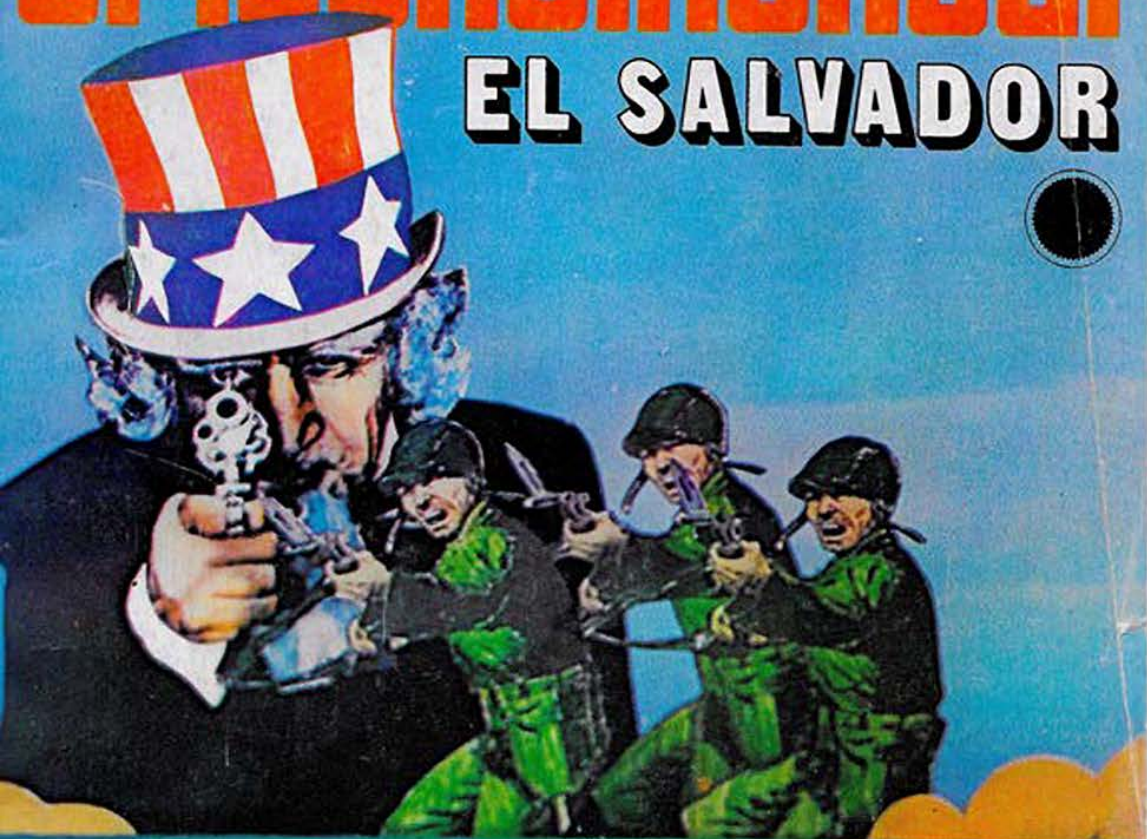
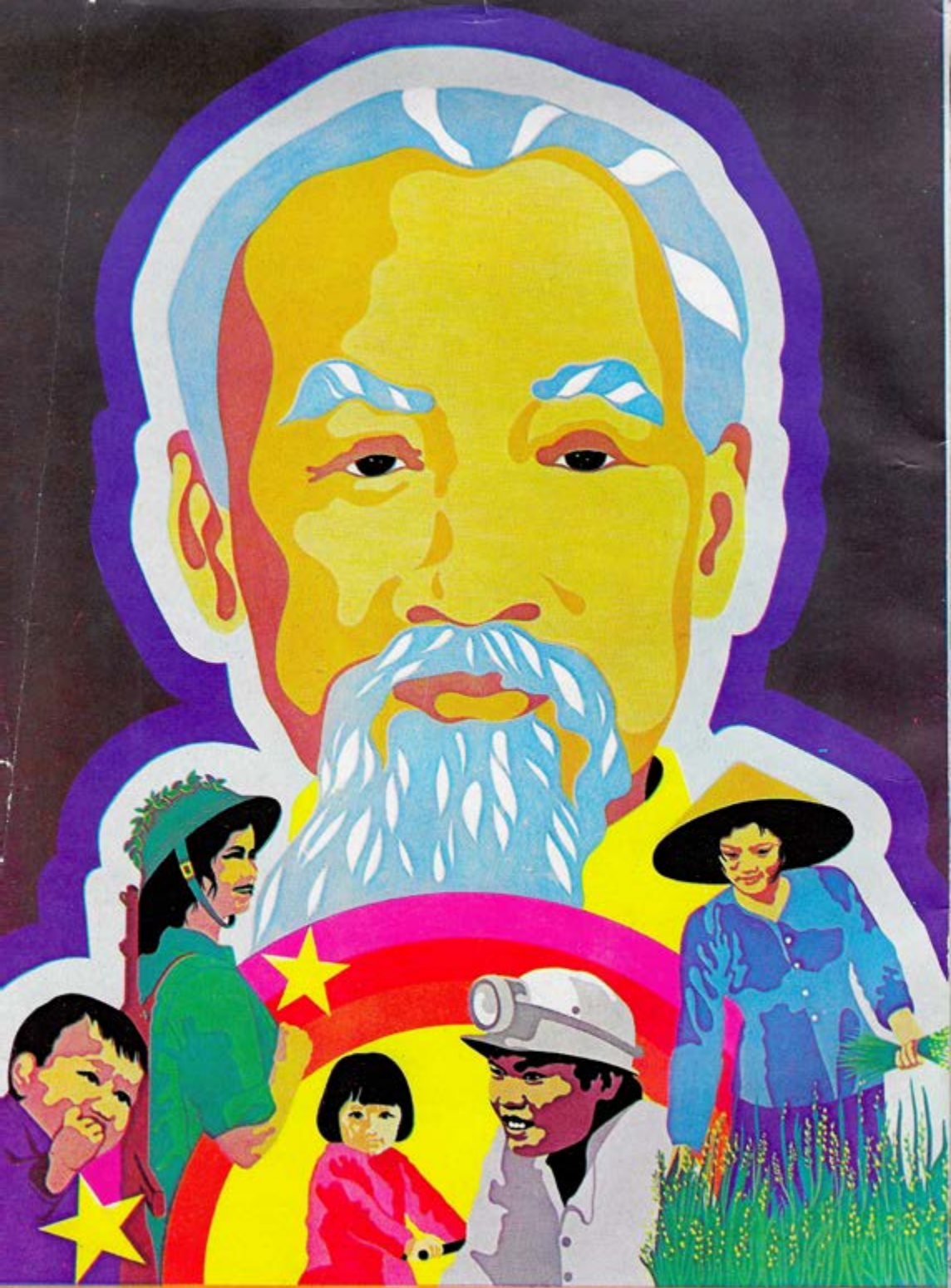


TRICONTINENTAL

EL SALVADOR





Las dificultades miden al hombre como el fuego al oro

Difficulties Temper Man as Fire Does Gold

Les difficultés donnent la mesure de l'homme, comme le feu celle de l'or

TO THE READER

Decisive battles for social liberation are being waged in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Linked by similar historic circumstances from the dawn of capitalism, the peoples of these continents are confronting "Imperialist Strategy and Action in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East," described in the position paper that OSPAAAL presented at an Afro-Latin-American support meeting held in Luanda, Angola, at the end of 1979, which is published

in the section
TRICONTINENTAL ON THE MARCH.

That imperialist strategy is revealed in many guises, often through regional gendarmes. In "Specifics of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa" (**LAND OF IDEAS**), Alex La Guma, of the African National Congress, discusses facets of his people's battle against a capitalist system with a powerful structure for domination and exploitation, reinforced by the racist government's alliance with imperialism — whose regional

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gendarme is South Africa, a country in which the minority class has usurped power by colonizing the blacks. This situation is what determines the uniqueness of the South African people's struggle.

Colonization is a type of general control in which all aspects complement one another, though it is possible to "isolate" factors in order to analyze their influence in the class structure of the colony — as Armando Enralgo demonstrates in "Notes on the Social Structure of Black Africa" in BOOKS OF TODAY, the second part of a work begun in our last issue.

In MERIDIAN LIBERATION, we offer "Western Sahara: a War That's Nearing the End," a report on how the Saharawi people, led by the POLISARIO Front, are approaching victory in their heroic struggle.

Vietnam has shown that "Difficulties Temper Man as Fire Does Gold," which, in the section STARTING POINTS, offers a brief summary of the role the Communist Party of Vietnam has played in such great feats as the victory at Dien Bien Phu and the Vietnamese people's resounding defeat of US imperialism in April 1975. In another part of Asia, the Korean people are struggling "For the Reunification of the Homeland," as President Kim Il Sung explained in a speech to commemorate the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, published here in MAN AND HIS WORD.

Imperialism used mercenaries to try to stop the revolutionary process in Benin, but "Imperialist Aggression Has Made Us Stronger," Pierre Edon, Commercial Attaché of the People's Republic of Benin in Cuba, declared in the course of a talk at OSPAAAL headquarters, in which he expressed the position of his people, Party and government. His remarks appear in EXPERIENCES AND FACTS. At the beginning of 1980.

El Salvador's revolutionary politico-military organizations issued a manifesto of unity as "A Decisive Step" in the final battle against the regime. Now imperialism is threatening to intervene in this Central American country, where the people have said "Enough!" to repression and exploitation and have begun a revolutionary upsurge that can't be stopped. This significant document is included in the section NOTES FOR HISTORY.

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SPECIFICS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

ALEX LA GUMA



land
of ideas



The African National Congress has just celebrated its 68th anniversary. After nearly 70 years of uninterrupted struggle, we should reflect on what has been achieved, on how the ANC has managed to carry on its struggle and link it with the one being waged in the rest of southern Africa, on the enemies' characteristics in the present political situation — and, as a result, on what course the struggle should take in the future.

Alex La Guma, African National Congress leader and distinguished South African intellectual, followed this line of thinking in his press conference held at OSPAAAL headquarters on the 68th anniversary of the ANC's founding.

WHEN I came here this morning I thought it would be a normal duty on my part to present this talk, but suddenly I find it a most moving occasion. The congratulations I have received here come from many parts of the world and from many progressive movements and comrades. These greetings brought to mind the times when, on behalf of the African National Congress (ANC), I visited several of your countries. I remember the Andean mountains as a curtain in the sky above the city of Santiago, Chile; I remember the hundreds of bicycles in the streets of Hanoi — and many other occasions on which the ANC had the honor of being represented in various countries. . . .

Our movement has now reached its 69th year. The immediate reaction is to say: Well, we have been operating for a long time; when is the job going to be finished? To console ourselves, we ask: How long is history? So we take the liberty of saying that whatever we have done over 68 years has brought us nearer to the liberation of our people.

It is significant that the anniversary of the ANC was celebrated last week, in South Africa, by an attack on one of the police stations by our guerrilla forces. The newspapers were, of course, very

concerned to mention that the attackers used the famous AK-47 rifles. We have no intention of hiding the fact that we are supported by the socialist community: the Soviet Union, Cuba, the GDR and all the other socialist countries. But the attack on the police station inside South Africa should not be considered merely as an incident in the armed struggle which was launched in 1961; rather it should serve as an example of the type of struggle in which we are engaged.

Not just a nationalist struggle

The situation in South Africa is often compared mechanically with that in Namibia, Zimbabwe, or other areas where the anticolonial struggle is taking place. It must be remembered that the South African people are not fighting an invader, an outside aggressor or an occupation by some foreign country.

Historically, the minority white population came from overseas, but they have established themselves over centuries as part of the general population of our country. Neither are we fighting the classical war of other colonized peoples. What exists in South Africa is a ruling class which has developed from a

colonial occupation of more than 300 years and has set up a capitalist system in our country with all the machinery and structure for the exploitation of the population; and this local ruling class has allied itself with the economic power of the United States, the imperialist countries of Europe and elsewhere. It has also facilitated the development of a capitalist system whose trademark is racism and national oppression of the black majority of the people in South Africa. This system has reduced the African people to a status of colonial serfdom. In addition, the raw materials and natural resources of South Africa were seized from the indigenous owners and used for the benefit of the capitalist system and the foreign exploiters. So we have in our country a system which includes capitalist exploitation, national oppression and colonialism.

We believe that to ignore this picture is to fall into the trap of simplifying the struggle in South Africa into a mere confrontation between blacks and whites. What we are struggling against, of course, is the system which has created racism and racial antagonism. When we say that the black people must end white superiority, we mean that they must destroy the system of exploitation which created white privilege and the division between white and black people.

The ANC was founded in 1912 and developed into a mass organization of the oppressed black people. We all understand that national oppression affects and makes victims of all strata of the black majority population. Apartheid is

a devil that torments the whole black population. For this reason the national liberation struggle has become a reality in South Africa. This has made certain elements in and outside of South Africa come to the conclusion that the ending of racial or national discrimination is the only problem we need to solve. But one cannot view national and racial oppression without examining its class basis.

The class basis of national oppression in South Africa is the capitalist system. Capitalist exploitation is inextricably linked up with national oppression. So, inevitably, the national liberation movement has to oppose economic exploitation of black people as well as national oppression. We have to constantly study and examine the reasons for national oppression in our country and find the basic and fundamental cause of it.

The ANC has sent many students to Cuba, the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries. If we were a purely nationalistic movement, we would not be concerned with educating our young people in the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and Marxist economy; but, because the national liberation movement of South Africa is broader than mere nationalistic concepts, we understand that at the base of this oppression lies economic exploitation. For this reason we are anxious that our youth and students gain the most advanced scientific and philosophical knowledge so they can understand the goals of the revolution and how to reconstruct their society along new lines.

As an advanced capitalist country, South Africa has also produced an advanced working class. This working class has its own in-

dependent party, the South African Communist Party. Again, because of national oppression and the economic exploitation of the majority, this working class is essentially a black working class. If for no other reason than to preserve the principle of a nonracial working class, the Communist Party must seek to end racial discrimination and national oppression in South Africa. For this reason, the Communist Party has identified with the struggle for national liberation and is a staunch ally of the ANC — and vice versa. The Communist Party views the success of the struggle for a democratic revolution in South Africa as an essential step towards the creation of a socialist society. Thus, the advanced working class led by the Communist Party and the national population led by the ANC function together in this joint struggle for the national-democratic revolution in our country. So, on both fronts — the working class front and the national liberation front — the struggle in South Africa is directed towards ending, as the first strategic objective, the system of minority privilege and national oppression of the black majority. The strategy and tactics of the ANC envision that, with the national liberation of the black people there must emerge a situation in which no individual or single group shall control the wealth of the country. For this reason, the objective of our struggle is to seize power, not to participate in the existing structure or win formal democratic rights. Our aim is to wipe away this structure and create a new one.

The program of the ANC is the Freedom Charter. Therein are set down the objectives of the national liberation movement without which we cannot construct a new society. It is not a matter of going to the Parliament and getting a law passed that will give everybody this and that. The national liberation movement is based upon the immediate attainment of these objectives. From this base come the other things.

ANC President Oliver Tambo said last year, "The masses of the black oppressed people constitute the principal and central instrument of change in South Africa, and they are charged with the task of carrying out the struggle in all its forms." Considering the type of society I have tried to describe, the black working class plays an important role in this struggle. With their concentrated numbers, with their organizations and with their experiences, black workers form the backbone of the struggle for change in South Africa. But of course, under the circumstances existing today, the mass struggle must be turned into people's war. For this reason the armed detachments of the ANC continue infiltrating into South Africa, participating in the mass movement and strengthening it with their arms. They are there to educate and organize the people and to combine mass struggle — political struggle — with armed struggle. For this reason you will not find in South Africa the situation that has developed in other anticolonial wars, of liberation zones in which independent governments have been set up. No, South Africa



is not that kind of society. Social changes will take place in South Africa as a result of the mass struggle.

Right now, our guerrilla war is based on mobile groups that can move from one place to another and be in contact with the masses all the time to train, recruit and arm the people inside the country. Of course, tactics might change as time passes. But for these reasons, as I said earlier, the struggle in South Africa cannot be mechanically equated with what is happening in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Western Sahara or any other part of Africa. Obviously the racist ruling class and its allies, the imperialist countries, know very well that the success of the liberation movement will end their economic exploitation and their hold on the country.

The bantustans: the racists' neo-colonial maneuver

Considering what is happening in South Africa today, the oppressors are very anxious to find some way of frustrating or thwarting black aspirations for liberation. They know that a head-on clash will result in the destruction of their old system as it exists. So they are trying to get the black people to accept the same system but in another form. Today they talk about internal settlements which will resolve this problem of confrontation. In South Africa they have embarked upon what is called the bantustan scheme. They hope that, if they give each ethnic group a little territory of its own, that will satisfy everybody and they will stop fighting. At the moment, the South African government is handing out bantustans the way a gambler deals out cards. Every little region is suddenly becoming independent. But the government officials do not reckon with the mood and the advanced concepts of the majority of the people, who are not interested in this kind of independence. The



result is, of course, that all the bantustans are in a state of unrest and revolt. For example, in one of the newest bantustans, that of the Benda ethnic group, elections were held to select the leadership of this tribal entity, so-called government, and the opposition party — which was against the bantustan — won the elections. The result was that the government declared a state of emergency and suppressed the people.

Of course the bantustan is created on the basis of the appointment by the central government of the local administrators. Today, in the biggest, model bantustan of the Transkei, the leader of the opposition in the Transkei Parliament is under arrest for treason. He is charged with working to subvert the Transkei independent entity. So, the fact is that, no matter how the racist government tries to create these artificial bodies, it is meeting with no success at all. Of course, there is a tribal layer — the puppet bureaucrats and the police —

that benefits from this situation and plays along. But, basically, the African majority cannot accept this division within its own ranks. An example of African resistance to the bantustans is the fact that two million members of this so-called Transkei ethnic group are living outside the Transkei. The government demanded that all these people apply for citizenship in the Transkei region. Out of the two million, only 56 applied.

Even the government itself is in a dilemma, because, while it talks about bantustans and ethnic divisions, it cannot afford to transport all the millions of Africans who are living outside the bantustans into the bantustans, because the Africans in the so-called white areas are the labor source for enterprises there. The whole of the bantustan scheme is failing in South Africa, but the government is determined, at all costs, to carry it out.

In Namibia, in Zimbabwe, the colonialists are also trying to gain acceptance for this kind of settlement. They cannot afford the success of the national liberation struggle. So they hope that by these schemes they will get the African people to accept this second-class status. Of course, behind these schemes are not only the local white racists but the international imperialist forces as well.

Imperialist interests in southern Africa

The British imperialists were very anxious to have the Zimbabwe situation settled on the basis of agreement. Of course, there is a good

reason why they want it done this way. The British have more than ten billion pounds invested in the economies of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. These investments represent 55 to 60 percent of total British investments in southern Africa. The United States' investments have grown fourfold since 1961, and it now has \$4 billion invested in South Africa.

Five hundred monopolies are involved in the exploitation of southern Africa, including General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and General Electric, while 6000 smaller American firms and companies operate there.

The United States, Great Britain and West Germany have major



investments in the mineral resources of South Africa, Namibia, etc. According to the **Sunday Times** of South Africa, all the uranium processed in Britain comes from southern Africa. The Chairman of the British Atomic Energy Commission stated that Great Britain processes 10 000 tons of uranium a year. Most of this comes from the Rosing Mines, in Namibia. It is significant that the individual chosen to conduct the negotiations between Zimbabwe and the Patriotic Front was Lord Carrington, who is not only a politician but also the former Chairman of the Board of the Rio Tinto Mining Corporation. So you can imagine in whose interests he is conducting these negotiations.

In order to create this illusion of interest in the black peoples of Africa, imperialism talks today about human rights and the dignity of peoples and — particularly the United States of America — hopes to give the impression of being on the side of black people. Of course, we know differently.

Imperialist attempts to survive in southern Africa

I also wanted to point out that, as the colonialists and imperialists desperately try to prevent the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa, in many places, especially in South Africa, they are faced with strikes, demonstrations and unrest on the part of the black population. Daily there are clashes with the police. Daily there are trials of militants who have been seized. In the new situation there are such signs of panic within the ruling class in South Africa that its officials no longer bother about charging people

with murder or arson or sabotage; the general accusation of treason is now enough to warrant death. In November, a young militant was sentenced to death, not for killing anybody, but for being guilty of treason, which is a political crime. Moreover, the commentators in South Africa noted the significance of this first case of a person sentenced to death for political ideas and not for murdering anybody. This is what the panic-stricken white ruling class is doing, faced with the opposition of the masses. South Africa's Minister of Police recently told the press that the security situation in South Africa is still serious. And he told a public meeting that the South African people were not as peaceful as some believed.

The reason for this has been the continued development of the mass struggle and the armed struggle inside the country. The press frequently reports attacks on police stations, giving a long list of specific places attacked.

There is another aspect of the crisis in South Africa which is also developing. It appears that, in the white Army, especially among white youth, there is no longer a willingness to fight, so the regime is facing a new problem: many young people that are called up for national service are evading the draft. In 1976, 63 000 men were called up; 37 000 applied for exemption. If you open the newspapers in South Africa today you will find many cases of young men who claim to be conscientious objectors and do not want to take up arms in the strug-

gle. Many of these young people have been arrested, and scores of them have fled the country and gone overseas to avoid fighting in the war. A South African war resistance movement is developing in Europe today. But what is also significant is that many of these white youth that do not want to fight are coming to the ANC to find out what they should do now as the next step. The white youth in general are now beginning to question the white supremacy structure in South Africa. With the massacre of black youth in 1976 at Soweto, white university students demonstrated at the side of the black youth. In order to resolve this problem, the government is also engaging in a scheme to Vietnamize the struggle in South Africa; that is, to recruit black puppets to fight against the liberation forces. That is one more reason why the situation in South Africa must not be regarded as a mere confrontation between blacks and whites. What is taking place is a confrontation between those who are defending democratic ideals regardless of race and those who want to maintain a fascist and racist government.

Of course, under the circumstances, the black majority is still the main force in this struggle against imperialism, which is desperately trying to survive in the southern part of Africa and hold on to its positions and its influence in

the face of a major economic, political and moral crisis. Wherever possible it has sought to protect its interests. The United States of America, in particular, is using Israel, South Africa, the reactionary states of Latin America and other reactionary and warmongering forces combined in one front to defend imperialism. I won't go into the relationship that exists between these various regions. **Tricontinental** magazine no. 62, carried an interesting article on the relations between Israel, Latin America and South Africa. Here, I am trying to show a general picture of the front that exists against imperialism in South Africa.

New cracks in the system

New cracks are continuing to appear in the imperialist world. Recently a major crack appeared in Nicaragua. Before that, the people of Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau achieved their independence and started to create new societies. We are sure that, in South Africa itself, another crack will appear in the imperialist world. A great deal of its success depends on international solidarity: the solidarity of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union, Cuba and others, and the solidarity of the progressive forces in the capitalist countries and of the world antiimperialist movement, with which our struggle is identified. ■

*Difficulties temper
man as fire does gold*



starting
points





In honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of what is now the Communist Party of Vietnam, created through Ho Chi Minh's efforts to unite the three communist organizations that existed in the country at the time, **Tricontinental** offers its readers excerpts from an article published by **Nhan Dan**, organ of the Central Committee of the Party.

These excerpts reflect the beautiful history of Vietnam, forged with admirable tenacity; above all, they lead to a single conclusion: nothing and no one can hold back the Vietnamese Party and people or rob them of the advances they have made with such sacrifice.

UNDER the leadership of our Party, the Vietnamese Revolution has already spent half a century in the struggle that has led to glorious and sweeping victories. After three great revolutionary periods (1930-31, 1936-39 and 1940-45), our people brought the August Revolution of 1945 to a victorious climax. Then, after two heroic patriotic wars that lasted for 30 years, we defeated the French and US imperialist aggressors, completely liberated and reunified our nation, set our country on the socialist path and contributed to the emancipation of two sister peoples — Lao and Kampuchea — and to crushing the war of aggression launched by the reactionary Chinese and defeating the genocidal regime in Kampuchea, thus defending the peace and independence of the three Indo-Chinese countries.

Throughout history, our people have won great victories and wrought deep changes that have enriched our legendary traditions. Never before, however, have these transformations been as deep, broad and feverish as now, when the reins of our Revolution are in the hands of our Party, the vanguard of the Vietnamese working class. It can be said that these history-making years have developed our people's virtues, grandeur and pride to the maximum.

For the past 50 years, our people's great triumphs have been linked to the founding and activities of what is now the Communist Party of Vietnam, a powerful organization of the Vietnamese working class and staunch pillar of the international communist movement.

On the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Party, Vietnam's Communists, its working class and all the people are infinitely proud and happy as they review the glorious course of their struggle, evaluate their victories and successes, sum up the valuable experience they have gained, raise their political and theoretical level and increase their fighting strength and capacity for action in order to successfully build socialism.

The glorious revolutionary advance

The Vietnamese people have a legendary history of building and safeguarding their country. Our ancestors waged many patriotic wars for emancipation and national defense, defeated brutal aggressor troops, created a brilliant culture and passed on beautiful traditions.

