

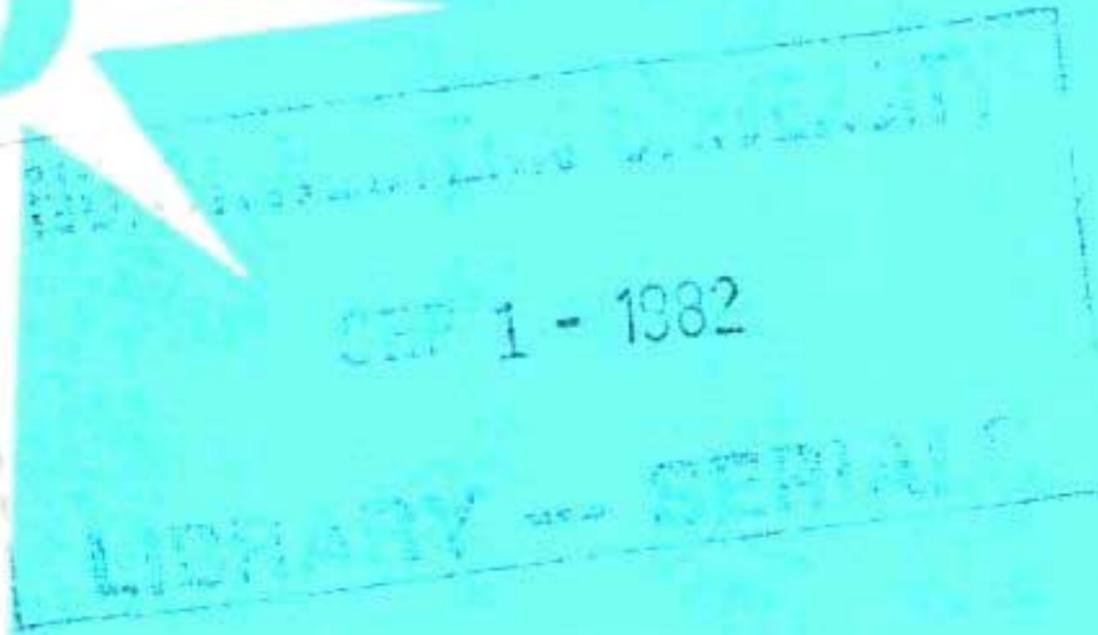
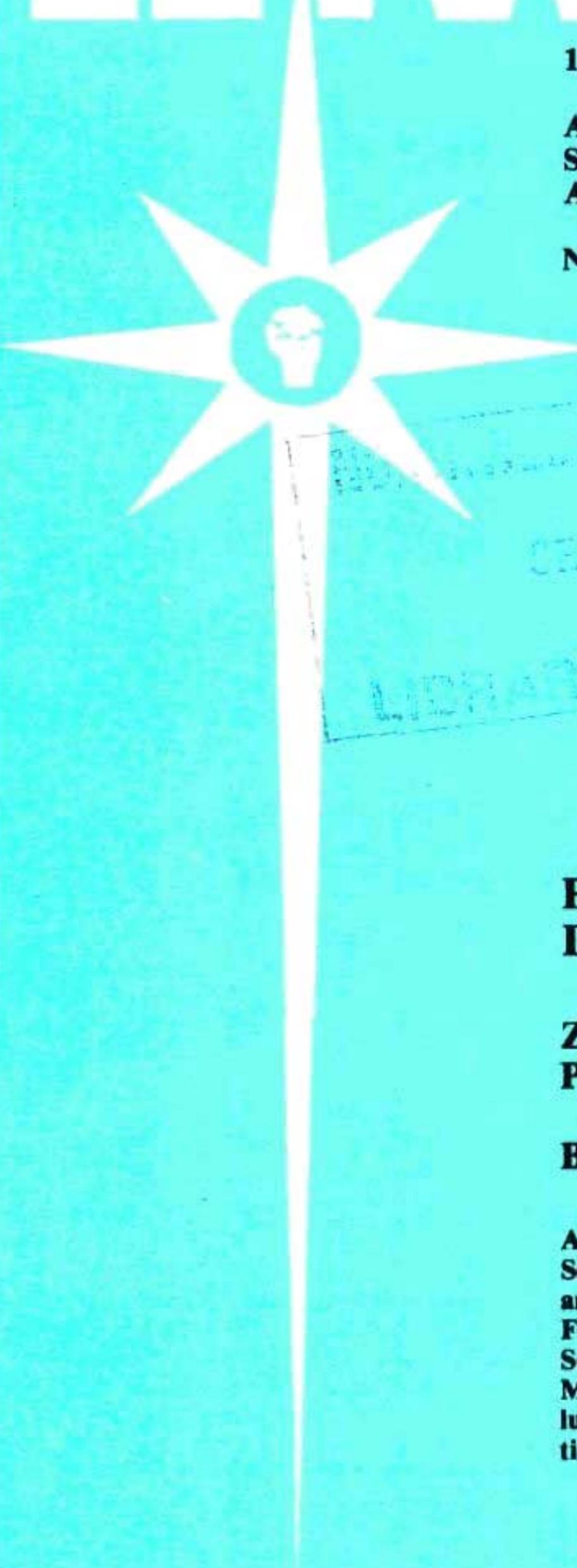
NEW WORLD

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SOUTH AFRICAN AND SOUTHERN
AFRICAN POLITICAL ANALYSIS**

NUMBER 20

JULY 1982



**PALESTINE WILL NEVER
DIE!**

**Zionism, White Supremacy and the
Palestinian Revolution**

Black Workers in Azania Strike

**ALSO: Growing Links Between South America and
South Africa : Imperialism - Economic Dependence
and Imperialism - Cancun: Politics of Imperialism :
French Colonialism in Reunion : The Indians in
South America and their Struggle in Nicaragua : The
Malvinas Belongs to Argentine : Developing a Revo-
lutionary Style of Work : A M-L View on the Rela-
tionship Between the Sexes : and more.**

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IKWEZI is a Marxist-Leninist Journal based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze Dong Thought. Mao Ze Dong Thought has made vital contributions to the whole body of Marxism-Leninism and is a precious treasure of the international proletariat. Mao Ze Dong Thought must be applied to the concrete conditions of the national/class struggle in Azania. In particular we must study and understand Mao Ze Dong's theories on New Democracy which describe the relationship between the national liberation struggle and the socialist phase. This is the key theoretical concept that we must grasp and put into practice at the phase of the national struggle. We must also master the tactics, strategy and policies of the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Only on this basis can we attain a prin-

ciplined unity of all the revolutionary forces in the country.

IKWEZI fully supports the patriotic and nationalist national liberation movements and groups like the PAC, BCM, AZAPO, ANC (AN) which are not in any way linked to any imperialist power or the superpowers. But at the same time IKWEZI calls for and works for the building of a separate and independent Marxist-Leninist Party based on the masses and capable of leading the national struggle for self-determination and independence. Without the leadership of such a Marxist-Leninist Party there cannot be either a through going national revolution or social emancipation. The Marxist-Leninist Party must be capable of ably representing the democratic interests of the entire Black peoples at the stage of the national revolution.

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*Editorial***Black Miners Historic Strike**

“In a way it is even humiliating to watch . . . miners working. It raises in you a momentary doubt about your own status as an intellectual and superior person generally. For it is brought home to you, at least while you are watching, that it is only because miners sweat their guts out that superior persons can remain superior. You and I and the editor of the Times Lit. Sup., and the poets and the Archbishop of Canterbury and Comrade X, author of *Marxism for Infants* – all of us really owe the comparative decency of our lives to poor drudges underground . . . with their throats full of . . . dust, driving their shovels forward with arms and belly muscles of steel.”

So George Orwell, the English novelist and social critic wrote about mines in Europe. But the conditions in our mines in Azania are a thousand times worse and perhaps if Orwell had witnessed that and understood how the whole economy of South Africa was based on this precious metal he would have had second thoughts about the whole basis of Western society itself, thriving off the super-exploitation of millions in the Third World, of which the South African gold miner is an example.

In the history of South Africa's capitalist development the discovery of gold and diamonds plays the crucial role. It was the pivot and crux of the whole economic system in the country and one which impelled British Imperialism to wrest the country away from the Boer Republics that stood in the way of the further industrial development of the country. Subsequently South Africa became the biggest gold supplier in the world and the entire gold standard of the Western capitalist economic system rested upon it. If Capital came into the world dripping with dirt and blood as Marx described it, gold came into the South African economy with an unbelievable enslavement of the African people in the worst conditions of oppression and exploitation. The discovery of gold brought thousands of English workers from Britain and laid the conditions for the emergence of the first classical class struggles centering around industrial disputes. It was in these disputes that the white working class was effectively bought off and separated from the Black working class and became subsequently over the many decades an equal partner in the exploitation and oppression of the Black wor-

king class and peoples. It was to meet the needs of the mining magnates that the peasants had to be driven off the land through the poll tax and that the mines themselves became an exclusive area of exploitation cut off from any outside contact. The African miner is probably one of the most brutally exploited industrial worker in the world.

The African miner works a 60 hour week and is paid an average of less than 3 Pounds a week. This is less than one third of the minimum level laid down to support a family of five by the Association of Chambers of Commerce, and less than one fifth of the poverty line calculated by Professor Watts of Natal University. It is estimated that in one single mine, Consolidated Gold Fields, founded by that arch imperialist, Cecil Rhodes, since its commencement over 85 years ago, over 5,000 Black workers have died, double that number killed by diseases and about 250,000 killed by diseases. There are altogether 50 gold mines in South Africa which produce 32 million ounces of gold, worth almost 500 million Pounds and accounting for three quarters of the free world supply of gold and two thirds of the total world production. The mines are controlled by seven major finance houses which are linked through the Chamber of Mines that directs production, labour, etc. in their common interests.

Need for Workers Leadership in the Azanian Revolution

The current miners strikes in which there has been several loss of lives comes in some way as an apex to the escalating Black workers struggle in the country that gives no sign of abating. Such a resurgence of Black workers struggles is reminiscent of the ICU days which marked the first rash of such Black workers struggles that led to the formation of the first Black trade unions. But the scale of the current strikes is greater.

The workers struggles have clearly shown the enormous potential of the Black working class in leading the Azanian Revolution. Their militancy, their sense of organisation, have shown their political capabilities. But what the Azanian situation lacks is the presence of a revolutionary workers Party that can give direc-

tion to the entire national liberation struggle and carry their present correct democratic but economic struggles to greater political heights. Eventually there is no liberation for any Azanian Black worker until the entire economic and political system is changed, until there is a social revolution that puts an end to class exploitation in the country. The demand for trade union rights, for equal wages, the struggle against Job Reservation, etc. are part of the democratic struggles in Azania but in themselves they will not achieve liberation. It will confine the struggle within the framework of reformism and capitalism when the entire system of class oppression and exploitation must be overthrown. In the Azanian situation the entire Black population are oppressed and denied elementary democratic rights in the country of their birth. This is because colonial and imperialist domination results in the double exploitation of the Black people, both as people and as workers. The imperialists and the white colonial bourgeoisie have incorporated the white population into their system of oppression by giving them privileges which are based upon the severe exploitation of the entire Black peoples. It is this situation which makes it impossible for the colonial regime to grant democratic rights to the Black people as it would mean that the white populace would immediately lose all its privilege. This is what makes the white worker often the most racist in the country. For whereas the colonial bour-

geoisie and the imperialists can afford to make concessions the white worker cannot. He realises that his privileges depend upon the application of the most stringent racist laws, and the maintenance of the status quo. It is this that explains the division that is taking place in the enemy camp between the die-hards and the enlightened one in the Nationalist Party. It is this that dictates the strategy of the Progressive Party, the Party of the mining magnate, Harry Oppenheimer, to incorporate a section of the developing Black middle class into the government of the country.

But the current miners strikes will strike deadly fear into the capitalist class. The South African mines require the cheapest of labour. The Black miners strikes will make them realise that even in this preserve they are not safe anymore and that changes will have to be made faster than they are prepared to concede.

The Black working class is on its march. Through its revolutionary party and based on its ideology of liberation, Marxism-Leninism it must lead the national democratic revolution through its end, smash the bourgeois state and institute its own proletarian dictatorship in the interests of the whole of society. For the Black working class cannot liberate itself without liberating the whole of society. Only through its firm and decisive leadership will it be able to cut through all the petit bourgeois vacillations and indecisiveness.

Commentary **Contradictions in the Enemy Camp**

While the maintenance of their class interests remain the basic aim of the various white political parties in the country nevertheless serious differences have arisen about how best to preserve them. The enemy camp in the Azanian situation consists of the imperialists, the colonial bourgeoisie – together with the white people in general – and the handful of Black collaborators. The main enemy in Azania is imperialism to which the colonial bourgeoisie is closely linked and subordinate. But between imperialism and the colonial bourgeoisie (and more especially Western European imperialism which has considerable stakes in the mineral resources of the Southern African region) serious differences exist and will increase as to how to best realise this. For imperialism there is no problem in having an eventual Black go-

vernment which will respect its imperialist interests in the country. It will in any case keep this option open realising that the old order of imperialist domination through its colonial surrogates cannot last long. In the end imperialism had to ditch Ian Smith and come to terms with the forces of black liberation in Zimbabwe. It is attempting a similar exercise in Namibia but against South African intransigence. U.S. imperialism headed by the ultra reactionary Reagan takes a more intransigent attitude on the Namibian question linking it to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola. But imperialism is also undertaking in a quiet way other measures that are in contradiction to official apartheid policies. It is for example propagating the viewpoint that “business” – meaning capitalist interests – must give consideration

to the interests of the Black workers. The Sullivan principles (although not always applied by the Western companies) are meant to realise this. It has the common sense to know that its own interests dictate a stable Black working force. This does not mean that Western companies (and they are the vast majority in the country) are suddenly acceding to the demands of the Black working class. The recent Rowntree strike showed that abundantly but nevertheless Western business interests do realise that the demands of the Black working class cannot be totally ignored.

The colonial bourgeoisie is split between Anglo-American interests represented by the United Party and the Progressive Party, and that of the Afrikaaner bourgeoisie. The Progressive Party which is the Party of the mining magnate, Harry Oppenheimer, favours some kind of qualified franchise which means in reality the integration of a very small section of the Black bourgeoisie on the basis of property and educational qualifications into a white government. The fact that the Progressive Party has displaced the United Party as the major opposition Party in the country reflects the extent to which white society is prepared to make concessions to Black demands for freedom.

The Nationalist Party which has been in government since 1948 has represented the die-hard section of the white populace. The Party itself represented Afrikaaner farmers, petit bourgeois Afrikaaner businessmen and a bigotted sectarian Afrikaaner working class - all feeling very oppressed by the English. The petit bourgeois Afrikaaner businessmen representing the core of the leadership of the Afrikaaner people clashed with Anglo-American interests in the country represented basically by the United Party and needed a strong state to assert its supremacy and to attain a larger share of the capitalist cake. The Party used the machinery of the state to consolidate its own hold over the South African economy in competition with Anglo-American interests. Over the years it has been able to achieve this quite successfully. It now feels confident of its own power and is able to respond to the Black challenge without feeling overtly threatened. Realising the big stakes it has to lose in South African society and that its master, imperialism, will not forever stand by its side, it is prepared to make concessions to the Black peoples, measures that are opposed by its own working class rank and file who realise that their own privileged positions are based on "keeping the kaffir in his place." This is the basis of the di-

vision between the "die-hard" and the "enlightened" sections of the Nationalist Party. And the division as events have shown is quite a stiff one. It stems from the response of the enlightened section to the pressures all around them, to the changed situation in Southern Africa generally, to the pressures of imperialism. But the concessions offered mattered little. They are as is so often described "cosmetics". The Black peoples have rejected them as such. The "cosmetic" changes are as much part of its strategy as the soft sell of the "Confederation of South African States".

The die-hard section represent basically the interests of the big farmers and the Afrikaaner working class both of whom need the maintenance of rigid apartheid laws to preserve their privileges.

The other contradiction within the enemy camp is that between the Government and the Bantustan leaders. The latter are puppets who will want more and more of the share of the cake and a few of whom will eventually succumb with time and the progress of the peoples struggle to greater nationalist aspirations. This is the most potentially explosive contradiction in the long run.

All these contradictions weaken the enemy camp and must be utilised by the national liberation forces in the interests of their own struggle.

But it is more likely that the "progressive" sections of the white community will veer towards an accommodation with the African National Congress. More and more of these sections tend to support the Freedom Charter, amongst them the NUSAS, the Anglican Churches, etc. After all the ANC's Freedom Charter is ideally suited to them and does not in any way pose any revolutionary threat to their interests.

The ANC's basic tactic has always been to pressurise the government to make concessions. Its basic aims remain to wrest democratic changes from the government. Its tactic of armed struggle is meant to achieve nothing more than this. It is a tactic that also squares in with its masters the Soviet Union which realises that Western imperialism will not easily allow South Africa to be drawn into its orbit. The Soviet tactic is to obtain the kind of Black government that will favour its position.

The contradictions that exist in the enemy camp are not of such a nature that they favour the truly revolutionary forces. It is for this reason too that the revolutionary forces represen-

ted by the PAC, BCM, AZAPO should lay equal stress on the political struggle while preparing for the armed struggle, which imperialism will attempt to preempt as it did in Zimbabwe and is attempting to do in Namibia realising that a full scale Peoples War will mean the loss of all its interests. The revolutionary forces must be in the forefront of the struggle for democratic rights and vigorously mobilise the masses around it.

Scientific Socialism and the Marxist-Leninist Party

Scientific socialism has taken Azanian revolutionaries by storm. Much is spoken about it nowadays. Azanian revolutionaries have suddenly realised that if we are to create a new and just society the principles of scientific socialism have to be accepted. Most Azanian revolutionaries are, of course, petit bourgeois revolutionaries, and the word is uttered with a smack on their lips, a smack of disdain and contempt for the inferior lot of beings who do not understand it. To be an advocate of scientific socialism is almost to belong to an entirely new caste of revolutionaries.

What this scientific socialism is supposed to mean nobody has as yet well articulated. Some general notions are advanced relating to the class struggle and a damnation of "African socialism" and nationalism. But it goes no further.

Nothing is more dangerous in the revolutionary world than half understood truths. Our modern advocates of scientific socialism fail to realise that the development of the socialist doctrine since the days of Marx and Engels, the founding fathers, have advanced a great deal. Marxism is inadequate without its further development, Leninism. We are in the epoch of Leninism and as that has been further enriched by Mao Ze Dong Thought. Stalin defined Leninism as Marxism in the era of imperialism. While Lenin analysed the new contradictions that monopoly capitalism (imperialism) gave rise to on a world level he also gave to the international communist movement the concept of the Marxist-Leninist Party without which the proletariat cannot fight and win the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Or as Mao Ze Dong put it: "If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on

the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

When Marx and Engels used the word scientific socialism it was to distinguish it from what they called the Utopian socialists like Robert Owen, Fourier, Saint-Simon, etc. whose road forward towards the socialist ideal was not based on a materialist understanding of the contradictions of the class struggle but on moralistic exhortations.

Our modern advocates of scientific socialism wish to separate themselves from the numerous varieties of "African socialism" that has failed so dismally all over the continent and only succeeded in tying it more firmly to imperialism.

But no brand of scientific socialism will succeed without the building of a M-L party. This means also the acceptance of Leninism as the further development of Marxism. In short it means the acceptance of the whole body of thought we call Marxism-Leninism, and the lessons of the Russian and the Chinese Revolutions which were based on this political doctrine.

It is hardly enough for us in this day and age to make pronouncements about scientific socialism. It is more important to build the Marxist-Leninist Party and to pursue the revolutionary struggle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. That means too to understand the political contents of the national democratic revolution in Azania, a crucially important question that our advocates of scientific socialism glibly overlook.

Azanian petit bourgeois Marxists love to roll Marxist slogans on their tongues. But it is time they got down to the nitty-gritty of applying theory into practice which is a cardinal Marxist principle. Without a Marxist-Leninist Party based on Marxism-Leninism and built on the Marxist-Leninist style there is no revolutionary struggle and advancement to the social revolution.

Western Imperialism on the Offensive

Both the recent British imperialism occupation of the Malvinas and the attempted genocide against the Palestinians in Lebanon underlines

that the old imperialism has lost none of its viciousness or tenacity and that even a second-rate imperialist power like Britain will strike when it can get away with it. In the war preparations between the two power blocs, the USA and USSR, little islands like the Malvinas, Seychelles, Diego Garcia, Ascension become increasingly important as strategic military bases for the imperialist countries. The old style colonial armies having vanished there is instead the new Rapid Deployment Forces which can be rushed to trouble spot areas. One such force is stationed in Turkey where the Western imperialist countries recently effected a coup to smooth the path for RDF.

Reagan's ultra reactionary politics is only too well known but it marks a very definite trend in the American ruling class as it strives to meet the twin challenges of the national revolutionary upsurges in the Third World and the challenge of the Soviet Union in terms of global hegemony. It is not a freakish aberration.

One should not read too much into the Malvinas issue but the manner in which the European Community, a powerful bloc of advanced capitalist and imperialist countries banded together to support Britain showed that the EEC is in itself a force to be reckoned with in global politics and that the idea that the EEC could not become another powerful imperialist bloc because of the contradictions between the countries must be dismissed. The sanctions applied by the EEC against Argentine hurt it greatly. At the end of the day it was the political support of the EEC and the U.S. which won the battle for Britain. Despite the contradictions between the EEC and the U.S. imperialist power the alliance functioned well enough. So much so that it has induced Argentine to re-think its own allies and global preferences. Many of the Third World nations too must have observed and noted the fact that the alliance violated the U.N. Resolutions which

clearly called for the de-colonisation of the Falkland Islands and negotiations between Britain and Argentine over the question of sovereignty.

For both Britain and the U.S. the issue was one of upholding "international law and order" which is a polite imperialist word for sustaining capitalist brigandage. As the crisis of imperialism intensifies the repressive, militaristic wing of Western imperialism as typified by Margaret Thatcher and Reagan will become increasingly bold. That is already being evidenced in the increasing racial attacks against Blacks and immigrants in the Western European countries.

There are those who believe that the Western European imperialist countries might form some kind of alliance together with the Third World countries in a confrontation against the superpowers. Nothing could be further from the truth. The EEC aims to become a big power in itself. It has the eventual muscle to become so. Nor must we believe that there is any antagonistic contradiction between Western Europe and the U.S. They might nit-picky about their respective interests but in the end they will stand together. They exploit the Third World as much as the USA and the USSR does. Nor should we deceive ourselves that the arms buildup of the Western bloc is directed only against the Soviet bloc. They will be used too against the Third World countries when time and circumstances permit in an effort to protect their imperialistic interests.

