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Tricontinental

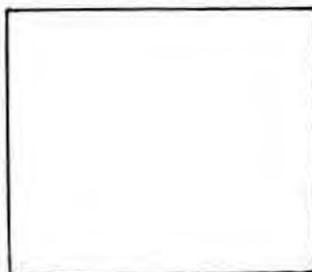


Por la defensa de la causa árabe
For the defense of the Arab cause
Pour la défense de la cause arabe

Las relaciones económicas internacionales del capitalismo
Les rapports économiques internationaux du capitalisme
Capitalist International Economic Relations



TO THE READER



This third issue for 1981 opens with two articles on ASIA. "Mongolia," by Ochiryng Tsend, Ambassador of the Mongolian People's Republic to Cuba, provides a brief review of the life of that people, whose roots go back to the first millenium, when nomadic tribes occupied Central Asia — a people now advancing along the path of socialist construction.

TRICONTINENTAL



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"For the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo" presents excerpts from the report that Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party, made to its 6th Congress and the 10-point program for the reunification of Korea.

The AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST section includes two articles on the Middle East — which is also the theme of our cover — and Cuban journalist Hugo Rius' "Internationalism and Revolution in Mozambique," a progress report based on President Samora Machel's evaluation of the six years that have passed since the people's revolutionary triumph on June 25, 1975.

In our LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN section, we present the paper that Norma Guevara, a combatant in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, gave at the Anti-Imperialist Scientific Conference held in Berlin October 20-24, 1980.

The Uruguayan people responded with a resounding NO in the plebiscite which the Uruguayan fascist military Junta held last November in an attempt to institutionalize fascism by giving it a pseudo-democratic facade. In an interview for Tricontinental, Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, analyzes the plebiscite, the regime's efforts to control it through fraud and repression and some other important aspects of life in his country.

Economist Eugenio Espinosa's article "Capitalist International Economic Relations," which explores trends in the flow of goods and international capital, appears in our OVERVIEW section.

The issue concludes with TRICONTINENTAL ON THE MARCH, reporting on our Organization's activities of solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which includes the full text of the final declaration approved at the second session of the International Investigating Commission on the crimes committed by the racist, apartheid regime in Southern Africa, held in Luanda, the People's Republic of Angola, January 30-February 3, 1981, and the Executive Secretariat's call for the release of Uruguayan political prisoners in conjunction with the campaign to free Liber Seregni, the People's General.



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MONGOLIA

OCHIRYN TSEND



The Mongolian People's Republic, in the north-central Asian mountains (1300 meters above sea level, with winter temperatures that drop to -50°C .), has a territory of 1 565 000 square kilometers and a population of 1 685 400 (as of January 1, 1981). Its capital and largest city is Ulan Bator, with more than 400 000 inhabitants, followed in size by Darkhan and Erdenet. For administrative purposes, Mongolia is divided into 18 provinces.



Mongolia, located in Central Asia, is advancing along the path of socialism. Ochiryn Tsend, Ambassador of the Mongolian People's Republic in Cuba, wrote this article for *Tricontinental* in a documentary form that includes important aspects of his people's history and development.

- It is possible to make a transition from feudalism to socialism.
- Life expectancy, 65: an achievement for the public health system.
- Unity is essential in confronting imperialism and Maoism, that conspire against peace.

EVER since ancient times, Mongolia has been an independent state, and it has frequently played an important role in Asian history.

In antiquity, nomadic tribes inhabited a huge area of Central Asia, hunting and raising cattle for their livelihood. Mongolia moved directly from that primitive communal

stage into feudalism, without experiencing slavery.

The united feudal state of Mongolia, formed at the beginning of the 13th century, marked an advance, but Chinguis-Khan and his followers' wars of occupation soon brought misery to the people, destroying Mongolia and delaying its development for hundreds of years.

As the peoples of Asia and Europe rose up in struggle against the conqueror's yoke, the Mongol empire — which had sought to rule the world in the 13th and 14th centuries — was weakened politically and economically, and feudalism finally crumbled completely when the Manchurians took over.

inflicting sorrow, suffering, poverty and oppression until the end of the 17th century. The Mongol people were subjected to cruel servitude, and the country's cultural level dropped considerably during this period of isolation from the outside world. Essentially, the economy was limited to widespread nomadic cattle raising. There was no industry, agriculture remained undeveloped, the country lacked mechanized transportation and communications and foreign trade was controlled by usurious mercantile capital from China. Economic and political oppression were matched by the spiritual yoke of Lamaism, which blocked all aspects of sociopolitical life and prevented any progress.

In pre-revolutionary Mongolia, 99 percent of the population was illiterate and there was almost no medical care, for the country had only a handful of doctors and no hospitals. The Mongol people were slowly being wiped out, as shown by the fact that the population was reduced by 5 percent between 1862 and 1918.

The Mongol people loved freedom, however, and never became resigned to foreign occupation. More than once, they rose up in battle against their colonizers. The peasant serfs were the moving force behind the Mongolian national liberation struggle — in which, influenced by the great socialist October Revolution and with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, the Mongolian workers (led by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary

Party) won state and national independence in 1921, after a prolonged battle.

Mongolia today

The people's road to socialism was far from easy. During the early years of people's power, the main question was whether or not a new, higher standard of living could quickly wipe out economic backwardness and guarantee progress in all spheres of social life. Standard practice at that time was to steer feudal countries toward capitalism as the next step in their advancement, but Lenin's theory that, with the support of the more developed socialist states, backward countries could build a socialist society without going through capitalism opened up marvelous new prospects for the Mongolian Revolution.

The solid, fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Mongolian peoples — which began with the close relationship between Lenin and D. Suje-Bator, founder of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and of the Mongolian People's Republic — was a decisive factor in this effort.

Within a single generation, the Mongolian people made a giant leap from medieval society to socialism. In this successful transition, the Party and people were guided by the theory and practice of the world revolutionary movement.

The history of the Mongolian people's revolution is usually divided into two basic stages — the democratic stage (1921-40) and the



subsequent socialist stage — with a number of periods in each.

During the first period, political and economic feudalism were eliminated, the country was liberated from the influence of foreign capital and socialist economic transformations took place.

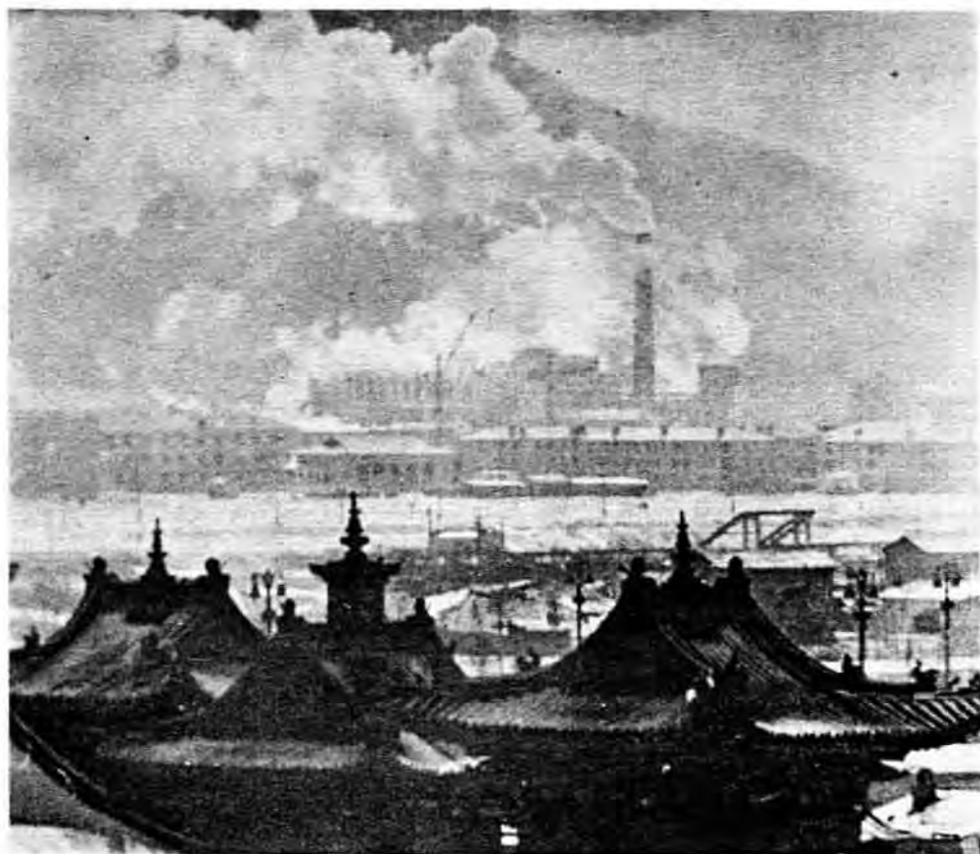
In the early '40s, when the socialist sector of the country's economy had reached a significant level, the MPR consolidated its path of socialist development. In 1959, as a result of the successes of its agricultural cooperatives, a single national socialist economic system was established.

In 1960, the country began a new period of development: that of the culmination of the building of a socialist society. The basic task in this period, as noted in the Party program, was to build the material-technical base of socialism by industrializing the country and mechanizing agricultural production, thus raising technical levels in all branches of the national economy.

Now, on the 60th anniversary of the people's revolution, we can see the inspired results of our people's heroic struggle and work, for radical changes in all spheres of our country's national economy and culture have taken place.

Today, the Mongolian People's Republic is a developed agrarian-industrial country in which man's exploitation of man has been wiped out once and for all, our national culture flourishes and science and public health are constantly advancing. The MPR's level of economic and cultural development is much higher than that of many other countries.

More goods are produced in a month now than in all of 1940. Industrial production is so great that nine days' production now is equal to that of 1940, and it is responsible for more than 40 percent of the Gross Social Product



and nearly 30 percent of the country's total income. Moreover, socialist industrialization is still expanding, and agricultural production has doubled during the years of people's power.

The Mongolian people correctly relate their socioeconomic advances to internationalist aid and support from the other countries of the socialist community — especially the Soviet Union — and to multilateral cooperation with those

countries. In the 1976-80 period alone, more than 240 large industrial plants and cultural and economic projects were built with aid from the Soviet Union, including the Erdenet cooper-molybdenum complex, one of the ten largest enterprises of its kind in the world. The other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance also provide Mongolia with financial and technical-economic aid.

Communications are very important in Mongolia's vast territory. The country's transportation sys-

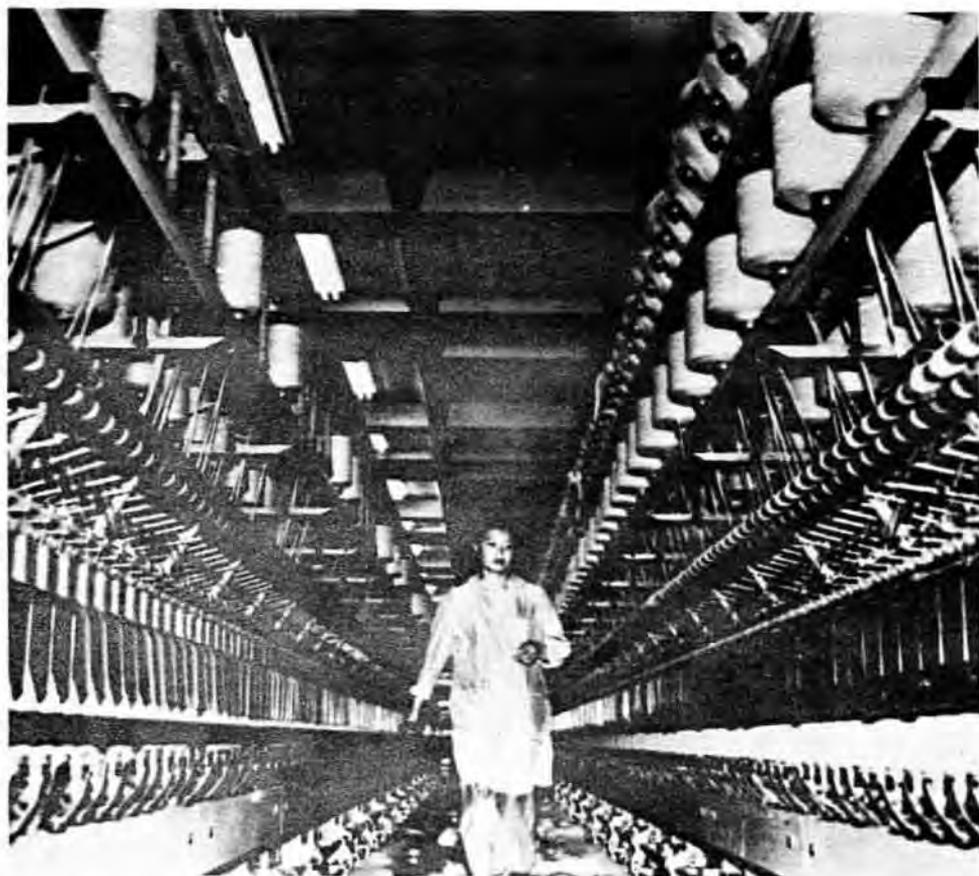


tem has developed considerably and includes railroad lines, overland and river transportation and commercial airlines.

The Party's program calls for constantly raising the people's standard of living and cultural level. "Our Party has always sought socialist production, in order to fully meet the people's material and spiritual needs," Y. Tsendenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the MPRP and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Supreme Court of the

MPR, stated in the report from the CC of the MPRP of the 16th Party Congress. This is the humane essence of socialist society.

The budget for education, public health, social security and other social needs has been steadily increased in the MPR. Medical care and education — including advanced training, stipends for students, pensions, subsidies and nursery school budgets — are free



their costs defrayed by sales on the domestic market.

Illiteracy has been totally wiped out. Today, 2758 of every 10 000 people are students — 130 of them in the university. The country is covered by a vast network of medical installations, and a veritable army of health workers has been trained. There are 22 doctors and 107 hospital beds for every 10 000 people.

Because of great improvements in the workers' material well-being,

cultural life and public health facilities during the years of people's power, life expectancy in the MPR is now 65, and the population has grown by 250 percent.

During the past 20 years, per-capita income has doubled. One of the clear indications of the workers' higher standard of living and culture is the role that Mongolian women now play in society. Prior to the triumph of the people's revolution, Mongolian women — who made up more than half the country's population — were discriminated against and had no



rights. The MPRP took decisive measures to guarantee their participation in the country's sociopolitical life.

At present, nearly 40 percent of all Mongolian workers employed in production and from 50 to 70 percent of those in education, public health and the services are women. Many of them are heroines of labor, former activists in culture and the sciences.

Women are protected by special labor laws. Pregnant women have 45 days of paid maternity leave before and 56 days after childbirth.

Every mother with more than four children receives a special pension that covers each child up to age 16; working mothers with large families have the right to vacation for 14-21 days every year in rest homes or sanatoriums free of charge.

All this shows that the steady improvement registered in the people's well-being is linked to the social system — socialism, which lays the objective bases of providing workers with full security throughout their lives.

It should be noted that a backward country's advance toward socialism is made possible only by the existence of a victorious proletariat and a socialist base that provides multilateral assistance and support.

As a full member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the MPR has developed and deepened its economic relations with the Soviet Union and the other member countries, and this has helped to step up the country's rhythm of socioeconomic development.

The workers in our country are now greeting the 18th Congress of the MPRP and the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution with great advances in work.

The Mongolian people are confident that the implementation of the agreements to be adopted at the 18th Congress of the MPRP in May and the fulfillment of the seventh 5-year plan (1981-85) for the national economic and cultural development of the MPR will mark an important new stage in the development of socialist society in our country.

The MPR's foreign policy

The MPR's position on key international questions and the world revolutionary movement is based on the radical interests of the Mongolian people and also on the interests of the peoples that are struggling for freedom, independence and social progress and against imperialism and reactionary Maoism.

Thanks to the fraternal socialist countries' — especially the Soviet Union's — foreign policies of peace and security and to the efforts of other peace-loving forces in the world, significant changes have taken place in international relations in recent years. This is a time of important revolutionary changes, as the crumbling of the bloody dictatorial regimes in Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Grenada testifies.

The Mongolian People's Republic puts great value on the growing role of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in consolidating the peoples' struggle for peace, national independence and social progress, and against imperialism and other reactionary forces.

Other forces, however, are trying to block the deepening of détente and drag mankind back to the cold war period. The enemies of peace and détente are trying to gain unilateral advantages in the military sector by stepping up the arms race and inventing new kinds of weapons, thus increasing the dangers of a new world war.

The imperialist reactionaries and the hegemonistic, expansionistic forces seek to delay the historic process of progressive change in Africa, Asia and Latin America by intervening in the internal affairs of countries throughout the world.

In view of US imperialism's threats against the people of El Salvador, the Mongolian people express their international solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the revolutionary, democratic and patriotic forces that have declared their opposition to foreign interference in their affairs and to arbitrary oppression by the reaction-



ary military clique and other ultra-right-wing forces.

The Chinese hegemonists' subversive actions in the international arena, their armed attack on socialist Vietnam and their threats to the independence and sovereignty of neighboring countries show that they have become allies of imperialism and that their aggression endangers the security of states and international détente. Their attacks on the MPR and the political and economic pressure they have exerted against our country are examples of this. Our government roundly denounces the aggressive actions of US imperialist circles and other members of NATO and fully supports the peace efforts made

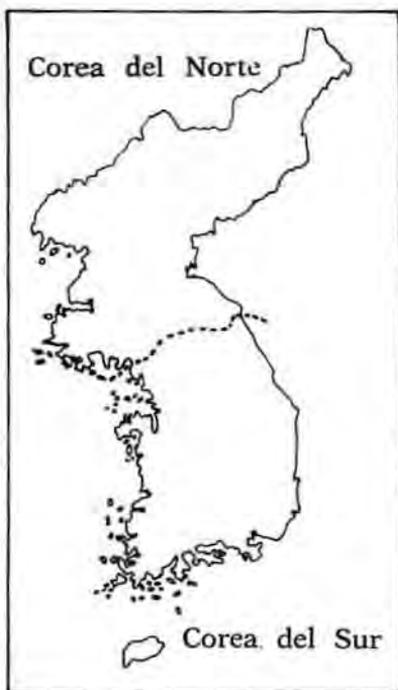
by the fraternal socialist countries and all other peace-loving forces — efforts aimed at halting the arms race, strengthening international détente and consolidating peace.

The peoples of the world should also be aware of the dangers inherent in the adventurist expansionist policy and actions of the Maoist leadership of China, which has openly declared its opposition to international détente and is making further preparations for war. This is a general threat to all mankind. All who seek peace and security should redouble their efforts in the struggle against imperialism's schemes and those of its warmongering Maoist ally.



KIM IL SUNG

**FOR THE DEMOCRATIC
CONFEDERATE
REPUBLIC OF KORYO**



Ten points for effecting the peaceful, independent reunification of Korea and other important aspects taken from the Report to the 6th Congress, presented by Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party, on October 10, 1980.

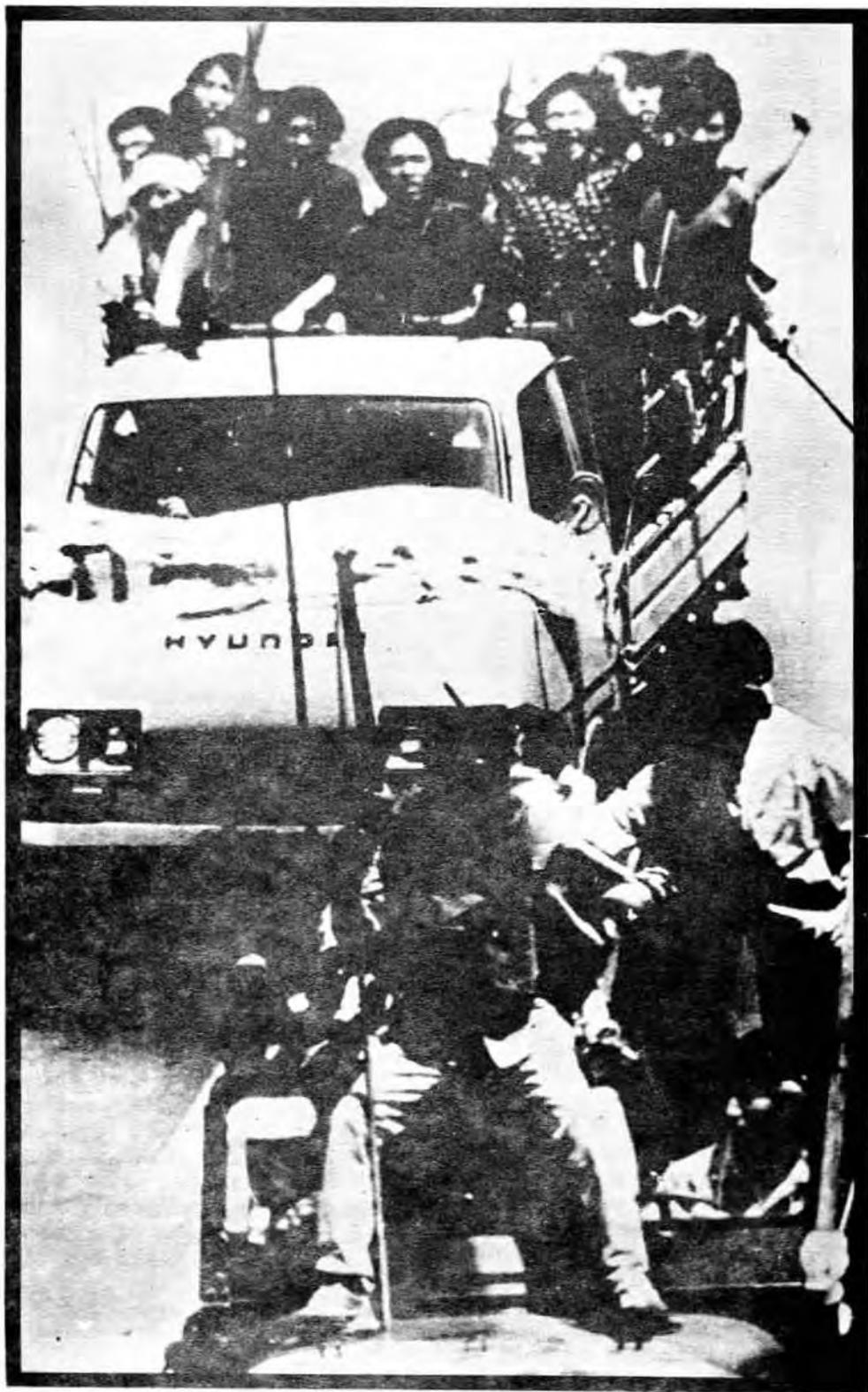
Comrades:

Our Party's most important revolutionary task and the highest national aspiration of all the Korean people is to reunify our homeland.