In the mid-19th century, when feudalism was disintegrating, our country was attacked and dominated by French colonialism. Generation after generation rose up in arms to fight colonial oppression, but all these uprisings failed for want of a correct line that fit the evolution of society in a new epoch.

The great October Revolution in Russia ushered in a new era for mankind and, at the same time, showed the Vietnamese people the road to national and social liberation. Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh's pseudonym), the first Vietnamese Communist, preached Marxism-Leninism in our country. Marxist-Leninist theory, combined with the patriotic workers' movements, led to the creation of the Communist Party of Indochina.

Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc said from the beginning that "Proletarian revolution is the only way to safeguard the people and liberate the country." The founder and leader of the Vietnamese Revolution correctly solved the key problem of national emancipation in this new period by linking the struggle for national liberation with the world proletarian revolution.

The founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam, which Ho Chi Minh created, led and strengthened marked a basic turning point in the country's revolutionary history

The Vietnamese people quickly demonstrated their adherence to Marxism-Leninism, mankind's most advanced ideology. "Emerging in a colonized country, where it is subjected to both bourgeois exploitation and foreign oppression, the Indo-Chinese proletariat enthusiastically supports the revolution. In order to attain its own liberation, the Indo-Chinese proletariat must free the country from the imperialist yoke" (a resolution of the Central Committee of the Party, November 1940). Because it emerged after the October Revolution, the Vietnamese working class avoided the influence of opportunistic tendencies. Its source was always the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and it soon assumed full leadership of the revolutionary movement in Vietnam. Born of a staunch people and a radical, revolutionary working class, the Communist Party of Indochina quickly became the vanguard in our country's Revolution.

Shortly after it was founded, in 1930, the Party's Draft Program correctly laid out the basic questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics. The Party stated that the Vietnamese Revolution was a new kind of democratic-bourgeois revolution led by the working class at a time when the proletarian revolution had triumphed in the Soviet Union, the democratic and national liberation movements were making great strides and imperialism was mired in an acute general crisis. The Political Thesis clearly delineated the two stages through which the Vietnamese Revolution would pass: the democratic-bourgeois revolution and the socialist revolution, in which the working class would play the leading role, gaining great strength from the worker-peasant alliance. Thus, the relations between the classes and the nation, between anti-imperialist and antifeudal tasks and between patriotism and proletarian internationalism were correctly foreseen. Because of this correct line, the national revolutionary movement burgeoned in both city and countryside, which panicked the enemy.

The revolutionary upsurge of 1930-31

This upsurge, which reached its climax with the movement of soviets in Nghe Tinh, brought forth new forces that officially entered the political arena to determine the country's future. For the first time in the history of the Vietnamese Revolution, a true mass revolutionary movement arose.

based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by a working-class party. This upsurge gave the masses confidence in their ability to make the revolution, and they defended their revolutionary achievements successfully against imperialism's brutal repression. During this upsurge, the seeds of the future were sown, and the people's forces were forged for the victorious August Revolution of 1945.

The period of the 1936-39 Democratic Front was one of new revolutionary developments and gains for the Communist Party of Indochina

In order to implement the resolution of the 7th Congress of the Communist International, the Communist Party of Indochina gave special attention to the establishment of a united front. Taking advantage of the new situation created with the Popular Front's rise to power in France and drawing on the basic revolutionary forces that had emerged in 1930-31 and had been reestablished after many years of fierce repression, the Communist Party of Indochina embarked on a new course of activities: it established the United Democratic Front of Indochina and organized millions of workers, peasants, young people, intellectuals and other progressive sectors of the people in many varied forms of struggle. Legal or semilegal struggle was closely coordinated with the underground struggle in fighting oppression and exploitation and demanding ordinary rights and democratic freedoms for the people. Then, during World War II, the Communist Party of Indochina promoted the creation of the Viet Minh Front.

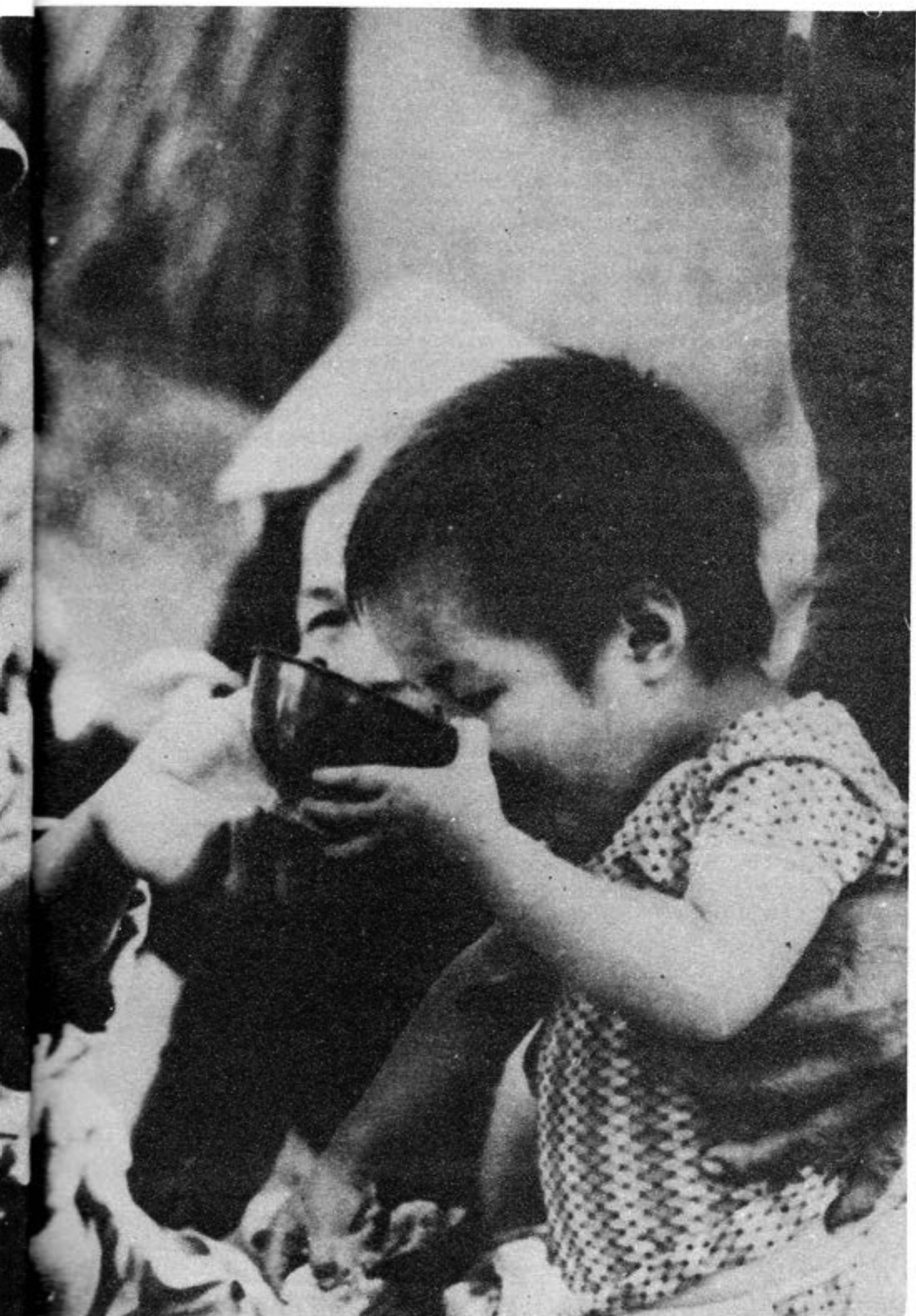
The CPI's great victories in the period of the Democratic Front prepared new forces and fields of action for the mass struggle for national salvation in 1940-45. The 1930-31 revolutionary upsurge had served as a dress rehearsal for the 1936-39 rebellion, that culminated in the August Revolution of 1945.

The victorious August Revolution of 1945, a brilliant page in the Vietnamese people's history

President Ho Chi Minh once said, "Not only the Vietnamese working class and the people in general but also the working class and oppressed peoples in other parts of the world can feel proud, because this is the first time in the history of colonial and semicolonial peoples' revolutions that a Party has led the revolution to victory and taken power throughout the country just 15 years after its founding."

The August Revolution of 1945 was a great turning point in the history of the Vietnamese people, opening a new era of independence, freedom and socialism as the Vietnamese people threw off the yoke of exploitation and poverty and became a free people. The CPI was no longer an underground organization but a Party in power. Vietnam was no longer a colonial, feudal nation but the first independent country in Southeast Asia with a democratic people's government.





The August Revolution of 1945 advanced and reaffirmed the Vietnamese people's traditions of steadfastness, indomitability and unity against foreign aggressors. The preparations for the general insurrection of August 1945 contributed to the wealth of world revolutionary experiences.

The struggle to defend and consolidate revolutionary power went on under very complex conditions. Vietnam lay at the center of the imperialists' and reactionaries' sphere of influence; as a result, right from the beginning, the revolutionaries had to pit their newly organized and poorly equipped armed forces against the professional army of an imperialist power that had ruled the country for nearly 100 years.

In this trial by fire, the CPI led the people in heroic struggle, using flexible tactics that brought it victory after victory in battle and permitted it to defeat every enemy maneuver while also increasing its forces and preparing it for a prolonged struggle that was to end only in final victory.

The great victory at Dien Bien Phu ended colonial domination in Vietnam

The Vietnamese people's resounding victory at Dien Bien Phu made it possible to liberate all of North Vietnam and begin the transition to



socialism in that part of the country while continuing the democratic national revolution of the people in the South, in order to bring about the reunification of the homeland.

The CPI, a united Party leading a temporarily divided country, carried out two important strategic tasks: it gave clear proof of its firm revolutionary nature and great creative capacity and provided correct solutions for a number of difficult political, military, ideological and organizational problems that arose in the very complicated international situation of that period.

The people of North Vietnam were successfully implementing the resolution of the 3rd Congress and the agreements of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam on getting their economy back on its feet and carrying out their first 5-year plan when, in 1965, they were forced to put the country on a war footing to deal with the destruction caused by US bombings.

The Party's correct policy, plus the Army's and the people's spirit of struggle and selfless work, twice defeated the war of destruction launched by the United States and established North Vietnam as a powerful rearguard of resistance to US aggression.

In spite of the fascist methods used by the United States and its puppets in the South, the people joined in the partial insurrection and advanced the struggle so it became an integral military and political revolutionary war. One after another, all the military adventures and strategies of the US top brass were defeated, and finally, under the firm and correct leadership of the Party, the South Vietnamese fighters, backed by the people of the entire country, brought the patriotic war against US aggression to total victory.

The great history-making victory in the spring of 1975

The Vietnamese people threw off the yoke of imperialist domination once and for all, won total independence, reunified their country and set it on the path of socialism. This victory crippled US imperialism's global strategy and presaged neocolonialism's inevitable bankruptcy throughout the world.

Led by the Party, the Vietnamese people carried out their historic task of national liberation and reunification, fulfilled their commitment to their homeland and did their internationalist duty.

That victory will always be a high point in Vietnam's history, an expression of the complete triumph of revolutionary heroism and human intelligence. It will go down in the history of the world as one of the great triumphs of the 20th century.

The correct and creative political and military force and revolutionary methods of the Party united the Vietnamese people in a great force that defeated the all-powerful leader of world imperialism. The Party harmoniously and successfully combined the revolutionary science of the working class with its combative will and the great creative force of the Vietnamese people — advanced revolutionary knowledge with Vietnam's

4000-year-old traditions of heroism — in building and defending the country.

The Vietnamese people's victory over the US aggression clearly demonstrated that, when the people's revolutionary position and methods are correct; when their goal is national independence and socialism; and when all patriotic and progressive forces are united around the revolutionary political party of the working class, maintaining close solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, with the workers' democratic and national independence movements and with all progressive mankind, they are fully capable of winning their struggle for national liberation and advancing toward socialism, since socialism has become a world system and imperialism is bogged down in general crisis and disintegration.

The 4th Party Congress marked a new stage in the development of the Vietnamese Revolution

The 4th Party Congress summed up the experiences of the people's democratic national revolution in Vietnam, affirmed the initial achievements of socialism in the North, drew far-reaching conclusions and defined the path to be followed for reaching the goals of the socialist revolution.

The line of the socialist revolution and the path to economic and cultural development as approved by the Congress, raise many very important theoretical and practical problems under socialism. The successful conclusion of the Congress stimulated the Party, the people in general and the Army of Vietnam in their efforts to "build a country ten times more beautiful" than before, as President Ho Chi Minh desired.

The victory of the anti-Yankee resistance for our people's national salvation and the creation of an independent, unified and socialist Vietnam are also triumphs for the socialist community and all other peoples and countries that are struggling for peace, national independence and social progress.

These events constituted a major strategic defeat for the forces of imperialism and the international reaction — especially the reactionary ruling circles in China. All of Vietnam's enemies have increased their collusion in order to impose a blockade and isolate Vietnam in an effort to check the people's advance.

The Chinese reactionaries have become allies of imperialism, revealing their treacherous nature by attempting to swallow up Vietnam and the entire Indochina Peninsula. As a result, the Vietnamese people have once again been forced to fight, this time against China's expansionism and that of its allies: imperialism and other reactionary forces.

With revolutionary heroism, patriotism and love for socialism, the Vietnamese people and their Armed Forces defeated the enemy's counter-revolutionary strategy. The reactionary Beijing clique thought it had found the perfect time to launch an attack that would break the Vietnamese people, who had just emerged from 30 years of war and had been hard hit by a series of natural disasters.

The Chinese rulers used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to apply a policy of genocide in Kampuchea and launch an expansionist war on Vietnam's southwestern border. They halted their aid, sabotaged the Vietnamese economy and incited the Hoas to provoke disorder, then mobilized 600 000 troops and launched a brutal attack on the southern border of our country, while at the same time spreading vicious lies aimed at isolating Vietnam internationally.

The Vietnamese people, however, defeated one enemy maneuver after another. Side by side with the Armed Forces, they won two wars of aggression unleashed by the reactionary Chinese rulers; firmly defended their sovereignty and territorial integrity; fulfilled their internationalist obligations to the Kampuchean and Lao revolutions; and made an active contribution to the defense and development of socialism, stimulating the national independence movement and defending peace in Southeast Asia.

The Vietnamese people's great advances in building socialism

After independence and reunification, our country needed to turn all its energies to the peaceful work of national reconstruction, restoring and advancing its economy, educating the people and gradually raising their standard of living, but other tests prevented the Vietnamese people from doing this.

At a time when the technical-material base of their national economy was still weak and backward, when the country had been devastated by three decades of war and when they were still suffering from the effects of neocolonialism and a series of natural disasters, the Vietnamese people



had to confront the reactionary Chinese ruling circles, that were acting hand in glove with imperialism and other hostile forces in a continuous attempt to sabotage and annex Vietnam.

"Difficulties temper man as fire does gold." The people of Vietnam grew in the course of these trials, making gains in recovering from the war; offsetting natural disasters; starting up and increasing production to meet their basic needs; promoting socialist transformations in the South; consolidating new relations of production in the North; progressively laying the technical-material bases for socialism; vigorously developing education, culture, science and public health; constantly strengthening national defense and security; and consolidating and extending political and moral unity among the people.

On the diplomatic front, the Vietnamese people countered the sinister maneuvers with which the enemy attempted to diminish Vietnam's prestige and isolate it internationally.

The Vietnamese people have consolidated their militant solidarity with the sister peoples of Kampuchea and Lao more than ever. The Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, along with Vietnam's close solidarity and long-term cooperation with the socialist community, has given the Vietnamese people new and powerful strength.

Vietnam's relations with independent countries — both non-aligned and capitalist — and with international organizations have also continued to develop. Vietnam's political and spiritual prestige has never been higher. The great victories it has won are evidence of its strength, solidity and firm advance toward socialism.

The Communist Party of Vietnam, organizer of our people's victories

Looking back over the last 50 years — filled with struggle, hardships and suffering — our people are very proud of their victories. In spite of powerful enemies, the Vietnamese people have performed great feats and written beautiful pages in their history. Our nation has entered an era of independence, freedom and socialism. Under the leadership of its Party, the Vietnamese Revolution has become an important part of the world revolution. Our victory has been a worthy contribution to the struggle of the peoples and of all progressive mankind for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Our Revolution's great achievements are indissolubly linked to the leadership provided by our Party, a true Marxist-Leninist Party created by President Ho Chi Minh; a Party that is completely loyal to the interests of its class and of the nation, to the just cause of the international working class and the freedom-loving peoples.

Founded and nurtured in an agriculturally backward colonial and semifeudal country where the working class was a minority, our Party has always defined itself as the representative of the working class and has stressed the need to broaden its working-class base and take steps to counteract and neutralize petit-bourgeois ideological influences.

Throughout its long and rewarding struggle, our Party has been deeply imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology and has contributed its experiences to enrich that revolutionary science. Working within the framework of the Vietnamese Revolution, the Party has creatively solved many problems related to the people's democratic national revolution and the socialist revolution. Moreover, the Party's revolutionary political line is built on the close relationship between national independence and socialism. Right from the beginning, this principle has underlain our strategy and guided us in organizing our revolutionary forces as the vanguard of the working class; building on the worker-peasant alliance; and uniting all other national patriotic and progressive forces in solidarity with the proletariat, the oppressed peoples and all other democratic and progressive world forces. Implementation of a Marxist-Leninist strategic line is a prerequisite for mobilizing the nation's latent forces to the fullest extent, winning broad approval and international support and creating the invincible power of the revolution.

In its activities, the Party always combines a principled strategic essence with a flexible tactical line in order to encourage our people's revolutionary action. At each step in its evolution and in each challenging test, the leadership of the Party has shown its steadfastness and infinite loyalty to the emancipation of the nation and to communist ideas, its sensitivity and its skill in dealing with new situations.

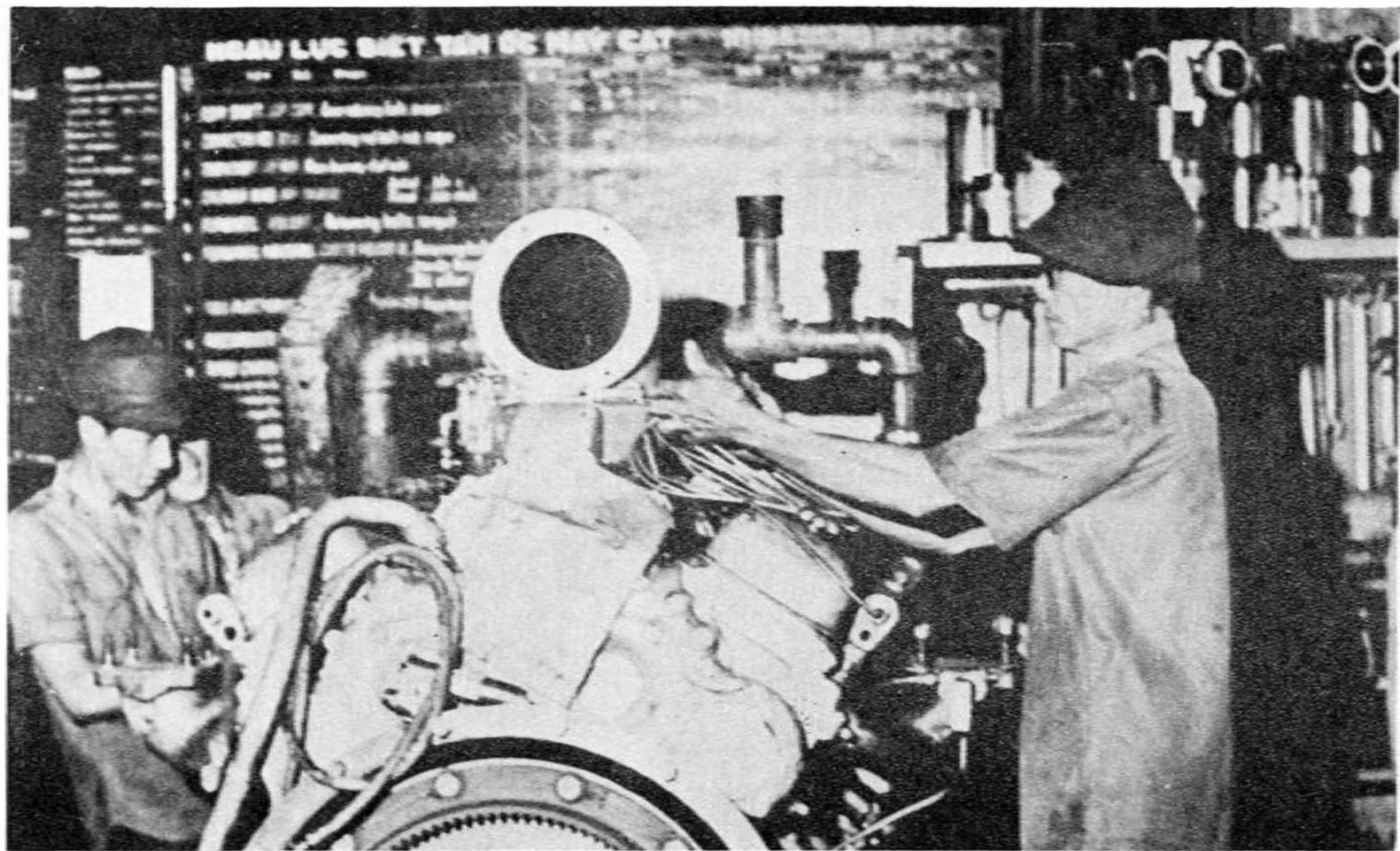
In defining the enemy, its aims and its strategic tasks — and even in adopting specific policies, tactical slogans and methods of struggle — the Party has shown its constant political development. Under difficult conditions, in which it was forced to confront several enemies at the same time, our Party stood firm, using correct methods and flexible tactics to unite all its forces, to strengthen the positions it had won and to prepare for new advances.

Ever since the Party's founding, the history of the Vietnamese Revolution has developed on the basis of a correct line and the use of varied forms and methods of struggle. In both underground and aboveground activities; legal and illegal struggle; mass and parliamentary efforts; political, military and diplomatic work; partial and general insurrection; and guerrilla and regular war, our Party has creatively applied methods drawn from the wealth of the world proletarian struggle, adapting them to the specific situation in our country.

The Communist Party of Vietnam, a new kind of Party

In its first thesis, the Party recommended close unity between Marxism-Leninism and the Vietnamese people's, workers' and patriotic movement, with the Party as the vanguard of the working class and legitimate representative of the nation's virtues, heir to the Vietnamese people's heroic traditions of struggle for their fundamental rights.

Acting on a revolutionary and scientific basis at all times, our Party has successfully struggled against adventurist petit-bourgeois ideas and



bourgeois-reformist ideology, preventing these erroneous ideological manifestations from infecting the workers and peasants and keeping the leadership of the Vietnamese Revolution firmly in the hands of the working class. The Party very quickly eliminated the provocative, undermining manifestations of Trotskyism; overcame the phenomenon of reconciliation; prevented any opportunistic political tendency of the right or left from spreading within the Party; and maintained Party unity on the basis of a correct line. Throughout its half century of existence, our Party has always demonstrated the loyalty and creativity of a true Marxist-Leninist Party.

The Party has always taught its members and the people in general to develop a spirit of proletarian internationalism; seriously study the revolutionary experiences of fraternal Parties; and express solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, authentic workers' and Communist Parties, the national independence movement and all progressive mankind. Our Party has defined and consistently practiced a correct line of international solidarity, which is why it has been supported and aided by the socialist community and other revolutionary and progressive forces. We have expressed our gratitude for this solidarity and internationalist aid, which we consider to have been one of the decisive factors in the victories of the Vietnamese Revolution.

Our Party and people have also carried out their internationalist obligations to the noble revolutionary work of other peoples, protected unity among revolutionary forces (especially among the fraternal socialist countries and the workers' and Communist Parties) and defended Marxist-Leninist purity and proletarian internationalism against opportunism (especially against all narrow nationalist tendencies and big-nation chauvinism).

