

82

# Tricontinental



EL MUNDO ESTA CON CUBA  
LE MONDE EST AVEC CUBA  
THE WORLD STANDS WITH CUBA





**OMAR TORRIJOS**

# TO THE READER



*"We must put an end to the storm. We must be able to protect the beauty of our flower." This was the call which mobilized the inhabitants of the village near a lake where a water lily of many colors grew. This flower served as a symbol in the inspired account by Romesh Chandra as he expressed his solidarity with Cuba. "Story of a Beautiful Flower" begins this issue in our section on Latin America, which also includes an article by Puerto Rican professor and writer, Manuel Maldonado Denis,*

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## TRICONTINENTAL

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*on national liberation of the peoples of our America, and a compilation of messages by the Panamanian General Omar Torrijos, to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of this man — an outstanding figure and the main author of the treaty for the return of the Canal to Panama.*



*Foreign penetration exists in varying degrees and takes different forms in Africa, a continent with 43 percent of the land area of underdeveloped countries and 21 percent of the world's territory. Eugenio Espinosa discusses this topic in his article, "Transnational Monopolies and Imperialist Strategy in Africa."*



*The experiences of a liberation movement in power are discussed in an interview with Abilio Duarte, noted Cape Verdean leader. Of special interest to our readers is an article by Majed Abu Sharar, Palestinian leader assassinated last year in Rome; although it was written some time ago, it helps understand in more detail the relations between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the USSR.*



*In MAN AND HIS WORD we reprint two important items: first, the brilliant speech by Mexican President José López Portillo, which places the struggle of the Central American and Caribbean people in its true historic perspective, warns of the dangers implied by an intervention and proposes sensible and urgent measures for the region. This is followed by a message sent by Cuban President Fidel Castro to López Portillo in relation to this speech.*

*Also appearing in this issue are important declarations, and reports on international events and activities oriented toward furthering tricontinental solidarity.*



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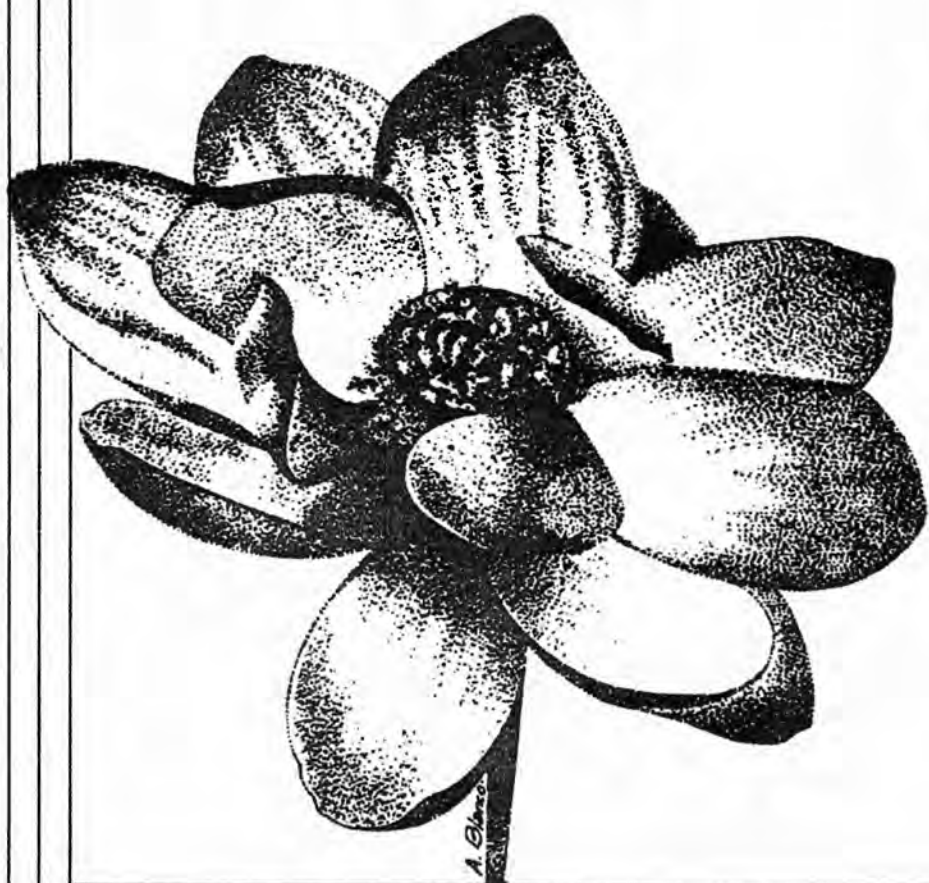
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# STORY OF A BEAUTIFUL FLOWER







## **Romesh Chandra**

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In July Cuba is celebrating the 29th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Garrison — a heroic action, a youthful upsurge; this was the beginning of a profound revolution which triumphed on Jan. 1, 1959 and began a new era of liberation in Latin America.

Since the victory of the revolution this small Caribbean island has been the target of all kinds of aggression by U.S. imperialism, from the longest and cruelest economic blockade in history, to direct armed attacks, but all these aggressions have failed in the face of the Cuban people's determination to resist.

"History Will Absolve Me," Fidel Castro's famous declaration delivered as part of his defense while imprisoned for having led the Moncada assault, expressed this principle: "When peoples achieve something they have yearned for throughout generations, no force in the world is capable of taking it away." "The Island will sink into the sea before we consent to be slaves of anyone." This firm position of the Cuban people and militant international solidarity is what has made possible the sustained progress of the Cuban Revolution.

An expression of this solidarity can be found in a short speech by Romesh Chandra, president of the World Peace Council, delivered in the rally in solidarity with Cuba held at the end of the International Seminar in Solidarity with the Peoples of Vietnam, Lao and Kampuchea, sponsored by our Organization.

We are publishing his speech because of its relevance today, the beauty of his message and in tribute to Cuba on a new anniversary of July 26th.

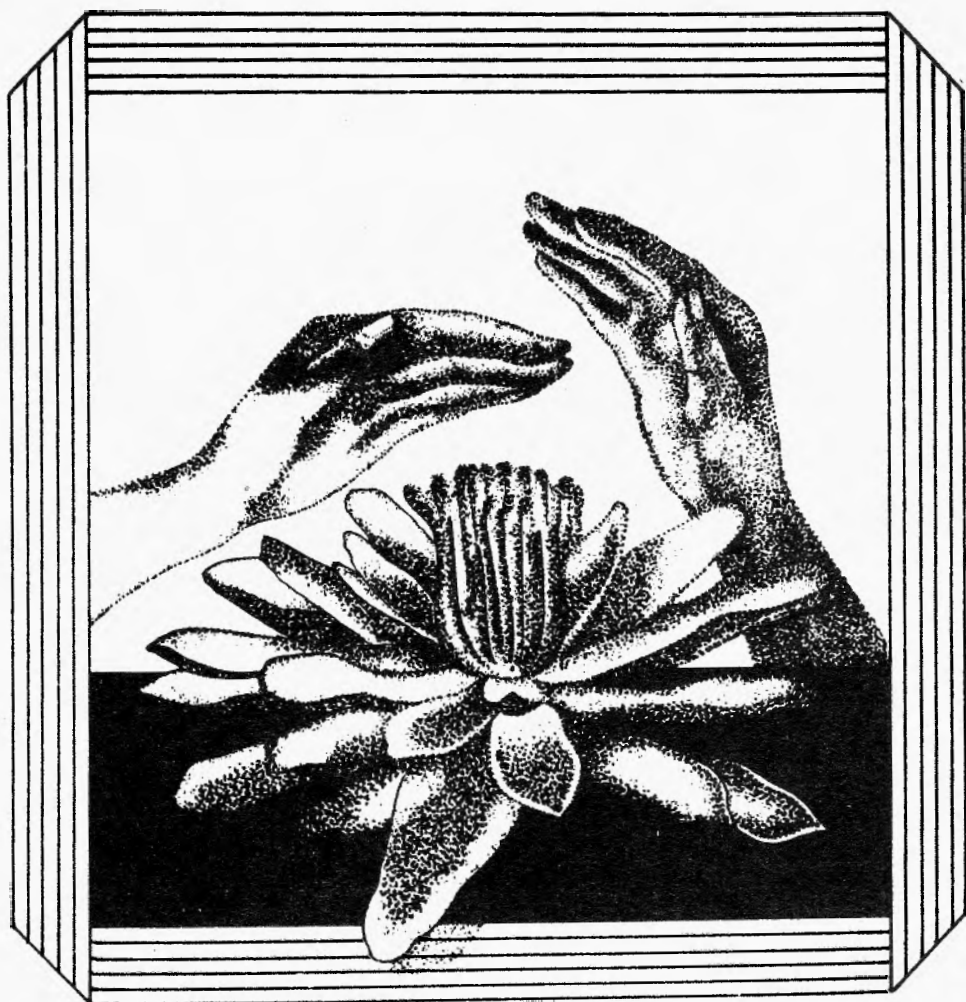
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There is a story which they tell in my country. The story is about a beautiful flower which grew in the waters of a lake, a water lily of many colors. And it was strong and grew more and more beautiful, and because it was so beautiful, those who do not like beauty sought to destroy it.

And they brought all the power and the force of a storm; they tried to destroy this beautiful flower. And at that time all the people, the men and the women and the children in the village around, came and said: "We must put an end to the storm.

We must be able to protect the beauty of our flower."

The storm was strong and the flower also was strong. And then all the men and the women and the children put their hands together like this; thousands and thousands of hands, and they put their hands around this flower. Then the tempest tried everything that it could but it did not succeed; the tempest then retreated and the flower grew more beautiful, much stronger.

You know the name of this beautiful flower. A beautiful flower, an island which we love, a beautiful island, an island of strength, an island of peace, an island of solidarity.





The world today stands with Cuba, let the tempest come! Cuba stands! Cuba lives! And hundreds of millions of hands stand with Cuba, because Cuba stands with the world. Cuba has stood with every cause of every people, and today all the peoples of all countries who also owe much to Cuba, stand with Cuba. Let the imperialists understand well: we are Cuba, I am Cuba, you are Cuba, we are all Cuba. If you attack Cuba, you attack us. And we shall fight back. Our hands are protecting Cuba, but hands can also become fists to fight back those who destroy peace.

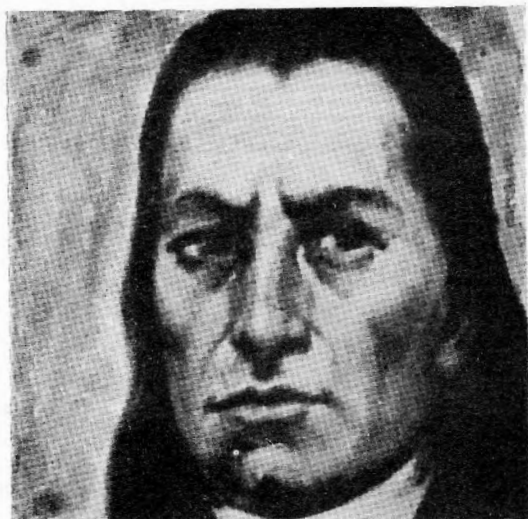
Cuba today fights in the front line for all the causes of all mankind, and

manifestations, demonstrations, meetings are taking place in every part of the world, and they are saying just this: "The world stands with Cuba. Yesterday it stood with Cuba, today it stands with Cuba. It shall stand at all times with Cuba. Today, tomorrow and for all times the world is with Cuba because Cuba is with the world."

Long live Cuba!

Long live Fidel!

Long live the victory of all the peoples of the world!



**NATIONAL  
LIBERATION:  
CATEGORICAL  
IMPERATIVE  
FOR THE  
PEOPLES OF  
OUR AMERICA**

**Manuel  
Maldonado  
Denis**





The outstanding Puerto Rican historian and university professor, Manuel Montecristi, is known especially for his writings on Puerto Rican social reality. In this article deals with the concept of national liberation, the form it has taken in Latin America and its basic features.

**W**HEN Emmanuel Kant, the idealist philosopher, set out to explain the essence of each person's moral obligation to the rest of mankind, he proceeded to define it in the following way: "Always try to act in such a way so that the principle of your behavior can serve as a general rule." This categorical imperative, as it was called in the ethics of this renowned philosopher from Königsberg, was echoed in José Martí's famous advice: "Every true man must feel upon his own cheek the slap upon any other man's cheek." This responsibility of mankind arises from the very process of human solidarity: to fight injustice and oppression wherever it arises. This is true both for individuals and for peoples. Hence Martí tells us in the *Manifiesto of Montecristi*: "It is touching and an honor to think that when an independence fighter falls upon Cuban soil, perhaps abandoned by the unwary or indifferent nations for which he sacrificed himself, he falls for the greater good of mankind, the affirmation of the moral republic in America, and for the creation of a free archipelago where the respectable nations may lavish their wealth which, as it circulates, must fall upon the crossroads of the world." Can one imagine a better or fuller expression of this internationalist spirit, which guided Martí and continues to inspire all those who see the struggle against imperialism as one clearly transcending national boundaries, inserted in the very center of the fight against injustice and oppression, whether in Pales-

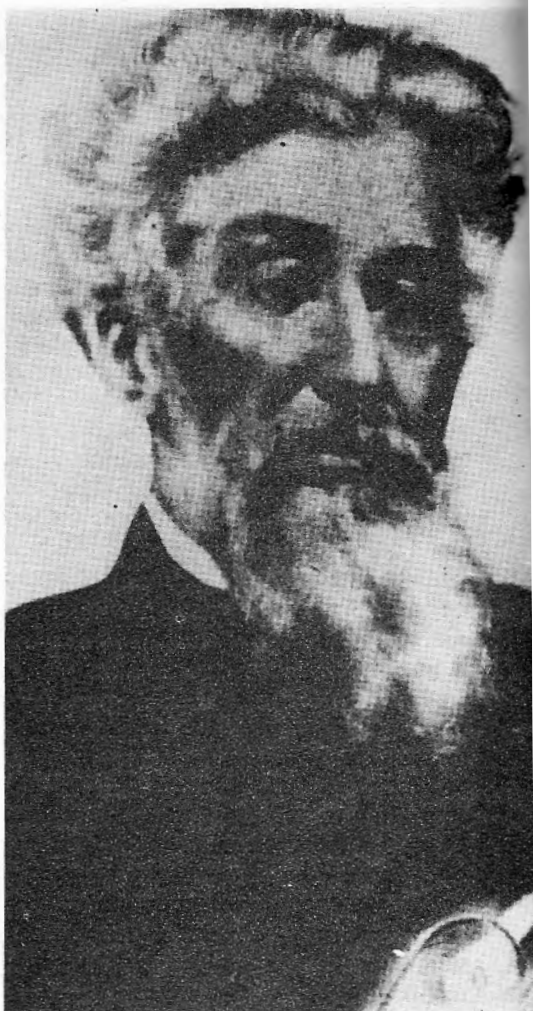
tine or South Africa, El Salvador or Puerto Rico? A categorical imperative is a mandate, a specific statement calling for fulfilling the duty of universal solidarity. This duty at present means on a collective level fighting for independence and national liberation for the world's peoples.

Specifically in Our America it means supporting all peoples' struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. Or, to continue in the line of thought of the peerless Cuban liberator, it consists of unceasingly fighting with every means at our disposal for the first and the second independence of all our peoples, perennial victims of imperialism's domination and exploitation.

The history of Our America is singularly rich in terms of its liberation struggles. Fortunately, the new generation of Latin American historians and sociologists has taken on the job of retrieving these social struggles from the buried past where they have been assigned by official versions of history molded to the ideas of Latin America's ruling classes. The struggles against oppression, from the uprisings of the original Indian populations to those of the black slaves, from Tupac Amaru to Macandal, are glorious chapters in our peoples' histories. The popular masses, the workers, these "historyless" people, are now in the forefront of current historical processes. We can view in this context those who took up the cause of these peoples, those who fought

against oppression and plunder. We can put into their correct perspective events such as the 19th-century Haitian Revolution and the 20th-century Cuban Revolution, the recent Sandinista Revolution and the glorious struggle being waged by the Salvadoran people right now. Our youth can identify with men such as Toussaint L'Ouverture, Simón Bolívar, Ramón Emeterio Betances, Eugenio María de Hostos, José Martí, Augusto César Sandino, Agustín Farabundo Martí, Julio Antonio Mella, Pedro Albizu Campos, Ernesto Guevara, Salvador Allende, in short, with all those who embodied, in word and deed, the hopes and desires of the peoples of Our America — without excluding, of course, all those anonymous heroes who daily are resisting and fighting, everywhere on every battlefield, attempts to deny our popular sector's inalienable right to a decent life within their own societies.

The concept of national liberation requires an exhaustive and thorough study which we cannot provide in this brief paper. But if we had to define its main outlines we could list the following: a) the struggle for national independence; b) the struggle against other subtle, and not so subtle, forms of domination that continue even after national independence has been won; c) the struggle for economic independence, that is, the struggle to recover for the use and enjoyment of the nation all those means of production remaining in private hands; d) the socialization of these means of production and the process of building socialism. All these steps should take place for the full development of the national liberation process which, as can be seen, must culminate with socialism.



Ramón Emeterio Betances, one of the greatest 19th-century Antillean figures, embodied in word and deed the Puerto Rican people's hopes and aspirations.

If we analyze in detail the ups and downs of these processes we can see that they have hardly followed a linear path; rather each process itself has been marked by advances and reverses. One thing is clear, nonetheless. The people's struggle for liberation can be temporarily held back; it can even be contained for relatively long periods by the use of systematic repression against the popular sectors, but it can never be totally destroyed. As has been amply demonstrated in countries of the southern cone and





"I have lived inside the monster and know its entrails," affirmed Martí, Cuban national hero, in writing about U.S. imperialism.

Central America, fascist methods are used when the system of imperialist domination is threatened.

We will now proceed to examine more thoroughly each of the aspects of the national liberation struggle listed above.

In the first place, it is clear that for a people to exercise their sovereignty they must have national independence. Since Jean Bodin defined the concept of sovereignty in the 16th century, this has meant the exercise of supreme authority within a specific territory. For this

concept to be not just a legal, but a real one, the people must be the basic source of that sovereignty. Therefore, colonialism, by placing the source of power in the hands of another country, is the denial of the principle of sovereignty. National independence, therefore, is the peoples' basic freedom because it grants them the power to exercise sovereignty over a specific territory. The fact that this sovereignty can be infringed upon,

even after achieving national independence, is common knowledge. But this is precisely why the peoples' national independence struggle must be a frontal attack on imperialism, mortal enemy of the liberation of the world's peoples. Those who do not perceive that imperialism is a system of global domination; who do not realize that this system, as Lenin so rightly affirmed, is the highest stage of capitalism in its monopoly stage; who do not understand that the socialist countries have not participated in the plunder of the natural and human resources of the peoples who have been and still are the victims of colonialism and neocolonialism, but rather that the socialist countries have aided in their struggle against underdevelopment, are seriously mistaken in their historical outlook, as Fidel Castro has pointed out on many occasions. The national independence struggles of the peoples of Our America have simultaneously been anti-imperialist struggles from Tupac Amaru up through our times.

But national independence is just a milestone — a very important one — in the national liberation process. Once independence has been attained, then the problem arises of the dependent relations which refuse to die and continue to be reproduced under the new sovereign status. These dependent relations have deep economic, social, political and cultural roots. When countries attain their independence under the system of dependent capitalism — as has usually been the case — their hard-won independence seems virtually annulled given the stubborn factors tending to perpetuate uneven development and economic backwardness. As shown by the unsuccessful efforts

to create a new international economic order, and the failure of the overblown North-South dialogue, the capitalist countries are not willing to give up their privileges and prerogatives they derive from unequal exchange between raw materials and manufactured goods. Attempts by raw material exporting countries to exercise sovereignty over these resources have encountered the open hostility of the importing countries. Despite this, it should not be forgotten that the demand for full exercise of the people's sovereignty over their natural resources was raised by General Lázaro Cárdenas in Mexico and with his actions an irreversible process was set into motion, refuting the already discredited notion that our peoples are incapable of efficiently administering what by right is theirs.

Therefore, if there is no struggle for economic independence, national independence runs the risk of becoming merely the nominal exercise of sovereignty. Martí warned us in the 19th century of the tiger stalking our peoples even after they have attained national independence. It is necessary to be on guard against this tiger because it always returns by night to endanger the gains of the peoples. Martí was referring, needless to say, to the imperialism he knew so well, having lived in its entrails; thus he warned the peoples of Our America to resolutely struggle for that second independence which could only be won through a frontal attack against that "violent and brutal north which despises us." Economic independence is a prerequisite for the real exercise of sovereignty; it is the peoples' demand that they not be subject to the conditions imposed by transnational corporations, that their natural and human resources not

be subservient to international industrial and financial capital, and that their territories not bristle with army and naval bases which foreclose the peoples' sovereignty. In reference to this last point, we have the situation of the base at Guantanamo in Cuba, which continues to be a flagrant insult to our peoples.

From what has been said up to here we can see that the peoples' struggle for the full exercise of their sovereignty must lead to the socialization of the principal means of production and a process towards socialism. This, of course, is no easy task. The resounding victories of the peoples of Cuba, Vietnam and Angola — to mention only three examples — have produced a revanchist dynamic in Western ruling circles, a dynamic which has as its current political expression the coming to power of the Reagan administration.

In the current political situation, national independence and sovereignty of all the world's peoples are endangered by the rise to power of the most recalcitrant and militaristic sector of the U.S. ruling class. In the Caribbean, Nicaragua and Grenada are daily facing the threats of intervention that have long been part of our peoples' history under U.S. hegemony. Revolutionary Cuba is facing new aggressions from U.S. imperialism. The only thing that can stop this power, the only force able to counteract its mad ambition for world domination is the existence of the socialist world, which has stood up to the arrogance which has characterized the imperial republic of the United States since its very inception.

Imperialism, as a worldwide system of domination, can live with national independence only if this independence is not used to challenge capitalist relations of pro-

duction. The process towards economic independence is already an irritant in imperialism's relations with independent countries, but there is always the possibility of creating new trade and industrial relations which turn into a mockery, or make inoperable the processes of socialization of social wealth. Capitalism, however, cannot live with the transition toward socialism which endangers its domination over the lives and wealth of "Third World" social formations. Not even the creation of structures like people's power is acceptable to the ruling classes. They will not permit naughty children: the empire demands total submission, and if this is not forthcoming, it means war: a war which at the beginning takes the form of economic aggression but with the broad range of resources at its disposal can even go as far as chemical and biological warfare.

It is in this context that the struggle is being waged by the peoples for their sovereignty, i.e. for complete control over their national territories, including the subsoil and surrounding territorial waters, the fauna and flora, water resources, etc. This sovereignty cannot be fully exercised unless real power is held by the social class which produces social wealth, the class that along with the natural resources which are mankind's heritage, represents the most important of the material productive forces: the working class.

It is precisely the working class, together with the peasants and the other popular sectors, which is called upon to play the historic role as protagonist of the struggle for national liberation and socialism which is the only path to win our peoples' sovereignty.



When our first liberators fought against the disintegrating Spanish empire, their main concern was to end the horrible system of oppression that prevented, by its retarding action, the full moral and material development of our peoples. In the Antilles, for example, this great struggle was waged not only to attain national independence, but also to end black slavery. It was in this sense that the three great 19th-century Antillean figures — Hostos, Betances and Martí — were not only revolutionaries who fought to break colonial ties with Spain, but also they couldn't imagine for a moment that black slavery would be tolerated in the new republics. They fought for a political revolution as well as a social one. By this time Karl Marx had already written the first volume of *Capital* and had founded the International Workingmen's Association. But socialism, as a historic vision, valid for Europe of that period, did not appear, nor could appear, in the political outlook of these great Antillean revolutionaries.

The struggle to liberate the Antilles began at the same time as imperialism's mad scramble for colonies in which over two-thirds of the world's population fell victim to capitalist expansionism. Marx, who died in 1883, had already started to analyze this process, but a fuller description would have to wait for V. I. Lenin in his work, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Although Martí, even before Lenin, had given a brilliant description of this phenomenon he did not hesitate to call imperialism, unquestionably it was Lenin who based his analysis on historical materialism and delineated the his-



Salvador Allende headed the Popular Unity government in Chile from 1970 to September 11, 1973, when he was overthrown by a fascist coup d'état.

toric role of the national liberation movements in the struggle against imperialism. Thus the basis was established for the anticolonial and anti-imperialist struggles to be connected to the struggle for national liberation and socialism. What better example of this than the life and work of that great revolutionary and people's leader named Ho Chi Minh!

Therefore the Latin American revolutionary tradition, to the extent it has been consistently anti-imperialist goes perfectly hand in hand with the current struggle of the peoples to exercise their sovereignty and for their national liberation. On the centennial of the Grito de Yara, Fidel Castro stated, referring



Ernesto Che Guevara, Argentine by birth, guerrilla major in Cuba's Sierra Maestra, headed the National Liberation Army of Bolivia when he was wounded in the fighting at Yuro Gorge, a victim of the Bolivian colonels' tyranny.

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to the 19th-century revolutionaries, that if they were alive today they would be like us, and if we had lived then we would have been like them. We must meet this challenge if we are determined to confront the most powerful enemy in mankind's history.

One last thought. The national liberation of the peoples of what Martí called Our America can never be complete until all the countries Bolívar included in his liberating vision have attained their independence. I come from a U.S. colony which is one of the strongest links in its chain of domination in the Caribbean. None other than Major Ernesto Guevara affirmed that one's anti-imperialism could be

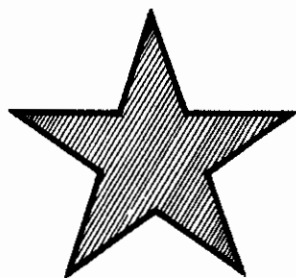
measured by the extent of one's solidarity with Puerto Rico. For more than a century our people have been waging a struggle for independence and national liberation. Different historic reasons have made it impossible up to now to write this last verse of Bolívar's poem. But as long as Puerto Rico has not attained its full sovereignty and independence, the sovereignty and independence of all the peoples of Our America is endangered. Therefore, we affirm in conclusion, that Puerto Rico's national liberation is a categorical imperative demanding the militant solidarity of all the world's peoples.



# THE



# LINE



**GENERAL OMAR TORRIJOS**

As a way to perpetuate the ideas of Omar Torrijos, a compilation of his messages to his people, the National Guard and members of his government during the course of his political life was published in Panama under the title, "The Line."

*Tricontinental* brings to its pages this piece as a tribute to this Panamanian leader on the first anniversary of his death.



**T**HE National Guard came upon the national political scene in 1968 in order to direct the country politically, basing itself exclusively on its firepower and ability to maneuver. We began a process oriented towards wiping out those serious disorders that were reflected on the surface of the national body as a permanent fever. To deal with these feverish outbreaks the Armed Forces took on those who were responsible for the real and profound causes of the problems our peoples suffered. Since none of our Armed Forces' top officers had dictatorial tendencies or a desire to usurp power, we set out goals to be accomplished in a reasonable period of time.

In 1972 we completed the first stage. After four years of government in which we had begun to design major solutions for major ills, we concluded that it was no

longer necessary to retain all powers. Our regular visits to different parts of the country led us to the conclusion that in every community there was a spokesman, a natural leader who each community designated to put forth its problems and suggest solutions. From that came the idea of politically organizing the country on the basis of the 505 districts that make up the country's political and topographical geography. I was quite aware that it was a risky step, because the 505 representatives elected by the people were going to have the job of choosing their future political leaders. We had begun working four years before having started with less than nothing in terms of support from the people. And by less than nothing I mean hatred towards people in uniform. To the extent we were able to win over the people it was for our actions, for what we did, not what we said. Because this people had already become so skeptical that they only believed in deeds, not words. We thought that in those four years we had won over the people enough that they would give us a vote of confidence in restructuring the government, in setting up a new government that would be subject to their approval and in permanent consultation with their 505 representatives.

