes both of the hygienic lacks and of underdevelopment, that is of the material and cultural dependence on the outside, the unjust and archaic systems of land ownership, the backwardness in education and the unequal distribution of wealth and of the possibility for health and well-being, which hold back industrial

development, the rational utilization of natural and human resources and the active participation of the people in society's progress. Without changing these coordinates, even when there is a certain economic development in the ex-colonial countries, the typical illnesses of the primitive processes of accumulation are reproduced among workers; whereas medicine did not exist before or developed in an empiric and equalitarian manner, class differences among the population are introduced with respect to access to cure, the pathology of industrialization is superimposed (instead of being replaced) on that of underdevelopment. If these coordinates do not change, it is probable that the purely hygienic solutions have almost reached the peak of possibility for improving living conditions in the Third World and this can be verified also by the lack of mass confidence in medicine.

And on the contrary, by maintaining that "the revolutionary process is intrinsically the best program for public health,"²³ medicine has its own unique task which is not limited to birth control, curing illnesses and registering deaths; but which interjects itself into the analysis of the influence of social relationships on diseases and to stimulating the participation of the population in the modification of illnesses.

In Third World countries there even exists the possibility, thanks to contemporary medical and political progress, that certain stages of morbidity that prevailed in capitalist countries, and even to a certain extent in European socialist countries, can be "skipped over" and that this will represent, moreover, a point of reference for the "advanced" areas of the world. Certainly this path confirms Sigerist's observation that as far as health is concerned, there is a human solidarity that cannot easily be overlooked.²⁴

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notes for
history

Fruits of a Struggle

Amilcar Cabral

1971 was a year of structural consolidation and political-military successes for the independence of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

The revolutionary movement has destroyed tribalism, liberated close to two thirds of the 36 125 km² of territory and revealed the demagogy of Portuguese colonialism, which is in virtual socio-economic decomposition.

Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), in an exhaustive analysis, describes the political-military-diplomatic state of the heroic struggle of his people.

DESPITE CERTAIN APPEARANCES and a feeble propaganda which, however, continues with a favorable echo in certain segments of the western press, Portugal's worsening political and economic situation is something the Portuguese authorities themselves, at all levels, are no longer able to hide. This fact, reflected in various areas of Portuguese society, is chiefly the result of the crime of human perversion committed by the government over the last ten years since it unleashed the colonial war in Angola which it then extended to Guinea and Mozambique. This fact — dramatic today but no doubt tragic tomorrow for Portugal — is the result of the policy of absurdity, of irrationality and lies, practiced by the Portuguese ruling class which not only obstinately scorns the rights of the African people and of international legality, but even acts conscientiously against the very interests of the Portuguese people.

It is this reality, most evident over the course of the last two years and particularly during 1971, that explains the bankruptcy of Marcelo Caetano's demagogic policy, the increasing gulf between the ruling class and popular sectors (workers in the city and in the countryside, antifascist students and intellectuals), the increasingly frequent and intense convulsions in Portuguese society and, as an extreme expression of opposition, the revolutionary armed actions that these recent times have produced in Portugal. The limited and irregular character of these actions should fool no one. For a fraction of Portuguese society, however small, despite the inveterate nationalism which is the common characteristic of all Portuguese, to have taken the decision to resort to violent measures of resistance — and this without any reproval by the popular masses — indicates that the Portuguese state of mind in the face of the aggravation of the socioeconomic and political situation has reached limits of desperation.

Pursuing the Salazar policy of a colonial war of genocide against the African peoples, Marcelo Caetano not only deceived those who believed in his "political intelligence." He also lost or is on the way to losing the only opportunity a Portuguese has had since the time of the maritime discoveries, to have his name written down favorably in history. But he cannot understand or refuses to understand the meaning of history, or even the interests of his people, which should surprise no one who knows the process of his ideological formation. Today, after three years in power, the present head of the Portuguese government cannot hide his perplexity and even his confusion in his speeches and public positions, in the face of the socioeconomic and political reality of the complexity of diversities, if not of divergencies,

that he insists on calling the "Portuguese world."

The timid reforms, principally those of an administrative nature, which he has begun and has dared to have included in the new Portuguese Constitution, have convinced no one except those already convinced. These have also disappointed the most important segment — because they are activists — of his so-called "liberals" or less reactionary supporters. This is how the conflict occurred within the so-called Portuguese National Assembly during the recent discussion of the Constitutional revision, a conflict which, if parliamentarianism weren't just a caricature in Portugal, would have ended with the fall of the government.

The unquestionable truth about present-day Portuguese life is the following: while Portugal maintains and accentuates day by day the dubious privilege of being the most backward country in Europe, the Portuguese government deliberately sustains three colonial wars of genocide in Africa and stubbornly keeps the Portuguese people in ignorance and misery, exiled from Europe and the world, isolated from all scientific and technical advances that people everywhere are achieving today. As always, the Portuguese exist without the most elemental rights of man.

The truth, which the Portuguese masses are becoming more aware of all the time, is that galloping inflation as well as population decrease due to emigration and war, the high cost of living and public and international debts, lack of manpower and a stagnant Portuguese economy are the concrete result of the absurd colonial policy of the Portuguese ruling class that Marcelo Caetano is accustomed to serve.

Prisoner of the unfortunate Salazar heritage fiercely defended by the "ultras" of the regime, confused by his own measures, Marcelo Caetano has plenty of reason to shift from perplexity to desperation. Much more so when the resistance of the African peoples and of the Portuguese people themselves to colonial wars is more vigorous and effective every day.

Thus the victimized attitude that the head of the Portuguese government now evidences is quite understandable. And so in his speech of July 23, 1971, explaining the incidents that occurred in the Portuguese National Assembly, after having deplored the fact that "unfortunately" we are not in the position of people who can "demand greater liberty in the name of our immortal forebears," he stated:

On my shoulders weigh the responsibilities of national defense, with military operations in three overseas provinces and a vulnerable rear guard. Not a day passes on the international scene without our adversaries striking a new blow against us, which forces us to give constant attention and permanent efforts to the diplomatic struggle and to clarifying the poisoned opinion of foreign countries.

If by this statement the head of the Portuguese government recognizes publicly for the first time the real existence of colonial wars — which he calls "military operations" — it is no less certain that he also seeks to enlighten "the poisoned opinion

of foreign countries," that is to say, he persists in flouting respect for international law.

In the same speech, after having recognized that "in the interior of the country [that is, in Portugal] the enemy finds support [...] and increasingly seeks to infiltrate the schools, the armed forces and the corporate organization," he says:

And while we must face all this, we must first of all consider the real needs of the people, then the struggle against inflation which, like a cancer, eats away the economy of every country today, destroying price stability and facilitating everything from salary demands up to the problems of economic development of a nation that cannot or must not become stagnant nor lose its blood because of the demands of social improvement formulated by a population that wants precisely the broadest perspectives for education and welfare. All this takes money, and God knows how hard it is to find it!

With this Jobian lament, which needs no comment, Marcelo Caetano seeks to justify the fact of not moving "as rapidly" as his "young friends" would like. But if it is true, as he says in his speech in an allusion to the French Revolution, that when a Jacobin was made minister he didn't then become a Jacobin Minister, the policy and the arguments of Marcelo Caetano prove to the hilt that when a Salazarist is made President of the Council, he becomes a Salazarist President of the Council.

In effect, despite shades of originality and liberality, it is precisely the profoundly Salazarist nature of Marcelo Caetano's policy — the obstinacy in perpetuating fascism in Portugal and colonialism in Africa — that explains the very slight, almost nonexistent, results of his three years of government whose balance he explained in his speech of September 27, 1971. In this speech, in which he called upon the "Portuguese worthy of this name" to unite around the "governors elected by them" (sic), he stated:

We try valiantly to face up to national problems. We succeed in maintaining the defense of the overseas provinces against the subversion supported more and more each day by instigation of that incredible organization called the United Nations [sic] [...] and if we are not disheartened in the overseas struggle, neither have we given quarter to those who seek to bring terrorism to the metropolis.

The same terms, the same obstinacy.

But Marcelo Caetano does not deny that facing up to problems does not mean solving them. This is why, after having flashed before the traditionally poor Portuguese people the vision of the "models of development of the traditionally rich part of Europe," he recalls, so that there will be no dreams, that in Portugal "a dangerous mentality is being created of demanding rights and facilities absolutely incompatible with the country's realities and possibilities."

And then comes the traditional lament:

I would be failing in my responsibility to tell the truth to the Portuguese if I did not remind them that we live in very

critical hours, hours in which national problems are aggravated by uncertain conditions in economic and in international policy. Let no one think that we are rich in human and material resources.

Clearly, the people of Portugal who live in misery and see their sons faced with the dilemma of clandestine emigration or death without glory in colonial wars, will doubtless be the judges.

These quotations, perhaps too long, nevertheless have the purpose of demonstrating in the words of the head of the Portuguese government himself, that if it is true that the myths, the tactics, the lies, arguments and objectives of the fascist colonial regime have not changed in the slightest with the disappearance of Salazar, the socioeconomic and political degradation of Portuguese society as a result of the colonial wars is a fact that the laments of Marcelo Caetano cannot hide. To be aware of this is of capital importance within the framework of the perspectives for the development of our struggle.

Still more realistic than Marcelo Caetano is the confidential report of the Portuguese high command drawn up in 1970 under the title, **Report from Psychological Section No. 15**. In this document, which analyzes in detail the action of the liberation movements and of Portuguese means against the colonial war, as well as the methods, action and results of psychosocial warfare the authors reveal:

The proliferation of antigovernmental organizations and the attempt at general agitation lead to the creation of a climate of psychological instability that affects the activity of the students and, therefore, affects the country, which appears upset and does not know what to do to lead its children along the correct path.

After having made a long allusion to the increasingly difficult situation that is wreaking havoc among the colonial troops, with desertions and demands increasing, the report concludes:

The enemy [that is, the liberation movements and the forces against the colonial war] have perfected and increased their efforts on all fronts, internal as well as external.

In the metropolis, in general, the population continues to show little interest in the overseas war and is unaware of the effort expended by the armed forces. The student masses show themselves to be strongly susceptible to the propaganda of peace. The working masses, with no knowledge of great national problems, easily allow themselves to be dragged along by propaganda oriented toward demands for better pay and better social conditions. The most developed groups continue to be the focal points of subversion and the organizations that arise are proof of great efficacy. Overseas, generally, the indigenous populations continue to lean toward subversion, notably when it demonstrates that it has force, or when geographic conditions make the action of our troops difficult or impossible. The aboriginal populations on the periphery of the major urban centers, generally lacking tribalization, continue to evidence great susceptibility to enemy propaganda. The European pop-

ulation continues to demonstrate openly its adherence to the war but does not cooperate against subversion except when its material interests are directly threatened.

The psychological situation is precarious, both in the metropolis and overseas.

Thus, the situation becomes increasingly aggravated in every way and one might ask why the Portuguese government, which is conscious of the difficulties it now has and will have to face later, obstinately continues its absurd and criminal policy of perpetuating colonial war and domination over the African peoples. It is not difficult to recognize that the principal reasons for the unaltered continuation of Portuguese colonial policy lie in the following facts:

1) Portugal's chronic and characteristic underdevelopment, its lack of valid economic infrastructures, make it incapable of considering a process of decolonization in which the interests of the Portuguese ruling class would be safeguarded within the framework of a neocolonial situation or of effective competition with other capitalist powers.

2) The inhibiting effects of almost half a century of fascism on a society which, throughout its history, has never really (or to any extent) known the rights of man, liberty and the practice of democracy.

3) The imperial mentality of the Portuguese ruling class and the ignorance, the myths, beliefs, prejudices and narrow nationalism that characterize the culture of major sectors of the Portuguese population which, for centuries, has been subjected to the doctrine of **European superiority** and **African inferiority**, and to the myth of the "civilizing mission" of the Portuguese with respect to the African peoples who are considered to be "savages."

Despite the whims of the Portuguese colonialists as far as the "creation of multiracial societies," this doctrine, to which the fear of "communist subversion" has recently been added, crowns the crystallization of a **primitive racism** often without any evident economic motivation.

The racist character of the Portuguese intervention is amply evidenced in the disregard for Africa's cultural values as well as in the most abject crimes committed by the administration and the Portuguese colonists during the golden era of colonialism. Today it is evident in the cruelty that characterizes the actions of the colonial troops. But there is a tendency at present, in the face of African resistance, for it to manifest itself in the paternalism and false preoccupation with "achieving the social advancement of the African within the framework of the Portuguese nation."

Portuguese racism, which is one of the subjective causes of the continuation of colonial wars, reaches its maximum in the top levels of the ruling class. Thus General Kaulza de Arriaga, one of the most outstanding personalities in Portuguese colonial leadership, commander in chief of the colonial troops in Mozambique and aspirant to the job of President of the Republic, touch-

ing on the Portuguese strategic problem (Volume XII of the *Lessons in Strategy from the Courses of the High Command 1966/67*), states: "Subversion is above all a war of intelligence. One must be highly intelligent to engage in subversion; not everyone is capable. Very well, the black peoples are not highly intelligent, on the contrary, of all the peoples of the world they are the least intelligent." (sic)

In these same lessons, the author, who believes that the "exportation of African slaves to Brazil was a good thing" and that the "tribal state of the black population is favorable to Portuguese strategy," reveals in all its cruelty the principal objective of the present Portuguese colonial policy: **to maintain white domination over black populations.**

After having pointed out that the danger lies in the increase in "evolutionized blacks," Kaulza de Arriaga affirms:

We are not capable of maintaining white domination, a national objective, unless the white population achieves a **rhythm** that matches and outnumbers, however slightly, the production of evolutionized blacks [sic]. On the contrary, if the whites are outnumbered by the production of evolutionized blacks, then one of two things is bound to occur: either we install apartheid, which would be terrible and in which we would be **unsuccessful**, or we will have black governments with all the consequences that this implies (destruction of the overseas provinces, etc.).

The racist boss then explains the tactic required to avoid such a situation:

The white population does not contemplate the equilibrium of the black demographic potential, it contemplates the equilibrium of evolutionized blacks [...] and thank God, since it is impossible to see that all blacks are evolutionized, it is possible, almost certain, that we will be able to situate there in Africa enough whites to balance the blacks who will become evolutionized.

On this basis, after having stressed that "we will not be too effective in the production of evolutionized blacks; we must promote them, yes, but it's not necessary to exaggerate," the general and presidential aspirant reveals the master line of present Portuguese strategy in Africa: "First an increase in the white population, then a limitation of the black population." In the face of the difficulties of the problem and convinced of the myth of the great fertility of the African, he suggests, although in a negative form, the practice of scientific birth control: "Clearly, it is an extraordinarily difficult problem since we cannot distribute a birth control pill to each black family [...] but what we can do is not overstimulate the increase of the black population."

One of the principal objectives of Portuguese colonial wars in Africa thus becomes most evident: given the immediate impossibility of limiting birth control by insuring the supremacy of the white population, they resort to the physical liquidation of populations by the increasingly intense use of aerial bombardment by napalm and other means of massive destruction of the

African man under the deliberate practice of genocide.

This objective, whose realization clashes with the effective armed resistance of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies supported by African and international solidarity, nevertheless reveals the full extent of the criminal character of the moral, political and material support that Portugal receives from its allies through NATO and on a bilateral basis. In reality it is no secret to anyone today that without the aid of its western and racist allies, the Portuguese government would in no way be able to continue the colonial wars in Africa and repress the legitimate aspirations of the people of Portugal for peace and progress.

It is with full consciousness of the situation of the enemy of our people and of the internal and external factors and circumstances that made possible and condition its criminal attitude, that we must analyze the situation of our struggle and the perspectives for its evolution at each moment.