Where is the concern for "international law and order" when the Israeli fascists attempt to commit genocide against the Palestinian peoples. Despite its verbal protests the EEC would like to see the Palestinian problem pushed out of the way. They would acquiesce eventually in their extermination if that was possible. We don't see any task force being sent to help the Palestinians to maintain international law and order.

Letter Box

We have never published the numerous letters written to IKWEZI over the years lauding its revolutionary work. Here we publish for the first time two letters from Third World Latin American sources assessing its work, typical of the many letters we have received.

January 6, 1982

"We have read with great interest the latest issue (No. 18) of IKWEZI. Two articles in particular were of special interest to us. One, the "Assessment of the CCP's Assessment of the Cultural Revolution and Mao Ze Dong" with

which we have many points of agreement. The other, the talk by Samir Amin on Kampuchea.

We would like to request permission from you to publish excerpts from the Samir Amin talk. In the past we have published materials on Southeast Asia (see *Colombia Report*, Issue No. 7, "Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea," enclosed) and would like to continue to do so. The talk by Samir Amin is crucial for an understanding of the world significance of the struggles in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

We maintain a regular exchange with IKWEZI and are interested in strengthening our ties. (...)

Sincerely
(signed) *Colombia Report*"

May 17, 1981

Comrades of Ikwezi:

For a number of years, I have read your publication and have found it to be the most enlightening, throughgoing and revolutionary publication of African Marxist-Leninists.

Time and again, when I could not find the answers to burning questions that we here in the United States are grappling with, I found detailed and perceptive analyses in the pages of Ikwezi.

I am a Puerto Rican Marxist-Leninist who has been raised in the United States most of my life. Originally introduced to revolutionary ideas as a member of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the United States, I participated in the founding of a Puerto Rican revolutionary organization, the Young Lords Party. Founded in 1969, the YLP in 1972 became the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization. Unfortunately, like many Marxist-Leninist Mao Ze Dong organizations the PRRWO eventually degenerated into a dogmatic sect, divorced from the massive and thoroughly revolutionary movement of the Puerto Rican national minority that we had contributed to developing in the late 1960s.

I left PRRWO in 1974, worked for a time in the African Liberation Support Committee. Since 1974, though not a member of a ML organization, I have continued active participation in the struggles of my people as well as working people in this country.

Although I spent most of my life in New York city, I have resided for the past 8 years in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In the past three years, we have succeeded in constructing a new mass-based Puerto Rican

civil rights organization, the Puerto Rican Alliance, and recently concluded the holding of the First National Puerto Rican Convention, which was held in New York City. That convention brought together 600 Puerto Rican leaders and activists from around the country — democrats, republicans, nationals, socialists, and communists, to form the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, of which I was elected president.

Though the National Congress is *not* a revolutionary organization in its platform (it seeks to become a national civil rights organization for Puerto Ricans) there are many excellent Puerto Rican revolutionaries that are members.

Throughout the years, I have worked at various occupations — factory worker, pressman, and most recently as a journalist for the bourgeois Philadelphia Daily News.

Which brings me to my main reason for writing to you. I have just finished attending a national conference of third world journalists, which founded a new organization, the National Coalition of Third World Journalists. This meeting of more than 150 communicators and journalists was unfortunately organized and dominated by the revisionist Communist Party USA.

The revisionists succeeded in duping and influencing many progressive young black journalists into helping organize a conference where nothing but a pro-soviet world view was promoted, including speeches from Mr. Johnny Makitini of the ANC, of representatives of the Ethiopian government, and even from the Soviet embassy to the United States and the Afghan embassy to the U.N. Mixed in, of course, were representatives from the government of Nicaragua, the FDR in El Salvador and the Cuban mission to the U.N.

I chose to attend the conference in hopes of being able to mount some form of opposition to this naked pro-soviet propaganda and in hopes of exposing this attempt to many good, honest young third world journalists I knew were attending. To some extent, I was able to do so. But overwhelmingly, I was not.

I write in the hopes that you will be alerted by this letter of this new attempt to sow confusion, and retrogression in the thinking of black journalists in America and therefore to the masses of Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other minorities in this country. Undoubtedly, this coalition, with international soviet backing, will begin to finance trips to Africa for American journalists and seek to

peddle Soviet-views internationally. I hope you will alert other African revolutionaries to be on the look-out. I have chosen at this time to remain a member of this newly formed group until such a time as some of the more honest journalists can grasp what it in fact stands for and also to keep an eye on its activities.

I have enclosed a check for a subscription to *Ikwezi*, since in the past I have depended on fellow comrades or chance to get a copy of your magazine. I urge you to please be sure to send me copies so that I may xerox articles from *Ikwezi* and supply them to some of the Third World journalists, most of whom do not even know of your existence. I will also urge others to subscribe. We must not allow the revisionists a monopoly on communication.

As an established journalist at the *Daily News*, the revisionists find it hard to be able to attack my legitimacy. They are well aware I have been a Maoist for 10 years and will continue to be one. (...) Sadly, the communist movement in this country, as in many parts of the world is riddled with problems - isolation from the masses, fragmentation, lack of a party, ideological confusion in terms of the international situation, specifically since the death

of Chairman Mao, the downfall of the gang of four and the recent developments in CCP policy.

Some years ago, faced with these problems, I decided that my main task would be to continue to struggle in the mass movement, continue my own studies of Marxism-Leninism, and never become isolated from the people. The last few years have resulted in excellent successes in the Puerto Rican national movement. But the lack of a party, of ideological clarity has allowed the revisionists a resurgence that is growing increasingly dangerous. We who uphold Marxism-Leninism Mao Ze Dong Thought *must* close ranks, must find the ways to unite, or the revisionists on the one hand and the imperialists on the other will have a field day in their preparation for world war.

I don't have all the answers. I just wish to extend thanks and solidarity to you, wish you well in your endeavors and urge you to please send me not only *Ikwezi*, but any other information on Africa that you may have.

In struggle
Juan Gonzalez

The South Atlantic Connection: Growing Links Between South Africa and Latin America

(By the British-based Latin American Bureau)

"We practice a foreign policy of loyal friendship with those nations which share our concepts of freedom, of fundamental human rights, of dignity, of the value of man, and of the democratic system of government." (General Alfredo Stroessner, addressing the South Africa State President and Prime Minister at a state banquet given in his honour in Pretoria, 3 April, 1974)

The irony of the words spoken by the Praguayan president on his official visit to South Africa was probably lost on his audience that night. However, they signified an important new development in international policies: the growing links between the states situated on either side of the South Atlantic.

Stroessner's visit to South Africa and his endorsement of the regime represented a minor coup for South African diplomacy which had been operating under conditions of increasing ostracism. It was the outcome of a number of

years' patient cultivation by South Africa of good relations with the right-wing military governments of Latin America.

In recent years the South Atlantic connection has come under increasing scrutiny. Key issues, such as the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation, and the transfer of white settlers from Southern Africa to Bolivia, have received emphasis. Yet they are part of a much deeper pattern of relations, which commenced in the mid-1960s. Since then, we have seen the stepping up of diplomatic representation and collaboration in military, scientific and technical spheres. We have seen the development of transport and communication infrastructure which facilitate closer interaction. We have seen a sixfold growth in South Africa exports too and millions of rands invested in Latin America.

What does all this signify?

The external goals of the South Africa state

Since these links were forged mainly on the initiative of the South Africa state, it is important to examine the motivations which guided her policy-makers.

a. The need to counteract international efforts to isolate South Africa

The Sharpeville shootings of 1960 provoked a worldwide reaction against apartheid. This reaction was given added momentum in international for during the early 1960s with the entry of many African and Asian states into world politics. South Africa was forced out of the Commonwealth, placed on the defensive at the United Nations, and completely shunned by the new non-aligned and pan-African movements. Removal from many intergovernmental organizations, UN agencies, and even sporting bodies such as the international Olympic movement, all contributed to the international ostracism of South Africa.

During the premiership of Verwoerd, the state's foreign policy machinery was underutilized, and external criticism dismissed. In the UN General Assembly, South African envoys spent little time justifying domestic policy. The major preoccupations of the state had to do with internal issues: the consolidation of apartheid, industrial decentralisation and territorial segregation; suppression of the nationalist movement and internal dissent; establishment of the Republic and the increased militarization of the state. External concern was largely confined to Southern Africa. Support for Smith's UDI and Portugal's colonial wars was regarded as strategically necessary to preserve a geographical perimeter of white minority-ruled buffer states and thus protect South Africa from incursion and provide secure markets for its produce.

However, the exigencies of isolation became more acute. With Vorster's assumption of the premiership in 1966, a new foreign policy initiative was launched. Known initially as the 'outward movement', and subsequently as the policy of 'dialogue', attempts were made to exchange South Africa aid for diplomatic recognition, especially with the more neo-colonial African states.

The drive for recognition was extended to other parts of the world, encompassing amenable regimes in Latin America as well as Iran and Israel, Taiwan and South Korea. Although the response from Africa was at best tentative (only Malawi exchanged diplomats), recognition came from twelve Latin American

states in all.

The growing fraternity of a disparate set of virulently anti-communist regimes, threatened by the potentiality of superpower detente and by the consistent attacks on their attitude to human rights, served to cement their mutual links and reinforce them against external diplomatic hostility.

Integral to the apartheid policy was the notion of white South Africa granting 'independence' to the arid and poverty-stricken labour reserve areas (the 'Bantustans'). For this strategy to succeed fully, South Africa sought the external recognition of these 'independent' statelets, hoping to convince its new found friends to lead the way. The Foreign Minister, Hilgard Müller, acknowledged that Latin America "plays a very important role in the United Nations", and it was hoped that this role could be employed in the international defence of apartheid.

b. The need to procure new export markets for South African manufactures

The flight of foreign capital after Sharpeville and surrounding events was to prove temporary. It returned once the state had decisively suppressed black resistance and reestablished 'stable' preconditions for capital accumulation. The huge inflows of foreign capital mostly took the form of direct investment in the manufacturing sector. This was acceptable to overall state policy which, guided by the 1958 Viljoen Commission, had opted for stress on import substitution. A period of sustained economic expansion ended, with the gross domestic product increasing annually by an average of 6.3% between 1963-70, a rate of growth second only to Japan. Returns on investment ranked amongst the highest anywhere in the world during this time.

However, this growth required the importation of large amounts of expensive and sophisticated capital goods, whose share of all imports grew from 30% in 1957 to 45% by 1970. These imports exceeded the rate of exports, placing pressure on the current account of the balance of payments. In addition, the uneven pattern of income distribution meant that the domestic market could not absorb the entire output of manufactured goods. It became imperative for South Africa to seek new markets in order to offset the high import bill and sustain the viability of the manufacturing sector.

The drive for new markets was reflected in the 'outward movement'. The political con-

straints placed on strengthened economic links with African states proved to be severe. Coups in Ghana and Malagasy in 1971 reversed those countries' previous policies favouring trading relationships with South Africa; ties with the Ivory Coast and Liberia were too tenuous and failed to develop into strong economic links; thus trade was limited to a handful of countries – Malawi, the Central African Empire, Mauritius, Gabon and Zaire. Most of this trade consisted of primary exports and not manufactured goods. In terms of magnitude, the share of South Africa's exports to Africa declined from 16% (1966–70) to under 9% (1977) of the total, and these figures included reexports to Rhodesia.

Neither could South Africa turn to her traditional markets, Europe, North America and Japan, to dispose of manufactured goods, since this sector had been stimulated by direct investment in South Africa of firms based in these countries, which produced for their own domestic markets.

Therefore South African industry was forced to search further afield for new markets, and once again turned to Latin America. The Reynders Commission on the export trade, which reported in 1972, advised that "from the point of view of export potential, South Africa should increase contact, assistance and marketing of its goods in respect of certain South American countries . . . the 'empty' economies of Latin America must be regarded as 'natural' markets for South African exports."

Aside from diversifying her export markets, South Africa needed to widen her sources of supply, in the event of sanctions being applied by her traditional trading partners.

c. The need to forge military alliances in the face of the UN arms embargo

The militarization of South Africa began on a large scale in the 1960s, and increased geometrically in the 1970s. Its functions were the enforcement of the apartheid system, defence of the neighbouring racist/colonial regimes, prevention of domestic incursion by soldiers in the liberation movements, and the coastal patrolling of the Cape sea route.

Through its relations with Latin American states, South Africa sought to forge close links with their military establishments. Not only would this be a potential source of further arms procurement in the face of the UN embargo, but it would also facilitate an exchange of valuable experience in countering rural insurgency and urban guerilla operations. The

Latin American navies could become useful allies in policing the South Atlantic against perceived Soviet naval incursions or threats to the 'vital' Cape oil route. The young nuclear industries of Argentina and Brazil might be willing to cooperate with their South African counterpart, or make purchases of South African uranium for their own nuclear programmes. The scope for military collaboration was quite wide, and would ensure the mutual reinforcement of the existing regimes on both sides of the South Atlantic.

The Brazilian bridgehead

Of the various overtures made to Latin American states in the mid-1960s, Pretoria invested most effort in those made towards Brazil, since it was felt that Brazil would provide the key to South Africa's expansion into Latin America. *Not only did Brazil play a major role in the affairs of the continent, but her links with Portugal implied her endorsement of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.*

The 1964 coup had led to the reversal of the 'independent' direction of Brazil's foreign policy, which had been pursued under the Quadros and Goulart administrations. During that time, Brazil had attempted to adopt a neutral, non-aligned role, with strong anti-colonial overtones. However, the generals set about purging Itamaraty (the Brazilian foreign office) of those officials who were in favour of closer relations with Afro-Asian states. Despite the denunciation of apartheid at international conferences, Brazil opposed the institution of sanctions, the ejection of South Africa from international organizations and international support for the liberation movements. Whilst theoretically favouring peaceful change through international pressure, Brazil sought to maintain diplomatic and commercial links with South Africa. Brazil saw South Africa as a potentially lucrative market at a time when trade with the rest of Africa was virtually insignificant.

Thus the first major diplomatic initiative from South Africa received a positive response from Brazil. In July 1966, Foreign Minister Müller and the Secretary for Commerce and Industry, H. Kotzenberg, visited El Salvador, Paraguay, Uruguay and Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro they discussed trade expansion with Itamaraty officials and arranged for a Brazilian trade delegation to make a fact-finding tour of South Africa in September the same year. On its return from Southern Africa – Angola and Mozambique had been included in the journey

— the delegation's report echoed the optimism about prospects for commercial expansion which underlay the Castelo Branco military government's thinking.

Brazil's ambivalent stance was highlighted by the fact that it hosted the UN Human Rights Seminar on Apartheid in Brasilia barely a month after Müller's visit. But despite this and despite voting in favour of the General Assembly Resolution 2202A (XXI) the following December, which called on all states to "discourage immediately the establishment of closer economic and financial relations with South Africa", Brazil's growing trade began to outweigh anti-colonial considerations as a criterion for developing relations with South Africa.

Brazilian exports to South Africa had increased by 25% in the first two years of military rule, exceeding its closest rivals, Argentina and Mexico, by 62%. In 1967, on the recommendation of the trade delegation, Brazil participated in South Africa's premier trade exhibition, the Rand Easter Show, obtaining orders for over US\$3m, mostly for manufactured goods such as lathes. The 1968 Show afforded Brazil orders totalling nearly US\$3m in three days for lathes alone, and in 1970 forty Brazilian enterprises from seven states displayed their products. Trade Commissioners were exchanged, and Lloyd Brasileiro initiated a shipping service. In order to redress the trade balance, highly favourable to Brazil, South Africa sought to provide incentives for Brazil to purchase capital goods and services in addition to the small amounts of gold and asbestos which accounted for most of Brazil's imports. To this end, a US\$5m revolving credit fund in the Brazilian National Bank for Economic Development (BNDE) was established by the South African government. This facility, it was expected, would place commercial emphasis on growth in primary and capital exports to Brazil, and included the extension of technological cooperation in mining and mineral prospection.

The Costa e Silva government, which succeeded that of Castelo Branco in March 1967, initially sought to play down recent overtures by Portugal aimed at extending the Luso-Brazilian Treaty of Friendship and Consultation which dated from 1953. However, resistance by those interests opposed to the formation of a community of states which included Brazil, Portugal and Portuguese Africa was shortlived, and in March 1968 a new set of treaties was ratified by Brazil. These gave her free commercial access to all the Portuguese colo-

nies, the most significant of which were Angola and Mozambique. They became markets for Brazilian manufactures, sources of raw materials, new areas of investment, and staging-posts for Brazilian entry into the South African market, which absorbed nearly double the amount of Brazilian exports than went to Portugal in 1966 and 1967.

Brazil, in her efforts to justify her growing links with South Africa, sought to separate political misgivings about racism and apartheid from the strictly pragmatic economic benefits to be derived from further contacts. In turn, South Africa was to make use of Brazil's enthusiasm for the expansion of trade in manufactured goods in order to gain penetration of the Latin American market.

The state-promoted infrastructure

Although the South African state realised the imperatives behind this need to penetrate, exporters themselves were slow to respond. Cargo transport to Latin America was underdeveloped, and the financial services available to exporters limited. Thus the state had to attend to these problems in order to smooth the way for the private sector.

In November 1968, the South African Minister of Economic Affairs, Jan Haak, announced that the South African Reserve Bank was to purchase R1.8m worth of bonds made available by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).

A few weeks after the purchase of the IDB bonds, the Secretary of Commerce, G.J.J.F. Steyn admonished a group of exporters at a seminar organized by the South African Foreign Trade Organization (SAFTO) to promote Latin America as an export market:

"I think you will all agree that these efforts of the Government to foster the development of expanded trade exchanges between South Africa and the Latin American countries will be fruitless unless the private sector is prepared to avail itself of all possible trade opportunities in those countries created as a result of the Government's recent initiatives in this direction."

Because little information existed in Latin America about South African products, the state undertook certain initiatives in this area. South African participation was arranged for international trade fairs in San Salvador, Lima and Bogota. The Minister of Finance, Dr Nico Diederichs, in 1966 announced that the government would make a line of credit available to Latin American states, amongst others; by late 1968 Brazil and Ecuador had availed

themselves of this facility to a total of R1.07m. The three state or state-supported organizations concerned with export stimulating and financing, SAFTO, CGIC and IDC, despatched a joint mission to several Latin American states to discuss the supply of capital goods and associated services, and SAFTO published a survey on Brazil and Argentina which found that opportunities existed for profitable supply by South African manufacturers of goods not produced by these states. The survey stressed that such market opportunities could not be identified unless manufacturers "take the time and trouble to visit the two countries and see for themselves what openings exist for their products".

After months of planning, South African Airways inaugurated a weekly flight from Johannesburg to New York via Rio de Janeiro, on 23 March 1969, the first route to link South Africa with Latin America. Foreign Minister Müller travelled on the first flight and paid a three-day unofficial visit to his Brazilian counterpart, José de Magalhaes Pinto. Brazil had resisted UN requests not to authorize the new service, replying that, although she opposed apartheid, "we do not consider it good policy to apply sanctions . . . we have always abstained from voting in the UN on the sanctions issue and we are not committed to apply them". In fact, Brazil sent on the return flight a high-level delegation, including the Minister of Commerce and Industry and the Minister of Planning, to discuss trade with South African officials and businessmen likely to make use of the new route. Along with the Brazilians came ministerial delegations from Argentina and Colombia, who, together with diplomats from Uruguay, Bolivia and Paraguay already stationed there, held a dinner for Müller on his return to Cape Town. Addressing them, Müller said: "I believe there is no need for any unnatural or hasty attempts to force the pace in our relations with each other. What I envisage is a joint search for common ground or areas in which co-operation between South Africa and her neighbours across the Atlantic will seem logical and mutually beneficial". Such "co-operation" was evidenced later that year in the UN Security Council, where Bolivia and Paraguay refused to condemn South Africa.

The new air route soon became important to Brazil, since nearly 60% of the traffic was disembarking in Rio. This prompted the Brazilian airline Varig to set up a reciprocal flight from July 1970; the rapid growth in traffic in both directions saw an increase in the frequency of flights to four a week in 1972. Varig's

South African manager estimated that 60% of passengers on both airlines were businessmen. The introduction of a service between Cape Town and Buenos Aires was delayed until April 1973, by which time Argentina, sensitive to potential international criticism, had vacated her seat on the Security Council.

Communications were also enhanced by the completion of a submarine telephone cable between Brazil and the Canary Islands in May 1973, which links up with the Lisbon-Cape Town cable. Formerly South Africa had to rely on a limited number of links with Brazil via telecommunications satellite.

Paraguay and Uruguay

Important diplomatic advantages accrued to South Africa following the attendance of Finance Minister Diederichs at the Nairobi conference of the International Monetary Fund in September 1973. The sharp increase in the free market price of gold prompted Diederichs to announce offers of aid to underdeveloped countries which would be funded by part of the gold revenues. On his return to South Africa, he was accompanied by the Uruguayan Finance Minister and the chairman of the Central Bank of Uruguay. As a result of talks in Pretoria, the ground was laid for South African financial assistance to Uruguay, which materialized in December 1974, when South Africa deposited R13.8m in the Central Bank of Uruguay and bought a further R6.9m worth of treasury bonds from the bank. A month later President Bordaberry signed a decree announcing that Uruguay would set up an embassy in South Africa, "because of closer ties between the two countries as a result of increased trade between them".

The second, and perhaps more significant, response came from Paraguay. In August 1973, Foreign Minister Müller led a delegation to attend an inauguration of General Alfredo Stroessner as president of Paraguay. By the following January it was announced that Stroessner would pay an official visit to South Africa in April. Although hardly an important statesman, even in the Latin American context, Stroessner's willingness to visit South Africa furnished South Africa with a number of *propaganda points*, however dubious their content. Stroessner was, after all, a head of state, and only two other heads of state had visited South Africa since 1948 (Portugal and Malawi). The government envisaged public processions, streets lined with cheering crowds, and the pomp of formal state ceremonies.

Instead, the atmosphere surrounding the visit was to prove less welcoming. The English-language press published accounts of the repressive and corrupt nature of the Stroessner regime, carefully culled from ideologically 'respectable' sources such as the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Reader's Digest* which had published scathing exposés of Stroessner's complicity in torture and heroin smuggling. Students of the University of Cape Town planned to march through the city with banners proclaiming "Stroessner go home!", "Release all political prisoners!", and "South Africa - don't honour fascists!". James Kruger, then Deputy Minister of Justice, invoked for the first time powers acquired weeks before the visit under the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act No.30 of 1974 to prevent all gatherings in protest against the visitor. "If there are people who do not know their manners", warned Vorster, "then manners will have to be taught to them".