In 1978 we took a new direction. We decided to organize a new party, to change the Constitution and to delegate legislative functions to the legislative assembly just as it is set up now. It was a new gradual step in our methodical withdrawal to where we came from: the barracks. Armed Forces that permanently hold power become continually weakened until they lose their professionalism, thus losing their top





military officers; military institutions for public order should survive while the Republic survives. We believe that we have created a new type of National Guard which is politicized enough to be able to protect our process of change and not be as we were before: hard-working sustainers of the ruling class, free of charge.

A party was established to be the government's first base of support. The second base, an associated group representing every political, ideological and geographic sector of the country, is responsible for making law to facilitate continuity of the process. The third and final base of support is the Armed Forces, who are in charge of keeping peace and assuring peaceful existence in the country. And they are also responsible for ensuring that this balance is not disturbed in favor of some and against others.

If the party were to overwhelm the legislative power with its

ability to influence, we would be disrupting the balance which should exist in this branch of daily civic duty. If the legislature starts to dominate the force of the people with the aid of arms, we would be witnessing a non-military dictatorship. And if the National Guard were to take control, it would be a farce.

Apparently some people have misinterpreted me. The fact that the party should be the first base of support or the first line of defense, doesn't mean that it is the first line of physical defense — with guns or clubs. This is something that, professionally speaking, no armed force could accept. The National Guard cannot allow parallel commandos to be formed which compete with its function. What this means is that in the process the party is supposed to be the circulatory medium nourishing the national body politic.

The National Guard can be an aspirin which cures a fever, not the disease. It should always be able to cure the most violent fever in



less than two hours. This is one of its missions. But I don't want anyone to think that once the fever has been relieved, the body is healthy. Fever comes from organic disturbances which are the real cause of these feverish outbreaks occurring in the country. Eliminating the symptom, the fever, doesn't necessarily cure the body's disease. However, a harmonious combination of surgery and medical care — along with the ability of the party as the main element in this process — ensures its continuity.

We have the advantage that our process already produced a leader, at present in reserve, not second-string. Just as any country's economy and our own daily tasks require having a reserve on hand, in politics it's also necessary to have a card that can be played in a moment of crisis. But it should not be unnecessarily and indiscriminately resorted to in response to problems in existing mechanisms. This is like using a saint in every procession.

If a village priest has to carry Martin de Porres in every proces-

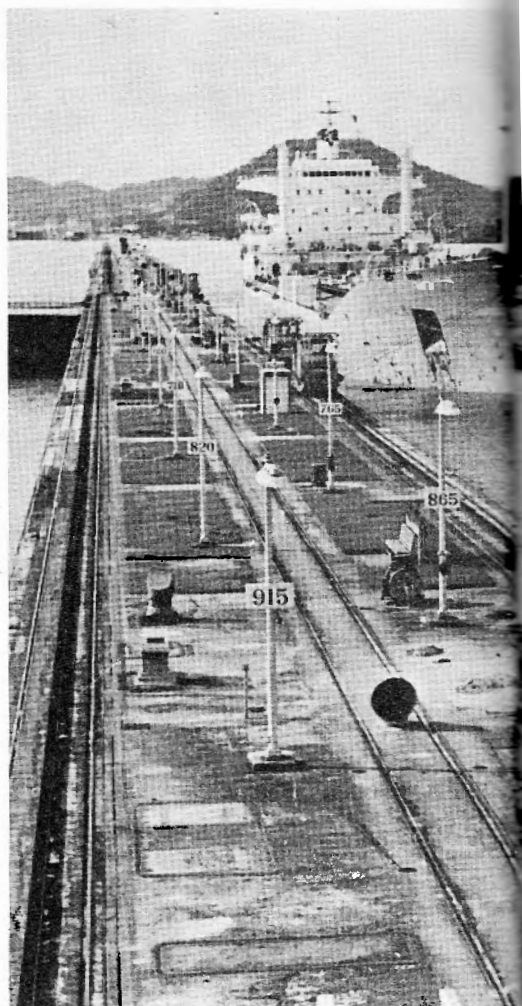
sion, it's because he hasn't done his job of proselytizing well, because he hasn't been able to reach the people of his parish without having to resort to the most popular saint.

We in the National Guard do not want to see a P.R.D. armed with sticks, shotguns and revolvers. Nor do we want to see a National Guard out proselytizing, displacing the leaders of the party who are the base of support for our process.

In this country there has always been a natural and reprehensible tendency for political leaders to get on the phone and dial the three digits of the National Guard's number to order it to repress. They think this is the quickest way to deal with a problem. But the person who orders or allows repression to be used is reneging on his responsibility. I recall that many administrations ago — after 1955 — I was called upon during a period of political unrest. I was surprised at the ease with which presidents and ministers of government and justice ordered the National Guard to the streets. Although I did my duty, I considered them to be reckless people. They sent us to the streets not as a last resort, but instead as their first choice. If we protested, they claimed the military leadership was refusing to recognize the authority of the civilian authorities. That wasn't the case. It's just that the military leadership was thinking in a more responsible way. We knew that the presence of troops in the streets could result in deaths. We knew that we could break up any demonstration in a short period of time, no matter how big it was. And we knew that once "H" hour — the time to intervene — had been decided, the problem was settled, but only in a police sense, restoring

a peaceful situation which from then on, however, had to be protected by men in uniform. We were quite aware that as long as conditions didn't exist to ensure peace without resorting to the presence of uniformed men, we were not solving the problem, but rather only postponing it, displacing it, and fooling ourselves. I don't know if the same thing happens in other countries, but in Panama, as a normal operating procedure in politics, the first alternative always tends to be the use of force. I don't want to have this happen to us in this process.

The National Guard cannot be judged by the behavior of just one of its men. A team is more than the sum of its parts. The ideas of one guardsman, one officer, one member of the general staff do not necessarily reflect what the institution thinks. Despite the fact that this is an institution where discipline is completely hierarchical, commanding officers at all levels — battalion, zone, platoon or squad — who command from the top down, if they are not equal to their rank, they don't remain commanding officers very long. We have gotten our Armed Forces to accept being led but not pushed. Any of us could have an opinion, an initial idea or a personal opinion; when the general staff meets with its commanding officer, there is a period of discussion and exchange of opinions. Many of these opinions might be opposed to what the commanding officer thinks. There may be disagreement among these ideas themselves. The commanding officer doesn't speak during the discussion period but he extracts from each of the opinions discussed what he considers to be the correct line to follow. If he makes a mistake it



The recovery of the Panama Canal, "the wound of the continent": a resounding victory for the Panamanian people.

doesn't just affect him; it is also harmful to the entire Armed Forces. What is important is that once a decision has been made, there is no more discussion. Each member of the general staff accepts the decision and defends it as if it were his own. This is what's important: it's a group decision. Unquestionably if as time goes by it becomes clear that the commanding officer makes only wrong decisions, his subordinates will continue to obey him, but they will lose faith in him. Instead of being a leader in uniform, he becomes



ing officer, he's a leader. And I think that I'm considerably above that percentage. I don't recall ever having made any decision without consensus in the general staff.

We should plan our actions using our high beams, and implement them using the low beams. It is necessary to know how and when to switch your headlights from one to the other. Right now we should be planning a 600-kilometer trip which represents the six-year-period at the end of which we'll have to compete at the ballot box. We're going to find out directly at the polls, when the people cast their ballots, if they approve or disapprove of what we have done over the last 18 years. Everything we do now should be seen in this light and carried out inspired by this. This doesn't mean that we should only tell the truth when it's pleasant. No leader can solve all his people's problems, and often the best solution is not trying to go for easy applause.

Often the best solution is telling the bitter truth even when we know it will provoke loud jeering. Over the years, people choose to support those who had the courage to tell them the disagreeable truth.

I'm saying all this because sometimes we act as if everything were coming to an end. We lose our calm, we don't plan ahead, and there are still tendencies to call on the National Guard much too lightly. There's also the tendency to look for an excuse for everything that goes wrong. "It's your fault, it's the next guy's fault," .... but never, "it's my fault." The outcome of all this is the loss of trust between each other, trying to blame everything on someone else. When our process is at fault we have to share the blame among all of us who have taken part in it.

just a chief, and they'll end up getting rid of him. Nobody likes to feel he is carrying out orders that lack common sense or that are the opposite of what should be done in that instance. Often none of the members of the general staff agree with a decision I've made, but several months later they realize that I could see farther ahead because I had my high beams on. There's a percentage in this. No one demands that a commanding officer be right 100 percent of the time, but anyone who is above 60 percent, is more than a command-



Lack of communication is the best way to create separation between people. Daily communication, even if it's only to say hello, ensures that there will not be this separation between us. And if there is no separation between us, there will be no political, spiritual or physical room to sow distrust between one another. With such distrust the unity of a team begins to crumble. But five votes together is a majority anywhere. And more than five an absolute majority. This doesn't mean there are no differences among us. What it means is that if there is communication, there's no way the team can be divided.

We should inoculate ourselves against the virus our enemies spread when they try to pigeonhole civilian governments and military governments. They want to make those of us in uniform believe that civilians are to blame when things don't go well, and to convince the civilians that when things don't go well it's the military's fault or because we don't want to take action. At no time will this government be plagued by the National Guard. If in the past we lent our support to bad governments of whom we expected nothing for the country, we support this government with much more strength and ability to react, because this is a government which emerged from the process we began.

What we should do is determine in a coordinated way when the National Guard should get involved in questions of maintaining public order and when it shouldn't. Each person should have sufficient imagination to be able to see in his own area of political responsibility what things he can devise, invent and plan so that the people politically understand why this or that measure has been taken. For



An enormous crowd celebrated Panama's entrance into the so-called Canal Zone in 1978.

example, if we had discussed the meat situation more, we would have been able to determine the best time and place to announce the price hike. If it were to be done in Colón, a city with legions of hungry people, automatically we would have a negative reaction. They are the people who will be the most affected. In addition, people with an urban mentality will never understand, nor are they interested in doing so, reasons related to the cost of production. Nor do they recognize that peasants' work subsidizes their consumption. If on the contrary, this same announcement had been made surrounded by small livestock raisers who own from one to a hundred head of cattle in Herrera, Los Santos or Chiriquí, the announcement would have had such impact on them that the shock wave would have flowed from the countryside to the city. The people in our capital, the principal consumer market, would have understood better. This is just a small example. I'm not reproaching anyone. I only want to remind you that the more you get other people's opinions in advance there is less chance of making a mistake.

You may have realized it is part of my nature to make every effort to get to know every one of the people I work with. Every commanding officer is obliged to know his subordinates and every subordinate should know his commanding officer. This presupposes that the acquaintance and respect is mutual. When the person giving the orders begins to make mistakes, the people who have to obey will lose respect. This has not been the case in our process, but I want you to be aware that I accept people as they are, not as I wish they were. I work with their good features and try to minimize the bad ones. Because there is a tendency to exaggerate certain aspects of people that makes us negative, and no negative person should be a leader.

You should also notice that I never get involved in details. I have never seen an invoice nor signed a check. What I do is indicate the line to be followed toward the final goal, leaving you to work out how to get there, just as with the immediate objectives and the later ones which lead, step by step, to the final goal. This is the difference between strategy, which should be seen with the high beams on, and tactics, which should be worked out using the low beams. It is necessary to know how to shift our headlights constantly. People who don't use the low beams, run up against nearby obstacles, and people who don't use the high beams, never get where they're going. The strategist is the engineer, the architect, the designer who sets out the goal, the plans for a development project. The tactician is the one who — brick by brick, nail by nail — puts into practice the line set out by the strategist. The individual tactician should have sufficient ability and imagination to find a solution to an immediate problem without having to consult first. I

demand final results, not partial results. You should win the battles; I want to win the war.

I have noticed that there is a tendency among some athletes and runners, who because they are always looking behind them, come in behind or lose their way to the final goal. Whoever lives off their memories of past victories, neglects the present and will fail in the future. Don't worry about what I'm going to think. I never get on anyone's case, and should I do so I'd do it with examples. I never get rid of anyone because he makes mistakes. I dispense with someone only when he has demonstrated such bad human traits that he is incorrigible. Then I forget him.

Another thing we must be careful about is not to isolate ourselves. Our responsibility is not only our own, but also to the rest, to the whole team. Our job is to support the three bases of our process. Over the next several years what will be evaluated will be the actions of everyone, those of the leadership group in this process, not of the separate parts that make up the team.

Don't for a moment make the mistake of thinking that some of your tasks or missions are unimportant. A modest grain of sand, just one millimeter in the correct historic direction, is an advance a thousand times greater than one meter in the opposite direction from our process, and a million times more important than a kilometer run against our final goal.

I lay out the line, I walk ahead and I wait for you there. The intermediate goals, the way to carry them out, you will decide. They should lead the country towards the final objective. I await you there, standing at attention and with a patriotic military salute.

# INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIQUE

## GUATEMALAN NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY UNION

Progressive forces were very pleased to learn of the founding of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, believing it represents a step forward toward attaining freedom and social justice in this sister Latin American people.

*Tricontinental* presents here a summary of the founding statement issued by the Guatemalan revolutionary organizations.



UNITE

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**Summary of the unity statement of the revolutionary organizations of Guatemala, the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), the Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA) and the Guatemalan Workers Party — Leadership Nucleus (PGT), to the people of Guatemala and the world.**

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**W**ITH deep belief in the Guatemalan Revolution and in our people's most deeply felt aspirations, we have continued along the path of revolutionary unity, in which our people feel assured that this time their efforts, struggles and sacrifices will be crowned by victory.

The unity of the Guatemalan revolutionary forces is based on the strategy of revolutionary people's war, the only path the very rich, both national and foreign, have left our people to attain their final national and social emancipation.

The Guatemalan people are now waging the most extensive revolutionary war in their history; it has been going on for more than 20 years and by now has spread throughout the entire nation. Participating in this war are workers and peasants, Indians and ladinos [people of mixed ancestry], Catholics and evangelists, men and women from every patriotic, popular and democratic sector.

At present the ruling classes are experiencing the greatest economic, political and military crisis in their history. They can only stay in power through repression. Since 1954, 83,500 citizens have been murdered for political reasons; in 1981 alone, 13,500 Guatemalans were victims of this brutal repression. An average of 36 people are murdered, abducted or made to disappear every day.

The ruling classes never had the people's support and now they have also lost the middle sectors'

support by murdering their democratic leaders and closing off all channels of democratic political participation.

The group of the newly rich consisting of corrupt, greedy, repressive top military brass, businessmen and public officials, who have been able to accumulate capital by manipulating government agencies and who exercise control over the top echelons of the Armed Forces, bears the main responsibility for Guatemala's economic, political and social crisis.

The ruling classes and the Reagan administration see the forthcoming electoral farce in March as their last political hope to save the system from defeat. But the group of newly rich people has decided to impose the army's candidate by force and through a new fraud. This is occurring in a climate of growing voter abstention, political division within the ruling classes and when in 60 percent of the nation there will be virtually no elections. The 71 percent of the country's population who live in these areas, as everywhere else, reject the elections, and these areas are recognized as combat zones.

The economic crisis has become evident in the flight of capital of more than half a billion dollars since 1979, and in September 1981 alone of \$119 million; a decline in credit and foreign investment; a huge foreign debt; the lack of reinvestment; growing recession and





Jacobo Arbenz, lawful president of Guatemala, was overthrown by a military coup in 1954. Since then, 83,500 Guatemalan citizens have been murdered for political reasons.

inflation; a crisis in the construction industry, the virtual collapse of the tourist industry and the gradual decline of the Central American Common Market, all of which has produced a serious fiscal crisis. This crisis has coincided with a drop of more than 100 percent in the price of coffee, the country's main export product, and with the withholding of almost half the 1981 harvest because of the surplus of this commodity on the international market. For the popular masses all this has meant fewer jobs, lower wages, worse working conditions and a 300-percent price hike in basic consumer goods since 1975.

In military terms, the crisis of the repressive very rich, both na-

tional and foreign, is reflected in the increasingly frequent and generalized military defeats which the so-called National Army has been dealt by the revolutionary forces, who in 1981 cost the regime's repressive forces more than 3,200 casualties. It can also be seen in the growing involvement of the masses in revolutionary people's war, in its geographic spread, in its heightened offensive capacity, and in defeats of antiguerrilla offensives.

Meanwhile, the people's democratic organizations have kept fighting for the people's demands using different forms of struggle both domestically and abroad. Thanks to these efforts, international solidarity with our people's struggle greatly increased in 1981. Especially important in this fight have been the Democratic Front Against Repression (FDCR) and the January 31st People's Front (FP-31).

Faced with the victorious and growing development of revolutionary people's war and the defeat menacing the ruling classes' power, our enemies have no choice but to resort to propping up this decaying power through foreign intervention. The warmongering Reagan administration has stepped up its military assistance to the brutal Guatemalan regime and backs intervention by Israel, Argentina, Chile, Taiwan and mercenary forces recruited among the scum of the earth.

Central America and the Caribbean are now one of the main areas of conflict. In the region, the resolute presence of Revolutionary Cuba, has been joined by the glorious Sandinista Revolution in power, the Grenada Revolution, the Salvadoran people's heroic revolutionary struggle and the victorious revolutionary people's war in Guatemala. The Reagan administration's warmongering policy has



provoked the condemnation of all progressive mankind. They are making vain attempts in Central America and the Caribbean to contain the revolution.

Faced with our people's grave situation and the risks that an intervention by imperialism represent for the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, the Guatemalan revolutionary organizations proclaim that the only sure road for our people to win their definitive national and social emancipation is to wage revolutionary people's war, defeat the genocidal army, seize power and institute a revolutionary patriotic, popular and democratic government.

To achieve this great objective we call for the creation of a broad patriotic front of national unity which will be the expression of the broadest possible alliance of all our people and be headed by its revolutionary vanguard.

In Guatemala, 9 out of 100 children die before their first birthday and 20 before they are four years old.



The Guatemalan people today are waging the most extensive revolutionary war in their history.

The political-military revolutionary organizations, which today proclaim this historic unity of Guatemalan revolutionaries, fraternally call upon the sector of the Guatemalan Workers Party that has not yet begun to practice revolutionary people's war, to begin discussions to join our revolutionary union on the basis of uniting their line, recognizing and joining in practice the strategy of revolutionary people's war and adhering to the fundamental programmatic goals expressed in this document as the basis for national revolutionary unity.

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**Main points for the program  
of the revolutionary, patriotic,  
popular and democratic  
government**

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The government we will establish in Guatemala pledges to the people of Guatemala and the peoples of the world, to fulfill the basic points of its program:

1. The Revolution will end once and for all the repression against our people and will guarantee to all citizens the supreme human rights of life and peace, by abolishing the regime which claimed the right to murder its opponents to stay in power.

2. The Revolution will establish the bases to meet the basic needs of the people — in terms of land, work, wages, health, housing, literacy and culture — by ending economic and political control by the repressive very rich, both national and foreign, while respecting small and medium landholdings and the capital of patriotic businessmen who are willing to help Guatemala overcome backwardness and dependency; they will be limited only by the need for them to respect the people's interests.

3. The Revolution will guarantee equality between Indians and ladinos and will end cultural oppression and discrimination, through the participation of the Indian population in political power and on the basis of recognizing their right to maintain their own identity.

4. The Revolution will ensure the creation of a new society in which all patriotic, popular and democratic sectors will be represented in the government, respecting freedom of speech, association and religious belief, and recognizing Christians as one of the main pillars of the new society. The new people's army will welcome participation by officers and soldiers whose hands are not stained with the people's blood.

5. Based on the principle of self-determination, the revolution will guarantee a policy of non-alignment and international cooperation, which poor countries need to develop in today's complex and interdependent world, recognizing that foreign investments are needed in poor countries, but that these must be worked out on the basis of respect for national sovereignty, the needs of poor countries and a reasonable rate of profit. Without political stability there can be no international cooperation, and this is possible to achieve, despite different ideologies or systems, if the right of every people to self-determination is respected.

*"... with their tremendous spirit our people are willing to die rather than be enslaved. ... !*

GUATEMALAN NATIONAL  
REVOLUTIONARY UNITY  
UNRG



**JULY 19  
3rd ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE SANDINISTA  
REVOLUTION**



**DEFEND NICARAGUA'S GAINS**





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**BEIJING'S POLICIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA**

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ESTRELLA REY

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The behavior of Maoist and pro-Chinese groups and their work of ideological diversionism, and Beijing's attempts to penetrate in Latin America are discussed in this interesting article by Estrella Rey.

The author, an outstanding sinologist, has published important historical studies on countries in the Far East, particularly China and the Indochinese countries. Especially notable are her writings on cultural genocide, based on her research and own experiences living in the region.

She has a doctorate in history; at present she is a senior researcher and head of the Department of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the Academy of Sciences of Cuba.

**I**N examining Maoism's relation to Latin America and the Caribbean from the 1950's to the present, it is necessary to begin with this region's historical ties with the world's most powerful imperialist power: the United States. Today it seems obvious that these relations influenced — sometimes decisively — China's Latin America policies starting during Mao Zedong's time and continuing on up through his successors'.

In the early 1950's, attempts to develop political relations between the People's Republic of China and Latin American countries were blocked by two things: first, China's domestic and foreign situation, and second, the region's neocolonial dependence on the United States.

Regarding the first aspect — China's domestic and international situation — obviously in moments of sharp political and economic shifts, with all this implies, developing relations with Latin American and Caribbean countries was not given high priority. Also contributing to this were China's still concealed relations with capitalist countries, especially the United States, and the latter's policy with respect to China.

In terms of the second aspect — Latin America's relation to the United States — the situation changed radically after the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. When Cuba's economic and political dependence ceased, broad democratic and progressive sectors in Latin America and the Caribbean became convinced that it was feasible to fight and defeat national oligarchies and successfully confront U.S. neocolonialism. This process accelerated after domestic counterrevolutionaries and foreign reactionaries failed in their attempts to crush the Cuban Revolution, and the United States found itself unable to stop a people's revolutionary movement only 90 miles from its coasts. The Cuban Revolution's principled and militant stand and an international conjuncture favorable to the socialist community ended the myth of U.S. invincibility in the region.

After the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, Latin American and Caribbean countries gradually ceased being the "secure backyard" and "strategic rearguard" of the United States. By the end of the 1960's, a number of Latin American governments refused to keep passively accepting U.S. imperialism's brutal neocolonial exploitation exercised

through transnational corporations. These countries consistently took nationalist positions which in practice meant defending their economies by adopting measures to protect their commodities or by establishing multinational economic relations.

Objectively, the fact that in the late 1960's a number of the region's countries pursued independent policies and economic alliances, heightened the contradictions between progressive sectors in these countries, and imperialism and the reaction. Several countries of the English-speaking Caribbean began to take progressive stands which were later adopted on a Latin American level.

This process created a new situation in the 1970's in which the region's countries began to establish bilateral relations not only with neighboring countries but also with developing nations throughout the world, and with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well.

These new conditions also furthered the growth and development of communist parties in a number of Latin American and Caribbean countries and the emergence of other revolutionary vanguard detachments.

As the anti-imperialist struggle developed — with the working class and peasants playing the main role — other social forces became involved, providing a broader base for the revolutionary movement. These new forces joining the Latin American struggle included students and intellectuals, and other sectors as well, such as some groups among the clergy and the military, who although traditionally allies of the reaction, began to take progressive positions. As the struggle took this particular form, it became more difficult, despite the fact that all involved were united in their opposition to imperialism, giving the movement greater cohesion and a broader social base.

The anti-imperialist struggle put theory into practice, and Latin American and Caribbean progressive and revolutionary movements began to analyze their situations and seek new strategic and tactical approaches to seize political power and achieve national and social liberation.

Meanwhile, China's leaders, led by Mao Zedong, began to move away from and then broke with the world revolutionary movement. Mao Zedong abandoned the socialist economic planning used in China's early five-year plans, instead promoting hasty anarchic measures in the form of "great leaps" in production; this paved the way for launching the "theory of new democracy" and the "special road" of national development isolated from the rest of the socialist world. In the international sphere, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) broke with the world communist movement, and ideologically, it put forth what appeared to be ultraleft anti-imperialism and spoke in radical-sounding phrases attractive to some sectors in Latin American progressive and revolutionary movements.

The subsequent "rectification of style" campaign, followed by the "cultural revolution" ended all ties to the world communist movement and liquidated the presence and influence of the internationalist current within the CCP. The Maoist line was strengthened and the Trotskyist theory of "permanent revolution" revived; according to this theory, the possibility of building socialism in any one country depends on the world

revolution. The central theme of China's foreign policy during this period coincided with that theory; and this was confirmed by Mao Zedong when he asserted that "the next 150 years will be an era of radical changes in the world's social structure, it will be a period of stormy convulsions, unlike any other previous historical period. Living in this period, we must be prepared to wage a great struggle, whose specific forms will be very different than the forms of struggle of previous periods."

Maoist groups in Latin America adopted the same ultraleft positions as the Chinese leadership and on the ideological level, they raised slogans such as "people's war," "armed struggle," "fight revisionism," etc. In every country in the region, they considered the communist parties to be "revisionist," and likewise they called the USSR "revisionist" and "social imperialist" as well. Ideological debate within a number of Latin American communist parties led directly to splits.

At present, Maoists in Latin America and the Caribbean are organized in small groups, and in general their leadership is a handful of people who are perfectly conscious of the role they must play as representatives of the counterrevolution. But their base-level membership, not always — in fact, almost never — are conscious of what their leaders are doing. Often base-level members of pro-Chinese groups join unaware of the final goals that these groups pursue and are even ignorant of the real thrust of Chinese foreign policy. In addition, there are also pseudo-revolutionary opportunists who take advantage of the Chinese Communist Party's deviations to cover up their false revolutionary postures. In these Maoist groups one can even find some base-level members who are not really familiar with the principles of Marxism-Leninism since their first contact with these theories was through distorted Maoist interpretations. They consider themselves to be Marxist-Leninists, but in reality they are only familiar with the Maoist version of this doctrine. Hence, they interpret facts and events in accordance with these erroneous conceptions.

Some of the structural features contributing most to Latin American Maoist and pro-Chinese groups being able to recruit members during the 1960's were that in general these are underdeveloped countries with economies distorted by imperialism and neocolonialism, in which the big bourgeoisie is completely dependent and works hand in glove with the transnationals. Forcing this "similarity," Maoists argued that this situation was the same as China's before the 1949 revolutionary victory in which the Chinese peasantry — the majority of the population — played an outstanding role in the armed people's war against the bourgeoisie and Japanese imperialism. From that they took the position that in Latin America, because of its structural characteristics, the peasantry and not the working class was called upon to play the role of revolutionary vanguard.

In reality, of course, this wasn't true — not in China, and even less so in Latin America — because in those countries, despite the holdover of forms of feudal exploitation, the dominant mode of production is capitalist, where the working class, because of its inherent characteristics, is called upon to play the vanguard role, irrespective of whether it is sizeable

or not, or well organized or not. It is true that in some sectors of rural Latin America feudal structures still persist, but this doesn't mean that objectively one can underestimate the vanguard role of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry, which is also exploited. In fact, quantitatively, the working class is now the largest social sector, with nearly 60 million people.

As part of their work of ideological diversionism, the Maoist and pro-Chinese groups worked actively among the peasantry in a number of Latin American countries, as was the case of the Cuzco region in Peru, where they were able to achieve a certain degree of influence. In general they were successful only in those areas where revolutionary work with peasants had been weak. It is not easy to penetrate the minds of the peasants and agricultural workers with the intricate subtleties Maoists had to use to disguise their true anti-popular goals.

In general, students and intellectuals are the Maoists' preferred target groups. Maoist ideological penetration led to splits in university student movements in Peru, Ecuador, Honduras and the Dominican Republic. Universities in other Latin American countries, such as Bolivia, Martinique and Guadeloupe, were victims to a lesser extent of these infiltrations.

However, the Maoists' work of penetration in the student sector was not very successful and the places it flourished were precisely those where revolutionary work was weak.

In 1968 a center to study Mao's works was established in Venezuela, made up mostly of intellectuals, but it was short-lived and its influence slight.

In the 1960's the Maoists also began to move in on the workers' and trade union movement, but they had less success in these sectors. Nevertheless, they were able to gain some degree of influence in some trade unions in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Honduras and Mexico.