Reflecting the basic position which our Party has invariably maintained for solving the problem of the reunification of our homeland and meeting the needs of the national and international situations that developed at a dizzying speed in the '70s, we offer the following basic program for the reunification of our homeland — three principles which may be

summed up as independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

As a very important measure for paving the way to independent, peaceful reunification, our Party took the initiative of proposing that negotiations be held between representatives of all North and South political parties and social organizations and individuals, and it made many sincere efforts to bring this about. Thanks to our initiative and efforts, the wall between North and South was finally



South

breached — a wall that had blocked all contact for a long time — and negotiations were held, after which the historic Joint North-South Declaration was published. Its main content was independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. Thus, the three principles for our homeland's reunification which our Party presented became a single program of reunification for the entire nation — a program which North and South confirmed jointly and proclaimed solemnly both at home and abroad.

Taken aback by the increased spirit of struggle of all the Korean people of both North and South, who seek the independent and peaceful reunification of our homeland, those in power in the United States and South Korea came up with the policy of "two Koreas" in order to prevent the reunification of Korea and perpetuate its division.

Egged on by Yankee imperialism, the South Korean authorities volunteered to serve as shock troops in ramming through this divisionist line, abandoning any Korean national feeling and their pledges to the people in the Joint North-South Declaration. In order to halt the growing wave of support for reunification that was sweeping the South and in order to push through their design of national schism, they used the Army, the police, the "central intelligence agency" and other repressive groups to impose the fascist "system of renovation" by force, cruelly repressing the patriots and other democrats in South Korea who called for reunification, freedom and democratic freedoms. The

South Korean authorities not only broke off the negotiations between North and South in which all had placed such great hopes but also, dancing to Yankee imperialism's tune, called for "simultaneous entry in the UN" and joint recognition, doing everything they could to bring this about.

The South Korean people took to the streets in a patriotic struggle to overthrow the system of the "renovation" fascist dictatorship (which was an obstacle to the reunification of their homeland) and to democratize South Korean society. With their valiant struggle, they dealt telling blows against the enemies of democracy and of their homeland's reunification. The courageous people's battles that were fought tirelessly in Busan, Masan, Seoul, Kuangzu and other parts of South Korea from October 1979 on toppled the chief of the "renovation" dictatorship, a notorious traitor, and served as a strong warning to his followers. The heroic people's armed uprising in Kuangzu in May 1980 was especially noteworthy, for it shook the foundations of fascist domination in South Korea, filling the Yankee imperialists and their military fascist lackeys with panic.

Under the orders of the so-called South Korean-US army joint command, the South Korean military fascists mobilized units of the puppet army equipped with heavy weapons and bestially arrested, imprisoned and assassinated the patriots and young students of Kuangzu who were demanding their



South

rights to life and democracy. They arrested all the democrats and outstanding political activists of South Korea who called for a democratization of society and the reunification of their homeland, and they handed down cruel sentences, charging them with such things as "fomenting rebellion" and "violating the anticommunist law." Today South Korea has become a terrible inferno in which massacres are committed with impunity and the people's freedoms and rights are trampled underfoot.

The US authorities pretend innocence concerning what is happening in South Korea, saying what a worry it all is for them, but they can't hide their role as aggressors and their nature as fascist hangmen. The United States is the main one responsible for strangling democracy and human rights in South Korea and the prompter in the wings directing the slaughter of the South Korean people. The

United States cannot deny its responsibility for having installed this cruel military fascist dictatorial "power" and provoked the horrible, bloody tragedy in South Korea.

All the Korean nation — North and South alike — must rise up as a single man in the struggle for our homeland's independent, peaceful reunification.

First, though, the fascist military rule in South Korea must be ended and its society democratized.

As long as democracy is completely suppressed in South Korea, as it is now, and a cruel fascist military rule is imposed, there can be no national conciliation and unity or peaceful reunification of our homeland. The "anticommunist" law, the "state security" law and other fascist laws now in effect there must be abolished and all the apparatus of despotic rule removed. Moreover, all the political parties and social organizations should be legalized, guaranteeing them and individuals free political action, and the democrats and other patriots unjustly arrested and imprisoned



North

must be freed and absolved. The "system of renovation" must be eliminated in South Korea, and the fascist military "power" must be replaced with a democratic power that defends and represents the will and interests of the broad popular masses.

In order to obtain the independent, peaceful reunification of our homeland, we must first achieve détente and end the threat of war in our country.

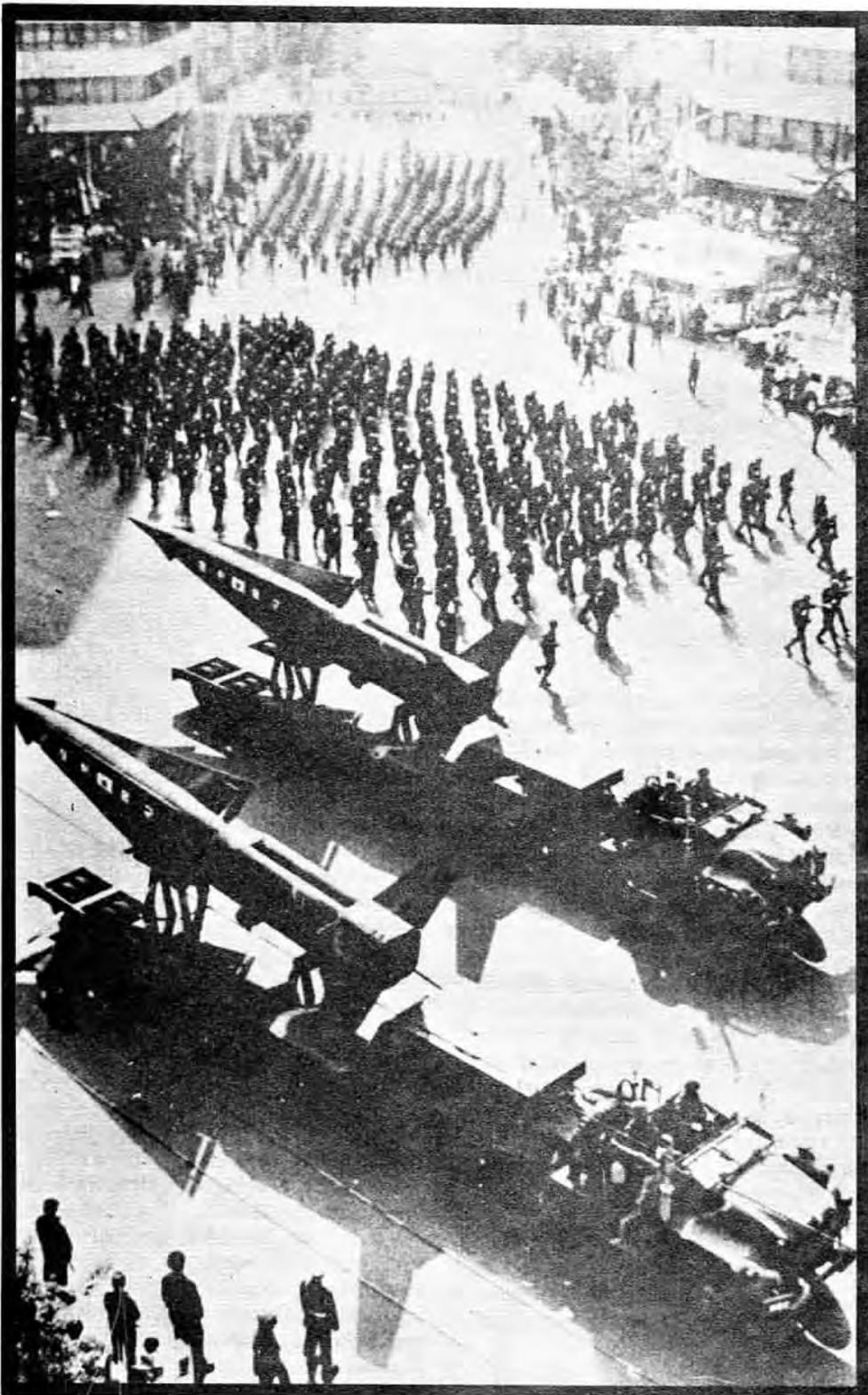
Our people do not want war. Rather, we want to avoid fighting our brothers and reunify our homeland peacefully. The most important prerequisite for this reunification consists of ending the state of military confrontation between North and South and removing the threat of war. As long as North and South are at loggerheads, with

weapons turned against each other, threatening a fratricidal war, no contact or negotiation between us can be successful, nor will it be possible to achieve the real unity and reunification of our nation.

The problem of easing the tension and ending the danger of war in our country can be solved only when the Armistice Agreement is turned into a covenant of peace.

Several times, we have proposed talks between the United States and Korea to draw up a peace covenant. This proposal of ours constitutes a more just initiative for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea and world peace, and it is fully in accord with the interests and desires of the US people. The United States, however, has not accepted it and continues to keep its troops in South





South



South

Korea, constituting a serious threat to peace.

Once more, we propose to the United States that we negotiate the problem of turning the Korean Armistice Agreement into a covenant of peace.

The United States should stop pushing its schismatic policy of "two Koreas" and support rather than hinder Korea's reunification. It should stop protecting the South Korean military fascists and interfering in Korea's internal affairs.

Our Party considers that the most realistic, rational way to reunify our homeland in an independent, peaceful way in line with the principle of great national unity is to set up a confederate state by means of a union between North and South, leaving their ideologies and regimes intact.

To reunify our homeland, our Party proposes that a confederate republic be founded in which, on the basis of reciprocal recognition

and tolerance for the existing regimes and ideologies, the North and South set up a national united government with equal participation and, under the jurisdiction of this government, exercise regional autonomy with equal powers and obligations.

A supreme confederate national assembly should be created in this unified confederate state, with the same numbers of representatives from the North as from the South and a fair representation of delegates of our compatriots who live abroad, and it should have a confederate standing committee empowered to lead the regional governments in the North and South and look after the work of the confederate state.

As the united government of the confederate state, the supreme confederate national assembly and its permanent body, the confederate standing committee, will discuss and rule impartially, in accord with the goal of unity, cooperation and the reunification of the whole nation, on matters relating to polit-



ical affairs, the defense of the homeland, foreign relations and other matters of common interest to the country and nation. They will also promote the unified development of the country and nation and will promote unity and cooperation between North and South in all spheres. The united confederate state will respect the social regimes of North and South and the opinions of their administrative bodies, political parties, groups and all classes and sectors of the population and will see to it that neither part imposes its will on the other.

Under the leadership of the confederate government and in conformity with the basic interests and demands of all the nation, the regional governments of the North and South will apply an independent policy and strive to reduce the differences between the two parties in all spheres and to achieve the unified development of the country and nation.

With regard to a name for the confederate state, we suggest the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo, after the unified state that used to exist in our country and was widely recognized throughout the world, reflecting the shared political ideal of both North and South: democracy.

The Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo will be a neutral country that doesn't belong to any political-military bloc or alliance. A confederate state that is the result of the union of the two regions — North and South — with different ideologies and regimes, it will inevitably (and more rationally, in practical terms) be a neutral country.

As a unified state that covers all the territory of our nation and country, the Democratic Confeder-

ate Republic of Koryo will apply a policy that will be adjusted to fit the basic interests and needs of all the Korean people.

Our Party considers it correct to establish the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo with the following political orientation:

First, the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo should firmly maintain its independence in all spheres of state activities and apply an independent policy.

Second, the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo should implement democracy throughout all the territory of the country and in all spheres of society and promote the great unity of the nation.

Third, the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo must engage in economic cooperation and exchanges between North and South and guarantee the independent development of the national economy.

Fourth, the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo should effect exchanges and cooperation between North and South in the fields of science, culture and education and develop the country's science and technology, culture, art and education on a unified, national scale.

Fifth, the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo should reestablish transportation and communications — now interrupted — between North and South and guarantee the free use of these facilities throughout the country.

Sixth, the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo should stabilize the life of the workers, farm-

ers and other working masses — in short, all the people — and systematically increase their well-being.

Seventh, the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo should eliminate the state of military confrontation between North and South, set up a united national army and defend the nation against foreign aggression.

Eighth, the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo should defend and protect the national rights and interests of all our Korean compatriots who live abroad.

Ninth, the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo should take correct measures regarding the North's and South's relations with other countries — relations contracted before the reunification — and coordinate the foreign activities of the two regional governments in a unified way.

Tenth, as a unified state representing the entire nation, the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo should develop relations of friendship with all the other countries in the world and apply a peace-loving foreign policy.

When, through North-South cooperation, the whole nation is united and we reunify our homeland by setting up the Democratic Confederate Republic of Koryo as a sovereign and independent state with 50 million inhabitants, a brilliant national culture and a powerful national economy, it can present itself on the world scene with legitimate dignity and authority and build a people's paradise that is even more powerful, wealthy and prosperous.

HUGO RIUS

**INTERNATIONALISM AND
REVOLUTION IN MOZAMBIQUE**



Cuban journalist Hugo Rius, news editor at *Bohemia* magazine, gives us a detailed analysis of six years of genuine revolution in Mozambique.

THE depth of a revolution is generally measured by its solidarity with other peoples in struggle, its willingness to lend a helping hand even at the risk of its own survival and its readiness to break with narrow chauvinism and broaden revolutionary horizons. Ever since the great October Revolution, militant, sustained internationalism has been one of the keys to every truly revolutionary process.

FRELIMO, Mozambique's political vanguard, has always been loyal to this revolutionary tradition. Any evaluation of the period since June 1975 should take into account the sacrifices that led up to the final victory over Rhodesian fascism and the birth of the independent state of Zimbabwe.

Political conviction and a genuine revolutionary attitude are essential in facing the dangers and hardships that are involved in isolating an enemy on which you are economically dependent, with which you share a very vulnerable 200-kilometer border and against which you are pitting a guerrilla army that has just begun training for modern warfare.

Even though it needed to put everything it had into the task of rebuilding a country devastated by five centuries of colonial plunder and of solving all the resulting problems, Mozambique refused to turn its back on the struggling people of Zimbabwe.

As Samora Machel said, "Colonial plunder and war have left our economy bankrupt. The debts from the colonial period amount to hundreds of millions of dollars in foreign exchange. Industry is on the brink of disaster, and there is no merchandise to trade; our people are ill-fed and ill-clothed, and the country is in chaos.

"In five centuries of domination, the colonialists trained almost no doctors, economists or engineers.

"The colonial war has left a dismal scene: 1.5 million people now in concentration camps must be reintegrated in society; tens of thousands of refugees overseas want to return home; families have been decimated by bombings and massacres; disease is rampant; the concentration camps and cities are rife with such vices as alcoholism, drug addiction and prostitution, introduced by the enemy. We are waging our struggle against this extreme poverty and decadence."¹

¹ Samora Machel's message to the 14th Meeting of the OAU Liberation Committee, January 8, 1975.



The ravages of reactionary sabotage were also visited on the country between the fall of Portuguese fascism in April 1974 and the birth of the republic in June 1975.

During this brief but turbulent period, the colonial reaction fomented widespread anarchy in industry; demagogically raised wages in order to confuse the masses; sowed panic; encouraged the departure of small and middle-sized businessmen, technicians and skilled workers; and stepped up the theft and wanton destruction of cattle, tractors, heavy machinery and vehicles — most of which disappeared across the border or were shipped directly to Portugal.

When increasing vigilance on the part of the transition government and the workers made this type of plunder more difficult, the class enemy resorted to outright destruction. Thousands of head of cattle were slaughtered and left in the fields to rot; essential consumer goods were cornered and taken off the market, only to reappear later at astronomical prices; and normal trade networks were systematically destroyed.

During those nine months of transition before independence, FRELIMO managed to force the reactionaries onto the defensive with its active response within the government and the Armed Forces and by mobilizing and organizing the Mozambican masses in Dynamizing Groups that operated in neighborhoods, cities, villages, farms, offices, factories, schools, state services and businesses throughout the country.

Not only did FRELIMO attack immediate problems but it also began to change the country's colonial structures and provide aid and solidarity to its oppressed neighbors, who were also engaged in revolutionary struggle. In fact, these have been twin cornerstones of the Mozambican Revolution during the past five years.

Land, education, health and housing

Revolutionary changes were introduced within a month of the proclamation of independence, when President Samora Machel announced at a huge rally that land, education, medical care and funeral arrangements — which had been highly speculative — would be nationalized.

Nationalization of the land was the first major blow struck against feudal and capitalist exploitation in Mozambique, and it marked the beginning of the end for colonial bourgeois economic power — that had been based on the Portuguese colonial system of establishing European rural communities on fertile land seized from African peasants who were then forced to sell their labor under conditions of semislavery. The land they worked was used for raising crops for export to the metropolis or used in industry — not for providing food for the people, as in the past.

Thus, nationalization of the land was an act of justice, designed to restore social order to rural life. It also meant that workers could be mobilized for collective farm work, which the government considered the only way to introduce science and technology in order to diversify crops and increase production.

Three types of collective production units were introduced: agricultural state enterprises, most of which were established on the big abandoned farms that had been nationalized; agricultural cooperatives, organized on the basis of broader general experiences; and communal villages, which Samora Machel said embodied "the strategy of rural development and the socialization of the peasant" and constituted the main element for developing the productive forces in the countryside.

The communal villages produce collectively in order to make better use of the land, reduce the peasants' isolation and eliminate their hand-to-mouth existence as individual producers. Fertile land and an adequate water supply are prerequisites for diversifying crops and providing food for the workers and a surplus for sale. About 250 families live in each village group, which has its own nursery and elementary schools, small local shops and administrative facilities.

"The villages are formed on a voluntary political basis — never through coercion," a FRELIMO statement presented at the National Conference on Ideological Work declared.

"The role played by political consciousness and collective determination," it continued, "is especially decisive when the material conditions for production are difficult and the fruits of labor are not immediately evident but become available later on." The leadership structure is simple: a village chief, who is also the Party Secretary; a director; and his assistants, who hold weekly meetings with the farmers to plan and evaluate the work.

Nationalization of education meant the establishment of a free, lay system of education available to everyone, including the poorest children. In 1977, there were 500 000 elementary school students as compared to 130 000 in the final year of the colonial administration. Moreover, education is no longer used to instill a colonial mentality and to wean Africans away from their national values.

"Under colonialism, education created an individualistic, egocentric mentality, leading the educated to scorn those who didn't attend school — the vast majority. In other words, the aim was to alienate Africans, training those who managed to go to school to become caricatures of the Portuguese by transplanting European cultural values through language, history and geography. The colonizers used their version of history to destroy the people's sense of identity, picturing the Africans as peoples with no history. Most of the geography that was taught was about Portugal: its location, climate, rivers, mountains and agricultural production. This meant that the few Mozambicans who had a chance to study wound up with a colonial mentality. They became black-skinned colonialists."²

The nationalization of private education was such a severe ideological blow that the enemy immediately reacted with campaigns to discredit the new educational system, distorting FRELIMO's teacher-training programs and encouraging undisciplined liberal attitudes in an effort to restore the ideological and cultural power of colonial education.

Mozambique has dealt with the maneuvers and the objective difficulties it faced in this field with admirable courage. When teachers deserted, the educational authorities stepped up the training of new teachers

² Graça Machel's interview with the author, published in *Bohemia* in 1977.



to implement FRELIMO's educational policy. In view of the high level of illiteracy left by colonialism and the consequent shortage of patriotic trained cadres, the efforts made in this area have been truly enormous.

The Mozambican government also took a courageous course in health care, never faltering in the face of predictable maneuvers. In announcing the new policy on July 24, 1975, Samora Machel warned that "Private doctors all over the country are to close their practices and go to the state hospitals in order to serve the people. We know there will be sabotage, but we are prepared to meet this crisis. They will

say, 'While you are shouting in the stadium, we are closing our doors,' to which we will reply, 'Doors are open outside Mozambique. Go to South Africa or anywhere else you like. Our people aren't going to be exploited.'"

Thus, one of the most ignoble forms of exploitation — the one exercised over human life — was eradicated, and the bases were laid for giving poor people a workable health system. Health care was no longer limited to urban areas, for the benefit of the colonial bourgeoisie. The nationalization of health care made it possible to extend it to the provinces and rural areas and to distribute health cadres in accordance with the country's needs.

With a complete lack of humanity, the reaction actively opposed the program, encouraging the exodus of foreign doctors, nurses and technicians and some Mozambicans, as well, in a maneuver that was clearly designed to create chaos and force Mozambique to go back on its plans. Nevertheless, the patriotic, revolutionary determination of those who remained in the country, plus fraternal aid from other African and socialist countries and democratic forces in the capitalist countries, completely defeated the criminal sabotage.

The Mozambican Revolution has created conditions for implementing a policy of preventive medicine that truly reaches the masses — who, in just a few years, have been helped by systematic vaccination campaigns against smallpox, yellow fever, TB and polio; programs to end malnutrition in children; and mass education in hygiene.

Preventive medicine has been developed through a cadre-training system that deals with the realities inherited from colonialism. Basic health agents, who are sent to outlying communities and rural areas to improve the conditions there, using their own means to mobilize and educate the people, have done a particularly outstanding job in this regard.

The nationalization of housing was the next measure, taken on February 3, 1976, because "Every citizen and his family has a basic need for housing, that has been the object of sky-high speculation from which a sector of the colonial bourgeoisie profited to a scandalous degree."³

The law determined that every citizen could own a country or beach house and a city home but not any additional rental units. Those whose only source of income was rent and were too old to support themselves and their families by other means were guaranteed an income for life.

