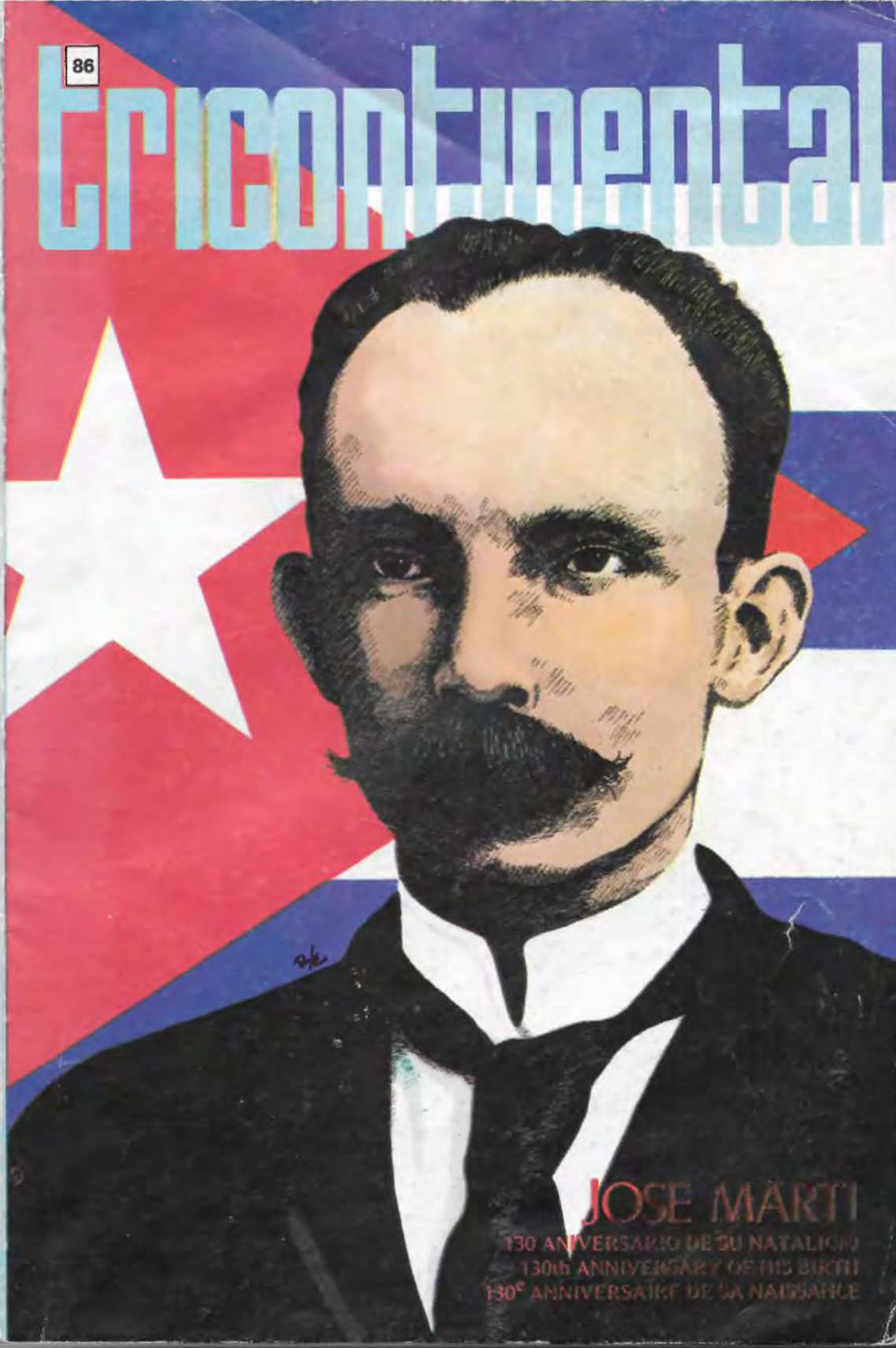
86

tricontinental

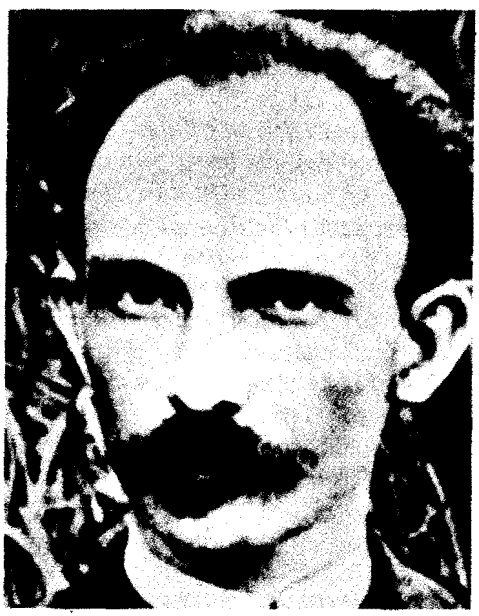




CENTROAMERICA EN LA MIRILLA IMPERIALISTA

L'AMÉRIQUE CENTRALE DANS LE COLLIMATEUR DE L'IMPÉRIALISME

CENTRAL AMERICA IN THE SIGHTS OF IMPERIALISM



TO THE READER

I have lived: to duty I pledged my arms
And never once did the Sun come o'er the hills
Without my battle and my victory witnessing...

We open our pages with the verses of Martí, and with this issue we close a stage, because in the next edition our magazine will have a new format. In saying goodby to our present format, we feel a tinge of sadness,

TRICONTINENTAL

Theoretical organ of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

No. 86 **BIMONTHLY 2-83**

Editorial Offices, Apartado 4224, Ciudad de La Habana, Cuba.
Published in Spanish, English, and French.
Printed in the Osvaldo Sánchez Printing Plant, Havana.









since more then 15 years of editorial work are enclosed in the issues that already comprise a collection. But no one can stop the progress toward better communication, and so with some trepidation we begin again with a new layout. And we close this stage with a small sample of the great work of José Martí, the Cuban national hero, on the 130th anniversary of his birth. That great revolutionary intellectual dedicated his word, his action and his life to Cuba's independence, with the clear vision that this would be an inseparable part of the independence of the Americas.

Continuing with the theme of the Americas, we bring you articles on the burning conflict in Central America and the dramatic situation of the people of Haiti.

Other interesting themes you will find in this issue include the problems of peace in Asia and the world, the links between Israel and South Africa, a socio-historical view of Beirut, and an analysis of the exportation of capital by the transnational monopolies.

Tricontinental *is renovating itself; our desire to better express the interest and objectives of the three continents grows ever stronger, and we will never stop seeking better ways to fulfill this desire, because like Martí we have pledged our arms to duty — in our case, the arms that lead to a better understanding between the people of the world, to happines, peace and life.*

CONTENTS

1	TO THE READER
●	LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN
4	José Martí: Cuban National Hero
6	Martí: Synthesis of his Life Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring
20	Monetary Conference of the American Republics José Martí *
23	My race *
26	Mother America *
35	Free Verses *
36	Simple Verses *
38	The Malvinas: What Happened? What's Next?
50	Haiti: From United States Military Occupation to the Economy of the Transnationals Mirta Fernández Martínez and Claude Hackin Grossjean
67	Central America in the Sights of Imperialism Mayra Góngora
●	ASIA
80	An Initiative for Peace and Security in Asia Gombosurenguin Dashdavaa
●	AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST
86	Israel-South Africa: The Unholy Alliance Alex La Guma
92	Beirut: Embodiment of the Lebanese Crisis Ismail Hussein Ibrahim
●	AN OVERVIEW
101	Capital Export and Transnational Monopolies Eugenio Espinosa
115	TRICONTINENTAL ON THE MARCH



JOSE MARTI: THE CUBAN NATIONAL HERO

The name José Martí is inscribed in Cuba's and America's Hall of Fame, alongside the names of the great liberators Bolívar, Sucre and San Martín.

Martí's ideas reveal the historical period in which he lived, and serve as a guide for anti-imperialist action of the peoples of our continent.

A man of action as well as a writer, he directed all his efforts at freeing Cuba and America from the Spanish colonial yoke.

In 1885 Martí, with singular vision, already had a premonition of the imperialist menace that hovered over America, and on May 18 he wrote to his great Mexican friend Manuel Mercado, in a letter that was left unfinished because of his death in battle:

"Every day I am in danger of giving my life for my country and my duty — for I understand that duty and have the courage to carry it out — the duty of preventing the United States from expanding into the Antilles as Cuba gains its independence, and from overpowering with that additional strength our lands of America. All I have done so far, and all I will do, is for this purpose."

Despite his death, Martí's example remained alive in the combatants, who were finally able to throw out the colonial conquistador. This force continued to guide all those who later had to struggle against foreign domination and reactionary governments.

One hundred years after his birth — July 26, 1953 — a group of young people who called themselves the Centenial Generation organized the attack on the Moncada Fortress to begin the now-triumphant Cuban Revolution. At the head of these youths was Fidel Castro, who stated in his historic declaration before the dictatorship's tribunal that was judging him for his heroic action:

"In the same way, they prevented me from receiving the books of Martí; it seemed that the prison censorship considered it too subversive. Or was it because I said that Martí was the guiding spirit of the 26th of July? Reference books on any other subject were also denied me during this trial. But it makes no difference! I carry the teachings of the Master in my heart, and in my mind the noble ideas of all those who have defended people's freedom everywhere."

By publishing a small sample of his rich literary work, which was closely bound to his revolutionary tasks, Tricontinental *pays tribute to the 130th anniversary of the birth of José Martí, the Cuban national hero who belongs to a whole continent and to the future.*



MARTI: SYNTHESIS OF HIS LIFE

EMILIO ROIG DE LEUCHSENRING

This biography has been put together using as a principal source the work of Cuban historian Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, in recognition of his meritorious work as one of the most important scholars and researchers of Martí. To this we have added data from recent investigations by those who have continued the work begun by this unforgettable historian.

THE dawn of 1953 found the Isle of Cuba subjected to the bloody despotism of the Spanish colonial regime. For thirty years it had been suffering under the unchecked military rule of the Captain-Generals Vives, Tacón, O'Donnell and Concha. The white creoles were enslaved as well as the blacks, deprived of any kind of political and civil rights and even of humane treatment. The Cuban population was submerged in the most terrible spiritual decay. Except through individual initiative, education and cultural opportunities were totally lacking. Persecution, prison, exile, executions and assassination followed one upon another as a daily occurence, in an attempt to block or suffocate the people's protests and rebellions.

José Martí was born on January 28, 1853 at 41 Paula Street (now 314 Leonor Pérez Street), Havana, in a time marked by rebellion against the despotic metropolis and the irrepressible desire for independence and freedom.

His parents were Mariano Martí y Navarro, from Valencia, at that time a first sergeant in the Royal Artillery Corps, and Leonor Pérez y Cabrera, from Santa Cruz de Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands. His paternal grandparents were Vicente Martí and Manuela Navarro; his maternal grandparents were Antonio Pérez and Rita Cabrera. Sisters: Carmen, Antonia, Leo-

nor, Ana, Dolores, Pilar and Amelia. As a child and a man he always showed great love for his parents and sisters.

At ten years old he already knew how to write correctly and had some notions of grammar, arithmetic, geography, history and literature.

In 1866 he was enrolled at the Havana Institute to begin his studies for his high school diploma. The costs of his education were paid by Mendive,* who also arranged his admission into the school. He received outstanding grades and won prizes in various subjects.

On October 10, 1868 the first, magnificent, concrete development of a formal armed separatist movement was initiated. This was to become the first stage of the Thirty Years Liberation War. Martí idealistically joined the new movement. At 16 years of age he began to fight for the independence of his country, inflamed by his own noble sentiments and by the example and teachings he'd received in the Cuban homes of Mendive and Valdés Domínguez,** which for Martí were his real home. As his weapon in launching the first battles of the grandiose work to which he would from then on dedicate his life, Martí chose the newspaper. We can cite as examples of this work his first article, published in the sole edition of *El Diablo Cojuelo* published on January 19, 1869, and the dramatic poem *Abdala*, published in *La Patria Libre*.



Martí as a child.

Martí was arrested and charged with "insulting the Engineering Squadron of the First Volunteer Batallion of Light Infantry, and suspicion of infidelity." The basis for these charges was a letter signed by Martí and Valdés Domínguez, found in Valdés Domínguez' house by some members of the volunteer corps, in which they accused a fellow student of betraying his country by joining the Spanish loyalist volunteers.

Courageously confronting the official representatives of the despotic colonial regime, Martí assumed all responsibility for the charges of rebellion made against him and Valdés Domínguez. Making what was his first patriotic speech to the court, he became the accuser of the military judges instead of the accused. The result was a

* Rafael María de Mendive (1821-1886), Martí's teacher and patron. A Cuban poet and journalist, he founded the newspaper *El Artista* (The Artist) (1848) and *Revista de La Havana* (Havana Magazine) (1853). He was imprisoned and exiled to Spain because of the 1868 insurrection.

** Fermín Valdés Domínguez (1852-1910), Martí's intimate friend, spent time with Martí in the colonial prison, both accused of conspiracy. Valdés Domínguez fought in the 1895 War of Independence, reaching the rank of colonel.



At 16 Martí began to fight for his country's independence.



Shackle that was put on Martí when he entered prison, sentenced to six years at forced labor.

sentence of six years at hard labor. He began his sentence in Havana Penitentiary until the end of August, 1870, when he was moved to the jail, then to the La Cabaña Fortress. He was later returned to the jail and from there interred on the Isle of Pines until he was finally deported to Spain on January 15, 1871.

Until the end of 1874 he remained in Spain, mostly living in Madrid and Zaragoza, where he attended the Universities. He successfully completed his final studies in secondary education and simultaneously studied Law and Philosophy and Letters. He graduated with a diploma from the Zaragoza Institute of Secondary Education on June 27, 1874, and on June 30 received his Civil and Canon Law Degree from the University of that city, receiving his Masters Degree in Philosophy and Letters on October 24 of that year.

When he left Spain in December, 1874, he visited Paris. In February, 1875 he arrived in México City, where he worked for the *Revista Universal* (Universal Magazine), and his proverbial *Amor con Amor se Paga* (Love is Repaid with Love) was performed for the first time in the Principal Theatre.

After a quick trip to Havana at the beginning of 1877 he went to Guatemala, where he was named professor of French, English, Italian and German Literature and of History of Philosophy in the University of Guatemala. He published articles in the newspaper *El Progreso*, joined literary societies, and taught literature and composition and discussed oratory at the Normal School.

He went to Mexico to marry a Cuban woman, Carmen Zayas Bazán, on December 20, 1877, return-





Leonor Pérez y Cabrera and Mariano Martí y Navarro, Martí's parents.

ing afterwards to Guatemala to continue teaching at the Normal School. In 1878 his pamphlet on Guatemala was published in Mexico. In August he left Guatemala, giving up his teaching position at the Normal School in an act of solidarity with his compatriot José María Izaguirre, who had been unjustly fired from the administration of the school by its president, Justo Rufino Barrios.

Taking advantage of the Spanish government's general amnesty in article 2 of the Pact of Zanjón, which applied to "anyone who took part, directly or indirectly, in the revolutionary movement," he left the port of Trujillo, Honduras with his wife and headed for Havana. There, on November 12, 1878, she gave birth to their only child.

During the months that he remained in Cuba he divided his activities into three kinds of work: literary, giving conferences or taking part in debates at the lyceums in Regla and Guanabacoa; writing articles for newspapers and magazines; and patriotic and revolutionary activities, playing a major role, along with Juan Gualberto Gómez and other patriots, in the conspiracy which culminated in the "Little War". Headed by General Calixto García, the uprising was put down as soon as it started. Martí launched an intensive patriotic propaganda campaign in the press and from the speakers' platform, where he made fiery speeches. These revolutionary activities led him to be deported once again to Spain on September 25, 1879.

During all the time he was living in Spain, in 1871-74 as well as in 1879 — despite his physical suffering, economic hardship, and studies

during the first period, and attention to his family in the latter period — Martí's major, constant concern was for the well-being of his country, for Cuba's freedom and independence. No matter how much pain and disappointment he suffered, no matter how enormous the difficulties he encountered seemed to be, the setbacks gave him new vigor and infused him with even more enthusiastic determination to continue the struggle for emancipation.

Martí's ideas and feelings led him to preach — and to put into practice during our final struggle for emancipation — a war that was "sincerely noble, free from any unnecessary act of violence against persons or property, and from any show of hatred for the Spaniard."

The exact date when Martí left his second exile in Spain is not known, but he relates in a letter to Miguel Viondi, dated New York, January 8, 1880: "This mania for travelling leads to surprises. On December 18, I met Sara Bernhardt at a party in the Paris Hipodrome." (He wrote an article about this in French, leading one to suppose that he left Spain in the first half of December).

In the same letter he said he arrived in New York on January 3, 1880.

For eleven years, from 1881 to 1982, Martí remained in the United States, dedicating his time almost completely to the great revolutionary task of independence.

His intensive partiotic work didn't keep him from carrying out literary activities. He wrote and published two collections of poetry: *Ismaelillo* in 1982, and *Versos Sencillos* (Simple Verse) in 1891; his novela *Amistad Funesta* (Ill-fated Friendship) came out in 1885. In New York he founded and directed, in 1889, *La Edad de Oro* (The Age of Gold) a monthly recreational and educational magazine dedicated to the children of the Americas, which gave lessons in dignity and good citizenship to those he considered "the hope of the world". He contributed to *La Nación* and *Sudamericano* of Buenos Aires; *La Juventud, El Porvenir, El Avisador Cubano, La América, El Latino Americano, El Economista Americano, La Ofrenda de Oro*... of New York; *La Opinión Pública* of Honduras; *El Partido Liberal* of México; *La Opinión Nacional* of Caracas *La Pluma* of Bogotá...

It is well known that Martí was one of the four founders of modernism on our continent, along with Rubén Darío, Julián del Casal and Gutiérrez Nájera. In the case of Martí, this was completely consistent with his revolutionary political feelings, since as Max Henríquez Ureña points out: "modernism represents a profound spiritual renovation, but, furthermore, in terms of its form, it signifies a tendency toward freedom in art...





The house where José Martí was born in Havana.

In his *Simple Verse* and *Free Verse* one notes the same longing for freedom that led him to die for his country. He broke all the false, rigid barriers of rhetoric and left a verse that poured forth impetuously and naturally."

It should be pointed out that, with the exception of his poetry, all his literary work was undertaken to earn a living; it is therefore surprising to see the astounding abundance and the depth and polish of those works, especially when one takes into account the fact that his principal efforts were directed at achieving the highest political and revolutionary ideas for Cuba and the continent. Despite this, his works fill more than twenty-five volumes, and the search is still going on for his original unedited works and articles published in magazines and newspapers.

Martí's love for Spanish America, which he called "Our America" and "Mother America", overflows irrepressibly in speeches, manifestos, articles, verses and letters. On July 6, 1878 he wrote to Manuel Mercado from Guatemala: "You know my passion for justice, my hatred of infamy and the slightest violation of right, my ardent love for the glory and brilliance of America."

All his thought and feeling about Spanish America are marvelously concrete in his admirable work, *Nuestra América* (Our America) published in the United States and then in Mexico in 1891, in which he presents and studies the problems of the Spanish American countries, points out their causes and offers remedies. He insisted on the necessity of knowing, in order to better govern them, the elements that composed each of our peoples, their natural sources of wealth and production, the character and the material and spiritual needs of their sons and daughters. He advocated that constitutions, laws and systems of government shouldn't be foreign, but rather appropriate for each country, based on native elements and making common cause with the oppressed.

A thousand-and-one times he predicted the union of the Spanish American peoples: "Unity" he said, "is the most important word in the world".

"For the first time it seems like a good idea to me to tie together all the peoples of my America within the same border!... Given that disunity was our death, what vulgar understanding or hard heart needs to be told that our life depends on unity?"

And a year later, in the midst of the Americanist struggle, he proclaimed: "We can no longer be a people of leaves, living in the air, our foliage heavy with blossoms, bursting or fluttering at the whim of the sun's caress, or buffeted and tossed by the storms. The trees

must form ranks so the giant with the seven-league boots shall not pass! It is the time of mobilization, of marching together, and we must go forward in close order, like silver in the veins of the Andes." Martí gave a speech in New York on October 10, 1891, in commemoration of the 1868 uprising in Demajagua led by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, father of the country. With their patriotic fires quickened by this speech, emigré patriots in Tampa invited Martí to speak there. His voice rose on the platform of the Liceo Cubano. He began: "I have within my heart the star and the dove.... I want the first law of our Republic to be the Cuban cult of full dignity for man."

And so began the task of making the revolution. Some resolutions were approved that later formed the basis for the platform of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, the organization that would gather together all Martí's revolutionary campaigns and proposals, and channel them toward the ideal of freedom and independence for the country.

On January 5, 1892 the Platform and Secret Statutes of the Cuban Revolutionary Party were discussed and approved.

On April 10 they were proclaimed by the Cuban and Puerto Rican emigrés. The first article of the Platform declares that the objective of the Party is "to achieve absolute independence for the Island of Cuba, and to aid and encourage that of Puerto Rico, through the combined efforts of all men of good will".

Martí, the creator, organizer, soul and life of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, wanted to free it completely from any personality cult since, as he stated in 1892, "when you form a party free of any personal interest, it is not a party, in truth, that you are forming; it is a people." From then on, he took on its leadership, with complete freedom but at the same time with democratic responsibility.

The Party didn't even have the title of President, but rather of Delegate, with a Treasurer charged with the collection, keeping and disbursement of funds.

Thus Martí was elected Party Delegate.

The newspaper *Patria* (Homeland), whose first edition appeared March 14, was founded as the unofficial voice of the Party.

From September, 1892 until his departure for the field of battle, Martí prodigiously multiplied his revolutionary organizational activities, travelling around to many towns in the United States, visiting Santo Domingo, Haití, Jamaica, Costa Rica, Panama and Mexico, seeking followers for the liberation cause, uniting spirits, dissipating rancor and discord, gaining the participation of the leaders of the "glorious decade". He was able to get them to reach agreements among themselves and with the new liberation patriots in a common plan to overthrow the Spanish dominion and free Cuba by force of arms.

Among his many tasks was collecting the funds indispensable for the acquisition of arms and other war supplies.

On April 1, 1895 Martí wrote a letter to Gonzalo de Quesada that is considered his literary testament, in which he gives his favorite disciple and faithful collaborator some precise recommendations concerning the form and order that should be followed in the publication of his works. Referring to his


PATRIA.

writings on Cuban matters, he stated: "What haven't I written about Cuba? And yet not one page seems to me worthy of her. Only what we are going to do seems worthy to me. But neither will there be found a word without pure idea and the same longing and desire for good.... A man died on the cross one day; but it is necessary to learn to die on the cross every day."

That same day Martí set out from Montecristi heading for Cuba along with Máximo Gómez, Francisco Borrero, Angel Guerra, César Salas and Marcos del Rosario, disembarking at midnight of the eleventh on Cuban territory: Playitas.

After so many years of absence from his native land, in which longing for freedom and for his country's happiness and independence had filled every moment of his life, imagine with what emotion he once again trod on Cuban soil, to personally take an active part in the war which he himself had "evoked"! He tells us in his fiery words: "Happiness was the only feeling we possessed." And shortly afterwards: "My happiness is like sunlight.... Until now I have not felt like a man. My whole life I have lived ashamed, dragging my country's chain. The divine clarity of the soul lightens my body. This peace and well-being explain the certainty and joy with which men offer themselves to be sacrificed.... I feel pure and light and I feel something in me like the peace of a child. Did heaven have balconies, and were my dear ones peering over one of them?"

On the 13th they made contact with the guerrilla column led by Félix Ruenes, and on the next day they joined it. On the 15th, according to his Diary: "At the foot of the hill on a path shaded by banana trees, with the ravine below, Gómez, moved and handsome, tells me that aside from recognizing me as the Delegate, the Liberating Army, through him as its commanding officer elected by a council of commanding officers, appoints me Major-General. I embrace him. All of them embrace me."





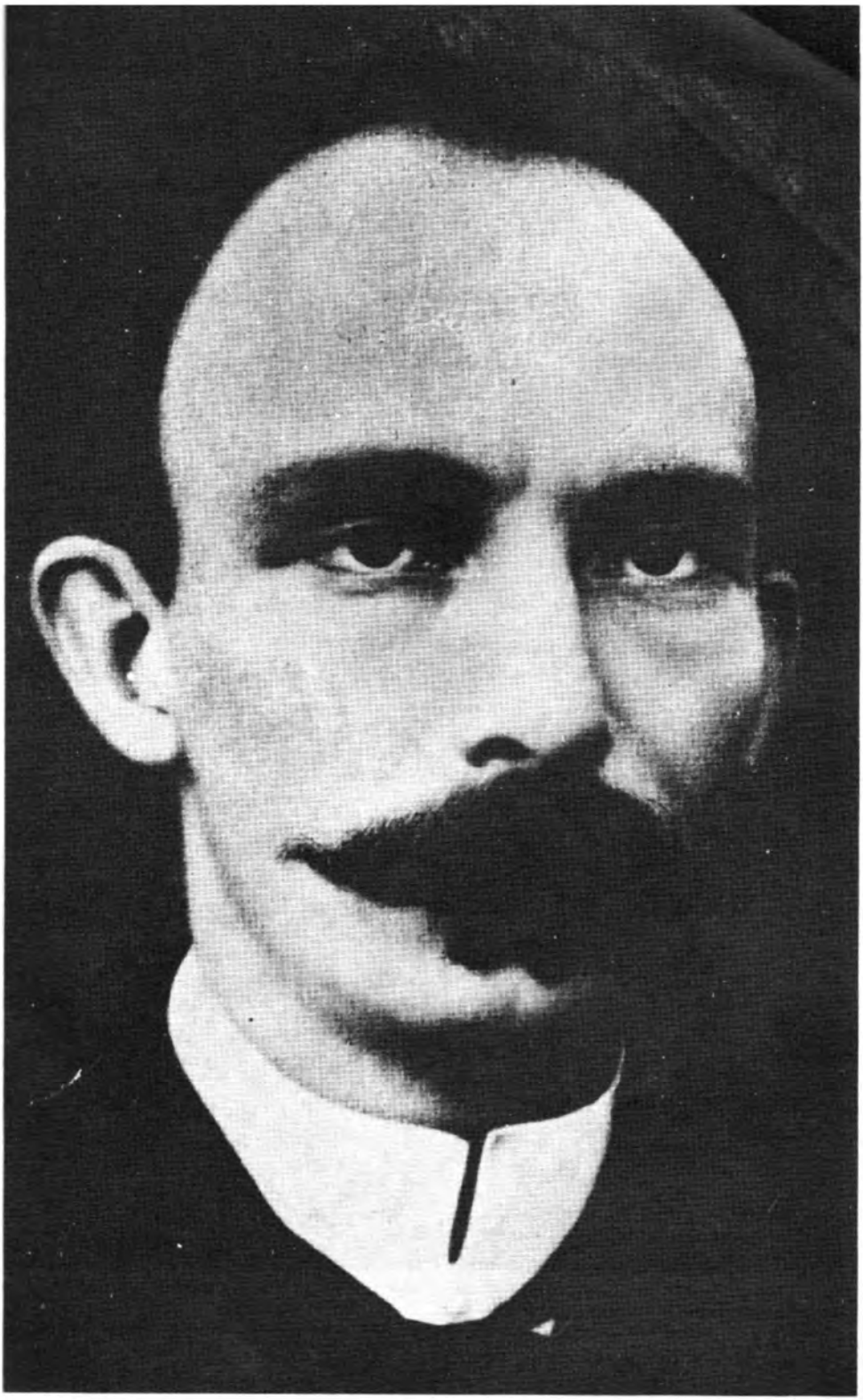
Finally Martí found himself for the first time in a field of battle, in imminent "risk of giving his life" as he himself said. And in one moment the risk became the most tragic reality: the hero became a martyr, before the apostle had turned into a warrior.

The Cubans fought valiantly, led by Gómez himself who, in his Diary, declared: "Never have I found myself in a more dangerous compromising juncture — since in the first attack the enemy vanguard was swept away, but then we weakened and from then on the enemy stood firm with heavy fire; and Martí, who didn't stay at my side, fell wounded or dead in a place where he couldn't be recovered, and remained in enemy hands... When Martí fell he had left me and was alone with a boy who had never fought before, Miguel [Angel] de la Guardia."

Upon the death of such an exceptional human being, the only funeral oration worthy of his genius and his glory are the words that Martí himself left in anticipation, in one of his major speeches:

"I feel a hymn in my soul, so beautiful that it could only be that of death, if it were not that which tells me, with ineffable and delightful beauty, that the time has come for free sacrifice and fertile pain, in which, at the foot of the palm trees that bloom again to provide shade for the heroes, fight, shine, astonish, expire those who believe, by the truth of the heavens descended over their heads, that in the continuous being which peoples the universe in various forms, and in the series of existences and ages, there ascends first to the summit of light, where the whole soul is intoxicated with happiness, he who gives his life for the benefit of mankind."