Stroessner duly arrived, with an entourage numbering over 100, including cabinet ministers, army generals, security policemen, businessmen and journalists. Two treaties were signed by the two states' foreign ministers, one concerning cultural exchanges and scientific and technological co-operation, the other relating to economic co-operation and investment. During the visit, Stroessner continuously received warm official praise for his courage in resisting international objections to his friendship with South Africa.

The state visit was followed up in January 1975 by a mission of top South African civil servants to Paraguay and Uruguay, charged with the realisation of the measures of the treaties of co-operation with Paraguay. Agreements were signed whereby South Africa would build two sugar plants and a pulp processing plant, would invest in two massive hydro-electric projects which Paraguay was building jointly with Brazil (Itaipú) and Argentina (Yacireta), would provide a R33m line of credit for the purchase of South African equipment and services, and would finance the construction of new Ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs. In Uruguay talks centred on tourism and beef exports.

In August 1975, to coincide with the celebration of Paraguay's national day, Vorster repaid Stroessner's visit of the previous year, receiving a rapturous welcome in Asunción. Further loans totalling R6m were arranged, to assist roadbuilding, housing, agriculture and the liquidity of a Paraguayan bank. The visit

was also used to co-ordinate South Africa's entire Latin American strategy; the heads of all her diplomatic missions in Latin America and the UN were summoned to Asunción for deliberations. The success attained in relations with Paraguay would have to be repeated in other states of the continent. South African troops had already entered Angola, unbeknown at this stage to most South Africans owing to heavy press censorship; it was hoped that Latin American diplomatic support would materialize in the event of the issue being raised in international fora.

From Asunción, Vorster travelled to Montevideo, where he was received by President Bordaberry. His accompanying trade and finance officials held discussions with their Uruguayan counterparts. The Uruguayan Fuel, Alcohol and Cement Authority was offered a US\$15m credit and aid facility from the IDC for the construction of a cement plant in the city of Paysandu. At the end of the visit Vorster said, referring to Bordaberry, "We're the same type of men".

Further contacts developed as a result of the Vorster visit. Samples of Uruguayan coal were sent to South Africa for testing to see whether it would be feasible for South Africa to exploit Uruguay's coal deposits. In May 1976, a South African mission visited Uruguay to negotiate the construction and financing of two refrigeration plants. The mission met with the Director for Economic and Commercial Affairs of the Uruguayan Foreign Office and with various commercial and industrial groups. An article in *El País*, the mouthpiece of the dictatorship, referred to South Africa as "particularly worthy of maximum consideration, as one of the most advanced nations in the world spiritually, intellectually and materially".

The endorsement of apartheid by Uruguay was particularly apparent, since it was the only foreign country represented at the official ceremonies marking the 'independence' of the Transkei bantustan from South Africa in October 1976. The Transkei has been the showcase of South Africa's policy of territorial apartheid which attempts to justify the perpetuation of the migrant labour system, mass population removals from the so-called 'white' areas, and the loss of citizenship of millions of black South Africans.

Chile and the Andean Pact

One of the aspirations of South Africa's Latin American strategy was to increase ties with the

Andean Pact states. Colombia was attempting to industrialize, Ecuador and Venezuela were oil producers and might be valuable in helping South Africa counteract the Arab oil embargo, whilst Chile, Peru and Bolivia were mining economies which would have need of South African mining expertise. For reasons of ideological proximity, South Africa chose to focus her initial attention on Chile. At first, the Pinochet junta was reticent in its response, fearing it might be further isolated internationally as a result of closer ties with pariah South Africa. This became clear when the contents of a confidential memorandum of 9 December 1974 were revealed. Amongst the 'friendly countries' listed was "South Africa, but we must be careful not to show publicly our ties with this country because of its level of international isolation". Yet this apprehension did not deter the process of external vilification of the Chilean regime, and the junta decided to throw its caution to the wind.

It offered to denationalize the Ovenstone fishing holdings, appropriated by the Popular Unity government, and invited further investment by this South African fishing group. South Africa sent a joint IDC/CGIC mission to examine the expansion of export credits and considered the possibility of transferring her Mining Counsellor from Buenos Aires to Santiago, where a new embassy had been opened during 1975. In March 1976, Chile reciprocated by opening a consulate-general, despite a flood of condemnation from the OAU, and in August that year, government representatives received a Mr Ernest Blom, an industrialist who was styled as 'Commercial Ambassador of the Transkei Government', and who offered investments and the transfer of "high level scientists and technicians from the Transkei"! (It is well known that the Transkei's apartheid-imposed education system has simply not produced high-level scientists, let alone any to work abroad.)

South Africa also provided credits to the Chilean mining industry, and in December 1976, the Chilean Commission for Nuclear Energy reported that two South African enterprises had applied for a licence to export uranium to the junta.

But South Africa had miscalculated Chile's potential as a staging-post for expansion into other Andean states; the junta's Friedmanite economic policies created a huge rift with other more protectionist members of the Pact. A second defeat for the Andean strategy came when Venezuela announced to the UN General

Assembly in November 1976 that she would discontinue commercial contacts with South Africa. This represented a loss of an export market worth R60m in 1976, when Venezuela was South Africa's biggest consumer on the continent.

Brazil and Africa

Brazil at this time began to cease vacillating over whether to support black or white Africa. Forseeing the imminent collapse of the Portuguese empire, and perceiving her increasing need of Africa's markets and resources, Itamaraty stepped up trade relations in West Africa and began to distance herself discreetly from Portugal. In January 1974 the Brazilian military regime publicly condemned Portuguese colonialism for the first time, in a joint declaration signed in Rio by the Foreign Ministers of Brazil and Nigeria, which agreed on the right to self-determination and independence, and which repudiated "apartheid, colonialism, and all forms of . . . discrimination".

This stand earned oil-hungry Brazil promises of co-operation and association with the Nigerian National Oil Company. It also facilitated a more rapid penetration into West Africa by Brazilian subsidiaries of foreign transnational corporations. The policy was reinforced by General Ernesto Geisel, who was inaugurated only ten days before the Portuguese revolution in April 1974. Geisel had formerly headed the state-owned oil corporation, Petrobrás, and well understood Brazil's need to ensure her energy supply, without which the 'Brazilian economic miracle' would certainly disintegrate. Brazil's new Africa policy, dished up as 'pragmatismo responsavel' to placate the substantial pro-Portuguese lobby, entailed the rapid recognition of the People's Republics of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola.

In a speech in London on 21 October 1975, Geisel's Foreign Minister, Antonio Azeredo da Silveira stated:

"The African contribution to Brazilian culture has been remarkable . . . it is only too natural, therefore, that we should try to develop the warmest and closest relations with the African countries. Of course, a special place in those relations is reserved for the Portuguese-speaking nations whose life as independent states is now beginning. Our willingness to co-operate with them, on the basis of mutual respect and reciprocal advantage, is total as is the frankness and openness of our intentions."

Brazil's intentions soon became clear. Azeredo da Silveira admitted in an interview in *Le Monde* that recognition of the Neto govern-

ment in Angola had been accidental; that Brazil had consulted the USA and EEC countries about whether to reverse her recognition; the response was that Brazil should maintain relations and represent Western interests in Luanda.

Brazil soon provided 'aid' to the oil industry of Angola and the coal industry of Mozambique, 'assistance' in marketing the Angolan coffee crop, offers of credit of US\$50m to both states. Petrobrás was the first foreign concern which Angolan President Neto invited to explore for oil in Angola.

Brazil's exports to Africa rose from US\$70m in 1971 to US\$400m in 1977, when South Africa accounted for roughly 9% of Brazil's African market, despite being her largest non-OPEC trading partner on the continent. Brazil now terms her attitude to South Africa as "correct, not cordial", in keeping with which she has announced the cancellation of the 1979 Cape-to-Rio yacht race, much to the chagrin of the membership of the Rio Yacht Club.

South Africa hoped to capitalize from Brazil's new role in Africa. The incoming ambassador to Brasilia, Johan F. Pretorius, described the normalization of both Brazil's and South Africa's relations with Africa in an interview on 13 January 1976, saying that "this mutual interest in Black Africa might provide further points of contact".

The extent of private investment

Yet the 'correctness' of Brazil's attitude to South Africa included an enthusiastic welcome for South African private investment. The policy of denationalizing certain industries and mines, pursued by Brazil's top technocrats, Finance Minister Mário Simonsen and Planning Minister Joao Paulo dos Reis Velloso, provided the monopoly sections of South African industry with a useful chance to buy its way inside Latin America's principal national economy.

The ubiquitous Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa (Anglo) had been prescient enough to have set up a Brazilian subsidiary (Ambrás) during 1973. In 1975 this company made various purchases, including:

- a 49% holding in Morro Velho, a goldmining group in Minas Gerais;
- 40% in Unigeo, a company prospecting for gold and other base metals in Bahia (with minority holdings by Bethlehem Steel);
- 30% in Brasex, an explosives factory chain (held by the Anglo/ICI subsidiary, African

Explosives and Chemical Industries);

- 50% of ROLTA, a construction consortium (the other 50% held by the South African monopoly Roberts Construction);

- 40% of SOPERMI, a diamond prospecting company;

- shares in a fertilizer factory built by Louis Luyt's Fertchem International, a company linked to the Department of Information 'scandal', which used state funds earmarked for propaganda purposes.

Armies of Anglo personnel and tons of South African capital goods entered Brazil, to such an extent that a Brazilian Congressional Commission set up an investigation into these deals, at a time when another Commission was calling on cabinet ministers to give evidence on "foreign penetration in different sectors of the economy", including the mining sector. But Anglo had once again used foresight: its chairman, Harry Oppenheimer, visited Brazil in March 1975 and held discussions with Geisel and his leading technocrats, a mere month before the Commission sat. None of Anglo's investments were disturbed by the Commission, and later in the year another mining house, Gold Fields of South Africa (in which Anglo has substantial investments) acquired 34% of an iron mine and a share in a prospecting company.

Shaft Sinkers, another Anglo subsidiary, operated contracts in Bolivia, Chile and Peru. In Peru, it was contracted to sink shafts in a copper mine owned by a US company, which later granted Anglo certain exploration rights in its mining concessions in Peru. General Mining, which Anglo helped capitalize in the early 1960s, became involved in prospecting for gold and other minerals in Venezuela. South Africa's construction monopolies, Roberts Construction and Concor, obtained massive contracts: the former helped build a copper mining construction project in Chile, the latter formed part of an international consortium to construct the R120m Majes Irrigation Project in the Peruvian Andes. For this Concor was backed by official South African assistance, receiving a R13.5m loan from the IDC which was underwritten by the CGIC and Pretoria's Department of Commerce. Finance was provided by Union Acceptances, the Anglo-owned merchant bank. In the fishing industry, the South African monopolies, Ovenstone and Willem Barendz, helped capitalize new fleets in Chile and Argentina, respectively.

Thus, by and large, it is the monopoly sector of private industry which has thrust its way in-

to Latin America, with parastatal organizations providing much of the state-to-state and export credit financing.

Trade relations

In the period 1966-77 South Africa's exports to Latin America rose from R6.78m to R172.2m; as a percentage of total exports, this indicated a rise from 0.6% to almost 3%. In real terms this is a small rise, yet in the overall context, Latin America is South Africa's fastest growing market. Imports rose from a value of R20m in 1966 to R48m in 1977, but as a percentage of total imports, this remained around an average of 1% throughout this period. Until 1973, the trade balance was in Latin America's favour. Since then, the tables have been turned and the gap increased, so that in 1977 South African exports to Latin America exceeded imports from the area by a factor of 3.6. This trend seems a continuing one within the present conjuncture. Even the declaratory boycotts by Mexico and Venezuela, which might have had an impact on overall trade levels, have proved merely nominal, according to figures published by South African Customs. These indicate the maintenance of trade relations, albeit at a reduced level. Venezuela is still South Africa's second largest customer in Latin America, after Brazil (although positions were reversed during 1974-6).

There has been a notable shift in the nature of South African exports from primary commodities (especially minerals) to manufactured goods (mainly capital goods). In the late 1960s, the bulk of exports to Brazil, for example, consisted of gold bullion and asbestos ore. By the late 1970s, however, minerals had taken second place to capital goods exports, taking Latin America as a whole. Cement and fertilizer plants (in Guatemala, Paraguay and Uruguay), mining equipment (in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile and Peru), agricultural equipment (in Brazil and Paraguay), heavy engineering (in Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Peru) and telecommunications (Venezuela) — these formed the core of the South African export thrust.

South African capital goods have proved competitive in Latin America for a number of reasons. In the mining industry South African corporations have amassed considerable expertise, especially in the problems of deep-level mining. South Africa could offer lower delivery costs and earlier delivery dates than Europe or North America. Exports of capital goods to Latin America and the Middle East served to

rescue South African heavy industry from a depressed local market, investment in which declined sharply due to the 1973/4 oil crisis, the ensuing international slump, and the 1976 Soweto uprising.

This depression manifested itself particularly acutely in the South African construction sector, which experienced a sharp local decline in the mid-1970s, reflected in statistics of the South African Reserve Bank. The Reynders Commission on the Export Trade had advocated that, because of impending uncertainties in this sector, its receipts would depend upon developments in Africa, Latin America and "other lesser developed countries". It has been outlined above how this sector undertook several large projects in Latin America which helped offset spare capacity at home.

From 1970, the South African Department of Commerce began a process of export targeting, whereby producers in each sector would be urged to set aside a predetermined percentage of total production for export. Export financing schemes were stepped up, so that in 1975, the IDC authorized R189.7m for exporters of capital goods (reduced to R140.5m in 1976). These state-backed incentives were vital in maintaining the competitiveness of South African capital goods on world markets.

South African consumer goods were largely excluded from Latin America, owing to high tariff barriers. However, primary products continued to be exported and large orders for wheat, maize and edible oils were obtained. Mineral exports to Latin America constituted 1% of South Africa's output in 1975, to a value of R39.2m, indicating that this was still an important component of South Atlantic trade. One notable contract was to supply Argentina with iron ore for expanded steel production, when Brazil was unable to increase deliveries.

The setting up of an Argentine-South African Chamber of Commerce in June 1972 acted as a concerted stimulus to trade, also creating an arena for the expression of mutual political and economic support. At a Buenos Aires luncheon arranged by the Chamber in May 1973, the Argentine Vice-President, Dr Solano Lima, declared: "We are not interested in how the South African government came to power, nor in the social conditions of the country. We are only interested in strengthening ties with South Africa". The Chamber includes over 150 constituent firms on both sides of the South Atlantic.

Tourism from Argentina has expanded con-

siderably since the opening of the Buenos Aires – Cape Town air route. For example, 4,767 Argentine nationals entered South Africa in the first three quarters of 1977, rising to 11,030 in the same period of 1978. Due to the extreme level of inflation in Argentina, the South African Tourist Corporation claims it is cheaper for Argentines to holiday in South Africa than in Argentina itself. Argentines are encouraged by the relative cheapness in South Africa of luxury consumer products (electronic equipment in particular), the price differential being almost sufficient to offset the cost of travel.

To promote information for potential Latin American importers, the South African Department of Commerce helped launch a Spanish-language monthly tabloid called *Aquí Sud Africa*, which since 1971, has been distributed directly to 100,000 businessmen in twenty Latin American countries. A parallel publication, *Here's Latin America*, provides South African exporters with regular details of new trade opportunities in Latin America.

Military Collaboration

A persistent theme of South African official propaganda throughout the 1960s and '70s has been the emphasis on her strategic significance to the West. "South Africa", stated General Hiemstra, Commandant General of the South African Defence Force, in July 1969, "assumes a key position as a fortress for the Western naval forces in the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean against the Soviet threat from West Africa and the Middle East". In this context, South Africa has sought to extend her military role in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and by doing so to become part of the Western strategic defence systems. This role was often perceived as a hemispheric one, support for which was sought in Australasia as well as Latin America.

One of the implications of this role was seen as the formation of a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO), to include Argentina, Brazil and Portugal (already a NATO member), aimed at the defence of the South Atlantic, particularly against Soviet naval incursion. Co-operation with Portugal in her colonial wars was occurring at this time, and in May 1968 Defence Minister P.W. Botha told parliament that South Africa had taken part in a secret international conference "at service level" with friendly Southern Hemisphere states about joint defence of the sea-routes.

During 1969, naval units paid courtesy visits

to Argentina, and the Department of Defence played host to the Commander-in-Chief of the Argentine Navy. It was decided to exchange naval attachés in order to regularize inter-military contact, and to arrange joint naval exercises.

Brazil, on the other hand, responded coolly. She had received both the South African Foreign Minister and the Portuguese Prime and Foreign Ministers that year, and as a result came under heavy attack from Afro-Asian states. Whilst trade expansion was diplomatically feasible, Brazil refrained from military involvement, and SATO failed to materialize. Perhaps the geopolitical aspirations espoused for Brazil by General Golbery do Couto e Silva, Geisel's chief advisor, who advocated a more exclusive policing role for Brazil in the South Atlantic, also put paid to the need to share these duties with the South African navy.

Rumours about the resuscitation of the SATO concept recurred in April 1976, when high level naval talks between the US naval commanders for the South Atlantic and their Argentine and Brazil counterparts were held in Buenos Aires. Their purpose was to strengthen naval co-ordination in the South Atlantic in preparation to the possibility that the Soviet navy would be offered bases in Angola. Plans were drafted for the creation of an integrated air/sea strike force under a single strategic command and with its own bases. A joint naval mission from Argentina and Brazil visited the Simonstown base to lay the ground for future logistic co-operation in the South-Atlantic.

Details of these arrangements were released in the Argentine, Chilean and Brazilian press, which tried to whip up public concern for the "Marxist menace" which threatened South Atlantic security. Claims that both Britain and South Africa were involved in the SATO project led to speculation about the possibility of a solution to the longstanding Falkland Islands dispute, through their conversion into a joint strategic base for SATO.

With the visit of Vice-Admiral Johnson, head of the South African Navy, to Buenos Aires during joint manoeuvres of the US and Latin American navies in September 1976, it seemed that the SATO concept was about to be realized. Yet, although the Argentine Foreign Minister, Admiral Guzzetti, announced in a televised interview that he believed a SATO involving South Africa would be an efficient means of guaranteeing the security of the Cape sea-route, his Brazilian counterpart,

Azeredo da Silveira, unambiguously proclaimed that, if South Africa was to be involved, "there is not the slightest possibility of a system of collective defence in the South Atlantic".

However, South African pressure could not do much to erase the contradictions inherent in the formation of a South Atlantic alliance. Not only is the Argentina naval establishment highly suspicious of Brazil's increasing hegemony in Latin America, but faces a serious challenge from Chilean claims to certain strategic islands in the Beagle channel at the southern tip of the continent. Brazil's new role in Africa and her entente with Angola and Mozambique rule out any formal military collaboration with South Africa, and without Brazilian participation, any South Atlantic alliance would be ineffectual.

Meanwhile the SATO concept remains in abeyance, yet the potential is there for it to be activated in the event that the South Atlantic becomes a zone of intensified US/Soviet naval conflict. The sophisticated installations at Simonstown and Silvermine would be regarded as indispensable to the West under such circumstances.

Despite the absence of a formal alliance, military contacts continue to be developed. In 1975 it was reported that Argentina, concerned assist anti-guerilla operations in Southern Africa, had offered South Africa the Pucara, an Argentine-designed counter-insurgency fighter aircraft made with French, British, Swiss and Belgian components.

The Pinochet junta has also made military overtures to South Africa. The Chilean navy paid a courtesy visit when its training barquentine Esmeralda called at Cape Town in March 1977. This vessel had been used immediately after the coup for the internment and torture of sailors loyal to President Allende. Its visit was also been made, by SWAPO and by Chilean exiles, that Chilean mercenaries have fought alongside South African troops against SWAPO forces in Namibia. Believed to have received their training in the Panama Canal Zone from US forces, they were sent to operate in northern Namibia and southern Angola at the start of 1976. They were identified by their characteristic black berets.

Racist Migration to Latin America?

Certain Latin American states, keen to stimulate settlement in underpopulated parts of their territories, have begun to look to Sou-

thern Africa as a source of immigrants. The level of immigration from Southern Africa is growing rapidly, due to the intensification of the guerilla wars, economic recession, and the unwillingness of hardline white racists to accommodate to any notion of majority rule.

Prior to his South African visit, General Stroessner said in a press interview: "South Africans would be most welcome to settle in Paraguay, especially those with a sound knowledge of sugar, citrus and cattle farming." In late 1976, Rhodesia was visited by Uruguayan lawyer authorized to sell land; in March 1977, the representative of a Paraguayan investment company visited Rhodesia to publicize farming opportunities in his country; in the same month, a group of 40 Rhodesian tobacco farmers visited Argentina to assess the possibilities of resettling there, after it was reported that thousands of hectares were being prepared for the settlement of 100 white Rhodesian families in the province of Salta, 1000 miles north of Buenos Aires.

In November 1976, Costa Rica hosted a seminar of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM), ostensibly on the transfer of technology through migration. ICEM had previously been involved in the resettlement of 68,000 Europeans in South Africa, and despite official denials, was said to have sponsored the Rhodesian visit to Argentina. The seminar itself was attended by officials from the US, Italy, Spain and West Germany and a number of Latin American countries, including Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Uruguay and Venezuela.

At informal talks during the seminar, West German delegates were reported to have made an offer of US\$150m to Latin American governments to accept up to 30,000 white families of German extraction in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia. Many of the German settlers in Southern Africa have retained their nationality, and the West German government feared a flood of immigration to the homeland could create enormous social and economic problems. If Latin America offered farming land, West Germany would finance the migration with backing from ICEM and the IDB. The West Germany government later denied that it had made any such offers.

Bolivia's acceptance of the plan was confirmed when the La Paz daily *Precencia* published a letter written by the Undersecretary for Immigration, Dr Guido Strauss Ivanovich, to General Lechin Suarez. In it, Strauss declared his intention to "encourage the entry into the

country of a large and important number (later revealed as 150,000) of white immigrants of German and Dutch descent, especially from Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa". The Bolivian state, primarily responsive to 5% of the population claiming pure European descent, many of whom are of German extraction, has throughout this century sought the colonization of the fertile eastern part of the country, which until now has lacked the infrastructure for further development. It was hoped that the white migrants would, with their skills, develop such an infrastructure.

The local response on the part of the peasants, workers and the church in Bolivia was a vigorous one. An international campaign was mounted, backed by the church, the MIR and the Permanent Assembly of Human Rights in Bolivia, to reject the importation of racism into Bolivia. Protests by the Bolivian Indigenous Indian Association occurred, and the Bolivian Worker's Union (COB) signed a joint communique with the Organization of African Trade Union Unity condemning the scheme.