Since urban speculation was big business for foreign real estate companies, the nationalization of housing meant that, in a single year, 10 000 families in Maputo were provided with decent housing at rents based on income and family size. The people's housing policy had to

³Legislative decree on the nationalization of housing.

be based on the recovery of land for building purposes and state control of loans and construction companies.

Class struggle and solidarity

The nationalization of housing was a very important step, both because it ended one of the most widespread forms of exploitation and speculation and because it hit hard at the internal counterrevolution that controlled the financing of large urban property holdings. Even after independence, many members of the bourgeoisie who fled to South Africa and organized subversion against Mozambique continued to receive their customary income through agents — money that was then used to purchase guns, bombs and explosives to destroy the Mozambican Revolution.

True to its historical dependency on multinational capital, the reactionary colonial Mozambican bourgeoisie organized subversion from outside the country (mainly from South Africa), sending in agents, weapons and explosives for acts of criminal terrorism. From South Africa, it also secretly infiltrated counterrevolutionary pamphlets, drugs, pornography and subversive religious propaganda; broadcast distorted reports; spread rumors; and engaged in acts of provocation designed to speed the exodus of technicians.

Production was hard hit: machinery was stolen or destroyed; sources of spare parts, accessories and raw materials dried up; funds and supplies disappeared from factories; account books were "lost"; and foreign technicians left.

But, just as the war of liberation in the countryside raised the consciousness of the masses who fought the colonialists, so the struggle to increase productivity in the urban factories contributed to the political awareness of the working class, and the effects of the capitalist managers' demobilizing maneuvers during the transition period were gradually overcome.

After the 8th Meeting of the Central Committee of FRELIMO, held in February 1976, a serious effort was made to set up production councils in industries that had been abandoned, taken over or nationalized and that now constitute a powerful state sector of the economy that has made it possible to begin applying the principles of socialist planning. This economic orientation was reinforced recently with the creation of the **metical** as the Mozambican national currency. The working class has shown its creative initiative and revolutionary fighting potential and begun to assume its proletarian leadership role in production.

At that meeting, too, FRELIMO decided to implement the sanctions that the United Nations had adopted against the racist regime of

Rhodesia — which served to unite, temper and educate the Mozambican people.

The courageous, firm application of these sanctions against Rhodesia cost Mozambique financial losses of around \$134 million a year. A spokesman for the national bank reported that at least 10 000 jobs were lost, plus the wages that around 15 000 Mozambicans who worked in Rhodesia had sent home in the past. Trade with Rhodesia was also suspended, which meant that Mozambican copper, asbestos, bauxite and agricultural products were no longer shipped to Rhodesia, and Mozambique had to pay higher prices for the corn, iron, tobacco, gypsum, fertilizers, chemical products, paper and foodstuffs it had previously imported from Rhodesia.

According to data provided by the United Nations in December 1980, Mozambique may have lost more than \$550 million over the years. With such a sum, Samora Machel has pointed out, it could have purchased "a large textile plant, 10 technical schools, 2 main hospitals a health center for each district, 1000 tractors, 200 trucks, 100 locomotives and a large agricultural implements factory and extended the electric system from Gabora Bassa to Pemba."

Moreover, this firm position made Mozambique a constant target for imperialist aggression that included massacres of the people and the destruction of factories, so additional efforts and resources had to be allocated to defending Mozambique's sovereignty and its right to build a new society.

Ian Smith's forces made constant attempts to wipe out the Zimbabwean refugee camps — regardless of whether or not their inhabitants were involved in the patriotic struggle for independence — and make the Mozambican people afraid to help their African brothers. The massacres and attacks on factories were also aimed at destabilizing the political situation and keeping Mozambique's economy from advancing.

In spite of all prejudices and risks, however, there was always a widespread, deep-rooted feeling among Mozambicans that their future was linked to that of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and that the struggle was one and the same. Mozambique's political activities, official ceremonies and cultural events have always included Zimbabwe's cause. Mozambicans have expressed their support for the Zimbabwean people's struggle by donating some of their wages, factory production and crops from state farms and holding campaigns to collect used clothing, eating utensils and even food to send to the refugee camps. Mozambican children have given pencil stubs, erasers, ballpoint pens and even halves of notebooks for the refugee children.

Graça Machel, Minister of Education and Culture, once described the feeling behind the children's gifts as follows: "It is true that the children in our country still lack food. But, even though we don't have

enough milk or enough clothing for all our children, we are teaching them that solidarity means more than giving what's left over when you have enough; rather, it means giving to others even when it's difficult. They must learn that the struggle of others is our struggle, too. Therefore, we share whatever little we have."

The determination to implement the United Nations agreements wasn't based solely on such emotions but reflected a general position of greater depth and strategic scope, summed up by Samora Machel when he announced those measures in 1976:

"In supporting Zimbabwe's struggle, we are defending Mozambique. In supporting the battle our Zimbabwean brothers are waging, we are crushing the enemy on our own borders, consolidating our independence and creating the conditions for a return to peace. This is why we say that support and solidarity are not favors or charity but a form of mutual aid between forces that are fighting for the same objective. Our support for our Zimbabwean brothers' righteous war is moral, political and material."

Mozambique expressed this firm solidarity in the last few months of Zimbabwe's war of liberation by sending hundreds of internationalist Mozambican fighters to join the Patriotic Front guerrillas and fight alongside them, helping to speed the fall of Ian Smith's regime.

The definitions of the 3rd Congress

Even with the pressing national defense priorities of the confrontation with Rhodesian fascism, the Mozambican revolutionary process continued its advance, incorporating the armed struggle and militant solidarity as integral parts of revolutionary progress.

In September 1977, FRELIMO held its 3rd Congress, at which it was announced that the program for the national democratic stage had been fulfilled and the next stage, called the People's Democratic Revolution, was outlined as a period for the construction of scientific socialism under the leadership of a vanguard Marxist-Leninist party.

The Central Committee report on political organization in Mozambique stated categorically:

"People's democracy is the historical phase in which the working masses, under the leadership of the working class, reinforce their power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and majority power in all aspects of social life.

"People's democracy is the phase in which we socialize the means of production and establish and develop the two main types of socialist ownership: state and cooperative. It is the phase in which we develop and qualitatively transform our economy, creating the material base for socialist society. Taking agriculture as the base and industry as the decisive, dynamizing factor, we break with poverty and dependency

once and for all and go on to build an advanced economy that serves the people."

As a result of the political and structural definitions that emerged from the Congress, people's power was established at the grass roots, district, city and provincial levels, culminating in the calling of the People's National Assembly on August 13, 1978. A new election was held two years later.

The presentation and election of candidates in democratic mass assemblies has always proved a rich experience for the people. The voters come to the polls of their own free will to choose their representatives, rejecting those who have wavered in the struggle against colonialism, the religious extremists and those who have no mass ties. Samora Machel called on the people to make the last election, held in 1980, "a time for rendering accounts; a time for our Deputies to make pledges; an offensive for organization; and an offensive against irresponsibility, routine and disorganization."

The first election slogan — "Let's elect assemblies to improve our lives" — was used to encourage greater mass involvement in solving the problems and difficulties inherited from colonialism. The Constitution invests the People's Assembly with the authority "to promote social progress, consolidate state power, increase production and productivity, develop collective work and improve the people's material and cultural living conditions throughout the country."

Addressing the Deputies elected in 1978 — most of them workers and peasants — Samora Machel listed some of their obligations:

"In our work places and homes, in Party cells, factories, organizations, cooperatives and everywhere else, we should explain why it is necessary and urge our citizens to practice austerity; value the people's wealth and gains; save and deposit their savings in the bank; and clean the streets, buildings and other public places..."

The Mozambican Constitution, amended on the recommendation of the Central Committee of FRELIMO during that session of the People's National Assembly, now defines the nature of the state very clearly in Articles 2 and 3:

Article 2. The People's Republic of Mozambique is a people's democracy in which all patriotic sectors are involved in building a new society, free of man's exploitation of man.

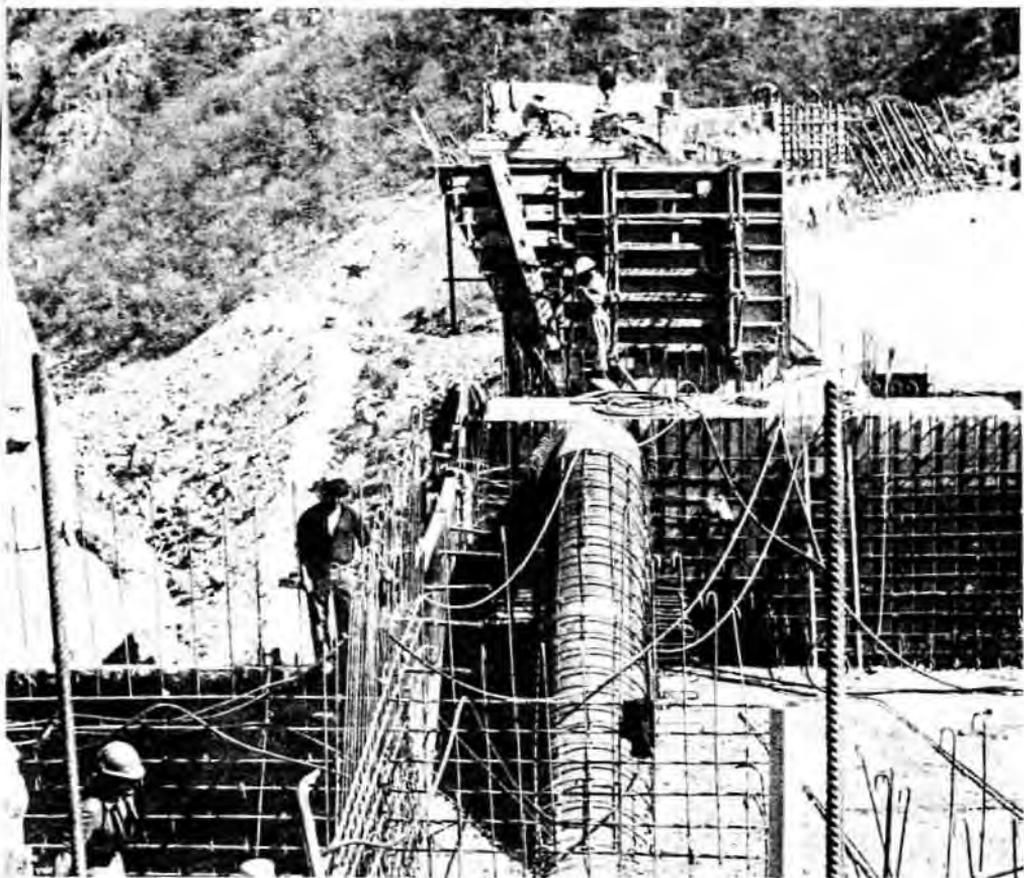
In the People's Republic of Mozambique, power belongs to the workers and peasants, united and led by FRELIMO, and is exercised through the bodies of people's power.

Article 3. The People's Republic of Mozambique is guided by the political line determined by FRELIMO, the leading force in the state and society. FRELIMO sets basic state political positions and directs and supervises the action of state bodies to ensure that state policy is in the people's interests.

In defining the Party as the leading force in Mozambican society, the 3rd Congress of FRELIMO described the kind of vanguard party Mozambique should have:

"The Party we propose to create will direct the worker-peasant alliance. Under the leadership of the working class, FRELIMO brings the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and others forged and tempered in the struggle against man's exploitation of man together in a voluntary, militant alliance for the victory of the people's interests.

"FRELIMO is guided by the synthesis of the Mozambican people's revolutionary experiences and the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, especially as regards its principles, organization and working methods.



"Ours is a revolutionary party, whose aim is to destroy the capitalist system and build a society in our country in which there is no more exploitation of man by man.

"Our Party should have a revolutionary program, advanced theory and a clearly defined strategy and tactics."

This led to the demand that the Party be strengthened and extended throughout the country in factories, cooperatives, military and paramilitary institutions and state and local administrative bodies.

First of all, this meant that the Dynamizing Groups that were created immediately after independence became Party Committees, with only the best cadres selected to retain their membership. (The Dynamizing Groups, which had accepted everyone, regardless of ideological beliefs, had offered the best solution for structuring FRELIMO on a national basis; the conditions weren't ripe for creating a real vanguard party until after the 3rd Congress, when the opportunist, corrupt and counterrevolutionary individuals were weeded out.)

Only then could the structuring of the Party begin at the base with a voluntary selective process acceptable to the masses — as I witnessed at a later stage. According to the 3rd Congress, the three basic conditions for Party membership were 1) total dedication to the Party, Mozambique, the people and socialism, living on wages alone; 2) a clean slate regarding voluntary past participation in unpatriotic, counterrevolutionary activities and organizations; and 3) good moral behavior.

The first step was to call a general assembly to explain the aims of the structuring and invite people to apply for membership. At a follow-up meeting, each candidate was discussed by the masses, who best knew his strengths and weaknesses and could therefore make a valid criticism — to which the candidate could reply, of course. Following this, the special structuring brigade presented its conclusions to the provincial commission for final decision.

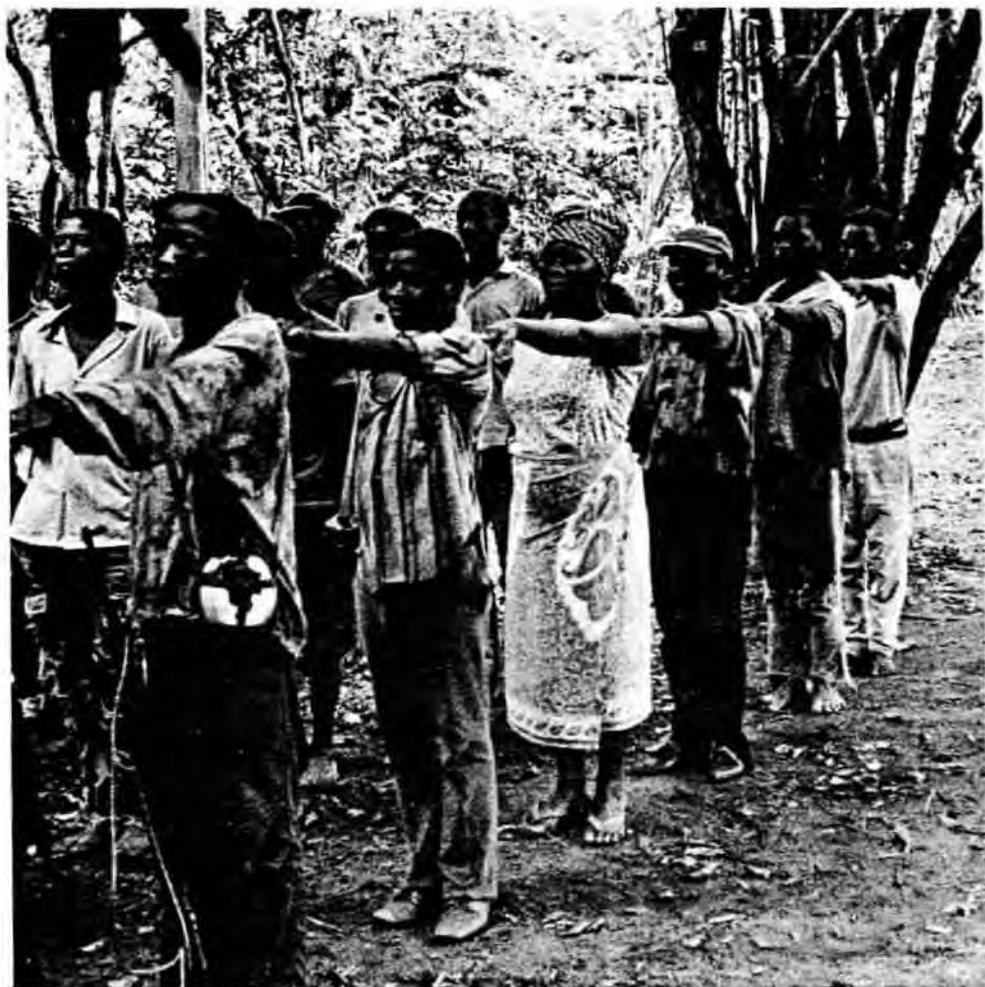
When Samora Machel concluded the Structuring Campaign at a mass meeting held in Maputo, he pointed out that "A number of political, production and social problems were uncovered and solved in the course of the process, and some unjust situations were straightened out. This shows how vital our Party is and has strengthened mass confidence in FRELIMO." He went on to say that "Structuring the Party means organizing the most aware and advanced workers, those most devoted to the people, their homeland and the Revolution. It means organizing the vanguard workers. They were identified by the people, by the broad Mozambican working masses..." The people acted as a great filter for the members of the Party.

As the political vanguard of the Mozambican people, FRELIMO has constantly defined the nature of the class struggle in its best known subtleties. Lucidly and energetically, it launched a revolutionary offensive in 1980 against corruption, larceny, favoritism, insensitivity to the



problems of the masses, accommodation, individualism, indiscipline, irresponsibility, carelessness, disorganization, speculation, privileges and bureaucracy. For weeks at a time, President Samora Machel and other leaders of the Political Committee made unannounced spot-checks of factories, hospitals, state-owned businesses and other services which presented problems for the population — as, for example, the storing and deterioration of prime necessity articles that were in short supply on the market. "We will use revolutionary violence against those implicated in this situation," the Mozambican President stated. "We are going to uproot the enemy among us."

Addressing the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals, workers from all sectors, and other citizens of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Machel warned that they were entering a decisive phase in the struggle to develop a socialist homeland: that of the class struggle, with "the overwhelming majority of the Mozambican workers, who want socialism, on the one hand, and a handful of reactionaries,



agents of our enemy, on the other." Describing the offensive that the workers would unleash, he emphasized that it would be to destroy "a minority of infiltrated agents who want to destroy our revolution; a minority of reactionaries who don't want our country to be led by the working class any more; a minority of infiltrated agents who want to destroy the revolutionary conquests of the worker-peasant alliance; a minority of reactionaries who want to return our country to capitalism, colonialism, oppression, division and dependency on imperialism; a minority of reactionaries who want to preserve their privileges, who want to maintain hunger, nakedness and poverty as a system and keep the people waiting; a minority that wants our people to stop being a solid base of support for the just struggle of the oppressed."

Returning to the point of this article, which is to evaluate the Mozambican Revolution in terms of its social efforts and international solidarity, we again quote the documents of the 3rd Congress of FRELIMO:

"An internationalist spirit has emerged throughout the country as one of the results of our people's tradition of struggling against exploitation and oppression.

"In this phase of the People's Democratic Revolution, the cause of the Mozambican working class is inseparable from the cause of workers throughout the world.

"A dialectical relationship exists between the class struggle on the national and on the international levels. Proletarian internationalism is a constant revolutionary principle of the Party and guides all its actions.

"Our country must be a firm revolutionary base for the struggle of other peoples and oppressed classes and we must continue to strengthen the anti-imperialist world front."⁷

Mozambique's active solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa; its outstanding role among the front-line countries and in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries; and its firm support for all liberation movements are specific examples of its principled revolutionary position as it continues to build a new society.

+ Report presented by Samora Machel to the 3rd Congress of FRELIMO.

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SIRYA: A FIRM STAND

WASSEL KHIDER



Wassel Khider, Havana correspondent of the Syrian News Agency (SANA), analyzes in this article Syria's uncompromising position with respect to Sadat's treachery at Camp David, and defends Arab unity and the just cause of the Palestinian people.



SYRIA is a country that is defending its principles and the rights of all the Arab peoples against Israel.

Ever since the Socialist Arab BAAS Party was founded in 1947, Syria has supported the cause of the Palestinian people, taking a principled position based on unity, freedom and socialism; holding that the Palestinian cause is the cause of the Arab peoples and all other honorable and progressive peoples; and affirming that the future of the Palestinians cannot be determined without taking into account the will of that people, represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The BAAS Party waged a bitter struggle against reactionary forces inside Syria and seized power on behalf of the people in the March 1963 revolution. All subsequent Party Congresses have reaffirmed the view that the struggle should be directed, first of all, against the Zionist enemy created and sustained by US imperialism and that it should be combined with the struggle against colonialism in the area — thus laying the bases for protecting its interests and ensuring that the region's liberation movements are helped.

The Syrian revolution established a powerful people's Army and began to build its economy on a socialist base, with the aid and friendship of the Soviet Union.

The October 1973 war, provoked by the Zionist enemy, changed the military balance in the region and destroyed the myth of Israel's invincibility when that country's modern, heavy planes fell like flies over Damascus and other Syrian cities. In this war, the Arabs regained the prestige they had lost when they were defeated in June 1967.

Then Sadat negotiated a shameful unilateral treaty with Israel — violating all national and progressive values — and left Syria alone in the battle. The treaty was reaffirmed, and Sadat went completely over to the Zionist enemy, betraying the cause of the Arab people.

In Syria, the war against Israel will go on until the occupied Arab territories are freed and the land is returned to the Palestinian Arab people so they can set up their own state. Meanwhile, under Sadat, the Egyptian government's negotiations with the Zionist enemy have betrayed the Egyptian people's struggle and that of all the Arab peoples, forcing thousands to become martyrs for the cause of freedom.



The Camp David negotiations altered the strategic balance in the region, leaving Syria and the PLO to oppose Israel, the United States and the Egyptian reaction. This situation led to the strengthening of the progressive Arab line and its unification under the leadership of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and the creation of closer relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The parties to the Camp David Accords seek to wipe out the Arab cause, especially that of the Palestinians. Syria's position doesn't suit their ends. For that reason, the enemy eggs on the Syrian reaction to engage in destabilizing actions that will weaken the

country. Terrorist Muslim bands, known as the Muslim Brothers, have been organized with the support and encouragement of the United States, Israel, Egypt and other reactionary Arab countries that approve of Egypt's betrayal and share the aims of the Camp David Accords.

These bands began their conspiracy with the biggest internal plot Syria has ever faced, for the conspirators speak our language but follow the dictates of the United States and its agents. These reactionaries — a minority among our people — are mobilized and

managed by the Central Intelligence Agency, Israel and the reactionary Arab countries to attack the socialist sector and try to assassinate scientists, patriots and progressives as part of their destabilization program.