Today, 130 years after his birth, Martí has reached a more real life in his own country and in his "Mother America" than in the times of the liberation struggles, since his revolutionary predictions are found inscribed on the banners of all those who in our America fight for liberty, democracy, justice, equality and brotherhood. ●

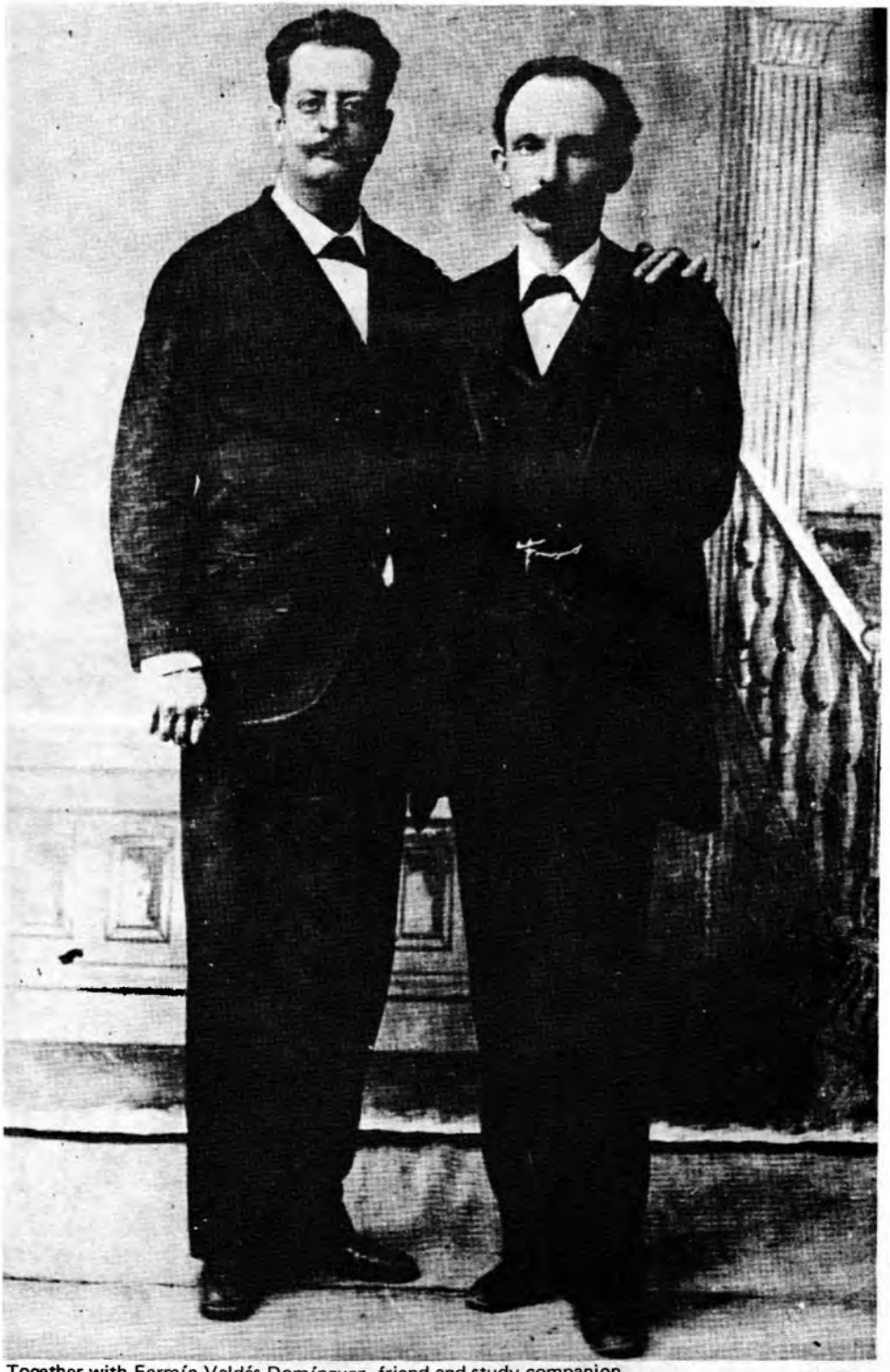




Martí with María Mantilla, José María Sorzano, Pilar Correa and Isabel Mena, all of Santiago de Cuba, attending a baseball game in Bath Beach, Long Island.



Group photographed at the vacation ranch of Mr. Juan Peoli. Together with Martí are Peoli family, Carmen Millares de Mantilla and Daniel Guiteras.



Together with Fermín Valdés Domínguez, friend and study companion.



Martí with his son, José Francisco.
Photo taken in Havana in 1879.



Fragment of a group photo taken in October, 1892, with members of the Council of Kingston, Jamaica during a publicity tour.



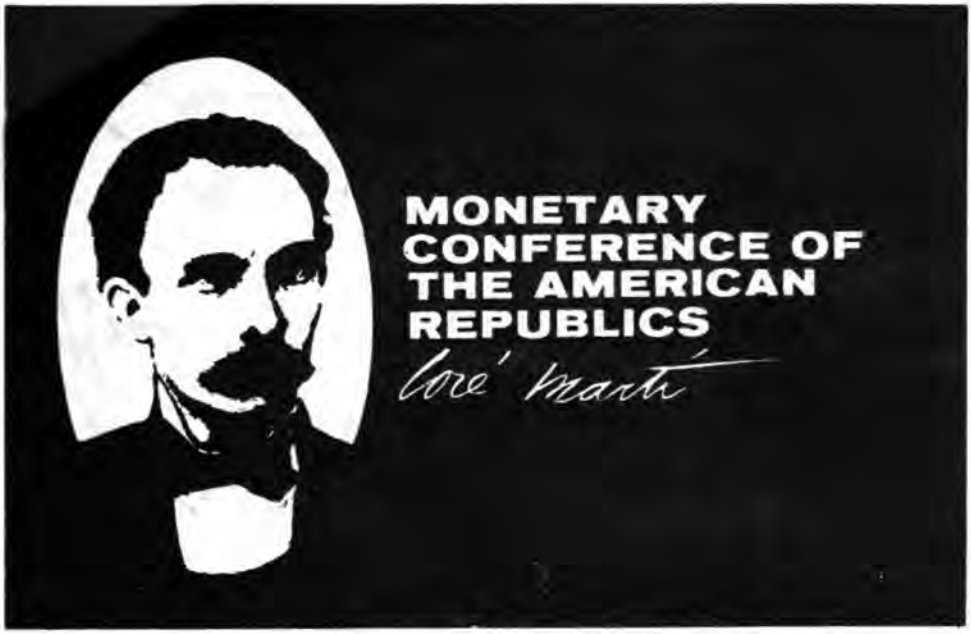
Martí with María Mantilla.



Martí self-portrait



Oil painting by Hernández Giró, capturing Martí talking to the migrant Cuban tobacco workers.



Synopsis of the speech published in *La Revista Ilustrada*, New York, May 1891.

WHAT will come to pass has no bearing on the form of things, but on their spirit. What matters is the real, not the apparent. In politics the real is what cannot be seen. Politics is the art of combining for an increasing inner well-being, a country's diverse or opposing factors, and of saving the country from the open hostility of the covetous friendship of other nations. In every invitation among nations one must look for hidden reasons. No nation does anything contrary to its own interests, from which it can be deduced that what a nation does is to its own advantage. If two nations do not share common interests, they cannot become allies. Should they do so, they would clash. Lesser nations still in the throes of gestation cannot safely join forces with nations seeking help for the excess production of a compact and aggressive population, and seeking an outlet for their own uneasy masses. The political acts of true republics turn out to be composed of such elements as national character, economic needs, party needs, and the needs of the politicians at the helm. When one nation is invited to join another, ignorant and bewildered politicians will be able to do so quickly, young people entranced with beautiful ideas will be able to celebrate the alliance unjudiciously, and venal or demented politicians will be able to receive it as a favor and glorify it with obsequious words. But he who feels in his heart the anguish of his country, he who is foresighted and vigilant, must make inquiries and be capable of telling what elements compose the national character of the host nation and the guest nation, and if they are predisposed to the common effort

because of common antecedents and customs, and whether or not it is probable that the dreaded elements of the host country could develop in the attempted union at some risk to the guest country. He must make inquires into the political forces of the country extending the invitation, the interests of its parties, and the interests of its men at the moment the invitation is extended. Whoever reaches a decision without prior investigation, or desires the union without acquainting himself with it, or recommends it merely because of some enticing phrase and the dazzling impression it makes, or defends it because of his puny provincial soul, will damage America....

They believe in need, in the barbarous right as the only right: "This will be ours because we need it." They believe in the invincible superiority of "the Anglo-Saxon race over the Latin." They believe in the inferiority of the Negroes whom they enslaved yesterday and are criticizing today, and of the Indians whom they are exterminating. They believe that the Spanish-American nations are formed principally of Indians and Negroes. As long as the United States knows no more about Spanish America, and respects it no more, although with the numerous incessant, urgent and wise explanations of our people and resources it could come to respect us — can this country invite Spanish America to an alliance that would be honest and useful to our Spanish American nations?

Whoever says economic union says political union. The nation that buys, commands. The nation that, sells, serves.

Commerce must be balanced to assure freedom. The nation eager



to die sells to a single nation, and the one eager to save itself sells to more than one. A country's excessive influence over the commerce of another becomes political influence.

Politics is the work of men who surrender their feelings to an interest. When a strong nation supplies another with food, the other is made to serve it. When a strong nation wants to engage another in battle, it demands allegiance and service from those nations dependent upon it. The first thing a nation does to gain dominion over another is to separate it from other nations. Let the country desiring freedom be free in business affairs. Let it distribute its commerce among countries as strong as itself. If it must prefer one, let it prefer the one that needs it least and scorns it least. Let there be no alliances against Europe, nor with Europe against an American nation. The geographical fact of living together in America does not oblige political union, except in the mind of some candidate or some college graduate. Business interests follow the slopes of land and water, and stay close on the monarchy or republic. Union with the world, and not with a part of it; not with one part against another. If the family of American Republics has one mission in life, it is not that of having one of them ride roughshod over future republics.

[The delegates at the Monetary Congress] pondered, feared, applied pressure, and ran the great risk of doing what ought not to have been done — the risk of leaving undecided, at the whim of a desperate and unscrupulous foreign policy, and through the complex and delicate nature of relations between the United States and many of the Spanish-American nations, an assembly that could, in the hands of a ruthless candidate, yield to the United States more than would be commensurate with the respect and security of Spanish America.

To appear accommodating to the point of weakness would not be the best way of escaping the dangers to which a reputation for weakness is exposed in trading with a competitive nation overflowing with surplus goods. Wisdom does not lie in corroborating a reputation for weakness, but in using the occasion to show oneself energetic without risk. And in this matter of risk, when one chooses the propitious hour and uses it without restraint, the least dangerous course of action is to be energetic. Who builds nations upon serpents? But if there was a battle; if the zeal for progress in the still unformed republics leads their children, because of a singular deflection of reason or a bitter leavening of servility, to greater trust in the efficacy of progress in nations where they were not born than in nations where they were; if a yearning to see their native land grow leads them to the blindness of hungering for methods and things which in other places are due to factors foreign or hostile to their country, which must grow in accord with its own features and their resultant methods; if the natural caution of nations abound to the environs of North America did not consider advisable what is of greater interest to them than to others around them; if local and respectable prudence, or fear, or personal obligation softened men's characters too much for them to keep Spanish-American independence and creation alive — these things were not apparent in the Monetary Commission, for it agreed to adjourn. ●



Published in the newspaper *Patria* in New York on April 16, 1893.

THIS word "racist" has taken on a confused meaning, and it must be clarified. A man has no particular race; when one says "man", that should include all the rights. A Negro is neither inferior nor superior to another because he is black; the white man carries redundancy too far when he says "my race", and so does the Negro when he makes the same statement. Everything that divides men, everything that separates or herds men together in categories, is a sin against humanity. What sensible white man would think of taking pride in being white, and what must the Negro think of the white man who is proud of being white and feels he has special privileges as a result? What must the white man think of the Negro who takes pride in his color? Always to dwell on the divisions or differences between the races, in people who are sufficiently divided already, is to raise barriers to the attainment of both national and individual well-being, for these two goals are reached by bringing together as closely as possible the various components that form the nation. If the Negro is said to have no aboriginal guilt or virus that incapacitates him for fully developing his human soul, it is the truth and must be so stated and shown, because there is much injustice in this world, and much ignorance that passes for wisdom, and there are still people who believe quite honestly that the Negro is incapable of the courage and intelligence of the white man. And if this defense of Nature is called racism, so be it, because it is only natural and a voice from the heart crying out for the peace and welfare of his country. If it is claimed that the state of slavery in itself does not show inferiority in the enslaved races, since blue-eyed,

blond-haired Gauls were sold as slaves in the Roman marketplace, that is a good form of racism because it stands for justice and helps to rid the ignorant white man of some of his prejudices. But racism ends with Negro's right to maintain and prove that his color does not deprive him of any of the privileges and capabilities of the human species.



Section of a photo taken together with Gonzalo de Quesada in Far Rockaway in 1893.

How can the white racist, who imagines that his race is the more privileged, complain of the Negro racist who regards his race as superior? And the Negro racist who looks upon his race as specially endowed, what right has he to complain of the white racist? The white man, who because of his race considers himself superior to the Negro, admits the idea of racial difference and provokes the Negro racist to take a similar stand. The Negro who proclaims his race, even if it may be his mistaken way of proclaiming the spiritual identity of all races, is justifying and provoking the white racist. Peace demands of Nature the recognition of human rights; discriminatory rights, which are opposed to Nature, are the enemies of peace. The white man who isolates himself isolates the Negro. The Negro who isolates himself provokes the white man to isolation.

In Cuba there is no fear whatever of racial conflict. A man is more than white, black, or mulatto. A Cuban is more than mulatto, black, or white. Dying for Cuba on the battlefield, the souls of both Negroes and white men have risen together. In the daily life of defense, loyalty, brotherhood, and shrewdness, there has always been a Negro standing beside every white man. Negroes as well as white men classify themselves according to their characteristics: bravery or timidity, selfishness or unselfishness. Political parties are aggregates of hopes, concerns, interests, and personal attributes. Essential resemblances in parties are sought and found beneath the superficial differences; the common purpose is the fusion of that which is basic in the analogous characters, even if these may hold differing opinions on incidentals. But all told, the similarities in men's natures are the decisive and dominant factors

when forming parties, and they outweigh the inner frictions between men of varying color and the difficulties that at times result. Affinity of character is more powerful than affinity of color. The Negro, consigned to the unequal or hostile pursuits of the human spirit, could not, nor would he wish to, ally himself against the white man in like position. Negroes are too weary of slavery to voluntarily enter the slavery of color. Conceited and self-seeking men will go to one side, and generous and unselfish men will go to the other, regardless of their color. True men, black or white, will treat each other with loyalty and tenderness for the sake of merit alone, and in the pride of all that honors the land of their birth. The word racist will disappear from the lips of the Negroes who use it today in good faith once they understand that it is the only apparently valid argument that sincere but timid men can offer for denying the Negro his full rights as a man. Negro racists and white racists must share the blame. But many white men have forgotten their color, and so have many Negroes. The two races are working together for the improvement of their minds, the propagation of virtue, and the triumph of creative labor and a spirit of charity.

There will never be a racial war in Cuba. The republic cannot move backward, and ever since that memorable day when the Negro won his redemption in Cuba, ever since the drafting of the first constitution of independence on April 10 in Guáimaro, the republic has not said one word about Negroes or white men. The civil rights conceded by the Spanish government for purely political reasons, and put into general practice before the island's independence came about, can no longer be denied, either by the Spaniard, who will as long as he breathes Cuban air continue dividing the Cuban Negro from the Cuban white man, by independence for us, which could not deny in freedom the rights that the Spaniard conceded in slavery.



Picture that was probably taken of Martí in Washington in 1891. It was published in *Patria* in New York on June 25, 1895 on reporting his death.

And as for the rest, each one will be free in the sanctity of his own household. Merit, the manifest and continuous evidence of culture, and the constant process of trade will eventually unite all men. There is a plentiful supply of greatness in Cuba, in Negroes and white men alike. ●



On December 19, 1889 Martí gave a speech at the celebration honoring the delegates to the Panamerican Congress of Washington. The speech, given at the Hispanic-American Literary Society, was titled "Mother America".
Following, for our readers, is the unedited version of that speech.

Ladies and gentlemen:

Our tremulous and exuberant thoughts, in the short time that discretion demands, are hard pressed to put into words the joy that overflows from our souls on this memorable night. What can the imprisoned son say when he sees his mother again from behind the bars of his cell? Talking is a small thing and almost impossible, more because of its personal and haphazard content and the throng of memories, hopes, and fears than because of the certainty of not being able to give one's utterances worthy expression. For the man who sees himself surrounded by the nations we love with a religious passion, in the person of their illustrious delegates, whatever he could say would be intemperate and chaotic. When he sees how, by secret mandate, men have increased their stature and women their beauty to receive them; when he sees the dark and leaden air enlivened as if with the shadows of eagles about to take flight, of heads passing by and shaking their admonitory crests, of lands imploring, pale and stabbed, without the strength to pull the dagger out of their hearts, his words would be empty phrases. When he sees the shadow of the magnanimous fighter of the North, on the porch at Mount Vernon, give his admiring hand to the volcanic hero of the South, he vainly tries to gather the horde of feelings beating against his breast, like some over-patriotic spirit, and all he finds are discordant strophes and untamed odes with which to celebrate the visit of the absent mother

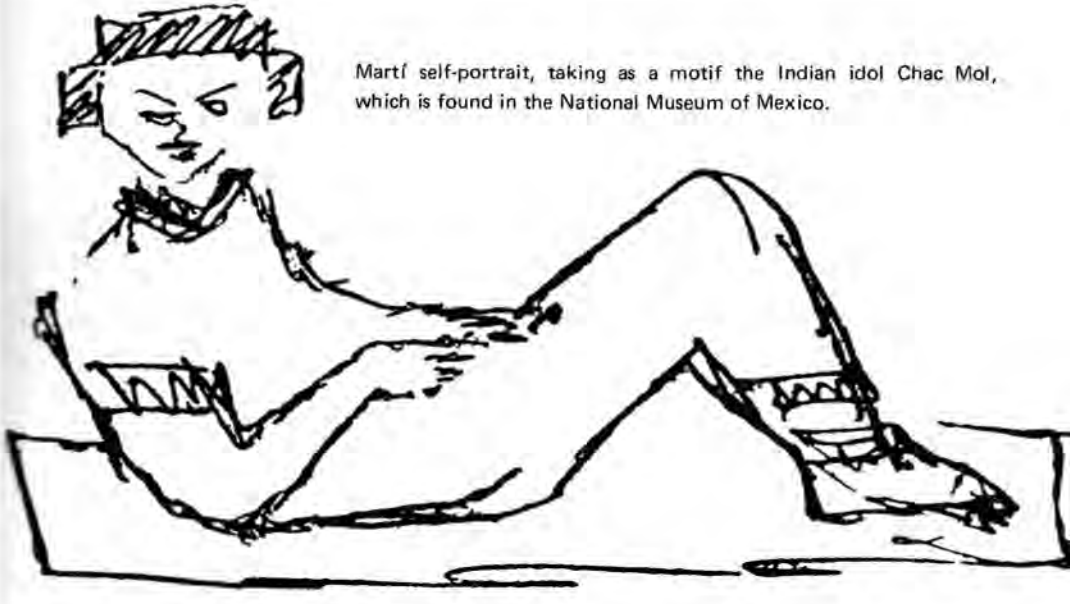
in the house of Our America and tell her, in the name of men and women, that the heart can find no better use than to wholly surrender to the messengers of the American nations. How can we pay our illustrious guests for this hour of joy? Why must we hide with the duplicity of ceremony what we see in these faces? Trim your rhetoric with other vignettes and bells and gold fringe; tonight we have biblical eloquence flowing as restlessly and cheerfully as a brook, from the generosity of the heart. Which of us will deny, on this night when no lies are told, that no matter how many roots our faith or affections or habits or business affairs many have in this land of unrestrained hospitality, no matter how luke-warm the faithless magic of ice may have left our souls, we have felt — ever since learning that these noble guests were coming to see us — as if there more light in our houses, as if we were walking with a livelier step, as if we were younger and more generous, as if our earnings were greater and more certain, and as if in a vase without water there were flowers budding? And if our wives want to tell us the truth, are they not telling us with their loyal eyes that certain fairy feet went through the snow more happily; that something asleep in the heart, in the incomprehension of foreign soil, has suddenly awakened; that a joyful canary has been flying in and out of the windows these days, back and forth incessantly and unmindful of the cold, with ribbons and bows in its beak, because for this celebration of Our America no flower seemed delicate and exquisite enough? All this is true. Some of us have been brought here by misfortune; other by legend; others by commerce; others by the determination to write, in a land that is still not free, the final stanza of the poem of 1810. Others are ordered to live here by a pair of blues eyes, as their acceptable command. But no matter how great is this land, or how anointed the America of Lincoln may be for the free men of America — for us, in our very heart of hearts where nobody dares to challenge or take issue with our secret feelings, the America of Juárez is greater because it has been more unhappy, and because it is ours.

North America appeared in the apostolic days when freedom was at its stormiest. The new breed of light-crowned men were not willing to bow before any other. Impelled by the mind, the yoke of human reason that was vilified in empires created at sword's point, or with diplomacy, by the great power-crazed republic, broke into pieces from everywhere in those nations born of an amalgamation of smaller nations. Modern rights sprang from the small and autochthonous regions that had formed their free character in continuous struggle, and they preferred independent caves to servile prosperity. A king who came told a man who addressed him familiarly and did not remove his hat in his presence to establish the republic. The forty-one souls from the Mayflower together

* When Martí speaks of "Our America", or just "America", he is referring to Latin or Spanish America, as distinguished from the "Other America", the United States (Anglo-Saxon America). The term "North America" also refers specifically to the United States, not including Canada and Mexico unless otherwise noted.

with their women and children, defy the sea and on an oaken table of an anteroom establish their community. They carry loaded muskets to defend their planted fields; the wheat they eat, they plow. A land without tyrants for the soul without tyrants is what they seek. In long jacket and felt hat comes the intolerant and irreproachable Puritan who despises luxury because men lie for it. In waistcoat and knee breeches comes the Quaker, and with the trees he fells he builds schools. Then comes the Catholic, persecuted for his faith, and founds a State where nobody can be persecuted for his faith. The gentleman arrives in fine woolen cloth and plumed hat, and his very habit of commanding slaves gives him the insolence of a king wherewith to defend his freedom. One of them brings in his ship a group of Negroes to sell, or a fanatic who burns witches, or a governor who refuses to listen to anything about schools. The ships bring men of letters and university scholars, Swedish mystics, fervent Germans, French Huguenots, proud Scotsmen, thrifty Batavians. They bring plows, seeds, bolts of cloth, harps, psalms, books. The settlers live in houses built with their own hands, masters and servants of themselves. And as a recompense for the tiring task of contending with Nature, the brave colonist found satisfaction in seeing the old woman of the house, in hairnet and apron, come with blessing in her eyes and a tray of homemade sweets in her hand while one daughter opens a hymnal and another plays a prelude on the zither or the clavichord. School was taught by rote and with the lash, but going to it through the snow was the best kind of schooling. And when couples trudged along the road, faces to the wind — the men in leather jackets and carrying shotguns, the women in heavy flannels and carrying prayer books — they were usually bound for church to hear the new minister who refused to give the governor power in the personal aspects of religion, or they were on their way to elect their judges or call them to account. No unscrupulous breed of men came from outside. Authority belonged to all, and was given to whomever they desired. They elected their own magistrates and governors. If the governor was unwilling to convoke the council, the "free men" did so over his head. The taciturn adventurer there hunted both men and wolves in the woods, and could sleep well only if he found a recently fallen tree trunk or a dead Indian for a pillow. And in the manorial mansions of the South, all was minuet and candlelight, and choruses of Negroes to greet their master as his coach drew up to the door, and silver goblets for the fine Madeira wine. But nothing in life was not food for freedom in the republican colonies that received certificates of independence from the king rather than royal charters. And when the Englishman, for granting them that independence in the capacity of master, levied a tribute which they resented, the glove that the colonies threw in his face was the selfsame one that Englishman himself had put upon their hands. They led a horse to their hero's door. The nation that was later to refuse to help, accepted help. Triumphant freedom is like this: manorial and sectarian, with lace cuffs and velvet canopy, more a matter of location than of human weakness, a selfish and unjust freedom teetering upon the shoulders of an enslaved race of men who before a century had passed hurled the litters to the ground with a crash. And

as in hand, out of the tumult and thus raised by the falling chains of a million emancipated men, emerged the woodcutter with the merciful eyes! Over the crumbling foundations of the stupendous convulsion rode Victory proud and covetous. The factors that set the nation upon its feet appeared again accentuated by war, and beside the body of the gentleman, dead among his slaves, were the Pilgrim (who refused to tolerate a master above him or a servant below him, or any conquests other than those made by the grain of wheat in the earth and by love in the heart) and the shrewd and grasping adventurer (born to acquire and to move foward in the forests, governed only by his own desires and limited only by the reach of his arm, a solitary and dreaded companion of leopards and eagles) both Pilgrim and adventurer fighting for supremacy in the republic and in the world.



Martí self-portrait, taking as a motif the Indian idol Chac Mol, which is found in the National Museum of Mexico.

And how can one fail to remember, for the glory of those who have known how to conquer, in spite of them, the confused and bloodsoaked origins of Our America, although the faithful memory (more necessary now than ever) may be stained with untimely senility by the one whom the light of our glory — the glory of our independence — had hindered in the work of compromising or demeaning that America of ours? North America was born of the plow, Spanish America of the bulldog. A fanatical war took from the poetry of his aerial palaces the Moor weakened by his riches; and the remaining soldiers, reared to heresy on hate and sour wine and equipped with suits of armor and arquebuses, rushed upon the Indian protected by his breastplate of cotton. Ships arrived loaded with cavaliers in their half-cuirasses, disinherited second sons, rebellious lieutenants, hungry clergymen, and university students. They

brought muskets, shields lances, thighguards, helmets, backplates, and dogs. They wielded their swords to the four winds, took possesion of the land in the name of the King, and plundered the temples of their gold. Cortés lured Montezuma into the palace he owed to the latter's wisdom or generosity, then held him prisoner there. The simple Anacaona invited Ovando to one of ther festivities to show him her country's gardens, its joyful dances, and its virgins, whereupon Ovando's soldiers pulled their swords from beneath their disguises and seized Anacaona's land.

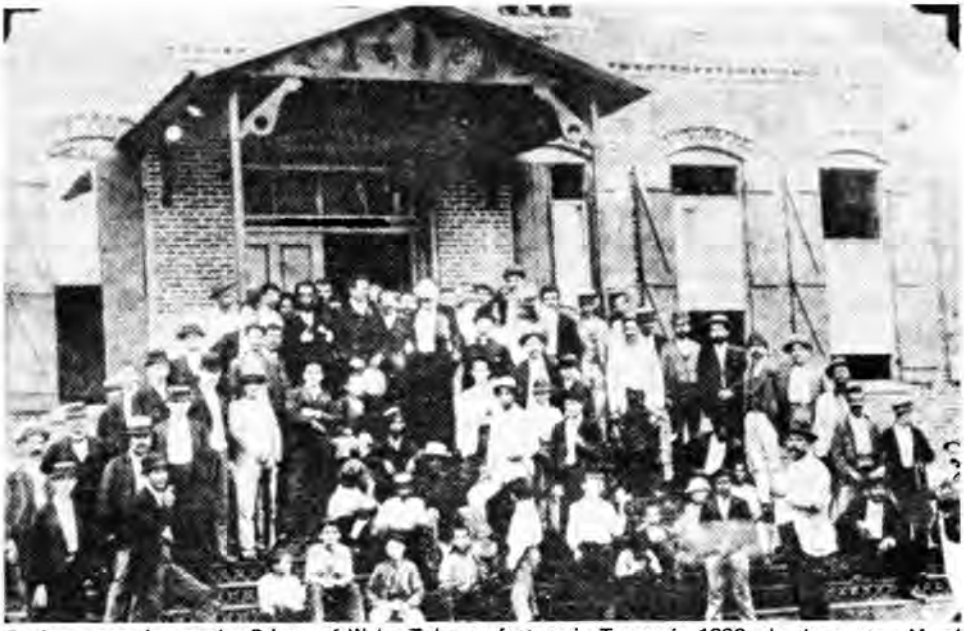
Among the divisions and jealousies of the Indian people, the conquistador pushed on in America. Among Aztecs and Tlaxcaltecas, Cortés reached Cuauhtemoc's canoe. Among Quichés and Tzutuhils, Alvarado was victorious in Guatemala. Among the inhabitants of Tunja and Bogotá, Quesada marched foward in Colombia. Among the warriors of Atahualpa and Huáscar Pizarro rode across Peru. By the light of burning temples the red banner of the Inquisition was planted in the breast of the last Indian. The women were carried off. When the Indian was free his roads were paved with stones, but after the Spaniard came he had nothing but cowpaths used by the cow as she went nosing her way to the pasture, or by the Indian deploring how wolves had been turned into men. The Indian worked for what the Spanish commissioner ate. So many Indians died, like flowers that lose their aroma, that the mines had to shut down. Sacristans grew rich on the trimmings of their chalubles, and gentlemen went on walks, or burned the Kings's colors in a brazier, or watched heads fall in fights between viceroys and judges, or in rivalries among the commanders. When the head of a family wanted to mount his horse, he kept two Indian pages for the stirrups and two boys for the spurs. Viceroy, regent, and town council were appointed from Spain; when the town councils assembled, they were branded with branding irons. The mayor ordered the governor to stay out the town because of the harm he did to the republic, ordered the councilman to cross himself when entering the town council, ordered twenty-five lashes for any Indian who galloped his horse. Children learned to read by means of bullfight posters and highwaymen's jingles; the schools of rank and prestige taught "contemptible chimeras." And when groups of people gathered in the streets, it was to follow the old hags who carried proclamations, or to talk in hushed voices about the scandal of the judge and the heavily veiled woman, or to go the burning of a Portuguese where a hundred pikes and muskets led the procession, and where the Dominicans with their white crosses and the grandees with their staffs and rapiers and gold-embroidered hoods ended it. There were trunkfuls of bones carried on the back and flanked by torches; the guilty with ropes around their necks, their sins written upon their head coverings; the stubborn with pictures of the enemy painted upon their sanbenitos. There were the distinguished gentlemen, the bishop, the higher clergy; and in the church, between two thrones brightly lit by candles, the black altar. Outside, the bonfire. At night, dancing. The glorious Creole falls bathed in blood every time he seeks a way out of his humiliation, with no guide or model but his honor, today in Caracas, tomorrow in Quito, thereafter with the common people of Socorro! Either he buys, hand to hand, the right to have Bolivian councilmen in Cochabamba, or he dies like the



Cuban photographer Juan Bautista Valdés took this picture in October 1892 in Bond Hall, Kingston, Jamaica.

admirable Antequera, professing his faith on the scaffold in Paraguay, his countenance glowing with happiness; or growing weak at the foot of Chimborazo, he "exhorts the people to strengthen their dignity." The first Creole born to a Spaniard — the son of Malinche — was a rebel. Juan de Mena's daughter, in mourning for her father, dons her festive attire and all her jewels, for the day of Arteaga's death is a day of honor for all of humanity! What is happening so suddenly to make the whole world pause to listen and marvel and revere? From beneath the cowl of Torquemada comes the redeemed continent, bloody and with sword in hand! All the nations of America declare themselves free at the same time. Bolivar appears with his cohort of luminaries. Even the volcanos acclaim him and publish him to the world, their flanks shaking and thundering. To your horses, all of America! And over plains and mountains, with all the stars aflame, redemptive hoofbeats resound in the night. The Mexican clergy are now talking to their Indians. With lances held in their teeth, the Venezuelan Indians outdistance the naked runner. The battered Chileans march together, arm in arm with the halfbreeds from Peru. Wearing the phrygian or liberty cap of the emancipated slave, the Negroes go singing behind their blue banner. Squads of gauchos in calfskin boots and swinging their bolas go galloping in triumph. The revived Pehuenches, hair flying and feathered lances held above their heads, put spurs to their horses. The war-painted Araucanians, carrying their cane lances tipped with colored feathers, come running at full gallop. And when the virgin light of dawn flows over the cliffs, San Martin appears there in the snow crossing the Andes in his battle cape — crest of the mountain and crown of the revolution. Where is America going, and who will unite her and be her guide? Alone and as one people she is rising. Alone she is fighting. Alone she will win.