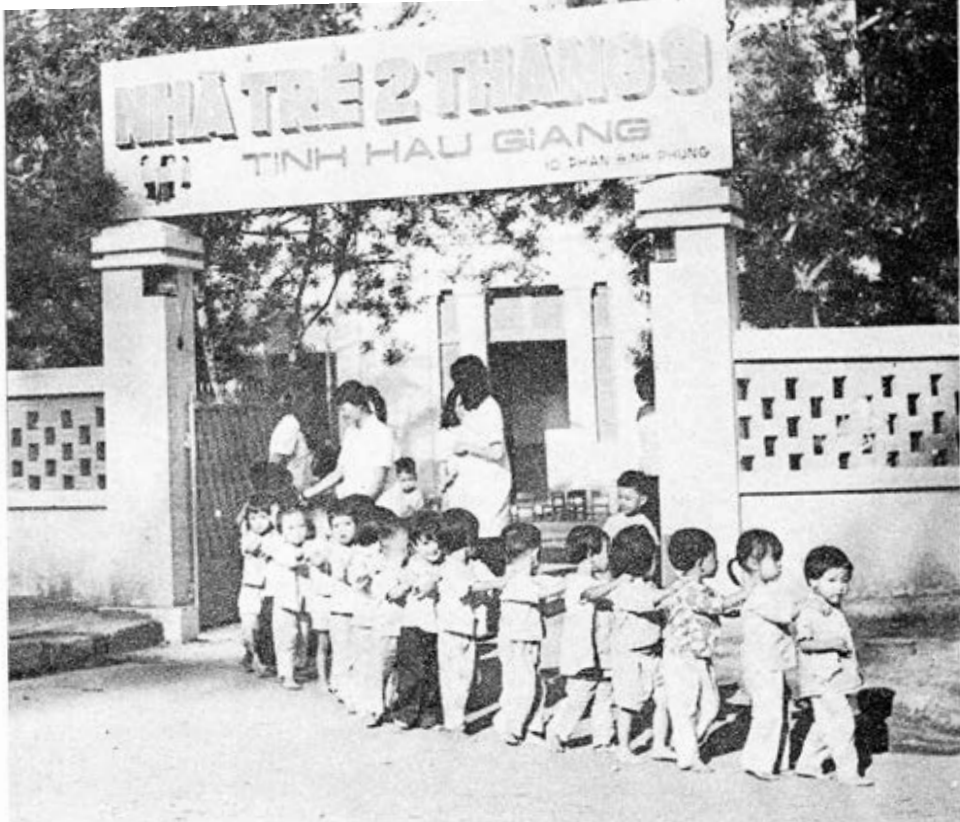
The Communist Party of Vietnam has an inherent strength: its close ties with the masses

During the period of feudal and imperialist rule, most members of our Party maintained close contacts with the mass movement while training for the underground struggle. Those who were imprisoned turned the jails into revolutionary schools.

Vietnamese Communists have passed all their major tests: armed insurrection and prolonged revolutionary war — years of arduous struggle to strengthen and defend revolutionary power and lay the initial bases for socialism. This has helped our Party to become a visionary political and military leader and provided its members with valuable experience.

Now that the Party directs the state, its responsibilities to the people are growing constantly, and its links with the masses are broadening in all areas of life. The CPV is truly a vanguard party, leading the mass revolutionary movements.

Vietnam's state apparatus is firmly supported by millions of citizens — who know that, with the Party's correct leadership, their role as col-



lective masters is guaranteed and that any revolutionary task, no matter how difficult, can be carried out successfully.

Through practical activities, struggle and trial, our Party cadres have demonstrated such noble revolutionary qualities as loyalty in defending their homeland's independence and freedom and the ideas of communism, unity, discipline, self-sacrifice, hard work, sincerity and modesty. Throughout, they have maintained close ties with the masses.

These qualities have always been a part of Vietnamese culture, but now they are being developed and stressed as characteristics of the new man in a new society and a new epoch. ■

IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION HAS MADE US STRONGER

PIERRE EDON



experiences
and Facts





On October 26, 1972, after nearly a century of colonization and a decade of neocolonization, the people of Benin broke with the old order of exploitation and began to advance toward their true liberation, guided by Marxist-Leninist ideas.

As in so many other cases, this process was slowed by the maneuvers of imperialism, which, in an effort to block a new people's victory, paid, organized and trained a band of mercenaries who landed silently at the Cotonou airport on January 16, 1977, determined to destroy Benin's Revolution.

As in so many other cases, too, the people courageously defended their right to build a better future and gave a severe drubbing to the imperialist mercenaries.

On the third anniversary of that mercenary defeat, Pierre Edon, Commercial Attaché at the Embassy of the People's Republic of Benin in Cuba, gave a press conference at OSPAAAL headquarters briefly reviewing that part of his country's history and reporting on the rapid advance of Benin's Revolution.

The invasion

BEFORE dawn on Sunday, January 16, 1977, a DC-7 turboprop pirate plane¹ landed at Cotonou's international airport with a band of heavily armed mercenaries.

As soon as it touched down, the mercenaries, armed with guns, mortars and rockets, launched an attack designed to destabilize the revolutionary process. Advancing on our Palace of the Revolution, their main target, they caused untold damage, but the People's Armed Forces, backed by the entire population, responded firmly, and we repelled the aggressors, who abandoned most of their sophisticated weapons, many valuable documents and a number of their dead in their precipitate flight.

Many Beninese militants were also killed and several dozen seriously wounded in the cowardly imperialist attack. As soon as the invaders were overcome, the Beninese government set up a National Investigating Commission to counteract imperialism's false reports of the attack. It also formed an International Commission composed of representatives from Guinea, Nigeria and Benin. The Common African, Malagasy and Mauritian Organization (OCAM) sent a delegation headed by Sidney Moutia, its General Secretary, to Cotonou on January 28, 1977, to verify the facts. The World Federation of Trade Unions also sent a delegation, headed by its Vice-President, and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization sent an Investigating Commission headed by Vice-President Bangoura.

Following its February 7, 1977, Security Council meeting, which approved Resolution 404, the United Nations set up a special three-man investigating commission, headed by Mr. Jorge Illuega, Panama's representative to the United Nations, and also including Mr. Mansur R. Kikhia, representative of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations, and Mr. R. Mulye, representative of India to the United Nations. This commission went to Benin to investigate and verify the facts.

On February 12, 1977, the 28th Ministerial Meeting of the Organization of African Unity also sent an investigating commission, composed of one minister each from Libya, Nigeria, Guinea, the Niger, Mozambique, Angola and Zambia, plus representatives of the OAU Secretariat.

These groups had an opportunity to make firsthand investigations while the imperialists and their allies were trying to

¹ DC-7s usually have turbojet engines. The fact that this one had a turboprop engine may be due to its frequent use in planes designed to fly intermediate-range distances. Militarily, it is restricted to planes used for reconnaissance and submarine detection, because it can fly at low altitude, below the radar screen, and has a low noise level that makes it ideal for infiltration actions such as the one in Benin.

confuse international public opinion by presenting this cowardly imperialist attack as a confrontation between different reactionary forces within the country.

The documents that the mercenaries left behind when they fled, however, prove how the invasion was organized and carried out.

The organizers of the aggression

The number one organizer of the aggression was the Kingdom of Morocco, which placed the military installations of Benguéir — a former US base near Marrakesh — at the disposal of the mercenaries for lodging, training and general preparation. Morocco also provided much of the war matériel, including a DC-8 transport plane that was used to carry troops from Benguéir to Franceville, in Gabon, on January 15, 1977. Moreover, King Hassan II of Morocco underwrote the invasion to the tune of \$530 000.

The second most important organizer of the invasion was Gabon's President Omar Bonge, who provided \$630 000 to finance the attack and collaborated closely with Hassan II by letting the mercenaries land the DC-8 at Franceville's international airport. The government of Gabon also provided the invaders with an unknown quantity of weapons to complement those that King Hassan II had already given them, food, medicine and a DC-7 to transport the mercenary troops from Franceville to Cotonou on January 16, 1977.

Third in importance was Togo, whose President authorized the second company of foreign invaders from Gabon to be stationed in his territory under the deceitful pretext of an imminent invasion of his country from Benin because of the border dispute between the two countries — even though relations between Lomé and Cotonou had been normalized in February 1976.

The chief mission assigned this second company, that operated out of Togo, was to attack the Beninese people and, at the same time, speedily neutralize a part of the People's Armed Forces of Benin.

At a secret meeting held in Gabon on January 2, 1977, Gabonese President Bongo; Togolese President Guassingbe Égadema; and a French Colonel, Gilbert Bourgeaud, who headed the mercenaries, worked out the details for the invasion on the 16th.

The Ivory Coast and Senegal were also compromised in the aggression, which was fully backed by international — mainly French — imperialism.

Beninese counterrevolutionaries, including Dr. Emile Derlin Zinsou, former President of Benin and an agent of the French Service of Documentation and Counterespionage (CDCE) since 1950 and of the CIA since 1964, were used as a cover. Other counterrevolutionaries who played an extremely important role in the attack were Pablo Darboux and, especially, Pognon Gratien, who was to become President of the country if the invasion succeeded.



This individual, Benin's former Ambassador in Brussels and a CDCE agent, was the self-styled head of the so-called Dahomey Liberation Front, a regrouping of counterrevolutionaries under the orders of French imperialism.

The aforementioned Colonel Gilbert Bourgeaud, technical adviser to the Gabonese President and head of the CDCE in Gabon, was in charge of recruiting the mercenaries. He managed to get together 90 of them for the invasion of Benin: 60 Europeans and 30 Africans. The Europeans were recruited from among veterans, who already knew weapons-handling techniques and needed only a short training course at the Benguérir military base to get back in shape. The 30 African mercenaries had less experience in handling weapons and were therefore given an intensive 46-day course at Benguérir.

Three separate budgets were used to finance the aggression: \$450 000 was designated for investigation, \$476 000 for preoper-

ational activities and \$530 000 for postoperational activities. The weapons were provided outside of these budgets, mainly by Gabon, Morocco and France.

The aims of the attack

The invaders were to overthrow the revolutionary regime of Benin by assassinating its current leaders and setting up a government that would follow the orders of French imperialism, which would then send the French Army to occupy the country. To this end, such strategic points as the presidential palace, the Cotonou military camp, the radio station and the homes of various political leaders were to be seized.

It was a plan for colonial reconquest, pure and simple. French imperialism, aware of the growing strength of the revolutionary movement that had emerged in Benin in 1972 and was backed by the working people, decided that only an armed attack from outside the country could overthrow the regime and halt the Beninese revolutionary process.

The attack on the People's Republic of Benin was not an isolated act but part of a large-scale plot for the colonial reconquest of Africa, aimed chiefly at destabilizing the regimes of such progressive countries as Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, the Congo, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe.

The strategy of using mercenaries had already been tried in the Playa Girón attack on Cuba in April 1961, an aggression that the Cuban people, led by the illustrious Comrade Fidel Castro, repelled very effectively, inflicting a defeat on Yankee imperialism, the most powerful imperialism in the world today.

The revolutionaries' reply

The People's Republic of Benin considers it a duty to pursue the struggle against mercenarism. For this reason, in January 1978, on the first anniversary of the defeat of the mercenary attack on our territory, we decreed a week of solidarity with all peoples fighting for their liberation and held a conference on mercenarism in Cotonou whose impact was felt even outside Africa.

The Declaration of Cotonou, which emerged from this conference, is very important because of its radically anti-imperialist content. It was published in OSPAAAL's **Tricontinental Bulletin** 109. This international conference decided, among other things, to set up a political-juridical institution to combat the use of mercenaries, oppose the subversion and plunder of Africa and undertake national and international efforts to mobilize people and make them aware of imperialism's practices and machinations against the



peoples in struggle. A call was issued to all the progressive forces in the world to join in these efforts.

The conference also decided to increase its material and political support for the liberation movements, so they could step up their struggles to recover the peoples' sovereignty; for the progressive countries threatened by the imperialists; and for the democratic forces fighting to eliminate neocolonialism, especially in Africa. It also decided to express its immediate and energetic solidarity with the African countries whose independence and territorial integrity are threatened.

The advance of the revolution

Instead of having a demoralizing effect, the imperialist attack on the People's Republic of Benin has resulted in a heightening of the people's determination to continue advancing in spite of all imperialist-imposed difficulties and acts of provocation.

In spite of the difficulties the reaction has caused, the Beninese Revolution has successfully moved toward consolidation by holding the 1st Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin, which decided, among other things, to embark on its first three-year state plan and to put the new Constitution into effect.

For us, this is one more victory over many of the problems caused by counterrevolutionary actions both inside and outside the country. As always, truth is winning out over lies, and the Revolution is winning out over the reaction. Beninese patriots and militants have managed to overcome all the difficulties caused by the counterrevolutionary forces and the reaction and to implement the Constitution — its implementation will weaken the counterrevolutionary forces because it gives the people power and delineates certain democratic structures that will permit the Revolution to develop along Marxist-Leninist lines. For this reason, we consider its implementation to be a great victory and achievement of the Beninese Revolution.

In line with this Constitution, elections to the People's Revolutionary National Assembly have just been held, with massive participation by the people: 90.57 percent of all registered voters. Of them, 97.48 percent voted for the single slate, 1.68 percent voted against it and 0.42 percent abstained.

From November 13 to 18, 1979, new and old members of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin held their 1st Party Congress in Cotonou, called in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism to study all aspects of national life and make important decisions concerning the consistent application of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The satisfactory outcome of the Congress confirms our Party's determination to remain ever loyal to the Marxist-Leninist line.



The Party's new Central Committee has 45 members; the Political Bureau has 13. The Congress proposed President Kérékou as unopposed President of the Republic.² According to the Constitution, the Central Committee proposes a candidate for President of the Republic, who must then be confirmed by the Revolutionary National Assembly.

In closing, Comrades, I would like to thank OSPAAAL once again for having given me this opportunity to talk to you today, the third anniversary of our triumph over the mercenary attack, and to recall President Kérékou's January 16, 1978, message to the people on its first anniversary, a message of great importance to all of us in our ongoing work:

Today, the highest and finest homage we can offer the brave martyrs of our people's democratic Revolution is to remain

² President Mathieu Kérékou was reelected President of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin and was recently reelected President of the Republic.

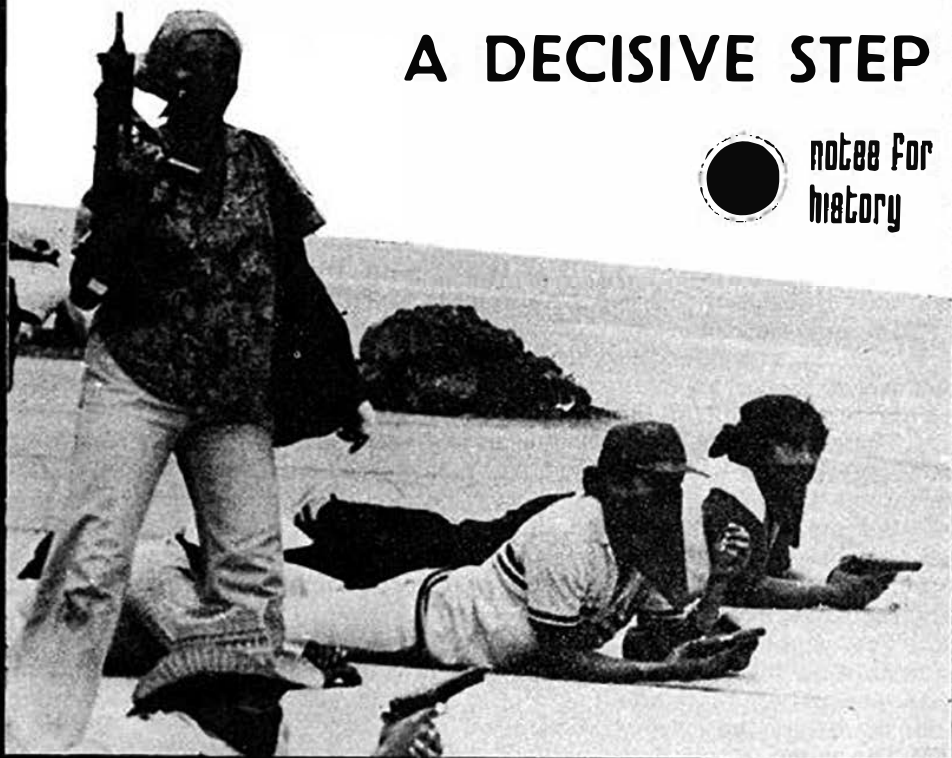
loyal to the just and noble cause they defended with the greatest sacrifice and to make sure that our daily victories in the struggle for total liberation do not blind us to our weaknesses. The great lesson which the non-aligned countries in particular should learn from this aggression is the need for solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and against the destabilization of progressive regimes, in order to strengthen the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and guarantee freedom, independence, sovereignty, peace and justice for all peoples.

Long live the progressive forces of the world!
Ready for the Revolution!
The struggle continues! ●

EL SALVADOR: A DECISIVE STEP



notee For
history



MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF EL SALVADOR, THE FARABUNDO MARTI PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FORCES AND THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE, ADDRESSED TO THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE AND THE OTHER PEOPLES OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE WORLD

I. Revolutionary unity, won by our heroic people

Fully aware of our historic responsibility and of the fact that unity is absolutely necessary for the triumph of the people's struggle, the National Resistance (RN), the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL) and the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS) have agreed to establish a body for revolutionary coordination among our National Leaderships, and we have pledged to promote ever greater coordination of our three organizations' policies and struggles.

This agreement is aimed at progressively reaching the highest levels of unity; the other revolutionary organizations in our country are welcome to join.

We are firmly convinced that the Salvadoran people need to unite all their forces in order to become free; we need the militant unity of our revolutionary and other democratic forces, of all honest and progressive patriotic men and women.

The establishment of this coordinating body is a decisive step, a key contribution toward rescuing our homeland from imperialist domination, injustice and oppression and obtaining freedom, social justice, true national independence, the people's liberation and peace.

The unity of our organizations multiplies the strength of our people, affirms our patriotic calling and brings closer the time of liberation. Therefore, we have drawn up this agreement, expressing a cherished hope of the Salvadoran and Central American people, a demand that is taken up by ever greater sectors.

II. The historic roots of our struggle

The heroic struggle now being waged by the Salvadoran people has deep historic roots. Our people's tough and glorious struggles date from the times of our tenacious resistance to the Spanish colonial yoke. Countless battles were waged for independence; for recognition of our people's right to land, bread and education; and for democratic freedoms, against Yankee imperialist domination and for the definitive triumph of our revolutionary aspirations.

Our people's struggles in the last century include such outstanding events as the struggle for independence from Spain and against Central America's annexation to the empire of Iturbide; the insurrection of the Nonualcos, headed by Anastasio Aquino, who demanded equality and an end to their exploitation by the large landowners; our enthusiastic role in the glorious Army of Morazán, to overthrow the rule of the conservative

reaction and unite Central America under a liberal and democratic regime; our participation alongside the sister peoples of the Isthmus in the war against William Walker, a mercenary with Yankee expansionist and enslaving ambitions who sought to subject all of Central America to his rule; and the peasants' resistance against the seizure of their shared grazing lands.

In the present century, building on these democratic traditions, the Salvadoran people rose up against the oppressive rule of the Meléndez Quiñones family, who held power for 14 years. Led by Agustín Farabundo Martí, the finest sons of the people joined the glorious struggle waged by Augusto César Sandino, the General of Free Men, against the US invaders and participated in the worker-peasant insurrection of 1932, which was put down with the massacre of 30 000 workers. The people's military insurrection and the general strike of April-May 1944 that led to the overthrow of the Martínez tyranny; the battles on the plains of Ahuachapán against the tyrant Osmin Aguirre in December 1944; the militant mobilizations that did away with the tyrannical rule of Colonel Lemus; and the constant, heroic struggles of the peasants, teachers, blue-and white-collar workers and students demanding recognition of their rights all successfully opposed the bloody repressive escalation unleashed by the military dictatorship. These events show our people's constant resolve and sum up their fighting tradition.

In the last few decades, the list of revolutionary heroes killed in the struggle has grown much longer: Saúl Santiago Contreras, José Dimas Alas, Felipe Peña, Clara Elizabeth Ramírez, Lyl Milagro Ramírez, Manuel Rivera, Rafael Arce Zablah, Rafael Aguiñada, Víctor Manuel Sánchez and many more, some of whom are widely known, while others gave their lives anonymously for the cause of the people's liberation — sacrifices which will enable millions of Salvadorans and future generations to live in a just society without exploitation and poverty.

Our organizations are the heirs to these patriotic, democratic and revolutionary traditions of our people, of the exploited. We were born and have grown up under constant attack by a very bloody enemy. We have lived closely — inseparably — linked to the vast majority; we have grown up and been strengthened by its moral and material support. This is why we cannot be destroyed. Our ranks include the staunchest, most knowledgeable champions of our homeland's and people's interests. Along with the other organizations of the people, we are the fruit of this long historic battle.

Thus, we have arrived at this decisive moment in our nation's history stronger, more experienced and more resolute, able to organize the Salvadoran people's struggle and lead it to definitive victory.

III. By making a peaceful solution impossible, the oligarchy forced the people to use violence

During the last 25 years, and especially since the late '60s, the

Salvadoran people's struggle has become more constant, systematic and organized, more aware and militant.

During this tense period, our people first resorted to peaceful means, seeking to use the methods apparently offered by the Constitution for transforming society in benefit of the great majority, but, when they took part in elections, they were met with fraud, imposed officials and repression. The oligarchy, its agents and its military and political tools cut off this peaceful method, making it impossible for the Salvadoran people to obtain their cherished desires and historic aims without bloodshed.

This historic experience had positive results. The great majority learned in this school of hard knocks that the only way they could transform their country and attain freedom and social justice would be by seizing power from the greedy clutches of the big exploiters, their hangmen and the traitors — and that, in order to do this, they would have to take up arms, exercising the most legitimate and supreme right of every people: the right to rebel.

The Salvadoran people didn't seek violence; it was forced on them by the oligarchy and its obedient, criminal military tyranny. To the violence of the ruling system that condemns the workers to hunger, poverty, illiteracy and unemployment; that starves our children; and that denies our people even the most elementary rights were added continuous military attacks on the unarmed people, especially by the security groups (for example the cases of Chinamequita, La Cayetana and Tres Calles, in 1974). With what they call the "counterinsurgency war," they have tried to drown in blood all the hopes and struggles of the great majority of our people.

This alerted our people to the fact that we had no choice but to arm ourselves and organize to repel this aggression and thus defend our struggles, our advances and our right to transform society.

Thus, armed struggle was generally and indissolubly joined to the struggle for our people's socioeconomic and political demands. The revolutionary guerrilla forces were created and grew; the masses' self-defense bodies multiplied on a large scale, leading to the creation of a militia and a People's Army. Now revolutionary violence, in all its aspects, is an acquired, permanent right of the Salvadoran people.

The oligarchy and its puppets are clamoring for "peace"; they want our people to resign themselves and submit to their cruel domination, to accept without protest the sellout and plunder of our homeland.

They seek to impose this peace by killing, imprisoning, exiling and otherwise making our people disappear; theirs is a peace of the cemeteries. The FPL, the RN and the PCS will struggle alongside the people to win a peace with justice, independence and freedom — a solid, lasting peace. Along with all the rest of the people, we will win this just peace through struggle.

IV. The national crisis is a deep one, and it cannot be solved by military means and massacres

Contemporary Salvadoran society is structured so that a few live in



opulence, so that the imperialist powers can plunder us with impunity, so that a few can maintain their pitiless domination of the many — but these socioeconomic structures are now in serious crisis.

The relations of property, production and the distribution of wealth; commercial, financial and technological dependency on imperialism; and the exploitation by the transnationals that have established themselves in our country are in crisis, and the economic crisis now hitting the whole capitalist world aggravates this national one.

The military dictatorship, that was set up to protect the oligarchy and imperialism and that has oppressed us for 48 years, is also faced with an insoluble crisis. For a long time, the people have refused to continue to be ruled by this bloody military dictatorship, and the political crisis aggravates the economic one, accelerates the flight of capital and generates economic stagnation and even recession.

The juridical and ideological tools that the ruling class has traditionally used to influence the working masses and keep them under its control have been shown up for what they are. Ours is a time of growing people's rebellion.

Because of all this, there is dissidence in the ranks of the ruling class and its military apparatus.

The heroism of the people's fighting resistance has made it impossible for the bourgeoisie to impose a fascist or fascist-like solution based on repression and the bloody extermination of the revolutionary cadres and organizations.

Moreover, its attempts to create a so-called third historic alternative — reformism — have also been frustrated. The events we have experienced since the October 15, 1979, coup have clearly shown that the crisis cannot be solved in this way, as some sectors of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the middle class had hoped.

The efforts to save the reformist approach, which now have firmer US support, are doomed to failure.

The most reactionary oligarchic and imperialist sectors, that favor counterrevolution, don't want to support the reformist position and are trying to inflict a genocidal war on the country, killing thousands of workers and intellectuals.

Even as we issue this warning, we state that the counterrevolution cannot destroy the people's revolutionary movement and will be defeated by the implacable thrust of the united people in arms.

V. The only real solution: people's revolution

There can be no confusion: the only real and effective solution to the national crisis is armed revolution by the people, whose forces are rapidly gaining maturity.

This revolution will not be an act of vengeance; rather, it will be one of justice and liberating transformation: it will guarantee democratic



rights and freedoms for all the people, thus establishing true democracy; it will hand over the land to the peasant masses, who really work it and make it produce; it will win real national independence, recovering for our people the right to freely determine their future. With these and other basic changes, it will ensure a good standard of living and education for the working people.

These great tasks can only be carried out after the triumph of the revolution; the seizure of power; the destruction of the ignominious machinery of the corrupt and bloody military tyranny; and the establishment of a revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist government based on the power of the people.