This backlash caused the Banzer regime to play down the matter. Yet the detailed plans for the settlement of whites in the Departments of Beni and Santa Cruz still persist. Dr Romano Caputi, the Bolivian charge d'affaires in South Africa, has mentioned that over 300 applications for resettlement have been processed; and Pretoria engineering firms have submitted tenders for the construction of two new urban centres in the area. Bolivia has also set up a wider network of representatives in six Southern African cities, and offered to host South African journalists who wished to report on the prospects awaiting immigrants.

In March 1978, a delegation of the extreme-right Herstigte Nasionale Party visited Bolivia and reported back that "like us, they practise discrimination . . . white South Africans will feel very much at home there. The indians have an intelligence level on a par with South African blacks and could be taught to do manual labour without any problems".

The possibility of white settlement, especially in rural areas of Latin America, carries with it the threat of South African forms of social relations being exported to that continent, further entrenchment of right-wing regimes, and resources for the "colonization" of territory which by rights should be made available to indigenous people. The implantation of apartheid in Latin America comes at a time when resistance to rural exploitation is growing, and will be a setback for progressive for-

ces in the areas of white settlement and beyond.

Western Europe and the South Atlantic Connection

There are numerous areas in which the interests of Western Europe encourage, support or facilitate the South Atlantic connection. Already we have seen the role of West Germany in the financing of the ICEM migration project, preferring its nationals in Southern Africa to set up in Bolivia rather than Bavaria. We have also seen aspirations towards setting up a SA-TO, which would act as a surrogate NATO in the South Atlantic, obviating the need for West European navies to extend their operational areas southward.

In addition, there are numerous West European corporations which have subsidiaries in both Southern Africa and Latin America, and who would wish to see the perpetuation of the political/economic status quo, or at most, some type of neo-colonial alternative. With the inability of South African based manufacturing plants to obtain huge markets in the rest of Africa, the multinational corporations have turned to their Brazilian enterprises to provide a base for the economic penetration of West Africa in particular. A good example of this was Volkswagen, which — although it has a plant in South Africa — exported Brazilian-made vehicles to the rest of the continent.

In a similar way, some South African corporations have utilized their European (especially British) subsidiaries to channel certain investments into Latin America. This creates the impression that the investments are being undertaken by European corporations, and thereby the South African origin is concealed. This is particularly handy in countries like Venezuela and Mexico which are loathe to pursue their connections with South Africa. The Anglo-American Corporation has channelled some of its investments through its British affiliate, Charter Consolidated.

The reverse has also occurred. The past Conservative Party foreign affairs spokesman, John Davies, when director-general of the Confederation of British Industry in 1967, advocated joint UK/South African ventures in Latin America and the rest of Africa. In the field of banking, it was reported in 1971 that Barclays was using its South African subsidiary to take care of its operations in the Southern Cone of Latin America, whilst its Caribbean

subsidiary would be responsible for the northern parts of the continent.

In view of Carter's non-proliferation policy, West Germany has taken a lead in making nuclear technology available to both Brazil and South Africa. Namibian uranium from Rössing, a mine jointly owned by British/ South African/ French/ West German interests will be enriched in Europe by Urenco, a joint British/ Dutch/ West German corporation, and sold to Brazil. In view of the US cancelling its agreement to provide enrichment uranium for Brazil's nuclear programme, Brazil has turned to Europe and South Africa to fulfil these needs. Brazil has also sent a team of geologists to South Africa, in order to gain expertise with regard to her uranium deposits.

Conclusions

It is clear that the initiative for forging a South African connection came from South Africa, arising out of the needs of the South African state to decrease its military and diplomatic isolation.

Increasing links will continue to preoccupy those who perceive the relationship with some misgiving, owing to the potential for regimes on both sides of the South Atlantic to contribute to one another's survival, to the potential for their nuclear collaboration, and to the potential for the exportation of South African social relations into the Gran Chaco. For these reasons, it is vital to the future outcome of events in both regions that these connections continue to be monitored and exposed.

French Colonialism in Reunion

Superpower contention for world domination between Soviet Union and the USA are making small littoral countries and colonies important as the Seychelles, Malvinas, Diego Garcia outposts point out. These outposts are being prepared as important military bases by the superpowers as they gear themselves for war. The small country of Reunion is one such colonial outpost that the French imperialists cling onto. The colonial situation in Reunion clearly posits a struggle for national independence. This is the position held by the MPLR and supported by the OAU. A contrary position is held by the French backed FRAPAR which while admitting the colonial reality seeks self-government within the French Republic, a position also supported by the French Communist Party, notorious for its social chauvinism on the colonial question. But here we present the MPLR view of the situation.

Reunion a Colonial Reality

Historically Reunion has always been subjected to French domination. All political decisions are taken in Paris and all economic policies are determined by the needs and interests of French colonialists. French culture which is the official culture and the only one permissible has been imposed upon us.

In 1946 Reunion became a department of France. Far from breaking the colonial rela-

tions, this department only perpetuates and even strengthens them further. The Reunionnais people have never been considered as French. Social measures applicable in France do not apply to Reunion where slave trade continues to exist but in the direction of Reunion-France through forced emigration, which is an evidence of the will of the French Government to maintain Reunion in a state of under-development without any attempt at industrialization. It is to be understood that we are not claiming for French identity. Likewise, the present economic, political and social structures are all evidence that Reunion is still a colony of French imperialism.

Economic Level:

70 per cent of arable land is devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane and 4 per cent to Geranium. All these are meant for export as stipulated in the colonial pact. We have to import everything from France and other countries of the European Economic Community (E.E.C.). This dependence of Reunion's economy on foreign factors is aggravated by the monopoly given to Air France and European Navigation companies and by the fact that the whole economy is concentrated in the hands of big capitalist companies, big importers and a handful of big land owners. This economic policy is made possible by virtue of the fact that all decisions are made in Paris, the local councils having no say at all in the matter.

No doubt, supporters of the regime do not cease to brandish the famous generous assistance from France. To them we can only answer by quoting the official figures of the year 1975 where out of 2 1/2 billions of C.F.A. Francs invested in Reunion, 2 billions found their way back to France in the form of private profits. This is the transportation of public fund into private capital. Furthermore, this money is injected in non-productive sectors and destined to the purchase of goods coming from Europe. The French aid is, therefore, misapplied and therein lies its *raison d'être*.

Political Level:

To implement the political decisions taken in Paris, the French State maintains an imposing military force of 4,500 men in the territory. This French army has the responsibility of crushing all attempts at popular revolt and intervening against the progressive peoples of the region.

Social Level:

The political and economic domination of La Reunion have plunged the majority of the people into wretched misery. To survive, they cannot but grab at the assistance that consists of crumbs that France brags so much about. The most obvious consequences of this are: unemployment that plagues 80,000 persons, the forced exile of 55,000 Reunion inhabitants to France, the ever-increasing rural exodus of small and medium planters that assumes alarming proportions while a handful of wealthy people luxuriate in scandalous extravagance.

Cultural Level:

At the level of culture, French imperialism insist on advocating the superiority of the colonizer and the natural inferiority of the colonized. To inculcate this complex, the French imperialists have mobilized the mass media, the school and the church. Our language is disregarded as mere patois and our culture relegated to the status of folklore for the entertainment of white tourists in quest of exotic experience. We have been subjected to excessive assimilation on pressure and to a process aimed at depersonalizing the Reunion People.

This is a picture of the colonial situation rampant in La Reunion. The Reunion reality is a colonial reality. La Reunion is a colony of France, a classical colony in the sense that it is unique in the world. To claim that the country was a desert before colonization, that the Reunion people consists of too varied ethnic groups, that they have been subjected to a policy of assimilation, living on the assistance

from France, and that the slavery they have endured for too long have rendered them atrophied and resigned to their fate, and that in the light of all this, there is no such thing as a Reunion nation, is to misconstrue reality. Such an analysis, whether wilful or not, would be tantamount to putting an end to or even pushing back the emancipation process of the people. On the contrary, three centuries of French colonization have given to the class struggles in Reunion the character of a struggle against the foreign intruder coming from Europe. Class struggle cannot be distinguished from liberation struggle. It is this fact that has led us to launch the struggle for the national independence of Reunion which cannot be dissociated from the struggle of the working classes against their exploiters.

Historical reasons are in favour of our indication for the national independence of Reunion. To these we can add economic reasons which are equally important. Independence will provide a free and independent Reunion with the means to implement a programme of national reconstruction that will enable the Reunion individual to achieve full realization.

National Independence for Reunion:

This in clear terms entails:

(a) The confiscation of landed properties and their re-distribution to those who would utilize them properly. This will result in the gradual liberation of agriculture from sugar cane monoculture and an agricultural diversification towards self-sufficiency in food at least in our basic needs (rice, grains, maize, oil and meat).

(b) Confiscation of sugar factories as well as some existing industries which will be nationalized and self-managed. Small industries and crafts will be protected. Preference will be accorded to the establishment of processing industries based on agriculture.

(c) The establishment of a Foreign Trade Office responsible for importation and exportation, nationalization of wide surfaces and protection of small and medium business.

(d) The promotion of a Reunion progressive culture through:

- the recognition of Creole as official language;
- the struggle against alienation and prejudices inherited from imperialism through a scientific and popular education;
- the development of cultural, revolutionary and anti-imperialist forms of expressions.

(e) The establishment of social structures for the benefit of the poor sections of the population through:

- the right to work in the country;
- a new labour legislation;
- application of the principle of 'equal work, equal pay'.
- the nationalization of the health department.

Foreign Policy

An independent and free Reunion will be a non-aligned and sovereign state. It will establish ties of friendship with Third World countries struggling against hegemony, imperialism and colonialism. It will collaborate with all forces willing to make the Indian Ocean a demilitarized, denuclearized zone of peace, and working for the dismantlement of all foreign military bases in the region. It will apply for membership of the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement.

It is evident that the realization of this programme presupposes the evacuation of the French army from our soil. We affirm that the liberation struggle will continue as long as there remains a single foreign soldier on our territory. As a pre-requisite to decolonization, we demand the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the French army from our country.

We cannot agree to struggle for the type of solution that the FRAPAR is striving for, namely self-government within the French Republic.

Against Self-Government

Two organizations claim to fight for the decolonization of Reunion. The analysis of the present situation has led them both to the same conclusion that La Reunion is a colony of French imperialism and consequently needs to be decolonized. And yet, the two solutions proposed are quite different and even diametrically opposed to each other.

Our permanent concern at the MPLR is clarity and straight-forwardness in our claim. We sincerely believe that we may voice our opinions on the paths to which some of our countrymen intend to take our country without, for that matter, indulging in any polemic. It is in this perspective that we shall evoke some of our reasons as to why we are against self-government.

1. Reunion possesses all the attributes (language, territory, culture, history, economic interests and a desire to take into its own hands the helm of the state to manage its own affairs) that make it eligible for nationhood. Self-

government within the French Republic will detract from its sovereignty. A nation can co-exist with one or several other nations, but it cannot be integrated into another nation. Self-government would disregard the essential character of the Reunion nation.

2. The convention of Morue Rouge declares textually and we quote: 'The French Government and the President of the French Republic will be responsible for the army, national defence, war and peace, co-operation with other countries ... international transport'. This convention was signed by the Communist Party of La Reunion as well as by other organizations that have joined the ranks of FRAPAR today. We regret to say that self-government cannot seriously challenge the presence of the French army stationed in La Reunion. The high sounding declarations in big forums are not enough. Anyway, it is not possible to ask for the withdrawal of French army from La Reunion if we are to accept a system wherein the French Government will be responsible for the army and the national defence.

3. The immense powers vested in the French Government and in such key departments cannot make it possible for an autonomous Reunion State to carry out large-scale reforms, such as radical agrarian reform, nationalization of sugar industry, complete freedom of external trade and total control over investments. We are referring to the reforms as mentioned in FRAPAR's programme for self-government. Furthermore, the very presence of French troops in the country relegates all these projects to the state of dreams.

Self-government is the right of a nation to run its own affairs itself. Reunion has the right to choose its own destiny. But to achieve this end, its choice should be whole, determined and total and not subject to any condition. The finances of the autonomous Reunion State would, according to FRAPAR, be based on the maintenance of 'globalized aid' from the French Government. Here too we do not believe in a sudden spirit of generosity on the part of colonialism after 300 years of domination. Furthermore, this would constitute a new form of dependence upon France. This assistance, however, cannot but be provisional and that too depending on hazards and unknown factors ensuing from changes of government in France. The people want a total liberation of their country and not a self-government that would not even be a formal liberation were it granted by leftist parties in France.

Against Assimilation

The FRAPAR is not conducting any struggle against the assimilation policy of the French Government with regard to the Reunion people. On the contrary, it is going in the direction of integration, if we are to judge by its watchword of democratic and popular self-government within the framework of the French Republic, and by the struggles it has engaged itself in at both the political and trade union levels, calling for the total application of French social laws in Reunion. The Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Reunion made a statement to that effect a few days ago at a press conference: 'We are for self-government within the French Republic and it is because we are not prepared to compromise on our position that the debate is still going on in the OAU'.

The solution that MPLR proposes, namely the national independence of Reunion, has the credit of avoiding such contradictions. This is because it is the result of an objective analysis of the conditions of the constitution of the Reunion people into a nation and of a concrete analysis of the present colonial situation. It indicates a genuine willingness to carry out to its successful end the decolonization of Reunion.

Since the creation of our nationalist Movement we have always insisted upon explaining the situation to the popular masses without, however, forgetting to arouse their awareness of the enormous difficulties we shall have to overcome.

We are in a position today to affirm that the popular masses have come to realize that the national independence of Reunion is the only alternative conducive to decolonization. It is thanks to the field work done by the MPLR that a vast popular Movement for liberation has begun to take shape in La Reunion. This has led to the birth of progressive Movements at trade union, political and cultural levels with watchwords that tally with the nationalistic aspirations of the people. National independence is the right thing for us and more and more people from the various strata of the Reunion community are now adhering to it. We believe that the people should be prepared for the advent of national liberation as well as for the efforts to be made for the reconstruction of the country. This is the reason why we have chosen a clear precise watchword which would provide the people of opposite interests. Yes, we have opted for National Independence even if it means alienating those classes which are pampered by the present regime. We have cho-

sen to unite the workers who constitute the exploited majority. Consequently, we cannot afford to grant any reprieve to imperialism through self-government within the framework of the French Republic. There are many instances where autonomous countries within the French Republic have had to wage bitter struggles, or are still doing so to secure their independence. The national independence of La Reunion proposes to put an end to colonialism once and for all. Our struggle will, therefore, drive in with the struggle led by other peoples of Africa.

It is for other reasons than mere adventurism and purism of a doubtful nature advocated by leaders of the self-government movement that we have launched the struggle for the independence of La Reunion.

To face a popular consensus with FRAPAR, we set down as conditions what have always been our demands:

1. That FRAPAR officially recognizes both within the country and abroad that the only solution for the decolonization of La Reunion is independence, although we recognize its right to choose self-government as a step towards independence.
2. That FRAPAR calls for the evacuation of all foreign forces from La Reunion, including the complete and total withdrawal of all French troops from La Reunion and the dismantlement of the Franco-American base, OMEGA.

Strategic Significance of Reunion

While the world crisis is going on, La Reunion and the South West Islands of the Indian Ocean have become a key zone for imperialist strategy, and what with the law on 200 Nautical Miles, and the existence of polymetallic nodules that abound in that zone, French colonialism will try to preserve its grip on La Reunion. Furthermore, the permanent stationing in La Reunion of 4,000 French military troops, the OMEGA radio-navigation antenna and the existence of the Headquarters of French forces of the South of the Indian Ocean (FA SOL) constitute a constant danger not only for the people of La Reunion but also for the peoples of the region (base for the operation against the Ali Soilih regime, transit base for mercenaries in their operation against Madagascar and Seychelles, base for separatist operation in Mayotte, base for manoeuvres for a similar operation against Rodrigues, etc.).

Genocide Against the Palestinians

Israel has unleashed a brutal war of genocide against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. More than 10,000, mainly civilians, have been killed or wounded in the six days since Prime Minister Begin and War Minister Ariel Sharon ordered their tanks over the border.

There are reports of indiscriminate massacres of children, women and old people in Dammour, Sidon and Tyre at the hands of the Zionist aggressors. In Beirut, civilian areas including the camps of Sabra, Shatila, Bourj El-Barajneh and the Fakhani area have been subjected to the most ferocious air attacks.

One eye-witness described the Israeli invasion: "They were destroying everything and everyone in their path, from babies to old men and women. They are demolishing civilian houses which had nothing to do with any military activities."

To conceal their crimes, the Israelis have barred all civilians 'especially journalists' from entering occupied Lebanon.

With the blessing of the Reagan administration in the United States, Begin and Sharon have embarked on nothing less than the 'final solution' of the Palestine problem – a massive pogrom on a scale not seen since the days of the Nazis during World War II. Their racist and fascist ideology is being carried into practice against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

PLO chairman Yassir Arafat warned of this development a year ago in the aftermath of the Beirut massacre of July 17 in which more than 300 Lebanese and Palestinians were killed by Israeli bombs.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Lebanese National Movement are continuing to resist in spite of the disparity between their forces and those of the invader.

'The Times' reported on Friday: '... The PLO have fought over the past few days far harder than was originally imagined. Despite Israeli claims to have captured Tyre, it now transpires that Palestinian guerrilla fighters are still in action there though the Israelis say they are "mopping up" the resistance in the city.'

'The Palestinians are also still fighting in Sidon and from bunkers in their township of Dammour just south of Beirut.'

Israel has committed 140,000 troops to the invasion, together with its entire air force and navy. With their inadequate weapons, the PLO are facing the most powerfully equipped army in the world outside the two super-powers.

Israel is a nuclear power equipped with the latest American-supplied sophisticated weapons – F-16 fighters, modern tanks and artillery, the latest gunboats and rocketry. Last year, it received \$2.1 billion in military and other loans from the United States.

America is responsible for the unrestrained terror Begin is waging against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig have given the green light for the invasion as the next stage of their Camp David plan to subjugate the Palestinian people and destroy their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

The Palestinian and Lebanese fighters have virtually no armour, only limited artillery and anti-aircraft defences and no navy or air force at all. Israel's invasion is an act of unparalleled international banditry and barbarism.

Their objective is to destroy the PLO as a fighting force, kill its leaders and drive the Palestinians out of Lebanon. This will be the basis for the annexation of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and the expulsion of their Arab Palestinian inhabitants.

The Israelis do not distinguish between Palestinians and Lebanese because they know that the Lebanese people have given generous support and solidarity to the Palestinian cause and fought in their own right against Zionist expansionism and aggression.

Militarily the PLO is not aiming to win a war against Israel. It is defending its own bases and the Lebanese people against Israeli aggression. Israel is being forced to pay a heavy price for the invasion.

'The Times' reported on Friday: 'With casualties continuing to mount, the early jubilation at the speed and extent of the Israeli advance was being tempered by a mass realisation of the human price of the conflict.'

Begin and Sharon have been planning this invasion for months. The shooting of their ambassador in London, Shlomo Argov, was me-

rely an excuse to launch the attack. The official framework of the PLO had nothing to do with the Argov shooting.

Those who subsequently claimed the responsibility said the envoy had been shot in retaliation for the killing of Majid Abu Sharar, the PLO information chief murdered by Israeli intelligence agents in his hotel room in Rome earlier this year.

No matter how strong its forces, Israel cannot crush the determination of the Palestinians. The 4 million Palestinians inside and outside the occupied land are united in support of the PLO. Despite all the terror and bribery wielded by the Israeli state, Begin and his regi-

me have not found a single Palestinian notable to join their discredited 'self-rule' plan.

After 15 years of Zionist occupation on the West Bank and Gaza strip there is continuous revolutionary struggle against the Israeli regime.

There can be no peace in the Middle East until the Palestinian people achieve their legitimate national rights to self-determination and the establishment of their own state in Palestine under the leadership of the PLO.

The determination of the Palestinians and their Lebanese allies is greater than the aggressive military force of Israel.

15 Years of Zionist Terror

Attacks on south Lebanon have been a constant Israeli policy since 1973, and it is impossible to make a comprehensive list. The following chronology, taken from 'Palestine' magazine, lists some of the major Zionist outrages over the past 15 years:

December 1968: Zionist commandos raided Beirut International Airport. Thirteen commercial airliners belonging to Middle East Airlines (MEA), were completely destroyed.

January 3, 1970: Two Israeli units made up of 200 paratroops attacked and looted the village of Kfar Kala, seizing 21 hostages, 11 of them civilians.

May 22, 1970: Israeli forces attacked Bint Jbeil and three other villages, killing 20 civilians, including at least three women and two children, wounding 32 civilians and destroying 83 houses.

February 25, 1972: Israeli forces attacked south Lebanon and the Beqaa Valley, killing nine people, wounding 14 and destroying 22 houses.

February 27, 1972: Israeli Phantoms and Skyhawks bombed the Arqub region, killing 11 civilians, wounding 50 and destroying 18 buildings, including hospitals and clinics.

March 9, 1972: Israeli artillery shelled the villages of Majdal Slim, Hasbaya and Shibaa, destroying several buildings and wounding three civilians.

September 8, 1972: Israeli air force bombed the refugee camps of Nahr Al-Bared, Rashay Al-Wadi and Rafid, killing 15 people, seven of

them children from the same family who died with their mother, and wounding 25 others, 14 of them children.

September 17, 1972: Israeli forces attacked 16 villages in south Lebanon, destroying 130 houses, killing a family of seven members.

September 19, 1972: Zionist troops raided the south Lebanon village of Hasbaya and kidnapped five people, four of whom were civilians.

April 20, 1974: Zionist soldiers destroyed several houses in south Lebanon. Israeli spokesmen said at the time that Israel would hit any village in Lebanon where there may be Palestinian commandos.

May 16, 1974: Zionist jet fighters carried out a series of raids on the Nabatieh refugee camp in south Lebanon. Twenty-one Palestinian refugees were killed and 134 wounded.

May 17, 1974: Israeli jet fighters bombed the Palestinian camps of Rashidieh and Ain Al-Helweh. Five civilians were killed and 14 wounded in the attack.

November 1, 1974: Zionist commandos blew up two houses in the village of Yater in south Lebanon. Fifteen civilians were left homeless, ten of whom were children under 12.

January 2, 1975: Zionist commandos crossed into Lebanon and blew up six houses in the village of Ayteroun and Yarin. Five people were kidnapped in the raid.

January 13, 1975: For the second day running, Israeli forces raided the village of Kafr Shuba in south-east Lebanon. The villagers, along

with Palestinian commandos, fought a pitched battle with the Israelis who suffered heavy casualties.

May 26, 1975: About 250 Israeli infantrymen crossed the border into Lebanon where they were repulsed by Palestinian fighters. Twenty-five Israeli soldiers were killed in the attack.