Summing up the activities of Maoist and pro-Chinese groups in the 1960's, we can identify two lines of action that can be clearly delineated in hindsight: first, splitting and weakening Latin American and Caribbean communist parties and revolutionary and progressive movements as part of their counterrevolutionary assault, still disguised in the Chinese-USSR conflict; and second, strengthening their positions in these movements and organizations.

The Cuban Revolution's growing prestige and influence and the fact that Latin American and Caribbean communist parties and revolutionary movements rejected these Maoist positions, defeated China's moves. However, it would be impossible to underestimate the harm done to the unity of the Latin American revolutionary movement, and the extent to which imperialism was able to use China's splitting policies to achieve certain neocolonial objectives in the region and sharpen international tensions.

For example, when the Caribbean crisis [Cuban missile crisis] brought the world to the brink of war, the Chinese kept silent on that issue, while they took advantage of the situation to attack India and seize part of its territory, revealing, even then, their expansionist and hegemonist intentions.



In the "theory of the three worlds," the theoretical underpinning of Chinese foreign policy, Latin America is considered part of the developing world. Within the "Third World" it represents an economic and political stronghold. This fact explains China's interest in the 1970's in developing closer official ties with Latin America. China's foreign policy in the early 1970's clearly reflected its desire to establish better relations with the industrially developed capitalist world, especially the United States. There was an exchange of friendly visits by high-ranking government officials, topped by President Richard Nixon's 1972 trip. To justify their new foreign policy, a number of leaders' articles and commentaries were published in China during that period; among these was one by then Prime Minister Zhou Enlai, where he asserted that "imperialism has lost its belligerence," that it is now less important and that "China's number one enemy is now the Soviet Union."

In terms of China's foreign policy in Latin America, if the 1950's were marked by isolation and the 1960's by fomenting splits in revolutionary movements and preparations for a rapprochement with the United States, the 1970's were characterized by a direct and open Maoist offensive in the political and economic fields through official diplomatic channels.

This subtle and underhanded work was not just sometimes directed at revolutionary movements as in the previous decade; rather China specially and openly worked on a government-to-government basis, evaluating as a whole and individually the relative importance of the region's countries in international affairs, particularly in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

Obviously, the main obstacle to China's intentions and interests in the continent was and is Cuba. In an effort to neutralize this obstacle, China has tried to reduce the Cuban Revolution's influence and prestige by discrediting its exemplary friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union and Cuba's internationalist policies, and by attempting to undermine Cuba's work in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in promoting anti-imperialist unity and detente.

Since the early 70's, China's anti-Cuban position, along with its anti-socialist and anti-Soviet policies, was one of the main elements furthering its rapprochement with imperialism; and going to an extreme, China joined together with Yankee imperialism's most reactionary spokesmen to portray Cuba as a threat to the peoples of Latin America, thus becoming an accomplice in imperialism's blockade of Cuba and its policy of aggression against that country.

In this double play, the United States in turn gave Maoism "free rein" in what it sees as its own "backyard," adapting to current circumstances the age-old method of "divide and conquer." Imperialism discovered that China, by promoting divisions, was a new ally helping to fight socialism throughout the world.

Along with the sharp turn to the right in its foreign policy, the CCP's 11th Congress demonstrated the Maoist leadership's complete inability to provide genuine solutions for China's domestic economic and social problems.

China began to reorient its policy towards the West in the late 1960's; this was the pretext and the prelude to the "four modernizations"

campaign. Its economic objectives, aimed at strengthening a war-mongering and hegemonist policy, can now be clearly seen.

China's leadership was not unaware of the importance of Latin America's raw materials. At the same time they could not fail to recognize the existence of bilateral relations between Latin American countries with the United States. In addition, the opening of the Latin American and Caribbean region to some Chinese expansionist goals was not only related to its own interests, but also the needs of Latin American and Caribbean economies. Moreover, a number of "democratic" governments viewed relations with China as a way to show their political boldness and independence to the world; in this way they could please U.S. imperialism by the fact that by maintaining relations with a country considered to be "socialist," they could give the impression of "free democracy" in the region, while remaining basically dependent on the United States. This explains China's relative ease in using this situation to launch its offensive in the diplomatic, trade and scientific-technical cooperation fields. The Chinese leadership was not very selective, developing relations with both democratic regimes and clearly fascist ones. China established both diplomatic and trade relations with some countries, but with others, only trade agreements. It should be stressed that some of these countries have considerable political and economic importance in the region.

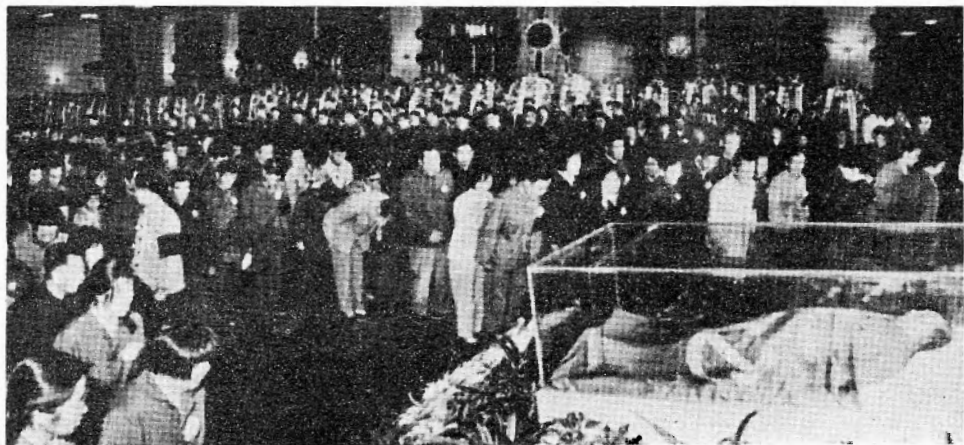
During the first half of the 1970's, there was an exchange of high-level military and trade delegations which were received in each country by top officials in their respective fields. In a number of cases agreements were signed in which Latin American and Caribbean countries agreed to supply China with agricultural commodities in exchange for oil. For example, Brazil and Guyana signed agreements to export sugar; Panama, bananas, and Argentina, grain. Since that period, China showed interest and began negotiations to purchase certain metals in Latin America, in an effort to stabilize the prices of a number of minerals essential to carry out their projects.

Chairman Mao died in Peking on Sept. 9, 1976. Since his death, different Maoist factions have been fighting over who will be his heir, and as a result, the country's internal situation has worsened across the board. China's current leaders finally unveiled the real objectives of their national and international policy. They strengthened their relations with the capitalist camp, especially with the United States, and at last gave free rein to their ravenous expansionism. Closer relations with the United States were made possible as a result of China's open and disgraceful betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. All this was laid out in documents of the CCP's 11th Congress held in August 1977. The Congress reaffirmed the hegemonist course oriented to turning China into a major world power by the year 2000. To achieve this goal, the Chinese leadership set out four paths: first, attempt to be the leader of the "Third World"; second, ally with imperialism; third, promote a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, and finally to become a world hegemonic power once these two countries have been weakened. The first three paths were simultaneously being put into practice since the beginning of the decade, and during this whole period

up to now, we can see with greater clarity the tactics that have been used.

China's alliance with capitalism particularly hurts developing countries that are victims of neocolonial expansion or are under attack by imperialism. We have the incredible situation in which the current Chinese leadership has lent its support to the economic blockade of Cuba and the presence of a Yankee naval base in its territory.

China's alliance with imperialism and the reaction was clearly reflected in the late-1979 visits of Deng Xiaoping to the United States and Japan and Hua Guofeng to France, West Germany, England and Italy. In January 1980, U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown visited China where he was received with honors worthy of a head of state. Chinese leaders were seeking through these visits to establish "cooperation" in undertaking their campaign of the "four modernizations" intended, as is well known, to end China's military backwardness and provide it with a modern army with more effective weapons. But of course these trips



Since Chairman Mao Zedong's death in September 1976, different Maoist factions have been struggling over who will be his heir.

by high-level Chinese officials were not only for the purpose of establishing bilateral cooperation.

Brown was more explicit when he spoke of contacts between defense agencies of both countries and stressed that they were not a threat to any other country, but that if the United States or China felt threatened by a third party, they would be in a position to respond with actions on a diplomatic and military level. Thus the consequences of the visits between the United States and China are part and parcel of China's foreign policy with respect to the developing world, and especially Cuba and Vietnam. During his visit to the United States, Deng asserted that it was necessary to punish Vietnam and Cuba. Clearly, since China was then openly preparing its aggression against Vietnam, the reference to Cuba was saying to the United States, "You punish Cuba."

However, China was unable to transfer this atmosphere of open hostility to every pro-Chinese group in Latin America. This was partially due to the fact that some of these groups are careful not to openly attack

Cuba, concealing their anti-Cuban positions, although others, on the contrary, follow the Maoist leaders' instructions to the letter and put them into practice, as was the case when they joined the reaction in ignoring the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students held in Havana in 1978. They were trying to step up the campaign against Cuba and tarnish the Cuban Revolution's prestige in an effort to reduce attendance at this event.

China's invasion of Vietnam produced varied reactions among the continent's Maoist groups and parties; in some cases there was open support; in others, silence. Of course, the region's revolutionary and progressive organizations, communist parties and student and trade union organizations, and other left parties and organizations condemned China's aggression against Vietnam.

The goal of China's Latin America policy, as part of its "Third World" strategy, is to broaden China's influence in every Latin American and Caribbean country. Especially important have been its alliances with countries with strong reactionary or militarist bourgeoisies, as is the case of Chile and Argentina. Speaking from an anti-Soviet position and playing the role of hypocritical intermediary in international forums, Beijing has stirred up contradictions tending to hinder detente or concerning problems in the region.

As is well known, Cuba, as part of the Caribbean — an important strategic area for the United States — has U.S. imperialism concerned. The Maoist leadership has given priority to this region in its policy of penetration. Of course, Beijing's policy is not just aimed at isolating the Caribbean countries from Cuba — and in turn, from the Soviet Union and the socialist community; it also is intended to have a negative influence on the revolutionary course of a number of political movements and on the progressive direction of certain countries like Guyana.

The Chinese, especially its bourgeois elite, living in the Caribbean — where they immigrated as "contract labor" during the second half of the 19th century and first part of the 20th century — have been used by China in terms of propaganda, influence and financial support.

China has directed its diplomatic offensive to countries that have relations with Cuba in an effort to neutralize the development of an anti-imperialist front. A number of Caribbean countries were included in the itinerary of these high-level delegations. Chinese delegations visited Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Guyana, returning visits by high-level delegations from these countries to China.

China's methods of economic penetration in Latin America and especially the Caribbean should not be belittled. They involve granting credits to several countries, along with favorable terms of trade and scientific-technical cooperation. Such favorable terms are sorely needed by developing countries and Beijing uses them as a form of political blackmail.

Despite all of China's efforts, Latin American Maoist groups and organizations are on the decline, although they still have some strength in several countries. Such is the case with Ecuador, where they managed to get a deputy elected in 1979; and in Peru, where Maoists formed a coalition before the elections. In the Dominican Republic, the Maoist



China's alliance with imperialism and the reaction has been clearly reflected by the visits of Deng Xiaoping to Japan and Hua Guofeng to West Germany in the late 1970's.



organizations *Línea Roja* (Red Line) and *Bandera Proletaria* (Proletarian Flag) merged to form the Dominican Workers Party, and there is still a Maoist presence in the Anti-Imperialist Patriotic Union.

In the youth and student sphere, although some organizations are still aligned with Maoism, this current has lost strength among young people. An example of this is the fact that at the Sixth Congress of the Latin American Continental Student Organization (OCLAE), held in Cuba, several Maoist groups were isolated when they found no support for their opposition to the meeting's strong attacks on China's foreign policy. This occurrence, along with other factors, demonstrated the continuing loss of influence of pro-Chinese tendencies among Latin American youth.

Similarly, the Chinese leaders' open betrayal of the international workers' movement and their alliance with imperialism and the reaction has meant that many honest and confused people have moved away from Maoism. It is clear that these organizations' small leadership groups are sustained thanks to China's financial assistance and that is why they continue to maintain their unscrupulous alliance, whatever their opinions on China's new international policies might happen to be. Latin American Marxist-Leninists should not be resigned to the existence of Maoist influence in the region and passively wait for it to die away. They should actively combat Maoism, and by analyzing the causes and nature of this complex political-ideological process, accelerate its downfall.

We have seen how China failed in its attempts to cause splits at the Sixth Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held in Havana in September 1979. We also recall that when in August and September 1979 U.S. imperialism artificially created the farce of the so-called "Second Caribbean crisis," China used it in its anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban propaganda campaign.

Regarding this, comrade Fidel Castro, in his address to the opening session of the event, affirmed: "The Yankee imperialists, and their old and new allies — I am referring in this case to the Chinese government — didn't want this conference to be held in Cuba," but "... all efforts to sabotage the Sixth Summit in Havana have proved futile. All pressures, hectic diplomatic efforts and intrigues to prevent the Conference from being held in our country were in vain."

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries promotes unity of developing countries in their anti-imperialist struggles. With a favorable worldwide correlation of forces, the movement is oriented toward peaceful coexistence and international detente, a position which puts imperialism in a difficult position and forces it to "accept" some of the movement's basic positions; this doesn't mean, of course, that imperialism has changed its warmongering nature, or that it has given up trying to provoke and promote conflicts and frictions endangering specific regions and the whole world as well. The situation has become tenser due to the new fascist Reagan administration's threats and actions, especially in Central America and the Caribbean.

China's policy in Latin America has failed; it is a policy aimed against detente, of inciting a new war.

To summarize, China's influence in Latin America and the Caribbean began to be felt in the 1960's when Maoist and pro-Chinese groups emerged in communist parties and national liberation movements.



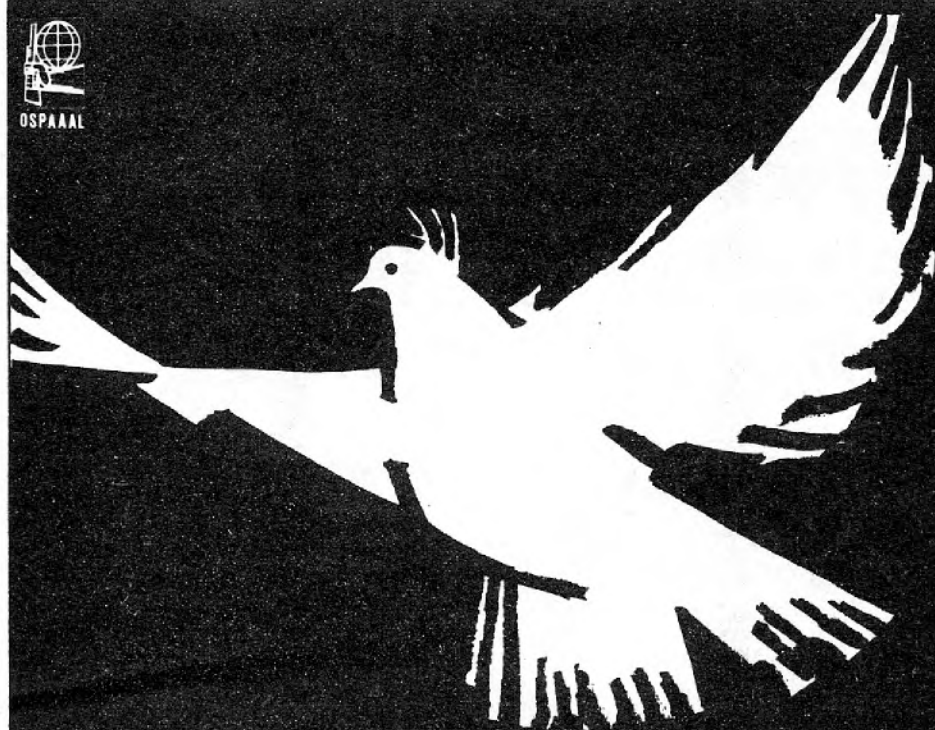
Despite Chinese efforts to create divisions, the Sixth Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries successfully took place in Havana.

In the 1970's, China launched an offensive on the political and economic fronts through diplomatic channels. One of its goals was to influence the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries against the Cuban position, clearly expressed in the Fourth Summit Conference in Algiers in 1973 by Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro. After the CCP's 11th Congress in 1977, China, in open alliance with imperialism and the reaction, even more eagerly took on the task of trying to split Latin American and Caribbean countries from Cuba, the Soviet Union and the socialist community. China joined efforts to sabotage the holding of the Sixth Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana in September 1979.

China's foreign policy in the early 1980's has been exposed as clearly reactionary and it has become a negative factor for Maoist and pro-Chinese groups, creating problems for them in their political work and recruitment, and in addition it has opened the eyes of many honest but confused people who were base-level members of Latin American revolutionary movements.

All of this has accelerated the decline of the region's Maoist and pro-Chinese groups.

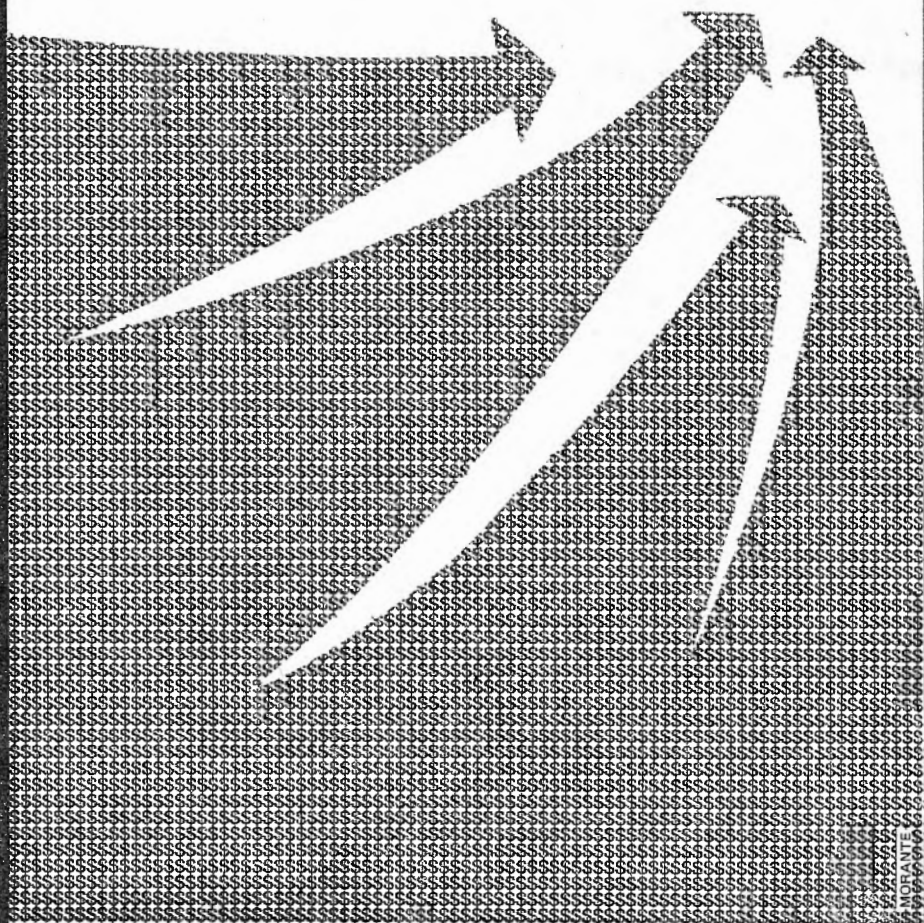
However, Latin American Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionary and progressive forces cannot just wait for their likely demise; it is necessary to hasten their end by seeking the causes and studying the nature of this complex political-ideological process and firmly challenging it. Success depends on the vitality and practice of the communist parties and revolutionary and progressive organizations in each country, principally in terms of political and ideological education of the masses to prevent, correct and avoid ideological distortions, to further anti-imperialist and anti-Maoist unity of action of the revolutionary movement in Latin America and the Caribbean.



MONTH  
OF SOLIDARITY  
WITH  
**KOREA**  
FOR PEACEFUL  
AND INDEPENDENT  
REUNIFICATION

# TRANSNATIONAL MONOPOLIES AND IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN AFRICA

EUGENIO ESPINOSA





Transnational monopolies from different countries have been able to penetrate in Africa to varying degrees. This interesting analysis by economist Eugenio Espinosa discusses some of these interests and the strategies being tested in this continent in dispute.

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## Imperialist strategy in Africa

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**I**MPERIALIST strategy is twofold and both aspects are necessary to consider: government strategy, on the one hand, and monopoly strategy, on the other. Although both are essentially the same, each has its own special features defining the form it takes; on occasion they might even hold different positions on specific issues. This kind of difference is of course, secondary, but it allows us to explain specific situations.

For imperialism, Africa holds a special place among underdeveloped countries as a whole because it is the world's least developed region. Middle East countries can be included as part of Africa because their productive structures are extremely weak and distorted, despite great financial wealth from oil exports.

Africa has 43 percent of the underdeveloped countries' and 21 percent of the world's land area. It has one-fifth of the underdeveloped countries' population and about 10 percent of world population, but it barely generates 15 percent of the underdeveloped countries' GNP (Gross National Product) and only 0.8 percent of world GNP.

The extent of Africa's underdevelopment is most clearly reflected, however, in its share of world industry. According to data from the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO),<sup>1</sup> between 1960 and 1972 Africa provided only 0.7 percent of the world's industrial value added and from 1973 to 1975, 0.8 percent. There are no African countries among the 10 most industrialized underdeveloped countries. Per capita industrial value added in Africa is only \$24, much lower than the average of \$51 for the rest of the underdeveloped nations. The outlook for Africa's share of industrial production is quite somber; UNIDO has already projected that Africa is the only region which will not even get close to fulfilling its regional goal by the year 2000. It is even anticipated that Africa's industrial production will only grow at the low rate of 6.3 percent a year.

The food situation is just as critical. Per capita food production has decreased in recent years. Taking the 1960-65 period as equal to 100,

<sup>1</sup> UNIDO, *La industria desde 1960: progresos y perspectivas* (Industry Since 1960: Progress and Perspectives), Third General UNIDO Conference, ID/Conf. 4/UN, 1979.

production in 1966-70 was 99 and 1971-76 it was 96, much lower than other underdeveloped regions.<sup>2</sup>

These specific conditions in Africa are obviously reflected in imperialist interests. During a period in which the export of capital for manufacturing is dominant, even to underdeveloped countries, Africa and the Middle East are the only regions where this is not the main trend.

*Exports of capital in 1972 (in percent)*

	Oil	Mining	Manufacturing	Others
Africa	45	16	17	22
Middle East	87.5	—	7	5

Source: UN, *Transnational Corporations in World Development: a Reexamination*, 1978.

These figures only cover direct private investment, but they clearly reflect the trend with transnationals. It is understandable that Africa (including the Middle East, unless otherwise noted) receives 30 percent of the total direct foreign private investment in underdeveloped countries, since imperialism's main interest in Africa is its natural resources, unlike other underdeveloped regions where its priorities are different.

Africa is the world's main producer of many commodities: cacao, 70 percent; sisal, 60 percent; cotton, 25 percent; citric fruits, 23 percent; uranium, 21 percent; manganese, 54 percent; chrome, 55 percent; cobalt, 81 percent; copper, 26 percent; phosphates and oil, 35 percent; and diamonds, almost 100 percent, among others. Obviously Africa is the main exporter of these products as well since it consumes only a small amount domestically.<sup>3</sup>

2 Fernando Martínez, *Neocolonialismo e imperialismo: Las relaciones neocoloniales de Europa en Africa* (Neocolonialism and Imperialism: Europe's Neocolonial Relations in Africa), Centro de Estudios sobre Europa Occidental (Western Europe Study Center), Havana, 1979; A. Gromiko, "Etapla contemporánea de la lucha antimperialista en Africa" (Current Stage of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle in Africa), *Ciencias Sociales* (Social Sciences magazine), No. 4, Moscow, 1979.

3 B. Barankiewicz, *El papel de Africa en la división internacional del trabajo y la cuestión de la cooperación entre los países socialistas y los países africanos* (Africa's Role in the International Division of Labor and the Question of Cooperation Between Socialist Countries and African Countries), Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1978.

Given this situation, Africa has great potential. The Latin American model of dependent industrialization has been thrown into crisis in its two basic forms — import substitution and exports of manufactured goods — and the Asian model of export platforms is in crisis as well; hence Africa, which has not begun either, offers a propitious area for future neocolonial expansion. The Middle East oil-exporting countries could play — and are already playing — an important role in terms of providing financing out of their revenues. Added to this are the prospects in African agriculture, which offers better conditions for imperialist penetration than in Latin America and Asia because of continuity from the colonial period of agricultural plantations, with their large size, high productivity and advanced technology. It should also be noted that Africa has relatively less foreign debt than other underdeveloped regions, making it easier for transnational corporations to expand.

Nevertheless, it will not be all that easy for the transnationals to expand in Africa. The region has strong organizations — the OAU and the summit meetings of the Organization of the Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries — which represent obstacles to imperialist penetration. The strength of national liberation movements is the main thing blocking imperialism from massively expanding in Africa. Since it cannot crush these movements, imperialism has been obliged to seek new forms of domination; perhaps the most representative of these is the Lomé Convention, an economic agreement involving the European Economic Community (EEC), most African countries, and some Caribbean and Pacific nations. It covers agreements on trade, financing and assistance and represents a highly advanced form of collective neocolonialism.

But in this general discussion about Africa and imperialism, it is necessary to analyze the correlation of forces and some specific features of the three main imperialist centers: the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Europe was the first great colonial metropolis; this started to change after the First World War when the United States displaced Europe from Latin America. After the Second World War this trend was consolidated for two reasons: the United States became the main imperialist power and African countries — the main site of European colonial domination — stepped up the national liberation process. It was mostly this latter aspect that forced imperialism to seek new forms of domination.

The African context is characterized by two main levels of contradiction: the first is between imperialism and African countries, which are striving to develop, and the second involves the contradiction between imperialist countries in their struggle for a new neocolonial division of Africa and the Middle East. This is particularly apparent in the Middle East and north Africa where a number of countries are oriented toward socialism and simultaneously in other countries the United States is displacing England and France. Both levels of contradiction can also be found in sub-Saharan Africa.

However, beginning in the 1960's and especially in the 1970's, uneven development among imperialist countries started to produce a favorable correlation of forces for Western Europe and Japan. The United States began to find its position among imperialist nations weakened and

therefore suffered a relative loss in hegemony — still just a general trend, contained only by the energy crisis.<sup>4</sup> In this situation, interimperialist rivalry has increased, but there is also a simultaneous need for cooperation. This double aspect is reflected in the three imperialist centers' basic problems, including their relations with underdeveloped countries. The EEC and Japan have gone farthest in developing the newest forms of neocolonialism; which, in fact, are not all that new. They have been around since the end of the Second World War through the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which are all international forms of state monopoly capitalism.

In this context, the outlook for Western Europe in Africa is promising. Africa has traditionally been Europe's backyard and at present, the European Economic Community is in a much better position to maintain its predominance in the region and even strengthen it than the United States or Japan. Western Europe is Africa's main trading partner and the principal exporter of capital to Africa (75 percent of foreign capital).