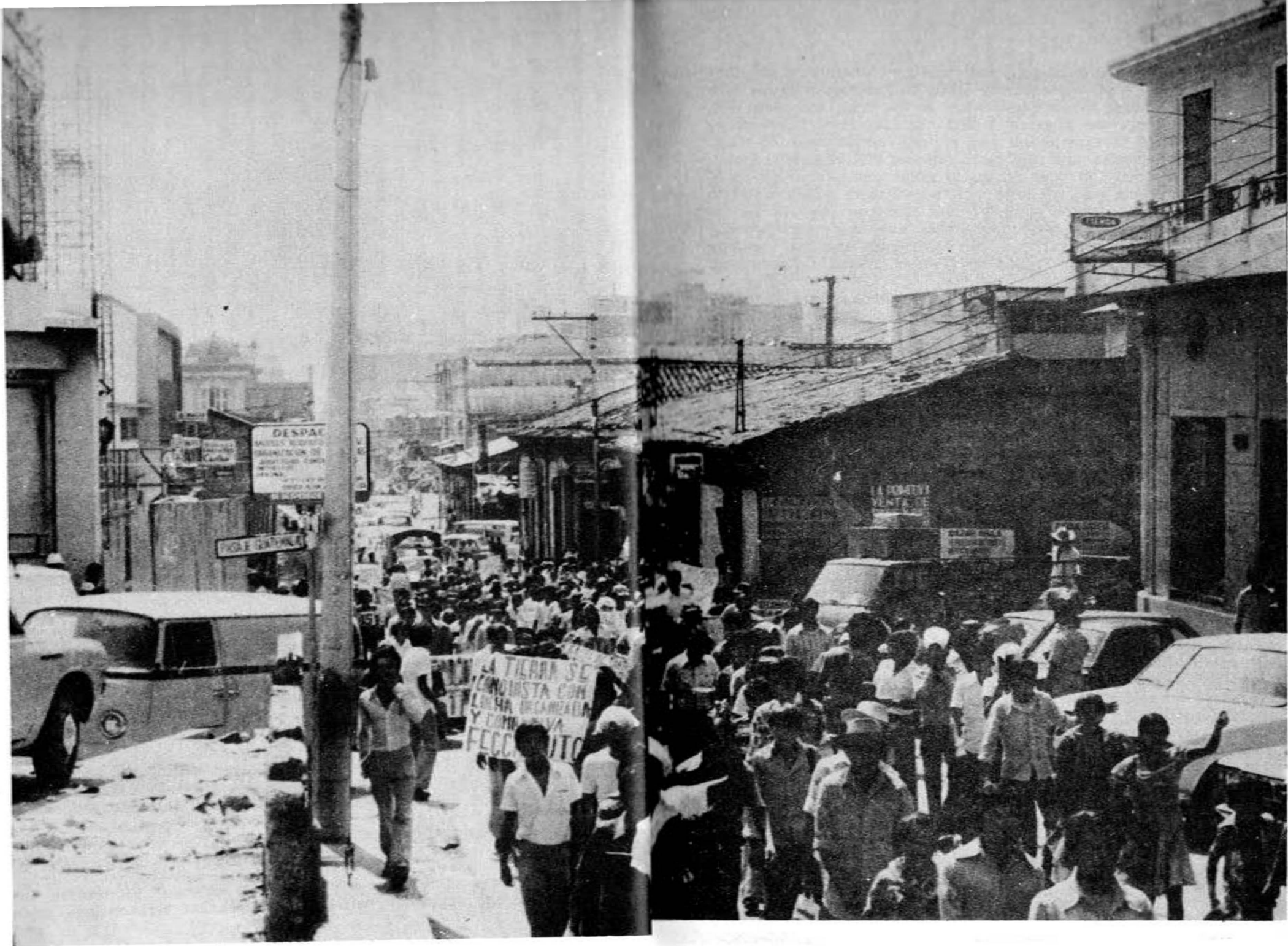
These are the strategic aims of the revolution for which our organizations and the vanguard sectors of the people are fighting.

In order to bring this revolution to victory, we have decided to implement our unity agreement, the process of unifying all the revolutionary forces and including democratic civilian and military, religious and lay forces.

The revolutionary and the other democratic forces are the two great currents that have emerged in the course of the Salvadoran people's struggle; uniting these two currents will mean uniting the people and allowing them to realize their full potential, exert their full capacity and gain broad international solidarity in order to isolate and defeat the cruel and powerful enemy.

Unity of the revolutionary and other democratic forces is a pressing necessity, a vital and urgent premise for the liberation of the Salvadoran people.

We address ourselves to the progressive sectors of the Church, the Army and the opposition parties, to independent organizations, trade



unions, intellectuals and democratic individuals — whether or not they belong to a party — and to the many small businessmen who are now concerned with finding a patriotic solution to the crisis and view with increasing misgivings the oligarchy's demands that they follow along behind its practice of exploitation and murder, and we say to them: apart from the ideological and political differences that exist between us, we recognize the merit of your efforts to attain democracy and social justice for our people and we urge you to contribute to our unity in order to make our liberation struggle more effective. We ask you to become an active part of the great unity process now under way; to bring your ideas to it with the assurance that we respect and will continue to respect them; and to contribute your abilities, talents, influence and devotion to freedom.

This great unity of the Salvadoran people will ease and speed the liberation victory — which, though it may require many sacrifices, cannot be stopped by anything or anybody.

The heroic, militant and proud Salvadoran people will never resign themselves to a life of subservience. Our hour is at hand. Led by our revolutionary organizations, we will break the chains of the reactionary military dictatorship imposed on us for nearly half a century, destroy it forever and free ourselves.

VI. All honorable members of the Armed Forces should join the people's struggle

Honest members of the Armed Forces, with patriotic and democratic aspirations, have played an important role in our people's struggle.

Under the command of Manuel José Arce, its founder, the Salvadoran Army fought the annexationist ambitions of Iturbide's Mexican Empire in 1822. With his unifying efforts, General Gerardo Barrios embodied our firm determination to defend the Central American peoples' sovereignty and the Salvadoran Army's support for reforms in the 1850-60 period.

During the hazardous and convulsive evolution of the young independent state, the Army fell under the hegemony of the most reactionary landowning groups, and the venal corruption of a few high-ranking officers betrayed the liberal and democratic ideals of the Army's founders. This trend reached a climax in 1932, when the military tyranny seized power and the Army became an instrument protecting those who had conquered the country and sold it out and constantly repressing the people — which led to a permanent confrontation between the Army and the people from whom it had emerged.

The Army became the partisan of the oligarchy, made up of the big capitalists and landowners; but in each generation of soldiers there were always some who remained patriotic, rebelled and sided with the people against their enemies. The glorious uprising against Martínez on April 2, 1944, in which many officers were killed; the participation of young Army men in the Battle of Ahuachapán against Osmín Aguirre; the

uprising against Lemus in October 1960; and the abortive uprising of March 25, 1972, show that not all members of the Armed Forces resigned themselves to acting as the hangmen they were supposed to be.

In recent months, many young Army officers have shown their willingness to join with the people, proving that the patriotic traditions that are their heritage remain alive. The oligarchy and the reaction have done everything possible to thwart their efforts for change.

Honorable Army men don't want a clash between the Armed Forces and the people in arms. We share this view and are certain that, because of their honesty and patriotism and because they come from the people, these soldiers will take their rightful place at our side in order to build a new society. The privates and NCOs have the best understanding of the people's struggle, because they themselves are workers and sons of workers. Their place in the People's Army is guaranteed. Together, we will build a society in which the Army will be the real armed branch of the people, defending their freedom and justice, a firm guarantee of sovereignty — now so watered-down — and of independence, that is trampled on today.

VII. We support all peoples' revolutionary struggles and democratic causes and learn from them

The heroic struggle of the Nicaraguan people, victoriously led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is another source of inspiration for our unity and readiness to fight until we have won.

The Sandinista victory has opened a new stage of revolution in the Isthmus of Central America. Enriched by that experience, we will apply it to our own situation and problems.

Just as we opposed CONDECA's and Yankee imperialism's intervention in the struggle against Somoza, so we condemn any interventionist attempt to frustrate our people's liberation aspirations.

We view the revolution in El Salvador as a part of the revolution in Central America and as our people's contribution to the struggle for the liberation of all the peoples of our continent. We support the democratic positions that the Latin-American peoples and governments are taking up and advancing. We hold in high regard the anti-imperialist stand and the defense of democratic gains and international peace projected by the peoples and governments of Panama, Mexico and Costa Rica and by the Andean Pact and Caribbean countries. We support the struggles of the peoples of Puerto Rico, Belize and Panama to win the right to determine their own future and have sovereignty over their territories.

We seek Central American unity, but we reject attempts to build it on the basis of foreign intervention and the subjugation of our peoples. We desire closer links with all the other Central American countries. We want to establish friendly and fraternal relations with all the peoples of the world, on the basis of self-determination.

We denounce all forms of colonialism. We support the struggles of the peoples of the world against foreign oppression and racism. We es-

pecially support the Palestinian people's struggle against Zionism and the African peoples' struggle against racism and apartheid.

All the points in the agreements of the Sixth Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana, have our approval; we support the establishment of a new international economic order, and we are firm partisans of détente, disarmament and a secure world peace.

VIII. Onward to final victory with the unity of the people

Our important agreement on coordination and unity opens a new page in our national history as we move toward the definitive liberation of our people.

Blue- and white-collar workers, peasants, students, teachers, progressive intellectuals, slum dwellers, small businessmen, progressive clergymen, democratic sectors in general, patriotic soldiers and officers, men and women — we are all part of the great unity that will lead to the final liberation of our people.

The time is at hand to make a maximum effort so our revolution will triumph.

Even though the decisive stages will be hard and painful, victory is inevitable. The ideals for which thousands of patriots have given their lives throughout this century and for which so many of our beloved comrades have died in recent years are now reaching fruition in the unity of our people as we march toward final victory.

Long live the firm, broad unity of the Salvadoran people!

Long live the worker-peasant alliance!

Let's support the revolutionary people's government!

Long live international solidarity among the peoples!

Forward to final victory with the unity of the people!

El Salvador, Central America

January 10, 1980 ●

FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF THE HOMELAND

man and
his word

KIM IL SUNG



THIRTY years have passed since the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was founded, but our nation is still divided, and our homeland's reunification is still the Korean people's most important national task.

In response to the unanimous will and desire of the Korean people, the government of the DPRK has made every effort to solve the problem of the country's reunification in an independent and peaceful manner, on the basis of democratic principles. However, because of the native and foreign separatists' maneuvers to set up "two Koreas," the problem of our country's reunification has run into serious obstacles, and the danger of permanent division becomes more and more of a possibility.

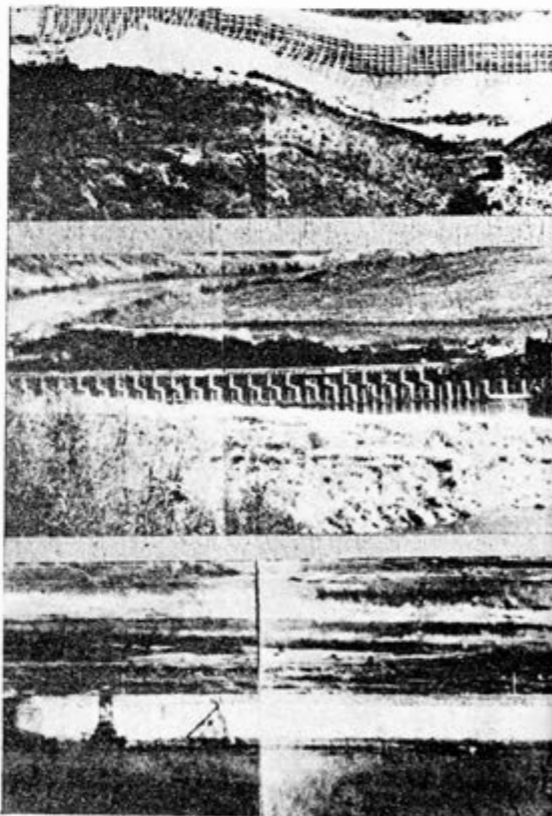
Now Yankee imperialism is pushing the "two Koreas" policy as the heart of its Korean strategy and has engaged in a series of maneuvers to accomplish this. The Japanese reactionaries, who follow Yankee imperialism, are also blocking the reunification of our country. Instigated by the Yankee imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries, the South Korean puppet clique has openly proclaimed itself an accomplice in national separation and is frenetically working for "two Koreas," urging "joint recognition" and "simultaneous admission in the United Nations."

In perpetuating the division of our country and projecting "two Koreas," the US imperialists seek to continue occupying and controlling South Korea; the Japanese reactionaries, meanwhile, are anxious to win back their former position as co-

lonialist rulers; and the puppet clique in South Korea seeks to maintain the present division between North and South in order to guarantee personal profit and fulfill its ambitions for permanent power.

We will never let the divisionists set up "two Koreas"; we must use the united strength of the entire Korean nation to frustrate it completely.

Korea should definitely be reunified. Historically, the Korean nation is homogeneous, and our people are unanimously in favor of reunification. It is being blocked by the aggressive, dominating foreign forces and by the handful of traitors who have sold out to them.



Korea is very different from a country that has been divided after being defeated in a war of aggression. Our country is not a party to any war; it is a nation that has suffered from imperialism's colonial domination in the past, a nation that won its freedom through struggle against imperialist aggressors. A unified Korea would never threaten or attack other countries, but, if it remains divided, it will be a permanent threat to peace in Asia and the rest of the world. Thus, Korea should be reunified and made a single country, both because of the basic interests of the Korean nation and in order to ensure a stable peace in Asia and the world.

Korean reunification should be

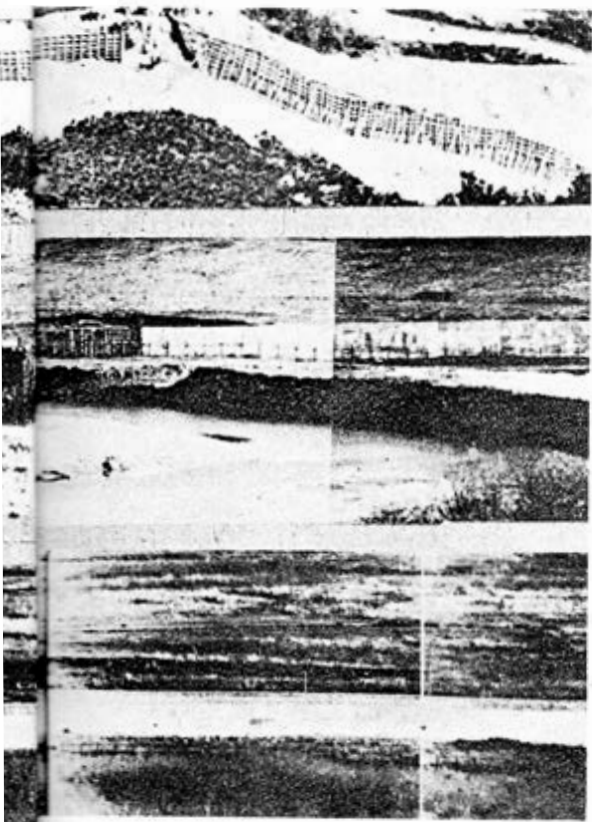
solved through peaceful negotiation, in line with our people's demands and the hopes of the peoples of the world.

The government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is making sincere efforts to hold talks that will lead to a peaceful reunification of our homeland, and it always keeps the door open for dialogue — both with the United States and with the South Korean authorities and political parties.

In order to begin negotiations that will effectively contribute to solving the reunification problem, the two interested parties must start from a position of sincerely wanting that reunification. If dialogue is used as a front for pursuing some other aim or as a means for establishing "two Koreas" instead of as a basis for solving the matter through understanding and mutual cooperation, there is no point in holding the dialogue — and, even if it is held, it will be useless.

Cooperation and dialogue between North and South constitute an important means of achieving peaceful reunification.

The North-South dialogue — miraculously initiated through the sincere efforts of the government of the DPRK — was frustrated by the treacherous acts of the South Korean authorities and has been suspended. The South Korean authorities talk of "dialogue" and "cooperation" between North and South while, in practice, pushing confrontation and division. Anticomunism is whipped up in South Korea, and a war footing is maintained on the pretext of an alleged "threat of aggression against the South." Meanwhile, the South Ko-







rean authorities claim that we're trying to reunify the country under the banner of communism, and they brag of a "reunification based on victory over communism," asking how there can be dialogue and cooperation with the Communists. Recently, the South Korean authorities put forth a "project of economic cooperation between South and North," but it's nonsense to talk about "economic cooperation" with Communists while simultaneously bragging about a "victory over communism." That's nothing but a smoke screen to cover up their separatist designs. If they sincerely want dialogue and cooperation with us, they should change their policy of national separation for one of reunification — and their anticommunist policy for one of alliance with communism.

National unity is the main guarantee for Korea's independent and peaceful reunification. Real differences exist between the ideas and systems in the North and South, so peaceful reunification can only be achieved in a spirit of great national unity. Our struggle for reunification is in no way a battle for capitalism or communism; it is a fight between the attackers and the attacked, between traitors and patriots. In other words, our struggle for the reunification of our homeland is a liberation struggle for national sovereignty and a patriotic battle for national unity. That is why North and South should support a common idea, the national idea of reunification, using it as a base for attaining great national unity.

We don't want to impose our socialist regime and communist ideas on South Korea. We seek unity with

all South Korean political parties on the basis of great national unity, no matter what regime exists in South Korea and no matter what ideas the South Koreans have. Moreover, if any South Korean party wants to carry out activities in the northern part of the country, we will encourage it to do so. At the same time, the South Korean authorities and parties should be ready to join with parties in the North and permit them to operate in South Korea. Only when North and South completely open their societies and engage in multifaceted political, economic, cultural and military cooperation will it be possible to advance rapidly toward reunifying our homeland.

South Korean society must become more democratic in order to achieve great national unity by peaceful means.

The most cruel and cynical fascist domination known to history is being practiced in South Korea today. The South Korean puppet clique has resurrected fascism and, using fascist laws and huge repressive bodies, is mercilessly trampling on the people's basic rights and brutally repressing citizens who call for democracy and the reunification of their homeland. If South Korean society isn't made more democratic, it won't be possible to restore the people's rights, create national unity or find a way to set about peaceful reunification.

In order to make South Korean society more democratic, the Constitution of renovation must be abrogated, and the anticommunist, state security and other fascist laws must be repealed. The "emergency measures" and other harsh penalties must be reversed, and other fascist laws must be repealed. Freedom of speech and freedom of action must



be established for political parties and social organizations. The Revolutionary Party for Reunification and other underground parties should be allowed to act legally, and the patriotic Korean organizations abroad that are fighting for the democratization of South Korean society and for the independent, peaceful reunification of our homeland should be allowed to return to South Korea if they so desire and freely engage in political activities there.

One of the basics of democracy is to ensure freedom of action for political parties and social organizations. In the North, all political parties and social organizations act freely, within their legitimate rights. Most countries of the world now permit political parties and social organizations to act freely: even in the imperialist countries, the Communist Party and other progressive social organizations and parties are permitted to operate le-

gally. Thus, South Korea should guarantee freedom for all political parties and social organizations and should grant them the legitimate right to carry out their activities.

The members of various social groups and sectors in South Korea are waging a staunch antifascist struggle for democratization, freedom and democratic rights; they are standing firm even under the harsh conditions of constant fascist repression. Many Korean compatriots who live abroad — including those in Japan and the United States — are also aware of their national mission and are actively involved in the patriotic struggle to make South Korean society more democratic and bring about the independent, peaceful reunification of their homeland. The South Korean population should create a broad united front composed of all the

democratic forces both inside and outside the country — disregarding differences of ideology, religion, party affiliation and political position — for an organized, unified struggle against the fascist dictators. In this way, they will make South Korean society more democratic and speed the independent, peaceful reunification of their homeland.

It is essential to firmly reject any intervention by the United States or other foreign forces in order to achieve reunification.

Our people are willing to give their lives for national sovereignty, and they will not permit any foreign interference in solving the question of Korea's reunification. The time has come for the United States to stop intervening in the internal affairs of our nation and keep its hands off Korea.

The United States should stop protecting the South Korean puppet regime, that is choking off democracy and fiercely repressing the people; it should also stop blocking the people's struggle for democracy and reunification. If the United States doesn't change its traditionally unjust policy and if it continues shoring up the fascist forces in South Korea — that are completely isolated, both inside and outside the country — it will be severely condemned by our people and the other peoples of the world for its complicity in the violation of human rights.

The United States should also abandon its career of colonial dom-

ination of the South — through which it is trying to create "two Koreas" as a springboard for the occupation of all Korea. It must also immediately withdraw all of its troops from South Korea, in line with the UN resolution and its own "promise."

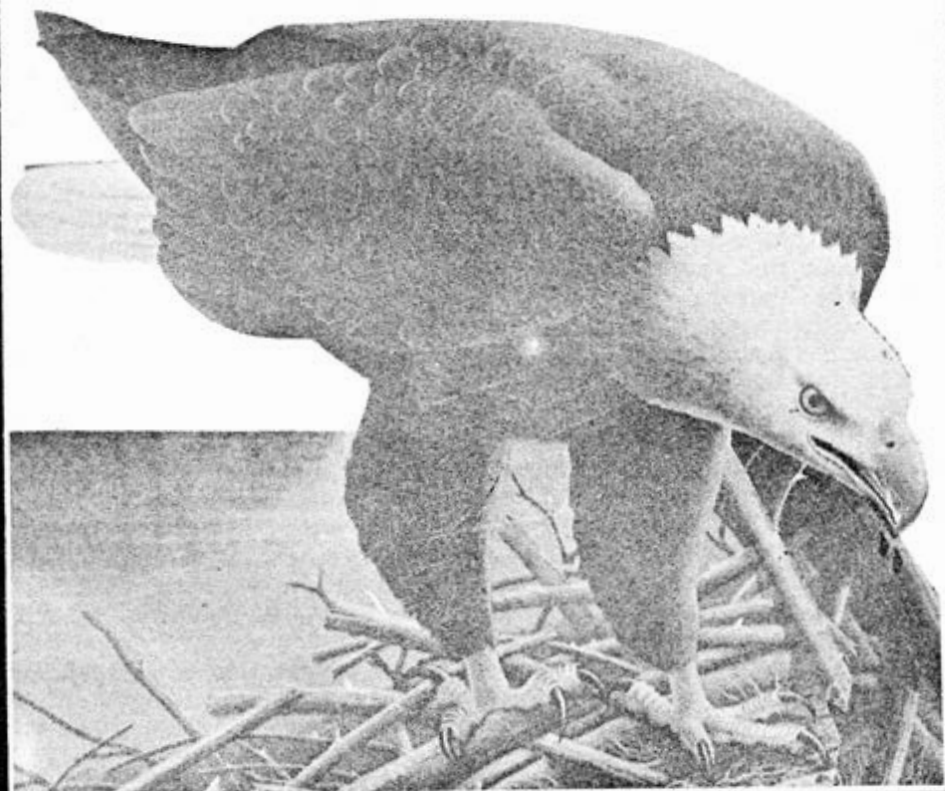
If the United States really wants peace and the peaceful reunification of Korea, it must get in contact with the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and look for ways for solving this problem peacefully. We have already proposed negotiations with the United States, and we are making every effort to begin them. It all depends on whether or not the United States really wants to negotiate with us — and, if so, whether it is willing to negotiate for a single Korea instead of "two Koreas." If the United States changes its unjust position of keeping our country divided and takes the correct position of supporting reunification, we will welcome negotiations at any time, and we will solve all of Korea's problems with honor — in line with the interests not only of our people but also of the people of the United States.

More united than ever around the principle of great national unity, the Korean people of both North and South will surely frustrate the internal and external separatists' machinations to set up "two Koreas" and will carry out their historic task of reunifying their homeland. ■

IMPERIALIST STRATEGY AND ACTION IN AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST



tricontinental
on the march



WHAT makes it possible to hold these Afro-Latin-American support meetings in Luanda?

The answer isn't difficult: solidarity among the struggling peoples of both continents and, of course, the existence of the People's Republic of Angola as a revolutionary reality in Africa. These are the motivating forces for our meeting.

It then becomes clear that, if this people's struggle in Africa and Latin America is being waged against all the many manifestations of the imperialist system, the existence of imperialism is the basic cause of our serious problems and, as a consequence, of our battles during the last century.

While the origins of the conflict in which we are pitted against the same enemy go way back, it is very important for all of us to review them briefly.

Contacts between Africa and America began at the dawn of capitalism. The discovery of gold and silver in America, the crusade of enslaving and burying the Indian population in the mines; the initial conquest and plunder of the East Indies and the conversion of Africa into hunting grounds for black slaves — all this signaled the dawn of the era of capitalist production.

The commercial revolution completely transformed European life between the 16th and 18th centuries, laying the foundations for the large-scale capitalist industry of the future. Powerful national states supported the colonial conquest, plunder and piracy that were the handmaidens of trade and manufacturing capital. The so-called Third World's contribution to the original accumulation of European capital is shown in the following figures:

Between 1503 and 1660, the Spaniards took 500 million pesos in gold and silver from America to Europe; between 1650 and 1780, the Dutch East Indies Company shipped 600 million gold florins out of Indonesia; during the 18th century, French capital acquired 500 million gold florins profit from the slave trade, not to mention its even greater earnings from slave labor on West Indian plantations; slave labor in the British West Indies produced 200-300 million pounds in gold, and between 1750 and 1900 the British ruling class extracted 100-150 million pounds in gold from its plunder of India.

The total comes to over a billion pounds, more than all the capital invested in European industry by 1800, though much of this loot went to finance the factories and manufacturing that launched the Industrial Revolution.

The precious metals stolen from the Third World flowed into Europe and were multiplied there with the profits from the slave trade and a world commerce based on unequal terms of exchange. In the course of this circuit, which was the prelude to the European industrial takeoff, Latin-American, Caribbean and African socioeconomic structures were formed in underdevelopment at all levels, in contrast to the impetuous advance of European capitalism in its mercantile phase.