The instigators of this reactionary policy also put pressure on Syria from abroad to try to force the country to adopt the treasonous Camp David line, renounce its firm position and act like Egypt.

The conspirators have been strongly attacked, however, and the masses have increasingly rallied around the Party and Syrian President Hafez Al Assad. A large number of the conspirators have been discovered, and preparations are under way to wipe out the rest.

The general line of the conspiracy against Syria includes both external and internal pressures and constant threats. Our country has remained firm and resistant, with a completely noncapitulationist position. As long as a single Syrian soldier remains, we will continue defending the Palestinian people's rights and cause. Our firm policy is based on the founding principles of the Socialist Arab BAAS Party.

We must free our entire land of colonialism and liberate our people from the reactionary forces that seek to push them back hundreds of years.

We call on all the Arab people to join the struggle to defend our rights under the banner of Arab unity and solidarity — a struggle against colonialism, imperialism and Zionism, not the patriotic pro-

gressive Arab peoples and governments or the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole legitimate representative.

We reject any solidarity that is not based on this principle. Syria is a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the Group of Muslim Countries, and our position at every congress or conference is guided by the other members' attitude toward our cause and our struggle.

As President Hafez Al Assad pointed out, "We refused to attend the Islamic Conference in Islamabad, Pakistan, because it was called to denounce our Soviet friends for their having aided the people of Afghanistan."

The reactionary Arab countries are trying to distract the Arab people's attention from their main cause — Palestine and the staunch struggle against imperialism and Zionism — by creating artificial wars and other problems, such as the conflict between Iraq and Iran.

Syria opposes any mobilization of Arab forces that is not in the interests of the battle against Zionism and imperialism. The reactionary Arabs are always filled with illusions and dreams. They even thought Carter would solve the Palestinian problem, and now they say Reagan is even more powerful and can solve it if we Arabs are only patient and place our faith in US imperialism, going along with its plans instead of behaving in an unfriendly way.

Syria is not confused. We know that neither Carter nor Reagan nor anyone else can change the United States' aggressive policy in the Middle East. Its political line is

Hafez Al Assad



well defined: unlimited support for Israel so it continues to be the main US base in this region and the chief gendarme in guarding US and other Western interests and stirring up conflicts among the Arabs to prevent unity so that the plunder of Arab wealth may be continued.

The United States now wants another Camp David Accord, under Reagan's sponsorship — one in which King Hussein of Jordan (who is following the example of this friend Anwar el-Sadat) will participate.

When Syria reiterated its firm position in December 1980, at the Arab Summit Meeting held in Amman, Jordan, Hussein made a big fuss and mobilized his forces along the Syrian border to "prove" that he was the leader of the Arabs and was going to negotiate with the West, with the United States and Israel, on behalf of the Arabs.

It is clear that the attacks on our country are stepped up every time we take a firm position against conspiracy. The aim is to force us to change our firm policy, but we will never do that, no matter how great the pressures and threats, even though our planes and arms aren't as modern as those of the enemy.

We support Palestine all the way, for Palestine and Syria are two halves of a whole.

We spend 70 percent of our annual budget on military defense to protect the Arab people, but those who are servile to imperialism offer it the oil that belongs to the Palestinian and other Arab

people and place their resources at the service of the US economy — which feeds Israel to guarantee its survival and forces the Palestinian people into exile far from their homeland.

Syria considers the confrontation with Israel to be a matter of life or death. We refuse to live under Zionist and imperialist guns, and we prefer death to slavery.

The obvious reality is that the Jews are not a nation, in spite of all their self-justifications and lies. The most important element of a nation is a homeland — the land on which a nation has developed, taken form and molded its character. Israel doesn't have this, which not only denies Zionist ideas and statements but also shows that the dismemberment of Palestine by invasion, expropriation and occupation cannot constitute a factor for creating a Jewish nation. Such actions only prove that Israel is a fictitious nation, using aggression to acquire a homeland — and so opposing reality.

Palestine must necessarily be a part of the Arab nation, the Arab world. Every Arab citizen and every other honorable and revolutionary person in the world knows this.

The Zionist occupation of Palestine may last for a long time, and the Palestinian people may be dispersed; even so, they will win their struggle, and all other Arabs will struggle alongside them to defeat Zionism, imperialism and colonialism.

No matter how much aid the imperialists give their lackeys and no matter what threats they make against us, Syria will stand firm, with a great spirit of struggle. Slander and accusations won't



weaken us. Syria and its Arab brothers who are loyal to the progressive cause, together with their friends in the Soviet Union and other countries, will continue the battle until final victory is won.

The relations between Syria and the Soviet Union have developed both qualitatively and quantitatively since our two countries signed a friendship agreement in response to imperialist and reactionary threats — an agreement that reestablished the strategic balance between Syria and Israel and enabled us to continue our struggle.

As President Hafez Al Assad said, "The friendship agreement between Syria and the Soviet Union gives the Arabs the power to ward off attacks, free the occupied Arab territories and restore the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people. The opponents of this agreement are calling for the establishment of the US-Israeli line."

They accuse us of refusing to negotiate and of rejecting peace, but we reply, along with our President, that "We don't love war and destruction, and we don't want it for anyone." What can we do, though, if war is forced on us? Don't we have the right to defend ourselves, our land and our children? Zionism is a racist movement that has been denounced as such by the United Nations; it is a movement that rejects peace and doesn't even know the meaning of the word.

They want us to surrender — which, of course, we'll never do. They keep dreaming of and hoping to find someone else who will surrender the way Sadat, Hussein and others have done, but they won't find anyone like that in Syria, for such people don't exist in the bastion of the resistance. We want peace — as long as it is based on justice, law and the decisions adopted by the United Nations — but we reject any peace imposed by the United States and Israel.

This is our position. We have faith in our people, our Party and its revolutionary leadership, represented by Comrade Hafez Al Assad.

LEBANON: INFLATION AND CRISIS

LEONEL NODAL



Some of the residents of Beirut recall the days when a Lebanese pound would pay for transportation to and from work with enough left over for a sandwich and a soft drink as a story straight out of the *Arabian Nights*.

Now, a Lebanese pound will take you only a short distance in a collective taxi. Two slices of bread with some bits of meat and vegetables cost at least two pounds, and a bottled soft drink costs 0.75.

Those bygone days were only five years ago, when the city still had public transportation, and the galloping inflation that is so much a part of life now hadn't yet made its appearance as the horseman of the apocalypse of a civil war that, in late 1976, led to a permanent social crisis.

The continuing devaluation of the Lebanese pound indicates just how bad the crisis is.

In 1975, a US dollar was exchanged in Beirut for 2.25 pounds; in the last few months, the exchange rate has gone to as many as 3.50 pounds and has settled at around 3.40 pounds to the dollar. That is, in five years the Lebanese money has been deflated 50 percent in terms of the US dollar, 200 percent in terms of the Swiss franc, 136 percent in terms of the West German deutsche mark and 90 percent in terms of the French franc.

The full impact of this devaluation can only be appreciated when you realize that 70 percent of all the country's consumer goods are imported. This is the first "reason" the merchants give for raising the prices of their goods steadily, month after month — especially the prices of food, medicines, clothing, furniture and other household items.

Beirut, which used to be famed as the "capital of the Middle East" and the "Paris of the Levant" — because of its strong network of banks and luxury hotels, casinos and boutiques — still retains some of the remnants of that splendor, in stark contrast to the ravages of the war.

In Hanra Street, a modest replica of the Champs Elysées, neon lights illuminate store windows filled with the latest Paris creations: a women's sports dress for \$150, a pair of European shoes for \$100. . . . In the center of the city, cars take over not only the streets but also the sidewalks, symbolizing the power of the commercial bourgeoisie — who, in even the worst conditions, still keep on wheeling and dealing, while the clerks and other workers engage in a bitter struggle to make ends meet.

The outskirts of the metropolis consist of marginal neighborhoods, where you must pick your way around pools of stagnant water, piles of garbage and rubble. There, small shops with third-class agricultural products and used clothes abound, patronized by small-income people who cannot cope with the rocketing cost of living in any other way.

THE PRICE RACE

For five years, prices have risen faster than wages. The result is ever greater impoverishment for the poorest classes, that are forced to reduce their spending for education, medical care, food and entertainment over and over again.

A study made by the General Organization of Lebanese Workers (CGTL) that served as a basis for the recent talks on wage readjustments, showed that the cost of living index rose by 348.7 percent between January 1974 and December 1979.

According to these figures, a worker who earned 310 pounds in December 1974 would have to earn more than 1000 pounds now to keep up with inflation.

Up until just recently, the minimum wage was 560 pounds. After five months of discussions, the government agreed to raise wages by 29 percent (the trade unions had asked for 41.3 percent). Although, at first glance, this may look like a victory, it must be kept in mind that prices are rising much faster than wages under the new law. For example, the price of a kilogram of mutton (a staple in the Lebanese diet) rose from 18 pounds in 1979 to 30 and even 32 pounds (nearly \$10) in the first few months of 1980. A kilogram of beef now costs 20 pounds (\$6), whereas it cost 15 pounds

only a few months ago. Any other comparison of prices now and "then" — whether five or ten years ago — shows similar or even worse contrasts.

A study that the Institute of Research and Consultation, an independent agency, made in late 1979 led the daily *An Nidaa* to conclude that wage workers are being subjected to a process of "organized poverty." The study was made on a sample of 250 families living in Beirut and its environs who had monthly incomes of less than 2000 pounds (around \$600). Seventy percent of all wage workers fall in this category.

The study showed that 51 percent of family income went for food; 17 percent, for the children's schooling; 17 percent, for transportation; 17 percent, for rent; and 9.3 percent, for medical expenses — winding up with a deficit of 11.3 percent, which had to be met through growing indebtedness.

The same study showed that 68 percent of the families polled had gone into debt in 1979 and were forced to sell or pawn some of their possessions to pay these debts. Eighty-nine percent of those polled had given up trying to improve their living conditions, 86 percent had almost no entertainment, 78 percent had cut back on clothing purchases, 79 percent had stopped buying some food items, 57 percent considered it impossible to pay for certain medical treatment and 44 percent were forced to find less expensive schools for their children. Even in the government-run schools, annual costs amount to 500 pounds (\$150).

The fact that these families now consume 22.7 percent fewer nutrients than they did ten years ago brings out the growing process of impoverishment.

ODDITIES OF TRADE

The Lebanese businessmen, whose experience dates back to the time of the Phoenicians, continue to show a special ability for commercial transactions.

Trade constituted 28 percent of the Gross National Product in 1977, the last year for which figures are available, as contrasted to 31 percent in 1974 — before the war. These are the official statistics, but they must be considered conservative. The remaining 72 percent of the GNP is contributed by industry (16 percent); agriculture (9 percent); and banking, tourism, transportation and public spending (mainly services).

The decrease in trade is only apparent. The streets of Beirut are filled with improvised stands where you can buy Scotch whiskey for \$3 a fifth and US cigarettes for \$.30 a pack — perhaps the lowest price in the world. A can of condensed milk, however, costs twice as much as a pack of cigarettes, and a kilogram of sugar costs even more....

A broad range of household appliances from Japan fill the small wooden-walled, tin-roofed shops, competing with the biggest suppliers. This phenomenon is the result of a flourishing smuggling business — which, according to the customs service, handles 50 percent of the country's imports, depriving the state of an important source of income.

The areas of the capital that are at war constitute ministates, and many, such as the sectors controlled by the Christian rightist militias, have private ports — at which goods of doubtful origin (that have disappeared from freighters on the high seas) sometimes appear.

According to the Ministry of Industry and Oil, Lebanon's trade balance showed a deficit of around 4.5 billion Lebanese pounds (\$1.3 billion) in 1979.

A curious aspect is the fact that, even though it is experiencing a general decline in industrial exports, tourism and banking, the country showed an excess in its balance of payments of more than \$200 million, according to Michel el-Khoury, governor of the central bank.

How was this possible? A large part of the answer lies in the money that more than 200 000 Lebanese workers who have emigrated — mainly to the oil countries of



the Gulf — In the last few years in search of work are sending back to their families. A report by the International Monetary Fund estimated that these remittances amount to more than a billion dollars a year. Meanwhile, it is difficult to find a plumber, an electrician or any other skilled worker in Lebanon these days, for most of them have been forced to emigrate.

Those who wish to return would find it difficult to rent a two-bedroom apartment for less than 2000 pounds (\$600) a month, and the news that the cost of electricity will be increased by 40 percent, gasoline will cost \$2 a gallon and even newspapers are very expensive is far from encouraging.

The civil war — whipped up from abroad by Israel, which wants to wipe out the Palestinian resistance and the progressive Lebanese forces — has taken a toll so far of 60 000 dead and caused material damage amounting to more than \$2 billion.

The wounds of the war and of the continuous Israeli attacks are still to be seen in hundreds of buildings that have been destroyed or damaged in the cities and thousands of houses that have been demolished and fields that have been abandoned in the south, where shrapnel may be expected any day at any hour.

A study made by the Committee of Reconstruction and Development estimated that around \$8 billion is needed to restore the country's economy. The International Monetary Fund, for its part, has concluded that "It is improbable that Lebanon will regain its traditional role as the services and financial center of the Middle East."

EL SALVADOR: PAPER PRESENTED AT THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE.

NORMA GUEVARA



At the Anti-imperialist Scientific Conference held in Berlin October 20-24, 1980, the Salvadoran fighter Norma Guevara, militant and leader of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), accused the genocidal Salvadoran Junta of massacring the people of this sister Central American nation, in open collusion with Yankee imperialism.

Comrades:

I bring you fraternal greetings from the Unified Revolutionary Leadership (DRU) and all the Salvadoran people.

I would like to do two things here: give you some information on the current state of our revolutionary process and say a little about the unitary process of the Salvadoran revolutionary forces — which has made it possible for us to proclaim our revolution and approaching victory.

Ever since 1931, El Salvador — a small nation with a population of 5 million — has been subjected to military dictatorship, that was consolidated after the 1932 defeat of the peasant-worker insurrection headed by the Salvadoran Communist Party, in which 30 000 people were killed.

That period of terror provided fertile soil for the oligarchy's crude anticommunism, permitting it to install a system of dictatorial political control and a dependent capitalist economic structure. In spite of all its brutality, however, it couldn't silence the demands of the people's movement — as was also the case in other countries.

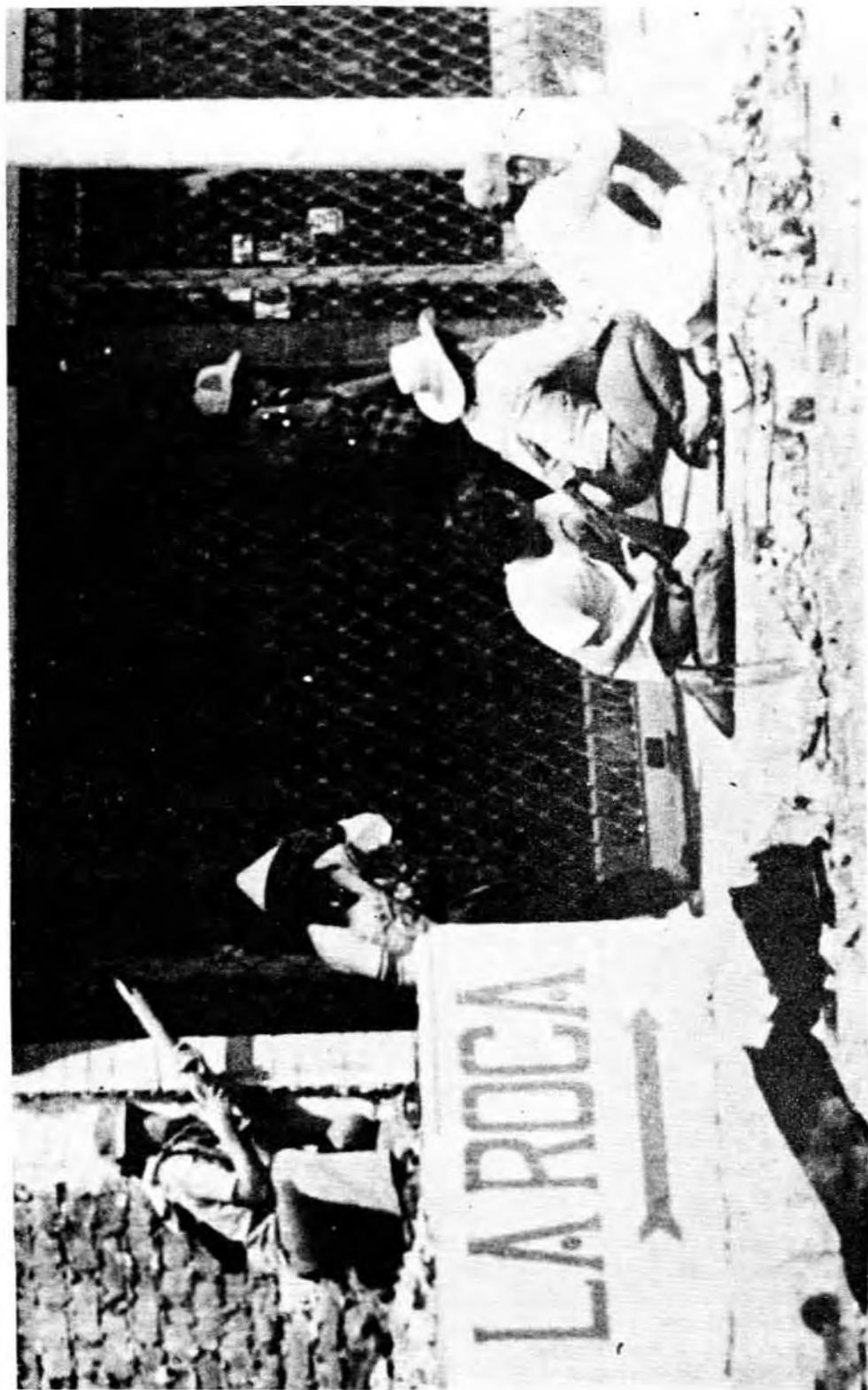
The revolutionary forces that are now sparking the revolution developed within the framework of this

dictatorship. These included the Communist Party in 1930 and other left-wing organizations, such as the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL), the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) and the National Resistance (RN), in the '70s.

The Cuban Revolution opened up a new era in this continent, where imperialism had erected countless hemispheric and regional walls. The Alliance for Progress and the Central American Common Market were successive — and unsuccessful — maneuvers, but capitalism's irreversible crisis spread throughout Central America, where it was met by a mature revolutionary movement that was ready to turn the crisis into a triumphant revolution. This was confirmed by the victorious Sandinista people's revolution in Nicaragua and the revolution now in progress in our country.

The fact that a mature revolutionary situation existed in El Salvador was fully accepted some time ago. Today, a revolution is in progress.

The structural crisis of the system of political domination has reached such a point that there is no longer any possibility for a



bourgeois solution — only the revolution now in progress can solve it.

Reformist attempts to detour the revolutionary process were revealed early in 1980, not only to the revolutionary forces but also to the democratic forces which, after the governmental crisis in January, resigned from the central government, other government institutions and even positions created last October in the ruling Junta. They immediately joined a single, unified wave of struggle for the revolution, leaving the oligarchy and imperialisms isolated.

This means that all possibilities for a reformist outcome have been killed by the terrorist machinery developed during the last eight years, which has buttressed the oligarchy's refusal to accede to even the most timid reforms. The development of a truly mass revolutionary movement was, of course, another deterrent to false solutions.

Even though the crisis was deep and the revolutionary movement strong, however, we were held back by the problem of division among the left — division which was at odds with the objective factors for revolution that had matured.

It is almost impossible to describe the impact that the triumphant Sandinista revolution had in solving this problem. We all realized that unity and victory were firmly linked — and we were also pressured by the masses, who simply couldn't understand the division.

Thus, in December 1979, the FPL, RN and PCS signed an agreement that had unforeseen repercussions, for it opened the way to the for-

mation of the Mass Revolutionary Coordinating Committee (CRM) in January 1980 and then to the unification of the democratic forces in the Democratic Front (FD) in March and April. The unity of these two groups gave rise to the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), which is now the broadest expression of national unity.

That December agreement signed by the FPL, PCS and RN ended a sterile argument that had gone on for years, but it was not the result of programmatic accord. We should confess frankly that the basis of that agreement was recognition of three fundamental factors:

1. unity was necessary to promote the possibility of revolution;
2. we had to begin our advance toward unity with a process of coordination (hence the formation of the P-M Coordinate); and
3. this coordinating agency should discuss our differences so we could come to an agreement on the nature of the revolution, strategy, tactics, international policy, etc.

Thus, the ERP, which was not included in the agreement, was approached on a coordinating level. Events then forced us to overcome these differences quickly, and we finally came to see things from the same point of view. When we had a program — that of the revolutionary democratic government adopted first by the CRM and then by the FDR — we managed to reach an agreement on strategy, on the

use of armed struggle and its combination with political struggle and on international policy. In other words, once we had solved the basic questions, there was no longer any reason for continuing to operate separately, and a qualitatively superior agreement was reached.

DRU was formed by the four political-military organizations: the ERP-FPL, RN and PCS. This was a major accomplishment on two scores: it united the vanguard in a single organization, and it gave the revolution a single leadership with a unified military command.

This was a tremendous step forward which implies even greater responsibility in the future. Among other things, DRU must create the ideological-political bases for establishing a single Marxist-Leninist Party in El Salvador. Those who live in countries where the left is divided will understand the scope of this task.

We can't say that the road to unity is strewn with flowers or that all the problems of the past have been eliminated, but our experience shows that the positive aspects, the constructive efforts — and, in the end, the results — will be what we all want but can't achieve alone.

If our unity were simply the result of work from the top, we wouldn't have our present capacity. Instead, it is the result of unitary efforts at the grass-roots level, by the masses.

Now we have taken a bigger step and created an insurgent army, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, unifying our forces so we can win crucial battles.

Our unity is nurtured and supported by the people and furthered by the unity of the democratic forces — which have joined in a single program to carry out anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist, democratic tasks. The FDR and DRU are legitimate representatives of our national interests. Their unity and work reflect how totally isolated the Christian Democratic Military Junta and US imperialism have become.