To understand Africa's new role in the world and imperialism's new forms of penetration, it is also necessary to examine the different kinds of so-called industrial redeployment, as is the case with textiles in the Ivory Coast and Togo; of the clothing industry in Tunisia and Morocco; of tax havens in Senegal, Mauritius and Egypt; and the shift in steel production to several north African countries and automobile production to Nigeria.<sup>5</sup>

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#### **Methods and tendencies of penetration in Africa**

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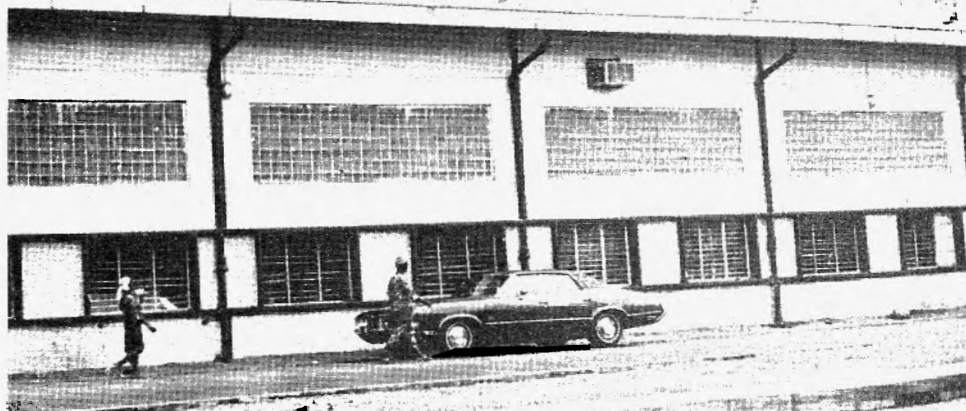
There are four basic groups of countries in continental Africa (excluding the Middle East). The first group is made up of the largest countries, Nigeria and Zaire, where 45 percent of foreign investments in Africa are located. They have large internal markets, abundant natural resources and are attractive as potential transnational production centers to penetrate other African countries, as is the case with the Volkswagen and Mercedes Benz factories in Nigeria.

The second group is made up of small countries with a low level of development but with vast reserves of natural resources such as Gabon, Zambia, Cameroon, Mauritania and others, where almost total control is exercised by the main imperialist nations which have divided up these

4 Yuri Yudanov, *Problemas actuales del capitalismo europeo* (Current Problems of European Capitalism), Centro de Estudios sobre Europa Occidental (Western Europe Study Center), Havana, 1979; N. Inozemtsev, *El capitalismo de hoy: nuevos fenómenos y contradicciones* (Today's Capitalism: New Aspects and Contradictions), Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974.

5 AAPSO, *Conférence internationale sur le rôle des transnationales et les stratégies de développement économique* (International Conference on the Role of Transnationals and Economic Development Strategies), UNESCO, Paris, 1979.

# MERCEDES-BENZ SERVICE



Nigeria is attractive as a transnational production center to penetrate other African countries. This is the case with the Mercedes-Benz factory in that country.

countries among them, unlike the first group; in Zaire and Nigeria all the principal imperialist nations are present and in heavy competition.

The third group, consisting of countries with a certain level of development of their infrastructure and a relatively skilled labor force, has attained an intermediate level of development compared to the previous group. Included in this group are Tunisia, Morocco, Senegal and the Ivory Coast, where capital investments are concentrated in assembling and manufacturing, in contrast to the previous group which is oriented toward primary production.

The fourth group consists of countries which have set out on an anti-imperialist and/or socialist course, but transnational corporations still display great interest in them.

Middle East countries have their own special features, not only because they export oil and have great financial wealth — which has shrunk in recent years despite their huge revenues — but also because they are a strategic part of imperialist global policy.

In these new forms of imperialist penetration, both Europe and Japan have been the pioneers; but the former is in an especially good position to lead this process. While U.S. monopolies and the Yankee government have not been able to pursue a viable imperialist strategy, particularly with regard to underdeveloped countries (its last continental effort was the unsuccessful Alliance for Progress), Western Europe not only has been able to formulate such a strategy, but also put it into practice.



Europe, in contrast to the other two imperialist centers, employs collective neocolonialism; it has shown great flexibility in its forms of penetration, fully using complementary collaboration, and has been trying to project an image of being the underdeveloped nations' number one friend. However, even though Western Europe is the dominant imperialist presence in Africa (not counting the Middle East), and Africa represents the main underdeveloped region for Europe, there are two strategic tendencies in Europe: the regionalist, principally represented by Belgium and Italy who want to concentrate principally in Africa, and the globalist perspective, put forward by West Germany and England who seek to have a world presence.

The globalist tendency has made a number of proposals for relations with underdeveloped countries, such as the Brandt Report, which is really just a global projection of the principles implemented by the EEC in the Lomé Convention.

Based on the general features discussed above in terms of imperialist penetration in Africa we will now examine separately two of the main imperialist centers.

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### **European colonialism and neocolonialism**

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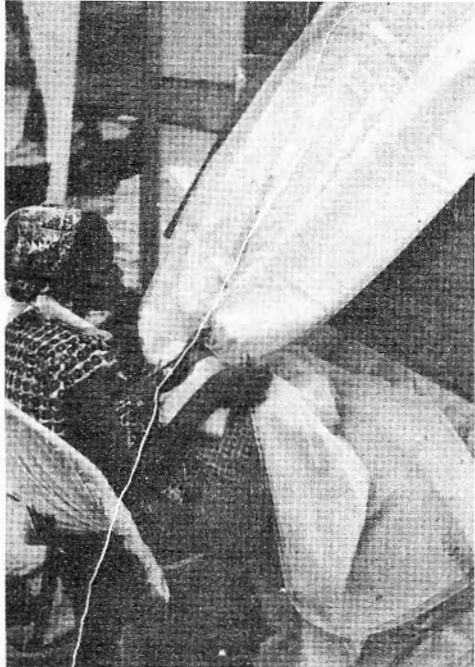
Western Europe was the world's principal colonial metropolis and the most important in Africa as well.

England and France were the main colonial powers in Africa; these two countries colonized Africa's geography to the point where some authors describe the continent in terms of English-speaking and French-speaking peoples. Germany joined the scramble for colonies late, and had its colonies taken away as part of the new division of the world at the end of World War I. Starting in the 1950's, however, West Germany's considerable economic power turned it into a budding neocolonial power. Italy was always a second-rate colonial metropolis and its presence in Africa now is limited; Holland and Belgium, despite being small countries, played important roles in colonizing Africa, and currently are playing outstanding roles in imperialist penetration of the continent.

Great Britain "withdrew" from its African colonies in such a way as to ensure an immediate transition to neocolonial forms of domination, in part through the Commonwealth. France, in turn, used the same strategy with its sub-Saharan colonies, guaranteeing continuity from its colonial to neocolonial policies. However, in north Africa, especially in Algeria, France was expelled by a war of liberation against which it unleashed the full force of its cruel repression; this marked its later relations with all its former colonies and explains to some extent why France's imperialist interests were shifted from north to so-called tropical Africa.

Until the Second World War, Europe's imperialist strategy in Africa was that each metropolis kept its colonies and neocolonies as closed fiefdoms, off limits to the other colonial powers. This began to change with the emergence and growth of the EEC.

Western Europe began to develop a multilateral strategy of neocolonial penetration in Africa in the context of the EEC; this was implemented



The ACP countries are the principal suppliers of agricultural commodities — such as cotton — which are highly important for industry in the European Economic Community.

through the Yaunde I and II agreements, the Arusha agreement (which for the first time included some Commonwealth countries) and finally in the Lomé Convention. The objective of these forms of collective neocolonialism is to compensate for each European country's relative weakness compared to the United States and Japan, and to benefit from Europe's former colonial relationship with Africa. For the north African and Middle Eastern countries not participating in these multi-lateral agreements, the EEC has developed bilateral agreements (with the EEC taking part as a whole) such as those with Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Israel, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, among others.

Since the Middle East and South Africa each have characteristics differentiating them from the rest of Africa, we will analyze them separately.

The importance of the relations between the EEC and South Africa can be seen in a number of figures. In 1977 the EEC received 39 percent of South Africa's exports and provided 43 percent of its imports. But South Africa is also important for the EEC, given that it controls 64 percent of foreign investments in South Africa and 57 percent of foreign-owned assets.<sup>6</sup> Although this is hardly the only reason, these few statistics are enough to justify discussing South Africa separately. Unquestionably, imperialist strategy in South Africa takes very different forms than in Africa and the Middle East. Similarly, in the 1970's EEC imports from the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) — mostly

<sup>6</sup> Kader Asmal, *Policies of the EEC towards South Africa*, Center Against Apartheid, UN, 1979.

Arab nations — represented 13.5 percent of its total imports. Finally, most of the ACP countries (participants in the Lomé Convention from Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific) are African and have the greatest economic weight.

Although the Lomé Convention does not include every African country (Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and the countries of north Africa are absent) and moreover, it includes some Pacific and Caribbean countries, it sets out the main lines of Europe's neocolonial strategy for Africa; hence, we will discuss it in more detail.

If we look at total trade figures, the ACP countries appear insignificant for the EEC since they represent only 3.24 percent of its imports and 3.23 percent of its exports. However, their importance can be seen if we consider that the ACP countries provide the EEC with 40 percent of the energy resources it imports from underdeveloped countries, 40 percent of copper, 20 percent of iron and 30 percent each of bauxite, aluminum and aluminum oxide. These countries are also its principal suppliers of uranium, thorium, cobalt, magnesium, tin and such agricultural products as coffee, cacao, cotton, sugar and wood. These figures demonstrate that although in 1978, 40.2 percent of EEC imports from non-EEC countries came from underdeveloped areas and only 6.8 percent from ACP nations, the latter are indeed important for the community.<sup>7</sup>

For Europe the Lomé Convention has a number of goals, including:

1. Utilize collective neocolonialism, simultaneously making it possible to strengthen Europe relative to the United States in their interimperialist rivalry, diminish conflicts among European countries in terms of dividing up neocolonies, and present a collective front to the underdeveloped countries.

2. Offer some trade concessions in exchange for the unlimited export of capital under safe and stable conditions.

3. Strengthen the capitalist international division of labor by promoting ACP country specialization in products needed for European industry, thus ensuring continuity from the colonial to the neocolonial division of labor.

4. Strengthen the ACP countries' dependence on Europe.

5. Use EEC-ACP economic relations to help compensate for EEC deficits in its balance of trade and payments with the rest of the world.

There is an interesting trend from 1972 to 1977 in terms of trade. As the ACP countries increased their exports to the United States, they stepped up their imports from the EEC. In turn, as EEC exports to the United States dropped, they were increased to the ACP countries. This gives the impression of a triangular trade situation which in fact exists for most underdeveloped countries. In 1974, the year the economic crisis began and peaked, EEC-ACP trade produced the highest deficit for the ACP countries. The EEC and Japan dealt with the crisis in part by increasing exports, especially to underdeveloped countries. This trend

7 For more detail on these figures, see: Luis René Fernández, *La Convención de Lomé* (The Lomé Convention), Centro de Estudios sobre Europa Occidental (Western Europe Studies Center), Havana, 1979. [The adviser for this senior thesis was Fernando Martínez]

was so strong that UNIDO observed that these exports were the most dynamic element in the world market and one of the main factors helping prevent the crisis in the imperialist countries from being even more severe.<sup>8</sup>

It is important to note that West Germany's increasing trade penetration in former African colonies has been at the expense of the weaker European powers: Spain, Portugal and Belgium — and to some extent Great Britain — which has meant that conflicts between European countries in relation to a new neocolonial division of the continent haven't been even sharper. Nigeria and Kenya are the former British colonies where West Germany has penetrated most, but England is still predominant in both. France firmly maintains its trade superiority in its former colonies — 19 countries — and in two former Portuguese colonies as well.

In terms of the export of capital, Great Britain and France continue to lead with 32.9 percent and 32.1 percent respectively in 1975. West Germany increased its share between 1967 and 1975 from 2.7 percent to 6.8 percent. Holland and Belgium had 7.7 percent and 7.4 percent respectively in 1975. There has been a rapid growth in capital exports by West Germany and Switzerland, and Italy to a lesser extent.<sup>9</sup>

Both in terms of trade and in the export of capital there is a trend toward concentration in a small number of countries. For example, five ACP countries — Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Zaire, Cameroon and Kenya — receive 56.8 percent of ACP countries' imports from the EEC, while Nigeria, Liberia, the Sudan, Gabon and the Ivory Coast provide 57 percent of ACP exports to the EEC.<sup>10</sup> Nigeria and Zaire receive 45 percent of total capital exports.

The structure of spheres of influence is the same as during the colonial period, with England and France still the main powers. Although U.S. transnational corporations have not placed priority on investing their capital in Africa, they nevertheless have important weight in that area. The export of complete factories from France to Africa by non-French transnationals increased from 13 percent to 42 percent of the total between 1972 and 1976. Meanwhile, England's position has been weakened while Japan and West Germany have stepped up their penetration. Thus, despite multilateralism and collective neocolonialism, the continuance of this structure reveals the persistence of interimperialist competition. So-called aid, and political and military relations, follow the same pattern.

In a 1975 research report on transnational corporations in Africa, a Swedish author concluded that the sectorial concentration of export of

8 UNIDO, *La industria en el año 2000: nuevas perspectivas* (Industry in the Year 2000: New Perspectives), 1979.

9 Yuri Yudanov, "El capital eurooccidental en Africa" (West European Capital in Africa), *Revista Economía Mundial y Relaciones Internacionales* (World Economics and International Relations), No. 10, IEMRI, Moscow, 1978.

10 *Le Courrier*, EEC-ACP Commission of the EEC, No. 52, November-December 1978.

capital shows that African countries are the most backward in the capitalist international division of labor. Some 56 percent of private direct investment goes to mining, oil and agriculture; 20 percent to services and 23.4 percent to assembling, light manufacturing, etc. However, trends similar to those in the rest of the underdeveloped countries have begun to appear, i.e., the export of capital to industry and banking.<sup>11</sup> Dependent industrialization also exists in Africa, although still in its infancy.

The extent of foreign control is significant. In 11 countries branches of transnational corporations control production of about 25 percent of GNP; in five countries, more than 50 percent; and two (Gabon and Liberia) are virtual neocolonial enclaves.<sup>12</sup> Control of patents is even greater. In all cases, foreign control of patents is higher than 92 percent, and in most countries it is complete.<sup>13</sup>

Transnational monopoly strategy to protect these investments has followed a number of main directions:

1. Clauses protecting foreign investments in multilateral agreements such as the Lomé Convention.
2. Collective capital investments with the participation of monopolies from a number of imperialist countries, that is, collective neocolonialism to cushion the risks.
3. Forming joint companies with African participation to ensure a favorable investment climate and facilitate greater access to the local economy. This is what has been called Africanization. The main feature distinguishing it from similar processes in Latin America and Asia is that in Africa the main partner is almost always the state.

Although at present in Africa most branch companies are totally controlled by the main office in the imperialist country, ensuring great freedom of action to exploit intensively, the aspects mentioned above are the main trend. The position of the transnationals was confirmed by the president of West Germany's largest private bank when he said that the main need is to improve the investment climate in the developing countries and to improve the attitude towards private property, especially towards business activities.<sup>14</sup>

EEC's trade "concessions" to the ACP countries should be seen in this context; they are essentially neocolonial both in and of themselves and in relation to capital exports by the transnationals. Trade "cooperation" in the Lomé Convention only deals with ACP agricultural commodities not produced by the EEC, and iron. It excludes other minerals

11 Helge Hveem, "The Extent and Type of Direct Foreign Investment in Africa," in *Multinational Firms in Africa*, AIEDP and SIAS, Uppsala, 1975.

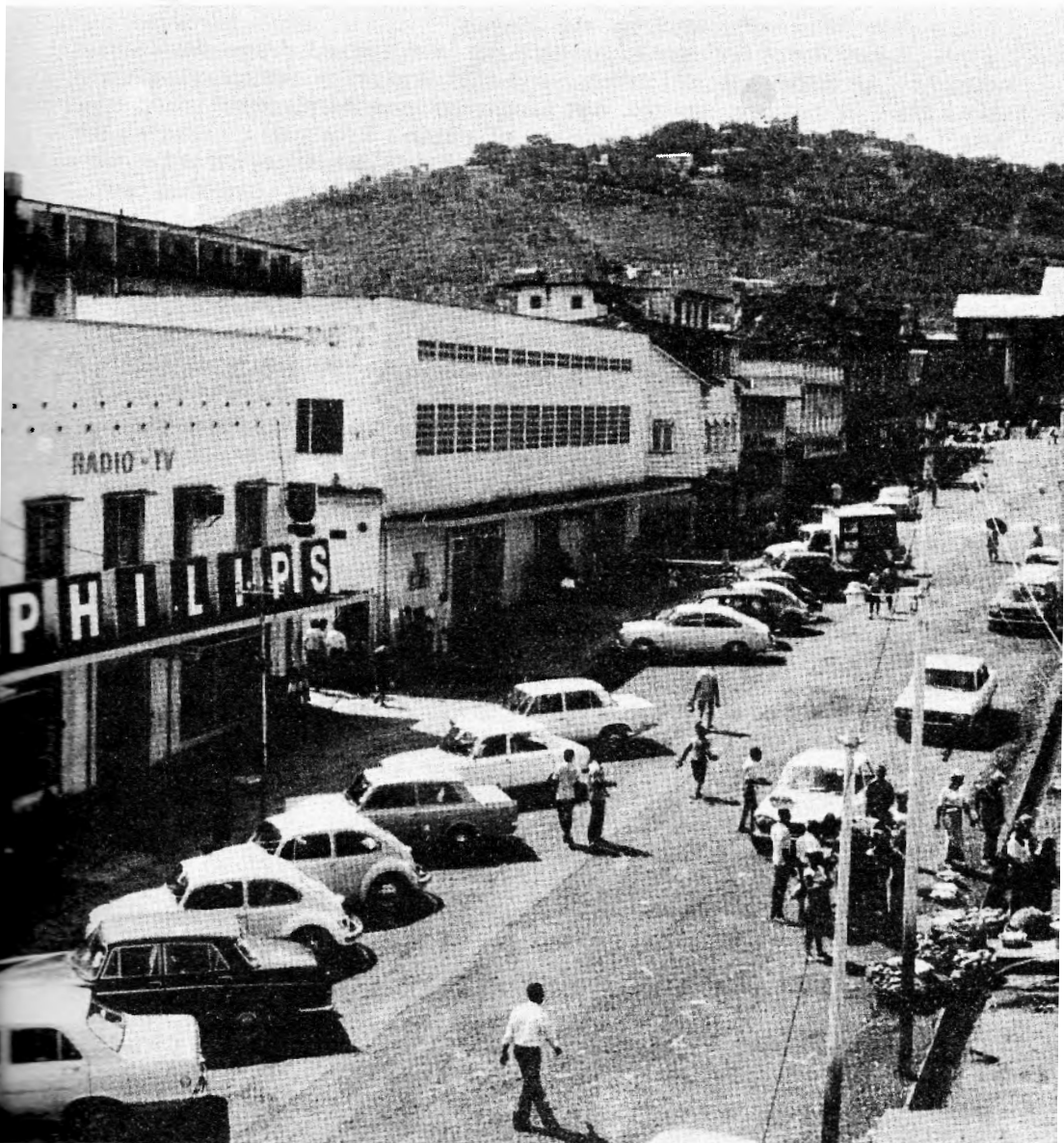
12 *Ibid.*

13 "Industrial Property," *Monthly Review of World Intellectual Property Organization*, Appendix, December 1972.

14 Cited in Hugh Stephenson, *The Coming Clash: the Impact of the International Corporation on the Nation State*, London, 1972.



and manufactured goods produced by ACP countries. The system to stabilize revenues from exports (STABEX) does not stabilize prices; rather it involves a fund for financial compensation which provides loans in cases where export revenues in ACP countries decline. It does not affect the declining terms of trade; instead it shackles the country through loans. Moreover, for STABEX to be applied, the ACP country must be dependent on the product to be stabilized. In effect, as was



While U.S. monopolies in Africa are primarily oriented toward extracting raw materials, the Europeans have diversified their capital investments in manufacturing, services, banking, commerce, etc.

demonstrated by two Cuban researchers, the STABEX is a "new way to finance the community's exports."<sup>15</sup>

In this period of relatively long-term economic instability, developing new forms of neocolonial domination to maintain the dynamic of the world economy is particularly important for capitalism. With respect to this, the EEC argues that the current equilibrium of the world economy largely depends on the continuation of the unprecedented flow of private loans to the non-oil-producing developing countries, and that any obstacle to this flow will endanger this equilibrium.<sup>16</sup>

This indeed has been the trend since the 1974-5 crisis. Underdeveloped countries' imports helped prevent the effects of the world economic crisis from being more severe, but at the expense of growing indebtedness.<sup>17</sup> At this time when the export of capital in the form of direct investment encounters problems due to the crisis in the world economy and in national economies, the natural outlet for exported capital is in the form of loans. This fact, together with the expansion of banking transnationals — a trend since the end of the 1960's — explains the predominance of financial capital over productive capital in the flow of capital exports since 1974-5. This also explains the trend towards a predominance of state-monopoly regulations in capital exports, which is one of the features of the international form of state monopoly capitalism.<sup>18</sup> But this trend is a clear symptom of the crisis in international capitalist economic relations. In this context, in which reality forces certain conclusions, it makes sense that some circles in the imperialist countries recognize the need to make changes in international economic relations. This is the case with the Brandt report, a virtual compendium of the globalist tendency (at least of one sector of this tendency) — which seems to be gaining strength in the EEC — when it says that the worldwide restructuring of North-South relations has become a crucial necessity for the future of mankind.<sup>19</sup>

Until now this verbal realism has not been accompanied by realism in practice. Between 1970 and 1977, of the total flow of financing, the share of private capital going to underdeveloped countries increased from 50.9 percent to 77.2 percent. The most dynamic forms of capital export in this period were bank loans, portfolio investments and export credits. This has caused a rapid growth in foreign debt; to service this debt

15 For more detail see Luis René Fernández, *op. cit.*

16 *Annual Economic Review*, European Communities Commission, Brussels, 1978-79.

17 UNIDO, *La industria en el año 2000: nuevas perspectivas*, *op. cit.*

18 Xavier Gorostiaga, *Los centros financieros internacionales* (International Financial Centers), ILET Publishers, Mexico, 1981; Leongard Goncharov, "El capital extranjero en Africa" (Foreign Capital in Africa), *Ciencias Sociales* (Social Sciences magazine), No. 4, Moscow, 1979.

19 Willy Brandt, *North-South: A Program for Survival*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1980.

during the 1970's, 45 African countries had to use 12 percent of their yearly export revenues.<sup>20</sup>

In this situation, capital export has taken on one of its most parasitic forms; it doesn't even leave productive facilities. Moreover, the loan terms have been stiffened with respect to the length of repayment period and the interest rate.<sup>21</sup> The Lomé Convention merely institutionalizes this trend for African countries.

The alternatives available for African ACP countries are clear: they can either reproduce the dependent relations commonly found at present in Latin America or they can break with these relations as has been the case with Algeria, Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique, among others.

### **U.S. imperialist strategy**

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On this topic the African continent will be discussed, excluding South Africa and Namibia. However, some of the initial general observations could also be valid for these countries.

The first feature of the U.S. political strategy in Africa is its efforts to undermine the OAU from within by promoting conflicts in the organization. The U.S. has followed a similar course in the Middle East by fomenting divisions among the Arab countries and within OPEC, and between these countries and the OAU as well. This can be seen in the positions the United States has taken on the Shaba conflict in Zaire; in relations between Zaire and Angola; in its support for Morocco against the POLISARIO Front; in its pitting Somalia against Ethiopia; in its energy strategy; in its support for Saudi Arabia's position in OPEC; in its promoting the Camp David agreements, etc. In these positions the United States has enjoyed or pressured to gain NATO support, given that Western Europe's interests are relatively similar to the U.S. in terms of this strategy, despite conflicts that occasionally arise. In recent years, relations between the United States and the EEC in the framework of NATO have become closer as a result of the internationalization of military-industrial complexes both in the United States and capitalist Europe,<sup>22</sup> which is a reflection in military terms of the development of forms of internationalization of state monopoly capitalism.

What distinguishes the United States from the EEC in terms of imperialist strategy in Africa is that while Western Europe tends to have a direct military presence, the United States usually uses intermediaries

20 UNIDO, *La industria mundial desde 1960: progresos y perspectivas*, op. cit.; A. Gromiko, op. cit.

21 UNIDO, *ibid.*; Silvio Baró, "El neocolonialismo económico en Africa" (Economic Neocolonialism in Africa), in *Africa: Economía* (Africa: Economy), vol. I, Social Sciences Publishers, Havana, 1979.

22 With respect to this, see: I. Basova and S. Blagovolin, "Nuevos fenómenos en la actividad de los complejos militar-industriales" (New Aspects of the Activities of Military-Industrial Complexes), *Revista Economía Mundial y Relaciones Internacionales* (World Economics and International Relations magazine), September 1979, IEMRI, Moscow.

for these purposes. Of course, this is not the case in the Middle East where the United States has been increasingly intervening with a direct military presence, or in the Indian Ocean where it maintains a base on Diego Garcia island, or in the Persian Gulf. This trend suggests that the relative absence of the United States in Africa in terms of a direct military presence (except for its naval forces), is not so much due to the new strategy that emerged after the defeat in Vietnam and the Watergate scandal, but rather is mostly due to a certain degree of division of labor between the United States and capitalist Europe regarding Africa and defending imperialist interests.

Therefore, U.S. imperialist strategy tends more towards economic penetration in Africa under political cover of the EEC and military cover of NATO and its African allies.

It is clear that in the Middle East this interimperialist division of labor doesn't work; there the positions of the United States and the EEC differ in a number of substantive aspects.

U.S. monopolies have followed a different pattern in their export of capital than European corporations. As African countries became independent, many small European capitalists who had stayed in Africa during the colonial period began to withdraw, producing an outflow of European capital (due not only to nationalizations, as demonstrated by empirical research);<sup>23</sup> nevertheless, some of this small capital remained during the neocolonial period along with investments by major West European transnational monopolies. In contrast, U.S. investments were completely monopolized by huge transnational corporations and leading financial groups.

U.S. monopolies are primarily oriented towards extracting raw materials in Africa, again in contrast to the Europeans who, while continuing to maintain considerable investments in primary sectors, have diversified their capital investments more in manufacturing, services, banking, commerce, transportation, etc.

Most U.S. transnational corporations' capital exports south of the Sahara (excluding South Africa and Namibia) are concentrated in oil and mining.<sup>24</sup> This partially reflects the trend towards geographic diversification of raw materials control by U.S. transnational monopolies. Since World War II there has been a shift away from Latin America toward Africa and also toward the Middle East; this has been the case with oil, copper, bauxite, iron, uranium, cobalt and nickel, among others. In terms of agricultural products, for example, African coffee is on the way to displacing Latin American coffee on the world market, although

23 For France: E.A.G. Robinson, ed., *Economic Development of Africa, South of the Sahara*, London 1964; For Great Britain: D.J. Morgan, *British Private Investment in East Africa, Report of a Survey and a Conference*, London, 1966.

24 V. Vajrushev, *El neocolonialismo y sus métodos* (Neocolonialism and its Methods), Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974; Silvio Baró, *op. cit.*; *Survey of Current Business*, several issues, U.S. Department of Commerce; For Europe: *Multinational Firms in Africa*, *op. cit.*

the latter is still predominant.<sup>25</sup> Yankee imperialist strategy involves efforts to assure long-term reserves of strategic raw materials on the African continent.<sup>26</sup> The interimperialist division of labor regarding Africa between the United States and Europe does not mean that the United States has recognized Africa as a European sphere of influence. It is to be expected that at specific moments interimperialist contradictions will sharpen. The 1970's were one such period and everything seems to indicate that this will continue during the 1980's.

The United States ended the 1960's and began the 1970's with a dollar crisis, overproduction, problems in terms of the international competitiveness of its economy, etc. This situation was not just limited to the United States. During the 1970's the entire capitalist system experienced frequent cyclical problems, with 1974-5 the most difficult period. What has been special about this cyclical crisis is its persistence, the inability to attain stable recovery and upturn, which determines its intermittent nature; the failure of government regulatory measures (as revealed, for instance, in the simultaneous existence of inflation and unemployment), i.e., the crisis of state monopoly capitalism. The transnational monopolies have been a decisive factor in shaping this crisis and its special characteristics and in provoking the crisis of state monopoly capitalism's methods of government regulation.<sup>27</sup> This situation means that relations between imperialist countries are characterized by contradiction between growing rivalry and the need to cooperate. The persistence of the crisis and the inability of the traditional regulatory mechanisms of state monopoly capitalism to resolve it have been the decisive element in the imperialist trend toward accelerating the arms race occurring in recent years.