With the decline of mercantile capitalism at the end of the 18th century, the colonial system that had been created to serve it also waned. The rise of big industry in Western Europe was accompanied by an economic and political drive to confine the rest of the world to supplying raw materials and providing markets for Europe's manufactured goods. Industrial capitalism aggressively sought to integrate certain underexploited areas more solidly with the metropolitan leaders. British competition with other developing European capitalist countries and with the rising United States of America won an increasing share of the world market after 1815. For a while, British industrial strength made good use of free trade, but the situation began to change during the 19th century when the slave trade and the institution of slavery no longer met the needs of the more highly developed European countries, though slavery continued in the Spanish and Portuguese American colonies, due to the relative backwardness of their metropolitan countries.

In 1807, Britain initiated a slow process in which European industrialists and their "humanitarian" abolitionists replaced the African slave trade with "legitimate trade" and eliminated slavery. This process was completed at the close of the 19th century, on the eve of a new phase of capitalism: monopoly capitalism, or imperialism. At this stage, economic penetration — almost always through wars of conquest — led to the carving up of spheres of influence, to protectorates and to annexation. The periphery of the system was finally divided into colonies, semicolonies and dependent countries.

The Suez and Fachoda incidents and the Anglo-Boer wars showed that, of the European powers, Great Britain and France would wield the greatest influence in installing the imperialist colonial system in Africa and the Middle East. The Spanish-Cuban-American War showed that, in the New World, the United States would be the leading monopoly capitalist power. In the 20th century, it battled first Great Britain and then France to attain world supremacy.

The Anglo-Boer wars gave rise to the racist colony that was to mediate imperialism's sociopolitical activities throughout southern Africa. Proclaimed as the Union of South Africa in 1910, it expanded from the Cape to Salisbury and exercised its influence from Luanda to Lourenço Marques. It institutionalized apartheid in the late '40s and early '50s, and it changed its name to the Republic of South Africa in the '60s.

At the end of the 19th century, imperialism had bolstered and pushed the Zionist movement among European Jewish groups — whose installation in mideastern Palestine would have been unthinkable without the sponsorship of imperialism, which exacerbated all the contradictions that served its immediate or longer-range goals of monopoly economic expansion.

With the Yankee presence in the Caribbean strengthened after 1898, the United States found it easier to supplant other foreign regional interests step by step — especially those in South America. It replaced civilian bourgeois governments with gorilla satraps. It neocolonized the

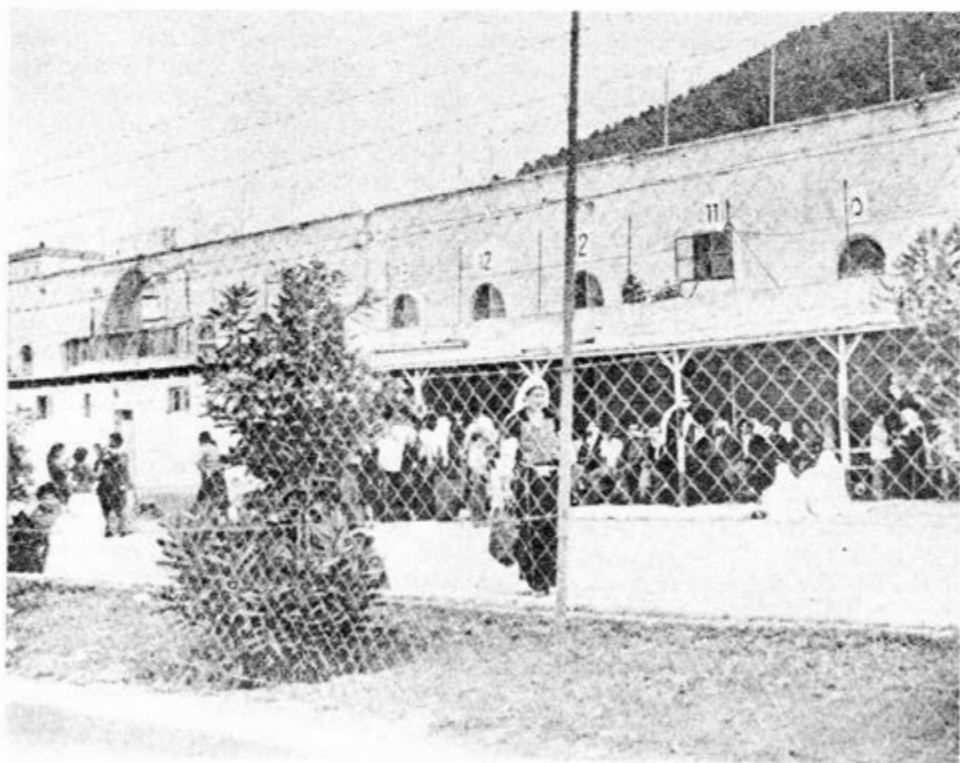
economy, the society, the politics, the culture and even the indispensable mentalities of Latin America. Later, in different circumstances, some of these dependent bourgeois elements tried to remodel the state monopoly capitalist system in their destabilized societies into a singularly controversial but always bloody form of Latin-American fascism.

Characterization of imperialist strategy and action in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East

Imperialism has used every conceivable method, even the most unworthy, to try to maintain its economic positions by subjugating the peoples of the Third World through the imposition of sell-out regimes that block the advance of the liberation process.

Within the framework of this general imperialist strategy, the Arab zone holds primary importance as the main oil reserve for the capitalist market, for oil is a key to the future of the capitalist system, especially in this period of acute crisis. The area's strategic location, linking the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe, makes it a prime target for maneuvers to dominate it and use it as a spearhead against the peoples' liberation movements in Africa and a part of Asia.

Thus, the imperialist offensive in the Middle East has always been aimed at dividing the Arab people (in order to block their freedom) and



at encouraging nationalist and sectarian religious conflicts, so as to distract attention from the basic problems.

This has been the reason for establishing states based on sectarian and racist principles, such as the Zionist State of Israel in the Arab nation, which forcibly evicted the Palestinian people from their homeland and launched wars of invasion and expansion — supported either directly (with their active participation) or indirectly by the imperialist states — against the Arab countries fighting for liberation.

Imperialism has also threatened to occupy the oil wells, mobilized its war fleet and come up with "security plans" for the Arabian Gulf; menaced Democratic Yemen and tried to frustrate its efforts at unification with the north; supported Sadat; and provided arms to Oman, Sudan and Morocco, to be used against Algeria and the Saharawi patriots — all as part of its general strategy. In other words, the imperialists try to use all the conflicts between parties that are opposed to the Camp David Agreements, so as to keep them from joining their efforts.

Imperialism, Israel and Sadat are concentrating their offensive against Lebanon, the second link in the chain of the Camp David Agreements. The aim is to wipe out the Palestinian resistance, because the Palestinian cause lies at the heart of the problem of the Middle East and is the key point in the confrontation between imperialism and the Arab nation. The Lebanese National Movement's alliance with the Palestinian revolution is thus a major obstacle to the implementation of its strategic plans.

Imperialist regional strategy for the Middle East is closely linked with the strategy for southern Africa and the South Atlantic. The two areas are part of the oil route that leads from the Arabian Gulf, through the Indian Ocean, around the Cape of Good Hope and on to Western Europe and the United States.

South Africa is the key to imperialism's strategy for the southern hemisphere, and military — particularly naval — power has been built up there. South Africa claims to have become a vital center for Western defense in terms of providing military vigilance and communications throughout the southern oceans.

Thus, South Africa is imperialism's gendarme in the region. Its rulers control not only the African people in that country — a typical case of internal colonialism — but also Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Imperialism's current maneuvers are focused on Namibia and Zimbabwe in an all-out attempt to find a "solution" that will protect its interests in the region.

Imperialism and its puppets blamed SWAPO for the failure of the plan for Namibia's independence — because of its demands concerning the military bases in Namibia — and then followed a policy deliberately aimed at eliminating the national liberation movement and consolidating their own control over that country.

The campaign to intimidate SWAPO and the front-line states by means of air raids, infiltrations by land or parachute to commit sabotage, massive arrests, etc. is also part of that policy.

The struggle waged by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe forced Great Britain, as the colonizing power, to hold three-month-long talks in Lancaster House aimed at finding a way out of the current conflict. After long rounds of negotiations, representatives of the Patriotic Front, the Muzorewa regime and Great Britain signed a cease-fire agreement on December 5, 1979. The document called for the establishment of a transition government responsible to a British governor, an end to the hostilities and the concentration of the guerrilla forces in 16 camps, to be followed by elections held under British auspices, with observers from the Commonwealth of Nations. Strict compliance with the document signed in London is essential for solving the situation in this African nation.

Behind this vast design are the governments of Great Britain, the United States, South Africa and West Germany, among others, countries that have not only financed the recruitment of 20 000 mercenaries to fight for white supremacy and fascism but have also evidenced their support for racism by breaking the agreement to impose sanctions on Rhodesia.

The Pentagon and the US government consider Latin America to be the heart of their world strategy. US policy toward Latin America links economic, political and military factors. The US government views the Latin-American and Caribbean peoples' steps toward economic, political and social self-determination as a questioning of its structures and a threat to its security. Those who formulate imperialist world strategy describe the Americas as an enormous mass anchored between two oceans and extending from pole to pole, a mass that constitutes the core of US security. This strategy was the basis for the two main instruments of their much-touted "pan-Americanism": the Rio de Janeiro Treaty and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (TIAR), which provides the foundation for the Inter-American Defense Board.

Imperialism's direct responsibility for colonialism and neocolonialism and for setting up and maintaining fascist, Zionist and racist regimes

Joined by ties of history and culture, the peoples of Africa and America are also linked in struggle for their true freedom against the imperialist enemy that is responsible for underdevelopment and its tragic consequences of hunger, illiteracy and illness among the peoples of these parts of the world.

Imperialist domination lays an unbearable burden on these countries by plundering their resources; ruining their national industries; deforming their economies; and imposing constant deficits in their balance of payments, low wages, chronic unemployment, mounting inequality, technological backwardness, undernourishment, massive illiteracy, widespread lack of sanitation, astronomical mortality rates, social servitude, racial discrimination, political instability, increasingly exacerbated class contradictions and criminal violence as the essence of power.

Certain primary data illustrate this by defining the antagonistic nature of the confrontation between the countries of Latin America and the United States and showing the empire's repeated acts of intervention to keep the continental liberation movement from developing. Twenty percent of US foreign investments are in Latin America, and every dollar invested there brings a return of \$3.5, compared to \$1.2 for European investments. The United States processes from 50 to 70 percent of the strategic materials of the Latin-American countries, and a third of Latin America's foreign trade is with the United States — under disadvantageous conditions.

This terrible situation is precisely what the unjust capitalist system needs in order to survive. It can't exist without exploitation and plunder, so it tries to perpetuate neocolonialism by creating and backing fascist, Zionist and racist regimes that subjugate the people in order to rob them with impunity.

This is why the United States supports the racist regime of South Africa. As an important stockholder in the companies that exploit the valuable South African minerals, US monopoly capital is entirely in agreement with the policy of apartheid.

It is a well-known fact that South Africa's uranium production is the third highest in the capitalist world. Ninety percent of the world's diamonds are mined in that country, along with 60 percent of the world's gold, and it also has rich deposits of platinum, copper, chrome, nickel, titanium, iron, tin, manganese, antimony, phosphates and coal.

These figures explain why John Farrel, President of the Farrel Lines, once predicted that the United States would never boycott the Republic of South Africa — because of the latter's many friends in North America, especially in trading circles. The President of General Motors has stated that his company has been in South Africa for a long time and intends to stay for at least 50 years more.

Because of the exploitation of black workers, who are denied all social protection, the dividends from capital invested in South Africa are two and a half times those obtained from capital invested in the United States. The United States has never ratified the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the United Nations 30 years ago; the International Agreement on Civilian and Political Rights; the International Agreement for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and a number of other such conventions. As a result, thousands of South Africans will continue to be thoroughly exploited and denied all rights in their own country, while the United States reaps the profits from this exploitation of entire peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America, through the practice of colonialism, neocolonialism, oppression, racism and apartheid.

Puerto Rico is a clear example of colonial exploitation. A territory that had an autonomous Constitution, effective November 25, 1897, it was turned into a Yankee colony eight months later, when General Miles decreed the military occupation of the island on July 25, 1898.

The US government immediately set out to legalize Puerto Rico's colonial status, using a series of laws that maintained its classic colonial status for a third of a century.

In 1947, popular repudiation of this status and the demand for an end to the colonial system won Puerto Rico the "privilege" of a native governor — but this did nothing to change the real situation. Nor was the 1952 constitution of the Associated Free State anything but a cover for the colonial system, for Puerto Rico continues to be a US possession and can be exchanged or sold whenever the US Congress so decrees. Puerto Rico is more dependent on the United States today than it has ever been. We are witnessing a typical case of foreign military intervention, because — as the Puerto Rican nationalists have said — Puerto Rico was not discovered, conquered or colonized by the United States; Puerto Rico has been occupied; it is a colony, a nonautonomous territory, according to Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter.

Ever since 1900, the United States, acting as a typical colonial power, has used Puerto Rico as a market for its agricultural surplus, for the investment of its surplus capital and for setting up military bases.

The colonial economic domination of Puerto Rico is expressed in its inclusion in US customs and shipping tariffs — the highest in the world — which gives the metropolis the power to unilaterally limit trade with the island. All of Puerto Rico's economic life, industry, banking and trade, plus its best land, are controlled by the big Yankee monopolies. US penetration in industry, communications, etc. is tremendous and is accompanied by an alarming process of capital concentration and centralization. Customs, the postal service and the judicial system are in the hands of the United States.

Puerto Rican young people must join the Yankee Army, since — like the rest of their people — they are US citizens, by force. The United States has turned the island into a complex of military bases, including atomic installations with short- and long-range missiles.

The seal of Yankee colonization in Puerto Rico is unemployment, exploitation, illness, hunger and illiteracy.

A classic colony whose people are determined to be free, Puerto Rico has been the scene of frequent and tragic acts of persecution, and its people have been subjected to many muzzling laws, such as the one passed in 1948 to control all activities aimed at destroying the island's government.

The 1964 military coup in Brazil, promoted and supported by the United States (Operation Brother Sam), was the first experiment in a fascist-type government in the Americas — according to former President Lyndon Johnson's files. Imperialism sought to use Brazil as its gendarme and junior partner in dominating the subcontinent and blocking the revolutionary process, but the peoples' struggle could not be contained, and, in the early '70s, when imperialism faced economic crisis and an adverse world situation — its historic defeat in Vietnam, Lao and Cambodia and the fall of fascism in Portugal and Greece and its split in Spain — the

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Pentagon and other reactionary sectors in the United States launched a counteroffensive in Latin America, using the installation of fascist regimes as their top weapon.

They concentrated their efforts on crushing the Popular Unity government in Chile and installing lasting fascist governments in the Southern Cone of America. Successive coups took place in Bolivia, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina; pressure was brought to bear on Peru, and conspiracies were directed against the governments of Venezuela, Mexico, Costa Rica and other countries; there were maneuvers against Panama's patriotic demands and stepped-up terror in Paraguay, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti and elsewhere.

The economic model imposed by imperialism

The fascist regimes in the more developed countries of South America represent the shameless dictatorship of finance capital linked to the most backward and powerful sectors of the ruling oligarchies, promoted and maintained by US imperialism, especially by its most warmongering and recalcitrant groups, headed by the CIA and the Pentagon. It is a brutal attempt to settle accounts with the working class, the liberation movement and even independence or national-reformist tendencies.

While taking national specifics into account, fascism acts almost like a fulcrum in trying to apply an "economic model" taken from the studies of the "Chicago Boys," inspired by the regional policy of the International Monetary Fund: investments and capital input from foreign monopolies; the concentration of native capital (at the cost of the weakest); the strengthening of the big landowners (at the cost of society); a redistribution of profits to benefit those privileged sectors, brutally plundering the overwhelming majority of the population, especially the workers; the forced transformation of the capital accumulated by national industries and rural managers into native and foreign monopoly capital; an increase in financial, technological and commercial dependency on imperialism to unheard-of levels; the creation, in some countries, of military-economic complexes whose operations are paid for or underwritten by the empire's major arms merchants; and the adaptation of native industry to serve the interests of the transnationals, which dismantle, plunder and eliminate enterprise structures that tended to diversify production and impeded new types of tyranny in these countries.

Repudiated and opposed by the peoples and isolated internationally, the bloody fascist dictatorial regimes of Latin America seek to present themselves as a new kind of limited democracy and try, through elections rigged behind the backs of the people — whose civil, trade union and individual rights are denied — to maintain political-institutional structures that tend to perpetuate control by powerful economic groups. In their new "constitutional" projects, they seek to institutionalize the doctrine of national security, imparted from the United States and adopted by the fascist states that assign their Armed Forces a custodial role and

equip them to intervene openly in defense of the interests of the economic groups and classes that support fascism.

Economic and institutional models with characteristics similar to those of the fascist regimes of Latin America or the State of Israel and with the same objectives have also been set up in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

South African-Israeli-Latin-American fascist relations

The racist regimes of South Africa and Israel, together with Latin-American fascism, are genuine exponents of imperialist domination in our time and constitute a single bloc that opposes the liberation movements and progressive forces in the world. Alike in being imperialist creations, they are also alike in their plunder of wealth and repression of the liberation movements and any other expression of people's progress and definitive liberation.

Their links — some well-known, others hidden — range from commercial trade to the sale of weapons, military training and the exchange of mercenaries.

In terms of arms sales, Israel is playing a very active role in supplying weapons to the countries of Latin America, taking advantage of the fascist dictatorships' need to strengthen their control in order to oppose the revolutionary movements and engage in the local wars that erupt occasionally. In this role, Israel reaps tremendous economic and political profits, not to mention the fact that support for the fascist, dictatorial regimes is very much in line with the nature of Zionism. Israel was the second state (the first being the United States) to recognize Pinochet's lackey regime in Chile.

At the same time Israel has taken advantage of two factors: a) its alleged experience in counteracting armed rebellions, which many bloody dictatorships in Latin America need to share, and b) its ability to supply arms — especially to the small Central American and Caribbean countries whose military needs are relatively small.

Collaboration between Israel and South Africa is even closer. It goes back to the establishment of the State of Israel. South African volunteers fought alongside the Zionists after 1947, and South Africa sent medicine, food and other supplies to the Israelis during the war of 1948. The first pilot of the Israeli Air Force to die in combat was a South African volunteer. During and after the 1967 war, military contacts between the two regimes were stepped up. South African support to Israel during the October 1973 war was even more extensive and marked a new level in the development of their relations.

There is ample evidence of Israeli collaboration with the apartheid regime on the military plane, supplying it with matériel.

In the early '60s, a Belgian company granted South Africa a license to manufacture the Uzi submachine gun, designed by the Israelis. Israel also supplied South Africa with Gabriel missile systems. Israel's contribution

of experts in counterinsurgency techniques and in sophisticated weapons has also been an important part of its military collaboration with South Africa.

Tel Aviv is supplying the racists with direct aid in training saboteurs and spies for action against African countries. The **Daily Telegraph** correspondent in Johannesburg recently reported that Israeli officers were implicated in South Africa's plans for invading Angola. It has also been reported that Israeli mercenaries operate out of South African territory against SWAPO in Namibia.

Israel's role as gendarme has extended from the Arab nations to southern Africa. Payments of nearly \$10 million from the CIA have been introduced on a regular basis for Israeli intelligence, controlled and distributed by the Prime Minister's office. At the beginning of the '60s, CIA funds were channeled through Israel to overthrow Lumumba's legitimate government. In 1973, **International Affairs** magazine reported that, without foreign support, Israel would certainly have been unable to arm itself to the extent it has — much less export weapons to other countries.

Since the United Nations arms embargo was imposed on South Africa and the progressive countries have exerted pressure to enforce it, the developed capitalist nations have found it increasingly difficult to supply South Africa with arms openly and are now using third countries for that purpose, especially Israel. Thus, the arrival in Rhodesia of US Augustus Bell 205 helicopters from Israel and Singapore was confirmed on December 14, 1978, by a military spokesman in Salisbury. The Rhodesian attack on Zimbabwean refugee camps and the attempt to assassinate Joshua Nkomo in April of that year were perpetrated by Israeli commandos.

The third side of the triangle that includes the exchange of military aid between Israel and Latin America and between Israel and South Africa is completed by South African-Latin-American relations.

At the same time that the fascist regimes of Latin America launched their counteroffensive against the revolutionary forces in the '70s, South Africa embarked on a sustained campaign to broaden and strengthen its relations with those countries, with Israel playing the role of arms supplier to the reactionary military regimes in exchange for their complicity in the infamous aggression against the Arab peoples.

This triangular operation was in accord with one of US imperialism's plans, part of its general strategy of domination. In Latin America, the pro-imperialist alliance is thinly disguised as a "defense of Western Christian civilization." In its name, a new aggressive military treaty was projected as an addition to NATO, a treaty whose scope would include the southern Atlantic, aimed against all the countries of the region that are struggling for political, social and economic independence.

Israel also has close contacts with the fascist regimes of Latin America and the racists of South Africa in the political-economic sphere. Since its founding, the Zionist state has worked to strengthen its economic relations



with Africa and Latin America in order to have a sizable market for its products and obtain the raw materials needed for its industries and also to win acceptance for its existence as a state.

In 1948, three years after the defeat of fascism, the newly-established State of Israel announced the expulsion and extermination of the Palestinian Arabs, whose ancestors had lived in the region for centuries. At the same time, in South Africa, the fascist Nationalist Party came to power and immediately passed highly oppressive legislation directed against the black majority of the population.

Relations between the minority regimes of South Africa and Israel have deep historic and ideological roots. General Smuts, Minister of Defense of the Union, was one of the main architects of the Balfour Declaration on the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The Nationalist-Labour coalition gave full support to the creation of the Jewish homeland and adopted a resolution to that effect back in 1926. In the United Nations, South Africa actively supported the partition of Palestine, and, when the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, one of its first actions was to recognize the newly-established State of Israel.

The rapid increase in collaboration between the apartheid regime and the Zionist government reached its high point in 1976, when South African Prime Minister J.B. Vorster visited Israel and signed an agreement for economic, scientific and industrial cooperation between the two countries.

South Africa, which is quite dependent on foreign trade, has now increased its trade with Israel so much that the Zionist state is one of its main trading partners. It is estimated that South Africa's sales to Israel will exceed a billion rands in 1981.

South African and Israeli leaders frequently state that the two countries' economies are complementary and that their potential can be realized by means of joint agreements as associates. Israel's trade consul in South Africa recently noted that this country had a large cheap labor force which Israel needed. Thus, Israel, like the developed capitalist countries, benefits from the superexploitation of the cheap African work force and has an interest in perpetuating the apartheid system.

Recently, Israel showed an interest in investing in the bantustans, in order to exploit their large cheap labor force and promote the bantustan model put forth by the South African racists. An influential Israeli newspaper has suggested, that, with its experience in modern agriculture and soil erosion prevention techniques, Israel can help the "development" of the African reserves. In April 1976 an Israeli delegation attended a three-day symposium organized by the African Association of Foreign Affairs, held in Umtata, capital of the Transkei bantustan.

Israel serves as a base for finishing semiprocessed South African merchandise — textiles, chemical products and fertilizers — that will then be exported to the countries that have imposed an economic boycott on South Africa.

Economic collaboration between South Africa and Israel prevents the destruction of apartheid and the construction of a democratic society free of racism and oppression.

Around 1973, Israel began to concentrate its efforts on Latin America in a step that gave it an economic breather while helping to break its political isolation. This does not mean, however, that Israeli activity in Latin America began then; rather, that was when it took on steam. It has reached very high levels in recent years because of favorable factors such as the powerful interrelationship between Zionism and certain US monopolies in Latin America.

The representatives of those monopolies hold high-level positions in US Zionist organizations and wield considerable influence in trade with Latin America and in the mass media.

Thus, Zionist activity has based itself, first, on US imperialism's total economic and political hegemony in most of the Latin-American countries and, second, on the Zionist communities in certain Latin-American countries.

The close relations between Israel and the Chilean fascist Junta are significant. Israeli military instructors advise the Chilean Army, and Chilean officers give classes in Zionist military academies. Israel sold

Chile air-to-air Shafrir missiles in October 1976, and it should also be recalled that Israel supplied arms to Somoza's dictatorship in Nicaragua in an effort to contain the irrepressible struggle of the people, led by the Sandinista Front.

Cooperation between South Africa and the Latin-American dictatorships continues apace. In support of this, we can cite the fact that the South African financing firm of Hill Samuels S.A. recently set up financial packages for projects in Argentina and other countries and is financing the export of South African capital goods to Chile. This firm stated that South Africa had barely scratched the surface of its export potential to South America.

Not long ago, the Bolivian newspaper *Aquí*, referring to the plan to bring white racist settlers into Bolivia, described that country as "South Africa's new colony." (The new Bolivian government has refused to permit these would-be settlers to come in.) Other Latin-American countries, either voluntarily or as a result of penetration, continue to maintain economic, diplomatic, political and military ties with the racist regime.

The people's struggle against fascism, apartheid and Zionism

These ties among the tyrannical regimes facilitate their efforts to repress the peoples' growing struggle to free themselves of fascism, Zionism and apartheid.