December 4, 1975: Israeli jets raided three Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. Seventy-seven people were killed and 107 injured.

June 1, 1977: Over 1,000 Zionist soldiers crossed the border into Lebanon and stormed the village of Kafr Shuba. Another force stormed the village of Helta. The Zionist forces withdrew after meeting with stiff resistance.

November 8, 1977: Zionist artillery launched the heaviest bombardment on southern Lebanon in two years. The shelling which affected an area of 20 square miles left six civilians dead and 20 other wounded.

March 13, 1978: About 32,000 Israeli soldiers entered south Lebanon in a full-scale invasion, causing several hundred deaths and creating hundreds of thousands of refugees. Israel seized a six-mile border strip, installing puppet Lebanese major Saad Haddad as its ruler.

August 22, 1978: Zionist warplanes bombar-

ded the Palestinian refugee camps of Bourj Es-Shamali and Damour killing and wounding scores of people.

October 9, 1978: Israeli naval vessels shelled south-west Beirut.

December 21, 1978: Bourj Es-Shamali camp was shelled by Israeli gunners. Twenty-five people were killed or wounded.

January 1, 1979: Israeli vessels bombarded the south Lebanon city of Tyre, killing and wounding scores of people.

April 12, 1979: Israeli gunners killed two children in Nabatiyeh and also shelled Kfar Rumman, Kfar Tibnit and Rashidiyeh camp.

April 23, 1979: Israeli planes raided the Palestinian refugee camp of Nahr Al-Bared, killing three Palestinian people and wounding ten others.

April 23, 1979: Israeli planes raided the Palestinian refugee camp of Nahr Al-Bared, killing three Palestinian people and wounding ten others.

April 25, 1979: Israeli planes and gunboats pounded the Palestinian refugee camp of Nabatieh in south Lebanon for two days in a row. Twenty-three people were killed and 36 injured. Hundreds of Lebanese people had to flee the area.

Palestine Will Be Free!

Zionism, White Supremacy and the Palestine Revolution

(From the US Journal "Breakthrough")

Revolutionary Palestinian organizations within the PLO, like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), have made it clear that the struggle is not just against Israel but is directed

Revolutionary Palestinian organizations within the PLO, like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), have made it clear that the struggle is not just against Israel but is directed at the whole system of imperialism and its reactionary client states in the Middle East. The PFLP argues that:

The Palestinian revolution bears a special responsibility for furthering the polarization between the pro- and anti-imperialist forces in the region. The battle for Palestine is part of the battle for the region, and only in firm alliance with the other patriotic forces and clearly distanced from Arab reaction can the Palestinian revolution achieve victory.

The coordinated resistance waged by Palestinian and Lebanese revolutionaries to the brutal 1978 Israeli invasion demonstrates the developing alliances which threaten reactionary rule throughout the region. By identifying conservative Arab regimes as enemies, the Palestinians advance the process of building socialist and revolutionary consciousness in the course of the war for national liberation. This includes the struggle for the liberation of women in Arab societies. Their mobilization is part of transforming the revolutionary process into one of people's war. Palestinian women are taking up the military and political battle against the Zionist state and withstanding brutal repression. At the same time they are overturning their oppression, rooted in centuries of Arab feudalism and European colonial domination. As the PFLP notes, "While the war of

liberation rages, the foundation of the new society is being laid and the process of eliminating all forms of oppression begins a process in which women must play a crucial and equal role."

U.S. imperialism's strategy in the Middle East aims at strengthening Israel's political, economic and military role while bringing reactionary Arab regimes into a formal alliance with Zionism. This was the goal of the Camp David agreement. But Camp David didn't succeed in breaking Palestinian unity or in bringing any Arab governments except Egypt into a formal treaty with Israel. The recent sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia and U.S. promotion of the eight-point Saudi "peace plan," which recognizes the existence of Israel and proposes the creation of a Palestinian "mini-state," are current expressions of this strategy. Many people regard the "mini-state" as a logical answer to the Palestinian demand for self-determination. But the Palestinians have a right to all of Palestine. Coexistence beside a powerful militarized Israel would pressure Palestinians to compromise revolutionary principles and subordinate themselves economically and militarily to Zionism. The Saudi Plan, along with diplomatic initiatives by Western European powers, aims to subvert the unity of the PLO, isolate the PFLP and other revolutionary Palestinian forces and secure recognition of the state of Israel. But these neocolonial schemes have been rejected by the PLO.

The stated goal of the PLO is to win back the land and create a democratic, secular Palestinian state in the whole of what is now called Israel. This is not a demand to "drive the Jews into the sea," as the Zionists always charge. It is a demand to end the Zionist state of Israel, to eliminate the privileges and colonial power which Jews maintain over Palestinians.

This is the only just basis for Palestinian national liberation. But there are many who reject the Palestinian program and instead promote a vision of a "socialist Jewish state" sitting side-by-side with a Palestinian mini-state. Advocates of this position are "left" Zionists who accept the basic premise of Zionism (that Jews have the right to the land of Palestine) while mouthing support for Palestinian human rights. They argue that Israel has the right to exist in Palestine because of the murder of 6 million Jews by the Nazis. Israel is a "special case" in which colonial conquest is justified.

The holocaust was one of history's terrible crimes, the brutal culmination of years of vio-

lent attacks against Jews in Europe. But invoking the holocaust to justify Israeli crimes against the Palestinian people is historically and morally indefensible. German fascism, not the Palestinian people, committed genocide against the Jews. Nazi death camps were part of a strategy to consolidate fascist power and unite the German nation behind imperialist war. Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Treblinka and Dachau stand as stark reminders of the barbarism of fascism. The horrors of the holocaust, like the genocidal crimes committed by the U.S. against the peoples of Indochina, should harden our resolve to destroy the imperialist system responsible for such brutality.

Israel is a Settler Colony

Israel is no "special case." The Zionist state is an illegitimate settler colony occupying conquered Arab land, where Palestinians had lived and worked for thousands of years. From its inception, the Zionist movement put forward the Jewish settlement of Palestine as a vehicle for securing British colonial interests in the Middle East and also as a means of combatting Jewish participation in proletarian struggle for socialism in Europe. Zionism was promoted by the Jewish bourgeoisie, in close alliance with Western imperialist powers, particularly Britain. Zionism was rabidly anticommunist, working with other bourgeois forces to isolate and attack the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

At the turn of the century, there were hardly any Jews in Palestine. Despite Zionist efforts, by the 1930s Arabs still far outnumbered Jews in the country. But with the rise of Nazism in Germany and the outbreak of World War, the Zionists were able to organize a mass invasion of Palestine by white European Jews, while the Zionists' Western allies (despite their professed concern about aiding Jewish victims of Nazism) blocked Jewish immigration into their own countries. With the cooperation of the British (who still controlled Palestine), the European settlers acquired Arab land by terrorizing Arab owners to sell at low prices or by outright theft. In November 1947, when the Zionists had built up their numbers and military strength, the U.S.-dominated United Nations partitioned Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish state. The Zionists then moved militarily to seize much of the remaining Palestinian land. Zionist terror organizations wiped out whole villages of Palestinians. In April 1948, the Irgun, led by Menachem Begin, attacked the village of Deir Yassin, brutally massacring 250 Arabs. But Zionism persists in the lie that

Palestinians left Palestine of their own "free will."

Terror and theft continue to this day in the new Zionist settlements on the West Bank. Current Israeli plans call for 100,000 Jewish settlers, backed by the full power of the military, to complete the invasion and occupation of this Palestinian territory.

Israel is a classic settler colony. This is further revealed by its relationship with South Africa, another racist state founded by white Europeans on land stolen from the indigenous population. This alliance is somewhat ironic, considering the anti-semitism of the South African government and the fact that many of the current leaders of South Africa were Nazi collaborators during the Second World War. The Israeli-South Africa axis is rooted in a long history of collaboration between Zionism and settler colonialism in South Africa, based on commonality of interests and origin. Theodore Herzl, the founder of Zionism, was a close friend and supporter of Cecil Rhodes, the architect of British imperialism, colonizer of Zimbabwe and foremost proponent of the "white man's burden" to civilize Africa. Herzl put forth similar views in regard to Palestine: "We should form there (in Palestine) part of a wall of defense for Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization against barbarism."

Israel and South Africa are now each other's primary trading partners, supplying each other with advanced technology, military hardware and personnel, and political/diplomatic support. The Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) has documented the presence of Israeli soldiers among the South African occupying troops in Namibia. Western imperialism relies heavily on the Israeli/South Africa axis as a striking force against revolution in Africa and the Middle East.

Zionism is White Supremacy

Zionism is an integral part of white supremacist movement in the U.S. It is rooted in the defense of white privilege over colonized people. Zionists lay claim to Palestine based on the alleged Biblical right of Jews, the "chosen people" to return to the "promised land." This is markedly similar to the claim of racial and religious mission that Europeans have traditionally asserted to justify their violent conquest of Third World people. The U.S. version is "manifest destiny," the racist license to commit genocide against Native people, occupy and conquer Northern Mexico, enslave and colonize Africans and then expand U.S. empi-

re to Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines in 1898.

Empire-building is always glorified by the conqueror. Romantic images of the American pioneer — good, fearless people who tamed the West — go hand-in-hand with the stereotypes of Native people, Mexicanos and Blacks as primitive obstacles to progress. Similarly Zionism projects Israeli pioneers as "agricultural geniuses who take arid land from lazy Arabs and make the desert bloom." For Zionism, the Palestinians simply do not exist as a nation. Israeli settlers assume the right to steal Palestinian land and water, to superexploit Palestinian labor, while all the time posing as the victims of Palestinian and Arab aggression.

Zionism has become a vehicle through which many Jews are drawn into the racist offensive against Third World people. Most Jews would never support the Ku Klux Klan, because of its virulent antisemitism. But many see nothing wrong with the Jewish Defense League, a paramilitary formation responsible for many violent attacks against Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano-Mexicano people. Zionism creates a base in the Jewish community for these fascist organizations and legitimizes their actions.

The Zionist political offensive coincided with the Six Day War in June 1967. The powerful, U.S.-equipped Israeli military invaded the surrounding Arab states and seized Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, the Syrian Golan Heights and the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The Zionist propaganda machine portrayed Israel as a brave, tiny David surrounded by the Goliath of vast, hostile Arab states. Jews raised tens of millions of dollars for the war effort. Fighting antisemitism was made synonymous with support for Israeli conquest. Simultaneously, Zionist organizations began opposing and attacking the Black liberation movement. Responding to Black rebellion in the cities and to the demand for Black Power, they charged "reverse racism" and raised the battle cry of "Black antisemitism."

There are many Jews, especially those who consider themselves "liberals," who oppose Begin as a narrow-minded extremist and who disagree with the blatantly racist settlements policy on the West Bank. But most still refuse to question the colonial nature of Israel or to support Palestine. They have been won to the Zionist view that the PLO is a "terrorist" organization and that defense of Israel is the prime responsibility of every Jewish person in the world.

Zionism is not National Liberation

It is in this light that we have to evaluate the trend among many progressive Jews towards acceptance of Zionism as a legitimate expression of Jewish identity. Zionism is *not* a national liberation movement! It has meant the plunder by Europeans of the land and resources of a Third World nation. It has meant the establishment of an outpost for Western imperialism in the Middle East. It means genocide and terror directed against the Palestinian people — the rightful owners of the land. This is why no national liberation movement in the world supports the Zionist state of Israel. This is why Israel's closest allies are Western imperialist powers and their racist partners like South Africa. This is why Israel has armed and supported fascist regimes like Somoza's in Nicaragua, the Salvadorean junta and the Pinochet regime in Chile. The state of Israel has no right to exist. Just as South Africa has no right to exist as a white settler state oppressing the Azanian masses; nor for that matter, does the U.S. have the right to exist on conquered land as an prisoner of colonized nations.

Many Jewish women in the women's movement have begun to equate the struggle against anti-semitism with the fight of Third World people against racist oppression and even to identify themselves as "other than white." Anti-semitism remains a reality in the U.S. and elsewhere. But it is a lie to equate the situation of Jews with the genocidal attacks experienced by Third World people. Like other oppressed and exploited European immigrants, Jews have been incorporated into a privileged white oppressor nation which dominates internally colonized people within the U.S. To deny this exempts Jewish people from the responsibility of struggling against white supremacy.

The imperialist system is responding to profound crisis with increasingly fascist solutions. This has spawned the rise of neo-Nazi and fascist mass movement in both Western Europe and the U.S. Along with this comes the rise of anti-semitism. There is a tradition of Jews fighting back against fascism and anti-semitism, from the battles against the pogroms in Europe and Tsarist Russia to the heroic Warsaw Ghetto uprising against the Nazis in Poland. To call up this history of resistance in defense of Israeli fascism and genocide is a betrayal of that history. For progressive Jews the only principled stand is total rejection of Zionism and support for Palestine.

Victory to the armed struggle

Drawing on the lessons of the victorious nation-

nal liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Palestinian people have chosen the difficult path of people's war to reclaim their homeland. Fighting from base areas in Syria and Lebanon, from within the West Bank and Gaza, and from within Israel itself, the Palestinian freedom fighters have thwarted Israeli attempts to wipe out their nation.

The state of Israel has become one of the most highly militarized in history, with a vast U.S.-supplied arsenal. Its farms and frontier settlements are armed to the teeth to guard against guerilla infiltration. Every Zionist settler functions as some part of the colonizing army, defending Israel against the ever-increasing advances of the Palestinian guerilla forces. As in every people's war, the Zionists must content with every Palestinian, and must consider each Palestinian a potential enemy. Not only does Israel have to guard against attack from outside its borders, but it has to protect itself from the Palestinian masses who still live and work as colonial subjects within Israel. It is a great strength of the Palestinian revolution that the war for Palestine has been brought into the heart of Israel, striking at the frontier settlements and within the urban centers.

The Israelis scream "terrorism" whenever a bomb explodes inside one of their cities or settlements. At the same time, Israeli pilots flying U.S.-made fighter bombers rain down indiscriminate terror on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. The Israelis call these attacks "self-defense".

Many people echo the Israeli charges of "terrorism" against the Palestinians. They raise the issue of attacks against the "civilian population", ignoring the fact that Israel in the civilian population functions as an armed militia directed against Palestinians. But criticism of Palestinian military actions reflects a more basic disagreement with the Palestinian strategy of people's war. Those who would deprive the Palestinians of their most effective weapons against the Israeli invaders and occupiers have no real commitment to the destruction of Zionism.

Nineteen eighty-one was the year of the Zionists unleashed the Beirut raid and other attacks against Lebanon, destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactors, escalated attacks by riot police and soldiers against Palestinians on the West Bank, and annexed the Golan Heights. But for all its ferocity, Israel can only succeed in buying time. No amount of Zionist military aggression and expansionism or maneuvering

by U.S. imperialism can destroy the Palestinian commitment and capacity to see their nation liberated. The destruction of Zionism, however long it takes, and the building of a free, independent and socialist Palestine will be an historic victory in the anti-imperialist struggle. The time is long overdue for those of us in the

U.S. left to break with the politics of collaboration with Zionism and white supremacy, which has denied the Palestinian revolution essential solidarity.

Victory to Palestine!

Economic Dependence and Imperialism

By Kazu Wamba-dia-Wamba

To-day, to speak of the so-called "Third World" is to speak of underdevelopment. But, to analyze underdevelopment is to study imperialism, which generated it and which sustains it. We are living under the historical epoch of imperialism; all questions crucial to mankind are affected by its hegemony.

Moreover, the struggle against underdevelopment is, today, identical with class struggle in favor of the masses of people: class relationships (class conflict, class alliances, class rules (1)) under imperialist hegemony determine the direction and the form of the underdevelopment process. The so-called "widening gap" between the rich and the poor or the "development of underdevelopment" imply that the class struggle over social development is carried out against the masses. Class forms of organization or relations of production (forms of management of/in the labor process, division of labor or distribution of means and agents of production and above all class forms of state) are determinant in liberating productive forces in favor of the masses or in subordinating them under imperialist (capitalist) relations of production, thereby intensifying underdevelopment. Under imperialism, underdevelopment is primarily a form of class antagonism, struggle over the form of organization of economic potentialities in favor of classes favorable to (benefiting from or compatible with) imperialism. A non-imperialist country in an imperialist network (chain) cannot develop positively (i.e., in favor of the interests of the masses); its being integrated in the imperialist chain is already the result of the defeat of the working people of that country. Hence, the study of imperialism is the study of the form of class antagonism in the imperialist network: which class stands for or against imperialism in each link and which forms of class domination/exploitation of the masses govern each link.

Imperialism

To correctly define underdevelopment, it is not enough to define it as a quantity (i.e. as an ensemble of quantitative indicators) but as the *form of a social process* whose law of motion has to be laid bare. What is characteristic of underdevelopment is the social process by which it is generated. It is only as an effect of such a process that we can discover its quantitative determinations. *Imperialism is a complex relationship of diverse social formations, relationship governed by a combination of capitalist, semi-capitalist and pre-capitalist relations of production under the dominance of capitalist relations of production.* The complex mode of appropriation of the various types of productive forces of those social formations is determined by that combination in dominance (of the different relations of production), i.e., by the combination/articulation of various forms of social distribution of the means of production under the capitalist form and by the articulated combination of different forms of distribution of the agents to definite positions (various forms of labourers and non-labourers) under the capitalist form as a function of the first combined distribution. It is not enough to know the quantitative determinations of the capitalist forms. We must know their articulation to quantitative determinations of the other forms. Otherwise we cannot grasp the political conjuncture of a specific link, i.e., the complex and uneven unity of dissimilar currents, absolutely heterogeneous class interests, absolutely contrary political and social strivings, as Lenin would say. (2)

Imperialism, system of contradictions in dominance, is not an *external* relationship between two or many countries and it is not one homogeneous, monolithic system either. Each link (social formation) has a relative autonomy whose conditions of effectivity are defined by the conjunction in dominance of principal

contradictions of all the social formations of the chain (i.e., class alliance in the imperialist chain). Any reversal of the aspects of the principal contradiction in each link modifies that conjunction in dominance. The link in which such a reversal is in a process of occurring becomes the weakest link. The converging forces of various links may be concentrated on the weakest link. It is then very important to know which forms the class struggle in each link takes. Throughout the imperialist chain all the processes have an internal/external aspect. The modality of effectivity of each aspect depends on the internal aspect of each link (primacy of the internal contradiction) in the last instance. There are cases in which the external aspect is dominant (e.g., case of open foreign intervention as opposed to "internalized foreign intervention," although this also may be invited from within).

It is incorrect, we believe, to reduce imperialism to "world capitalist market" or to the activities of multinational firms or military bases in "foreign lands," etc. Each social formation in the imperialist chain may be said to have certain forms on "internalized structure" of foreign intervention, by other links no matter how insignificant; such an intervention is authorized by the form of class alliances often expressed through relationships among various states of the chain. Foreign capital, foreign military bases, multinational firms (branches), missionaries, foreign experts, etc. don't just grow in the link like mushrooms. The question is, which social forces which favor their existence inside the link. The imperialist motion, with its internal/external aspects, is condensed materially in the state of each social formation. That is why we say that imperialism is a form of class antagonism. (3)

Class Struggle

Class struggle requires from each of us to take a stand, a *class stand*. Even, and above all, our scientific practice must conform to our class stand. Scientific practice and class stand are inseparable. Although in a world dominated by capitalist relations of production, the proletarian class position favors scientific practice, while the dominant class position prefers to hide the real conditions of exploitation and domination. We must identify clearly the socio-economic conditions of the class struggle, the effects of its various forms: political, economic, ideological, cultural, etc. We must uncover the composition of the classes in conflict and the forms of their respective class al-

liances. How is, under imperialism, the class struggle carried out in each country? Who exploits who at each level in each country? Although class alliances between unequal ruling classes may imply some form of domination, does such class domination of a strong ruling class over a weak ruling class entail a form of class exploitation? Like the various unequal power blocs have specific articulation in the state but in accord on the class exploitation of the exploited classes, so are the various unequal ruling classes in the imperialist chain: their conflict and contradictions are secondary to the one which opposes them to their exploited classes. We must know, who organize, favor, acquiesce to, or benefit from the exploitation of the masses. Who are opposed to the human interests of the exploited masses? Who are the masses today and how are they exploited in each country? Who are their direct/immediate and indirect/mediate friends (locally and worldwide) and who are their enemies? How are they developing respectively? What specific forms of class struggles characterize the tricontinental countries under imperialism? Only after such an analysis, constantly repeated, will we uncover the *fundamental contradiction* in those countries and in the imperialist chain.

Class struggle takes place in a social formation through its historically dominant mode of production which determines the form of its main instruments of power, the structure of its class struggles and class alliances. The imperialist chain has as its links, the various unequal social formations. Each social formation, at each conjuncture, has a specific form of class relations whose material condensation is the state which organizes it. The struggle in favor of the masses in each link is therefore a struggle for the seizure of state power. Very often the ruling classes of the secondary (4) links use the ideologies of "economic dependence" to disorient the attention of the masses and give them the impression that their real enemy is outside. To understand correctly the countries of the "Third World" it is essential to answer the question "how are social formations organized concretely within the imperialist network?" The answer will help us clarify the extent to which anti-imperialist struggles may be different from the anti-underdevelopment class struggles. And we will be able to contribute to the formation of correct strategies and tactics of intervention in the conjunctures of the "Third World" countries: which class alliances to promote and which forms of united fronts to push.

Class struggle in theory also means that ideas, notions which arise from the overall social class antagonistic practice are instruments of power of the exploiters or class instruments of struggle against the conceptual tools of the ruling classes. The ruling/dominant class spreads, defends ideas, notions, images which are favorable to (and conducive to) its exploitative social practice of domination. Thus it puts some emphasis on generating in the minds of the masses useful confusion geared not to their healing (facilitating their understanding of their conditions) but to make them "love" their miseries through ideological soothing. We must take a class stand even in the realm of ideas: are we organic intellectual workers producing concepts to facilitate the struggle for social development in favor of the masses or are we instruments of imperialism? (Even those who vacillate a lot express thereby a class form of stand: petty bourgeois class stand). Some people, especially those who produce ideas for the ruling class, hide their stand, they confuse us with the so-called "value neutrality" which is nothing but a form of class persuasion and pacification.