This is particularly important for Africa and for interimperialist relations as well. The increasing U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf is directed not only at the Middle East and India, but also against Africa, as is the case with the base on Diego Garcia, a central link in U.S. imperialist military strategy.

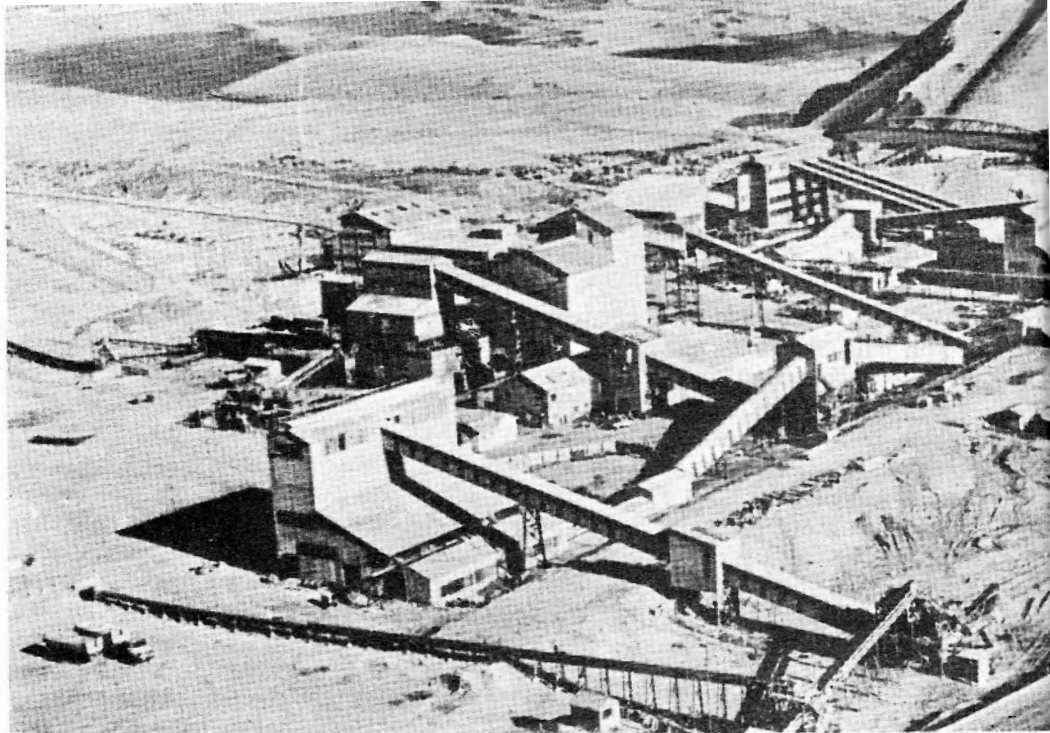
In terms of the outlook for the future, U.S. monopolies have again started to penetrate in Latin America and the Caribbean in extractive sectors and agriculture, as part of their response to problems in the Middle East, north Africa and southern Africa. However, a future massive penetration by U.S. transnationals in Africa should not be discarded as a possibility, first in alliance with European monopolies as has been the case up to now, and afterward, direct penetration itself.

25 Julio S. Colmenares, "Aspects of the World Coffee Market," *Tricontinental* magazine, No. 58, 1978.

26 John Pittman, "Los Estados Unidos en el umbral de los años 80" (The United States on the Threshold of the 1980's), *Revista Internacional* (World Marxist Review), No. 12, Prague, 1979.

27 For more detail see: Ben Fine, "Crisis de los métodos de regulación capitalista" (Crisis in Capitalist Methods of Regulation), *Revista Internacional* (World Marxist Review), No. 12, Prague, 1979.





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### **Conclusions: past and present trends in imperialist strategy in Africa and the Middle East**

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The general lines of U.S. imperialist strategy towards Africa were set out in the period when George Ball was in the State Department at the end of the 1960's. It consists of getting Western Europe to assume its responsibilities in Africa without the United States being cut out of the spoils. The 1970's showed that this imperialist division of labor does indeed exist; a good example of this is the European military presence in Africa and the Lomé Convention. Thus, Europe's not demanding reciprocity in terms of preferential treatment of the ACP countries could benefit both the United States — which is not excluded from the African market — and the ACP countries themselves. The EEC's imperialist strategy in Africa is oriented toward consolidating its neocolonial positions in the continent by developing multilateral relations between the EEC and Africa. This is the continuity from Yaunde to Lomé.

The most recent trends suggest that Africa will be the target of a new neocolonial division in this decade. The 1979 Lomé agreements increase the number of ACP agricultural products to be included in STABEX and in addition provide for financing of projects to revitalize African mining to assure export earnings for African countries. This means not only the institutionalization of the massive EEC monopoly penetration in African mining, but also that an African country that finds the prices of its minerals declining will be compelled to compensate its export earnings by increasing its volume of extraction and exports, unless it decides to resort to producer associations.



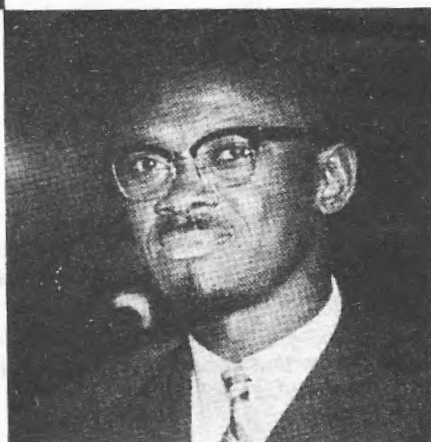
The 1979 Lomé Accords provide for the financing of mining projects in Africa. Above, a view of the Osanjemund diamond mine in Namibia.

The 1980's will be the decade of Africa's economic integration through the formation of four subregional common markets: south, central, west and east Africa. This economic structure for integration, in addition to weakening OAU unity, ensures that each one of these regional submarkets will be capitalized by the countries with the strongest economies in each region: Zaire, South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania. Unquestionably this proposed African common market under this four-part structure will create favorable conditions for further transnational penetration in the continent. In this situation the goal of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in terms of using the surpluses from reactionary Arab countries to finance projects in Africa could be feasible for all concerned.

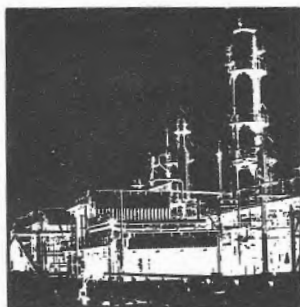
Obviously there are always revolutionary alternatives that imperialist strategy can neither control nor take into account. The future development of Namibia after decolonization and of South Africa after liberation, and the strengthening of African revolutionary tendencies, could push these African integrationist currents in a different direction. From all this, however, one conclusion can be reached beyond any doubt: the anti-colonialist battle in Africa has been almost won, but the antineocolonial struggle is at a crucial turning point. For the imperialists, the new neocolonial division of Africa has provided a new stimulus to the process of monopoly capitalist accumulation, which could get the capitalist economies out of their current crisis, and represents the beginning of a readjustment in international capitalist economic relations, through so-called North-South relations.

For revolutionaries, the future belongs to the peoples, socialism, and to the struggle for the full dignity of man.

# CONGO



ELADIO RIVADULLA



**AUGUST 15  
22nd ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE  
INDEPENDENCE  
OF DE THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC  
OF THE CONGO**



# **CAPE VERDE**

**A LIBERATION  
MOVEMENT  
IN POWER**

Interview with Abilio Duarte



*Abilio Augusto Monteiro Duarte*

He is a member of the Political Bureau of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, president of the National People's Assembly and Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was born in the city of Praia in 1931. After finishing his studies he went to Guinea-Bissau where he became an active African nationalist under the guidance of Amílcar Cabral. In 1956 he participated in founding the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC).

In 1957, together with other nationalists, he established the first African-oriented Guinean trade union movement. Because of surveillance by the PIDE (Portuguese political police), he returned to Cape Verde where he organized a political cultural group among students, and Party cells among white-collar and blue-collar workers.

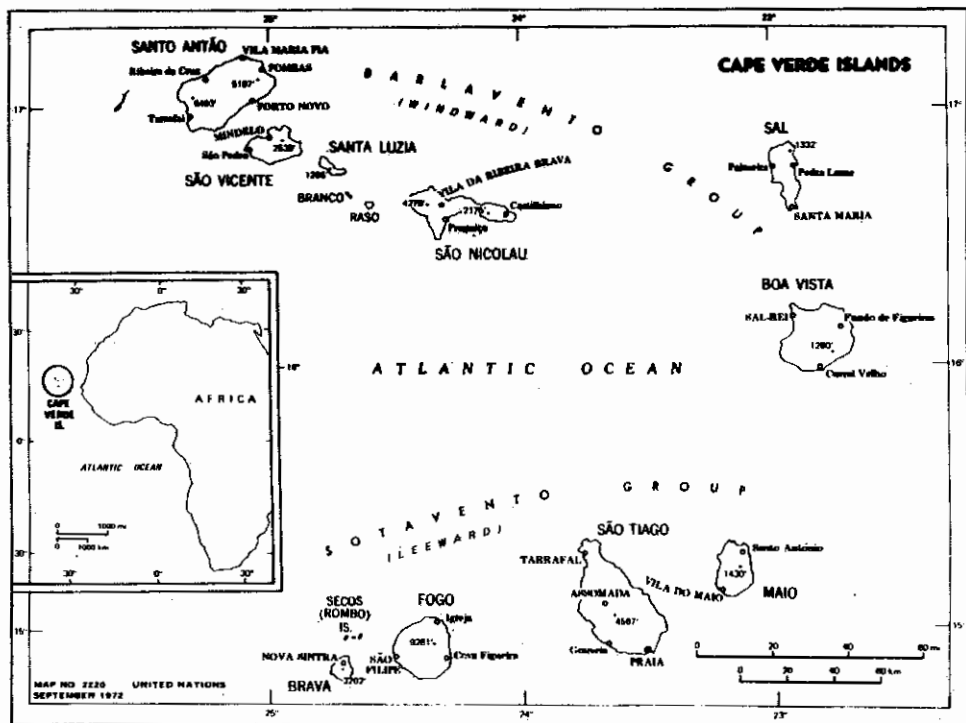
From 1960 to 1963 he was active in the student movement of the former colonies and was elected president of the General Union of Students of Black Africa, a post he held until 1966.

He was elected to the Party's Central Committee in 1963 and represented his organization in a number of congresses, conferences, and seminars in Africa, Europe and Asia, in addition to being active in political and military training of Cape Verdean students and workers.

In 1966 he participated in the First Tricontinental Conference and from then until 1968 he represented the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies in OSPAAAL's Secretariat.

He held different Party posts during the armed struggle in Guinea-Bissau, a period in which he became a member of the Political Bureau. After returning to Cape Verde in January 1975 he performed political tasks in the Permanent Secretariat of the PAIGC's National Commission during the transition government. Subsequently he was elected president of the National People's Assembly of Cape Verde, and in this capacity, on July 5, 1975, he solemnly proclaimed the Sovereign State of Cape Verde, and along with the Portuguese Prime Minister he signed the document transferring powers. He was immediately named Foreign Affairs Minister. In 1981, when the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde was founded, he was elected to its Political Bureau.





**T**HERE are many problems confronting countries in the so-called Third World in their efforts to improve their standard of living and their food situation: repression, environmental destruction, uneven development, repatriation of profits to developed capitalist countries, declining terms of trade that render less valuable raw material exports from poor countries compared with manufactured imports from developed countries, among many other problems.

It in this general context, the poorest countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, especially those which take anti-imperialist positions, are waging an uphill battle for survival. However, adverse natural conditions make this situation even more difficult in the young Republic of Cape Verde.

The Republic of Cape Verde is made up of 10 islands and eight small islets located in the Atlantic

Ocean some 500 kilometers west of the cape of the same name in Senegambia. Only the three eastern-most islands — Sal, Boa Vista and Maio — are relatively flat. The other islands form a ring of spectacular volcanic peaks rising from the water to altitudes of more than 2,800 meters displaying sharp cliffs, crags and large ravines.

The contrasts of the landscape are heightened by a climate also given to extremes. The Cape Verde islands are part of the Sahel region, a strip bordering the Sahara and running from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. They have a relatively even temperature which ranges from 20° to 25° C throughout the year, but they suffer from long periods of drought interrupted by sudden and violent rainstorms. On some islands there may be considerable rain during a few days in

the year, and on others hardly any rainfall at all.

The torrential rainfalls, occurring after months of drought, combined with the arid climate of most of the islands, has produced an extreme tendency toward soil erosion. These conditions have contributed to making Cape Verde one of the most seriously food-deficient nations in the world.

Despite these problems, a liberation movement in power is struggling to build a viable and independent economy on the ruins left by more than 500 years of colonial abuse and destruction of the country's population and resources.

A simple glance at what is going on in Cape Verde can show what can be accomplished with revolutionary enthusiasm, creativity and the desire to overcome these problems. To obtain this vision *Tricontinental* magazine interviewed one of the leaders of this liberation move-

ment in power, Abilio Duarte, member of the Political Bureau of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, and President of this country's National People's Assembly:

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### **Ensure maximum food self-sufficiency**

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Since liberation, July 5, 1975, we have tried to consolidate our independence in all fields, especially in the agricultural sector because our country's economy is based on an agriculture dependent on cyclical droughts. With this feature in mind, we started from the principle that we had to give high priority to this sector to raise production and productivity in the short run, but also because in those years we had a serious food shortage which meant that we had to practically depend on foreign aid.

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### *The famines*

The irregular weather and the rapacious colonial production system led to frequent outbreaks of famine. From 1719 to 1948 at least 31 famines occurred of which those in 1942 and 1946-8 claimed 40,000 or more lives. Altogether, from 1747 to 1970, it has been estimated that as many as 385,000 people may have died in the recurring famines and their often accompanying malaria epidemics. This was more deaths than the present total population of 300,000.

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We all know that this aid can be an enormous political burden and be used to pressure food-scarce countries; and we also know that countries of the so-called Third World are terribly dependent on food from abroad given their food deficiencies, and therefore this kind of aid can now play the same role as fuel assistance. This means that if a country is interested in moving towards genuine indepen-

dence, it has to do everything possible to ensure the greatest food self-sufficiency, and this is exactly what we have been trying to do in devoting our greatest efforts to agriculture.

Moreover, our country's land was totally neglected and is in the process of becoming a desert, but we are trying to stop this in every way possible. Therefore the fight against erosion is another area to which we are giving considerable attention.



The people of Cape Verde fully support the liberation process which triumphed in 1975 and are devoting all their efforts to carrying forward the program of economic and social change.

As part of this great battle we have built thousands of small dams and hundreds of dikes to try to capture every last drop of water. This is complemented by a vast reforestation plan, in which we planted close to one million trees in 1980 alone. Perhaps this seems like a small number, but in relation to our country's size, it represents an enormous effort which unquestionably will contribute to improving our ecology by creating better conditions to promote rainfall and at the same time protecting

fertile soil against erosion from wind and rain.

To carry out this reforestation campaign we have mobilized the Party, the mass organizations, the youth, workers, women, government workers and deputies. Everyone helps plant trees starting when the first rain falls, motivated by patriotic sentiments and a deep awareness of the importance of this task.

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## *System of land ownership*

Another debilitating holdover from the colonial period was a system of tenant farming which caused irrational use of the small cultivable areas because irrigation was controlled by the large landholders, some from Madeira, Portugal, whose primary interest lay in the production of bananas for export. Precious irrigation water often went first to the banana groves even if these were farther down the slopes than the lands of the tenants or smallholders so that cornfields, the potential source of most production for local subsistence, could not get properly watered.

On the larger islands of Cape Verde there was a situation common in many of the poorest countries of the so-called Third World: a handful of large landholders owned almost all the land, while the landless peasants, who made up the vast majority of the population, were forced to become tenant farmers to survive.

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## **Industrialization starting from scratch**

Since we are conscious of the problems we face in developing agriculture, we are convinced that in the medium and especially long-run, we must move towards an economy based on industry. Therefore we have sought to establish some industrial activities, always trying to set priorities.

For example, we have devoted considerable attention to the fishing industry by providing support to small fishermen, including assistance in terms of equipment, boat motors, establishments for drying and salting fish, transportation facilities, etc. But since fishing is one of our country's most important resources — it is within hand's reach and represents a source of food for our people and foreign exchange earnings — we have tried to promote industrialized fishing. For example, in the country's most important port, Sao Vicente, we are building a cold-storage plant for our own domestic use, for exports and other countries' fishing fleets operating in this part of the Atlantic. We are also preparing to

build a shipyard for repairing the kinds of boats which most frequent this area.

Meanwhile we're promoting pig and poultry farming — with a view toward industrialization — and building small food-processing plants as well. We have also set up garment, shoe and other factories, most government-owned, which is in accordance with our Party's program and the Constitution of the Republic.

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## **Liberation in the communications field**

Cape Verde's strategic location offers great potential for considerable growth in the field of sea and air transportation; moreover, the fact that it is an island nation, aggravated by the mountainous nature of the most populous islands, makes communication an urgent development need.

The twofold nature of this situation places transportation and communication in a special position, and it is a challenge to develop programs to ensure a diversity of connections among the islands and with other countries, starting from an almost total absence of the necessary infrastructure and equipment.



To improve accessibility throughout the country, new roads are being built.

That is why we are also working hard in the field of transportation, both sea and air, and in telecommunications in general so that, little by little, we can end our current isolation.

Commercial aviation started some time before independence, but our government expanded it considerably and even paid for aircraft in service when we took power. In addition we bought more planes and we are now training pilots, technicians and skilled workers in general in order to gradually end our dependence on foreigners, principally the Portuguese, although obviously we still have technicians from that country working in this and other sectors.

In terms of maritime transportation, we had to start from scratch after independence, since there were only a few privately-owned boats and of course they were hardly able to meet our national shipping needs; in short, we arrived at independence totally dependent on foreign merchant

marines, principally the Portuguese. However, little by little we have been able to buy our own boats and employ Cape Verdeans already experienced in this field as sailors, ships officers and even captains, since we are a seafaring people. Cape Verdean sailors can be found on boats in seas all over the world. But anyway, we've had some problems in getting more highly skilled people, especially pilots, for which we have sought technical assistance from a number of fraternal countries.

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### **Economic recovery**

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Since independence we have been trying to restore the economy which we inherited from colonialism in catastrophic conditions, to see if little by little we could establish a viable economy able to provide the material base to gradually implement our Party's program.



Cape Verde inherited some of the worst conditions that any new nation has ever had to overcome. There was an environmental system devastated by 500 years of colonial exploitation of the soil; a forest cover of only 2.3 percent of the land while forestry experts usually argue that at least 30 percent forest cover is needed to prevent massive erosion; an infant mortality rate of over 80 per 1,000 live births; an unemployment rate among the population 15 years and older of an astounding 59 percent; and extremely low yields in all major food crops. Additionally, a prolonged drought that began in 1968 has continued almost without abatement for the last 13 years.

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Cape Verde attained independence in dramatic circumstances, with an almost nonexistent economy. It is therefore easy to imagine the problems we have had to deal with and the conditions still seriously affecting us. For example, exports represent only 6 percent of imports; therefore, our balance of trade and balance of payments show huge deficits. Under these circumstances, in the first few years practically no investments were made, but more recently our budget has allowed us to gradually increase our investments and now they have reached unprecedented levels. Our government has made more investments oriented to our society's welfare and economic development than our people had ever experienced during five centuries of colonial rule.

In terms of financing, we freed ourselves from Portugal's Banco Nacional Ultramarino which traditionally had operated in Cape Verde and we created our own central bank, the Banco de Cabo Verde — through which we issue our own currency, the Cape Verde escudo — to try to progress with the means at our disposal toward economic and financial independence, although this is not an easy goal to achieve if we consider in-

flation, recession and all the current problems in the world economy, which have repercussions on countries like ours.

Therefore, and despite all these problems, we have been able to substantially decrease the balance of payments deficit through a policy of great austerity and through the foreign exchange revenues deriving from money sent back to the country by Cape Verdeans living abroad.

The Cape Verdean government controls foreign trade, including that of private businesses, and decides what and how much can be imported in order to use our foreign exchange to purchase goods absolutely necessary for our population and to keep to a minimum superfluous or luxury goods. Our regime has a policy of rigorous austerity. We have tightened our belts not only in our personal consumption, but also in government offices, and this has also helped gradually reduce the budget deficit.

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#### **Consolidation of government institutions**

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An indispensable starting point for carrying out all these basic tasks for our development and to undertake future plans has been the creation and consolidation of government institutions.

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## *Emigration, cause and effect of underdevelopment*

The number of Cape Verdeans and their descendants living abroad is relatively high in comparison with the country's total population.

At the time of national independence the principal Cape Verdean communities were in the United States (200,000), Portugal (40,000), Angola (35,000), Senegal (25,000), São Tomé and Príncipe (8,000), France (7,000), Holland (7,000), Italy (8,000), Brazil (3,000), Luxembourg (2,500) and Argentina (2,000). There are smaller communities in other countries such as Sweden, Norway, West Germany, Switzerland, Mozambique, Gabon and the Ivory Coast.

Emigration, whose consequences constitute the main obstacle to development on a number of the islands is also one of the most serious scourges of colonialism, and dramatically demonstrates the long-term dilemma of the Cape Verdean people who, in the face of generalized poverty, had no other alternative.

The causes of this phenomenon are directly related to the structural problems of the country's economy; therefore since emigration is at the same time cause and effect of underdevelopment, it can only be finally dealt with by developing the nation's productive forces and new kinds of relations oriented toward change of this structure.

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We have been engaged in establishing government institutions, primarily the National People's Assembly, the presidency of the Republic and the ministries. During the first legislative term we essentially completed this task, and now in the second, which began February 1981, we are giving high priority to the Assembly's commissions which are responsible for thoroughly discussing problems and draft legislation. Similarly there is great interest in cementing a close working relationship between the Assembly's president and its deputies and especially between the latter and their local constituents so that the deputies can become personally acquainted with the people's problems as the most effective way for our National Assembly to reflect the people's aspirations and concerns.

We were a colony for a long time, but our experience as a republic, and therefore in running a parliamentary system, is only very recent. Hence, we still have much to organize and institutionalize. In fact, we still haven't yet furnished government institutions and agencies with proper facilities. We have

provided temporary buildings and we plan to have the National People's Assembly palace ready by 1985; it will have all the necessary facilities for the proper functioning of the highest body of state power.

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### **Raising the people's political and cultural level**

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None of these plans can be fulfilled — that is, we cannot overcome underdevelopment in Cape Verde nor eliminate the disastrous situation we inherited — if we aren't prepared to create a new man, a new consciousness, a new and skilled Cape Verdean prepared to participate in the economic and social changes spelled out in our Party's program.

One of our basic concerns was to strengthen the party. In Cape Verde this political organization is the leading force in the society and the government; hence, it gives orientation to the National Assembly, checks to ensure the smooth functioning of government activities and mass organizations, which

despite being organizationally independent, are under its control and leadership.

The Party is organized throughout the country, in every sector of the population, especially among the sectors most deprived during the colonial period: urban workers and peasants.

We were really only able to begin to properly organize the Party after independence. Previously we had underground structures which, despite having played a significant role during the period of armed struggle, were totally inadequate for a legal party.

After independence, the Party was reorganized and workers, peasants, white-collar workers, government employees and intellectuals have been seeking out and joining the Party.

The Party's program emphasizes the development of mass organizations in the cities and countryside, an important task which has received high priority.

The National Union of Cape Verdean Workers was founded; it is a trade union federation whose purpose is to defend workers' interests, promote work discipline, patriotic emulation and defense of national property and resources. The women's organization is in the process of being founded after holding a congress where it adopted its own program and work guide-

lines which include mobilizing and organizing women to eliminate their unjust situation of inequality, to raise women's consciousness to play an active role in building the nation and all spheres of activity.

We also have a youth organization which is playing an important role in the political and ideological formation of the new generations of Cape Verdeans.

As we said before, we view training and raising the people's educational level as an essential factor to be able to implement our plans. For this reason our government is doing everything to ensure that every child and young person has an equal opportunity to receive an education. Other countries, particularly socialist countries, have cooperated to provide opportunities for our youth to receive training as technicians and acquire skills in different specialties, something unavailable in the past. Previously a young person could only continue his studies through great sacrifices by his family which had to set aside money from its low income and in many cases even the whole family had to chip in to pay for the educational costs of one young person.

Today, we have hundreds of people being trained abroad, some of whom are about to return or have returned to inject new blood into all the main areas of our development.

Há 14 anos tive o privilégio, conjunta-  
mente com outros combatentes e mili-  
tantes das lutas revolucionárias da  
África, Ásia e América Latina, de  
ser um dos primeiros integrantes  
da Secretariado da OSPAAAL.  
A maioria dos, comarcados  
agora já às suas respectivas  
pátrias, onde estão desempenhando  
nova e dura batalha.  
É isto, sendo em conta as des-  
igualdades e a crise econômica  
que assolam o mundo do hoje,  
é seguramente mais longa e  
possivelmente mais difícil, porém  
a nossa meta, derrubada ambiciosa  
as olhos das explorações dos  
povos, é a edificação de uma  
economia viável e independente,  
que possa engendrar os bens  
materiais para a satisfação  
dos novos programas políticos,

social, assim, as aspirações  
profundas das massas anti-  
imperialistas dos novos povos.

Foi com êxito que visível-  
mente o Secretariado da  
OSPAAAL, que continua tendo  
um papel importante na luta  
dos povos do 3º Mundo, particu-  
larmente nesta conjuntura em  
que o imperialismo se revela  
particularmente agressivo.

Envio, por isso indubitavelmente, os  
meus melhores sentimentos fraternos e  
revolucionários a todos aqueles  
que pagaram por esta organização,  
especialmente pela causa justa  
dos povos dos 3 continentes,  
especialmente aos que representa-  
ram a gloriosa Revolução  
Cubana.

Abílio Duarte

#### Greetings to the tricontinental organization

Fourteen years ago I had the privilege, along with other fighters and militants among the many revolutionaries from Africa, Asia and Latin America, to be one of the first members of OSPAAAL's Secretariat.

Most of these comrades have returned to their respective countries where they are now immersed in a new struggle. And this struggle, given the inequalities and economic crisis devastating today's world, is surely a longer and possibly more difficult one because our goals — too ambitious in the eyes of those who exploit the peoples — is to build a viable and independent economy that can create the material bases to be able to implement our political programs, thus fulfilling the heartfelt aspirations of the working masses of our countries.

It was deeply moving for me to meet today with the Secretariat of OSPAAAL, which continues to play an important role in the struggle of the peoples of the Third World, particularly in this period in which imperialism has become exceptionally aggressive.

Through you I send my fraternal and revolutionary greetings to everyone who has been part of this organization's struggle for the just cause of the people of the three continents, especially those representing the glorious Cuban Revolution.

Abílio Duarte

# **SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE**



**7th ANNIVERSARY  
OF  
THE PROCLAMATION  
OF ITS INDEPENDENCE**





## LENIN'S IDEAS, THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND THE DEVELOPEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

MAJED ABU SHARAR

This is an article written by a man who gave his life for the Palestinian cause.

Majed Abu Sharar was a distinguished PLO leader and he wrote this article in April 1980 for the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth. In it he discusses the importance for the Palestinian struggle of the example of Lenin's revolutionary work in founding the world's first socialist state and the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Although some of the aspects dealt with in the article have changed since it was written we are publishing it to further understanding of Palestinian thought and as a tribute to the memory of revolutionary fighters.



*Majed Abu Sharar*

- Member of the Central Committee of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Fateh.
- Head of the PLO's Unified Information Department.
- Member of the High Work Command in the occupied territories.

Fighter, commander, revolutionary intellectual, educator, and above all and most of all: Palestinian.

This is the way he was, and because of this, he loved all the people who were oppressed and those who had been tortured; he knew his proper role in the struggle; he knew that Palestine, its people and its guerrilla fighters belong to the same front encompassing all the oppressed and exploited, and all freedom fighters in the world.