And we have transformed all this venom into sap! Never was there such a precocious, persevering, and generous people born out of so much opposition and unhappiness. We were a den of iniquity and we are beginning to be a crucible. We built upon hydras. Our railroads have demolished the pikes of Alvarado. In the public squares where they used to burn heretics, we built libraries. We have as many schools now as we had officers of the Inquisition before. What we have not yet done, we have not had time to do, having been busy cleansing our blood of the impurities bequeathed to us by our ancestors. The religious and immoral missions have nothing left but their crumbling walls where an occasional owl shows an eye, and where the lizard goes his melancholy way. The new American has cleared the path among the dispirited breeds of men, the ruins of convents, and the horses of barbarians, and he is inviting the youth of the world to pitch their tents in his fields. The handful of apostles has triumphed. What does it matter if, when emerging as free nations and with the book always in front of our eyes, we saw that the government of a hybrid and primitive land (molded from a residue of Spaniards and some grim and frightened aborigines, in addition to a smattering of Africans and Mencys) should understand, in order to be natural and productive, all the elements that rose in a marvelous throng — by means of the greater politics inscribed in Nature — to establish that



During a meeting at the Prince of Wales Tobacco factory in Tampa in 1893. In the center: Martí, José D. Poyo and Serafín Sánchez.

land? What does it matter if there were struggles between the city of the university and the feudal countryside? What difference if the servile marquis felt a warlike disdain for the halfbreed workman? How important was the grim and stubborn duel between Antonio de Nariño and St. Ignatius Loyola? Our capable and indefatigable America conquers everything, and each day she plants her banner higher. From sunrise to sunset she conquers everything through the harmonious and artistic spirit of the land that emerged out of the beauty and music of our nature, for she bestows upon our hearts her generosity and upon our minds the loftiness and serenity of her mountains. She conquers everything through the secular influence with which this encircling grandeur and order has compensated for the treacherous mixture and confusion of our beginnings; and through the expensive and humanitarian freedom, neither local nor racial nor sectarian, that came to our republics in their finest hour, and later, sifted and purified, went out from the world's capitals. It was a freedom that probably has no more spacious site in any nation than the one prepared in our boundless lands for the honest effort, the loyal solicitude, and the sincere friendship of men. Would that the future might brand my lips!

Out of that troubled and sorely tried America, born with thorns upon her brow and with words and the heart's blood flowing out through the badly torn gag like lava, our eager strivings have brought us to Our America of the present, at once hard-working and heroic, frank and vigilant, with Bolívar on one arm and Herbert Spencer on the other. It is an America without childish jealousies or naïve trust, fearlessly inviting all races to the fortunes of her home, because she knows she is the America of Buenos Aires' defense and of Callao's endurance, the America

of Cerro de las Campanas and of the new Troy. And would she prefer the hates and appetites of the world instead of her own future, which is that of bringing equity and justice in an atmosphere of unrestricted peace, without a wolf's greed or a sacristan's admonitions? Would she rather disintegrate at the hands of her own children than undertake the grandiose task of becoming more firmly united? Would she desire to lie, because of neighboring jealousies, instead of following what is written by the fauna and stars and history? Or would she prefer to act as a legend to anyone who might offer her his services as a footboy, or go out into the world as a beggar to have her cup filled with terrible riches? Only self-created wealth and freedom earned by one's own hand can endure, and it is for good. Whoever dares maintain that she would compromise, does not know Our America. Rivadavia, the man always seen in a white cravat, said that these countries would save themselves, and so they have. The sea has been plowed. Our America also builds palaces, and gathers the useful surplus from an oppressed world. She also contributes her forests and brings it the book, the newspaper, the town, and the railroad. And Our America, with the sun on her brow, also rises over deserts crowned with cities. And when the elements that formed our nations reappear in this crisis of their elaboration, the independent Creole is the one who prevails and asserts himself, not the beaten Indian serving as spur boy, who holds the stirrup and puts his own foot into it so that he can be higher than his master.

That is why we live here with such pride in Our America, to serve and honor her. We certainly do not live here as future slaves or dazzled peasant, but as people able and determined to help a man win esteem for his good qualities and respect for his sacrifices. The very wars that are thrown in her face by those who don't know her are the seal of honor for our nations that have never hesitated to hasten the course of progress with the enriching sustenance of their blood, and that can display their wars like a crown. Devoid of the friction and daily stimulus of our struggles and passions that come to us from the soil where our children have not been reared — and from a great distance! — in vain does this country invite us with her magnificence, her life and its temptations, her heart and its cowardice, to indifference and forgetfulness. We are taking Our America, as host and inspiration, to where there is no forgetting and no death! And neither corruptive interests nor certain new fashions in fanaticism will let us be uprooted from her! We must show our soul as it is to these illustrious messengers who have come here from our nations, so they may see that we consider it faithful and honorable. We must convince these delegates that a just admiration and a usefully sincere study of other nations — a study neither too distant nor myopic — does not weaken the ardent, redemptive, and sacred love for what is our own. Let us allow them to see that for our personal good — if there is any good in the conscience without peace — we will not be traitors to that which Nature and humanity demand of us.

And thus, when each of them, content with our integrity, returns to the shores that we may never see again, he will be able to say to her who is our mistress, hope, and guide: "Mother America, we found brothers there! Mother America, you have sons there!" ●

FREE VERSES

These are my verses. They are as they are. . . .I didn't ask anyone to lend them to me. Since I couldn't entirely contain my visions in an adequate form, I let them fly: Oh! how long ago, golden friend, who has never returned!

THE YOKE AND THE STAR

When I was sunless born, my mother said:
Thou flower of my breast, Generous one,
Sum and reflection of myself and ALL,
Fish that becomes a fowl, a steed, a man,
Look at these options which in grief I offer,
Both signs of life: go thou and look and choose.
This is a yoke, accept it, and rejoice.
Thou will become an ox, and as you lend
To lords your services, on hay you'll sleep
That keeps you warm, and feed on richest oats.
And this, oh mystery torn from my womb,
Just as the summit from the mountain born,
This thing that lights, and kills, is only a star.
As it spreads light about, the sinners flee
From him that carries it and shines and seems
A monster burdened with unheard-of crimes,
For he who carries light remains alone,
But he who shameless plays at being an ox
Becomes an ox, and as silent brute
The universal climb begins again.
But he who fearlessly grasps a star
Creating, grows!
And when the world's full cup
The living one has drained to the last drop;
When, as a treat that to the bloody feast
Of humankind, he's offered, glad and grave
His heart, his very own, and to the winds
Of North and South his voice has poured,
The Star surrounds him like a cloak of light
The tranquil airs, as in a feast, do burn
And he whoever was afraid to live
Goes forth — his step is heard among the shadows!"
— "Hand me the yoke, oh mother, so that I
May stand upright on it, and on my brow
The star that lights and kills
May shine more bright."



PROLOGUE
TO SIMPLE VERSES

My friends know how these verses poured out of my heart. It was that winter of anguish, in which the Spanish-American nations, out of ignorance or fanatical faith, or fear, or courtesy, met in Washington under the fearful eagle. Who among us has forgotten that shield, the shield on which the eagle of Monterrey and Chapultepec, the eagle of López and Walker, clutched in its claws all the flags of America? What agony I endured until I was able to confirm the cunning and spirit of our peoples; and the terror and shame I felt from the legitimate fear that we Cubans, with patricidal hands, could support the foolish plan to separate Cuba — for the benefit of a new master in disguise — from the motherland that claims her and in which she is completed: from the Spanish-American motherland. The thought robbed me of my strength, already greatly diminished from unjust pains. The doctor sent me off to the mountains: the streams flowed and the sky clouded over: I wrote verses. At times the sea roared, and the waves broke in the black night against the rocks of the bloody castle: at times the bees whispered, marauding among the flowers.

Why publish this simple thing, written playfully, and not my blistering Free Verse, *my hirsute endecasyllables, born of great fears, or great hopes, or the indomitable love of freedom, or the painful love of beauty, which are as a stream of natural gold that runs between sand and muddy water and roots, or like heated iron that whistles and sparkles, or like incandescent fountains? Or my* Cuban Verses, *so filled with rage, which are better where unseen? And so much of my hidden sin and so many ingenuous and rebellious attempts at literature? What would it avail to bring out now, when offering these wild flowers, a course on my poetry, and to say why I purposely repeat a consonant or classify and group them in such a way that they go through vision and sound to feeling, or jump over them, because tumultuous ideas don't ask for rhymes nor endure embellishment? These verses are printed now because the affection with which they were harbored by some good souls on a night of poetry and friendship has already made them public. And because I love simplicity, and I believe in the necessity of putting feeling in plain and sincere forms.*

New York, 1891.



SIMPLE VERSES

Don't you put me in the dark
Like a traitor there to die:
I am good, and like a man
I shall die facing the sun!

When I die it is my wish,
Countryless, but a free man,
That you place upon my tomb
Just some flowers, and my flag!

Sorrows! Dare someone say
That I suffer? Later on,
After fire, and lightning, then
Will the time for sorrow come.

Well I know the deepest sorrow
Among griefs without a name:
Make a slave out of a man,
Greater wound won't hurt the world!

Tyrants? Say of tyrants all
You must say, and more, and nail
With the furious hand of slaves
Tyrants all upon their shame.

I tend with care a white rose,
In January as in July,
For that true friend whom I love
Who gives me his honest hand.

And for the cruel one who tears
The heart that keeps me alive,
Neither thistle nor thorn do I tend;
I tend with care a white rose.

The leopard a shelter has
In his brown and withered hill;
More than the leopard have I
For I have a faithful friend.

Mr. President does own
Inside his garden a fountain,
And treasures of gold and wheat;
I have a friend, and have more.

I love you as a friend, my verse,
For when I feel that my breast
Is so full that it will burst,
I share my burden with you.





THE MALVINAS: WHAT HAPPENED? WHAT'S NEXT?



Just one year ago the Malvinas conflict had one of its most climacic episodes. An evaluation of this was made in Buenos Aires at the International Conference for the Reaffirmation of Argentine Sovereignty in the Malvinas and for Peace in the South Atlantic and the World.
After this conference was held there was a joint presentation to the United Nations General Assembly by the Latin American countries, backed by the Non-Aligned Movement and other countries, supporting Argentina's legitimate claims. On November 4, 1982, the UN General Assembly approved, with 90 votes in favor, 12 against and 52 abstentions, a declaration urging Argentina and Great Britain to reinitiate negotiations concerning the sovereignty of the Malvinas. In total defiance of the United Nations, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said at a press conference in Paris the following day that England would not negotiate with Argentina concerning the sovereignty of the South Atlantic Islands.
The UN vote reaffirmed the previous UN Resolution 1514 on descolonization, and Resolution 2065 concerning negotiations between Argentina and Great Britain to resolve the situation in the Malvinas.
Because of the importance of this conference we are printing an edited version of the introductory report of the Coordinating Council of the National Preparatory Commission.

THE Malvinas Islands belonged to the Spanish crown, becor ng part of Argentine territory when we gained our independ..ce from Spain. In 1832 the United States, annoyed that the Buenos Aires government wanted to impose limits on its fishing boats, ordered the frigate "Lexington" to shell and destroy the installations at Puerto Soledad. This facilitated the January 3, 1833 attack by the British ship "Cleo", which ousted the Argentinian governor and the Argentinian settlers, thus establishing British domain. Manuel Moreno, Argentina's representative in London, had predicted the ouster ten months earlier. In outlining for his government the reasons why Great Britain, the "queen of the seas", was moved to undertake this act of aggression —to set up a chain of sea bases around the globe —he denounced the complicity of the United States, which was motivated by its own interest in the unrestricted slaughter of seals and other sea creatures.

In the international context, then, the motives for the colonialist invasion appeared to be the establishment of bases and economic opportunism.

Since that time the succesive governments of our country have presented repeated claims against the usurpation. The affirmation of Argentine sovereignty over the archipelagos has been constant in the history of the nation, and a permanent desire of our people.

The Monroe Doctrine appeared in 1823, supposedly to defend the recent independence of the Ibero-American countries from the covetousness of the European powers. But it never served this function; its real purpose was to insure the inclusion of those countries in the U.S. sphere of influence.

As Juan Bautista Alberdi had forewarned: "Monroism is conquest." In 1844, describing the agreements and objectives of an American general congress, he stated: "I think the pretensions of making common cause with the English republicans of North America are frivolous... I appeal to the better nature of the North Americans, who on more than one occasion have laughed at their naïve relatives from the South. True,

they have never refused to toast and compliment us in writing, but I don't recall their ever having fired a single shot in our defense."

The shots were fired, certainly, but only to attack Mexico, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo and other countries...

It is understandable, then, that the Argentine Foreign Minister Amancio Alcorta, in 1898, in censuring the rapacious methods of London and Washington, should state: "The United States grabs a portion of its territory from Mexico, England occupies the Malvinas Islands and commits an iniquitous assault against the sovereignty of the Argentine Republic..." Roque Sáenz Pena is just as clear in analizing the Monroe Doctrine and its "selfish" goals, proclaiming: "It is dead, and it should not exist nor does it exist for America." Or later, in 1903, when he wrote to Luis María Drago calling for a solid union of the Hispanic-American nations "against the new interventionist doctrines in which the rays of imperialism lie dormant."

Argentina's protests to Great Britain were always useless. Great Britain disdained them or gave a sharp negative reply.

Conditions became more favorable for our country in 1960. In that year the United Nations approved the historic Resolution 1514 on decolonization. On this basis Argentina presented its case before the world organization. On December 16, 1965 the UN dictated Resolution 2065, which is of great importance because it recognizes that the dispute is a matter of "sovereignty" —as contended by Argentina— and not, as the British insisted, one of "self-determination" for the islanders Britain had based there. In addition, the UN urged the parties to proceed with negotiations without further delay. The British government resorted to every kind of delaying tactic, and turned the negotiations into mere "conversations". Argentina again presented its case to the UN, which in December 1973 passed Resolution 3160, expressing its concern for the lack of substantial progress, and urging the two governments "to continue the negotiations without delay... in order to end the colonial situation."

Meanwhile, the Griffiths report and that of the Shakleton mission had been published, revealing the importance of the natural resources found in the sea and continental shelf of Argentina, which included the Malvinas Islands. Based on this, the British foreign ministry insisted that the negotiations deal only with "economic cooperation", calling any discussion on sovereignty "sterile".

In its 1975 and 1976 meetings in Lima and Colombo, the Non-Aligned Nations Movement supported the Argentine claim. This in turn aided in the passage of Resolution 31/49 of the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1976 which again urged "the acceleration of negotiations concerning the dispute over sovereignty", and expressed its recognition of the continuous efforts carried out by Argentina to facilitate the decolonization process and to promote the well-being of the Islands' residents. This resolution was approved by an overwhelming majority. Great Britain voted against it, and the United States and other Western powers abstained.

Great Britain's insistence on respecting "the wishes and self-determination" of the islanders was in stark contrast to its position regarding



A poster calling the Argentinians to fight for the recovery of the Malvines, during the 1982 conflict.

other colonies, such as the Diego García Island. There, the native inhabitants —who were the indigenous population of the island— were expelled and deported by force. Later, Great Britain leased the island to the United States, which uses it as a giant air and naval base, furthering the militarization of the Indian Ocean. England never concerned itself with the settlers in the Malvinas, considering them second-class citizens. Whatever progress they enjoyed was a result of Argentina's efforts which, since 1975, helped break them out of their isolation in terms of education, health and trade as well as communications, air and sea service, and provision of fuel.

At the same time it should be kept in mind that the Falkland Island Co. —absorbed by the Coalite Ltd. monopoly in 1977— controls all life on the island, and employs the majority of the population.

In the Fifth Round of Bilateral Negotiations in February 1981 the head of the British delegation proposed "freezing the negotiations for a certain number of years" which would permit it, he said, "to elaborate plans for economic development around the islands."

There are two principal motives for Britain's constant refusal to return the Malvinas Islands, which explain the U.S. backing. First, the wealth from oil, fish and krill in the zone that surrounds the entire Argentine continental shelf, which is coveted by the transnational corporations. Second, the current strategic importance of the South Atlantic,

which on the one hand assures communication between the North Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, and —through the Magellan Strait and Drake's Pass — the Pacific Ocean, permitting access to the Antarctic as well. If the Panama and/or Suez Canals were to become inoperable, maritime travel and transportation of vital supplies, especially petroleum, would have to pass through this zone.

That is why, especially in recent years, the U.S. government and the Pentagon have tried to establish a military pact, SATO, whose members would be Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, perhaps Chile, along with the United States, Great Britain and the Union of South Africa.

It wasn't by chance that they first sought out Brazil, which Nixon and Kissinger had classified as a "key country" and "privileged partner". No agreement was reached because Brazil, interested in the African market, didn't want to be associated with the repudiated apartheid regime. From then on, Washington dedicated itself to pressuring Argentina in various ways, because it was, as Lt. General Gordon Summers, then-president of the Interamerican Defense Junta, said in 1978, "the southern anchor of the Western defensive system". Negotiations with the military government had ebbs and flows. At one point, in May 1981, general opposition to SATO led the presidents of Brazil and Argentina, Figueredo and Viola, to issue a joint communique stating: "... the South Atlantic is an area of direct and immediate interest for the developing nations that are found within its borders." They pointed out the extreme interest in keeping it free from international tensions and confrontations, "in order to preserve its character as an instrument for peaceful trade and development of these nations, in accord with the principles and propositions of the United Nations." At the same time they expressed their condemnation of South African racism.

This declaration was a blow to Washington, which reacted with anger. Until it took its position in the Malvinas conflict, Washington must certainly have searched for some kind of coordination with the Argentina military authorities "for the controlled vigilance over the South Atlantic", always under the aegis of the United States, of course.

On April 2, 1982 an Argentine military expedition took the islands without bloodshed, to the surprise of everyone, since our people had not been warned, much less consulted. At that moment the people were struggling to overcome the grave political, economic and social crisis that has kept our country prostrate until now. This has been illustrated by the abolition of Constitutional rights and democratic freedoms, the bankruptcy of industry and agricultural producers, and the drastic reduction in the workers' standard of living, with the resulting political detentions, disappearances and unemployment. Nevertheless, since April 2 the people put on a magnificent demonstration of national unity, expressing its support not for the rulers but for the recovery of the stolen territory. With deep patriotic feelings they understood that they were confronting the same imperialism that, with its native accomplices, was tearing the nation apart. Immediately they were surrounded by the solidarity of fraternal countries. It was a veritable explosion of Latin American brotherhood against a common enemy.

Margaret Thatcher's government launched a great part of its fleet to retake the Malvinas. General Haig appeared, sent by President Reagan, as a supposed "mediator". From the beginning he wanted to impose injurious conditions on Argentina. Behind the arguments were the threats. These were fulfilled when the United States came out openly in support of Great Britain and began to administer logistic aid through its satellites and its installations on Ascension Island, as well as supplying weapons. NATO comdemned Argentina and reiterated its "unconditional support" for London. At the same time the European Economic Community — like the United States — imposed economic sanctions against Argentina. The Western powers wanted to make an example of our country, as a harsh warning to those peoples who struggle to conquer or defend their sovereignty.

On the other hand, the majority of Latin American nations backed Argentina. The Non-Aligned Movement also clearly came out against the colonialist aggression, as did the socialist countries and other peoples and governments.

The UN Security Council made its decision at the beginning of June, 1982. The majority voted for Panama and Spain's proposal for an immediate cease-fire. But Great Britain and the United States imposed their veto.

Despite the heroism and determination of the young Argentinians, the superiority of the attackers and the errors committed by the military government led to the June 14 defeat.

There were many serious violations of International Law on the part of Great Britain. The press from various countries — citing a U.S. secret service spokesman as their source — reported that "under grave circumstances", such as an Argentine air attack on the British fleet, the fleet commander was authorized by his government to employ nuclear arms. This will be cleared up when the Thatcher government's confidential instructions are made known. But what is public is that nuclear submarines were operating in the South Atlantic, one of which sunk the old Argentinian battleship *General Belgrano* with conventional arms, causing great loss of life, when it was far outside the exclusion zone decreed by Great Britain. The cruiser *Sheffield* was also equipped with sophisticated nuclear weapons. Attacked and destroyed by the Argentine air force, it was sunk by its crew to avoid the danger that it might blow up. In any case, as the English biologist Paul Rogers noted, if the *Sheffield* weren't sunk to a great depth, there was the danger that the radiation would affect the Argentinian coasts.

Some time ago the document "Interamerican Relations: security shield for the new world, and sword of the United States' plans for global power" was disseminated by the Council for Interamerican Security. It dusted off the Monroe Doctrine and affirmed the necessity of reinforcing TIAR and the regional and bilateral war pacts, mentioning as an example the appropriateness of a South Atlantic treaty.

But other truths were coming to light during the struggle, completing what was already known about the intentions of the U.S. rulers. Certain indiscretions brought to light the "Free Oceans Plan" prepared in January 1980 by the U.S. National Security Council. It's wording reveals a great

deal: "Although the U.S. can count on effective and lasting support from the Union of South Africa and the Republic of Chile, and eventually from Argentina, to facilitate its plans for the southernmost of the three oceans, it is indispensable that be we able to count on support from Great Britain." The latter "must be our principal ally in that area, not only because it is our most dependable friend in the international realm, but because it still occupies various islands in the South Atlantic that if necessary could be converted into air and naval bases like Diego García or points of logistical support such as Ascension Island. The Tristán da Cunhan, South Georgia, South Sandwich and Falkland Islands could serve as a link between the Prince Edward (Canada) Islands and Cape Horn. Great Britain should be aided in keeping those islands under its sovereignty under any circumstances, even in the case of the islands claimed by Argentina, such as the Falklands, Sandwich and South Georgia." It adds that even though Great Britain might be willing to cede sovereignty over some of these islands, the United States should give first priority to the mechanism for "establishing U.S. presence in a permanent way on the island in question... It is in our interest to preserve British sovereignty over these islands as long as possible and to acquire operational installations in the archipelago from our allies, which would be acceptable to Argentina if it were finally given sovereignty."



The aircraft carrier "Invincible" of the British armada, sailing to the Malvinas. It carried 900 men, Sea Harrier jets, helicopters and missiles.



Members of the Argentine army in the Malvinas during the conflict with Great Britain.

The report thus accurately anticipates U.S. conduct before, during and after the war for the islands.

As though to confirm these propositions, on May 29 Reagan acknowledged that the United States would be happy to participate in an international peace force in the Malvinas, saying "We offer to take part in an international government on the islands." Mrs. Thatcher, in Washington on June 23, expressed her intention to grant "independence" to the islands (really, to create a puppet state), for which she sought U.S. protection and "practical assistance."

The idea is — as pointed out in a UPI cable dated London, March 23 — that the United States should construct an air and naval base on the Malvinas. The islands would be treated as Ascension is today: an English possession paid for and utilized by the United States. "Washington uses the territory of other countries for many purposes, but it lacks installations south of the Guantanamo base." In the proposed agreement there would be sufficient room for the elaboration and implementation of a multilateral security pact in the South Atlantic region, in which the U.S. and other unidentified Latin American countries would participate.

At the same time there would be an attempt to extend NATO's influence beyond its present limits. In March 1982 six of its members (including the United States and Great Britain) carried out the "Safe Pass 1982" maneuvers in the Caribbean, south of the Tropic of Cancer, which had as their main objective the intimidation of the peoples of that region and Central America who are seeking or defending their emancipation. In the midst of the Malvinas war, Joseph Luns, NATO secretary, asserted that "the recent events in the South Atlantic have demonstrated that the organization can also be affected by what occurs outside its



Sea Harrier jet-bomber attacking the Malvinas.

jurisdiction", thus confirming the plan to extend the organization to Latin America.

In this way the Reagan administration and NATO try to incorporate Latin America in their general militaristic strategy, which includes the new arms race, the appearance of more refined and destructive nuclear weapons, and the inadmissable thesis of "limited nuclear war."

We are witnessing a tangible worsening of the international situation. Old centers of conflict are being revived, and new ones are being ignited, such as in the South Atlantic or Central America and the Caribbean. The two UN General Assembly Special Sessions on Disarmament revealed people's anxiety. The arms race has become one of the major obstacles to the development of the more backward countries, and already consumes about $6 billion, while the great overlooked masses of the world vegetate in unemployment, ignorance, disease and misery.

Any one of those centers of conflict could widen and set off a worldwide confrontation, in which nuclear arms would inevitably be used, leading to the extermination of humanity. The only thing that can prevent such a holocaust is the mobilization of world public opinion in defense of human dignity, of life itself. Now, while there is still time, efforts must be made to bring about peace.

Argentina is analizing the reasons for the defeat in the Malvinas. In the future it will have a better basis for making judgments. What is already evident is that the attempt to regain the islands was an act of profound anticolonialist feeling, that the Argentinian combatants showed proof of their selflessness and courage, and that the people as a whole sacrificed for this goal, understanding it as the defense of the sacred interests of their country. This is helping overcome the effects of the

setback, and, as an encouraging factor, shows our citizenry united in the struggle for the great national and Latin American objectives.

The aggression has revealed the old and irreconcilable contradictions between the Latin American countries and the United States, which are characterizied by the discriminatory treatment practiced by the latter, by the imposition of economic plans that perpetuate and increase underdevelopment, create a deficit in trade relations, liquidate their productive apparatus, and immeasurably increase their foreign debt, making them increasingly dependent on international high finance.

In the political sphere Washington's actions, through its embassies and the CIA, lead to the destabilization of the internal situation, and the establishment of military dictatorships or pseudo democratic regimes. On the military plane, various countries suffer direct or indirect armed intervention, and the region is involved in a network of regional and bilateral pacts that don't coincide with their desire for peace and international concord.

Latin America is rising up more strongly than ever against this intolerable situation. The Malvinas conflict has become a detonator for the struggles in Latin America. The people have reaffirmed their identity and solidarity, and are prepared to defend themselves against the common enemy. The aspirations of those who forged our first independence and dreamed of the unity of our mestizo America have been revived. Promising changes are taking place in inter-Latin American relations as the nations of America seek to get closer. The political and economic ties between our countries have been revitalized, which can strengthen the new regional bodies. The false Pan-Americanism that the United States tried to impose, that of the shark and the sardines, has been put on the pillory. Several countries are beginning to doubt the viability of the OAS, which should be transformed into an Organization of Latin American States (perhaps including the Caribbean). The Interamerican Reciprocal Aid Treaty (TIAR) has been found unsuitable. For this reason several Latin American governments decided recently to refuse to participate in the "Unitas" Naval Operations with the U.S. Fleet.

Britain's refusal to engage in any kind of peaceful discussion on the theme that doesn't meet its economic and military pretentions once again demonstrates colonialist sovereignty. But England will not be able to maintain this position if Argentina remains firm and the pressure of our numerous friends condemning its attitude forces it to sit down to meaningful negotiations. Sooner or later this will lead to the recognition of our sovereignty, without dishonorable concessions.

The U.S. administration, realizing that the recent events have deepened the gulf that separates it from Latin America, and recognizing the will of the Latin American people to break their dependency, has launched a new offensive against the region to try to re-establish relations, but always on the old basis of their domination and unequal treatment of Latin America. We have verified that in our country, as in others, a powerful propaganda campaign is being orquestrated, using statements by certain officials, commentators and personalities known for their anti-national preachings. The purpose is to weaken the justified popular indignation over the errors committed in the Malvinas war, which must

be duly cleared up. What they want is to cover up the aggressors tremendous responsibility and their bloodthirstiness toward Argentina, and convince us of the supposed benefits that such an arrangement with the United States would bring us. We reiterate that we want to have cordial relations with all the countries of the world, whatever their regime might be, and naturally also with the peoples of Great Britain and the United States; but only on an equal footing, with reciprocal benefits, and never as the underlings of a foreign power.