The political-military action of the Portuguese colonialists in our country continues to have as its fundamental objectives:

- a) to defend and consolidate the positions they still occupy in the urban centers and in some zones that are still not liberated;
- b) to demobilize the populations in the liberated regions;
- c) to perpetrate the violent destruction of the human and material means that serve as the base of the victorious development of our struggle;
- d) to maintain war for the sake of war, to make Africans fight against Africans;
- e) to maintain at all price, the presence of colonial troops in the principal strategic points with the hope that our political-military organization, in the long run, will enter into crisis and wind up in disintegration;
- f) to withdraw from our people the fraternal solidarity and logistic support we have in neighboring countries, by means of open aggression or armed provocation against these neighboring countries.

In its efforts to apply these objectives, the enemy continues to practice the policy of attack and deceit, making a certain number of concessions of a social nature to the population it still controls and fiercely repressing all those who, individually and collectively, are suspected of nationalism or of concrete support to our party. The enemy, who acts with the conviction that the African peoples are "the least intelligent in the world," has not, however, attained the hoped-for results and his desperation in the face of failure is becoming more evident each day.

In urban centers and other zones still occupied (some coastal areas, the islands of Guinea and the Archipelago of Cape Verde), the enemy's position is less secure all the time. This is the result, on the one hand, of the most vigorous daily attitude of our armed forces and, on the other hand, of the development of clandestine work by our party in the urban centers of the continent and in the islands.

In Guinea, the enemy continues his policy of lies, demagogic

concessions, promises of promotion of Africans, even of a "social revolution" (sic) which, if it were the case, would not only carry out the socioeconomic program of our party, but would also give our people a much more advanced standard of living than that of the people of Portugal. To complete the farce, the present head of the Portuguese colonialists — the sinister General Spínola — now promises to "give the people self-determination under the Portuguese banner." Fervently clinging to the theories of General Kaulza de Arriaga, who considers the black to be an unintelligent person, the military government of Guinea seeks to live the fable of the wise man who had promised the king he would be able to teach an ass to read. Like the man in the fable, he is doubtless convinced that in the long run either the ass or the king will die; or perhaps he will die.

Having almost reached the end of the four-year mandate during which our struggle, that he had sworn to liquidate, has developed, intensified and consolidated itself on all fronts and levels, General Spínola is beginning to demonstrate his confusion, ever greater because of the growing support that the populations of the urban centers themselves give to our party.

Thus, after the attacks against Bissau and Bafata, and faced with a broad and favorable reaction by the populations of these cities, the military governor issued a menacing declaration on July 25 over Radio Bissau, and dropped his paternalistic and reformist mask, revealing his true nature.

It is worth quoting certain passages from this declaration which, like the attacks against Bissau and Bafata, marks the beginning of a new stage in the conflict that opposes us to the government of Portugal. It affirmed:

With all the circumstances this province has gone through, it should surprise no one that rumors — sometimes fantastic — should circulate, since this is a constant matter everywhere at all times, which we cannot pretend to avoid totally [...]. Nevertheless, the volume and nature of the rumors that have recently circulated have unfortunately found a certain receptivity among the most timorous. This has caused a climate of unjustified apprehension in the capital of the province. But it is necessary to demand that an unequivocal position be taken that returns the situation to normal so that no one can harm anyone whose serene capacity to judge is upset by fear.

After having noted that "adequate measures have been taken to insure peace and security at all times," it threatens the most severe repression:

It is also important that there be no illusions concerning the firmness that the government will use to guarantee the peace, order and security of citizens. Any attempt against individual or collective security will consequently be considered an act of betrayal against the people of Guinea. Proceedings against the authors will be inexorably applied in the name of respect for the principles of the liberty and equality we defend and to which all good Guineans so correctly aspire. And any breach of civil discipline that can disturb the normal complicity, an

act of betrayal of the people will, as such, be repressed without the slightest contemplation and with all the severity merited by the enemy, as well as all those who support his interests, which have nothing in common with Portuguese Guinea.

It is true that no one should have any doubt as to the fact that the normal rhythm of life in the city will be preserved at all costs and under all circumstances. Whatever measures are necessary will be used, and their effectiveness will be doubted only by those who do not yet know the firmness and determination of the governor of the province.

If it is true that this declaration confirms the fact that the populations in the urban centers, in particular in Bissau, support the struggle (as the secret report of the Portuguese high command notes), there is no doubt that this is also the confession of the failure of the so-called policy of "better Guinea," as well as of all the attempts made by the colonialists to consolidate their present positions.

Faced with the patriotic resistance of the people in the liberated regions who are increasingly aware of the realities and objectives of the struggle and are better off because of party organization, the Portuguese colonialists have intensified bombings and acts of terrorism during 1971. They could do this because they have received new airplanes and helicopters from their allies, but nevertheless, they have not achieved their objectives. The organization of self-defense among the population is very efficient, both with respect to bombardments and to terroristic attacks and attempts to burn our crops in order to conquer us by hunger. What they succeeded in destroying during the first months of 1971 is not sufficiently significant to upset the victorious advance of our struggle. On the other hand, in the absence of an effective antiaerial defense, the measures of civil defense generally adopted by the people have contributed to a significant drop in the number of victims of barbarous actions by the Portuguese airmen.

The attempt to maintain war for the sake of war, and involve Africans — most of them recruited by force — in fighting against Africans, is a pressing need for the colonialists because of the heightened resistance and conflicts within the colonial troops. But it is doomed to failure, especially after the shameful defeat suffered by the colonialists during the imperialist aggression against the Republic of Guinea. In Conakry as in Koundara and in Gaoual, the Portuguese, along with the European militarists and the mercenaries from the Republic of Guinea, were responsible for a certain number of the so-called "African units" the overwhelming majority of whom did not return to Bissau because they were dead or imprisoned. This fact, which caused protests by the victims' relatives in Bissau and in other urban centers, is a tragic lesson for the Africans who still allow themselves to be enrolled in the Portuguese colonial army. On the other hand, the liquidation, in the course of this year, of certain of their leaders such as "Captains" Joao Bacar Djalo and Guela Baldé, and "Lieutenant" Loro Bamba, has upset the sinister plans of the

colonialists. And so they face growing difficulties even in the recruitment of mercenaries and right-wing common prisoners, and desertion mounts within their supposed "African companies."

As for the enemy's positions, we attacked all of them during the first months of 1971, including the capital, Bissau. Today, the colonial troops know they are not safe in any part of our country. Meanwhile, civilians in the urban centers, particularly the Portuguese, currently live in a permanent state of alert and scarcely conceal their fear. The majority of the officers are sending their families back to Portugal. Not only has the enemy seen the security of his troops diminished but he has also had to recognize that our party's solidity has increased and that our armed forces are stronger than ever. Taking into account the disparity of material and human resources between the enemy and our forces, this fact represents a great defeat for the Portuguese colonialists.

In desperation, the enemy has multiplied armed provocations and criminal acts against neighboring countries despite the condemnation of the United Nations and world opinion. There have been various aggressions against the population of Casamance (Senegal) and the frontier zone with the Republic of Guinea. In their dream of freeing themselves from the weight of our struggle, the Portuguese colonialists, with the support of their allies, are preparing a new imperialist aggression against this latter country. As with the preceding one, such aggression will have as its objective the overthrow of the regime of President Sékou Touré and replacing him with a government favorable to Portuguese domination of our country.

The Portuguese colonialists are also doomed to failure on this level: our relations with the governments and peoples of the neighboring countries are better all the time and no aggression against the Republic of Guinea could deter the advance of our struggle. An eventual aggression in any form will contribute to strengthening still further the ties that join our people to those of the Republic of Guinea and will reinforce African and international solidarity with our struggle.

The modifications introduced in the structure and functioning of the directive organ of the party by the meeting of the broadened Political Bureau held in April 1970, have permitted a great improvement in the work of militants and those responsible for various levels of our activity. The political work of the local commissaries and Political Action Brigades (PAB) has shown itself to be much more effective in the organization and leadership of people in the liberated zones as well as in the realization of new initiatives determined by the top leadership of the party. Despite certain difficulties in starting the work of the National Committees of the Liberated Regions (NCLR), the regional committees (RC), the zonal committees (ZC) and the village committees (VC) have worked at a normal rhythm and have been highly productive.

After the work was begun toward the end of 1970, the party secretary-general held many reunions with delegates from the

base committees (close to 200 delegates, a third of whom were women). These meetings, really seminars, were enthusiastically welcomed by the village committees and by the people, and have had visible results in the militant spirit and actions at the base. This is an initiative that we must continue to develop with great attention.

The results of the school year have been encouraging, both with respect to the schools in the liberated regions (despite the terroristic action of the enemy) and in the Friendship Institute. Close to a hundred boys and girls have been selected this year to continue their studies in friendly countries, and have already left.

In health, where there is still a certain amount of confusion and a certain inefficiency in the work of the intermediary cadres, particularly the nurses, there has been an overall improvement in administering medicine and in assistance to the population. The vaccination campaigns, particularly against cholera, have allowed us to avoid serious problems. However, despite the return to the country of a number of doctors trained during the course of the struggle, we have run into certain difficulties in this area. A large number of the foreign doctors who came to give us their assistance became ill and had to interrupt their activities.

Despite insufficient rain during the agricultural year 1970-71, general production covered the needs of the population and there was enough for the basic nourishment of the fighters. The return to the country of various technical cadres in agriculture (agronomists, technical agents and other specialists) trained abroad will permit a considerable improvement in assistance to the peasants, but above all will permit certain limited projects to be carried out and certain experiments to be made that will serve as the basis for agricultural development, which is the principal factor in our economy.

The people's stores have been greatly improved with respect to the articles placed at the disposal of the people, principally cloth, thanks to international solidarity.

On the Cape Verde Islands, conscious of the progress our party has made over the course of recent years, which is reflected in the strengthening of our clandestine organization and the growth of a nationalists spirit within the population, the Portuguese colonialists are reinforcing their vigilance and repression everywhere. Fourteen fellow countrymen were arrested and accused of belonging to PAIGC and of an attempt to detour a trading ship toward Dakar. Nevertheless, under pressure of public opinion, the Portuguese colonialists found themselves forced to absolve another four fellow countrymen on trial in San Vicente who were part of a previously arrested group.

As a result of a criminal policy of abandoning the people of the archipelago to natural contingencies, the people are still suffering hunger after three years of drought. The colonialists have tried to take advantage of this circumstance to destroy the bases of our struggle's advancement in the islands, and have resorted to the exportation of workers to São Tomé and Portugal where some

10 000 Cape Verde natives have been sent.

Our party's denunciation in April 1971 of the starvation situation, forced the colonialists — who refused to accept the humanitarian aid of international solidarity — to take certain measures to "combat the crisis." But these measures did not succeed in deceiving our people who, aware of the necessity to free themselves from colonial domination in order to get rid of misery and hunger, increasingly support our party's activities. The reality of the increase in party activity in the islands and of the support it has there is recognized by the enemy himself. For example, in the secret report by the Portuguese High Command the enemy states:

Over this period there have been two subversive appeals directed to military officers, sergeants and soldiers of Cape Verde. On the night of December 31, pamphlets were distributed on three islands; in May, packages with PAIGC pamphlets destined for the islands were intercepted in Lisbon.

Actually, on December 31, pamphlets were distributed simultaneously on all the populated islands.

During the first months of 1971, conflicts between segments of the population and the colonialist troops increased significantly on the main islands. The colonial, civil and military administration is more isolated every day. An abyss between the colonial class and the people, between the servants of colonialism and the patriots, is progressively widening.

During the meeting of the Higher Council for Struggle (CSL) held in August 1971, which made a deep study of the principal problems of our life and our struggle, important decisions were taken with the aim of strengthening and improving political works, consolidating the structures for our development, and intensifying and broadening of our armed action. Among the decisions, it is important to single out the creation of the first National Assembly of the people of Guinea, which will be selected at the appropriate time and will give our people an essential organ of sovereignty that will open new perspectives for our political action, in our own country and abroad. It is equally appropriate to mention in particular the decisions related to strengthening the armed struggle, the development of the struggle on the Cape Verde Islands and, on the human level, the creation of the Red Cross of Guinea and Cape Verde. With the permission of Radio Senegal (three times a week) and Radio Mauritania (once a week) — which have joined the programs already being broadcast over the Voice of the Revolution (in the Republic of Guinea, four times a week) — we have greatly amplified the possibilities of reaching our people and those of Africa.

On the African level, our relations with independent countries have been broadened and consolidated over the course of the first months of 1971. In addition to the consolidation of our relations with neighboring countries — among them the Republic of Senegal, which evidences increasing interest in giving us all possible help — countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Tunis, Libya, and other states have expressed a desire to extend bilateral aid such as others are now doing.

The Conference of Chiefs of State held in June of 1971 in Addis Ababa was an important victory for the African liberation movement, in particular for our party. Once more, we were designated unanimously as the voice of the liberation movements at the conference. The decision to increase aid to the liberty fighters and the creation of a Special Commission of the OAU for western Africa whose subdirector is a member of the leadership of our party permits us to anticipate a considerable increase in African solidarity with our struggle. The Liberation Committee unsparingly continues to give us all possible aid. In fulfillment of the decisions of the Special Conference of Lagos (December 1970), the committee gave our party special financial aid which was extremely useful.

We must stress that during the course of the conversations we have held with various African chiefs of state in Addis Ababa, Conakry or in their own countries, as well as with the Secretary-General of the OAU and the members of the Executive Secretariat of the Liberation Committee, we have always encountered the greatest concern for our struggle and an enthusiastic desire to aid our party. It is a great stimulus for our people and for all the fighters of our organization.

On the international plane, where the enemy himself recognizes that he is more strongly accused, condemned and morally isolated despite the political and material support of NATO and other allies, we have achieved considerable progress in the first months of 1971.

Relations of solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are increasingly useful to our struggle. They are translated concretely into important aid in articles of primary necessity and in other materials we have already received this year. In the western countries, the Support Committees in general have intensified their information activities and their collections of gifts of solidarity. Sweden has decided to double the aid it gave us last year; Norway and other Scandinavian countries also seem disposed to aid us. It is important here to mention especially the valiant attitude of the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Relations during the last meeting of the NATO Council in Lisbon where he denounced Portuguese policy and colonial wars as contrary to the interests of humanity and incompatible with the principles enumerated in the Charter of the organization.

In Portugal the people are evidencing increasing awareness of the fact that the colonial war is a crime against their own interests. Each day there are more demonstrations against colonial policy and the actions carried out by the brave Portuguese patriots of Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA) represent important victories in the common struggle against the colonial war and a guarantee of friendship and solidarity on the part of the Portuguese people that our people wish to maintain, develop, consolidate.

On the military level, the action of the Portuguese colonialists continues to be dominated by this truth, frequently recognized publicly by the colonial authorities themselves: they cannot win the war they are waging against our African people. This results not only from the growing combativity of our armed forces and

the victories achieved on the battlefields, but also from the constant elevation of the level of our people's political consciousness. Aware of this fact, the colonialists try by every means possible to commit the most barbarous crimes against our people, to kill our cattle, burn our crops, in a word, to develop and intensify their criminal and terroristic activity, which gives the lie to their pretensions of social-economic and political promotion of our people.

For this reason, the action of the enemy during the first months of 1971 was characterized by intense and continuous aerial bombardments, mainly with napalm, and by airborne troop assaults aimed at the destruction of villages, crop burning and cattle killing. As we said, having been provided by their allies with new and better planes and helicopters, the colonists have augmented their bombardments and terrorist actions. Nevertheless, in the face of the valiant resistance of the people and fighters, they have seldom achieved their objectives. The regions most affected by these criminal acts are precisely the most populous and those in which the party organization is most developed: Cubisseco, Cubucare, Balana-frontier zone (in the south), Oio and Saara (in the north).

Dozens of villages were destroyed, an appreciable amount of rice was burned in the regions of Unal, Tombali and Como and some 200 head of cattle were killed. Fortunately, the loss in human lives is far below the criminal intentions of the enemy who attacks hospitals and schools by preference and takes his principal victims from among the elderly and the children.