Because he knew that through armed struggle one cannot win without a clear political line, he was an internationalist Palestinian, and for this reason he was assassinated by Zionist-imperialist agents as he was fighting for Palestine, Oct. 9, 1981 while participating in the International Congress in Solidarity with Palestinian Journalists and Intellectuals in Rome.

We are loyal to Majed, which is our duty to all martyrs.

We should understand what is going on in the world as Majed understood it.

We should be imbued with brave determination as progressive Arab forces, and be part of the international anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist and anticolonialist struggle.

Loyal to Majed.

Loyal to all martyrs who follow the true revolutionary road with their main allies, according to the principles Majed put forth in this article written on the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

*Imad Jada'A*

*PLO representative in Cuba*

**I**would like to speak about my status as a fighter in the ranks of the national liberation movement, committed to its positions, since the Palestinian struggle in this stage is essentially a national liberation struggle; I am convinced that all national liberation movements have two alternatives: progress towards greater development of theory and practice, or stagnation which leads to retreat and ends in defeat. There is no question that we, in this stage of Palestinian national liberation, are trying to develop theory and practice in our national movement.

What do Palestinians have to say on the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder of the first socialist state? What do Palestinians have to say, who, during the many years of armed people's revolution, have marched on the cutting edge of the sword taken from the arteries of their hearts, from the shade of Abdel Nasser's tree to the flame of Sadat's desert; the Palestinian who yearns for his homeland, who is imprisoned or buried in one of the Arab capitals? What does the Palestinian have to say who was born under oppression, exploitation slavery and backwardness, who is seeking an identity and a homeland, and who instead of finding them, finds only death? What does the Palestinian have to say who shoulders the burden of emigration and dispersion, and also the weight of his gun and his blood?

Palestinians say that one's homeland is bread, freedom, a passport to peace, and just as Lenin was able to found the first, biggest and most beautiful socialist state in the world according to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, Palestinian fighters will also win their national independence in their territory, guided to a great extent by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, highly confident of their unending ability to continue armed struggle and political battles, with the support of all the world's revolutionary forces, headed by Lenin's great country.

Although the seed of the Zionist doctrine was born outside Palestine, the tree of Zionism sprouted in this land, and its roots continue to be harmful, with the support of all the world's imperialist forces and the region's reactionary forces.

Lenin was the first to warn of the danger of the European reaction — which with extensive planning, caused the Zionist movement to emerge and consolidate — when he indicated that it was not just by chance that reactionary forces throughout Europe, and especially in Russia, were opposed to the integration of the Jews, and were deploying their forces to further their isolation.

Lenin didn't leave this matter up in the air; he put forth his point of view very wisely when he said that the workers' enemies are the capitalists of all countries. Among the Jews there are workers, and these are the majority, and they are brothers in the struggle to destroy capital, and our comrades in the struggle for socialism. Among the Jews there are also exploiters, just as among Russians and other nationalities. The rich Jews, just like the rich Russians and those from every country, join together to repress, oppress, plunder and divide the workers.

When Lenin came to power after the Tsar was overthrown, he wrote on July 26, 1918, in the text of a document of the People's Council referring to the struggle against anti-Semitism, giving instructions to all

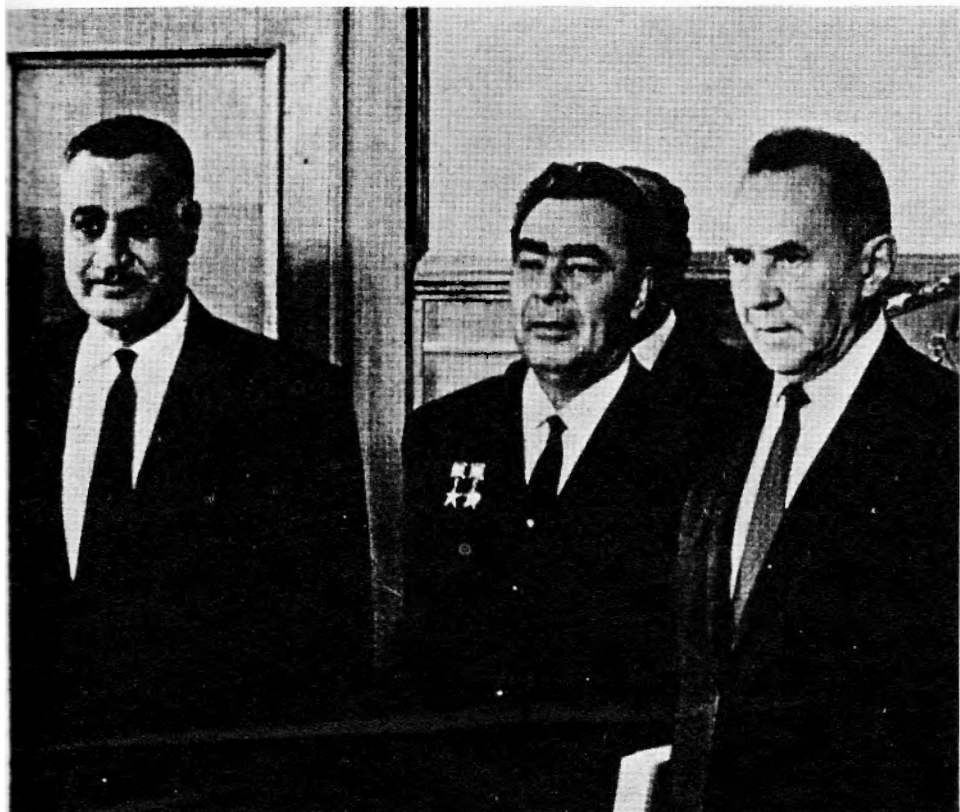
deputies of the Soviet to adopt decisive measures to eliminate all anti-Semitism, and to consider anyone who led or called for attacks on Jews as breaking the law.

At that time, and during the whole struggle waged by the Bolshevik Revolution to protect the country from domestic and foreign enemies, Lenin was concerned and personally tried to find solutions to this problem. Afterward, and during the extremely difficult years in which the Leninist party was devoted to rebuilding the Soviet homeland, inspired by Marxism-Leninism — that is, to fulfill the dream of all the workers of the world: socialist power — Lenin also argued for freedom of nations to their self-determination, an issue he had already dealt with in the 1896 Congress of the International in London, and later in the Russian program worked out in 1902.

During this period, the Middle East went from the era of Turkish colonialism in our countries, to one of British and French colonialism in most of the states of the Middle East region. Before this, in 1917, the Balfour Declaration had been issued granting Jews the right to establish their own homeland in Palestine. The tightening of the British hold in Palestine, the founding of Arab states totally subjected to British and French colonialism, the escalation of persecution by reactionary sectors in Europe against the Jews; the mobilization of world Zionism to promote that persecution in different ways, while attempting to exploit the feelings of the Jews who were victims of that persecution, especially in Nazi Germany; all this gave rise to the beginning of Jewish migration to Palestine, which meant the dangerous settlement of these Jews at the expense of the Palestinian people, with the complete support of the British authorities, culminating in the founding of Israel in a large part of Palestinian territory. This was carried out with the backing of the British and French imperialists; afterward U.S. imperialism took the main role in building this reactionary and fascist military entity, and began to use it as its gendarme in the region, especially after the discovery of oil and the emergence of petit bourgeois nationalist regimes, first in Egypt and Syria, and later in Iraq.

When the partition of Palestine occurred in 1947, the Soviet Union was one of the countries voting for the agreement. At that time, Soviet-Arab relations were virtually nonexistent. I still remember that the Soviet ambassador to the United Nations tried a number of times, right before the agreement was approved, to contact Arab ambassadors, but he was unable to get a reply from any of them. We should recognize here that the Soviet Union's support for partition left a negative impression among Palestinians and Arabs regarding the USSR, especially since the region was governed by reactionary regimes, almost totally subjected to imperialist and Zionist propaganda. The voices raised at that time to warn of the danger of the poisonous propaganda campaign unleashed against the Soviet Union had little room to move in because during that period the Soviet Union did not have a strong direct influence on events in the Middle East. As we know, the Soviets were then immersed in rebuilding their country which had been destroyed by the Nazi aggression.

In fact, if we compare the real effect and influence of the USSR on the course of the Arab struggle in general and the Palestinian struggle in



Gamal Abdel Nasser, during a visit to the Soviet Union. These relations contributed to the development of links between the Palestinian Resistance and the USSR.

particular, we can see that the Soviet Union has been influential and has taken a basic position in favor of the Arab and Palestinian struggle starting at the time when both the Arab and the Palestinian Liberation Movements were able to project themselves to the world as anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and antireactionary national movements, which also meant that the Arab Liberation Movement (ALM) had to review its position on the issue of alliances in the Arab region.

Unquestionably, the first to play a fundamental role in acquainting the Arab nation with the genuinely progressive and revolutionary role of the Soviet Union in supporting the peoples fighting against imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, was Gamal Abdel Nasser, through a series of alliances which began with the first purchase of arms from the USSR, the first between an Arab and socialist country. With this alliance, Abdel Nasser began his fight against the U.S., British and French imperialists, with the Soviet Union's support, which was clearly demonstrated during the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956. The Soviet warning which forced Great Britain and France to withdraw their forces from the Suez Canal and Port Said had a great effect on Arab public opinion because it gave a true picture of the Soviet Union and its firm support for the Arab Liberation Movement.



U.S. imperialism then began to play an important role in the Middle East, giving unlimited military and financial aid to Israel, converting it into a hostile and expansionist base, terrorizing nationalist Arab regimes, hindering their development and progress, and leading them at times to assume defensive positions, and in others to conciliation and retreat.

In the middle of this situation in the Arab region, the idea began to crystallize of organizing the Palestinian revolutionary struggle. This came about at the initiative of the Palestinian people themselves, who analyzed their own and the Arab nation's reality at that moment and decided that launching the revolutionary struggle was the correct way to deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict. It's true that at the beginning the Palestinian revolution had to deal with the fact that many people questioned its legitimacy and it had to work out many other problems; this was to be expected since it was not until September 1970 that the Palestinian struggle was able to project a clear political identity to the world, making it possible to determine who are its friends and who are its enemies. Similarly, the Palestinian revolutionary struggle emerged to express the will of the Palestinian people, who are part of the Arab nation. This means that the Palestinian revolutionary struggle has an influence on the Arab situation and vice versa.

Until September 1970, the Palestinian struggle was a captive of the circle of Arab alliances, which meant that the revolution was continually exposed to attacks and being isolated. Probably Black September\* demonstrated in one of its aspects, the problems of the Palestinian revolutionary struggle in terms of breaking out of the circle of Arab alliances to form broader alliances offering stronger support and greater protection.

I still remember that one of the main topics dealt with in the Third General Congress of the Fateh Movement in 1971 was: How can we break out of the circle of Arab mediation? We then realized to what extent the Palestinian revolutionary program was in contradiction with the programs of the Arab governments. We also realized that to achieve independence of the Palestinian national will — which was not just a slogan — it was necessary above all to change our policy and create a new base of broad alliances which could protect the revolution and ensure that its program would always determine its politics, and which would protect it from retreats relative to the programs of the Arab regimes. In that Congress we decided to approach the Soviet Union. The first PLO delegation paid an official visit to that country in December 1971, headed by comrade Yasser Arafat. I would call that visit an introductory one; it was conducted in the framework of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa, which was natural.

From that visit we learned that the more one struggles and the greater one's political clarity, the more understanding and support one receives. We thought that our visit would accomplish great things, but we discovered that our size meant that we only got three lines on the third page of *Pravda*.

\* Attack by King Hussein of Jordan against the Palestinian liberation movement.



A military patrol in Jordan during the period in 1970 known as "Black September."

As I said, from this visit we learned that to obtain more support from our friends, we had to fight more, be clearer politically, and develop a very strong anti-imperialist and antireactionary struggle not only in our program, but also in practice.

That visit was the beginning of support from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Two years later we realized that the door had been opened for relations with the other revolutionary forces in the world, both the national liberation movements and the democratic and progressive parties and forces in Europe and other countries.

In 1973 the Palestinian revolutionary struggle had to face one of its most difficult tests in Lebanon. We still remember the important message



Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was received in the USSR by Andrei Gromyko as a show of solidarity with the Palestinian cause.

sent at that time by Soviet leaders to President Suleiman Franjeh, reaffirming the Soviet Union's interest in the progress of the Palestinian revolution.

That day we Palestinians began to understand how important was the Soviet Union's role in supporting our cause. We began to note that this political support — which was both different and greater than from others — was not just limited to an unreal and theoretical verbal support. The image of the Soviet Union began to change in the minds of the Palestinian people, who like other Arab peoples had been victims of the lies and slander against the Soviet Union. This campaign began right after the victory of the great Bolshevik Revolution, continued when Abdel Nasser and the Soviet Union formed an alliance and when the Palestinian revolution began to develop a closer alliance with the USSR as well.

In short, our people began to appreciate the importance of friendship among the peoples; they began to understand that the Soviet Union is at the vanguard in terms of friendship among the peoples and of support for national liberation movements and all those seeking freedom from the yoke of colonialism, oppression and backwardness.

After the October 1973 war came the issue of finding a solution to the Middle East conflict. For the first time, we Palestinians found ourselves compelled to provide a way to settle the problem, something we had not done in 1947-48, although we were indeed the ones who paid the price of the settlement reached at that time. That was one of the lessons learned, one of the errors committed, which we didn't want to make again.

The issue of finding a settlement was then discussed among the Palestinians themselves. On this issue there was much debate and many differences of opinion emerged which appeared to threaten Palestinian unity. We were quite correct at that point when we decided not to take any steps alone in solving this problem; instead we decided to coordinate with our main ally, the Soviet Union, which had played an outstanding role in its aid to Syria and Egypt in the October 1973 war and in helping turn the October victories into real political triumphs. We approached the Soviet Union to coordinate with it, because we had lost the land of Abdel Nasser. Sadat had expelled Soviet technicians from Egypt. I still remember the editorial written that day by the martyr Kamal Nasser in *Falastin Al-Thawra* under this title: "We are not defending the Soviet Union, but rather ourselves," in which he stated that by expelling the Soviet technicians, Sadat was scorning a valuable weapon of the Arab nation and the Palestinian people, needlessly handing over the future of the Palestinians to the United States and Israel.

By coordinating with our Soviet friends on a solution to the Mideast problem we were able to achieve the following:

First, the PLO became a basic political force in the Middle East.

Second, we could respond to the issue of a solution of our problem through a 10-point program — the Program of National Power — which was discussed with all our friends, especially the Soviet Union. In that program the Palestinians made no concessions to the United States and Israel. This is confirmed by the fact that it has been and still is a real obstacle to the imperialist formula.

Third, we were strengthened by political-diplomatic activities throughout the world, to the point that we were granted observer status in the United Nations; in fact, we were the first liberation movement to achieve this status in the UN. The role played by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was very important in aiding the PLO to attain such a prominent international political-diplomatic status.

Fourth, in coordination with the Soviet Union we were also able to get a series of resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly, the most important of which was Resolution 3236 which grants the Palestinians greater rights than those acknowledged in previous resolutions. Here I must note that the Soviet Union would not have been able to achieve what it did in the UN without corresponding Arab actions which was what had been missing when the decision was made to partition Palestine in 1947.

Subsequently the Palestinian revolution had to go through and is still going through many other trials and tribulations; I'm referring to the civil war in Lebanon, which we believe did not come from a Lebanese conflict or a Lebanese-Palestinian conflict, but rather was caused by the United States, which took advantage of the country's explosive situation to ignite a war in order to attack the Palestinians and their strategic ally, the Lebanese Progressive National Movement, a movement which historically has been on the side of every national cause, especially the Palestinian one; moreover, it is the movement which lent a helping hand to the Palestinian revolution after Black September in 1970 and throughout 1971, to make Lebanon a progressive nation, and even took



up arms to defend the Palestinian revolution and Lebanon's integrity and unity.

In this case as well, the Soviet Union's firm position in favor of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement was extremely important in preventing the complete implementation of the U.S. plan. Soviet political and diplomatic pressures and activities were influential in making it impossible to wipe out the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement — the armed revolutionary forces which are still targeted by the enemy since they constitute a new form of Arab struggle and the expression of the organized, armed and combat-trained masses; the enemy found it necessary to destroy this struggle to prevent it from then spreading to other Arab countries.

When the Lebanese conflict began, we believe that Soviet support was most clearly shown when comrade Brezhnev officially welcomed brother Abu Ammar (Arafat), which was the first meeting held between a Soviet leader and a leader of a national liberation movement. This meeting was very important; the Soviet Union began to be convinced that the Palestinian liberation movement was a responsible one and had considerable influence in the Middle East conflict. This was expressed in joint declarations when Palestinian delegations visited the Soviet Union, and joint declarations by the Soviet Union and other countries in which there





The civil war in Lebanon and Israeli aggressions are part of a Yankee plan to strike at the Palestinian Revolution.

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were clear affirmations on the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to their homeland and to establish an independent state — in essence the total acceptance of the Palestinian revolution's 10-point program. This fact is even more important since we Palestinians know that this program was totally rejected, not only by Israel and imperialism, but also by all the reactionary Arab states. Two months earlier Carter had declared that the Arab countries were opposed to the creation of an independent Palestinian state, which was true in terms of the reactionary countries.

Therefore, to all those who think that the Soviet Union does not have to be more Arab than the Arabs I say that in the light of this difficult period, we believe that in practice the Soviet Union is more Arab than many Arabs.

How was the Palestinian-Soviet relationship established? Was it easy or was it necessary to overcome obstacles? Unquestionably, this relationship has its enemies, since the opponents of the Palestinian-Soviet alliance — U.S. imperialism and Israel — with weapons in one hand and vile slander in the other, are trying to wipe out the Palestinian revolution; they have been spreading even more lies to try to turn people away from the Program of National Power, by attempting to create illusions in the minds of some Palestinians, giving the impression that the United States can provide a solution to the Palestinian problem in



line with this people's hopes and aspirations. In this context must be seen the U.S. proposals put forward in recent years, which have almost found willing listeners among some Palestinians; but we haven't been fooled, since we can see through every one of these lies and determine who is open to them and under their influence.

Another enemy of the Palestinian-Soviet alliance is the Arab reaction, which comes carrying money, not to aid but rather to coopt and then abort the revolution. That's why we say that the Arab reaction is still carrying money in one hand and arms in the other, to use them, as has already happened, at the right moment. Our battles against the reaction have been hard ones and undoubtedly there are many more to come, since the reaction still gives highest priority to aborting the armed struggle and surrendering the region to U.S. imperialism's and Israel's wishes.

The third enemy of the Palestinian-Soviet alliance are those misguided theoreticians or those political forces who always tend to confuse friend and foe, and consider the Soviet Union and the United States, because they are the two great world powers, to be in the same situation, have the same characteristics and the same goals. These forces are also those who tend to use the term "foreigner" referring to both people from the United States and the Soviet Union, just as with everyone who is not Arab and among them those who are members of the Palestinian national liberation movement, in an antiprogressive ideological framework; that is, those who give higher priority to their ideological positions than national political needs in the stage of national liberation.

These forces are more important and more dangerous because they are among us, because they work among us and because they disguise their deviations with nationalist and patriotic rhetoric or religious declarations.

The Islamic revolution in Iran, which is now one of the most important issues in the Arab world, should be analyzed by all progressives in the Arab world. Probably the example of the relationship between the Tudeh Party and Iman Khomeini is worthy of study, to learn from it and have our masses understand the difference between the religion we inherited from colonialism, the reactionaries and exploiters for centuries in its service and the religion of the current Islamic revolution — a religion that puts at the head of the list of the revolution's tasks the total struggle against the United States, the reaction, the exploiters and oppressors and against all the enemies of mankind and peace.

But when we look at broad sectors of the Palestinian people, we find that their revolutionary struggle and the Soviet Union together, through this strategic alliance, have been successful in making this alliance clear in the minds and consciousness of the Palestinian people. I still remember an interview broadcast by the Palestinian revolution's radio station with a nine-year-old "lion cub scout" (pioneer) in Ar-rachidia refugee camp. When he was asked by a journalist who were the friends of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, he answered: Cyprus, the French Communist Party, the Italian Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

That interview was conducted during the years of the blockade. The boy was standing on a dock in the port and asked: "Where do the boats come from?"

They came from Cyprus, the Italian Communist Party, the French Communist Party and the Soviet Union. I mention this example to indicate that the best way to convince is the combination of correct theory and consistent practice.

How do we view the future of relations with the Soviet Union? Without any doubt, these relations have been strengthened, they have taken root to the extent that there is no longer any possibility — as long as the Palestinian revolution continues to exist — of damaging or ending these relations. However, these relations will always be menaced and exposed to plots by reactionary Arab countries and many non-Arab states. For example, one of the most notable examples of this type of conspiracy was to begin to talk about a European proposal after the failure of Camp David in terms of Palestine was almost a fait accompli, and when it was natural and logical that we would begin a new stage of political work in coordination and collaboration with the Soviet Union. Then the United States appeared pushing Europe to make this proposal to block any serious Palestinian-Soviet action in this area.

We, the patriots of the Palestinian revolution, also have the duty to continue to spread the concepts of friendship and building alliances among our people. We Palestinians are asked to understand that our people is a small one which can't win its victory without friendship, collaboration and alliances with all the forces of the world which cherish progress, freedom and peace.

Finally, I think that Lenin's ideas and principles have strongly influenced the Palestinian revolutionary struggle throughout its long fight, its revolutionary construction, its deficiencies in many areas and achievements in others, and especially in relation to work among the masses in the occupied territories, and in establishing and consolidating relationships and alliances.

What characterizes the present stage of the struggle is not exactly a settlement, because this involves shifting the balance of forces in favor of the imperialist and Zionist enemy, under the umbrella of Camp David or based on it; because it is a settlement at the expense of Palestinian rights, at the expense of the right of the Arab nations to develop and control their own wealth, and build their national democratic societies. Therefore, the nature of the current stage of the struggle is to intensify the fight to make the Camp David agreements fail, to ruin the plan to divide the region into sectarian mini-states and make new changes in the political map of the region. We must take maximum advantage of the revolutionary conjuncture provided by the victory of the revolution in Iran and the consolidation of the revolution in Afghanistan as the result of Soviet backing; this will make it possible for the Arab Liberation Movement to begin serious work to unite its ranks and work out a program appropriate for the current situation, providing an opportunity for the Steadfast and Confrontation Front to take effective steps to determine which are the progressive and which are the reactionary forces in the region, and establish a strategic relationship with the Soviet Union against the enemy camp, because without this alliance we cannot liberate our homeland, and not only this, we cannot maintain ourselves as anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and antireactionary forces.

**NEW YORK DECLARATION**

**DECLARATION**

FROM THE CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

**This important document approved in the Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa summarizes the main aspects of that event held in Riverside Church, New York, Oct. 9-11 1981. The International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (ICSA) initiated this as the first in a worldwide series of solidarity conferences.**

**The New York meeting was sponsored by a large number of U.S. organizations, and was co-sponsored by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and ICSA.**

**This conference brought together nearly a thousand U.S. citizens representing 72 labor organizations, 32 professional groups, 52 religious organizations, 128 civil rights organizations, 70 local community groups, 36 women's organizations, 73 student groups, 78 political groups, 23 media organizations and many individuals from throughout the country.**

**The conference was organized as a fightback against the Reagan administration's now public support of apartheid, racism and colonialism in southern Africa. Its participants denounced U.S. complicity in the criminal acts against the South African and Namibian patriots fighting for freedom and in the attacks against the Front Line states.**



**E, the participants in the Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa, have come together in New York for three purposes:**

- 1. to expose the increasing collaboration of the U.S. government and corporations with the South African apartheid regime and its continued illegal occupation of Namibia;**
- 2. to mobilize the people of the U.S. to compel our government and corporations to end their collaboration with racism, colonialism and military aggression in southern Africa, and**
- 3. to organize mass support in the U.S. for the liberation movements of southern Africa, led by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia.**

**We express our appreciation to the ANC and SWAPO who co-sponsored this conference, and to the International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (ICSA), who initiated this first in a worldwide series of conferences.**

**We who have come together in New York from throughout the United States are of diverse backgrounds and interests: local and national political figures, labor and religious leaders, representatives of grassroots, student, professional, community, youth, women's, workers' and international organizations, all united as concerned human beings, as members of the global community, in a common concern for peace, justice and the well-being of all the peoples of the world.**

For three days, October 9-11, 1981, the conference heard testimony and examined documents on the current political, economic, military and cultural situation in Southern Africa, the nature of the South African apartheid regime and its illegal occupation of Namibia, the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, and the world-wide movement in support of the anti-apartheid struggle.

In a series of action-oriented workshops, we analyzed and examined U.S. foreign policy towards South Africa and Namibia, the status of the boycott against South Africa in all its forms, the role of labor in the anti-apartheid struggle, the roles of women and youth, support for political prisoners, ways and means to aid ANC and SWAPO, and many other aspects of the global struggle against the most anti-human system of oppression in the world today. In each of these discussions we charted plans and proposals and made specific suggestions for what people in the U.S. can do to contribute to this all-important fight.

We have come to Riverside Church strongly motivated for several important reasons.

We are seriously concerned by the hostility flowing from Washington against all aspirations for human rights, dignity, social and economic justice, and peace both here and abroad.

We are shocked and alarmed not only by what we know to be the nature of apartheid — condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity — but also by its stepped-up repression in Namibia and South Africa and its intensifying acts of military aggression and destabilization against the independent states of Africa. The contempt for human life and liberty



This picture shows an example of the South African government's policies of discrimination against the black majority of this country.

shown by the South African government toward the majority people it directly oppresses is matched by its murderous, scorched-earth military raids into neighboring independent nations.

The truth about South Africa is often suppressed in this country. Despite this, we are aware that the apartheid system rejects and violates every principle we respect, every human value we hold dear, every innate feeling of the equality and unity of the peoples of the world.

We are inspired by the example of the men and women of SWAPO and the ANC, who, having exhausted all peaceful means, have been compelled to take up arms to free Namibia from illegal South African control, and to free the people of





South Africa from the racist dictatorship that has made it an outcast among nations. These struggles have rallied the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and are supported by freedom-loving people on every continent and country, including our own.

It is therefore with anger and deep concern that we witness our own government forging a deepening alliance with the criminal apartheid regime, embracing Pretoria's cold war arguments, cooperating with its secret plans, backing it in the United Nations, promoting closer military ties and a dangerous South Atlantic military alliance, building closer links with racist cultural and sports institutions, justifying its military invasions of neighboring countries; in

short, collaborating on every level with a regime and system that have been declared international outlaws by the people of the world.

The Reagan administration has accelerated this alliance, but we are not so shortsighted as to believe that the current administration initiated this international crisis. Since the end of World War II, our successive governments have shown a frightening eagerness to embrace military adventures at the expense of peaceful cooperation.

Traditional principles of justice, equality and self-determination have been sacrificed to pursue Cold War ends, of which the terrible war against Vietnam that left our people divided and demoralized, is only one example.

A foreign policy of intervention, military adventure and "world policeman" harms not only those it directly attacks — it harms us at home as well. This foreign policy has caused the deaths of tens of thousands of Americans, resulted in a step up in the racism that has plagued our country since its birth, brought about a militarized economy, and increasingly isolated us from the majority of humanity in the rest of the world.

Our government's intervention in the Middle East, our alliances with some of the bloodiest dictatorships in the world, especially in Latin America, the involvement of our intelligence agencies in plots to assassinate foreign leaders and subvert their countries, our government's refusal to use its power in support of people struggling for liberation, have left the people of the United States out in the cold, unable to join hands with the people of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe.