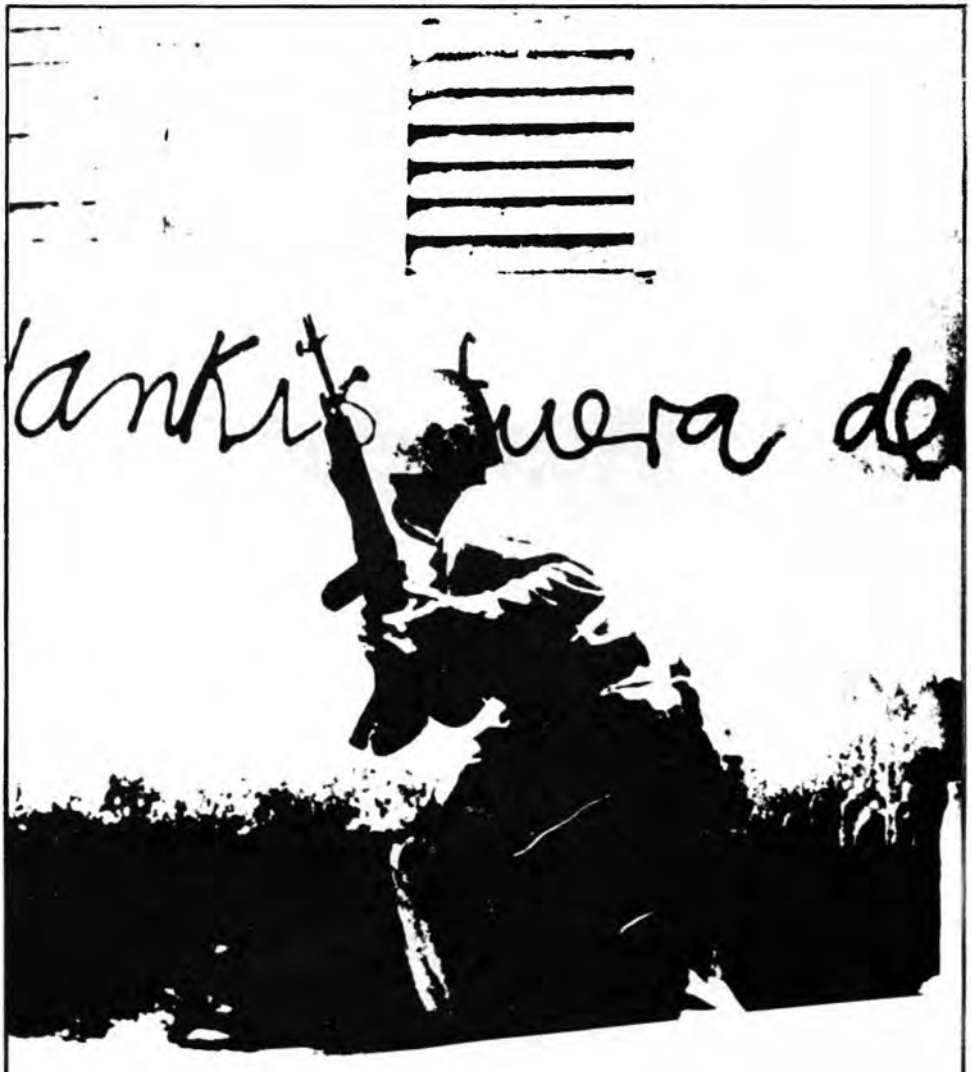
The Argentinian people must resist these attempts to create disunity. The people will not forget — must never forget — the abuses they have been subjected to, the calamities they have endured, the blood that has been shed. And they will remember who were the foreign sources (and their domestic accomplices) of the military defeat and the country's ruin.

The Argentinian people have learned — and it is being repeated in the streets and on many speakers' platforms — who are their real friends and who are the enemies of their country, of all Latin American countries, when it comes to the test.

The situation has led to a change in some basic values and in the belief in such myths as "Pan-Americanism" and "westernism", which kept the republic from taking a correct position in both domestic and international issues. Many people, both civilians and military, have begun to self-critically examine their old positions and to change their attitudes. This analysis must be a profound one to reach conclusions that will serve the national interest, which cannot be confused with the particular interests of any sector.

Alerted by the painful experiences of these years — especially the past year — the majority of our people has been mobilized not just to regain the islands and territorial integrity. They want sovereignty on all levels: political, economic, social and cultural. They want to finally enjoy democratic liberties, reestablish the rule of the Constitution in a Government of Law. They want to freely elect their government representatives, with a policy that takes into account their most cherished demands. They want a government that will bring about a healthy economy, which will meet their needs for full employment, a living wage, education, health care, adequate housing, for a decent standard of living in both the material and spiritual sense. These domestic elements of democracy must reflect an independent foreign policy, not linked to any pact or military commitment that isn't purely defensive, and secured by an alliance with our Latin American brothers and an understanding with the nations that treat us with respect. This policy must accentuate Argentina's contribution to avoiding the danger of a nuclear conflagration, and to building a peaceful world.

The cause of the Malvinas has not been defeated because of one lost battle. The struggle by other means has just begun, and will continue not just until the islands are returned to the bosom of our country, but until a Latin America brought together on the basis of principles and objectives can achieve its second and final independence. ●



OSPAAAL

28th ANNIVERSARY OF THE YANKEE INVASION OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

HAITI: FROM U. S. MILITARY OCCUPATION TO THE ECONOMY OF THE TRANSNATIONALS

MIRTA FERNANDEZ MARTINEZ
AND CLAUDE HACKIN GROSSJEAN



Ana Kovac's photographic images of Haiti so strikingly complement the work of Radio Havana Cuba journalist Claude Hackin Grossjean and Mirta Fernández, professor at the Higher Institute of Foreign Languages in Havana, that no other introduction to their work is needed.

FOR more than a quarter of a century the Haitian tyranny, headed by the Duvalier family, has been cited as one the most sordid and repressive regimes that has ever existed in Latin America and the Caribbean.

François Duvalier and his heir Jean-Claude have converted Haiti into a medieval prison, a paradise for U. S. investors, playboys and gangsters, and a family fiefdom where the most abminable crimes are committed and where hunger, poverty, illiteracy, infant mortality and other defects peculiar to capitalist society are most extreme.

The *Tontons Macoutes* and the Leopards, shadowy repressive bodies of the Duvalier tyranny, have kept Haiti in a state of terror in which the cruel reality recalls remote epochs of absolute obscurantism which were thought to have been erased from the face of the earth by the inexorable passage of time.

Although at times when U. S. rulers proclaimed themselves defenders of human rights there were some contradictions of a secondary nature between the Duvaliers and the United States, it must be emphasized that the U. S. pressures were never aimed at destabilizing the regime nor at favoring the opposition forces. Today Washington's support has become the fundamental element in maintaining the Duvalier regime. It is thus quite interesting to historically analize the existing links between the successive Haitian governments and foreign interests, especially those of the Unites States.

U.S. intervention at the beginning of the century

As part of its imperialist expansion, the United States occupied Haiti on July 28, 1915. There then began one of the longest and harshest military interventions in the history of the Caribbean and Central America. For 19 years the U. S. Marines ran the country which on January 1, 1804 had been the first nation in Our America to proclaim its independence.

Nevertheless, a century later Haiti had all the characteristics of economic stagnation and profound social inequality. The masses lived in the most abject poverty. The country never experienced stability or progress; the structuring of the national state had been carried out under extremely difficult conditions after the victory over the Napoleonic troops. The colonial powers set up a preventive cordon around the young nation, as though to ward off a possible reconquest by France. This situation of isolation on the external plane and internal struggles that broke out among various factions of the ruling class consumed the energies of the country and frustrated development for the entire nineteenth century.

Analizing the situation prevailing in her country on the eve of the U. S. intervention, Haitian researcher Suzy Castor points out: "The

national system of economic and socio-political relations after independence was already a failure. It was a system based on a feudal mode of production and on the country's new status of dependency on the world capitalist market. The economic deterioration, social agitation, incapacity of the government to maintain order: everything indicated that as a result of all these contradictions new forms would rise up to take control and impose certain changes that would allow the country to find its path. An external factor intervened in the natural process of the Haitian community in search of its destiny: the U. S. occupation."[1]

It's also worth pointing out that at the beginning of the century penetration by foreign capital, especially mercantile capital, was considerable.

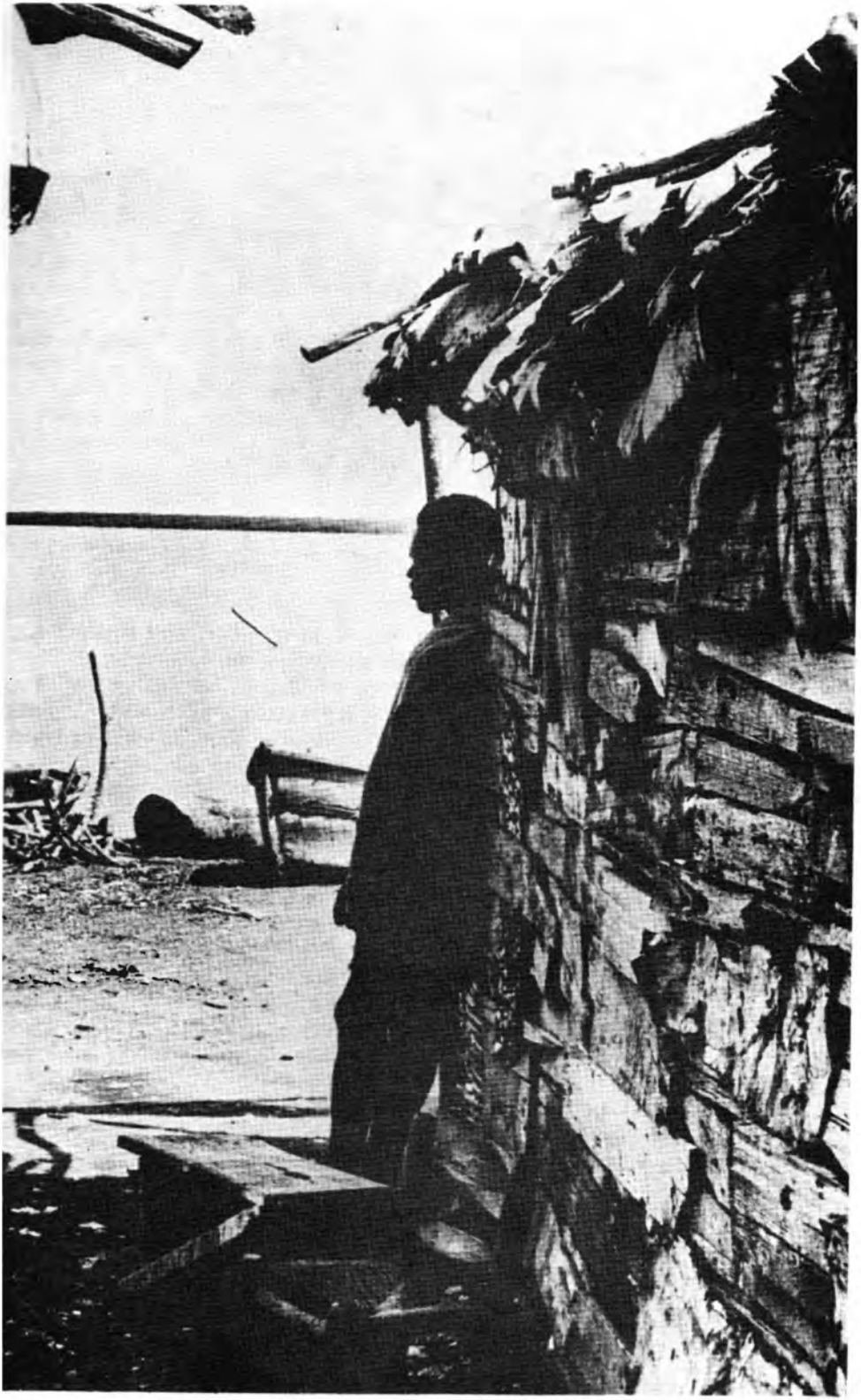
"Solidly encrusted in the Haitian economic life, foreign businessmen exercised direct influence over the political life as well. They supported governments, financed "revolutions", participated in the fall or rise to power of presidents, scorning all the laws of the country.... The policies of the great powers was dictated by the interests of their subjects in Haiti... From 1910-1915 the Marines of the naval powers disembarked on various occasions to protect the lives and property of their fellow citizens. In addition, instigated by their subjects and in the framework of their inter-imperialistic rivalries, the French and German governments maneuvered to control Haitian customs and finances.... U.S. investments increased to more than 15 million dollars; in addition to their interests in sugar, trolley and docking companies, U. S. citizens owned 50 % of the stock in the National Bank and of the Grace Syndicate, and had concessions to build railway lines from the capital to Cape Haiti.... On the eve of the occupation Haitian exports went to Europe. Its imports, however, came from the United States. This kind of advantage had been obtained primarily through pressures from the State Department, which had gotten the Haitian government to extend to the United States all the privileges which it had previously granted to France."[2]

The reason for the U. S. occupation of Haiti can be seen in the context of the continental and international policies of yankee imperialism at the beginning of the century. After the Spanish-Cuban-U. S. war, the USA emerged on the world scene as a first-rate economic power, ready to challenge the nations of Old Europe in a bitter struggle for a new repartition of the world. Latin America and in particular the Caribbean zone occupied a select place within this strategy of conquest.

In 1901 and 1911 U. S. forces occupied Nicaragua. In 1905 they landed in the Dominican Republic. In 1906 and 1912 they sent their troops against Cuba. In 1914 they attacked the Mexican Republic. On December 17, 1914, in a startling act of piracy, yankee Marines landed on the coast of Port-au-Prince and grabbed $500,000 from the gold reserves of the National Bank of Haiti, to turn over to the National City Bank of New York. The

[1] Suzy Castor: *La ocupación norteamericana de Haiti y sus consecuencias* (1915-1934) (U.S. occupation of Haiti and its consequences), p. 20 Casa de las Américas; "Nuestros Países" Collection, La Habana, Cuba.

[2] *Ibid* pp. 15,16 and 26





objective of that U.S. interventionism was to strengthen and protect the United States' economic interests in the whole region.

Finally, on July 28, 1915, yankee troops, taking advantage of the prevailing war in Europe, and using as a pretext the bloody events surrounding the fall of President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam, landed in Haiti under the false pretense of reestablishing order in the country.

Until the U. S. occupation, European (especially French) influence was predominant in Haiti. The U. S. objective was to replace the countries of the Old Continent. In this respect Suzy Castor states: "The numerous petitions sent to the Department of State by U. S. businessmen with interests in Haiti called for intervention and pushed for the carrying out of a great dream: control over customs. Owners of the Bank and customs would have the country's economy in their hands... After extensive investigation into the investment possibilities in Haiti, many U. S. financiers reached the decision to invest immediately.... if the U. S. government would assure the direction of events in Haiti."[3]

U.S. occupation

Taking advantage of the complicity of the Haitian ruling class (big businessmen and feudal landlords), the U. S. aggressors occupied the principal urban centers of the country with relative ease. However it didn't take long for the resistance to get organized. Mass repudiation of the foreign forces took many forms. In the cities there was peaceful opposition led by the journalists. But the most important and heroic

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 28 and 25



struggle was carried out primarily by the peasants. The most outstanding figure of the resistance to yankee occupation was Charlemagne Peralte, who initiated the first armed insurrection against the U. S. imperialists in Our America.

With his army of five thousand men Peralte was able to control one fourth of the national territory and to mobilize a fifth of the total population of the country. The objective of the struggle was well-defined: "to throw the U. S. out of the country". The guerrilla force (the "cacos")* held the yankee Marines at bay from 1918 to 1920. Unable to defeat Peralte militarily, the United States resorted to betrayal: Charlemagne Peralte died riddled with bullets. His adjutant, Benoit Batraville, replaced him as head of the peasant army. His death in combat marked the decline of the armed struggle.

When the people's armed struggle was defeated, the resistance took on a political form. A great nationalist movement mobilized important sectors of the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie, who were humiliated by the racist policy of the U. S. imperialists, and whose privileges had been affected by a system that only defended United States' interests.

Area: 27,700 square kilometers.

Population: 5 million (1980).

Rural population: 80 %.

Economically active population: 2,4 million.

Annual growth: 1.6 %.

Exiled: 1 million.

Unemployed or underemployed: 70 % of the labor force.

Life expectancy: 50 years.

Infant mortality: 150/1000.

Doctors: 800; 75 % of them in the capital.
There are zones with only one doctor per 100,000 inhabitants.

In 1929, after a strike carried out by the Damiens agronomy students, there was a vast uprising in the country against the U. S. and its puppet, Louis Borno.

Faced with this growing nationalist movement, the yankee imperialists searched for a new formula for control that would simultaneously assure their privileges and pacify the masses.

After the massacre of Marchaterre, with 22 dead and 51 wounded, the United States government turned Haiti over to the Forbes Commission, which began to negotiate with the nationalist sectors. On October 14, 1930, legislative primaries were held in which an overwhelming majority of nationalist representatives were elected.

* Guerrilla fighters of peasant extraction



The final phase of the Forbes Commission's plan called for a second round of elections in which only the senators and deputies would elect the President of the Republic. On November 18 of the same year Stenio Vincent, who had the support of the professional politicians, landlords and eminent men of the province, was elected as the nation's first president.

"That nationalist victory did not imply, however, any social change that might have brought a new class to power. Those elected were the members of the traditional political elite, representatives of the bourgeoisie, the feudal class and the intelligentsia in search of a quick fortune. Some revolutionary ideas about the Haitian economic and social situation were put forth by a newly-initiated vanguard, headed by communist intellectual Jacques Roumain, but they were unable to play any important role on the political scene. The occupation forces were therefore quite calm during the elections, unconcerned by the nationalist verbalism of the Haitian politicians. In fact, Vincent and Pradel** represented two sides of the same coin, easily manipulated by Uncle Sam. Vincent's capability actually helped assure the plans of neocolonialism just at a moment when the United States was talking about being a good neighbor

** Seymour Pradel, presidential candidate. He was an attorney for the Haitian upper bourgeoisie and for the big U.S. firms such as the National Bank, Hasco, etc.

This article also drew on documents from the First Continental Conference in Solidarity with the Haitian People, held in Panama, September 18-20, 1981.

of Latin America and starting a new policy of using native proconsuls as intermediaries."[4]

The movement of authentic revolutionaries who wanted to re-establish national sovereignty was building itself up. As the situation became more aggravated, U. S. authorities convinced Vincent to take measures to alleviate some of the popular pressure. This resulted in the "Haitianization" of various public services. They continued negotiating with the most sell-out sectors of the Haitian "elite", and the legal mechanisms for neocolonialism were installed.

On August 7, 1933 a treaty was signed which, while forecasting the complete Haitianization of customs and of the general administration of payments, maintained an even more implacable financial tutelage over the country. On May 12, 1934 the Vincent government signed a contract with the owners of the National Bank, through which it was converted into Haitian state property.... However, the management of the new Bank remained in U. S. capitalist hands. These two examples show the nature of the transition process that preceded the U. S. decision to withdraw its Marines from Haiti in August 1934. The United States "disoccupied" the country, leaving in power men faithfully attached to the United States, and an entire neocolonial system.

The nineteen years of U. S. occupation left a profound mark on the life of the nation: all the following economic, political and social development of the country would bear its stamp.

"The U. S. occupation did not develop capitalist agriculture, nor set the infrastructural bases to establish industry. Neither did it originate a consumers market that could animate the manufacturing industry. It didn't even manage to inspire, in quantitative terms, trade relations with the capitalist world. The mercantile sector, although absorbing an important amount of trade benefits, was unable to push the global economy toward a trade economy. Haiti remained a pre-capitalist country in which the rickety capitalist sector was overpowered by the U. S. economy and by mercantile relations with the capitalist world, with little specific importance in a society in which subsistence economy and feudal relations of production still operated."[5]

In other words, except for the construction of some roads, hospitals and schools, a telephone network and hydraulic service in the capital, the U. S. occupation had only helped consolidate, instead of change, the anachronistic social structures which imperialism depended on to carry out its plunder of the natural resources of the country.

"The structural bases of the country remained almost intact after the U. S. occupation of Haiti. However, the Haitian economy acquired a new characteristic: its complete dependency on the United States. Haiti was the recipient of colonial-type investments in plantations and services. Foreign trusts took control of the finances and tied the money system to the dollar; trade was oriented basically toward the U. S.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 104

[5] *Ibid.* p. 116

market. In this way the occupation set the bases for the dependency that from then on defined the relations of domination and subordination between the United States, the controller, and Haiti, the controlled, to the exclusive benefit of the United States."[6]

For their part, the Haitian police, which had been transformed into the Haitian Guard, whose most outstanding officers were sent to specialize at West Point and other military centers in the United States, assumed the responsibility of maintaining public order, social stability and border control. The basic goal of the Guard was to defend the *status quo*, maintain the established regime and preserve order at all costs in favor, of course, of the neocolonial interests.

In short, the United States integrated Haiti into the system of political subordination that it had been imposing on all Latin America.

·Annual *per capita* income: (1980): 180 dollars.
61 % of the families have annual *per capita* income of less than 60 dollars
40 % of the peasants have an annual income of 14 dollars.
Average daily consumption of calories: 1,900, or 90 % of the minimum daily requirement.

Daily consumption of protein: 41 grams, or 68 % of the minimum daily requirement.

75 % of the population lives in conditions of absolute poverty (1980).

Access to running water: 14 % of the total population.
38 % of the urban population.
7 % of the rural population.

From Vincent to Duvalier

Debilitated after eleven years in power, Stenio Vincent had to cede his place to Elie Lescot, a vigorous defender of U. S. and Dominican interests.

After the Second World War, in 1946, a national movement with a radical and popular vanguard spread out through the whole country and threatened to transform the very bases of the regime. The Guard intervened, acting in its own name, to take power in the form of a Military Executive Committee.

This was the first active and open participation in politics by this modernized, disciplined and cohesive army that had taken on the responsibility of assuring the system's dependence on the United States. It became the arbiter of delicate political situations. At that time it facilitated the access to power of Dumarsais Estimé. The Army's political ambition was growing. In 1950 it deposed Estimé to put Colonel — later

[6] *Ibid.* p. 118



General — Paul E. Magliore into power. His government, according to Haitian writer Paul Laraque, "demonstrated once again that foreign aid by capitalists in general and by the United States in particular benefits no one except imperialism, and increases underdevelopment. The Magliore government thus ended with the bankruptcy of the national economy, the dissolution of the political parties and the absorption of the trade unions that had sprung up in 1946, and with the total absence of democratic institutions".[7]

With Magliore's fall in 1956, the Army lost some of its prestige, and was unable to impose a military solution. However, it still played a preponderant role in the events of 1956-57 that brought François Duvalier to power. In effect, the provisional President Daniel Fignolé was overthrown by General Antoine Képreau, Army Chief of Staff. In 1957, when the Dwight Eisenhower government put into practise its unequivocal line of unrestricted support for "strong governments" in Latin America and the Caribbean, Kepreau organized the elections in which François Duvalier, Papa Doc, was the "winner".

Yankee interventionism under Duvalierism

The regime installed by Papa Doc in 1957 initiated a reign of terror and absolute despotism. He proceeded with the systematic destruction of all democratic, constitutional and administrative institutions.

[7] Paul Laraque *El ejército haitiano agente de la opresión local y la explotación imperialista* (The Haitian army, agent of local oppression and imperialist exploitation), p. 50, "Nuestro Continente" collection, Autonomous University of Sinaloa, Culiacán, México, 1980.

By means of Army purges, the dissolution of the legislative and judicial bodies, repression and corruption, François Duvalier transformed the state apparatus into an instrument entirely devoted to him.

From the moment of his assumption of power, this doctor and ex-official of the U. S. Health Mission in Haiti received complete backing from Washington on the military and repressive levels as well as the economic and political planes. In the early stages of Duvalierism the U. S. military mission began to train the nucleus of the "royal guard" that would form the basis of the *Tontons Macoutes*. This yankee aid lasted until 1963.

The corps of the *Tontons Macoutes*, composed of some forty men, slowly displaced the army in its repressive functions, and became the principal instrument of terror.

"The government of François Duvalier, lacking popular support, could only stay in power through repression and with the help of U. S. financial and military support. It was a classic case of 'friendly dictatorships' which must block, at whatever cost, any popular uprising capable of forming a government that would defend the national interests. The U. S. State Department didn't take long in recognizing this. To eliminate any doubt, the elder Duvalier multiplied his offers of territorial concessions, whether for uncontrolled exploitation of our natural resources or to satisfy the strategic needs of the United States."[8]

At the triumph of the Cuban Revolution on January 1, 1959, the United States government tried to justify its support of the bloody regime in Haiti by invoking a presumed "communist menace", an argument that was also used by Duvalier to "legitimize" his repression. But the fact is that before there was a socialist Cuba, the constant behavior of the United States towards the countries of Our America was one of support for the most unpopular dictatorships.

During the Kennedy period there were, as was pointed out before, some minor contradictions. "In May 1969, with Rockefeller's visit to Haiti, Washington gave undisguised support to Duvalier. Powerful lobbies in Congress and in other official places contributed to this. The Nixon-Kissinger policy of force, their systematic support for right-wing dictatorships, signified the open renewal of economic and military aid to Duvalierism."[9]

During the fourteen years that Papa Doc was in power (1957-1971) U. S. aid reached a total of $150 million, even when Washington, conscious of the corrupt character of the regime, wanted to restrict the economic aid.

When François Duvalier died, the United States support was once again decisive in determining the formula for his succession. The one who steered this succession was U. S. Ambassador Clinton Knox, who gave his government's unequivocal support to that formula. U. S. warships

[8] *Ibid.* p.52

[9] Gerard Pierre-Charles: "Haití: el fracaso del proyecto neoduvalierista" (Haiti: the failure of the Neo-Duvalierist plan) in *Caribe Contemporáneo* No. 3-4, p. 85, School of Political and Social Sciences, UNAM, México.



were sent to Port-au-Prince so that yankee Marines could be landed in case of "any eventuality".

At that moment the major U. S. press syndicates launched a campaign to "change the image" of the regime, and spread the idea that Baby Doc's regime, unlike the last one, would be liberal.

"Nevertheless, we all know that the *Macoute* policy of liberalization is only a façade, a disguise for the economic occupation of the country by transnational capitalism. The changes initiated have been purely superficial; the regime remains essentially the same, except that it has increased its dependence on yankee imperialism and its Canadian, German, French, Israeli and other consorts. The famous *Tontons Macoutes* have been relegated to second place, leaving the field open for the Leopards, a military force trained by the U. S. in the techniques of torture and repression."[10]

It should be emphasized that the repressive structures have remained intact. In this context, the Army — which now has about ten thousand men — strengthened its positions, with the engouragement and approval of Washington. The United States increased its ties with the Haitian Army. Kissinger, in a report to the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Commission, on December 31, 1976, admitted that Washington was using a program of training and modernization of the Duvalierist Navy to reinforce the protection of the Haitian coasts. There is therefore a greater U. S. penetration in the Haitian Armed Forces in terms of the training of officers, delivery of weapons and sharing of intelligence.

[10] Paul Laraque: op. cit. p. 53

In addition, the police agencies have been modernized. Many of the members of the military police studied in the United States or the Panama Canal Zone. The omnipresence of the old *Tontons Macoutes* apparatus has still been maintained, having eliminated the best-known assassins and torturers. This latter was in response to directions from the yankee advisers, who took into consideration the hatred felt by the population for this repressive body.

Thus the machinery of terror that survives under Jean-Claude Duvalier can dedicate itself to a type of repression which is highly selective and more efficient than that of his progenitor.

Since 1971, when the myth of the liberalization of the Jean Claude Duvalier regime was spread, the flow of U. S. aid has increased considerably. In the last ten years Baby Doc received more than a billion dollars from the United States, including grants, bank loans and capital for infrastructure, with the goal of "protecting" Haiti from the danger of a revolutionary explosion.

Illiteracy: 80 %.

24 % of the school-age population attends school.

Expenditures on education: 8 million dollars (1976).

Military expenditures: 11 million dollars (1976).

Land ownership: 5 % of the landowners own 50 % of the land.

1 % of the population controls 40 % of the national wealth.

5 % of the population controls 80 % of the Gross National Product.

Gross National Product: 1 billion 260 million dollars (1980).

Imports: 324 million dollars (1979).

Exports: 190 million dollars (1979).

Sugar production: 80,000 tons (1980).

Trade deficit: 100 million dollars (1981).

"The U. S. administration has given the regime unprecedented economic backing. This aid, adopting the most diverse titles for international cooperation, has reached considerable volume. Today it represents some $150 million annually. As a result, the government has become totally dependent on this foreign assistance, which pays for two-thirds of the budget for public expenditures. Under such, conditions, there is a virtual occupation of the country by foreign advisers and agencies, above all those from the United States, which intervene in all administrative and economic policy decisions.... U. S. private capital noticeably increased

its investments in the country. International agencies, in particular the United States International Agency (USIA), acquired a decisive voice in determining the political and economic life of the country. The actions by the USIA and other U. S. agencies are combined with those of the governments of France (before 1981), West-Germany, England, Israel and Taiwan. Therefore, in the context of this international cooperation, the United States has come to be the director of the orchestra and the writer of most of the score."[11]

When one realizes that the fourteen years of François Duvalier's dictatorship meant the absolute breaking-up of the Haitian economy, one could logically deduce that the Jean-Claude regime could not have kept itself in power even one day without U. S. support.