The action of our armed forces during the first semester of 1971, in the dry season, achieved a breadth and vigor never before equalled. It is a fact known to the Portuguese colonialists themselves that in order to sustain the impression created by its war communiqués — although these are never quite true — they have tried to make believe that the intensification and development of our armed struggle was due to the presence of foreign specialists, chiefly Cubans, within our armed forces. This lie, like so many other, has convinced no one who isn't already convinced, and has only served to improve once again the capacity and high level of initiative of our fighters who unsparingly sacrifice to put into practice the slogans of our party's War Council.

Restructured into various army corps and drawn in part from the defense forces of the liberated regions, thanks to the creation and strengthening of the Local Armed Forces, our National Armed Forces have developed and intensified their action on all fronts; by doubling the initiative, we have completely disoriented the enemy who sees his plans condemned to failure. We have carried out 86 attacks against Portuguese positions (at the rate of three attacks a day); we have laid eight fatal ambushes and put out of combat more than 250 soldiers and officers of the colonial army, among them 158 established dead. Among the operations we have carried out, we should note particularly the campaign successfully led by the army corps on the Kinara front (from April to June), where all enemy positions were attacked on various occasions and suffered great human and material losses; the actions that took place on the Catio front, where the city of the same name was attacked twice by our combatants causing great destruction; the

actions on the eastern front where, on three occasions, the city of Gabu was the object of assault by our forces, which, in addition, laid the most damaging ambushes suffered by the enemy during the course of the struggle. In one of these ambushes, the garrison commander of Pitche was killed; ten trucks, a tank and various cannons were destroyed; finally, the no less important, intensive and continuous operations directed against Portuguese positions all along the Senegal border.

But the first semester of 1971 will go down in the history of our struggle as the period in which, for the first time, we have been capable of attacking all the urban centers still occupied by the enemy, including the capital Bissau, and Bafata, the country's second most important city. The attacks against the colonial positions of Bissau and Bafata mark a new stage in the political-military evolution of our struggle. If such were necessary, they are a new and clear refutation of the allegation that serves as a pretext for the criminal aggressions against our country, namely that we are acting from neighboring countries.

It is a fact that the attack against Bissau was more of a warning to the population of the capital, and that to carry it out we had to attack seven enemy garrisons of logistic support. Thus the human and material losses to the enemy were not great, but the psychological and political effect of the action surpasses all others so far undertaken. In Bafata, where our infantry entered and remained for some time without enemy response, our fighters destroyed four garrisons, the meteorological station, the airport control tower and various buildings of the military and administrative infrastructure, and several sections of the colonial troops were put out of combat. Our fighters also carried out 75 arrests of suspicious individuals in order to interrogate them, following which 58 were released.

During the period January-August 1971, we carried out 508 important actions:

- 369 attacks against garrisons in urban centers;
- 102 ambushes and other operations on the highways;
- 15 very important mining actions;
- 14 actions against river transportation; and
- 8 operations by commandos in urban centers.

Our forces put out of combat 480 dead, 735 soldiers and enemy agents, confirmed. The confirmed number of wounded (255) is far from corresponding to the real total. In effect, information from Lisbon and Bissau indicates that the military hospitals in these cities have never had as many wounded as they have this year. On the material level, we have destroyed or damaged 90 military vehicles, sunk 28 ships and coast guard craft in the rivers, shot down two planes and three helicopters. Our forces, which have expelled the enemy from three battlefields and have demolished several encampments such as that in Umaru Cosse on the eastern front, seized an important supply of war materials, principally G-3 machine guns, Mausers, American bazookas and telecommunication apparatuses.

While it is true that this does not represent the victorious end

of our armed liberation struggle, nevertheless there is no doubt that, for eight months of action, it is the best in our eight and a half years of struggle and represents a decisive contribution to the certain victory of our liberation battle. It is this result and all the victories achieved that explain the growing desperation of the Portuguese colonialists, the increasingly ferocity and savagery of their colonial war.

In order to try to justify their criminal obstinacy against our progress in the struggle, the Portuguese colonialists resort to every type of argument, such as that presented by General Kaulza de Arriaga, for instance, who stated in the **Strategic Lessons of the Course of the High Command**:

Naturally, when our troops die in Guinea and we are spending a great deal of money there, we do not take these losses into consideration nor think that this money is spent only for the defense of Guinea. If this were the case, it would not really be reasonable; but a man who dies in Guinea indirectly defends Angola and Mozambique.

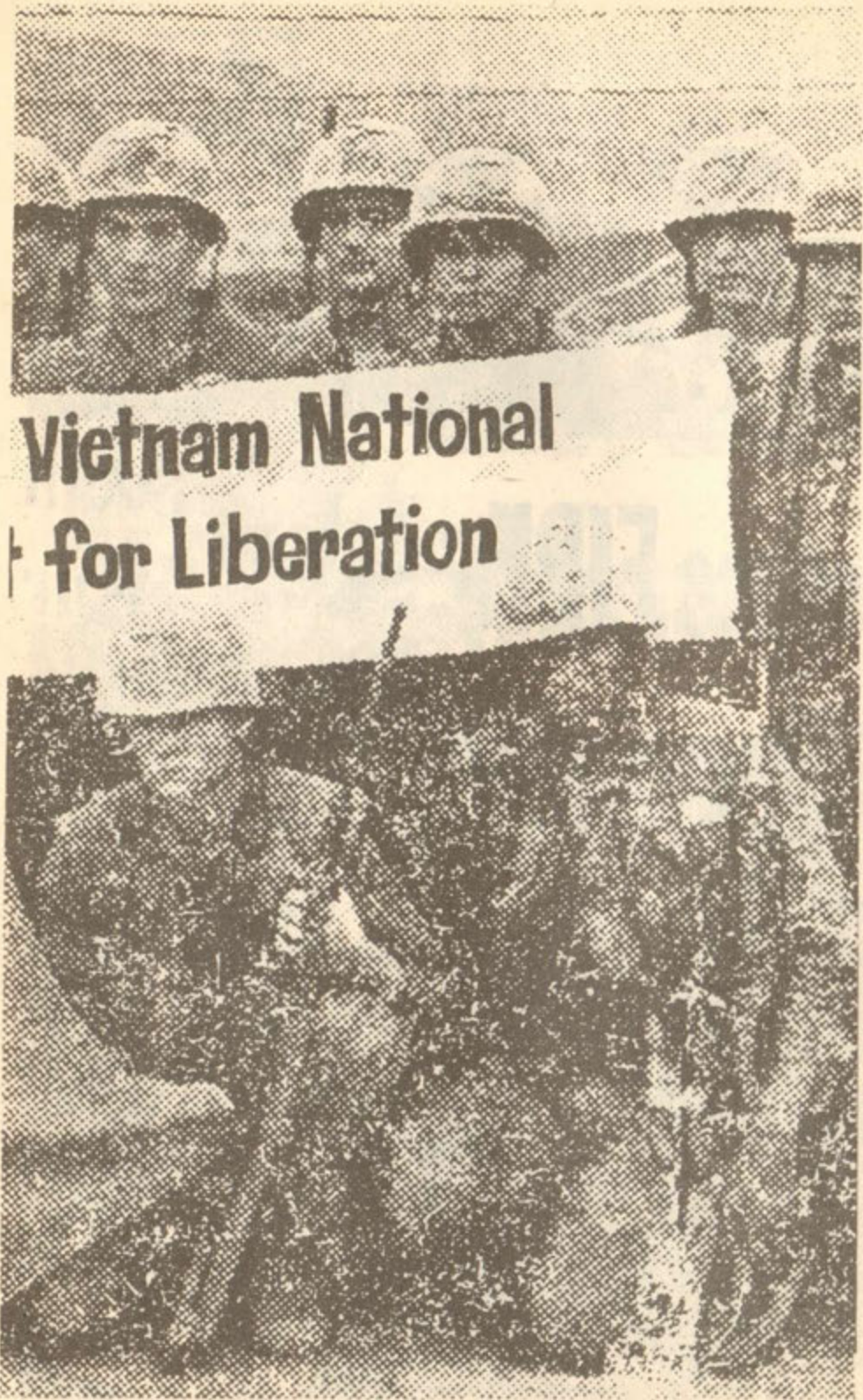
If this affirmation reveals to the fullest the miserable nature, the cynicism and the scorn of the Portuguese colonial leaders for human beings — for the Portuguese man himself — it has the merit of recording the community of the struggle and the interests that unite our people with the brother peoples of Angola and Mozambique. It clearly shows the degree of our responsibilities in the united struggle for the total liquidation of the Portuguese colonial presence in Africa.

To draw the best out of victories our people have achieved, and the successes already won this year, to meet the level of our responsibilities, we must make 1971 one of the most decisive periods in our long and rich struggle. We must constantly strengthen our awareness of realities and not forget that we face a desperate and unscrupulous enemy, be ready to make greater efforts and sacrifices, to overcome all difficulties, progressively correct our errors and deficiencies, continuously improve our individual and collective behavior and our action in political and military areas, as in all other branches of the new life we have begun to build.

At the same time that we intensify our armed action and blunt the enemy's claws, we must pay greater attention to political work in our own country, in Africa and internationally. One of the principal forces, if not the main one, of the Portuguese colonies is the political and material aid of their allies. We must draw all the lessons from this reality, both for the present and for the future, develop and consolidate friendship and solidarity with all anti-imperialist and anticolonial forces, tighten our links with the Africans and non-Africans who are aiding us in this difficult struggle and are giving us true proof of their friendship.

No maneuver, no crime of the Portuguese colonialists, no force in the world will be able to prevent the inevitable victory of our African people on the road of national liberation and the construction of peace and progress to which they are entitled.





man and
his word

Soldiers Against the War

David Dorey

The GI movement grew in the US army as a result of aggression in Viet Nam. Its antiwar activities represent a powerful and effective force in the US revolutionary movement. Its organization is present almost everywhere that imperialism has military forces: in Europe — principally in Germany — in Japan, in south Korea and especially in South Viet Nam itself.

David Dorey, 21 years old, from a military background (his father was in the military 26 years), a voluntary enlistee in 1968, decorated with badges during his 19 months' mobilization on the Viet Nam front and who rose to become a sergeant of the Rangers, is a case in point. His level of consciousness and subsequent attitude made him a risk as far as his superiors were concerned and in 1970 they transferred him to Fort McClellan, Alabama, where he came into contact with the GI movement and began to work on the publication of *Left Face*, one of the 80 newspapers the movement currently publishes.

In an interview for *Tricontinental*, David Dorey traces a general panorama of the antecedents, structure, activities and perspectives of the GI movement.

THE ORIGINS OF THE GI¹ MOVEMENT are rooted in an historical, spontaneous class struggle which has existed in all segments of American society but which is much more clear, much more rigid, within the United States military. As long as there has been a military structure within the United States, there has been a struggle going on and this struggle has been greatly intensified around the war in Viet Nam. The personal awareness of people within the military, of GIs within the military, and their understanding of imperialism in relation to the Viet Nam war come out of an understanding of their own oppression and their own exploitation within the US military.

The manifestations of this primary struggle in the GI movement are the mass refusals of companies to fight in Viet Nam, fraggings,² the relationship of GIs to dope in Viet Nam, and a whole series of spontaneous actions that have taken place both in the United States and in Viet Nam within the military. And the GI movement — I'm referring to the movement that consists of organizing projects, a movement with a defined ideology, the GI newspapers, the GI coffee houses³ — all those manifestations which I'll call the GI movement from here on — has to learn to serve, to complement this primary struggle, has to see that it isn't a separate struggle, and has to learn how to stay in contact with, how to direct, how to lend consciousness to a movement that has much older roots historically.

The GI movement as it is known today, began to emerge around 1965. At that time civilians in the antiwar movement started to gain an understanding of the potential for antiwar activities among GIs; started to see that those actions were going on and that GIs were not the enemy, as so many civilians had defined them. These antiwar activists then began to switch the primary struggle from draft resisting to military organizing.

The result was the first of the GI coffee houses, the first

¹ GI, the term used for the ordinary US soldier, is an abbreviation of "government issue" denoting the standardization, conformity and rigidity of US Army practices and requirements. (Ed. note)

² The act of hurling a fragmentation grenade against one or several US officers or subofficers notorious for their maltreatment of the troop. See "News Behind the News" in *Tricontinental* No. 24, p. 159. (Ed. note)

³ A coffee house is a place where nonalcoholic beverages and light refreshment are served in an atmosphere of relaxed talk and music. (Ed. note)

of the GI newspapers, and the first concept of organizing off the campuses by the New Left. At this time most of the GI organizers were people who had come out of the student movement, who had come out of the civilian antiwar movement, basically from educated backgrounds and almost exclusively without military experience. The very first of the GI newspapers were written not by GIs but by civilians for distribution to GIs. But people soon came to realize that the GI movement could not be a long-distance struggle carried on from New York to the bases; and that if people were going to do serious work with military they had to locate themselves near bases, get to know GIs, and give them the skills to produce their own newspapers.

It was the emergence of these newspapers written by GIs that brought mass retaliation, mass repression from the command structure of the army. While the army's purpose in this was to crush a very new segment of antiwar activities, the result in fact was mass support by thousands of GIs and a new understanding by the civilian movement of the situation within the military. Primarily in relation to a case that became known as the Ft. Dix 38—38 GIs being tried by the army for antiwar activities — a whole surge of support for GIs emerged. This was followed by many other trials of a similar nature and out of this repression and also out of the army's attempt to remove political GIs from the bases where they were located and ship them to other bases, the GI movement rapidly spread to almost all areas in the military.

There has been a quantitative progression in the number of GIs involved in GI newspapers, in the number of GIs involved in mass actions organized by the coffee house projects and by organizing projects. This progression has been complemented by actions in Viet Nam, actions organized not by civilians but by GIs themselves. These actions didn't occur suddenly at this time, but for the first time the civilian press started to acknowledge the fact that there were mass refusals to fight in Viet Nam. The first case that received wide publicity was Company A of the 196 Light Infantry Brigade in the Americal division, 1967. At the same time, over the past five years, there has been a qualitative progression too. Organizing, which started off as liberal ideology with an antiwar perspective, has now, in the last two years, expanded; consciousness has been raised and its scope has been broadened. The situation that exists today is that the original organizers who came out of the student movement have been replaced by those coming out of the GI movement. The ideology has become a revolutionary one, primarily a Marxist-Leninist one. The concept of organizing is no longer just antiwar; it's one of organizing around day-to-day oppression within the military, of organizing around domestic struggles, black struggles, all points of struggle within the United States and of trying to build a consciousness of imperialism, not just as to how it relates to Viet Nam but as to how it relates to the entire Third World.

There are three major segments of the GI movement at this time: there are GI projects which are funded and which see themselves as related to the United States Servicemen's Fund (USSF), which is located in New York. There is another area which calls

itself the American Servicemen's Union (ASU), which was organized within the army originally by Andy Staap. The third segment consists of individual GI collectives which have at times within the GI movement banded themselves together: for instance, there was an organization called Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM) consisting primarily of naval and marine projects on the west coast; this segment has many new GI papers, GI collectives emerging that have not established communication on a national scale, sometimes have not had an awareness that other GI projects exist. Thus many individual projects are in existence.

Projects simply speak to the fact that at each base there are collectives, people whose primary purpose for being at that base is to do organizing to support GI activities and somehow the word "project" has come out — from organizing project.

Primarily the only two types of projects have been coffee houses, and noncoffee house projects, meaning to say a collective of civilians living in one house and working out of that house.