Therefore, the peoples and liberation movements denounce these ties and intensify their struggle, aware that the only way to attain peace, security and progress is to do away with the regimes of discrimination, exploitation and oppression that imperialism has sustained and institutionalized.

In Latin America, for example, while imperialism and its junior partners have managed to push back and severely damage the peoples' revolutionary advance toward liberation, the United States' efforts to definitively crush the struggles in the subcontinent have apparently failed, and we are now witnessing the dawn of a new peoples' democratic offensive, whose highest expression is the Sandinista triumph in Nicaragua, that eliminated Somoza's bloody dictatorship, the oldest tyranny in America.

The fascist dictatorships in the Southern Cone of America, that had threatened to spread throughout the continent, are isolated now, and their aggressiveness has been essentially neutralized; the peoples have taken the offensive. The southern part of America has been shaken by great struggles: In Bolivia, the Bánzer regime was overthrown, and the people are now defending their democratic gains against the reaction and imperialism. Brazil, involved in a complex process of great strikes and workers' mobilizations, is experiencing many changes that have led to the return of thousands of political exiles and a revitalization of civic activity. Workers' actions, demands for freedom, an increase in the circulation of the underground press, continued statements by all political sectors



demanding freedom, the Church's participation alongside the people and the spread of the antidictatorial protest with growing indications of the people's mobilization in Chile and Uruguay — where the repression is nonetheless extremely severe — indicate the weakness of the dictatorships and their lack of a mass base, which makes them resort to violence to maintain their power.

In recent months, other Latin-American countries have made important gains: Panama succeeded in affirming its sovereignty over the Canal and continues to demand the total withdrawal of US troops from the Zone; in Grenada the people freed themselves of a pro-imperialist tyranny and now, for the first time, hold the reins of power.

Latin America is the scene of many different kinds of battles, all aimed at attaining freedom from the colonial and neocolonial yoke and achieving full sovereignty. The people of El Salvador have carried out heroic actions against the fascist dictatorship and are now struggling for an authentic people's government. In Guatemala, the people's bloody confrontation with the pro-imperialist dictatorship continues. The workers of Peru and Colombia have held mass demonstrations, linking reformist demands with the defense of freedom and sovereignty. In Ecuador, the people have

reaffirmed that democracy is the best way to make new social and economic gains.

In Puerto Rico, independence feeling is at an all-time high, with the people rejoicing over the recent liberation of the four patriots imprisoned for more than 25 years in the United States, but the repression continues — along with Puerto Rico's struggle against the empire that seeks to keep it a colony and use it as a base of aggression against all the peoples of America, especially those of the Caribbean.

Encouraging, revolutionary political and socioeconomic changes are taking place in many parts of Africa where, for centuries, the people had been no more than a product on the imperialist market. One after another, the peoples of Africa have taken up arms against the anachronistic social order imposed on them by the forces of obscurantism and the international reaction.

In Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia, the People's Republic of the Congo and Benin, revolutionary governments are giving direction to the human and material resources.



The revolutionary atmosphere in southern Africa is projected toward the elimination of fascism, neocolonialism and racism. The efforts, sacrifices and conviction of the African fighters and masses are bearing fruit today.

In Zimbabwe, the struggle has reached a decisive and very important stage, in which the people are demanding independence and full control over their human and natural resources for future generations and will not be content with less.

The oppressed people of South Africa have taken the initiative and are waging heroic battles against the racist regime on all fronts. Strikes and workers' demonstrations have been held in various plants, and the people have engaged in actions against the institutions of oppression.

At the same time, in the Middle East, the main focus of the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the reaction is its defense of the Palestinian people's cause and its rejection of the Camp David Agreements. In Lebanon, the masses and the progressive Lebanese movement have taken a strong position against the attacks by Zionism and the reaction, and the Egyptian people themselves oppose Sadat's betrayal.

Conclusions

The struggles in Africa, America and the Middle East had the same cause — colonialism — and are now developing against the same enemy. It is, therefore, important that all revolutionaries unite to struggle against imperialism and the reaction — which, as we have seen, are employing a general strategy against the masses everywhere and have closed ranks on a world level in order to better resist the rising revolutionary wave that threatens to engulf and drown them.

Broad solidarity among all the peoples in struggle is imperative in order to attain a more just and equitable world order.

We must coordinate and unify our efforts to oppose this enemy that creates and supports all exploitative, racist and reactionary regimes and uses them to defend its own interests.

We must unite against imperialism. ■

WESTERN SAHARA: A WAR THAT'S NEARING THE END

MANUEL SOMOZA



meridian
liberation



Guerrilla struggle and diplomacy joined

AS the three open vehicles shifted into low gear to make their slow and noisy ascent to the Marabúe Heights, cries of welcome rose from a guerrilla base in the Sahara Desert.

Behind lay what some call civilization, although here there was another type of civilization, a lengthy geeting in the Hasania dialect, a particular concept of time and death, with smiling men and women.

Up until a short time ago, this was one of the bases in the north-central part of Western Sahara used to launch Moroccan commandos wearing camouflage uniforms that the oldest guerrillas now wear with pride.

There's no need to ask why these men fight once you know that their country has been occupied since 1975 by the forces of the Rabat regime. And, when you see what that occupation was like, it becomes clear that the only solution to this war is independence.

Thousands of kilometers away, in the beautiful halls of the United Nations, at Monrovia's Unity Conference Center — current OAU headquarters — or at any similar meeting, other men who also speak Hasania are doing their utmost to defend the same cause.

This almost perfect joining of the guerrilla struggle and diplomacy is the basis on which this people, numbering just over a million, is certain of winning victory for its republic in arms.



It's hard for the Moroccans to raise the morale of their professional army, that doesn't know the desert (60° C. in the summer), especially after five years there without a just cause for which to fight. The elite units are equipped with powerful weapons but haven't fought as yet, and everyone is asking when they will use their power against a guerrilla force that knows the desert, is fighting on its own terrain and doesn't rely on regular warfare, anyway.

Bachir Mustafá Sayed, one of the top nine Saharawi leaders, is a tall, thin man of about 32 who explained the latest guerrilla actions and answered all my questions succinctly, in a mixture of Spanish and Hasania.

Queried about the guerrilla forces' ability to respond to enemy bomb-



ings and hold on to the initiative in the war, he said, "We Saharawis began the struggle against Spanish colonialism and continued it against the Moroccan occupation on camel back, using spring bolt guns.

"We captured our infantry weapons from the enemy, got ourselves on wheels, learned guerrilla warfare and began to receive international aid so we could shoot down F-5 supersonic planes with 12.4-caliber machine guns.

"We've always said — even to the North Americans before they sold Morocco new weapons — that an increase in the enemy's technical means would also supply our arsenal while forcing us to step up the war in all directions.

"Those weren't just words. Early in 1979, French-made Mirage planes reached Morocco, and in October,

when they were flown in combat, we shot down the first one.

"This feat prompted the French advisers to inform King Hassan II that the guerrillas couldn't possibly have touched the Mirages and that the lost plane must have fallen because of a technical flaw.

"In December, we shot down two more and captured one of the pilots. I can assure you that the guerrilla forces now know the Mirage's weak points and have the technical know-how to shoot them down, just as we did the F-5s.

"Moreover, not a day goes by without the Moroccan units being attacked by different caliber mortars or artillery wherever they're stationed. We also know that Mo-

roccan territory has everything we need for guerrilla warfare, which will do serious damage to the enemy's main logistics bases."

This assertion, made while the base of Zaak, in southern Morocco, was in its 19th day of siege, was dismissed by Rabat. "The Saharawi guerrilla is a fiction," King Hassan insisted, following the same line he had taken in 1975 when he assured his troops that the occupation of the former Spanish Saharan colony would be only "a matter of days."

Now, in 1980, Rabat continues to affirm that "Our men are confronting mercenary bands of Algerians, Cubans and Vietnamese. There is no such thing as the problem of the Sahara."

That hypothesis is completed with the assumption that the war in the Sahara is a consequence of "a disagreement between Algeria and Morocco" and that everything revolves around the Alauite Kingdom's claims to parts of Algeria, Mauritania and Mali and all of Western Sahara.

Hassan's ambition for a greater Morocco, which is unfortunately supported by the legal opposition, implies, in the Sahara alone, seizing one of the major unexploited African uranium deposits, the phosphates of Bou Cras and the gas and oil in the Saharan subsoil.

A CIA report released in the United States notes that, in five years of war, the annexation of the Sahara continues to be nothing more than a hope that is costing the Moroccans a million dollars a day as they try to impose further warfare with an already demoralized army.

Between September 1979 and February 1980, the Saharawi fighters

strengthened their control of the northeastern Sahara, liberated Mahbes, occupied the city of Smara, made systematic attacks on the bases of Tan-Tan and Zaak in southern Morocco and inflicted more than a thousand casualties on the royal Army, including killing a colonel and a lieutenant colonel. During this period, Rabat issued war communiqués minimizing its losses, while its elite units proceeded to find "abandoned corpses of foreigners."

One of these divisions, commanded by Colonel Ahmed Dlimi, was accompanied by a group of Western journalists who took color shots of its maneuvers.

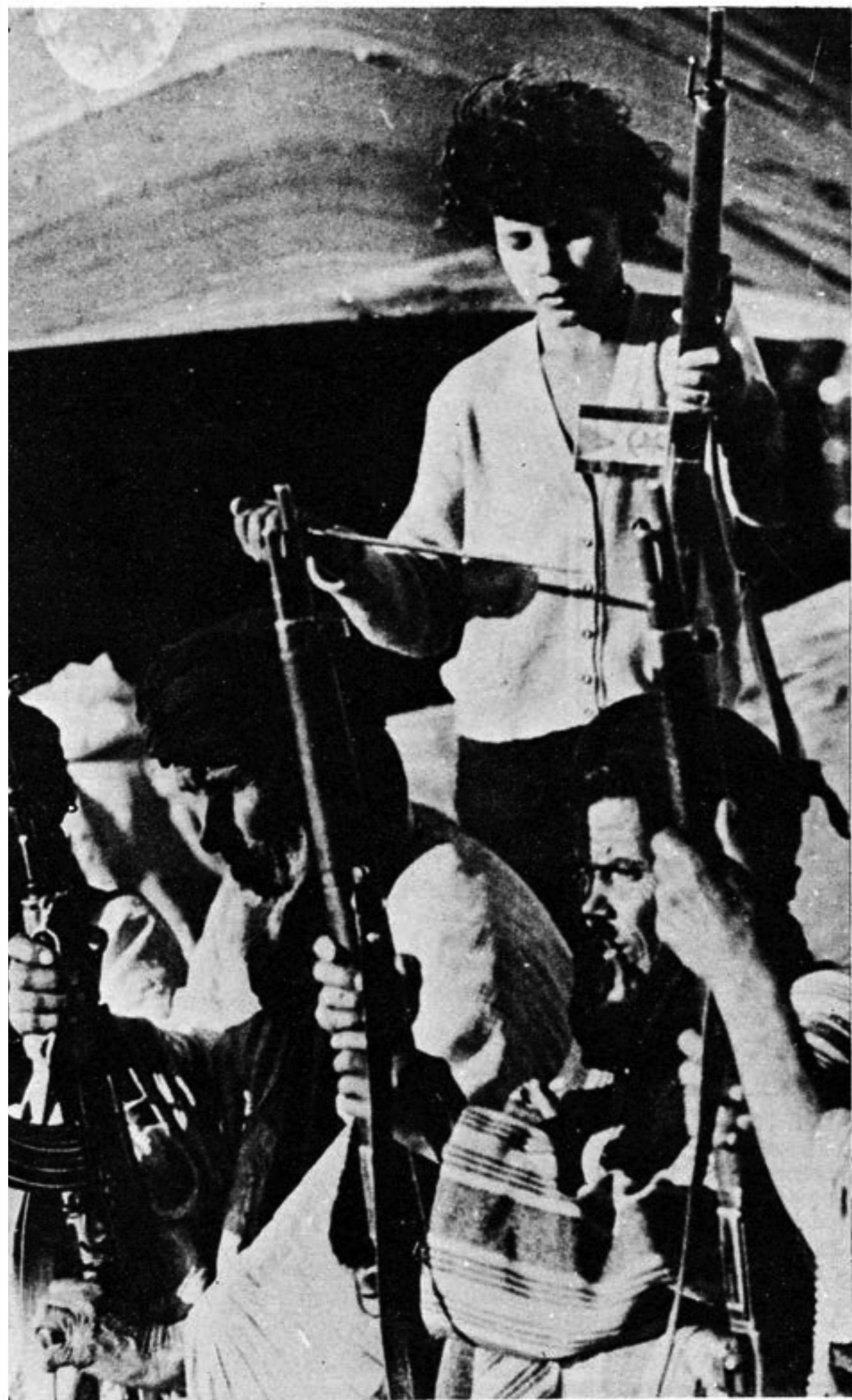
But the publicity group was unable to explain why that division of 5000 vehicles "preferred to evade the Umdreiga Mountain Pass in the middle of the Sahara as a possible guerrilla base" — an admission made by the Moroccan High Command.

Umdreiga is a mountainous zone with huge rocks and dry river beds, where the desert vegetation is almost always composed of tall, thorny bushes.

There I saw a guerrilla group in action. The average age of its members was 20, and they had been gathering weapons and fuel for several days in order to surprise the Moroccans and wipe them out.

I also saw the F-5s firing bombs and bullets from a height of more than 1000 meters in order to stay out of range of the heavy machine guns on the ground. Guerrilla "casualties" from the attack were limited to one dead nanny goat.

Many more actions followed Umdreiga before the Bir Enzaran base was destroyed and Captain Mohamed Aid Charif, a veteran of the





French-Indo-Chinese war, was captured.

I interviewed this man, who had been wounded and then healed by the guerrillas. "When you're fighting a people that is struggling for independence," he said, "it all becomes very difficult, and you wind up losing your morale."

"How many Algerians, Cubans or Vietnamese did you see during the attack?"

"What?!" he exclaimed and smiled before he added, "None. Look, my friend, to fight a desert war and win, you have to have been born on the desert."

In June 1979, the 16th Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity recognized the Saha-

rawi people's right to self-determination, a right reaffirmed by the 6th Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in September and broadened in November at the final session of the United Nations General Assembly to include a call for Morocco's immediate withdrawal from Western Sahara.

The diplomatic battle is almost entirely won, and Bachir Mustafá Sayed considers the Democratic Arab Saharawi Republic's admission in the OAU before its next Summit Meeting this year to be almost inevitable.

Eden Kodjo, Secretary-General of the OAU, also made that eminently logical prediction in the halls of the Unity Conference Center, where a minisummit of African Heads of State met in December to discuss the matter.

In informal talks with a number of journalists, Kodjo recalled that the Saharawi people's right to independence was approved by the United Nations, with 30 African states voting in favor of it, and that 20 governments in the region already have relations with the Saharawi Republic.

According to the OAU's statutes, he said, that government needs only five more votes in order to be admitted automatically to membership.

Rabat will try to block that path, of course, but observers consider that it has little chance of success, especially after the United States, France, Egypt and Israel intervened in the conflict by financing Saudi Arabia.

OAU President William Tolbert said at the Monrovia meeting that the OAU would mobilize all the forces of Africa in order to arrive at a political solution to the conflict,



and he called on Morocco to accept the fact that recognition of the Saharawi people's right to self-determination is the only possible basis for solving the problem of Western Sahara.

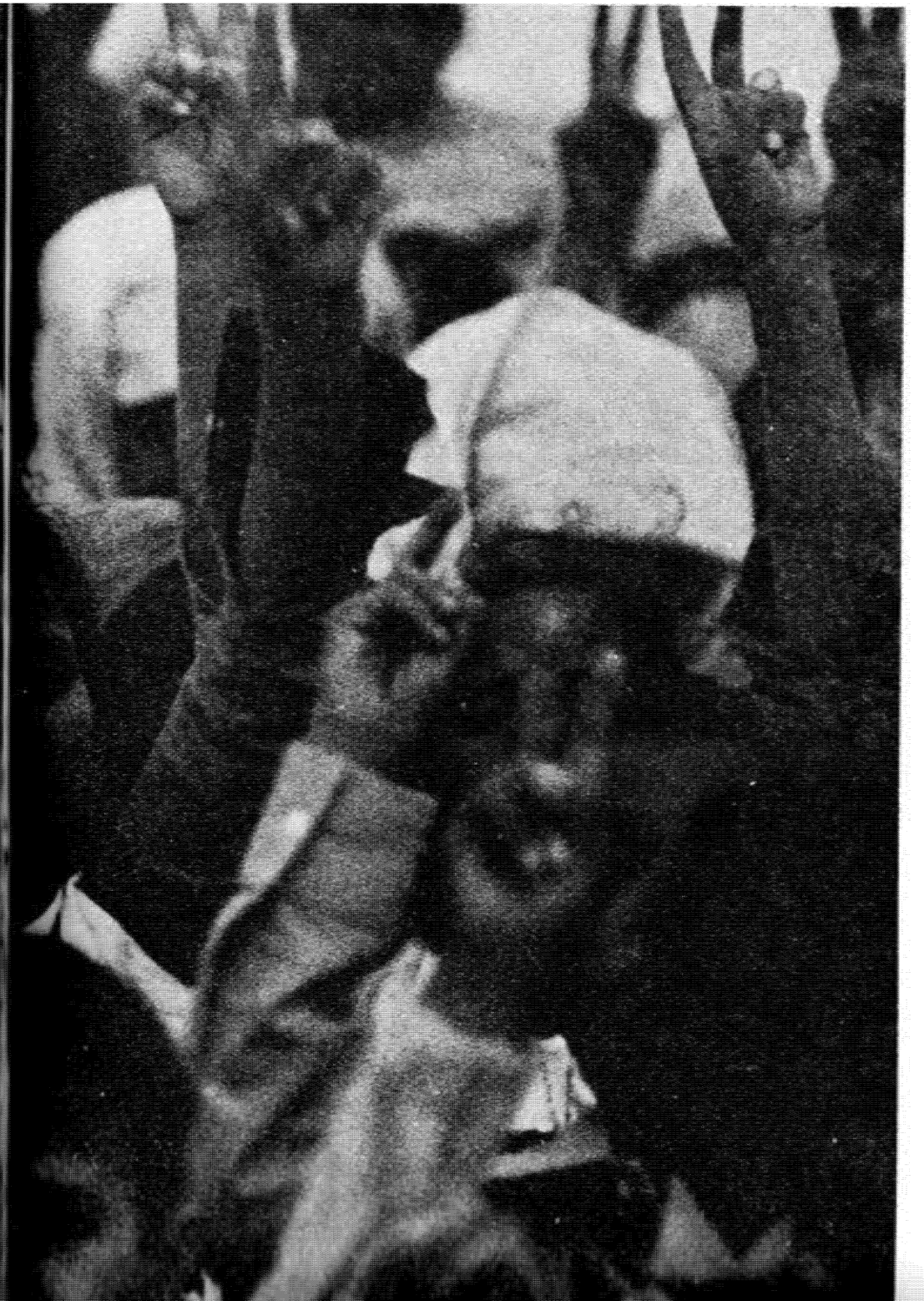
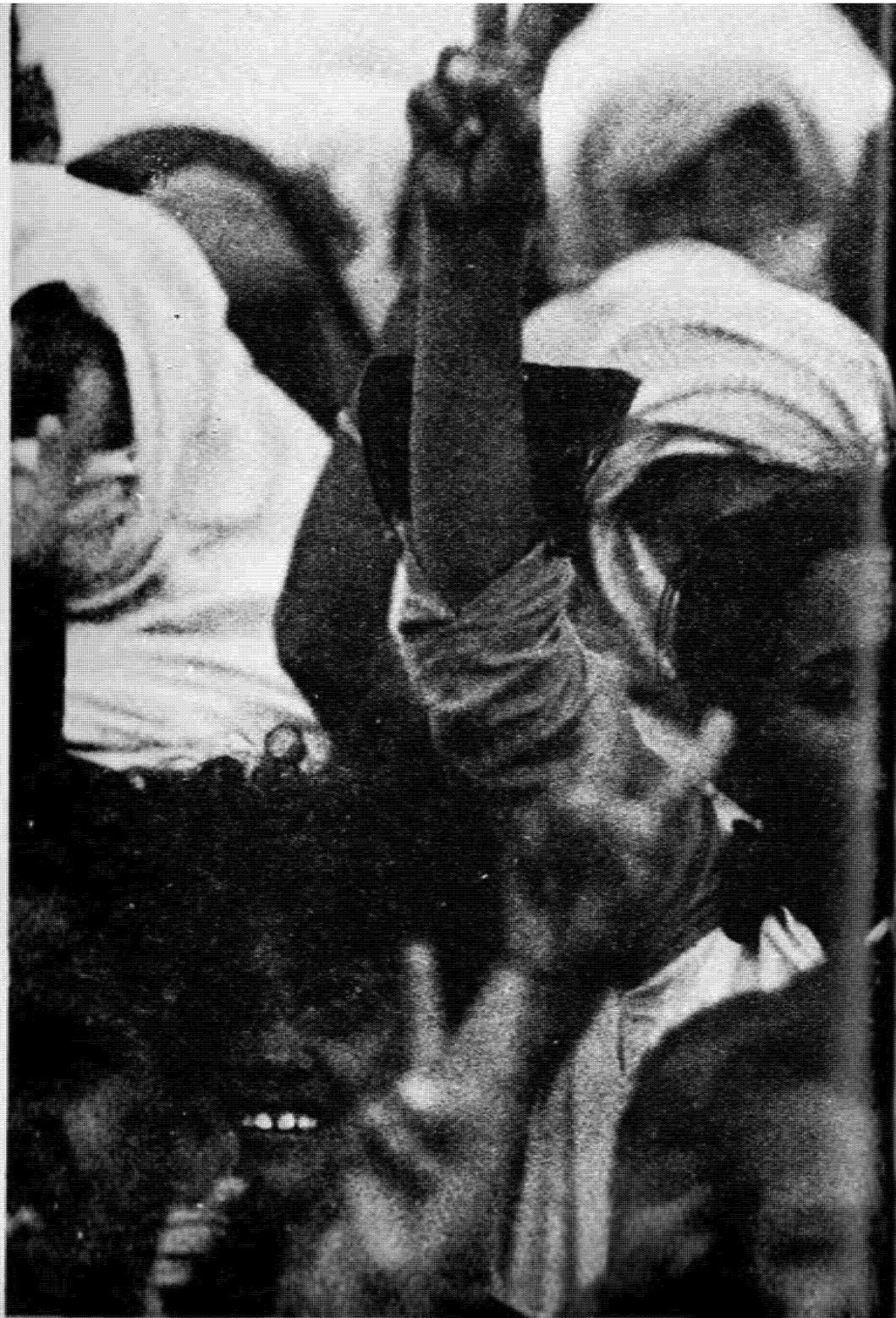
The leaders of Tanzania, Mali, Nigeria and Sudan, all members of the Special OAU Committee on the Sahara and those of Algeria, Mauritania and the POLISARIO Front, who were guests at the Liberian meeting, have taken similar positions.

The participants in the Monrovia meeting denounced the Republic of Guinea, the sixth and final member of the Committee, and Morocco for refusing to attend the meeting.

For the Saharawis, Morocco's absence confirmed Hassan's inability to face up to the problem. When

the leaders of the POLISARIO Front were asked whether or not they were still willing to negotiate, they answered, "We've always been ready, but negotiate with whom? Hassan not only doesn't understand the current reality in the area but also fails to take into account the will of Africa as expressed by the OAU."

Many observers believe that the Saharawi Republic's possible admission in the OAU as a government, together with the rise in the national liberation struggle, could well give even greater force to Bachir Mustafá Sayed's final words as he bade us farewell: "Victory is closer than ever."



REPORT ON OPERATIONS
BY THE SAHARAWI PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY
FROM NOVEMBER 1978 THROUGH OCTOBER 1979

The Saharawi Ministry of Defense has published a report on the 500 actions carried out by fighters of the Saharawi People's Liberation Army (ELPS) from November 1978 through the end of October 1979, especially during the Houari Boumediene Offensive, launched in January 1979.

The communiqué from the Saharawi Ministry of Defense notes that, during the course of the national liberation struggle, the Saharawi People's Liberation Army has successively liberated the cities of Tifarati, Ambala, Ejdeiria and Mahbes, plus other regions. This offensive has put important units and columns of the occupation troops out of action, especially in Lemseyid, Udei-Esfa and Engab.

The Saharawi People's Liberation Army has seized and occupied several of the strongest Moroccan garrisons, including Lubeirat, Smara and Tan-Tan, which was attacked three times. The occupation troops suffered extremely heavy losses in men and matériel during these battles, while our forces captured an impressive amount of war matériel — that the ELPS fighters then used against the Moroccan Army.

The overall results of these operations are the following:

Personnel

10 335 soldiers of all ranks up through colonel killed; 9804 wounded; 48 soldiers joined the ELPS ranks; 739 soldiers, NCOs and officers, including two captains, captured.

Matériel destroyed

Planes: 5 fighters, including 3 F-5s, and 7 helicopters.

Armored vehicles: 1649 trucks, a jeep and a Land-Rover.

Heavy weapons: fifteen 23-mm. batteries and 292 pieces of artillery and mortars.