Let's look briefly at the character of the private U. S. investments in Haiti during the decade of the seventies. Small assembling plants were established in the country, primarily using women workers to produce electronic articles, toys, sporting equipment, etc. designed for the U. S. market.

The Haitian professor and essayist Gerard Pierre-Charles states in this regard: "Taking advantage of the climate of political repression that impeded strikes and the existence of unions and which kept salaries at seventy cents a day, the U.S. companies, under the protection of the Duvalierist 'peace', began to come to Haiti to invest in the special field of assembly processes and light industry. Traditionally, U.S. investment was mostly in sugar or bauxite, but not to an important extent, since until 1970 U. S. companies had only invested some fifty or sixty million dollars. Today the large transnationals have affiliates in our country that are dedicated to making specific parts for wide-ranging electronics processes. At times there are only two or three operations performed in the assembling of the products, which come half-done from the United States. In Haiti either they are finished, or another step in the process is performed and they are again sent to the United States.... During the seventies the amount of U. S. investment in Haiti almost doubled, and so did the size of the working class, which reached some 30,000 workers at the beginning of the past decade."[12]

What's more, numerous transnational companies plunder the natural resources of the country: the copper mines (Sedren, Canadian); bauxite (Reynolds, U. S.) and meat production (Hampco, U. S.). And French Canadian and U. S. capital has built great hotel chains that control the best beaches in the country.

In this context the Haitian industrial and commercial bourgeoisie built up their economic power in the shadow of the transnationals, benefitting from the Duvalierist "peace and order" of the last decade. The May 1980 marriage of Baby Doc to Michele Bennet, whose family is linked with the most powerful commercial and industrial sector, assured the direct and growing participation of the bourgeoisie in political power. This

[11] Gerard Pierre Charles: op. cit. pp. 97-100

[12] Gerard Pierre Charles: "Hacia un gran frente antiduvalierista" (Toward a great anti-Duvalierist front), *En Rojo* (Dec. 4-10, 1981)



bringing together of Duvalierist forces with those of the local bourgeoisie, which greatly benefitted the dictatorship, was favored and instigated by the U. S. presence in the country.

After the triumph of Grenada in March 1979 and the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua in July of that same year, there was a notable change in Washington's policy toward Duvalierism. Given the extent of the national liberation struggles in the area, the U. S. government thought that the pressures placed on the Haitian regime in terms of human rights might lead to weakening the regime. In short, the toughening of the U. S. policy in the Caribbean also affected Haiti, with an increase in repression and a policy of renewing the terror. In this context the U. S., the Dominican Republic and Haiti signed an agreement in which the Dominican Army, stronger and more technically developed than the Haitian Armed Forces, promised to cooperate with the Haitian forces to assure order on the island.

Under Ronald Reagan's administration intervention in Haiti takes on more open forms. U. S. imperialism is trying to transform Haiti into a strategic pawn in its aggressive policy against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, as well as against the struggles of the other Central American and Caribbean peoples. Washington controls Haiti's foreign policy; through Plan FL 400 it exercises unrestricted control over public administration and the national economy, installing a U. S. expert in every ministry in an attempt to mitigate the inefficiency and corruption of the Port-au-Prince rulers. Now as before the U. S. transnational companies ruthlessly exploit Haitian cheap labor. To all this is added the military aspect: the delivery of helicopters and warships, the modernization of the *Tontons Macoutes*, the formation of the Leopards corps, and the increasingly more detailed plans of installing a Naval base in Haiti. There is talk of selling the United States a considerable expanse of land in the northern part of the country to set up military bases, at a price of $600 million. In addition, Haiti will literally be transformed into a yankee garbage dump



if plans to cede part of its territory to the United States for the dumping of toxic wastes are carried out.

At this point, U. S. military occupation is unnecessary: the imperialist presence is guaranteed by its economic and political power, as well as by the complicity of the criminal Duvalier dynasty that is heavily mortgaging the future of the country.

But . . . ?

The Haitian people has grown in experience and determination in these last few years. Political struggle has resumed in this Caribbean countrv. New democratic opposition parties and new progressive and r volutionary organizations have sprung up, which were immediately repressed although they didn't constitute an imminent danger for the regime.

Meanwhile, the general economic crisis, which has taken on dramatic tones in this Antillean nation, has caused a series of contradictions within the ruling oligarchy. The situation continues to get worse, and can't be remedied by the partial and momentary palliatives that the imperialists can supply under the title of "humanitarian aid" or any other heading. The moment will arrive when all the progressive and democratic Haitian forces—those within the country and those in exile — will unite in one great anti-imperialist and anti-Duvalierist front, under the banners of Charlemagne Peralte, to triumph over those who oppress their people and sell-out their country.

The current U. S. government's criminal policy in the region means that the present and future are laden with dangers and difficulties for the Haitian liberation struggle. But the victorious examples of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada demonstrate that it is possible not only to defeat the creole tyrannies and oligarchies, but also to successfully resist the destabilizing blows of U. S. imperialism. ●

CENTRAL AMERICA IN THE SIGHTS OF IMPERIALISM

MAYRA GONGORA



The United States government is now directing its inceasingly aggressive policies toward the strategic zone of Central America. But this is nothing new for this region — it is just a matter of old appetites that have been reawakened by new men in power. Mayra Góngora, Cuban investigative reporter and historian, gives us a close-up view of this issue.

The Big Stick again

IMPOTENT before the thrust of the victorious Sandinista Revolution, the revolutionary triumph of Grenada and the successes of the revolutionary movement in El Salvador —which has been converted into a veritable battlefield — imperialism is unleashing its fury against Cuba and Central America, calling on all its resources to try to save its declining hegemony. The growing expansion of the revolutionary movement in Guatemala and the slow-but-steady polarization of forces in Honduras are also important factors in blocking the course of imperialist plans, causing great concern in Washington.

Carter tried to save the situation by pushing feeble socioeconomic reforms, which in the long run turned out to be too late and counter-productive to his plans. Now Reagan blames Carter for permiting the growth of revolutions in the region, branding the ex-President a weakling. He threatens Cuba, accusing it of being the major cause of the problems by morally — and, he says, materially — exporting revolution. In their total myopia the U.S. rulers are incapable of seeing the real protagonist of the epic that is today unfolding in Central America: the great masses, oppressed and exploited during centuries of ignominy, which as one person have said "Enough!" and have begun to march forward.

The Big Stick policy and the anti-communist hysteria of the post-World War II years are again in fashion. This policy hadn't changed during the preceding years, since it always remained in keeping with the aggressive essence of the system. But for awhile there was an evident attempt to adapt imperialist strategy to the necessities imposed by a world in which the balance of power had begun to shift in favor of the progressive forces. This attempt to try to improve the façade fell apart with the arrival of the new Republican administration, which unfurled banners of war as the dominant trend of its international policy.

Natural backyard

The strategic position of Central America has been a determining factor in its historic development. Being an isthmus and the possible junction between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans very early converted it into a prize coveted by all the imperialist powers.

This geostrategic factor explains why the U.S. imperialist presence dates from an earlier period in this zone than in the rest of the continent. The focus of U.S. imperialism's foreign activities since the 19th century was aimed at trying to guarantee its control over Central America and the Caribbean. To this end it formulated and implemented various policies: the Monroe Doctrine, Manifest Destiny, the Good Neighbor — which, behind the diverse nomenclature, had the single objective of gaining control of a region which it always considered its natural backyard.

The occupation of California, the dismemberment of Mexico, the divisionist policy toward the Central American Federation, the repeated and insistent efforts to buy or annex the islands of Cuba and Santo Domingo, the raw drive to make Puerto Rico one more U.S. state and the struggle to construct an interoceanic canal through Nicaragua or Panama, are all evidence of this belief.

U.S. imperialism's geopolitical view of the zone, which basically has undergone few changes, was clearly expressed at the beginning of this century in Navy Captain Alfred Theyer Mahan's book, *America's Interest in Naval Power*, in which he suggests the necessity of creating a great U. S. naval power to guarantee defense of "Western civilization". In his book the U. S. military officer says that the Caribbean Basin is the meeting point of East and West. and

its strategic importance is equal to that of the Mediterranean Sea. Without domination of the Caribbean, absolute control of the interoceanic canal and the isthmus, and the possesion of naval bases in the Pacific, the United States would not be able to guarantee its position nor the future development of the nation. This new version of Manifest Destiny demands, furthermore, the domination of the passages to the Caribbean, in which Cuba and Jamaica play an important part. In Cuba, Mahan pointed out, the enormous Guantanamo Bay would be the guarantee that the canal would remain in U.S. hands.

Behind this purely military assertion dealing with United States' security, there were hidden powerful economic interests which saw the control of this zone as the guarantee for the development of American monopoly of trade with Europe and Asia. The formulation of this policy and the concrete steps that were taken to implement it were carried out when the United Fruit Company and International Railways of Central America initiated their Central American operations. Their penetration and control of the economy and politics of the Central American countries became a key factor in imperialist domination of the region until well into the 20th century.

Although the Central American region has little economic importance to the United States as compared to the rest of the continent, this doesn't mean that its only value is in its militarily strategic importance. It shouldn't be forgotten that Central America is located between two countries (Mexico and Panama) with which it maintains a strong historical, economic and political relationship. This complicates imperialist policy in the region. And in fact U.S. geopoliticians themselves see the countries of Central America and the Caribbean Basin as an integral strategic unit.

A new epoch since the Bay of Pigs

The United States has jealously tried to maintain the tightest possible control over the countries around its borders, supporting kindred governments. It hasn't hesitated to intervene openly in those cases in which getting rid of a hostile neighbor seemed expedient. This occured, among other instances, in Guatemala in 1954 and at



The *Houston,* U.S. ship that took part in the attack against Cuba in 1961 and was sunk by the revolutionary forces.

the Bay of Pigs in 1961, with diametrically opposite results in the two cases.

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and the first military defeat suffered by imperialism in 1961 marked the beginning of a new epoch in the relations between Latin America and the United States, in which the empire has begun a process of slowly losing its hegemony.

The intransigence of the Cuban Revolution and the establishment of the first socialist country on the continent at the very doors of imperialism turned Cuba into a beacon for the revolutionaries of the hemisphere, who for the first time saw the possibility of putting an end to the Latin American people's terrible conditions of exploitation and misery turned into reality. The "moral missiles" of revolutionary Cuba which Comandante Che Guevara referred to have for imperialism turned into the most fearful of weapons. The legendary figure of the hero of the Sierra Maestra, Fidel Castro, and that of the Heroic Guerrilla, Che Guevara, became banners raised high and examples to be followed by the revolutionaries of this and other continents. A massive publicity campaign utilizing the most sophisticated media techniques, unleashed by the United States government in an attempt to discredit the Revolution and its leaders, could not tarnish that example.

The failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion showed imperialism the impossibility of using the same counter-revolutionary scheme in Cuba that it had introduced in Guatemala, and forced it instead to follow a policy aimed at preventing, by all means imaginable, the repetition of a new Cuba on the continent.

The imperialist strategy for achieving this goal was expressed through the so-called "Alliance for Progress" (ALPRO) proposed by Kennedy at a meeting of the OAS in Punta del Este, Uruguay, just four months after the Bay of Pigs defeat. The Alliance for Progress proposed two basic objectives: in the first place, to cover the young Cuban Revolution with a curtain of smoke to isolate it economically and politically, and thus prevent its example from spreading to the rest of the continent. It also proposed preventive measures, which were imperialism's first attempt at adapting its policies in order to slow down the outbreak of revolution that was hovering on the Latin American horizon. The Alliance proposed substantial increases in economic aid to the countries of the continent in a demagogic effort at reforms aimed at modernizing the systems to make them less repressive, hoping to thus undercut the revolutionary processes. The beneficiaries of this aid had to pay for it by handing over enormous amounts of merchandise and opening up their economies to foreign capital, primarily that of the transnational companies based in the United States. In political terms this strategy was translated into an even greater dependency on the United States by the oligarchies.

However, the much-hoped-for "miracle" to stabilize the continent — which was to have been the result of the Alliance for Progress' policies — crashed against the reality. The creation of infrastructural bases that assured greater private investment and the association of this capital with foreign capital did no more than deepen the existing abyss between the ruling classes and the people, and sharpen the class contradictions. At the popular level this was translated into a strengthening of the mass organizations and the emergence of guerrilla movements in different parts of the continent.

In Central America it was most clearly seen in the foundation of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) on July 23, 1961, and in the appearance of Guatemalan guerrillas at the beginning of the sixties.

The Kennedy government, meanwhile, while loudly announcing economic aid programs (which in some cases never got off the drawing board), approved an increase in military aid for weapons and training. From the point of view of military strategy, there was a change in theories about how to defend against an internal, national enemy — which meant all those who opposed the pro-imperialist regimes. The style of military intervention, the traditional landing of the Marines, gave way to more refined techniques under the direct advice and leadership of U.S. military specialists, in an attempt to avoid massive intervention involving sending troops to the scene. This was to be the strategy with which it would try, with partial success, to de-active the guerrilla movement in this period: it is what's

known as the "counter-insurgency tactic".

The Alliance for Progress constituted a new defeat for imperialist policy in this period. Not only did the plans it had devised fall through, but the result was completely opposite of what was intended. It was unable to prevent the imposition of military dictatorships in those countries it was trying to "democratize" in order to avoid the danger of revolutions. The loss of imperialist hegemony, which began with the new era opened up by the Cuban Revolution, could not be stopped by the Alliance for Progress, and continued to grow in step with the accelerating development of the peoples' consciousness.

This process became most noticeable in the mid-seventies, when various events occurred that influenced U.S. policy. Outstanding among these were the triumph of the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada; the signing of the new canal treaties between Panama and the United States; the establishment of the progressive governments of Manley in Jamaica and Burnham in Guyana; the force of the independence movement in Puerto Rico; the solid development of the revolutionary movements in El Salvador and Guatemala; and the level of international support given the independence of Belize.

An attempt at adaptation: the "new dialogue"

The theoretical positions of the imperialist ideologues changed as they maneuvered to adapt to the exigencies imposed by social developments and historical change. But the very essence of imperialist ideology did not vary. The new theories that were developed, behind an apparent critical spirit and some phony desires for transformation, masked the same inalterable goal of trying to maintain imperialist control of the continent at any cost.

It was precisely in the decade of the seventies, when the loss of imperialism's influence became most noticeable, that U.S. politicians began to see the need for improving their international image. They then made efforts at modernizing the dependency relations with Latin America, surrounding them in a "democratic halo".

Three documents were produced in this period: the so-called "Rockefeller Report" and "Linowitz 1 and 2", which are basic for understanding U.S. policy toward our continent at this time. While it is true that these don't refer specifically to the relations between the United States and Central America, it is no less true that that relationship can't be eliminated from the continental strategy.

The Rockefeller Report (1969), presented under the title "The Quality of Life in the Americas", which was put together by Nelson Rockefeller under the orders of Richard Nixon, constitutes the first step toward the break with past tradition that took place in this period. It recognizes that the United States was impotent to control the forces of change on the continent, and the deterioration of relations within the hemisphere. It outlines a strategy which, without affecting imperialist interests, proposes mechanisms that would allow imperialism to adapt itself to the course of events, and at the same time avoid situations that would call into question its hegemony.

The Report proposes a separation and coordination between the lines of political economic cooperation, the restructuring of the regional organization under the eye of imperialism, and the increase of regional assistance and the system of hemispheric security. It also calls for large-scale economic reforms that range from the broadening of the foreign market and the concession of easy terms for the investment of private U.S. capital to the backing of plans for agrarian reform. The latter involves the remodeling of agriculture to achieve hemispheric integration. The Rockefeller Report also proposes increased ideological penetration through cooperation in the field of education and greater cultural exchange.

The final objective of this series of reformist measures was to establish a new relation, a "new dialogue", between the Latin American countries and the United States, based on apparently more equal relations.

The reports known as "Linowitz 1 and 2" were prepared by a commission made up of academics, as well as representatives of private industry and government. They were financed by the Rockefeller, Ford and Clark Foundations with the objective of producing an evaluation of intrahemispheric relations that would contribute to devising

United States' policy for the region. Under the titles "The Americas, a Changing World" (1974) and "The United States, Latin America, the Next Steps" (1976), they recommend a lower military profile in the hemisphere, reject open intervention, and call for the suspension of military aid — but without cancelling the sale of arms.

But perhaps the most novel note in Linowitz' demagogic policy was the boomerang in terms of human rights policy, which had become one of the Carter administration's most vulnerable points. The Rockefeller Report made passing mention of what it called "authoritarian governments". But it is really "Linowitz 2" that expounds the ideological support for this policy — which historical events themselves have discredited because of the close links between imperialism and the most reactionary regimes on the planet.

From military dictatorship to "viable democracy"

The "New Dialogue" strategy recommended by the Rockefeller Report and developed more fully by the Linowitz reports proposed a new type of order whose ideal is the installation of reformist governments which, through pseudo "solutions" of some social problems, neutralize the people's demands, consequently weakening the revolutionary movement and assuring the established order.

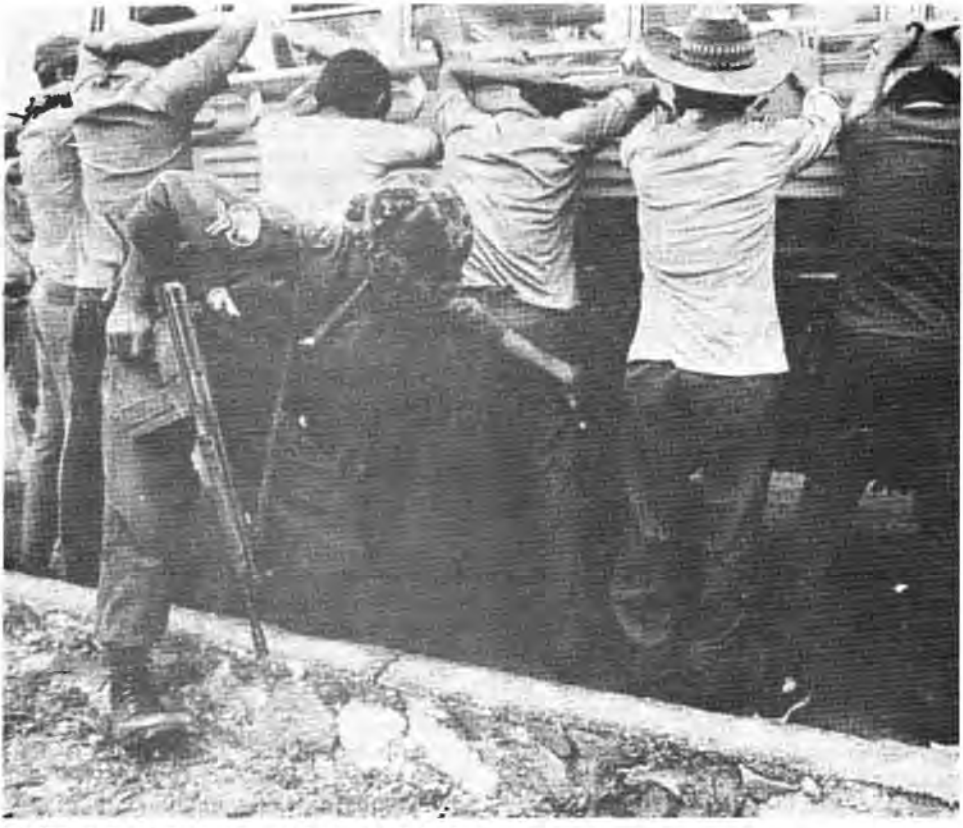
In Central America this model made its forceful appearance at a time of apparent political stability in which highly repressive governments at the service of the United States proliferated. In Guatemala, after the overthrow of the popular democratic government of Arbenz, the counter-revolution took over. The guerrilla movement of the sixties had been put out of commission for awhile and the increasing repression seemed to have paralized the revolutionary movement. In Honduras a military government presented imperialism with the ideal conditions for imposing its reformist scheme, Somoza's Nicaragua, submerged in an apparently eternal tyranny, at that time was no great cause for concern. El Salvador, dominated for more than four decades by puppet military governments, was a volcano awaiting an awakening that the yankees never imagined. Costa Rica, for its part, was hard-pressed to maintain its image as the Switzerland of the Americas. In short, the policy of pseudo-reforms was begun at a time when imperialism considered Central America to be a safe zone for its investments and interests.

At a time when "human rights" were proclaimed to the four winds, United States' interests were not rooted in a concern for justice toward the countries whose oppression it participated in, but rather with keeping up appearances to avoid being identified too closely with governments which had been discredited internationally because of the repression they unleashed against their own peoples' organizations. One of the clearest examples of this was the attempt to prevent the sharpening of the conflict in El Salvador. In October, 1979, just three months after the Sandinista victory there was an attempt made to institute pseudo-democratic reforms — sponsored by the U.S. State Department with the support of the Christian Democrats and one sector of the Salvadoran Armed Forces. But this plan clashed with the reality of the country. Given the impossibility of affecting the existing system of exploitation and the fascist character of the Armed Forces, it could never become a viable alternative, and could only be imposed by means of increasing repression. The fruits of this policy can be seen in the massacres taking place daily throughout the country.

A solution was then sought by means of a transition from these governments to more popular systems. An attempt was made to introduce what is euphemistically called "viable democracy".

The implementation of this policy had various prerequisites, including, first of all, the substitution of military governments with civilian-led ones or with coalitions representing broad sectors of the society; the promulgation of anti-communist laws; and the stengthening of the structure of the armed forces, which was given the role of supervisor and guarantor of the democratization process.

The high level of repression existing in Central America made it the ideal field for trying out this plan. But the fundamental premise that made it viable, from Washington's point of view, was the U.S.' great influence in the



Typical scene of the daily repression in El Salvador.

area and its power to act as it wished. In addition, when Carter assumed the presidency there were favorable conditions for the transition, since elections were planned in El Salvador for the beginning of 1977 and in Guatemala and Costa Rica at the beginning of 1978.

However, in designing its model of "viable democracy" imperialism committed the same old error of not taking into account the principal actor in the scene: the popular masses. Impelled by the very circumstances of oppression and social injustice, and guided by their vanguard organizations, the people had already reached a level of determination and combativity that dashed to the ground the plans so carefully prepared by the State Department's most expert statesmen.

What's more, Carter didn't know how to evaluate the recommendations he received and the projects outlined for this area. He didn't understand the exact dimensions of the internal political forces in each country which had to be manipulated in order to put his model into practise. The facts themselves demonstrated that it was already too late for a program of reforms, and that they were trying to apply them at a time when the Central American people, in some countries more than others, had already set out on the path of revolution.

History repeats itself

The policy of the Reagan administration was articulated in a document known as the "Santa Fe Report", which formed his programatic platform. It was prepared for the future president by a group of experts, among whom are some of his current advisers. The report outlined the pattern the Republican administration should follow. Among its drafters was Roger W. Fontaine, Reagan's principal adviser for Latin America, who is strongly linked to Cuban counter-revolutionary groups and to fascist organizations in

Guatemala; Cleto di Giovani Jr, business adviser in Guatemala and El Salvador and a noted former high official in the CIA (who wrote to Reagan after a mission to El Salvador: "El Salvador's security requires the speedy elimination of the Managua government..."); General John K. Singlaub, a former major in the U.S. Forces in South Korea, whose strong links to the Neo-Nazi Liberal Party in the United States are well known; Jeanne Kirkpatrick, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, a fanatic anti-communist and partisan of the military intervention in El Salvador. These are some of the people who drafted the report, many of whom, sadly, have become well-known on the continent.

Perhaps no ruler during the past decades has been so faithful to the militaristic designs of his administration as has Reagan. But plans outlined in the Santa Fe Report are not new. They are characterized chiefly by an hysterical anti-communism that calls forth the spectre of a hypothetical danger of attack — coming from the Soviet Union — as a pretext for accelerationg the arms race and for aggression against anyone who could endanger the established order. The basic ideas expressed in the document are a faithful reproduction of the "Truman Doctrine", which outlined U.S. foreign policy during the years following the Second World War.

From then on the United States began institutionalizing its military relations with Latin America. Along these lines, the first important step was the creation of the Interamerican Defense Council, in 1942. Its main objective was the joint consideration of matters dealing with "continental security". A system of regional defense "against any extra-continental aggression" was set up through bilateral agrements with 18 countries to assure the military cooperation of the Latin American governments. Later, in 1945, the "Act of Chapultepec" approved at the Panamerican Conference in Mexico, put forth the prospect of utilizing Latin American armed forces together with those of the United States to confront any conflict that could be termed a threat to continental security.

From that moment on relations between the United States and Latin America have been linked to notions of "hemispheric security" and "intercontinental security". These theories were the basis of the Cold War policy that built its strategy on the understanding that, since WWII, the world has been divided into two blocs — the "democratic" Western bloc and the communist Eastern bloc — locked in a battle to the death. For the imperialists "hemispheric security" has meant preparing the Western bloc (of which they are the principal exponent) to defend itself against a would-be Soviet attack.

The reorganization of the U.S. military apparatus took place in 1947 in the context of this doctrine. The cabinet position of Secretary of Defense was created, above the subsecretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, providing a single leadership to coordinate military problems. The National Security Council, a kind of executive committee for imperialist foreign policy, was also formed in this period.

The Interamerican Conference for Continental Peace and Security held that same year in Rio de Janeiro, discussed preparation of the Interamerican Reciprocal Aid Treaty (TIAR) to institutionalize the principles articulated at Chapultepec.

In article no. 3 the treaty establishes that "an armed attack by any state against an American state will be considered as an attack against all American states, and consequently each of the contracting parties promises to help resist such an attack..." In article no. 9 the treaty refers to "...other acts that the conference can characterize as aggression..." which can be interpreted as loosely as circumstances require.

The formal decision-making body of the TIAR is the conference of its foreign ministers, and although its application is theoretically limited to cases of armed attack or invasion, the description provided in article no. 9 allows for the manipulation of the term aggression.

By this means imperialism has seen to it that the Latin American oligarchies close ranks to oppose the development of any progressive current in the hemisphere. This kind of Security Council independent of the United Nations is an instrument that imperialism has used to promote its interests at critical points.

The first recommendation of the Santa Fe Report refers specifically to this aspect of the TIAR, since it proposes revitalizing the system of hemispheric security by maintaining the TIAR as the only instrument for resisting "the threat presented by the Soviet-Cuban axis to subvert from within and attack from abroad the legitimate goverments of this hemisphere... Soviet Naval ships, abetted by the massive Soviet presence on the isle of Cuba, represent a clear and present danger for all free nations of the hemisphere The Rio Treaty is a measured and prudent response to this flagrant threat."

From the economic point of view, just like the Rockefeller and Linowitz Reports, the Santa Fe Report proposes a strategy aimed at securing economic control of the continent. In this sense, too, Reagan's program represents nothing new, since it postulates revitalizing the Eisenhower policy of "exchange of capital and technology for the importation of sources of energy", with the United States at the head of the program.

The Republican scheme proposes that the United States recapture the lead in the nuclear programs that are being developed in Mexico, Brazil and Argentina with European technology, as well as take control of the oil fields, in a program directed at accelerating industrial and agricultural production. We should point out, however, that the Reagan administration's relative focus on agro-industrial development is formulated from a militaristic perspective. The report states that the motivation for this development is the fact that "food is a weapon in time of war", which can be used to exert "very strong pressure on potentially hostile states, by holding food supplies as hostage..."

Concerning the forms in which aid should be carried out, the Republican plan favors establishing programs of direct loans to cooperatives and communal business through the Agency for Industrial Development (AID), and in general encourages governments to promote the creation of credit institutions to stimulate direct private investment. It also proposes offering incentives for the investment of foreign private capital.

The proposed program is accompanied by a campaign of ideological penetration aimed at "winning the minds of humanity" to guarantee support for their aggressive policy which is, essentially, directed against our continent.

The supremacist and hegemonistic spirit of the new U.S. government has been evident from the entire contents of its platform, and was summed up unequivocally in the final paragraph: "Only the United States, as a partner, can protect the independent nations of Latin America from communist conquest and aid in preserving Hispanic culture from sterilization by international Marxist materialism. The United States should take the lead. Not only are United States' relations with Latin America in danger, but the very survival of our country is at stake."

The "northern triangle"

The military aspect of imperialist plans for Central America were first revealed with the creation of the Central American Defense Council —known by its acronym CONDECA — in 1969. This pact was an attempt to centralize the war potential of the countries of the subregion. Its function consisted in permanently coordinating the armed forces and the police, intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies of the Central American countries under U.S. command — especially the "Southern Command" of the United States forces headquartered in the Panama Canal Zone.

On a subregional level CONDECA constituted, if only theoretically, the expression of the theories of national security put forth to try to guarantee United States hegemony. As a deterrent it was an important geopolitical factor, since it was a possible threat against popular movements and a possible platform to sustain the area's dictatorships, if carried out in the form proposed. With the fall of Somoza, the pact, which really had been inoperative, entered into its final crisis. Today imperialism is working at reactivating it and making it an effective guardian against revolution in Central America.

The Caribbean Joint Task Force, also created during this period, is commanded by Rear Admiral Thomas Reploge, and made up of approximately 100 officers and 200 Marines, with its own air force at its disposal. The pretext





In Guatemala and El Salvador the guerrilla struggle grows stronger every day in terms of organization and combativity.

for the creation of this special command was the attempt to neutralize "the military threat of the Soviet Combat Brigade" in Cuba and Cuba's influence in the Central American revolutionary movement. The great media show put on when the Task Force was created was used for electoral purposes during Carter's presidential campaign. Its first spectacular mission was the landing of 2,200 Marines, commanded by Captain John Fetteman, at the Guatanamo Naval Base. Right after the triumph of the Nicaraguan Revolution, the United States launched an extensive diplomatic campaign throughout the zone, and readjusted its policy toward the area through the "Vacky Plan", which assigned Honduras a key role. This plan contemplated creating a zone of stability in Honduras by reinforcing the program of social reforms contained in the "viable democracy" policy, while considerably increasing military aid and arms sales either directly or through third parties. The goal was to convert Honduras into what it is today: one of the replacements for Somoza as the gendarme of Central America.