In its effort to defeat the liberation movements in southern Africa,

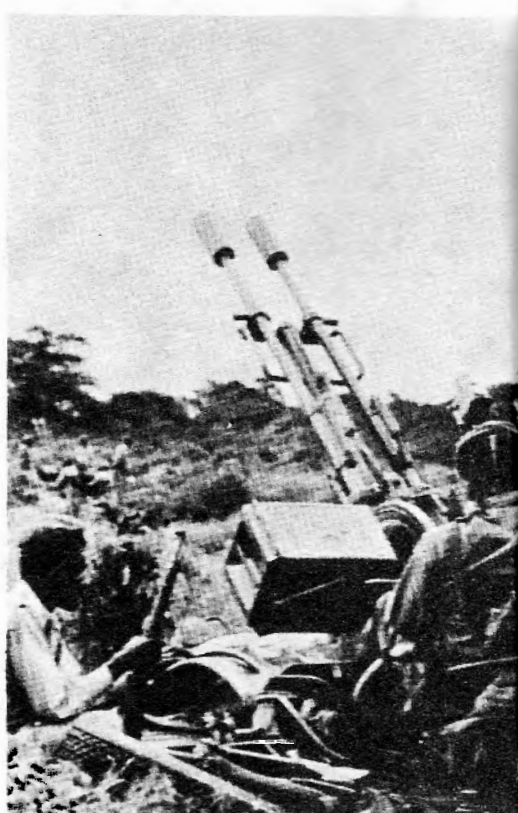


the Reagan administration is trying to throw up a smokescreen of myths about cold war confrontations with the Soviet Union and an alleged threat from "terrorism." This distorts the true nature of the struggle for freedom, independence and self-determination and tries to discredit the just armed struggle being waged by ANC and SWAPO. Support for the liberation struggle must be premised on the recognition that the true confrontation in the region is with apartheid and colonialism.

The fundamental facts about South Africa are alarmingly simple, bare and stark.

The "miracle" of South Africa, the standard of living it provides its white population, and its strategic importance to the United States and NATO, are all founded on the ruthless exploitation of the black majority. Blacks, 84 percent of the population, take home just over one-fourth of all personal income in the country, making them among the world's most poverty-stricken people. Deprived of political rights, denied the simplest forms of organizations (such as we take for granted in the United States), prohibited from living where they wish, herded into barren bantustans, denied citizenship and made foreigners in the land of their birth, terrorized by an effective police state, the black majority produces the wealth that has made South Africa one of the leading "Western" industrial nations.

The growth of this super-exploitative economic system has been vitally aided by the inpouring of foreign capital, particularly dollars from the United States. In 1960, the U.S. share of all foreign investments in South Africa was 11 percent. Today, it is over 20 percent.



SWAPO guerrillas are fighting against South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

The total of all dollars in direct investment or loans in apartheid today exceeds \$6 billion.

Hundreds of American corporations draw profits directly from apartheid, with only 10-15 U.S. corporations accounting for some 75 percent of all direct U.S. investment there. These include Ford Motors, Mobil Oil, General Motors, IBM, Goodyear, Fluor, Union Carbide, Kennecott, Phelps Dodge and others.

The United States has passed Great Britain and West Germany to become South Africa's most important trading partner, selling some \$2.4 billion in machinery, chemicals, industrial and military technology, etc., to South Africa in 1980 and buying over \$3.3 billion from them.



U.S. military intervention in Angola, and the cessation of efforts to destabilize the other Front Line States.

We urge the people of the United States to join the peoples of the world in giving urgently needed humanitarian and material aid for the victims of the continuing South African aggression against Angola.

Our government is not deaf, nor is it ignorant. It knows that in no other area of international affairs have the nations, peoples and organizations of the world joined hands and united as they have on the issue of opposition to South African apartheid, aggression and illegal occupation. Our government has chosen to defy and attack this consensus, to scorn the opinion of the world and the opinion of the people of this country.

As the recent apartheid rugby tour proved, the Reagan administration is determined to remove the "outlaw status" that has been justly thrust upon the apartheid regime by the international community. We urge the people of the United States to join the people of the world in demanding that the struggle be carried to a new level — the comprehensive and mandatory economic, military, diplomatic and cultural sanction of South Africa, including an effective oil embargo.

We have a special role to play and are charged with a unique responsibility. It is our government that keeps apartheid alive, feeds it, oils it, and arms it. The heroic people of the ANC and SWAPO are destroying apartheid from within, but only we can end our government's pact with racism, which if not obliterated, will destroy us all. This Conference proudly takes up this fight and joins the peoples of the world.

The extraordinary profits that draw U.S. corporations to South Africa — and away from investing in the United States — are based on the slave labor conditions that apartheid enforces.

Were there no protests at all, this would still be a shameful relationship. But this partnership in crime is carried on against the expressed desires, needs, urgings, and demands of the South African people, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations, the World Council of Churches and thousands of concerned organizations around the world.

We demand the immediate and unconditional recognition of the People's Republic of Angola, the retention and strengthening of the Clark Amendment which prohibits

# **I APPEAL TO ALL PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL**

Speech by José López Portillo, President of Mexico



When Mexican President José López Portillo received the Augusto César Sandino Order, the highest distinction awarded by the Nicaraguan government, he delivered a speech in which he issued a resounding call to prevent a world disaster if the United States carries out its threats in Central America and the Caribbean.

The Mexican president's speech had wide repercussions in many countries, both among leaders and in the world press, and is considered by progressive people to be an all-important contribution to peace in the continent.

Fidel Castro, president of the Council of State and of Ministers of Cuba, responded immediately and his letter was similarly well received throughout the world. In that letter, the Cuban leader reaffirmed his agreement with López Portillo's proposal and his commitment to seek ways to eliminate tensions in the region.

*Tricontinental* presents below both messages as examples of sincere steps in favor of peace and in defense of the peoples' right to self-determination.

#### Nicaraguan Brothers and Sisters:

**I** AM privileged, as I was two years ago, to be here with you, among you, summoned by the name of Sandino, by the significance of the man himself and the significance of his struggle and sacrifice in his time, by the current validity of the road he traveled and by his being a paradigm of liberation.

I join the people of Mexico in deploring the fact that this rally has been cloaked in mourning by the sacrifice of Nicaraguan brothers. Please accept the Mexican people's condolences and this definitive message: terrorism does not intimidate us and threats do not hinder us. We are here because reason is on our side and because we have reasons to be at the side of this heroic people, the people of Nicaragua, and we always will be. In order to contain my emotion, to channel my enthusiasm and make it useful, I have written a presentation that I would like to read, to show my gratitude for this rally.

I have come here today to join you in commemorating a date, February 21st, which is engraved on the conscience of all Latin Americans who have had to wage battles either with weapons or with ideas, to safeguard their right to self-determination. Upon recalling the death of Augusto César Sandino we must reiterate our commitment to all those who lost their lives so as to guarantee us a future of freedom and justice.

Many fighters have emerged from our peoples in the long process toward independence. In the space of three years, Mexico and Nicaragua had to struggle against the incursions of adventurers led by William Walker. In 1853 the inhabitants of Sonora and Lower California, led by a handful of Mexican soldiers, decimated and repelled the mercenary forces and their pirate leader. Later, the Central American people in arms fought in Nicaraguan territory to put an end to Walker's ambitions for good. The glorious battle fought in that

unforgettable San Jacinto was an example of the Nicaraguan people's militant spirit and was, in the final analysis of decisive importance to the Nicaraguan forces.

Decades later our paths crossed once again, this time not to fight against a common enemy, but on the occasion of a visit to our country by one of the most brilliant exponents of the Latin American social conscience.

The ties that Sandino established with Mexico and his return to fight against foreign occupation were a direct antecedent of the solidarity between the Mexican and Nicaraguan Revolutions. November 20, 1910 and July 19, 1979, are important dates in the history of Latin America. Regardless of their separation in time, they are united by a future that will mean a more dignified, just and promising life for the peoples of the region.

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**Today Central America and the Caribbean are struggling to modify the internal and external structures that so closely resemble the colonial order**

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When I learned of the decision taken by the government of Nicaragua and the National Leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front to award me the General Augusto César Sandino Order, "Battle of San Jacinto" Class, which now decorates my chest as representative of the Mexican people, I was deeply honored and sincerely moved by such a distinction because it symbolizes the ideals of our peoples. I humbly accept this decoration, interpreting it as a tribute to Mexican-Nicaraguan solidarity. Nicaraguan brothers and sisters, allow me to convey to you the Mexican people's fraternal and

sincere gratitude for such a high distinction.

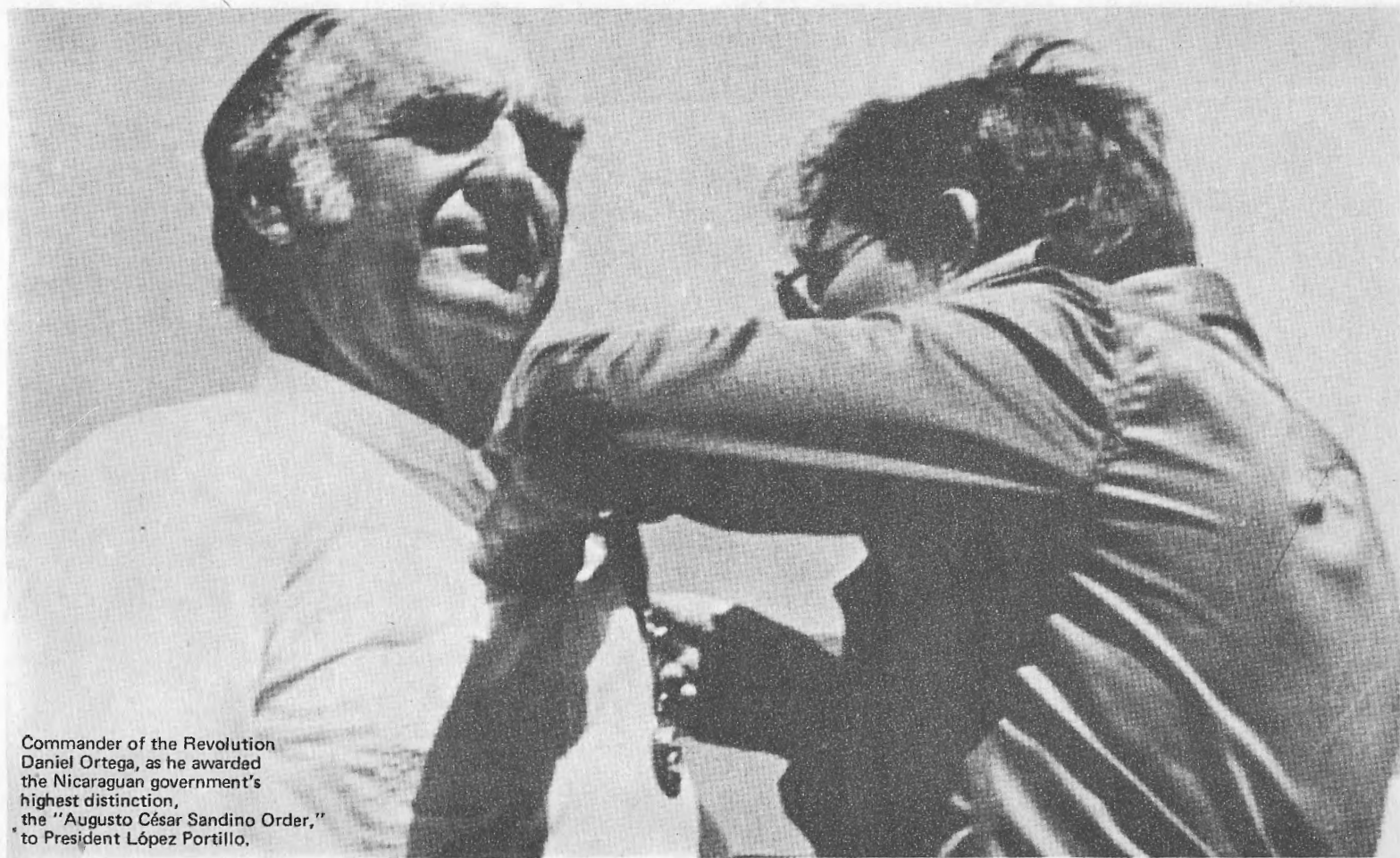
However, it would be meaningless to speak here and now of the history of Sandino and of what his struggle meant for Nicaragua and Central America without referring to the situation that prevails today in the homeland and region of the General of Free Men.

The salient feature of the Central American and Caribbean peoples' destiny today is their struggle for the thoroughgoing transformation of the age-old social, economic and political conditions imposed on them by poverty, tyranny and oppression. Whoever fails to understand this will never understand the reason for the dramatic upheavals that convulse the area. In the same way that in the postwar period entire peoples of Africa and Asia waged hard battles to win their independence and put an end to the colonial era, today Central America and the Caribbean are struggling to modify the internal and external structures that so closely resemble the colonial order that prevailed on those continents. In the same way that the majority of those struggles in Asia and Africa could not be forcibly included in the East-West or capitalism-socialism dichotomies, the contemporary Central American revolutions defy such Manichean classifications, simplistic effects of politics conceived as geometry or of the humiliating maxim that "he who is not with me is against me." We all remember how the revolutionaries of those times were accused, slandered and insulted; how they were stigmatized on more than one occasion as totalitarians or satellites of the superpowers; and this because all they wanted was to achieve independence for their country and to reform the economic and social structures they lived under. We Mexicans know what a









Commander of the Revolution  
Daniel Ortega, as he awarded  
the Nicaraguan government's  
highest distinction,  
the "Augusto César Sandino Order,"  
to President López Portillo.

revolution is and why the peoples make revolutions, for long did we have to endure the onslaught of those who tried to cast us in molds that were not and could never be ours.

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**One cannot dash hopes or push peoples and their rights into a corner**

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Nowadays, who would dare to describe the immense wave of national liberation revolutions that has shaken the Third World for the last 30 years as a mere effect of expansionism by this or that superpower? This is why we reiterate to them what we have said in public and in private: the current Central America and Caribbean revolutions are, above all, struggles being waged by poor and oppressed peoples for a better and freer life. To say that they are something else and to act as if this were true is counterproductive; you end up by getting what you were trying to avoid. One cannot dash hopes or push peoples and their rights into a corner.

This is the analysis on which Mexico's stand on the Sandinista Revolution is based. Our support for the Nicaraguan people's struggle against the Somoza tyranny was not a last-minute affair. We gave our support to the Junta of National Reconstruction and the Sandinista Front right from the start in the equally difficult struggle to rebuild a country destroyed and to consolidate a young state; and I think I am right in saying that our support has not wavered. Today, with the passing of time, I can say forcefully and proudly — and I'm sure with the approval of every Mexican — that our solidarity with the Revolution in Nicaragua is a source of pride for Mexico.

For the reasons I have mentioned and because our support fully

corresponds to the sincere sympathy and solidarity that struggles such as this one have always aroused in the sensibilities of the Mexican people, our support has become a veritable keystone of our foreign policy. It is not suffering and will never suffer the vicissitudes of repentance or disenchantment, much less will it bow to fear or threats.

Whereas two years ago, while addressing Sandino's people, I suggested that the Nicaraguan Revolution might be the meeting point — the "historical hinge" I called it then — of the modern revolutionary history of Latin America, today I reaffirm my conviction: I am aware of the Junta's and the Sandinista Front's unwavering determination to remain on the plural, democratic and progressive course charted on July 19, 1979.

Neither pressure nor provocations from outside, nor the natural impatience and demands from within, have changed the Nicaraguan leaders' commitment to their people; nor have they altered in any way the statements they have repeatedly expressed to the international community. I pay tribute here to such perseverance and honesty in political conduct, to the firm determination not to stain the postrevolution with blood.

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**I say to my Sandinista friends:  
Mexico has been and will always  
be with you**

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I do so because I am also aware of the difficulties, the threats — confirmed yesterday — and schemes that this heroic people have had to cope with, and yet they maintain their serenity in spite of

the economic and financial encirclement that aggravates their condition as one of the countries of the South.

How sad it is to know that an important part of the scarce resources available for progress must be diverted for military purposes, for defense against the odious attacks by armed bands that murder young members of the militia and dedicated teachers with impunity! I would dare ask, in view of these and many other problems, how many states wouldn't have succumbed to the temptation to use force, to curtail freedoms, in a word, to antidemocracy? I say to my Sandinista friends: stay on your course, for that is the course your people have chosen. Mexico has been and will always be with you.

Always at your side, at times of euphoria and at difficult moments, moments like now when the horizon is clouded by threats from outside, not only in Nicaragua but in the entire region as well.

Once more I assert, objectively, without arrogance and founded on analysis and reason, what circumstances, a sense of responsibility and traditional Mexican friendship with the United States motivated me to say late last year: intervention in Central America and the Caribbean would be a huge historical error, in addition to signifying a return to stages that tried to give might the right. It would cause a great upheaval throughout the continent and would rekindle deep-rooted anti-U.S. feelings among the finest people of Latin America. I can assure my good friends in the United States that what is happening here in Nicaragua, what is happening in El Salvador, and the wind of change blowing through the whole region does not constitute

an intolerable danger to the basic interests and national security of the United States, but it does entail the risk of an indictment by history for forcefully infringing on the rights of the peoples — rights which the people of the United States themselves undoubtedly demand, that is, the right to self-determination, independence and the exercise of sovereignty.

A short while ago, when I had the privilege of stepping onto Nicaraguan soil, I said I wanted to be useful. We Mexicans want to be useful, we want to serve as a channel, a link, a means of communication between those who have stopped speaking to one another or have never done so through discreet channels to avoid verbal beligerence — which, in turn, becomes an added obstacle — from either side. However, given the seriousness of the present situation, I have considered it necessary to make public a general outline of a realistic, responsible and carefully pondered alternative to a holocaust that would inevitably occur unless coolheadedness and harmony prevail.

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### **The very essence of peace**

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I am very happy to have heard Commander Ortega describe the five points proposed by the Junta and which have been publicly and widely accepted by the Nicaraguan people.

The fact that I also dare to put forth my proposal publicly and before this people simply means that the time has come for reason to prevail. The fact that we all coincide in our search for peace implies that we all want the very essence of peace. This is why I'm taking the liberty to tell you of the proposal I'm making to this people, to the region and to the United States.

It is not a case of a global peace plan for the region; such a plan could hardly prosper. It is a question of establishing through separate, albeit close and possibly convergent channels in the medium term, the mechanisms for negotiation and an exchange of concessions and their formalization that could lead to a climate of detente, of peace, democracy, stability and development. Such an alternative presupposes two premises: one, each interested party is obliged to make real concessions; and two, no party should be forced to give up its key principles or vital interests.

There are three focal points of conflict in the area: Nicaragua, El Salvador and — let's face it — relations between Cuba and the United States. I think that if these two countries continue on the path opened by the conversation between the U.S. secretary of state and the vice president of the Councils of State and of Ministers of Cuba there is a good chance for the dialogue to become negotiations. The present detente in southern Africa makes it possible to predict certain real possibilities in that respect. I'd prefer not to go into further detail at present, but we really believe that Mexico can play a more active role in this matter. We have a few ideas we believe to be useful and effective regarding the complex but not insoluble problem of the system of mutual concessions.

With all due respect, I would like to mention El Salvador. It's obvious that the escalation of the war, violence and tragedy has reached an extreme level. For some time now Mexico has advocated a negotiated political solution to the conflict in El Salvador and is now deeply concerned over the shrinking chances for negotiations to put an end to the bloodshed endured by that people exposed to

the risks of untenable victories or intolerable intervention. Between elections without negotiations and negotiations without elections there is sure to be a feasible compromise solution. I also prefer not to go into this at this moment. I will only say that the solution can be formulated and submitted to all interested parties for consideration.

Moreover, I think that the United States' main concerns over the possible consequences of a negotiated solution to the Salvadoran crisis can be dispelled. Mexico and other countries friendly with the United States and even some of its allies might be able to offer guarantees in this respect.

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### **The points of Mexico's proposal**

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In conclusion — and now I'd like to be more concrete — I am proposing here a series of steps and ideas which fortunately coincide with those that have been expressed in connection with the regional situation in Nicaragua. They consist of three fundamental points for a possible lessening of tension in the area.

First, the government of the United States should drop all threats or the use of force against Nicaragua. This is dangerous, shameful and unnecessary.

Invoking the close friendship between Mexico and its neighbor to the north, I would like to reiterate my direct and respectful call on President Reagan who, fortunately, has already made statements in this respect: No armed intervention in Central America, especially in Nicaragua.

Second — and I say this following careful thought and with the greatest consideration for this threatened people — it is possible and



indispensable to begin a process of balanced reduction of military forces in the area. If the bands of former National Guardsmen operating along the Honduras-Nicaragua border are disarmed and if training of similar groups in the United States is stopped, thus putting an end to a real threat to this country's integrity, it is to be expected that the Nicaraguan government would at once stop purchasing weapons and planes and spending its limited resources on maintaining an army whose size

worries neighboring and nearby countries. With all due respect, Nicaraguans, this is the way I see it.

Third and last, I consider it feasible as well as desirable to work out a series of nonaggression pacts between Nicaragua and the United States on the one hand, and between Nicaragua and its neighbors on the other. These documents would formalize previously reached agreements which, since they would not be directed against anyone, would contribute significantly to the establishment of lasting peace in the region. I have no doubt that if this series of pacts were put into effect, the main subjects of





A massive popular demonstration filled Revolution Square in Managua, Nicaragua to welcome the Mexican president.

contention between Nicaragua and the United States could be settled by immediate negotiations.

These are the points of the public part of Mexico's proposal. It consists of a series of serious, realistic measures devoid of demagoguery or national or personal ambition. It's based on a simple yet decisive idea: if everybody agrees that his neighbor should and can live as he sees fit, all differences in interests and approaches can be overcome via negotiation. Mexico does not defend ideologies on the international scene. It defends principles, the supreme right of peoples to self-determination and respect for the

sovereignty of every country. In the name of those principles, in the name of the responsibility implied by my post and for the sake of the imperative need for peace, I make this appeal from Managua to the peoples and their governments: let us prevent the catastrophe together. It can be done. If we fail, the results are unthinkable. I appeal to all people of good will: let us give one another a last chance. We will know how to take advantage of it.

Thank you very much.

MESSAGE FROM FIDEL CASTRO,  
PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCILS OF STATE  
AND OF MINISTERS OF CUBA,  
TO JOSE LOPEZ PORTILLO

*Fidel Castro*

Havana, February 22, 1982

H. E. Lic. José López Portillo  
President of the United Mexican States  
Los Pinos

Esteemed President and Dear Friend:

I have learned of your extraordinary speech upon receiving the distinction which bears the great name of Augusto César Sandino, with which the government and people of Nicaragua have rendered you well-deserved tribute. Your statements once again confirm your outstanding position as a statesman in keeping with the line of Mexican continuity set by the illustrious Benito Juárez when he proclaimed that "respect for the rights of others is peace."

Cuba coincides with your noble desire to assure for Central America and the Caribbean a situation of peace based on the rights of all peoples in the area to full sovereignty, complete self-determination and to carry out the political and social changes that they themselves decide democratically.

You can count on the government and people of Cuba and on my personal commitment to find ways to eliminate tension and pave the way for democratic and peaceful solutions to the pressing problems which weigh down most countries in the area. If those problems are not solved, there can be no tranquility or orderly process in our lands, which are convulsed as a result of hunger, economic backwardness, despotism and intervention by those who insist on upholding bloodthirsty regimes hated by their peoples, regardless of the cost.

Cuba has repeatedly expressed its desire for peace. No people of Our America need fear Cuban weapons, for they will never be used for fratricidal aggression. Those weapons are here exclusively for the defense of our country. We are willing to provide the fullest assurances to all in this respect. Cuba's need for adequate means of defense, which require large economic sacrifices from us, can be clearly explained to Latin American and world public opinion by the attacks against Cuba carried out since 1959 by the successive administrations of the United States of America. In continuing this antagonism, which is as unequal as it is unjust, the Reagan administration is bent on being the most aggressive of all. The tone of its threats is raised daily, while the campaign of lies and slander against our country reaches unprecedented heights, and its foremost officials persist in refusing to rule out military attack as one of the options which they claim, illegally and without the slightest respect for international law, to have available to them to "punish" Cuba and destroy it if possible because of our unshakable determination to be independent.

Thus, it is the legitimate, sacred and unrelinquishable right to self-defense which has led the Cuban people to organize themselves and undergo military training on a mass basis. For that reason Cuban weapons will never pose a threat to the sister nations of Latin America and the Caribbean; on the contrary, they symbolize a resolve expressed in his time by José Martí: that of preventing in time, by securing the independence of Cuba, the spread of the United States across the area and of stopping it from pouncing with that added impetus upon our American lands. We are in fact a solid and unconquerable barrier to the expansionism that has cost the peoples of this hemisphere so much pain and which heroic Mexico suffered itself, losing a big portion of its territory in the midst of considerable bloodshed and humiliation.

If the government of the United States — the source of all the problems which affect Latin America and the Caribbean today — pledges not to attack its neighbors, if it halts its constant threats, if it stops using its weapons and money to back genocidal regimes, if it puts an end to its subversive activities, all these being acts which have absolutely no legitimacy, Cuba is willing to cooperate in the noble efforts you outlined in Managua to bring about an atmosphere of peace, mutual respect and necessary change in the region to which we aspire too.

Cuba, esteemed President López Portillo, will maintain this sensible and constructive policy with the same firmness with which we flatly reject and will always reject any effort by the government of the United States to blackmail, intimidate or impose conditions or ultimatums on our country. In the event of any act of aggression we will defend our dignity, sovereignty and principles regardless of the price, down to the last man and woman of our revolutionary people, down to the last drop of our blood.

I send you my greetings along with deep friendship and highest regard.

Fidel Castro Ruz



# TRICONTINENTAL ON THE MARCH

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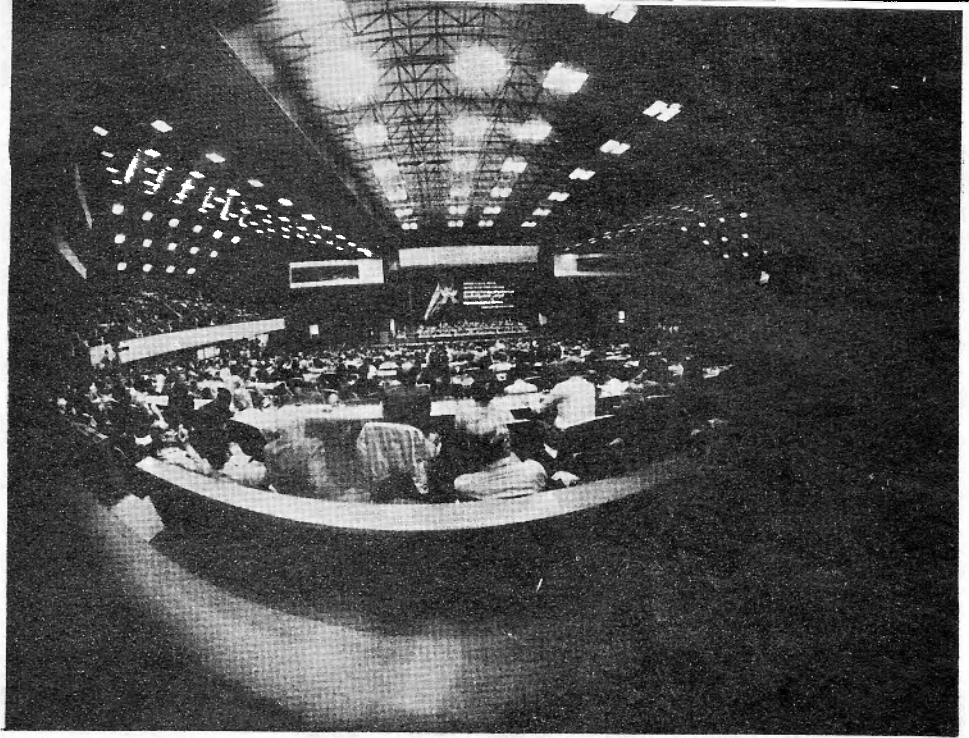
## OSPAAAL participation in the 10th World Trade Union Congress

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A delegation from our organization, headed by Melba Hernández, General Secretary, and including Doan Dinh Ca, representative of Vietnam in the Executive Secretariat, and other officials, participated in the 10th World Trade Union Congress held in Havana, Feb. 10-15, 1982.