Installations: numerous bases and garrisons seized by the ELPS.

Matériel seized

Armored vehicles: 5 armored cars, 7 BRIMs and 4 AML 90s.

Heavy and light weapons: two 122-mm. pieces of artillery; sixteen 105-mm. pieces of artillery; two 85-mm. pieces of artillery; eight 23-mm. bitubes; seven 75-mm. pieces of artillery; three 120-mm. pieces of artillery; seventy-seven 106-mm. pieces of artillery; a hundred and twenty-five 120-, 81- and 60-mm. mortars; four hundred and twenty-three 12.7-mm. machine guns; fifty-two 30-caliber MAGs; 24 Douchka machine guns; a hundred and twenty-nine 88.9-mm. LRACs; 7 RPGs; and 3500 guns, including three thousand one hundred and forty-six 7.62-mm. FALs, 742 PMs and 295 PAs.

Other vehicles: 187 trucks, including 14 water tank trucks and 3 repair trucks; 292 jeeps and Land-Rovers; 95 Unimongs and Virans; 4 high-ranking officers' cars; and 6 ambulances.

Transmitters: 1 mobile radio station and 247 transmitter-receivers, 3 of them very powerful.

RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA

ADOPTED BY THE 34TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

NOVEMBER 21, 1979

The General Assembly:

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara, recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having heard the statements made on the subject of Western Sahara, including the statement of the representative of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro (POLISARIO Front),

Bearing in mind the profound concern of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries regarding the decolonization of Western Sahara and the right of the people of that territory to self-determination,

Recalling its resolution 33/27 of 1 December 1978 regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

Taking note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixteenth ordinary session, held at Monrovia from 17 to 20 July 1979, by which the Assembly adopted the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity, on the question of Western Sahara,

Also taking note of the peace agreement concluded at Algiers on 10 August 1979, between Mauritania and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro and the decision of Mauritania to withdraw its forces from Western Sahara,

Aware of the profound concern of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries at the aggravation of the situation prevailing in Western Sahara because of the continuation and extension of the occupation of that territory,

Recalling the part of the Political Declaration adopted by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, relating to Western Sahara,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure the enjoyment of that right, as envisaged in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity;

2. Takes note with satisfaction of the decision concerning Western Sahara taken with the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixteenth ordinary session;

3. Also takes note with satisfaction of the part of the Political Declaration adopted by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries relating to Western Sahara;

4. Welcomes the peace agreement concluded between Mauritania and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro and considers that this agreement constitutes an important contribution to the process of achieving peace and definitive, just and lasting settlement of the question of Western Sahara;

5. Deeply deplores the aggravation of the situation resulting from the continued occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco and the extension of that occupation to the territory recently evacuated by Mauritania;

6. Urges Morocco to join in the peace process and to terminate the occupation of the territory of Western Sahara;
7. Recommends to that end that the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro, the representative of the people of Western Sahara, should participate fully in any search for a just, lasting and definitive political solution of the question of Western Sahara, in accordance with the resolutions and declarations of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries;
8. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a priority question and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session;
9. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara;
10. Invites the Secretary-General to follow closely the situation in Western Sahara and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session.

Votes	Countries
In favor	88
Against	6
Abstentions	40
Nonparticipating	13

RESOLUTION* ON WESTERN SAHARA

ADOPTED AT THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY SUMMIT

CONFERENCE HELD IN MONROVIA, LIBERIA, JULY 1979

Having reviewed in detail the report of its subcommittee's on-the-spot meetings in Mauritania, Algeria and Morocco with all parties, including representatives of the Saharawi people;

having heard the report from the mission composed of the Secretary General and the Ambassadors of Nigeria and Mali, that went to Spain on behalf of the subcommittee;

considering that all the parties concerned — with the exception of Morocco — agree that the Saharawi people's right to self-determination is not yet recognized; and

also considering that the tripartite agreement signed by Spain, Morocco and Mauritania refers only to the transfer of the administration of the territory to Morocco and Mauritania and does not constitute a transfer of sovereignty;

the Conference recommends that

1. the conditions be created for declaring an immediate and general cease-fire as a prerequisite for the establishment and maintenance of peace in the region;
2. the Saharawi people exercise their right to self-determination by holding a free and general referendum to choose between
 - a) complete independence and
 - b) a continuation of the status quo;
3. a meeting be called of all the interested parties to request their cooperation in implementing this recommendation; and
4. a special five-member committee be appointed by the 10th regular session of the Summit Conference to work with the United Nations to define the standards for and supervise the organization of the referendum, on the basis of "One man, one vote."

* Retranslated from Spanish ●

NOTES ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF BLACK AFRICA (II)

ARMANDO ENTRALGO

books
of today



MEDIATING POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE FORMS (TYPES OF COLONIAL STATES) AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

WHILE it is true that the difference between the British and French administrative systems, or between the British and what has been called the "continental model," has been a favorite and often exaggerated theme for non-Marxist historians, it is no less true, as P. F. Gonidec notes, that colonization is a general form of domination, a multifaceted form whose various aspects work in harmony and are complementary. For a beginning analysis, it is nevertheless possible to "isolate" those factors that clarify the particular way it links up the system and its relative internal autonomy and influence, including its influence on or reaction to the economic base and social structure, for example.

I do not intend to offer a detailed treatment of every "colonial state" model — that isn't required — but some observations on their relative influence in the class structure of the colony are in order.

If, politically, colonization is the confiscation of power by the colonial state, as Gonidec has noted, then its only choice with respect to the more or less strong and stable native political institutions, is to destroy them or neutralize them in order to monopolize power in one way or another.

It can be said, with the consequential risks, that French colonialism tended to destroy those traditional institutions, while British colonialism tended to neutralize them, but, since it is a historic fact that France used neutralization in such cases as Morocco and Tunisia and among the Mosi of the present Upper Volta and the Merina of Madagascar and that Great Britain used "destruction" in the directly subordinate areas of the Crown Colonies, it seems preferable to say that both powers (and other lesser ones) alternated or combined different attitudes with the aim — and general result — of establishing the supremacy of colonial power, the only real power in a colonial situation.

The approach depended basically on the colonial power in question; the specific historic circumstances of development in the indigenous political chieftainship; and its social foundation, material strength and relations with the mass of the colonized population.

The ancient tribal or protofeudal governors were generally stripped of all autonomy of decision and action and incorporated in the colonial machinery as subordinates. Since it was from among them — with their nobility by lineage, war and position — that the first bourgeois figures managed to emerge within the primitive bourgeois trend among certain sectors in certain regions, it is important to note (without overlooking the role of the slave trade and especially that of "legitimate" trade) the **feudal state framework of conditioning** in which bourgeois elements began to emerge in colonial Africa — meaning their conditioning by the ideological rather than the economic factors of precolonial African society that were present at the birth of the African colonial bourgeoisie. The state's need to neutralize the indigenous chiefs by giving them a subordinate

role in the colonial machine forced them — or, in fact, made it possible for them — to promote the capitalist economic order, from within the lower bodies of the colonial administrative apparatus.

A complement of this was the role the colonial state was able to play in the socioeconomic promotion of other sectors of traditional society outside or under the delegated power of the tribal or protofeudal chiefs. It seems logical that, faced with the reality of a prebourgeois chieftainship of considerable strength, the colonial state should decide to work with it and extraeconomically restrict the radius of action of other competing sectors — in addition to the purely economic restriction by the foreign monopolies that exploited the colonial territory. It is precisely here that the imperialist power's tendency or model of administration had a certain importance in terms of whether or not it favored, in a general sense, any function the traditional chieftainship might carry out; in whether or not it showed a tendentious bias toward promoting those (not always "aristocratic") groups that were susceptible to being assimilated by the colonial European culture and, potentially, rivaling the power of the chiefs.

In addition to the preceding social structure, the colonial bourgeois process was conditioned not only by the nature of the indigenous chieftainship but also by the policy the metropolis took toward it — once it became clear that this chieftainship and its greater or lesser strength would play a role in the colonialist tactic at the time of conquest.

Within this policy, the traditional cultural-educational policy of the European power provided the framework within which the assimilationist tendencies or positions supposedly characteristic of French colonialism and the supposedly contrasting British line of autonomy or decentralization took on meaning and reality. It seems evident that the economic and social actions of the middle classes and especially of the petite bourgeoisie of an area under domination reflected the incidence of centralization or of autonomy on the part of a colonial administration.

The social complexity of black Africa

1. Even today, any independent or still colonial part of black Africa, and even northern Africa, might constitute what a number of Soviet researchers began, around 1974, to call a **multistructure**, to describe the historic result of the sequence and coexistence of different economic systems and forms of production ranging from generically tributary Asiatic forms, through the more or less accentuated existence of slave and feudal characteristics, to simple mercantile (including precolonial) production and the market economy. This last, generally an agricultural or mining monoproduction and monoexporting system, **predominates** in these multistructures as a form of dependency on the world capitalist system and is apparent, above all, in the unequal trade whereby raw materials are exchanged for products that come almost solely from the metropolis. This predominance in no way excludes a more or less active state participation in the economy, one which may be socialist oriented, in the best sense

of the word, and may even have begun, in practice, to separate itself from the imperialist system. Nor does this predominance exclude the village community and its pure or adapted economy in the most widely dispersed regions of the few nerve centers of a modern economy or in its urban spider webs, as the case may be.

One key factor in understanding the members of this multistructure is a knowledge of **when and how the capitalist mode of production came about in that colony**. The time (as we all know, but it's worth repeating) is none other than the period of colonial conquest in the transition toward the monopoly, or imperialist, phase of capitalism. In other words, capitalism did not come about as a result or product of the development of internal contradictions within those precolonial social formations — although a few of them had experienced the beginnings of simple mercantile production — but rather was a consequence of a European economy's expansionist needs and of the "extra-economic" factor of violent military conquest, from which it got its direct political control, of course.

It was a matter not of precapitalist social formations that progressed toward capitalism but rather of a precapitalist situation on which a specific type of capitalism — colonialism — was imposed — superimposed, juxtaposed or affixed — by force. It was a type of capitalism — or it used the capitalist elements it was possible and necessary to transfer and/or give birth to there — that was **complementary** to and **dependent** on the economic leaders of the system, on genuine capitalism.

It was not a capitalism derived from the conflict between the development of the productive forces and the form of the social relations of production — which would presumably have led to its appearance in some form. Historically and qualitatively, it was a different type of situation, one brought about by imperialist expansion quantitatively and qualitatively regulated by the modern history of world imperialism, and especially by its specific needs and methods of accumulation at certain crisis points following World War I and the October Revolution.

One aggravating factor in black Africa was the precedent of the slave trade, which had already linked certain areas — particularly the coastal regions of West, Southwest and East Africa — to European mercantilism. Without resorting to the exaggerations made by certain African and non-African progressive historians, it can be said that this factor undoubtedly contributed economically, socially, politically and ideologically to a first stage of underdevelopment and even regression in the areas it touched.

This difference between classical capitalism and peripheral, or dependent, capitalism — which only the theoreticians of dependency were discussing a decade ago and from which some have now retreated — is **vital**. This cannot be stated too often, because there's always some new element that particularly strengthens the political realism of the African revolutionary movement. In this regard, I would like to sum up certain ideas expressed by Kiva Maidanik,¹ of the Soviet Union.

¹ R. Avakov, K. Maidanik, T. Bokataeva: "Possibilities and Limits of Capitalism in the Third World," *Social Sciences Magazine*, No. 4, pp. 164-177. Moscow, 1975.

a) In contrast to classical European capitalism, underdeveloped capitalism emerges and evolves at the same time as the national independent states.

b) In contrast to classical capitalism, underdeveloped capitalism stems from the development of other societies and their extension, which is why the foreign factors, such as closer ties with the world economy than with the domestic or national economy, always predominate. The organic bond of classical capitalism does not exist among the different sectors of production in this independent, capitalist state; it is not a single economic body.

c) In contrast to classical capitalism, underdeveloped capitalism, introduced from abroad, has considerably lost its capacity for self-propulsion, which accounts for the prominent role of the state in the private sector — which is also different from the role the state played at the start of classical capitalism. When it tries to protect itself artificially from free competition, the underdeveloped state develops precocious, artificial and unproductive monopolistic sectors, turning classical capitalist history upside down. Of course, this state activity occurs only where classical capitalism, in its modern transnational version, has not established its control and subordinated everything that is national. Maidanik points out that

Although the Western European and United States monopolies got a hold on the economies of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by the turn of this century it is only within the last few years that they have been considered an organic element in the social structure of those countries. This is linked to the process of the interiorization [introduction] of these monopolies... [as] rivals and partners of the state system in the process of forming the new, stable system of structures in the Third World.

The social characteristics of a multistructure are, naturally, very complex. Classes, sectors and old and new groups, formed within the framework of a traditional economic society or in a modern economy, exist side by side.

The appearance of new classes does not presume the disappearance of the old anywhere, much less in black Africa, with its dependent capitalism. Some of the old classes transform themselves into new ones through adjustments rather than total absorption. This means that class hybridization appears along with juxtaposition — and, of course, many cases of non-definition.

Traditional society and its traditionally tribal and sometimes proto-feudal organization, with infinite networks and links among individuals, did not disappear economically, socially or ideologically. Politically defeated, it survived under domination in all spheres of life. Although, at least in this century, social groups with class characteristics in the capitalist sense have appeared, the general picture seems to be more fre-

quently characterized by the existence of old groups or sectors whose contradictions — generally controllable and actionable — decisively influence the new classes and sectors today.

What we have, then, is a very unique class social structure — although, to probe all its unique facets, we have had to await decolonization. It is not a classless society, and consequently a society without class struggle — as some (both ingenuous and malintentioned) have tried to make it seem. It is not just one more class society, with the usual class struggle — as is dogmatically stated at times. These are societies whose classes, strata, groups and sectors take on specific forms and interrelationships that correspond to the specific history of the African continent, especially its peoples' relations with European capitalism.

At the Moscow Symposium (April, 1974) on the Formation and Struggle of the Working Class in Asian and African Countries, A. Gudimenko,² of the USSR, warned sociologists from the socialist countries against transferring the features and symptoms characteristic of the classes that emerged in a different sociohistorical environment (generally European) to the classes formed in the Asian and African countries. K. Ernst, of the German Democratic Republic, stressed the influence of such factors as the character of the world historical scene; the Third World countries' dependency within the world capitalist economic system; their initial level of social relations, which was "very different from the European precapitalist or feudal structures"; and the existence of traditional relations, deformed by colonialism and now in various phases of decay.

The delegates to the Moscow Symposium set themselves a number of questions on which Soviet, German, Hungarian, Polish and Bulgarian Africanists have been working intensively in the last few years, including the determination of the concepts of tradition and traditionalism; the classification and typology of traditional communities; the mechanism for these communities' participation in the class formation process; a picture of the political forces in mixed economy societies; and theoretical and practical conclusions for the workers' movement.

From his research on the relationship between caste and class, A. Kutsenkov, of the USSR, reported that, whereas the individual is a member of the working class because of his socioeconomic situation, he is, at the same time, a member of a caste, which continues to determine his direction and goals; the sociopsychological and theoretical-ideological class limits are confusing and vague; the existence of castes within the class framework gives it a sort of cellular structure; and the class consists of numerous groups, even though it tends to absorb and gradually "lead" the castes as society develops.

Until this absorption takes place, the new classes — the bourgeoisie and proletariat — will continue to be numerically and qualitatively weak.

² Quoted by A. Starikov, "The Working Class in the Developing Countries," *Social Sciences Magazine*, No. 1, Moscow, 1975.



As a result, it is not their social consciousness but rather other forms that generally prevail; tribal or tribalist; ethnonationalist (the general state of development now makes this possible); racial (as an antiwhite, anti-Arab or anti-Hindu racist response); and, above all, highly varied and often syncretic forms of religious consciousness. All are tremendously influential in the major and minor struggles for local political power, which usually acts as an objective mediator of foreign domination. If it often seems that there is no economic struggle by black African trade unions or political class struggle, this is due to the numerous mediations and camouflages in the African political scene.

The rural world is still apparently isolated from these struggles, in a very slow transition toward the establishment of clearly capitalist relations. The agrarian petite semibourgeoisie and the semiproletarian migratory worker live side by side in the semiurban society of black Africa, but the circumstantial result is contradictory: far from being urbanized, these sectors block the maturation of capitalist relations in the few cities inherited from the colonial period.

A. Starikov notes that

The low correlation between urban growth and industrialization... means that small, market-type production and the marginalized sectors increase. The city's rural social aspect is manifested in the immutable or modified way in which traditional type communities and institutions were transferred into it, so that its inhabitants are oriented simultaneously toward city and countryside.³

³ A. Starikov, *op. cit.*

At the same time, several obstacles slow the African peasant's transformation into a capitalist farmer; it isn't a single-track, spontaneous or "natural" process. The existence of zones that specialize in the "commercial crops" of colonial export production was not necessarily favored by the preceding development of the traditional economy; capitalism did not emerge in Africa from the village commune but was rather superimposed on it — **perhaps in spite of it** — adapting it to capitalist needs without destroying it. This accounts for the slow and tortured process of transition from a natural to a mercantile economy, which is often forced rather than stimulated to develop through increased productivity and the social division of labor.

In conclusion, capitalist agriculture in black Africa evolved in an extremely contradictory manner. Although there are pockets of small but truly capitalist production, the phenomenon of adapting "traditional" structures to the conditions of the dependent market economy is more frequently apparent. Indeed, to a certain extent these backward structures are reactivated around supposedly modernizing processes such as agrarian reform or the much-touted "green revolution"; this goes along with certain types of tenant farming and the role of traders and leaders. The socializing efforts in certain countries are not immune to this, either. Moreover, it is essential to remember that this situation is not a simple "reminiscence" of the tribal or tribal-feudal situation but a result of its "petrified" insertion in the system of world economic relations of which these alleged reminiscences form a part.

The productivity of African agriculture is lower than that of both Latin America and Asia, yet between 80 and 90 percent of the people of black Africa make their living by farming.

For those who know the effects colonization has had on black Africa's industrial development, it isn't enough to say that African industry is retarded. Where industrialization exists, it has generally taken place since independence; the exceptions to this are insignificant within the continental panorama. Even the process of replacing imports is very far behind in Africa, compared to Asia and Latin America. Economist Samir Amin notes that this process took place at some speed in Latin America in the '30s and '40s and in Asia around the '50s. In Africa, however — especially south of the Sahara — this process didn't begin until the '60s, when independence was attained. South Africa's economic importance alone reveals the underdevelopment of the other countries: 1976 statistics show that South Africa had 40 percent of all African industrial production and 30 percent of the continent's total Gross National Product.

These figures explain the small size of the local bourgeois sectors, both in the countryside — the Kulak type that Amin and other economists discuss — and in the city. While it is possible to differentiate between nationalist and comprador attitudes among the bourgeois sectors, it is more realistic to refer to a **petite bourgeoisie** that is present in a wide variety of neocolonial economic sectors. The big bourgeoisie of the African economy is, naturally, a foreign bourgeoisie that lives outside Africa, ex-

cept perhaps for the Anglo-Boer white-nationalist bourgeoisie, gendarme of subimperialism in southern Africa. The middle-level bourgeoisie is almost exclusively that which began as the petite bourgeoisie and heir to the colonial state; moved to the status of pro-bourgeois bureaucracy in the '60s at the time of independence; and can now be classified, in almost all cases, as a bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

A. Starikov, of the USSR, notes that the pro-bourgeois bureaucracy does not own the means of production and that its benefits are obtained not from direct exploitation of wage earners but from enormously high salaries, governmental corruption, etc. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie, he adds, is that sector which becomes capitalist by taking advantage of state posts and the opportunities they offer.

Capitalist in what fields? In urban land speculation, business enterprise, agricultural investment, secondary industry, the infrastructure (housing, roads, domestic transportation), etc. — that is, wherever the entrepreneurs, (comprador) intermediaries and native planters operate, both in the small economic space left by the foreign monopolies and in those sectors of the economy indirectly controlled by those monopolies. As they move from public administration — the state — into these fields, the members of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie inevitably mix with other bourgeois sectors, and many researchers (including Romano Ledda,⁴ of Italy) consider them to be a single class. Moreover, it is also inevitable that the sectors of the local bourgeoisie as a whole should associate with the generally dominant foreign private sector — the monopolies — that pretend to serve the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the nation with certain carefully considered capital investments. In short, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie plays a key role in the general situation of dependency.

Small-scale production cannot guarantee reproduction in the countryside, but the generalized poverty in the cities of black Africa prolongs its life in two ways: by creating a market for its insufficient but cheap products and by providing a large urban population that finds it easier to subsist on the basis of small-scale production and small business. Visitors to any city in black Africa cannot help but note a veritable beehive of small, poor artisans and traders.

Small-scale enterprise continues as long as the proprietor earns enough to maintain himself and requires neither a large investment nor highly skilled workers. Big enterprise in the same city comes with foreign capital and, to a lesser degree, state action, functioning as something totally alien to and apart from small-scale African enterprise, as Kiva Maidanik explains. Technically and organically, the two are separated by an abyss. The objective and significant fact is that, because of the different levels and more or less isolated ways in which big- and small-scale enterprise develop, there is no violent competition between them. Rather, this competition takes place among the small enterprises — that are ruined, one

⁴ Romano Ledda, "Social Classes and Political Struggle," *International Socialist Journal*, No. 22, Year 4, August, 1967.

after another, by the introduction of any machine, however backward in terms of advanced technology.

Small-scale production and trade can grow without developing in the shadow of big enterprise. Neither in the city nor in the countryside is their transformation into big enterprise on the classic capitalist model objectively guaranteed, in any way automatic or simply a question of time. Foreign capital tolerates them, while the underdeveloped state is unable to solve their various problems of obtaining capital, a domestic market, an infrastructure, machinery, skilled workers, raw materials, electricity, etc.

2. We agree with A. Starikov that the working class is not a homogeneous mass but rather a conglomerate complex of strata and groups that differ in class maturity, consciousness and preparation for undertaking one or another form of struggle.

A. Gudimenko, of the USSR, lists three levels in the process of forming a proletariat: a) the laying of socioeconomic bases, b) clarification of the social and sociopsychological conditions for class awareness and c) the maturity of politico-ideological conditions.

V. Vasiliev, of the USSR, comes out against an unjustified extension of the limits of the working class — as V. L. Allen⁵ (whose acute analysis I will criticize later) does outside the framework of Marxist methodology — and proposes, instead, the concept of a “critical mass of the class” which takes off from the dialectic balance between quantity and quality.

Right from the beginning of colonization, an African work force was needed in four basic fields:

a) In South Africa, the Rhodesias and Kenya, the white colons needed agricultural workers. Conquest and land expropriation provided a mass of landless workers who were ready to do the hardest type of manual labor in return for the right to set themselves up on a small piece of foreign land — i.e. the land taken over by the Europeans. Perhaps, as Richard Sandbrook and Robin Cohen⁶ point out, there weren't enough workers at first, because workers were brought in from India to work the sugarcane plantations of Natal; in 1905, 27 percent of the work force in the South African gold mines was composed of Chinese; and even Afro-Caribbean workers were “imported” to build the railroads.

b) An African work force was also needed in the mining of iron, copper, manganese, diamonds, gold, etc.

c) The public works program also required a work force to build roads and railroads, improve the ports, etc.

d) Finally, the colonial administration used Africans to help maintain colonial order — soldiers, police, office workers, health inspectors, messengers and even gardeners for the European manors.

⁵ V. L. Allen, “The Meaning of the Working Class in Africa,” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, February 1972.

⁶ Richard Sandbrook and Robin Cohen, “Towards an African Working Class: A Survey of the Issues,” Conference of the University of Dar es Salaam, 1974.

The taxes for housing and training were every bit as "effective" as the theft of the best lands as a means of making the African sell his labor. The two methods were combined in almost all the colonial territories in order to create a paid work force at a very early stage; within this framework, class and trade union action also took place right from the beginning of foreign domination — though in an incipient form, of course, and always banned and accompanied by brutal repression.

After a hundred years of dependent capitalism, the working class in the tertiary public and private sector is now far greater than in the industrial sector, which accounts for only 2 or 3 percent of the African population. As Romano Ledda has pointed out, there is almost no big industry to concentrate the workers, so they are dispersed in hundreds of small and middle-sized industries. In the last ten years, some workers have been concentrated for the construction of dams and road networks, but this has generally involved temporary workers, as was true in the mines at the end of the last century. Moreover, skilled workers constitute a numerically insignificant part of the work force, a situation that increases the risk of unemployment within the working class as a whole.