Sub-secretary of Defense Franklin Kramer recently stated: "To the north and east of El Salvador, Honduras plays a key role in the movement of men and matériel to the Salvadoran insurgents. The Hondurans believe, and our intelligence services agree, that if El Salvador falls into the hands of the extreme left, Honduras will be next."

As a part of this stabilization policy a Honduran-El Salvador peace treaty was signed December 10, 1980, to end the suspension of relations between the two countries which had been in effect since the "100 hours war" in 1969. The day the treaty was signed Honduran Marxist parties issued a declaration denouncing the true character of the treaty, whose purpose was to serve imperialist strategy in Central America and facilitate the reorganization of CONDECA in order to put down the peoples' liberation struggles.

The new military pact, which some baptized "mini-CONDECA" and which is commonly called the "Northern

Triangle", functions actively, and its existence has been admitted publicly by the military hierarchies of the three countries that make it up.

At this point the Northern Triangle has become an instrument of the most criminal U.S. intervention in the region and a bastion of counter-revolution, with the notorious participation of more than 6000 ex-Somoza guards. Having found a safe refuge in Honduras, they are now camped along the Honduran border with Nicaragua. From there they carry out their criminal incursions against their own people.

The next step proposed by the genocidal rulers of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras is the legalization of the Northern Triangle's activies. This was expressed in public declarations by the former president of the Salvadoran Junta, José Napoleón Duarte, and the ex-presidential candidate of Guatemala, Anibal Guevara, at the end of 1981. Guevara stated: "The creation of a military front made up of the northern cone countries of Central America will help combat the problem of subversion", although he admitted that "putting an end to it will be very difficult".

The people have the last word

Reagan's ascension to the presidency of the United States came at a moment in which the organizational and combative ability of the Salvadoran guerrilla movement had reached a point where it could move on to a higher level of struggle. This was the general offensive begun in January 1981. Two years later, the revolutionaries continue increasing their combative capability and have become a representative political force which, with the support of the immense majority of the population, has turned the country into an immense battlefield.

International solidarity stirred by the Salvador people reached a climax with the recognition by the French and Mexican governments that the patriots who have paid a price of 20,000 lives in their struggle for a more just regime are the legitimate representatives of the Salvadoran people.

The enormous quantities of modern weapons supplied to the Junta's repressive forces by the United States, the continued arrival of military advisers, as well as the evident use of Honduran and Guatemalan troops in a shameless display of interventionism, haven't succeeded in weakening the revolutionary movement.

In Guatemala the guerrilla struggle is gaining in combativity and organization every day. The guerrilla fronts of the political-military organizations Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), and Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA) have dealt heavy blows to the enemy, especially since the second half of 1981, which set the conditions for a greater expansion of their forces. This led to the signing of a proclamation of unity in February 1982. The document, agreed to by the three organizations and the leadership nucleus of the Guatemalan Labor Party (PGT), opens a new stage in the struggle of the Guatemalan people. It is clear that the brutal repression and terror which took the lives of 13,000 Guatemalans in 1981 not only failed to halt, but in fact spurred the quantitative and qualitative growth of the guerrilla movement. The defeat of the military counter-offensive launched by the Lucas regime's army between November, 1981 and January, 1982, was a clear demonstration of this.

The March, 1982 electoral farce made even clearer the crisis suffered by the system of domination in Guatemala. The group in power, concerned only with their own narrow interests, persisted in their attempt to impose a military candidate of their choice, which sharpened the contradictions with other sectors of the ruling class and with imperialism itself. The electoral fraud in turn precipitated a coup which in no way altered the situation. The new regime's failure to condemn the massacres, and the fact that they continued in practise, quickly showed the Guatemalan people that the new government was not interested in change, and that the system of extermination imposed by the former Lucas government would continue.

In the cities, various sectors of the population are finding means of organizational expression, and actions in the workers, student and mass movements are multiplying.

In Honduras, actions in solidarity with the Salvadoran patriots and with the Sandinista Revolution, as well as demonstrations in repudiation of the presence of almost 5,000 former Somoza guards, show a growing consciousness

of the regional situation by progressive political organizations and the Left. The Honduran worker and peasant movements have reached an organizational level comparatively higher than in other countries of the area, and in general there are strong currents favoring unity among the progressive forces.

The threats of attack against Nicaragua and the attempts by the United States government to destabilize and isolate the revolution failed, and have only served to raise the spirits of a people who only a few years ago showed they are capable of paying any price for freedom. The Nicaraguan people are ready for battle, and have reaffirmed their willingness to give their lives if necesary to defend their revolution. In the midst of the difficulties presented by the proximity of hostile neighbors and the attacks it has been subjected to, the Nicaraguan Revolution continues its process of consolidation.

In laying out his program of government, Reagan was forced to recognize that "Latin America is vital to the United States" and that his prospects for global power must rest on a "cooperative Caribbean" and a South America that supports his desire to manipulate the whole continent according to his whim.



The threats of aggression against Nicaragua have failed to achieve their purpose and have only raised the level of the people's morale.

To this end, in an extravagant display of arrogance, he threatened to intervene militarily and to utilize all his might against the peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua.

Without taking into account the causes of the profound social injustice which for decades helped generate today's revolutionary outburst in Central America, imperialism has unleashed its fury against Cuba, accusing it of being the prime mover of this situation. The threats of naval blockade and direct attack have been accompanied by an intensification in the economic blockade and an increase in espionage and subversive activities. The United States shamelessly speaks of setting up a radio station to broadcast to Cuba with the goal of diverting and misinforming the Cuban people, thus creating a climate of internal destabilización favorable to counter-revolutionary elements. The use of bacteriological weapons against our people was a reality denounced on many occasions by Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, that became clear when epidemics of swine fever struck our livestock, cane smut and tobacco blue mold attacked our crops, and dengue fever and hemorrhagic conjunctivitis struck our people.



In the midst of this aggressive policy the U.S. Senate recently approved the "Symms Amendment", a resolution which authorizes the yankee administration to use "any means", including the sending of troops, to confront the supposed danger that Cuba presents in the area. These threats of attack and the defamatory campaign against Cuba, which has become as intense as during the first years of the revolution, have given rise to a gigantic wave of solidarity by the world's progressive forces, counter-balancing the warlike braggadocio of imperialism. The Cuban people, like the Nicaraguans, calm and firm, have stated that they are ready to defend their country against any aggression.

At the end of his first year in government, Reagan had not gathered the fruits he expected from his aggressive policy, especially in terms of Central America and the Caribbean. The Cuban Revolution is stronger than ever; revolutionary processes are more consolidated in Nicaragua and Grenada; an ever-stronger resistance is being mounted by the Salvadoran people; an impressive expansion of the guerrilla struggle is taking place in Guatemala; Belize is independent; a radicalization process is taking place in Surinam; and there is a revolution in gestation in Honduras.

Once again we can see the political myopia of imperialism which, despite all the advisers and theoreticians studying the best ways to plunder the peoples of America, is unable to see that in Central America and in revolutionary Cuba, as in Vietnam or any other part of the world, the people will have the last word. ●



ELADIO RIVADULLA

The most important thing that can be done to achieve peace in Asia is to set the basis for continental security. This and other important initiatives for peaceful coexistence in Asia are described for *Tricontinental* by Gombosurenguin Dashdavaa, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia.

THE working people of the People's Republic of Mongolia, like all those who inhabit the vast Asian continent, sincerely strive for peace and security in Asia. This effort is reflected in the fact that one of the principal directions of our country's foreign policy is the strengthening of peace in Asia, the development of friendship and mutually beneficial collaboration with all the countries of the continent.

A clear confirmation of the PRM's efforts at securing a sure and lasting peace on the Asian continent is the proposition set forth in the Thirteenth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party which took place on May 26, 1981. The proposal was made by President of the Presidium of the People's Great Jural of the PRM, Yu Tsedenbal, in relation to the signing of a convention on not using force in relations between the countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

The course of events in Asia shows the importance today of the task of guaranteeing security on this continent. Recently in Asia, as in the rest of the world, the political-military situation has sharpened. The United States, above all, is primarily responsible for this situation.

In declaring it a sphere of influence for everyone, the United States, with its global aggressive policy, rates Asia very highly.

The "strategy of bases" has become an integral part of the reactionary policy of U.S. imperialism. A very important link in the U.S. "strategy of bases" is the so-called "Pacific Ocean Doctrine." According to data from the U.S. press, in the western part of the Pacific Ocean alone there are more than 100 major bases.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan's statement about the possibility of using tactical nuclear arms in Europe and the U.S. conception of "limited nuclear war" represent a threat not only for the European continent. The existence of this danger in terms of armament and disarmament — in particular for Asia — was confirmed by the U.S. CIA director when he stated that "in the case of necessity" the United States would launch medium-range nuclear missiles "in the theatre of action, first of all In countries like Japan or China".

Preparations for this objective are in full swing. On Diego García island in the Indian Ocean a U.S. military base is being remodeled to be able to receive B-52 nuclear bombers with a full load of bombs and fuel. The Pentagon is oiling the plans for putting rockets with nuclear warheads in bases in the western part of the Pacific Ocean, in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines.

The United States' aggressive plans are supported by expansionist and militarist circles in some Asian countries that have openly come out for the preservation and strengthening of the U.S. military presence in this region.

Imperialism's expansion of the old military bases and creation of new ones, the formation of new political-military blocs and the restoration of those already in existence, create a real threat of converting the vast expanse of Asia into a military proving-ground. The whole history of Asia shows that the imperialist policy of piratry and violence has only brought calamity to the Asian people, disturbing their peaceful life.

The government of the PRM believes that the increasingly obvious alliance between Peking and Washington is today the principal threat to peace and security in Asia and the world. The Chinese leaders want to carry out their hegemonistic aspirations in alliance with the imperialist forces.

For their part the imperialist forces use today's China as support for their discredited policies in Asia and the rest of the world. They try to strengthen China's economic and military potential to create a "counterbalance" to the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community.

Under these conditions anyone interested in truly converting Asia into a continent of peace must work very hard, skillfully combining steadfastness with flexibility, and realism with good will.

To create a solid peace in a climate of tranquility on the whole Asian continent is an extremely complex task to carry out.

The experience of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation clearly shows that the development of the contemporary world and the general state of the world's forces contribute to a growing consciousness of the need to hold to the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states and of complementing peaceful relations with mutually beneficial collaboration in the economic, scientific, technical and other fields.

The government of the PRM, in its efforts to assure peace and security in Asia, always takes into consideration this increasingly favorable situation in the world, from which comes the certainty of triumph of the peaceful development of the continent.

There are also favorable political factors in the Asian continent; rich traditions of solidarity and support among the peoples in struggle against imperialism and the yoke of colonialism; a majority of the countries have a policy of nonalignment, in the spirit of Bandung; the desire of the overwhelming majority of the nations of the continent to create an environment of peace and collaboration to overcome economic backwardness inherited from the colonial past.

Considering the Asiatic world situation, the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia, President of the Presidium of the People's Great Jural Tsedenbal, stated: "The perspectives for strengthening peace and security are also opening up on the Asian continent. The political situation created in Asia today underscores the necessity of guaranteeing peace and security on the continent with the supportive and unitary efforts of the Asian states. We speak in favor of transforming Asia into a continent of peace and collaboration on the basis of building confidence, mutual understanding and anti-imperialist solidarity of the Asian peoples."

The Mongol government believes that putting into practise the idea of guaranteeing Asian security with the joint efforts of the Asian states can be achieved through the ample incorporation of the countries of

the continent in the struggle to further relax tensions, to bring an end to the arms race, and with the development of collaboration on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

The most important task in this sense consists in setting the material base for peace and security on the continent, which means taking real measures to create an atmosphere of confidence and understanding among the Asian countries.

It is precisely for this reason that the PRM suggested the idea of carrying out a political dialogue among the Asian states and writing up and signing a mutual non-agression pact and pledge against the use of force in relations among the Asian and Pacific Ocean states.

This new initiative of the PRM's foreign policy starts with the idea that peace and security can be guaranteed on the basis of the collective efforts of all the countries and all the progressive forces.

There is a growing tendency among Asian countries to examine the real situation without preconceived ideas, and to hold to the course of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social regimes. These tendencies have inspired the government of Mongolia to take this initiative.

Our initiative, in its essence and its goals, is similar to well-known propositions suggested by some Asian countries on the regional and international level, for strengthening security in Asia. We have taken into account the proposals of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Democratic Republic of Lao, and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, concerning the transformation of Southeast Asia into



Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.



The Governmental Palace in Mongolia.

a zone of peace and collaboration; those of the Soviet Union concerning measures to create and strengthen an atmosphere of trust and understanding in the Far East; those of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan relating to the political control of the situation around Afghanistan, the proposal to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, etc. On the basis of all these measures rests the effort to legalize the principle of non-use of force in international relations.

We see the objective of the future pact in terms of strengthening the universal principles of interstate relations which are reflected in the UN Charter, the Declaration of Bandung, and other international documents which are universally recognized as norms for mutual relations between states of that region. Our government believes that the basis for the agreement should especially consist of such principles as mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; the inviolability of state borders; equality; non-intervention in the internal affairs of one country by another; non-use of force or the threat of force; resolution of problems by peaceful means; and the development of collaboration on the basis of mutual advantage.

The PRM considers that these concrete principles and the contents of the pact should be analized and written up jointly by the states participating in it. To this end we propose the convocation of a conference of states of the region.

In offering our proposal for the signing of this pact, we consider it important that all the states of the region take part in it. We also believe this should include the nearby countries of the Pacific Ocean, a region which has great importance for the security of the Asian continent. In addition we believe it is possible and important to have the participation of the permanent members of the UN Security Council in the planning of the pact and the work of the conference. We base this on the idea

that, according to the UN Charter, the permanent members of the Security Council have a special responsibility for supporting international security.

We believe that the corresponding states should deliberate and reach an agreement on the date and place of the conference in order to prepare the proposal for the pact.

Our party and government have carried out an intensive labor aimed at bringing about this peace initiative in this hemisphere.

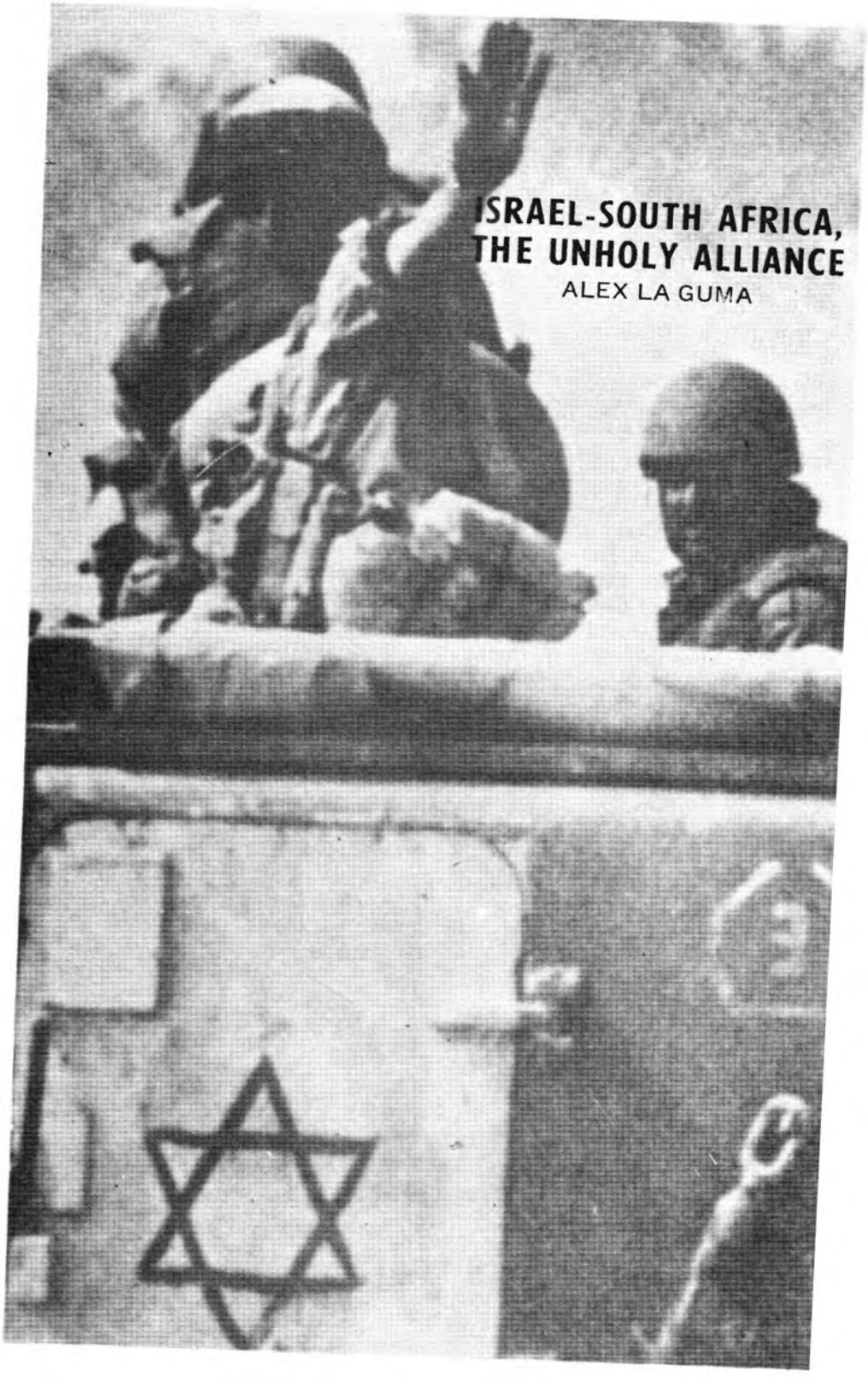
One of the tasks carried out was the delivering of *compañero* Yu Tsedenbal's message to more than 50 heads of state and government, to the Secretary General of the UN, the President of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the President of the World Peace Council. The message has been received favorably and the great majority of the countries consider the proposal important. Our people were very happy with the response of comrade L.I. Brezhnev, in which he placed great value on our proposal and expressed the Soviet government's willingness to help in carrying it out.

Naturally, carrying out the proposal suggested by the PRM will take not-a-little time and continuous efforts.

We in Mongolia believe that the situation in Asia can and must be improved. What is needed is good will, the willingness of the states to resolve international problems in ways that guarantee the interests of peace and progress.

The struggle for security in Asia contitutes one of the decisive directions of the common struggle to promote peace, to halt the headlong arms race, and to take a step toward real disarmament. ●




ISRAEL-SOUTH AFRICA,
THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE
ALEX LA GUMA

Alex La Guma, esteemed South African intellectual, Secretary General of the Afro-Asian Writers Association, and member of the Foreign Commission of the ANC, unmasks the links that bind the two most aggressive regimes in the world despite their being located in distant parts of the globe and having very different characteristics.

THE June 1982 invasion of Lebanon by Israel once again proved imperialism's contempt for world public opinion and its determination to destroy the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Lebanese progressive forces.

The affirmation by then-U. S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig that the Israelis could not be expected to leave Lebanon soon gave virtual carte blanche to the invaders to carry out their genocidal policy.

Similarly, in Southern Africa imperialism — led by the reactionary sector in the United States — turns a blind eye on the aggression of the racists against neighbouring states. Among these, Angola bears a large share of the burden of South African arrogance and terrorism.

Thousands upon thousands of innocents have been massacred by the twin forces of Zionist-racist aggression and invasion as Israel and South Africa, lackeys of imperialism, set about the hopeless mission of putting an end to the liberation struggles of the peoples of the Middle East and Southern Africa, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, SWAPO and the African National Congress in their respective regions.

Recognition of their interdependence forms the basis of relations between Israel and racist South Africa, between Zionism and apartheid. Created by the fine hand of Lord Balfour in the early part of this century — one guarding the eastern Mediterranean and the northern gate to Africa, and the other the interests, both economic and strategic, of imperialism in Southern Africa, the Indian Ocean and South Atlantic — they act as the military and economic agents of their masters. They co-operate not only with imperialism but with each other, strengthening racism, joining in maneuvers against their neighbors, and providing mutual military and financial support to ensure the survival of their regimes.

Economic collaboration

Economic collaboration between apartheid South Africa and Israel is mutually beneficial. Israel provides a channel into African and non-aligned countries which operate a trade embargo against South Africa, and allows South African goods to enter the European Common Market under Israel's free-trade agreement. In return Israel benefits from financial and other aid provided by South Africa.

Since 1976 co-operation on the state level has been through a Joint Ministerial Committee. The Committee was set up to discuss and implement the development of trade, scientific and technical co-operation and the "joint utilization of South Africa's raw materials and Israeli manpower."

At the end of 1980 an agreement was concluded providing for an aid package worth $250 million to Israel. It covers the extension of credits and permission for the further export of capital.

South African Zionists have been sending larger *per capita* donations

to Israel than any other group, not excluding the United States. In spite of its own foreign exchange shortages, the regime has permitted the regular transfer of these funds.

South African companies, including quasi-state organisations, are involved in joint ventures with Israel, often in industries which then export strategic goods to South Africa.

South African-Israeli trade has risen dramatically. The *Financial Mail* quoted the Chairman of the Israel Chamber of Commerce as saying in September 1979: "Until a few years ago we used to trade in figures of $15 to $20 million. But we are now dealing in hundreds of millions of dollars." The same journal has estimated that by the end of last year South African sales to Israel would top one billion dollars.

Dramatic as these figures might be, they do not in themselves reveal the strategic importance of the trade nor its full extent. It is not insignificant that within one year of the 1967 war exports and imports increased by over 40 %. Similarly, immediately after the 1973 war, trade shot up, with Israel's exports rising from $9 million to $12 million and South African exports from $11.6 million to $32 million.

The trade figures do not include the very large purchase of South African diamonds by Israel. Nor do they cover the very flourishing arms trade between the two countries.

Israel obtains strategic goods and minerals from South Africa including chrome, platinum, titanium, and there is growing collaboration in various fields of energy. Joint research projects have been set up, and there is a regular exchange of information and of technology, including research into solar energy.

Anxious to reduce its dependence on oil, Israel has been expanding its use of coal, and has found a ready source in South Africa. In January 1979 an agreement with the Transvaal Coal Owners Association provided for the import of 750,000 to 1,000,000 tons of coal annually for the Israeli Electric Corporation. By 1983, Israel hopes to import up to 3 million tons of coal from South Africa.

Military collaboration

Military co-operation between Israel and South Africa, like their economic links, is comprehensive. Exchanges of personnel, information and technology take place at all levels. Israelis have served alongside apartheid forces, and South Africans have served in Israel's wars of aggression. In addition South Africa has supplied strategic minerals to Israel, helped finance Israel's arms production and has received a variety of weapons from and via Israel in return.

The extent of South African support for Israel's wars of aggression was recently revealed by Brigadier Penn, a retired South African officer. According to him, more than 1,000 racist South Africans served in the 1948 war that dispossessed the Palestinians.

He said in the military affairs magazine *Armed Forces* that volunteers supplied medical assistance, and special equipment such as artillery. The Israeli Air Force owes its birth to one Sid Cohen, former Western Squadron leader who founded the IAF with some old German-made ME-109 fighters which were later replaced by Spitfires.

Brig. Penn confirms earlier reports that South African Mirages, were used in the 1967 war of aggression: "General Dayan indicated to me that 100 Mirages ordered from France and paid for were not sent to Israel.... South Africa also had Mirages and spare parts, and Dayan wondered whether he could get spares from South Africa.

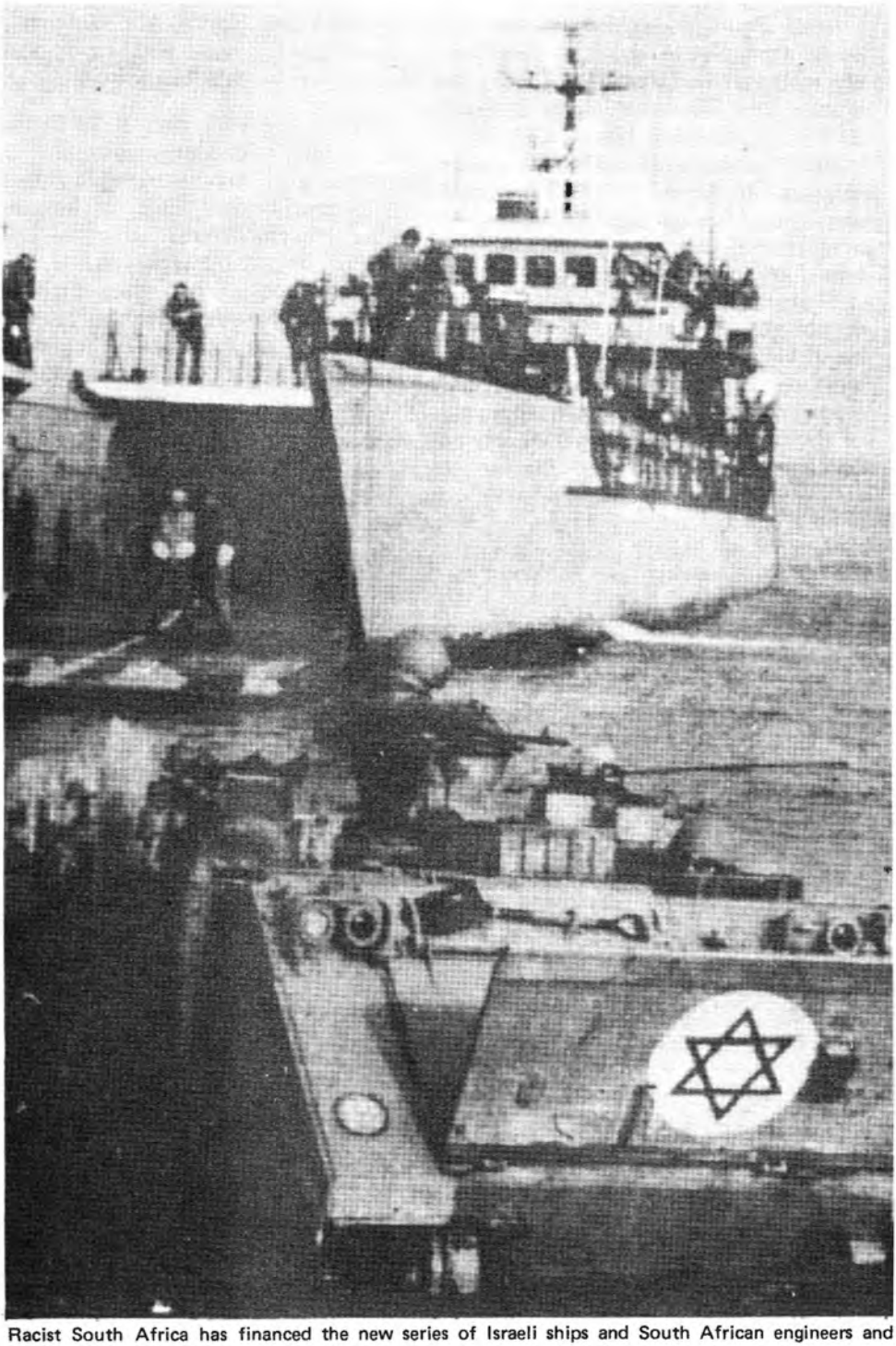
"I told him I felt confident he would get cooperation but it would be advisable for Mr. Tekoah at the United Nations not to bark against South Africa louder than the rest of the pack, and that his own advice on Russian equipment might be useful to the South African army. I need hardly tell you that both sides kept to this bargain."

During the 1973 war P. W Botha was South African Minister of Defense, and promised that South Africa would find ways of helping Israel "within our means and without declaring war.... There is a deep feeling on the part of thousands of South Africans against the forces supported by communistic militarism which also pose a threat to us."

Fifteen thousand South Africans served in the Israeli forces and 800



Mirage jets have been used in the wars of aggression against Israel.



Racist South Africa has financed the new series of Israeli ships and South African engineers and technicians are trained in the Haifa shipyard.

crossed the Suez Canal. At least one South African Mirage was shot down and there were reports of a number of other South African planes being flown in the war. The regulations on exchange controls were lifted and over $30 million was remitted to Israel at that time.

A Canadian investigation in 1981 revealed that South Africa shipped 200 tanks by air to Israel to replace those Israel lost. This followed a promise by the USA that it would help Israel replace these tanks after the war.

In its turn Israel has become the source of weapons and military technology for the apartheid regime. Pretoria's entire armoured corps of Centurion tanks and Panhard armoured cars has been equipped with an Israel-developed armoured plate. Gun-boats and fighter jets have been supplied as well as self-propelled artillery and antitank missiles, and air-to-air missiles.

Racist South Africa financed the new generation of Israeli ships and South African engineers and technicians were trained in Haifa shipyards. Israeli technology has been used to fortify South African helicopter squadrons with electronic equipment.

Israel has also been the channel for the supply of other weapons to South Africa in violation of the UN mandatory embargo. Last year the Israeli Minister for Economic Coordination, Yaakov Meridor, publicly offered his country as proxy to those wishing to break the arms embargo. The U. S., Canada and the Federal Republic of (West) Germany were among those known to have used this route to supply South Africa.