Comrades, in spite of our people's heroism and daily battles, some of our friends view our country's struggle as one of endless martyrdom, not believing we could possibly win, for they have been taken in by the US government's subtle policy of painting a negative image of our revolution.

In order to expose the reactionary criminal essence of this policy, we must see where it is coming from and what its results are.

In January 1980, the United States first pushed for a diabolical alliance between right-wing sectors of the Salvadoran Armed Forces and a clique of the Christian Democratic Party — an alliance that waved the banner of economic reform to attract some sectors to the counterrevolution and isolate the revolutionary movement. The first phase of that policy was one of murder and reform, with murder predominating and reform confined to demagogic slogans turned out by the military counterrevolution for consumption abroad.

On March 6, the day that an agrarian reform and the nationalization of the private banks were pompously decreed, a state of siege was also declared and constitutional guarantees were — and still

are — suspended, keeping the masses from participating in the alleged reform and providing a legal excuse for engaging in generalized repression in the countryside.

The Catholic Church and the Christian Democratic Party immediately denounced this maneuver and those who had concocted it. The major CD party forces withdrew and joined the FDR, leaving only Duarte's clique and a small group of his supporters in the government.

Both the presence of the CD and the language used to announce the reforms were designed to give the world a false idea that the Junta was bent on reform but caught the fire of extreme left- and right-wing irrationality that kept it from bringing those reforms to a happy conclusion.

This was how the United States sought to win support from Venezuela and other governments in the area, so they would join it even in the extreme measure of massive, direct intervention.

Now, the reforms won't even work as propaganda, for everyone knows the Junta's hands are stained with blood. It is no longer possible to sell the idea of a neutral Junta. Indiscriminate massacre and the genocidal war of extermination have escalated, with one purpose inside the country and another abroad.

Domestically, the escalation was designed to isolate the mass revolutionary movement, because it was becoming increasingly difficult to tell the difference — or to create a difference — between the masses and the revolutionaries. The March and June strikes were

resounding mass responses of support for the revolution.

Abroad, the massacre was used to get across the idea that the Armed Forces were finishing off the rebels and that those killed in the genocide had really fallen in combat — all this in an effort to weaken the tremendous international solidarity given our cause, isolate the governments that viewed us with sympathy and discourage them from supporting a revolutionary movement "in decline."

The imperialists' perversity went even further. Even though their failure led them to promote genocide, our morale remained high as the number and quality of our battles increased. Then they resorted to inventing a standoff between the revolutionaries and the Armed Forces, in order to justify intervening in the guise of a noble pacification mission in defense of those who were being killed in endless struggle.

We've had to quash these maneuvers one by one, responding to that genocidal war by waging a legitimate war of liberation, with clear possibilities for victory and perspectives for power.

The Cristian Democratic Military Junta is sustained only by the Yankees, the oligarchy and its Armed Forces, which are tottering as the democratic revolutionary movement gains in strength and solidarity.

Our revolution, however, is faced not only with enemies inside the country but also with the desperate reaction of the Central American bourgeoisie, which views our

triumph as the beginning of the end. Thus, we are threatened with direct intervention by the United States or by such puppet armies as those of Venezuela, Guatemala and Honduras.

Great efforts were made recently to solve the Honduran-Salvadoran conflict in order to clear the way for more open intervention by the Honduran Army on behalf of the Salvadoran Armed Forces.

In addition to providing unlimited military support, the United States also pressures the governments of other capitalist countries to get them to help pull El Salvador out of economic bankruptcy and step up their plans for intervention.

We realize that intervention in our country would threaten not only our revolution but also the Nicaraguan Revolution; the revolutionary process in Guatemala, which is on the upsurge; and the advance of the peoples' movements in Honduras and Costa Rica.

We can't keep intervention from turning Central America into a single front in the war against imperialism. We will follow the example of Vietnam, because we know there is nothing more precious than freedom — for which we must give our all — and because we have developed the forces we need.

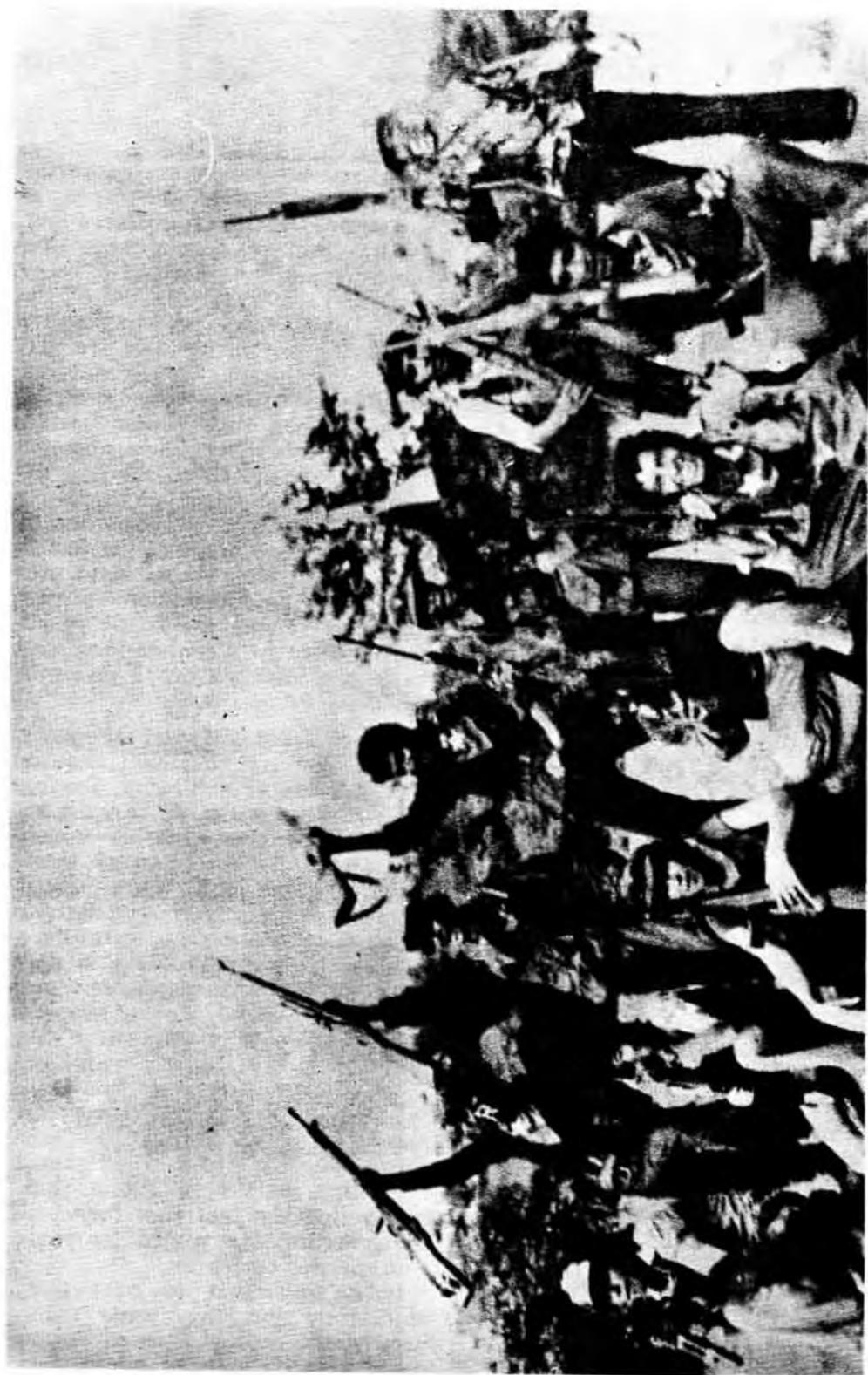
Naturally, we are doing everything we can to tie the hands of the United States — which proves that our revolution is internationalist, not only in the sense of its projection but also in terms of its need for effective support from anti-imperialist forces throughout the world.

Our people will be the first ones to throw back any massive intervention in our country, but international solidarity should also take a hand. Failure to appreciate either the dangers of such an attack or the possibilities of victory would prevent the anti-imperialist forces from fulfilling their internationalist duty of acting as the rearguard for the triumphant Nicaraguan Revolution and helping to remove the dangers facing the Salvadoran people in their march toward national and social liberation.

We will do everything we can to help our brothers in the communist movement and the leftist, anti-imperialist organizations to understand this aspect, even though the situation inside our country is developing with such speed and complexity that we can't give as much attention as we should to seeking this aware and aggressive solidarity.

Comrades, we couldn't possibly move ahead without the aid of the socialist camp, Cuba and Nicaragua — aid which, far from constituting any type of intervention in our affairs, represents exemplary fulfillment of the internationalist duty of the revolutionary movement.

This law of the need for solidarity in all aspects has been fully demonstrated in triumphant revolutions everywhere. The will to win against a powerful enemy is not enough when your hands are empty. We want to stress this because of our great material needs — needs determined by a state military machine that has been developed during a period of 50 years and that must be destroyed. The United States has never stopped sending



arms to the Junta, nor has it had the slightest scruple using bases in Panama for massive training of its forces. It has stationed troop carriers loaded with Marines just outside ports in Guatemala and encouraged incursions by the Armies of Honduras, Guatemala and others of its Latin-American puppets. What can we do to oppose all this?

Our people are fighting heroically against the enemy everywhere inside our country. Every day, we strike at the enemy Armed Forces, whose morale is low — though this is ignored by the international press, which seeks to hide the truth.

Our ranks include a strongly united left, deeply rooted in a huge mass movement. The presence of the Catholic Church, what remains of the Christian Democratic Party — now grouped in the MPSC and the National Revolutionary Movement (which belongs to the Socialist International) — intellectuals and former government officials, representatives of the big bourgeoisie, state workers, trade union members, a strong peasants' movement, patriotic soldiers, students, teachers and members of the working class shows this. All forces are included in the united wave of people who oppose the Junta, the Yankee advisers and the mercenaries. Currents of political thought from every social sector and class are represented, which makes our movement very broad and disproves malicious reports that our movement is radical, irrational and sectarian.

We revolutionaries recognize the difference between the depth of the revolution (which is determined by its level of development and the form of domination it encounters) and its breadth (which is determined by those who are a part of it). Depth and breadth are real characteristics of the Salvadoran revolution.

Now, when the hardest battles are being fought, many negative factors have arisen on the international plane, but the picture isn't all black. We have applied one of the many experiences of the Sandinista Revolution: the need to provide a positive international atmosphere by raising the battle inside the country to a higher level and by implementing a broad policy in the international field.

Major events will soon take place in our country that will require higher levels of solidarity. During the last two months, we have drawn up a single war plan, in which domestic factors (a narrow territory, a super-armed and -aided enemy and a dense population) determine the forms the military struggle should take. This is perhaps one of the contributions our struggle can make to other peoples. It is difficult to imagine the existence of an insurgent military movement composed of thousands of fighters in a country as small as ours. Nevertheless, the facts show that this force is fighting with high morale and great skill, confirming the fact that forms of struggle are determined by goals and specific conditions.

It is important to note that, objectively speaking, some members of the enemy's Armed Forces could also become an active part

REVOLUCION



MORANTE

of this process in the future. The enemy hasn't managed to preserve monolithic unity in its Armed Forces — not so much because of our policy toward the Army but mainly because of the way the war has developed, for it has brought out the revolutionary movement's perspectives.

Generally speaking, the revolution in El Salvador has gained adherents in both rural and urban areas, among the working class and intellectuals, within the Church and the Armed Forces, among democrats and Social Democrats.

The vanguard and the democratic, revolutionary forces have united around a single program calling for armed struggle to seize power. The participation of democratic forces makes it possible to improve our international work, which has already borne fruit in terms of solidarity from various governments in the area.

The armed movement is a powerfully based mass movement that takes many specific forms, as DRU plans and promotes a close combination of insurrection, war and general strike. We have the forces and the morale to chart the future course of this struggle and hold out against imperialism, even for a long period. We know that the socialist camp and the liberation movements are our friends and allies. We count on and are grateful for the solidarity of all peoples. In these conditions, comrades, our people are bound to win the final victory.

Comrades, we believe that our revolution is also yours, that you are a part of our process. We are sure that, together, we can bring the great potential in Our America to fruition.

Freedom or Death!

United for final victory!

JULY 26 th.

SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA





**GREATER
VICTORIES ARE
IN THE OFFING**

RODNEY ARISMENDI

Rodney Arismendi

Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, is well known as a theoretician and builder of the workers' democratic, advanced, revolutionary movement in his homeland.

Born on March 21, 1913, in the small Uruguayan city of Rio Blanco, in Cerro Largo Department, close to the Brazilian border, he attended school in the departmental capital, Melo.

In December 1929, he went to Montevideo, where he enrolled in the School of Law of the University of the Republic. There, he took an active part in organizing the Student Revolutionary Movement. In 1931, he helped found the Red Star Student Association and joined the Communist Party of Uruguay.

In his career as a fighter and political leader, he chaired the Conference of Uruguayan Students, Professors and Intellectuals against Fascism and War, in 1932; took part in the struggle against the reactionary dictatorship of Gabriel Terra; served as Secretary of the Central Committee of the Federation of Young Communists; belonged to the Montevideo Departmental Committee and, later, the National Committee of the Communist Party; edited the weekly *Justicia*, the main paper put out by the Communist Party of Uruguay; belonged to the National Committee of the Party, in charge of information and education; and served as First Secretary of its Central Committee, a post which he has held since 1955.

He has frequently been persecuted, imprisoned and tortured for his unyielding struggle against the corrupt governments and dictatorships in his country and for his solidarity with the other peoples that, throughout the America, are fighting for their freedom.

He is the author of such works as *Para un prontuario del dólar* (For a Rulebook on the Dollar); *Problemas de una revolución continental* (Problems of a Continental Revolution); *Lenin, la revolución y América Latina* (Lenin, Revolution and Latin America); and *Sobre algunas divergencias básicas de los dirigentes chinos con el movimiento comunista* (On Some of the Chinese Leaders' Basic Divergences from the Communist Movement). He has also written countless theoretical works, that have been published as pamphlets and in *Estudios* magazine, which he has edited since 1957.

WHEN the results of the plebiscite held by the Military Junta that rules in Uruguay became known at the end of last year, many people wondered how, in spite of fraud and the authorities' control, they could have been so resoundingly negative for the tyranny.

Tricontinental asked Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, to answer this question and also to provide some information on other

interesting aspects of the Uruguayan situation and the prospects of that people's struggle.

Results of the plebiscite

People all over the world were surprised that, in a plebiscite held by a terrorist dictatorship which controlled all the propaganda media, engaged in psychological warfare and also exerted other kinds

of pressure, the people managed to express themselves in no uncertain terms and disrupt the dictatorship's chronogram at its first basic point — the approval of a new Constitution, which would have meant the institutionalization of fascism.

There was fraud. There was fraud in the rural areas, especially the most backward ones. There was fraud in the extension of the closing hour for voting — from 7 or 8 to 10 p.m. — in an attempt to force some sectors of the population to vote — such as retired people, who would have been denied their pensions if they hadn't voted. There was fraud in the vote counting, too: confident of victory, the military men allowed representatives of the international press to witness this process at first, but then, when it was obvious that a considerable number of the votes were NO, they said that the

foreign journalists were filing false reports in order to discredit the country and ordered them to leave the polling places. Even so, they failed to rig enough figures, and the number of NO votes was overwhelming.

Naturally, the first ones to be surprised were the fascist military leaders and their cohorts, who believed that the combination of fraud, repression and iron control over the mass media would yield results that would give them an appearance of popular support. The Uruguayan people, however, voted a landslide NO. In the electoral precincts in Montevideo, more than 80 percent of the votes were NO. The same thing occurred among younger voters (the polls are set up by age) — that is, the new generations that have never known any political life except that of fascism also overwhelmingly voted NO.

The chronogram that the Uruguayan people rejected

The "chronogram" consisted of a series of steps drawn up by the Uruguayan regime that were planned to culminate, six years from now, in a "constitutional government."

The first steps in the so-called process of institutionalization as defined in the chronogram were the drafting of a new Constitution, which would be announced on the 150th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of 1830, and the holding of a plebiscite in November 1980. One year later, in late 1981, following the approval of a statute on the political parties, an election would be held with just one Presidential candidate.

As seen from its content, this stage sought to invest the dictatorship with an appearance of legality.

As seen from its form, its essence and the sectors that supported it, the institutionalization chronogram was a reactionary plan that was opposed to democracy and the people.

Moreover, the half a million Uruguayans now living abroad — who, naturally, didn't vote — would also have voted NO.

The people's resistance

The plebiscite was a national declaration that came at the end of long years of resistance — resistance in conditions of fascism, that began immediately after the coup.

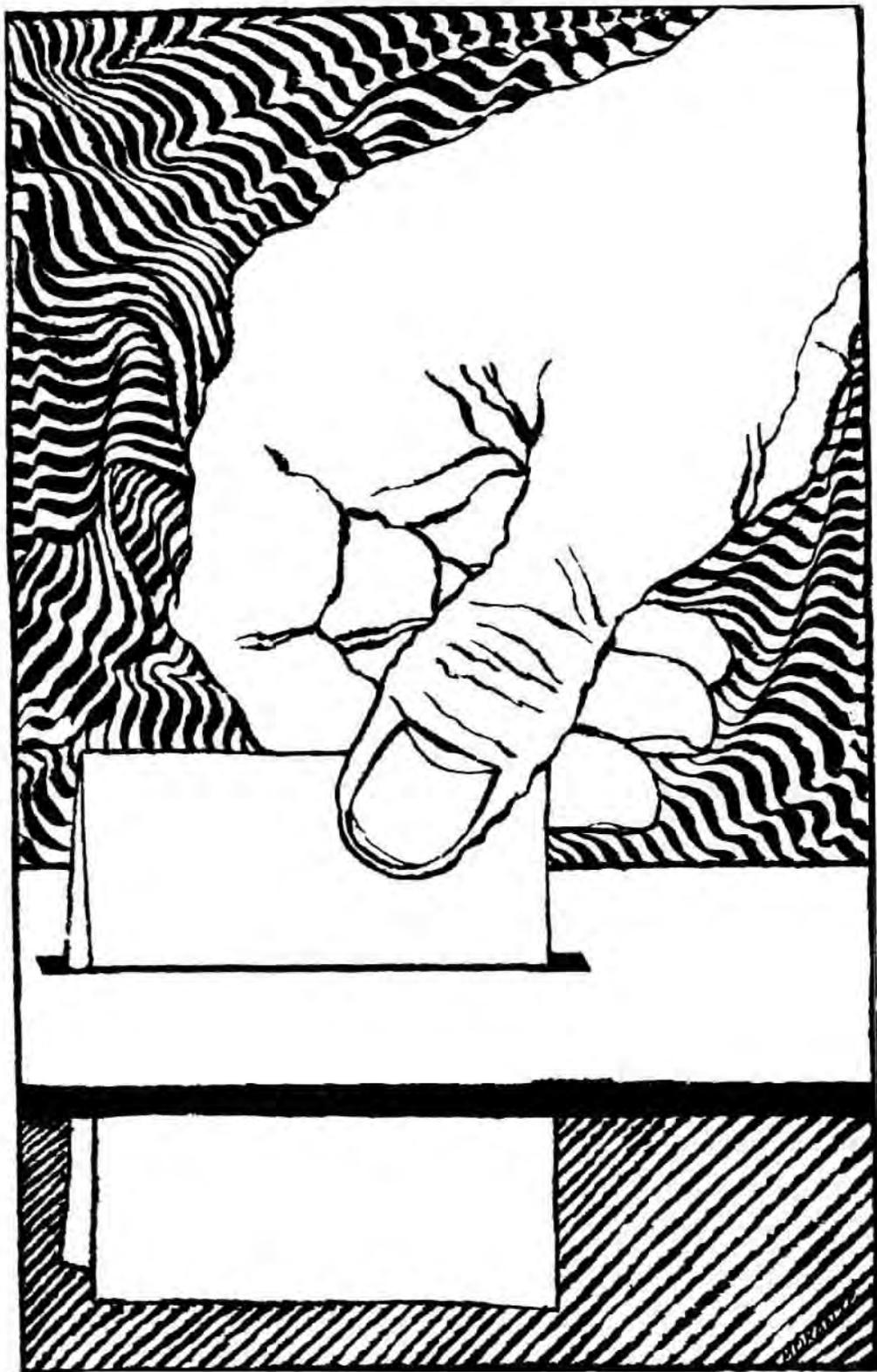
Uruguay has maintained an average of 6 000 political prisoners, and more than 80 000 have passed through its prisons or torture centers. The hundreds who have died under the torture applied according to CIA manuals, those who have been killed by the repression in the streets and those who have been kidnapped in other countries and then made to disappear in Uruguay have had a big influence on the Uruguayan situation during these years. The resistance remained organized and militant, using the underground press and working-class actions. One of the most important of these took place on May Day 1980, when very large numbers of workers went out on strike or carried out other acts of resistance.

In contrast to other dictatorships, the Uruguayan one has never had the support of any political party, important social organization or religious force. It has even had to repress some sectors of the military — important groups that arose within the Army — right from the start. In these conditions, several sectors have opposed the dictatorship. Forces survived within the country that, like our party, passed the tremendous test of torture without abandoning their fundamental principles and have car-

ried out leadership functions for the underground trade union organizations, helped revive the students' struggle and worked to further our difficult contacts to promote unity — both with allied forces and with the opposition in general.

At one point, combining the resistance inside the country with solidarity from abroad, a picture — to speak in the language of political reports — of political isolation of the dictatorship both at home and abroad was achieved. Since the end of '77, we have been experiencing a renaissance of greater political mobility within the country, the first step toward reorganization and the use of more militant expressions of resistance to the dictatorship by all the political forces, including the traditional parties. As a result of the economic crisis and the dictatorship's economic and financial policy — which benefits imperialism, finance capital and large latifundist sectors — very broad strata, including the industrial bourgeoisie and cattle ranchers, have begun to oppose the dictatorship.