There were many debates, presentations and denunciations in the event, including discussions of workers' struggles throughout the world for their legitimate rights and a valuable sharing of experiences. Our delegation, in its presentation to the plenary session, stressed the need to build firm unity among all revolutionaries to oppose the forces leading the world to war and affirmed that the peoples cannot build a better future while the danger of a worldwide holocaust is hanging over their heads.

The Congress approved many important declarations and resolutions; here we reprint a declaration broadly expressing solidarity with the struggle of workers and revolutionaries in every country in the world.



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**General Declaration on Solidarity with the Struggles of Workers and Peoples for National Independence, Democratic Liberties, Trade Union Rights and Social Progress**

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The Tenth World Trade Union Congress, meeting in Havana (Cuba) February 10 to 15, 1982, expresses its militant solidarity with the struggles of workers and peoples against imperialism and colonialism, racist and fascist oppression, neocolonialist exploitation by the transnational corporations and for democracy and social progress, for democratic liberties and trade union rights.

These struggles and the international solidarity that has grown around them happen at a time of great advances by the forces of peace and progress.

These struggles are interlinked and converge towards the struggle for democratic changes in the capitalist countries, with a view to ending imperialist domination, for the establishment of a new international economic order and the final abolition of exploitation of man by man. These struggles confront a grand alliance of reactionary forces of the imperialist ruling circles, fascist military dictatorships, racist regimes and authoritarian ruling elites, feudal chieftains and other outdated, antiquated structures of power and privilege. This very same grand alliance of reactionary forces led by U.S. imperialism, with all its military bases, nuclear missiles and neutron bombs, rapid deployment forces, naval fleets and nuclear submarines placed in position to safeguard the profits and power of the transnational conglomerates also blatantly intervene in the internal affairs of socialist and non-aligned countries, threaten them militarily and even carry on military operations, both



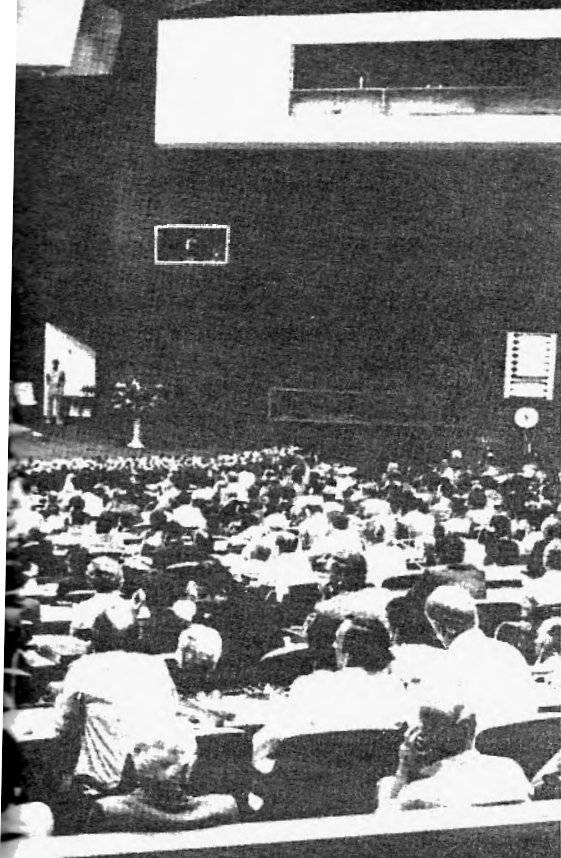


open and secret, violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries.

Caught in a deep and lasting crisis of their system, monopoly capital seeks to find a way out through militarism and war, suppression of human rights and democratic liberties. But these efforts are being met with increasing resistance by the workers and all democratic forces, and it is the task of the world trade union movement to further strengthen this resistance and struggle.

The Congress expresses its firm solidarity with the Latin American and Caribbean workers and peoples against U.S. imperialism and its puppets, the reactionary dictatorships. The most reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism and its allies are aggravating tensions in the Caribbean and Central America; threatening to attack Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada; intervening in the internal affairs of El Salvador; and supporting the brutal repression by which the Guatemalan people are being victimized.

The Congress denounces the United States' policy of threats and attacks against Cuba and calls for an end to the economic blockade and the return of the territory illegally occupied by the Guantanamo Naval Base. It expresses its fullest solidarity for the heroic Nicaraguan people in their efforts to promote national reconstruction in spite of imperialism's threats. It rejects the destabilization plans against Grenada. It demands that the U.S.-Panamanian agreement on the Panama Canal be respected and that the Canal not be used as a base of aggression.



The Tenth World Trade Union Congress warmly greeted workers and trade unions in all countries in the name of international solidarity.

The Congress denounces U.S. imperialism's open, direct intervention in El Salvador, which has been denounced by broad sectors of world public opinion, and it expresses its solidarity with the heroic struggle of the workers and people, led by their organizations, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front. It also supports the brave resistance that the workers and peoples of Guatemala, Chile, Uruguay and other countries are putting up against the repressive policies of the military dictatorships imposed, armed and kept in power by the transnationals, the Pentagon, the IMF and other structures of imperialism.

The Congress expresses its deep concern over the increase in the repression of the workers in Colombia, Argentina, Peru, Costa Rica and other countries. It denounces the activities of the fascist paramilitary groups in Colombia, the violation of trade union rights in that country and the suspension of the legal status of the Colombian Workers' Trade Union Confederation (CSTC). It demands that human and trade union rights be reestablished in Chile; that the workers' legitimate demands contained in the National Claims be met; that the people's will expressed in Uruguay in the November 1980 plebiscite be respected; that total, unlimited amnesty be granted; and especially that the imprisoned trade unionists be freed — as recommended by the Trade Union Freedom Committee of the ILO.

The Congress welcomes the changes in Brazil as a consequence of the successful struggle of the workers and trade unions in defense of their trade union rights and democratic liberties. The Brazilian workers need continued solidarity, especially in their struggle against the attempts of the ruling circles to reverse the gains of the trade union movement.

Expressing its solidarity with the struggle of the workers and people of Puerto Rico, the Congress calls for an end to the U.S. colonial rule over this country and the establishment of genuine political and economic independence.

In Southeast Asia, the imperialists are stepping up their attacks against Kampuchea and conspiracies against Vietnam and Lao. South Korea continues to be occupied by U.S. troops, with their nuclear weaponry, who are propping up a hated military dictatorship.

Fully endorsing the demand of Asian, African and Middle Eastern countries for the declaration of the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Gulf and the Horn of Africa as a zone of peace, as proposed by the United Nations, the Congress condemns the building and maintaining of a nuclear military base by the U.S. in Diego Garcia, and the "Bright Star" maneuvers, turning the region into a zone of operation of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force and threatening peace and security in Asia and the world. The massive arms aid by the U.S. imperialists and China to the military dictatorship in Pakistan has further raised tension in the region, stimulating an arms race in South Asia, a region which needs economic and social development and not sophisticated weapons for mass destruction.

The Congress supports the demand made by the Pacific Trade Union Forum held in Vanuatu in 1981 for the declaration of the Pacific Ocean as a nuclear-free zone, for an end to nuclear tests in the region and a ban on dumping of nuclear wastes in the Pacific Ocean.

The Congress expresses its solidarity with the workers and people of Afghanistan and demands an end to the undeclared war on that country being carried on by U.S. imperialism and its allies, particularly Pakistan, China and Egypt. The Congress welcomes the establishment of trade unions in Afghanistan after the Saur Revolution, the implementation of democratic agrarian reforms and other steps towards social development in Afghanistan. The democratic forces throughout the world strongly denounce the intervention of imperialism and reactionary forces to thwart the democratic process in Afghanistan.

The UN Decolonization Committee has called for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and that the people of this territory should have the right of self-determination. This must be enforced and the struggle of the East Timorese people fully supported by workers and trade unions in all countries.

The Congress supports the demand of workers and progressive forces in Japan for the abrogation of the U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty and against the revival of Japanese militarism.

The Cypriot problem remains unsolved and continues to constitute a threat to the eastern Mediterranean region. The Congress supports the Cypriot people's efforts to reach a solution in the interests of both communities — Greek and Turkish — in the face of imperialism's plots.

The Congress denounces the moral, political and material support that the United States and other imperialist powers have given such repressive, expansionist regimes as the racist regime of South Africa and the Zionist regime of Israel, that attack and occupy territories of neighboring countries and carry out the neocolonialists' designs against the national liberation movements in Africa, especially in Namibia, and in the Arab countries.

The Congress expresses its solidarity with the Syrian workers' and people's struggle; vigorously denounces Israel's decision to annex the Golan Heights, Syrian Arab territory occupied by Israel, considering this decision null and void; and denounces imperialism's flagrant threats and the fascist acts of bands of the "Muslim Brotherhood" backed by imperialism, Zionism and the reaction, aimed at destabilizing the progressive regime in Syria and forcing it to capitulate to the Camp David agreements.

The Congress calls for an end to Israel's systematic attacks on Lebanon and demands that the Israeli troops withdraw from southern Lebanon. It strongly denounces the repression of the workers and people in the occupied Arab territories, the arrest of trade unionists, the expulsion of patriotic leaders from their country, the expropriation of land and the establishment of colonies in Gaza and on the West Bank. The Congress also denounces imperialism's acts of provocation against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which further aggravate tensions in the area.

The world trade union movement energetically denounces the actions of the South African racists, who mercilessly repress the workers' struggle for their rights and freedoms, engage in acts of provocation against neighboring countries and arbitrarily occupy Namibia. The Congress demands that the patriots imprisoned in South Africa be freed and that power in Namibia be transferred to SWAPO, the people's sole legitimate representative.

The Congress supports the struggle of the workers and people of Western Sahara, led by the Polisario Front, and demands the immediate opening of negotiations between the Polisario Front and the Moroccan government to end the conflict in the area, in accordance with the various resolutions of the OAU and UN.

The world trade union movement condemns the repression and the criminal persecution of trade unions in Turkey and the total denial of all trade union rights and democratic liberties in that country. The Congress expresses its complete solidarity with the DISK and demands an end to the farcical trial of the DISK leaders by the military regime in Turkey, which could result in 52 trade union leaders being sentenced to death. All imprisoned trade unionists in Turkey should be released immediately and trade union rights and democratic liberties fully respected.

The Congress condemns the killing of workers, the suppression of democratic and trade union rights in Sudan by the Nimeiri regime and its shooting and killing of students who were protesting against greater and greater burdens on the working people under pressure from the IMF. It demands an immediate end to the repression, release of the imprisoned trade unionists, students and progressive political leaders and the guarantee of trade union rights and democratic liberties in Sudan.

Expressing its condemnation of the repression and the suppression of trade union rights and human rights in Pakistan, the Congress demands the immediate release of all imprisoned trade unionists and democrats and the assurance of their democratic rights.

Expressing its solidarity with the workers and people of Sri Lanka, the Congress demands the reinstatement of 25,000 workers who were dismissed and are still out of work after several months by the Sri Lanka government and employers, as vindictive punishment against workers who had gone on a strike to press their legitimate demands. Moreover, the Congress demands the end of repression against trade unions and the lifting of all restrictions on trade union activities, such as the closing of trade union premises by the police.

The Congress expresses its deep concern over the indiscriminate firing of 11,000 bank workers and nearly 2,000 jute and textile workers in Bangladesh for having gone on strike for better living conditions. It demands that the fired workers be rehired immediately and that all repressive measures against workers in that country be lifted.

The Congress expresses its solidarity with the workers and trade unions in India and supports their struggle for the revocation of the anti-strike law called the "Essential Services Maintenance Act," which gravely violates trade union rights.

The Congress demands the immediate release of the thousands of workers, SOBSI trade unionists and political leaders imprisoned in Indonesia for over 16 years and the full guarantee of trade union rights and democratic liberties. In particular, the Congress expresses utter indignation at the decision to sentence to death the comrades M. Munir, former president of SOBSI, Rushan Widjiejasastra, vice president, and



to sentence to life imprisonment comrade Tjijito, member of the National Council; it also demands the immediate nullification of these sentences and the release of the trade unionists who are detained solely because they are defending the interests of Indonesian workers.

The Congress warmly greets the massive actions for peace by workers and all sectors of democratic opinion, especially the mass demonstrations in Western Europe against the arms race and the introduction of new U.S. nuclear missiles and against the whole strategy of U.S. imperialism of waging a "limited nuclear war" in Europe. The Helsinki Agreements on European Security must be carried forward and the arms limitation talks between the U.S. and USSR delegations in Geneva must succeed.

The Congress supports the West European workers' growing efforts to offset the effects of the serious capitalist crisis that, among many other consequences, has resulted in a high unemployment rate, chronic inflation and budget cuts, especially in the field of social security. The Congress emphasizes the struggle that the workers in that region have organized to defend their jobs and improve their living conditions.

The Congress notes and supports the trade union struggles that are being waged in the United States against the antiworker, antisocial policy of the Reagan administration, and it offers its support to the U.S. air traffic controllers, 17,000 of whom were illegally fired because of their big strike.

Expressing its solidarity with the workers and trade unions in the socialist countries, the Congress denounces the aggressive military plans of imperialism against these countries, attempts at intervention in their internal affairs and economic blackmail. The fast pace of economic and social development, the eradication of unemployment, the legal enforcement of the right to work, social security, health care and housing for all citizens are historic achievements of the workers and trade unions in the socialist countries, achieved through social ownership of all means of production, and scientific planning with the participation of workers and trade unions. These gains are great steps forward along the path of social progress achieved by a large contingent of the world trade union movement. The international workers' movement will not allow imperialism to destroy these historic gains and the workers and trade unions in the socialist countries will have the complete solidarity of workers the world over in carrying forward their tasks of social development.

The Tenth World Trade Union Congress warmly greets workers and trade unions in all countries in the name of international solidarity and appeals to them to further intensify their actions with greater unity in carrying forward our common tasks and in solidarity with all workers and peoples in struggle — for peace, for social and economic demands, for trade union rights, democratic liberties and human rights.

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### **Visits from delegates to the 10th World Trade Union Congress**

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A number of delegations participating in the 10th World Trade Union Congress visited OSPAAAL where they were received by our organization's General Secretary and other officials. The presence of the chairmen and other members of the delegations was an important factor for exchanging opinions about the international situation and building closer relationships to further tricontinental solidarity.

Heading the delegations visiting us were:

- Congo, Bokamba Yongouma, member of the Political Bureau of the Congolese Labor Party and General Secretary of the Congolese Federation of Trade Unions.
- Vietnam, Nguyen Duc Thuan, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and president of the Federation of Trade Unions of that country.
- Sri Lanka, Abdul Aziz, vice president of AAPSO.
- Bahrein, Hussein Abdullah Kassin, head of foreign relations of the Workers' Union.
- Oman, Ahmed Salem Kassin, secretary of information and culture of the Workers' Committee of that country.
- Kuwait, Hussein Ali Yoha, president of the Federation of Trade Unions.
- Colombia, Gabriel Sepúlveda, Mary Cruz Arama, Jaime Calderón, Hernando Novos and Maximiliano Noren, representing the textile, telephone, teachers, metalworkers and food workers trade union federations respectively.
- Guinea, Abdulai Diallo, former vice president of the World Federation of Trade Unions.
- Guyana, Edwin James, president of the Guyanese Peace and Solidarity Committee.



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### **Fraternal meeting with Afghan delegation**

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Anahita Ratebzad, member of the Political Bureau of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women, visited the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Melba Hernández, our General Secretary, told the distinguished visitor that we identify with her country's struggle against its enemies who seek to set back the revolution.

Anahita Ratebzad gave an interesting talk about the work of the Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organization of Afghanistan, of which she is president. In the meeting there was a fruitful sharing of experiences and the bases were set for future relations.

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## **GREETINGS TO KIM IL SUNG**

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Warm greetings were sent on behalf of our Organization to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

The message included the following statement :

"His life, totally devoted to the anticolonial struggle, for national independence and his country's reunification, the development and consolidation of the socialist homeland, has been an example of revolutionary struggle and loyalty to the Korean people. For this reason we sincerely and warmly extend our greetings, and at the same time reaffirm OSPAAAL's solidary support for the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and independent reunification of their country."

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## **Support for declarations on the Middle East by the chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries**

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A militant event held in OSPAAAL brought together representatives of revolutionary organizations and parties of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and members of the diplomatic corps accredited in Cuba. The event was held to express support for the declarations of the chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Fidel Castro.

Alex La Guma, representative of the ANC of South Africa, made the first presentation, in which he read a message of solidarity with Cuba. He was followed by Felipe Cirino, representative of Puerto Rico in OSPAAAL's Executive Secretariat, who on behalf of our organization, denounced preparations for a large-scale Israeli military invasion of Lebanon, fully supported by the Reagan administration.

Salah Salah, representing the PLO, delivered the main address of the evening, in which he spoke of Israel's constant aggressions against his people and that country's military preparations for an attack on Lebanon with the aim of wiping out the Palestinian Resistance; lastly, he affirmed his certainty that his people never could be forced to surrender.

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## **International conference on problems in the Middle East**

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Christian González, president of the Chilean Committee of Solidarity with the Antifascist Resistance, in Havana, headed our organization's delegation to the International Conference on the Middle East Problem and the Dangers of the Imperialist Military Buildup, held in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Feb. 6-9, 1982.

Convened by the World Peace Council, the event denounced the United States' warmongering policy and its interference in the Middle East through Israel and other reactionary forces. The conference reached important conclusions and issued an appeal, which we reprint below.

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## THE ADEN APPEAL

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The threat of war in the Middle East and beyond is growing every day!

The peoples of this region face an enormous U.S. military buildup. The Middle East as well as Europe is considered by the Reagan administration as a "theater" of a possible large-scale war. The creation of the Rapid Deployment Force aimed at the Middle East, building a chain of military bases and the continued presence of the fleets carrying nuclear weapons clearly show that U.S. imperialism is trying to establish its supremacy in the region.

Together with Israeli expansionists and Arab reaction, the U.S. tries to subjugate the peoples in the Middle East. This policy is an integral part of the global effort of the present American administration to speed up the arms race and to intensify confrontation in every part of the world.

The imperialist military buildup in the region is a major obstacle to a just and comprehensive solution of the Middle East conflict.

Israeli extremists who suppress the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and openly annex Arab Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, thanks to unlimited U.S. support, defy UN resolutions and openly prepare new aggression against the Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian peoples.

The dangerously deteriorating situation in the Middle East requires intensified effort by all peace forces. We demand an immediate halt to the imperialist military buildup and an early and durable solution to the Middle East problem.

We call for mass actions to dismantle imperialist bases in the Middle East and remove any forms of U.S. military presence in the region! We stand against any efforts to establish U.S.-sponsored military alliances in the Middle East! We reject the big lie of the "Soviet threat" to the Middle East and proclaim that the real danger to peace and security of the peoples of the region derives from the U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation!

We demand that the decision to participate in the multinational force in Sinai, taken by some West European and other countries, should be withdrawn!

We urge peace forces all over the world to strengthen their solidarity with the Palestinian and other Arab peoples!

We call on all Arab peoples to unite on a common platform and concentrate their efforts in order to foil the imperialist designs of the Reagan administration in the Middle East!

We demand that the world community impose sanctions against Israeli aggressors!

We call upon all concerned to undertake a collective effort to bring about peace, justice and security for all the peoples of the Middle East, to contribute to the lessening of the war danger in the world!



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#### **Delegation from the Arab People's Congress**

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Omar El Hamidi, heading a delegation from the Arab People's Congress and the International Secretariat for Solidarity with the Arab Peoples and their Central Cause: Palestine, held a working meeting with OSPAAAL's Executive Secretariat, in which viewpoints and experiences were shared with the aim of strengthening ties between our respective organizations. The meeting was highly valuable for both groups and forms of coordination designed to further tricontinental solidarity were discussed.

El Hamidi and his delegation, which included Inaam Raad, president of the Nationalist Syrian Socialist Party and vice president of the Lebanese National Movement; Salah Salah, representing the PLO, and Ahmed Suici, head of international relations of the Permanent Secretariat, later met in OSPAAAL with representatives of liberation movements, parties and organizations, and with members of the diplomatic corps and the national and foreign press accredited in Cuba.

In that event El Hamidi reported on the Arab peoples' current struggles and denounced stepped-up aggressions of Yankee imperialism which uses Israel to further its criminal plans. El Hamidi spoke of the urgent need for all the world's peace-loving forces to unite.

On behalf of our organization's Executive Secretariat, Melba Hernández thanked the delegation for its reports and denunciations and reaffirmed OSPAAAL's desire to do everything possible to help strengthen ties among the forces fighting today for self-determination of the peoples of the three continents.



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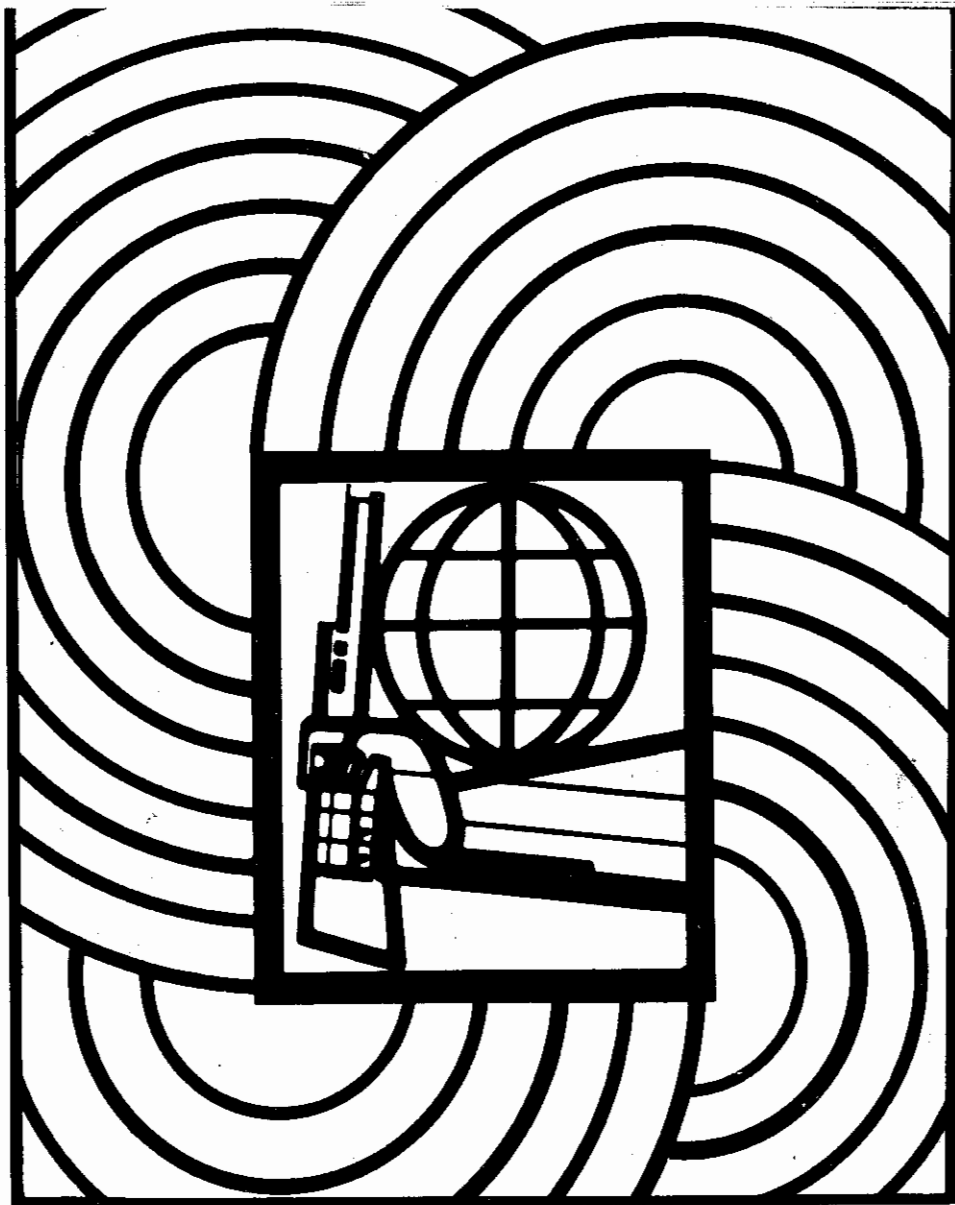
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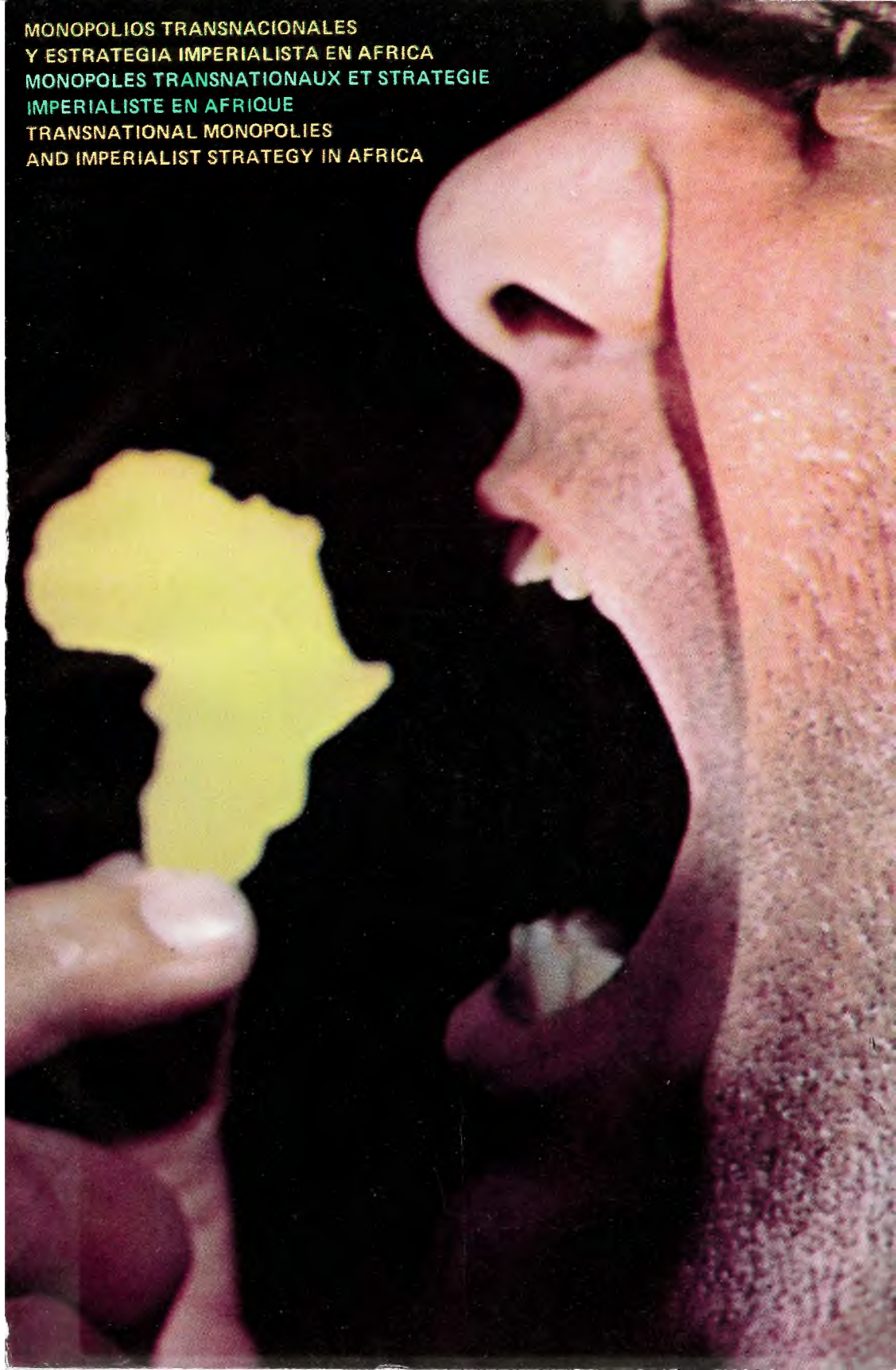
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Proverbio Palestino

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HE WHO PLUNDERS OTHERS  
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