Intellectuals and Imperialism

The organic intellectuals of imperialism tend to conceive the social development of the "Third World" in terms of "more and more capitalist exploitation, diffusion or penetration," (i.e., in terms of capitalist transformation of the so-called "traditional economies") even though the process which is favored by their theories (of foreign aid, of open door policy, foreign investment, etc.) are geared to *the development of underdevelopment under imperialist (capitalist) hegemony*. So far, at least for Africa, they have resulted in further integration of the underdeveloped countries within the Capitalist world system making them more and more asphyxiated (Zaire is a case in point). They have tended to reduce the central task of the theory of development to answering the question "how to spread capitalism?" rather than "how to transform fundamentally the underdeveloped economies in favor of the masses?" Their task is essentially imperialistic, hence fails to deal with the relations of production which are the real condition of existence of underdevelopment. Reducing underdevelopment to a natural phenomenon relating this to the practice of the so-called *ceteris paribus* (bracketing or *epoche* of the "non-economic" factors, i.e. social relations of production), most conventional economists are indeed the most reliable organic intellectuals of imperia-

lism. Even those who otherwise, oppose imperialism, but still practice economism (reducing imperialism to capitalist market relationships is economism) are tools of imperialism; they fail to derive from their economic analyses, genuine political strategy to be put organizationally in the hands of the oppressed/exploited masses. Their pessimistic theories discourage the masses rather than encourage them in their struggle. (We have no space to elaborate this here). The general call to "world socialism" not combined with particular and specific guidance in a local socialist transformation, at worst violates the Marxist principle of the unity of theory and practice.

What passes as *economic theories of development or of growth* are, above all, theories about the organization of potentialities (productive forces) in society: they are based on a *class stand*, the stand of the class that organizes society in its favor principally. They are very often silent on the following question, "what class forms of organization of productive forces dominate in society? What are the various class objectives? Are they in confrontation or in harmony (harmony is often assumed: "harmonious development"!)? What is the fundamental characteristic of class conflict over social objectives? What class forms of organization favor the interests, objectives of the masses and which ones are opposed to them? Vis-a-vis those theories we must take a class stand. Taking a stand implies intervening in *all* social aspects (interactions). But to take a stand and be *clear* about it, we must be historical materialist (i.e. scientific). We must be informed through "concrete analysis of the concrete situation" about the real interactions (contradictions) which are the basis of the socio-economic motion of each society so that we will be in a position to formulate correct ways of intervening in the manipulation of those interactions.

Of course, it is not enough to produce "revolutionary concepts," these may always be recuperated by the ruling class and become oppressive. Ideas to become material instruments or forces of liberation have to be organizationally put in the hands of the masses. That is why issues of mass organizing (party building) will be crucial. How are forms of class consciousness formed and how can they be transformed? Which ideological structures control, prevent or favor the self-development of social consciousness of the exploited masses. The forms of organization of class struggle against the state apparatuses and its ideological forms

in each link within the imperialist network have to be studied. When the economic theories bypass or "bracket" class relations, the issues of political strategy are left unsolved and such a vacuum is filled by the existing imperialist, political strategies which are picked up by most governments operating on the basis of spontaneism.

(1) "Racism" (white supremacist practices and the resulting ideology of white chauvinism) and "tribalism," for examples, are forms of class rules. White supremacist practices (which

take the form of discrimination on the basis of race or nationality) and white chauvinism block the development of class consciousness of the proletariat, in the U.S.A. and South Africa, for example, thereby dividing the class and to be ruled by the Bourgeois class without many difficulties.

(2) *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 23.

(3) Nicos Poulantzas defines the state as materialization or condensation of class relations. See for example, in his *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*, NLB, London, 1975.

(4) In a system in dominance we have a principal element and secondary elements specifically articulated.

Cancun and the Brandt-Report – The Policy of Imperialism

By Konrad Melchers

Konrad Melchers is the author of "Social-Imperialism in Africa," extracts of which have been published in IKWEZI.

The Brandt report is not the first of its kind. The two preceding "development decades" were also ushered in by overall policy evaluations. A mere comparison of the three reports clearly reflects the changes of the world political situation in this period of 20 years. In 1960 the first report was presented by the American Paul G. Hoffman, a former general-administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) representing the world hegemony of US imperialism. Ten years later the political isolation of US imperialism and flaws in its alliances which had grown in the meantime (war in Indochina, crisis of the world monetary system etc.) urged the president of the World Bank, Robert McNamara, to assign this task to an eight-man-team led by the former Canadian Prime Minister and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Lester Pearson. Besides outstanding representatives of Western monopoly capital this commission also included two notorious compradors, the Jamaican economist W. Arthur Lewis (Nobel Peace Prize winner for economics in 1979) and the Brazilian banker Roberto de Oliviera Campos. Both reports disregarded the essential claims of the Third World and repeated the litany about the blessings of private capital transfers and the "liberalization" of world trade.

The Brandt commission mirrors change in

the seventies, namely the emergence of the Soviet Union as a new imperialist aggressor in the Third World pursuing hegemonistic aims and the growing contention of the two superpowers, the sharpening economic crisis of imperialism and the growing demand of the Third World for a New International Economic Order. Willy Brandt was obviously chosen by McNamara to be chairman of the commission as a champion of "East-West detente." While McNamara could cleverly utilize the Pearson Commission's Report to strengthen the role of the World Bank as a coordinating agency of Western multilateral imperialism even assuming a pilot position in its relations with the United Nations development system he could not do so with the Brandt report. This report does not argue in favour of the World Bank but calls for new more UN-like institutions. Brandt could not incorporate in his commission representatives from the Soviet political sphere but a number of experienced negotiators from the Third World. In variance to its predecessors the Brandt report does not confine itself to the purely economic problems but comprises the political dimension of the north-south conflict and tries to accommodate some of the demands of the Third World within its recommendations. It thus tries to become a new catalyst for what is euphemistically called the North-South dialogue or more realistically a guideline for the management of the growing imperialist crisis. In analyzing the report we may start with its methodological approach.

Common Interests?

As with his "new policy towards the East" Brandt's approach to the commission is to peg areas of common interests, in this case between the imperialists and the Third World countries. It is a common experience that the side in a political conflict which dominates and oppresses the other side does not voluntarily relinquish *its dominance in order to solve the conflict*. Therefore, all efforts to base political decisions and actions on the establishment of overlapping interests without tackling the unequal relationship between the conflicting sides will not resolve but only prolong the conflict. This triviality is not unknown to the Brandt commission as it states: "It is characteristic for the uneasiness between the North and the South that already the term 'common interest' causes suspicion. If the international reform is not more than to confuse the common interest of all parties involved, will it go far enough? Will it not be a mere reflexion of the dominant interests of the mighty? We don't believe that common interests alone already provide sufficient ground for all the necessary changes. The 'wealthy' are unlikely to relinquish their power and means and share them with the 'have-nots.'" (p.84-5. The pages refer to the German edition of the report (Das Überleben sichern, Köln 1980), all quotations are re-translations from this edition.)

In view of the success of a policy based on common interests therefore the commission admits: "... in negotiations, which promise gains for both sides, still none could be willing to give in because he thinks not to gain enough or the other would win too much. This is particularly the case in negotiations between unequals in which the gains should not be even if the inequality is to be reduced. Here, too often the result is determined by the different bargaining power, or as it happened often in the past, any agreement is prevented." (p.86) To overcome this dilemma, the Brandt commission resorts to old metaphysics.

Firstly, the call on international solidarity is hypocritical. Brandt, Heath, etc., while heading governments have provided sufficient proof that there is no such humanism from the part of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The second resort is to prophesy the coming apocalypse. The commission enumerates pictures of global horror – famine, the collapse of the ecological system, the collapse of the world credit system leading to an economic catastrophe in the eighties far greater than the one in the thirties, the "sharpening struggle for spheres of interest

and influence and control of resources", "which can lead to military conflicts" (p.62) ..., but in the view of the commission world peace is secure under the umbrella of the atomic deterrence of the superpowers. According to the Brandt commission "the armament of the superpowers and their allies constitutes a precarious balance, which nevertheless is under the present circumstances conducive to safeguard world peace." (p.149)

At the beginning of the report the commission claims: "The leaders of public opinion everywhere must find a new understanding of the historical forces that have dominated and separated the international community too long; they must assist the world to escape them and to break through the vicious circle of piercing protest and silent surrender by getting to the roots of the world problems and not only the symptoms." (p.42) It is precisely this claim which the report does not endeavor to fulfill. The causes of the threatening chaos are not revealed, the destructive forces at work are not pinpointed. Who precisely is contending for spheres of influence and for the control of resources and who lightens military conflicts is left unanswered. The history, the inherent laws of a conflict are not analyzed and explained by the different, antagonistic interests of the conflicting sides. The slogan of the report to "avert the catastrophe through unity" therefore only remains a variant of the old phrase of the "common boat" in which exploiter and exploited, oppressors and oppressed coexist peacefully.

In his introduction Brandt openly takes to an ahistorical approach when he writes: "The treatment of questions of historical causes does not provide an answer to the essential problem of self-responsibility." (p.35) "We are convinced that a world that implements our recommendations will be more just, more secure and more successful than one in which the states strike antagonistic attitudes, that are founded on sterile clichés of the past." (p.99) With some examples this method of "common interests" may be illustrated.

'Common' Interest in Oil?

In the chapter which deals with the energy problem the report neither reviews the protracted plunder of the oil-exporting developing countries nor does it clarify that the present position of OPEC in world energy distribution is determined by the still relatively low prices which they obtain for oil and gas. Today the share of OPEC in world hydrocarbonate pro-

duction is at 40%. But only 12% of known world deposits are in the OPEC countries. Between 1945 and 1973 the oil exporting developing countries received altogether 76 bn U.S. dollars for their oil and gas exports. At the same time the oil importers took away the value of 414 bn dollars (59 bn in the form of stated profits and 355 bn dollars in the form of oil taxes) not regarding the production value of the oil processing in the industrialized countries (cf. M. Massarat, *Weltenergieproduktion und die Neuordnung der kapitalistischen Weltwirtschaft*, Frankfurt 1980). In this distribution struggle OPEC has made considerable progress since 1973 increasing its annual proceeds from 23 bn dollars in 1973 up to about 150 bn dollars presently. But the countries which still monopolize the trade and the processing and which are themselves the biggest oil producers such as the USA and the USSR still take the lion's share to the detriment of the oil importing developing countries.

The Brandt report does not reveal the false story of the energy crisis caused by OPEC. It does not address itself to the real issues at stake but demands for "international regulations" and the creation of "international conditions and a political climate in which a trustful cooperation of all countries in the field of long-term research and opening up of energy resources should be achieved." (p.212)

Meat Consumption and Imperialism

A further example can be taken from the chapter on "hunger and food." The ideas of the Commission about the necessity to change lifestyles sound progressive. It writes: "The rich in the world could also contribute to the increases of food supply if they would use less fertilizer for other purposes than food production and if they would eat less meat: to produce one unit of animal protein eight units of proteins from plants are required. Livestock which eats grass does not need grain, but poultry and livestock that is grain-fed consumes big quantities – between 3 and 9 kg per kg of edible meat – which would be enough to supply a big part of the starving people in the world with grain products." (p.130) Here the Commission stops and does not explain the political and economic link between meat consumption in the North and starvation in the South. For example, the European Community has become in recent years a net exporter of meat and it hordes huge amounts of butter and dried milk, which to a great extent are transferred to the Third World as food aid. Two factors cause

this overproduction. The European farmers receive huge subsidies, which exceed the financial "aid" of the Community and of all its members towards developing countries. Milk alone is subsidized annually by about 11 bn DM. The second factor is the import of cheap food-stuff, which comes mainly from the Third World. 80% of livestock feeding in West Germany for instance is imported.

'Common' Interests in a Massive Capital Transfer – a Proposal for a Keynesian Crisis Management on a World Scale

The call for massive capital transfers into the Third World is the central recommendation of the Brandt commission. But it offers more than its predecessors. For the Least Developed Countries an additional annual transfer of 20 to 35 bn dollars is estimated in order to achieve an annual growth of real per capita income of 3.5 – 4%. The additional need of the other developing countries is set at 100 to 300 bn dollars annually. To sell this programme in Europe and North America the commission argues that in the industrialized countries production capacities with a value of 200 – 400 bn dollars per year – depending on the actual point in the business cycle – would stay idle. A substantial increase of export into the developing countries would help to utilize these free capacities, in other words increase employment. In this connexion the authors refer to the economic recession in the mid-seventies which was softened by an increase in demand from the Third World. Another argument is taken from the precarious debts of the developing countries which stay at almost 500 bn dollars. A growing proportion of it is made up by short-term and high-interest credits from the Euro-dollar market and other hot credit-places. Despite severe austerity programmes enforced by the IMF a number of countries are reaching the point of insolvency. If that happens a cumulative process could start leading to a global economic collapse. With this policy of demand creation the Commission propagates a Keynesian approach to the management of economic crisis on an international level. It obviously does not intend to solve the imperialist contradiction as it considers the Third World to continue to be the producer of raw materials and the consumer of the industrial goods produced in the industrial countries. But the programme is geared to stabilize for a short time the industrial economies on a higher level of imperialist capital realization. This could meet the interests of the new bourgeoisie in the Third World and keep it integrated in the imperialist orbit. But this only can postpone the crisis.

New Terms of Trade or More Credits?

Here we see that the crucial question is how the Third World countries should finance their external accumulation funds, through credits and private capital transfers or through revalorization of the exchange value of their exports? The first approach aims at continuing dependence and exploitation, the latter hits at the roots of imperialist exploitation through unequal exchange of values. What course does the Brandt report follow in this controversy?

First, it is worth mentioning that the Commission does not see either in the past or today any considerable net transfer of values from the Third World into the industrialized countries. Under the heading "remunerative prices" for the exports of raw materials from the developing countries, which in 1978 still made up for 81% of all their export proceeds, the Commission deals with the terms of trade. It doubts the existence of unequal exchange and the secular deterioration of the terms of trade. Occasional drops in the terms of trade the commission explains by losses in competitiveness through product substitution such as the substitution of natural products by chemical synthetics. Therefore it is only logical for the Commission not to envisage a main source of financing capital requirements of the Third World stemming from the revalorization of the exchange values. Thus it adheres to the basic line of imperialist policy. Nevertheless, facing the soaring pressure from the Third World it tries to adapt some NIEO demands of the Third World. For instance it draws attention to the fact that the underdeveloped countries receive only a small proportion of the final consumer prices of their primary commodity exports. The commission mentions an average share of 25% (p.181), frequently much lower rates down to 15% are stated. The commission testifies the importance of this structural element of the old international economic order with the results of an UNCTAD report which on the basis of 1975 international trade statistics estimates: "If the developing countries should achieve the production stage of semi-finished products for 10 important primary commodities their additional gross proceeds per year would roughly reach 27 bn dollars, 150% more than is presently earned from these exports." (p.178-9)

Unequal exchange, however, is only indirectly linked to vertical production shares in as much as greater vertical penetration of the commodity market can strengthen the bargaining power of the primary producer and there-

by improve its capability to increase the primary commodity price. Ultimately the combined horizontal and vertical market shares and the degree of syndication of the primary producers decide upon who can appropriate the bigger share of the surplus value. (The imperialist monopolies of course try to "play" the higher prices with inflation. But this does not fully negate the possibility, as shown by OPEC, to draw capital from this process.) This is not the rationale of the Brandt commission which sticks to capitalist theory of prices assuming that prices are determined by marginal production costs. Even indexation of prices to the inflation in the industrialized countries is a taboo for the Commission. Here the biased search for "common" interests becomes evident again. The commission writes: "If low prices of raw materials don't result from long term market factors but from short or medium term imponderabilities of the market this doesn't only affect the producer countries negatively in the long run but also the consumer countries, for it frustrates the propensity to invest and thereby jeopardizes the security of longterm supplies. At present one has to worry that investment in prospection and extraction of minerals might not meet the long-run needs . . . Therefore agreements between producers and consumers should pay sufficient attention to the problem of fixing remunerative prices. This will be in the interest of both sides." (p.185-6) What does the commission consider as remunerative prices? It propagates the example of the Lome Convention between the EEC and the ACP countries which only comprises measures to stabilize price-fluctuations arising from business cycles and speculation and to provide compensation credits for undeserved losses caused by climatic adversities. Experience shows the benefits from these measures for the ACP countries are, if at all, negligible. What remains is the call of the commission to expand the production of raw materials to secure long term supplies to the imperialist countries. The more the production is expanded the lower the prices can be kept. The "stabilization" is only to be arranged for seasonal and other short term fluctuations.

Automatic Financing

How does the Commission envisage to mobilize the huge resources it would like to transfer to the Third World? The striking failure of the 2nd development decade for which the majority of the "donor" countries solemnly pledged 0.7% of their GNP as official development as-

sistance (ODA) but altogether did not even reach half the target did not encourage the Commission to hope for increases in budgetary ODA allocations. It sees the reason for this deplorable state of affairs in the responsibility of the parliaments. It writes: "At present the level of development aid depends on the uncertain political will of the donor countries and the varying priorities which the legislators apply to the annual budget allocations." (p.305) Therefore the Commission recommends a "new approach in development financing" which mobilizes development funds through "automatic mechanisms without repeatedly involving governments and parliaments." (ibid.) Concretely the Commission thinks of international taxes levied on items such as international trade, exports of armament, international transport and tourism or the production of minerals from the seas beyond the 200 miles zone. Also the Commission recommends additional Special Drawing Rights (SDR) from the IMF rendered to the underdeveloped countries to substitute expensive borrowing on the Euro- and other dollar markets (the so-called link). Further the IMF should sell all its gold deposits worth about 40 bn dollars to be used as a guarantee fund for development credits toward the developing countries. Finally the commission endorses the plan to increase the capital of the World Bank from 40 bn to 80 bn dollars and to double its lending rate providing thereby for a creditline of 160 bn dollars. Besides this the commission does not favour the World Bank but proposes the establishment of a new World Development Fund to administer the new automatic mechanism of resource mobilization. In this new institution the developing countries should get a fairer participation than in the World Bank and in the IMF, which still are controlled by the imperialist powers, mainly the US.

In order to speed up disbursements the Commission advocates programme-financing instead of conventional project financing which presently has led to a pipeline between the dates of project identification and of project realization of, on average, ten years. In order to counter criticism that automatic financing would deprive the imperialist powers control of the new funds the commission argues that the "automatic method will by no means evade the political process ..." (p.305) The Commission also deliberately rejects global procedures to reschedule debts in which the Third World could make use of its collective bargaining power but instead recommends that "the new institution (the WDF) should joint-

ly with the World Bank, the IMF and the regional development banks (Interamerican Development Bank, African and Asian Development Bank) sit on single debtor countries and largescale projects." (p.317)

The figures the Brandt commission displays look rather impressive but it has to be borne in mind that most of the new funds would not be rendered at concessional terms but would be near market conditions. In other words the Third World countries would not be relieved from their fast growing debt burden. Despite this there is, however, very little chance that the proposals of the Brandt commission will be implemented. The Reagan administration in the US, the Thatcher government in Britain followed more or less by most other Western governments have swung to monetarist economic policy. In this line the US government is not only drastically reducing its bilateral financing "aid" and its commitments to the UN development agencies but has recently also decided to cut back its financial contribution to the Multilateral Development Banks (World Bank etc.) by 30-40%. At some point the reagonomists in Washington even seriously considered the proposal to sell the World Bank to the TNC banks, the Bank of America, Chase Manhattan etc., revealing the true picture of relationships. Reagan & Co. have departed from reformist approaches to crisis management and resorted again to the older method of straightforward antagonizing contradictions, including war. Consequently, only for further armament the US government is increasing expenditures. In this context the idealistic attempt of the Brandt commission to achieve a breakthrough regarding its recommendations by gathering some 22 heads of government in a remote place to discuss the burning issues without advisors and the whole lot of bureaucrats became a complete farce. At the meeting which eventually took place in September 1981 in Cancun not a single major recommendation was accepted. The fact that leaders like Indira Gandhi, in Cancun mainly busy to get Reagan approve an IMF loan to India worth 5 bn SDR, or Julius Nyerere participated in this show confirms the weakness of petty bourgeois leadership in the Third World.

No Unity with the Third World Against the Two Superpowers

As stated above the Brandt report explicitly refers to the political dimensions of the development problems. It is therefore interesting to look at the political approach of the Report.

First it is remarkable that the report endeavors to differentiate the Third World between the rich OPEC, the take-off countries and the "Fourth World," the LLDC's. On the other side the contradictions in the North, those between the US and Europe as well as Japan and even the East-West conflict are played down. This cannot only be explained by the special focus of the report.

US imperialism, if at all, is only criticized between the lines. Its war in Indochina is past. Brandt referring to the recent development in Kampuchea and Vietnam in his introduction to the report even gives absolution to the earlier crimes of the US in the area. He writes: "Since the extermination camps in Europe and the bomb of Hiroshima humanity has never been humiliated again to the extent as it is happening now in Indochina, particularly in Cambodia." (p.26) The preparations of the US to intervene militarily in the Middle East are not explicitly mentioned. Here the report is particularly worth quoting: "The political threats that are arising from the energy problem are underlined by the fears which are expressed in the media and elsewhere. There it is said that powerful nations could use force under certain circumstances in order to secure future oil supplies. Such interventions are bound to risk world peace. To talk about them already sharpens the political tensions and impedes possible solutions . . ." (p.213-4) The report overrules as we have seen the extra-profits which the USA and the USSR gain at the energy market. Similarly the world monetary system is viewed: "It is well justified to assume that the Bretton-Woods system (the monetary system introduced after World War II) supported the fast and still relatively stable economic growth, that could be fostered by the combination of favourable policies of the governments of the most important financial markets." (p.255) In such a perspective the underdevelopment of the Third World does not enter the picture. In its proposals for a reform of the world monetary system the Commission continues to exclude the US from criticism.

Since recent years a plan is under consideration to call all central banks to substitute their dollar deposits for SDRs from the IMF. The IMF then would be given the task to retransfer these dollars into the US banking system. This plan is being frustrated by the US government. At the same time the US are pursuing a high interest rate policy which has become the heaviest burden on Third World economies now frequently referred to as the interest rate-

shock. The Brandt report does not reveal this controversy to the public, it also does not look into the contradictions between Western Europe and Japan on the one side and the US on the other, contradictions which might be utilized in the interest of the Third World. Instead of calling for a broad unity against the superpowers the Commission continues to go along the old pattern of imperialist unity or, in the perspective of Brandt, rather the unity of the North.

— Which Detente?

This is proved by the Commission's view of the role of the Soviet Union. The commission makes no effort to analyze the interests of the USSR towards the Third World. What it has to say about "Eastern European participation" in development aid reads as follows: "The international relations of the East European countries are well developing. The developing countries more and more do insist that the successes of these countries and their visible impact on world events as well as the fact that many of them, with important exceptions, purchase raw materials from the Third World and sell industrial products to the Third World under similar conditions should compell the countries in the East to intensify their participation in international development aid and trade with the developing countries." (p.60) The slight criticism that can be traced in this sentence is immediately followed by the statement that the responsible men of the Soviet Union had confirmed the Commission their "willingness to continue their cooperation." (ibid.)