Within this picture of resistance, the fact that the great instruments for unity in the Uruguayan people's struggle both inside and outside the country remained intact is doubtless very important. These social organizations include the National Workers' Confederation (CNT), the Trade Union Central Organization (CS), the Uruguayan Federation of University Students (FEUU) and the Broad Front — a coalition of advanced anti-imperialist forces whose main leader, General Liber Seregni, has played a



great role, keeping the Front going and developing it, even though most of its member organizations have been outlawed. In this great work of political synthesis and struggle, forces opposed to the regime have come to a general agreement on a number of points. This was even expressed abroad, with the creation of the Committee of Democratic Convergence (CCD), composed of political figures from the Blanco and Colorado Parties, members of the Broad Front and religious figures who, acting both outside and inside the country, have played an important role in creating a political space for striking at the dictatorship from all sides and who also made it possible for solidarity to reach diverse sectors of society.

Without wishing to, the dictatorship provided all these forces with a point of convergence. By allowing a NO option, it provided the people and all the democratic forces — all its enemies — with the means for uniting against it, and the Uruguayan people responded with an overwhelming rejection of its policies.

The consequences of the NO vote

With the plebiscite, the dictatorship sought to give an appearance of institutionality to its repressive regime within the country — including its fascist state structures. Abroad, it sought to polish up its international image so as to halt the enormous international movement of solidarity with Uruguay, one of the largest and most extensive such movements in the world. Not only the action by the peoples and revolutionary forces but also Latin-America governments, democratic parties in general, leftist forces and parliaments (in unanimous votes) have contributed to

this solidarity; meanwhile, international organizations and countless mass actions have created what we call Uruguay's isolation abroad.

The people's rejection of the dictatorship has created a situation which it will be very difficult to reverse. Before the eyes of the nation and the world, the dictatorship's political plan has been rejected. This has been a defeat not only for its draft Constitution but also for its idea of holding an election in 1981 with a single candidate — representing the military, of course. Now, it can't take other measures to provide an appearance of institutionality, divide and corrupt the opposition and colonize the old parties.

The sweeping NO vote has dealt the dictatorship a tremendous political blow, from which it is still reeling. The NO came as an immense political reality, reflecting what the Uruguayan people think of the dictatorship and showing that the dictatorship hasn't managed to enlarge its social base at all, that the resistance has generated a picture of internal struggle and that greater victories are in the offing.

Prospects for action

A political analysis of the prospects for future struggle points to two possible errors:

1. to believe that the NO vote will automatically make it possible to dismantle the dictatorship's structures and overthrow it once and for all (this would be ingenious) and

2. to adopt a fatalistic approach of "OK, we voted, but they're still in the saddle." Of course, no dic-

tatorship is toppled without a shove, but the political factors of isolation, repudiation, national struggle and the joining of all forces to overthrow the regime are far-reaching elements.

We shouldn't think that the dictatorship is going to fall simply because of the NO vote or that it won't apply all the means at its disposal to keep itself in power and strengthen its hold. The day after the plebiscite, for example, an order was issued prohibiting the traditional political parties from organizing or expressing themselves in any way. A news blackout on the plebiscite was clamped on the press, radio and TV. The regime even resorted to the ridiculous extreme of stating that many people voted NO because they wanted everything to continue as is, with no Constitution and no nothing, and were simply expressing their support for naked dictatorship without the figleaf of the chronogram and institutionality.

Doubtless, the repression will continue, specifically directed against our people — who have the largest number of prisoners, torture victims and dead, but who also have a party that has stood firm in the struggle, maintaining its leadership within the country and full party unity both at home and abroad, based on a militant policy. That is, acts of provocation and repression will continue to be directed against us, because the regime has no illusions about the role that the underground resistance has played.

I can't tell if the dictatorship is going to be overthrown in a month

or if we will have to spend more time — even years — in hard battle, but even those who are the most backward politically realize that the dictatorship's days are numbered. It will take a lot more blood, sacrifice and pain to topple it, but it is bound to fall.

The time factor in the defeat of the dictatorship is linked to several elements — especially to the continuation of the program upheld by all the forces that oppose the dictatorship, which are now agreed on this program of calling for the lifting of the proscriptions imposed on political leaders; the return of the exiles; a National Constitutional Assembly with a free hand in drawing up a new Constitution; and freedom for the political parties, trade unions and organizations.

Our course, we are placing special emphasis — along with the Broad Front and other forces — on the question of the political prisoners. The main measure for any opening in Uruguay will be freedom for all political prisoners — especially for the great figures, most whom belong to our party; military men; and members of the Broad Front. They include General Seregini, Jaime Pérez, Massera, Cuesta, Altesor, Pietrarroia, Mazzarovich, León Lev, Rita Ibarburu, Héctor Rodríguez and Raúl Sendic.

This is a basic aspect, and the traditional parties (Blanco and Colorado) have said that, on the basis of this program, they are willing to participate in a national dialogue with the dictatorship, to seek a real opening. Naturally, the approval of this program is, to some extent, a key for determining whether or not a true opening exists in Uruguay.



ADP/STC

The people's struggle and international solidarity

Nobody can deny that, under these circumstances, there could be a crack in the dictatorship, as happened in Bolivia and Brazil when many people thought this was impossible. The idea that any political opening might be tied to a wide variety of higher forms of workers' struggle should not be dismissed, however. The main thing is to raise the people's and the masses' struggle to higher levels and unite all the social, political, religious and lay forces to overthrow the dictatorship and, as the military men put it, exploit the victory of the plebiscite and advance toward higher goals.

At the same time, we should deepen and widen the unity of Uruguayan forces abroad and develop international solidarity and the work done by the peoples and governments that have joined forces against fascism, linking the solidarity we receive with that which we give to other peoples —

the Salvadorans, first of all, and (on other levels) the Nicaraguans and Cubans and those who are struggling in Haiti, Chile, Argentina and Paraguay — because extensive international solidarity limits the dictatorship's room for maneuvering and pushes it harder and harder against the wall.

The factor of Uruguay's difficult geography should be kept in mind, as should the fact that the Argentine, Uruguayan, Chilean, Paraguayan and even Bolivian governments have agreed to collaborate in repression — and this collaboration among the fascist dictatorships throughout the Southern Cone constitutes a negative factor for our process. All this means that the struggle will be more difficult and complex, but the dictatorship's political weakness, its failure on the economic plane and the nation's determination — expressed in the plebiscite — are very promising factors which, if we are united, will lead us to defeat the dictatorship in all fields.

URUGUAY: 90 PERCENT DON'T EARN A LIVING WAGE

Montevideo, December 23 (EFE).— Only 9 percent of the families living in the Uruguayan capital earn a living wage, according to a survey commissioned by the municipal administration of Montevideo, the results of which were released today.

The survey shows that 40 percent of the families earn wages that meet only 20 to 50 percent of their needs.

Twenty percent of the residents of Montevideo, which contains half of Uruguay's total population, earn only an eighth of what they need.

The sample for the survey was made up of typical families, each composed of a couple with two children, requiring a monthly income of 7500 new pesos (about \$800).

Sixty percent of those interviewed had incomes of between 3500 new pesos (about \$400) and 1430 new pesos (about \$180).

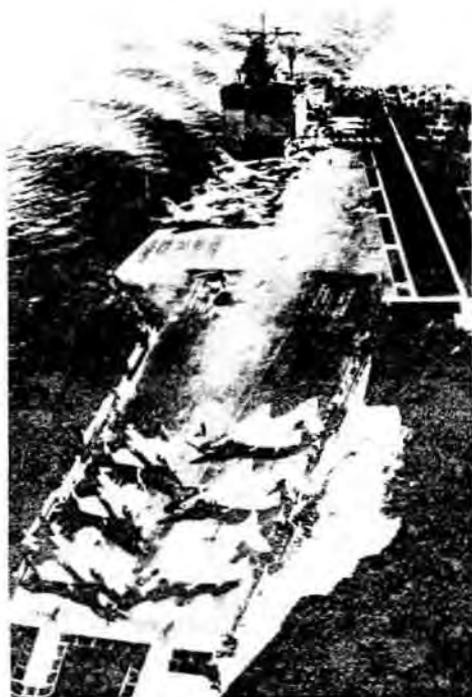
The \$800 figure, considered essential for a decent standard of living, includes toilet articles, fuel and a minimum for recreation.

The technicians concluded that a typical family must have at least \$330 a month to meet only its very basic needs.

CONFERENCES OF HEADS OF ARMIES

GREGORIO SELSER





The world press for November 1979 was filled with news of the atrocities committed by the armies of El Salvador and Guatemala and the attacks on the Bolivian people by Colonel Alberto Natusch Busch's fascist clique at the beginning of the month.

Heavy machine guns, artillery, mortars and shrapnel from helicopters had been used against civilians who were only defending legal and institutional order.

The subversives weren't leftist guerrillas but members of the Armed Forces who had mutined against the Constitution and the legitimate government of Walter Guevara Arce.

This was the framework in which the 13th Conference of American Armies (CAA) began its discussions on November 5 in the Bogotá Military Club.

The CAAs had been initiated on August 8, 1960, at Fort Amador, in the Panama Canal Zone, then under complete US control — a fitting symbol of what they stood for.

It was also symbolic that Major General Theodore T. F. Bogart, General Commander of the US Army in the Caribbean, chaired the opening meeting.

At the same time, the US Central Intelligence Agency — fully backed by the White House and the State Department — was surreptitiously running training programs in Guatemala, Puerto Rico and Nicaragua for mercenaries that would later take part in the unsuccessful invasion at the Bay of Pigs (Playa Giron) in Cuba.

The 2nd, 3rd and 4th Conferences of American Armies were also held at Fort Amador, and the 5th was held inside the United States, at West Point Military Academy, from August 3 to 13, 1964. At that meeting, Juan Carlos Onganía, Commander in Chief of the Argentine Army, read the famous text drawn up by his country's General Staff which developed the thesis of "ideological frontiers" as a prelude to the military coup that toppled constitutional President Arturo U. Illia on June 29, 1966, and placed Onganía in power.

The 6th Conference of American Armies was held in Lima in 1965; the 7th,



in Buenos Aires in 1966; the 8th, in Rio de Janeiro in 1968; the 9th, at Fort Bragg, in North Carolina, headquarters of the 82nd Airborne Division, in 1970; and the 10th, in Caracas, September 3-7, 1973, when it was decided to hold the meetings every other year thereafter.

At the Caracas meeting, the most significant and provocative speech was given by Lieutenant General Jorge Raul Carcagno, Commander in Chief of the Argentine Army, who argued the antithesis of what Onganía had stated nine years earlier and what Argentine General Roberto Viola was to say six years later in Bogotá.

The 11th CAA was held in Montevideo in 1975, and the 12th was held in Managua (no less), while Anastasio Somoza Debayle's dictatorship was still in power, in 1977.

When US Major General Theodore Bogart proposed holding the 1st CAA in 1960, he set forth the following aims:

1. to strengthen ties of friendship among army leaders in the western hemisphere;

2. to promote inter-American friendships on a person-to-person and country-to-country basis and
3. to acquaint the representatives of the American armies with the personnel and resources which the US Caribbean Command could offer for supporting US Army activities in the various countries.

This last point is very interesting, for it reveals the unilateral interest behind General Bogart's proposal.

Perhaps in an effort to counterbalance such pragmatism, "A number of Latin-American representatives suggested that future meetings might also be used to discuss military problems shared by all."

These "shared" military problems began to center around matters of security and defense following the defeat of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and, with



time — as the forms of people's struggle evolved to include both violent fighting and peaceful actions typical of the representative democracies — around national security and counterinsurgency, as well.

It should be recalled that, in addition to the CAAs, there were also Inter-American Naval Conferences (beginning in 1959) and Conferences of Heads of the Armed Forces of the Americas (CONJEFAMER), plus the various *Unitas* air, naval and submarine maneuvers.

In turn, the CAAs had several types of conferences, which included preparatory meetings for the main Conferences and other specialized meetings on intelligence and communications.

At the beginning, the CAAs seemed to create an image of holding innocent, pub-

lic-relations-type meetings, but, as time went on, their true repressive nature began to emerge, reaching a drastic culmination at the Montevideo meeting in 1975 and the Bogotá meeting in 1979. Regarding the latter, a special envoy noted, "Our country's position has always been based on the approval of regulations designed to establish a firm guarantee for security and continental defense against international communist aggression, which is also the principle underlying the Conference."

In short, these have been detailed meetings promoted by the United States so general staffs and other experts in the art and techniques of war could draw up strategies, tactics and short-and long-term action plans and programs.

According to the cold war model that the United States produced at the start of the '50s, the "enemy," in the guise



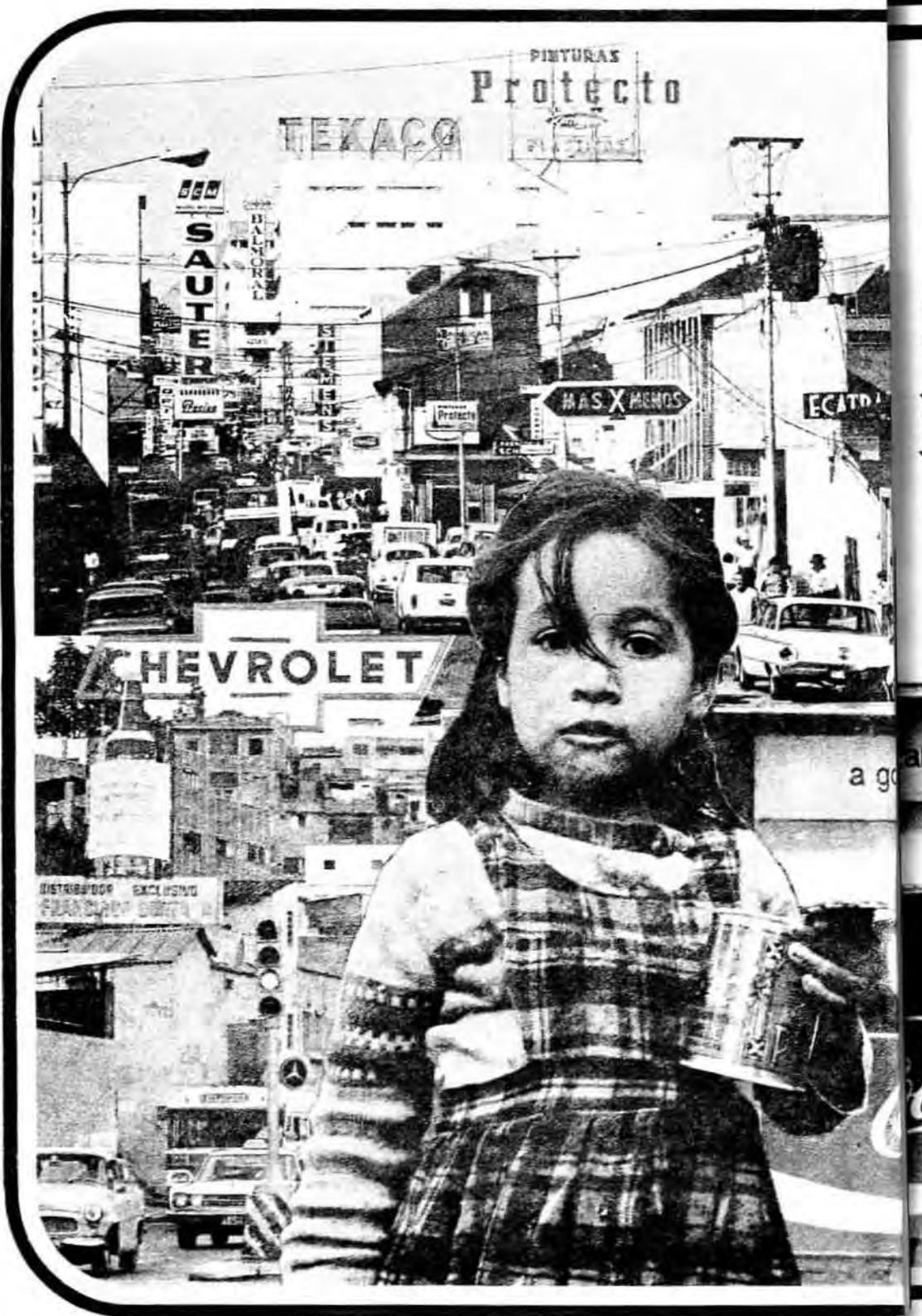
of an alleged "international communist aggression," is sometimes described and visualized specifically but more often generalized and presented somewhat ambiguously in an effort to include the greatest possible number of options and allow a kind of circumstantial flexibility.

A classic example of the description or classification of the "enemy" is provided in General Roberto E. Viola's previously mentioned speech — which, with great abandon, described the Argentine people's guerrilla movement after 1976 as "international communism," "foreign-inspired extremist forces," a "communist blockade," "leftist aggression," "antisocial manifestations," "ideologies that promote violence as a form of social change or support principles contrary to the principles of the democratic system," a "socialist order," "Marxism" and a "guerrilla unit."

The "enemy" to which Viola referred and about which he and all the Argentine Armed Forces were thinking has been given two names which he refrained from mentioning: "Perón-ism," to mean the presumed enemies of the "democratic system," and "Montoneros," to refer to "subversion," "terrorism," "violence" or "guerrilla unit."

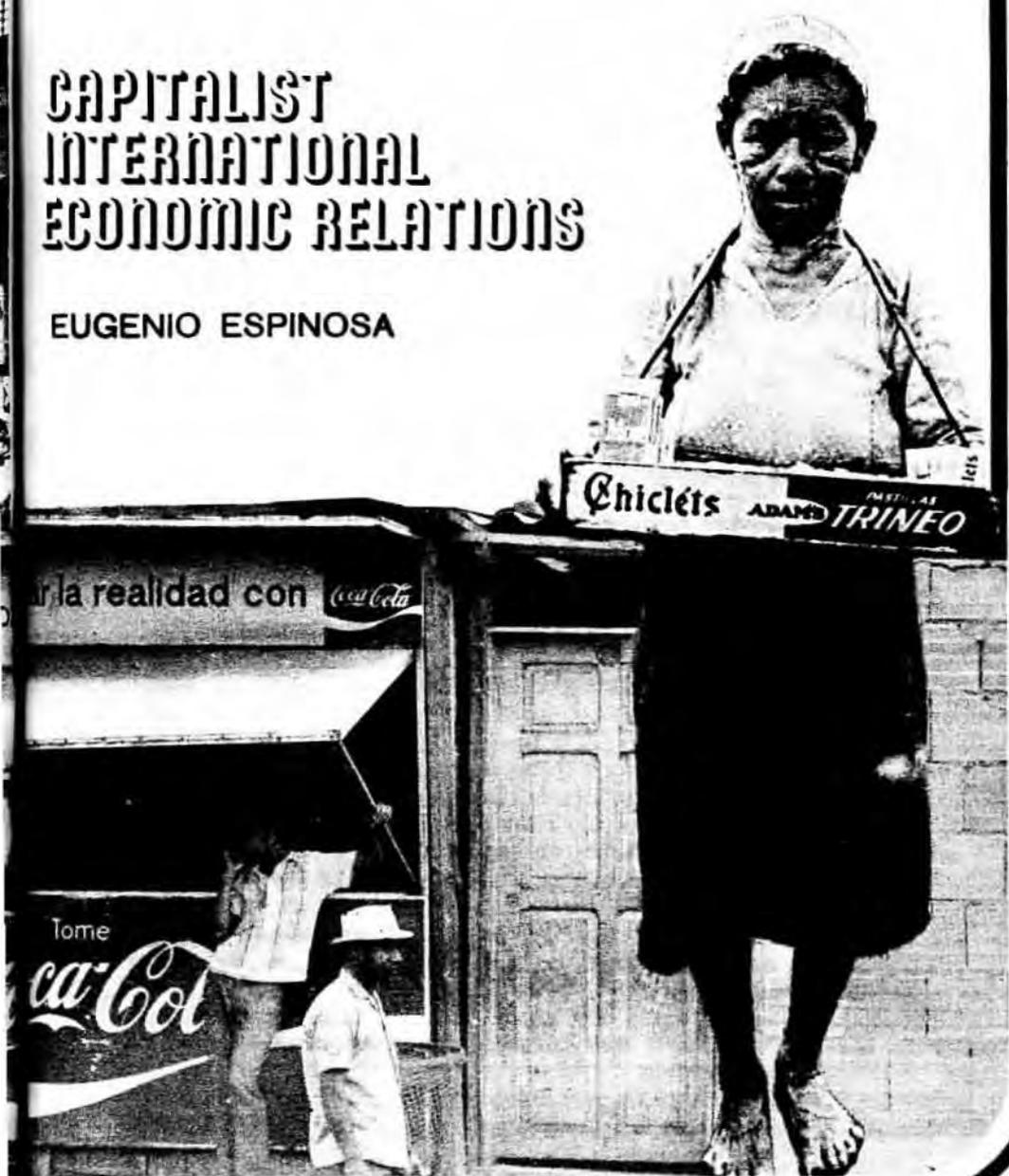
This semantic confusion is deliberate, aimed at laying the groundwork for false equivalents.

In any case, the lack of differentiating subtleties is useful as a means for lumping together all sociopolitical opponents of the regime, who are denied the right to confront it on a democratic footing at the polls, where its defeat would be certain.



CAPITALIST INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

EUGENIO ESPINOSA



This article by Cuban economist Eugenio Espinosa is a chapter from his forthcoming book, *Monopolios transnacionales e internacionalización del capital* (Transnational Monopolies and the Internationalization of Capital).

THE main purpose of this article is to provide an overview of some of the changes that are taking place in current capitalist international economic relations.

Because the topic is such a broad one, we have singled out certain changes in the movement of merchandise and capital, the international capitalist division of labor and the process of the accumulation of capital in the developed capitalist countries and in the international sphere which, though very important, are usually slighted in the extensive bibliography on this subject. The problem of financing in the underdeveloped countries; the monetary, food and energy crises; unequal trade terms; and other questions that are frequently discussed are not included here.

Some trends in changes

Current international relations are characterized by various levels of contradictions that interact dialectically, producing both qualitative and quantitative changes, especially

1. between socialism and capitalism,
2. between imperialist and underdeveloped countries and
3. among imperialist countries.

The exacerbation of these contradictions has led to changes that have created a qualitatively new situation.