Within the structure of USSF, which is what I'm most familiar with, there are some 45 organizing projects, and a number of additional newspapers that are not a part of organizing projects but are funded by USSF. There is no one ideological line within these projects and the USSF itself was not formed originally to hand down a political line. It was simply formed to facilitate funding and communications between GI projects. Although USSF was originally established as a fund-raising and fund-distributing organization, as the need for much closer communication between GI projects arose, it began to serve that purpose also. USSF became the central office of a number of support organizations to include SOS in San Francisco, Chicago Area Military Project, etc. Presently the structure within USSF is that of a somewhat active board whose members include some individuals active within the USSF structure and others who lend support to the working staff. It has offices in Cambridge and New York. The primary function of the Cambridge office is that of putting out an internal discussion bulletin, of being in communication with projects, of dealing with legal questions; and the primary function of the New York office is to raise funds. The staff is made up of GIs who have emerged in the GI movement and still, in some cases, of civilians who were organizers at bases. The people who originally set up the USSF came out of the civilian antiwar movement. The board was composed of antiwar activists. The funds which have been raised to put into the GI movement have come from antiwar sources, antiwar people. But there is no formal tie between USSF and any other antiwar organization.

The projects existed before USSF did. USSF emerged because of the needs of the first coffee houses and first organizing projects. Since then two types of projects have been developed:

- 1) where organizers come simply for the purpose of organizing a project at a base, and
- 2) where GI collectives have emerged and have seen a need for civilian organizers or civilian resources there.

There isn't a formal program by USSF and USSF has not been seen in the past as being in a position to make demands on pro-

jects or lay down a program or political ideology for a project. But because of the realities of its organizational structure and because of the realities of the GI movement, many decisions are being made and have to be made at a national level, and USSF is doing that simply because it is the only national office for those projects.

The majority of the projects see themselves as ideologically aligned because of the logical progression of political work, the progression of organizers. The turnover in organizers and the trend toward veterans, toward people in the working class, has meant a heavy emphasis on organizing along class lines and organizing in terms of GIs as people who have been temporarily removed from the civilian working class but who will return to these communities, and to that class. When I speak of ideological alignment, the unity is around revolutionary organizing and a Marxist-Leninist ideology.

There are other projects within USSF and other tendencies within USSF ranging from a small minority which feels itself exclusively antiwar and sees itself as relating to all segments of the military including officers and enlisted men; and another small minority which sees itself as relating to other struggles and other issues but not in a revolutionary way. I think the reason why these are minorities is that, in my experience, the GI does not relate to liberal politics or a liberal ideology. The GIs coming out of working-class backgrounds don't go through the same progression politically or ideologically that the students or people from educated backgrounds do. They do not go through a liberal stage; they go from the right to the left.

In terms of the immediate future there are strong desires on the part of many organizers and many GIs to establish ideological unity. And I see it as absolutely necessary that the GI movement continue, particularly that it continue after the Viet Nam war.

There is also the ASU, which puts out the newspaper *The Bond*, a national GI paper. The head office is in New York, and there have been local projects which at one point in their history considered themselves part of the ASU. The ASU claims to have a membership of somewhere in the neighborhood of 50,000 GIs and the political line is that of Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and Workers' World Party (WWP).

ASU differs from USSF in that USSF does not count members, and is not a party, but a support organization that exists to complement a struggle within the GI movement, a struggle within the military, so that the question of members is not directly related to the structure of USSF. There are individual GI organizations within the structure of USSF that, on a local level, have formed organizations, like the United Front in Ft. Hood, which has been capable of mobilizing up to a thousand GIs for a single action.

Many bases, both of USSF projects and ASU projects and individual GIs participated in the April 24 march and in May Day actions this past year. It has become a policy of almost all organizers of demonstrations to regard GIs as the vanguard in terms of speakers, in terms of taking a front position in marches, in terms of publicity. It has been the policy of most GI organizing

projects to plug into antiwar actions wherever and whenever possible within the limited mobility that GIs have. And in the Washington area there are a number of military bases. The BMC coffee house during the spring offensive did propaganda on GIs directed toward troops mobilized for riot duty, and in effect, made it necessary for the army to go much further abroad — to go, for instance, to Ft. Bragg — to alert troops for action in Washington because the troops in the Washington area were very much affected by the spring offensive and were very much in support of it. There was also the veterans' action immediately preceding April 24 in which a number of active-duty GIs participated in the demonstrations, but it was a five-day action and for a GI to get five days away from the military is sometimes very difficult.

The activities of the immediate past have included a boycott demonstration near Ft. Hood in which 400 GIs were arrested; GI participation in hospital strikes with black workers in Alabama, and similar actions that give GIs more contact with their class, with work, and finally with the world of tomorrow that is theirs: namely the world of civilian work.

A considerable number of GIs have refused to go to Viet Nam outright. What is more common, particularly since the GI movement has emerged in a more formal way, is for GIs to try to find legal means to refuse orders for Viet Nam. I don't have any exact figures on those who have refused to go to Viet Nam. The army's policies in regard to that refusal have varied a great deal from very repressive measures with very severe jail sentences to simply trying to discharge people in that situation. In the last four months there have been some very heavy actions on the west coast among sailors, on aircraft carriers leaving the west coast for Viet Nam: on the *USS Constitution* and the *USS Coral Sea* there have been mass protests, mass demonstrations, and in the case of the *Coral Sea*, many of the sailors did not go, went into hiding, went underground rather than go to Viet Nam.

The various legal methods GIs have used in order not to go to Viet Nam have taken the form of conscientious objector applications — an application for discharge in which the person claims to have either moral or religious grounds for opposing the war. This and many other army procedures have been used primarily to tie up the administrative system of the army, to delay shipment, to get orders changed. But we should remember that a great deal of the militancy, perhaps the major part of the militancy and participation in organizing GI activities comes not from soldiers new in the military, but primarily from the Viet Nam veterans, who became politically conscious in Viet Nam.

The army's desire, the government's desire is to alienate members of the military from the civilian populace; and in the case of GIs, because of their background, to alienate them from the working class, from their families, their brothers and sisters, friends, who are civilians in the working class. I think the most important thing that has happened in bringing about a consciousness of the need to relate GIs to that class struggle has been the transition in organizers, from middle class, educated antiwar activists to veterans from the working class. The tools that have

been used to establish this relationship have been fairly simple, a matter of communicating the realities and the struggle of the working class to GIs who otherwise — because of the nature of the establishment press and because of the nature of communications in the military — have no feeling for, no idea of what's going on.

Beyond this there is the field of political education, of revolutionary political education provided it is done properly with consciousness and understanding of the importance of the revolutionary potential of the working class. It should be understood that a great many GIs enlist in the military — some are drafted but a great many enlist voluntarily, mainly out of a desire to escape the oppressive environment of their class, of their situation. When they get into the army they're confronted by a much more rigid and very clear class structure in which they're at the bottom. So the job of the GI organizer is not that difficult: he has only to take that knowledge of oppression, that knowledge of class structure that GIs have of the military and simply make it clear through education that this is simply a veneer of the class structure they came out of, to show the relationship between the two areas of oppression, between the two areas of exploitation. To give GIs access to the knowledge of the historical revolutionary role that the working class has had in the United States and which has been denied them in high school in the army, by all forms of establishment education and establishment information. The reality of the situation is that GIs are going to return to working-class environments simply because, with a very few exceptions, they have no other choice. Whether or not they have contact with the GI movement, GIs or veterans have rapidly become probably the most militant and angry segment of the working class. The role the GI movement has to serve is to add or contribute a consciousness and an ideology to this militancy — to give it direction.

The question of the army's move to establish an all-volunteer army is a very important move at this time. We don't see that the government can use reforms within the military: a more liberal disciplinary policy, better living conditions, increased pay, as tools in themselves to establish a volunteer army, simply because this does not deal with the primary contradictions of the military. We do, however, see great danger in this action by the government paralleling the economic recession in the United States. At this time definite steps are being taken to gain an understanding of the army's future plans in regard to VOLAR (which is the word for volunteer army). It is our belief that the army is not successful at this time in carrying out that program, that while enlistments have gone up — particularly in economically depressed areas — reenlistments, people staying within the military, have fallen off. We don't feel that VOLAR has a chance of being successful as long as the war in Viet Nam continues or as long as there's a high predominance of Viet Nam veterans in the military. Partly to try to gain a better understanding of what the army is doing with respect to VOLAR and how the GI movement can best deal with it, and partly to try new organizing forms and structures, an experimental GI pro-

ject has been planned for Ft. Carson, Colorado, which is the experimental base for the volunteer army.

We see it as our responsibility to establish struggle over a broad front in the military before the end of the war in Viet Nam and while there still are Viet Nam veterans. We believe that GIs forced into enlistment because of economic factors are not going to be happy with their situation in the military, that they're still going to be aware of the primary contradictions of American capitalist society and of the army as a tool for carrying out imperialism. Unless the army can successfully alienate the members of the volunteer army from the rest of the civilian populace, it cannot be successful in establishing a volunteer army. Almost exclusively, activity in the GI movement has been not among drafted people but among people who have enlisted in the army. Traditionally, the political movement in the military has been among volunteers, among enlistees. And while the army may be successful in getting a great many people to enlist because of economic necessity, we don't believe that it can be successful in pacifying those people while they're in the military or in keeping a great many of them in the military when their enlistment is up. In general we oppose the volunteer army program; we do not see the ending of the draft as a political victory; in fact we see it as a danger for the future struggle among the populace of the United States.

Concerning specific GI activities, perhaps the best way to approach them is the specific situation at Ft. McClellan, which is where I began to do GI organizing when I came back from Viet Nam. In some ways that situation is typical of other bases and in some ways it's not. Ft. McClellan is a base of some 6500 people in north-eastern Alabama — small by comparative standards. Its two primary functions are as headquarters for the Army Chemical Corps and training school and the home of the Women's Army Corps (WAC) and basic training. In 1969 a group of GIs — primarily from chemical units, one Viet Nam veteran who was an instructor in the chemical school — got together and decided to put out an antiwar newspaper. When they put out the newspaper *Left Face* (the name mocks the military command "right face") they were met with considerable repression. They engaged in a series of actions to try to secure the right to distribute the newspaper legally and, as on all other military bases, were unsuccessful. In reprisal for these activities, some of the GIs were threatened — and procedures were taken against them — either to give them undesirable discharges or to give them dishonorable discharges, or to send them to jail. And there was a lot of support for them from GIs on the base. In the spring of 1970, an antiwar rally was organized in Anniston, the town where the base is located. An organization known as GIs and WACs United was formed around that time, in the late summer or early fall of that year; a civilian collective which had visited McClellan and had seen what activities were going on there, decided to locate itself in Anniston.

The two primary objectives of the civilian collective were:

1) to have the first organizing project for WACs, which was to be carried out by the women of the collective, and

2) to aid and give continuity to the struggle of the GIs at McClellan.

To facilitate this they rented two houses near the base, began to assemble literature and equipment, began to get to know GIs involved around the paper, GIs involved in political activity on the base. And a GI who had been primarily responsible for the beginning of the paper became a member of the collective when he got out of the army. A period of intensive political education began with a cadre of approximately a dozen GIs. During this period of four or five months, the paper was not published since what was desired was that the political consciousness of the GI cadre be such that when the newspaper began publishing again, it would not be a case of civilians having to manipulate GIs; that the ideology and direction would be already established, would be in the hands of GIs, and the civilians would only serve as support workers to the GI cadre.

Actions were still going on at this time in the nature of leaf-letting around racism, an Angela Davis rally and joint action around it by the black community in Anniston and GIs at the fort, showing movies, etc. In December of 1970 *Left Face* started to appear again. The difficulty that arose after the first few issues was the difficulty that always faces a GI organization, namely the transient nature of GIs. And what this meant in real terms was that over the period of the next eight months a number of GI cadres emerged and disappeared, emerged and were discharged, shipped out. There was no one cadre carrying on work over a long period of time but many individuals coming and going and the staff of the paper changing many times. Other actions carried out included subsequently the first march held in Anniston, followed by a demonstration on a much larger scale on Veterans' Day, October 25, when actions were taken on many bases around the country.

A great deal of legal work, legal counseling and handling of court martial cases took place over that year. At this stage, contact was established with three radical lawyers who agreed to handle all military cases related to political activity. Their services became a very necessary thing as GIs continued to be arrested, not on charges that were superficially political, but for political reasons. For instance, in the spring of 1971 the army arrested a group of five GIs on a charge of possession of marijuana, which was simply an attempt on the army's part to send them to jail without creating a political issue. And a great number of other GIs were arrested and harassed on minor military charges such as being out of uniform, speeding, disrespect.

There were many mistakes made in organizing at Ft. McClellan but there were also successes. The major success I think is that *Left Face* and GIs and WACs United became accepted institutions which had the sympathy of masses of GIs on the base. GIs began or continued to take a great interest in the paper, wanted to read the paper despite harassment, despite moves on the army's part to take legal action against them. GIs began to see the organizing project as the place to turn to for legal help, rather than turning to the army's institutions. It became possible to mobilize considerable numbers of GIs around specific issues.

I think the primary error arose out of the makeup of the civilian collective in that the original collective was not made up of people with military experience and was primarily not made up of people from working-class backgrounds. And what that meant was a very long period of education for those people in order to learn what the realities of military life were and what issues you could organize around. The primary success that the organizing project at McClellan had and the reason it's not typical of other projects on other bases, was not that of creating mass actions but of creating a great number of individual cadres who are presently doing political work within the GI movement or in other areas and forms of organizing. The first GIs who worked on the paper and were engaged in political activities defined themselves as revolutionaries but did not have a sound basis in theory, did not have access to detailed political literature around a Marxist-Leninist ideology. Civilians coming brought that literature but because the movement in the 60s had not related to masses, had not related to working-class people, the literature, the propaganda materials produced were for students and very difficult for GIs to relate to.

So what was done in concrete terms was to take the limited available material that GIs could relate to and do sessions two nights a week in which GIs could get together and rap about this material and try to relate it to concrete day-to-day activities, to their experiences in the army and with the war, with the idea of then using *Left Face* as a mass propaganda tool to educate people around revolutionary politics.

In terms of political education with GIs, there is a somewhat unique situation in that GIs, particularly working-class GIs, are very ready to accept a socialist and a communist perspective on struggle, but because of their educational background, because of their exposure to an oppressive educational situation, are not initially enthusiastic about doing a great deal of reading and about doing a great deal of formal study. And so the most successful approach is to educate around concrete struggles, around the struggles of the Vietnamese people, around the situation in Cuba, around what imperialism means in concrete terms in the Third World instead of around specific radical writings. To give GIs a sound basis for practice, to give GIs both the skills and the ideology to be organizers, not just people who have been organized, with an emphasis on practice as opposed to an emphasis on intellectual ideology. Other approaches that have been used with some success are bookstores with political literature at GI projects, particular kinds of movies good for mass education, and the mass distribution of cue materials that we see as good tools for organizing in the army. And the primary producer of these has been People's Press in San Francisco, while Newsreel's movies have been particularly valuable. Another thing we found very useful was taking advantage of other movement periodicals, primarily the *Guardian*, so that GIs would not be solely dependent on the organizing project or on *Left Face*. But finally probably the most successful and primary area of education was around GIs actually writing in *Left Face*. As they decided to do articles, as they decided to write, it became necessary for them to acquire

the knowledge, the facts concerning whatever they were writing about, and the skill of how to make that relate to the constituency they were writing for, basically their friends, people in their unit. That experience was very useful in education and in breaking down the belief that working-class people can't write, that that isn't their role, that both the leadership and those skills should lie in the hands of someone other than GIs.

All the articles in almost all GI papers and definitely in *Left Face* are written by GIs and not by civilians. Articles covering everything from Third World struggles, such as the war in Laos; the situation with political prisoners, for instance articles around Attica, around George Jackson, around Angela have been written; articles relating to the situation of veterans; articles about specific day-to-day oppression at Ft. McClellan, around racism at Ft. McClellan, around sexism at Ft. McClellan. The other primary areas written about were actions that GIs have carried out, for instance in protest over the death of George Jackson, demonstrations that they were involved in, boycotts that they were involved in. It was very valuable for them not only to participate in those actions, but to produce propaganda around those actions. Actions, particularly actions by the black community in Anniston were and are an important area of GI writing. It has been important that there be articles about legal rights, legal education, breaking down the mystification of the legal code, so that GIs could gain confidence and ability to combat the use of the military justice system as an oppressive weapon against them. Writing about actions at other bases has been very significant in giving a feeling of a national movement, in breaking down the isolation that comes of being on one base.