Especially in semirural areas, the African working class maintains strong links with tribal groups or village communities, basically for economic reasons: family maintenance, food supplies, the need for part-time agricultural work or reliance on such work as something to fall back on in hard times. The relationship between the working class and the poor peasantry in black Africa is one of the most difficult and exciting topics of discussion and, in my opinion, **the most important with respect to the anti-imperialist and socialist revolution in Africa.**

In this regard, I consider "The Significance of the Working Class in Africa," by V.I. Allen — published some six years ago in the *London Journal of Modern African Studies*⁷ — to be a useful in-depth study that can be critically summed up as follows:

a) The already mentioned **labor shortage** in the production centers to which the colonialist gave priority resulted in an **extensive recruitment network**. This, together with the extraeconomic compulsion of taxes applied everywhere (not just in the production centers), produced a model of labor migration and migratory workers to and from the main centers of production.

b) The owners derived certain advantages from this system: this type of worker was easier to control than the local work force — and, we might note, could be used to compete with it, from a **tribal and class** point of view. Moreover, it was easier to lower the migratory worker's wages. A two-way movement of labor developed and still exists, except in the notable and verifiable sociopolitical case of the copper mining areas of Katanga (Shaba) and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). The extreme of this situation is the turning of such countries as Botswana, Mozambique and Malawi into veritable "labor reserves." (It would be useful to make a comple-

⁷ V. L. Allen, *op. cit.*

mentary study on intertribal solidarity, based on the Lunda-Luba complex, in view of class exploitation by associated monopolists, as a rather sedentary work force in copper and diamonds from a broad area of Central Africa, including parts of northeastern Angola, central and southeastern Zaire and northwestern Zambia.)

c) The workers move back and forth seasonally or for periods of up to five years without breaking their ties with their tribal home; indeed, they preserve these ties as security against the risks of wage labor.

d) As a result, most wage earners have continued to be small farmers, as well. **Thus, the relations between African workers and peasants are perhaps closer than in other parts of the underdeveloped world — and not only for tribal reasons but also because of the unique class structure that colonial capitalism has had to create.** Allen goes on to say that individual wage earners have very little control over wage scales and are often fired when the boss decides to replace them with machines. The small farmers also lack control over the price of their products, which are often pushed out of the market by the discovery of alternate supply sources or synthetics. All these factors bring them still closer together.

e) Within the context of capitalist pressures, both wage earners and small farmers experience ups and downs in their standard of living, employment and the intensity of the work. Their situations naturally influence each other: a drop in the workers' standard of living or a rise in unemployment may lead to a return to farm production, while a drop in the standard of living among the peasantry tends to increase the numbers of migratory wage earners.

Because both of these social factors are open to the arbitrariness of capitalism (though in different ways) and are, therefore, in opposition to the capitalist ruling class, one can conclude that, whether or not these similarities turn both wage earners and small farmers into "a single economic class," as Allen contends, at least **they make the worker-peasant alliance almost inevitable.**

As the author points out, similar replies to capitalist (usually foreign) domination are to be expected from both. The peasants or small farmers can develop a class identity that is not antagonistic to that of the wage earners, but — contrary to Allen's conclusion, which may simply reflect his overenthusiasm for the possibilities of common or collective action — they are not the same.

The author does acknowledge that "Recognition of a common class identity [that of the exploited] implies a process of politization that advances in response to the intensity of the contradictions in a given situation," and he adds that proof of this already exists in the national liberation struggles. While this is true, we should guard against exaggerated optimism and ask ourselves the following genuine, real, objective questions:

Is the worker-peasant collective action or alliance easy to achieve at the level of semiproletarianization?

Is the worker-peasant collective action or alliance easy to achieve at the level of semidetribalization?

While it is true that the migratory nature is simply an influential factor, while the sale of labor is the **determining** one, that influence varies with the different superstructural conditions of wage earners and peasants — although it would be wrong to exaggerate the breach that exists.

Basing himself on observations made by the British author Jack Woddis,⁸ Allen winds up in a more realistic position. Woddis considers the migratory worker to be a migratory peasant as well and, hence, concludes that the African worker-peasant, with his knowledge of both worlds, is capable of bringing to the countryside the spirit and political consciousness that has arisen among the peoples. Now it is Allen who warns of the danger of superficiality but, nevertheless, takes a position based on populism: "This statement exaggerates the politicizing potentialities of urban life and **underestimates those of peasant life,**" and he suggests that the peasants can respond through emulation.

In the end, Woddis — with Allen concurring — comes out for what I consider is **sociopolitically possible and essential: the favorable conditions for a worker-peasant alliance.** Amílcar Cabral pointed this out, saying, "We observe that our peasants are guided by a large majority of cadres who have ties with the urban wage earners."⁹

f) Although wage labor, farm production and trade are different economic categories, as Allen recognizes, he often finds it difficult to clearly place people in one category or another in tropical Africa because "Many — the same people — may fall into more than one category." This is a key factor, the result of the low level of specialization, in a situation that barely reaches the subsistence level.

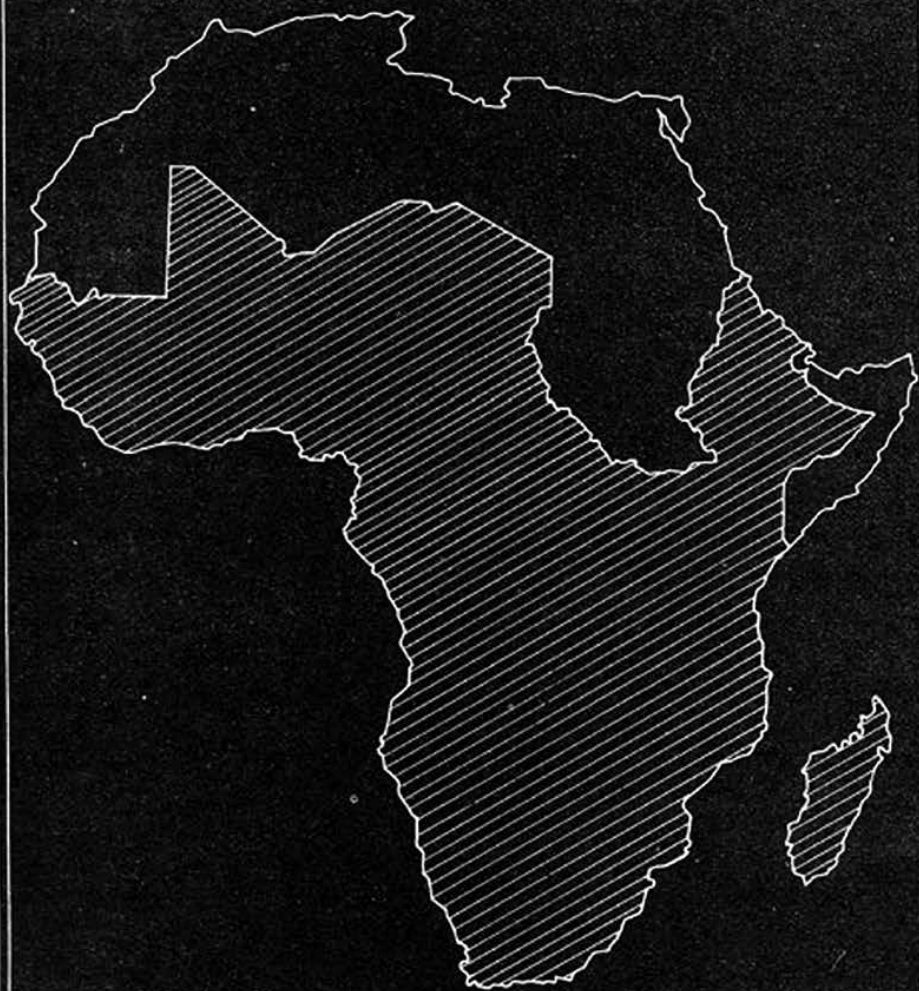
This lack of economic specificity is what traditional US and other empirical studies of Africanism would have us accept as "social mobility" when it isn't at all a question of "You, too, [and anybody else] can have a Buick" in black African society but rather concerns the fact that extreme poverty can only offer defective social sectors and groups within a common status of subordination. It is extreme poverty that also makes it difficult to set the limits between the lumpen proletariat and the working class, limits that appear clear only in terms of the former's nonparticipation in the organized action of exploited groups or in subsistence production on a family basis.

g) At the end of his work, Allen insists that, because of their objectively equal economic positions, all the sectors heretofore mentioned

⁸ Jack Woddis, *Africa: The Roots of Revolt*, London, 1960.

⁹ Quoted by Romano Ledda.

BLACK AFRICA



are members of the African working class, thus abusing what V. Vasiliev, of the USSR, prefers to call the "critical mass of the class." In any case, Allen finds a good formulation for what we have already analyzed broadly and deeply, especially in Maidanik — namely, the fact that this very unique situation arises more from the "satellite relations" between what are fundamentally subsistence societies and the industrially developed countries "than from one specific form of relations at the place or point of production."

In my judgment, this point leads to the "rediscovery" of a basic truth of undeniable social and political significance: these people and sectors are exploited by the system — and, therefore by the system's big bourgeoisie, which is foreign. It should be remembered that the African working class appeared before the African bourgeoisie, chronologically speaking; that, before the African bourgeoisie existed, there was already another European bourgeoisie, which, for economic necessities, required a proletariat in Africa — one that could only be African — and had no need of an African bourgeoisie (at least from the end of the 19th century up to World War II). **The African bourgeoisie arose after the African proletariat — and like it, under the European bourgeoisie.**

This is all very well known, yet sometimes we forget that, precisely because of these origins, **the African proletariat has had a European bourgeoisie in the sense of the original class contradiction, as well as the basic one, almost up to the present.** This fact would seem to be equivalent to the national problem or contradiction, yet I would venture to suggest that it be viewed, for a moment, from the angle of the internal class struggle rather than from that of the struggle for national independence. In this way, I think the problem can be seen differently.

Therefore, the proletariat's attitude toward the local bourgeoisie is not so much a fatal consequence of its low level of consciousness as it is of the lack of an **open** confrontation with that African bourgeoisie until two decades ago — and even then the African bourgeoisie acted not as the historic replacement of the other but rather as its mediator and subordinate.

Up until 20 years ago, history generally presented separate, **isolated** confrontations between the foreign bourgeoisie, the local bourgeoisie and "aspirants" to the latter, on the one hand, and the foreign bourgeoisie and the proletarian, semiproletarian and lumpen proletarian masses, on the other. History shows isolation rather than contradiction — isolation that erupted on the basis of tribal solidarity in many cases. It is worth noting this — not in order to defend national destiny at all costs and against all historic tests, as the local bourgeoisie tries to do, but rather to find the real basis for the extremely contradictory relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat of black Africa.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that, aside from its parasitical and sell-out nature in ethical political terms, the local bourgeoisie includes different levels of maneuverability in relation to the foreign monopolies — which don't follow a single line, either.

Returning to the level of possible alliances for the revolution, or at least the most significant and promising ones, and trying to unravel this problem, I would like to conclude with a proposal that refers directly to what I have described as a semiproletarian situation — which is, of course, the counterpart of a semibourgeois situation. In each specific situation, it is imperative to know the degree of **integration and stability** of the people who fall within a specific socioeconomic sector or group, their particular position in the “urban proletariat and the rural peasantry” and — to move into the final section of this article — the form of social consciousness that predominates in the urban class and rural tribal areas.

3. Decolonized Africa is a multitude of small — and, in some cases, large — polyethnic states that should be considered as potential national states. The concepts of “independent state” and “national state” do not coincide, but this interesting process, the inverse of what took place in national states in Europe, should not surprise us if we give due weight to the difference between metropolitan and peripheral capitalism.

Another result of this is the continuation of tribal conflicts, or the degeneration of interethnic or intertribal relations, in almost all these states; the proliferation of border incidents between them; certain levels of cultural-linguistic alienation; and other problems.

Hungarian economist and Africanist Tamas Szentes has raised an essential question concerning social structure in the countries of black Africa, which I have mentioned a number of times here: **that of the interaction between the class structure and the different ethnic and tribal groups.** On the basis of that interaction, it is not surprising to find that what was a more or less collective exploitation through conquest of one ethnic group by another in sub-Saharan Africa was crossed with differentiating class factors under colonial capitalism and **developed into a relative coincidence between class and ethnic exploitation and, consequently, between the exploited class and the tribes conquered before colonialism.**

It has already been pointed out that various traditional communities had more or less clear lines of social differentiation before colonization and that sometimes these lines were reinforced by ethnic and religious distinctions. Leaders and officials of the precolonial states acquired social status from their membership in a particular ethnic group, from their position in a specific lineage or by virtue of their ritualistic attributes. This, incidentally, raises serious doubts about the “absolute” African communalism and “evident ontology” that allegedly serves to legitimize the model of “African socialism” proposed by almost all the triumphant nationalisms in the '50s and '60s.

It was not by chance that this type of nationalism enjoyed the academic approval of those historians, sociologists and ethnologists for whom Africa was and is “a collection of culturally different and mutually irreconcilable tribes constantly at war.” Just as, for certain dogmatic interpreters of reality, the only possible Africa was that of social classes, so, for them, nothing existed outside of the tribal. They naturally created a “cultural pluralism” which emphasized the endemic conflicts present

in a "plural society" in which different groups remain forever above or outside the inevitable crucible.

The class struggle is obviously different from the ethnic conflict but is linked to it. The class struggle can exist coextensive with, in addition to or in contradiction with the relations among different ethnic groups. Only a specific study of the relations of production in a given social situation can provide concrete answers to questions of order or socio-political intent.

Before going on to an analysis of certain specialized materials, we should point out that, although tribal explanations are often used deliberately to disguise class conflict, it is just as necessary to admit that a certain autonomy exists in the ethnic-tribal element.

A great deal of Marxist and other literature influenced by Marxist-Leninist concepts has appeared in recent years, dealing with this problem.

In Africa, class, ethnic and power relations are closely linked and can only be treated separately for purposes of analytical distinction. Class and ethnic relations have a mutual and separate effect on the position, distribution and maintenance of power in black Africa. It's high time to throw out the terminology and content of theories that study ethnic-tribal and class features in black Africa at "two completely different levels," which such theoreticians refer to as "horizontal" and "vertical" differentiation.

In a work published in 1972, British Africanist Robin Cohen¹⁰ points out the following variables in determining differences among ethnic groups within a certain colonial or neocolonial territory: the size of the population; its natural resources; the extent of the division of labor in each group of agricultural production, crafts industry or trade — **whether or not relations of domination-subordination result from precolonial conquest or the unequal division of labor**, in which one specific ethnic group holds a monopoly on a technical or commercial specialization — and **different forms of recruitment of the colonial population for certain occupations by the colonialist administration and monopolies**, often the result of stereotypes that assume that one ethnic group or another has a special ability for a certain kind of work.

Naturally, there are also lesser variables, such as the geographic coincidence of a group or groups with the areas that the Europeans penetrated and occupied (the coastal regions, for example).

The system of categories or positions of the ethnic or tribal groups in the political arena of a colony had repercussions and was partially the result of the distribution of political power.

The struggle among these groups would then have been a struggle by those on top to hold on to the best position and by those less favored to displace them. There are many African examples to show that possession of or ascent to political power — meaning participating in the colonial

¹⁰ Robin Cohen, "Class in Africa: Analytical Problems and Perspectives," *The Socialist Register*, London, 1972.

administration or the independent government — could override those precolonial factors that had determined a particular system of categories among the ethnic groups.

Nevertheless, as Cohen notes, the description of the interethnic conflict should not be oversimplified. The relation between the leader and his "clients" in the group was increasingly influenced by the class factor, which the people tended to interpret in order to stabilize, destabilize or break the client relations established on an ethnic-tribal basis. Thus, the awareness of ethnic-tribal identity within the same group has varied among the different components of that group.

Outside factors still carry great weight in this process, and here I am referring to the colonial power and decolonization, to the monopoly groups and other powers with some strategic or economic interest in the country in question. Such factors deliberately favored one ethnic group or another with the hope that it would act with total submission. One of Cohen's important conclusions is his emphasis on the specific role that imperialist political factors have played, along with economic relations, in the control of or access to domestic sources of power and on the fact that the structure inherited from the traditional or sanctified authority **defined the nature and social character of the ruling classes internally, or nationally.**

In short, it is a question of the importance of the political factor in class differentiation within a colonial and then (almost always) neocolonial society. This brings us closer to, though not exactly in line with, Cohen's statement concerning "the political nature characteristic of the process of social differentiation" in black Africa. Unlike classical capitalism, wealth or social standing does not usually arise from the attainment of power in the colony. Power and social standing are not isochronous. Wealth very often accrues or increases when power is attained.

This politization of class relations depends on the virtual absence of relations of ownership and the existence of an impoverished material base in black Africa, and also on the obvious strength of extraeconomic factors in a context of direct political domination or classical colonialism — a force or control determined, in the end, by the economic situation within the class structure of a dependent society. In such cases, real political power (the colonialist or neocolonialist metropolis) and formal political power (the colonial or independent state) receive all the support and influence of the existing political ideology. Let us remember, with Glezerman,¹¹ that, "In capitalism, political and legal ideology come to the fore." If they are used to protect the bourgeoisie's economic domination in the metropolis, their hypertrofied use in the colony or neocolony is even more justified.

Cohen consistently enumerates certain variables that influence the class structure and its internal relations in contexts of this nature: a) possession of legitimized means of violence and coercion; b) possession of inherited legitimacy — precolonial or traditional — and of sufficient

¹¹ Glezerman, *Problemas fundamentales del materialismo histórico* (Basic Problems of Historical Materialism), Cuban Book Institute, Havana, 1974.

political credibility to deal with foreign colonialist factors; c) the holding of "governing manipulative skills," such as education and experience; d) the possession of illegitimate means of violence, such as the ability to incite and/or manipulate mutinies and to destabilize or change the order of civilian society by means of strikes, etc.; and e) access to relations with groups that have a command of a, b, c and d. To this should be added family, religious, tribal, clan and similar relations.

In the formative process of the African working class, class identity is measured by recognition of its traditional (tribal) obligations, ethnic loyalty or loyalty to the political clan system, all of which delay class formation. The history of strikes and the formation of trade unions in colonial and neocolonial black Africa nevertheless demonstrates that this mass is capable of initiating class action under certain circumstances, going beyond its ethnic-tribal conditioning.

In summary, we would say, with Cohen, that

- a) ethnic and class hierarchy may coincide in certain situations;
- b) in others, ethnic identity predominates; this usually happens in the lowest sector of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, in the pro-bourgeois bureaucracy and — we might add — among the semiproletariat, as well;
- c) in still others, as is generally the case in the multiethnic sectors of the high-level bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the industrial working class, a class identity already prevails; and
- d) in most cases, the conflict between belonging to a class and belonging to an ethnic group is not solved and can follow any direction, depending on political and social circumstances. This situation is explained by national, ideological, institutional, economic and occupational limitations — the open expression of an ethnic consciousness, on the one hand, and the incomplete and uneven nature of development of class consciousness, on the other.

Once again, this shows the need for detailed information, to try to establish the particular "blend" in any situation.

As Cohen himself noted, this doesn't take into account the fact that all these observations refer, in particular, to the state as a terrain of struggle in which ethnic and class groups are differentiated from one another with respect to their positions of domination or subordination, the nature of the class structure within each ethnic group and the inter-ethnic hostility of each class.

In conclusion

Naturally, I'm not going to sum up all these notes in a forced effort to draw final conclusions. The whole point has been to use, to the greatest extent possible, recent knowledge and resources, such as the fresh and notable work of various Africanist institutions in the Soviet Union, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and other developed socialist countries, to raise questions and refrain from schematic conclusions.

With the kind "mediation" of other authors, I have argued that class concepts and class consciousness appear actively in Africa only under certain circumstances and conditions — not because black Africa is a "classless continent" but because, although the extent of social differentiation was already present in one form or another in many traditional societies, it was inevitably modified in many complex forms by imperialist domination.

Although we recognize the incomplete and embryonic nature of class formation and development in Africa and the exceptional nature of an open class action, we should keep the existence of these actions and, above all, their political meaning well in mind. It is often possible to detect that the real nature of interethnic conflicts depends on socioeconomic differences or is intimately tied to material life.

Moving to another level, the question arises of what a revolutionary process really means in black Africa, what forms of accumulation and development would be used in developing socialism, what groups could really act as the motor force of this struggle and what types of political tools they should forge. Much has already been written in an effort to reveal and solve the many difficulties that have existed for so long.

Thus, for example, an industrial working class whose social conditions, weight in production and level of consciousness were insufficient to make it a revolutionary or vanguard party should have sought the decisive support of the peasantry and the petite bourgeoisie.

This is not the time for a theoretical discussion of whether the preceding statement is correct and viable or not. Even with the best of intentions, it would mean incurring the risk of further obscuring matters. Moreover, we are fortunate to be writing this in the summer of 1978, after the events in Angola and Ethiopia, and can venture the opinion that any class combination for establishing a vanguard will emerge from the specific circumstances, which it would be difficult to generalize. To repeat what is already a common note here: **these particular circumstances require a specific study, totally free of prejudice and pressure, except for that sole pressure that justifies all study and action: the pressing need to finally be free of colonial and/or neocolonial imperialism.**

The specific study of various realities — and, especially, the solution begun in a few important cases — leads us to the following hypothesis:

Whatever the particular class combination for national and social liberation may be, a revolutionary consciousness and a fighting political movement are essential. ■



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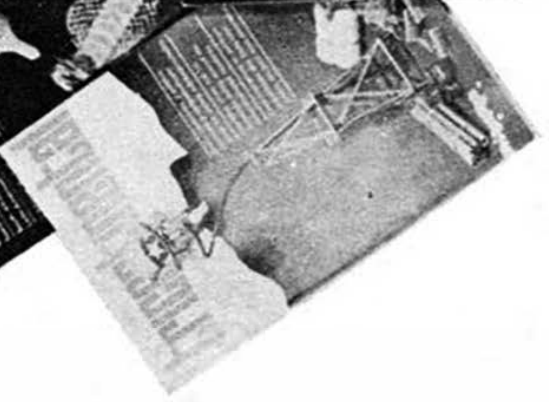
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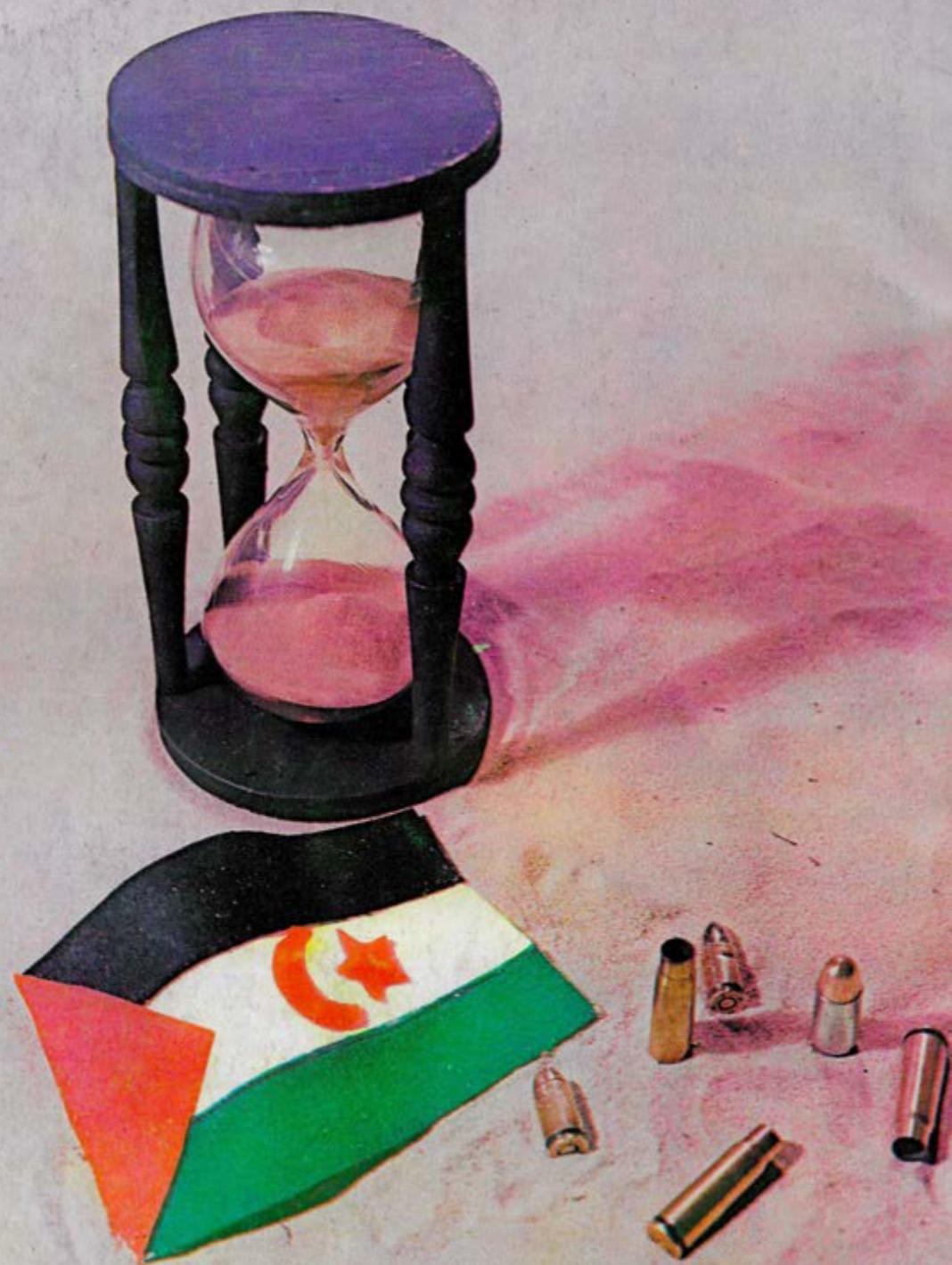
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