Contradictions between socialism and capitalism

New countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean have been incorporated in the socialist system. World socialism's increased strength is reflected in its greater participation in world trade and the world economy, its growing political influence in Europe and the rest of the world and the consolidation of its defensive military capability. The correlation of forces has definitely changed since 1945, when World War II ended and the United States imposed its policy of isolating socialism. By the '60s, President Kennedy was forced to recognize world socialism, and, by the '70s, Nixon had to accept the principle of peaceful coexistence and international détente. These changes provided a favorable international climate for liberation from colonial — and, in some cases, neocolonial — domination.

Contradictions between imperialist and underdeveloped countries

It is no longer possible for the imperialist states to carve up the world. In 1916, Lenin showed that there was no new territory left in the

world and that any further division would have to be made by one power seizing territory from another. Now, colonies and semicolonies are disappearing, and the territorial division of the world is nearing its end.

The main form of imperialist domination is now neocolonialism — which has also had to adapt to the new economic and political conditions of international relations. Whereas détente used to determine the world's political and economic geography, now the principle of national self-determination holds sway, threatening the neocolonial forms of control imposed following World War II. This has led to

1. recognition by both the developed capitalist countries and the underdeveloped countries of the need to restructure international economic relations;
2. the developed capitalist countries' inability to meet the minimum demands made by the underdeveloped countries within the framework of their struggle to achieve a new international economic order;
3. the underdeveloped countries' formation of international organizations for collective struggle, such as the Group of 77 and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. In this context, however, the relative stagnation of the associations of raw material producers — except for the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the World Banana Marketing Organization (COMUNBANA) and the Group of Latin-American and Caribbean Sugar-Exporting Countries (GLACSEC) — should be noted and;
4. the International Monetary Fund's, GATT's and the World Bank's inadequacy in acting as state-monopoly regulators of the world capitalist economy.

Domestically, the underdeveloped countries have shown an increasing tendency to nationalize foreign subsidiaries in their countries, resulting in greater state participation in the underdeveloped economies — but usually not much more.

This can lead to greater dependency and deformation of the socio-economic structure, as has been the case in Brazil, Zaire and Venezuela. (A socialist rather than a bourgeois nationalization, of course, can produce exactly the opposite.)

The first point to be noted is that there were nearly twice as many nationalizations in the '70s as in the '60s. Second, the countries in sub-Saharan Africa led this trend, accounting for nearly half the nationalizations carried out between 1960 and 1976; next came northern Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia and (in last place) Latin America and the Caribbean. Seventy-two percent of all the nationalizations occurred in 15 countries. Third, most of the nationalizations — 77 percent of the total — were in banking, agriculture, manufacturing and oil. Fourth, the most frequent objects of nationalizations have been the subsidiaries of monopolies based in Britain (mainly in sub-Saharan



African and Southeast Asia) and the United States (mainly in Latin America and the Caribbean).

Although this information¹ is very incomplete — it doesn't specify the total assets nationalized or the conditions in which the nationalizations took place — it does allow us to draw certain important conclusions. For example, oil and banking have been the two sectors most frequently nationalized in the Middle East and North Africa, and the new investments monopolies have made in this region have been directed mainly toward manufacturing, tourism and the infrastructure. In Latin America and the Caribbean, however, banking has been one



of the two main sectors in which the transnationals have expanded in recent years.

Does the drop in new investments precede or follow nationalization? The answer must, necessarily, be provided by experience, but some examples suggest that nationalizations in underdeveloped countries may be in response to needs for the accumulation of transnational capital, the result of contradictions between imperialism and underdeveloped countries or due to the needs of a truly revolutionary process.

It is not by chance that the transnational monopolies have begun to develop new forms of penetration and control in order to guarantee

their domination on a basis that will allow them to adopt mixed forms of ownership, subcontracting agreements, technological and management control and new forms of economic division and imperialist association (such as collective neocolonialism).

Contradictions among capitalist countries

Interimperialist contradictions are causing major changes in the correlation of forces. While the United States continues to maintain its economic, political and military hegemony in the imperialist bloc, this hegemony is frequently questioned, and the United States is increasingly forced to negotiate its interests with capitalist Europe and Japan, the other two centers of imperialist power — as three recent US Presidents acknowledged with increasing clarity in their Inaugural Addresses:

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy said, "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

In 1969, President Richard M. Nixon said, "Let all nations know that during this Administration our lines of communication will be open. We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy."

In 1977, President Jimmy Carter said, "We have learned that more is not necessarily better, that even our great nation has its recognized limits and that we can neither answer all questions nor solve all problems."

The growing differences among these countries in terms of their relations with the socialist and the underdeveloped countries, the international monetary reform, the energy and economic crises, international trade and the export of capital are expressed in their different political positions on a variety of issues.

These basic aspects of the general crisis of capitalism have had a marked effect on the underdeveloped countries in general and Latin America and the Caribbean in particular, where major changes are taking place as a result of the creation and consolidation of the world socialist system, the international workers' movement and the national liberation movements. The increasing internationalization of capital and the persistence of the capitalist economic crisis — which has plagued the working class in the developed capitalist countries and in the underdeveloped countries with inflation and unemployment during the past ten years — have created the conditions for strengthening unity and developing joint methods of international struggle among workers' organizations in both the developed and the underdeveloped countries.

The transnational monopolies' international operations must be confronted with international opposition by the working class, in

alliance with other exploited sectors — a struggle in which the international trade unions can play a decisive role. (More than once, a transnational has managed to break a strike or prevent a nationalization by transferring its activities to another country where it applied other forms of economic and political pressure.)

The international capitalist economy has undergone deep changes, as reflected in the two basic indices of international economic relations: the movements (in world markets) of merchandise and capital, which are interrelated, since the former is determined by the latter.

The transnationals are both the main exporters of capital and the main exporters and importers of merchandise. In any process of change, as in any exacerbation of the contradictions in capitalist international economic relations, they operate as both cause and effect (or beneficiary).

The main changes that took place in the capitalist world market² before World War II involved the facts that

1. industrial products came to constitute the bulk of international trade;
2. most world trade was among the developed capitalist countries; and
3. the United States dominated the world capitalist market generally and especially that of industrial products.

The underdeveloped countries were the chief exporters of raw materials — their speciality.

After World War II, some of these trends were consolidated, while others shifted. Industrial products increased in proportion to raw materials in the capitalist world market, and trade among the developed capitalist countries rose as the underdeveloped countries were pushed out. Meanwhile, the European Economic Community moved into first place, ahead of the United States, in the world market. Generally speaking, however, the movement in the value of trade maintained its traditional balance during the '60s:

- The United States' balance of trade with the developed capitalist and underdeveloped countries remained generally favorable, with only a few unfavorable indices, involving the oil-exporting countries.
- The EEC's balance of trade remained favorable; it had a deficit with the United States but a favorable balance with Japan and the rest of the developed capitalist countries. Its balance with the underdeveloped countries was generally favorable, in spite of a deficit with the oil-exporting countries.
- Japan had a deficit in its balance of trade with the developed capitalist countries but a favorable balance with the underdeveloped countries.

Certain trends that began in the '50s and grew stronger in the '60s began to effect substantial changes in this model of trade. First of all, the United States' favorable balances with the EEC and Japan and its predominance in industrial products began to decline. Second, the underdeveloped countries started to export certain manufactured products



among themselves and also to the developed capitalist countries, mainly the United States and the EEC. Third, the developed capitalist countries — we refer here mainly to the United States and the EEC, since Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have traditionally been exporters of raw materials — became major exporters of technologically developed raw materials and of certain foods, nonferrous metals and agricultural raw materials.

The turning point came in the mid-'60s but was more apparent by the '70s:

- The United States began to show considerable deficits in its trade with Japan and the oil-exporting countries. At the same time, its trade surplus with the EEC dropped, while that with the rest of the underdeveloped countries increased.
- The EEC began to show a deficit in its balance of trade with Japan but upped its surplus from the rest of the developed capitalist countries. Its balance of trade with the oil-exporting countries showed a large deficit, but its surplus with the rest of the underdeveloped countries increased.
- Japan showed a very favorable balance of trade with the developed

capitalist countries — the United States as well as the EEC — and with the underdeveloped countries.

Thus, between mid-1965 and 1973, major changes took place in the movement of the value of merchandise, influencing the general movement in the capitalist international economic relations. The situation was aggravated by the fall of the dollar, the rise in the price of oil and the escalating export of capital.

The United States' balance of trade with the EEC and Japan in 1970-71 — when the US dollar was devaluated as a logical result of the systematic deficit in the balance of trade and the strengthening of Yankee protectionism — was the outcome of deep-rooted trends in the world capitalist economy (that went back to the '50s) and an indication of further changes to come, an augury of the instability and sharpened contradictions that became increasingly evident as the '70s advanced. From then on, GATT's "trade liberalism" was in its death throes. Trade relations among the developed capitalist countries began to take on the aspects of a restricted trade war involving unilateral methods to restrict imports and aggressively push exports through trade agreements.

Western economists began to unearth the idea of an international trade organization — it hadn't gotten to first base in the 1947-48 Havana Conference — and other voices, mainly in the underdeveloped countries, urged that UNCTAD be strengthened.

The United States' trade deficits with the rest of the developed capitalist countries interrupted the international movement of merchandise values. It is significant that only the hike in oil prices and the plummeting of the dollar restored the balance.

The underdeveloped countries were triply affected, for the reinforcement and generalization of this protectionist movement made it increasingly difficult for their exports to gain access to the markets of the developed capitalist countries — which also adopted extremely aggressive measures to promote their own exports, thus forcing the underdeveloped countries to import more goods — and inflation in the world market placed limitations on the underdeveloped countries' imports of oil and manufactured goods.

These changes are simply a reflection, in trade terms, of the trends that point to a new capitalist international division of labor — among the developed capitalist countries, among the underdeveloped countries and between the two. The effects of the law of uneven development of capitalism and of the scientific-technical revolution have been especially noticeable in certain industrial branches; in specific agricultural products including food; in other raw materials; and in the export of capital. State monopoly capitalism, in both its national and its international forms, has also played an active role in these tendencies, sometimes accelerating and at other times blocking them.

Uneven development is especially apparent in the diminished international competitiveness of US industry. US world exports of manufactured goods have dropped since 1967-68, while those of the Federal Republic

of Germany and Japan — and, to a lesser degree, France — have risen. Certain branches of the world economy have grown rapidly; others, less rapidly; and still others have stagnated. Some of the underdeveloped countries have participated in the more dynamic branches — electronics and precision tools, for instance — as well as in such relatively stagnant sectors as shoes and textiles, in which some of these underdeveloped countries showed a growth that was above the world average.

The scientific-technical revolution has caused marked changes in both agriculture and industry (I refer only to those products that enter the world market). In agriculture, necessary capital investments have risen considerably in both volumen and technology as a result of new high-yield varieties (thanks to R-D in biology) and the use of fertilizers, herbicides and agricultural machinery. Both the United States and the EEC have constant overproduction controlled by state subsidies, with the national and international markets separated, which has affected cattle raising and the processing of agricultural and cattle products. The so-called green revolution was an attempt to apply these scientific-technical advances in agriculture in the underdeveloped countries. It was a resounding failure — among other reasons, because there wasn't any state monopoly capitalism to provide the necessary subsidies. At present, the transnational monopolies are forcing individual farmers to assume the risks of agricultural production.

In terms of the world market, this means that the developed capitalist countries trade a larger proportion of their exports of raw materials and food than of manufactured goods among themselves — 87 percent of the raw materials, 82 percent of the foodstuffs and 77 percent of the manufactured goods they exported in 1975, for example. This means that the underdeveloped countries are being pushed out of the world market. This tendency made itself felt in the field of raw materials during the '50s and part of the '60s and has now grown even stronger in terms of their manufactured goods. Industrialization and the transnationals' rapid expansion and penetration in this sector have been decisive, and the failure to apply such measures as agrarian reform in the underdeveloped countries has also taken its toll.

The scientific-technical revolution has had a particularly strong effect in industry, where the inequality in terms of trade has become more pronounced among the developed and the underdeveloped capitalist countries and their economic sectors. At the same time, this had led to greater product specialization and a wider spread in some production processes. World trade showed an 82-percent increase between 1953 and 1963, compared to a 62-percent increase in industrial production, and an even sharper rise between 1963 and 1972, when exports jumped by 111 percent, compared to a 65-percent increase in industrial production — and more and more partial industries have been transferred to the underdeveloped countries.

Changes in the export of capital will be dealt with later,³ but here it should be noted that the flow of merchandise follows the flow

of capital in both volume and structure. This was also true when Lenin made his studies of imperialism (his documentation shows this), though the national markets of the developed capitalist countries were much more significant in terms of international trade at that time and the export of capital was much lower in volume and much weaker in structure than that attained since World War II.

In the '50s and '60s, most of the international flow of capital took place among the developed capitalist countries, and this was also true of exports of capital for industry. This tended to push the underdeveloped countries farther and farther away from both the international flow of capital and trade, although the transnational monopolies retained their investments in the underdeveloped countries. The situation gave rise to two processes that were to become very significant later on:

1. the development of new forms of domination by the transnational monopolies in the underdeveloped countries and
2. the development of integrationist processes among the underdeveloped countries.

In view of imperialism's international economic relations, so-called official aid to the underdeveloped countries was a necessity, especially in the '60s, when the tendency to relegate the underdeveloped countries to a secondary level was strongest.

Now, let us compare the flow of the balance of trade with that of the international movements of capital. In this, I make no claims to being exhaustive or to having the last word; rather, I merely seek to call attention to the importance of these problems so as to stimulate other studies of these aspects.

First, let us take the United States. During the '50s and '60s, it had a generally compensatory situation, involving a favorable balance of trade with Western Europe (mainly with the EEC) but an unfavorable balance between new direct investments and remitted profits. The situation began to change in 1964 or 1965, however, when its balance of trade became less favorable and its exports of capital — especially loan capital — increased. There was a strong expansion of the Eurocurrency market, and Johnson took measures to restrict direct investments and stimulate the remission of profits, but they boomeranged. European capital exports to the United States began to become meaningful, even though they didn't entirely compensate for this situation (especially when you consider the United States' rocketing military expenditures abroad).

In its relations with the underdeveloped countries, the United States followed a pattern that was the obverse of the one it followed with Europe. It had a favorable balance of trade with the underdeveloped countries — except for the oil-exporting ones, with which it ran up a deficit during the '60s and even earlier. Even so, its remission of profits easily surpassed its new investments. Thus, the balance in the movement of capital (as far as direct investments are concerned) and of merchandise compensated for the movement of value with the developed capitalist countries. This model of growth soon showed limitations that came to a head in the early '70s when US relations with

the EEC and most of the underdeveloped countries reached a crisis point. This had occurred much earlier in the case of Latin America, as expressed in the growing indebtedness of the countries in the area.

The underdeveloped countries' most dynamic exports in the '60s were manufactured goods, mainly to the developed capitalist countries — which couldn't keep on increasing their imports of these goods, however, without a major restructuring of their productive apparatus. Both the United States and the EEC — and, to a lesser extent, Japan — were faced with this problem.

The United States was flooded with a powerful expansion of exports from the EEC, Japan and some underdeveloped countries which not only hurt its balance of trade but also undermined its productive apparatus, its employment levels and the dynamics of its growth. At the same time, it was faced with a massive outflow of capital that was not compensated for through the remission of profits and — as if that weren't enough — an increase in its military expenditures abroad. The EEC was faced with similar problems regarding its imports of manufactured goods from the underdeveloped countries, but on a much smaller scale.

From 1973 on, these trends were accelerated by four new factors that upset the world capitalist market, creating additional problems and sharpening contradictions:

1. the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary order;
2. worldwide inflation, mainly caused by the rise in the prices of industrial products made in the United States, the EEC and Japan;
3. the rise in the price of oil; and
4. the world economic crisis of 1974-75.

We will touch on these four phenomena only in terms of their general influence on the flow of trade and the export of capital.

The economic crisis of the '70s was the result of contradictions accumulated during the so-called upswing during the postwar years — interrupted from time to time by slight, unsynchronized depressions — which culminated in the low point of 1974-75 but had first appeared in 1967, in an irregular cycle that has continued ever since.⁴

The capitalist economy during the '70s had two main characteristics:

1. persistent economic instability — depression-recovery-depression (except for the 1974-75 crisis). Naturally, the combination of stagflation and unemployment was one of the main causes of this instability, along with the (less known) world market contradictions and those involving the export of capital; and
2. the specifically interlocking contradictions of the general crisis of capitalism and the economic cycle — which includes economic crisis — expressed in the crisis of the capitalist international monetary system, the so-called energy crisis, the crisis in international economic relations and the limits reached by state monopoly capitalism (which may also be described as a crisis).



In this article, we will simply mention them in passing.

The dynamics of international economic relations were one of the main factors in the postwar boom. Both the world market and the export of capital — and, more specifically, internationalized production — developed at a faster rate than national production. We have already referred to the model of trade and the flow of capital underlying this development, namely a) the predominance of manufactured goods in the world market, b) the predominance of direct investments in manufacturing, c) the predominance of the developed capitalist countries in exchanges of both merchandise and capital and d) the relative marginalization of the underdeveloped countries from these exchanges.

The economic crisis of 1974-75 — and, even earlier, the specifics of the cycle in the '70s — began to change this situation, bringing the underdeveloped countries back into the world capitalist economy. As the process of the accumulation of capital in the developed capitalist countries reached the saturation point, their national markets lost their ability to absorb what was produced, and they had to find new, larger markets. The classic mechanism for solving the capitalist crisis of overproduction is to devalue a large part of its social capital; eliminate small and medium-sized companies and production processes

that are technologically obsolete; and allow for a new process of accumulation on new bases, a process that leads to and at the same time is the result of a massive relocation of fixed capital. The restructuring of the productive apparatus is inevitable, for it is required for a later sustained accumulation on an intermediate — and/or long-term basis. Everything seems to indicate that state monopoly capitalism's measures to attenuate the effects of the crisis also keep it from playing its role of reestablishing the correct proportions needed to promote a sustained accumulation. This situation is most clearly seen in the US economy, where increased trade with the underdeveloped countries is a necessity for monopoly capital. The increase in the exports of capital to these countries also alleviates the weak investment process in the developed capitalist countries. Within this context, the purchasing power of the underdeveloped countries and their ability to absorb capital must also be increased. These contradictions do not have the same weight in all the developed capitalist countries, however, as reflected in the uneven development of their investment processes and international economic relations (contradictory tendencies, both promoting and opposing synchronization, that have been noted in their cycles, especially since 1974).

The underdeveloped countries in capitalist international economic relations

While imperialist domination of the underdeveloped countries through exploitation by the monopolies and international finance capital is well known, it is important to delineate the role the underdeveloped countries play in the context of crisis and changes in capitalist international economic relations.

In the late '60s, there were three groups of underdeveloped nations — all of which were to play an important role in the '70s: a) oil-exporting countries, b) exporters of manufactured goods and c) exporters of raw materials other than oil.

A few exceptions should be noted. The countries in the first group are importers of both manufactured goods (consumer goods and capital) and foodstuffs. Those in the second group are also important exporters of basic products other than oil (the sole exception is Mexico), and their manufactured goods are not their main export sector, though they are becoming ever more important. At the same time, they import manufactured goods (semiprocessed goods and capital) and foodstuffs. Most of the underdeveloped countries and all of the poorest ones fall in the third group, which import manufactured goods and foodstuffs.

These groups of underdeveloped countries have different functions. The oil-exporting countries are the best off. The hike in oil prices enabled them to become large importers of manufactured goods from the developed capitalist countries, dynamizing the latter's exports. Be-



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tween 1972 and 1977, the OPEC countries' imports rose by \$50 billion. Even though the OPEC countries' share in the developed capitalist countries' exports is still small, it grew from 3.7 to 8.9 percent in the 1970-77 period, when trade among the developed capitalist countries dropped by a roughly similar amount, from 77.1 to 71.7 percent. The rest of the oil exporters' income is spent on imports from other underdeveloped countries, placed in the capital markets of the developed capitalist countries and used to develop the banking institutions of the oil-rich countries themselves.

Next come the underdeveloped countries that export manufactured goods. Even though manufacturing doesn't constitute the bulk of their exports — Hong Kong and Singapore are exceptions to this — they have some important similarities with the first group. A small number of countries account for most of the underdeveloped countries' manufacturing exports: Hong Kong and South Korea provide 30.3 percent of the total, and India, Brazil, Singapore, Mexico and Argentina, another 34 percent.

The main market for these exports used to be the developed capitalist countries, which absorbed 65 percent of them in 1975-76, but the underdeveloped countries' exports of manufactured goods among themselves acquired greater dynamism in the latter part of the '70s (\$41.7 billion in 1975-76, as compared to \$12.7 billion in 1970-71). The imports of this group of fewer than 20 countries — that are the main underdeveloped exporters of manufactured goods and receive most of the developed capitalist countries' capital exports in the form of direct investments, securities and loans — grew even more rapidly in this period, increasing the deficit in their balance of payments and foreign



debt. In the mid-'70s, 80 percent of the loans that banking consortiums granted to underdeveloped countries were concentrated in eight of these countries (Mexico, Brazil, South Korea, Argentina, Morocco, the Philippines, Chile and Taiwan), which incurred most of the foreign debt. These underdeveloped exporters of manufactured goods have been the hardest hit by the developed capitalist countries' protectionist policies, and they are also the countries most penetrated by the transnational monopolies.

The third group of countries consists of the so-called fiscal paradises, that have become international financial centers for the underdeveloped countries, and the poorest underdeveloped countries — exporters of raw materials, noncombustible minerals and agricultural products — that have borne the brunt of the international situation, since they have had only an unstable income from exports with which to meet the increased costs of oil and manufactured goods from both the developed capitalist countries and the other underdeveloped countries.

Now, let us go back to the second group of underdeveloped countries, which are the main exponents of the trend toward a new capitalist international division of labor and the so-called industrial redeployment⁵ — whose main exponents are the transnational monopolies.

These countries are of strategic importance, for they are one of the main links in the restructuring and changes that are taking place in international economic relations. A few figures will suffice.

Between 1960 and 1971, eighteen underdeveloped countries accounted for more than 80 percent of all the underdeveloped countries' industrial production. In 1972, ten countries accounted for 72.4 percent of all the underdeveloped countries' manufacturing exports. Between 1966



and 1975, ten countries accounted for 73.2 percent of the growth in the aggregate industrial value of the underdeveloped countries.