Then there are articles on political activities. In Anniston, for instance, besides having demonstrations, besides having political actions, we had more informal gatherings: picnics, open houses where people speak, play music and rap. These have been very successful in integrating political activity into the social and cultural life of GIs.

The San Francisco Mime Troupe, which is a revolutionary street theater group from the west coast, produced a play for GIs in Anniston. The most important thing about it was not just the play itself, but arrangements that were made and the negotiations for a place to have it; the publicity was all done by GIs and WACs. Along the same lines, Barbara Dane, who has always played an important role of support within the GI movement, came to Anniston to sing at a picnic; a singer from the United Farm Workers as well as other people involved in the movement have come and have given a political perspective but have also participated in cultural activities with GIs. The creation of GI coffee house was based very much on this principle and it's been very successful.

One problem facing the GI movement now is how to maintain ties with the people who leave the army, the GIs who are demobilized. It's been very difficult. While the GI movement sees itself very much in the role of producing cadres for the civilian movement, particularly civilians at the point of production, at this moment there is no national or very significant movement

among white civilian workers so that there are difficulties with respect to communication and activities for those veterans to participate in. So far the tie has been maintained primarily by the GI who leaves a specific base continuing to communicate with the GI project, with the GI organization at that base; particularly when he becomes involved in political activity such as factory organizing, he sees that area that he's left, sees that base that he's left as very much in the resource area, the communications area, an area where he can discuss the difficulties he's having in doing political work. But this is no longer a satisfactory method for maintaining communications or continuing to do work. For a long time, many GIs could plug back into the GI movement and in fact became GI organizers, but what is happening now, what has to happen now — because there can only be a limited number of GI organizers — is that they go into more diverse activities and other areas of organizing in which a localized type of communication is inadequate for their situation. There is a tremendous need to establish better communications nationally and internationally within the GI movement.

Some of us also feel that there is a need for a national structure of GIs but that such national structure should include radical veterans and there should be both a united ideology and a united program of action within that structure.

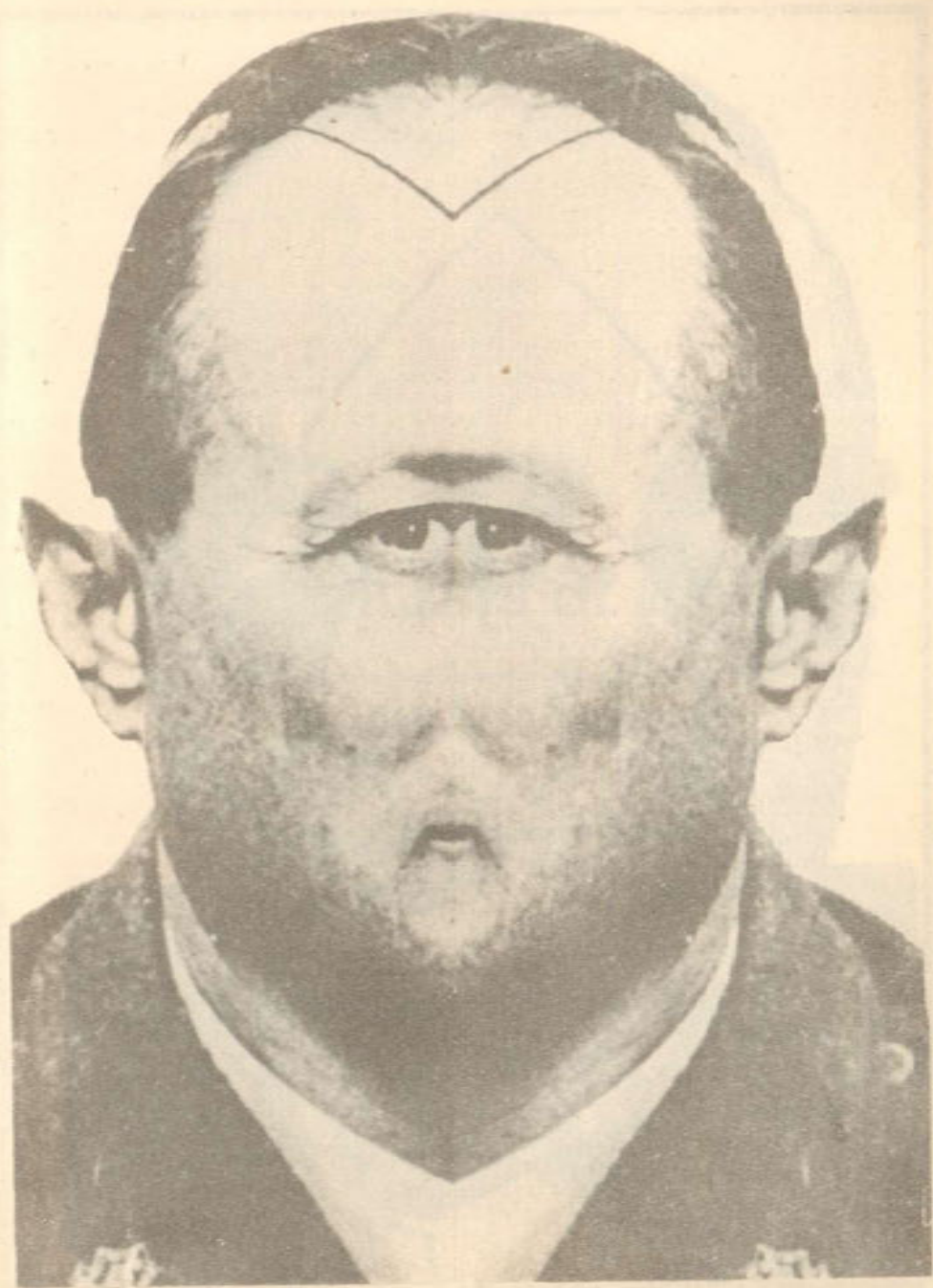
Viet Nam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) should, by logic, be that kind of a national organization. Particularly in Texas a unity has been established between the Texas VVAW and the GI projects at Ft. Bliss and Ft. Hood so that veterans who get out of the army there can go into VVAW and use it as a form of communication both with other radical veterans and with active duty GIs. But Texas is very much of an exception. Again, one of the difficulties in talking about the GI movement is that the formal movement that's made up of organizing projects, USSF, etc., leaves out the very important actions that have gone on among Third World GIs, among black GIs. The GI movement has been primarily a white one, not exclusively a white one, but primarily a white one and very important actions, particularly in West Germany but also in the United States, have been organized by black GIs. Obviously, I as a member of the GI movement, as an organizer in the GI movement, support those actions, and desire more of those actions, and desire closer unity between black GIs and white GIs. But the problem we're confronted with is the problem the entire movement is confronted with: black GIs, because of their background, and a great number of things, have a much better consciousness of the need for struggle and the areas of struggle and this creates a gap between white and black GIs.

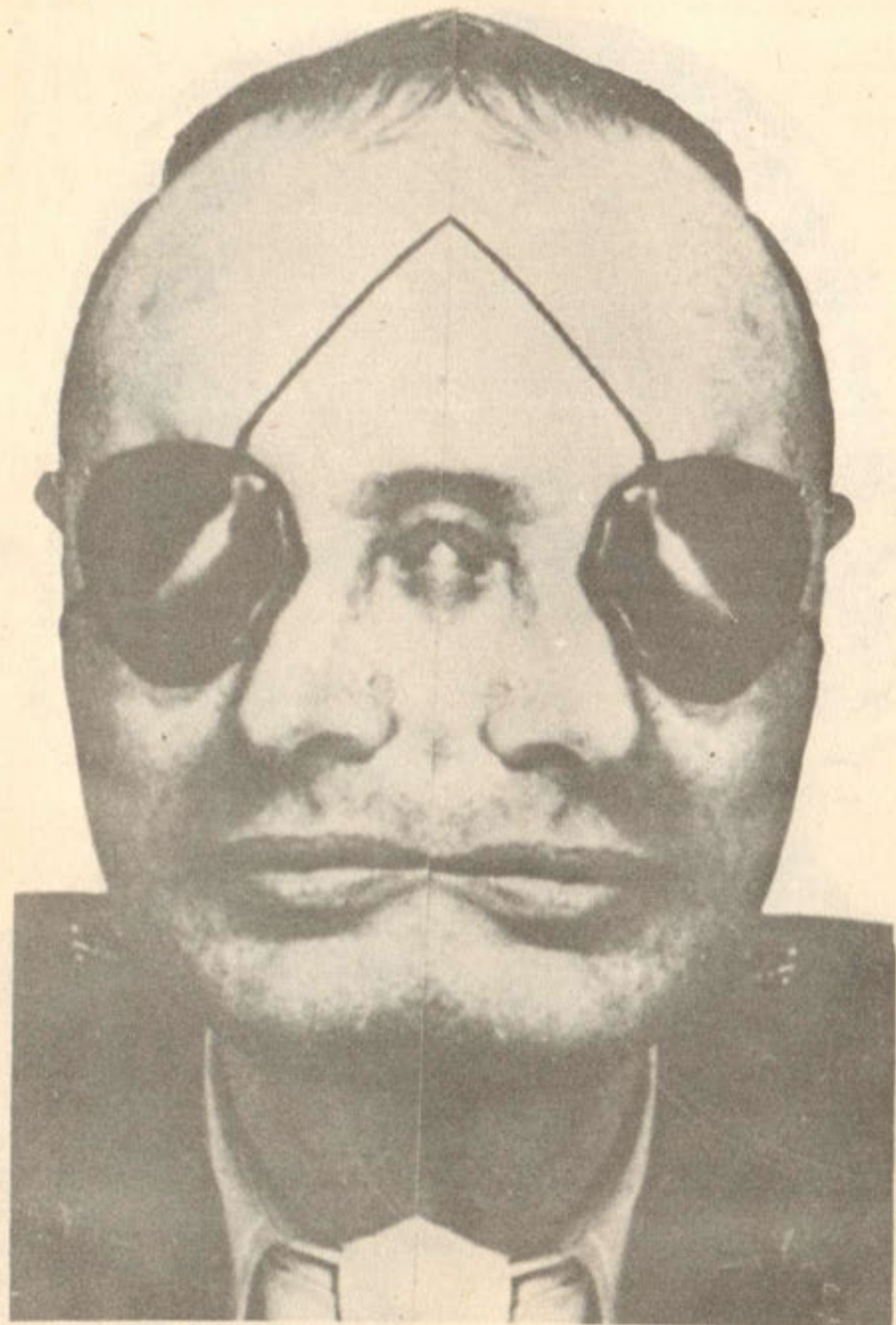
When you talk of the formal GI movement, it has to be understood that the people who went to GI projects to do organizing were white people, primarily white people from bourgeois backgrounds. That is, the dynamic that was set up was the choice of two things: black GIs could come in or relate to that project in a minority situation, in other words taking political direction, political leadership from whites; or an attempt could be made to make the resources of the project, of the organization accessible to black GIs and let black GIs do their own organizing and lead

their own movement. What this has meant in concrete terms is that the question hasn't been dealt with successfully in many areas; that resources that are accessible to white GIs have not been passed into the hands of black GIs. This has meant that in some areas there are black GI newspapers, such as the *Voice of the Lumpen* in West Germany. And in some places black GIs have participated in the GI movement whereas in other places they have felt that the movement does not respond to their concerns. Sometimes black and white GI movements exist side by side at the same base with good relationship but separate organizations. And in some cases black GIs have integrated themselves into predominantly white organizations, although this has often been very difficult for the black GI because it puts the burden of dealing with white racism on his shoulders. Despite the consciousness of radical whites in the United States, we have not been successful in dealing with a great deal of the unconscious racism we've been educated into. And one of the political necessities we're faced with is achieving a consciousness of how that racism manifests itself, and one of the ways it definitely manifests itself is automatically taking or feeling that we should take leadership roles in the movement. The participation or lack of participation of black GIs within predominantly white organizations within the military is a decision that black GIs have to make for themselves and in most cases it has been the decision of Third World people in the military, not to participate in those organizations. And this is because the primary struggles for black GIs are different, or somewhat different than for white GIs.

For instance at Ft. McClellan, in October, a mass demonstration of black GIs took place and mass arrests and repression took place with 138 GIs and WACs — black GIs and WACs — facing heavy charges from the military. That type of action simply could not have taken place among white GIs and the role that the GI project and GI organization took, as opposed to a leadership role, was one of communicating with the media, one of supplying legal help, one of organizing a defense campaign — the white GIs were capable of doing that; they were not capable of reaching that level of struggle in Ft. McClellan at that time. And the role of GI organizers and of the paper became that of educating white GIs not involved in the GI movement as to the reasons behind that demonstration. The paper became a voice that black GIs could use to explain what had happened, why it had happened. Those resources were what they needed. They didn't need our leadership, they already had their own.

From this brief insight into the role of black GIs, it becomes evident that complete and comprehensive knowledge of a movement as broad and diverse as that of the GIs is not generally available. And this is true even within the United States where, for a number of years, the establishment press was very successful in blacking out the existence and activities of the GI movement. It is just in the past year that this has begun to break down, primarily because of the activities of veterans. This is an area in which communication can help to erase distortions and present an active picture both of the political actions and of the growing consciousness of the GI movement.





Definitions of a Battle

Nayif Hauatmeh

The Palestine guerrillas of the Democratic People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine (OLP), Al Fatah (Palestine Liberation Front), Al Saika (The Spark) and other organizations confront Zionism and the reactionary governments of the Arab world with the unshakable decision to regain the occupied territories

To eliminate the resistance and divide the countries of the area are the unachievable aims of Hussein, in cahoots with Tel Aviv and the United States.

In this interview for *Tricontinental* magazine, Nayif Husatmeh, Secretary-General of the Democratic People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, explains the principles and strategy of the organization, founded in 1968.

What is the present state of the Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation and the reactionary Arab regimes?

The general strategic situation at present with respect to the Israeli occupation and the State of Israel is based on these fundamental principles: complete rejection of Zionist imperialism's oppression and usurpation of the people of Palestine which, since 1948, has resulted in the creation of the State of Israel in one part of the Palestinian territory; and of the consequent expulsion of our people from their land and Israeli occupation of Golan and Sinai and the remainder of Palestinian territory in June of 1967.

These two fundamental principles mean, in effect, the rejection of all the solutions that confer legality on the presence of the State of Israel in any part of Palestinian territory, and of any new political or geographic concession to this state and to imperialism in the region.

Beginning with this, all the organizations of resistance have declared their complete rejection of Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, of the US initiative taken by Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and any other partial solution that leads to the same consequences that form the basis of the Security Council resolution. These consequences can be summarized as the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories occupied in June 1967, in exchange for legal recognition, coexistence and the guarantee of safe borders for the State of Israel.

At the same time, the Security Council resolution represents a reactionary and colonialist view of Israeli and Palestinian problems. It preserves the existence of the Israeli state and urges its recognition. Practically and objectively, it means abandoning a part of Palestinian territory in favor of the conquistador Zionist colonialization that took place in Palestine in the 20th century.

This solution also means that the problem of the Palestinian people would remain unresolved forever. On the other hand the revolutionary, democratic and progressive position sees the need for presenting a democratic solution based on the rejection of the Zionist oppression and usurpation of 1948, and of the Israeli

geographic expansions that took place later, and on the insistence of the rights of the Palestinian people to the self-determination of all the original territories at the same time as the solution to the Israeli problem through the establishment of a single, democratic, people's state in Palestine, where Arabs and Jews live together with equal rights and responsibilities. This state must be linked to a socialist Arab federation opposed to Zionism, chauvinism and imperialism.