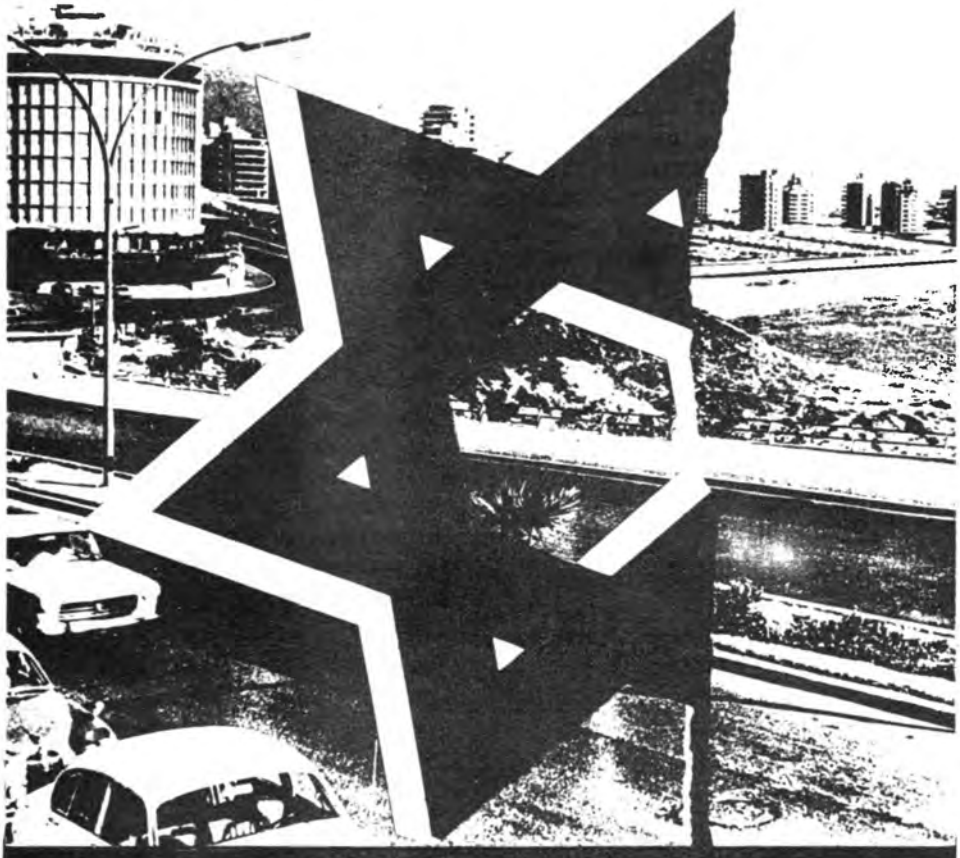
U. S. nuclear technology has also reached South Africa directly and via Israel.

Israel has supplied technology to South Africa, including information on its laser enrichment process, in exchange for uranium. Scientists of both countries have worked on the development of warheads and of the delivery system. The weapon South Africa did not test in 1977 as well as the one that was detonated in 1979 are generally considered to have been produced with Israeli assistance. Journalists who reported on the Israeli connection had their permission to work in Israel withdrawn.

Israel and South Africa are now engaged in building a nuclear submarine. Preliminary work on the submarine base has begun at Simonstown, the South African naval base that is twinned with an Israeli town.

South African and Israeli collaboration grows by the day, and the unholy alliance which they form remains a threat to the peoples of Africa and the Middle East and a threat to the peace of the world. Each has committed aggression and stands in violation of the peace, yet remains protected against international action by the machinations of the imperialist powers. As they mutually link the survival of their vicious regimes, they more than double the threat to the peace of the world. Armed with nuclear weapons, they threaten the survival of all.

The struggle of the people of the Sahara, the Middle East and all progressive forces is threatened by this Israel-South African alliance. The Camp David Accord, the Reagan policies in the Middle East, the offensives against Libya, Algeria, Polisario and Lebanon are interlinked with this Israeli-South African conspiracy against the Non-Aligned Movement and the peoples of Asia and Africa. ●



BEIRUT: EMBODIMENT OF THE LEBANESE CRISIS

ISMAIL HUSSEIN IBRAHIM

Beirut is still a current topic. The socio-political characteristics of this city, which reflect those of the country as a whole, and the earth-shaking events of 1982, have marked a new period in this people's history.

A deeper look at the antecedents to the current situation allows us to better understand what happened in Beirut, and to think about the factors that brought these events about. This will put us in a position to closely follow the development of this new stage and offer our conscious and militant solidarity. Beirut, that formerly beautiful city, in marvelous communion with the mountains and the sea, now practically destroyed by the shelling and bombardment; that beautiful community which resisted the Israeli assault and siege, is still the focal point of tensions which the world should pay close attention to.

FOR some time Beirut, the capital of Lebanon, has really been two cities: East and West, Christian and Moslem, reactionary and progressive, isolationist[1] and Arab. Most of the Lebanese, Arab and international press has described it that way.

But Beirut is just a symbol of the reality that exists throughout the country, and it is a part of that whole. It is the result of a long and bitter conflict dealing with far-reaching problems in which local, Arab and international factors all play a role. The past, present and future conflicts revolve around the fundamental problems of Lebanon's Arab national character and its implications; the political economic and social nature of the regime in power; and its democratic development. The reactionary-imperialist-Zionist alliance keeps trying to promote the religious nature of the current conflict, hiding its true nature and contents from Lebanese and world public opinion. This is part of the battle that this alliance is carrying out both within and outside of Lebanon, on different political, economic, military, ideological and informational levels.

Beirut has been divided by the fascist Falangists, who try to divide Lebanon as a first step toward imposing total fascist hegemony. They want to link Lebanon's fate to the Zionist-imperialist scheme that has been laid-out for the Middle East for the last ten years. To accomplish this the Falangists utilized the experiences of the international Zionist movement, which was able to occupy a part of Palestine in 1948 and then prepared to occupy it completely, following a hegemonistic and expansionist policy to the detriment of the interests, lands and hopes of the peoples of that region.

But why are there two Beiruts? Why two Lebanons? What are the roots of the fascist Falange, and the motives of its alliance with Zionism and U.S. imperialism? The questions are posed, and among the answers is one that explains why Beirut is a divided city. This requires taking a look at the past, at history, however briefly, to reach some generalities, then dwelling on some specific aspects of the development of Lebanese society from the political, economic, social and demographic point of view. This must be seen in the context of Lebanon's national ties to the

[1] An anti-Arab tendency that would like to eliminate the Arab character of Lebanon.

Arab world, the course of the Arab-Zionist conflict, and imperialist aspirations in the Middle East. In other words, it requires an analysis of the causes of the Lebanese crisis in general social terms, especially including the whole scope of the bases of the current regime, and the great privileges enjoyed by a minority of the Lebanese Christians to the detriment of the majority of the Moslem population (58 %) and of most of the Christians themselves.

The nature of the denominational regime in Lebanon and the granting of great privileges to a minority of the population are the result of a long historical process of economic, social and political development that extends for more than a century. After numerous outbreaks of peasant struggles against the feudal landlords during the first two-thirds of the fourteenth century, European colonialist, Turkish and local landholders' desire to maintain their privileges converted these battles into a religious civil war. The predominantly Moslem regions remained under direct Turkish control, while the Lebanese highlands, where the Christian majority was located, remained under a Christian government appointed by Turkey and approved by the European states.

All this was organized under the famous Protocol of 1864, which laid the foundations of the Lebanese denominational regime and transformed Lebanon into a stage for international meddling. Foreign missions began to build sectarian schools and universities. Each country named itself protector of one sect or another, which helped accelerate the conflict and deepen the antagonistic religious feelings.

Lebanon was part of the partitioning of the Middle East after World War I. At that time it was under French colonial mandate, which in 1920 set up "the great State of Lebanon" with its current international borders, and gave the Maronite (Christian) sect political, economic, military and cultural privileges under the pretext that it was the most numerous at the time. It also set up sectarian and denominational political legislation to guarantee these privileges. This led the Maronite bourgeoisie to develop stronger links with the Christian capitalist West than with the Arab World. It thus oriented Lebanon's economy to that of the world capitalist economy, but in a dependent manner, thus slowing down all progress except that which would enhance exploitation by the world capitalist economy. Lebanese society was then imprinted with the stamp of the so-called consumer society, giving rise to a situation in which the service sector constituted 65 % of the economy.

The Lebanese people achieved national independence in 1943, after a series of popular struggles. At that time the balance of power between the classes was in favor of the upper bourgeoisie, specifically the Maronite Christian bourgeoisie, which was able to gather the fruits of these struggles. "An historic agreement" was reached between the Islamic and Christian bourgeoisie, in which the former renounced its petition to unite Lebanon with Syria, in exchange for which the Maronite bourgeoisie gave up its request for protection from France.

This led to the establishment of a national charter which authorized the sectarianism of the political regime in Lebanon, strengthening Maronite predominance even more. It should be pointed out that the Maronite upper bourgeoisie for centuries maintained religious, cultural



and commercial relations with Western Europe which, as we said led them to develop more solid ties with Europe than with the Arab World.

The establishment of the Israeli state in 1948 played a great role in strengthening the Lebanese isolationist tendency based on a classist-sectarian principle. An objective principle of this reactionary tendency was its hostility to Arabism and specifically its denial of Lebanese Arabism. It supported its position by pointing to the statements and practices of the Moslem reactionaries and feudal landlords, who had a right-wing nationalist outlook and put Arabism, as a civilization, on the same plane as Islam, the religion.

The Kataeb Party[2] and its allies, the Christian reactionaries, exploited these practices and statements to exercise their domination over the Christian masses and to defend their privileges, which coincided with imperialist, Zionist and reactionary interests. They made the religious contradiction into the basis of a racist-nationalist struggle.

In the years following independence the centralization of privileges remained in the hands of the Maronite bourgeoisie, which in a few days took over the reins of state, politically, economically, and culturally, alongside an Islamic bourgeoisie which participated in the government as a lesser partner, along with other bourgeois Christian sects.

A few of the privileges enjoyed by the Maronite Christians on the eve of the war of 1975 can serve as an example. In the economic field, Christians owned 71 % of the thousand industrial enterprises; 81 % of all institutions that had more than 50 employees; 80 % of the shareholding industrial companies, and 72 % of the banks.

Politically, the Maronites held the presidency of the Republic, the majority of mayors and provincial governors, most of the diplomatic corps and a relative majority of the Parliament.

The President of the Republic has almost absolute power. Militarily, the Maronites have command of the Army and 140 more officers than the Moslems; they also control leadership of the police force, the security and intelligence apparatus, and the rectory of the Lebanese University, as well the reins of the judicial system and public administration.

These realities clearly point out the interrelation between the sectarian and class privileges. They constitute the basis of the racism, fascism and Falangism of the Kataeb, the ally of Israel, which is devoted to increasing the privileges of a minority of the Maronite sect to which its members belong.

Any refinement of these privileges, of these class differences, would not only damage the interests of the Christians, but would also threaten the very existance of Lebanon. Today the Moslem population

[2] The Lebanese Falange Party, or the Kataeb Party, was founded after 15 years of French colonial domination, under the slogan: "God, Fatherland and Family" This party represents the interests and ambitions of the upper bourgeoisie and of the so-called "financial group". Heads the isolationist political tendency and thought most hostile to Arabism. It's current leader is Pierre Gemayel, but the strongest man in the leadership of the party was, until has assassination in September 1982, his son Bashir Gemayel, chief of the military wing, a symbol of fascism in Lebanon.



is 16 % greater than that of the Christians; there is an expansion of the political and social forces demanding political, social and economic change. The Lebanese working class is playing an increasing role and there is also a link between the interests of the working class and the middle-level bourgeoisie. The latter have been affected by the regime's crises in the economic, social and political spheres and by the sharpening of class struggle, which threatens the very foundations of government.

In these circumstances, the upper bourgeoisie has held on tighter to its privileges, and when it began to feel threatened by the democratic structures it was using, eliminated them, using reactionary violence to save its prerogatives. Its pretext was that it was defending Lebanon against the armed Palestinian presence. The continuation of the country is conditioned on the continuation of the sectarian regime on which those privileges are based and through which they are guaranteed. This has meant that Lebanese regions have been developed unevenly: all the Maronite regions are prosperous, while the Islamic regions and those of other Christian sects suffer from privation and backwardness.

Without doubt some regions have been developed to the detriment of others, making it an enormous lie to say that the conflict is really essentially a religious one.

In the context of the political and military situation of the Middle East region as whole (and particularly in Lebanon, which was both influential in and greatly influenced by what occurred there), as a result of the 1967 war between Israel and the Arabs, and of the entrance

of the Palestinian Resistance into Lebanon after its extermination in Jordan and the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser — that is, with the evident imbalance of forces in favor of imperialism, Zionism and reactionaries — there began to appear a very sharp Maronite isolationist tendency, under the direction of the Falangist party and its allies. This tendency, hostile to Arabism, which strengthens itself by taking advantage of the Arab defeats and counting on the support of their enemies, has become one of the fundamental hubs of the conflict.

The Falangist Party denies that Lebanon is an Arab country, and always opposes its participation in the performance of the obligations that this implies in terms of the struggle against Zionism and imperialism. It alleges that there are two civilizations in Lebanon, and its division must be upon that basis if the existing regime is to be subjected to any attempt at reform or change.

The entrance of the armed Palestinian Resistance into Lebanon played an important role in the popular national Palestinian and Lebanese uprising, and led to the appearance of the Lebanese National Movement[3] which constituted a qualitatively new state of the struggle.

With the aggravation of its national crisis on political, economic and social levels, the denominational Lebanese regime provided fertile ground for an unprecedented popular national uprising in Lebanon. This uprising was tied to the social problems of the working class, petite bourgeoisie and some sectors of the middle-level bourgeoisie, both Islamic and Christian, and to the problem of the Arab nation.[4] It primarily took the form of defending the Palestinian cause and the struggle against Israel and imperialism, in favor of progressive Arab unity. This not only threatened the Falangist Party and its allies with the loss of support from the Maronite masses, but also threatened the very basis of the system, which was dedicated to maintaining class and sectarian privileges.

With the support of the Falangist Party, whose militias had been armed and trained by the Lebanese army, the government began a heavy repression against the working class, students and teachers, just as in 1973 when it tried to destroy the Palestinian Resistance. Dozens of persons from different sectors fell beneath its bullets. But the Lebanese masses' unity with the Palestinian Resistance, under the leadership of

[3] The Lebanese National Movement is a national and progressive, democratic mass movement that was founded in August 1975 by the martyr Kamal Joumblat, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party. This movement is composed of working-class and petit-bourgeois parties; the Progressive Socialist Party, the Lebanese Communist Party, the Organization of Communist Labor, the Nasserites, the Baas Party and the Syrian National Social Party, along with national and democratic individuals who have an influential role in political and social circles. This movement is the principal ally of the Palestinian Resistance. Its program, the provisional program for political reform in Lebanon, is the main opposition to the Falangist scheme. The principal slogans of the Lebanese National Movement during the civil war were "Unity of Lebanon, its Arabism and democratic development".

[4] Understood to be the problem of the Arab nation, the Arab nationalist problem.

the Lebanese National Movement, was a main factor in preventing that destruction.

The beginning of the Lebanese civil war in 1975 was touched off by the death of national leader Maruf Saad, who was leading a demonstration of fishermen in southern Lebanon against a monopolistic fishing enterprise belonging to Kamil Chamoun, an ally of the Falangist Party.

The national war also began in response to army bullets, when 27 Palestinian combatants were killed in ambush by the Falangist Party. The government and the Falangists declared war against bourgeois democracy itself, against the legitimate demands of the great majority of the Lebanese people to reform or change the political regime. It was also a war against the national and Arab cause. The Lebanese reactionaries chose the fascist military solution, after proving to themselves that democracy was incompatible with the reactionary Arab, Zionist and U. S. imperialist designs to wipe out the Palestinian people's resistance and to move against the positions of the Arab National Liberation Movement. Nor, in the light of their anti-Arab plans and the convergence of their interests with those of the most reactionary Lebanese sectors, could they use democratic methods to carry out their two most important, tightly-linked goals:

1. Eliminate all obstacles (the Palestinian Resistance, the Lebanese National Movement, Syria. . . .) which blocked the carrying out of the U. S. Zionist-reactionary solution offered at Camp David; and

2. Put Lebanon's problems in order, on the basis of the crises and contradictions in which it found itself, which made it into the second link in the U. S. Zionist scheme. The strategic objective of the Camp David Accords is to achieve imperialist domination of the region and surround the Zionist state with racist, sectarian states dependent on it. In that way Israel could effectively carry out its role of imperialism's right hand in the region, against the Arab national liberation movement and the other liberation movements in that and neighboring areas. This was especially true once the Zionist-imperialist plot succeeded in breaking the fundamental link in the Arab-Israeli conflict — Egypt — and converting it into an ally.

The Zionist-imperialist policy for the region, which harmonized perfectly with that of the fascist Falange, was to create a Maronite Christian mini-state whose destiny would be linked to that of Israel; the creation of a second Israel in Lebanon. The formation of the mini-state was the idea of David Ben-Gurion, one of the Israeli heads of state. To achieve this objective, the Falangist Party and its allies have set out to eliminate the Palestinian presence in the region they control. They also seek to wipe out all the Lebanese Moslems and Christians who are publicly opposed to the Falangist scheme. To achieve this they have depended on one of their chief allies, Kamil Chamoun's party, and the physical elimination of their opponents (they assassinated more then 500 persons in a period of 48 hours) to unify the political and military reins

in their hands, and to achieve absolute control of the region, plotting together with the President of the Republic and his army.

This made the Falangist Party freer to fight on the fronts most suitable for the particular phase of the Zionist-imperialist plan, obviating the role of the legitimate government, in an area that encompasses less than 10 % of Lebanese territory and 15 % of its population, and at the same time supporting the separatist Saad Hadad in southern Lebanon.

The Falangist Party has also resorted to collective massacres of Moslems to give religious form and content to the conflict and to provoke bloody reactions against the Christians who live in the predominantly Islamic zones. This method produces a demographic separation of Christians and Moslems which will assist in the future partition of the country. But this objective runs up against the majority of the Lebanese people, that is, 85 % of the population which rejects the Falangist scheme that has led to thousands of Christian deaths at the hands of the Falangists.

And while the Kataeb Party is carrying out one of the steps in its plans with the implantation of "religious purity", revealing the racist aspect of its project, in the zones controlled by the Lebanese National Movement, Christians and Moslems live without any friction; and the downtrodden masses express their satisfaction with and support of the political orientation of the Lebanese National Movement (made up of working class and petit-bourgeois parties) and their democratic and reformist provisional program. That program seeks to free Lebanan from the sectarian regime, the fundamental cause of the crisis and the problem, and to guarantee its Arabism and democratic development.

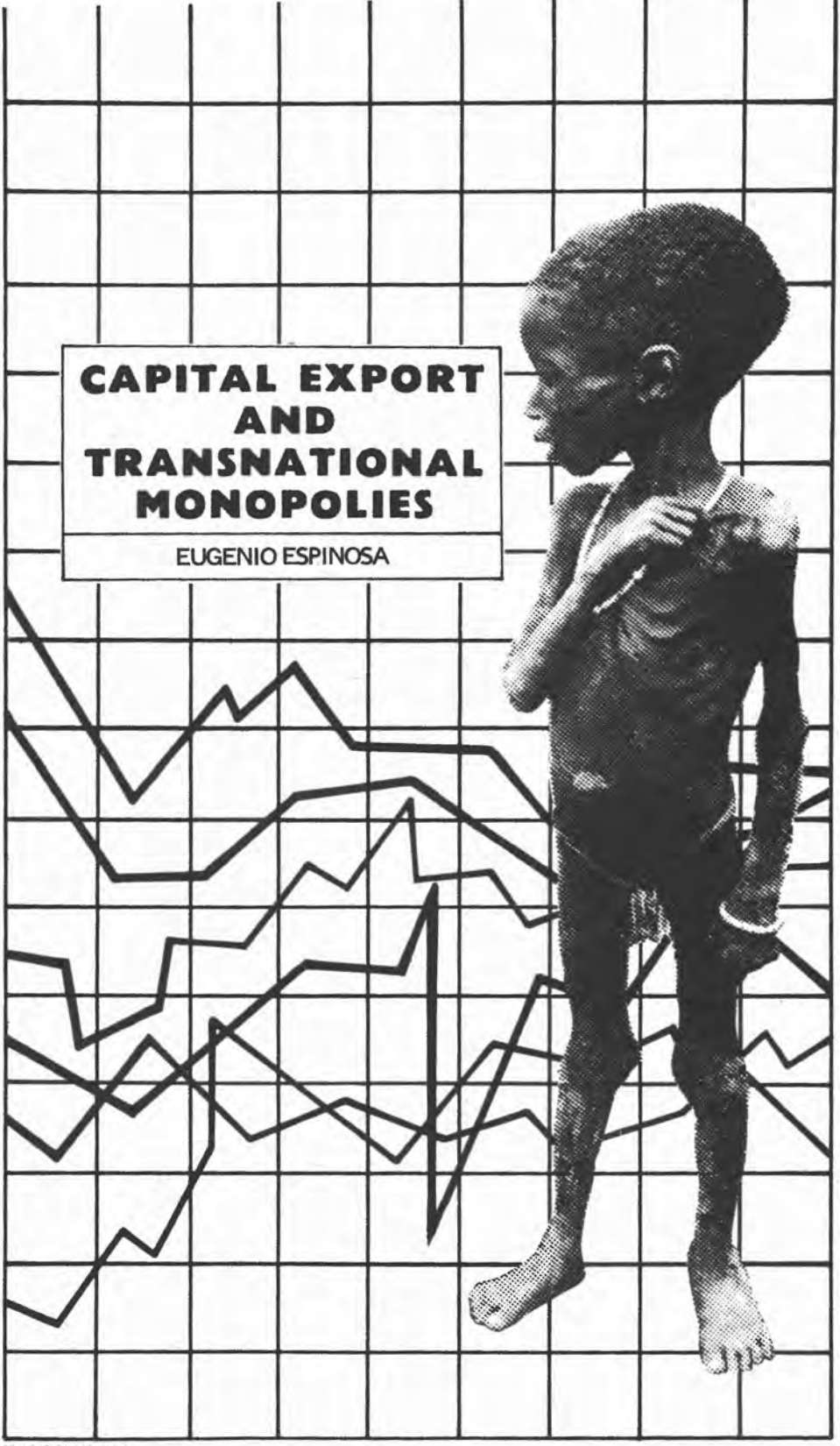
The Lebanese National Movement grew out of a democratic and progressive national mass movement, as an antidote to the Falangist program. It has carried out mass actions and its military and political responsibilities during the two years of its existence and has played a decisive role in defeating the enemies' attempts to convert the crisis into a religious civil war, preserving the real class and national character of the Lebanese conflict. Its struggle is in favor of a unified, Arab, democratic and secular Lebanon, and in support of the cause of its historic ally, the Palestinian people.

The war of 1982 developed in such a way as to present the best possible conditions for Israeli sucess. It had open official sanction, as evidenced by the fact that then-President of Lebanon, Elias Sarkis, never said a word against the invasion, and his army didn't fire a single shot against the attackers.

The Kataeb Party forces are accomplices of the Zionist army in the war of extermination against the Palestinian, Lebanese and the Syrian forces that are in the country by official invitation. Beirut symbolizes what remains of the prestige of the whole Arab nation. Beirut has been just one battle, and the struggle against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary Arab alliance is a long one. There is only one option: to struggle against the Zionist aggressors and their allies until victory or death. ●

CAPITAL EXPORT AND TRANSNATIONAL MONOPOLIES

EUGENIO ESPINOSA



ELADIO RIVADULLA

In this article economist Eugenio Espinosa analyzes the changes in international economic relations during the last twenty years.

Dynamics in the forms of exportation of capital

THE last twenty years have produced important changes in the exportation of capital, which results from and reflects the changes that have taken place in international economic relations and in the appreciation of finance capital.

The total amount of capital exported to underdeveloped countries increased at a more rapid rate during the seventies, registering a 22 % growth rate between 1970 and 1977.[1]

With the 1974-75 crisis the rate of productive capital accumulation decreased. That is, there was a relative decrease in the amount of capital destined for investment in production. At the same time the accumulation of money capital increased, leading to the relative overproduction of capital; that is, there are ever-growing volumes of capital available in the form of money, but it's not being invested. As a result, there's a relative increase in capital that can be exported. In this way the national economies of developed capitalist countries increase their relative balance of capital exported to other countries.

The proportion of export capital in the Gross National Product (GNP) of developed capitalist countries has increased considerably. From 1960 to 1970 capital exported to underdeveloped countries ranged from .75 to .80 % of the GNP in countries involved in the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), which is made up of the developed capitalist countries of North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. In 1979-72 the rate stayed above .78 %. In 1976 it reached .98 %, in 1977 1.04 % and in 1978 1.26 %.[2]

Imperialist apologists analyze this data as being good for the underdeveloped countries since export capital is a financial resource for these countries. Actually, these figures do no more than reveal the conditions of economic crisis. The process of capital accumulation increases the relative financial surplus that is regularly produced, causing the proportional increase of export capital in the GNP.

This fact was demonstrated by Marx when he analyzed the law of diminishing returns. Under conditions of imperialism, in which the relative surplus of capital has become the dominant general trait in the accumulation of monopoly capital, the contradictions of the formation of relative surplus of capital are sharpened, as Lenin showed, and more so in a situation like the one today, in which the crisis of capitalist international economic relations reveals profound contradictions in the accumulation of international finance capital.

[1] UNIDO: (World Industry Since 1960: Progress and Perspectives).

UNIDO: (Study of Industrial Development).

[2] UNIDO: *op. cit.*



Even deeper changes have taken place in the origen and structure of the types of capital exportation. The DAC countries have greatly decreased their participation in the volume of capital exported to underdeveloped countries. In 1970 they provided 88 % of the total; by 1977 this amount had decreased to 68 %.

This decrease has two basic causes:

a) the extraordinary growth in transnational bank loans from the Eurocurrency capital market, which don't take into consideration the country from which the capital emanates and which, therefore are not attributed to any DAC country. From 1970 to 1976 this type of loan increased 18.1 billion dollars;

b) the increase in the export of capital by OPEC countries, which increased 7.1 billion dollars[3] in this period.

Most of these loans were made by the transnational banks. So it's not that the developed capitalist countries have actually decreased their proportion of capital exportation. The fact that banking technology makes it impossible to determine which country the loan comes from

[3] UN: *Transnational Corporations in World Development. A Reexamination*, 1978.

doesn't alter the fact that most such loans come from monopoly capital.

The enormous growth in transnational bank loans reveals, rather, the changes in the dynamics of the exportation of capital that have to do with the proportion of working capital rather than the country from which it comes. It also reveals the high level of internationalization in the forms of exportation of capital. Here it is necessary to point out that the loan capital exported by the transnational banks from the European finance market are unique in that they are not subject to the laws or regulations of any state. In this case state monopoly capitalism loses or lessens its ability to influence the dynamics of export capital.

The most important changes have taken place in the structure of the forms of capital exportation.

Chart No. 1

Capital Export by DAC to Underdeveloped Countries

(in billions of dollars)

	1964-1966	*1970*	*1976*
State	6.147	8.319	19.430
Private	3.928	6.901	37.689

Source: From UN and UNIDO data.

In a space of just six years the change is extraordinary and the sum is astronimical, especially if you take into account that state capital hasn't decreased, but rather that private capital exportation has increased much more rapidly.

The tendency toward predominance of private over state capital characterizes the last 20 years of exportation of capital to the underdeveloped countries.

In 1960 the exportation of state capital was 60 % of total export capital, in 1970 it was 50 % and in 1978, 30 %.

This fact reflects the behavior of state monopoly capitalism on the international plane, and specifically in terms of relations and international linkages between imperialist states and transnational monopolies.

In brief, the exportation of capital to the underdeveloped countries has been characterized by its systematic growth in the last 20 years. The dynamics of this show that state and private capital have increased rapidly, but the growth in private capital exportation has been greatest. In 1970 the latter represented 50 % of the total capital exported to underdeveloped countries and in 1977 it had reached 77.2 %.[4]

[4] UNIDO: *op. cit.*

Most important is the fact that during the seventies there was a relative decrease in direct investment, despite its rapid increase in absolute terms. Thus in 1970, 55.4 % of private capital was in the form of direct investment: in 1976, 39.8 % and in 1977, 31 %.

The direction of these changes points to the increasingly parasitic nature of export capital, revealing the sharpening of the contradictions in the reproduction of monopoly capital.

Given the conditions of the international capitalist economy in the '70s, and also of the national economies of the developed as well as the underdeveloped countries that comprise that system, there have been difficulties in investing these growing amounts of capital in the productive sphere, which has forced the export of capital toward activities not directly linked to production. Under these conditions the competition between the monopolies and the financial groups to obtain more of the surplus value increases. This fact is revealed sharply when you look at the unprecedented growth of international bank loans and portfolio investment. Private export credits have also been on the rise, especially since 1975, which reveals the contradictions of international trade; that is, the difficulties of the international capitalist market.

United States export of capital played a decisive role in the changes. Since the Second World War U. S. monopolies followed a pattern of expanding their economic domination in which the exportation of capital was their principle means of expansion. The predominant form of capital exportation was direct investment. The development of contradictions in this model led to a change in the methods used to bring about these goals: to broaden the sphere of their economic dominion and obtain higher monopolistic profits. When the United States' state monopoly capital applies restrictions on the exportation of capital it is reflecting the need for this change.

The main aspects of this policy, applied by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson during the 1960s, were:

a) greater restrictions on direct investment;

b) greater restrictions on export of capital to developed capitalist countries.

It's interesting to analyze some incidents from this period. In 1965 the Johnson administration implemented a program of voluntary restrictions on the export of capital for direct investment or securities and loans, with the objective of eliminating the systematic deficit in the balance of payments which had existed since the '50s.

Significantly, in January 1967, under the auspices of the Atlantic Institute, there was a meeting of representatives of the most important Western financial groups and the Advisory Committee on Trade and Industry of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Their purpose was to encourage the promotion of capital markets by their respective governments. They focused their efforts on

the creation of a capital market in Europe which would function independently of the national markets.