SOME INDICES ON THE MAIN COUNTRIES WITH DEPENDENT INDUSTRIALIZATION

	<i>India</i>	<i>Brazil</i>	<i>Mexico</i>	<i>Argentina</i>	<i>South Korea</i>	<i>Indonesia</i>	<i>Thailand</i>	<i>Kong Kong</i>	<i>Singapore</i>
<i>% of the under- developed countries' manufacturing production</i>									
1960	15.7	14	8.8	12.9	1.4	4.4	0.9	n.d.	n.d.
1971	16.2	15.2	11.3	12.5	4.1	3.2	1.1	n.d.	n.d.
<i>Contribution to the growth of the aggregate industrial value of the under- developed countries</i>									
1966-75	5.0	23.9	10.7	9.4	8.2	2.5	2.3	2.4	n.d.
<i>% of 73 under- developed countries' manufacturing exports</i>									
1972	0.5	7.7	5.2	4.2	10.7	n.d.	2.7	19.6	7.4

Source: UNIDO, Study of Industrial Development, 1975, ID/Cont. 3/2.

UNIDO, World Industry Since 1960: Progress and Prospects, 1979, ID/Cont. 4/2

At the same time, however, these countries are the greatest debtors and the main recipients of direct investments. Most of them are in Latin America and southern and southeastern Asia. Along with the oil-exporting countries, they have been the main importers of manufactured goods from the developed capitalist countries.

This explains why the Linowitz Report proposed a general focus for the United States' relations with the underdeveloped countries and the elimination of its special relations with Latin America and the Caribbean; why Brzezinski cited the need for a structural concept in US foreign policy; why the general approach pushed by the FRG and England has gained ground in the EEC; and why the Trilateral Commission recognized and supported the need for restructuring international economic relations — urging not a more equitable but a more profitable new international economic order. Part of the problem lies in the fact that these "industrial" underdeveloped countries have begun to show ever clearer signs of having reached the limits of their model of growth — as seen in the strikes in Brazil during the last two years; the insurrections in South Korea; the strikes and insurrections in Thailand last year; the anti-Yankee demonstrations in Pakistan; and, above all, the drop in some of their growth rates and the protectionist response of the developed capitalist countries. Some disquieting symptoms appeared even earlier — such as the failure of Frei's reformist program in Chile, the sharpening of the contradiction in Argentina and the crisis of transnational subsidiaries in Mexico.

The decisive part of this "industrialization" was produced by the expansion of the transnational monopolies, but the internal class structure and the domestic process of accumulation in these countries also made a sizable contribution.

Later, we will discuss Latin America and the Caribbean in greater detail, but here we would like to highlight those aspects related to the sharpening of the contradictions in international economic relations.

Various factors have contributed to the differentiation of this group of countries from the rest of the underdeveloped countries, which began in some Latin-American countries with the 1929 crisis (in others, it even stemmed from earlier periods) and the start of an industrialization process based on replacing imports — that is, one directed toward the domestic market. In the '50s, with the massive export of foreign capital to Latin-American industry, the international monopolies began to underwrite that process, without making any substantial changes in its orientation toward domestic markets. Only in the '60s did integration processes begin to direct this industrialization toward the regional markets, while the relative weakening of the model of replacing imports or of internal growth pushed it toward the international market. There was talk of the need for a model of external growth, which ECLA cautiously ended by proposing a compromise between the two models. In the '70s, when it became more obvious that the limits of Latin-American integration on the basis of industrialization

underwritten by the transnational monopolies were being reached, some countries began to direct their efforts toward placing their manufactured goods on the world market.

In the Asian countries — with a few exceptions, such as India — the process began in the '60s and picked up steam in the '70s, mainly directed toward the world market and underwritten by the transnational monopolies to an even greater extent than in Latin America. In fact, the essential, decisive factor in these processes (though to a different extent in each country and region) has been the powerful expansion in the transnational monopolies' export of capital toward industry in the underdeveloped countries.

The contradictions and limitations of this process, which we will call dependent industrialization, began to develop over the years, but they still hadn't become particularly visible on the world scene. The expansion of the world economy, mainly based on trade in merchandise and capital among the developed capitalist countries, made it possible to hide these contradictions and limitations for the time being. The economic cycle in the '70s, however, and especially the economic crisis of 1974-75, made it necessary to restructure the productive apparatus in the developed capitalist countries, rationalizing it and making it more profitable in terms of

1. competition within the domestic market;
2. interimperialist competition — among the developed capitalist countries — and
3. trade with the underdeveloped countries.

The only thing new about this crisis is that it has brought out the need for capitalist rationalization not only by massively introducing new technology but also by transferring certain industrial production lines or entire industries to new areas. This has already happened in the United States, with the movement toward the West, Middle West and South, and, in Europe, toward the so-called European periphery. The new aspect of this transfer is the role and place assigned to the underdeveloped countries. It is very important to distinguish between two different levels of analysis here:

1. that of the transnational monopolies and
2. that of the nation-states.

Obviously, this transfer benefits the monopolies, since it enables them to increase their profits and (above all) rate of profits, which is generally higher abroad — especially in the underdeveloped countries. The dialectics of the interrelation between absolute and relative surplus value forces the transnational monopolies to search out areas with the longest, most intensive workdays and the weakest trade unions.

In the short run, however — and probably on a longer range, too — these tendencies come into conflict with the productive structures of the national economies of the developed capitalist countries. The transfer of industrial activities to the underdeveloped countries presupposes the dismantling and/or reorganization of certain segments

of the industrial production processes in the developed capitalist countries, causing immediate unemployment there and making it necessary to restrain the work force so it can be used in other sectors that will be stimulated by exporting means of production to underdeveloped countries.

Within this process of change, the imperialist states — which serve the interests of monopoly capital in general and especially the financial oligarchy, which controls the large transnational monopolies — have to achieve a balance between the needs of big international finance capital and its transnational monopolies and those of their economies and nation-states, trying to lower the chronic massive unemployment and growing inflation. This is more and more difficult to achieve, because of the unstable economic cycle that more and more desperately requires massive renewal of fixed capital.

The specifics of the renewal of fixed capital in the context of the economic crises of the '70s (and everything seems to indicate that this trend will continue in the early '80s) and of the changes required in the accumulation of transnational capital in the international capitalist division of labor indicate that unemployment will rise even more and reach relatively stable levels and that inflation, too, will rise — that is, that the working class' standard of living will drop considerably, both in the developed capitalist countries and in the underdeveloped ones. This indicates that capital will mount a reactionary offensive against the trade union organizations and the working class as a whole — phenomena that are already clearly visible in the United States, England, Italy and France. In order to "remedy" the high levels of unemployment, the imperialist states have adopted different formal policies. In Europe, its main form has been the refusal to hire and the firing of immigrant workers, while the United States is also closing off employment opportunities for national minorities and women. This means that the problem of nationalities has reached a new level of contradictions in the developed capitalist countries.

Unemployment is a current problem in the underdeveloped countries, too. Traditionally, these countries have always had high levels of chronic unemployment, underemployment and marginality, mainly caused by deformations in the accumulation of capital and the productive apparatus and by the dependent nature of their economies. Three more factors have exacerbated this situation in recent years:

1. the world economic crisis, which was also felt in the underdeveloped countries, though not at the same time as in the developed capitalist ones;
2. the strong penetration of monopoly capital in agriculture — some authors speak of the capitalist modernization of agriculture in the underdeveloped countries, but it generates not only growing urbanization but also unemployment for the displaced work force, for industry can't provide enough jobs to take up the slack — and



3. changes in the immigration policies of the developed capitalist countries.

Some writers are discussing the formation of a world reserve labor force; others, the reappearance of a potential work force in the underdeveloped countries. In fact, the formation of a world reserve labor force is nothing new — at least, in its general outlines.

Capitalism in the last century and monopoly capitalism in this one found and transferred a large work force from the underdeveloped countries to their industrial centers. These great waves of migration met the needs of the accumulation of capital on a world scale. The present situation, however, presents some new trends. Now, it is capital that is transferred, in search of a work force to exploit in other countries. Of course, certain conditions make it necessary to transfer this capital, and others must be met before it can take place, namely

1. the scientific-technical revolution in the fields of transportation and communications, which has made it possible a) to move products for great distances quickly and at low cost and b) to direct and control production and subsidiaries from a distance; and
2. the application of the scientific-technical revolution in some branches, making it possible to increase the social division of labor within the production process, increasing its segmentation into a larger number of productive links, and the development of simple work processes in some of these links so that unskilled labor can be used.

It is not by chance that the most dynamic export branches in recent years have been those involving the large-scale employment of young, minimally-skilled women who carry out operations that are linked to a process of international labor.

It is clear that, to the extent that the international monopolies can employ — and exploit — the work force of the underdeveloped countries in producing for the world market or even for their domestic markets, the working class in the developed capitalist countries will experience rising unemployment. As for the workers in the underdeveloped countries, their levels of employment will not be any better as long as their economies remain deformed and dependent — a situation for which the transnational monopolies are largely responsible. Thus, these processes of change are opening up a period in which the historic

convergence between the interests of the workers in the developed capitalist countries and those in the underdeveloped countries may be accelerated and strengthened.

¹ UN, *Transnational Corporations in World Development: A Re-Examination*, 1978.

² The analysis of the international movement of capitalist merchandise is based on statistical information from the following sources:

ECLA, *Estudio económico de América Latina*, 1970, 1971 and 1977;

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CIEM, *Informe sobre la situación económica mundial*, Havana, Cuba, 1980.

³ The analysis of the export of capital is based on statistical information from the following sources:

UN, *Transnational Corporations in World Development*, 1973;

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O. Caputo and R. Pizarro, *Imperialismo, dependencia y relaciones internacionales*, CESO, 1971;

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OCDE, *Co-Operation and Development*, 1977, 1978 and 1979.

* The analysis of the crisis is based on the following sources:

I. P. W. Berichte, reports for 1978 and 1979, *op. cit.*;

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H. Jung, "La racionalización al servicio del capital," *Revista Internacional* no. 1, 1980.

5 The analysis is based on information from the following sources:

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INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMISSION ON THE CRIMES COMMITTED BY THE RACIST, APARTHEID REGIME IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

CONCLUSIONS

The International Investigating Commission on the Crimes Committed by the Racist, Apartheid Regime in Southern Africa met for its second session in Luanda, the People's Republic of Angola, January 30-February 3, 1981.

The members of the Commission and other representative organizations and individuals from 28 European, African, Asian and Latin-American countries participated in the session.

After reviewing the universally accepted principles of law on which its actions are based and verifying the violations of these principles reported in the material gathered during the investigation, the International Investigating Commission drew the pertinent legal conclusions and proposed measures for reestablishing international justice and legality.

I. It recalls

That the United Nations Charter, the principles of the International Military Court of Nuremberg, the Convention on the Prevention and Elimination of the Crime of Genocide, the Universal Declaration of and Pacts on Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Prevention and Repression of the Crime of Apartheid and numerous other UN resolutions and decisions have established that apartheid is a crime against international law.

By law, Namibia has the status of an international territory and has been "under the direct responsibility" of the United Nations since the passage of General Assembly Resolution 2145, of October 27, 1966. Its occupation by the South African authorities is illegal, and all the measures they take are equally illegal and invalid (Resolution 276, of January 30, 1970, of the Security Council).

Therefore, the open violations and scorn with which the South African government has treated international law (expressed since 1950 by the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly, the Security Council and other UN bodies and numerous international conventions) set it clearly against all the principles and norms that are universally accepted by international society.

II. It states

That, during its second session in Luanda, the International Investigating Commission gathered information and verified a number of events. The reports presented by the representatives of the People's Republic of Angola, the Namibian people (SWAPO) and the people of South Africa (the ANC); the accusations made by many witnesses; and the conclusions of the February 1, 1981, mission in Lubango (Huila), Xangongo and Kuamato, in Cunene Province (near the Namibian border), the mission of the same date to the Kwanza do Sul (Kalulo) Namibian refugee camp 250 kilometers from Luanda and the visit to the Main Military Hospital all confirm and round out the findings of the international mission of inquiry into the acts of aggression which South Africa committed against the People's Republic of Angola August 6-13, 1980 (UN Center against Apartheid document, February 1981), to wit:

1. The South African Army makes almost daily armed attacks against, temporary occupations of and incursions into Angola's territory (driving more than 150 kilometers into its territory) and airspace, starting from bases set up in Namibia.

2. These attacks, etc. are mainly aimed against the industrial and agricultural infrastructure and means of communication, seeking to paralyze the economic apparatus by creating a state of permanent insecurity and causing considerable damage so as to destabilize the People's Republic of Angola.

3. This undeclared war directly and massively harms the civilian population, which is also subjected to strafing, assassination, kidnapping and torture.

4. The apartheid regime uses the most inhuman torture against Angolan prisoners, members of and sympathizers with SWAPO and the ANC and even civilians from Namibia and South Africa.

5. Most of the war and repressive matériel used by South Africa comes from the United States, France, Belgium, other NATO countries, Israel and

some Latin-American countries (imported, legally produced or fraudulently exported). Mercenaries from these same countries are associated with or even form part of the units of the South African Army.

6. The very difficult living conditions of the 50 000 Namibian refugees in Angola (especially in terms of hygiene, health and education) are a direct consequence of the illegal measures that the South African regime employs in Namibia.

III. Legal conclusions

The International Investigating Commission considers, in the legal sphere, that

1. South Africa is systematically and massively violating the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola and the integrity of its territory by acts of armed aggression justifying the application of the sanctions set forth in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Because of its massive and repetitive nature, the South African aggression imposes a veritable state of undeclared war on the People's Republic of Angola, which has done nothing to provoke this.

This situation is complemented with an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola by means of maintaining and using UNITA (an adjunct of the South African Army) and other mercenary forces to disguise the aggression as a civil war.

The People's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of Zambia are also subjected to serious attacks on their sovereignty, and Zimbabwe, which obtained its independence only recently, is being threatened.

2. The South African government has no grounds for stating that its military actions are justified by a "right" to pursue SWAPO and the ANC. No such "right" exists in international law, and, in any case, it is inconceivable from an illegally occupied territory. Moreover, acts of resistance against the illegal authority by the national liberation movements (whose legitimacy is legally recognized) cannot in any war be equated with terrorism (this is not defined anywhere), as South Africa has sought to do.

3. The rights recognized for the Namibian people are violated by the South African occupation. In effect, the territory of Namibia is under the direct responsibility of the UN; the United Nations recognized the Namibian people's right to achieve independence in line with General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV), of December 14, 1960; and the Namibian people are the only ones who may exercise sovereignty over their natural and other resources (Decree I of the UN Council on Namibia created by the Security Council).

South Africa's occupation of Namibia constitutes an attack on the basic principle of the peoples' right to govern themselves and is a crime of aggression against the Namibian people. The "government" installed in Namibia by South Africa is illegal.

The only legitimate, internationally-recognized representative of the Namibian people is SWAPO, accepted as such by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and other governmental bodies. SWAPO is determined to resist in all ways, including armed struggle, and to accept all the international assistance offered to it. The use of armed force against SWAPO and the Namibian people constitutes an international armed conflict and a serious attack on the

authority of the United Nations in this part of the world. The massacres and torture which South Africa systematically carries out against the population and members of the national liberation movement (who are given worse treatment than common criminals) are a violation of human rights (Convention of The Hague, 1949 Geneva Convention and the 1977 Additional Protocol). They are also a flagrant violation of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the 1966 Pacts on Civil and Political Rights.

4. The repression of the majority in South Africa within the framework of apartheid, which is included by international law in the crimes against humanity, is the most evident manifestation of the colonialist nature of the South African state and violates the principles of the peoples' right to govern themselves. The majority in South Africa is making its presence felt in a national liberation struggle, implementing its recognized right to use all means, including armed struggle, and to receive all kinds of international assistance from states, international organizations and others.

The members of the national liberation movement (the ANC) have the status of combatants, as defined in international conventions, and the status of prisoners of war when captured during combat. Therefore, they should be covered by the Declaration and Pacts on Human Rights.

The South African government, whose complete scorn for its international obligations openly violates the basic premises of international law, should thus be held fully responsible for its actions.

5. The South African government is systematically and openly violating international law, with the direct or indirect complicity of certain states that respect neither the letter nor the spirit of the UN resolutions and decisions nor the various international conventions that have remained inoperable. Some NATO countries — mainly the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Great Britain — Israel, China, some Latin-American and Caribbean countries and the transnationals backed by the big Western powers provide South Africa and its Army with the means it needs for maintaining its policy of apartheid and aggression. This complicity even extends to allowing South Africa to obtain a nuclear military capacity. In fact, the states allied with the South African government and the transnationals that collaborate with it actively contribute to making South Africa one of the main threats to world peace and security. They oppose the basic tenets of the UN Charter.

IV. Therefore, the International Commission demands

Rigorous respect for the principles and rules of general international law, especially for the principles of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and the other front-line states and those referring to the protection of human rights and man's rights in southern Africa;

application of the resolutions promoting the right to independence of the Namibian people, legitimately represented by SWAPO (recognized by the United Nations since 1973 and by the Geneva Conference on Namibia in January 1981), and promoting the South African people's right to self-determination;

effective application of the sanctions declared and issued by the UN Security Council against South Africa;

application of the sanctions contained in Article 41 of the UN Charter ("complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations"), the oil embargo and the prohibition of any kind of nuclear collaboration, giving priority to these measures, and indemnification by South Africa for all damage caused in its attacks on the People's Republic of Angola and other front-line states; and

effective assistance (in line with the decisions of the Security Council) for the front-line states and the national liberation movements and an increase in this assistance (international rights and duties for all).

In view of the aggravation of the situation, the International Investigating Commission calls on the governments and on all governmental and nongovernmental international organizations (especially the International Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations) to intensify their solidarity with the victims of the apartheid regime's acts of aggression and other crimes.

Luanda, February 3, 1981

Solidarity with Haiti

The representative in Cuba of the Unified Party of Haitian Communists, Comrade Frank Hypolite, paid a visit to OSPAAAL's headquarters. In his conversation with Comrade Melba Hernández, General Secretary of the Organization, Hypolite presented information about the Haitian people's resistance to the dictatorship of Jean Claude Duvalier; in addition, he discussed the preparations for the international Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the Haitian People which will be held in Latin America some time this year.

Second Anniversary of Free Grenada

On the occasion of the second anniversary of the Grenada Revolution, the Executive Secretary of OSPAAAL sent a message of congratulation to Comrade Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of Grenada, and to his heroic people. The message states in one of its paragraphs: "... The victory of the Grenada Revolution on March 13, 1979, is a milestone in the history of this people, that has achieved important victories in such a short period of time, placing Grenada, together with Cuba and Nicaragua, in the vanguard of the national liberation movement in Latin America and the Caribbean."

Finally, the document expresses the wish that Comrade Bishop, as well as his party and his people achieve success in building a new society.

With the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

OSPAAAL received a courtesy visit from Ali Mohamed Al-Ejili, Secretary of the Libyan People's Committee of the People's Office of the

Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Ali Mohamed was welcomed by Melba Hernández, General Secretary of OSPAAAL, and other officials of the Organization.

Solidarity with the Country of Artigas

Hugo Villar, executive secretary of the Broad Front of Uruguay abroad, travelled to Cuba to participate in a major event commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of the founding of the Broad Front.

Villar visited our organization and gave a presentation about recent events and the situation of the people's struggle in his country, and sought support for the campaign to free Liber Seregni and other political prisoners.

El Salvador: a revolutionary battle front

The representative in Cuba of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), Arnaldo Bernal, spoke at length about the current state of the struggle of the Salvadoran people in a recent visit to our Organization. In particular, he discussed the process of building unity and the development of people's consciousness. Comrade Bernal used the occasion to seek international support and solidarity to prevent direct armed intervention by imperialism in El Salvador.

International Women's Day

In honor of International Women's Day, celebrated on March 8, the Executive Secretariat of our Organization issued a declaration, which was sent to Comrade Freda Brown, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

In the document, OSPAAAL, "honored all the world's women, who in different battle fronts are giving the best of themselves to attain the happiness and dignity of their peoples."

In addition, a reception was held in OSPAAAL headquarters for a large group of women representing parties, organizations and national liberation movements from the three continents.

World Conference for Solidarity with Korea

A delegation from the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, headed by Comrade Melba Hernández, General Secretary of the Organization, participated in the World Conference for Solidarity with Korea held in Algiers, March 26-28, 1981. Comrade Melba Hernández spoke in the first working committee of the conference which dealt with the right of the Korean people to reunify and how to achieve reunification.

**Delegation of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL
to OSPAA's Council**

Headed by Felipe Cirino, a member of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL, a delegation from the tricontinental organization participated in the 13th Council of the Organization of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples, which took place March 20-26, in Aden, capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. OSPAAAL's representative offered greetings to the participants at the event, as well as to a meeting of solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people, chaired by Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

**DECLARATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA,
ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA**

FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE'S GENERAL: LIBER SEREGNI

On March 26, 1971 the people of Uruguay welcomed the nomination of General Liber Seregni as presidential candidate of the Broad Front. Today, ten years after that memorable event, this tireless and consistent fighter is still the Uruguayan dictatorship's jails.

The treats, tortures and abuses have not be able to daunt the fighting and patriotic spirit of Seregni, who has justly been recognized by the Uruguayan popular masses as the People's General.

Seregni, together with the other political prisoners, embodies the honor, the courage, the dignity and the determination of the noble people of Uruguay, a people which has firmly refused to accept the fascist formula in their country, as they demonstrated last year by massively and decisively rejecting the proposal to institutionalize the military dictatorship.

There have been numerous efforts by individuals, institutions, organizations and governments to demand that the Uruguayan military regime release Liber Seregni, who will be 65 years old this year.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL, which has always offered its solidarity to the just cause of the people of Artigas, calls on all democratic and progressive forces, individuals, institutions and governments to develop an international campaign to obtain the release of this leader of the Broad Front from the fascist jails, and to intensify their support for the just yearning of the combative people of Uruguay for freedom, democracy and progress.

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