The organizations of Palestinian resistance agree on this fundamental principle now and for the future, but from our point of view this is not the problem.

The mere declaration of these preliminary principles is not sufficient to achieve the realization and concrete practice of this strategy within the context of the idea of a prolonged people's war of liberation. These preliminary positions must be related to the basic laws that make these positions an alive, practical and realizable question.

This is the problem with which the Palestinian liberation movement lives. There are two contradictory currents around this point within the resistance movement:

1) The orientation adopted by Al Fatah especially tends to consider that the conflict with Israel is only between the Palestinian people and the national liberation movement on the one hand, and the State of Israel and the Zionist movement on the other.

We believe that this line only leads the Palestinian resistance and the movement of the Palestinian people into a cul de sac and does not provide a democratic and progressive solution to the Palestinian question.

2) The line adopted by the progressive organizations headed by the Democratic Front expresses clearly that our conflict with Israel is also with imperialism in the whole Arab region. There is a daily, living dialectic relationship between the Zionist movement and the imperialist camp throughout the entire history of this movement. Before and up to 1948, the year in which the State of Israel was founded, there was a tight relationship with British imperialism. Since then a new alliance has been established with US imperialism in the light of the new international conditions that grew out of the Second World War.

It is for this reason that the fight against Israel and the Zionist movement must be linked to the struggle against imperialism and be extended to the entire Arab world, given the relationship between what happens to the people and territory of Palestine and what happens in Arab territory, especially in those countries nearest to Palestine.

This law leads naturally to another based on the tie between the struggles against Israel and the Zionist movement and against the local reactionaries of the Arab world. These reactionaries represent the shock force, imperialism's class and political instrument in the Arab lands against the Arab and Palestinian national liberation movement. The reactionary Arabs, on the basis of their identification with imperialism, defend their economic, military

and political interests in the zone. In summary, their relations with imperialism represent an obstacle on the road to the democratic national liberation of the Palestinian territory.

That is why our struggle must have a close link with the two wings of the Palestinian and Arab revolutionary and national democratic movement to achieve the complete and definitive defeat of Israeli imperialism and the Arab reactionaries. In other words, that the possibility of achieving any victory at tactical or strategic levels against Israel and the Zionist occupation is completely subordinate to that whether or not there is triumph against Arab reaction and imperialism in the zone.

The internal class enemy, Arab reaction and imperialism must be liquidated so we are able to mobilize all the energies of the Arab world into a long people's war against Israel which culminates in the defeat of the Zionist movement. Throughout the entire century, Arab reaction has been a very strong link with imperialism working within the context of imperialist plans with respect to the Palestinian question. This was already clear at the beginning of the century and became evident during the Palestinian revolution of 1936 when the reactionary Arab regimes intervened rapidly to smother it with the approbation of Arab kings and presidents.

The interference was also patently clear in the war of 1948. The armies of the reactionary regimes limited themselves to fighting on the border of the territories ceded to the Palestinians by the UN resolution on the partition of Palestine in 1947, and which permitted the foundation of two states in Palestinian territory, one Zionist and the other Arab.

In fact, these armies fought in conjunction and in accord with the imperialist forces in the area, in favor of the partition of Palestine and the founding of the State of Israel.

From 1948 up to the present, the Arab reactionaries have represented imperialism's material base in the area, a class enemy of the Arab and Palestinian national liberation movement and a historic safety valve for the State of Israel and its regional expansion.

These reactionaries refused to meet the requirements of Palestinian liberation, especially those of liberating the zone from imperialism, mobilizing the energies of the population throughout the area, and urging the subordination of the internal productive front to the fighting front against Israel and imperialism.

That is why we state that there are two different lines in the Palestinian revolutionary movement. One leads to a cul de sac limited to the struggle between Palestinians and Israelis. A struggle with those characteristics is lacking in equilibrium. On the one hand a Palestinian population dispersed through the neighboring underdeveloped Arab countries; on the other the State of Israel with close to 3 000 000 inhabitants planted in Palestinian territory living in a contemporary society, technically and scientifically modern and linked to imperialism.

This conflict lacks balance; Palestine's ancient and modern history confirms the fact that the destiny of the Palestinian ques-

tion is intimately tied to that of Palestine's neighboring territories. This historic fact encompasses the entire Arab question from medieval times up to the present. That is why we say that the orientation that confines the struggle only to the Palestinian people and Israel leads to a dead end limited by vague declarations, strategies that can't last and are incapable of any daily, quantitative accumulation of revolutionary achievements.

For this reason, the other line is the national revolutionary line that effectively leads to the development of the situation in the area in a way that converts it into a second Viet Nam where everything available is mobilized against imperialism, Zionism and the State of Israel. In order to be able to do this, we must first overthrow the reactionary regimes in the region to open the road to revolutionary mobilization at all levels: organizational, military and productive.

Is it true that there is a crisis of confidence within the leadership sectors and even among the Palestinian and Arab fighters?

Yes, it is true. The cause of this crisis arises originally from the program, tactics and practices of the Palestine resistance under its present leadership. The right wing of the resistance, represented by the experience with Al Fatah, occupied a principal position of force that influenced the whole Palestinian resistance movement over the past four years. This occurred because of different subjective factors in the Palestinian people, governed by the general characteristics of geographic division and the chaotic class stratification. Also, because almost half of the Palestinian population is nonproductive and has no relationship to production. This makes the Palestinian people an easy prisoner of the thinking of the ruling class. This is why the Palestinian population is prisoner of the ideas of bourgeois and reactionary culture. Such a situation conditions a national movement governed by nationalist, spontaneous and bourgeois ideas.

In order for the revolutionary movement to make an impression on these people and rescue the masses from the influence of reactionary ideas and liberate them from spontaneity, an arduous prolonged ideological, political, organizational and armed struggle is required.

On the other hand, the objective conditions exist in the Arab zone for stimulating these regressive currents. All the Arab states collaborate with the right of the resistance which, for them, represents a comfortable situation and doesn't worry them ideologically, politically or organizationally.

The right wing of the resistance, represented by Al Fatah, limits the conflict between us and Israel to a Palestinian-Israeli frame of reference. Everything the right wing demands from the Arab world it obtains from its relations with the existing power structures and not through the masses.

Thus, the revolutionary program adopted by progressive and leftist forces within the resistance requires an understanding of the laws of the conflict in the Middle East with respect to the struggle against Israeli imperialism and the reactionary Arabs to

paralyze the demagoguery of the petit-bourgeois regimes and their programs. Up until now the leadership hasn't developed such a revolutionary program, which requires a long struggle.

The program of the right-wing forces in the resistance was and still is of a general character insofar as its relations with the Palestinian masses and within the context of a logic of sentimental and spontaneous relationships. Thus relations with the Arab masses remain very limited while the chief relations with the Arab world are established through their regimes.

In the light of all the daily tactics and practices of the resistance, this situation gradually led to the alienation of the Arab and Palestinian masses from the resistance. These masses demanded that the resistance present them with a revolutionary program in substitution for that of the reactionary regimes that capitulated before imperialism and the Israeli State and were defeated in June of 1967.

The masses waited a long time before discovering from their own experience that the program presented is objectively a complement and prolongation of the contradictions that govern the Arab regimes in the zone.

Finally there occurred the crisis in relations between the leadership and the Palestinian and Arab people's fighting base. Sentimental and moral speeches of a general character are not enough to solve this. The masses have to be given a revolutionary program that provides them with revolutionary solutions to the national question, alternatives to the solutions presented by the Arab regimes and embodying the point of view of the masses and their own experiences.

A prolonged struggle within the Palestinian population at the ideological, political and organizational levels is required until these solutions become dominant within the revolutionary movement. At the same time it is necessary to strengthen the alliance with the revolutionary and progressive forces, enemies of colonialism and Arab reaction within the Arab world.

By this road, the masses will be able to appreciate, through their own experience, the difference between the revolutionary and the right-wing position. In this way the confidence of the masses will be strengthened again and they will give their complete solidarity to the forces that sustain the revolutionary line within the resistance.

In what way do you think the Palestinian national liberation struggle depends on the political awakening and revolutionary action of the Arab masses, and how could this Palestinian struggle help in this awakening?

As I said at the beginning, the victory of the Palestinian national question is related to the unity of the democratic national liberation struggle throughout the entire Palestinian and Arab region because of the ties that Israel and the reactionary Arabs have with imperialism. This situation forces a united struggle by the Palestinian people's movements and those of the Arab nations to solve the problem of national liberation and fulfill the duties of the democratic Arab revolution, among the first of which is the liberation of Palestine.

This unity of struggle must be oriented practically and objectively against the enemies of Arab national liberation and at the same time the enemies of Palestinian liberation: Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction.

If the Palestinian struggle is capable of participating in the awakening of the revolutionary political and organizational consciousness of the Arab masses, the starting point for this awakening is in the Palestinian struggle for a revolutionary program for these masses, which clearly states its positions against the enemies of the revolution and establishes close relations with these masses through their revolutionary organizations and parties and not through the present Arab regimes.

The Palestinian struggle presents a unifying strategy of common struggle in which the Palestinian people occupy a vanguard position in the clash against Israel and Zionist occupation. Meanwhile, the Arab revolutionary, democratic and national forces must play the role of direct shock troops against imperialism and local reaction, with the objective of paralyzing the program of the petit-bourgeois regimes incapable of undertaking national revolution and overthrowing imperialism and Israel.

Only in such circumstances would the whole area be part of a strategy of united revolutionary struggle by the Palestinian people and those of the Arab nation. This would be the sudden departure transforming the Middle East into a second Viet Nam, scene of a prolonged national liberation war, and the only way to counteract the technical superiority of the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary war machine.

This program constitutes the basis for a dialectic response to colonialism, Zionism and the local reactionaries. In the field of these political relations, organizing can be born and the principal method of struggle can arise, based on the character and conditions of each Arab country in the common battle. These forms and methods will develop later when the armed struggle of the organized masses becomes the principal form of struggle against imperialism and its allied forces and against Israel, in all the Arab countries, and subordinates the other forms of struggle to it.

This is how the Palestinian struggle can participate in the crystallization of a revolutionary strategy for the Palestine and Arab movement of democratic national liberation.

Do you consider the creation of a political party within the Palestinian resistance to be fundamental? Some Palestinian political tendencies speak of a proletarian party. From what I know, the Arab and Palestinian proletariat is poor in number and politically weak.

Scientifically speaking, the proletariat is quantitatively and qualitatively weak. Not only among the Palestinian people but among all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. If there is any difference it is with respect to the number of components and the quality of political culture from one country to another, but the differences are not substantial.

All the countries of the underdeveloped world are subject to a general law by which their local bourgeoisies were incapable,

because of their "comprador" character, of carrying through the democratic bourgeois revolution (liquidation of feudalism, industrialization of the country, industrial revolution, national unity within the framework of a single state). Thus we find that the proletariat in these countries is small in number and relatively weak, with its forces dispersed and with a low level of political culture. This general situation, however, does not exclude the possibility of the upsurge of revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The possibility of organizing such revolutionary movements as revolutionary parties is feasible thanks to the alliance between these few proletarians — different in their class political consciousness, internationalist and nationalist — and poor peasants and revolutionary intellectuals who play an effective role in the national liberation movements and in socialist revolutions in those countries (Viet Nam, Laos, Cuba).

In the case of our country, the possibility of founding a political party within the Palestinian resistance is linked to certain objective and subjective conditions and does not depend on the desires to create such a party at will, as in certain organizations in the Palestinian resistance.

Up until September of 1970, because of the general patriotic uprising in the country in an atmosphere of great liberty that permitted each of our citizens to become affiliated with the Palestinian resistance without great danger to life, the Palestine-Jordanian camp did not have the objective conditions necessary for the formation of this party. Anyone could fulfill their responsibilities without great risk and, fired by spontaneous patriotic sentiments, everyone could receive armed training and fight against Israel and the attacks of the counterrevolution represented by the reactionary government of Jordan. In this situation, any attempt to create such a party was a mere subjective proposal condemned to failure because the revolutionary party must grow out of armed struggle confronting the attacks of the counterrevolution and when all democratic liberties have been trampled.

The conditions that flourished after September 1970 created the appropriate atmosphere for the birth of the objective situation for the construction of the nucleus of the revolutionary party within the resistance. With all democratic liberties wiped out, Jordan was subjected to a violent police dictatorship obsessed with the extermination of progressive and patriotic forces. These conditions created the possibility for an objective selection of militants and fighters.

The requirements for membership in the resistance at present are more rigorous than before September 1970. Now a resistance militant is exposed to daily arrest, exile, persecution or assassination. Under these conditions we can place greater value on the solidity of each militant and his dedication to sacrifice.

With respect to the subjective conditions necessary for the formation of a revolutionary party within the Palestinian resistance, we believe that its first success would be to demonstrate its existence, but not all the subjective conditions are completely mature.

Some of them can be summed up in the feeling of all progressive and revolutionary forces for the necessity for contact within a single revolutionary organization as an alternative to the present fractionalism that is evident within the revolutionary organizations.

The objective conditions are ripening each day. We know that the progressive and revolutionary elements in organizations such as Al Fatah, Al Saika or the Popular Front are closer to the revolutionaries of the Democratic Front than to some of the members of their respective organizations.

A greater development of subjective conditions leads to a more profound maturity in the objective conditions, a maturity that will stimulate all or part of the revolutionary elements of the resistance to seek a new organizational force that will regroup them into one organization. We believe that this will take place in the not-too-distant future.

It is clear that such a future organizational unity of revolutionaries into a single organization within the resistance does not mean that the revolutionary political party has been achieved, but it does fulfill the first stage. This step should prove to the masses that it means that its tactical and strategic program and its daily action are really the expression of a vast class alliance among proletariats, poor peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and soldiers. This alliance must be led by a proletarian program toward a democratic national revolution in this phase.

The attempts to create such a party were marginal efforts without any important value and at no time have they been able to demonstrate their existence in the Palestinian question. These efforts are similar to the petit-bourgeois attempts that were born and nourished in the Arab region, especially after the Palestine disaster of 1948. As we know, some of these experiences led to Bonapartist Arab regimes dependent exclusively on the forces of the petit-bourgeois class, while others ended in small fragmented groups incapable of supporting the attacks of the counterrevolution. Any attempt to construct parties with the same logic will inevitably lead to the same results.

In fact, one of the resistance organizations¹ is trying to construct a party that will break out of this, but this party is incapable of playing a vanguard role within the resistance or within its own organization since it has been conceived as an appendage of the organization. It represents nothing more than a petit-bourgeois birth outside of any national Palestinian movement.

In what way, for example, could the Palestinian struggle benefit from the successful experience of the Tupamaros in Latin America?

The Palestinian struggle can benefit from the democratic-revolutionary experiences of all peoples, especially the national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America, because of the similarity of economic and class life in these countries. Among these experiences are those of the Tupamaros, which have

¹ Hautmeh is referring to the Popular Front led by Dr. Habash. (Ed. note)

points from which we can certainly benefit, such as the creation of a great mass atmosphere of solidarity with the national liberation movement

On the other hand, certain political and armed experiences of that organization open the way to extending the network of relations with the class enemies of colonialism, feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie.

At the same time we must observe the possibilities these experiences have in the construction of a revolutionary movement that, on a class level, reaches workers, poor peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and soldiers inside the oppressive state. This requires that the program of the organization correspond to the aspirations of the most numerous classes of the society in the struggle against the excessive desires of the minority class which, by its link with imperialism, puts its own interests above those of the fatherland and the nation.

We must note that this organization, despite its structure in opposition to colonialism, the comprador bourgeoisie and feudalism, still lacks a national revolutionary class program that can arouse the working class, the poor peasants and the national forces of other classes.