Two different views on the interrelationship between North-South and East-West appear in the report. Brandt writes in his introduction to the report: "One should understand the North-South relations as what they are, a new historical dimension for the active safeguard of peace. But instead we experience how the tensions between North and South sharpen the East-West contradictions." (p.21) Shortly afterwards Brandt takes the other view when he writes: "In the past the cooperation with the Third World was often transformed into an arena of ideological conflicts and antagonisms. If that continues the East-West rivalry in this sphere will constitute a great threat to global detente." (p.39) The first view which holds that a detente policy towards the Third World would also ease the East-West conflict and therefore could considerably contribute to safeguard peace is not further elaborated in the

report. This would require the commissioners to assert at least that the Soviet Union eagerly is trying to exploit the North-South conflict such as the Palestinian problem, the South African racist regime or the question of oil supplies etc. for her expansionist aims. Here an analysis had to follow why and how the intermediate zones today particularly the Third World have become the arena of contention between the two superpowers. To establish "common interests" from this angle is of no avail for the Brandt commission. For Brandt the mere reference to Soviet and US American aggressions "sharpens the political tensions and impedes possible solutions." (p.214)

On the other hand the report propagates the other view, that "only a relaxation of mistrust and fear between East and West can build a solid and lasting basis for the North-South cooperation." (p.336) Behind this assertion we find the conception that the East-West conflict is the cause of the North-South conflict. This

is imperialist theory, which negates the independence of the North-South contradiction as an imperialist contradiction, or respectively subordinates the North-South contradiction under the East-West contradiction.

It should be mentioned at this point that today's Soviet ideologists similarly argue that their "peace and detente policy" is the decisive factor for the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism. They also pretend that this policy, their arms race, is the best development assistance, since it would defend the developing countries from imperialist onslaught. Despite all differences and antagonism here we can see that there is a common ground, a common interest, of the Soviet leaders, the detente politicians such as Brandt and the hooligans of contention such as Reagan or Strauss in West Germany. They all are far away from the view that a real detente between North and South could contribute to ease the East-West conflict.

The Malvinas Belong to Argentine! British Imperialism Out!

Whatever might be the ultimate reasons for Britain's imperialist intervention in the Malvinas Islands there can be no doubt that it belongs to Argentina and that the British occupation there is a colonial one, a fact fully recognized by U.N. resolutions which urged Britain as far back as 1964 to enter into negotiations with Argentina over the sovereignty of the islands. The character of Galtieri fascist regime is immaterial to the question of the sovereignty of the island. To make a fuss about the fascist nature of Galtieri's regime is objectively to side with the forces of British imperialism. It is not without reason that the very same progressive forces of all hues in Argentina and the Argentinian people who have been opposing the Galtieri regime came out in full support and solidarity over the Malvinas issue, because they know that the islands rightly belong to them.

Some Western leftist elements brought out the argument that if one spoke of colonisation of the Malvinas then what about the usurpation of the lands of the Indian people in what is now Argentina by the Spanish settlers. If this is so the situation still does not change. From the point of view of the Indian people the situation is still a colonial one and it is the duty of the Argentinian state – something for which all

progressive and socialist movements in Argentina should fight for – to give to the Indian people their land and national rights. But the Indian and the Spanish people constitute the nation of Argentina, not the British.

To argue for self-determination for the handful of British settlers in the Malvinas is to support the colonisation of the islands from which Argentinians were expelled and denied entry for over 150 years. To support self-determination for the islanders is to deny self-determination for the Argentinians who have been the victims of British, and more recently USA imperialism for centuries and who now wish to use the occupation of the Malvinas for the further extension of their imperialist aims relating to the resources of oil and minerals in the region (together with those of the Georgia and Sandwich Islands) and the South Atlantic region generally. The Malvinas can also be used as military bases by the Western imperialist powers in their war preparations and this poses a threat to the independence and security of countries in that region.

The struggle for the decolonisation of the Malvinas is anti-imperialist in nature and should be supported from that point of view. This is a struggle for self-determination and in-

dependence and to question whether it benefits the working class is to befuddle the issue as a struggle against British imperialism. The British settlers can remain there as citizens under Argentinian sovereignty with full democratic rights of Argentinian citizens. If they do not like Argentinian sovereignty and feel very British they can return home.

The Malvinas were discovered on April 7, 1504 by the famous Italian navigator, Amerigo Vespucci (the so-called discoverer of America). Spain held legal rights to the islands from 1600 until 1811. The British moved into the islands around 1765, were expelled by the Spaniards in 1768, returned in 1771 and left again in 1774. Spain then placed the islands under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires. Argentina became an independent nation on July 1816, taking over the territories formerly ruled by Spain from Buenos Aires. In 1829 Argentina appointed Luis Vernet as governor of the islands and they became indisputably part of Argentina.

In January 1833 the British occupied the islands by force. They ordered the Argentinians out and forbade them to return. Up to 1982 any Argentinian visiting the islands had to show his return ticket on arrival.

The highest ranking authorities of the islands are appointed directly by London. The islanders themselves were second class citizens and have no right of abode in Britain unless they are grandchildren of British citizens.

Britain had never shown an active interest in the islands. There are no proper hospitals nor educational facilities. Many island children have to attend schools in Argentina and Uruguay. Many sick islanders have been restored to health in hospitals in mainland Argentina. The only airstrip in the islands was built by Argentina which since 1972 maintained the only air service to and from the continent, thus providing the only link between Malvinas and the rest of the world. All the fuel for the islands is supplied by the Argentina Petroleum Company and Argentinian teachers have been working on the islands for nearly ten years.

Despite the U.N. resolutions the British have resolutely refused to negotiate the decolonisation of the Malvinas. The idea that the Argentinians threaten the "British" way of life (whatever that is supposed to mean) is quite ridiculous. There are 100,000 British people in Argentina who enjoy the same rights as the rest of the people in the country. Their Britishness is not threatened in any way. Throughout the crisis not a single British life was threatened.

The Argentinian struggle for the Malvinas is part of its traditional struggle against Western imperialism that has over the centuries exploited and plundered it. Argentina has its origins in the Spanish Empire of South America. After the defeat of the Spanish Napoleon, other European powers, amongst them Britain, tried to colonise South America and Argentina eventually came under the domination of British imperialism. "South America", wrote Schulz-Gaevernity, in his work on British imperialism, "is so dependent financially on London that it ought to be described as almost a British commercial colony".

The Argentinian bourgeoisie was strongly enmeshed with British finance capital. British imperialism eventually came to be eclipsed by US imperialism especially after World War II. Of the 120 largest companies operating in Argentina in 1980 eighty of them were foreign owned, 39 of them US owned. Argentina is nothing more than a semi-colony of imperialism.

British imperialism could not have won the war against Argentina without the support of the US and the Common Market countries with the US imperialists first playing the ridiculous role of peace makers and warmongers eventually supporting Britain. The Common Market trade sanctions hit Argentina badly. The US provision of intelligence reports about the Argentinian Army played a major role in defeating the Argentinians, led by corrupt generals who acted with little forethought of the consequences that might follow the seizure of the islands and whose preparations for them were minimal. Nevertheless Britain suffered heavy losses.

An important aspect of the war was the manner in which the EEC, the US and Britain teamed together in a name of a stand against aggression and for the "maintenance of an international law and order". But this was a warning to Third World countries against actions of this kind. In Britain itself a massive chauvinistic hysteria was drummed up that will no doubt add to Margret Thatcher's popularity in the next election. Perhaps this was a major reason for sending the task force. Already Thatcher wishes to garrison a huge army there that will outnumber the inhabitants and to maintain nuclear submarines. But whether Britain can meet the enormous military costs and continuing Argentinian and Latin American hostility is very doubtful.

As usual the Labour Party, that Party of socialism, trailed behind loyally to British impe-

rialism while mumbling vaguely about a UN negotiated settlement. The Malvinas belongs to the Argentina not to the U.N. The U.N. itself has called up Britains to negotiate the question of sovereignty with Argentina.

The US was eventually forced to rally behind Britain because of its global strategy in its rivalry for world hegemony with the Soviet Union and could not let down its servile ally, Britain at a time when Europe is becoming

sharp focus of the rivalry between the two superpowers. But the Latin American countries and the nonaligned movement in general rallied behind Argentina and this is the major reason why Britain refuses to take the question of sovereignty to the U.N. The Malvinas crisis showed the inter-relationship of forces in a global scale involving the US, EEC, USSR and the Third World, the same forces which react to every political crisis in the world today.

Miskitos and Sandinistas in Nicaragua

(from Akwesasne News, Journal of Native Indians in the US)

“To oppose U.S. imperialism, people of European origin in the Latin-American countries should unite with the indigenous Indians. Perhaps the white immigrants from Europe can be divided into two groups, one composed of rulers and the other people of ruled. This should make it easier for the group of oppressed white people to get close to the local people, for their position is the same.”

(Mao Ze Dong – “U.S. Imperialism is a Paper Tiger”, Vol. V. page 311)

Nicaragua is a tiny impoverished Central American country of 2.5 million people. It is a land which has been devastated by a recent civil war following forty-five years of exploitation by the Somoza family, its allies, and North American transnational corporations. Large areas of the country lie in ruins in the aftermath of fighting which left tens of thousands dead and many more injured.

The Nicaraguan Revolution brought the Sandinistas to power in 1979. The Sandinistas, for the most part, are young men and women who led an armed struggle against one of the most brutal regimes in the Americas. They are people who have good reason to fear the “North American Shark” because the U.S. government has tried to destabilize every reformist or revolutionary government in the recent history of Central America. Most of the Sandinistas are people who have struggled, suffered, and bled during the revolution which drove Somoza from power, and they are understandably determined to maintain the revolution

“The aspirations of the indigenous population of America, traditionally exploited, oppressed and subjected to the rigors of a brutal internal colonialist system, are now aspirations contained within the Sandinista Revolution: aspirations which must not be betrayed.”

Declaration of Principles of the Sandinista Popular Revolution With Regard to the Indigenous Communities of the Atlantic Coast. (August 1981)

for which their people paid so dearly.

Knowing the commitment of the Sandinistas to build a new and just society, it saddened us to receive news that there was a growing rift between them and the 100,000 Miskitos Indians who live along the country's Atlantic Coast. It saddened us even more to hear that Sandinista soldiers had relocated large numbers of Miskito from their homeland along the Coco River in January, and that Ronald Reagan, Alexander Haig, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Jesse Helms and a number of wright-wing “human rights” groups were using the events surrounding the Miskitos relocation to condemn the *Nicaraguan government for its policies towards indigenous peoples.*

Although many of the facts concerning the Miskiti relocation are uncertain, some things are known. On the 13 January, 1982, helicopters carrying Nicaraguan military personnel descended upon Miskito villages on the southern bank of the Coco River along the Honduran frontier. Within a week, the soldiers had

evakuated twenty villages, burned all the houses, killed the Indians' livestock and destroyed their fruit orchards. The government also arrested nearly one hundred Miskitos and set up five relocation camps some sixty kilometers from the Honduran border. Currently there are an estimated 10,000 Miskitos in these camps.

The Nicaraguan government emphatically denies that there was a massacre of Indians along the Rio Coco on January. It says that only two people died during the relocation — one of a heart attack and the other from hepatitis — and that it was absolutely necessary to move the villagers in order to protect them from attacks by counter-revolutionary bands on the other side of the river. According to the government, the relocation was precipitated by bloody terrorist raids by former Somocista guardsmen and dissident Indians last November in which 60 people were killed, including members of the Sandinista Army and local Miskito residents.

Only an impartial investigation, in which the Miskitos relocatees are interviewed in their own language, can establish what happened in Nicaragua at the beginning of this year, but there are reasons to be skeptical of the Nicaraguan government's accounts.

The Nicaraguan government has also presented their dispute with the Miskito Indians within the context of what they perceive to be the threats to their revolution from Washington and Moscow, there rages a conflict between the Sandinistas and the Miskitos which has a history of its own.

The Forging of Miskito Nationhood

The Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua is unlike any other region within Central America. Geographically, it makes up more than half of the land area of the country and is comprised of a rugged tropical rainforest, riverline, and ocean-littoral environment. Ethnically, it is made up of Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians, Afro-Caribbean Criollos, and Spanish-speaking Mestizos. Politically, it was not incorporated into Nicaragua until 1894, following more than two centuries of English control.

The Miskito Indians are not only the dominated ethnic group along the coast, but they have also been the determinative force in its history. Unlike other Mesoamerican indigenous groups, the Miskito successfully fought off Spanish rule, maintaining sovereignty over their aboriginal homeland without succumbing to European diseases, enslavement, and degene-

ration. Throughout the 17th century, as English pirates established a foothold in the Caribbean, the Miskito formed commercial and political alliances with the British in order to insure their own survival. In 1687, an Indian king was crowned in Jamaica to rule over "La Moskitia", and, in the course of the next two centuries, fifteen more Miskito monarchs were recognized by the British Crown.

In the course of the 19th century, many of the Miskito were converted to the Protestant Moravian religion. Fundamental political and economic changes, however, did not occur until the later part of the century, as the U.S. and England jockeyed for imperial hegemony over the strategic southern part of Central America and as the newly independent Nicaraguan state searched for a way of gaining administrative control over the Atlantic Coast. The key event occurred in 1894 when the Liberal government of Jose Santos Zelaya militarily invaded the headquarters of the Miskito reserve in Bluefields and announced the "Reincorporation of the Moskitia."

Things changed rapidly for the Miskito and the other Indians of the Atlantic Coast following the creation of the Department of Zelaya. Not only was the political sovereignty of the Miskito undermined, but the aboriginal lands of the Indians were invaded by large foreign — mainly "Yankee" — mining, timber, and banana companies. By the turn of the century, the Miskito and their neighbors were forced to subsist from hunting, fishing, and gardening, while knowing that their fate now depended upon the boom-and-bust cycles of a highly parasitic form of extractive capitalism.

As with other Nicaraguans, the real parasites for the Miskitos turned out to be the Somoza family and its cronies. Following World War II, the Somoza government granted the U.S. Nicaraguan Longleaf Pine Lumber Company (NIPCO) a huge timber concession in the far northeastern part of the country. The amount of forest denuded by this company was immense, and numerous Indians were removed from their traditional lands. When NIPCO departed in 1966, Somoza thought of another scheme to revive the forest industry, this time coordinated by the newly created Institute for National Development (INFONAC) and by the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). Again, the Miskito felt threatened, as Somoza announced the "nationalization" of their lands and they came to realize that they would not have a voice in the state's development plans.

It was in this context that a novel cultural and political revitalization movement emerged among the Indians of the Atlantic Coast. In the early 1970s, a group of Miskito and Sumo youths formed an organization called *Alpromiso* to defend the land and cultural rights of their people against the policies of the Somoza government. Although many of the founders of *Alpromiso* were wise to city ways, they immediately formed committees in isolated villages, began to study their people's history and traditions, and started to organize Elder's Councils in all the villages to provide advice and direction for their work.

In September 1977, representatives of *Alpromiso* attended the historic United Nations NGO Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Peoples of the Americas held in Geneva, Switzerland. The Geneva Conference was important because it provided an opportunity for political and cultural exchanges between Indian leaders from North, South and Central America. When the conference ended, a declaration was released calling for the recognition of indigenous peoples as nations, with rights to aboriginal territories and powers to form treaties and other agreements with nation-states.

The Coming of the Sandinistas

The Sandinistas argue that one of the reasons for the growing friction between themselves and some of the Miskito leadership was because the peoples of the Atlantic Coast did not participate in the revolutionary war. According to their position, "a relatively backward political consciousness" exists among the entire *Costeno* population — Indians, Blacks, and Mestizos — because they did not assume an active role in the revolutionary struggle. The Miskito leadership, on the other hand, argue that they were involved in a "parallel struggle" on the Atlantic Coast, but one which enabled them to rediscover their cultural roots and reaffirm their rights and needs as a distinct people vis-a-vis the policies of the Nicaraguan state.

This clash of worldviews became clear just months after the revolution when Comandante Daniel Ortega, the coordinator of the government junta, visited the Atlantic Coast. The junta's original idea had been to discourage an independent Indian organization on the Atlantic Coast and to promote the affiliation of local Indian communities with mass organizations such as the Association of Rural Workers (ATC) and the Sandinista Defense Committee

(CDS). The *Alpromiso* leadership protested this idea arguing that there was a need for an independent Indian organization to represent their people within the revolution. After much discussion, it was finally agreed that a general assembly of Native community leaders be held and that the question be opened to popular debate. In November 1979, a meeting of 700 Native leaders representing 112 communities was held at which it was agreed to form a new Indian organization to represent the special interests of Native peoples. It was out of this meeting that *Misurasata* — a term which means Miskito, Sumo, Rama, Sandinista "working together" — was formed. Steadman Fagoth, a dynamic leader with a large Native following along the coast, was chosen as the first General Coordinator of the new organization.

The shaky alliance between the Miskito and the Sandinistas began to come apart in the spring and summer of 1980 when the government announced plans for the implementation of its agrarian reform program along the Atlantic Coast. Similar to so many other countries which have tropical rainforests and Native populations on their frontiers, the Nicaraguan agrarian reform called for the "integration" of the people and resources of the Atlantic Coast into the national economy.

The *Misurasata* leadership was not opposed to the idea of the government providing agricultural and other services to the Native communities of the Coast, but it was concerned that the regional development program would proceed in such a fashion that due recognition would not be given to aboriginal land claims.

The Suppression of Misurasata

In February 1981, war broke out between *Misurasata* and Sandinista security agents. In a one week period, 33 *Misurasata* leaders were arrested, and four Indians and four soldiers were killed when government troops entered a crowded Moravian church in the town of Prinzapolka. The government claimed that these actions were necessary because the Indian leaders were calling for a separate and autonomous nation on the Atlantic Coast. According to the government, the main force behind the Indian separatist movement was Steadman Fagoth, the first general coordinator of *Misurasata* and the organization's representative on the Council of State. Documents possessed by the government allegedly showed that Fagoth was a spy under Somoza and that he and other *Misurasata* leaders were conducting counter-revolutionary activities against the Nicaraguan

state under a scheme called "Plan '81."

The Sandinistas underestimated the following that the *Misurasata* leaders possessed on the Atlantic Coast. In the aftermath of the February jailings, thousands of Indians staged a sit-in in the northern towns of Huaspan and Bilswakarma calling for the release of their leaders. The government responded by sending a commission to restore order on the coast, and most of the *Misurasata* leaders, with the exception of Steadman Fagoth, were set free in early March. Fagoth negotiated his own release by promising to accept a scholarship to study in the Soviet Union. He returned to the Atlantic Coast in May and then fled into Honduras with 3,000 Miskito followers. By June 1981, Steadman Fagoth was reported to be visiting the United States where, according to one American journalist, he was "working with some of Miami's best-known Nicaraguan exiles, including several seeking to overthrow the Sandinista regime."

By this time the Sandinistas began to realize that they needed to create some sort of Indian policy in order to control events on the Atlantic Coast. On 12 August 1981, Comandante Daniel Ortega read a "Declaration of Principles of the Sandinista Popular Revolution With Regard to the Indigenous Communities of the Atlantic Coast" before a meeting of 500 government workers and supporters gathered in a Managua suburb. Despite the revolutionary rhetoric with which the document opens, the 8-paragraph declaration is striking for its misreading of the unique cultural, historical and political reality that exists on the Atlantic Coast.

The first principle of the Declaration states that "Nicaragua is but one nation" which cannot be "territorially and politically dismembered, divided, or deprived of its sovereignty and independence" and whose "official language is Spanish." There are then three general paragraphs about the government's support of racial and religious equality, freedom of cultural and linguistic expression, and the popular participation of indigenous communities in the revolution. The real heart of the Declaration, however, is in paragraphs 5 and 6 which address the vital question of Native land and resource rights. Paragraph 5 says that the "Sandinista Popular Revolution" will guarantee and legalize through the granting of titles to lands where coastal communities have traditionally lived, while paragraph 6 states that all natural resources are the property of the Nicaraguan people represented by the "Revolutiona-

ry State." In the case of forest resources, Indian communities are recognized as having rights to receive a portion of the benefits derived from their exploitation, but the actual right of exploitation rests with the Nicaraguan government. (Interestingly, the official English translation of the August 1981 Sandinista Indian Declaration, which was distributed in Geneva, confuses the meaning of the original Spanish document released by the government. The Spanish phrase "las tierras donde historicamente han vivido las comunidades de la Costa Atlantica" in paragraph 5 is translated as "the land on which the peoples of the Atlantic Coast have traditionally lived and worked" (emphasis ours). The distinction here between Indian property rights to village sites where people live versus more encompassing rights to hunting, fishing, gathering and gardening territories where people work is a critical one. As the Spanish version of the August 1981 Sandinista Indian Declaration reads, it is no more far-reaching in its recognition of aboriginal land rights than the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in the United States or the 1973 Indian Statute in Brazil.)

For obvious reasons, when this Declaration was presented to a gathering of indigenous leaders meeting at a second UN NGO conference in Geneva in September 1981, many of them thought it was just a philosophical justification for a "land grab" on the part of the Nicaraguan government.

The final months of 1981 saw an even greater deterioration in the relations between the Miskito and the Sandinistas, as well as a general threat to the security of the entire northern part of the country. In September, Brooklyn Rivera — one of the last of the original *Misurasata* leaders who remained in Nicaragua and who favored negotiations with the government — joined his Miskito compatriots in Honduras. Meanwhile, news reports began to filter abroad about a general buildup of the Honduran Armed Forces, about ex-Somocista guardsmen amassing along the Nicaraguan-Honduran frontier, and about a U.S.-backed inter-American security force being trained in Argentina for deployment in Central America. In November and December, a number of virulent claims and counter-claims passed between the Nicaraguan and Honduran governments about border incursions. The anger of the Nicaraguans was particularly fired when it was revealed that the Miskito leader Steadman Fagoth was one of those injured in an Honduran Army C-47 crash at Puerto Lempira in late December.

"Tasba Pri" is the Miskito term for "Free Land" and the name the Nicaraguan government has given to an "Integral Rural Resettlement Program" for the resettled Miskito communities on the Coco River. The purpose of this project is not so much to protect these people from violence along the frontier as it is to establish the conditions for their social and economic integration into the Nicaraguan economy. Although the government is proud of the social, health, and technical services that it has programmed for these communities, it seems to be setting the institutional framework for a type of dependency not unlike that known on Indian reservations in the United States. The irony is that all this is being done in the name of "revolutionary socialism" and apparently with very little input, except labor, on the part of the Indian people involved.