This was named the Eurodollars market, and later, Eurocurrency market.

In 1968 the U.S. government imposed mandatory restrictions on direct investment in Western Europe, while the restrictions on loans and securities remained voluntary. This in fact enhanced the export of capital to the underdeveloped countries in either form, as well as the investment in securities and loans to Western Europe.[5] To this we can add the modifications in banking legislation which, since 1961 and especially in 1966, stimulated a greater centralization of banking capital from the U. S. in its foreign operations.

The Eurodollar capital market was a result of the growing expansion of the U. S. transnational monopolies, and at the same time a great stimulus for this expansion. It also stimulated the international expansion of the European and Japanese transnational monopolies. As the international capitalist monetary crisis became more severe some European monies began to play an important role in this market. The Eurocurrency capital market boom in the '70s led it to become one of the main sources of international financing.

The development of international financial centers in underdeveloped countries, which in Latin America has been based in the Caribbean Basin, occurs in this context.

The growth of the U.S. transnational monopolies during the seventies showed that the official restrictions on the export of capital from the United States was not an obstacle to the monopolies' international expansion, but rather, at most, the legislative expression of the changes that were already taking place in the process of international capital accumulation by the transnational monopolies.

Since the 1960s the U. S. transnationals had begun to change the strategy[6] for financing their international activities so that the foreign affiliates were increasingly financed with capital resources acquired in the countries in which they were situated rather than with capital exported from the U. S.

What was the significance of the frequent consultations and conferences held by the Atlantic Institute and the U. S. Atlantic Council?

[5] For further detail see: A. Stadnichenko, *La crisis del sistema monetario capitalista,* (The crisis of the capitalist monetary system) Progress Publishers, Moscow; UN: *Las inversiones extranjeras en los paises en desarrollo* (Foreign investment in developed countries), 1968; Xavier Gorostiaga: *Los centros financieros internacionales en los paises subdesarrollados,* (international finance centers in the underdeveloped countries), ILET publishers, 1978 (Mexico).

[6] ECLA: *Estudio Económico de América Latina* (Economic Study of Latin America), 1970; Eugenio Espinosa: "Los monopolios internacionales de EEUU en la economía latinoamericana" (U.S. international monopolies in the Latin American economy), *Tricontinental* magazine No. 53, and *Monopolios transnacionales y códigos de conducta* (Transnational monopolies and codes of conduct), pub. by the Center for American Studies, 1979 (Havana).

In 1965 and 1966 they organized a series of contacts and meetings, which led to the creation of the Atlantic Committee for Economic Cooperation. This committee organized the 1967 Conference on Capital Markets, the 1968 Conference on Strategies for Atlantic Technological Development in Rome, and the 1969 Conference on Direct Investment in the Atlantic Area. David Rockefeller chaired one of these meetings.[7] What was new in all this, especially in comparison to the conferences of the OECD, is the direct and active participation of the directors of the giant transnational monopolies of the United States, Europe and Japan.

The importance of these consultations was that an operation with the breadth of the Eurodollar market, which implied the transfer of billions of dollars from the United States to Europe, had to guarantee the involvement of the governments involved.

It is significant that the Eurodollar market and the Trilateral Commission had a common origin.

The changes in U. S. banking laws in 1970, which indicated that Nixon was following this policy, showed that the importance of these changes was not limited to the banking sphere. If the international expansion of U. S. transnational monopoly affiliates was increasingly being financed with capital that did not come from parent companies located in the United States, these affiliates ran the risk of being absorbed in the international competition between banks of other countries and rival financial groups. Thus the change in the international strategy of financing the affiliates required the rapid foreign expansion of the banks so that they could guarantee financial control of the network of affiliates. In this way U. S. state monopoly capitalism made sure that the dominant financial groups had the instruments they needed to produce favorable conditions for their international expansion.

The internationalization of capital markets, together with the growing monopolization of national and international credit markets, was not a phenomenon limited to developed capitalist countries. It was strongly felt in underdeveloped countries as well.

Actually, the boom in the export of loan capital resulted from two inextricably linked factors:

1. The sharpening of the contradictions in the process of international reproduction of capital, which was revealed in the 1974-75 economic crisis, in the peculiarities of the economic cycle of the '70s, and in the crisis in the international economic relations of capitalism.

2. The growing internationalization of production and capital, which has led to the interlocking of banking and industrial monopolies on the international plane. The fundamental aspects of this interlocking process was analized by Lenin under the category of *finance capital.*[8]

[7] Sidney E. Rolfe and Walter Damn: *The Multinational Corporation in the World Economy,* Praeger Publishers, 1970.

[8] V. I. Lenin: *Imperialism: Highest Stage of Capitalism,* chap.3.

What's new about this process is its marked internationalization revealed in the international hook-ups between the industrial transnational monopolies and the banking transnationals. This is the basis of the global focus in the policy of imperialist states.

We should keep in mind the interaction of these two factors, since the changes in the capitalist economic cycle surely produces changes in the growth of export of loan capital and in its greater or lesser importance. But the process of internationalization of finance capital will follow its course in one way or another. This is a law of the development of capital in imperialism which was discovered by Lenin many years ago.

These tendencies lead to the conclusion that in the expansion of international finance capital to underdeveloped countries, the transnational banking monopolies have predominated over the other transnationals, excluding, for the moment, the oil transnationals which, because of the high price of oil, have seen a boom in their capital accumulation. It should be pointed out that the transnational monopolies in electronics, agribusiness, auto manufacturing and some types of light industry have also experienced dynamic growth in the underdeveloped countries.

Capital export and the geographic alternative

Traditionally it has been said that since the Second World War there has been a change in the geographic orientation of the export of capital, which has been directed primarily toward the developed capitalist countries. This analysis has been based solely on direct investment, and with special emphasis on the investment by the United States.

In 1969-70 30 % of direct private investment went to underdeveloped countries, while the developed capitalist countries received 70 %. In 1971 the proportion was the same. Nevertheless, we must take into account that in these years direct investment represented only a fifth of the total exportation of capital. To reach a definite conclusion about the geographic destination of the export of capital we must look at the geographic destination of other forms of export capital.

In the years right after WWII state export capital went primarily to the developed capitalist countries as a result of the Marshall Plan and the loan policy of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Private international loans had little importance, so we can say that, in general, export capital went to the developed capitalist countries. In the mid-fifties and the beginning of the sixties this situation changed regarding state export of capital. Under the new ideological-political cover of "aid" underdeveloped countries began to get the priority for receiving state-exported capital. In some cases, such as Latin America, this took the form of a regional plan for state support of U.S. monopolistic penetration. This plan took the dubious name of Alliance for Progress.

The change in the geographic focus of state capital, to give preference to underdeveloped countries, has been linked to one of the most debated

problems in international economic relations in the last twenty years: the question of foreign financing and aid. All too frequently the tone and character of the demands of the underdeveloped countries and the way this has been discussed in international forums and organizations have ignored the fact that, actually, state export capital meets the needs of monopoly capital accumulation; it is a manifestation of state monopoly capitalism and results from the process of the formation of a relative surplus of capital. At times it is also forgotten that state exportation of capital , besides being a way to subsidize, finance and support the international expansion of the monopolies — today the transnationals — helps stabilize international economic relations and serves as a regulator of production in the international capitalist economy.

The tendency to decrease the relative importance of state capital indicates that the monopolies and finance capital, to achieve their goals of maximizing profits and increasing their control, are following a line that does not include stabilizing the international economy, nor are they seeking to ease the terms of their economic relations with the underdeveloped countries, but really are sharpening the contradictions. It's not by chance that this shows up in the failure of the various international negotiations as a result of imperialist intransigence.

The export of state capital to underdeveloped countries has been directed primarily to the relatively more backward regions, where direct investment has been lacking for obvious reasons. In places where the monopolies don't invest their capital because of questionable profitability, the imperialist States invest to create favorable conditions for future monopolistic penetration.

Capital Export to Developed Countries by Region

Net flow from DAC

(billions)

	Europe	*Africa*	*America*	*Asia*	*Oceania*	*Not Specified*	*1974-1976 Accumulated Total*
Investment Private	2.2	2.4	12.2	2.9	0.2	1.8	21.7
Direct State	0.6	11.7	5.0	16.0	1.7	3.6	38.6

Source: OECD; *Investing in developing countries*, 1978.

Shows the regional diversity of the strategy of the monopolies and imperialist States.

Nevertheless, what's most important here is to determine if the structural changes in the forms of exportation of capital have taken place equally in all underdeveloped countries. Existing official figures reveal that the situation has remained the same, without appreciable changes, in countries with high or low per capita income. The former are still receiving primarily state capital, while in the latter private capital predominates. Structural changes in the forms of capital exportation have occurred in countries of medium *per capita* income, between $400 and $2,500.

Structure of Export Capital by Type and by Group of Underdeveloped Countries[9]

Per capita income in dollars	$400		$400 to $1,000		$1,000 to $2,500		$2,500 +	
Percent	*1971*	*1978*	*1971*	*1978*	*1971*	*1978*	*1971*	*1978*
State	76.7	77.8	65	42.1	31.6	10.0	18	17.6
Private	23.4	22.4	34.9	57.9	68.4	90.0	82	82.4

Source: OECD; *Development Co-operation, 1979 Review.*



[9] The relation between the countries can be appreciated from the source cited. Of the 52 countries in the $400 per capita income group only two are Latin American. In the 55 countries in the $400-$1,000 group, 20 are Latin American; there are 28 countries in the 1,000 to $2,500 group, which 12 are from Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Panama among others); and there are 24 countries with per capita income above $2,500 of which 4 are Latin American. In this last group are the oil producers, the tax havens converted into off shore banking centers, and the colonial territories.

It is noteworthy that the great majority of Latin American and Caribbean countries are in the group in which changes in capital export have been greatest, and in which private capital predominates over state.

Nevertheless, the changes in the geographic orientation of direct investment and private loan capital has been more significant. Both forms of capital export have followed a relatively similar pattern. Although in terms of the total flow of both, the greatest part has gone towards developed capitalist countries, the seventies were distinguished by a tendency toward a more rapid growth in the flow to underdeveloped countries.

Flow of Direct Private Investment by DAC Countries

(yearly average in billions of dollars)

	1969-1970		1975-1976	
	Total	*% to under-developed countries*		*% to under-developed countries*
U.S.	6.662	27	13.300	39
United Kingdom	1.314	20	2.938	26
GFR	.790	32	2.230	35
Japan	.280	66	1.878	35
Holland	.512	29	1.104	21
France	.283	80(est.)	1.127	23
Canada	.321	17	.599	61
Italy	.196	61	.251	72
Belgium	.85	32	.224	68
Sweden	.225	14	.513	20
Australia	.110	61	.163	38
Others	.57	40	.304	27
Total (DAC)	10.835	30	24.631	36

Source: IMF; *Balance of Payments Yearbook.*

OCDE DAC; *Statistics on financial flow to developing countries.*

In 1978 a third of DAC's total direct private investment went to underdeveloped countries.[10] This tendency, which still occurs irregularly,

[10] Except where the opposite is indicated, all statistical information on this point comes from OECD: *Development Cooperation, 1970-1979 Review;* OECD: Investing in Developing Countries, 1978.



Lenin described the links betwen the banking and industrial monopolies on the international plane under the category of *finance capital.*



Marx's studies on the tendency of diminishing returns help in the analysis of the consequences of the exportation of capital.

doesn't occur with equal strength nor in the same direction in the major imperialist countries.

These new direct investments, whose flow is beginning to head toward the underdeveloped countries, is very selective in terms of countries: most of it goes to the small number of countries with middle level income. In 1975, for example, 40 % of direct investments went to countries with a *per capita* GNP over $1,075, which represent 14 % of the population of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In 1978 two-thirds went to Latin America and the Caribbean.

The tendency of direct private investment to be concentrated in a small number of underdeveloped countries with particular characteristics isn't recent. This can be seen also in the stock of direct investment. In 1976 the total stock of direct investment by DAC in underdeveloped countries reached 76.2 billion of which $58.53 billion were concentrated in 21 countries, of these 21, eleven are from Latin America and the Caribbean, and ten from Asia.

In terms of loan capital the same tendencies can be seen, but even stronger. The underdeveloped countries received preferential treatment in the granting of credits by DAC countries. In 1978 they received two-thirds of the total volume of trade credits. This explains why the underdeveloped countries have increased their participation in the world trade market despite conditions of instability and world economic crisis. This geographic concentration also occurred in international bank loans, of which 50 % were directed to the underdeveloped countries in 1978.





The exportation of state capital to the underdeveloped countries has been aimed primarily toward the most backward regions.

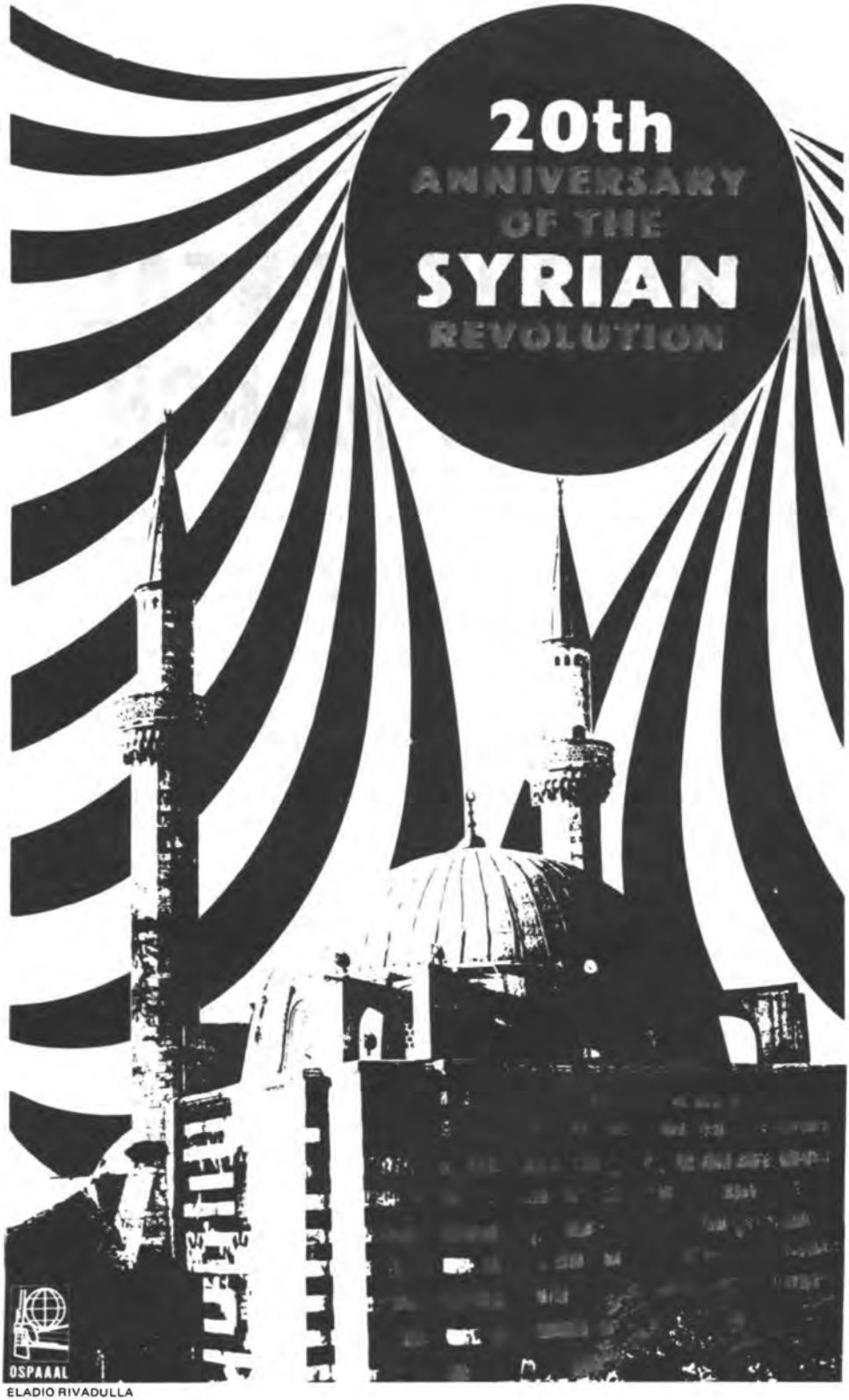
More than a third of the loans to underdeveloped countries were to members of OPEC. Other important loan recipients were Brazil, Mexico Argentina and Chile. In 1980 the UN Center on Transnational Corporations estimated that the transnational banking monopolies had become the major source of financing and that these were orientated mostly toward underdeveloped countries with greater *per capita* incomes. In 1970, of 96 underdeveloped countries, only 16 held 63 % of the public foreign debt from private markets. In 1976 this figure reached 79 %.[11]

Underdeveloped countries' participation in the bond market is insignificant, less than 5 % in 1977. However, there is also geographic concentration here. From 1971 to 1977 three-fourths of total loans from the bond market to the underdeveloped countries was concentrated in countries with *per capita* GNP of more than $1,075, half to Latin America and the Caribbean and half to Asia. Just 7 countries held 80 % between 1971-1977 (Mexico, Israel, Brazil, Spain, Venezuela, Algeria and Singapore).[12]

In summary, the countries which have been of greatest interest to the transnational monopolies as well as the imperialist states for their monopolistc strategy of international expansion, have been of three types: the oil producers, tax havens transformed into off-shore banking centers, and newly industrialized dependent countries. ●

[11] UNO: *Los bancos transnacionales: operaciones, estrategias y sus efectos en los países en desarrollo* (Transnational Banks: *operations, strategies and their effects in developing countries)* April 1980, New York.

[12] Israel and Spain are considered developing countries by the OECD, which is a badly-intentioned imperialist misnomer.



ELADIO RIVADULLA



TRICONTINENTAL ON THE MARCH

ANNIVERSARY OF DEMOCRATIC YEMEN'S INDEPENDENCE

The fifteenth anniversary of the independence of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen was commemorated with a political meeting in which leading figures from three continents participated.

Among the speakers were Haza Al Dhali, First Secretary of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen Embassy in Cuba and Melba Hernández, Secretary General of OSPAAAL, who spoke in the name of our organization.

OSPAAAL's Executive Secretariat sent a congratulatory message to Ali Nasser Mohamed, Secretary General of the Yemenite Socialist Party, wishing the country new and greater success in the building of a new society, and in the active role it plays in the struggle of the Arab liberation movement and of all peace-loving people.

MESSAGES SENT

• To Romesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council, upon his being presented with the Gold Medal of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, as a well-merited recognition of the intense efforts he has made on behalf of the legitimate struggle of the South African people, and for the imposition of sanctions against the racist Pretoria regime.

• To Souphanouvong, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Lao, to celebrate the seventh anniversary of the proclamation of that republic, reiterating OSPAAAL's solidarity and support for his people in their just defense of their country against all enemies, and wishing them new and greater success in the building of a new society.



VISITS TO OSPAAAL

The following distinguished visitors were received at the headquarters of OSPAAAL by the Secretary General of the Tricontinental organization:

• Lucio Lara, member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA-Workers Party of Angola. Members of the delegation that accompanied him participated in the meeting, along with Mawete João Baptista, Angola's Ambassador in Cuba, and members of our organization's Executive Secretariat.

There was a useful exchange of opinions on the importance of international solidarity at this time of great world tension, especially in analyzing the situation created in Angola by the imperialist-backed attacks by South Africa. OSPAAAL's solidarity work was also evaluated. The visitor said that the position already achieved by the Angolan people would enable them to help broaden the support for this kind of solidarity work on the African continent. The conversations also focused on the situation in the Arab world created by the israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people. The eruption of the peoples of Latin America in defense of their freedoms was a point of interest. The positive work of the *Tricontinental* magazine in bettering communications between the peoples of our three continents was pointed out. A particularly moving moment was when compañera Melba Hernández presented a poster of Che and the special edition of the magazine dedicated to Comandante Ernesto Guevara which contains a testimonial by compañero Lucio Lara. This meeting further strengthened the ties between our organization and the Angolan people and government.

• Nassir Asad, member of the Political Bureau of the Lebanese Communist Action Organization, dealing with matters related to the Lebanese people's struggle and the situation in the Middle East.

• Mohamed Najdy Al Jazzar, new Ambassador from the Syrian Arab Republic, expressing the fraternal relations between OSPAAAL and this Arab country.

• Hocine Zatout, Ambassador to Cuba from the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, discussing different aspects related to the grave international situation.

DECLARATIONS FROM OSPAAAL'S EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

• For the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, demanding the inmediate release of Nelson Mandela and the other political prisoners, the cessation of atrocities and murders of freedom fighters at the hands of the Pretoria regime, and energically condemning the criminal policy of South Africa and imperialism, which supports and sustains the racists.

• In support of the Nicaraguan people who are confronting the imminent threat of military intervention. Given the dangerous situation created by imperialism against the Sandinista Revolution, our organization calls on the world's peoples, political parties, organizations, institutions and governments to condemn the yankee aggression, which in conjunction with the dictatorships of Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, is trying to replay its old history of military interventions in Nicaragua.

• In solidarity with the Haitian people, to denounce to the world Washington's open support for the Duvalierist dictatorship which keeps the people under cruel and inhuman living conditions. The denunciation reveals the situation of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who at great risk flee Haiti, only to find when they reach the shores of the United States that they face virtual concentration camps, jail, brutal discrimination or deportation, which is tantamount to death. The declaration expresses OSPAAAL's militant solidarity with the Haitian people and calls for international support for the struggle of this people who are daily facing their torturers with greater courage and determination to obtain their freedom and independence.

OSPAAAL DELEGATION

Ismail Hussein Ibrahim, representative of the Lebanese Communist Party, headed OSPAAAL's delegation to the Eleventh Meeting of the Presidium of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) held in Tashkent, USSR.

Our delegation transmitted a message of solidarity to that organization on the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding, and expressed our desire to con-

tinue the mutual cooperation and assistance between our two organizations in support of the people's just cause.

CALLS:

• OSPAAAL joyously salutes the twenty-fourth anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, welcoming as its own the achievements and advances in the building of a new society. The Organization once again condemns the aggressive policy of yankee imperialism and right-wing forces against Cuba, and reiterates its call to all revolutionary, democratic and progressive organizations, movements, and governments to increase their support of, and militant solidarity with, the Cuban people and government.

• For an International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. The document issuing the call emphasizes that at this time the whole world is affected by the Palestinian problem and that the murderers who committed the massacres at Deir Yassin, Kafr Kassem, Fakhani, southern Lebanon, Sabra and Chatila are the same ones who, allied to imperialism, support the Latin American oligarchies, the racist South Africans, and reactionaries in every corner of the globe. For that reason the Palestinian people deserve the most decided and active world solidarity. OSPAAAL calls on progressive and peace-loving people to condemn the Nazi-Zionist hordes' savage aggression, occupation, torture and plunder against the Palestinians and Lebanese, and to give them greater moral and material help in their heroic and exemplary struggle.

MESSAGES RECEIVED

• From the Vietnamese Committe of Solidarity with the peoples, and the Vietnamese Committee to Defend World Peace. Their important denunciation condemns yankee imperialism for resorting to armed agression, terrorism, economic pressure and repression against the revolutionary movement in Central America and the Caribbean, and reiterates their militant solidarity with the just struggle of these peoples for peace, national liberation, democracy and social justice.

• From Romesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council, we received a document entitled "An Appeal to the National Conscience: It is vital that the People Know the Truth About Nuclear War", written by 205 highly-esteemed Mexican scientists, in which they evaluate the catastrophic results that a confrontation of this kind would have for humanity. The document is directed at their country's "national conscience", but its contents are valid and instructive for all men and women who want peace and human survival.

A delegation headed by our Secretary General took part in the meeting of the Executive Committe of the World Peace Council held in Lisbon at the end of last year. From among the important declarations and resolutions that were adopted there, we have chosen to publish the one titled "To Build and Defend World Peace."

DEFENDING AND BUILDING OF WORLD PEACE

The World Peace Council Presidential Committee, together with the peoples of the world, hails the accomplishments and growth of the peace movement throughout the world.

Demonstrations for peace have reached new levels of achievement in understanding as well as in size. Enormous numbers of people have taken to the streets in a world-wide demand for peace and disarmament.

New forms of activity have been developed and many millions of active supporters have been won for our struggle. To these new supporters, and to those already involved, it has become clearer day by day that the work for peace has many aspects.

Demands for human rights, justice, self-determination, equality and freedom are inseparable parts of our struggle for peace.

Lasting peace can never be achieved in a world wracked by racism, national oppression, poverty, hunger and deprivation. Those who fight these evils are deeply involved in establishing peace in the world.

The brutal actions by the Israeli government against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the continued occupation of Cyprus by Turkish troops, the repression of the people of Central and Latin America, the abuse of human rights in South Africa, the militarisation of Japan, the continued interference by the U.S. in the internal affairs of many states, all contribute to the heightening of world tension and add to the danger of war.

Only by ending exploitation, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism can we set world peace on a firm foundation.

The World Peace Council, therefore, calls on all humanity to recognise the universal nature of the struggle for peace.

By cooperation and unity of purpose we can carry forward, with renewed vigour, the work of building world peace. This noble goal can be achieved by the understanding and united effort of us all.

TRICONTINENTAL Magazine

I would like to subscribe for one year_____ two years_____

Language: Spanish____ English____ French____

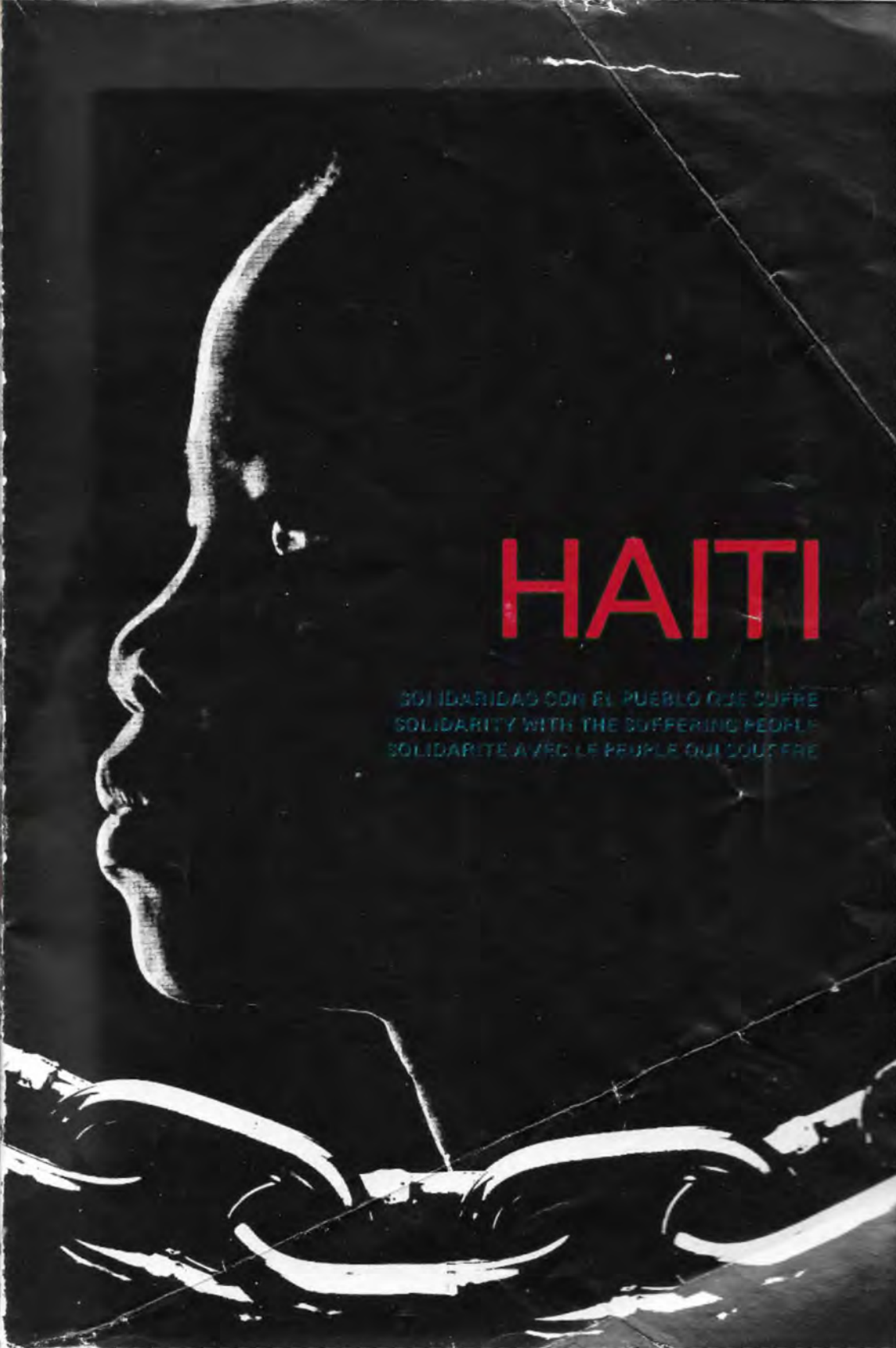
Name_____

Address_____

_____ Country_____

Enclosed is a check_____ Money order_____ Other_____

for the following amount_____ Signature_____


HAITI
SOLIDARIDAD CON EL PUEBLO QUE SUFRE
SOLIDARITY WITH THE SUFFERING PEOPLE
SOLIDARITE AVEC LE PEUPLE QUI SOUFFRE

MONGOLIA: una iniciativa encaminada a la paz y a la seguridad en Asia
MONGOLIA: an Initiative for Peace and Security in Asia
MONGOLIE: une initiative orientée vers la paix et la sécurité en Asie