Up until now the program of this organization has been limited to a petit-bourgeois horizon which from the beginning of its experience was unable to penetrate among the poor peasants and begin armed struggle in the countryside linked to that in the city in order to conquer power on behalf of the revolutionary movement of the country. All this impelled this revolutionary group to transfer the scene of its activity to the city and carry out a series of political and armed actions that have won it a vast solidarity but, because of the program proposed, do not offer the possibility for organizing the working class and democratic forces in the city.

We believe that this will lead to maintaining an organization limited to small groups of combatants with broad mass solidarity, but incapable of transferring this to a structural and political plane constituting an alliance between workers, poor peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all the patriotic national forces of the small and middle level bourgeoisie. In any case, we can use certain of their experiences of a democratic and revolutionary political nature and others such as those that permit the Tupamaros to liberate numerous cadres from the jails of the counterrevolution (daring and ingenious flights). The rest is subject to the conditions of the Palestinian struggle and to the Palestinian program and subordinate to the relationship between the struggle of our people and other oppressed people.

Don't you think that the division between Palestinian groups is the best present that can be offered Arab reaction and the Israeli usurper? Do you see any possibility for unity among these groups? Do you think a collective leadership might be a solution at this time?

Certainly the division among left forces, when they are really left, seriously damages the revolutionary movement. Without any

doubt, the results benefit the interests of Arab reaction and the Israeli usurper. But we should note that the progressive organizations within the resistance are not grouped around a single ideological program that leads to a single political program in daily organizational military tactics. And so there is no possibility of unifying these organizations. The only alternative is to strengthen relations and alliances among progressive organizations within the people's revolutionary movements.

Certain of these organizations are truly left and revolutionary, oriented by a working class ideology and capable of assuming a correct national armed and organizational policy during the present phase of the Palestinian revolutionary movement while others, despite the Marxist slogans they wave, are ruled by Blanquist and adventurous tendencies of a petit-bourgeois nature. Any study of the life and practices of these organizations will reveal this historic and strategic fact.

We are faced with groups that consider themselves leftists and adopt a theory of Marxism-Leninism; but in reality they are phrases that are not reflected in daily political, military and organizational life. On the contrary it is the expression of Blanquist and adventurous explosions in many of the political and military positions they assume.

The solution to this problem is based on one principal element: Formation of alliances among these forces, considering that there are greater possibilities for agreeing with a program of minimum understanding between left and progressive currents than one could have between these and the right-wing forces within the resistance.

Such alliances can help to unify the struggle in its present phase, against the liquidationist attempts within the revolution and the Palestinian problem, as well as the progressive and left forces in the bosom of the resistance.

The formation of such alliances within the context of a progressive front with a collective leadership tied to a specific program, will certainly meet the problems and duties of the resistance at the present stage and impel it forward. Such alliances can also offer adequate defense of the progressive and left-wing forces in the resistance and open the road to more just and strong relationships with friendly progressive currents within the right-wing organizations.

Do you consider that the road to Tel Aviv passes through Amman? Is there currently some clandestine people's network organized with a view to overthrowing the Jordanian regime?

As I said earlier, the road to Tel Aviv must necessarily go through the liquidation of the internal enemy of the Palestinian and national Arab liberation movements, because of the dialectic link between them.

The liquidation of Zionist occupation and the liberation of the Palestine national territory are related to the creation of a permanent rear guard base for the Palestinian resistance, vital to the revolution and its shock forces.

The region most appropriate for this main base is Transjordan. Half the Palestinian people are distributed over both banks of the Jordan river. Some 70% of the Jordanian population is Palestinian and would greatly facilitate this enterprise. Without the existence of this base, the Palestinian resistance will always be exposed to easy liquidation or to being swallowed up by the Arab states, determined to implement Security Council Resolution 242, which provides a reactionary "solution" to the Palestinian question, based on recognition and legitimacy of the imperialist-Zionist aggression and usurpation of the Palestinian people in 1948.

Victorious popular revolutions don't come about without first insuring permanent bases to be depended upon as points of support for actions against the enemy and which serve as protection against his counterattacks. Transjordan is the only area that can become a principal base for the Palestinian people. For this reason, the Democratic Front has been urging a completely clear struggle since the beginning of 1969.

In order to pursue a prolonged armed struggle and transform it into a people's war of liberation against Israel and the Zionist occupation, we must solve the present contradiction with the internal reactionary enemy linked to imperialism. This internal enemy rejects coexistence with our people's movement and insists on the liquidation of the resistance before anything else. Nor is he interested in fighting Israel and imperialism. On the contrary, he maintains close relations with both.

We must recall that during the "revolution" of July 14, 1958, in Iraq, the British forces went to Amman to protect the Hachemite throne and the Hussein regime, and to do this they went through Israeli territory and air space, as all the colonialists have admitted and as Israel and King Hussein himself have confessed.

The Israeli leaders continue to declare at this time that any threat to the reign of Hussein will force them to intervene to protect him and keep him in power. The most recent of these declarations was made in September of 1970. For these reasons we can say that the liberation of Transjordan from the reactionary class regime, imperialism's agent and enemy of the revolution and the people of Palestine, is an historic and strategic necessity that opens up the possibility of establishing a solid anticolonialist and anti-Zionist bulwark that sustains the revolution and permits the concentration of society's energies on the development of action in a prolonged national people's war. This is the present duty of the Palestinian resistance and the patriotic movement in Jordan.

On September 7 the Democratic Front formulated to the Extraordinary National Palestinian Council, which met in Amman on August 28, 1970, the necessity to work toward the transformation of Transjordan into a permanent revolutionary base within the context of a national power formed by the armed masses and soldiers. This political position was completely victorious.

We believe that today more than ever, the Palestinian and national forces need a united front in Jordan for the defense of their rights from the teeth of reaction and imperialism, and that these could be summarized in:

- 1) armed training to defend the revolution and confront reactionary attacks and any probable Zionist aggression against Transjordan;
- 2) mobilization and organization of the population around the resistance;
- 3) proclamation of self-determination in its own territory.

At the same time this front has to struggle to tear political power out of the hands of the reactionary and imperialist forces in favor of a national democratic regime which is the enemy of imperialism, semifeudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie, those who historically constitute the material base of imperialism in the country and carry out the role of police in the protection of the interests of imperialism and the Israeli frontier.

The National United Front must carry on a tough clandestine resistance against the present Amman regime and must definitively discard the policy of bargaining and conversations, treaties and mediations for a new coexistence with the reactionary Amman regime. This regime on numerous occasions has rejected coexistence with resistance, and has seen in the contradiction that should be secondary to resistance a primary contradiction to be resolved in its favor, that is to say, with the liquidation of the resistance or its submission to its own reactionary and proimperialist power.

The reactionary Jordanian regime depends for the achievement of this policy on consecutive anti-Palestinian military campaigns and political deceit. But as we well know, the reactionary regime of Jordan will never permit the resistance to renew its armed struggle against Israel if this activity is not linked to its plans, and the resistance does not bow to the reactionary control of the Jordanian military high command.

The logic of the reconciliation has proven its ineffectiveness throughout the last four years, despite the numerous accords signed with the reactionary regime of Jordan (October 1969; June 1970; September of the same year under control of the Arab Committee made up of Egypt, Libya, Sudan and Algeria; that of Cairo on September 27, and the Protocol of Amman, October 13, 1970). These repeated experiences should alert all revolutionaries and patriots within the Palestinian revolutionary movement to the construction of a Palestine-Jordan National United Front, which employs all means of struggle, beginning with clandestine armed resistance, and all other democratic forms of mass resistance in order to overthrow the reactionary regime in Jordan and impose a democratic national regime, friend of the resistance, which supports it and makes Transjordan the principal permanent base of the Palestinian revolutionary movement.

Up until now this front still does not exist. Certain organizations, especially Al Fatah, are still looking to the Arab capitals for the achievement of coexistence with the reactionary regime of Amman which continues rejecting it. This situation leads to chaos and confusion among our people, militants and fighters. The government of Amman benefits from this, closing its fist still tighter over Jordan and pursuing its police campaigns to disarm the people and smash all opposition to the dictatorial regime.

This whole situation strengthens the counterrevolution and Arab reactionaries. Meanwhile, the Palestinian resistance loses ground by the vacillations of some of its organizations that persist in co-existence with the Jordanian regime, utilizing the Arab capitals as intermediaries.

The construction of this front will help to resolve the present subjective crisis in the resistance and concentrate all the available forces in a clandestine armed mass battle against the monarchy.

Up until now, we must say that there is still no people's clandestine organization whose objectives are to overthrow the Jordanian regime, but there are certain serious attempts to create this organization. In this respect we can mention a Jordanian organization that is now fighting against the Jordanian regime: the Jordanian Movement for National Liberation (Al Harakat Al Urduniat Litaharor Al Watani). We have some of this organization's military communiqués. We have also read its preliminary political program, whose objectives are the founding of a national patriotic force in Jordan with the overthrow of reactionary power.

How does the Democratic Front maintain contact with the Arab and Palestinian masses and help them in the process of revolutionary political awakening?

In summary, one of the main points of the Democratic Front's duties and of its relations with the Arab and Palestinian masses is their revolutionary ideological education.

This education clarifies the revolutionary position and disseminates political culture among our masses and the people of the Arab nation, reveals the false reactionary positions of the bourgeoisie, which has neither the possibility nor the courage to confront imperialism's and Israel's attacks, as well as the right-wing positions within the resistance movement. This labor permits the masses to guide themselves by their own experience, identify the correct and revolutionary position of the Democratic Front in those problems linked with the Palestinian question and the struggle in the Middle East.

In the second place it must provide political indoctrination on daily problems that arise within the resistance movement and among the people of the area in the common struggle against Zionism, imperialism and reaction. This political awareness will lead masses to discover their revolutionary road against the forces of counterrevolution in the area.

In the third place, to establish in the Arab region, organizational relations with democratic national revolutionary groups, as a step in the project of construction of a vast Arab national front throughout the entire extent of Palestine and Arab territories, to carry out a common struggle for a strategic program that has as its first condition, in the present stage, protection of the Palestinian resistance and contributing to the development of revolutionary progressive forces in the interior to pursue the armed confrontation against Israel and to inspire the peoples of the zone in their struggle against imperialism and the local reactionaries, and against all reactionary solutions to the Palestinian problem.



tricontinental
on the march

From the Colony to Socialism

Juan Mari-Brás

Juan Mari-Brás, Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, on the occasion of his visit to Havana, provided the OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat with a valuable and interesting report on the economic situation in his country and the MPI's conversion into a new party that brings together the Puerto Rican political vanguard in its revolutionary struggle for the independence and sovereignty of the homeland of Albizu Campos.

We present a synthesis of the Puerto Rican leader's exposition, which reflects the colonial reality of his country under US domination.

Economic Penetration in the Direct Colony

PUERTO RICO has been a direct colony of the United States since 1898, when our country was invaded by US armed forces. In calling

it a direct colony, we mean that the laws governing Puerto Rico are decreed and directly approved by organs of the US government, in every fundamental aspect that rules the people's lives, and only those aspects of a provincial or municipal nature are in the hands of the so-called Free Associated State of Puerto Rico. This situation has given rise to a growing penetration by industrial and commercial finance capital from the United States into our country in the last decades, which has resulted in an absolute control over the economic life of our people by big US capital. More than 85% of the industrial capital invested in Puerto Rico is in the hands of North Americans. The same thing is true in the area of commerce and finance. Total US investment in our country has reached \$6 800 000 000, whereas US investment in the whole of Latin America, from Mexico to Argenti-

na, is \$12 000 000 000: that is, more than half the total investment in Latin America!

Of course this doesn't mean that \$6 800 000 000 has really been invested in Puerto Rico, but rather that the investment made has been multiplied by capital reserves that increase year by year. After the division at the investment level, a major part of the profits is left in capital reserves and this supports the margin, which has ascended to the astronomical figure of \$6800 million.

If to this is added the fact that the Puerto Rican market is monopolized by the United States, that we are bound by US tariff regulations and are therefore obliged to buy all the goods we consume within the United States, one sees the absolute control the United States holds over Puerto Rican economic life. In this way, the United States has converted Puerto Rico into a veritable economic fortress to protect its domination over the Caribbean and Central American areas.

Puerto Rico's production is based fundamentally on the importation of Venezuelan oil, which is the raw material essential to the oil and chemical industry established in our country by the big US oil companies. Raw materials are also imported from other nearby countries and from the United States itself. The fundamental principle of the colonial tax on Puerto Rico is the exploitation of the Puerto Rican work force. A Puerto Rican worker produces as much or more than a US worker with similar skills. But in Puerto Rican industry, the average salary is a third of what is paid in US industry despite the fact that the man-hour production is the same and sometimes higher in certain areas than the man-hour production in the United States.

This imposes a superexploitation, because the Puerto Rican worker earns scarcely a third of what the US worker earns and his cost of living is 20% or more higher than in the city of Washington, which has the highest cost of living in the country.

This is because our trade is monopolized by the United States. We buy \$2 500 000 000 dollars worth of goods every year from the United States and are its second largest market in the hemisphere, immediately after Canada, and the fifth in the world, despite our small geographical size, and the fact that there are only 2 700 000 inhabitants on the island. The volume of trade with the United States is so large because it is a monopoly trade and we can't engage in trade with other countries of the world due to the colonial system.

The merchandise we buy from the United States we pay for at 20% more than the price of these articles on the international market. I should like to say that we have been paying an annual surplus price of \$500 000 000 to US commercial interests for merchandise we have been obliged to purchase every year.

On the other hand, the merchandise that is shipped from the United States to Puerto Rico arrives in US boats, whose shipping charges are the highest in the world. This greatly increases the cost of articles sold in Puerto Rico.

Emigration to the Metropolis

Imperialist superexploitation in Puerto Rico has produced a crisis situation which has led to chronic unemployment with 30% of the country's work force constantly unemployed in addition to a percentage of partial unemployment, plus the fact that more than a third of the island's population has had to emigrate to the United States, where it is forced by

the economic situation to do the hardest work at the lowest salaries and under the greatest discrimination of which any sector of US society is victim. In the city of New York there are a million Puerto Ricans. In the whole of the United States there are possibly 1 800 000 to 2 000 000 Puerto Ricans.

What has been done with the Puerto Ricans who have gone to the United States is the same thing that was done with African slave traffic in the 16th to 18th centuries. At this time in this century, it is the equivalent of that period, in which Africans were chained and forced into ships to be brought as slaves to the plantations of America. In this century Puerto Ricans are seized and placed in immense planes and brought to the huge farms of New England, the Midwest and the South of the United States and made to work like semislaves.

They are taken there and placed in concentration camps where they are paid a miserable salary; deducted from this salary is the cost of the plane flight, lodging, the commission of the intermediary who contracted them in San Juan, of the intermediary who contracted them in the United States. There are times when an emigrant worker spends six months on a tomato farm working from dawn to dark and when he returns to Puerto Rico, instead of having money saved, he has debts accumulated and can't turn over a penny to his family.

Military Bases and Nuclear Arms

Our country, which is a tiny island of 9000 km² with one of the highest population densities in the western hemisphere, has military, air and naval bases on it that together occupy close to 13% of its cultivable land.

Ramey Field Air Base is the center of the US Strategic Air Command in the Atlantic. Stationed here are the B-52 superfortresses

that carry hydrogen bombs and are constantly in the skies ready for any kind of bellicose confrontation.

At Roosevelt Roads base, on the east of the island, there is a nuclear armament deposit and a system of teledirected rockets. This base is supported by a naval complex stationed on Vieques and Culebra islands, which are part of our territory.

On Vieques island the mountains have been penetrated and converted into nuclear arms warehouses. On the island of Culebra, the US Navy engages in continuous maneuvers and at least once a year in maneuvers with the navies of all member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). These maneuvers are a constant threat to the inhabitants of Culebra which represents one of the most dramatic examples of genocide known in this part of the world, because the US Navy has insisted on moving the population from the island in order to continue using it for its military maneuvers, while the population affirms its right to live in its own country.