It is equally disturbing to see the new racial and cultural mythology that the Sandinistas are creating to rationalize their policies along the Atlantic Coast. At the beginning of the *Tasba Pri* document, there is a section describing the "racial and ethnic origins of Nicaraguan Nationhood." Although the document recognizes the ethnic pluralism of Nicaraguan society, it states "it is national policy to recover and defend pride in the Mestizo origins of the Nicaraguan people." The history of inter-ethnic relations in Nicaragua, according to this document, is filled with contradictions. The Miskito themselves are said not to be an autochthonous people but rather the product of a union between an African population and a Sumo group that occurred relatively late in the colonial era. During the colonial period, it continues, the Miskito served as mercenaries for the British imperialists, defending them in their war against Spain, and plundering other Native groups along the coast. Later, when U.S. imperialism penetrated the Atlantic Coast, the Miskito internalized "North American culture" and continued to see themselves as opposed to their Mestizo class allies on the Pacific Coast. It was only with Sandino's dream to create a set of large-scale cooperatives along the Coco River that the indigenous and Mestizo populations began to see their struggle for national sovereignty as a common one. Unfortunately, the Miskito and other indigenous groups were left behind in this struggle, and it was only with the victory of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in July 1979 that the "uneven development of political consciousness" between Indians and Mestizos could be finally overcome.

While this makes good revolutionary ideolo-

gy, it does little justice to the historical traditions and cultural aspirations of the indigenous peoples. It is surprising, in fact, how little respect this Marxist theory of Nicaraguan ethnic history shows for Indian oral traditions, and how minimal a role it gives to indigenous peoples in determining their own destiny and fate.

Hemispheric Implications

The Indians and their supporters are certain to become increasingly articulate in their assertion that under the Nicaraguan brand of socialism, Indian people have no rights as Indians. They will compare the internment of their people to the forced relocation of Japanese-Americans during World War II, to the March of Tears of the Cherokees, and to other atrocities, and their words will be heard by North American and European progressive groups to the detriment of the Nicaraguan Revolution. More importantly, the issue will force a wedge between the other Indians of Central and South America and liberation forces in those countries, and it will be exploited by the Right, especially in these countries with huge Indian populations. Social change cannot come to many areas of Latin America unless the Indian joins the struggle, and the Right is certain to exploit the Nicaraguan experience in their efforts to neutralize any Indian politicization.

Apologists for the Nicaraguan government assert that because Nicaragua is an anti-imperialist state, progressive people must uncritically support that government on every issue.

The Indian situation is desperate in Central America. Last November, and again in early March, thousands of Guatemalan soldiers swept through the highlands in a burnt-earth maneuver, conducting massacres and forcing people to flee their villages. There are reports that twenty to fifty thousand Mayan Indian refugees are now occupying camps in Mexico and the death toll is expected to grow alarmingly in the coming weeks as the new military junta of the rich reaches out for arms to the U.S. government in order to slaughter the legions of the poor.

What is significant about Nicaragua is that the government there claims to be the protectors of the poor. And yet, the poorest sector of that country suffers what can only be described as extreme repression. The Left in that wartorn country appears to be suffering a crisis in ideology which will not permit it to negotiate with a community of Indians over such issues as local autonomy, self-determination,

and a shared decision-making process on the exploitation of natural resources. It all appears so tragic and unnecessary.

The Miskito Indians in Honduras are daily more easily convinced they have no other choice but to fight back, that the Managua govern-

ment will not hear their grievances or respond to their assertions that they wish to remain a distinct people with control over their lives. It is a truly tragic situation, and one with ramifications for progressive people throughout the world.

Developing a Revolutionary Style of Work

The question of a correct style of work that unites comrades on a principled revolutionary basis is a serious amongst Azanian revolutionaries. Most Azanian revolutionaries are petit bourgeois revolutionaries with a petit bourgeois style of work. The Chinese revolutionaries under the leadership of Mao Ze Dong made the important proletarian contribution of a style of work to the communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism. We bring to the attention of Azanian revolutionaries some articles by Zhou EnLai on this important question.

How to be a Good Leader

by Zhou Enlai

I. The definition of a leader

Any cadre may at some time have to take up the work of leadership, and very likely he is already doing such work. Therefore, the work of leadership concerns leading cadres at all levels, whether the lower, middle or upper.

Among the staff members at Hongyan and Zengjiayan there is only a difference in the kind of work each does, but no distinction is drawn between the leaders and the led, still less between cadres and non-cadres. Although some comrades working at Hongyan and Zengjiayan and in the office of the New China Daily are not directly shouldering the responsibilities of leadership, they are in fact leaders.

II. The stand a leader should take

A leading cadre must proceed from the standpoint of the Party in everything he does. But this is only a general statement. More specifically, a leading cadre should have the following qualities:

1. A firm Marxist-Leninist world outlook and a revolutionary outlook on life;
2. Devotion to principle;
3. Faith in the strength of the people;
4. Dedication to study;
5. A tenacious fighting spirit; and
6. A high sense of discipline.

III. The leaders and the leading organizations

1. Collective leadership and leadership of each level by the next higher level — unified leadership, centralization and democracy (discussion and division of labour).

2. Individual responsibility and individual leadership — this is especially needed in the Great Rear Area and is by no means negated by collective leadership.

3. Direct personal intervention and decision from above — this is not the usual practice but one employed under special circumstances, or to set an example.

IV. What is correct leadership?

I shall now elaborate on the three points Stalin once made:

Correct Decisions

1. Decisions must be correct. First, leaders should evaluate the situation and anticipate possible changes, seeking out the characteristics of a given place at a given time. Second, they should relate all this to the general task of the Party and determine the tasks and policy for a given period. Third, in line with this policy, they should formulate slogans and tactics appropriate to the current situation. Fourth, they should then work out realistic plans and instructions. They should do all this through in-depth investigation and study of actual conditions, linking up the results with Party tenets and principles.

2. Correct decisions must be implemented. First, leaders should organize discussion of ways to implement the plan and carry out instructions. Second, they should carefully select capable persons and put them in charge of the plan's implementation. Third, they should organize efforts to realize the Party's plan. Fourth, they should personally take part in the implementation so as to set an example. By so doing, they can discover through practice

whether the Party line and tactics are correct or whether they should be modified.

3. There must be reviews of the actual implementation of the decisions. Methods of making such reviews: (a) we must note tangible results of work rather than promises; (b) we must not merely look at plans on paper, but inquire whether tasks are being performed conscientiously or only perfunctorily; (c) we must pay attention to content rather than to form and examine whether a decision is really being correctly carried out or is being distorted; (d) reviews should not only be conducted from top to bottom, but also from bottom to top; (e) reviews should be systematic and regular; and (f) leaders should personally participate in reviews.

As Stalin has said, leaders must maintain close ties with the masses, and the experience gained by both leaders and masses must be synthesized. Only thus can there be correct leadership.

V. The tasks of leaders

Comrade Mao Ze Dong says that the tasks of leaders consist in using cadres well and implementing policies. This is true. Breaking them down, I think, they are as follows:

1. Leading cadres should pay close attention to *ideological and political leadership*. This requires that they constantly raise their own ideological level and strengthen their own political training. We ask our comrades to concentrate on the following: (a) placing emphasis on important matters; (b) sharpening political vigilance; (c) raising their theoretical level; (d) intensifying ideological struggle both inside and outside the Party; and (e) actively publicizing the policies and achievements of the Party.

Cadres

2. Leading cadres should give careful thought to organizational leadership. Once the political line is laid down, organizational work decides everything. We draw our comrades' attention to the following points: (a) organizational leadership should be raised to the level of political leadership; in other words, all kinds of work should be put on a principled basis and connected with political tasks; (b) all organizational and day-to-day work should serve to guarantee the fulfilment of the Party's political tasks and the realization of its work plans; (c) importance should be attached to the Party's day-to-day leadership, so that Party organizations stay close to the grass roots and

their work becomes even more concrete; (d) Party organizations and the masses must be mobilized to strive to surmount all difficulties; and (e) we should combat all forms of opportunism (such as perfunctoriness, empty talk, arrogance, bureaucracy, formalism, and red-taped routinism), corruption, degeneration etc.

3. Prudence should be exercised in selecting cadres and assigning work. This is also part of *organizational work*, but it can be taken up separately. Both political qualifications and work competence are indispensable criteria for selecting cadres, but political trustworthiness takes precedence. Stalin once pointed out the harm done to the Party when people made appointments not in accordance with principle. He said that such persons were followed by a large "entourage" wherever they went and that they employed only those whom they regarded as their "own" men. In one of his reports on the rectification movement, Comrade Mao Zedong, too, criticized such persons for being "dishonest". That was the failing of those "imperial envoys who rushed everywhere". Given a cadre's political trustworthiness, it is still important to use him properly (in the light of the time, place and circumstances).

4. Work should be reviewed. The performance of working personnel and the implementation of the work plan must be reviewed. As Stalin has said, the objectives of the review are: first, to get to know the qualifications of the cadres; second, to determine the virtues and defects of the executive apparatus; and third, to determine the virtues and defects of the tasks or instructions that are set. Some leaders think reviews of this sort are likely to expose their own weaknesses, marring their prestige or shaking their self-confidence. This is incorrect. Leaders enhance their prestige by correcting their mistakes, not by covering them up, and by immersing themselves in hard work, not by bragging and boasting. Confidence will only be strengthened and not weakened through correction of mistakes. It is only those who are vain and concerned with face-saving who fear the exposure of mistakes.

Work amongst the Masses

5. Go among the masses. The leaders should not only educate the masses but should also learn from them. The reason is that the leader's own knowledge is incomplete and their experience insufficient. Leading positions in themselves cannot bestow knowledge and experience, so it is essential to go to the people and

draw experience from them. We ask that comrades: (a) get close to the people, maintain contact with them, and to some extent become one with them; (b) heed the voice of the people; (c) learn from them; and (d) educate them instead of tailing behind them.

VI. Leading the masses and befriending them

1. The masses are not to be led in the same way as Party members. The way we lead the masses and the attitude we take towards them should not make them feel that we are exercising leadership.

2. The basic method of leading the masses is persuasion, and definitely not command. Only in situations when it is necessary and when the majority agree while a minority still do not, may we compel the minority to carry out the decisions of the majority.

3. The leaders themselves should play an exemplary role in giving leadership to the masses and befriending them.

4. When necessary, leaders should ignore insults hurled at them.

5. Leaders must never underestimate the role they play or the influence they exert, and must work prudently and cautiously.

VII. The art of leadership

According to the art of leadership as expounded by Lenin and Stalin, leaders should not run too far ahead of a movement, nor should they lag behind. Rather, they should grasp the key and push the movement forward.

According to the art of leadership as expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong, they should take into account the over-all situation, think in terms of the majority and work together with our allies.

VIII. Work methods

1. Examine theoretical tenets and principles in the course of struggle;
2. Determine and review policies in the course of concrete work;
3. Improve work in a revolutionary spirit;
4. Promote democracy and encourage criticism and self-criticism; and
5. Employ mainly persuasion and not administrative fiat. Resort to orders only in emergency situations.

IX. Work style

1. Lenin's style of work consists of: Russian revolutionarx sweep; and American efficiency.
2. Comrade Mao Zedong's style of work consists of:
The modesty and realism of Chinese people;
The simplicity and industriousness of the Chinese peasant;
The love of study and deep thought of the intellectual;
The flexibility and cool-headedness of the revolutionary soldier; and
The tenacity and staunchness of a Bolshevik.
3. Combat all forms of opportunism manifested in day-to-day work. At present, we must especially combat perfunctoriness, empty talk, arrogance, formalism, routinism and all acts which sabotage the fine traditions of the Party and the army.

An important Problem concerning the Leader's Style of Work

When comrades have shortcomings in their ideology and their work style, instead of rejecting them, we must have faith in them and try hard to help them make progress. This is Comrade Mao Zedong's style of leadership. We must have a basic estimate of each of our comrades, which means knowing whether or not he is basically trustworthy. If there is enough evidence that he is not, the Party should be wary of him and reject him. If he is, then however numerous his mistakes, or however defective his ideology and work style, the Party should trust him, and at the same time criticize his mistakes and help him improve his style. Since such comrades are basically sound, though their mistakes may be many or serious, we should trust them and help them as much we can. We should not treat them coldly or ignore them. Otherwise, the leaders will not be in a position to criticize their mistakes and will find themselves in an awkward position. A good leader must unite with comrades whom he dislikes and is reluctant to associate with. Then he should work hard to help them, commending their good points and criticizing the bad. Only in this way can he remould them while improving his own leadership.

A Marxist Leninist View on the Personal and Political Relationships Between the Sexes

(Document of the Phillipine Communist Party (Marxist -Leninist))

The question of the relation of the sexes is fundamentally a class question. It is a struggle between two world outlooks – the bourgeois and the proletarian.

Being a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, the relation of the sexes manifests the two aspects of our culture – the feudal and the bourgeois aspects. However, the bourgeois aspect is superior to the feudal aspect as evidenced by the suppression of the landlord economy by the comprador economy.

The feudal outlook, sees the relation of the sexes as the submission of the totality of the woman to the economic power of the man. The woman, because of her isolation from social production, is required to be weak and passive, therefore, becomes dependent to the will of the man.

The bourgeois outlook sees the relation of the sexes as static and one-sided (in favour of the male and the ruling class) and isolated from the existing culture and the economic base of society. The bourgeois relation of the sexes, being part of the superstructure, mirrors the exploitative capitalist relations of production. In a society which sees all relations as cash relations, women are looked down upon as mere commodities and sources of relief from the dehumanizing effects of capitalism. Bourgeois relation of the sexes, like the capitalist relation of production, is competitive, exploitative, individualistic and decadent.

Proletarian Consciousness

The proletarian outlook, on the other hand, is diametrically opposed. It sees the relation of the sexes as dialectical – a unity of sexes. The proletarian relation of sexes is part of rising culture that negates the feudal and bourgeois relations. Hence, it is liberating, progressive and relevant to the objective conditions.

There is no doubt that in this question, the Party of the proletariat should take the class standpoint of the working class. The Party has always upheld the equality of the sexes. It further genuinely upholds freedom in love, marriage and divorce.

The Party recognizes that difficulties and differences in the relation of the sexes only re-

fect the prevailing culture and the existence of class struggle. The development of private property gave rise to the subordination of the woman to the man.

The Party believes that bringing women on equal footing with man must apply to the proletarian relationship as the antithesis of bourgeois male dominance, the express purpose being to produce children of undisputed paternity to insure the rightful inheritance of private property. The consciousness and practice of proletarian relation is the necessary ideological weapon to combat male chauvinism and develop the equality of the sexes in our ranks.

The Party holds that it can consciously build proletarian relation of the sexes among its ranks while still in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. However, it realizes that it is only with the seizure of the privately owned means of production from the bourgeoisie by the proletariat, that substantial equality in the relation between the sexes will be changed.

1. Our Guiding Principles:

In Trying to attain a proletarian relation of the sexes, we should be guided by the principle of the equality between the sexes and the principle of subordinating the couples' personal interest to the interest of the people.

The proletarian relationship between husband and wife is one of unity – it is the unity of the sexes in service to the people. There are two aspects of this unity, that of the unity of the sexes and the unity in service to the people. Thus in the proletarian relationship between husband and wife, we should be guided by the principle of equality of the sexes; while in dealing with the contradiction between the couple and society, we should be guided by the principle of service to the people.

In our struggle towards a proletarian relationship, we should stress the method of criticism and self-criticism, hold regular assessment of the relationship, share experiences with other couples and collectively discuss problems within our units.

As Communists, we are not only good in destroying the old – in this case, the feudal and bourgeois relation of the sexes. We are also good in building the new – in this case, the proletarian relation of the sexes.

Discussed below are the different aspects of the proletarian relation of the sexes:

1. Courtship:

We are not for the elimination of courtship

because it is the expression of one's desire to have a revolutionary partner. We must however do away with bourgeois competition in courtship. The bourgeois suitor is no different from the peddler who has a portfolio of gimmicks and gifts plus a vocabulary of chocolate-coated phrases to conquer a buyer. The suitor who has the most to offer often times wins. The suitor sells himself. Likewise, the girl is sold to the highest bidder.

In feudal courtship, woman is considered a weak creature who has to be protected by the most gallant men. The dowry is a guarantee that the suitor is capable of supporting his would be wife and family.

Proletarian courtship differs because it does not pit the qualities of one against the other. Should two comrades court the same person, they should handle the situation in a comradely way. Besides, since comrades are not on an errand of acquisition that is, should not be seeking to acquire something like a possession, but rather to develop the relationship. Competition is simply out. Proletarian courtship gives a chance to the partners to be more objective about each other.

The Party also recognizes the woman's equal right to court a male comrade. Nothing should stop a woman comrade from making the first move in courtship. Neither should the male comrade feel embarrassed about this, not to be contemptuous towards the female comrade. If so, he is only displaying his feudal thinking. Feudal thinking has typecast women to play the passive role to wait to be courted, rather than to court, to wait to be loved rather than to love, the treatment of women as a mere commodity in bourgeois relation, of the sexes where women wait to be purchased by the interested buyer.

Marxist-Leninists respect too the right of comrades to choose his/ her partner. The deeper the political consciousness of the comrade concerned, the more he should trust him to look for revolutionary potential or qualities in his/ her partner. For one who is politically conscious, the bourgeois concept of "falling in love" with the implication of "lack of control", "blindness", "being overwhelmed by emotions" would be inconsistent. The aspect of wilful choice, of considering proletarian standard in one's mate, should be stressed.

2. On Proletarian Love

The Party is aware that proletarian love cannot stand solely on political unity without any amount of sex-love.

If political unity were the only basis for love, then we could easily fall in love with anybody within the national democratic movement. But we choose somebody over the others.

Proletarian love has two aspects: the political and the personal. The absence of one already negates its essence. The political is the principal aspect: the personal, the secondary aspect. While the principal aspect determines the character of the proletarian relationship, it cannot be denied that the personal element, the reciprocal or mutual feeling, is an indispensable factor. Having met the political conditions in choosing a partner, the personal element, which is secondary becomes principal. Throughout the relationship, however, politics prevails.

All comrades within the Party have political unity. But it is precisely the personal unity nurtured by political unity which make the husband - wife relation inside the Party different, distinct from other proletarian relations.

3. Marriage, "Free Love" and Monogamy

Proletarian marriage is free in the sense that it is not restricted by economic considerations, religious prejudices and social pressures which prevent one from giving himself/ herself completely to his/ her loved one. This is obviously different from the bourgeois concept of "free love" which is but an escape from the responsibilities of marriage (like child rearing, fidelity, house-keeping for the women and bread-winning for the man). Of course, "free love" first arose as a protest against bourgeois double-standard. But then, it blurs the essential issue of the decadence of bourgeois morality. In the final analysis, it only intensifies this very decadence.

The Party protests against bourgeois morality which hypocritically insists on the bourgeois marriage contract and the "legitimacy of the offspring" while encouraging the flourishing of prostitution and making big money out of pornography.

While despising bourgeois morality, the Party too has the duty to uphold proletarian morality. This should clear up any idea that the marriage ceremony is merely a formality. The Party marriage testifies to the discipline of sex love. The policy of the Party has always been clear about this: there should be no husband - wife relations between comrades in the absence of a party marriage contract. For comrades marrying non-party members, there is likewise a revolutionary marriage contract.

This does not mean however, that the Party does not recognize the marriage of comrades

contracted in the feudal or bourgeois institutions, when they were still non-Party members. But since they are now transforming their husband – wife relation into a proletarian one, these comrades are bound to contract a Party marriage.

The Party marriage ceremony reflects proletarian ideals. It is simple and unpretentious. It does not allow idealist romanticism in that it recognizes the strength and weakness of each partner. The Party marriage contract emphasizes the political and personal responsibilities of the couple to each other, to their children and to the revolution in general.

Proletarian morality upholds monogamy for the husband and wife, not for the wife alone – a far cry from feudal and bourgeois morality which keeps the woman chaste and faithful while the man amuses himself with all sorts of love affairs. Bourgeois monogamy is only for women, but for men it is polygamous in essence.

4. The Right to Divorce

Proletarian marriage is monogamous, though not indissoluble, as everything changes. Marriage is a contradiction, a unity and struggle of the personal and political interest of the husband and wife. Being a contradiction, unity in marriage is relative, not absolute. In recognition of this, the Party grants husband and wife the democratic right to divorce.

The legal absence of divorce is taken as a “solution” to infidelity. Proletarian divorce dissolves only the personal character of marriage, i.e., the husband – wife relation of comrades, and not the political character. It gives the right to both parties to seek a formal separation

without leaving the woman shamed or degraded unlike the bourgeois divorce. However, it should not be seen as an invitation nor a license for comrades to have many husbands of wives in succession.

Divorce is granted only with mutual consent, after all political considerations have been weighted, except in cases when one of the partners turns traitor to the revolutionary cause. Divorce then becomes automatic, since the principled foundation of the proletarian relationship, which is political, is lost. Because of political considerations, therefore the Party marriage cannot be dissolved simply on either one of the partners' wish.

Aside from treachery, other possible cases for divorce are infidelity and absence of communication for a long period of time.

Cases of infidelity are thoroughly investigated and the erring parties subjected to disciplinary action. When there is practically no news or communication between couples a waiting period of five years is enough for either or both to remarry. Although it does not necessarily negate the material basis of the proletarian relation, this policy recognizes that essentially sex-love is transient, temporary. Its permanency is relative to the conditions of the time.

Most material problems can be resolved through criticism/ self-criticism and through a collective discussion with either of the partner unit. The Party grants divorce only in extreme cases when the basis for the relation, which is personal, has become so weak that it is for the benefit of both partners to separate. In such cases, the personal unity is broken but the political unity remains, unless it is a political case

Arrest of Zairean Revolutionary, Kazu Wamba-Dia-Wamba

The well known Zairean revolutionary, African historian and Marxist political writer, Kazu Wamba-dia-Wamba, who has written several articles for IKWEZI in the past was arrested recently in his home country, Zaire, when he tried to visit his parents. According to the latest reports he was released from gaol but is held under house detention. No formal charges have been made against him.

Kazu was lecturer at the time of his arrest at Dar Es Salaam University in the History Department. Students at the University have set up a Free Wamba Campaign Committee which is co-ordinating the international campaign for

his release.

Harvard and Brandeis Universities in the U.S. where Kazu had previously lectured have also taken up the struggle for his release.

Kazu is a great asset to the African Revolution as a historian, writer and political activist. We appeal to solidarity movements, political organisations and other interested parties to campaign for his release and to write formally to the Zairean Embassy in their country or directly to Mobutu Sese Seko, President Fondateur du MPR, President de la Republique/Kinshasha/Zaire.

Fuller information is available from the Free Wamba Campaign Committee, c/o U.D.A.S.A, Box 3 50 50, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.