The Empire Against Independence

Since Puerto Rico is an economic and military fortress, the United States has continuously refused all requests and claims to independence or broadened autonomy made to it by any official organization on the island. In 1917 the Puerto Rican legislature requested independence and objected that we were being converted into US citizens. It declared that we are Puerto Rican citizens and that we have no interest in exchanging our citizenship for US citizenship. But the Congress of the United States, overriding the resolution of the Puerto Rican legislature, imposed North American citizenship on Puerto Ricans. In

1959, the legislature requested that the autonomy of the Free Associated State be broadened by transferring to the Puerto Rican government areas of authority that were in the hands of the US government. This project was not approved because it was opposed by various departments in the Eisenhower government, despite the fact that six years earlier and in the voice of the US delegate to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, he had stated to the General Assembly that any time the Puerto Rican legislature requested a broadened autonomy or the independence of the country, the United States promised to offer that change.

We know that Puerto Rican independence has to be wrested from the government of the United States and big US capital by our struggle, because they are not going to cede gratuitously the extraordinary privileges they hold in Puerto Rico.

At the same time a certain caste of imperialist parasites approximating a bourgeoisie has developed. It does not hold in its hands the means of production since it is not truly a bourgeoisie, but it is the intermediate for US capital. It includes the importers, the executives of the enterprises and the banks, army officers and high-level government bureaucrats in the United States and in the Puerto Rican colonial government. And this tiny percentage of the national population has piled up fortunes out of the fervor of the imperialist plunder of our country; they have made themselves rich serving as intermediaries for the North Americans and they are the ones that populate the great urban developments for the rich, who have all the privileges, who give the impression that Puerto Rico is a highly developed and very prosperous country. And they project this ideology of theirs,

an assimilationist ideology, to the Puerto Rican people through the control of all the means of communication, of education, church and civil institutions. They project their colonialist ideology to make the least politicized sectors of the working class think they are living in vital progress, which is only for this group of imperialism's parasites.

The Political Vanguard of the Proletariat

Independence in Puerto Rico has gone through the phase of stagnation in which it existed at the beginning of the decade of the sixties, and emerged at a higher level of development because it is supported and stimulated by working-class and student sectors of the Puerto Rican population. In the midst of this situation the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) founded in 1959 proposes the need for its own development as a revolutionary party of the Puerto Rican working class in order to fulfill its vanguard function in the destruction of the colonial capitalist system and the construction of socialism.

At the 1968 Assembly we proposed as our objective the transformation of the Pro-Independence Movement and from that time on, began a process that would last three and a half years, in order to plant the bases that would make this transformation possible, culminating in the VIII National Assembly of the MPI. In this Assembly, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party was formally constituted out of the Pro-Independence Movement, and the general declaration that outlines the principles of the program of the party and the rules establishing its structure were agreed to, as well as a series of resolutions concerning national and international affairs that define the party's positions on problems in the contemporary world.

We have declared this year, "Year of the Party's Organization," because we are going to concentrate our efforts on party organization with a precise goal of doubling membership at the same time that we face the repressive process that the regime unleashes against us. To the same degree that we become a decisive force in Puerto Rican politics, the US regime, in connivance with the colonial Puerto Rican regime, tries to corner our country's revolutionary patriotic movement by repression.

Every means of repression is used, from the organization of bands made up of elements hired by the Central Intelligence Agency to burn MPI headquarters and those of other independence organizations, to sophisticated repression which takes the form of persecution of party affiliates at their work, in their communities, etc.

We understand the organizational strategy of the new independence struggle to be founded, first, on the organization of the development of a revolutionary vanguard, the party, among our people; second, on the development and intensification of the national unity of Puerto Rican patriotic forces, a large united anti-imperialist front which raises the slogans of national independence; and third, on the militant solidarity of all world revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces with the liberation struggle of the Puerto Rican people. It is the combination of these three factors in one sole united movement that will put a stop to imperialism's efforts to continue the classic colonial system that prevails in Puerto Rico and which has led to the full flowering of this crisis in the colonial system which, in turn, will make independence inevitable.

The United Independence Front

We have suggested the need to form a united front of patriotic Puerto Rican organizations, prin-

cipally the Independence Party (PIP) and the Socialist Party which represent 95% or more of the country's active independence movements. Thus, in the first place, we propose a united front with the Independence Party, but open to the participation of all the groups that seek Puerto Rican independence. In the documents approved by the assembly, we establish eight points on which the united independence front should be based. This is the only way to achieve the unity of different forces. Clearly, the Independence Party at this moment is reluctant to enter a united front with the Socialist Party but we are confident that the united front will be forged because we have already succeeded in carrying out very important joint activities.

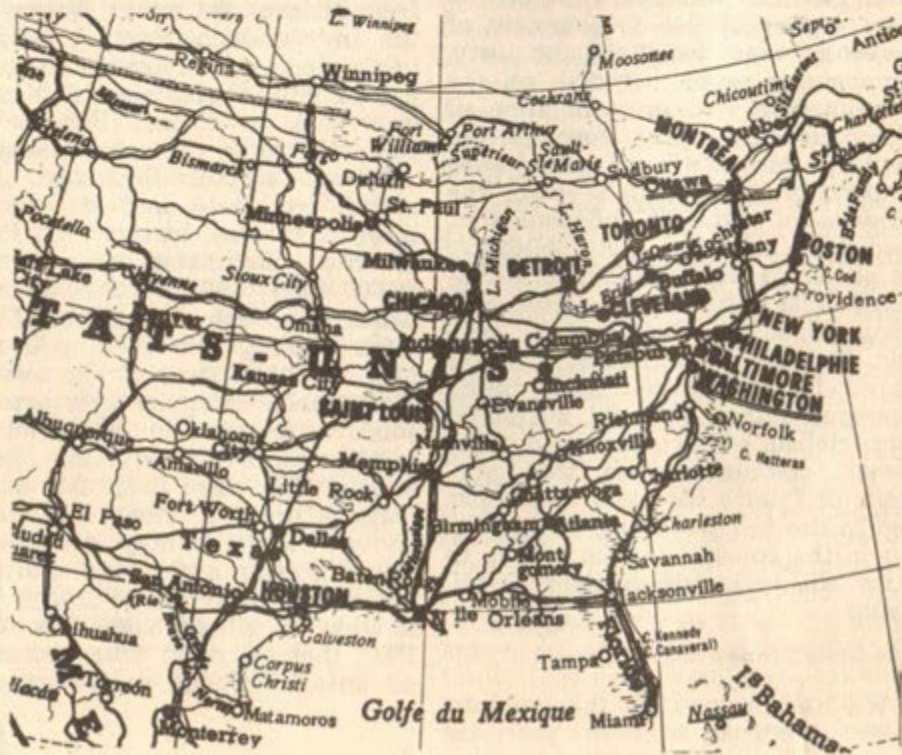
Last September 12, a conference of governors of all US states took place in San Juan. Invited Latin-American politicians also came as well as more than 500 journalists from all over the world. We invited the Independence Party to join us in a protest march against the holding of this conference of Yankee governors in Puerto Rico which coincided with the anniversary of Albizu Campos' birthday. The march was held and it was the largest in the history of Puerto Rico. Estimates ran between 80 000 and 100 000 persons who walked through the streets of San Juan yelling, "Yankees go home!" and all the slogans of the new independence struggle. This act was jointly sponsored by MPI and the Independence Party and demonstrated that when these two organizations unite to carry out an activity, the force they generate is much greater and has a multiplying effect in terms of unity. This is what we tell the comrades of the PIP, that we must take maximum advantage through united actions.

**news behind
the news**

□ In the Negev desert near the Dead Sea, the city of Dimona with almost 30 000 inhabitants has been constructed. In recent months it has acquired spectacular notoriety. Racial conflicts Chicago or New York style erupt night after night in the people's neighborhoods where a small colony of 300 blacks from the United States lives. Fights, robberies, child beatings, long drunken parties with the sound of guitars "have cost Dimona its tranquillity and are worrying its mayor."

The story began at the end of 1969 when eight families of black North Americans, originally from Chicago but who had lived in Liberia for a long time without having been able to integrate themselves there, asked to go to the promised land of their ancestors.

As followers of Moses, they claimed their right to be citizens of the Zionist State.



Confused and flattered by the request, the Israeli immigration authorities decided to accept and installed the new arrivals — in total 13 adults and 21 children — in the remote city of Dimona, inhabitable only when the hot desert winds are not blowing. Now the authorities say they were moved more by compassion for the misery of these people than by their claim to belong to the Hebrew people.

The Drama

For the first year things went along without any problem. "It was as if a jazz band had been installed in Dimona," the mayor says. Under municipal auspices the new arrivals worked in the cotton mills and were given comfortable houses. Dimona is also the center for the "exotic" Jews who come from Africa (the so-called falashas from Ad-cis-Ababa) and the Indian pro-

vince of Cochín. The former are dark-skinned, almost black.

During the past year, complications arose with the direct arrival from the United States of new black colonizers. Their number increased to 300 and they brought with them certain ideas disturbing to orthodox Judaism. Through their religious teacher, Ben Ami Carter, they stated publicly on television that they are "the true sons of Abraham and therefore the chosen ones." In their contradictory exposition, they admitted that they were not ethnic Jews but at the same time alleged that they were descended from the ten lost tribes of Jacob's sons, of which the bible speaks.

The irritation of the religious Jews reached an extreme when they stated that Abraham, Isaac and Daniel were blacks and so was God himself. To prove this last point, they based themselves on a vision by Daniel



who spoke of having seen God covered with long curly hair "like sheep's wool."

These theoreticians of "black Jewishness" broke the initial peace and frustrated plans to convert the black Jews to the orthodox religion.

Unemployment

For the new immigrants, who were also sent to Dimona, there were no jobs nor housing; and even worse, the police removed them from the Bedouin encampment where they had been provisionally installed. The blacks who had arrived in the first immigration came to the rescue and took them into their homes, which started a true Harlem-like ghetto. The beginning of the tension with the authorities, the precarious economic and housing situation to which all of them were subjected did the rest, and

a climate of racial intolerance that quickly changed to open hostility was the immediate result.

On October 14, Rabbi Meir Kahane, President of the Jewish Defense League, after visiting Dimona, made his famous statement, "the Jew is beautiful," which as a counterpart means denying blacks the right to call themselves Jews; and along with the mayor of the city, called for the expulsion of the "intruders."

During this same period, an episode dramatized the situation. A hundred blacks went into the supermarkets and collected food and clothing worth \$1000 and refused to pay. The police intervened and some of them were arrested. As a consequence, eight families were held in the custody of the Ministry of Immigration, which decided to solicit authorization for their repatriation to the United States.



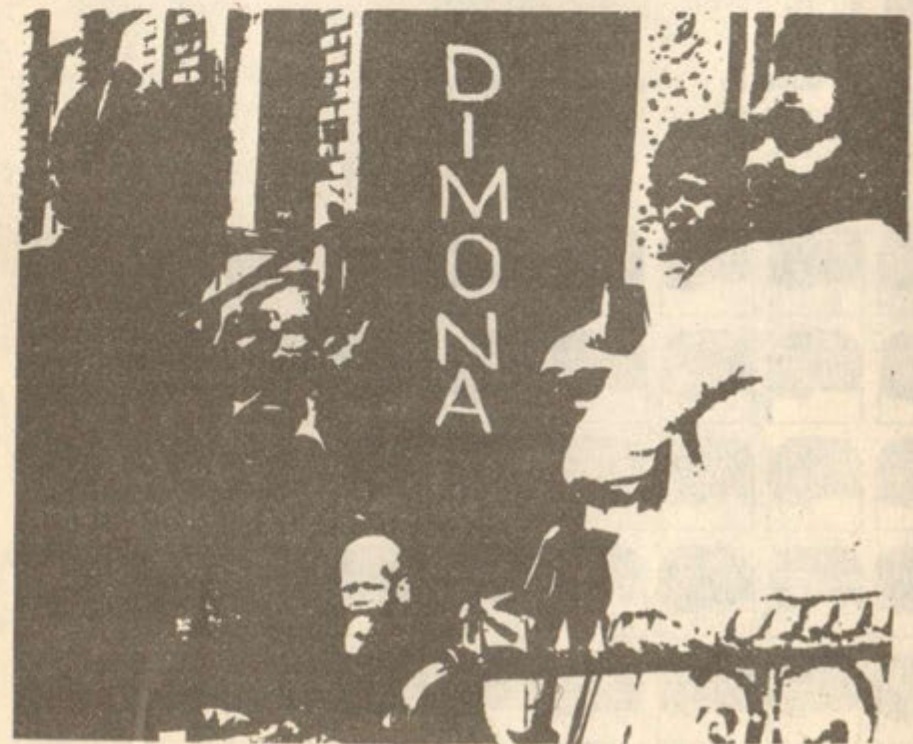
Justice

Finally, during the last days of December, the Supreme Court of Jerusalem ruled in favor of the defendents and refused authorization for their deportation because, according to one of the basic laws of the State of Israel, every Hebrew has a right to Israeli citizenship from the moment he sets foot in the territory.

The episode is still not closed, and Dimona "continues without sleep," according to the mayor. But behind the trial is a still more serious question, the situation of Jews from the Mediterranean and Asian Arab countries who claim they are treated like third-class citizens, condemned, in fact, to the lowest and worst paid jobs. Although they total 40% of the country's population, only 12% of them have had

access to public administration. Pressure from these groups, most of whom are Sephardic Jews who speak Spanish, in the long run can pose a serious question for the government of Tel Aviv, despite its confidence that time will produce a demographic homogenization.

On another level, they need not be concerned about Ben Ami Carter's threats over television that at least a million black Jews were rushing to emigrate to Israel. Explaining the origin of this black Jewish population, the same Carter referred to the old negro spirituals, songs of the slave period based on sacred texts with abundant references to the enslavement of the people of Israel by the Assyrians, and created a subtle link between the idea of persecution and that of the "chosen people" which could be converted into a motive for the conversion of thousands of blacks to the Mosaic religion.



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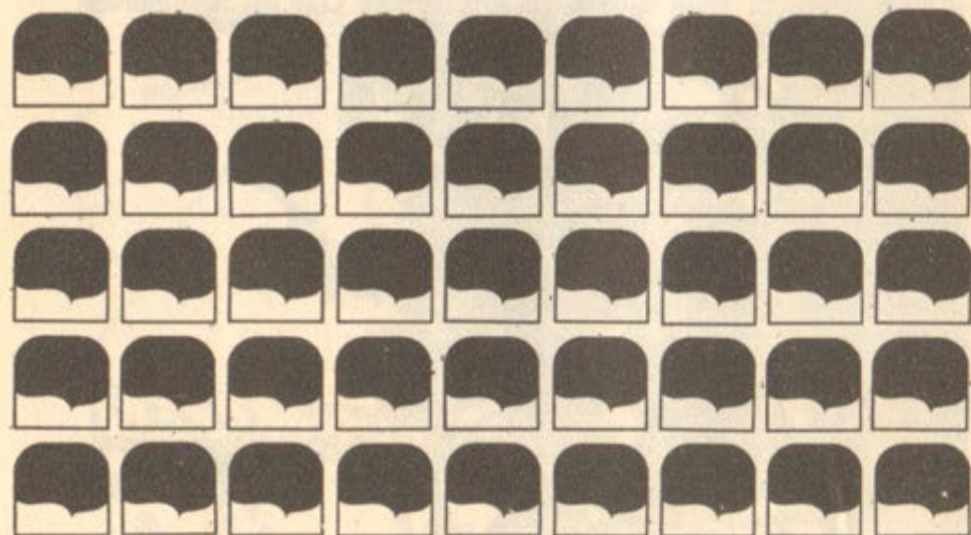
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